

Giordano Bruno's Degli Eroici Furori
and Elizabethan Poets
in the context of Sixteenth-Century
Italian Petrarch-commentaries

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Dialogo Primo.

come non é piu che vno l'vltimo et il primo
bene. Del secondo modo sono infiniti.



A Mor, sorte, l' oggetto, et Gelosia;
M' appaga, affannacontent', et sconsola; *to discomfort*
Il putto irrational, la cieca et ria, *a boy or stripling*
L' alta bellezza, la mia morte sola; *quilt or entrails*
Mi mostr' il paradis', il togle uia, *to hide ones self*
Ogni ben mi presenta, me l' inuola; *a load, a carcass*
Tanto ch' il cor, la mente, il spirto, l' alma,
Há gioia, há noia, há refrigerio, há salma.
Chi mi torrá di guerra?
Chi mi fará fruir mio ben in pace?
Chi quel ch' annoia, et quel che si mi piace
Fará lungi disgiunti,
Per gradir le mie fiamme et gli miei fonti?



T A N S I L.

Mostra la caggion et origine onde si con-
cepe il furore, et nasce l' entusiasmo, per sol *the fury from above*
car il campo de le muse, spargendo il seme *to plow or furrow*
me de suoi pensieri, aspirando à l' amorosa
messe, scorgendo in se il feruor de gl' affetti
in vece del sole, et l' humor de gl' occhi inlu-
ogho de le piogge. Mette quattro cose auãti.
L' AMORE, LA SORTE, L' OGGETTO, LA
GELOSIA. Doue l' Amore non é vn basso,
ignobile, et indegno motore: ma vn heroico
signor et duce de lui. La sorte non é altro
che la disposition fatale et ordine d' accidenti

Abstract

Giordano Bruno spent the years 1583-5 in London, during which time he published three Latin mnemonic treatises and the six Dialoghi Italiani, two of which were dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney : the Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante and the Degli Eroici Furori. The main purpose of this thesis is to evaluate the influence of the latter - a Petrarchan sonnet-sequence with Neoplatonic commentaries - on Elizabethan poetry, in particular on the sonnet-cycles of Sidney and Fulke Greville, and the philosophical poetry of George Chapman.

In this I am pursuing lines of research suggested by Dr F.A.Yates in her Study of Love's Labour's Lost (1936) and her essay on the Eroici and Elizabethan sonneteers (J.W.C.I, VI, 1943). My immediate aim was to test Yates' hypothesis that the Eroici Furori was the "supreme experience" for the English Petrarchists of the 1580s, and an influential model for their poetic practice. Ultimately I felt it was fairer to look at the Elizabethan sonnet in the wider context of the long and diverse Italian Petrarchan tradition, and to this end I undertook a prefatory historical sketch of the Italian Petrarch-commentary in the sixteenth-century from Pietro Bembo to Lodovico Castelvetro, including annotated editions of the Canzoniere, and less obvious forms of exegesis such as the lezioni of Academicians and the "corrections" of spiritualizzamenti. In my comparison of the sonnets of Bruno, Sidney and Greville I assess the congruence or disparity of their uses of mutual mythical or Petrarchan topoi, and their relationship to the diverse typology of Neoplatonic love offered by the Petrarch-commentators.

In my study of George Chapman I addressed myself to Yates' assertion that the poets, as well as the scientists, of the "School of Night" or "Northumberland circle" were influenced by Bruno. In examining the possible influence of the Eroici on Chapman's Shadow of Night and other poems, I have considered the potential role played in this by Chapman's patron Henry Percy, Earl of Northumberland, whose collection of Bruno texts and annotations to the Eroici are also examined.

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Note on Transcription.

In quoting from sixteenth-century printed books I have adhered closely to the orthography and punctuation of the original texts, only intervening in the cases of obvious printing errors and contractions (which I have restored to their full form without comment). In the case of the Italian texts of this period I have preserved the often less than comprehensive use of accenting which I found there, and have made no attempt to modernize or correct archaic or idiomatic forms of spelling. Where the original punctuation is confusing I have replaced it with modern punctuation in translation.

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Introduction.

Giordano Bruno, one of the most controversial and profound philosophers of the Italian Renaissance spent the years 1583 to 1585 living in England. During this visit he stayed in the French embassy as the guest of the French ambassador Michel del Castelnau, through whom he was able to meet Queen Elizabeth and the royal court, which included the cream of England's intelligentsia, in particular the influential group of poets, philosophers and scientists associated with Sir Philip Sidney and his uncle Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. Bruno's most definite contact was with the so-called "Areopagus" poetic circle. Aside from scientists and astronomers such as Thomas Digges and John Dee, this group contained some of the most important poets of the English Renaissance : Sir Philip Sidney, Fulke Greville, Edmund Spenser and Edward Dyer. Through the close friendship of Sir Walter Raleigh with Dee and Bruno's host Castelnau, Bruno's contact with English scholars can be hypothetically extended into that other elite of poets, philosophers and scientists (which included Raleigh), the so-called "School of Night" who were grouped around Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland, whose interests in mathematics and alchemy earned him a reputation for impiety and the disparaging sobriquet of "Wizard Earl".

During this period Bruno produced, under the patronage and protection of Castelnau, Dudley and, it has been suggested, Sidney himself¹, the most definitive of his philosophical works, the Dialoghi Italiani. That Bruno conversed with the leading intellectual figures of Elizabeth's court and took part in some scandalous public debates in Oxford during this period of monumental and inspired composition is reason enough to investigate his impact upon the Elizabethan literary mind; but that at this time of great poetic upheaval and experiment - the first flowering of the English sonnet-sequence in the Petrarchan mode - this most poetic of philosophers should present to Sidney and his Italianophile friends a sequence of Petrarchan sonnets on the theme of divine love, Degli Eroici Furori (Of The Heroic Frenzies), an examination of his possible influence could obviously be of vital importance to an understanding of the period.

The exact details of Bruno's visit and English acquaintances has already been covered exhaustively by his biographers Vincenzo Spanpanato², Dorothy Singer³ and the foremost English scholar of Bruno's works, Frances.A.Yates in her influential Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic

tradition.⁴ Nevertheless, as the bare outlines will be necessary for an understanding of the analyses which will follow, I shall present here a sketch of these important years in the words of Bruno and his contemporaries together with the known facts as they have been relayed to us by the scholars mentioned above.

Historical setting.

Bruno's unorthodox philosophy drove him from the Neapolitan monastery where he was educated after his superiors publicly accused him of defending the writings of heretics in 1576. Fearing the wrath of the Inquisition he fled first to Rome (where he abandoned his ecclesiastical habit), and then to Geneva. Arrested by the Calvinists for daring to criticise a lecture given by the lector of the Accademia de la Faye he fled, disenchanted with the reformers, to Toulouse in 1579, where he gave public lectures on the Sphere of Sacrobosco. In the summer of 1581 he arrived in Paris where Henri III made him a lecturer at the Parisian Studio. He mixed freely with the politique intellectuals at the Valois court and, in an atmosphere where the encouragement of Hermetic and Neoplatonic studies was in the ascendant, published three treatises on occult mnemonics, the De compiendosa architectura, the De Umbris Idearum and the Cantus Circaeus, as well as a learned comedy Il Candelaio.

In 1583 Bruno entered England "con littere dell' istesso Re [Henri III]"⁵, to reside at the house of the French ambassador in London Michel de Castelnau, Lord of Mauvissiere, where he was to stay until his departure in 1585, when Castelnau ended his career as ambassador. This three year period was not uneventful for Bruno, for it saw him at one of his creative peaks (writing and publishing a Latin mnemonic work and six Italian dialogues), and involved in controversy through his outspoken attacks on the doctors of English universities, and the manners of the English populace. Wherever he went Bruno created ripples of indignation in the learned circles through which he moved, not least because of his unenviable talent for immodest self-advertisement. Bruno's first assault on an English audience, for instance, the Ars reminiscendi, Explicatio triginta sigillorum, Sigillus Sigillorum (1583) opens with an unabashed address to the vice-chancellor of Oxford (from whom he hoped to gain another lectureship), introducing himself as :

Philotheus Iordanus Brunus Nolanus magis elaboratae theologiae doctor, purioris et innocuae sapientiae professor. In praecipuis Europae academijs notus, probatus, et honorifice exceptus Philosophus. Nullibi praeter quam apud barbaros et ignobiles peregrinus. Dormitantium animorum excubitor. Praesuntuosae, et recalcitratis ignorantiae domitor. Qui in actibus universis generalem philanthropiam protestatur.⁶

Seemingly oblivious to the deep suspicions of speculative philosophy current at Oxford,⁷ Bruno's treatise brazenly asserted on its title-page his intention to proceed in philosophy "per logicam, metaphysicam, cabalam, naturalem, magiam, [et] artes magnas atque breves".⁸ It is small wonder that the poet Thomas Watson, publishing his own memory-art in 1585, was careful to dissociate himself from the magical philosophy of the Italian (and one of his English emulators Alexander Dicson, whose name shall arise again later in this work) :

I very much fear if my little work is compared with the mystical and deeply learned Sigillis of the Nolan or with the Umbra artificiosa of Dicson it may bring more infamy to its author than utility to the reader.⁹

But more of the "infamy" which dogged "The Nolan" (Bruno's title is taken from the village of his birth, Nola in the Campania) later. First let us follow Bruno's documented connections with the English poets Sidney and Greville. Bruno's friendship with Castelnau (and possibly some official or semi-official diplomatic mission on behalf of Henri III)¹⁰ led him frequently to visit the court of Elizabeth, as he later confessed to his Venetian inquisitors :

in Inghilterra, dove allora io mi ritrovava e composi quel libro [De la Causa], se suole dar questo titolo 'Diva' alla Regina; e tanto più me indussi a nominarla così, perché ella me conosceva, andando io continuamente con l'ambasciator in corte.¹¹

As a frequent visitor to the Royal court, Bruno would have been in constant society with the Queen's equerries, which included Sidney and Greville, both keen Italianophiles (Sidney at that time having travelled to Venice and Padua in the company of the Anglo-Italian Lodovico Bruschetto). Bruno himself records that both men were of service to him upon his arrival in England. In the Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante (1584) in which Bruno presents "al molto illustre ed eccellente cavalliero signor Filippo Sidneo" the "numerati ed ordinati semi della sua moral filosofia",¹² he speaks thus of his debt to the two friends :

Or non so qual mi sarei...se non stimasse il vostro ingegno, non onorasse gli vostri costumi, non celebrasse gli vostri meriti; con gli quali, siete scuoperto a me nel primo principio ch' io giunsi a l'isola Britannica...[e mostrarmi] la vostra natural inclinazione veramente eroica...gionto al generosissimo

e gentilissimo spirito del signor Folco Grivello...al mio riguardo fu egli quel secondo, che, appresso gli vostri primi, gli secondi officii mi propose ed offerse.¹³

Although it is uncertain exactly what these offices which the poets offered Bruno were, it is obvious that there was some sort of close contact, and material offers of help from Sidney and Greville. Some have ventured to suggest that this involved patronage or advancement to an Oxford lectureship,¹⁴ although neither of these claims has any evidence to support it. Whatever happened it seems certain that Greville at least, after his initial contact, withdrew from Bruno, as Bruno himself says of his offer of help : "Io arrei accettati [questi officii], e lui certo arrebe effectuati, se tra non avesse sparso il suo arsenito de vili, maligni ed ignobili interessati l'invidiosa Erinni".¹⁵ Again the exact nature of this disaffection is uncertain, although it suggests a number of possible explanations. Firstly, Bruno's entrance into Britain was not unnoticed by the Secretary of State, Francis Walsingham, whose espionage network (ever on the alert for papist plots) was very suspicious of Bruno's mission in England, especially his arrival at the French embassy with secret letters from Henri. The Queen's ambassador in Paris, Sir Henry Cobham, wrote to Walsingham in 1583 : "Doctor Jordano Bruno Nolano, a professor in philosophy, intends to pass into England, whose religion I cannot commend"¹⁶. Thus the "arsenic" Bruno refers to could have been political, spread by Walsingham and his "Erinni". On the other hand, Greville could have been reacting to the indiscretions (or even inaccuracies) of Bruno's Cena delle Ceneri which claims to describe (albeit in a manner "più poetica e tropologica, forse, che istoriale")¹⁷ a supper on Ash Wednesday, February 14th 1584, when he dines with "molti gentilomini e dotti personaggi"¹⁸ at Greville's house in London, and afterwards "faccia discussione di belle e varie cose"¹⁹. In the Cena Bruno is a little patronising towards Greville and his guests. In response to a question from Greville on why he thought that the earth moved, Bruno is said by the character Teofilo to have answered : "che lui non gli avrebbe possuto donar ragione alcuna, non conoscendo la sua capacità; e non sapendo come potesse da lui essere inteso"²⁰. Added to this he is severely critical of English learning : "Molti dottori di questa patria, coi quali ha ragionato di lettere, ha trovato nel modo di procedere aver più del bifolco, che d'altro che si potesse desiderare"²¹. Greville would certainly have been alarmed by the association . . . of his name with the highly unorthodox ideas expounded in the Cena, and this leads

us to our third reason, and the next episode in Bruno's England visit. Greville would have been especially irritated to have been associated with Bruno in the light of a public upset the Italian caused in the summer of 1583 during a visit to Oxford by the Polish prince Albertus Alasco "[with] Lord Russell, Sir Philip Sydney, and other gentlemen of purpose to see the universities"²². Bruno lectured publicly on his conception of Copernicanism (which was deeply coloured by his Hermetic Neoplatonism) and engaged aggressively with the scholars of Oxford. Here is Bruno's rather tendentious version of events :

in [questa] felice patria regna una constellazione di pedantesca
ostinatissima ignoranza e presunzione mista con una rustica
inciviltà, che farebbe prevaricar la pazienza di Giobbe. E se non
il credete, andate in Oxonia, e fatevi raccontar le cose intra-
venute al Nolano, quando pubblicamente disputò con que' dottori in
teologia in presenza del prencipe Alasco polacco ed altri della
nobiltà inglese. Fatevi dire come si sapea rispondere a gli
argomenti; come restò per quindici sillogismi quindici volte
qual pulcino entro la stoppa quel povero dottor, che, come il
corifeo dell' Academia, ne puosero avanti in questa grave
occassione. Fatevi dire con quanta inciviltà e discortesia
procedea quel porco, e con quanta pazienza ed unanità quell'
altro, che in fatto mostrava essere napolitano nato ed allevato
sotto piú benigno cielo. Infornatevi come gli han fatte finire
le sue pubbliche letture, e quelle de immortalitate animæ e quelle
de quintuplici sphaera.²³

In 1960 Robert McNulty discovered the longest extant description of Bruno's Oxford lecture and his debate with Dr Underhill (the "coryphaeus of the Academy"), in an anti-Papist tract by George Abbott, The Reasons which Dr Hill Hath Brought for the Upholding of Papistry... Unmasked &c (1604).²⁴ This lengthy passage is far less flattering to Bruno, who is ridiculed as "that Italian Didapper, who intituled himself Philotheus Iordanus Brunus etc...with a name longer than his body"²⁵. Abbott makes unpleasant xenophobic jokes about Bruno's Italian pronunciation of Latin and paints him as both vainglorious ("his hart was on fire, to make himselfe...famous in that celebrious place") and a plagiarist. Dr Hill reported that Bruno's lectures were "taken almost verbatim out of the workes of Marsilius Ficinus", and he is also described as "stripping up his sleeves like some Iugler"²⁶, implying a disdainful mixture of buffoon, magician and sorcerer. Another dispute between Underhill and Bruno is described separately by an elder statesman of the "Areopagus" circle, Gabriel Harvey in his Marginalia:

Iordanus Neapolitanus (Oxonij disputans cum Doctore Underhil)
tam in Theologia, quam in philosophia, omnia revocabat ad locos
Topicos, et axiomata Aristotelis; atque inde de quavis materia
promptissime arguebat. Hopperi principia multo efficaciora in
quovis argumento forensi.²⁷

It is not hard to see, from Harvey's description how shocking Bruno's lectures must have been. We remember from Abbott that Bruno's ^{first} speech drew heavily on Ficino (a marginal gloss in fact specifies Ficino's work on astral magic De vita coelitus comparanda); add to this Harvey's description of Bruno's often-used strategy of relying on Aristotelian axioms and topoi in defense of his Neoplatonic ideas²⁸ (despite the fact that he considered that "la filosofia d'Aristotele è incomparabilmente piú vile di quella de gli antichi"²⁹) and we can imagine the uproar he must have caused at a university which virtually canonized Aristotle's ideas. In 1585-6, almost by coincidence this decree was issued by Oxford: "We exclude from the Schools all sterile and inane Questions disagreeing from the ancient and true philosophy [ie Aristotle]"³⁰. Bruno's friend John Florio, and the author of the preface to Samuel Daniel's translation of Paulus Jovius' treatise on impresa, "N.W.", both recorded that "Nolanus" had "taught publicly" that "from translation all Science had its of-spring"³¹, although "N.W" was less impressed by Bruno's performances, considering him a "man of infinite titles amongst other phantasticall toys". Another witness, the Italian emigre Alberico Gentile likewise criticised Bruno's "assertions strange, absurd and false" in a letter to Jean Hotman³², although he was sympathetic enough to his fellow-countryman to recommend him for a lectureship at Wittenberg University in 1586.³³

In the Causa Bruno makes amends to Oxford, while not changing his position on the pedantry of the Peripatetic and Ciceronian doctors of the University. Instead he recalls what he considers to be the superior scholars of Oxford's past "prima che le lettere speculative si ritrovassero nell' altre parti de l'Europa"³⁴:

io piú stimo la metafisica di quelli [filosofi d'un tempo iniziale] nella quale hanno avanzato il lor precipe Aristotele...che quanto possono apportar questi de la presente etade con tutta la lor ciceroniana eloquenza e arte declamatoria.³⁵

Bruno looks back beyond the "new grammarians"³⁶ (satirized in characters like Torquato and Nundino in the Cena) to the anti-Thomism of Roger Bacon and the subsequent tradition of Pythagoro-Platonic number theory at Oxford in the fourteenth and fifteenth century, and later the Humanist Platonism of More, Colet, Linacre et al. Yates, quite correctly I feel, suggested that this is an appeal to private intellectual circles existing outside the sphere of the universities, to those who shared his sympathy with earlier Platonism. Yates

speaks in fact of "the distribution of philosophy from the university to the court"³⁷. By the court she meant the scientific and philosophical thinkers fostered by noblemen like the Earls of Leicester and Northumberland, and Sir Philip Sidney. John Dee, Robert Recorde and Thomas Digges, for instance, who were part of the "Areopagus" group, were followers of Roger Bacon,³⁸ Bradwardine, Baconthorpe, Heytesbury and Swineshead³⁹ - the "filosofi d'un tempo iniziale". We know that Sidney shared Bruno's criticism of those at Oxford who were "solleciti de l'eloquenza e rigor grammaticale" at the expense of "speculazioni"⁴⁰; in a letter to his brother in 1580 Sidney declared Ciceronianism to be the "chief abuse of Oxford"⁴¹. In the Cena Bruno depicts the English "knights" present at the supper supporting his ideas against the pedantic doctors and bemoaning the intellectual poverty of England "la quale è rimasta vedova delle buone lettere, per quanto appartiene alla professione di filosofia et reali matematiche"⁴². The re-birth of interest in Platonism, mathematics and science was seen by Yates as a liberal reaction against the dogmatic repression of the universities (where undergraduates could be fined for criticising Aristotle's syllogisms)⁴³, and it is at this audience that Yates thought Bruno's philosophy was aimed : "Bruno's magical Hermetism offered to sub-Catholics, discontented intelligentsia and other secretly dissatisfied elements in Elizabethan society, a new outlet"⁴⁴. In particular, she felt, he would have appealed to the poets who mingled with these liberal philosophers and scientists, and who were looking toward Italy and Italian Neoplatonism for their inspiration.

Elizabethan England was at that time at least partially congenial to Bruno's brand of philosophy. In the Spaccio Bruno makes some very flattering remarks about the liberal atmosphere he had encountered in England, in his description of the constellation Aries ("protoparente de li agnelli"⁴⁵) in the revolution of the zodiac which is the narrative basis of this work : "la collocazione e situazione de' buoni numi in loco dove erano quelle bestie"⁴⁶. In this description he confers a privileged status to the English climate (meterological, but symbolically intellectual and moral) :

circa il Tamisi...quel luogo quadra alla stagione a cui è predominante, per esservi, piú ch' in altra parte, oltre e citra l'Equinoziale, temperato il cielo; ché dalla...terra essendo bandito l'eccessivo rigor de le nevi a soverchio fervor del sole, come testifica il perpetuamente verde e florido terreno, la fa fortunata, come di continua e perpetua primavera. Giongì a questo^{ch'è} l'ivi, compreso dalla protezion de le braccia

dell' ampio Oceano, sarà sicuro da Lupi, Leoni ed orsi,
ed altri fieri animali e potestadi nemiche di terra firma.⁴⁷

Elizabethan England was seen by Bruno as a temperate median between the excessive violence of his Catholic homeland "dove sovente dal rigor de l'inverno [le piante] sono uccisi"⁴⁸, and the equally repressive strictures of the Reformed religions (represented as the wolves, bears and lions of traditional anti-Protestant satire). Here ~~for the first time~~ Bruno equates Elizabeth with Ocean or Amphitrite, a theme which he expanded in the Eroici (as we shall see later). Her protection of foreign visitors from religious persecution was well-known on the continent (In 1568 there were 6,704 aliens living in London alone)⁴⁹, and was a symptom of her policy, both domestic and foreign, which strove for appeasement over conflict wherever possible.⁵⁰

But the equation of Aries and English liberalism could have had a more specific relevance ^{to} Bruno's readers in the "Areopagus" circle. In the second part of the Eroici Furori Bruno sees the constellation of Aries as being the one which ushers in an era of Hermetic renewal :

le cose migliori e piú eccellenti sono nel mondo, quando tutto
l'universo da ogni parte risponde eccellentemente. E questo
-no stimano allorche tutti gli pianeti ottegnano l'Ariete, essendo
che quello de l'ottava sfera ancora ottegnano quello del
firmamento invisibile e superiore dove è l'altro zodiaco...
La rivoluzion...ed anno grande del mondo.⁵¹

In this revolution or "Platonic Year" the dross of the world's opinions, customs and knowledge is swept away and "possiamo aspettare de ritornare a miglior stati"⁵². As the principal sun and fire sign of the zodiac, Aries had a special significance for Bruno whose Godhead was signified by Apollo, the intelligible sun : "il sole...maestro de sensi, padre di sustanze, autor di vita"⁵³. In the Dialoghi Bruno describes Aries as one of the two "corifei di segni celesti"⁵⁴, its pre-eminence is signalled by its initiation of the zodiacal year.⁵⁵ The Ram of the sign is identified with the sheep of Judgement Day (Matthew XXV, xxxii) "[l] primiero prencipe de le mandre"⁵⁶. Aries is also the sign of spring, the vernal equinox, and this is used in Bruno's Hermetic utopia, described in the Spaccio as "[in] felice circolo, dove il lume è continuo e non si veggon mai tenebre né freddo, ma è perpetua temperie di caldo"⁵⁷.

That Bruno associates Elizabethan England, religious tolerance, Aries and Hermetic

philosophy renders the similar use of the constellation in John Dee's Monas Hieroglyphica (1564) highly significant. This work describes the workings of an occult talisman, a symbol constructed by Dee out of the seven planetary signs and the zodiacal sign for Aries. It is the kind of Hermetic-magical diagram or "seal" which Bruno used in his ars memoriae, and served the same function : to teach without words, to impress truth into the mind of the meditating reader, and raise his spirit toward heaven. This symbol (fig.1 below) was called by Dee his "arietis nota mystica" and his philosophy itself (his "Hermetis labores") was called "Arioton Ars".⁵⁸ Yates noted the "pattern of congruence" between the careers of Dee and Bruno⁵⁹ (which nevertheless failed to coalesce, although both men were met by Prince Alasco on his Oxford visit), especially their mutual reliance on Henricus Cornelius Agrippa as a source of their Hermetic Neoplatonism.⁶⁰ Certainly both men believed that it was through the "Philosophorum Mercurius...celeberrimus", that the soul "aliquam à CORPORE" rises to divine understanding and "mira praestare poterit".⁶¹ Dee's occult philosophy was receiving the sympathetic patronage (both intellectual and fiscal) of the Queen herself.⁶² His diary is full of references to sums of money received from her, visits audiences at court and in her "privy garden",⁶³ and even preferment (he was granted a wardenship in Manchester in 1596). It is possible that Bruno knew of the Queen's encouragement of Dee, he would certainly have been aware of the Parisian imprint of the Monas ("licet ad Parisienses [Anno 1562], sua MONADE peculiari")⁶⁴ or his aphorisms on Cabala ("nostris ad Parisienses Aphorismis")⁶⁵, and perhaps reasoned from this that the English climate would be favourable to his philosophy. It is surely no coincidence that the Spaccio and the Eroici, where Bruno mentions Aries and its Hermetic significance, are dedicated to one of Dee's renowned students, Sidney. Bruno had been acquainted with Sidney's reputation in Milan and Paris ("per fama prima, quando eravamo in Milano ed in Francia")⁶⁶ and he was convinced by this repute that Sidney would be receptive to his Neoplatonic philosophy : "[io non presento] la lira ad un sordo ed il specchio ad un cieco. A voi dunque si presentano, perché l'Italiano ragioni con chi l'intende...le cose eroiche siano indirizzate ad un eroico e generoso animo".⁶⁷

Before we go on to consider Yates' claims regarding Bruno's influence on Sidney and other Elizabethan poets, let us pause for a moment to consider the many references to Elizabeth and the "nobili personaggi" of England which justify Yates' terming Bruno an "Heroic

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Enthusiast and Elizabethan". In particular let us consider his participation in the chivalrous, Neoplatonic propaganda surrounding Elizabeth, vaunting her role as a virginal Protestant Queen who, through a Protestant alliance with German states (a diplomatic task partly entrusted to the young Sidney), sought to hold sway over a Pax imperij against the Hapsburg powers. "It is in the poetic expression of this outlook", says Yates, "that Bruno draws closest to the Elizabethans"⁶⁹. To give something of the flavour of the patriotic cult of the Queen we need only look at some of the poetic addresses which she received as New Year's gifts (Cotton MSS Vespasian E.8)⁷⁰. One anonymous poet vaunts the Queen above other goddesses, in imitation of the mythic trial of Paris :

I am not rapte in Junoe's spheare,
Nor with dame Venus lovelye hewe;
But here on earthe I serve and feare,
O mayde Minerve, thine ydoll true,
Whose power prevayles in war and peace,
So as thy raigne can no tyme cease
Princesse, yoe have the doom that I can give...
I have vowed while I live,
T'adore all three godheads in your owne starre.

This poetic tribute, says the poet in his dedication, is to show that "Wisdom in a Princesse is...not to be reputed an humane, but rather a divine perfection". Likewise another respectful subject, addressing her as "Pallas, Goddess soverayne", pledges :

To kisse the shadowe of thy footstepe
Thy lyvinge ymage to adore,
Yealding thee all earthly honore,
Not earthlye, no, but all divyne,⁷¹
Takinge for one thys hymne of myne!

This worship of Elizabeth as an earthly goddess fitted in well with the poetic revolution of the time, which sought such pretexts for imitating the mythological hymns of exalted love produced by Italian and French Neoplatonic poets. The mythical status of the Queen's virginity was immortalized by an appropriately chaste Platonic style, which derogated conventional amorous themes :

Ovid helde trayne in Venus courte, and servde...
Martyres of love who...broylde in his flames,
Cupide kindled the fyres of Properse,
Tibullus teares bayned Neaera's herse;
And Lady Laura her graces that growe greene;
By Dan Petrarche of Tuskan poets prince,
Anacreon sange all in his wanton spleene...
I sing noe...
Amorous odes or elegies in teen,

But in chast style am borne, as I weene, ⁷²
To blazon foorthe the Briton mayden Queene.

It is easy to see how well Bruno's spiritualized Petrarchan poetry fitted in with this new "chast style" of poetry, even to the extent of incorporating allusions to the Queen into his essentially philosophical themes. In his time at court Bruno was made familiar with this cult of the Queen. As we saw earlier, his continued presence before the Queen taught him that "in Inghilterra...suole dar questo titolo 'Diva' alla Regina"⁷³. In the Dialoghi Bruno makes frequent mention of "Diva Elizabetta"⁷⁴, and praises her "universale monarchia"⁷⁵, declaring that she equalled any king in the world (this theme will be expanded further in chapter four below), but it is in the Eroici Furori that this immersion in the Elizabeth cult reaches a pinnacle. He opens the dialogues of this work with a sonnet addressed to "[le]piú virtuose e leggiadre dame" of England. This "iscusazion del Nolano" is simultaneously a studied compliment to Elizabeth, and an apology for a philosophy which rejects earthly beauty for a higher one :

De l'Inghilterra o vaghe Ninfe e belle,
Non voi ha nostro spirto in schifo, e sdegna,
...Se non convien che femine v' appelle...
Son certo che voi dive mi convegna,
Se l'influsso comun in voi non regna,
E siete in terra, ch' in ciel, ⁷⁶stelle.
De voi, o Dame, la beltà sovrana
Nostro rigor né morder può né vuole
Che non fa mira a specie soprumana.
Lungi arsenico tal quindi s' invole,
Dove si scorge l'unica Diana,
Qual' è tra voi quel che tra gli astri il sole. ⁷⁶

Firstly Bruno is being careful not to offend English noblewomen with his savage outbursts against women in the "argomento", where he damns female beauty as "un Circeo incantesimo" which is actually "una bottega...[de] sporcarie, tossichi e veneni"⁷⁷. He is aspiring, he says, to a beauty above their "specie soprumana". This beauty is the beloved of his sonnets, Diana, who represents the deum in rebus : "la natura comprensibile, in cui influisce il sole ed il splendor della natura superiore, secondo che la unità è destinata nella generata"⁷⁸, functioning as the abstraction of all physical beauty does in the Symposium, as a means to rise to the even greater beauty of heaven (Apollo, "il sole" in Bruno's philosophy). But at the same time as apologising for his rejection of earthly beauty, Bruno is making an oblique reference to "l'unica Diana" amongst court ladies, Elizabeth the "mayden Queene". This double

implication is thence carried over into the dialogues, so that in each affirmation of the virtues and powers of his divinity (or at least the immanent aspect of his dual Godhead) he is re-iterating his praise of Elizabeth as "diva", "Not earthlye...but all divyne"⁷⁹. An apposite example of this Diana / Elizabeth ambiguity is to be found in the sonnet 'Venere, dea del terzo ciel' in which Bruno makes virtually the same flattering comparison as our anonymous poet above :

Il troiano pastor chiaman, che squadre
De chi de lor piu' bella è l'aureo muno.
Se la mia diva al paragon s' appone
Non di Venere, Pallade, o Giunone....
Ma quest' ha quanto aggrade⁸⁰
Di bel, d' intelligenza e maestade.

To the extent that Bruno's goddess Diana has been identified at the outset with Elizabeth, the two poets make identical tributes, but whereas the anonymous poet was concerned merely to vaunt the "divine wisdom" of his "Princess", Bruno's underlying intentions, as expounded in his commentary, are of a more philosophical nature. The three goddesses represent for Bruno an inferior beauty, one which is beautiful merely "per partecipazione e derivativa-⁸¹mente", which is to say that they are imperfect reflections of a higher beauty (from whence their beauty is derived). But his goddess possesses an infinite beauty, because "nella simplicità della divina essenza è tutto totalmente", and "Tutte queste perfezioni sono uguali, perché sono infinite"⁸². His beloved, because she is divinity itself, "comprende la perfezione de tutte l'altre specie altissimamente"⁸³. This is a perfect example of how Bruno uses the Elizabeth cult themes to further his political and philosophical ends at the same time, by expounding his Platonic ideas in the form of a mythology which also functions as a personal and political compliment to the English Queen. This ambiguity of course was not alien to the English manifestations of this cult. "There is a tendency", Yates said, "for Virgo-Astraea-Elizabeth to expand until she fills the universe"⁸⁴ (in a famous engraving from J. Case's Sphaera Civitatis of 1588, Elizabeth is depicted enveloping a diagram of the solar-system)⁸⁵ and she also stresses the Neoplatonism of her political apologists : "The imperial cult has constantly drawn to itself a philosophical justification...drawing on the imperialist tradition not only in the political, but also in the religious, philosophical and poetic sense"⁸⁶. In poetic expression the cult of Elizabeth reached one of its apogees (the other being the

festive-dramatic medium of the chivalrous tournament or spectacle), in works such as Spenser's Faerie Queene, a romantic, chivalrous epic shot through with Neoplatonic learning (both thematically and structurally in its deployment of numerological form) or Sir John Davies' Hymns to Astraea. In its choice of imagery at many points the Eroici Furori shows Bruno to have been sympathetic to this English propaganda, and that he "may have been intentionally linking his philosophical dialogues with the chivalrous romance woven around the Virgin Queen"⁸⁷. The fifth dialogue of part one, for instance, foregrounds the Elizabethan taste for the enigmatic imprese of the Italians, recalling their use in the spectacles and entertainments organized by Sir Henry Lee and others to honour the Queen. Yates herself noted this in her 1957 article on the Accession-Day Tilts, in which the romantic imagery of amour courtois, the chivalric code revived by Ramon Lull,⁸⁸ and the epic romances of France and Italy were integrated with Neoplatonic elements to form a powerful Imperialist propaganda :

The Eroici Furori reflects...[the imagery of] the Accession Day Tilts, in which knights presented shields with devices on them to Elizabeth...In the Eroici a set of emblems or imprese is in ⁸⁹ the form of shields which the heroic enthusiasts come in bearing.

If we consider that the Eroici was published in the same year as the volume celebrating and recording the 1575 entertainment at Woodstock,⁹⁰ we will realise how much he was fashioning this scene to the current tastes of the English court. Having described the state of the furioso as a battlefield between "la ragione" and "gli émpiti naturali"⁹¹ in his sonnet 'Chiama per suon di tromba il capitano', a "milizia" or "guerra civile" of the psyche, Bruno turns this key dialogue (I,v) into an extended military parade symbolically expressing the subtleties of the battle in armorial emblems with mottoes and poems attached :

Vedi come portano l'insegne de gli suoi affetti o fortune.
Lasciamo di considerar su gli lor nomi ed abiti; basta che stiano su la significazion de l'imprese ed intelligenza de la scrittura, tanto quella che è messa per forma del corpo de la imagine, quanto l'altra ch' è messa per il piú de le volte a dichiarazion de l'impresa.⁹²

Not only does this combination of emblems and poetry recall the productions of French Neoplatonic poets such as Maurice Scève (whose Delie, objet de la plus haute vertu is a sequence of dizains separated by emblems), but it also bears a close resemblance to the tributes received by Queen Elizabeth on her "progresses" around the aristocratic residences of England, such as those at Hawsted in 1577, where her lodgings were liberally decorated

with emblems and mottoes, English and Latin poems venerating her as Goddess, Petrarchan heroine or Protestant Warrior.⁹³ Bruno cements this amalgam by including amongst his mottoes Elizabeth's own, "Idem Semper". This is attached to the sonnet 'Quando declin' il sol al Capricorno'⁹⁴ which is an exposition of the infinity of his Godhead, whose "splendore [attivo]" irradiates endlessly throughout the cosmos. The theoretical basis of Bruno's emblematicism suggests further Elizabethan connections. One of his interlocutors claims that the "Idem semper" emblem is particularly fine, commenting that : "Tanto il senso è piú eccellente,¹ quanto è men volgare; il qual vedrete essere solo, unico e non stiracchiato".⁹⁵ These virtues reflect the rules of Paolo Giovo'sⁱ treatise on the construction of imprese, the Dialogo dell' Imprese Militari e Amoroze (1574).⁹⁶ It was this work that the young poet and affiliate of the Sidney circle Samuel Daniel translated into English in 1585, and in which Giordano Bruno's words on translation are quoted by the derisive "N.W". In the year of Bruno's departure the first English emblem-book emerged, Geoffry Whitney's Booke of Emblemes (1585) – in its emblematicism Bruno's Eroici was evidently crafted to reflect the very latest interests of court-intellectuals. There also seems to be an affinity (whether deliberate or accidental is uncertain) between some of Bruno's imagery in the Eroici and some of the allegories enacted at English Tilt-ceremonies. In 1575 the Tilt-ceremony organized by Henry Lee shows a blind hermit receiving illumination from the Queen.⁹⁷ This particular episode receives a long treatment in the second part of the Eroici Furori in the allegory of the nine ciechi. The immediate source of Bruno's inspiration is said to have been Marc-Antonio Epicuro's Dialoghi di tre ciechi or Cercaria (1525) a tragi-comic pastoral eclogue in which three lovers lose sight of divine-beauty, and wish for their death, only to regain their vision when a priest of love leads them to a Temple of Love to invoke mercy from their ladies. Nonetheless, the final dialogue of the Eroici brings the theme of this dramatic eclogue into the atmosphere of the 1575 entertainment by setting the lovers or furiosi into a pastoral vision of Elizabeth's court (recalling the picture of England as an "eternal spring" in the Spaccio), and giving the key role to the "unique Diana" and chief of the English "nymphs", Elizabeth. This dazzling mythological episode begins with the nine ciechi, lovers spurned by an archetypal Petrarchan heroine Giulia, fleeing to the ancient caves of the Mountain of Circe where "essendo gionti, dalla maestà del luogo ermo, de le ventose, eminenti e fragose rupi, del mormorio de l'onde maritime, che vanno a frangersi in quella cavita-di...vennero

tutti come ispirati⁹⁸". They are suddenly transported to a supernatural palace, overseen by Circe who is presented as a type of magus : "che con le piante, minerali, veneficii ed incanti era potente di mettere come il freno alla natura"⁹⁹ (The imagination of Bruno was no doubt still full of the startling images of the 1581 Joyeuse spectacle which he witnessed in Paris, which featured a Neoplatonic allegory of Circe, presenting her in a similar magical role). As daughter of Apollo in mythology Circe becomes for Bruno another symbol of the vestigial divinity of God immanent in the material universe. Like Diana she "blinds" the furiosi with "waters" for directing their gaze too high (this "blindness" symbolizes the imperfect apprehension of God by man through "[il]difetto dell' humano sguardo e potenza apprensiva de cose divine"¹⁰⁰). Circe gives the furiosi the means to an illumination, without the ability to achieve it. Instead she sends them on a quest in search of revelation :

...o curiosi ingegni,
 Prendete un altro mio vase fatale,
 Che mia mano medesima aprir non vale;
 Per largo e per profondo
 Peregrinate il mondo
 Cercate tutti i numerosi regni :
 Perché vuol il destin che discuoperto
 Mai vegna, se non quando alta sagezza g
 E nobil castità giunte a bellezza
 V' applicaran le mani.¹⁰¹

When they find this country, and the ideal woman with "due piú vaghe al mondo stelle"¹⁰³, their cruel torment will be changed to miraculous content, and they will receive "la virtù divina".¹⁰⁴ After lamenting their plight to the "Leggiadre Ninfe, ch' a l'erbose sponde / Del Tamesi"¹⁰⁵, the furiosi implore them to try and open the "closed vessel". The Thames "Da basso in su rimonte / Riserpendo al suo fonte"¹⁰⁶, becomes a symbol of Bruno's "religione della mente", searching for the fons origio of originary theological truth and prime unity of Godhead : "il fonte de...tutte specie...vera essenza de l'essere de tutti"¹⁰⁷ (Was Bruno aware of the Egyptian denomination of the Thames' source, the river Isis?). Naturally the beauty which the furiosi seek, at the literal level of the allegory, is Elizabeth herself, who (after the other nymphs have failed) opens the vessel "come spontaneamente, s' asperse da se stesso"¹⁰⁸, which immediately frees the furiosi from their bondage :

Come possete credere ch' io possa esprimere l'estrema allegrezza de nove ciechi...apríro gli occhi e veddero gli doi soli, e trovarono aver doppia felicitade : l'una della ricovrata già persa luce, l'altra della nuovamente discuoperta, che sola possea mostrargli l'immagine del

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 sommo bene in terra?

Elizabeth is the centre of an allegory describing the progress of the furioso from the chaos of nature (Circe) to an understanding of the ordering harmony of God's presence in nature (Diana / Elizabeth). Elizabeth's "spontaneous" opening of the vessel represents Bruno's belief in Plotinus' "sudden revelation" as the only true access to God, albeit prepared by meticulous intellectual stimulus.

This episode is a superb example of Bruno's ability to interweave his "nuova filosofia" with the themes and concerns of his various European audiences, amongst whom he hoped to find both potential patrons and supporters for his Egyptian-magical religion. Whether we see him in Paris after the Joyeuse spectacle of 1581 compiling a mnemonic fantasy based on the Circes figure in his Cantus Circaeus (1582), or in England reflecting the potent imagery of Elizabethan propaganda in a vision of England as a utopian, pastoral idyll of Hermetic renewal, Bruno is always impressive in his synthetic imagination, and his creative ability to construct a highly personal discourse out of the disjecta membra of his host's cultural milieu. As we shall see later (in chapter four), Bruno made a number of attempts in the Dialoghi Italiani to enmesh Elizabeth in his philosophical project, and to align himself with English poetic tastes, and to this extent at least he deserves ^{Yates'} epiphany, bestowing upon him the title of honorary "Elizabethan". This leads us on to a consideration of Yates claims about Bruno's specific influence on Elizabethan poets, and some of her critical detractors. As we have seen, Bruno was certainly "Elizabethan" in his literary output, even if superficially, in pursuit of preferment at the English court. But was there a two-way traffic of ideas, did the startling exuberance of Bruno's imagination inspire and influence the poets of the court? Yates obviously thought that the answer to this question was "yes".

Yates' hypotheses and her critics.

As early as 1936 in her study of Love's Labour's Lost Yates was intrigued by the possibility of Bruno's influence on English poets. In her chapter 'Bruno and Stella', Yates says that Bruno was "taken to a considerable extent into Sidney's confidence",¹¹⁰ and that Sidney's championing of "Nobler desires" in Astrophel and Stella¹¹¹ and his interest in Platonic love

(she particularly emphasises Sidney's sonnet 'Splendidis longum valedico nugis') meant that this poetry "may have been written under Bruno's influence"¹¹², and that the Eroici Furori could be seen as a "guide to Sidney's state of mind"¹¹³. Astrophel and Stella to Yates is essentially a philosophical sonnet-sequence :

It shows us the struggles of a philosopher with distractions...
Astrophel the poet is always being bullied by Astrophel the philosopher, and sternly told that it is a waste of time to observe the fashionable blackness of Stella's eyes when... to seek heaven's course and heaven's inside...is the only goal worth striving after.¹¹⁴

She unravels a complex thread connecting Bruno's Eroici to Sidney's Astrophel in John Florio's Second Fruits,¹¹⁵ and thence into Shakespeare's Love's Labour's Lost which, according to Yates, contains an "inkling...of the Eroici Furori...[and] distinct traces of Astrophel and Stella"¹¹⁷ in its criticism of the rejection of earthly love for Platonic learning.

Yates furthered this argument about Bruno's influence on English poets in her 1943 essay on Bruno and the Elizabethan poets, where she suggests that the Eroici was highly influential :

Its qualities were bound to appeal strongly to the passionate and profound Elizabethan temperament, and it indicated to the rising generation of English poets a way of using Petrarchism which would make it, not a delayed imitation of a fashion now nearly two hundred years old, but a channel for the spiritual life of Europe in its present-day manifestations.¹¹⁹

She also suggests that Sidney, being the dedicatee of the Spaccio and the Eroici, was the poet who required particular attention : "the whole range of imagery used by Bruno in the Furori and By Sidney in Astrophel and Stella ought to be carefully compared"¹²⁰. In this essay she refines her definition of Sidney as a philosophical poet (which, as we shall see in chapter two is a point of contention) : "Read in the light of the Eroici", Yates says, "Sidney's sonnets are seen to be, like Bruno's, a spiritual autobiography, reflecting in terms of Petrarchan emblems, the moods of a soul seeking God"¹²¹.

In addition to Sidney's Astrophel Yates now extends her hypothesis to cover Greville's Caelica. Greville, she says "[uses] the lyrical statement in conjunction with the philosophical statement in exactly Bruno's manner"¹²². She also deals briefly with Samuel Daniel's Delia, Michael Drayton's Idea's Mirror and Shakespeare's sonnets. In the final analysis Yates seemed to believe that if we investigated "what [the] picture-language of the Petrarchan

conceit meant to the Elizabethans"¹²³ we would find that it increasingly resembled Bruno's "emblematic conceit" (by which Yates means "spiritual and philosophical meanings latent in the imagery"¹²⁴ in the manner of the Song of Songs). Although Yates never followed up this hypothesis herself, she re-articulated it frequently in subsequent works.¹²⁵ Her suggestions have, however, stimulated some adverse criticisms from scholars who believe that she severely overestimated the extent of Bruno's influence. The critics of Yates' position are united in a tendency to try and defeat her argument through appeals to factors outside of the poetic texts themselves. Their attitudes towards the possibility of Bruno's influence are typically curt and unsubstantiated disclaimers, such as Arnolfo Ferruolo's statement that "non possa trovarsi nel poeta elisabettano [Sidney] alcuna influenza bruniana"¹²⁶, or Angelo Pellegrini's claim that :

There is nothing in the sonnet-sequence which may be reasonably interpreted as 'the struggles of a philosopher with distractions'. Taken as a whole, the sonnets are a gay, and unqualified celebration of Sidney's love for Stella.¹²⁷

Joan Rees has been equally dismissive of Yates' claim of Brunian influence on Caelica, which she feels "pushes the case for Bruno's influence too far"¹²⁸. The fact is, far more reliance is placed by Yates' critics on the lack of documentary evidence, or the construction of antipathetic characterologies than on any actual analysis of the hypothesis. Andrew Weiner, for instance, "proves" (to his satisfaction) the failure of Bruno to influence the Sidney circle by building up a picture of Sidney and his friends as unsympathetic to Hermetic philosophy (he attempts to show that Sidney's friend Du Plessis Mornay "was not a Hermeticist ...but is instead arguing against the interest in French court-circles in the prisci theologi,¹²⁹ and that his friendship with John Dee was expedient, and in spite of his magical Neoplatonist learning),¹³⁰ and tries to show that they were severely opposed to Bruno's offer of a "hand of friendship" from Henri III.¹³¹ Weiner also tries to derive some significance from some supposed involuntary sleights against Sidney's family in the Dialoghi. Taken together these points (some highly dubious) do not constitute a refutation of Yates' position, or even attempt a verification. Similar antipathies are constructed by Ferruolo and Pellegrini who contrast a Petrarchist, unphilosophical, "courtly" Sidney, to an anti-Petrarchist, profoundly ascetic and philosophical Bruno. Sidney, Pellegrini concludes, "lacked both the

talents and interests necessary to make him understand and appreciate the genius of Giordano Bruno"¹³². These studies share a common failing – they make no attempt to scrutinise the various uses to which Bruno and the Elizabethan sonneteers put their shared Petrarchan or mythological iconography, even going so far in some cases as to deny this common imagery. Even to the casual reader there is an immediate sense of generic similarity in imagery. Even Ferruolo reluctantly concedes that "i due canzonieri [mostrano] una sorprendente somiglianza, e spesso un' assoluta identità di stato d'animo"¹³³. What is necessary in order to properly answer the question of Bruno's influence, as Yates suggested in her 1943 essay, is a systematic comparison of the imagery of both Bruno's Eroici Furori and those of the "Areopagus" sonneteers.

While Yates' claims concerning Bruno's influence on Sir Philip Sidney and other sonnet-writers in his circle have elicited a certain amount of critical controversy, her claims regarding the poets of the Earl of Northumberland's "School of Night" or "Raleigh group" have to the best of my knowledge been met with a critical silence. In her study of Love's Labour's Lost Yates suggested that "Those who would seek Bruno's influence in England, should, in my opinion, study the output of the Raleigh group on its poetic no less than on its scientific side"¹³⁴. In particular she felt that the "nocturnal obscurities of George Chapman"¹³⁵ could reveal affinities with the philosophy of Bruno, and my research into a copy of the Degli Eroici Furori owned and annotated by the Earl of Northumberland convinced me that a study of Chapman and Bruno's poetry in the context of the Northumberland circle would be desirable.

Plan of Present Study.

Despite the emphasis before Yates' hypothesis on the links between Bruno and Edmund Spenser¹³⁶ (and especially his Fowre Hymnes), and the undoubted usefulness of pursuing this question to a satisfactory conclusion, for the purposes of my analysis the field of investigation as far as the "Areopagus" poets are concerned will be restricted to the potential influence of Bruno's Eroici on the two poets stressed in Yates' 1943 essay, and singled out by Bruno in his Dialoghi as potential allies – Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Fulke Greville.

The purpose of my thesis with regard to these two poets has been firstly to establish

whether or not there is any evidence in their sonnet-sequences of the influence of Bruno's Degli Eroici Furori, and secondly, whether the Petrarchism of the English poets might more properly be viewed in relation to the long and diverse Italian Petrarchan tradition which also forms the background of Bruno's Petrarchism. To this end I have devoted the first chapter of my thesis to a prefatory historical sketch of the Italian Petrarch-commentary tradition in the sixteenth-century - which includes annotated editions of the Canzoniere, the lezioni of Academicians and other, more oblique forms of "commentary" on Petrarch's poetry. This tradition was obviously very influential, and played a major role in moulding the perceptions of Petrarch by those who chose to imitate him, and in particular stimulated spiritual or Neoplatonic uses of Petrarchan imagery by emphasising the philosophical character of the Italian's love-poetry. Given Yates' emphasis on the "emblematic [Petrarchan] conceit" which veils "spiritual and philosophical meanings"¹³⁷ an understanding of how this idea developed during the course of the sixteenth century is imperative. Without this historical-critical context, it would be difficult to understand why Elizabethan poets expected Petrarchan sonnets to deal with "nobler desires", or why Giordano Bruno thought of his Eroici Furori sonnets as philosophical love-songs "simile a quello di Salomone".¹³⁸

In the second chapter I begin by looking a little further into the origins of Neoplatonic Petrarchism - in particular at the Italian Humanist idea of the poeta theologus, and the Italian tradition of annotated love-poetry. This is followed by a brief sketch of Bruno's Neoplatonic "religione della mente" and how this is reflected in the Petrarchism of the Eroici Furori, and a look at the Neoplatonism of Sidney manifested in his Apology for Poetry and translation of Du Plessis Mornay. I then move on to the comparative analysis of the poetic imagery of Sidney's Astrophel and Stella and Bruno's Eroici Furori, concluding with a brief look at other possible sources of Elizabethan Petrarchism.

In chapter three my comparative analysis of Fulke Greville's Caelica is preceded by a consideration of the increasing "pietization" of the Elizabethan sonnet from 1580 to the early seventeenth-century, and the role played in this by Puritan criticism and the muse chrettienne of Sallust du Bartas - a poet of no little relevance to the devotional orientation of Greville's later sonnets and like Bruno influential in bringing "divine rage and sacred instinct" to the forefront of Renaissance poetry.

In my final chapter I move outside of the confines of the "Areopagus" group to look at the possibility of the influence of Bruno's Eroici Furori on the philosophical poetry of George Chapman, and the possible role played in this by Chapman's patron Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland, who collected Bruno's philosophical works, and himself annotated a copy of the Eroici Furori now at Petworth House. The Chapman poems which I have examined in relation to Bruno's dialogue are the sonnet-sequence Coronet for his Mistresse Philosophy, Ovid's Banquet of Sence, and the Shadow of Night, the last of which was particularly singled out by Yates as deserving of attention.

Chapter One - Petrarch-commentaries of the sixteenth-century and the context
of Petrarchan Poetry

To come to an understanding of the kind of Petrarchism practiced by Bruno and Elizabethan poets like Sidney and Greville (or indeed of any Petrarchan poet of that time) it is necessary to understand the diverse ways in which the Italian text of the Canzoniere reached its Renaissance audience, for the poetry was transmitted, whole or fragmented (sometimes altered or corrupted) through an army of annotators and critics. Whenever a Renaissance poet picked up an edition of Petrarch he also picked up any number of exegetical overlays through which its meanings were refracted, and by which the text was physically surrounded. In addition, numberless lectures and treatises on Petrarch rolled off the Italian presses, to be diffused throughout Europe, taking with them conceptions of the poet and his intentions. For this reason it is unwise to speak of 'Petrarchism' per se, as if it were a homogenous field, but rather of 'Petrarchisms', for it is a plural context, a mass of related discourses, ideologies and concepts into which any particular imitative moment, any individual poet must be mapped, as on to a matrix of influences.

This holds true for English poets as much as it does for Italians, for in spite of George Watson's rather absurd claim that : "The plain fact is that in Renaissance England Petrarch was a name rather than a book", a "fact" which seems to be deduced solely from the grounds that "the Canzoniere was never printed in any language [in England]"¹, the truth of the matter is that English poets were able to gain a direct knowledge of Petrarch's poetry, and his commentators. Henry Constable in his Diana (1594), for instance, entitled one of his sonnets : "To his Mistresse upon occasion of a Petrarch he gave her, shewing her the Reason why the Italian commentres dissent so much in the Exposition thereof"². This title, (ironically enough quoted by Watson just before his dismissal of Petrarch's readership in England) clearly shows that, firstly, copies of Petrarch were available, and common enough to be given as gifts; and secondly, that English readers like Constable had seen enough of them to form an opinion on how their interpretations differed. A copy of George Gascoigne's Petrarch, with annotations by Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo is still extant³, while the impact these commentators made on a number of English poets is evidenced by a small, but growing amount of critical studies, showing, for example, how Sir Thomas Wyatt, one of the

first English Petrarchizers, made use of the commentaries of Alessandro Velutello and others, and how Edmund Spenser's Amoretti were influenced by the commentary of Gesualdo.⁴

The famous anglicised Italian and friend of Giordano Bruno, John Florio, entered in the preface of his Italian dictionary Queen Anna's New World of Words (1611), compiled whilst he lived in London, a list of the books he consulted in compiling the dictionary, which includes G.A.Gesualdo's Petrarch, and that of Francesco Alunno (in addition to Dante commentaries by Velutello, B.Daniello and C.Landino).⁵ Most of the books he lists were read between the compilation of his first dictionary in 1598, and the second of 1611. This means that a steady flow of Italian literature was probably entering the country by means of the resident Italian population of bankers, diplomats, publishers and Protestant refugees - people like John Florio, and Sidney and Spenser's friend Lodowyck Bryskett (born Lodovico Bruschetto). Evidence is also to be found in the literary works of the period. Thomas Watson's Hekatompathia or Passionate Centurie of Love (1582), the first of the Elizabethan sonnet-sequences to be published, quotes the sources for his sonnets, which include lines not only from Petrarch, but Serafino d'Aquila, Girolamo Parabosco and other later Petrarchists, all quoted in Italian.⁶ Sidney too, in his Apology, shows in his discussions of Italian rhymes that he was accustomed to reading Italian verse,⁷ while the glosses to Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar show an acquaintance with the techniques of the Italian commentaries, in addition to quoting Petrarch in the Italian.⁸

Indicators such as these show that George Watson's claim that the English poets did not have direct knowledge of Petrarch is obviously mistaken, and knowledge of the interpreters of the Canzoniere must inevitably have played a part in the process of composing Petrarchan sonnets in English, just as it played its part with Bruno's sonnets, or those of any other Italian Petrarchist. More than this, such critical attitudes to the Petrarchan originals actually fashioned their idea of what Petrarchism was, or ought to be.

The Petrarchan iconography presented the sixteenth-century poet with an easily identifiable set of conventions, which through their pictorial and easily intelligible qualities were able to cross linguistic boundaries. These conventions accumulated multiple significations in the cultural mind during their long migration from the fourteenth to the sixteenth century, significations enriched by two interconnected traditions of love-poetry :

that of the spiritual, dolce stil nuovo conception of exalted love, and its later integration into Neoplatonic love-theory, and the elegiac-lyrical eroticism derived from the Classics (Ovid, Propertius, Tibullus, and Catullus and those of the Anacreonta and the Greek Anthology). These two traditions, which can be simplified as virtuous or Platonic love, and Classical, Erotic love, were supported respectively (with some interpenetration and mutual influence : see for example, the Neo-Latin Petrarchism of Landino's Xandra, which is Propertian, or Naldi's, which is Catullan) by Platonic criticism, and Humanist Philological criticism (including rhetoric and grammar). These two modes of criticism loosely correspond to the separation of literary communication (sermone) expounded, among others, by Cristoforo Landino in his influential Prolusione Petrarquesca (c1467) :

Niuno di voi dubita che ogni sermone ha bisogno di parole e di sentenzie. Le parole senza arte sempre fieno inette perché mancheranno di composizione, mancheranno di dignità. Le sentenzie, le quali non saranno tratte da veri studi d'umanità, sempre fieno e frivoli e leggieri, né mai potra avete lo scrittore gravità o buon succo o nervi nello stile quando non sia, se non al tutto dotto, almanco introdotto in filosofia.⁹

To the Renaissance Humanist, literature did need, nonetheless, Classical eloquence and rhetorical power to be combined with doctrine and philosophical wisdom. Without both, literature could be neither truly eloquent, nor truly learned, as Landino affirms quoting Horace : "a voi basti l'auttorità d'Orazio el quale nell'Arte Poetica dice che 'il fonte e l'origine dell'ornato stile è la dottrina la quale le socratiche' idest le filosofiche 'carte ci possono dimostrare"¹⁰. The commentaries of Petrarch's Canzoniere (which is a blend of Provençal-stil nuovo and Classical love traditions) emphasise both his philosophy of noble love and moral sentenzie, and his Classical imitation and eloquence, both the secular and sacred amorous themes, the Platonic and the erotic strains which they found there.

This ambiguity of love in the Canzoniere meant that Petrarch became a universal commodity, a common language for amorous poets, "il testo di tutti, pii o empi, religiosi o mondani"¹¹, and this diversity of employment was facilitated by his commentators, and by a growing band of imitators and letterati who produced lezioni on the poet's works. Petrarchism, as Giulio Marzot has said, "si irraggiò...nella cultura e nelle forme stesse della vita sociale", so much so that "nel testo dal Petrarca, e in quello dei suoi imitatori minori...pullula una innumerevole letteratura"¹². This innumerable literature

was in many ways a continuation of the mediaeval tradition of commentary (on the Church fathers, the scriptures, the Classics) into the Renaissance, burgeoning into a ceaseless enthusiasm for exegetical and encyclopaedic works; indexes, catalogues and reference works sprung up in all areas of knowledge. With the great upsurge of interest in the Italian vernacular, begun by Quattrocento Humanists such as Landino, and blossoming in the two decades separating the publication of Pietro Bembo's Prose delle volgar lingua (1525) and Sperone Speroni's Della Lingua (1542) native poetry became classicized, rehabilitated as equivalents (and sometimes superiors) to Homer and Virgil, Catullus and Anacreon. By imitating the Latins as the Latins themselves imitated Greek literature Landino said, Petrarch and the Tuscan language earns itself a classical status :

dobbiamo con buone sicurit  in questo imitare e' nostri
padri latini e come quegli con la greca la loro ornarono,
cosi noi la nostra con la latina.¹³

Petrarch's equivalence with the Classics is implicit in Landino's rebuttal of those who think his lectures on Petrarch are "piu' tosto di repreensione che di laude degna : stimandosi...che questo medesimo tempo piu' utilmente nella investigazione o delle latine o delle greche lettere spender si potessi"¹⁴. Petrarch, lauded by Landino as being "di quanto acume nelle invenzioni...di quanti vari ornamenti nelle elocuzioni!"¹⁵, was deemed worthy, through his wise sentenzie and felicitous elocuzioni, to be subjected to the same rigorous linguistic, philological and moral exegeses as had hitherto been exerted on Latin poets or Classical mythology; he was becoming a paragon of his native Humanists. In particular the integration of Petrarch's "fenomenologia amorosa" into the Neoplatonic philosophy of love revived by the Florentine Academy of Marsilio Ficino,¹⁶ catalysed a still greater outpouring of annotation in the following century. The esteem in which Petrarch was held by these learned annotaters is descibed (perhaps a little unkindly) by the urbane eighteenth-century encyclopaedist Girolamo Tiraboschi as "idolatry" :

Ogni voce, ogni sillaba, da lui usata era oggetto di ammirazione
...quella infinita copia di lezioni, di spiegazioni, di
dissertazioni, su qualche tratto di quel poeta; opuscoli pieni
per lo piu d'inutili speculazioni, e abbandonati omai alla polvere
e alle tignuole.¹⁷

Useless or not, these speculations undoubtedly had a profound effect on the reception of the Petrarchan text, and on the imitation which it instigated throughout the length and breadth of Europe.

The bombardment of Petrarch's poetry by diverse speculations led to what Marzot calls "un processo di contristamento", a loosening by which the Petrarchan form was dissociated from its original "sustanza spirituale",¹⁸ and released onto an ocean of various applications. As I have suggested already, the principal antagonism in these applications is between the sacred and profane, illustrated clearly by a comparison of two conflicting uses of the same Petrarchan motif (an adaptation of Ovid's Jovian metamorphosis, which forms part of the tissue of mythical mutations in Rime 23), first in a sonnet from the Eroici Furori :

Quel dio che scuote il folgore sonoro,
Asterie vedde furtivo aquilone,
Memosine pastor, Danae oro,
Almena pesce, Antiopa caprone...
Io per l'altezza de l'oggetto mio
Da soggetto piú vil dovegno un dio.¹⁹

And then from a sonnet by the Elizabethan poet Barnabe Barnes :

Jove for Europa's love tooke shape of Bull,
And for Calisto playde Dianae's parte,
And in a golden shower he filled full
The lap of Danae with coelestiall arte,
Would I were chang'd but to my mistresse' glove.²⁰

The bathetic exchange here of 'god' for 'glove' may be humorous, but it bears important witness to the 'distress' of the Petrarchan form. The competition of the various interpretations of Petrarch led to a diversity of employments, a simultaneous de-sacralization and spiritualization of the Petrarchan conceit. On the one hand a rarefaction of love-psychology to express a mystical love of the mens for the divine countenance; on the other a flippant piece of amorous love-play. The complexion of the Petrarchan beloved, therefore, could easily find itself as part of a Christian epic, such as Giles Fletcher's Christ's Victorie on Earth, where Jesus is described with a sensuality akin to that of Solomon's Song of Songs :

His cheekes as snowie apples sop't in wine,
Had their red roses quencht with lilies white,
And like to garden strawberries did shine,
Washt in a bowle of milke, or rose-buds bright,
Unbosoming their breasts against the light.²¹

Or as part of a lingering, erotic description of the female form, as we find in Robert Greene's 'A most rare and excellent dream' from the Phoenix Nest (1593), which transposes

Petrarch's theme of the beloved appearing in a dream (see Rime 340-345) into an altogether less chaste atmosphere :

The forehead...
 For whiteness striveth with untouched snow....
 Hir cheekes resembleth right a garden plot
 Of divers sorts of rare carnation flowres...
 Heere Venus with hir little loves reposes,
 Amongst the lilies and the damaske roses...
 There was, as I observ'd next to hir skin,
 A snow-white lawne, transparent as the aire,
 And over this a garment wondrous thin...
 Hir moving breasts as equall promontories
 Divided by an Indraft from the maine
 Doe imitate the gently moved seas,
 That rising fall, and falling rise againe...
 Next neighbour heerunto in due discent,
 Hir bellie plaine, the bed of namelesse blisse.²²

Both of these impulses are, of course, manifest in the Italian tradition itself, in the antagonism between the exalted, religious verse of the dolce stil nuovo, and their Platonic descendants like Alessandro Velutello, whose own sonnets depict Petrarch's "illustre guerra" as nothing less than "il dolce foco di celeste amore"²³; and the secular, suave verse of the court strambottisti, who while nursing the urbane virtues of eloquence, the spensieratezza^a and ghirbizzo of the polished courtier, used to deal with titillating, or blatantly erotic content.

A battle was being fought for Petrarch's soul, between those who thought he spoke of the venial lover's heart, which is:

un fornace ardente, recettaculo de fiamme, Etna e insule
 vulcanie de incendi e vapori piene.... [un] segno
 enposto ad venetate e mortifere saette.

and used him to give vent to their own passions (or reprehended him for his profanity); and those who responded to the spiritual, Augustinian morality of the Rime, who thought his true concern was for noble lovers who,

mille volte replicando, dicono divini moti, angelici costumi,
 celesti portamenti, li acti vaghi e adorni, parole che 'l mar
 fan tranquillo, de oro li crini, di hebeno le ciglia, li occhi
 due fulgenti stelle, di rose purpuree le guancie...²⁴

In order to come to an understanding of the diverse applications of the Petrarchan text, and especially the divergence between sacred-philosophical interpretations of divine love in Petrarch, and secular-amorous interpretations of vulgar love, and the literary practices

which enshrined them, I have selected for analysis a broad selection of Petrarchan commentaries from the sixteenth century : annotations, spiritualizations, and lezioni, works which were available to Bruno and the Elizabethan poets, and which must have shaped their opinions of what could, or should, be done in the Petrarchan form. These works are typical of the kinds of shutter through which the Renaissance reader gazed upon the beauties of the Canzoniere.

I shall deal with these works in chronological order, that is to say, according to the dates of their original publication. Where I have been unable to use the first edition the date of the original publication appears outside of the brackets. Although I have not found an edition of Bembo's annotations earlier than the Lyons 1558 in the British Library, I have placed Bembo first, as he inevitably predated Velutello in composing his annotations. All quotations of Petrarch in this (and subsequent chapters) are from the edition of Gianfranco Contini (1949), which in all cases has been checked against the Bembo text of 1501, which was the text used by sixteenth-century commentators. In all cases where Contini chooses the latinized forms of the Vatican MS I have kept the modernisations of Bembo, which, as Aldo says "cangiata nel popolare parlare di questi di".²⁵

Pietro Bembo Il Petrarca con...annotazioni di Mon.P.Bembo (Venice 1564)

Before we go on to consider the commentaries themselves, let us consider for a moment the reputation of Bembo as an authority on Platonic love. In the third book of his famous love-treatise De gli Asolani, using a blend of poetry and philosophical discussion (as we find in Bruno's Eroici), Bembo gave eloquent and enduring expression to the Platonic-Ficinian theory of love which was becoming dominant at that time. I stress the linguistic sonority, and stylistic qualities of Bembo's treatise as it was undoubtedly these virtues which gained it renown while other treatises of the period such as Pietro Edo's Anteroticorum Liber (1492) or Platina's Dialogus contra amores,⁽¹⁵⁰⁴⁾ or Battista Fregoso's Anteros (1496) fell into relative obscurity. Thus one of the heroes of the Asolani, Lavinello, is treated to such animated speeches as this from the hermit-philosopher, "il santo uomo" :

O stolti, che vaneggiate? Voi ciechi, d'intorno a quelle vostre false bellezze occupati, a guisa di Narciso vi pascete di vano disio, e non v'accorgete che elle sono ombre della vera, che voi abbandonate. I vostri animi sono eterni : perché di fuggevole

vaghezza gl'inebriate?²⁶

It is easy to see in this dramatic style the charismatic presence of Bembo himself shining through the figure of the old man. The same fiery passion for a higher love is depicted by Castiglione in the final book of his Libro del Cortegiano, which reinforced Bembo's reputation throughout Europe :

Pero degnati, Signor, d'udir i nostri prieghi....facci sentir quegli odori spirituali che vivifican le virtù dell'intelletto ed udir l'armonia celeste talmente concordante, che in noi non abbia loco più alcuna discordia di passione....e noi da noi stessi alienati, come vere amanti, nello amato possiam trasformarsi e levandone da terra esser ammessi al convivio degli angeli...come già morirono quegli antichi padri l'anime dei quali fu con ardentissima virtù di contemplazione rapisti dal corpo e congiungeti con Dio.

Avendo il Bembo insin qui parlato con tanta veemenzia, che quasi pareva astratto e fuor di sé, stavasi cheto e immobile, tendendo gli occhi verso il cielo, come stupido.²⁷

Castiglione's dramatic portrait of Bembo strengthened his position as maestro d'amore Platonico, and in the Cortegiano Gaspare Pallavicino compares him to Plato, Socrates, Plotinus and St Francis.²⁸ But, of more direct concern to us here, Bembo was a popularizer of a Platonic view of Petrarch's poetry. Gli Asolani as Mario Pozzi said "la dava accostando petrarchismo e platonismo non in astratto ma proponendo precisi modelli letterari".²⁹ With access to the Platonic texts denied to Petrarch himself, Bembo "aveva tradotto il drama dell'amore per Laura in un dramma d'amore mistico",³⁰ and his own Petrarchan poetry (which gave rise to its own school of imitators, Bembismo)^{had} sought to return, with the added benefit of this new love-theory, to the spiritual integrity of the Canzoniere which he felt was besmirched by the secular court Petrarchists of his day. Bembo's role in bringing Petrarch to the Renaissance audience cannot be underestimated. He was overseer on Aldo Manuzio's important 1501 edition of the Canzoniere and, as Tiraboschi records, was instrumental, almost singlehandedly, in reviving the Trecento style as a model to imitate :³¹

Un di primi a cui convegna la lode di aver ricondotta all'antica sua eleganza la Toscana poesia è Pietro Bembo...ardi quasi solo di ritornare sulle vie del Petrarca, cui egli prese non solo a imitare, ma a ricopiare ancora in se stesso.

His profoundly influential work Prose delle volgar lingua (1525), which did for the rising tide of pro-Tuscan humanism (an example of which we saw in Landino's Prolusione above)

what his Asolani did for the trattatisti d'amore, placing Petrarch at the centre-stage of Italian poetry, electing Petrarch as the principal model for poetry, and Boccaccio for prose.

When Bembo's own commentary on the Canzoniere was published, it was no surprise to find that in it he combined both facets of his work, encouraging readers to ponder on the meticulous linguistic and stylistic questions raised by his Prose, as well as the metaphysical speculations on human love rendered popular by Ficino and subsequent love-treatises. Thus, in the margins of Petrarch he is urging the reader to see there the proof of this Platonic dictum from the Asolani :

non è il buono amore disio solamente di bellezza...ma è della vera bellezza disio; e la vera bellezza non è umana e mortale, che mancar possa, ma è divina e immortale.³²

Thus in his commentary on Rime 151, Bembo extrapolates on the virtuous love which is dealt with in that sonnet :

Volendo M.Francesco l'infinita bellezza dell'amata sua Donna lodare & insieme la sua honestà e mostrarch'ella era tale, che non che gl'animi infiammasse di lascivo & con cupiscibile appetito...ma d'honesti & altri desiri d'honore gl'accendesse, i che le stelle, e 'l cielo...a prova a grata l'un del altro, possero ogni loro arte & ogni sforzo nel vivo lume, del chiaro viso di M.L, la cui bellezza era tale che la natura medesima si specchiava & mirava in essa.³³

And similarly in his exposition of Rime 51 :

Vuol dimostrare il Poeta con la similitudine dello stanco Nocchiero, che non altrimenti che egli fuggendo l'onde irate & tempestose, si riduce in porto così da sozzi & vili pensieri : quali spesso soglion nascer nelle menti de gl'Amanti, fugge & va alla contemplatione delle vere bellezze & Divine di M.L ove scorge Amore non cieco, cioè senza ragione ma honesto & ragionevole, che ne begl'occhi di lei alberga.³⁴

It is in such commentaries as this that we can begin searching for the origins of the Platonic love found in the sonnets of the Elizabethan poets. In the latter commentary, for example, we can see a tempting analogy with Sidney's Astrophel LXII (italics mine) :

She in whose eyes, love, though unfelt, doth shine
Sweet said that I true love in her should find.
I joy'd; but straight thus watered was my wine :
That love she did, but loved a love not blind
And therefore, by her love's authority,
Will'd me these tempests of vain love to fly,
And anchor fast myself on Virtue's shore.

The linguistic echo of "love not blind" (which certainly has the Italian construction in

mind) together with the theme of "fleeing" (Bembo's "fuggendo") the storm of vulgar love's "sozzi & vili pensieri" make quite a strong case for suspecting the influence of Bembo's commentary in Sidney's composition (although characteristically this poem shows Sidney straining against the reins of this "love new-coin'd"). The former commentary is brought to mind when we read Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar (1579) in 'October', which deals with the frenzy of poetic inspiration "a divine gift and heavenly instinct...poured into the wit by a certain ἐνθουσιασμός and celestiall inspiration". In this eclogue the shepherd "Pierce" or Percy, defends the exalted nature of love-poetry in terms which echo Petrarch's Rime 154, and which might well follow on from the kind of exposition Bembo provided (note especially Bembo's use of the verb "specchiava") :

Ah fon [fool], for love does teach him [the poet] climb so hie,
 And lyftes him up out of the loathsome myre :
 Such immortall mirrhor, as he doth admire
 Would rayse one's mynd above the starry skie,
 And cause a caytive corage to aspire...

Bembo's commentary is full of such expositions which, while not attempting any deep critical analysis, communicate succinctly to an urbane, popular audience the doctrine of the two lovers as it is found in Plato and Ficino. He praises "un desiar cortese, honesto e casto" for the "infinita bellezza" figured forth in the female form, mirroring the beauty of God and Nature. This conflict of "disiri d'honore" and "cupiscibile appetito" promulgated in love-poetry and the discussion of love-poetry (and especially Petrarch) was none other than the struggle between the higher and lower Cupids discussed by Ficino in his Commentarium...in Convivium Platonis, which led to the Augustinian Platonism of Petrarch being re-iterated by commentators such as Bembo in a new way :

Hos utique amores sibi ipsius in homine repugnare, et illum deorsum ad ferinam et voluptuosam depellere, nunc sursum ad angelicam vitam contemplativamque attolere; hunc absque perturbatione volt esse, et in paucis reperiri; illum multis passionibus anxium, ac plurimos occupare.³⁵

The 1564 Venetian edition of Bembo which I consulted in the British Library is particularly interesting in that it gives us an insight into the courtly social milieu in which this Platonic Petrarchism came to be consumed. The book itself is a "Petrarchino", or "le rime del Petrarca in picciola forma ristampate"³⁶. Petrarch became a necessary adjunct to social-life, a kind of status-symbol for even the shallowest of courtiers, "cortigianuzzi

effeminati"³⁷ of the kind beloved of the writers of Italian comedies :

caminano tutto il giorno vestiti come ninfati Narcisi,
col fiore nell'orecchia, con la rosa in mano, coi suoi
guantetti profumati...col farsetto pien di gioia partono
cantando, e vanno a casa a comporre una sestina, o un
madrigaletto.³⁸

Petrarchan-Platonic hyperbole became a conventional form of amorous courtship in Italy, and later in England, where the "courtisane Rhetoricke" of lovers (as in Italy) came under fire from cynical critics. Thus in John Eliot's Orthoepia Gallica (1593) we find two "pratlers" lamenting the piteous state of an Italianate gentleman "Ieronimo Pierruche" who is "out of his best wit" through love, and "alwaies mumbling or recording some thing in English verse, that he hath made to his sweet-heart". In this he seeks to "plaie the Idolater", and "exalteth in his verses that Diana whom he loveth best", adorning his verse with pearl-like necks, golden hair, snowy throats, coral mouthes and all the other Petrarchan common-places used to make her body "a prodigalitie & treasure of heaven and nature"³⁹. The use of Platonic praise is also criticised by Shakespeare in his concerted attack on the amorous sonneteer in Love's Labour's Lost, where Berowne attacks Cupid as "Regent of love-rimes...liege of all loiterers and malcontents"⁴⁰, and condemns Platonic compliments as "the liver vein, which makes flesh a deity / A green goose a goddess; pure, pure idolatry"⁴¹. It is just this idolatry which is practised by the aristocratic dedicator of this Petrarchino, who presents it as an amorous gift to a "nobile et virtuosissima madamigella-di-Gagio", who ^{was} is worthy of such noble sentiments as Petrarch's because "un opera di castissimo & divinissimo Amore ripiena (si come questa è) era dignissimo dono di castissima & divinissima Gentil donna, come voi siete"⁴². The courtier's collaborator, one Luc'Antonio Ridolfo, suggests Petrarch as the only work fitted to praise her spiritual beauties "l'eccellenza del vostro rarissimo intelletto, la meravigliosa vostra bellezza, & divinissima gratia"⁴³. His beloved is in fact compared to "la bellissima & castissima Madonna Laura". Alongside these elaborate compliments of his French lady we find some interesting indications of the other side to Bembo's commentary from the pen of the unnamed courtier. First and foremost he sees it as a kind of poetic instruction manual, a primer in linguistic techniques, these comments he says

possono aiutare altrui ad agevolmente e con leggiadri tessere
i componenti : e certo le dovrebbe sempre avere in mano,
chi brama essere rimator pregiato, essendo egli ottimo strumento

ad insegnarci come delle leggiadre rime del Petrarca
 agelvolmente e con prontezza valere ci possiamo.⁴⁴

This function is amply fulfilled by what Marzot calls Bembo's "estetica puntualizzata sul
 potere della parola"⁴⁵. The analytic exactitude in examining poetic language which sometimes
 verges on the pedantic, derives from his programme for the Tuscan language developed in the
Prose, in which he sought to exemplify why Petrarch should be the model for further Italian
 poetry. In his examination of the diction of Rime 340, for example, he says :

L'ordine è o usato sostegno di mia vita, appositivamente,
 'Dolce mio caro' & 'Gia suo tu far', talhora togliendo
 l'ultima sillaba a queste seconde persone si dice 'suo'
 per 'suoli' & 'cre' per 'credi' & 'pur la su' invece di
 'costassu'.⁴⁶

or look at his fastidious consideration of the word-play in Rime 210 : "L'onde (Caspe) disse
 Caspe, per Caspie (L'innaspe) annaspi (Aspe) aspide dal volgo, sordo chiamato"⁴⁷. These anal-
 yses, or comments, are very similar in style to those which Bembo undertook in his Prose.
 Take, for example, this comment on the creative transgression of grammatical rules :

[Boccaccio] dire Recatosi suo sacco più tosto che il suo sacco
 pare che abbia più di leggiadra in sé, che di regola che dare vi
 se ne potesse. Il che si vede, che parve eziando al Petrarca
 quando e disse I'dicea fra mio cor : perche paventi? più tosto
 che Fra 'l mio core.⁴⁸

Thus Bembo gives equal weight in his annotations to the re-iteration of Petrarch's moral
 and philosophical aspect, his sentenzie, and to the linguistic finesse and ornamentation of
 his elocuzioni. He was a volgarizzatore not only of Classical eloquence, but also of the
 "farneticare savio" of spiritual interpretation. In critical terms, one could say that
 Bembo is drawing upon Platonic criticism as practised by Pico della Mirandola or Landino
 (whom Ficino praised as "orphicum Platicumque poetam")⁴⁹ which stresses poetry as a reposi-
 tory of divine wisdom in allegory, a commonplace described here by Landino in his preface
 to Horace's Ars Poetica :

quecunque cognouerint : ac ingenii divinitate contemplati
 fuerint admirandis figmentis exornat : et ne nisi allegoriis
 a nobis perceptis intelligi possint in diversas omnino species
 traducit. Nam cum ostendat se aliud quippam longe humilium
 ignobiliusque narrare aut fabellam ad ociosas aures oblectandas
 canere tunc res omnino egregias et a divinitatis fonte exhaustis
 occultius scribit.⁵⁰

This approach to poetry sees its main function as that of signifying veil; ^{He also has recourse to} ~~and then~~ the
 other criticism, drawn from Classical philology and rhetoric, which is almost scientifically

Erratum (p39, second line from bottom).

Sentence should begin "Commentaries of this latter kind were..."
not "These latter kind of commentaries were..."

preoccupied with the mechanisms of language, from the structure of sentences and figures of speech, down to the musical values of syllables and the variations of colour they can be used to achieve. In a society ambiguously oscillating between religious and mercantile values this dualism created a bifurcation of poetic theory and practice. There emerged two poetics to serve the two loves, sacred and profane. The profane, typified by the Classical eroticism of court-Petrarchism, and the sacred moving through the gamut of Neoplatonic and pietistic love-poetry to reach a frenetic pitch in Bruno's Eroici Furori, where the lover desperately strives to unite with the divine countenance unmediated by the index of the chaste Madonna (albeit constructing his verse with the conceits conventionally used to describe her).

Fragmentation : Petrarch, the centone, the gioco and the public love-letter

Before going on to examine the commentaries of Alessandro Velutello and Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo, let us consider for a moment some of the effects of Bembo's "estetica puntualizzata", and of the linguistic-philological approach to Petrarch in general.

By atomizing linguistic mechanisms, rhetorical figures and metrical techniques, this kind of commentary tended somehow to dissipate the spiritual unity of the Canzoniere, or at least gently shook it loose, allowing the building-blocks of its techniques to float free, making way for the secular elements in Renaissance societies to employ Petrarchan motifs and forms towards ends removed from those originally envisaged by Petrarch himself. Giulio Marzot has suggested that by subjecting Petrarch to various Classical poetics (Aristotle, Longinus &c) and by "la classificazione dei vari stili e colori delle elocuzione petrarchesca" by rhetoricians and grammarians, ~~the~~ the coherent structure of the Canzoniere suffers a "frammentarismo", nullifying its "sustanza propriamente mediaevale e cristiana" and reducing it to a "testo mondano"⁵¹. Not that we must see Platonic or 'spiritual' commentaries on Petrarch as acting as a cohesive force opposed to the "fragmentation" of the Petrarchan text, or one necessarily more appropriate to the character of Petrarch's poetry. These latter kind of commentaries were just as capable of overthrowing Petrarch's intentions, and bending them to their will, reading allegories which were not intended, and diminishing the role of natural love.

A bemused contemporary of our commentators, in an open letter to the long-dead Petrarch expressed his misgivings about the maltreatment of the Canzoniere thus :

Di novo non ci è altro, se non che 'l vostro canzoniere è più confuso, più remescolato, piu riversciato che le foglie scritte dalla Sibilla ad un lungo soffiare....Voi medesimo, se 'l vedeste, no 'l riconoscereste. Ci è di più, che vi fan cinguettare a lor modo...A vostra Madonna Laura han dato nome, chi di anima, chi di poesia, chi di filosofia, e mille altre chimere fantastiche di commentari...[o] quanti ne fareste frustrare e impiccar per ladri!....chi vi ruba, chi vi scaca, chi vi assassina.⁵²

Another letter writer bemoans the frightening array of Petrarchs offered for consumption, "veggo il Petrarca commentato, il Petrarca imbrodolato, il Petrarca tutto rubato, il ⁵³ Petrarca temporale, e il Petrarca Spirituale". The temporal Petrarch was undoubtedly catalysed by philological and rhetorical analyses. Writers like Torquato Tasso, Alessandro Piccolomini and Sperone Speroni, who began to perform elaborate post-mortems on these beautiful verses, searching for what Speroni called "cose all'oratore pertinenti",⁵⁴ opened the way for more systematic fragmentation by writers of manuals of rhyme and metaphor, such as Giovanni Cisano's Tesori di concetti Poetici (Venice 1610), and hence the deployment of Petrarch in foreign contexts : the preaching manual, theoretical verse (such as Bernardino Tomitano's Elenco which lists Petrarch's rhetorical figures, and then demonstrates them in a patchwork poem) in books of emblems and imprese,⁵⁵ and in so-called 'manuals of wisdom'. Francesco Alunno's Fabrico del Mondo (1548), for example, expounding Dante, Petrarch and Boccaccio, organized his treatise under encyclopaedic headings, 'Dio', 'Cielo', 'Mondo', 'Anima' etc, using literature as a repository of learning. Sidney too, in his Apology writes "in the Italian language the first that made it [poetry] aspire to be a treasure-house of science, were the poets Dante, Boccace and Petrarch".⁵⁶

Three genres which relied heavily on this re-deployment of the Petrarchan text, and which situate the temporal Petrarch in his social milieu are the centone (or canzoniere a intarsio), the gioco (flirtatious and light-hearted diversions involving the debating of problems or dubbi concerning love) and the public love-letter. In a literary atmosphere under the sway of the newly recovered classical genre of the epigram, Petrarch's skill in finding the weighty and suggestive maxim, his sentenziosità, led to his eminently quotable phrases being isolated, valorized and eventually rendered plastic, and fitted to the most mundane and innocuous of literary enterprises. The centone naturally emerged from this soil,

a courtly appreciation of sentenzia regardless of originality. The courtly dedicator of the 1564 Venetian edition of Bembo's commentary explains its usefulness for one who wishes to compose centoni :

Giova ancora senza fine à coloro che di fare compositioni che centoni detti sono, si diletmano, la qual maniera com' è molto mal' agevole ad essere sì ordinamente tessuta, che dal suo lavoro rilievi qualche ornata & leggiadra figura : così certo quando è poi condotta bene, al fine rende meraviglioso piacere & vaghezza. Di cotali componimenti fece già & molto vagamente il leggiadrissimo Sanazzaro, & la Divina Marchesa di Pescara.⁵⁷

The dedicator particularly stresses the help that the work's "rimario" or rhyme-index will be to his beloved's own verses in imitation of Petrarch's "leggiadre rime". As an activity for noble men and ladies, the centone needed only to satisfy the slightest of literary criteria, obeying the basic rules of poetic decorum, "ordinamente tessuta", "agevolmente e con leggiadriⁱ". The content and intentions of the centone could vary widely, from simple replication (for those who merely wished to re-create the grace of the maestro, singing in re-assembled forms the purely amorous strains of the majority of the Rime Sparse), to devotional works addressed to the Virgin Mary, and didactic works like the Elenco of Tomitano which we mentioned above. By careful selection the composer, or arranger, of the fragmented poems could make Petrarch "cinguettare a lor modo"⁵⁸ as Groto put it, and force him to be more penitent and reproachful of his amorous situation than he was in the poems of the centone's constituent parts. We shall have more to say about this corrective, or 'spiritualizing' impulse later, but for now let us look at an example of spiritualized centoni, collected by one Giulio Bidelli of Siena in 1588. This little work, we are told by the author of the prefatory epistle Girolamo Discepolo, contains works written or arranged in the 1550s ("scritte à penna già più di trenti anni"⁵⁹) and found amongst various MSS in the house of the Sieneese nobleman Pier Antonio Rota. Discepolo situates the centoni in their literary context, as following on from the Christian labours of one Probia Falconia, who 'moralized' Virgil in the same way as these centoni moralize Petrarch's poetry :

in diversi luoghi d'Italia havendo molte fiate à desiderarsi una simil fatica di...Probia Falconia, il quale co'versi di Virgilio, variamente contesti con grandissima leggiadre descrisse il vecchio e nuovo testamento in compendio, cantasse parimente co'versi del Petrarcha, in luogo qualche suo accidente amoroso, ò d'altra maniera.⁶⁰

This collection is intended to be edifying and delightful, especially to those who with

"qualche poco di gusto nelle rime del Petrarca"⁶¹. There is a darkness looming in the background of this preface, reminding us of the increasingly harsh censorship of literature by the post-Tridentine church. Discepolo complains of the delay in publication, which was due to not having a noble patron to protect him from "maligni co'viperini denti"⁶², who might otherwise denounce him to the inquisition. This collection, it must be remembered was published only three years after an attempt was made to place the Rime of Pietro Bembo on the Index of Prohibited Books (saved only by the kind intercession of a 'moralizer')⁶³. Discepolo's admiration of the skill of the centonista again brings out the suave, indulgent literary criteria by which these productions were judged, and perhaps goes a little way toward restoring its integrity before the jaundiced, post-romantic eye of the modern critic. These are the loveliest flowers, says Discepolo, gathered carefully from the "amenissimo giardino" of Petrarch's poetry, and

con tal artificio composti e concatenati insieme, che talhora ne restarà stupita....[le rime] fuor che una sol volta, non si serve di una rime dell'istesso sonnetto; ma quello che dà maggior stupore d'ogni altra cosa, è, ch'egli non iscavezza e rompe i versi dell'auttore originario, come fece Falconia, ma religiosissimamente, e senza mutare per una sola sillaba, dolcemente continuando il suo soggetto in questi dui discorsi amorosi [a sequence of octaves, and a long capitolo] adopra i versi intieri. L'inventione in somma è vaga, dilettevole, e nuova.⁶⁴

That most Renaissance virtue artificio, artifice or craftsmanship, is very strange to the modern reader, with its suggestion of falsehood, and the merits of the minimum route toward subverting Petrarch's intentions might appear slight to us, but the devout audience for whom this publication was intended (and the intimate circle for whom it was written "à penna"), this subversion appeared felicitous, and the strategies by which it was achieved an aesthetic accomplishment rather than a mean act of plagiarism.

Here is a brief example of the kind of centone found in Bidelli's collection, which is typical of this felicitous subversion :

Amor m'ha posto segno a strale,
 Quand'ella hora mira, hor leva gli occhi un poco,
 O viva morte, o diletto male,
 Che l'amar mi fe dolce e 'l pianger gioco.
 Re del cielo invisibile immortale
 Riduci i pensier vaghi à miglior loco.
 Aprasi la prigion, ov'io son chiuso,
 Ch'io conosco il mio fallo, e non lo scuso.⁶⁵

Here some of the earlier sonnets and canzoni of the Rime Sparse are combined with the later

repentant sonnets and some suitably devout lines from the Trionfi to produce an octave whose overall impression is one of disgust with worldly love. Needless to say, by selecting purely amorous lines an amorous centone would ensue, and this was what many centonisti did. The centone form served both Petrarchs, both the "temporale" and the "spirituale".

This form did not go unobserved in Elizabethan England, where the very earliest sonnet-cycle of the era, Thomas Watson's Hekatompathia (1582), employed both spiritual and temporal centoni (although he did not use the word) under the same roof. This is facilitated by the structure of the sequence, which was common in Elizabethan compositions (and drawn from the structure of the Canzoniere itself), "Divided into two parts : whereof the first expresseth the Author's sufferance in Love : the latter, his long farewell to Love and all his tyrannie"⁶⁶. This much-imitated and influential work, published a little before, or at the same time as Bruno's Eroici Furori, is not made up solely of centoni as Professor Da Sola Pinto has suggested,⁶⁷ but consists of part-translations, translations (from Italian, French and Latin into English, and Petrarch's Italian into Latin) as well as centoni proper. A perfect example of the genre, and one of the spiritual variety, is the eighty-ninth sonnet, from the second part which begins 'Love hath delight in sweete delicious fare'. This poem consists of an amalgamation of lines translated out of Classical and Neo-Latin love-poets (Ovid and Propertius, Pontanus and Marullus), presented as a warning to those in danger of falling in love :

Love thinks in breach of faith there is no fault;
 Love makes a sporte of other's deadly paine;
 Love is a wanton Childe, and loves to brall;
 Love with his warre bringes many soules to thrall
 These are the smallest faults that lurke in Love.
 These are the hurts which I have cause to curse...
 All this I write, that others may beware,
 Though now my selfe twice free from all such care.⁶⁸

This counter-love overthrows Cupid, and "lettes his fyrebrand dye", called from "thoughtes and lusts" by "heav'nly Grace".⁶⁹ Watson is undoubtedly heavily under the influence of the Italian spiritual centone, and he practises a number of other kinds of subversion which, while not conforming to the definition of centone, perform the same kind of subversion. As in sonnet XCVI where the author "skoffing bitterly at Venus and her sonne Cupid alludeth unto certaine verses in Ovid [Amores, III,ix], but inverteth them to an other sense, than Ovid used".⁷⁰

This is not the case in the first half of the sequence, where the author "taketh but occasion to open his estate in love"⁷¹. Thus in sonnet VII the author borrows from Aeneas Silvius' description of Lucretia, the beloved of Euryalus, Ariosto's description of Alcina (Orlando Furioso, Canto VII), a letter of Erasmus, and "borroweth from some others", including Ercole Strozzi, where they describe "the famous Helen of Greece". He does this in order to "praise the person and beautiful ornaments of his love, one after another as they lie in order" :

Harke you that list to heare what saint I serve :
Her yellow lockes eccede the beaten goulde;
Her sparkling eies in heav'n a place deserve....
Each eybrowe hanges like Iris in the skies;
Her Eagle's nose is straight of stately frame;
On either cheeke a Rose and Lillie lies.⁷²

It is of the greatest significance to our field of study that Watson's work bears the impression of this double Petrarch ("temporale" / "spirituale"), drawing out the penitential structure of the Canzoniere, and its moral intensification by later Petrarchists and commentators. Watson's Hekatompathia was of the utmost importance to later Elizabethan sequences. Watson's friends, as we see in the prefatory dedications, included such renowned poets as John Lyly, George Peele, the Earl of Oxford, and Areopagus poets Matthew Roydon, Edward Dyer and Philip Sidney.⁷³ Janet.G.Scott considered the Hekatompathia to be "un épitomé de tous les recueils élisibéthains",⁷⁴ and this is a just estimate of its original importance. Not only do Watson's themes re-appear in the sonnets of later Elizabethans,⁷⁵ but his labour presented sources and models for subsequent imitators. He was especially kind to Serafino d'Aquila who later became a mainstay of Baroque Petrarchists in England, but also points to lesser-known Italian sonneteers and Neo-Latin love-poets such as Aeneas Silvius, Michael Marullus and Stephanus Forcatulus. Undoubtedly he also served as a repository of epithets, favouring as he did the enumerative style of ornamentation (I am thinking here especially of Watson's poem Quid Amor? consisting of a long list of amorous epithets : "Natus ad insidias vulpes; pontus lachrymarum; / Virginæ^e zonae ruptura; dolosa voluptas; / Multicolor serpens; vrens affectus; inermis / Bellator"⁷⁶ etc), and as a source for some of the more out-of-the-way Petrarchan topoi as they were developed through the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The second genre, the gioco or gioco d'amore, "un piacevole trattenimento per scacciar malinconia"⁷⁷ did not find such avid literary emulation in England, although readers of the English translation of Stefano Guazzo's Civile Conversation (1586) would have a taste of it, and Shakespeare's "merry war of words" between comic lovers seems to breathe its spirit in dramatized form. An excellent example of this genre is Scipio Bargagli's I Trattenimenti (1587), whose subtitle is self explanatory : "da dove vaghe donne, e da giovani Huomini rappresentati sono honesti e dilettevole Giuochi, Narrate novelle e cantate alcune amorse canzonette"⁷⁸. These giuochi or gioci, being centred on amorous questions (see for example Bargagli's "Giuoco di Quistioni d'Amore" where the young people are instructed to debate such questions as "Se 'l Amante di donna nobile debba dare opera all'anni; ò più tosto alle lettere"⁷⁹), they often take their premises from luoghi in Petrarch's poetry. The conceited debate on eyes and blindness in Shakespeare's Love's Labour's Lost, for example, takes as its starting-point the commonplace of love entering through the eyes, and whether or not Cupid is blind. Needless to say Bargagli's "amorse canzonette" are Petrarchan lyrics, and some of the novelle use Petrarchan topoi in the descriptions of heroines (as in Sidney's Arcadia); the sonnets of the Rime Sparse are vital to the genre's fabric.

Wherever love was discussed and written about in the sixteenth-century it was liable to be done within the conventional language of Petrarch's conceits, or those of his Classical forebears. Universally recognised as "il segretario del cuore"⁸⁰, Petrarch's gems of amorous wisdom, and his vivid linguistic forms became embedded in the social language of courtship, permeating our third genre, the public (and naturally the private) love-letter. Petrarchan conventions abound in the published collections of letters such as Francesco Doni's Pistolitti amorosi (1554), Pietro Bembo's Lettere (1548) and those of Sebastiano Antonio Minturno (1549). This peculiar form of elegant pedantry thrived on "l'aura di una equivoca immaginazione tra vera e falsa"⁸¹ which is to say the forms of sensuality were preserved in a rarefied, abstracted flattery somewhere between sincerity and artifice, in a rhetorical chastity of intention. This allowed the publication of such passionate effusions as these from the pen of Bembo to a noble lady to whom he was probably not romantically attached :

Holla basciata mille volte invece di voi, e priegola di quello, che io voi volentieri pregherei, e veggo che ella benignamente assai par che m'ascolta, più che voi non fate, se risponder sapesse a' detti miei.⁸²

The form of the sentiment is drawn from Petrarch, in this case the ritratto baciato of Rime 78, which Petrarch uses similarly to gain the compliance lacking in his beloved through an act of imagination. Petrarch thus becomes a neutral mode of communication, denuded of the responsibility of a personal expression of love, an innocuous sentimentality appropriate for social play. In this way the love-letter becomes a literary act, to be evaluated by literary criteria, and it was common for these letters to interpose scholarly details, glosses on Petrarchan lyrics, philosophical asides, or Classical allusions, all cohering into an elegant whole. Petrarch appears in many ways in the love-letter, in the form of quotations (Bembo repeats phrases from Petrarch as mottoes or leitmotifs : for example "vivace amore che ne gli affani cresce" from Trionfi d'Amore, II and "che ben muor chi morendo esce di doglia" from Rime 207⁹³), or as part of the rhetorical fabric of courtship (Bembo speaks, for instance, of "la piena falda del suo caldo amore"⁹⁴), and often as a thematic convention, as in the reference to the kissing-portrait above. Bembo sent his lady a pair of gloves, for example, in order to promote a similarity of events so that he could repeat the Petrarchan situation of Rime 199, praising her hands "che tengono oggimai l'una e l'altra chiave del cuor suo", jealously "tenere coperto quel bello avorio"⁹⁵.

These light-hearted charades of courtship played out between courtly men and women became a commonplace of the Elizabethan social milieu, and gave provenance to the poetic effusions of courtiers concerning Queen Elizabeth herself, whose unmarried status led her to be exalted as a Petrarchan madonna, "verGINE bella" and goddess. Spenser praised her as Belphoebe, and Raleigh as Cynthia, both conceiving her as being both ruler and Petrarchan heroine : "she beareth two persons, the one of a most royall Queene or Emprise, the other of a most vertuous and beautifull Lady"⁹⁶. Take, for example, this sonnet from the Phoenix Nest (1593), addressed to Elizabeth :

Those eies which set my fancy on a fire,
 Those crisped haire, which hold my hart in chains,
 Those daintie hands, which conquer'd my desire,
 That wit, which of my thoughts doth hold the rains....
 O eies that pearce our hearts without remorse,
 O haire of right that weares a roiall crowne. §
 O hands that conquer more than Caesar's force. §

It was quite common for this feigned courtship to take on the Neoplatonic cast of "pure idolatry", thus Raleigh's poem 'Praised be Diana's faire and harmless light' says of the Queen (who was often associated with moon goddesses) :

By hir the vertue of the starrs downe slide,
 In hir is vertue's perfect image cast
 A knowledge pure it is hir worth to kno,
 With Circes let them dwell that think not so.⁸⁸

In the Italian love-letter it was likewise not uncommon for the author to indulge in Petrarchan hyperbole with a Platonic slant. Antonio Sebastiano Minturno's letters to "donne illustre e valorose", including the Marchesana della Paluda, reflect this trend, combining the passionate Petrarchan outburst :

nel vero il mio cuore non sa far altro che lagrimare....
 O quante volte che tra la notte e 'l dì son più di mille,
 ripiglio le sue graziosissime lettere...leggendo, caramente
 e divotamente le bacio, e baciando l'empio teneramente di
 lagrime; e poi coi caldi sospiri l'asciugo.⁸⁹

with philosophical expositions and discussions, particularly of a Neoplatonic nature. Thus the dedicator of the volume of Minturno's Lettere, Federico Pizzimenti says of him :

Conciosa che 'l Minturno havendo preso à lodare il sommo
 valore, e la beltà singulare di quella signora come strumento
 e mezzo da levar la mente humana alla contemplatione de la
 sempiterna bellezza, ch' è propria d'Iddio, habbia le dette
 lettere di Platoniche fila si ben tessute, che per aventura
 queste prose niente cedere à quelle rime, che de medesimi
 fregi adornò il Petrarca, giudicarete.⁹⁰

Minturno deals with "un amor non volgare...ma celeste [e] divino" says Pizzimenti, of which we may read in the Symposium or Phaedrus of Plato, or "nelle tre sorelle [di Petrarca] secondo che 'l Gesualdo l'espone".⁹¹

This example of how Italian writers came to see Petrarch as integral to the tradition of Platonic love (despite the fact that Petrarch was directly familiar only with the Chalcidius commentary on the Timæus fragment), leads us easily into our next pair of commentaries, one of which is mentioned by Pizzimenti (those commentaries associated with the Petrarchism of Thomas Wyatt and Edmund Spenser)⁹² Alessandro Velutello and Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo, who both gave particular emphasis to the moral and philosophical aspects of the Canzoniere.

Alessandro Velutello's Il Petrarca...con espositione (Venice 1550) 1525 and Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo's Il Petrarca (Venice 1541) 1533⁹³

Alessandro Velutello's commentary on the Rime of Petrarch, as the multitude of editions in the British Library will attest, was a very popular imprint and, along with Gesualdo,

probably the commonest edition of the Italian poet to find its way into English hands (no doubt helped by the favourability of liberal Venice to English religious and political views,⁹⁴ making it, and Padua, the accepted ports-of-call on the Englishman's Italian tour).

Velutello's treatment of the first sonnet of the Rime, sets the tone of the commentary. This sonnet is often a good index of the attitude of any commentator, as it is Petrarch's own moral verdict on the whole sequence, and this emerges with more or less philosophical and religious embellishment in expositions of the poem, according to the views of the particular annotator. Similarly, the reduction of moral interpretation in favour of rhetorical and technical information (as we shall see later in the Castelvetro commentary) is equally symptomatic in the case of this sonnet. Velutello, significantly, reflects both the moral and the stylistic qualities of the poem. It is, Velutello tells us, "un utilissimo e notabilissimo documento" in as much as "la sua sententia dimostra". It shows us the sententia of the poet, both in the sense of 'opinion' or 'verdict' (on his own behaviour), but also his sententious mode of speech, his moral weight and literary gravity. It was written, Velutello says, "in escusatione del suo amoroso errore, di che tutta l'opera diffusamente tratta", a testimony to the author's "humana fragilità" and "lascivo errore". Velutello is very eager to stress the morality of the poet, and his rejection of earthly love, a continual point of contention between letterati and clergymen :

Perche essendosi egli alcun tempo dalle speranze e vane passioni d'amore lassato trasportare e venuto poi ne gli anni maturi, e del suo amoroso errore come vederemo in fine de l'opra, riconosciuto et del tutto pentito : hora per volersi d'ogni biasmo nel qual potesse essere incorso liberare, per tre efficacissime e quasi irreprobabili ragioni dimostra, quanto degno esser si senta di remissione et scusa.⁹⁵

These three reasons revolve around the commonplace idea that "'n giovenil fallir è men vergogna"⁹⁶, but the important thing is that in maturity "da ogni lascivia essersi rimosso"⁹⁷, and by stressing that "del mio vaneggiar vergogna è 'l frutto / e 'l pentersi"⁹⁸ Petrarch enables the history of "giovenile errore" to be read as a moral case-book, a manual by which the reader can study to avoid his errors, an attitude encouraged in the Renaissance with regard to the ars amatoria of the Classical poets. Hence Velutello, as a good Christian Humanist, is able to invoke Ovid's Amores I,ix twisting the original lines from their lascivious context (the poet's attempts to prise a young wife from an old husband with

sophistic arguments) to reflect on Petrarch's mature repentance :

conoscendo il vitio ne l'età senile tanto esser da vituperare,
quanto ne la gioventù da esser tollerato. Onde Ovidio 'Que
bello est habilis Veneri, quoque convenit aetas, Turpe senex
miles, turpe senilis amor'.⁹⁹

Velutello goes on to compare this to a similar passage in Martial, and to another of Petrarch's Rime (207), so as to show himself sensitive to the humanistic industry of the poet's work, in its reflection on and recovery of Classical themes. Thus he comments on lines 9-10 of the sonnet: "Imitando Hor[azio] ne le Ode, ove dice 'Heu me per urbem, nam pudet tanti mali, Fabula quanta fui'¹⁰⁰". Yet the annotation finishes with a biblical example, comparing Petrarch's Augustinian sentiment that "che quanto piace al mondo è breve sogno"¹⁰¹ to Solomon's "vanitas, vanitatum, & omnia vanitas" from Ecclesiastes I,ii. Thus we find weight given to both facets of Petrarch's character, the Christian and the Humanist (or perhaps the Christian Humanist?), to his moral and spiritual sententie and their Classical and biblical analogues, and to the literary techniques borrowed from both sources. Velutello also goes through the poem paraphrasing difficult lines, explaining truncations, and updating the Trecento Tuscan dialect for the sixteenth-century Venetian reader (he 'translates' "inch'io" into "nel quale io", and "sovente" into "spesse volte" etc).

Velutello's commentary of the seventh stanza of Rime 29, in which Petrarch describes Laura as a "star on earth", demonstrates some more of the features of his annotational style :

Tornando il Poeta in questa stanza a le lodi di M.L narra con quanto favor del cielo ella nascesse, e quanta fosse poi la sua somma honestate dicendo, che le benigne e favorevoli stelle nel suo nascere si feron compagne al fortunato e felice fianco de la madre, in partorir tanto eccelente cosa come lei, la quale a similitudine di loro la feron una stella in terra, de le quali benigne stelle vedremo in quella Canz[one 325]...ove in persona di fortuna dice Il dì che costei nacque eran le stelle ecet. E come il lauro conserva le sue foglie sempre verdi, OVE non spira folgore, stando ne la translatione, cioè nel quale non viene fuoco di concupiscenza, NE indegno vento che mai l'aggrave, Ne indegno appetito che lo molesti, E cosi conserva sempre veneranda honestate.¹⁰²

The opening of this brief annotation is typical of the majority of Velutello's entries, it is merely a re-iteration of the poem's content, a precis for the reader to quickly identify the aims of the poem. Here Velutello merely repeats the two main themes of the stanza : Laura's virtue, and the favourability of the stars at her birth. This he follows by a

cross-reference with Rime 325. This cross-referencing is a constant practice, having the effect of emphasising the coherence and thematic unity of the sequence. Lastly, and most importantly I think, the elucidation of the difficult lines, the unravelling of the figurative density of Petrarch's expressions into the terminology of Platonic love. Thus the lightning is interpreted as "the fire of concupiscence", the "unworthy wind" as "unworthy appetite", and the evergreen laurel as the symbol of "venerated chastity". All of this language echoes the discussions of worthy and unworthy love, and the valorization of chastity which thronged the pages of the trattatisti d'Amore, a modern expansion and elaboration of the "nobil desio" of Petrarch, Dante and the earlier Troubadour tradition in the new light of Platonic texts.

A similar Platonic, moral exegesis is found in Velutello's annotations to Rime 193 :

Descrive il Poeta...il nobile e gentile nutrimento ch'egli ~~in~~ⁱⁿ
 veder M.L. & udirla dolcemente parlare alcuna volta pigliava,
 Onde dice, che Rapto, cio è rapito per man d'amore, non saper
 ben dove, tanto vuol in ferire, ch'egli era a tal dolcezza
 pieno di stupore co sentimenti intento, IN un volto delibo,
 In un volto gusto doppia dolcezza. Ambrosia e nettare è il
 cibo e poto de beati, ne altro significa che'l veder e
 fruire Iddio, di che essi ne sono nutriti, come vuol il Poeta¹⁰³
 inferire, che del veder & udir Madonna Laura egli si nutriva.

Petrarch's hyperbole of earthly love as an intoxication akin to the food of the gods, as in some way 'divine' in spirit, is explained by Velutello in explicitly Platonic terms. Petrarch's state of amorous intoxication is full of "oblivion" and "sweetness", these "internal feelings" are linked by Velutello to an experience of God himself. He is repeating the Ficinian dictum (drawn from the Symposium and Phaedrus) that human love is an experience of divinity, albeit at a lower level, ~~that~~ the lover loves not the transient matter of his lover's appearance, but the "divinitatis folgore", the spark, or shadow of Divine beauty. Thus "seeing and enjoying God" is experienced by Petrarch (his ambrosia and nectar) when he "looks and listens to Madonna Laura". Thus Velutello suggests the same mystical interpretation of Petrarch's verb "ratto" as we would expect in Bruno's Eroici, and not the almost senseless oblivion of Petrarch's original. Not that Velutello draws exclusively on points of philosophical interest in the Rime (although this is the general bias), he can also enlighten his readers on the learned matters of literary allusion. Thus in his annotation to Rime 247, he expounds Petrarch's oblique references to Classical authors. By "Atene, Arpino, [e] Mantova", Velutello says, Petrarch means Demosthenes, Cicero,

and Virgil; — and by "l'una et l'altra lira" he means "Pindaro & Horazio, l'uno greco e l'altro Latino poeta lirico"¹⁰⁴. Even here Velutello feels compelled to re-iterate Laura's divine ineffability : "lingua mortale non puo giunger al sommo del suo divino stato"¹⁰⁵, he says, and it is naturally to this religious and philosophical aspect of Petrarch's love for Laura that his commentary leans. His departures from mere repetition of the poem's contents are often stimulated by the mysteries and obscurities of the poet's phrases. Thus in his comments on Petrarch's depiction of Cupid in Rime 151 :

Ove dice, che lo vede non cieco, come s'usa dipingerlo, ma si ben pharetrato, a dinotar che vede, & ha faculta di poter ferire NUDO, per i concetti de gl'amanti, che sono a tutto 'l mondo manifesti e noti....GARZON con ali, a dinotar il loro discorso, e la molta instabilita, NON pinto, ma vivo, che significa il suo amore non esser finto, ma del verace. Ne' quali occhi dice che li mostra quello, che ceta a molti, volendo inferire, che rari erano coloro l'ingegno de quali potesse al sommo de la eccelentia di lei penetrare.¹⁰⁶

Here if anywhere are the sources of Bruno's "emblematic conceit", as Velutello here treats Petrarch's poetry (as befits its pictorial, allegorical style) as an emblem or impresa, a link which was later made explicit by Scipione Ammirato in his La Rota, ovvero delle imprese dialogo (1562), where he said "la poesia & la pittura sono sorelle tutte nate in un parto"¹⁰⁷. Both poetry and the impresa, said Ammirato, stemmed from "i fingimenti delle favole" of antiquity, and "rinchiudevano molti belli segreti" under their outer surfaces.¹⁰⁷ Velutello's exposition of Cupid naturally recalls those of the mythographers, like Cartari and Conti, and those of the philosophers or trattatisti who used mythographic elements, like Pico, Leone Ebreo, or Bruno himself.¹⁰⁸ Unlike the usual Cupids, Petrarch's is "verace" (truthful), and he leads the poet to an uncommon, exalted knowledge through "la eccelentia di lei", and this naturally attracts Velutello's interest as another indication of Petrarch's sentenziosità. In his own sonnet, dedicated to the "sacre ceneri del Petrarca & di Madonna Laura", Velutello exhorts his readers to honour their love, eternalized by Petrarch's pen as a war waged "con dolce foco di celeste amore / Accende e infiamma ogni gelato core". Laura and Petrarch are worthy to be placed "ne i stellanti seggi / Fra Dante & B[eat]rice", and this exaltation is reflected in the tone of Velutello's annotations.¹⁰⁹

Naturally Velutello is eloquent on the subject of Petrarch's most religious canzone, the celebrated 'Vergine bella' (Rime 366), as indicated by the length of his commentary

(some two or three times more than he devotes to other canzoni). It is interesting to see that here, where the temptation to dwell purely on the ideas of the poem is at its height, Velutello nonetheless draws our attention to the literary models for Petrarch's poem. This dual emphasis is suggested by his description of the poem as both "devotissima" and "elegantissima", and in his likening of Petrarch's theme of repentance and contrition to the Horatian Odes :

il Poeta... piglia per sua protettrice & avvocata la madre
de peccatori Maria Vergine, cui lodi com' anchor Hor[azio]
quelle di Phoebò e di Diana in fine de le Ode.¹¹⁰

Naturally in such a hymn to the Virgin Mary, Petrarch drew on a wealth of Church literature, and the Bible, and Velutello assiduously comments upon these allusions, as well as those of Classical authors. Hence Velutello says of the first three lines of stanza two :

chiamandola Vergine saggia, & una anzi la prima de le beate,
e prudenti Vergini, Et con piu chiara lampa, Imitando quella
parabola del Salvatore recitata da Matteo al XXI de le ^{XXV. Cap.}
X vergini, cinque prudenti, e cinque fatue... onde anchor
ne la prima Antiphona 'Haec est virgo sapiens & una de
numero prudentum'.¹¹¹

Petrarch also calls her "fenestra del Ciel lucente altera", which, Velutello says, is "ad imitatione di quel Hinno O Gloriosa domina, ove dice, 'Coeli fenestra facta es'".¹¹²

Velutello traces other allusions to the liturgy, and biblical sources such as Solomon, the prophets etc. But it is the theological and philosophical details which intrigue Velutello, and which he expansively illuminates for the reader in terms which hover between orthodox Christian doctrine, and Platonic usage. Thus Petrarch's description of the Virgin as "o saldo scudo de le afflitte genti / contr' a' colpi di Morte et di Fortuna", is interpreted thus :

soggiungendo ch'ella è in refrigerio, & in favore de gli afflitti
a similitudine d'un saldo, et forte scudo contra le tre generi di ^{generazioni de}
mali, cioè di corpo, inteso per li colpi di morte, de le cose
temporali, per quelli di fortuna e d'animo, per lo cieco ardore,
ch'avampa i ciechi mortali de la cupidità de le cose terrene.¹¹³

Likewise Velutello interprets Petrarch's prayer to the Virgin to "soccorri a la mia guerra" as being "a soccorrere a la guerra, al contrasto che fa in lui il senso con la ragione",¹¹⁴ strongly suggestive of the Quattrocento strain of love-theory, the treatises influenced by Ficino and his Latin translations of Plato. Together with this we find more straightforwardly

doctrinal interpretations of Incarnation and the Trinity, alluded to in Petrarch's praise of the Virgin birth, and a mass of paraphrases of the text.

Velutello's view of Petrarch's "dolce foco di celeste amore" is an early manifestation of commentaries which sought to bring Petrarch's verse more firmly within the fold of Platonic teachings; a more restrained version of the philosophical interpretations of the Florentine Academicians whose works we shall peruse later. As such, he is hesitant, and the strictly Platonic ideas are shadowed forth in fragments, turns of phrase and in the overall attitude to Laura's 'divinity' or excellence. His annotations are fairly brief, and are not intended as fully fledged expositions. The same is not true of Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo's commentaries, the most copious of Petrarch's annotaters. Gesualdo's is amongst the first of the thoroughgoing Platonic interpretations of Petrarch in this form, and is linked to¹¹⁵ the discussions of this question initiated by Antonio Sebastiano Minturno's Academy in Naples, bringing to fruition the interest in Petrarch's Platonic sentiments begun by Cristoforo Landino's lectures on Petrarch in the Florentine studio in the 1460s and 70s.

As we saw above, Minturno's dedicator in the Lettere, Federico Pizzimenti, saw Gesualdo as the proper expounder of the "Platoniche fila" in Petrarch's poetry, and especially the "tre sorelle" (the name given to Rime 71-3),¹¹⁶ and it is Gesualdo's exposition of one of these "three sisters", Rime 72, which I intend to examine at length, to uncover this 'Platonic Petrarch'. But first let us look at Gesualdo's prefatory note on "La 'ntentione e l'amor del Poeta",¹¹⁷ which sets the tone in which Petrarch's poetry and his amorous relationship with Laura are to be interpreted. To Gesualdo, Petrarch's love was largely blameless, and centred on "le celesti bellezze, e le divine virtuti di lei".¹¹⁸ He finds certain proof of this divinity in the date on which Petrarch fell in love with his "lauretta" :

E quel che più commenda il suo amoroso incendio...è il notabil tempo, nel quale egli di lei s'innamorò, il che non senza destino del cielo, ne senza divino consiglio par che avvenisse...quel santissimo d[omi]n[us]...egli tutto in se romito, s'era colla mente rivolto & inalzato à considerare i meravigliosi misteri de la passione di N[ostro] S[ignore]... venisse in contra humana bellezza, che lo prendesse & infiammasse.¹¹⁹

Gesualdo makes Petrarch's encounter with Laura on 6 April 1327 into a religious or mystical experience, of transport. He finds further proofs of its wonder from the ancients,

the 6 April, he says, is the birthday of Socrates, the date of two major Greek victories, the date of Alexander's death, a time of good fortune. Gesualdo goes on to excuse Petrarch's erotic dalliance with Laura as something which he struggled against virtuously, despising himself, yet unable to resist :

non una volta indarno tentato di liberarsi da le mani d'amore,
al fine poi c'hebbe dieci anni portato l'aspra cathena al collo,
per fuggire la fiera prigione da Provenza e da lei s'allontanò.
[Ma] ne pero egli potè mai tanto fuggire, ne sì di lungi andare,
ch'amore non l'aggiungesse.¹²⁰

After a decade of love for Laura, Petrarch reflects :

egli ama, ma più vergognoso e più doglioso, che per addietro,
& à forza, e contra sua voglia...[affirma] allhor a duo anni
l'appetito e la ragione haver in lui combattuto & esser^ene al
quanto lo 'ncendio rallentato.¹²¹

Not only did he oppose and relent of his affection for Laura, but his love was of a virtuous cast anyway, says Gesualdo , it was "ne finto con'alcuni stimarono ma vero, Il che senza dubbio veruno troverte non pur nell'Eccloghe ma nell'Epistole Familiari", and his only purpose in writing of his vain love was to "rifrigerio da sfogare l'amoroso cordoglio".¹²²

At the very beginning of the commentary Gesualdo emphasises the high profile of Plato in his exegeses : "Onde non pur i santi e Christiani Theologi mostrarono di quanto poder sia la confessione & il pentirsi, Ma Platone philosopho ancora"^{h 123}. This "not only...but also" is the very essence of the Ficinian labour of Christian Platonism, which strove to make pagan and Christian ideas complementary (to "fare Platone Mosiaco" as Ebreo put it).¹²⁴ It is the addition of Plato's Symposium, and its conception of the divinity of female beauty which transforms the old Christian dilemma of sex and the "fierce prison" of the Flesh, so that the virtuous lover can burn and repent simultaneously. Gesualdo takes every opportunity to reveal the virtues of female beauty, and the Platonism which he thought was inherent to Petrarch's poetry.

One of the most exhaustive applications of Platonic love-theory to Petrarch's enamourment is to be found in the voluminous annotations to Rime 72 :

Ha egli parlato del glorioso frutto che conseguⁱa per la
virtu de begliocchi [in Rime 71]. Hora seguend^o con leggiadri
& alti sentimenti Platonici, vien inalzando degli effetti
de' celesti lumi : perochè i begli occhi...con bellissimo
splendore mostravano al Poeta la via^a andare al cielo.¹²⁵

There is no uncertainty here, Gesualdo is confident that Petrarch deals in "Platonic

sentiments", just as if he had had the benefit, as Gesualdo himself, of Ficino's Latin translations of the Symposium and the Phaedrus.

Gesualdo addresses his commentary to the Marchesana de la Palude, the noble patroness of Minturno's Petrarchan-Platonic Lettere, and Gesualdo makes clear his allegiance to this Neapolitan circle. This "lunge e dotta spositione", he says, was intended for Minturno's Academy : "alla Academia del Minturno la riserviamo"¹²⁶. It is altogether fitting, in the light of Bruno's subsequent labours in the Eroici that Naples, his home city (he was born in the nearby town of Nola), should be the site of some of the earliest and most fastidious philosophizing of Petrarch in the Neoplatonic vein, and it would be interesting to know whether the works printed by this circle were available to Bruno in the library of his monastery, San Domenico, some thirty years after they were published. Bruno certainly had a nostalgic interest in the Petrarchism of his fellow Neapolitans Luigi Tansillo, and Marc'Antonio Epicuro, whose poems he appropriated and whose style he imitated in the Eroici sequence.

Gesualdo reads Petrarch as a definitively Platonic text in the sense that, like Dante, he believed that female beauty could lead to the love of God, "un dolce lume / che mi mostra la via ch'al ciel conduce". Gesualdo interprets the "dolce lume" specifically as Ficino's "divinitatis folgore" : "è divino splendore del sommo Sole mostrantesi ne' begliocchi di Madonna Laura"¹²⁷. The 'sun' of Laura's body is a microcosmic reflection of the intelligible sun of God, her beauty is a shadow which acts as a ladder by which man can rise to the reality of the Divinity, as revealed by Diotima to Socrates in the Symposium : "il quale splendore e lume 'mi mostra la via, ch'al ciel CONDUCE', e mena : perche il bello è quello mezzo per cui si giunge all'altissimo principio, ch'è Dio"¹²⁸. Gesualdo makes a telling cross-reference here with the lines from Rime 360, which describes Laura as "una scala al Fattor, chi ben l'estima"¹²⁹. This ascent "per le cose mortali" toward "l'alta cagione prima" certainly has its foundations in a form of Platonism, although more likely the mediaeval Platonism of Pseudo-Dionysius' anagogicus mos, or "upward-leading method", or that of St Augustine (engaged by Petrarch in his Secretum). Nonetheless, it is compatible with the later Platonism of Renaissance Italy, and allowed Petrarch to be promoted by Cinquecento admirers into the ranks of "i Platonici".

Gesualdo continues to explain the mechanism of the moral efficacy of the beloved's eyes,

which are a "fenestre del cuore", while the lover's heart is "uno specchio"

ove per lo splendore degli occhi amati, non solamente
gli affetti de l'amante si scoprono ma il cuore de
l'amata cosa chiaramente traluce : onde la mente innamorata
veggendolo pieno di virtute e di valore s' sforza farsi
simile a lui imitandolo con alte operationi e pelegrine.¹³⁰

J.A.Quitslund has argued convincingly that expositions such as these were very influential in the composition of Edmund Spenser's Amoretti, especially in the inculcation of a philosophical love replacing Petrarch's "passionate and personal quality" with a more "expository presentation of ideals".¹³¹ And we can certainly see reflections of this ethical nurturing of the Lady's eyes in the verses of Elizabethan sonneteers. In Astrophel and Stella LXXI, example, we find a similar exposition of the beloved as a ladder of virtue. Stella is the "fairest book of nature" showing the lover "How virtue may best lodg'd in beauty be", and as in Gesualdo's commentary, it is the eyes (a reflection of the "sommo sole") which is the utmost source of virtue in Stella's face :

There shall he [the onlooker] find all vice's overthrow,
Not by rude force, but sweetest sovranity
Of reason....
That inward sun in thine eyes shineth so.

Likewise in Astrophel XXV, virtue is said to be "met with our eyes" in amorous glances, and "inward sun to heroic mind displays". It is highly probable that commentaries such as Gesualdo's were very influential in the growth of Neoplatonic Petrarchism, given their presence in the text to which Petrarch's imitators turned for their inspiration. Petrarch was received by the Elizabethans, in part at least, as a Platonist : "la bellezza; massimamente quella del' anima, ne scorge, come ne' insegnano i Platonici".¹³² Far from being a lascivious distraction from virtue, Petrarch's love led him to serious study : "la bellezza dunque di Madonna Laura, fu cagione che 'l Poeta lasciando la vita del vulgo seguisse li studi de pochi e gloriosi".¹³³ This is a reflection of Plato's "true lovers" in the Symposium 256A-D, whose love leads them into the "ordered rule of the philosophic life"; they are "lovers of discourse" like Socrates (236B), literally philo-sophers, lovers of wisdom. This aspect of Platonic love was not unanimously accepted by Renaissance Platonists, who often retained a strong Christian-misogynistic streak, denouncing women as obstacles to knowledge. The Earl of Northumberland, for instance, in his Essay on Love asserted that "to gaine a mistris with longe sute, mutch passion and many delaies, and follow knowledge

in his hight is impossible".¹³⁴

Gesualdo does not entirely ignore the stylistic and Humanist aspects of Petrarch's work, it is merely that they are very much in the background, mostly emerging as a passing comment or aside : "da Latini si chiama questo parlare Exaggeratio"¹³⁵ Gesualdo says of a Petrarchan hyperbole; elsewhere he throws in a gratuitous comment : "la primavera, che da Virgilio è detta formosissimus annus".¹³⁶ And occasionally he might venture a comment whilst explaining an obscure phrase :

per queste due stagioni [il verno e la primavera] intende ^laltre due anchora, volendo dire d'ogni tempo....E così usa il Poeta non macrologia, ch'è vitio, ma leggiadra descrizione, ch' è ornamento del parlare.¹³⁷

It is precisely the concern for "ornament of speech" which is missing from Gesualdo's commentary. He largely neglects to point out rhetorical figures, or comment upon Petrarch's imitation of the Classics, or comment (as others do) on the aptness of expressions or their musicality.¹³⁸ Gesualdo is a precursor to the later Academic view of Petrarch as essentially a poet of doctrine, philosophy and "mysteries".

Thus Petrarch's contemplation on Laura's beauty, and its relation to the celestial beauty "là suso" (ie in heaven), is presented by Gesualdo as a divine frenzy, or Platonic remembering of the soul :

per questa bellezza [di Laura] rimembrando contemplava la celeste beltà, onde ella origine havea; perche coll' ali de l'amoroso disio si levava per veder le bellezze del cielo.
^h Ma perche non era il tempo ancora l'ali tanto podere
[^] havessero, che cavandolo di questa prigione terrena al cielo inalzar lo potessero, cessando quello furor divino a se stesso ritornava.¹³⁹

A sober reflection becomes an ecstatic transport, and shifts Petrarch into the sixteenth century and their new Platonic enthusiasms. Gesualdo goes on to discuss the correct cosmological categories for "là suso", whether it is the Christian "cielo empyreo", or "quel che ne pareva a Platone, nel primo mobile, che secondo gli antichi scrittori sarebbe l'ottava sfera".¹⁴⁰ To Gesualdo Petrarch seems largely to be a concatenation of doctrinal loci, to be expounded purely in philosophical or theological or scientific terms. When Petrarch says "Aprirsi la prigion ov'io son chiuso" we must understand it "Aristotelicamente e Platonicamente" Gesualdo says, because "metaphoricamente il corpo chiamato ha prigione de

l'anima al modo Platonico, cio è lasci l'anima il corpo, che la ritiene, che non puo liberamente andare in cielo. Questo è quello furore divino,^{che} si come piace al'Gran Platone, la beltà, che si vede qua giu, crea ne l'anima de l'amante : ond' ella sovra l'ali si leva credendosi liberamente volare al cielo : ma la prigione corporea le se^{ra} l'uscio del camino, che là suso conduce".¹⁴¹

This species of commentary made possible Bruno's Platonic Petrarchism also, although dispensing with the need for a woman to raise his thoughts to heaven. Thus in the third dialogue of the Eroici, Bruno tells us that Love allows the heroic lover to "fly to heaven" :

L'Amore.... abbia presentato avanti gli occhi de la mente una specie intelligibile, nella quale in questa terrena vita, rinchiuso in questa priggione de la carne...li^l è cito di contemplar più altamente la divinatade, che se altra specie e similitudine di quella si fusse offerta.¹⁴²

He does so through no common "species or similitude", such as Petrarch's Laura, but through "la specie intelligibile più alta che egli s'abbia possuto formar della divinità".¹⁴³ The most important point of similarity between Gesualdo's commentary and Bruno's poems and commentaries is the poetic language of Petrarch itself. Works such as Gesualdo's sanctioned the use of Petrarchan conceits to express philosophical or Platonic sentiments. Thus Bruno's sonnet 'Bench' a tanti martir mi fai soggetto' gives a Petrarchan surface to his ideas about the prison of the flesh and the "frenzy" caused by the contemplation of divinity, which is likened to Petrarchan love (unrequited by virtue of the soul's variance with matter) :

...un divo e viv' oggetto,
De dio più bella imago in terra adore [il mio cor]...
Pascomi in alta impresa;
E bench' il fin bramato non consegua...
Basta ch' alto mi tolsi,
E da l'ignobil numero mi sciolsi.¹⁴⁴

In Gesualdo's commentary, and Bruno's, Petrarchan love is the basis of a Platonic furore, and as such the mediating object loses significance, both are ecstatic transports, "tolte dagli effetti...ombre e similitudini di quella [divina bellezza]".¹⁴⁵

Even love's "bitter-sweet" ambiguity, which Petrarch probably drew from Sappho via Catullus, is interpreted by Gesualdo as of Platonic origin : "ben che amore sia dolce, ha del amaro, come Platone disse seguendo il divino Orpheo".¹⁴⁶ At every opportunity Petrarch is made answerable to (and explicable in terms of) Platonic theology.

The ambiguity of the value of human love is revealed in the commentary, as much as it

was in Gesualdo's preface, where Petrarch's love is seen as shameful, and something to resist, but also "singulare" and "non senza destino del cielo", "ne finto...ma vero".

Gesualdo even ventures to explain Petrarch's poetic passions away as allegory : "tal volta col nome di lei par che alluda a l'ardente suo amore verso la poesia & allo studio".¹⁴⁷

In Rime 72, Gesualdo is happy, it seems, to accept Petrarch's ardour and pleasure as a purely virtuous thing, or at least he makes religious and amorous pleasures in some way equivalent, hence :

Empiando d'un pensier alto e SOAVE, ch'era di pervenire a
~~pervenire a~~ gloria sempiterna, di che ne più alta ne più
soave cosa esser dee, o forse del pensiero de begliocchi
alto per l'altezza de l'oggetto, e soave per lo piacer di
mirarli.¹⁴⁸

This uncertainty between "sempiternal glory" and the "thought of [Laura's] beautiful eyes", seems not to worry Gesualdo. Perhaps because to him the passion and pleasure of Petrarch is not to be interpreted vulgarly, but is seen as ascensive and chaste. Certainly when he comes to describe "il piacere degli begliocchi"¹⁴⁹ in his commentary on stanza three, and speaks of the "caldo piacere" and the "dolce ardore" of Petrarch, it is seen as consonant with Laura's "angelic" nature. "Ella era per fermo ineffabile" says Gesualdo of Laura "e sovra nostro intelletto".¹⁵⁰ For such a transcendent object the "hot pleasure" must, naturally, be of a strictly intellectual kind. Thus Gesualdo emphasises that the poet's pleasure is "coi raggi del' angeliche faville ardendo" and the ardour is not hot and destructive but "piacevolissimo e soavissimo". Gesualdo accentuates this by reference to two hyperboles used by Petrarch, "sparise et fugge / ogni altro lume dove 'l vostro splende",¹⁵¹ from this poem (Rime 72) and "col suo bel viso suol de l'altre fare / Quel che fa 'l sole le minori stelle"¹⁵² from Rime 218. These excessive metaphors prove to Gesualdo that Laura is a worthy object, "[da lei] si sgombrava ogni altra gioia" because she is "celesti e divini...ineffabile".¹⁵³ Petrarch's love is "caldo", but also "angeliche", like the sparks and rays which issue from the virtuous eyes of the beloved.

Again Gesualdo's commentary seems to be symptomatic of Elizabethan tendencies in love-poetry. The effects of the beloved's eyes in the Elizabethan sonnet seem to fluctuate between the harmful and sensual, and the salutary and mystical. Thus in the Earl of Oxford's 'What cunning can expresse, the favour of hir face?', we find a "heavenly fire" cloaking a more straightforward desire :

A thousand Cupids flie
 About hir gentle eie
 From whence each throwes a dart,
 That kindleth soft sweet fier;
 Within my sighing hart,
 Possessed by desier....
 Heav'n pictur'de in hir face
 Doth promise ioy and grace...
 These sunbeames in mine eie
 These beauties make me die.¹⁵⁴

The author's "soft sweet fier" here is not the "piacevolissimo e soavissimo" sentiment of Gesualdo's Petrarch; it is not angelically rapt, but possessed by desire, his sighing is a yearning for a sexual "death". The "Heaven" and "grace" promised are an earthly paradise, the yearned-for consummation of sensual pleasure. To a less abandoned sonneteer, the eyes' promise is a destructive trap : "An eie, the plot whereon Love sets his gin"¹⁵⁵. Thomas Lodge's sonnet 'Of ceaseless thoughts my mind hath fram'd his wings', however, shows us the obverse of these amorous glances :

To spie these double lampes, whose sweet receipt
 Must be the heaven where as my soule shall rest,
 Though by their shine my bodie be deprest.
 Hir eies shrowd pitie, pietie and pure....
 All what is hers, is borrowed from above.
 Then mount my minde, and feare no future fall.
 Exceed conceit, for she exceeds conceit.¹⁵⁶

Here the eyes exalt the spirit (the body being "deprest"), leading the gaze of the lover to thoughts of piety and purity, and thence to heaven, the source of her beauty. Lodge's sentiments are nearer to Gesualdo's "amor cortese", and yet the Earl of Oxford's poem shares in the same conflation of natural desire and idealized love. The key-word of this matrix of love and divinity is "grace", whose occurrence in Elizabethan poetry seems to vary between sexual yielding and benign, chaste moral-influence, the mediator of both being the eye, the granter or withholder of favour.

Gesualdo continues his commentary on Rime 72 by expounding the power of the "bel nero e bianco...quella parte, per cui veggiamo, la quale pupilla Latinamente si dice"¹⁵⁷. The "conforto de begliocchi"¹⁵⁸ are Petrarch's only refuge in the earthly world of suffering, "non havendogli il cielo altro rimedio dato in compensare la sua imperfettione che il gioire de begliocchi"¹⁵⁹. Again Gesualdo seems to be tottering the tightrope of Petrarch's "gran desio". On the one hand Love is said to "frolic" ("trastulla") in Laura's eye, and Gesualdo interprets this conventionally as amorousness : "perche il volger de

begliocchi ha molto de l'amoroso"¹⁶⁰, and yet their great power over the lover does not incite him to passion, but to restraint :

lo sdegno de begliocchi temenza gli dava, la quale affrenava
il dolce ardore, che mirando i celesti lumi dilettevol-
mente gli penetrava nel cuore.¹⁶¹

In the commentary on the following stanza, Gesualdo is more strident on the amorous movement of the eyes, distinguishing the "dishonest" use of these movements from their "virtuous" use. This is in response to Petrarch's phrase "begliocchi al fin dolce tremanti, ultima speme de' cortesi amanti"¹⁶² :

DOLCE TREMANTI, moventisi nel rivolger amorosamente :
perioche questo movimento de begliocchi...vien da
dolce & amoroso affetto....'Ultima speme de cortesi
AMANTI', de liberali & gentili amanti, e non de l'avari
e bramosi di cose illecite : peroche de veri amanti il
fine disiato è gioire del bello : la bellezza non si
sente per altra conoscenza che da la mente, degli occhi,
e de li orecchi intendendo, mirando & odendo : il tatto
non è di cortese amante ma d'avarissima bestia.¹⁶³

Gesualdo adapts Petrarch's courtly-love theme (the virtue of the "lenten lover" was a Provençal commonplace) to the more recent theories on the "gioire del bello" expounded by Ficino, who taught that "omnis amor honestus sit, et omnis amator iustus"¹⁶⁴, and that "rationem...et visum et auditum ad spiritum pertinere"¹⁶⁵, and thus are the only means of apprehending beauty, and the only faculties allowed to the virtuous lover. The lust for touch, Ficino says, is "petulantiae...et servilis hominis perturbatio"¹⁶⁶. Likewise Baldassare Castiglione, following Ficino, allowed besides intellect only two means to appreciate beauty : "le vie che son adito all' anima, cioè la vista e lo auditum"¹⁶⁷. These three faculties, marking the bounds of noble love, were often enumerated by Elizabethan poets, hence :

I saw the eies that have my seeing bounde,
I harde the toong, that made my speech to staie,
Hir wit my thoughts did captive and confounde,
And with hir graces, drew my life away.¹⁶⁸

While others, less restrained, proceed from thence : "To touch hir hand...To feele hir brest...To see hir bare &c"¹⁶⁹.

Gesualdo is very insistent that the reader does not get the wrong impression of Petrarch's love, especially because of his imitation of Classical erotic poets :

perche in queste parole par che 'l Poeta habbia imitato

Virgilio e Giovenale; de quali Virgilia ne la Bucolica disse 'Vidimus & qui te transversa tuentibus hif^A quis' e Giovenale al fine de la settima Satyra 'Non est leve tot puerorum observare manus oculosque in fine trementes' l'uno e l'altro poeta di quello dishonesto, ^{fine} intendendo. Ma veggano costoro non corrompano la maestà e l'honesta leggiadra di questa canzone...[e] il [suo] sentimento Platonico : peroche non si conviene, che se nel principio & nel mezzo de la canzone si toglie il Poeta dal volgare disio, nel fine poi vi caggia, come smemorato di quello, ch' egli a narrare preso havea.¹⁷⁰

Gesualdo advances two Platonic positions to explain Petrarch's adoption of these

"dishonest" erotic poets, and his seeming vacillation between passion and chastity.

One could argue, says Gesualdo, that "l'amante ^{ver} haver duo dⁱsiri che dinotò Platone co^f duo cavalli...onde 'l Poeta havendo infin a qui l'honesto disire seguito, parlando poteo essere a dire questo [disire] spronato da lo sfrenato appetito"¹⁷¹. That the poet should do justice to both aspects of love would be natural, they might argue, "i poeti sogliono ad arte col falso il vero congiungere, col dolce l'amaro, coll'honesto lo illecito, per mostrare la natura de le cose, di che si parla"¹⁷². But although these arguments "loro spositione fare dicevole"¹⁷³, Gesualdo himself maintains that Petrarch is holding true to the "Platonic sentiment" of the beginning of the canzone, and does not deal with two loves at all, but just one :

ne il Petrarcha imitando i duo Latini Poeti nelle parole era costretto seguirli nel sentimento : percio che non sarebbe, egli il primo, che l'altrui parole habbia in altro sentimento imitato, possendosi elle trarre a quello, ch'egli dir voglia, conciosa che n' è amoroso affetto cagione.¹⁷⁴

Another of the "sentimenti Platonici" in the fifth stanza is that "L'amante si studia esser tale, quale si conviene alla natura del suo amato obietto". "Sforzomi", says Petrarch,

"d'esser tale / qual a l'alta speranza si conface, / Et al foco gentil ond' io tutto ardo"¹⁷⁶.

Laura's "angelic" nature drives him to study to be virtuous, a "dispregiator di quanto 'l mondo brama"¹⁷⁷, her "dolci sguardi" moving him to "sollecito studio", and to renounce "lascivia e appetiti dishonesti".¹⁷⁸

It is easy to see from this exhaustive analysis of just one of Gesualdo's annotations from this massive commentary, how works such as this did much to influence the climate in which Petrarch came to be imitated, and especially to all (including Bruno and his Elizabethan contemporaries) who in some way wanted to make use of the ideas of Neoplatonic love-theory in their poetry.

Giovambattista Castiglione's Luoghi difficili del Petrarca (Florence 1532), and Niccolò Franco's Il Petrarchista (1539).

Before we go on to look at another way in which Petrarch's poetry was made to yield philosophical or "spiritual" doctrines, the so called spiritualizzamenti or corrections of Petrarch, I should like to look briefly at the opinions of two other writers. The Luoghi difficili del Petrarca,¹⁷⁹ written by Giovanbat^tista Castiglione, "un gentiluomo Fiorentino", was roughly contemporary with Gesualdo's commentary. This work shows us that Gesualdo's ideas on Petrarch's Platonism were fermenting in other parts of Italy at that time, and foreshadows the great leaps this integration of Plato and Petrarch was to take in the Florentine Academy in the 1550s and 60s.

First and foremost, Petrarch is seen by Castiglione as a receptacle of wisdom, and as such in need of learned expositors :

Molte più cose sar^zebono state necessarie all' intelligentia del leggiadrissimo nostro Poeta, che queste, ch' io ho qui solamente considerato e poste, e molto maggior senno, e più copiosa dottrina che la mia si ricercherebbe.¹⁸⁰

The "copious doctrine" needed, of course, is inevitably Platonic doctrine. Thus in his discussion of Rime 8, Castiglione says : "sono certissimo che molti diranno, ch' io voglio fare ch' il Poeta nostr^o fosse Platonic^o, contro a sua voglia"¹⁸¹. Nothing could be further from the truth, he says : Petrarch is, and wanted to be, Platonic. To these doubters of Petrarch's Platonism he says : "o, vero giamai cosa niuna Platonica havranno veduto, o vero il Poeta nostro non havranno inteso"¹⁸². And he goes on to give an example of this Platonism in this sonnet. Petrarch's reference to Laura's body as a "lovely garment" covering the soul :

chiama in questo sonetto il Petrarca l'anima di M.L. pigliar la veste, pigliare il corpo, perche secondo i Platonici, de quali il Poeta nostr^o fu imitatore, per essere stato studioso di S. Augustino, quasi essa anima di Platone, ponevano l'anima vestirsi del corpo quando la si univa alla materia, e quanto erano secondo loro, più purgati essi corpi tanto più egregiamente l'anime operavano.. Onde Mercurio ~~Trimegisto~~ ^{trimegistro} chiama l'huomo in duoi modi uno interiore ch' è l'anima : l'altro esteriore ch' è il corpo il quale chiamavano anchora vaso...la qual cosa il Poeta nostra toccha dicendo la bella vesta.¹⁸³

Castiglione here shrewdly situates the origin of Petrarch's "Platonic sentiments" in Augustine, probably being familiar with the Platonism of Petrarch's Secretum, a

fictional dialogue between Petrarch and the theologian. But more importantly he uses Petrarch as a hook upon which to hang more recent Platonic interests. Thus his brief exposition of the purgation of souls (which he expands to deal with the balance of soul and matter in man, the animals, and the "spheres" of the heavens), and the writings of Hermes Trismegistus, neither of which is really present in Petrarch, implicitly, or explicitly.

The extrapolation from single phrases out of Petrarch continues throughout Castiglione's short book - here is another example from his commentary on lines from Rime 23 :

L'ALMA CHE SOL DA DIO FATTA GENILE, fu veramente il nostro Poeta molto Platonico...tocca qui la creazione M.Francesco, dell'anima....molti Platonici come Plotino, Proculo, pensano farsi da Dio per gli angeli : niente dimeno Dionisio Areopagita-, Origene, santo Agostino, seguitero come Platonici eccelentissimi : vogliono adunque essi, e così gli Christiani Theologi l'anima humana che la sia fatta da Dio immediate senza mezzo alcuno delle seconde cause. ¹⁹⁴

Here Castiglione uses Petrarch's phrase to discuss a problem which was not intended by him, and which assumes an overview of Platonic tradition denied to Petrarch; a comparative perspective allowed only by the emergence of Greek Platonic studies in Florence under Besarion and Pletho, and the synthetic studies such as Pico della Mirandola's Conclusiones and Ficino's Theologica Platonica.

This view of Petrarch as an essentially Platonic poet rather than an amorous one, a chaste lover rather than a sensual one, continued to be promoted throughout the sixteenth century. Thus Niccolò Franco in his dialogue on the poet and his imitators Il Petrarchista, makes this laudation of the poet's virtues :

chi puo dire quanti e quali sentimenti de la divina, e de la humana philosophia si stieno ascosi ne le sue rime? Quanto senza lascivia leggiadro? Quanto è religioso ne i pensieri? Quanto è casto ne la mente? Quanto è Platonico nel suo amore? ...Niente in somma è in lui; che non sia di divine virtuti, di celesti bellezze, d'angelici costumi, d'honestissimo amore, di somma humanitate e d'ineffabile cortesia. ¹⁶⁵

It is this view of Petrarch which passed down to some of the Elizabethan poets. Sidney himself, as we saw earlier, regarded Petrarch as a "treasure-house of science", and saw the love of the poets to be that of "my maisters the philosophers" and not "wanton sinfulness". And yet, just as Sidney had to answer the carping of austere Puritan critics of

poetry who felt that it "abuseth mens wit, training it to a...lustful love",¹⁸⁶ so too Petrarch had his moral critics in Italy, especially after the severe guidelines laid down by the Tridentine council which, if anything, strove to "rival, if not overtake, the strait-laced Puritanism of the reformed churches"¹⁸⁷ and led to many popular poets such as Bembo ~~to be~~^{being} threatened with the Index of Prohibited Books. And it was not uncommon to hear Petrarch and other poets denounced from the pulpit in harsh terms.¹⁸⁸

From this denunciation of the poets there arose a peculiarly Counter-Reformation form of censorship known as spiritualizzamento, which consisted of re-writing amorous literature so that it dealt with edifying topics "in buon accordo con la morale e con la fede".¹⁸⁹ This process of censorship, re-writing and "cleansing" could vary in degrees of aggression, ranging from the gentle approach which we saw above in Bidelli's centoni, re-arranging the lines of Petrarch's poems to bring out a more orthodox message than he intended in his amorous sonnets, and works such as Feliciano Umbruno's Dialogo del dolce morire di Gesù Christo sopra le sei visioni di M.Francesco Petrarca (1544) which takes phrases from the "six visions" of Rime 323, and turns them into theological allegories. Thus the "fera ...con fronte humana" is Satan/the serpent, and "una nave / con la sarte di seta, e d'or la vela"¹⁹⁰ is the Virgin Mary, and so on. Lastly we get the more radical alterations of writers such as the Venetians Girolamo Malipiero and Giangiacomo Salvatorino, whose works I shall analyse next.

Girolamo Malipiero's Il Petrarca Spirituale (Venice 1567) 1536 and Giangiacomo Salvatorino's Thesoro di Sacra Scrittura sopra rime del Petrarca (Venice 1537)¹⁹¹

The Venetian Minorite friar Girolamo Malipiero was undoubtedly the most renowned and popular of the self-confessed "correttori" of Petrarch's Canzoniere (his Petrarca Spirituale went through no less than ten editions between 1536 and 1600). His work was totally unconcerned with any of the linguistic, stylistic or rhetorical virtues which Petrarch may have possessed, and was interested only in the poet's usefulness for the transmission of Christian doctrine, and he subtitles the work "Petrarca suo Theologo & Spirituale Introduttivo".¹⁹² Malipiero dedicates the work to the "sacra piedi di Iesu Christo, Redentore del Mondo". Just as much convinced of Petrarch's spirituality and philosophical inclinations as Gesualdo or Franco, Malipiero's approach is, however, more severe and

dogmatic, hauling Petrarch more securely into the Christian fold, and more reproachful about his amorousness. We find no "angelic" love of woman here, no "cortese amante", but only those fortunate lovers who have raised their eyes to the spiritual love of God. A frequent phrase re-iterated in Malipiero's work is "gli eserciti spirituali", and while he was no Jesuit, doubtless the austerity of Loyola's regime had something to do with Malipiero's pharasaical judgements on love-poetry, his censorship of Petrarch, and the development of the Canzoniere as a devotional tool (Loyola's Spiritual Exercises was above all a discipline of the imagination in worship). And yet this doctrinal orthodoxy is not exclusive of the Platonic sentiments of Petrarch's more liberal (or more secular) exegetes. Malipiero's work is rather typical of "a type of text which [became]...increasingly prominent during the last third of the sixteenth century, a text combining traditional Platonism with official Christian ethics"¹⁹³. Thus we find Platonic-Pythagorean theories of music, Ficino and Proclus woven into the monastic-pietistic thrust of Malipiero's work which, for instance, urges the contemplation of the cross as the main access to divine knowledge :

Tutto veramente lo studio dell' uomo di Dio, così publico come privato, versava circa la croce del signore, dalli divoti & frequenti abbracciamenti della quale egli spesso si sentia risonare tanta melodia nelle orecchie della mente, con maravigliosa dolcezza di cuore, che parevali essere tra chori angelici...inebbriato per eccessivo gusto d'amore.¹⁹⁴

It is easy to see from this mystical expression of a kind of furore in which the devotee experiences the "harmonia celeste" in an amorous swoon, how a Dominican like Bruno could displace the figure of Christ to formulate his own "ecstatic philosophy" out of current Christian Platonic thought.

Nonetheless, the big difference between Malipiero and, say, Gesualdo in their Platonic approaches to Petrarch is that, for Malipiero, Petrarch's text is not acceptable. He does not strive, like the Neapolitan, to dignify Petrarch's love for Laura, or to give it Platonic interpretations, but rather to rewrite him so as to exclude all amorous reference, or preserving it only as "amore spirituale". This is part of a general attack on the poetic culture of the time, the "false Sirene" of lascivious poetry. Petrarch's^{verse} is in fact only "dove con fraude più lusinghevole gli avelenati morsi di così blande Sirene visi celano"¹⁹⁵; a subtle abuse, and one worthy of reclamation, in need of careful cleansing because so seemingly harmless.

Malipiero's zealous labour falls into three distinct parts : a prefatory dialogue between Malipiero and Petrarch's soul (by which Malipiero cleverly puts the onus of rectification on the poet, who implores him to undertake the delicate task of turning him from poet to theologian), the sonnets and canzoni (savagely re-written and altered versions of Petrarch's originals, "con opportuni & convenivoli antidoti¹⁹⁶ espurgati da ogni veleno antico"), and a group of ten short essays comprising a treatise on how poetry and music - whose effects and identity seem to merge in Malipiero's rhetoric - can be used "ad ecitar l'huomo al divino amore"¹⁹⁷. This treatise or "introduzzione" comes between the sonnets and the canzoni, which are organized by virtue of form only, ignoring the narrative ordering of the Canzoniere into a kind of autobiography.

Although, as has been said, the Petrarca Spirituale was "tanta la voga"¹⁹⁸, it was not without its contemporary critics. Niccolò Franco, writing from Protestant Lucerne, rounded on Malipiero unreservedly :

Il male è che ci sono stati di quegli che v' han voluto far cristiano ducento anni dopo la morte, e di prete v' han fatto frate, ponendovi e cordone e zoccoli e scapolare, chiamandovi il Petrarca Spirituale.¹⁹⁹

And Giovannibattista Giraldi Cinzio, in his Discorso intorno al comporre dei romanzi spoke of those who took Petrarch and "vestendolo da frate minore, e poi cingendolo di corda, gli ha messo i zoccoli i piedi"²⁰⁰. But it is harsh, not to say unproductive, to dismiss this, as Arturo Graf does, as "un libro stupido, ma curioso"²⁰¹. We should rather try to counter the modern critical tendency to overlook religious poetry and poetics, and try to understand this popular moral reform of culture which became ubiquitous in the baroque period. It is hard to dismiss works such as Malipiero's when we find such major literary figures as Torquato Tasso purging their own works (the conversion of the Gerusalemme Liberata into the "purified" Gerusalemme Conquistata)²⁰². This moral imperative was not insignificant, and while it might offend modern critical demands for individualistic creativity it is central to an understanding of the literature of the time, and a natural outcome of debates on the moral utility or harmfulness of literature nourished by Plato's writings on poetry in the Republic, the Ion and elsewhere²⁰³. Certainly the argument raging over the effects of love-poetry in society contributed to the transformation of Petrarch into a more blatantly philosophical or spiritual poet of love. Malipiero's project is merely a natural outcome

of his desire to see Petrarch as "tutto spirituale". Where Petrarch fails him he supplies the deficit, and even goes so far as to put words of gratitude into the dead poet's mouth :

Critico : Petrarca, ond' è che vai sì altero e molto
 Allegro in faccia piu che per addietro?
Petrarca : Mercè del dotto e saggio Malipetro,
 Che d'amor vano e grave error m' ha sciolto.
Critico : Dunque la tua soave e dolce lira
 Più Laura non risona?
Petrarca : Non già certo.
Critico : Che poi?
Petrarca : Il sommo ben che mi dà la vita.
Critico : Felice tu, che impresa sì delira
 Lasciasti, ed hai a Cristo il canto offerto,
 Onde fia eterna tua Musa gradita.²⁰⁴

The whole drift of Malipiero's thought is governed by two important notions, firstly that the proper end of love is God, and secondly that the proper end of poetry is to express that end. Secondary to this is the power of music, and especially songs (which combine poetry and music) to excite the soul to this end.

In Cap.I Malipiero establishes God as the ideal love-object. The things "corporale, corrutibile e finita" which are the objects of worldly pleasures, says Malipiero, eventually "[gustano]più di fele che di mele", whereas "il glorioso e sempiterno Dio è semplice e invariabile, sempre e continuamente si rallegra di una pura e semplice dilettaione, la quale è in contemplare se medesimo".²⁰⁵ This is identical to the 'spiritual tumescence' of Bruno's Eroici, where Godhead becomes an unattainable yet ever-present love-object, fuelling an infinite passion ("infinito mi scaldo", cries the divine lover in one of his sonnets).²⁰⁶ While the climate of human love varies with the seasons, the furioso's passion is unchanging, in accordance with the light of the intelligible Sun of God, which the motto of the poem says is "idem semper ubique totum". "Non van mie pianti, sospiri ed ardori" says the furioso, "Con tai freddi, temperie e calori".²⁰⁷ Malipiero shared Bruno's disdain for Petrarch's "ostinato amor volgare".²⁰⁸ Human love, Malipiero says, is as nothing compared to the passion of the virtuous for God :

se discorriamo l'histoire delli gran fatti de gli huomini
 generosi, che sono stati al mondo, troviamo veramente, che
 senza comparatione sono sta fatte maggior imprese per amor
 della bellezza divina, che dell'humana.²⁰⁹

The deeds undertaken by the lovers of Helen and Lavinia, and the liebestod of Pyramis and Thisbe are "niente à paragone delli fatti egregij & difficili c'hanno fatto gl'innamorati

della bellezza divina"²¹⁰. Look at the list of saints since St Stephen, Malipiero says, and their martyrdom.

Just as human love had been glorified over divine love, so too the offices of poetry, which had been solely for divine celebration and made the poets into vates, and "quasi profeti", had been corrupted by licentious abuses. In our "tempi...infelicissimi, vitiati & corrotti" Malipiero says, poetry which is "divinamente ritrovata per lodare & glorificare Dio & per esercizio di spirituale amore" has suffered "abusione...e perversità" at the hands of modern versifiers, who used it "in vituperare Dio, in commercio di amor carnale, & in acquisitarsi sciocamente l'arrha dell' abisso infernale"²¹¹. These "lascivi huomini" are particularly berated by Malipiero because they "con la imagine sacra della virtude si fanno vitiosi"²¹², that is they clothe their base passions in the Neoplatonic terms of "heaven", "grace" and "star-eyes" as we saw in the Earl of Oxford's poem above. Malipiero is expressing a similar dissatisfaction with Platonic Petrarchism to that being voiced later in the English Renaissance. John Cleveland, for example, in his poem The Antiplatonick, despised the Platonic poets for not recognizing the sexual overtones of their "chaste" adoration : "Love that's in contemplation plac't / Is Venus drawn but to the wast / Unlesse your flame confesse its gender"²¹³. Greville too became suspicious of the idolatrous praises lavished on the "goddesses" of love-poetry, which he came to see as a masquerade of what were really sensual feelings (see my analysis of Caelica LVI in Chapter Three below).

Malipiero vilifies these base poets for taking the "bella...convarie e favolose materie" which "da se altrimenti utilissima e honorevole" and corrupt them, "fanla quasi meretrice prostituta, nociva, e peritiosa"²¹⁴. This railing at Platonic Petrarchans is not anti-Platonic in the way that Cleveland's poem is, but is itself part of a long Platonic tradition. His demand for purely religious poetry was not in itself a severe censorship of "liberal" art, but an expression of a common aesthetic judgement of the time. Take this letter from the poet Battista Mantuanus to Gian Francesco Pico c1505 :

Poëmata obscoena & impudica sunt iudicio meo inter vera
poemata, quales inter probas matronas, fornicare meretrices.
Ego enim poema verum, & quod omne punctum ferre possit esse
non puto nisi sit grave castum, ac sanctum...Nec audiendi
sunt poetae molles & effoeminati quibus nihil sapit nisi turpe,
impurum, purulentum & olidum.²¹⁵

Malipiero was in a mainstream of critical opinion which was very much concerned at the deleterious effects of amorous poetry, especially on the young and ignorant.²¹⁶ In revealing their "angosciose passioni...vergognosi amori & frenetici desiri" these irresponsible writers "constituendo^{si} per proprio chiro-grafo servi in capestrati di non so che ignudo & cieco garzoncello [ie Cupid]"²¹⁷, and lead the souls of the "incauti & male" to damnation :

come à gli hami i pesci sono invilupati & presi : per
cioche sotto gli amerosi versi & lusinghevoli parolette
prendono occasione & materia di vana concupiscenza &
illicita voluttà.²¹⁸

Malipiero is particularly upset by the immorality of ~~the~~ comedy in Italy, and he asks the "giovani inesperti" of Venice "i quali, mentre che cercate di trastularvi l'animo, vi date il veleno à tempo, leggendo voi si sovente le brutte, sozze e sporche comedie de lascivi poeti de' nostri tempi"²¹⁹. These writings are "contrario al sacro istituto della vita Christiana"²²⁰, because they will corrupt morals and "corrompono i buoni costumi"²²¹. He urges youths to give up "così avelena^{-te} & pestifere lettioni"²²², and points to the register of excommunicants where such "mimograffi, scostunati & falsi poeti" end up "nel sacro battesimo per fede sono disponsate"²²³. Malipiero pinpoints Petrarch as a particularly dangerous source of harm to youthful readers, and while conceding that they are "leggiadri sonnetti" he claims to render them "si che niente più vi potranno essere noiosi"²²⁴. In so doing, he admits, the literary qualities of the original may suffer, but it is worthwhile so as to achieve the greatest utility and piety :

anchora che le modificate ode & cantilene non havranno
possuto ...conservare tutta la loro politezza & leggiadrà :
non però vi sieno se non gratissime, poscia che spogliate
d'ogni anticha vanità, altro non vi canteranno, che cose
buone & sante...il nobile Poeta vostro compiutamente fatto
maestro di soda & vera dottrina.²²⁵

These poems are not for "prurito vano degli orecchi", but "per interna consolatione & vero conforto dell' anima"²²⁶. Besides, says Malipiero, "onde direte tanto mutamento?"²²⁷ : he does not feel that his alterations are at variance with Petrarch's intentions as his critics might. Had not Petrarch seen the error of his ways and started to produce properly Christian works concerned with his salvation, like 'Vergine Bella'? :

dopò molti anni dall' oblio suo aperti per gratia divina
gli occhi della mente, ha convertita la cithara sua à canto
di melodia spirituale, dicendo col Profeta [David] quel
verso : Deus canticum novum cantabo tibi.²²⁸

Malipiero feels that his "corrections" are those which Petrarch himself would have wanted to make, and this excellent piece of double-think is implied by the fictional dialogue of the preface, where Petrarch is very solicitous in urging Malipiero to agree to do this task. This is also the message of the dedicatory ^{sonnet}, "attributed" to Petrarch by Malipiero, 'Il Petrarca a gli animi gentili', where the reader is urged to desist from "l'amoroso canto" which is "pieno di van desio", and turn instead to Malipiero's profitable version :

Hora che 'l divin raggio altro soggetto
 Di più secondo amor, celeste & santo,
 Per quelle istesse note ornando, ha spanto...
 Ben credo Alme gentili, che più grato
 vi sia 'l soave e casto mio contento,
 s'error gli interni sensi non vi adombra. ²²⁹

Malipiero's talk of Petrarch's "melodia spirituale" above, is a key idea in Malipiero's Christian Platonism, which combines orthodox pietism with a Platonic-Pythagorean philosophy of the "harmonia celeste", which stresses the construction of the universe on musical or architectural proportions. In this philosophy, as in Ficino's Platonic Academy, music and poetry have a significant role to play in raising man's consciousness of his soul's divine origins.

At the beginning of his treatise on spiritual love, music and the songs of the poet, Malipiero asserts that God is "il vero, certo, destinato e beatificativo fine del l'huomo", ²³⁰ and is the ordering principle toward which the musical structure of the universe tends by "prefato appetito". The various components of the universe (inorganic matter, plants, animals, men, planets etc) desire God according to the position they occupy "nell'ordine dell' universo". In this scheme even inorganic matter has "life" and desires the goodness of the Divinity : "le pietre, i ^lmetali, gli elementi, i cieli, i pianeti, ^{& le}stellati... ²³¹ a proprio loro modo appetiscono il sommo bene". To this magical-sympathetic view of the universe Malipiero adds, in Cap.IV, the Ficinian notion of "consonanza", a musical arrangement of the order of being into a proportioned whole. Naturally in this system of sympathetic correspondences, music is possessed of great virtue and power ("virtù" and "potere"), being one of the "divine introduzioni, accioche l'huomo sia provocato al fine suo", ²³² reflecting the music of the Creation and the angelic choirs. In putting across this case for music as a potent ethical force Malipiero cites Platonic sources : Proclus, Apuleius, Pseudo-Dionysius, Marsilio Ficino, and even "gli Academici" of his native Venice.

This last source is evident in his stress on the power of music combined with words in "cantici spirituali", which was a staple of the musical Humanism imported by Venetians from the ideas of the Florentine Camerata of Giovanni Bardi, which saw "antique music" as a kind of divinely-inspired Orphic-Pythagorean magic, and attempted to revive its monodic and modal forms in contemporary composition (experiments which eventually led to the birth of opera). These musical Humanists (Florentines such as Vincenzo Galilei, and Venetians such as Giuseppe Zarlino) recovered ideas on music from Plato, Aristotle, Iamblichus, and various Patristic writings (such as St Ambrose's Enarrationes in Psalmos), who all wrote on the power of music to reform morals. Thus in Malipiero we find a laudation of the antique modes as a kind of Platonic frenzy. The gentiles, says Malipiero, used music "in celebrare le feste...delli lori dei", the Paeon for Apollo, the Dithyramb for Bacchus, the Orthian for Pallas etc. These poets "quasi per divin furore, prestavano facultà a comporre...[tai] ode sacre"²³³. This is supplemented by the biblical authority of the Jewish Apollo, David, whose harping is seen as integral to the tradition of Church music. Having experienced the "spirituale dolcezza" of the harp David "introdusse la salmodia nel culto divino" and the Church, following this "laudevole institutio" then "celebra...gli uffici divini con molta melodia...[onde] possono gli auditori essere ecitati al divino amore & a desiderio de gli eterni canti che noi aspettiamo a fare in cielo"²³⁴. The greatest value of music, says Malipiero, is in "gli essercitij & studij spirituali", because

da tale dilettevole consonanza & harmonia l'Anima intelletiva
puo essere sollevata al suo proprio oggetto & vero principio
& agevolmente essere fatta idonea à ricevere le divine et
alte illuminazioni.²³⁵

Music can give access to these "high illuminations" because, as in Pythagorean thought, Malipiero saw number and music as the door to "le cose secrete della natura", because music "conforme per natura"²³⁶ to the fabric of the universe. Malipiero illustrates this by reference to Ficino's interpretations of Phoebus and Apollo, and biblical illuminati such as Elisha, who used a minstrel ("menaghen") to reveal divine secrets, and Samuel, whose "nobile collegio de religiosi huomini" used singing and music to praise God, whereby Saul "udendo la loro sacra Melodia...ebbe lo spirito di Profetia"²³⁷. Malipiero also cites the case of the Minorite Francesco Freggipane, Bishop of Agrigense who, receiving the viatico and extreme unction ordered his musicians brought to him and had "uno hymno sacro à laude

della maestà divina" sung to him. Melody distracts the soul from "strane fantasie & pensieri vani", and by its similitude to the universal harmony moves the soul towards heaven, causing it to be "solleva[ta] a gli angelici canti, et nell' harmonia, che tiene l'Anima con Dio". The Bible itself is a tissue of melodies, he says, being composed of various "Salmi, Hymni e cantici spirituali", which is taken as a precedent for this magical-musical view of the universe.

Poetry, and Petrarch's poetry in particular, is drawn into this fold firstly by analogy with hymns and "spiritual songs", and secondly by the nature of poetry itself, which Malipiero holds to be "musical" because it is constructed according to "modi, numeri tempi e mesure". Malipiero speaks of Petrarch as having "mutato lo stil della sua cithera in canto spirituale alla consonantia & melodia della croce di Iesu Christo". The cross itself, by a nimble series of associations, comes to be conceived of as "musical". It is seen as a harmonic principle, an "eccellentissimo monacordo", and Jesus is seen as analogous to the tempering of harmony : "havendo in essa IESU Christo, sommo reconciliatore riformati tutti i registri, nessuna magistrevole consonantia è rimasta in tutto l'universo la quale possa dare all' anima intelletiva il tono & la nota del vero canto". The "music" of the cross idea is bolstered by reference to Dante's Paradiso XIV, where the blessed are said to experience the "gran misterio" of the cross as a kind of music : "come gigha & arpa in temprata tesa / Di molte corde". Dante, like Malipiero's devout spiritual lover is swept up into a divine furor by this music : "una melodia / che mi rapina". It is this animistic view of the universe founded on the monochord of Christ which Malipiero claims to be the source of Petrarch's guidance once he repented, when he "fattosi citherista di IESU Christo". Petrarch's "cieco errore", as far as Malipiero is concerned is the "errore di equivocazione". In his amorous sonnets Petrarch frequently mingled repentance with passion, love's rejection and resignation to love's bonds. Malipiero puts this conflict strangely, seeing the moral qualities of a poem as integral to its "music", condemning Petrarch's vacillation between "spiritual" and "corporeal" melody :

è non facendo distintione tra la melodia, che diletta solamente il senso dell' udito corporeo, il cui fine è cattivo, & la melodia, che diletta il senso dell' udito spirituale, il cui fine è buono...[inganno] per vezzo dell' appetito sensitivo, prostergata la ragione.

Malipiero uses here the traditional Platonic dichotomy of faculties to bring Petrarch

back to the "spirituale cithera di David" and the tradition of Malipiero's own spiritual father, St Francis (see Malipiero's other surviving poetic work Divi Franciscam vitam Christiano camine, 1531). He must be led away from this "equivocation" between his love for Laura, and love for the Heavenly Father, Malipiero avers, he must be made "tutto spirituale...per nuovo gusto di melodia celeste"²⁴⁷. It is this "new taste" which Malipiero aims to give Petrarch's "sinful" poetry by his emendations.

The alterations of the poems are probably the most shocking thing to a modern reader, one recent encyclopaedist was moved to call these "arbitrari e continue sostituzioni di parole e frase" a "scandalosa profanazione che tuttavia ebbe una notevole fortuna"²⁴⁸. The reluctant concession of its success says it all - Malipiero was not that eccentric in his views. He was perhaps a little harsher than some Platonists bewitched by the Diotiman dictum on physical beauty, but this was common in the misogynistic mainstream of the Church (Bruno included). Really the Petrarca Spirituale was a symptom of a widespread attitude toward Petrarch's poetry, which held that the poet dwelt upon spiritual, religious and philosophical matters, veiled beneath his passions for Laura. Malipiero merely took this to a further conclusion and removed, rather than theoretically justified, the parts of Petrarch which did not conform to this proposition, making him "maestro di soda e vera dottrina"²⁴⁹, even where this was not his intention.

In the very first sonnet of the Rime Sparse, for instance, Malipiero makes careful adjustments so as to make Petrarch appear far more penitent and self-critical than he was in the original, which is more forgiving of what the poet sees as his youthful errors.²⁵⁰ Petrarch criticises himself from the remote prospect of maturity, his sighs are past : "quei sospiri ond' io nutriva 'l core". Malipiero puts them into the recent past : "miei novi sospir", and Petrarch's almost-forgiveable "giovenile errore" are instead harshly condemned as "cieco errore". In the light of Malipiero's re-writes, the fifth and sixth lines no longer make sense - there is no oscillation "fra le vane speranze e 'l van dolore", but only penitent sadness :

...del vario stil più non ragiono,
Ma piango il fallo mio pien di dolore,
Il van desir, e 'l fuggitivo amore.

Where Petrarch's sonnet assumes a conspiracy of guilt with the reader (as one who will also "intenda amore") and seeks the reader's pardon, or pity, Malipiero's is a purely penitential

prayer to the Divinity : "Pietà, prego vi mova a mio perdono". Malipiero is also guilty of unnecessary alterations, as in the alteration of line 9 from "Ma ben veggio or si come al popol tutto" to "Conosco ben, si come al popol tutto", where the sense remains unchanged and no advantage is gained from the substitution. It is curious to note that even the eminently repentant last stanza of Petrarch's sonnet is not deemed emphatic enough by Malipiero who transforms the smooth cadences of fluidity of the first for his clumsy replacement, which gives a higher profile to the rectitude of heavenly values and the role of divine will in his repentance : "Hora drizzato al ciel, spero far frutto / Di vero ben; ch' io veggio chiaramente".

Before concluding this description of these spiritualizzamenti of Petrarch's love-sonnets, I should like to introduce, by way of comparison, another "spiritualizer", the Venetian Giovan Giacomo Salvatorino, whose Thesoro de Sacra Scrittura...sopra Rime del Petrarca (1537), which followed closely in the footsteps of Malipiero. Salvatorino dedicates his work to Christ and Mary, who he says forced ^{him} to write. A Latin dedication by one of Salvatorino's friends or patrons "Comitis Federici Scoti Patricij Placetini", sets the tone of this transformation of Petrarch in elegaic distichs :

Servatis eius, cui sua Laura canit;
Ergo qui breviter dulci volet utile mistum
Nosse Deique sacras edidicisse vias,
Te leget & valde mirabitur; ac sibi dicet,
Te bene Christacolis consuluisse choris.²⁵¹

In a typical Christian-Platonic interpretation of the Horatian adage (as a sanction for didacticism)²⁵², Scoti shows us how Petrarch the "slave" of his sensual love for Laura is made "useful" by being altered to show the "sacred ways" of God, in Salvatorino's poems.

Eschewing the dialogue and treatise forms which make Malipiero's work so interesting as an ideological document, Salvatorino restricts the statement of his intentions to a very long poetic foreword, entitled "Prefazione dell'Opera in sonetti XXI, tra se retrogradi".

In the opening sonnets Salvatorino stresses the influence of Malipiero. He began his own work, he says, in 1537, when he was 33 years old (the same age as Christ when he was crucified). Like Malipiero he stresses his purely instrumental role in the creative process,

"si cominci^{-aro} queste benedette Rime / Dio usando del mio vil' ingegno / Per instr^oumento suo".²⁵³

Malipiero's verses are praised for their "bel leggiadro stil', santo,[e] divi^o", and²⁵⁴

like Malipiero he cares little for the loss in elegance in his versions of Petrarch, which ~~are~~^{is} as nothing compared to the spiritual gains :

Se ben questo mio, si rude fosse,
 Come si vede; al già preso camino.
 Dio vuol ch'i segua le mie scorte mosse;
 Per mostrar meglio, come le concette
 Cose per vanitadi, esso fa` degno
 o Soggetto de virtudi, e 'n basso ingegno
 De peccator' anch' esser benedette.²⁵⁵

Petrarch comes in for harsher treatment than that dealt out by Malipiero, who at least appreciated Petrarch's penitential efforts later in the Rime Sparse as products of David's "spiritual lyre". To Salvatorino Petrarch is a "slave" and his poems "things conceived for vanity", only useful as edifying tools once purged of their amorous content.

The "prefazione" is a fascinating document, unfolding as a blend of contemporary religio-political propaganda and theological meditation. "Dico sperar", he says in the sixth sonnet "ch' ancor sarà.../ suoi Christiani aiutar, contra le mosse / Genti infidel' lo gran Poder divino"²⁵⁶. Salvatorino recalls the glorious deeds of Godfrey against the pagans, and invokes the aid of Charles V against Islam :

O Rè si ardito, a cui Titol' si mette
 Sopra tutti Christiani; hor spiega il segno
 Dato dal Ciel, per far tuo Settro degno
 Semper estirpar le Maumethane Sette.²⁵⁷

Salvatorino places the "Aligero Leon" of Venice, and its rulers the "dui cugin" (the ruling family at this time were the Grittis; Doge Andrea Gritti held power from 1523 to 1538), at the forefront of a "divine plan" to overthrow the Islamic encroachment on Northern Europe. This element of a principally meditative, devotional work is a salutary lesson in how Renaissance art, even something seemingly unworldly as a spiritualized Petrarch, was bound at a thousand points to the power structures of the societies who regulated its flourishing. It also adds something to our analysis of the secularity or spirituality of Petrarchan employments, which seem here to be inextricably intertwined in a polemic designed to whip up political fervour for a "holy army". The other seemingly contradictory strand of the "prefazione", though more appropriate to the spiritualized sonnet, is the devotional reflections on Christ's passion and Man's unworthiness, held together by a complex weave of biblical numerology concerning the number seven (the preface itself, as Salvatorino says is constructed "in tre volte sette capi"²⁵⁸ : a synthesis of the Creation and the Trinity) :

[Considerate] l'affocate sette
 Parole dette in Croce....
 A che fin por ne de quelli di sette
 la creation? ...
 Dotandolo per sempre; bench' indegno.²⁵⁹

In the "prefazione" Salvatorino continually stresses his own personal sense of unworthiness : "io verne indegno / Perseverò trattarle [Christ's works] benche l'ingegno [mio] sia sbigottito", and elsewhere : "mi conosco tanto esser indegno / Che per se, l'alma nulla si promette"²⁶⁰. And he imposes this sense of unworthiness and humility onto Petrarch. If anything, Salvatorino's judgemental alterations are harder than Malipiero's,^{as in} his version of Rime 1, for instance, which we looked at above. In his first attempt at this sonnet,²⁶¹ Salvatorino addresses those who "d'un stil, forse salubre, il suono / Desiate udir", urging them to abandon the "favole e fittioni", the "Fallace ombra...damno e sogno" of amorous poetry, and especially the unadulterated Canzoniere. He will talk instead of Christ, he says, who "obbrobri patì, sol per amore / Dell' huomo". He then proceeds to his alteration of Rime 1 proper, which is a transformation of the sonnet into a pure plea for repentance, preserving (unlike Malipiero's where various fragmented phrases are retained) only the rhymes, after the first line, of the Petrarch original :

...hor'ogni vostro errore
 Lasciate, si pentiti, com' io sono;
 Sono un vil' verne, il qual vosco ragiono Psalm 21b
 Dolente del mio fallo; che 'l timore
 De pene eterne, insieme con l'amore
 Del sommo Dio, chieder mi fà perdono. Proverb 28

The marginal notations used by Salvatorino are a symptom of his main departure from Malipiero's style, in that he seeks to incorporate directly (or in paraphrase) sentiments from the Bible (hence "thesaurus of sacred scripture" of the title) into his re-fashioning of Petrarch. Let us now look more closely at these re-makings of Petrarch sonnets by Malipiero and Salvatorino, and the implications these have for Petrarch's original text (which, by mutation and omission, is evaluated and constituted in a negative commentary).

In Rime 356, Petrarch describes a dream-encounter with the spirit (the "breeze") of his beloved Laura, in which he confesses his love for her, as he had not dared to do so while she lived. The dead Laura shows the "pietà" denied to him while she lived, and in angry frustration the poet awakes. Malipiero and Salvatorino take the amorous psychology of this sonnet and substitute their own sentiments. Malipiero interprets the "l'aura sacra"

as the Holy Spirit which "spira al mio stanco riposo / Da Christo in croce". As the Petrarchan lover is given boldness to confess his love, Malipiero's devotary is given courage by Christ : "mi presta ardimento / Di levar gli occhi al ciel". The analogy of the lover and the devotary is pushed further - Christ's passion is described by Malipiero as "un atto...amoroso" (replacing Laura's "guardo amoroso"). The torment and oscillation between misery and happiness is replaced by repose and relief from pain. Malipiero transforms the vision of Laura who "di lagrime onesto il viso adorna", with that of the pious lover performing those important "frequenti abbracciamenti della croce" which raises the worshipper to the heights of the angelic choirs, as we saw above :

In croce dunque è la pietà depinta :
 ver cui beato chi spesso sospira,
 Et di lagrime honeste il viso adorna
 Non puo d' alcun dolor l'Alma esser vinta...
 se spesso al santo legno humil ritorna.

Malipiero creates the obverse of Petrarch's amorous intentions by carefully altering the sentiments wherever possible using the original phrases, and certainly all the rhymes. Thus Laura's amorous compassion "di pietà depinta" is changed to religious piety (the other sense of "pietà") by Malipiero. Salvatorino takes a different approach when he subverts the same sonnet. Instead of altering the amorous content of the poem to a pious, devotional love, he uses it for an attack on "vain love" itself. He is emboldened to tell the reader the truth about human love, and attacks the sinner who,

Nel turpe stato, hora detto amoroso
 Chi sospir finge...
 Chi per sua manza (o sua vacca) è contento
 Morir...

These hapless people have been consumed by "'1 cor (o lo matton')" and go to judgement day "come bue va al beccaiò", dying in despair ("desperando").

Petrarch's Rime 225 proceeds by a series of Classical allusions to make a charming compliment to Laura, who is seen in a crowd of virtuous^u ladies as "dodici stelle, e 'n mezzo un sole". He envisages her in a ship and a triumphal chariot, which he compares to Jason's Argo and the Chariot of Achilles to show that the sight of his beloved was no mundane "vision mortale", but something transcendent and exalted.

Malipiero preserves the references to Jason and the triumphal chariot (although he ignores the reference to Automedon, Achilles' charioteer and makes it Caesar's) but twists

it round into a negative statement. He takes the sun and the twelve stars to be Christ's countenance, crowned with twelve stars as in Revelations; the earthly beauty becomes an apocalyptic vision :

Dodeci stelle a nostre menti lasse
 Appariranno, e in mezzo il vero Sole
 A giudicar le genti insieme & sole.

These mythic and heroic figures, Jason, Paris or Caesar, with their worldly powers are impotent in the face of Christ's judgement, Malipiero says. In Petrarch the Classical acts as a positive value, in Malipiero they are "antico veleno", and at the end of the poem he consigns the pagans to Hell with the sinners :

La parte allhor, che sia in colpa mortale
 Nel scuro abisso andrà con Giove & Tippi,
 Et l'altra al ciel cantando dolcemente.

Salvatorino does not cross swords with Petrarch's Humanism, but instead completely re-writes the sonnet, without the allusions. Salvatorino transforms Laura's sun-like visage into that of the Virgin Mary, who is also associated in devotional literature with the twelve stars : "Dodeci stelle in te fisse, ne lasse / Christo 'scendendo al ciel". Laura's small boat ("barchetta") is taken to represent the soul, and Mary's visage the cynosure of the soul's navigator tossed on the sea of worldly tribulation : " 'l Peccator, a queste sole / Secur per l'altro mar Mondan, solcasse". Under the banner of Marian compassion Salvatorino turns the sonnet toward pastoral exhortation, urging the Venetian clergy to be more forgiving of sinners, taking as their example Christ's acceptance of the repentant Mathias as one of the Apostles (Acts I,xxiii-xxvi) :

...il fortito Marthia, al Triomphale
 Episcopato, ricever non schifi,
 Ch' in gli altri, è annoverato di presente :
 Lor prego, con Maria, quest' hor mortale
 Corpo guidar col spirito, non sian schifi
 Quando che sia, alla beate gente.

If the sinner can make the enormous effort to repent, the "beate gente" ought to be helpful and not disdainful, Salvatorino urges.

Petrarch's Rime 243 depicts Petrarch's heart departing from his body (as the convention of love-theory demanded), and following in the footsteps of Laura, who in earthly or heavenly paradise sits "et fa qui de' celesti spiriti fede". The poet yearns to be with her : "ch' è

gia di pianger et di viver lasso!". The sentiment, however, is not devotional in so far as the desire is not for heaven, so much as for the presence of his beloved, which makes this "paradise" such a "sacro, avventuroso et dolce loco". Needless to say Salvatorino and Malipiero transform this amorous paradise into a more literal one : in Malipiero it is Heaven "ove 'l Beato eternalmente siede" and in Salvatorino the Holy Land "d'onde Christo dal Monde si tolle". In both cases the motif of the heart's migration is lost. Salvatorino keeps the idea of Laura's footprints, changing them instead to Christ's, and turns it into an apocalyptic meditation on the second-coming :

Il bel vestigio del suo santo piede,
Sopra te impresso, come in cera molle :
Quando fia mai? ch' inverte volga il passo?

Like Laura, Christ is seen to bathe the earth with his tears : "te con dolci pianti bagna un puoco". Salvatorino also picks up on Petrarch's theme of the longing for death, transforming it from Petrarch's amorous desire to be re-united with Laura to a Christian disdain for the fallen world ("più che de via lasso"). Happiness for Salvatorino is the curious oblivion of being petrified as a piece of the Holy Land :

Ogni gran pena mi sarebbe à gioco,
S' io mai fossi in te chiuso in picciol sasso,
O sacro, avventuroso, e dolce luoco.

Malipiero's version of the same sonnet turns it into a fairly conventional anticipation of Heaven, and a condemnation of the sinful world imprecating the reader to "ben oprar". Malipiero makes no use of the parallels with Petrarch's sonnet as Salvatorino does in this case. There is no reference to the footprints, the tears, or the weariness with life (although he does say "Inferno è questo mondo, e ogni suo gioco"). The pastoral utopia of Petrarch's sonnet becomes the "seggio alto ch' ogniun brama & ciascun volle", the "herede" of the virtuous Catholic, abandoned by those sinners who "al vitio van per la vie molle". Given the incentive of Paradise, Malipiero inveighs, "ha 'l cor di sasso / A ti chi non aspira ò dolce loco".

Sometimes the Christian sentiments of our "correttori" are abetted by Petrarch's own Christian consciousness. Thus when Petrarch alludes to Psalm 102 in his sonnet 'Passer mai solitario in alcun tetto' (Rime 226), Salvatorino is moved to return to the Psalmic source, and its sentiments. Petrarch's complaint at the absence of Laura's beautiful face ("Passer

mai solitario in alcun tetto...ch' i' non veggio 'l bel viso") is based on David's complaint at the absence of God's presence :

Hide not thy face from me in the day when I am
in trouble; incline thine ear unto me...
I am like a pelican of the wilderness : I am like an
Owl of the desert. I watch and am as a sparrow
Alone upon the house-top.

Salvatorino follows the original, referring to God and not to a human lover :

Passer più solitario in alcun tetto,
Di me, nel Pelicano in alcun bosco,
O ver Notticorace, non corosco,
Poiche mancò, di Morte, in me l'obietto.

Salvatorino also combines Petrarch's weeping lover ("Lagrimar sempre è 'l mio sommo diletto") with Psalm 102's emphasis on life's transience ("For my days are consumed like smoke") :
"Che fugge il tempo mio, qual sommo fosco / Di lagrime lavando spesso il letto". Malipiero does not take the obvious route back to Psalm 102 to subvert the sonnet. Instead he takes an unusual sentiment, starting with the solitary sparrow motif :

Se 'l passer solitario sopra il tetto
Et Philomena in verde e ombroso fosco
Dio lodano cantando; io, che 'l conosco,
Quanto più debbo far ver tanto obietto?

But like Salvatorino he relies a little on Petrarch's lover to clothe his divine-lover's expressions :

Se l'Alma mia non trova alcun diletto
Salvo ch' in Dio, & senza lui, m' è tosco
Il mele, il bianco è nero, il sole è fosco,
Et duro campo di battaglia il letto.

Just as Petrarch has "non altro sol" than Laura, Malipiero's lover has eyes only for God, and expresses it in similar (but not identical) paradoxes to Petrarch's original, preserving the bed as battlefield (which has Psalmic overtones : cf Psalm 6,vi : "I am weary with my groaning; all the night make I my bed to swim; I water my couch with tears") :

Il rider doglia, il cibo assenzio et tosco
la notte affanno e 'l ciel seren m' è fosco,
et duro campo di battaglia il letto.

This transformation of the amorous matrix from the secular to the divine plane is consistently observed by Malipiero. The "ardente zelo" inspired by love in Rime 182 is inspired by "Dio sommo" in Malipiero's sonnet CXLIX. The hot sighs of Rime 153 ("Ite, caldi sospiri, al

freddo core / rompete il ghiaccio che pietà contende") become penitential in Malipiero's sonnet CXX : "Ite, caldi sospir dal tristo core / Al mio signor, fin che pietà contende". The Venereal "amorosa stella / per l'oriente" of Rime 33 which portends Petrarch's nocturnal vision of Laura, becomes in Malipiero the "amorosa stella" of Christ's nativity, presiding over the paturition of "la figlia d'Anna vecchiarella". There is a constant exchange of persons in the sonnets : Cupid becomes the Eternal Father, or Jesus, Stefano Colonna becomes Jesus, Laura becomes Mary, God, Jesus, Death etc, to facilitate the revolutions effected by the author in Petrarch's "profane" text.

It is difficult to estimate precisely the influence of the "correttori" on Petrarchism as it was practised in the rest of Europe in the subsequent years of the century, but their shadow is undoubtedly there as part of a general post-Tridentine shift away from non-religious literature, as a reaction against some of the Humanist extravagances of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Baptista Mantuanus' rejection of all poetry which was not "grave, castum ac sanctum", quoted above, is a sentiment which characterises the "triumph of Christianity" over the rise of what the Church sometimes saw as the "paganism" encouraged by Humanism in the laity, "antico veleno" poisoning the morals of society. Malipiero and Salvatorino were part of a movement toward purely Christian art which saw not only a burgeoning market for rime spirituali (see anthologies such as Le Rime Spirituale, Naples 1574), but also devotional paintings of passionate intensity, spiritual madrigals and arie (Lassus' Lagrima di San Pietro, the solo Latin motets of Frescobaldi), Christian epics and hagiographical poems, Divine emblem-books, and a host of other such "spiritualized" art-forms. This essentially Counter-Reformation phenomenon soon spread to other countries in Europe, both amongst Catholics (especially the Jesuits who brought this genre to its nadir in the seventeenth century), and Protestant emulators. Jacque de Billy (Iacobii Billii) in his Sonnets Spirituels (1573) and its Latin version Anthologia Sacra (1575), with their lengthy commentaries and glosses of Patristic and biblical sources, provides us with a splendid example of the continental exportation of Counter-Reform aesthetics, and testifies to the influence of our spiritualizers abroad. The French spiritualizer Billy was known in England,²⁶² and was undoubtedly (together with the Italian devotional tradition) this kind of work which influenced the growth of the "divine sonnet" in England (see Chapter Three below), works such as Henry Lok's Christian Passions and Barnabe Barnes' Spiritual Sonnets.

John Florio, the Italian lexicographer resident in London, attests to the kind of literature available through London's Italian population. Between 1598 and 1611, the growth in his reading-list for the revised dictionary include a number of Italian devotional works entering the country : the Penitential Psalms of Aretino, devotional works by Bracciorlini and Tansillo, and even an Italian translation of Sallust Du Bartas, whose own muse chretienne was probably influenced by Italian Christian poetry. Interestingly enough Florio's shelf also included one of the spiritualizzamenti of Boccaccio, Francesco Dionigi's Decamerone Spirituale (1594). It is altogether likely that such spiritualisations entered England through native Italians (who included printers and booksellers) importing books from home. Poets such as Sidney, who at first sight would be assumed to have disdained such severe poetic judgements as those meted out by Malipiero, gradually began moving in this direction, away from secular towards Christian art, after the first spate of continental-influenced amorous Petrarchism. The Apology for Poetry, while written against the Puritan excesses in censorship (in reply to Stephen Gosson's Schoole of Abuse 1579), toys with the development of sonnets "singing the praises...of God"²⁶³, and favours didacticism in poetry. Sidney's Psalm translations, and unfinished translation of a French devotional tract show an interest in the growth of Christian literature. Like Malipiero he opposes all art which stimulates "lustful wantonness"²⁶⁴ and stresses poetry as a form of music, which is "the most-divine striker of the senses"²⁶⁵. Sidney's experiments in quantified verse, and his deep interest in musical accompaniment to verse reflect the musical Humanism evident in Malipiero, and more recently pursued in the French Academies by Jean-Antoin de Baif, Claude le Jeune and others. Just as Malipiero felt that poetry was morally efficacious by virtue of its musical "modi, numeri, tempi e mesure", which reflect the musical structure of the universe, so too Sidney felt that the "exquisite ordering of number and measure in the words, and the high-flying liberty of conceit proper to the poet did seem to have some divine force in it"²⁶⁶. Sidney also draws on the Ficinian synthesis of David and Apollo-Amphion-Orpheus which interested Malipiero, to prove the Italian critical commonplace that poets were the "first light-givers to ignorance"²⁶⁷, the philosophers and prophets of biblical and Classical antiquity. To summarize, both Sidney and Malipiero, regardless of their immediate sources, were working in the Christian-Platonic paradigm provided by the Italian academies.

In this atmosphere Petrarch and Plato, and Christian doctrine became inextricably merged in notions of the poet's spiritual love of God, or his chaste love for Laura.

Bruno too must have been sympathetic to writers such as Malipiero (less so, perhaps, to Salvatorino who lacks the Platonic element of Malipiero's treatise), while not approving of their appeal to Christ as the proper object of the divine-lover. He would have found enough of Ficino's musical magic, and Pythagoreanism in Malipiero's Venetian Academicism to engage his interest. As a novice friar in his Naples monastery, the young Giordano probably had easier access to pietistic works such as Malipiero's than he would have ^{had} to Petrarch himself, and while the Petrarca Spirituale is a trifle removed from the sonnet-style of Bruno's Eroici, it would have at least suggested to him the Petrarchan sonnet as a theological vehicle, and a medium of great elasticity. Ultimately, works such as Malipiero's combined with more liberal forms of Academicism to promote a view of Petrarch and the sonnet-form which saw both as spiritual, or accessible to spiritual interpretation. Also Bruno's outlook tended to remain, within the framework of his nuova filosofia, basically monastic and ascetic, making him more sympathetic to the viewpoint of the spiritualizzanti.

There are traces also of Malipieran musical Humanism in Bruno's work : a faith in the lyricism of the Bible (the Eroici is modelled on the Song of Songs, and frequently alludes to the Psalms) and a tendency to see the anima mundi as a musical, or architectural form of organisation. Thus Bruno's 'Song of the Nine blind men' (based on Epicuro's Cercaria) is envisaged as being sung to the accompaniment of a consort of instruments of the time, the "citarra", "mandora", "timpano d'Ispegna", the "rebecchina" etc. This sestina, written "in ordine di ruota"²⁶⁸ (that is, with the last line of each stanza starting the next, and the final line of the poem identical to the first, completing a "circle") as a musical expression of Bruno's harmonic world-view. The circular song and dance of the illuminati, which takes as its subject the animated universe, is itself intended as a reflection of the world-order. The Elizabethans too were awakening to this "musical philosophy" - Francesco Giorgi's Harmonia Mundi, another Venetian work, was especially favoured by John Dee, who had at least one copy in his Mortlake library. Sir John Davies' Orchestra (1596) took up the terpsichorean motif used by Bruno and set it expansively in motion, singing on a far grander scale of the world-harmony, which the Neoplatonists described so beautifully as "a kind of dance of the soul around the intellect"²⁶⁹ (Χορείοις τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς περιελούσιν).

To insist that Petrarch was, or could be made to be, "tutto spirituale", or that the main focus of his poetry was "sentimenti Platonici", was to open the body of his work to employments remote from their origins, just as much as the philological atomization of it into linguistic mechanisms and Classical imitations. Bruno took advantage of this contristamento to modify and radicalize Petrarchan terminology, making it expressive of purely spiritual or psychic processes. This feature of Bruno's philosophy is characteristic of his work which ground traditional discourses through the mill of his personal philosophy remoulding and re-defining terms to suit himself. As a recent Bruno scholar has said :

l'orizzonte linguistico definito nello Spaccio e mantenuto in tutte le opere volgari. È una concezione della lingua come materiale eminentemente plastico, non definito e chiuso.²⁷⁰

The use to which Bruno put Petrarchism which made him unique was its combination with the art or science of occult mnemonics. This discipline, condemned by modern critics before (and even since) the invaluable work of Frances Yates as a dubious "pseudo-science", was at the very heart of Renaissance Platonism, which sought to see the universe as a discourse of images. By making images (talismans, emblems or diagrams) the Platonic mnemotechnician felt he could in some way tap into the secrets of nature, and their source in the Divinity, "immagini che impresse nella mento hanno la proprietà di avvicinare huomo...alle idee stesse"²⁷¹. Thus in the Eroici, Bruno envisages poetry as something akin to Sidney's "speaking picture", a "musical picture", perhaps, appealing to the ear and inner eye :

[il mio] intento in questa tessitura fu ed è d'apportare contemplazion divina, e metter avanti a gli occhi ed orecchie altri furori non de volgari, ma eroici amori.²⁷²

There is no doubt in my mind that Bruno conceived the poetic conceits of the Eroici as verbally-pictured sigilli, striking images placed on the metrical loci of the sonnet-form (Sidney, too, saw poetry as a mnemonic medium : "they that have taught the art of memory have showed nothing so apt for it as a certain room divided into many places...that hath the verse in effect perfectly, every word having his natural seat must need make the word remembered"²⁷³). While this mnemonic Petrarchism is not explicitly described as such in the Eroici, in the Cena delle Ceneri from the same period Bruno refers to a mnemonic use of Petrarchism. He tells us that the inspiration for the Cena came from the "Muse d'Inghilterra" whom he depicts using the conventions of the Petrarchan madonna : "biondi capelli,

bianche guance, vermigli gote, labra succhiose, occhi divini, petti di smalto e cuori di diamante". These "muses" or ladies to whom the Eroici is also dedicated help him in what is obviously a mnemotechnic technique : "per li quali tanti pensieri fabrico ne la mente, tanto affetto, accolgo nel spirto". If we are still left in any doubt as to the spiritual nature of this "fabrication" and "collection", Bruno calls out to his beloved muse as "Memosine mia, [n]ascosa sotto trenta sigilli"²⁷⁴. His Petrarchan madonna is none other than the muse of memory; the thirty seals refer to his mnemotechnic work of 1581 Triginta Sigillorum explicatio &c in which he presents thirty occult memory-images leading to a final comprehensive seal, the "sigilli sigillorum", which is intended as a visual image approaching near to the nature of the Divinity. There is no doubt that Bruno's Laura, Memosine, is a reflection of his representation of immanent divinity, Diana. His Petrarchism like that of Malipiero, is "tutto spirituale", he demands that it address only Spiritual Love, and despises the insensate, brute lovers of women, whom he hates with a monastic intensity as a "morboso fungoso" poisoning the lives of men with sin, and diverting them from the knowledge of true love. It is interesting that, like Malipiero, Bruno chose the most amorous poet beloved of Renaissance readers to subvert to the cause of the higher love (although he declares that he also draws on Classical sources like Ovid, Propertius and Catullus : "coloro [dei poeti] che parlarono a...Dori,^A Cintia, a Lesbia, a Corinna, ed altre simile"²⁷⁵). Like some of the Florentine Academicians we shall examine later, Bruno sent Petrarch out hand-in-hand with Solomon's Canticle, insisting on an emblematic interpretation of an amorous surface. Petrarchan love is taken as an emblem of mystical love, a similitude; the striking poetic conceits become "seals", akin to the topoi of Solomon's "love poem", working a magical-moral reform in the minds of its readers. His commentaries on the sonnets of the Eroici, synthesising the Petrarch commentary and Patristic commentaries on Solomon, and the whole "occult" or "sapiential" exegetical tradition, are in a fundamental sense already "within" the poems themselves. To Bruno the poem is the "body" and the exegesis its signifying "soul". The reader would apprehend the divine truths in a syntax of images imprinted in their memories. In his Triginta Sigillorum Bruno said that philosophers were also poets and painters.²⁷⁶ This mnemonic belief in image-discourse pervades all of Bruno's works, from the comedy Il Candelaiio, to the literal-sounding description of

an evening's journey in London, and a scientific debate in the Cena, which Bruno describes as "una topographia morale", and not to be understood at the most literal level (as some scientific interpreters of this "Copernican document" persist in doing to this day)²⁷⁷: I am like a painter, he warns the reader "al qual non basta far il semplice ritratto de l'istoria; ma anco, per empir il quadro, e conformarsi con l'arte a la natura, vi depinge...la figura [dell'istoria]"²⁷⁸.

Giulio Camillo Delmineo's L'Idea del Theatro (1550), and Il Petrarca, con avvertimenti (1554).²⁷⁹

Another example of how Petrarchan conceits could be manipulated within a Platonic memory-art is to be seen in the L'Idea del Theatro of Giulio Camillo Delmineo. The work of this Venetian was available to English readers, and a copy of it was to be found in John Dee's library, where it was almost certainly read by Sidney, whose appetite for "those that have taught the art of memory" is well-known. In the contemporary mood of Neoplatonism, Petrarch's increasing stature as a "spiritual poet" made him a natural choice when Camillo was compiling his mystical-encyclopaedic art, which he claimed could "collocati & ministrar tutti gli concetti humani, tutte le cose che sono in tutto il mondo...[e] appartengono alle scienze tutte e alle arti nobili"²⁸⁰. Camillo's memory-art is heavily influenced by Pico della Mirandola's synthetic Platonism, and like Bruno's mnemonic systems is based loosely on the "Lullian wheel" (a memory device devised by the Spanish mystic Ramon Lull, discs split into felloes which act as loci for various images), although Camillo's took the form of a physical construction, "una gran machina di legno"²⁸¹. This construction was a mock-up of a Classical theatre, from the stage of which the spectator viewed a seven-tiered Vitruvian amphitheatre (this semi-circle acting as a segment of a Lullian wheel) each ^{tier} bearing gateways decorated with striking mythological images and their attendant associations. Camillo was by no means an eccentric figure in his day, numbering among his friends important literary and philosophical figures such as Lodovico Dolce, Francesco Patrizi, Ludovico Ariosto and Torquato Tasso. He was maestro of St Vito in Friuli and Professor of Dialectics in Bologna, "un gran Cabalista, assai versato nelle lingue Orientali, oratore e poeta Latino"²⁸². His theatre, while attracting some criticism (Tiraboschi calls him "un solenne impostore"²⁸³), attracted much praise, and earned him an audience with

Francois I of France. Reportedly, having presented the King with his wooden construction displaying "all the principles of oratory" he was rewarded with 500 ducats for his ingenuity.²⁸⁴ Camillo's theatre captured the Renaissance imagination, encapsulating all the encyclopaedic ideals and divine promise of the earlier Italian Renaissance, an extravagant flowering of Neoplatonic enthusiasm before the lengthening shadow of Counter-Reform fell across the Italian Academies. Camillo promised nothing less than "le vie, per quali ascenderai alla immortalità".²⁸⁵

Whether Camillo's theatre was real or what Tiraboschi disparages as "un sognato Teatro",²⁸⁶ Camillo's ideas excited a lot of interest throughout Europe. He was one of those unsettling, charismatic figures, like Bruno or Castiglione's Bembo, who awed his acquaintances with his untrammelled idealism. In his eyes, said his friend Muzio "mi si rappresentava una tale spezie di furore...che io non poteva sufferire senza spavento".²⁸⁷ Most important to our investigation is the impression that Camillo's theatre gave to the Elizabethans (and his Italian contemporaries) of the uses to which Petrarch could be put, which seem to echo Sidney's phrase about Dante and Petrarch being a "treasure-house of science", as in Alunno's Fabrica del Mondo. As we said above, the openness of Venice to the Protestant North, through its Liberal tradition, ensured that the intellectual causes célèbres of the Italian city were gently diffused by its ebb and flow of Northern visitors. What exactly was this theatre then? And what use did it make of Petrarch? The first question is answered simply with a contemporary account by one Taegio, who claimed to have seen Camillo's construction in the villa of the Milanese merchant, Pomponio Cotta. Amongst Cotta's "mirabili pitture" he says "si vede...il meraviglioso teatro", in which Camillo :

nelle sette sopracelesti misure rappresentate per li sette pianete trovà ordine...che tiene sempre svegliato & la memoria percossa & fa non solamente ufficio di conservaci... [le] cose, parole & arti...ma ci dà ancora la vera sapienza, nei fonti delle quale veniamo in cognizione delle cose dalle cagione & non dagli effetti.²⁸⁸

Camillo's theatre was an expression of faith in visual discourse. Like Sidney's "speaking picture" which has "the force of divine breath", like Bruno's "concetti eroici", Camillo's memory-arousing images point directly to the divine truth of the Ideas, the seven "sopracelesti misure" identified by Camillo with the "saphrioth" of the Cabalists, and the

"sette colonne" of Solomon's mystical Temple of Wisdom : "nelle quali sono comprese le Idee di tutte le cose al celeste & all' inferiore appartenenti". Our own "bassa lingua" is insufficient for divine secrets, which are the subject of "le lingue degli angeli", we must view these truths through the protection of similitudes : "gli occhi delle anime volgari non possono sofferire i raggi della divinità...[se] il viso col ^{velo} non si nascondeva". This is done "per cenni & per similitudini", using the seven planets as "luoghi eterni" in a mystically-charged version of the Pseudo-Ciceronian rhetoric of the Ad Herennium, which places striking images in easily remembered loci, such as parts of a church, or rooms in a house. The seven tiers of the theatre each have seven gates, which are allocated to the seven planets (Moon, Mercury, Venus, Mars, the Sun, Jupiter and Saturn), yielding forty-nine loci, all structured according to the creation myth ("noi seguendo l'ordin della creation del mondo") of Genesis, and of the Pimander of Hermes Trismegistus (who is the first authority cited in the Idea). The whole structure is dominated by the sun locus, attributed to Apollo or the Trinity : "il più nobil luogo di tutto il Theatro". Each of the tiers corresponds to a mythological motif : the Banquet (il Convivo), the Gorgon Sisters (Le Gorgone), Pasiphe and the Bull (Pasiphe e il Toro) etc. These mythic images and scenes constitute an imagized metaphysical discourse, just as Bruno's conceits are more intensive expressions of his commentaries, so Camillo views his images as emblematic expressions of philosophical or sacred truths. The Gorgon Sisters, for example, signify the "triplicità che è nell' uomo interiore", the tripartite soul of the Platonists, because "fra loro havevano un solo occhio commutabile fra loro". While Pasiphe and the Bull signifies the descent of soul into matter "Perchè ella del Toro innamorata significa l'anima la qual secondo i Platonici cade in cupidità del corpo". Each of these broad categories has distinctions according to the province of the planetary gate, also transmitted in images. The "lunar gate" of Pasiphe and the Bull, for example, depicts :

una fanciulla scendente per lo Cancro. Et questa significa l'anima scender dal cielo, la entrata sua nel corpo...Diana à cui Mercurio porge la vesta significa mutation d'animo.

Each of these "eternal loci" is further imagized through the employment of "le finzioni de Poeti intorno à quelle [misure sopracelesti]". Camillo naturally sees poetry as the expression of "sacra theologia", as a kind of spiritual metaphor : "quando la scrittura fa mention di capelli...non si habbia ad intender di capelli...del corpo ma dell' anima,

la quale per metaphora ha capelli & occhi & altri parti corrispondenti al corpo"³⁰⁰.

The "misterii di poeti"³⁰¹ are "favole" made to protect theological secrets "a fin che così fatte coperte le tenessero nascose & così non fossero prophanate"³⁰². Marzot held that

Camillo "interpreta il Petrarca secondo la 'rota Platonica'",³⁰³ but it would be more accurate to say that Petrarch becomes part of his mnemonic "rota", an integral element of its signifying structure, a syntagm in a complex syntax of visualized arguments.

Petrarch is the most frequently cited poet in this short (86 page) work, occurring in five loci. Petrarch keeps distinguished company, as the other favoured poets for illustration are those old favourites of the encyclopaedists, Homer and Virgil.³⁰⁴ Two examples will suffice to show how Camillo uses Petrarch to conduct philosophical arguments. In a discussion of "la scala di Jacob" in "L'Antro" grade, Camillo discusses the "rinovatione delle tutte cose"³⁰⁵ promised in the Asclepius of Hermes, and frequently on the lips of the interlocuters of Bruno's interlocuters.³⁰⁶ Camillo illustrates this using Petrarch's Rime 9 :

di queste rinovatione volendo far mentione il Petrarca, come colui che non passava il celeste mondo fece quel sonetto, il qual comincia -

Quando il Pianeta, che distingue l'hore
ad albergar col Tauro si ritorna,
cade virtù da l'infiammate corna.
Vien à dare^a cieli questa operatione di tornar à far bello
il mondo, non intendono che l'anima del mondo piena di
vivificante spirito che è Christo portata dal Sole giu dal
concavo della Luna.³⁰⁷

From this discussion of solar influence in which, like Malipiero, Camillo assigns the animation of the universe to Christ, we move to a discussion of the Cabalist's mortis osculum, or "kiss of death"³⁰⁸, at the Saturnine gate of Pasiphe and the Bull (the fifth grade) :

Si legge appresso Cabalisti, che senza la morte del bacio non ci possiamo unir di vera unione con celesti, ne con Dio. Questo è...il bacio della quale Salomone, fa mentione nel così principio della Cantica...et il Petrarca lo mise nell' indeclinabile quando disse 'O felice quel di che dal terreno etc'.³⁰⁹

Camillo brought two main ideas about Petrarch before the eyes of English readers : first, that his poetry is a source of philosophical ideas, of "vera sapienza", containing discussions of the Platonic Kiss, and Hermetic renewal, even if he is sometimes unconscious of the full significance of his wisdom : "as one who cannot pass beyond the celestial world". Secondly, he explicitly suggests that the Petrarchan madonna can have a significance beyond that of a corporeal description. The "spiritual body" thus introduced into Petrarchism left

the way open for a total spiritualisation of Petrarch's poems, and also franchises the development of a Petrarchan language with a purely spiritual reference, such as Giordano Bruno's. In Bruno, for instance, the "star-eyes" of the beloved are no longer sparkling of female eyes, but represent the twin faculties of the "inner eyes", Goodness and Beauty.³¹⁰ This sentiment would not have been uncomplementary to some Elizabethan poets, who were beginning to appreciate the French custom of inditing long sonnet-sequences to a female symbolizing the Ideas. Giles Fletcher, for instance, in his preface to Licia or Poems of Love (1593) says to the reader : "If thou muse what my Licia is, take her to be some Diana, at the least chaste, or some Minerva, no Venus, fairer farre : it may be shée is learning's image, or some heavenlie woonder".³¹¹

While Camillo's L'Idée del Theatro was an attempt, as in Bruno's Eroici, to construct an occult memory-art from Classical and Petrarchan poetic topoi, he did however, make a more orthodox commentary on Petrarch's poetry, published by Lodovico Dolce in 1554, Il Petrarca...con alcun. dottis. avvertimenti di M.Giulio Camillo. In his prefatory letter Dolce promises the reader :

[benché] questa opera si contengono cose amoroze : furono però scritte da persona religiosa e di ottima e santa vita; e non ad altro fine, che per mostrare a belli ingegni la scala condurgli, per mezzo della contemplatione di queste bellezze terrene, all' amore delle celesti.³¹²

This view of Petrarch's work is one which Camillo is keen to promulgate, although he does not ignore (being an orator and poet himself) the literary considerations which he can draw from the Canzoniere. He is very assiduous, for instance, in tracing the indebtedness of Petrarch's style to Dante. Nonetheless, he is particularly concerned to show Petrarch's "Platonic sentiments" to the reader, and especially to show that the poet's love for Laura was "divine" and not "vulgar". In the commentary on Rime 9, for example, he says : "Si duole che Laura gli sia avara de suoi sguardi possendo hora, conoscer per ragion Platonica il suo disio esser casto : sì come con fede osserva".³¹³ And of Rime 131 he says : "Dice il Petr[arca] ...che innamorandosi di Laura di quello amor, che fece, venne a fuggire il dispietato lume Venereo, che è amore libidinoso".³¹⁴ Along with the theme of the conflict between "disio casto" and "amore libidinoso" we find tangential philosophical points, using the original text as pretext rather than subject. Thus the annotation to Rime 324 becomes a discussion of the

melancholy humour and the soul's "inner eye" which do not have even the slightest connection with Petrarch's poem.³¹⁵

Camillo was not alone in this use of Petrarch to extrapolate on philosophical arguments. I should like to move on now to the most copious and learned expositions of Petrarch to be found in the sixteenth century. I am referring to the discussions conducted by such noblemen as Niccolò Martelli, Filippo Salveti, Antonfrancesco Grazzini, Ottone Bonsi, Benedetto Varchi and Giovambattista Gelli in the Florentine Academy, the birthplace of Renaissance Platonic studies.³¹⁶ These writers, Tiraboschi rightly says, were frequently guilty of "investigando allegorie e misteri ove quel Poeta non avea pur sognato di usarne".³¹⁷ Nonetheless, it is perhaps wiser to get these extravagances in perspective, that is to say, in the context of the cultural values which fostered their production. J.Quitslund is, I think, closer to the spirit of these expositions when he says that

The Letitione are less interesting as criticism than as signs of the times, they are to be understood as learned rhetorical performances...[using] Petrarchan texts as little more than ³¹⁸ hooks on which to hang belletristic and philosophical discourses.

The Florentine lettioni of the 1550s and 1560s form the nadir, the meridian of the "philosophical Petrarch", and from this point, in Italy at least, the idea began to wane in popularity as the cultural transformations into the baroque began to move against the taste for "slavish imitation", and the "idolatry" of Petrarch. These works, it seems to me, are also those closest to the hearts of Elizabethan poets, approaching that balance of philosophy and the social demands of courtship preserved in Castiglione and Gesualdo.

Tutte le Lettioni (Florence 1551) of Giovambattista Gelli; and the Lezzioni (Florence 1550-51) of Benedetto Varchi.³¹⁹

So as to better understand the Florentine lectures on Petrarch let us look at the second of Giovambattista Gelli's Letitioni, on Petrarch's Rime 96. As with our other commentators, we find in Gelli a profound concern with the precise nature of Petrarch's love. Was Petrarch a sinful, unchristian poet, or a virtuous holy one? Gelli does not flinch from admitting that Petrarch's love for Laura was, initially at least, sensual :

che quello, che primieramente nello amore di lei lo indusse, fosse lo appetito sensitivo...da Filosofi chiamato concupiscibile : il quale non è altro che un desiderio della bellezza corporale.³²⁰

Nonetheless he goes on to say that Petrarch was not so bestial and ignorant as to entirely submit to this vulgar love. His "buoni & honesti costumi & ottimo & elevato ingegno" made him understand "che questo amore non era il suo fine"³²¹, and would not satisfy his soul. For the reason that Petrarch "infinite volte si pentisse di essere in simile amore senza alcun freno"³²² and expressed this in his poetry, Gelli indicates that we should look in the Canzoniere for two distinct kinds of poem. Those written in his youth (or when he was overwhelmed by passion) which "trattano...di passioni amorose", and others - the fruits of bitter experience - which are :

tanto pieni di gravi sententie & di ottimi & salutiferi precetti
& tanto di profondi concetti di Filosofia, & di altissimi misteri
di Teologia ornati, che io ardisco liberamente dire che è non sia
minor dottrina il lui che in qual si voglia alcuno altro poeta
eccetto però il nostro divinissimo Dante.³²³

So Petrarch is both a poet of amorous passions and sensualism, and one of "excellent and salutary precepts" and "the highest mysteries of theology". But Gelli is also quite forgiving of Petrarch's sensual poems. Although some of them were sinful, full of "biasmodegne passioni" which "non meritano pure di essere ricordate, non che descritte"³²⁴, says Gelli, nonetheless, Petrarch was a priest, and aware of the duties of the Evangelic laws, and so set out to warn his readers of the dangers of sensual love : "[scriva questi] sonetti solamente per ammaestrare col suo esempio gl' altri che non lasciassero come havea fatto egli tirare nella servitù d'Amore"³²⁵. In addition to this, Petrarch did not neglect to make a prudent, Platonic use of his reluctant infatuation with Laura's corporeal beauty :

[benché] non potendo...da così misera servitù ritrarsi,
facendo core i prudenti, che d'ogni cosa cavano qualche
frutto, spesse volte mediante la contemplatione della
bellezza di lei, corporea & visibile, secondo la dottrina
di Paulo Apostolo saliva alla contemplatione delle
cose incorporee & invisibili : & finalmente à quella della
Suprema & divina bellezza : la quale non è altro che esso Iddio.³²⁶

For this reason, Gelli urges his audience to appreciate the ethical intentions of Petrarch's poetry, and the genuine philosophical and theological doctrines which he expounds, and to shun "il severo giuditio di coloro, che l' havesser voluto biasmare dello essersi così miseramente...negli amorosi lacci d'una corporea & caduca bellezza"³²⁷.

As a liberal apologist for Petrarch, Gelli is forced into the delicate task of explaining how an amorous poet can treat of "the profound concepts of philosophy" without contradiction. This difficulty, which was not encountered by commentators of, say, Dante,

has an affinity with the task faced by mediaeval allegorizers of Ovid. Gelli refers his audience at the Accademia to authorities from Classical and Patristic antiquity, but also to the more recent theories of Florentine and Venetian Neoplatonists. "Et non vi paia cosa nuova questo che io vi dico del Petrarca", says Gelli, because "anchora antichi come ^{i poeti} furon Museo, Orpheo & molti altri sotto concetti amorosi scrissero gl' occulti & profondi misterii della loro Sacra Teologia"³²⁸. The same is true, he says, of Plato's Symposium as "descritto dal Marsilio Ficino" and even in the scriptures there was Solomon who "della beatitudine dell' anima nostra & della unione di quella con Dio, come ^{...} dimostra il Georgio [Francesco Giorgio] nella sua Harmonia Mundi"³²⁹. Situating Petrarch's poetry in this sort of context made it possible for the ordinary "Christiano...& amatore della religione" to compose Petrarchist poetry, provided it held a hidden and allegorical intention. It was undoubtedly against such a background that Giordano Bruno himself chose the Petrarchan sonnet as a medium through which to disseminate his theology to the English poets. His Eroici is, in fact, conceived as analogous to the Song of Songs, and as functioning at the same level of amorous allegory : "Pensato prima di donar a questo libro un titolo simile a quello di Salomone, il quale sotto la scorza d'amori ed affetti ordinarii contiene similmente divini ed eroici furori...volevo, per dirla, chiamarlo Cantica"³³⁰.

If Bruno considered himself a Solomonic Petrarch, then the opposite equation is suggested by Sidney, who held that the Psalms were amorous lyrics "a heavenly poesy wherein almost he [David] sheweth himself a passionate lover of that unspeakable and everlasting beauty"³³¹. Sidney's David, in fact, would be a good description of Giordano Bruno's furioso in the Eroici Furori.

Having hopefully satisfied his audience as to Petrarch's qualifications as a philosophical poet, Gelli expounds "brevemente" the "sententia del Sonetto"³³², which he feels is essentially a Platonic expression of the vanity and dangers of following the dictates of the senses in love. Petrarch is paraphrased as saying to the reader :

devea io guardami quando innamoradomi mi lasciai torre la mia
libertà seguendo le lusinghe del ⁿsenso, le qual il più delle
volte con nostro danno si seguono. Imperoche l'anima...[è] libera
& sciolta al suo male & cadde nel gravissimo errore dello
innamorarsi.³³³

At this point the philosophical extrapolation mentioned by Quitslund comes into play.

Having summarized the sonnet as dealing with a discussion of the conflict of senses and

reason, and the damaging effects of sensuality, Gelli requires a full discussion of the soul's faculties as a necessary preparation for understanding the wisdom of Petrarch's poem, "perche senza la cognitione di quelle sarebbe difficile il poterlo intendere"³³⁴. This Gelli does, under the five headings into which the soul's faculties were arranged by Giovanni Grammatico : Intellect, Reason, Opinion, Imagination and Sense. In addition to these Gelli naturally adds Faith, "il lume della quale è molto più certo che di alcun' altra scientia"³³⁵. For the next twenty pages (nearly half of the Letzione) Gelli expounds these five faculties using Platonic concepts drawn from St Augustine, Ficino, Pico della Mirandola and others, making no explicit connections at any point to Petrarch or the poem under consideration. This display of learning goes back to the sentiment of Giovambattista da Castiglione in the 1530s that Petrarch was a poet who required "copiosa dottrina" to be understood correctly. Petrarch's poetry, like a Classical myth, or an obscure passage of scripture was held to be a simple surface capable of multiple exposition, and Gelli and his comrades were bent upon laying open the copious Platonic doctrines needed for this comprehension. After his enumeration and discussion of the five cognitive faculties of the soul, Gelli discusses the "parti appetitive", as these also are vital "intendere perfettamenteemente questo sonetto"³³⁶. Here Gelli gives himself over to a further digression which is not really integral to an understanding of the poem - on whether the Will can desire evil, or whether this is the fault of the Appetite, or concupiscent part of the soul. Gelli presents the conflicting opinions of Themistius and Thomas Aquinas on this topic.³³⁷

It is only in the last eight pages of the letzione that Gelli again engages explicitly with Rime 96. This section-by-section discussion of Petrarch's sonnet does not draw a great deal on the long philosophical proem intended to facilitate our understanding of it. Nonetheless, Gelli does relate the argument of the sonnet to the contemporary Platonic concerns of the Accademia, and in particular "la rebellione della carne contro allo spirito"³³⁸. Gelli re-situates the Petrarchan text by re-defining the poet's terms into those of his discussion :

'Pur' son contra mia voglia risospinto', cioè è contro alla mia volontà ragionevole, la quale si come noi disopra habbiamo detto vorrebbe sempre mai il bene. Et disse 'voglia' intendendo per quella 'la volontà', dove quando di sopra volse significare

lo appetito, disse 'desio'.³³⁹

Gelli sees the "mirabil dottrina" of this sonnet to be in the way in which it describes the phenomenon of sin : "il modo come noi pecciamo & commettiamo alcuno errore",³⁴⁰ and particularly how sense-perceptions (such as Laura's "bel viso") become "imprinted" in the heart ("nel qual luogo s' imprimono le immagini delle cose conosciute da i sensi"³⁴¹) and delude and repeatedly inflame and re-kindle the unwilling concupiscent appetite, leading it deeper and deeper into error. At the centre of Gelli's understanding of Petrarch is the role played by the senses, degraded in Platonic and Christian metaphysics in the battle "infra l'volontà & l'appetito".³⁴² It was this vision of Petrarch's "amorous war" which dominated the Elizabethans' view of Petrarchism, and which many poets, like Sidney, took as the starting-point and central focus of their Petrarchan imitations : "Virtue alas, now let me take some rest : / Thou set'st a bate between my will and wit".³⁴³ Gelli's conclusion, that "nascono i nostri errori che da troppo lasciarsi vincere dalle passioni sensitive"³⁴⁴ was the crux of those anxieties which plagued the Elizabethan sonneteers, who as good Christians and aspiring Platonists sought to form their love (and hence their love-poetry) according to a "love not blind".

That this "Academic" view of Petrarch as a Platonic philosopher and lover was imperative to the Elizabethan love-sonnet is corroborated by the appearance of such sentiments in English translation from the pen of Lodowick Bryskett, the Anglo-Italian travelling companion of Sir Philip Sidney and friend of Edmund Spenser. Bryskett translated these sentiments, from the Italian of Giovanni Battista Giraldi Cinzio, in the 1580s or 90s, although they weren't published until 1606 :

The Platonikes said...[that] this life is but a dream...
[and thus] the enamoured poet, speaking of his Ladie Laura,
said very properly upon her death in this sort :
 'Thou hast (faire damsell) slept but a short sleepe,
 Now wak'd thou art among the heavn'ly spirits,
 Where blessed soules interne within their maker'
shewing that our life here is but a slumber; and seeming to
infer that she was now interred or become inward in the
contemplation of the maker...likewise he seemed to leane to
Plato his opinion in another place, when...he said she was
returned to her fellow star. For Plato thought the number of
soules created was according to the number of starres in
heaven : and that every soule had a proper starre to which
it returned after this life.³⁴⁵

Bryskett greatly admired the modern Italian Academic Platonists : "I have begun to reade with no small delight...Alexander Piccolomini, Gio.Baptista Giraldi, and Guazzo, all three having written upon the Ethick part of Moral Philosophie both exactly and perspicuously"³⁴⁶. These Platonic interests are of particular significance to the Elizabethan scholar. With the burgeoning Italianophilia of English poets, the tastes cultivated by Anglo-Italian letterati such as Bryskett, or booksellers such as the Venetian Ascanius de Renialme (who settled in Blackfriars), must have played a significant role in the formation of the tastes of their English readers. Another Anglo-Italian, Florio,³⁴⁷ whose reading-matter we have mentioned before in this chapter, possessed copies of Guazzo, Giraldi, and our second Florentine Academician, Benedetto Varchi. The circulation of these Neoplatonic discourses alongside the Platonic Petrarch-commentaries form an important and under-recognised source of the Neoplatonic ideas contained in the major sonnet-sequences of the English Renaissance, especially in so far as they draw on Petrarch to demonstrate philosophical arguments, and present Petrarch as a poet who "seemed to leane to Plato". Let us now proceed to Benedetto Varchi's lecture on Love, and see what the Elizabethan reader, having access to the bookshelf of a Florio, or Bryskett, might learn of the poet Petrarch.

In his Lezzione dell'Amore from his first collection of Lezzioni (1560), Varchi specifically locates Petrarch's love-doctrine as part of the Platonic tradition, placing him on a continuum of philosophers between Plato and Leone Ebreo. "Dopo Platone", says Varchi, "niuno scrisse d'amore se non se prima Dante", then there was Petrarch, followed by Marsilio Ficino's Symposium commentary, Pico della Mirandola's commentary on Benivieni's ode to Love, Francesco de' Catani di Diacetto's Panegirico, Bembo's Degli Asolani ("nella quale)la lingua Toscana havesse anch' ella il suo Platone"³⁴⁸, and finally the Dialoghi of Ebreo. That Varchi sees this as a strictly Platonic genealogy is implied in his rejection of ancient authorities who do not treat of the higher love : "alcuni come Ovidio in quel libro [Ars Amatoria] meritino più tosto molti biasiⁱ che poche lodi, favellando dell' amore volgare solamente"³⁴⁹. Varchi's family-tree of love-theorists is not original, but merely a re-iteration of the gradual integration of Petrarch into Platonism which was taking place between the 1460s and Varchi's time. In 1515, for instance, Mario Equicola's Platonic love-treatise Libro di natura d'Amore, included Petrarch and other native poets in another list

of philosophers of love.³⁵⁰

In his Lezzione sopra l'Amore from the second volume of Lezzioni (1561), Varchi, having defined - for the purposes of analyzing the main topic of this lecture, Petrarch's Rime 132 - five sorts of love : "celeste, ò divino; cortese, ò honesto; civile, ò humano; volgare, ò plebeo; bestiale, ò fer³⁵¹mo"), goes on to consider, more thoroughly and fairly than many of his predecessors, the exact nature of Petrarch's love for Laura as it is expressed in the Canzoniere. The fact of the matter is, Varchi wisely decides, Petrarch had not one kind of love, but "tre maniere d'amori in diversi tempi"³⁵². Varchi is very hard on critics who fall down too heavily on the side of spiritual or vulgar love. Those who believe that Petrarch "solo d'amore dishonesto, e lascivo amato avesse" made the same error ("anzi molto più biasimevole"³⁵³) as those who held that he "solo d'amore divino Madonna Laura amasse"³⁵³. Firstly Varchi insists, Petrarch loved with an ordinary love, which he demonstrates with examples such as this from Rime 265 :

Aspro core et selvaggio et cruda voglia
in dolce umile angelica figura,
Se l'impreso rigor gran tempo dura,
avran di me poco honorata spoglia.³⁵⁴

Laura provoked him to a "sfrenato ardire"³⁵⁵, but also to the chaste abstinence of Varchi's "c³⁵⁵outeous" or "honest" love, as expressed in Rime 334 :

S' honesto amor può meritar mercede,
et se pietà ancor po quant' ella suole,
Mercede avrò, che più chiara che 'l sole,
a Madonna et al Mondo è la mia fede.³⁵⁶

But lastly, and perhaps most importantly to Varchi and his contemporaries, Petrarch also "amasse di quel primo, e tranquillissimo amore divino"³⁵⁷. And this can be deduced from poems such as Rime 347, Varchi says :

O delle donne altero e raro mostro :
or nel volto di lui che tutto vede
vedi 'l mio amore et quella pura fede
per ch' io tante versai lagrime e 'nchiostro,
et senti che ver te il mio core in terra
tal fù qual ora è in cielo, et mai non volsi
altro da te che 'l sol de li occhi tuoi.³⁵⁸

This "sun" of Laura's eyes, says Varchi, is "altro non...che l'honestissima bellezza sua, mediante la quale si levava alla contemplatione delle bellezze celesti, e consegu^{nte}mente di Dio, padre, e fonte di tutte le bellezze"³⁵⁹. Petrarch was a Platonic lover, ascending as

Diotima had suggested in the Symposium from human love, to a chaste love eschewing concupiscence, and ultimately to God, the "source of all beauties". Unlike other commentators, Varchi does not accentuate the last stage more than the other two, and is not so hard on Petrarch's human love, putting it above lust and "dishonest love".

Inadvertently Varchi has given us, in this survey of Petrarch's different modes of love in the Canzoniere, a typology of the Petrarchan love-sonnet generally. During the course of this chapter we have seen examples of poets whose main interest has been ordinary human passions, such as Robert Greene's flagrantly erotic Excellent Dream; others who have, like Sidney, presented a "love not blind" in their poetry, a courteous, honest courtship along Chivalric-Castiglionian lines; and others, like Malipiero or Bruno, who will not tolerate Petrarchan poetry which has any other object than that of glorifying God and "spiritual love". It is this amorous matrix to which we must have recourse when we come to compare the "Neoplatonism" of Giordano Bruno, and that of the *Elizabethan poets, and their congruence or disparity*. To which love (or loves) do their Petrarchan poems owe their existence? Which love do the conceits drawn from the Canzoniere veil? To add to the complications, we must not forget that hybrid poet so heartily condemned by Malipiero, who "con la imagine sacra della virtudi si fanno vitiosi"³⁶⁰. That is to say, those poets who adopt the Neoplatonic vocabulary to express a vulgar love (an ambiguity frequently problematic in the ironic, distanced voices of the Elizabethans).

The uses of Petrarchism to express ordinary, passionate love, without the Platonic superstructure of chastity, and the ascent from woman to God, had just as much provenance in the Petrarchan commentary, and was inevitable considering the natural emotional imperatives of the Petrarchan language, and the sanctioning of human love by numerous Classical love-poets. Many Renaissance poets, unhindered by Christian or Platonic scruples about their passions and sexuality, wholeheartedly took up the sentiments of outrightly erotic poets such as Catullus, Ovid, Tibullus and Propertius (those poets, no doubt, whom Malipiero decried as the "false sirens" of illicit love) :

quid tibi nunc misero prodest grave dicere carmen
aut Amphioniae moenia flere lyrae?
Plus in amore valet Mimnermi versus Homero :
carmina mansuetus lenia quaerit Amor.
i quaeso et tristis istos compore libellos

et cane quod quaevis nosse puella velit!³⁶¹

For every grave Elizabethan poet who, like George Chapman, disdained the hedonism of sensual love, declaring that "Joy graven in sence, like snow in water wasts"³⁶², we have another intoxicated by those same joys, declaring love to be "A pretie kinde of sporting fray"³⁶³.

This secularization of the Petrarchan sonnet (apart from its natural aptitude for expressing passionate love) was no doubt hastened by the fragmentation and "loosening" of the text of the Canzoniere by linguistic and philological analyses, as we mentioned earlier. The last commentator I have chosen to examine, Lodovico Castelvetro, is a particularly good example of its kind, having a particularly thorough approach to the language and imitative strategies of Petrarch's poetry, and a rationalistic disdain for the "philosophical" or "spiritual" interpreters we have just considered.

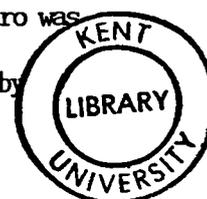
Lodovico Castelvetro's Le Rime del Petrarca brevemente sposte per Lodovico³⁶⁴
Castelvetro (Basel 1582) : "Procedere dalle parole del Poeta".

This posthumously published work by Castelvetro (believed to have been composed between 1545 and 1567) is a work typical of the methods of Latin philological Humanism, and yet at the same time *something of an anomaly*. Castelvetro himself was a rather curious and infamous figure, "uno stravagante eccentrico"³⁶⁵ as one critic described him. He was a controversial polemicist, extravagant with his sober techniques, always ready to turn careful linguistic analysis into a personal weapon. He is now best remembered for his public row with the poet-critic Annibale Caro. The harshness and arrogance of Castelvetro's assault on the poet is modestly underestimated by Tiraboschi : "Castelvetro in questa censura...uscisse alquanto da limiti di una giusta moderazione"³⁶⁶. In fact, in his censure of Caro's ode 'Venite a l'ombra', Castelvetro accuses the poet of "parlare plebeo", "vanità", and says he is "poco savio", concluding crushingly that "l'argomento della canzona è nulla"³⁶⁷. Castelvetro would have benefitted, Tiraboschi timidly suggests, from a criticism which was "più ritenuta e modesta"³⁶⁸. The fact is, Castelvetro's natural posture was one of attack. In his detailed line-by-line studies of Terence and Plautus he consistently attacked and harried the dramatists with exacting objections to improbabilities of

content and narration. In his translation and exposition of Aristotle's Poetics,³⁷⁰ unlike some of his fawning contemporaries, Castelvetro criticised Aristotle's work as "una prima forma rozza, [e] imperfetta...[una] raccolta d'insegnamenti & di brevi memorie",³⁷¹ expounding the ideas he found there "only to refute Aristotle and suggest his own theories instead".³⁷² Before the Poetica he had likewise dismissed Plato's ideas on poetry in his Chiose intorno al libro del Comune di Platone, ironically enough using Aristotelian ideas. This gives us some idea of Castelvetro's individuality. At a time when most Renaissance critics were happy to build upon the firm Classical foundations of Aristotle, Horace or Plato, Castelvetro (almost an Enlightenment figure before his time) cut his own free-lance, rationalist path through the literary theories of the time. This contention was the air which Castelvetro breathed, there was nothing he liked better than correcting other scholars or poets (see for example, the suggestive title of this work : Correzione di alcune cose del dialogo delle lingue di Benedetto Varchi). This habit of correction even extends to writers whom he favours. Bembo, for example, who Castelvetro praised as the originator of "un filologo di opposizione"³⁷³ is, in Castelvetro's Petrarca subject to continual corrections, the object of a constant "nascosta scaramuccia",³⁷⁴ constantly referring back to the analyses of the Prose, "or rischiarando or correggendole".³⁷⁵

Castelvetro was also untypical in his religious persuasions. He was involved in a heretical scandal at the Sienese Accademia degli Intronati led by the Calvinist Greek-scholar Francesco Porto, which involved the members having to sign a sottoscrizione for Cardinal Contarini in 1542, culminating in a denunciation by his own brother, a papal interrogation and eventual flight from the Inquisition to Protestant Lyons. Despite a re-application to Pope Pius IV during the Council of Trent, Castelvetro remained on the list of the "condenatti e scomunicati". His reformist, Protestant leanings were apparent (he taught rhetoric in Calvinist Geneva), and in his Poetics he defended the Psalm translations of Martin ^{Bucer} ~~Butzer~~, lamenting that "furono letti e studiati senza impedimento...in fino a tanto che pervenne a notizia degli inquisitori".³⁷⁶ He was not, however, a sectarian, tending instead toward an Erasmian style of Humanism. This tendency toward heretical opinions sets him apart from the Catholic Humanist norm of his native country.

Nevertheless, despite this reputation as a harsh critic and heretic, Castelvetro was a brilliant and exemplary philologist. His multi-lingual genius is well-documented by



Tiraboschi, who praised his Greek scholarship (translating and expounding Aristotle's Poetics, and the gospel-commentaries of St John Chrysostom), his mastery of Provençal (he produced a grammar with Giovanni Maria Barbieri), and his Hebrew studies with Davide Giudeo, the Modonese Jewish scholar. Besides these linguistic accomplishments, he was noted for his literary theory : "L'arte oratorica e la poetica", says Tiraboschi, "ebbero nel Castelvetro un valoroso scrittore"³⁷⁷.

Castelvetro's method is a testament to the Renaissance faith in the analysis of recovered texts, and he is an ideal example of the Petrarchan annotation which grew out of Bembo's Prose, and the valorization of the Tuscan language in the Florentine studio. It is an art or science of the Petrarchan text which undertook the inculcation of literary eloquence in a courtly audience (Castelvetro's editor, his nephew Giovanni, describes this urbane audience : "gl' amatori delle più polite lettere...gentili e scientate...e belli ingegni"³⁷⁸). Castelvetro's Humanism anticipated the increasingly "scientific" footing of philology in the following centuries, and was built on the basis of a dogmatic empiricism, free of all extraneous interpretation of the kind beloved by the Florentine Academies, or Gesualdo. Ezio Raimondi, described this method at its best as one which adhered to the "spirito di un opera", describing the "organismo concepito" of an author "dall' interno"; he rejected everything not directly deducible from the written words of the text.³⁷⁹ In a commentary on Dante's Inferno, Castelvetro pronounced this dictum : "Procedere dalle parole del poeta"³⁸⁰. And it was the word that became Castelvetro's god. This stress on the written word verged on the pedantic. It could take the form of debating linguistic subtleties, as in his annotation of line 10 of Rime 366 : "che veder tristi la spietata stampa", where he discusses the alternative renderings of Petrarch's verb "stampa" given by two other philologists, Matthaeo Villani and M. Phillippo Valentini, before giving his own judgement on the phrase, which sees it as "stampa per essempio & similitudine"³⁸¹. More frequently it involved a detailed uncovering of the "verbal industry" of the poet, of the imitative intarsio which was fundamental to the Classicist poet of the Renaissance. Castelvetro was an obsessive hunter of quotations; Raimondi called him a brilliant "ricercatore di fonti"³⁸². Rather curiously, Castelvetro looked upon this imitation of Classical models as a blameworthy activity, or mean "theft". Raimondi shows from Castelvetro's unpublished

marginalia how a line from Terence could send Castelvetro gleefully on the hunt for echoes in Horace and Petrarch. At every turn of the Petrarchan text, Castelvetro is there providing the reader with the requisite citation from a Classical source, as in the commentary on Rime 90. "Tutta questa depintura di bellezza è prese da Virgil", says Castelvetro, "quando dipinga Venere in forma di Nympha apparere ad Enea. Salvo che non fa mentione degli occhi". He then quotes the requisite analogues to Petrarch's lines from Virgil :

Petrarch <u>Rime</u> 90	Virgil <u>Aeneid</u> , I 314-328, 402-5
"Erano capei d'oro a l'aura sparsi"	"dederat ^{-que} comas diffundere ventis"
"E 'l viso di pietosi i color' farsi"	"namque haud tibi vultus mortalis"
"Non era l'andar suo cosa mortale"	"Et vera incessu patuit Dea" ³⁸⁴

Unlike earlier commentators, like Bembo or Gesualdo, who also drew our attention to such allusions, Castelvetro does not supplement them with Platonic interpretations, but puts his faith in a rational analysis of poetic production, an empirical philology. This is no accident on Castelvetro's part, he was severely opposed to what he saw as the unwarranted excesses of the Florentine school of interpretation, and to their Neoplatonic forbears such as Pico della Mirandola, who annotated Girolamo Benivieni's canzona d'amore. "Quando leggono il Petrarca gli Accademici Fiorentini e molti altri", says Castelvetro,

parlano di metafisica, di Fisica, e di Morale, per giudicar se il Petrarca abbia detto ogni cosa bene. Ma lo intendere i Poeti non consiste se non nel senso comune e popolare.³⁸⁵

Socrates, he continues, has said that "non disconviene ad un Filosofo a comentar le canzoni", and Pico and Dino del Garbo followed his authority. Nonetheless, Castelvetro concludes : "[queste] cose...non possiamo commendare, né commendiamo"³⁸⁶. Castelvetro believed, moreover, that philosophical poetry itself was improper and misguided : "la materia delle scienze...non può essere soggetto della poesia"³⁸⁷. He also attacked the fundamental tenets of Platonic criticism, such as the belief that poets were subject to divine inspiration, or "poetic frenzy". In his Parere sopra l'aiuto che domandano i poeti alle Muse (1565), he inveighs against the idea of the poet being a prophetic vates :

veramente la poesia non ebbe mai principio, o mezo, o fine de Furore divino infuso dalle Muse, o da Apollo ne' Poeti... [ma] i Poeti per rendersi maravigliosi, e riguardevoli nel cospetto degli uomini, aiutavano & crescevano, domandando quel divino soccorso, e facendo sembante d' averlo impetrato.³⁸⁸

Without this little deception, Castelvetro continues, the vulgar would consider much poetry to be impossible : "che l'humana industria non sia creduta dal volgo atta per se a farli"³⁸⁹. This is the basis of Castelvetro's criticism - poetry is not a "divine" or "spiritual" phenomenon, it is a rational product of "human industry". A poem can be built, like a house, out of the bricks and mortar of language and imitation. Elsewhere he affirms poetry as a logically consistent discourse akin to science or history. It is like science, Castelvetro avers, because "l'una e l'altra procede con prove dimostrative. Ha poi comune l'ordine de gl' insegnamenti, il quale dee nell' una, e nell' altra essere compiuto, e perfetto"³⁹⁰. Elsewhere it is described as being "similitudine o rassomiglianza d' historia"; in fact "prendendo la poesia ogni sua luce dalla luce dell' historia"³⁹¹. Castelvetro was so adamant as to poetry's logical coherence and facticity that he was moved to make very harsh judgements on the more far-fetched fantasies of poets like Caro, who vehemently defended "la licenza de' poeti"³⁹² against his onslaughts. Castelvetro was largely unsympathetic to artistic or philosophical liberties in art. "Castelvetro transposes the whole of the analysis [of poetics] from the world of art to the world of reality", Bernard Weinberg has rightly said.³⁹³ That is to say, he views works of art, rather unfairly, with a non-artistic yardstick of consistency and possibility. This has led some critics to talk of Castelvetro's "razionalismo arrabiato" and "metodo geometrico"³⁹⁴, and indeed his method can be reductive and insensitive. At best it can provide an inspired insight into the internal substance or technique of a poem (as in his skillful study of the stanza-forms of Rime 23). At worst his rationalism authorizes an arid, descriptive form of paraphrasis, both uneconomical and a fragmentation of the formal and spiritual coherence of the poems. His analysis of Rime 356, for instance, consists of a line-by-line re-iteration of the poem's contents, adding little or nothing to the reader's understanding of the poem :

Al mio stanco riposo] Al mio sonno, che è riposo, ma
stanco & turbato....

spira] Havendo detto Aura. Cioè, viene, apparisce...

Io comincio] Narra l' historia del suo amore.

Ella si tace] Ascoltando patientemente.³⁹⁵

Castelvetro takes too much to heart the notion that the meanings of poems are to be found in the "common and popular sense", and interprets even the most obvious of meanings.

Nonetheless, Castelvetro does not totally reject the religious or doctrinal dimension in his work (his nephew praises the commentary's "soda e vera dottrina"). Raimondi demonstrates at great length Castelvetro's "fede puritana nella poesia" as it emerges in his critical writings.³⁹⁶ This puritanism was so much in evidence that Fontanini in the eighteenth century expressed horror at the heretical cast of Castelvetro's "decantato Petrarca" which he felt was written "per corromperne la povera gioventù cattolica del sua patria".³⁹⁷ Castelvetro never shrank from moral judgements on writers. He rounded on Boccaccio for his poor treatment of priests in the Decameron, and considered Petrarch's Rime 103, praising war, as "indegno d'un Cristiano",³⁹⁸ while 'Vergine Bella' is, unusually, seen as irreverent :

Se altri la [canzona] mettesse in su lo' ncuide della purità
del Christianesimo, donandole anchora tutta quella licenza
che poesia può donare...si può chiaramente comprendere quali
fossero le cagioni, che rimovessero il P[etrarca] da darla
altrui a leggere.³⁹⁹

Petrarch had yielded in Castelvetro's eyes to the sin of Roman Humanism, falling into the "tentazione di uno stile pagano".⁴⁰⁰ But even Castelvetro's Puritan faith lent itself to the rational analysis of philology. Raimondi drew our attention to his exhaustive uncovering of Petrarch's references to Augustine, St Paul, and the Psalms. Castelvetro conceived of rationalism, as did the dissenting academies of England, as a Christian weapon against the irrational forces of sin : "il Diavolo a tutto suo potere cerca di tenebrare l'occhio dell' animo nostro, perché non apprenda la verità delle cose".⁴⁰¹ Neither does Castelvetro completely ignore the fashionable Platonic associations of Petrarch's poetry. In his commentary on Rime 193, for instance, Castelvetro refers us to Platonic sources :

Diotima, secondo che racconta Socrate nel Convitò appresso
Platone, diceva a Socrate, Tu sei presto e molti altri
veggendo le persone amate, con loro, di star, se fosse & essendo
possibile, senza mangiare & senza bere, ma t' appagheresti
di starle a vedere & d'esser con loro.⁴⁰²

Of the description of Cupid as "garzon con ali" in Rime 151, he says "Agathone appo Platone nel Convito dice, Amore esser garzone".⁴⁰³ But the fact is, Platonic references in Castelvetro occur not as a doctrinal cast, as in the Academicians, but as a neutral appendage to his philological analysis, one source among many; it is a context of the poet's lines which he cites with little enthusiasm or fervour. Such lip-service to Platonic and Ficinian ideas in the Petrarca, is adopted to create a sacred sub-text for the uncomfortably profane,

amorous emotions of Petrarch's poetry, and is a convenient means of bringing it into the fold of Castelvetro's Christianity. The difference between Castelvetro's "lip-service" Platonism and a genuine Platonic criticism can be seen by a brief comparison of Castelvetro's handling of Rime 72, and that of Gesualdo (which we studied closely above).

In his summary of the poem's contents Castelvetro gives a cursory explanation of the Platonic sentiments of the poem, which form the kernel of Gesualdo's copious, protracted commentary :

Due cose principalmente intende di dimostrare in questa canzone, l'una che egli s' inalza, veggendo gl'occhi di L[aura] al cielo, l'altra, che si mette a studiare. Ma perché non s'inalzerebbe al cielo, se non fosser di divina bellezza, primieramente gli commenda di bellezza ne si metterebbe a studiare, se non fosse il desiderio di vedergli, & per la utilità & per la gioia, che ne prende, veggendoli.⁴⁰⁴ g

There follows a brief (four page) commentary, which shows little enthusiasm for expanding on this bald statement. What becomes in Gesualdo's eight close-printed pages of extrapolation on the Platonic implications of Petrarch's praise of Laura's eyes is reduced in Castelvetro to the odd terse comment betraying some Platonic content : "la prigione] Il corpo...è prigione dell' anima....Alzò il mio cor] con la bellezza, & con gli atti suoi pieni di divinità"⁴⁰⁵. More significantly, he often passes over opportunities of expounding Platonic doctrine which Gesualdo firmly seized. The phrase "ch' al ciel conduce", for example, which in Gesualdo merits an intricate description of the Diotiman ascent, in Castelvetro merely prompts a list of literary allusions, including Seneca and Lactantius.⁴⁰⁶ Likewise the phrase "Et al foco gentil", so suggestive to a Platonist like Gesualdo (who shows it to be a spiritual enflaming, leading to the disdain of "lascivious and dishonest appetites") is annotated rather flatly by Castelvetro : "Et al foco gentil] All' amore di Laura, O è spositione di quello, 'A l'alta speranza'"⁴⁰⁷. Rather than seizing these opportunities for philosophical rumination, Castelvetro is, characteristically, more intent on tracing the Classical sources of Petrarch's lines :

Amor, o la volubile Fortuna] intende, dicendo Amore, dello stato amoroso, dicendo Fortuna intende stato di reame... preso da Horatio & superatolo, 'Num tu quæ tenuit dives' & ...Che forma tien dal variato aspetto] Cioè, il mio petto è hor lieto, hor tristo, secondo ...l'aspetto di Laura. Statius 'tecum tristisque hilarisque nec unquam / Ille suus, vultumque tuo sumebat ab ore'.⁴⁰⁸

Revealing the "common and popular sense" of lines in the poem results in such fruitless and sterile annotations as these : "vaghe faville] Chiama gli occhi faville, per lo scintillare....Et lei] Laura" etc. He unravels the tricky syntax of lines 4 to 6, and explains the avoidance of macrologia in lines 13 to 14, as Gesualdo had done. At every point he is eager that Petrarch's poetry be clearly understood in prosaic terms, and that its verbal industry, its allusive structure, be uncovered.

The great distance which separates this commentary from that of Gesualdo, or the lettioni of the Florentine Academicians, is a symptom of Castelvetro's conception of the ends of poetry. Essentially Castelvetro believes that poetry is not the unveiling of truths, but the search for pleasure. Not only that, it is for the pleasure of only one section of society - the "vulgar masses" : "la poesia sia stata trovata solamente per dilettere, & per ricreare...gli animi della rozza moltitudine & del commune popolo". Poetry, Castelvetro believed, was "non per diletto degli sciantati", and therefore unfit to deal with complex philosophical meanings, but only the "common-sense" meanings that could delight the "unsophisticated" reader. This ran counter to the flow of Platonic criticism which held that poetry was a discourse abused by the masses, holding deep truths and doctrine for the learned (elitist) reader. Poetry for Castelvetro consisted in a lucid, pleasurable factuality, and for Platonists in an obscure, significant allegorization. Castelvetro's "puritanism" in aesthetics seems to reflect his taste in religion. He despised, for instance, what he saw as the "effusione ditrambesca" of the Platonic theologians such as Pseudo-Dionysius, and preferred instead the "purità delle favole degli Apostoli...la eloquenza di che è della croce".

To a poet like Bruno, for whom verse was a philosophical tool, a means of employing a symbolic, imagistic discourse, this faith in the simplicity of philology and the "popular meanings" of the masses, the formalist concentration on language and Classical imitation would have been anathema. To Bruno the methods of philological Humanism represented an appeal to empty signs in preference to sacred content. "Lasciate le ombre" he says "ed abbracciate il vero". To Castelvetro, no doubt, Bruno's exegetical appeal to "il misterio e sustanza d'anima...comprese sotto l'ombra [del senso letterale]" would have been no better than the "effusione ditrambesca" of Pseudo-Dionysius. For Castelvetro the literal

sense is paramount, and the excessively figurative, outlandish or ridiculous. Castelvetro arrogantly cast himself as a "satrapo grammaticale" in his Correzione, and it was against "i rigori di grammatici" and the "pedanti" of Latin Humanism that Bruno arraigned his forces in the Dialoghi Italiani. Here is a typical fulmination from the Causa, worthy in its venom of Castelvetro's own polemic :

Questo sacrilego pedante...uno de' rigidi censori di filosofi...
 è un di quelli, che quando ti arran fatto una bella costruzione,
 prodotta una elegante epistolina scroccata una bella frase da la
 popina ciceroniana, qua è risuscitato Demostene, qua vegeta
 Tullio, qua vive Salustio; qua è un Argo, che vede ogni lettera,
 ogni sillaba, ogni dizione....contempla la sua divinità nel
 specchio d'un Spicilegio, un Dizionario, un Calepino, un
Lessico, un Cornucopia, un Nizzolio. 415

The Elizabethans, too, could share this irritation with Humanist excesses. Sidney in his Apology railed against "Nizzolian paperbooks", and saw Ciceronianism as the major intellectual vice of Elizabethan Oxford, writing to his brother : "So you can speake and write Latine not barbarously I never require great study in Ciceronianisme the chief abuse of Oxford - Qui dum verba sectantur, res ipsas negligunt". Sidney and other English poets largely followed the tenets of Platonic criticism from Italy and France, and Classical authorities such as Quintilian and Cicero, who claimed that poets either were philosophers, or surpassed them in doctrine. It was not uncommon to see rhetoric, traditionally the province of the Ciceronians and Humanist pedants loathed by Bruno, cast in a Platonic light by Elizabethan rhetoricians (Plato after all, in his Phaedrus and elsewhere, wrote on the subject of "good rhetoric" informed by philosophical truths) :

God of his goodness, hath poured forth his divine virtue into
 the mind of man...[man therefore] searcheth out the secrets of
 nature, and climbeth up to the knowledge of sapience supernatural,
 he learneth the cunning reason of numbers, the mathematical
 demonstrations, the motions of stars...the musical consent of
 harmonies and...he conceiveth trim devices...the good and
 beautiful colours of elocution...[and] the force of figures. 418

Nevertheless, Humanist works in the Castelvetro mould, together with Thesauruses and rhyming-dictionaries, undoubtedly worked to undermine the cultural coinage of the "philosophical Petrarch", denuding the Canzoniere of "spiritual" meaning by a process of rational fragmentation and linguistic atomization. For every Petrarchist who wished to preserve the transcendent aspects of Petrarch's original poems, or wanted to use them to express a

new Platonism, there were hordes of those "belli ingegni" described by Giacomo Castelvetro, a burgeoning secular middle-class who saw in poetry elegant delight and the expression of their own amorous passions and erotic daydreams. Such poets would have found the commonsense attitudes of Castelvetro congenial to their poetry, and his re-construction of Petrarch's imitation of the Classics instructive for their own blend of Petrarchan and Catullan (or Ovidian or Propertian) sentiments.

In a sense Castelvetro's interpretation of Petrarch marks an important watershed in the history of Italian (and subsequently European) literary criticism, in which the entropy of Platonic poetics began to reach its limits, and rational, philological analysis began its slow ascent toward the nadir of the Neoclassical poetic "rule-books". Already in Bruno's Eroici Furori and Sidney's Apology for Poetry we can see Platonic criticism taking arms against the new imperative. Sidney was very much opposed to the "rule-making" impulse in poetry encouraged by commentators of Aristotle's Poetics such as Castelvetro and Riccoboni; we need "neither artificial rules, nor imitative patterns", he says,

For poesy must not be drawn by the ears; it must be gently led, .
 ...Which was partly the cause that made the ancient learned
 affirm it was a divine gift, and no human skill...a poet no
 industry can make, if his own genius be not carried into it : 419
 and therefore it is an old proverb, Orator fit, poeta nascitur.

Bruno, too, was opposed to "certi regolisti de poesia" who strive to replace individual genius of the inspired "poeta eroico" with *sterile rules*. *These rule-makers do not realise*, Bruno insists, that Homer, for example, "nel suo geno non fu poeta che pendesse da regole, ma è causa delle regole che servono a coloro che son piú atti ad imitare che ad inventare".⁴²⁰ The poetics and the Petrarchan poetry of Sidney and Bruno both owe a debt to the "spiritual Petrarch" of the Italian critical tradition, but Sidney, and the Elizabethan poets as a whole were not untouched, perhaps, by the secularization initiated by works such as the Petrarca of Castelvetro.

Conclusions : the Italian Petrarch-commentary and the development of the Petrarchan lyric.

Petrarchism is a complex and subtle literary and cultural phenomenon, and the Petrarchan poetry of the Elizabethans reflects this complexity of influence. This selective sketch

of the Italian tradition of Petrarch commentary and criticism is no more than a hastily inflicted scratch in the surface of this problem, and yet I hope it gives some indication of the context in which Petrarch was received, used and imitated by European poets in the sixteenth century. The real problems begin when we try to compare the Petrarchism of different poets, and it becomes apparent that the Italian conceptions of Petrarch became blurred, intermingled and distorted not only from individual to individual, but across cultures, social classes and even from literary genre to literary genre. Like the term "Renaissance" itself, "Petrarchism" serves only to simplify a mélange of complex historical and cultural discontinuities. Any particular cultural or literary form consists in a perforated, discontinuous field sensitive to social, religious or national characteristics. These vagaries are of course always present in societies or individuals, it must be sufficient that we can extract from our analysis some guidelines by which to survey Petrarchan idioms - especially where these are enmeshed with Neoplatonic conventions - enabling us to map them and examine them in their specificity.

Two principal guidelines have emerged from this examination of the Petrarchan tradition in criticism. The first is the divergence suggested by the twin fountains of Petrarch's own poetic practice, between his "philosophical cast" (his Christian, Stoic and Platonic frame of reference, derived from Seneca, Cicero and Augustine), and his Humanist cast (his faith in Classical imitation, and transformation of the lyric-elegiac tradition of the Latin love-poets). While these two strands are not mutually exclusive, they suggested to later critics, such as Landino, a workable division between Petrarch's doctrine, and his eloquence, allowing the development of criticisms emphasising one or other side of this distinction. It is also my contention that this critical distinction gave theoretical basis to a divergence between "Platonic" or "spiritual" Petrarchists, and secular, amorous Petrarchists (although the theoretical bond must of necessity have been stronger with the former). This can be usefully summarized in a diagrammatic way :

<u>Petrarchan aspect</u>	Christian, Stoic, Platonic	Classical-Elegiac, Humanist
<u>Signifying mode</u>	<u>sentenziosità</u>	<u>eloquentia</u>
<u>Critical Practice</u>	Platonic Criticism (Gesualdo, <u>lezioni</u> , <u>correttori</u> etc)	Philological-Linguistic Criticism (Bembo's <u>Prose</u> , Castelvetro, rhetorical thesauruses etc)

<u>Poetic Practice</u>	Spiritual or Platonic Petrarchism (ie Bruno, Malipiero)	Secular-erotic Petrarchism (ie Serafino, Samuel Daniel, The Earl of Oxford)
	Platonic or "True" Love	Passionate or "vulgar" love

Of course, many poets represent a tertium quid between these two simple categories. The centonisti we saw earlier composed their Petrarchan compositions to serve either spiritual or secular loves. In looking at the Elizabethans, in particular, one is often struck by the ambiguities of the love-poetry, which now looks to the stars, and now to the bedroom. And this is certainly a complication which will enter into our comparison of Bruno, Sidney and Greville.

The second of our guidelines are the subtle distinctions made by Benedetto Varchi in his lezzione on the nature of Petrarch's love. This typology allows us to be more specific than is usual when assessing "Neoplatonic Petrarchism" about exactly what kind of Platonic love we are dealing with in any particular Petrarchan sonnet. In particular we must be aware of the role assigned to female beauty in relation to divine beauty in our chosen poets, and whether or not this has any bearing on their Petrarchan poetry. To Malipiero the role of female beauty would have been dubious, if not blasphemous, to Sidney it was a commonplace. Bruno, as we shall see, is perilously ambiguous about the idea, conciliatory to it in theory (if necessary), yet dispensing with it in poetic practice. We will need to know then, if the love espoused by our poets is "celeste, ò divino; cortese, ò honesto; civile, ò humano" - the three types of love which Varchi attributed to Petrarch himself in the Canzoniere, and which encompass the ambiguities of the loves expressed by our three sonneteers.

These are the tools which will help us in our comparison of Brunian Petrarchism and the Petrarchism of Sidney and Greville (and to a lesser extent in our study of Bruno's influence on George Chapman); a comparison complicated both by the English acquaintance with Italian Petrarch-commentary and criticism prior to Bruno's England visit, and by the influence of French and Dutch Petrarchism and poetics. Added to this we have the religious colourings of Protestant and Catholic, and Bruno's idiosyncratic detachment from this frisson in his irenic, Egyptian or Hemitic "religione della mente". The framework which I have mentioned must be our Ariadne's thread in this daunting maze, they must be the means by which we evaluate the very specific uses of Petrarchan iconography which we encounter.

Yates was right to recognise the importance of defining "what...the Petrarchan conceit meant to the Elizabethans",⁴²² and yet, as this brief historical sketch has shown, there was obviously a greater plurality of interpretations available to the Elizabethan poets than she suggests in assigning a central role to Bruno's Eroici Furori and its conception of the "emblematic conceit" concealing heroic and divine frenzies "sotto la scorza d'amori ed affetti ordinarii". We have seen the panoply of various employments to which the images and vocabulary of the Canzoniere could be put in Italy and England : from Salvatorino's bellicose polemic in Venice, to Camillo's mystical rhetoric and memory-art at the court of Francois I; from the vicarious eroticism of Robert Greene, to the ardent piety of Malipiero. All these uses were before the eyes of Elizabethan poets; what we need to ascertain when looking at any particular poet is, how philosophical or spiritual are their intentions, or how amorous and secular? Was the love that concerned them Platonic or profane? As we saw in the comparison between the sonnets of Bruno and Barnes at the outset of this chapter, these differences can be starkly apparent, but often they can be more subtle and hard to gauge. The Areopagus, the Pleiade, and the Leiden Humanists, representatives of the "new poetry" in their respective countries were all interested in Classical metre and form, and vernacular imitation of Greek and Latin love-poets, but equally as much indulged in ideas of exalted, Platonic love and devotional-philosophical considerations of Petrarch, and the role of poetry in society. By the 1570s and 80s, the twin streams of Petrarch criticism that had emerged from Italy were reaching the shores of Northern Europe as a mingled flood, the secular dolcezza and elegance percolating with the urge to uncover the poet's Platonic sentiments and profound sentenzie. Out of this came a desire to emulate the mastro's matchless diction and metrical sophistication, as Gabriel Harvey attests :

all the noblest Italians, French and Spanish poets have in their several veins Petrarchized; and it is no dishonour for the daintiest or divinest muse to be his scholler, whom the amiablest invention and beautifullest elocution acknowledge their master.⁴²³

But also to see in him not just "long deceased woes",⁴²⁴ but a "treasure-house of science", and a form of love which is not the abuse of love. Petrarch became both moral and stylistic paradigm for English poets.

Nonetheless, not all English poets embraced the exalted, transcendent tone of Petrarch's

sonnets. As we remarked earlier, many poets vaunted in Petrarchan (or Anacreontic) terms the hedonistic joys of loves "prettie kinde of sporting fray", while others, like Sidney, cherished a more Platonic conception of love :

If that be sin which doth the manners frame...
 If that be sin which in fixt hearts doth breed
 A loathing of all loose unchastity -
 Then love is sin, and let me sinful be. ⁴²⁵

It is to this ambivalence surrounding the conception of love in Elizabethan poetry that our analysis of Bruno, Sidney and Greville must do justice, especially as these different sorts of love can co-exist in the works of a single poet. With Bruno's almost total disregard for the Humanist concerns of technique, style, rhetoric and imitation, and his unremitting doctrinal theorizing and exegesis, it is obviously to the philosophical and spiritual side of the Elizabethans which we will look for the influence of Bruno. But we must remain sensitive to the alternative uses of the Petrarchan conceit open to the English poets; more conventional lyrical employments, the "beautifullest elocution" of flattery and compliments to an earthly Laura, unconcerned with the intellectual niceties of Platonism. This is the kind of worldly, sophisticated poetry which Surrey and Wyatt left as a legacy for the Elizabethans, and one which co-existed with attempts at integrating the love-lyric with divine poetry in the Italian manner. Thus Thomas Watson, author of the first Petrarchan sonnet-sequence published in England, could devote his labours both to his "sufferance in Love" and its sensual pains and pleasures, but also to the "long farewell to Love", in which Cupid's firebrand is quenched by "heav'nly Grace".

Chapter Two - Petrarchism and Neoplatonism : Bruno's Degli Eroici Furori and Sir Philip Sidney's Astrophel and Stella.

Before we absorb ourselves in the minutiae of the themes and imagery of Sidney and Greville's sonnet-sequences and their parallels with those of the Eroici Furori it is best to look a little further into the literary and philosophical conditions which made the development of a "Neoplatonic Petrarchism" possible, and look briefly at the ways in which Bruno and Sidney married philosophy and poetry in their works.

With the movement toward a "spiritual Petrarch", and a view of the Canzoniere as "cantici spirituali" ^{composed} so as to "ecitar l'huomo al divino amore"¹, comparable to the sacred hymns of Orpheus or Solomon, poetry - and especially love-poetry - moved in closer unison with the demands of theology and philosophy. The work of Italian Petrarch-commentators and critics such as Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo, Giovan Battista Gelli and Girolamo Malipiero served to strengthen the earlier tradition of philosophical commentaries on love-poetry, and created the atmosphere which encouraged the writing of mystical love-poems in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, works as doctrinally diverse as San Juan de la Cruz's Subida del Monte Carmelo (1578) and Giordano Bruno's Degli Eroici Furori (1585). But the process began as early as the fourteenth century, with the earliest Humanist apologies for poetry against the strictures of the Catholic clergy - the letters and treatises of Albertino Mussato and Coluccio Salutati, expounding the idea of the poeta theologus, and the sacral character of poetic inspiration. The work of Albertino Mussato was read, digested and transmitted by Boccaccio and Petrarch. Petrarch's statement in his Familiarium rerum libri that theology was nothing but poetry concerning God and a "divinum munus et paucorum hominum...cepit"², and his passing-on of Cicero's opinion of the poet's divine inspiration : "Poeta natura ipsa valere et mentis viribus excitare et quasi divino quodam spiritu inflari"³ certainly lent support to Mussato's task, which, according to R.G.Witt was to "blur the distinction between poetry and theology and to stress the continuity between ancient poetry and the Bible"⁴. In his commentaries on Senecan drama De Laboribus Herculis (1383), Salutati included a lengthy introduction in defense of poetry, in which he claimed that Classical poets showed insights which could only have come from : "inspiracione divini numinis et vere germanique veritatis"⁵. In epistles to Giovanni da San Miniato,

Giuliano Zonarini and others Salutati argued that poetry was like the scriptures which veiled its meanings under symbols : "proprium est ergo poetice veritatem in signum assumere, qua tegatur veritas et cuius mysterio latens et quasi sequax veritas depromatur"⁶, but whereas scripture revealed truths through other truths, the poet revealed them through "ficta...et ludicra"⁷. Its truthfulness set honest poetry on a par with theology he claimed : "cum verus [carmina poetarum] sit, cum theologica veritate concordiam...inter veritates etenim et veritates nulla dissensio"⁸. Look at the erotic and lascivious imagery of Solomon's Song of Songs he said, if one accepts these fictions how can one object to those of poetry? : "Deo loquimur vel incorporeis creaturis, iuxta litteram verum est, nichil sub illa falsitate corticis nisi verum et quid potes aliud obicere poetrie?"⁹ Philosophy Poetry was also a kind of poetry he maintained, Aristotle being nothing if not a "philosophus in poetria"¹⁰.

This conviction of poetry's philosophical and spiritual nature was continued by the Florentine Platonists in the fifteenth century (and later critics, such as Minturno in his influential De Poeta). Ficino held in his Platonica Theologia and in his epistolary tract De Divino Furore, that poetry was essentially similar to prophecy and the allegories of the prisci theologi.¹¹ In Ficino's commentary on the Symposium the character Cristoforo Landino (whom Ficino characterized as an "orphicum Platonicumque poetam")¹² comments that "mos enim erat veterum theologorum sacra ipsorum puraque arcana ne a profanis...pollverentur figuram umbraculis legere"¹³. This conflation of the "figures" of theology and poetry combined with a view of human, "vulgar" love as a dim reflection or "umbratilen et fluxam imaginem" of the "pulcher stabilem" of God's love (and a means by which one could begin the ascent from physical to Divine beauty)¹⁴ opened the way for a poetry which exploited the ambiguity of love as a signifier of a higher, truer passion, scintillating with "sparks of divine glory". It opened the way to the "spiritual Petrarch" who yielded up his "copiosa dottrina" to the Platonic exegete, and to the writing of Neoplatonic love-sonnets.

The ^{idea} of a philosophical commentary on love-poetry (as practiced by Bruno in his Eroici) properly begins with Dante's Vita Nuova and Convivio, especially the latter, where Dante re-examines some of the sensual canzone of his youth, and by allegorical interpretation draws out a religious significance, adopting the Augustinian notion of layered meanings to show that the "favole" of their literal meanings are really a "bella menzoga" which if

properly understood would show that virtue rather than irrational passion were at the root of his love. His beloved is an image of God's beauty : "In lei discende la virtù divina / si come face in angelo che 'l vede"¹⁵. Philosophy itself is embodied as a woman (as in Cicero and Boethius) : "imaginava lei fatta come una donna gentile"¹⁶, says Dante; consequently the act of philosophizing is an act of love, an ecstatic meditation : "[Amore è lo] studio, lo quale è l'applicazione de l'animo innamorato de la cosa a quella cosa"¹⁷. Love is a "unimento spirituale de l'anima e de la cosa amata"¹⁸, a conjunction with God's love as cosmic principle, the "virtus unificativa et concretiva"¹⁹ which binds the universe together. Petrarch, like Dante, used his beloved as an index of divinity, both "una cosa mobile per natura" (Rime 183)²⁰ and "una scala al fattor" (Rime 360)²¹. In both cases real love is seen as a spur towards love of God. Through the death of the beloved, an awareness of human transience, and the need for an eternal beauty is inculcated :

Vergine umana et nemica d'orgoglio...
 se poca mortal terra caduca
 amar con sì mirabil fede soglio,
 Che devrò far di te, cosa gentile?²²

A step further from this theological interpretation of an actual love, is that poetry which sets out to express mystical or divine love through the similitude of human love (just as the writer of the biblical Song of Songs used topoi from Egyptian love-poetry). These include San Juan de la Cruz's Subido del Monte Carmelo, which tells of a young woman's nocturnal meeting with her lover on Mt Camel (an allegory of a mystical experience), and the Canzona d'Amore of Girolamo Benivieni, which was exhaustively annotated by the poet's friend Giovanni Pico della Mirandola :

Dello amore volgare [ha trattato] Guido Cavalcanti in una sua canzona [Donna mi prega]. Dell' altro [amore], cioè del celeste, el poeta nostra nell' opera praesante, nella quale quantunque tratti dell' uno & dell' altro, nondimeno principalmente tratta del celeste, ne dell' altro parlase non inquanto è una debole imagine di quello.²³

Here Benivieni follows the guidance of Ficino : "io havevo in pochi versi ristretto quello che Marsilio in molte charte elegantissimamente describe"²⁴, portraying vulgar love as "uno simulachro e una ombra dello amore celeste"²⁵. This being so, the poet freely uses the phraeology of the lower love to describe that of the higher. He tells us, for instance, of Love's power over him ("Amor dalle cui man sospes' el freno"), making his heart burn with

love and moving him to write amatory verses :

La fiamma che per lui già in quel fu accesa
Muove la lingua mia, sforza l'ingegno
Ad dir di lui...²⁶

Pico uses this text of the spurred divine lover with the burning herat, with its strong echoes of Petrarchan motifs, to expound intricate philosophical and theological points concerning celestial love from the Greek Neoplatonists, the Cabalists, the Orphic hymns and many other sources.

Bruno recognized in the poetic commentary a unique opportunity to express his own ideas. He had perhaps before his eyes in France (where he lived from 1579 to 1583) the poetic fruits of this Italian tradition of philosophized love-poetry, in the shape of the sonnet-sequences of the Pleiade poets and others who, composing for the musical forces of Jean-Antoin Baïf's Academie de poesie et de musique, and championed theoretically by the Neoplatonist Pontus de Tyard, were convinced of the "magical" or ethical efficacy of poetry set to the ancient metres of "antique music", in the manner of Ficino's "chant Orphique"²⁷. The form of Bruno's Eroici (minus the prose-commentary) is echoed, for instance, in the slightly earlier Platonic poetry of Maurice Scève, whose sequence of dixains, Delie, objet de la plus haut vertu (1544), combined emblems and poems, drawing much casuistical material from Italian Platonic sources (especially Ficino and Ebreo). No doubt sensing the popularity and intellectual fashion of the philosophical love-sonnet in France, and perhaps aware of its insurgence in English culture, Bruno seems to have adopted this form in the Eroici with the specific intention of capturing the attention of the Italianophile literary English audience. Even his discussion of the "heroic frenzy" would have been familiar ground for the English court through Italian treatises or French imitators such as Pontus de Tyard's La Solitaire Premier (1552). Tyard's work, for instance, deals with the "fureur poetique", and the soul's ascent toward mystical illumination in the form of a "device" taken from love-poetry and "depeint dans le tableau de...l'espirit". The "solitary" philosopher of the title is bewitched by a beautiful Petrarchan lady, Pasithée, who draws his soul up to divine knowledge with poetry concerning the "great and celestial Venus" of Plato (and Ficino's commentaries) sung to the "celestial harmony" of a lute.²⁸ This use of the amorous mnemonic device, and the Petrarchan discussion of the furore

is continued by Bruno in his annotated sonnets dedicated to the "Cupidine superiore", who "apre le porte di diamante nere"²⁹, leading him to a revelation of the divine principle in the visible universe, celebrated in the "song of the illuminati"³⁰ sung to the imagined accompaniment of lutes, harps and other musical instruments. These abstracted forms of the Petrarchan heroine in Tyard, the Pleiade poets and Bruno's Eroici are the apogee of the "spiritual Petrarch" tradition nurtured in the Italian Academies.

Giordano Bruno's Neoplatonism : the Dialoghi Italiani

What exactly are these philosophical or religious ideas to which Bruno applies the imagery of love-poetry? And how is the Petrarchan sonnet suitable for this application? While we have already seen the preparation of Petrarch as a poet worthy of the imitation of the divine-poet, Bruno's own valorization of the "occult image" (drawing on the long tradition of sapiential exegesis) and especially the images of the mnemonic art, have a lot to do with his election of the Petrarchan conceit as an "emblematic" medium in the Eroici Furori. This tendency is, of course, present in Plato himself, where the revelations of divine-knowledge almost inevitably move out of the realm of logical dialectic between interlocuters, and assume the figurative vestments of mythology; a fabulism inherent in the series of dichotomies (light-dark, image-reflection, appearance-essence) which congregate in the allegory of the Platonic Cave.

Bruno's original conflation of Neoplatonic and Hermetic ideas into an idiomatic personal theology strive, like those of the Platonist Nicholas de Cusa (admired by Bruno as "il divino Cusano"³¹) to "sacralize" matter, to make it co-incident with spirit or form, borrowing what Bruno considered to be Cusa's "divino principio", the idea of coincidentia oppositorum : "la commensurazione e coincidenza de la massima e minima"³². He strives to achieve this theoretical co-presence with the minimum use of mediators or exemplars beloved of other Neoplatonists.³³ In this he resembles Cusa, whose theology progressively dispensed with exemplaristic screens (such as angelic hierarchies or "celestial demons"), leaving him in the late work De Apice Theoriae with only the bipartite structure of Posse ipsum / apparitione.³⁴ Bruno's co-incident of maxima and minima manifests itself as a cosmos divided into two aspects of a single Godhead : a transcendent, supercelestial aspect (represented

by Apollo, Sol or Jove), and an immanent, informational aspect (represented by Diana, or Amphitrite). The immanent, "Diana" aspect of Godhead suffuses matter so thoroughly that matter itself becomes divine. This sacral, participatory nature of matter is admirably expressed in Bruno's De la Causa, where Bruno quotes Virgil on the "motore ed esagitator de l'universo" who is "totanque infusa per artus / Mens agitat molen, et toto se corpore miscet"³⁵. Bruno then vividly describes this hyle^omorphic infusion of divinity into the Creation :

Or, se credemo non essere senza discorso e intelletto
prodotta quell' opra come morta...[come] quando,
scorticando e scalpellando un legno, facciamo apparir
l'effige d'un cavallo; quanto credere dobbiamo esser
maggior quel intelletto artefice, che da l'intrinseco
della seminal materia risalda l'ossa, stende le cartilagini,
incava le arterie, inspira i pori, intesse le fibre,
ramifica gli nervi, e con sí mirabile magistero dispone
il tutto?³⁶

Bruno's magus, the philosopher-artificer, operates by recognizing and manipulating the hidden order impressed in the cosmos by Godhead. In Lo Spaccio della bestia trionfante, Bruno discusses this Egyptian-Hermetic religion or "magic" : "Gli Egizii, come sanno i sapienti, da queste forme naturali esteriori di bestie e piante vive ascendevano e... penetravano alla divinità"³⁷. This Neoplatonic art of "magia" is an art which is "mezzana e matematica", identifying through "la contemplazion della natura" the "principii soprannaturali"³⁸ which order it, principally by means of the seven planetary-mythological genres into which the cosmos is divided : "de membri, de' colori, de' sigilli, de' caratteri, di segni, de imagini destribuite in sette specie"³⁹. It acts upon the images which are found "nell' orizzonte del corporale e spirituale"⁴⁰, the "sympathies" which link together Creator and his Creation. The operations of this Egyptian magic transcend language in visual, or figural "ceremonies" :

que' ceremoni non erano vane fantasie, ma vive voci
che toccavano le proprie orecchie de gli Dei; li quali,
come da lor vogliono essere intesi non per voci d' idioma ⁴¹
...ma per voci di naturali effetti...per atti di ceremoni.

This praxis of "contemplazione" and "voci di naturali effetti" were fundamental to the philosophical labours of Bruno, who took the idea of a universal symbolism, the signatura rerum, to found an excentric, imaginative science (an art, however, not without precedent,

witness, for instance, the mythography of Leone Ebreo, or the Theatre of Giulio Camillo⁴²).

Bruno sought by combining physical images to receive, in the act of meditating upon them, the "gifts" given to the sages of Ancient Egypt through their knowledge of "le diverse forme fisiche...e certi ordini"⁴³ inherent in nature. The most important form of this practical art was undoubtedly his mnemonic treatises, which outlined the construction and methods of combining his images or sigilli. These "seals" utilized all the disparate visual elements available to the Renaissance scholar : images from mythology, emblem-books, geometry, astrology, hieroglyphs, and Lullian "rotae" of letters and numbers. These treatises included works such as the De Umbris Idearum (1582), Explicatio triginta sigillorum (c1583), and the De imaginum, signorum et idearum compositione (1591)⁴⁴. This construction of a pure, imagistic discourse did not unfold in isolation from his other more conventional philosophical works. Bruno's magi are versatile creators, they are considered to be "artefeci e fattori"⁴⁵, and the Brunian "science of imagination" manifests itself in a prose-style which is frequently figurative and allegorical : the colourful pantheon of gods and constellations in the Spaccio, the bustling topographical narrative of the Cena, or the beast-allegory of the Cabala del cavallo Pegaseo. Bruno also chose to express himself in purely literary imagery, whether it was in the comic drama of Il Candelaio, or the Petrarchism of the Eroici, or the Lucretianism of the De immenso, de triplici & de monade. He considered himself to be poet, painter and philosopher simultaneously, constructing a "teatro" or "tela"⁴⁶ of images in the reader's mind, and in his own. It is in this context that we must view the Eroici Furori, as an intensely visual work combining Petrarchan conceits with emblems (which, due to the technical limitations of English woodcut engraving at that time, were present only as descriptions); its intense determination of signification ("ognuno intendere e definire come l'intendo e definisco io")⁴⁷ defines its special function as a philosophical tool, a further mnemonic string to the bow of Bruno's memory-art, a new outlet in a unified strategy. The Eroici presents us with mystical poetry addressed to the same imaginative faculty as his memory-images, the "non ordinarii occhiali" or "mental eye"⁴⁸, the poetizing magus becomes analogous to the "artificial", creative soul of God : "lui forma la materia e la figura da dentro"⁴⁹.

The mystical love, the ecstatic "furori" and "contrazioni" experienced by the lover-

philosopher which form the subject-matter of Bruno's sonnet-sequence, is prominent in both the Hellenic-Neoplatonic and Judaeo-Christian theologies. On the Neoplatonic side there was the tradition of spiritual love and the "frenzies" in the Phaedrus and Symposium, and on the Judaeo-Christian side there was Solomon's Song of Songs, and its patristic commentators (not to mention the popular tradition of mystical writings such as those of Abbess Hildegard, or Julian of Norwich). These two strands were often interwoven in Renaissance love-poetry, or love-treatises; Pico della Mirandola, for instance, in his Comento...sopra una Canzona d'Amore...di Girolamo Benivieni (1486), exalts Solomon as an expert on Platonic love :

Il trattare dell' uno & dell' altro amore sapartiene a diverse scientie. Dello amore volgare tratta el philosopho naturale & el philosopho morale. Dello amore divino tratta el theologo...[o] metaphisico. Parla dell' uno & dell' altro eccellentemente Salomone, del volgare nello Ecclesiaste come naturale Philosopho, et ne Proverbii come morale, del divino & celesta nella sua Cantica & però dicono che fra tutti a cantici della scrittura sacra, questa è il più sacro & el più divino. ⁵⁰

The Jewish commentators chose to allegorize the erotic narrative of Solomon by identifying the young lovers as Yahweh and Israel, and this tradition was continued by the patristic fathers of the Catholic Church, such as Origen and St Ambrose, who made the bridegroom Christ and the bride either the Church, the soul or the Virgin Mary.⁵¹ This interpretation of Solomon is particularly pertinent to the Eroici Furori, which deals with a soul inflamed with divine love for God, and which Bruno considered to be similar to the Song of Songs, dealing with mystical experience "sotto la scorza d'amori ed affetti ordinarii".⁵²

Bruno saw his poetry as similar to the allegories of the "cabalisti dottori", who perceived "il misterio...sotto l'ombra".⁵³ These "shadows" borrowing the outward forms of Classical and Petrarchan love-poetry ("simili a...coloro che parlarono...a Lesbia, a Corinna, a Laura"),⁵⁴ dealt with divine love as a passion more closely linked to human love than is common in allegorical interpretations. The language of spiritual love, says Bruno, provides the reader with "similitudini piú accomodate a gli sensi communi, che ordinariamente fanno gli accorti amanti",⁵⁵ so that it is unnecessary to search for a "latente ed occolto sentimento",⁵⁶ but rather one which is homologous, or emblematic. Nonetheless, Bruno is very harsh on the poetry which he imitates, and in a hysterical anti-Petrarchan tirade

berates the absurd "continue torture" of the Petrarchan poet, and his worship of "la bellezza d'un corpo femminile" as fit only for "un bruto e sporco ingegno"⁵⁷. Petrarch's love is dismissed as "un obstinato amor volgare, animale e bestiale"⁵⁸ (in sharp contrast with the views of Gesualdo, Gelli and Varchi in the last chapter). To Bruno poetry addressed to a real woman is an obscenity, woman, he says, is "un morboso fungoso", "una cosa...priva d'ogni costanza"⁵⁹. The poet should instead direct his "onori ed osequi divini" to a more worthy object, "un soggetto e oggetto eroico"⁶⁰, he should describe the rapturous communion of the soul with God. The purpose of the Eroici is "apportare contemplation divina e metter avanti a gli occhi ed orecchie...eroici amori"⁶¹. As in Bruno's memory-art, the "eyes" of the soul are brought to divine contemplation through images; the Petrarchan conceit are treated as mnemonic seals transcending through "metafora e pretesto d'allegoria"⁶² the limitations of debilitated language. In his "Argomento", Bruno explains how he will signify the delicate process of mystical love through "le antitesi, similitudini e comparizioni"⁶³ of Petrarchan poetry, drawing on ^{quotations} ~~quotes~~ from Solomon to support his exposition. Canticale II,ix, for instance ("En ipse stat post parietem nostrum, respiciens^e per cancellos et prospiciens per fenestras"), demonstrates how God "batte a le porte de nostri sensi"⁶⁴, the "fenestras" interpreted as the "shadows" or "vestiges" through which God's presence is glimpsed by the natural philosopher. The dove of Canticale II,x-xii figures the gnostic ascent of the Will toward God, while Proverbs XXV,xxvii, shows how the soul is "confuso, vinto ed exaninato"⁶⁵ before God's presence. Bruno's argument shows a thorough, analytic approach to the passions of mystical love. We are told that one of the dialogues deals with "le nove ragioni della inabilita...e difetto dell' umano sguardo e potenza apprensiva de cose divine"⁶⁶, while another presents in twelve parts "un seminario delle maniere e ragioni del stato dell' eroico furioso"⁶⁷. Bruno exerts on the intensely emotional experience of mystical yearning a logical framework which systematically scrutinizes the facets of this experience. As well as describing the mystical experience, Bruno presents the reader with the means to illuminate himself, didactically laying out the mechanics of his natural philosophy. Of course, this dichotomy in Bruno is not strictly enforceable, because Bruno, like Ebreo and Ficino, regards love as epistemological, as "pure knowledge" : "tutto quello ch' in certo modo si desidera, in certo modo ancora si conosce"⁶⁸.

Hence in his argument to the 'Canzone de gl' illuminati' Bruno explains how Diana (or nature) presents the philosopher with "la ruota delle specie naturali", through the ordering of which she presents to the mind of the magus "[la] potente ad aprir ogni sigillo, a sciôrre ogni nodo, a discuoprir ogni secreto"⁶⁹. Diana is the beloved of Bruno's Petrarchism, and the redeemer in his theology. Where the Christian looks to Christ's passion and mercy for salvation, Bruno's devotee creates his own mercy, through an effort of will in the "amorous" meditation on the order of the universe he communes with the Ocean of Godhead, and finds there "l'acqui salutifere di ripurgazione"⁷⁰.

Sir Philip Sidney's Neoplatonism : the Apology and the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion.

Bruno then, operates with very precise and determinate philosophical interpretations and applications of Petrarchan themes and motifs. This philosophical temper is visible to us mostly (though by no means solely) through the commentaries and prefatory explications with which Bruno surrounds his sonnets. The case for the role of Neoplatonic philosophy in Sir Philip Sidney's poetry is far more difficult to ascertain, relying as it does mostly on the poetry itself (plus what we can glean of his Neoplatonic outlook from his prose writings). Yates, in addressing this problem of the comparison of Bruno's and Sidney's sequences, bemoans the "absence of a sonnet-by-sonnet explanation from Sidney" which leaves us at the mercy of its "obscurities and problems...and the various shades of mood and meaning in his sequence"⁷¹. Some critics have tackled the Neoplatonic aspect of Sidney's poetry by simply dismissing it, claiming that Sidney had no real interest in philosophy beyond the minimum needed for a courtly varnish of learning, preferring instead the "sensible" or "manly" pursuits of politics and military history :

Sidney was a statesman, a soldier, a courtier, a learned gentleman. His interest in learning was rooted in his desire to excel in those accomplishments befitting a man in his station. He was interested most in those studies...which were useful to him at court and on the battlefield...his Defense of Poesy is indirectly an extended argument against philosophy, a study which he feared was likely to "bring in Atheisme"⁷².

Others, like Andrew Weiner have suggested some innate antagonism between Hermetic Neo-Platonism and Protestant Christianity, postulating the absurd dichotomy : "instead of a

hermeticⁱist Sidney, we have a Protestant one⁷³", whereas^e many moderate Anglicans, such as Sidney's tutor John Dee, saw Neoplatonism as a service to, rather than a detraction from Christian pietism. Hence Dee in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury answering publicly the "untrue, foolish and wicked reports" of Puritan critics who felt he was a Satanist, or conjurer, asserts the holiness of his "true Philosophie" :

All thanks are most due, therefore, unto the Almighty :
 seeing it so pleased him...to insinuate into my hart, an
 insatiable zeale & desire to knowe his truth...incessantly to
 seeke...by the true philosophicall method and harmony :
 proceeding and ascending...gradatim from things visible to
 consider of things invisible...by the most mervailous frame
 of the whole World, philosophically viewed and circumspectly
 wayed, numbred and measured, most faithfully to love, honor
 and glorifie alwaies, the Framer and Creator thereof.⁷⁴

Weiner goes so far as to imply that Sidney's interest in Dee was purely expedient, and in spite of his philosophical learning : "Sidney's ambitions of conquest in the New World required the aid of Dee the mathematician; beyond that, nothing is certain"⁷⁵. This is contradicted both by Sidney's manifest expressions of philosophical interest (his Apology and his translation of Du Plessis Mornay's Trewnesse of the Christian Religion), and by the testaments of two of his biographers, Thomas Moffett and Fulke Greville. Moffett declared that Sidney

pressed into the inner-most penetralia of causes; and, led by God, with Dee as teacher, and with Dyer as companion, he⁷⁶ learned chemistry, that starry science, rival to nature.

and that from chemistry "with the same alacrity he proceeded in other subjects of abstruse learning"⁷⁷. Greville praised Sidney's ability "even in the most ingenious of Mechanicall Arts"⁷⁸ taught by Dee (by which he probably meant Alchemy). There is no doubt that in the years 1570-72, Sidney and Dyer were initiated by Dee into the mysteries of Hermetic Neoplatonism and astral magic. Dee's learning was far removed from the controversial anti-Christian philosophy of Giordano Bruno; as a Christian philosopher he was patronized by Sidney's uncle, the Earl of Leicester, and had the unofficial (but fiscal) backing of the Queen herself (as we mentioned in the introduction)⁷⁹. Despite the "wrangling and...despising of alchimicall philosophers" by Puritan thinkers,⁸⁰ Dee's ideas were well received in aristocratic circles, and he frequently entertained the Queen, and noblemen such as Raleigh and Cecil. Just as we must read Bruno's Eroici in the context of his philo-

sophical beliefs as a whole, so too Sidney's poetry is illuminated by reference to his philosophical interests, particularly as they are brought to bear on the nature of poetry, which amounts to a valorization of imagination over the logic of "wordish philosophie" and espouses a "poetic theology" consonant with the ideas of the purveyors of the "spiritual Petrarch" in Italy.

Against those, like Arnolfo Ferruolo, who dismisses Sidney's philosophical interest as merely "platonismo convenzionale",⁸¹ we can oppose the evidence of Sidney's prose-writings, which show not only an intelligent use of the prisci theologi in the sphere of literature, but demonstrate a prodigious experience of Neoplatonic sources besides Castiglione (often cited as Sidney's sole source of Platonic doctrine), a familiarity with Platonic criticism, and a willingness to bring Neoplatonism to bear on the religio-political, and literary issues of his day. To suggest, as Ferruolo does, that Sidney relied heavily on Edmund Spenser's Fowre Hymnes for his Platonic inspiration⁸² ~~suggests~~ ^{implies} an ignorance of Platonic writings which is misleading. Firstly, Sidney was not unfamiliar with Plato himself, as is witnessed by his self-criticism in Astrophel XXI, where he says: "That Plato I read for nought but if he tame / Such coltish years" (a number of continental scholars dedicated their Latin translations of Plato to Sidney,⁸³ while some of the arguments of the Apology suggest firsthand familiarity with Plato's Ion). We must also bear in mind Sidney and Dyer's period of tutorage under John Dee, when they must have enjoyed the benefits of Dee's incomparable library of philosophical works, extending from the thirteenth-century English Platonism of Roger Bacon, to the latest Parisian translation of Francesco Giorgi's Harmonia Mundi by the La Boderie brothers. In the years following Dee's tutorage (in 1572-4), Sidney visited Italy in the company of the Anglo-Italian Lodowick Bryskett, who (as we mentioned in the last chapter) had a deep interest in Italian Academic Platonists such as Guazzo and Piccolomini, and had translated the De gli Hecatomithi of Giovanni Battista Giraldi Cinzio, which discussed Neoplatonic topics such as the Platonic theory of the soul, the spiritual interpretation of poetry, and the magical properties of "that auncient kynde of musicke" which was of such great interest to Malipiero, and the Baif circle of Paris.⁸⁴ That Sidney travelled in Italy (mostly in Venice and Padua) with a young man of such interests is not insignificant, and the certainty that Sidney did indeed engage in Neoplatonic studies beyond a close-reading of Castiglione or Spenser's Fowre Hymnes is to be found in the ideas

touched upon by him in his Apology for Poetry (written c1581, printed posthumously in 1595).

Far from being an "extended argument against philosophy", the Apologie is an attack only on "wordish" philosophy, and especially those methods which suffer from "largesses... of definitions, divisions and distinctions...the generalities that contain it, and the specialities that derive from it"⁸⁵. The attack here is aimed at those philosophers (despised by Bruno as "pedantacci" and "grammatisti") who rigidly employ the logical mechanism of division and collection, a method exalted in Sidney's time by Francis Bacon in England, and Pierre Ramus in France, as a means to universal knowledge or pansophia. Sidney attacks abstract philosophy which is "hard of utterance, and...misty to be conceived"⁸⁶, and the historian who, neglecting the "abstract and general" for a "particular truth of things" which is lacking in "fruitful doctrine"⁸⁷. The "peerless poet", however, is able to combine the virtues of history and philosophy, empiricism and transcendentalism, in a powerful discourse of images :

[the poet] 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...learned definitions... replenisheth the memory with many infallible grounds of wisdom, which, notwithstanding, lie dark before the imaginative and judging power, if they are not illuminated or figured forth by the speaking picture of poesie.⁸⁸

The consonance here with Bruno's art of images is striking. Sidney's appeal to the powerful image which is able to "possess the sight of the soul" (Bruno's "non ordinarii occhiali"), by figuring forth knowledge which is entombed in dead words. Sidney also sees his "image art" as gnostic, a sapiential and ethical purifier of man's corrupted soul. For Sidney, poetry synthesises the "serving sciences" of astronomy, history, music, mathematics and "supernatural philosophy" and illuminates them, forcing man into "virtuous action" and the knowledge of God :

This purifying wit, this enriching of memory, enabling of judgement, and enlarging of conceit which commonly we call learning, under whatsoever name it come forth [ie Poetry]... the final end [of it] 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.⁹⁰

For Sidney, poetry is a form of knowledge with ordinary status : "poetry is of all learn-

ings the most ancient, and of most fatherly antiquity, as from whence other learnings have taken their beginnings"⁹¹. It is an encyclopaediac "treasure-house of science"⁹², its omnicomprehensive nature dictates the format of the first half of the Apology, which consists in describing the virtues of the other disciplines and showing the superiority of poetry in each case. For Sidney poetry is the "art of arts" necessary to purge the evils of mankind, a role which Bruno assigns to mnemotechnics (which for him has the antiquity which Sidney ascribes to poetry, ascribing its beginnings to the imagery of the Ancient Egyptian religion) :

[un]maggiore non possiamo comprendere che quello [arte], che talmente indirizza gli animi e riforma gl' ingegni, che da quelli si producano frutti utili e necessari alla conversazione umana; che certo bisogna che sia cosa divina, arte de le arti e disciplina de le discipline quella per cui hanno da esser retti e reprimuti gli uomini.⁹³

Memory plays an important role in Sidney's art as well : "Memory being the only treasure of knowledge"⁹⁴, and poetry in its "feigning [of] notable images of virtues, vices or what else"⁹⁵ strikes this faculty with "divine force", through its "exquisite ordering" which gives each part of thought its "natural seat"⁹⁶. Both Sidney and Bruno feel themselves to be creators in the broadest sense, a "fabricatore" or "maker" (ποιητήν)⁹⁷. Both see imagination as the redemptive tool for ethical reform. Bruno's magus "con la forza del pensiero edifica castegli in aria"⁹⁸ and can achieve more through these imaginary efforts than "gli medici per via de la verità"⁹⁹. Sidney's imagination gives man god-like power "over all the works of that second nature", enabling him to "freely range within the zodiac of his own wit".¹⁰⁰

In championing the "divine force" of poetry Sidney appeals to the Platonic tradition of "poetic theology", and makes a defense of philosophical love-poetry, defending it against those critics accusing it of exalting "sinfulness and lustful love"¹⁰¹. Firstly, he grants poetry a sacred origin, repeating the commonplace that the Latin name for poet was vates or "diviner, forseer or prophet"¹⁰², and that the Delphic and Sibylline oracles delivered their prophecies in verse. Then Sidney draws our attention (just as Malipiero and Gelli did in their writings on Petrarch) to the "poeticall part of scripture" : "David in his Psalms, Solomon in his Song of Songs, in his Ecclesiastes and Proverbs; Moses and Deborah in their

hymns; and the writer of Job"¹⁰³. Sidney ranks these scriptures along with the "hymns" of Orpheus and Amphion. The Psalms of David, he says, are "a divine poem...fully written in metre, as all learned Hebricians agree"¹⁰⁴, the word "psalm" in Hebrew "being interpreted is nothing but songs"¹⁰⁵. Here Sidney seems to be moving in a similar atmosphere to critics such as Malipiero and Gelli who defend poetry as an art of divine origin and with scriptural precedents. The same reference-points occur : David the divine-poet was a singer of "spiritual songs", the act of poetizing is bound up in the efficacious harmonies of music ("the most divine striker of the senses") : "as Amphion was said to move stones with his poetry to build Thebes, and Orpheus to be listened to by the beasts"¹⁰⁶. These are the familiar landmarks passed down by Ficino in praise of the magical virtues of poetry and music, which were repeated in works of Platonic criticism read by Sidney, such as Minturno's De Poeta, or Landino's commentary on Dante's Divina Commedia. As with Malipiero (and Bruno's Eroici) the poetry of the Bible helps Sidney to give a spiritual cast to secular love-poetry. David, suggests Sidney, is not only a divine-poet, but a love-poet also, for the Psalms are "a heavenly poesy wherein, almost...[David] sheweth himself a passionate lover of that unspeakable and everlasting beauty to be seen by the eyes of the mind once cleared by faith"¹⁰⁷. This statement is the background of Sidney's defense of contemporary love-poetry, where he agrees with critics who see it as corrupt and "larded with passionate sonnets", but remonstrates : "But what! shall the abuse of a thing make the right use odious?"¹⁰⁸ He praises the worship of female beauty ("only man and no beast hath that gift to discern beauty"¹⁰⁹), and the "excellency" of love as defined by "some of my maisters the philosophers"¹¹⁰. Love-poetry should be $\phi\rho\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\eta$, or the "figuring forth of good things"¹¹¹. It is for this reason that Sidney's Astrophel and Stella addresses itself to the "everlasting beauty" experienced by David (albeit through the love of a woman). Sidney constantly tests the mettle of his love, its degree of spirituality or virtue against its sensuality or passion, striving to keep it line with the "desiar cortese, honesto e casto" of Bembo and other Italian Platonic critics,¹¹²

The conflation of ideas concerning gnosis, image, music and love-poetry which Sidney manipulates in his Apology, while bearing few signs of specific citation (although he does occasionally name his sources, as in the laudation of poetry at the end of the essay),

obviously emerged from a knowledge of certain Renaissance Neoplatonic texts, the works of Ficino or Pico concerning "poetic theology", and the Platonic poetics of the Italian and French Academicians. The Pleiade poets, for instance, would have recognized and felt comfortable with Sidney's preoccupations. The Apology is certainly not an attack on philosophy, but the considered work of a writer very much involved in relating his art to the current incarnations of Christian-Platonic thought.

That Sidney definitely had contact with an array of Platonic and Neoplatonic ideas, and that he felt these ideas were pertinent to his Protestant religion is demonstrated by his decision to translate Phillipe du Plessis Mornay's Verité de la Religione Cretienne. Sidney's warmth to Mornay, both as man and ideologue, show that he was interested in Platonic solutions to sectarian squabbles, and that more generally speaking he felt these philosophies could help the cause of Protestantism, preventing atheism and heresy by appeal to philosophical reason and theology. The translation of the Verité, entitled A Woorke concerning the Trewnesse of the Christian Religion was published in 1587 by Thomas Cadman a year after Sidney's death. It was begun by Sidney and subsequently "at his request finished by Arthur Golding"¹¹³. Thanks to Albert Feuillerat's convincing analysis of Sidney's and Golding's translation styles, we are able to restrict ourselves to the part written by Sidney alone (chapters I to VI and the preface). The purpose of Mornay's work was to use the "first and highest Philosophie" to be "witnesses of our [Christian] doctrine"¹¹⁴. These philosophers, "Disciples, Interpreters and Anatomists or Decipherers of Nature"¹¹⁵ included Iamblichus, Plotinus, Porphyry, Proclus, Simplicius, Plato, and Aristotle (all of whom Mornay examines in detail, relating their findings to Christian doctrine). It also gives a great deal of space to the Corpus Hermeticum at that time ascribed to Hermes Trismegistus, and still enjoying the illusion of great antiquity soon to be shattered by the research of Isaac Casaubon (the Hermeticum is one of the most frequently cited texts in the book). This Christian Hermeticism was ascendant in sixteenth-century France,¹¹⁶ where John Dee's early version of the Monas Hieroglyphica (expounding his "Hemetis laboris") enjoyed a modest vogue in the wake of a series of Parisian lectures on occult philosophy and mathematics (Mornay's references to Euclid in the Verité could well be echoes from these Paris lectures). Like Dee, Mornay was impressed by Jewish mysticism : "I will alledge their

ancient doctors, dispersed as well in their Cabales as in their Talmud, which are their bookes of greatest authority and most credit"¹¹⁷, although his attitude toward Neoplatonists who "impugned our doctrine" is more zealous than Dee's (or even Sidney's, perhaps). For Mornay the prisci theologi have an important, although limited, role to play in Christian life :

some men in sundrie nations have mounted above the common rate, and indevoured to cherish and aduance...their Insights, and drawn some small sparks of truth and wisdom out of them, as out of some little fire raked up under a great heape of ashes... so we shall kindle a fire out of their sparkes : howbeit...not to lead us to salvation...for in that behalf we have neede of God to be our Pilot : but to shew us as it were from a Tower; which way it standeth in the darke wherein we now be, to the end we may call to God for helpe.¹¹⁸

In translating this work Sidney came into contact with ideas from an extensive Neoplatonic tradition - Arabic (Avicenna, Avicenna), Alexandrine (Philo, the Hermetica), Greek (Proclus, Iamblichus etc), Chalcidius' commentary on the Timaeus, Macrobius, the Sibylline oracles, Hebrew philosophy (Simeon ben Johar, Moyses Hadarsan, Ishac ben Schola), the Patristic writers, the Orphic hymns, Plutarch's De Iside et Osiris and extensively from Plato's own writings. That Sidney considered such a work worthwhile enough to translate tells us that he was deeply interested in Platonic theology, and that he considered it relevant to the religious and political issues of the day, and a positive aid to the Protestant cause. This translation certainly does not bear the marks of a man superficially and "conventionally" interested in a fashionable philosophy, and it should be seen as an exhortation to take Sidney's Platonism a little more seriously than is common amongst some critics of his work.

Neoplatonic Love : Bruno's Eroici Furori and Sidney's Astrophel and Stella¹¹⁹

As we mentioned in our introduction, in addressing the Eroici Furori to Sidney, Bruno felt that he was addressing someone whose "fama prima"¹²⁰ had led him to believe would be sympathetic to his Neoplatonic philosophy : "l'Italiano raggioni con chi l'intende".¹²¹

But how similar is their Neoplatonism, or their use of Petrarchan poetry? In particular, how far do their conceptions of Platonic Love concur? It is safe to say that both Bruno and Sidney write from within a shared tradition of Renaissance love-theory, but within this shared context certain differences occur, anomalies gathering around the Platonic discrimi-

nation between "vulgar" and "celestial" love, and the role played in that distinction by female beauty and the male sexual impulse, as clarified by Benedetto Varchi's Lezzione sopra Amore in his six species of love.

It is, however, to Plato's Phaedrus and Symposium which we must return for the origins of this Renaissance idea of the "two loves", the divine and the vulgar (it is, after all, this basic division which underlies the subdivisions of Varchi's typology). The myth of the charioteer in the Phaedrus (246A-247C and 253C-256D) allegorizes the struggle of the human soul between carnal desires, the blind worship of the material and the satisfaction of bodily appetites (παθησιμότης) and the "true Eros" of spiritual love (ἔρως). The two impulses are represented by two horses, one "upright and clean-limbed" which strives with the charioteer (ie reason) to rise toward heaven, and the other "crooked of frame" which weighs the soul down toward lust and matter :

the good one willing and unresistant [to reason], but the wanton
sore against his will...the good horse in shame and horror
drenches the soul with sweat, while the other...bursts into
angry abuse, railing at the charioteer and his yoke-fellows.

In the virtuous soul this struggle leads the bad steed to be humbled, overruled by the "ordered rule of the philosophic life", leading into the paradise of true Being "beyond the heavens" by the contemplation of beauty. In the contemplation of beauty reason is elevated to god-like status, ecstatically transported in "frenzy" or "divine madness" (ἐνθουσιασμός), "when he that loves beauty is touched by such madness he is called a lover...he gazes upward like a bird, and cares nothing for the world beneath". The idea of vulgar, bestial love being overcome for an intellectual love which transcends the material world is continued in the Symposium, where the role of woman as the aim of man's vulgar love is reviewed and re-situated within an ascensive "ladder of love" which sees her as a necessary step between the one and the other kind of love. Pausanias' speech at the start of this dialogue initiates the distinction of the two loves by differentiating the two mythological aspects of the goddess Venus-Aphrodite :

Now what are the two Aphrodites? One is the elder and is the daughter of Uranus and had no mother; her we call Heavenly Aphrodite. The other is younger, the child of Zeus and Dione, and is called Common Aphrodite...the partner of the latter should be called Common love, and the other Heavenly Love.¹²²

Aristophanes' myth of the originary hermaphrodite fabulizes the idea of love as the pursuit

of paradisaical unity : "love is simply the name for the desire and pursuit of the whole", and opens the way for Socrates to direct the aim of love through woman toward a more abstract, metaphysical target. The ambiguity of Plato's concept of love is manifest in his claim that the god of Love is a "demon" (δαίμων) which is "halfway between mortal and immortal...conveying messages to the gods from men and to men from the gods"¹²³. The demon of Love enables man to proceed from the particular beauty of the corporeal, "starting from this sensible world and making his way upward" toward the beauty of God, who is "beauty in its essence, pure and unalloyed"¹²⁴. Through an appreciation of transient beauty the philosopher-lover rises to a conception of beauty which "neither comes into being, nor passes away, neither waxes nor wanes...absolute, existing within itself, unique, eternal"¹²⁵. The two Aphrodites and the two Eroï, like the two steeds, allegorize the twin impulse in man, the civil war between the material and immaterial appetites. By loving the god-like in himself the philosopher becomes god-like (Phaedrus 252D-253C), love thus becomes co-terminous with sapience (as we saw in Bruno's Eroici earlier)¹²⁶. The tradition of the two loves was continued by later Neoplatonists, and was widely dispersed in the Renaissance by the works of Marsilio Ficino and others, whence it became a commonplace of philosophical and casuistical treatises on love, first in Italy, and then throughout Europe. Not only did Ficino make these ideas accessible directly through Latin translations of Plato, but he also paraphrased them in his Latin and vernacular commentaries. In his Commentarium...in Convivium Platonis, Ficino repeats the idea that sex and true love (bestial and heavenly love) are opposing impulses : "libido, coitus et amor non modo idem motus, sed et contrarii esse mostrantur"¹²⁷. Love is simply "pulchritudinis desiderum" and is satisfied by mind, sight and hearing alone, all other desire is sensual gratification, "libido rabiesque" and "insanas perturbationes". True love concerns only "decoris, honestis, divinis affectibus", by which we trace ("elucet") in the passing images of human beauty the changeless beauty of God.¹²⁸ In human love awe of the beloved is really awe of God's veiled beauty : "Nempe non humanus est quod eos terret... sed divinitas folgor ille in formosis emicans quasi dei simulacrum, amantes obstupescere, contremiscere et venerari compellit"¹²⁹. The passions of the lover are interpreted spiritually as an indirect amorous relation to God : this theology of emotion interprets the physiological symptoms of love (the sweating, difficult breathing, the hot flushes etc) as responses

of the lover's soul to the "divine light" flickering in corporeal beauty.

The spiritualizing of erotic or amorous emotions in such works as this became the foundation of the "spiritual Petrarch" of the critics and commentators of the sixteenth century and gave rise to a Platonic code of courtship conventions in European court-societies (it is ⁱⁿ this particular "technology" of sex that Sidney and his "Stella" Penelope Devereux-Rich were entangled). Petrarch himself was partially responsible for this later spiritualizing of his works, both through the ascensive structure of the Canzoniere itself which purports to follow the Platonic "ladder" from Laura's beauty to "verace Dio / Ch'accolga 'l mio spirto ultimo in pace"¹³⁰, but also in his prose-works where he passes on Platonic conventions of love derived from St Augustine and Cicero. Thus in his De secretis Petrarch bemoans the "corporibus...motibus" caused by human love, and continues thus :

Quid enim aliud celestis doctrina Platonis admonet, nisi
animum a libidinibus corporeis arcendem et errandenda
fantasmata, ut ad pervidenda divinitatis archana, cui
proprie mortalitatis annexa cogitatio, est, purus
expeditusque consurgat?¹³¹

The overcoming of lust, as in Plato's Symposium, is aided and not hindered by the beauty of the beloved. Laura is presented as a Platonic heroine, an image of virtue :

mens terrenarum nescia curarum celestibus desideriis ardet;
in cuius aspectu...divini specimen decoris effulget; cuius
mores consummate honestatis exemplar sunt.¹³²

In the conflict of the soul between "tetrerrimam animi passionem" and "animi passionem... nobilissimam actionem"¹³³, Laura is a guiding-light, an image of virtue ("specimen virtutis").¹³⁴

This is the prevalent attitude to Laura's beauty in the Canzoniere where he says Laura is "[una] stella in terra, et come in lauro foglia / Conserva verde il pregio d'onestade".¹³⁵

Sidney's sonnet-sequence also praises a "star on earth". Stella, like Petrarch's Laura, is an image of heavenly virtue urging him towards virtuous action. Astrophel and Stella dramatizes the conflict between sensual and chaste love, Varchi's "amor bestiale" and "amor cortese". Let us firstly see how Sidney builds up a picture of his chaste Platonic love for Stella, and how this agrees or differs with the Platonic love of Bruno's Eroici.

Stella functions for Sidney as an ideal Diotiman index of spiritual beauty, a corporeal rung by which her lover may rise toward a more exalted, divine reality :

Who will in fairest book of Nature know
 How virtue may best lodg'd in beauty be
 Let him but learn of Love to read in thee
 Stella...
 There shall he find all vices overthrow,
 Not by rude force, but sweetest sovranly
 Of reason...
 That inward sun in thine eyes shineth so.

Stella to Sidney appears, like Laura, a star fallen to earth, a "heavenly guest" (IX) who "shrines in flesh so true a deity" (IV) that the onlooker is enraptured, overpowered by the divine signature he finds there : "Stella in whose body is / Writ each character of bliss... / Whose face all, all beauty passeth" ('In a Grove'). She is ideal beauty, the summa of females, in whom "Nature doth with infinite agree" (XXXV). Compared to Stella all others are mere shadows :

...they pictures be,
 Image-like of saints' perfection
 Poorly counterfeiting thee. ('A Lover's Dialogue')

But more than this, her corporeal beauty encapsulates immaterial, divine beauty. Virtue, Sidney says, "took Stella's shape" (XXV) and is there to be "read" by the eyes of the lover, a beauty more real than mere looks :

...true beauty virtue is indeed
 Whereof this [corporeal] beauty can be but a shade,
 Which elements with mortal mixture breed. (V)

Her body is holy, a "temple" (XL), her face is "Queen Virtue's court" (IX) which "teach^es virtue" (LVI) to the perceiver, and uplifts him. As Plato teaches in the Symposium, the harmonious proportions of earthly beauty reflect the harmonic perfection of the universe, and ultimately the beauty of God himself :

Beauty beautifies
 With heavenly hue and grace
 The heavenly harmonies,
 And in this faultless face,
 The perfect harmonies be
 A perfect harmony. ('O You That Hear')

Stella becomes a key to the hidden harmonies of Nature, the divinity which is infused into matter, and as such a clavis universalis she is adored like a goddess :

Who keeps the key of Nature's chiefest treasure?
 To you, to you, all song of praise is due :
 Only for you the heaven forgot all measure.

Stella has all the characteristics of the "divine Laura" of the Platonic Petrarch-commentaries,

her "infinita bellezza" makes her a paragon of nature ("la natura medesima si specchiava & mirava in essa"), as in Bembo's commentary. And like Gelli's Laura, her chaste beauty spurs Sidney to "saliva alla contemplatione delle cose incorporee...e divina bellezza".¹³⁷

It is a commonplace of Renaissance love-poetry, medicine and philosophy that love enters the soul through the eyes. But it is the same route, whether this love is human or divine :

It is true that the eyes are form'd to serve
The inward light, and that heavenly part
Ought to be king...

But these same eyes can be the servants of "amor bestiale" in lascivious glances. Stella's eyes, however, possess "arrows infinit" (XVII), which are the vehicles of the higher love of the "inward sun", inflaming only the "heavenly part" of man. The mingling of lovers' eyes becomes a mystical experience of the divinity :

Virtue, if once met with our eyes,
Strange flames of love it in our souls would raise.
...[and reveal] those skies
Which inward sun to heroic mind displays.

These "strange flames" are a divine ardour, for Stella is a "star of heavenly fire" ('In a Grove'), and the act of love becomes a kind of "furore" as in Plato (and Bruno also). Stella's eyes lead the poet to a rapturous state, where "oppressing mortal sense" his soul experiences a 'mystical death' : "O look, o shine, O let me die, and see" says Sidney in sonnet XLVIII. It is "from majesty of [Stella's] sacred lights" that this ecstatic apprehension proceeds, just as Gesualdo held that Laura's "begliocchi...con bellissimo splendore mostravano al [Petrarca] la via d'andare al cielo".¹³⁸ Stella's "celesti lumi" pierce through the "open'd sense" of the corporeal eye, to the "livelier" eye of the mind, or "closed-up sense". In this inner eye, Stella's image is "angelic" : "she...not only shines, but sings". Stella is also "heaven's food", as in Petrarch's 'Pasco la mente' (Rime 193), she is a divine ambrosia which transports him above the "earthly cates" of carnal temptations (CXXXVIII), as in Velutello's commentary on this sonnet.

The "heavenly fire" of Sidney's amorous "furore" has its strict counterpart in human relationships, the chaste Platonic love which never descends to the materiality of lust, or "desire" as Sidney calls it. "Earth gave that love", says the poet, "heaven I trow love

refineth" ('If Orpheus' Voice'). This "refined" love is under the provenance of a "winged", or celestial Venus, and not a vulgar one : "Venus is taught with Dian's wings to fly / I must no more in [Desire's] sweet passions lie" (LXXII). On being scolded by a moralizing friend on the "sin" of love, Sidney retorts with his definition of love (quoted in the last chapter) :

If that be sin which in fixt hearts doth breed
A loathing of all loose unchastity -
Then love is sin, and let me sinful be." (XIV)

In Sidney's love "Cupid is sworn page to chastity" (XXXV). Stella's eyes, like the first mover "spheres of beauty move", and in so doing triumph over carnal love : "While they make Love conquer, conquer Love / The schools where Venus hath learn'd Chastity" (XLII). Stella exhorts Sidney to a "love high-set" which "tyranniseth" Cupid (XLVI), exhorting him to the "nobler course" of spiritual love : "love she did, but loved a love not blind" (LXII). Sidney seems only too eager to pursue this pious and serious form of courtship, and his sequence of sonnets illuminates a fragile social phenomenon: the attempt of courtier-classes to engage in love according to the demands of the Neoplatonism reaching them from Italy and France. This determination was catalysed by the Protestant tradition, with its attack on the ephemeral, mortal pleasures of the flesh, and its disposition towards sexual sublimation. This seriousness and guilt haunted the poetry of the age, rebelling against and suppressing the licentious, the sensual and the hedonistic; it is no surprise that Sidney's other masterpiece, the Arcadia also wrestled with these Neoplatonic problems.

We will remember from the last chapter George Chapman's attack on the "Joy graven in sense", where he warned "Without preserve of Vertue nothing lasts"¹³⁹. It is this "preserve of Vertue" which Sidney seeks in his intellectual adoration of Stella, and which drives him to attempt to keep this love unspoilt "like spotless emine" (LXXXVI). And yet, almost inevitably, the sexual impulse rebels against this suppression. Stella is both "star of heavenly fire" and the "lodestar of desire" ('In a Grove'), she appeals to the rational and sensual parts of Sidney's soul, to the heavenly and the vulgar Venus. Desire, Sidney bemoans, "clingst to my pure love" so much that "One from the other scarcely can [I] descry" (LXXII). Sidney describes Astrophel as the "map of my state" (VI), and this map reveals all the difficulties of a human lover trying to stifle natural instincts with intellectual schemes,

and foundering. Astrophel and Stella dramatizes the war of the soul, its wavering between its spiritual and material impulses, the "strife...grown between Virtue and Love" (LII). This "strife" takes form in the sonnets where assertions of chaste love are followed by denials, reversals, or assertions of desire, having the effect of holding the two impulses in dynamic equilibrium. Thus after his passionate statement of the power of Stella's beauty as a "book of Nature", of a virtue which is "all vice's overthrow", ^{he} suddenly retracts in the last line, returning to the dictates of his sexual impulses : "But ah, Desire still cries : 'Give me some food!'" (LXXI). Likewise in sonnet LXXII, where after Sidney commits himself to the Celestial Venus, he says : "Desire, because thou wouldst have all / Now banisht art, but yet, alas, how shall?". In sonnet LXXVII, Sidney expounds the Ficinian-Castiglionean norms of chaste love - that is kept within the "spiritual" bounds of looks, holding hands, kisses and conversation - and then concludes suggestively : "Yet, ah, my maiden Muse doth blush to tell the best ". Sidney is constantly moved to express a longing for full consummation of his love, a desire seriously at odds with his avowed intellectual position. Alongside poems which fight out this ambiguity, and others which fall down firmly on the side of the "heavenly fire", we find poems where Sidney abandons himself to pure sensualism, as in the series of sonnets LXXIX-LXXXIII, where the force of heavenly love is possibly at its lowest ebb in the sequence, and the sensual at its most ascendant.

The first three poems of the series are paeans to Stella's lips and kisses, which are heavily indebted to the Neo-Catullan Basia collection of the Dutch poet Joannes Secundus.¹⁴⁰ Here sensual pleasure is glossed with only the thinnest veneer of Platonism in its mention of the kiss as an exchange of souls (a favourite topic of amorous casuists) : "The friendly fray, where blows doth wound and heal, / The pretty death, while each in other live" (LXXIX). In the context of the saccharine praise of Stella's lips : "Sweet kiss.../ Which even of sweetness sweetest sweetener art", even this pellet of doctrine seems precious and flirtatious. His insistence on "prettiness" and the sensuousness of Stella's "sweet-swelling lip" leaves the "heavenly fire" far behind, pushing the centre of gravity increasingly towards the sub-navel. Sonnet LXXXII is probably the ultimate pitch of sexuality in the sequence (at least in its desublimated form), in which Sidney apologises for biting one of Stella's lips :

Admitted late...
 I caught at one of them and hungry bit,
 Pardon that fault, once more grant me the place...
 I will but kiss, I never more will bite.

The series ends on a rather banal piece in which the poet expresses jealousy of Stella's pet sparrow which nibbles her lips (a similar theme is indulged in sonnet LIX, where the unfortunate victim is this time a lap-dog).

Given these poems in isolation, any similarity between Bruno's and Sidney's sonnets would seem ludicrous in the extreme, and they do signal an underlying difference between the poets which will take form as we analyse the two sequences more closely. These five sonnets from Astrophel could never have come from the pen of the Nolan, and they would have been deeply offensive to Bruno's ascetic sensibility :

lamenti che fanno ribombar gli antri infernali, doglie che fanno stupefar l'anime viventi, sospiri da far exinanire e compatir gli dei, per quegli occhi, per quelle guance, per quel busto, per quel bianco, per quel vermiglio...per quel labro, quel crine...quella estrema ingiuria e torto di natura, che con una superficie, un ombra, un fantasma, un sogno, un Circeo incantesimo ordinato al servizio della generazione, ne inganna in specie di bellezza.¹⁴¹

At this moment in the sequence Sidney's abandonment to the insurgent sexual impulse, to the "Circaean enchantment" of Stella's physical beauty is at its peak. There then follows a slow diminuendo of its influence, a gradual disillusionment, frustration and traumatization takes hold of him. The torments which, in chaste love, seemed to Sidney to be "triumphs", become unbearable after his rejection by Stella, her "change of looks" (this change seems to concern some transgression on Sidney's part of their "covenants" of chastity, leading to the "curse" of Stella's absence. This transgression is the subject of sonnet CV). Stella becomes a fierce goddess, a Dantean "stony mistress". From "man's heaven" she is become "his hell" (LXXXVI). Sidney is plunged into spiritual disintegration, a sickness of the soul "which even to sense sense of itself denies" :

So dark with misty vapours which arise
 ...that inbent eyes
 Can scarce discern the shape of mine own pain. (XCIV)

He undergoes an "inward night / Of his mazed powers" (XCIX), an unhappy burning of the heart's "dark furnace", the labyrinth of unrequited passion. Anguished, he cries out against the love he is denied :

Why alas doth she then swear
 That she loveth me dearly,
 Seeing me so long to bear
 Coals of love that burn so dearly,
 And yet to leave me helpless merely?
 Is that love? ('Go my Flock')

The pseudo-biography of the sequence (the "map" of Sidney's psychological state), from his intellectual championing of Stella as female paragon and divine inspiration, his joyous welcome of her offer of chaste love (LXIX), his struggles with keeping to this covenant, his sexual intoxication, transgression, and progressive disillusionment with love, the hurt of absence and his "darkened mind" (XCIX) is not presented coherently in the chronological structure of the sequence (possibly because, as a posthumous work, the sheaf of sonnets were never ordered by the poet himself), but can be traced tortuously through its 108 sonnets and 9 songs. The outcome of this sequence seems to be manifested in two sonnets which are not generally considered as part of the Astrophel and Stella sequence - 'Desire' and 'Splendidis longum valedico mugis'. The relevance of these two poems to Sidney's position on divine love and its relationship to human love or desire merits their quotation in full :

Desire.

Thou blind man's mark, thou fool's self-chosen snare,
 Fond fancy's scum, and dregs of scattered thought;
 Band of all evils, cradle of causeless care;
 Thou web of will, whose end is never wrought :
 Desire! Desire! I have too dearly bought,
 With price of mangled mind, thy worthless ware;
 Too long, too long, asleep thou hast me brought,
 Who shouldst my mind to higher things prepare.
 But yet in vain thou hast my ruin sought,
 In vain thou mad'st me to vain things aspire,
 In vain thou kindlest all thy smoky fire,
 For Virtue hath this better lesson taught :
 Within myself to seek my only hire,
 Desiring nought but how to kill Desire.

Splendidis longum valedico mugis.

Leave me, O love which reachest but to dust,
 And thou, my mind, aspire to higher things.
 Grow rich in that which never taketh rust :
 Whatever fades but fading pleasure brings.
 Draw in thy beams, and humble all thy might
 To that sweet yoke where lasting freedoms be;
 Which breaks the clouds and opens forth the Light
 That doth shine and give us sight to see.
 O take fast hold; let that light be thy guide
 In this small course which birth draws out to death,

And think how evil becometh him to slide
 Who seeketh heaven and comes of heavenly breath.
 Then farewell, world! thy uttermost I see :
 Eternal Love, maintain thy life in me.

A.B.Grosart's controversial claim that these two sonnets should be considered as sonnets CIX and CX of Astrophel and Stella, seems to me to be consonant with the development of the sequence. Gerald Bullett is typical of opponents of this idea when he says : "Misled by a pious imagination, Grosart regards these sonnets as ending and crowning with contrition the Astrophel and Stella sequence. There is no warrant for such an idea"¹⁴². While their status as true Astrophel sonnets must remain contentious, their continuation of the themes of the sequence (in particular as a "solution" to the problematic of disillusioned love - the overcoming of the "darkened" or "mangled" mind) seem indubitable. Grosart's claim is not without its adherents, and it is tempting to think that Bullett makes the perennial mistake of modern critics, that of underestimating the piety of Sidney's age, rather than exaggerating it. If we base our judgement on Sidney's words alone, 'Desire' at least, with its mention of a long history of love's afflictions, would suggest composition after his tracing of his affair with Stella in verse.

What seems to be taking place here is a retreat of Sidney into himself, an effacement of the wounding, ill-fated relationship with Stella, and a commitment to a divine-love without the mediation of a woman. Desire is depicted as self-destruction (a "self-chosen snare"), the self-deluding "scum" of fancy, and spiritual disintegration (the "dregs of scattered thought" embroiled in a "web of will"). He rejects this rejection by Stella, and attacks the vanity of all human desires, a "worthless ware" keeping the spirit "asleep" in ignorance of the things of divinity. The unconsumation of his love leads him to an outright rejection, seeking "nought but how to kill Desire". Desire is transformed, instead of being outwardly directed towards a physical beauty, it serves its true spiritual function, as an impulse towards sapience; it is an implosive, centripetal movement toward the unification of the soul. Sidney's final resolve to overturn Desire, places him in the company of Ficino⁴ and Bruno, who both voice a similar sentiment :

Ubi huius regnant affectus, omnes cupiditates aliae
 contemuntur.

Lasciatemi, lasciate, altri desiri.¹⁴³

He is aligned with their resolve to transcend woman, like Dante overcoming Beatrice, or Petrarch trying to loose himself from the thrall of Laura. Stella's "death" in Sidney's emotions (cf 'A Farewell' : "departure is a death") leads him to a pure amorous gnosis, the kind of "heroic love" recommended by Bruno's Eroici.

In the second sonnet Sidney condemns material or sensual love, which "reacheſt but to dust", Chapman's "joy graven in ſence" : "whatever fades but fading pleaſure brings". He rejects Stella for the conſolation of eternal verities "which never taketh ruſt". He decides to "draw in" the "beams" of his deſires and to ſubmit himſelf to the "ſweet yoke" of divine love (Bruno, too, ſpeaks of the "ameno giogo...della Diana"¹⁴⁴). This new love ſeeks illumination, "which breaks the clouds and opens forth light", an eternal love which "ſeeketh heaven" and does not "ſlide" back into carnal love.

The love in theſe two ſonnets come cloſeſt to Bruno's "eroici amore". The Eroici Furori is the map of a ſtate characterized by that inwardly-directed deſire which Sidney reaches only after the ſensual-ſpiritual conflict of the Aſtrophel ſequence. The love of the Eroici is almoſt pure intentionality, or intellectual love, eſſentially different from the woman-fixated meditations of Sidney :

Ai dolci equivoci ſenſi con cui i petrarchiſti avevano cercato di ſpiritualizzare l'amor naturale, alla 'dea ſelvaggia' che eſprimeva quell' impuro affetto, egli [Bruno] opponeva l'Eros platonico : intellettuale amore di Dio e della verità, ma ſenza tramiti femmina.¹⁴⁵

Nonetheleſs, Bruno is not wholly unſympathetic to the kind of Platonic love-poetry attempted by Sidney, which, although it addreſſes an actual woman, "ſought to ſpiritualize natural love" in the manner of Petrarchan apologiſts like Bembo or Geſualdo.

But before we conſider Bruno's defence of Sidney's love-poetry, let us examine the paradoxical idea of a woman-leſs Petrarchiſm. So paradoxical is this idea that ſome critics, deſpite Bruno's inſiſtence that the poems of the Eroici are not thoſe of "un Orfeo circa il culto d'un donna in vita"¹⁴⁶, have tried to unearth a woman behind the ſequence. Vincenzo Spanpanato poſtulates a Nolan beauty Laodima Savolina for this role,¹⁴⁷ while Arnolfo Ferruolo (miſunderſtanding Bruno's courteous ambivalence in his Diana poems, intended to compliment Queen Elizabeth) invents an anonymous "amore londineſe" to fit the bill.¹⁴⁸ Nonetheleſs, the opening poem of the dialogue, the 'Iſcuſazion del Nolano', immediately ſets out the impli-

cations of his woman-less, Solomonic style of poetry. It praises the "piú virtuose e leggiadre dame" of England as "dive" and heavenly nymphs, but apologises to them for a love-poetry which excludes them and excoriates the female sex in favour of the superior beauty of "l'unica Diana",¹⁴⁹ who represents the immanent aspect of his Godhead, an unalloyed beauty more directly reflecting the divine beauty of which women are but a particular fragment (ie women are merely "sensible species" whereas Diana represents the abstraction, or "splendour" of the "intelligible species" of beauty - as in the relationship of particular and generic beauty in Plato's *Symposium*). In the final poem of the *Eroici*, Bruno dramatizes the reflective, dual aspect of his Godhead in a dialogue between "Giove altitonante" and Neptune "dio d'onosi mari". Jove argues that his heavenly sun makes him supreme, but Neptune (or "il padre Ocean")¹⁵⁰ retorts that Diana is of equal brightness here on earth :

Tra quelli tutt' il mondo admira il sole,
Qual ti so dir che tanto non risplende,
Quanto lei che mi rende
Piú glorioso dio de la gran mole.¹⁵¹

Jove cedes the point, declaring that the two suns "corrano al pari",¹⁵² two suns illuminating the soul of man. Bruno's tormented love signifies the metaphysical-amorous ascent of man through the "beloved" (Diana) to a Godhead who hides himself above. Diana is the "lattice" through which man gazes painfully on God's splendour. Bruno's Platonic love is purely spiritual, a desire for union with, or knowledge of, God. There is no need for a woman in this process, Bruno "misses out a rung" on Diotima's ladder, directing his desire above female beauty to the general beauty of the Creation, and so to the divine beauty. In doing so, however, he borrows the form of the lyric "da ordinario amore", making Diana into a Petrarchan heroine, as Solomon in the *Song of Songs* made Christ into the lover of the soul, or the Church. Bruno believes that Petrarchism ;¹⁵³ "abbia dettati concetti" to him,¹⁵⁴ which he transmutes from the realm of "disordinato amor venereo" into mystical love, just as Malipiero "cleansed" the amorous emotions of Petrarch, replacing them with fervent zeal. Hence Bruno's sonnet 'Chi fêmmi ad altro amor la mente desta', which Spanpanato interprets as a poem to some Campanian beauty who plays Beatrice to Bruno's Dante, is in fact an emblematic similitude of a purely mystical experience :

Chi fêmmi ad altro amor la mente desta...
Quell' è ch' io viddi uscir da la foresta,
Cacciatrice di me, la mia Diana,
Tra belle ninfe su l'aura Campana.¹⁵⁵

What superficially appears to be a Nolan Laura is explained by Bruno quite differently. Rather than a beautiful woman amongst lesser beauties (the "nymphs"), Diana here is the "splendor di specie intelligibili", while the nymphs are "la moltitudine d'altre specie, forme edidee"¹⁵⁶. This encounter of Diana in the "aura Campana" kindles divine-love in Bruno, and is interpreted as a mystical-luminous apprehension of natural beauty : "l'aura Campana, cioè quello spirito che^{si} mostrò a Nola, che giace al piano de l'orizzonte Campano"¹⁵⁷. This illumination is obtained by Bruno "per studio e per sorte", that is by voluntary philosophical labour and by involuntary revelation - the two aspects of knowledge which define the parameters of Bruno's "Pegasean" discipline, mirroring the dual aspect of his deity.¹⁵⁸

Despite the fact that the Eroici sonnets deal almost exclusively with this pure, mystical love, Bruno is not unforgiving towards poetry addressed to, or perhaps "through" women to divine beauty. His praise of spiritualised love-poetry is cautious, because woman for Bruno vacillates between being "una bottega...de sporcarie"¹⁵⁹ and an "indice della bellezza del spirito"¹⁶⁰, an "morboso fungoso" redeemed only by the "virtù naturale" of "la bellezza...il splendore e...serviggio"¹⁶¹. Bruno is at times less vehement and more honest about sex than Christian writers like Sidney, sex he says is "il piú dolce pomo...produr del nostro terrestre paradiso"¹⁶² and he happily confesses a healthy appetite : "a refrigerar il mio caldo non penso che bastarebbono le nevi del Monte Caucaso"¹⁶³. He quotes Matthew XXII,xxi to assert that there is a natural place for both divine and sensual passions, avoiding the hypocritical paradox of Sidney's Chaste love ("love me not, that you may love me more", LXIII). It is not sex that Bruno particularly objects to, but that sensuality is granted by poets "onori ed osequi divini" unfitted to it. This is the motivation of Bruno's attack on the praise of women in his prefatory epistle, echoing the impatience with the superficial Platonizing of lascivious love-poets which he shared with his fellow countryman and anti-Petrarchist Francesco Berni. Praise of female beauty is not, however, condemned without qualification. It may be permitted when, as in Sidney's case, it serves as a spur to divine-love :

quantunque un rimagna fisso su una corporal bellezza e culto esterno, può onorevolmente e degnamente trattenirsi; purché dalla bellezza materiale, la quale è un raggio e splendor della forma ed atto spirituale, di cui è vestigio ed ombra, vegna ad inalzarsi alla considerazion e culto della divina bellezza, luce e maestade.¹⁶⁴

The worship of female beauty is an inferior reflection of the love of God, which by means of "la ripurgazion de l'animo"¹⁶⁵ can be raised to a contemplation of "la bellezza senza similitudine, figura, imagine e specie"¹⁶⁶. Against those "che lo [ie the furioso] riprendono come cattivo de bassa bellezza a cui sparga voti e appenda tabelle"¹⁶⁷ ("tabelle" or tablets, is Bruno's euphemism for poems). The poet objects that the "vestiges" of women's bodies are traces left by God, "imagini sue vive"; woman is the "footstall" of Psalm XCVIII ("Adorate scabellum pedum eius"), a "fenestra" which opens on "l'aspetto del Sole"¹⁶⁸ as in Solomon's Song of Songs, II,ix where Christ (or Iahweh) "stat...prospiciens per fenestras."

Another concession to the idea of woman as "una scala al fattor" in the Eroici is to be found in the final sentences of the dialogue, which he puts into the mouth of one of the female interlocuters, Giulia :

Ringrazio gli dei...[che] in quel tempo che io fui sí verde,
che le amorse fiamme non si posseano accendere nel petto mio,
mediante la mia tanto restia quanto semplice ed innocente
crudeltade, han preso mezzo per concedere incomparabilmente
grazie maggiori a' miei amanti, che altrimenti avessero
possute ottenere.¹⁶⁹

These could almost be the recollections of a mature Stella, whose "innocent cruelty" in imposing chastity on Sidney's love, drove him to seek those "higher things" expressed in the 'Desire' sonnet.

Nonetheless, while theoretically Bruno may sympathize with the practice of Astrophel and Stella (and this is doubtful in some of its more sensual or trivial moments), the 'map of state' of the Eroici is fundamentally different to that of Sidney's sequence. Bruno speaks in an emblematic language of similitudes about an intellectual or mystical love for an "eroico oggetto" (Varchi's "amor celeste, o divino"). Sidney, on the other hand, dramatizes the internal conflict between his desire to see in Stella the "heavenly fire" of divine beauty ("amore cortese"), and the dictates of his sensual appetites ("amore volgare, o plebeo") in a more straightforwardly psychological use of Petrarchan language. Bruno is closer to the mystical-pietistic Petrarchism of the spiritualizzamenti, while Sidney has more affinity with those commentators like Bembo or Gesualdo who strove to spiritualize the experience of human love, just as Plato saw love as the adoration of the god-like in the beloved.

The difference between these two approaches can best be seen by a close examination of Bruno's sonnets and the idea they convey of his divine love. In the first dialogue, for instance, Bruno takes the privilege of sole object which Petrarch grants Laura and employs it as a metaphor of virtuous, undistracted contemplation on the nature of Godhead : "il proponimento, definizione, e determinazione che fa l'anima ben informata circa l'uno, perfetto ed ultimo fine"¹⁷⁰. In the sonnet 'Chiama per suon di tromba il capitano', for example, we find echoes of Petrarch's Rime 133 :

Dagli occhi vostri uscìo 'l colpo mortale
 Contra cui non mi val tempo né loco;
 da voi sola procede...
 il sole e 'l foco e 'l vento ond' io son tale.
 I pensier son saette, e 'l viso un sole,
 e 'l desir foco; e 'nseme con quest' arme |7|
 mi punge Amor, m' abbaglia; et mi distrugge.

Bruno's "uno amore" takes this theme of devotion to one woman and transforms it into mystical yearning for God's unity :

Un oggetto riguardo;
 Chi la mente m' ingombra, è un sol viso.
 Ad una belta sola io resto affiso,
 Chi sí m' ha punto il cor, è un sol dardo,
 Per un sol fuoco m' ardo, |72|
 E non conosco piú ch' un paradiso.

The "colpo mortale" of Petrarch, an amorous languishing or "death" (the soul of the lover is said to "die" in the lover and "live" in the beloved, a metaphor for self-effacement) is taken up by Bruno as a type of Cabalist "illuminating death", similar to that which we found in Sidney's sonnets XLII and XLVIII : "E da là [in una sola beltade] solamente concepe quel dardo che l' uccide, cioè che gli costituisce l'ultimo fine di perfezione"¹⁷³.

The approach to this "ultimo fine" is made only by stripping away the baser impulses of the soul and purifying it. This Bruno represents through the "amorous war" convention; the "Captain" or Will, summons all his psychic resources ("suoi guerrier") and strips away all thoughts or feelings which detract from his love of God : "Qual nemico l'uccide, o a qual insano / Gli dona bando dal suo campo e 'l sdegn"¹⁷⁴. Bruno takes this metaphor and performs an analytical commentary on it, making its purely spiritual reference unambiguous :

Questo capitano è la voluntade umana, che siede in poppa
 de l'anima, con un picciol temone de la ragione e governando
 gli affetti d'alcune potenze interiori contra l'onde degli
 émpiti naturali.¹⁷⁵

Bruno is only too aware of the thin line which separates his "libido ascetica" or spiritual passion for Godhead, and the deification of a single woman - after all, he does employ Petrarch's amorous iconography, the "sol viso" of the beloved, the fatal blow of Love's darts, the fire of desire. But the two amorous acts are firmly differentiated - the apprehension of a human love is polymorphous, multiple ("l pensier son saette"), the apprehension of the divine, befitting its simple, immutable nature, is unified and singular ("è un sol dardo"). The "paradise" offered by human love is diffuse and inferior to the illumination of absolute truth :

[il] paradiso comunmente significa il fine, il qual si distingue
in quello ch' è assoluto, in verità ed ¹⁷⁶essenza, e l'altro ch' è
in similitudine, ombra e partecipazione.

In his sonnet 'Amor per cui tant' alto il ver discerno' Bruno continues his exposition of the deep division between human and divine love. This poem, Tansillo (one of the interlocutors) explains, is to show "l'amore illustra, chiarisce, apre l'intelletto e fa penetrar il tutto e suscita miracolosi effetti"¹⁷⁷. Love for Bruno is a miraculous uncovering of the secrets of nature and the cosmos, a higher truth than that offered by mere love of a woman :

Amor per cui tant' alto il ver discerno
Ch' apre le porte di diamante nere...
Fa scorgere quanto ha 'l ciel, terra ed inferno.
Fa presenti d' assenti effigie vere...
E impiega sempr' il cor, scuopre l'interno.¹⁷⁸

Love, then, is an illumination which reveals the absent truths of heaven, earth and the heart simultaneously; a process which begins with meditation on nature's forms ("Per gli occhi entra il mio nume"¹⁷⁹), but which leads back to the nature of man himself. The opening of the "doors of black diamond" signifies that internal revelation by which the furioso understands the harmonic structure which binds together cosmos, nature, discourse, psyche and history in a changing same :

il moti de mondi, l'opre della natura, il discorso de gl'
intelletti, la contemplation della mente, il decreto
della divina providenza, tutti d'accorde celebrano l'alta
e magnifica vicissitudine che agguaglia l'acqui inferiori
alle superiori.¹⁸⁰

Bruno disdainfully distinguishes his own love from those passions of ordinary lovers. He condemns their ignorance of Cupid's double nature, they are trapped by their blindness in the realm of the lower Cupid, unable to rise to the "miracolosi effetti" of Bruno's god of

love :

O dunque, volgo vile, al vero attendi...
 Fanciullo il credi, perché poco intendi;
 Perché ratto di cangi, [L]ei par fugace,
 Per esser orbo tu, lo chiami cieco.¹⁸¹

Alongside these poetic expositions of the "higher love", we find Bruno expressing the emotional states which are a consequence of its nature. Tansillo opens the second dialogue thus : "Or qua comincia il furioso a mostrar gli affetti suoi e discoprir le piaghe che sono per segno nel corpo, ed in sustanza o in essenza nell' anima"¹⁸². Again Bruno stresses that his amorous conceits are not literal, but emblematic, "per segno". In the sonnet 'Io che porto d'amor l'alto vessillo' he deals with "le piaghe...nell' anima" through the medium of Petrarchan antitheses, an accumulation of contrary states, the sense of impotent, unfulfillable paralysis recalling those of the Rime Sparse :

E temo e spero, ed ardo e son un ghiaccio;
 E volo sopra 'l cielo, e giaccio in terra...
 Veggio senza occhi, e non hò lingua e grido;
 E bramo di perir, e chiegio aita;
 Ed hò in odio me stesso ed amo altrui.¹⁸³

Bruno's sonnet bears even the linguistic imprint of this amorous mould :

Altr' amo, odio me stesso;
 Ma s' io m' impiumo, altri si cangia in sasso;
 Poggi altr' al cielo, si io mi ripogno al basso;
 Sempre altri fugge, s'io seguir non cesso;
 S' io chiamo, non risponde;
 E quant' io cerco più, più mi s' asconde.¹⁸⁴

Bruno likens the state of the furioso to the extreme states of the natural lover, an extremity which is a vice in passion, but in a divine-lover is "un vizio ch' è in soggetto più divino"¹⁸⁵. Heroic love is a torment because "non gode del presente, come il brutale amore; ma del futuro e de l'absente"¹⁸⁶. It is a state of discord "l'eccesso delle contrarietà...l'anima discordevole"¹⁸⁷. The heroic lover is denied the brute pleasure of "beatitudine sensuale" (which is the "orto del paradiso de gli animali"¹⁸⁸). The state of the furioso is the insatiable lack of David before God's absence : "How long will thou forget me, O Lord? Forever? How long will thou hide thy face from me?". Because "nessuna cosa è pura e schetta...tutte le cose constano de contrarii"¹⁸⁹, because imperfect matter weighs down the human soul, man is constantly disabled, distracted from absolute knowledge, locked into the mystical paradox of docta ignorantia - that the most he can know is the limitations of his

impoverished intellect : "Sempre altri fugge, s' io seguir non cesso.../ E quant' io cerco piu, piu mi s' asconde"¹⁹⁰. The cruel paradox of the furioso's state means that while the world is "la vanita ed un niente", Godhead is also denied to him save in brief glimpses, keeping him in tormenting limbo between presence and absence :

...la mia dea...
 Né la mia voce ascolta, 191
 Né pietos' al mi'ardor unqua si volta.

The painful absence of Godhead and unattainable divinity makes his "beloved" a harsh mistress or "dea selvaggia"¹⁹² refusing favours to her suitors.

From these few examples it is clear that while Bruno approved of poetry which addressed a real woman, in order to rise above her to a higher beauty, it was obviously not to be the pattern of his own love-poetry. Bruno transforms Petrarch's imagery into an amorous phenomenology of mystical contemplation, while Sidney seems to use the same iconography to treat of "amor cortese" in a manner similar to Petrarch himself (albeit with the benefit of those like Gesualdo, who showed how to Platonize the amorous passions). Like Petrarch Sidney describes his love as an inspiration to transcendent, Christian experiences, but he does not use love to emblemize that experience. In Sidney the "index" of a real woman is always present, the Astrophel sequence leads Sidney to the "gates of black diamond", to the inwardly-directed "beams" of desire's overthrow, but he does not show us the amorous spirituality beyond those gates as Bruno does in the Eroici Furori.

While it is true to say that Bruno's and Sidney's sequences do have points of contact in imagery, mood, and motifs (Ferruolo we will recall, reluctantly conceded that there was "una straordinaria analogia d'immagini e di espressioni"¹⁹³ between the two works), nonetheless, there seems to be a divergence in the employment of this shared context between two poets. This is best demonstrated by identifying some of the congruences in image and expression and comparing the uses to which they are put by each poet. Firstly let us look at some of the mythological references shared by both poets.

In Bruno's 'Venere, dea del terzo ciel, e madre' and in Sidney's sonnet XIII, we find the motif of a competition among the gods. In Bruno the competition is between Venus, Pallas and Minerva, judged by Paris for the prize of the golden fruit. In Sidney the competition is between Jove, Mars and Love, with Phoebus as judge. Both are competitions of

beauty; the motto of Bruno's sonnet is "pulchriori detur"¹⁹⁴, in Sidney's poem Phoebus' task is to judge "Of these three gods, whose [heraldic] arms the fairest were". In each case the result falls out in favour of the poet's beloved. In Sidney's poem Phoebus, faced with the beauty of "Stella's fair hair, her face" is forced to conclude that Jove and Mars "thus matcht, were scantly gentlemen". In Bruno's poem Diana surpasses her three competitors by comprehending all their particular beauties :

Per belle membra è vaga
 La cipria dea, Minerva per l'ingegno,
 E la Saturnia piace con quel degno
 Splendor d' altezza, ch' il Tonante appaga;
 Ma quest' ha quanto aggrade ¹⁹⁵
 Di bel, d' intelligenza e maestade.

The difference between the uses of the two competitions is that Sidney's seeks purely to valorize Stella's physical beauty (her hair and face), despite the deification implied by the comparison (Sidney's Stella and Petrarch's Laura share an "angelic" beauty which partakes of the celestial and spiritual only ambiguously). Bruno, however, uses the competition to make a theological point on the unalloyed beauty of "la semplicità della divina essenza". Diana surpasses the deities because she represents the "tutto in tutto", the abstraction of all intelligible species which therefore "comprende la perfezione de tutte l'altre specie altissimamente"¹⁹⁶. Sidney's paean is to a vestigial, participatory beauty, Bruno's is to the ultimate beauty : "l'oggetto di questo furioso, quasi inebriato di bevanda de dei, sia più alto incomparabilmente che gli altri diversi da quello"¹⁹⁷.

The theme of Jovian metamorphosis, originating in Ovid's Metamorphosis, VI 102-128, and picked up by Petrarch in Rime 23, and other Italian sonneteers, is touched upon in the Eroici in 'Quel dio che scuote il folgore sonoro', and by Sidney in sonnet VI. The relationship here is simpler, as Sidney is criticising this kind of mythological allusion in poetry (or at least its slavish and mechanical use) :

Some lovers speak, when they their muses entertain...
 Of living deaths [and]...freezing fires :
 Some one his song in Jove and Jove's strange tales attires,
 Border'd with bulls and swans, powdred with golden rain.

This attack is not directed against Petrarchism or mythological allusion in themselves, as Sidney makes ample use of them in his poetry. His target is insincerity, the affectation of emotion in literature. This could certainly not be levelled at Bruno, who culminates a cata-

logue of Jovian transformations with his own, analogous transformation : "Ed io, merce
 d'amore / Mi cangio in dio da cosa inferiore"¹⁹⁸. For him the Jove myth is not a hollow conver-
 tion, a prop for the message of the last two lines, but a cosmological allegory signifying
 the occult structure of the perceived universe :

Nella natura è una rivoluzione ed un circolo per cui,
 per l'altrui perfezione e soccorso, le cose superiori
 s' inchinano all' inferiori, e...le cose inferiori
 s' inalzano alle superiori...Questa conversione si
 mostra dove Giove, secondo la diversità de affetti e
 maniere di quelli verso le cose inferiore, s' investisce
 de diverse figure, dovenendo in forma di bestie...
 come il furioso eroico...s' inalza alla divinitade,
 lasciando la forma de soggetto piu basso.¹⁹⁹

Undeniably the most important mythological figure in both sequences is Cupid, or Love (Amor).
 The difference in the employment of this god reflects directly on the different kinds of
 love with which the poets deal. Thus in Sidney's sonnet VIII Love, looking for the "ease
 and warmth" of human passions, "perch'd himself in Stella's joyful face". He is drawn to
 her by "fair skin, beamy eyes, Like morning sun on snow". He seeks there the "lively heat"
 of desire :

But she, most fair, most cold, made him thence take his flight.
 To my close heart, where, while some firebrands he did lay,
 He burnt unawares his wings, and cannot fly away.

Stella's chaste love is alien to Sidney's Cupid, whose "firebrands" inflame him with passion.
 The damage of Cupid's wings is a metaphor of the lover's inability to stop loving the
 beloved object. Bruno's Cupid, in his sonnet 'Forte a' colpi d'Amor feci riparo' has a
 similar effect on the lover, although the species of love which wounds the lover is of a
 different order :

Notò quel luogo, e forte vi si tenne,
 Piantò 'l trofeo di me là d'onde vale
 Tener ristrette mie fugace penne.²⁰⁰

The "doppio strale" of Bruno's "Amor" is different in kind to that of Sidney's Love.
 The "colpi d'Amor", Bruno explains, are like those of the Canticle of Solomon : "quelle
 piaghe de vita eterna de le quali parla la Cantica quando dice : Vulnerasti cor meum,
o dilecta, vulnerasti cor meum"²⁰¹. The arrows are intelligible species which "batteno sempre
 alla porta de l'intelligenza", by which "vennero superati gli studi materiali e sensitivi"²⁰².
 For Bruno, Love is a "guerriero irato" who conquers through "le luci della verità...[e]

della Bontà"²⁰³, man's material impulses, and inflames him with a divine love which can never wane : "È impossibile che uno possa voltarsi ad amar altra cosa, quando una volta ha compreso nel concetto la bellezza divina"²⁰⁴. As in Sidney's sonnet 'Desire', divine love implies the atrophy of other, lesser desires.²⁰⁵ Sidney's Cupid, on the other hand, is "a boyish kind" (XI) who, ignoring the spiritual part of woman, is forever "Playing and shining in each outward part". While Bruno's Cupid is Plato's spiritual ἔρως, Sidney's serves only the material, the παθησρωή. There is no "Cupidine superiore" in Sidney, instead it is left to the "Venus [who] hath learned chastity", a celestial Venus, to tyrannize and conquer Love, or Cupid (sonnets XLII and XLVI).

A great gulf also separates Bruno and Sidney's usage of Diana as goddess of the hunt and the moon. As we have seen, Bruno's Diana is "il splendor di specie intelligibile", the mythological signifier of the intelligible, immanent aspect of his Godhead, the "tutto in tutto" of simple essence.²⁰⁶ For Sidney, however, she functions merely as an exalted physical beauty ("Beauties which do in excellency pass.../...hers whom naked the Troian boy did see", LXXXII; in XCVII a lady is said to be "Dian's peer") or as a fanciful denomination of the moon (XCVII). Compare, for example, Bruno's exegesis of Diana and her nymphs in his sonnet 'Chi fêmi ad altro amor' which we quoted above, with this purely naturalistic usage in Sidney's sonnet :

Dian that fain would cheer her friend the Night,
Shows oft at the full, her fairest face,
Bringing with her those starry nymphs, whose chase
From heavenly standing hits each mortal wight.

It is naturalistic in the sense that it serves no emblematic or allegorical function, but is merely a stylized way of saying 'the moon and the stars shine in the night sky' (notwithstanding the emotional narrative which Sidney adds to it). Both Bruno and Sidney also use the moon as the traditional symbol of inconstancy, but this inconstancy is different in each case. To begin with, Sidney's moon in sonnet XXXI is made to empathize with the poet's feelings : "thou feel'st a lover's case / I read it in thy looks : thy languisht grace". And the "heavenly place" seems to Sidney to suffer from the same inconstancy which plagues him on earth :

O moon, tell me,
Is constant love deem'd there but want of wit?

Are beauties there as proud as they be here?

Bruno's sonnet 'Luna inconstante, luna varia' does not address itself to the fickleness and inconstancy of women, but to the nature of the human soul in its relation to Godhead.

The moon represents the soul : "L'anima nostra, secondo tutta la sustanza, è significata per la luna"²⁰⁷. The oscillations of the lunar phases signify "l'intelletto in potenza", the spirit plagued by the contraries of "materia e forma, potenza ed atto"²⁰⁸ :

...luna varia, quale
 Con corna or vote e talor piene svalli,
 Or l'orbe tuo bianco, or fosco risale.²⁰⁹

The sun which lights the moon is "la prima intelligenza, la quale è pura ed assoluta luce".²¹⁰

Through an act of will, Bruno is able to keep the "moon" of his soul "sempre ferma...ed sempre piena"²¹¹, that is, able to concentrate his mind on Godhead despite the fact that the soul is "distratto...e lacerato dalle potenze inferiori"²¹². Again these revelations are disseminated in an amorous context, the dependent, participatory relationship of the moon with the sun of Godhead is a lover-beloved relation, and Bruno addresses the sun as a cruel Petrarchan lady :

Sempre tanto crudele e tanto bella;
 Questa mia nobil face ²¹³
 Sempre sí mi martora, e sí mi piace.

Already there is a distinct pattern emerging in this divergence of employments. In Astrophel and Stella Sidney is weaving a straightforward and unambiguous discourse, his iconography consists in a simple investment of natural passions with various conventional signifiers. There are none of the transformations, the ambivalent phenomenology which we can trace in Bruno, whereby the signs of love are re-signified as those of mystical love. In this, Sidney seems to adhere closer to the Petrarchan origins than Bruno.

In the motif of the sparrow, however, Sidney diverges with Petrarch, and Bruno converges with him. Bruno's 'Mio passar solitario' and Petrarch's 'Passer mai solitario' both draw their reference from Psalm 102 :

Hide not thy face from me in my day of trouble...
 For I am like the Pelican of the wilderness :
 I am like the owl of the desert.
 I watch and am as a sparrow alone upon
 The housetop.

Petrarch draws a strict analogy between the absence of God in the psalm and the absence of

his beloved :

Passer mai solitario in alcun tetto
 non fu quant' io...
 ch' i' non veggio 'l bel viso et ^{non} conosco
 altro sol, né quest' occhi àn' altro obietto.²¹⁴

The loneliness of Bruno's sparrow is not determined by the absence of God, but rather the distance of the soul from the body in spiritual transport. The sparrow signifies "un cor alato", the soul ascending to Godhead :

Licenzialo [il cuore]...per fargli piú magnifica condizione,
 applicandolo a piú alto proposito ed intento, or che son
 piú fermamente impiumate quelle potenze de l'anima significate
 anco da platonici per le due ali.²¹⁵

The rooftop of the psalm is "un piú nobil ricetto"²¹⁶ for the soul, a higher level of being to which the furioso is guided by the higher Cupid : "arai per guida un dio / Che da chi nulla vede, è cieco detto"²¹⁷. In comparison with Petrarch's and Bruno's sparrows, Sidney's is a very humble bird. It is in fact, the "good brother Philip [Sparrow]" of folk-lore. Its literary point of reference must be Catullus' Carmina II and III, where the poet laments the death of Lesbia's affectionate pet. A more contemporary reference would have been the English Catullan satire (I am thinking here particularly of John Skelton's Boke of Phyllypp Sparowe c1508), for here Sidney does not lament the death of the pet, but offers to do the job himself, being jealous of its place in her affections :

I bare, with envy, yet I bare your song
 When in her neck you did love's ditties peep...
 Cannot such grace your silly self content
 But you must needs with those lips billing be?...
 Leave that, Sir Phip, lest off your neck be wrung!

Here is a good example of a mood which Sidney and Bruno could never share - lightheartedness, gaiety. The irresistible pun on his own name, the Catullan reference, the comic absurdity of arguing with a sparrow as a rival in love, nothing could be more foreign to Bruno's sensibility, his solemn poetry, or more congruent with certain elements of the French lyric upon which Sidney freely drew.

The figurative use which the two poets make of hot and cold climates continues the divergent trend we have discovered so far. In Sidney's sonnet VIII Cupid is depicted as migrating from the tropics to the "north climes" of England, in order to contrast the "lively heat" of sensual love and the "frozen clips" of chastity or abstinence. Stella is "most fair, most cold", a holy "pure light" opposing Cupid's languorous pursuit of "ease

and warmth". The symbol of climate is a duality of frustrated libido, "snow" and "fire-brands" cancelling each other out, Stella being the cruel denier of satisfaction, disabling a purely sexual Cupid. Bruno, on the other hand, is drawn by his solar deity (Apollo, symbol of the transcendent God) to make a spiritual interpretation of climate which centres on the proximity to or distance from the light and heat which inflame the lover's soul. In the sonnet 'Quando declin' il sol al Capricorno' Bruno uses the tropics as a symbol of the vicissitudes of the furioso's soul (the ascensive-descensive rhythms which Bruno saw as structuring the universe) the sun's unity and the one-ness creating differences in climate according to an equilibrium :

in qualunque punto de l'eclittica ch' egli si trove, viene
a far l'inverno, l'estade, l'autunno e la primavera, e
l'universal globo de la terra a ricevere in sé le dette
quattro tempeste.²¹⁸

Likewise the Godhead, the "oggetto del furioso", produces simultaneously in the soul the "lacrima, che son l'acqui...^radori, che son gl' incendiⁱ, e sospiri quai son...²¹⁹vapori". Thus the mutations of rainfall and aridity caused by the sun's movements from the Tropic of Cancer to the Tropic of Capricorn in the furioso become a unity or simultaneity of tears and burning :

Sempre equalmente in pianto,
Quantunqu' intensi sien sospiri e fiamme...
Mai avvien ch' io suspire men che tanto :
Infinito mi scaldo.²²⁰

In the sonnet 'Sol che dal Tauro fai temperati lumi', there is a similar counterposing of mutation and immutability, multiplicity and unity. Again there is the sun = Godhead, and climate = soul equivalence. The furioso's solar deity is distinguished from the Ptolemaic sun (Bruno's Copernican sun is above all a mystical, rather than an astronomical phenomenon, Bruno despised the work of conventional physicists and mathematicians), and is seen as an image of stasis and eternity :

il suo sole non è come questo, che...circuisce la terra,
ma è tale che, per essere la eternità istessa e conseguente^{ent}
una possessione insieme tutta e compita, insieme comprende
l'inverno, la primavera, l'estade a l'autunno, insieme insieme
il giorno e la notte : perché è tutto per tutti ed in tutti
gli punti e luoghi.²²¹

As the furioso's sun is ever-present before him, he is warmed (inspired) continually :

"De primavera, estade; autunno, inverno / Mi scald', accend', ard', avvamp' in eterno"²²².

This omnipresence is at once a joy and a burden to the lover-philosopher. A joy because his Godhead is infinitely beautiful, a source of "sordi affanni" because that beauty is unattainable : "la divina luce, in questa vita è piú in laboroso voto che in quieta fruizione"²²³. Bruno re-states this theme of unrelenting exposure to divine inspiration (the sun's "focosi rai") in his sonnet 'Partesi da la stanza il contadino' in terms which bear a strong resemblance to Sidney's divine-love in sonnet XLII. Bruno's eternal sun burns continuously from its meridian, casting equal heat on its lover :

Questi focosi rai,
Ch' escon da que' · doi archi del mio sole,
De l'alma mia...
Da l'orizzonte non si parton mai,
Bruggiand' a tutte l'ore
Dal suo meridian l'aflitto core.²²⁴

In Sidney's poem, the cruel darts of Stella's eyes are invited to bring him to a mystical swoon or death "opressing mortal sense", and he too uses the figure of the unrelenting noon :²²⁵

O eyes...
Do not, O do not from poor me remove :
Keep still my zenith, ever shine on me...
And if from majesty of sacred lights
Oppressing mortal sense my death proceed,
Wracks triumphs be which Love high-set doth breed.

This "death" which the sun/eyes cause is mentioned by Bruno in his sonnet 'Per man d'amor scritto veder potreste' where he says "Del grazioso sguardo apri le porte; / Mirami, o bella, se vuoi darmi morte"²²⁶. It is at this point of greatest intersection between Sidney's "heavenly fire" and Bruno's "eroici furori" that we find a fundamental divergence of intention. The eye as locus of love is handled differently by the two poets. In Sidney's sonnet XLII the eyes which cause the swoon, the "sacred lights", are a woman's, Stella's (cf XLI : "Stella lookt on, and from her heavenly face / Sent forth the beams which made so fair my race"). In Bruno's 'Per man d'amor', however, the eyes belong to Godhead :

Dio...potrà ucciderlo [il furioso] con la luce de suoi
sguardi...quella morte de amanti che procede da somma
gioia, chiamata da cabalisti mors osculi.²²⁷

Bruno's sonnet 'Forte a colpi d'Amor feci riparo' also had "sacred lights" : "quelle luci santi", but unlike Sidney's sonnet XLII, there are no actual eyes :

Al fine l'amore...per essersi accampato in quelle luci santi, cioè per aver mostrato per due specie intelligibile la divina bellezza, la quale con la ragione di bontà

scaldogli l'affetto, vennero superati gli studi materiali
e sensitivi.²²⁸

Bruno's love, inflamed by God through the "eyes" of goodness and truth, is a purely spiritual phenomenon, a religious passion of illumination. Sidney's love is a process more complicated by matter and material impulses of the soul. What he is saying is that through looking into Stella's "actual" eyes, he is able to make contact with her "inner" eyes (those of the soul, or mind), and these inspire him to higher things. This is what he means when in sonnet XXV he says that "virtue if once met with our eyes / Strange flames of love it in our souls would raise". The dual function of the physical eye is mentioned in sonnet V, where Sidney acknowledges that the eye is "form'd to serve / The inward light", yet also feeds on the "shade" of physical beauty "which elements with mortal mixture breed". In sonnet XX also, he calls the pupil "that sweet black which veils the heavenly eye", placed there lest the heavenly eye "sunlike should more dazzle than delight [us]" (VII). Stella's eyes have a magical-ethical effect on the beholder, possessing "miraculous power" (VII), and armed with "arrows infinit" (XVII). They are two stars which "great effects procure" (XXVI) in the lover's soul, "morning stars.... / Where virtue is made strong by Beauty's might" (LXVIII). They cause Sidney to "die and see", like Solomon's "lattice" or Dante's "balcony", they are "windows...through which this heavenly guest / Looks over this world". They are simultaneously the vehicle of corporeal and incorporeal things: "Of touch they are, that without touch do touch" (IX). But while they serve the divine purpose, the eyes are also the servants of natural love; in this respect, and in its general assumptions about Stella's "celestial lights", Sidney's Astrophel recalls Gesualdo's exposition of Laura's "begliocchi...dolce tremanti" in Rime 72, or Bembo, who spoke of Laura's eyes as "Vere bellezze & divine".²²⁹ Stella's "black beams" brand Sidney's soul, forcing him beneath the "yoke of tyranny", of superficial, corporeal beauty; "Virtue awake!", Sidney's conscience warns him, "Beauty but beauty is...I must / Leave following that which it is gain to miss / Let her go!" (XLVII). In sonnet X he blames "Stella's rays" for humbling his reason, bewitching him with "Sense and those which senses objects be". The fact is, in Astrophel and Stella, Stella's eyes serve emotions far removed from the ideal chaste love agreed between ^{Sidney and} Penelope Devereux-Rich, that Petrarchan ideal of "oneste voglie in gentil foco

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accese". Thus we find immediately prior to Sidney's mystical death through "sacred lights" in XLII, Stella's beams playing the more prosaic role of spurring him to victory in a Royal tilting tournament, her beams drawing from him a rather ordinary vanity, bravado and machismo. The naturalistic use of the eyes/beams motif is well illustrated by sonnet LXVI, where exalted language clothes a simple emotional situation :

Stella's eyes sent to me the beams of bliss,
Looking on the while I looked the other way :
But when mine eyes back to their heaven did move,
They fled with blush which guilty seem'd of love.

This more straightforward use of love-conceits to express an actual courtship contrasts markedly with Bruno's unremittingly emblematic or philosophical use of love-conventions. This straightforwardness of Sidney's poetry is corroborated by poems with undoubted biographical reference (see, for example, sonnet CIII, Stella and her friends on a Thames boat-trip, or CV outlining a most specific nocturnal drama). In sonnet XXVIII Sidney warns those who might approach his sonnets with a mind to finding there "Allegory's curious frame" :

I beg no subject to use eloquence
Nor in hid ways to guide philosophy :
Look at my hands for no such quintessence,
But know that I in pure simplicity
Breathe out the flames which burn within my heart.

Yates, pointing to Bruno's own dismissal of allegorical interpretation ("in questa poema non si scorge volto, che cossí al vivo ti spinga a cercar latente ed occolto sentimento; atteso che per l'ordinario modo di parlare e de similitudini piú accomodate a gli sensi communi, che ordinarimente fanno gli accorti amanti"²³¹), perversely reads this admonition of Sidney's as an affirmation of the emblematic use of Petrarchan conceits over more strictly allegorical uses. I do not think that this is correct. Sidney's philosophy is not absent²³² from the Astrophel sequence, but neither is it "hid" (allegorically or emblematically), his words are not subject to that hermeneutic layering which we find in the Eroici, what we find is an attempt to engage philosophical and religious concepts with an actual emotional situation, much as the Italian Academicians interpreted Petrarch's passions in the light of "sentimenti Platonici" concerning the nature of love. The fundamental impossibility of a love which tries to suppress the natural feelings which attend it means that this engagement is pierced through and through with ambiguities and contradictions. Sidney's attack on

conventionalised Petrarchism does not amount, as Yates suggests, to an embrace of Bruno's attitudes to Petrarchan conceits :

Why does [Sidney]...announce so solemnly that he is not going to Petrarchize and then proceed to do that very thing so assiduously?...Surely it is Bruno's dedication to him of the Furori, where one learns how an anti-Petrarchist could yet make use of the conceits as emblems, that an answer to this might be found? ²³³

Anti-Petrarchism does not necessarily imply an overthrow of conventional Petrarchism, the two often seem to go hand in hand, marking a restoration or re-invigoration of the convention, putting it to newer, more contemporary uses. ²³⁴ The perspectives from which Bruno and Sidney criticise Petrarchism differ as well as agree. Sidney's anti-Petrarchism is expounded both in his Apology and in the early sonnets of Astrophel and Stella (I, III, VI, XV and XXVIII). In all cases the principal target of his attack is insincerity and literary affectation, a lack of real passion. This need to express deep emotion ("Loving in truth and fain in verse my love to show") seems to collide with the Renaissance practice of imitation :

I sought fit words to paint the blackest face of woe;
Studying inventions fine, her wits to entertain,
Oft turning others' leaves to see if thence would flow
Some fresh and fruitful showers...
But words came halting out...
Invention, Nature's child, fled Step dame Study's blows
And others' feet still seem'd but strangers in my way.

Sidney strives to walk the ideal line between imitation and plagiarism which some of his Elizabethan contemporaries failed to observe. ²³⁵ What true poetry must have, stresses Sidney, is a foundation in the poet's own feelings : "'Fool' said my muse, 'look in thy heart and write'" (I). In his Apology, Sidney attacks the poetic vice of "courtesan-like painted ²³⁶ affectation" and complains :

truly, many of such writings as come under the banner of irresistible love, if I were a mistress, would never persuade me they were in love; so coldly they apply fiery speeches, as men that had rather read lovers' writings (and so caught up certain swelling phrases) than that, in truth, they feel these passions, which easily (as I think) may be betrayed by the...forcibleness or 'energia' of the writer. ²³⁷

Shallow Petrarchism is also attacked in sonnet VI :

Some lovers speak...
Of force of heavenly beams infusing hellish pain,

Of living deaths, dear wounds, fair storms and freezing fires.

But it is symptomatic of a wider abuse, an obsession with "painted affectation", images serving instead of feelings, an exoticism of simile and artificial sophistication, the crimes of those "dainty wits" who

cry on the Sisters nine,
That bravely maskt, their fancies may be told
Or Pindar's apes flaunt they in phrases fine,
Enamelling with pied flowers their thoughts of gold.

Those who trade in "strange similies", or "Jove and Jove's strange tales" pick the "ribs of Old Parnassus" indiscriminately (XV). Included in this exotic, painted poetry is slavish Petrarchism :

You that poor Petrarch's long deceased woes
With new-born sighs and denizen'd wit do sing;
You take wrong ways; those far-fet helps be such
As do bewray a want of inward touch
And sure, at length, stol'n goods do come to light. (XV)

It is plagiarism - "stol'n goods" - and not imitation which Sidney attacks, Petrarchism which lacks "energia" or "inward touch"; after all, he uses all the conventional conceits which he satirises in sonnet VI quite in earnest throughout the sequence. Sidney is not averse to drawing on Petrarch's "deceased woes" as a linguistic and thematic resource : the beloved as ambrosia from Petrarch's 'Pasco la mente' in sonnet LXXXVIII, or tears as fountains from Petrarch's 'O passi sparsi' in sonnet C, for example. What he does object to is art which is self-referring and lacking in real-life foundations :

I have found in divers small-learned courtiers a more sound
style than in some professors of learning...the courtier
following that which by practice he findeth fittest to
nature, therein ...doth according to art through, not by art :
where the other, using art to show art, and not hide art...
flieth from nature, and indeed abuseth art.²³⁸

Sidney's main target in his anti-Petrarchist attacks is lack of literary integrity, a lack of sensitivity to subject, and of true inspiration, "poet apes" and not poets. Bruno, on the other hand, seems to have little time for purely literary problems, but holds as his main criterion (and centres his anti-Petrarchism on) philosophical integrity. In love-poetry this inevitably meant the subjugation of the lyric to divine purposes, "altering the style of his lyre" as Malipiero put it, to "spiritual songs". Worthy love poets, Bruno says, "degnamente cantano cose eroiche, istituendo gli animi eroici per la filosofia speculativa e morale"²³⁹. One of the few literary opinions Bruno does express in the Eroici

is one shared by Sidney (as we mentioned at the end of the last chapter). This opinion concerns those poets who "do bring dictionary's method / Into...[their] rimes, running in rattling rows" (XV). Sidney objected to theorists such as Francesco Robortello and Pier Vettori, who tried to deduce universal laws for poetry from Aristotle's Poetics, or those like Thomas Drant, who too rigidly regimented English poetry in the quantified metre of the Classics (the failure of which Sidney, and others of the Areopagus discovered through their own experiments). Bruno regarded this kind of humanist dogmatism as an ⁹anathema, vituperating these "regolisti de poesia" as "vere bestie...e pedantacci" ²⁴⁰ :

non son altro che vermi, che non san far cosa di buono,
ma son nati solamente per rodere, insporcare e stercorar
gli altrui studi e fatiche.²⁴¹

He makes Sidney's distinction between "invention" and "imitation", and shares Sidney's adherence to the Horatian commonplace of Renaissance criticism, that poetry should delight ²⁴² as well as instruct.

It would be simplistic to say that Sidney's anti-Petrarchism is purely literary (aimed at personal "energia" or sincerity), and that Bruno's is philosophical (aimed at replacing "amore bestiale" with "contemplazion divina" in love-poetry) ²⁴³, because Sidney too has philosophical or religious aims for love-poetry. It should not deal with vulgar passions which are an "abuse" of love, it should be $\phi\rho\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\eta$ ²⁴⁴, and not $\phi\alpha\nu\tau\alpha\sigma\tau\iota\kappa\eta$ ²⁴⁴, pledged to the service of the divine :

that lyrical kind of songs and sonnets, which, Lord, if he gave us so good minds, how well it might be employed, and with how heavenly fruit, both private and public, in singing the praises of the immortal beauty...[of] God.²⁴⁵

If this desire for "public fruit" recalls the edifying didacticism of Malipiero, then his paean at the end of the Apology (drawing on a number of Platonic critics) on the virtues of the "planet-like music of poetry" ²⁴⁶, strongly recall the sentiments of Gelli, and other Academicians who proffered poetry as a receptacle of "profondi concetti di Filosofia & di altissimi misterii di Teologia" ²⁴⁷. Sidney exhorts the critic of poetry

no more to scorn the sacred mysteries of Poesy....but to believe with Aristotle, that they were the ancient treasurers of the Grecian's divinity; to believe with Bembo, that they were the first bringers-in of all civility; to believe with Scaliger that no philosopher's precepts can sooner make you an honest man than the reading of Virgil, to believe with Clausereus...that it pleased

the heavenly deity by Hesiod and Homer, under the veil of fables, to give us all knowledge, Logic, Rhetoric, Philosophy natural and moral and quid non? to believe with me that there are many mysteries contained in poetry, which of purpose were written darkly, lest by profane wits it should be abused; to believe with Landino, that they are so beloved of the gods that whatsoever they write proceeds of a divine fury.²⁴⁸

These words, written in 1581, are quoted in full, not only to do justice to the cumulative power of Sidney's oratory, but also to show how thoroughly his attitudes to poetry were permeated by the same Italian tradition of Platonic criticism which lies behind Bruno's Eroici Furori. Written two to four years before he composed Astrophel and Stella, and four years before the publication of the Eroici, these words show that well before he began composing his sonnet-sequence Sidney believed that poetry ought to "figure forth good things", and deal with a love that was no "abuse" of that name, but "saliva alla contemplatione... [della] divina bellezza".²⁴⁹

The common ground in the anti-Petrarchism of Sidney and Bruno is that both writers felt that the Petrarchan lyric ought to engage a virtuous love : in Bruno's case an heroic "amor celeste, o divino", and in Sidney's case a chaste "amor cortese, o honesto". Both are equally opposed to "il studioso e disordinato amor venereo"²⁵⁰ (in Sidney "wanton sinfulness and lustful love"²⁵¹). They both relate beauty and libido to mystical experience. The crucial difference is the role of woman - in Sidney's Astrophel Platonic sentiments constellate around a natural love for a real woman, in Bruno's Eroici a mystical love of God is insinuated into the form of a natural love, permeating the capillaries of the amorous experience with spiritual significations after the fashion of the "correttori" of Petrarch.

As an illustration of this let us look closely at the different ways each poet utilizes the conventional torments of the Petrarchan lover. At the beginning of the second dialogue of Bruno's Eroici (as we saw earlier) Tansillo differentiated between the torments of the natural lover, "le piaghe nel corpo", and those of the furioso which are "per segno",²⁵² signifying the spiritual sufferings, "le piaghe...nell' anima". For Bruno Petrarch's conceits or signs of the bodily "wounds" are in their turn signs of incorporeal ones. In Sidney the Petrarchan signs function only at one remove, conventional representations of mental and physical torments of terrestrial love, unless qualified by an epithet (ie "sacred lights", "heavenly fire" etc). Bruno's re-signified conceits seem often to establish their

meanings in a dialectical hermeneutic relation with the accompanying commentary and/or emblem and motto :

Cicada : Questo [sonnetto] non tanto dichiara il senso de la divisa, come il precedente discorso faceva, quanto piu' tosto dice la conseguenza di quello, o l'accompagna.

Tansillo : Dite migliore, che la figura è latente ne la prima parte, ed il motto è molto esplicato ne la seconda.²⁵³

But even in the absence of a presumed exegesis,²⁵⁴ Sidney's conceits evidently do not serve a similar double function, as is made clear by their consistent determination by a specific earthly love and its emotions. We can see this difference by comparing Bruno's 'Io che porto d'amor l'alto vessillo' and Sidney's sonnet LXXVI, which both use the Petrarchan hot/cold, ice/fire antithesis to express the throes of love :

Gelate ho spene e gli desir cuccenti :
A un tempo triemo, agghiaccio, ardo e sfavillo,
Son muto e colmo il ciel de strida ardenti :
Dal cor scintillo, e dagli occhi acqua stillo;
E vivo e muio, e fo riso e lamenti.²⁵⁵

She comes, and straight therewith her shining twins do move
Their rays to me, who in their tedious absence lay
Benighted in cold woe...
She comes with light and warmth which, like Aurora, prove
Of gentle force...
But lo, while I do speak, it groweth noon with me,
Her flamy-glistring lights increase with time and place,
My heart cries, oh it burns, mine eyes now dazzled be,
No wind no shade can cool.

Bruno's antitheses are used to expound a metaphysical point, the co-incident of contraries which make up Iamblichus' animam dissidentem, the disordered state caused by matter's antipathy to its ensouled form, the material impulses of coldness drawing back the scintillations of the soul aspiring towards Godhead : "nessuna cosa è pura e schetta", comments Bruno, "tutte le cose constano de contrarii"²⁵⁶. The soul's mixed composition is, in fact, a necessity for its amorous attraction to Godhead, its mutability thus desiring his unity :

la separazione è causa che troviamo piacere nella congiunzione;
e generalmente esaminando, si trovarà sempre che un contrario
è caggione che l'altro contrario sia bramato e piaccia.²⁵⁷

Sidney's disordered soul, and shift from "cold woe" to the burning "noon" is caused not by metaphysical anguish, but the physical absence or presence of his beloved. His suffocating heat is nothing more than suppressed carnal desire which causes corporeal symptoms : "short

breath, long looks, staid feet and aching head". He is manifestly suffering from that physiological complaint which Ficino called the "contagione" or "febris" of love,²⁵⁸ which was so well-documented in Petrarch's verse :

Pace non trovo...
 E temo e spero, et ardo et son un ghiaccio...
 Veggio senza occhi, et non ò lingua et grido...
 Pascomi di dolor, piangendo rido...²⁵⁹
 In questo stato son, Donna, per voi.

Sidney also follows the terrestrial inclination of the Canzoniere in his handling of the Petrarchan "guerra" of the lover's soul, which he calls "the bate between my will and wit" (IV) and Bruno calls the "milizia". Thus Sidney's sonnet XCVIII seems to echo Petrarch's Rime 226, where the lover's embattled soul keeps him in nocturnal restlessness :

Ah bed!...
 The field where all my thoughts to war be train'd...
 How thy lee-shores by my sighs storm'd be!
 ...I am constrained -
 Spurred with Love's spur, though gall'd and shortly rein'd
 With Care's hard hand - to turn and toss in thee.

la notte affanno e 'l ciel seren m' è fosco,
 et duro campo di battaglia il letto.²⁶⁰

The purely terrestrial theme of the sleepless lover and the war of the soul is taken up by Bruno in the third and fourth sonnets in dialogue one. But the war here is a spiritual one, dictated by the retrograde impulses of the soul in the first, and by God's repeated absences from the contemplative soul in the second. In both cases the soul is embattled by the need to fix the will on its object :

L'alta bellezza...
 Mi mostra il paradiso, il toglie via...
 Tanto ch' il cor, la mente, il spirito, l'alma
 Ha gioia, ha noia, ha refrigerio, ha salma.
 Chi mi torrà di guerra?²⁶¹

This analysis indicates that while Sidney and Bruno's works share a similar congenial atmosphere of Renaissance love-theory and Platonic criticism, and share similar moods, conceits, and occasionally phraseology in their sonnet-sequences, they nonetheless vary widely in their respective intentions and executions (and this is leaving aside Bruno's attack on Christian eschatology as "una tragedia caballistica"²⁶² which would have alienated Sidney completely). I feel that there is very little evidence in Sidney's Astrophel and Stella which points to a direct influence of Bruno's Eroici Furori, in fact my examination of the iconographic similarities has revealed marked divergences in usages. The most we can

say about the two sequences is that they are manifestations of a shared cultural milieu, and as such their differences are of interest in the historical definition of that milieu. The exercise of describing the similarities and differences of Astrophel and Stella and Degli Eroici Furori illuminates the constellation of religious, ethical and philosophical concepts which arranged themselves around Petrarchan poetry, and the idea of love in the late sixteenth century (a phenomenon which, as we saw in the previous chapter, owed a great deal to the Italian critical tradition).

To come to a more complete picture of the development of Elizabethan Petrarchism, and to understand the role in that development played by the Eroici, it is necessary to examine the other avenues by which Petrarchan influences entered the literary scene. There were other, possibly more important sources from which Sidney gleaned his ideas on the Petrarchan sonnet than Yates considered in her hypothesis. Petrarch himself is not without importance in this respect : not only are there Petrarchan echoes in Sidney's language and themes, but the very structure of Astrophel (as we can re-assemble it from the published order) seems to follow the broad outline of the Canzoniere (the poet undergoes love's torments, loses his beloved and comes to a realization of the frailty of love for women - a love of "vain things" or "cose dubbiose" - and an ascensive movement toward the "Eternal love" or "i cangiati desiri" of the Christian). Other pertinent sources of influence which must be considered are the French poets such as Du Bartas or Ronsard (whose Hélène seemed to have a great influence on Sidney's adoption of the debate between love and reason, for example),²⁶³ and the Leiden Humanists, who focussed certain Italian and French influences and were closely linked to the Sidney circle through Latin correspondence and English Neo-Latin poets who lived or travelled on the continent, such as Daniel Rogers or George Buchanan. George Buchanan's Franciscianus (Basel 1568), for instance, was an anthology to which Carolus Utenhove and most of the Pleiade poets contributed, and being dedicated to Elizabeth I, found its way into the hands of the poets of the English court.²⁶⁴ The other important influence which must be estimated (aside from the Petrarch commentaries which we discussed in the previous chapter) is the diffusion of later Petrarchan poets of Italy, which reached England in the form of indiscriminate anthologies, combining Petrarch with later poets such as Serafino d'Aquila, Giovanni della Casa and Pietro Bembo, and a host of

minor figures such as our Florentine Academician Benedetto Varchi, whose sole contribution to poetry is contained in one of these miscellanies. The wealth of poets available for imitation in this way is indicated by Thomas Watson in the preface to his Hekatompathia of 1582, where he acknowledges the models upon which his sonnets were based :

eight sonnets are renderings from Petrarch, twelve are from Serafino d'Aquila, four each from Ercole Strozza of Ferrara ...three from the Italian poet Agnolo Firezuola; two each from the French poet Etienne Forcadel, the Italian Girolamo Parabosco and Aeneas Silvius [Piccolomini]; while many are based on passages from such authors as...among the modern Italians, Angelo Poliziano and Baptista Mantuanus.²⁶⁵

It is more than a little likely, for instance, that Sidney would have returned from his trip to Venice in 1572 with one of a number of Venetian anthologies which came off the presses in the 1550s and 60s, such as the Rime diverse of Gabriel Giolito (1549-58) or Lodovico Domenichi (1550). Sidney's references to the linguistic qualities and rhyme-structures of Italian verse in the closing passages of the Apology show that he was accustomed to reading poetry in Italian,²⁶⁶ and copies of these anthologies were no doubt widely available on his continental travels (also Hubert Languet regularly attended the Frankfurt book-fair on his behalf).

Any or all of these sources of Petrarchan models were available to English poets in the 1580s, and represent an alternative to the picture which Yates presents of the Eroici Furori bursting onto the English literary scene unprepared for the revelation of Bruno's

Neoplatonic Petrarchism. This analysis of the question of Bruno's influence on Sidney has shown that above all it is necessary to acknowledge the profound differences between the conceptions which the two authors held of "Neoplatonic love". Most important perhaps, is the need to understand Sidney's Astrophel in the context of the Petrarch re-defined by the theorists of the Italian (and later the French) accademie as a kind of "amante cortese" which was to some extent antagonistic to the asceticism of misogynistic spiritualisations such as the Eroici Furori.

Chapter Three - Petrarchism and Urania : Giordano Bruno and Greville's Caelica

When Sidney spoke in the Apology of a divine sonnet "singing the praises of the immortal beauty, the immortal goodness of that God who giveth us hands to write"¹, he was giving expression to a widespread discontent with amorous and cupidinous poetry which gathered momentum during the two decades preceding 1580 and erupted in a new flowering of "holy songes and sonnets" in the 1590s (a development in which Sidney's opinion probably played no small part). The spasms of renaissance which Italy underwent owing to the disapproval and doubts of the Catholic church were also present in the English Renaissance, where the emergence of amorous lyrics met with stern resistance from strict Protestants; a tendency which ran counter to the growing interest in Petrarch, French and Italian lyrics and Classical love-poetry (criticised by one Puritan exegete as "metamorphically toys and rebald songes"²). The Puritan petit-bourgeoisie of tradesmen and merchants in particular seemed disenchanted with what they saw as the immoral products of the aristocratic court, secular anthologies such as the Paradyse of Dainty Devyses (nine editions, 1576-1609) and the Court of Venus (1557-8) which blatantly advertised their sensuous contents :

'What meane the rimes that run thus large in every shop
to sell?
With wanton sound and filthie sense?...
Tell me is Christ or Cupide Lord? doth God or Venus reigne?
And whose are we? Whom ought we serve?'

This extract from a broadside "Against filthy writing/And such delighting", published by Thomas Brice in the wake of Tottel's Miscellany and the Court of Venus is typical of this kind of Puritan anti-classicism which equated pagan literature with pagan religion "We are not Ethnickes...Why range we then to Ethnicke's trade?"³. This discontent with the cupidity of court literature quickly found its way into poetry with pious rivals to the lascivious anthologies coming off the presses. These rivals were often not without some financial success. William Hunnis' Seven Sobs of a Sorrowful Soule for Sinne , first published in 1583 (consisting of "those seven Psalmes of the Princelie Prophet DAVID, commonlie called Poenitentiall : framed into a forme of familiar praiers, and reduced into meeter" along with some "pithie ditties" on religious themes only) went through no less than ten editions by 1629. The titles of these alternative collections of lyrics are symptomatic of this increasingly devotional, pietistic mood anticipated

by Sidney's comments : the Sundry Christian Passions, Spirituall Sonnets, A Speciall remedy against the furious force of lawless love & etc. One such collection, John Hall's Court of Vertue (1565) consciously parodied the Court of Venus and strove to replace "bookes of lecherous Ballades" with "holy songes, sonnets, psalmes and ballettes"⁴. In one of these "holy songes", Vertue comes to Hall in a dream and attacks secular love-poetry :

Such as in carnall love rejoyce
Trim songes of love they wyll compile
And synfully with tune and voyce,
They syng their songes in pleasant stile,
To Venus that same strompet vyle
And make of hir a goddess dere...

In this dream she incites him "To make a boke of songes holy/Godly and wyse, blamyng folly"⁵. This vein of criticism was continued by no less than the Archbishop of Canterbury, Matthew Parker, who in his preface to his Whole Psalter (1567) entitled "Of the vertue of the Psalmes" included a poem attacking amorous lyrics :

Depart ye songes : lascivious,
from lute, from harpe depart;
Give place to Psalmes : most vertuous,
and solace there your harte.⁶

Much of the impetus of this Protestant poetry, as I have said, seems to have been stimulated by lower middle-class Puritans, in part an ideological attack on their aristocratic superiors : hence William Baldwin's early translation of the Canticles or Balades of Solomon (1549) saw the "hie and mysticall matter" of Solomon as an antidote to the "baudy ballades of lecherous love that are commonly indited and songs of idle courtiers in prince's and noblemen's houses"⁷. But it was not to remain a lower middle-class province for long, as the Archbishop's Psalter preface was to signal. The impulse toward a Christian muse became increasingly urgent amongst courtier-poets, a fact which explains much of the theory in Sidney's Apology and the directions taken by his poetical practice. His exaltation of the "poeticall part of the scripture" as the "chief , both in antiquity and excellence" of the varieties of poetry because of their imitation of "the incorceivable excellencies of God"⁸ is part of a wider movement to 'classicize' the Bible, making it a literary source worthier than the ancients, in both style and content

Beroaldus can witnes with me that David was a poet, and
that his wayne was in imitating (as St Jerome witnesseth)

Horace, Flaccus and Pindarus...Ask Josephus, and he will tell you that Esay, Job and Salomon voutsafed poetical practices, for (if Origen and he fault not) theyre verse was hexameter and pentameter.⁹

This literary elevation of the Bible and the Protestant urge toward producing verse-translations of scripture for 'popular' consumption moved Sidney himself first to English renderings of the Psalms and then to surmount his foray into the amorous sonnet-cycle (that height of the "Ethnicke's trade") with a disdainful attack on human love. The profound dissatisfaction with love exhibited in the two sonnets 'Desire' and 'Splendid is Longum', along with his dismay at the "abuse" of poetry evidenced by those writers dealing with "wanton and lustfull love" in the Apology with its wistful, enthusiastic foresight of divine lyrics on God's "immortal beauty" seem to suggest that, had it not curtailed by his death on the Dutch battlefield, his literary future would have followed this route (prefigured as it was by the pious task of translating Mornay's Verité for English Protestant readers; a task he considered important enough to appoint Arthur Golding to complete it after his death). The energetic patronage of Sidney's sister Mary, Countess of Pembroke in encouraging the writing of divine poetry by poets such as Michael Drayton, Henry Lok and Sir John Davies seems almost a purposeful fulfillment of her brother's dream (she also completed his unfinished translation of the Psalms). This new energy, especially as it developed in the 'Pembroke circle', finds jubilant and confident affirmation in the preface of Drayton's Harmonie of the Church (1591)

I speak not of Mars..nor of Venus the goddess of love,
but of the Lord of Hostes, that made heaven and earth :
Not of toyes in Mt Ida, but of triumphs in Mt Sion :
Not of vanitie, but of veritie : not of Tales, but of truethes.¹⁰

From this brief description of the growth of "spirituall sonnets", it can be seen that Bruno's Degli Eroici Furori as a set of religious-amorous sonnets did not come unannounced into the Elizabethan literary world; a strong Protestant current was already drawing the secular lyric, and especially the sonnet, toward a spiritual reality remote from the boyish Cupid and the sighs of unrequited love. Towering over this development was the figure of the French poet Sallust du Bartas, and especially the exhortation to poets in his Muse Chrettiene of 1574. The call toward a Christian poetry which had been voiced for two decades by Puritan pamphleteers and poets finally

began to hit home amongst aristocratic circles when Du Bartas' works were translated and given the courtly hallmark of no less a person than King James of Scotland. In 1584 James published an influential poem from Du Bartas' Muse, called L'Uranie, in his Essayes of a Prentice, printed by Thomas Vautrollier in Edinburgh. Coming at what must have been a vital moment in Sidney's composition of Astrophel the work of the "devine and Illuster Poete Sallust du Bartas" must have struck him quite forcibly

Sen verse did then in heaven first bud and blume,
 If ye be heavenly, how dare ye presume
 A verse prophane, and mocking for to sing,
 Gainst him that leads the starrie heavens the ring?
 Will you then so ingrately make your pen
 A slave to sinne, and serve but fleshly men?...
 Still will ye rive the aire with cryes of love?
 And shall there never into your works appeare,
 The praise of God, resounding loud and cleare?...
 Let not your art so rare then be defylde
 In singing Venus and her fethered chylde.¹¹

This reproof could almost have been personally directed at Sidney's poetry, which was leading him to the "inward night" and "dark furnace" of disappointed love, only to urge him on toward the "praise of God", and away from the "fethered chylde". That Du Bartas was a profound influence on Sidney we know, as he made a translation (now lost) of one of the books of Du Bartas' Semaines (registered along with the Arcadia by William Ponsonby in August 1588, "a translation of SALLUST DE BARTAS. Done by ye same Sir P. in the Englishe"¹²), later to be an Elizabethan 'best-seller' in the idiosyncratic translation of Sylvester. We also know that respect for Du Bartas was shared by other members of the 'Areopagus'. Gabriel Harvey elevated Du Bartas above even Dante¹³

The afore-named Bartas (whom elsewhere I have stiled the Treasurer of Humanity and the Jeweller of Divinity) for the highnesse of his subject and the maiesty of his verse, [is] nothing inferiour unto Dante (whome some Italians preferre before Virgil or Homer) a right inspired and enravished Poet; full of chosen, grave, profound, venerable and stately matter; even in the next degree to the sacred and reverend Stile of heavenly Divinity itselfe. In a manner the onely Poet, whom Urany hath voutsafed to Laureate with her owne heavenly hand : and worthy to bee alleaged of Divines; many of his solemne verses are oracles : and one Bartas, that is, one French Salomon more weighty..than the seven sages of Greece.¹⁴

Although mysterious to the modern reader, this exaltation of Du Bartas as the "French Salomon", a poet equalling (or surpassing) Dante, Virgil and Homer shows us a little

of the great influence he commanded amongst Elizabethan poets; an epic, Protestant poet to rival those of Antiquity, and a paradigm for religious poetry well into the seventeenth century.

Du Bartas' election of Urania as the Christian muse of righteous poets and his exhortation to religious poetry seems to have been the principal, if not the sole reason for the deflection of the course of Elizabethan verse, certainly, as L.C. Campbell states: "Urania became the familiar accompaniment of (English) divine literature until the seventeenth century"¹⁵. The intensification of religious piety in the sonnet and other lyric forms, which emerged in the 1590s and early seventeenth century, resounds with praise for Du Bartas. To Harvey's approbation we can add that of Sidney's younger protégé Edmund Spenser, who, Harvey reports, "conceives...(great) pleasure in the fourth day of the first Weeke of Bartas. Which he esteemes as the proper profession of Urania"¹⁶. Spenser's own divine poetry (much of it now lost) would have added immeasurably to the history of this Protestant devotional verse (see Ponsonby's preface to the Complaints volume where he lists Spenser's works in this vein, "Ecclesiastes and Canticum Canticorum translated..besides some Pamphlets looselie scattered abroad : as The Dying Pellican, The Howers of the Lord, The Sacrafices of a Sinner, the Seven Psalmes &c"¹⁷). It is interesting to note that Spenser praises Mary Sidney as Urania in his Colin Clout, where he says she is a woman in whom "All heavenly gifts and riches locked are", a tribute to her role in the cultivation of the said muse .

Another late Elizabethan poet who entrusted himself to the "highest treasury of the heavenly Muses", Barnabe Barnes, shows how the Du Bartas influence could lead towards a similar erotic-mystical literature as that peddled by Bruno's Eroici (although in a more specifically Protestant theological context)

If any man feels in himself (by the secret fire of immortal Enthusiasme) the learned motions of strange and divine passions of sprite, let him refine and illuminate his numerous Muses with the most sacred splendour of the Holy Ghost, and then he shall (with divine Salust [Du Bartas] the true learned Frenche Poet) finde that as human furie maketh a man lesse than a man... 18
So divine rage and sacred instinct of a man maketh more than a man.

The "immortal Enthusiasme" or "divine rage" of English poets could find its inspiration in the "divine Salust" as much as from any hypothetical influence of Bruno's "heroic

frenzies". It seems fittingly ironic that Barnes, author of the flippant eulogy to his mistress' glove in our earlier chapter should find himself thus converted to more weighty matter; his development makes a fitting emblem of those key years between the composition of Sidney's Astrophel and Stella and the end of the century, a development summarized in his Parthenophil (1593)

No more lewde laies of lighter love I sing,
 Nor teach my lustfull Muse abus'de to flie,
 With Sparrow's plumes and for compassion crie,
 To mortall beauties which no succour bring.
 But to my Muse fethered with an Angel's wing,
 Divinely mounts aloft unto the skie,
 Where her loves subjects with my hopes do lie :
 For Cupid's darts prefigure hell's sting.¹⁹

Just as Sidney's Astrophel overturned "lighter love" for that "which never taketh rust", late Elizabethan writers turned increasingly toward pious, religious themes, and away from the light-hearted (or even serious) dalliances with the "boy" Cupid.

In dedicating his Fowre Hymnes to the Countess of Cumberland and the Countess of Warwick, Edmund Spenser gave expression to this theoretical (and emotional) overturning of earthly love in poetry, in a statement which echoes Dante as much as Bruno in its concern for transcending natural desire

Having in the greener times of my youth, composed these
 former two hymnes in the praise of Love and beautie...
 I resolved at least to amend, and by way of retraction
 to reforme them, making instead of those two Hymnes of
 earthly or naturall love and beautie, two others of
 heavenly and celestiall.²⁰

Just as Dante's love in La Vita Nuova ascends from that which stirs "lo spirito animale" and "li spiriti del viso", to the beatific "mirabile visione" and "la faccia di colui qui est per omnia secula benedictus",²¹ so the spirit of the Elizabethan lyric turned its face away from Cupid toward a higher love, toward the "immortal Enthusiasme" which governed Bruno's Eroici. How much Bruno's sequence contributed towards this transformation of the Elizabethan lyric is questionable given the wide pool of Italian and French influences that can be uncovered. This brings us to the immediate question of Greville's Caelica and the possible influence of the Eroici Furori.

Greville's Caelica is unique in the view it offers of the 'pietization' of the Elizabethan sonnet; not published until 1633, the compositions within the sequence date from his time of "youth and familiar exercise with Sir Philip Sidney" (according

to the title-page), to his old-age and country retirement in the 1620s:

When in his luxurious 'schollar's home' at Warwick
he looked back over his sated, darkening life, and
tremblingly interlined the poems of his earlier inspiration.²²

As such his work embodies the historical unfolding of a Protestant devotional poetry, from the time of Bruno's visit until the publication of Caelica; this diachrony is evident in a close analysis of style and themes.

In a nineteenth-century edition of Caelica, Martha Foote-Crowe is as enthusiastic as Frances Yates concerning Greville's attitude to Bruno:

The philosophical cast of Greville's mind must have made him feel a deep interest in...the distinguished Italian guest of 1584, Giordano Bruno. It was in an upper chamber at the house of Greville that the sumptuous banquet was given in honour of that great philosopher and teacher. Here, to a group including probably Dudley, Sidney, Walsingham, Florio and other courtiers, the inspired scholar discoursed in Italian of 'moral, metaphysical and natural speculations'...²³

This vague conception of Greville's "philosophical cast of mind" need not infer the cordial relationship which Foote-Crowe implies. Nor indeed does the fact that Greville wrote in "obscure and broken..conceits", give us sufficient evidence to affirm as Yates does that "those interested in Greville's remarkable poetry would find the commentary to the Eroici Furori very helpful"²⁴. This kind of vague, unsubstantiated assertion cuts very little ice with sceptical modern critics of Greville's work

Miss Yates' suggestion that both sequences [Astrophel and Caelica] are to be read in the light of Degli Eroici Furori as spiritual autobiographies or 'philosophical love-poetry' pushes the case for Bruno's influence too far and makes too little of other considerations.²⁵

That Bruno did have some dealings with Greville whilst in England we know from the references in the Dialoghi Italiani (although the correspondence and biographies of Sidney are curiously silent on the subject of Bruno). In the "epistola esplicatoria" to the Spaccio della Bestia Trionfante, dedicated to Sidney, he also praised "il..gentilissimo spirito del signor Folco Grivello"²⁶, and in the Cena delle Ceneri describes Greville and his friends (including other members of the Areopagus group, Sidney, Dyer and Matthew Gwynne) as "i felici e ben nati ingegni, verso gli quali nisciuno onorato studio è perso...hanno libero l'intelletto"²⁷. But, despite Bruno's lavish praise of the various

"nobili personaggi del regno", including the Earl of Leicester (Sidney's uncle), and "l'ecce²⁸ntissimo signor Francesco Walsingham", his popularity with his hosts is sometimes in doubt. Walsingham for instance, in his position as Chief Secretary to Elizabeth I and 'chief of intelligence', had reason to be worried concerning Bruno's visit to England, having been warned by the English Ambassador in Paris of his controversial religious beliefs.²⁹ This in all probability led to the "arsenito" which Bruno says disrupted his amicable relations with Greville. Whatever the cause of this unpleasantness, Bruno is curiously absent from Greville's biography of Sidney, and from his other writings. But this silence and lack of circumstantial evidence must not be allowed to lead us astray into hopeful or pessimistic conjecture about the influence of Bruno on Greville. What really concerns us is the purely literary relationship between the two poets, as distinct from their personal contacts. As with Sidney, what is required is a careful comparison of themes and imagery to establish any possible points of contact which exist between the Eroici Furori and the English poet's sonnet-sequence, or whether, as Joan Rees suggests, we are drawn to "other considerations" to explain what we find in Greville's poetry.

In the first half of Caelica, at least, Greville appears to frequent the same thematic and iconographic territory as Sidney's Astrophel and Bruno's Eroici, in so far as there are the same Petrarchan motifs of eyes, stars, wounding, frozen fires and living deaths, and at the same time an interest in the ascensive properties of a noble Platonic love for a woman, a chaste and unconsummated desire. It may be stated straight away that Greville's sonnets seem nearer in spirit to Sidney's poems than Bruno's, no doubt due to the fact of their close friendship, and their practice of writing poems together (often in the same room) on the same topics, as is intimated by Greville's phrase "familiar exercise". The bulk of the two sequences were written at Wilton House, where, Thomas Moffett tells us, Sidney loved to "dispute with a few University men"³⁰. These "University men" included Greville and Edward Dyer, to whom Sidney dedicated this affectionate lyric :

Sweet Orpheus' harp, whose sound
The steadfast mountains moved,
Let there thy skill abound,
To join sweet friends beloved.

Join hearts and hands let it be,
Make but one mind in bodies three.

This expression of close mutual friendship and literary endeavour supports the assumption of some critics that literary composition was a collective activity in the Areopagus circle (or at least in the Sidney household), a fact which would explain the 'call and response' relationship between the three writers, so typical of Humanist friendship and correspondences.³¹ It is not very surprising then, that we find Sidney and Greville (*Astrophel* and *Myraphil*) adoring miraculous heavenly beauties ('Stella' and 'Caelica', 'Myra' or 'Cynthia'), in a similar Diotiman, Platonic way.

In the early parts of Greville's *Caelica* we find the same idealizing enthusiasm for the female that we found in Sidney, exalting the beloved as a mystical Laura, radiating her divine virtues on earth. Thus in sonnet I we are told:

Love..Delight..Virtue..and Reason
Are from the world by nature's power bereft
And in one creature for her glory left.

In this marvellous creature external beauty is only a "cover" for her true, spiritual virtues, a veil obscuring her essence. Nonetheless the "true measure" of her material proportions hint at the heavenly harmonies and cause "excess of wonder" in the perceiving male. She is the nexus of carnal and heavenly desires, she is "passion's wound and passion's physic", instigating man's lust but also its overthrow in the "clear springs of wisdom" revealed by her beauty. This is continued in sonnet III, where we find that she is "more than most fair, full of that heavenly fire/Kindled above to show the Maker's glory". Here Greville recalls Sidney's 'In a Grove', where he calls Stella "star of heavenly fire" (Spenser continued this theme in his *Amoretti* VIII, "More than most fair, full of living fire/Kindled above unto the maker neere"), and looks back to Ficino's "divinitatis folgor"³² which can be traced in human beauty, as outlined in the *Symposium*:

..to begin with examples of beauty in the world, using them as steps to continually ascend..until from knowledge of various kinds (of beauty) one arrives at the supreme knowledge whose sole object is absolute beauty.³³

Hence Greville's beloved is designated a "heavenly creature", loving her shows the poet's reason "shadows of perfection"(IV), love being the "mortal sphere of powers divine" and the "paradise of nature in perfection"(IX). Bruno also assents to this Platonic view of

woman as a 'step' to the higher beauty of the 'Maker's glory'. He regards the highest form of love to be that which "dall'aspetto della forma corporale s'inalza alla considerazione della spirituale e divina"³⁴. The female form is for him beautiful only in so far as it is "un indice della bellezza del spirito" and sees woman as a window (fenestra) opening onto the divine beauty ("l'aspetto del sole") as the "lattice" in the Song of Songs.³⁵

Greville's sonnet III sees the lady as a "window of the sky" giving access to the heavenly fire.³⁶ She is a "beloved saint"(XVIII), the vessel of an "angel's spirit"(VI). In sonnet XVII, Greville postulates the familiar 'two loves' theme in a dense final couplet, "Angels enjoy the heavens' inward quires;/Star-gazers only multiply desires". The poet suggests a distinction between "inward" pleasures and bodily ones (those of the 'gazer' who enjoys only the superficies of beauty); the one giving repose, the other turbulent multiplication of lust. Greville here inclines towards Sidney's idea of a 'chaste love', uncontaminated by base desires and the "concupiscence of touch". Thus in sonnet XVI we are told that constant love transcends the "hopes and fears of lust", aspiring to rise "above those middle regions/ Where every passion wars itself with legions". The "heats" of carnal, natural love, "rob the heavens of heavenly treasure"(XI), tainting the heavenly fire in the female form. Thus he commits himself to "love and never seek compassion [ie consummation]"(IV). Like Sidney he is one "to Hymen's close yoke sworn"(XXXI). This idealized love seems to bear more resemblance to the earlier Italian tradition of noble love, Petrarch's "nobil desio" and Guinzelli's and Dante's "cor gentil" (or to the "lenten lover", the "lover of emerald and sard"³⁷ of the Troubadors) than to Bruno's amorous theophany, although the English poets diffracted these early traditions through the contemporary lens of the Italian Renaissance Platonism, as it was percolated through the Academies. Like Sidney's noble love, Greville's is fraught with contradictions. Caelica is both "wound" and "physic" of lust, she is a "fatal wound" (Petrarch's "colpo mortale") which binds the rational faculty to its "servant humour" and leaves Greville's heart "torn" with "anguish"(II). She is a "disease in reason", and yet her virtue and worth rescue him from the "wounds of woe" which necessarily veil the perfection of love. Initially he resolves himself to this painful contradiction "let never man love worthiness in vain", he declares in sonnet IX, and in sonnet VI he concludes "Thus have I gained[ie in spite of love's suffering]". In sonnet X he consoles himself after

having been humiliated by "angel's pride"; the poet's "darkened mind" and "beam's benighted" caused by frustrated amorousness move him to a "Passion to ruin passion", leading to a chaste contemplation of the Platonic Ideas

Go back unto that heavenly quire
Of nature's riches in her beauties placed,
And there in contemplation feed desire...
For those sweet glories which you do aspire
Must as ideas only be embraced.

As the sequence proceeds, however, Greville's view of this chaste love, the "glorious prison of man's pure affection" (III), becomes increasingly jaundiced, as does his opinion of human love and human nature in general. The idealism which saw a boundless love in Caelica, "Fires which kindled once are quenched never" (recalling Bruno's divine love "Mi fien eterni impacci/Fiamme al cor"³⁸), soon declares wryly that "idle chance governs affection"(LIV) and that Love is "a godhead which but lives to move"(XLI). He is progressively overtaken by his Calvinist pessimism which, in its Augustinian component stresses the uncertainty, deception and transience of love and all worldly things

Our delights like fair shapes in a glass
Though pleasing to our senses cannot last;
The metal breaks or else the visions pass;
Only our griefs in constant moulds are cast."(XLII)

In the process of dissecting a number of ill-starred relationships with women, cloaked under the names of Caelica, Myra and Cynthia, Greville launches into a number of ironic attacks on his earlier idealizing impulse, replacing it with a worldly, pragmatic view of relationships which is summarized in this pithy couplet from sonnet LII "Sweet saint 'tis true you worthy be/Yet without love nought worth to me". Foremost amongst his satires at the expense of his earlier poems are sonnets LVI and LXIV.

In the first of these poems we find the heroic lover caught in a situation which tests the mettle of his chaste love : at his mistress' bedside while she sleeps. Greville stresses the repressed sensuality of the scene, which undermines the apotheosis of the lover's praises. His thoughts are "on fire", kindled by pure sensation, "All my senses like beacon's flame/Gave alarum to desire". Poised on the brink of consummating his desire, the lover instead weaves a celestial-mythological laudation

Cupid, where am I;
That by pale Diana's light,
Such rich beauties do espy
As harm our senses with delight?

Am I borne up to the skies?
 See where Jove and Venus shine,
 Showing in her heavenly eyes
 That desire is divine!

Greville continues to weave a satire on the linguistic foibles of Neoplatonic love poetry, his beloved's body is a "milky way", her sighing like the harmony of the spheres ("Planets with such music move"). The breathless ecstasy mounts until the lover feels himself to be godlike, a comic reflection of Bruno's sincere exclamation "io, mercé d'amore/Mi cangio in dio."³⁹

Thus unto myself I said,
 Surely I Apollo am;
 Yonder is the glorious maid
 Which men do Aurora name..
 I stepped forth to touch the sky,
 I, a god by Cupid's dreams;

Greville is only too aware of the sublimated desire which underpins this kind of 'celestial tumescence', "Hope", he says, "went on the wheels of lust". But before the intoxicated lover can fulfill these latent desires Cynthia "Runs away like silver streams/Leaving hollow banks behind". Greville mockingly likens this sexual deflation to a loss of "light divine", leaving a "benighted soul" behind it. This sorry scene of humiliation is swiftly followed by a moral in the carpe diem tradition, urging the idealizing lover to take his love before Time outstrips him

He that lets his Cynthia lie
 Naked on a bed of play,
 To say prayers ere she die,
 Teacheth time to run away;
 Let no love-desiring heart,
 In the stars go seek his fate;
 Love is only nature's art,
 Wonder hinders love and hate.

This strong commonsense instinct in Greville uncovers the unpalatable truth behind the 'chaste love' idea in a way that Sidney never does. In the second of the ironic sonnets (LXIV), Greville builds upon the "heavenly fire" convention of the female as paragon and exemplar only to accentuate the sexual frailty and fallibility of his beloved

Caelica, when I did see you everyday...
 I conceived you of some heavenly mould,
 Since love, and virtue, noble flame and pleasure,
 Contain in one no earthly metal could,
 Such enemies are flesh and blood to measure
 And since my fall...
 This shadow still shows miracles to me,

And still I think your heart a heavenly place;
 For what before was filled by me alone,
 I now discern hath room for every one.

The final, bitterly sarcastic couplet plays off the double-meaning of the heart having "room", contrasting a heavenly magnanimity and an only too human promiscuity. Increasingly the stress on love as "nature's art" and Greville's deep pessimism concerning human nature make his early sonnets of the "wonder-working" Caelica appear as a youthful enthusiasm, soon to be replaced by more probing psychological poems looking beneath the surface of love and courtship into the "darkened mind". In sonnets XXII, XXV and XXXI, for instance, Greville teases out some of the emotional subtleties involved in a "pure affection" for women. In sonnet XXII, Greville takes a chaste affair fraught with very particular emotional tensions and dismantles it. His beloved here is under the jealous eye of a parent or spouse, and insists on Greville's modesty even when, he intimates, the necessity for secrecy is absent

I that when drowsy Argus fell asleep...
 Was even warned modesty to keep,
 While her breath speaking kindled nature's fire;
 Must I look on a-cold while others warm them?

Here the chastity of the affair is seen by the poet as an insincere deception on the woman's part, who enjoys the very unfulfillment against which he strains: "Mad girls must safely love as they may leave..". Likewise in sonnet XXV the woman is seen as a cruel manipulator in her demands of chastity, teasing in order that she may censure his immodesty

Tell me, sweet boy[Cupid], doth Myra's beauty threaten?
 Must you say grace when you should be a-playing?
 Doth she cause thee make faults to make thee beaten?
 Is beauty's pride in innocent's betraying?

"cruel honour" is seen to be indulging in a self-satisfying game, toying with the desires of her captive lover. This psychological-emotional subtlety in the treatment of the 'cruel lady' motif is at odds with Bruno's stony mistress, the "dea selvaggia" Diana, who is "cruda e dispietata", "iniqua e rea" to her human bondsmen. While Greville's lady is an exploiter of man's sexual weaknesses, Bruno's is symbolic of the unattainable object of divine contemplation, she is "harsh and pitiless" because constantly elusive. In pursuing her, the "moto metafisico" of the intellect proceeds from "la cosa misurata" to that which "non ha margine e circoscrizione"; caught in a never-ending spiral of aspiration, ^{the intellect} "va ₄₀ circuendo per gli gradi della perfezione, per giungere a quel centro infinito, il quale non

è formato né formata"⁴¹. Greville's beloved does not even serve that moral function of Bruno's Giulia, whose "semplice ed innocente crudeltade" leads her frustrated lovers to "incomparabilmente grazie maggiori"⁴², or Sidney's Stella whose face bears the "letters fair of bliss" which "teach virtue", and who urged Sidney toward a "love not blind"⁴³. It is Greville's shrewder, more pessimistic psychologism which puts him beyond Bruno and Sidney. While he is aligned more towards the latter in his stress on real relationships rather than an "emblematic", symbolic-amorous language such as Bruno's, he avoids the Secundian sickness and masochistic abasement before the disdainful mistress which characterises Sidney's Astrophel. Greville dissects the paradox of desire and modesty more aggressively than his friend, accentuating in his treatment of the 'cruel lady' motif the tantalizing bondage in sexual transactions, caught between availability and withholding, "desire's pain"(XXXV). While Myra ignites "fires blown with many-headed passion"(XXXIV), Virtue impells her to see desire "whipped and scourged with modesty and truth"(XXXV) in true Neoplatonic fashion. The safe and self-indulgent pleasures which the real-life Platonic heroine can derive from this sado-masochistic suspension of her suitor ("Neither may I depart, nor yet enjoy" XXXVII) ~~is~~ ^{are} keenly criticised in the long canzona-like 'sonnet' LXXIV, which (in a parody of Sidney's 'love-sick' sonnet CIII which shows the poet brooding from a Thames-side window) has Cynthia theatrically brooding from :

The window of a grange,
Whence men's prospects (range)...
On graves where shepherds lie,
That by love or sickness die"

Her enjoyment of this "love-restrained", Greville's language implies, is theatrical and narcissistic :

Sadly clad for sorrow's glory
Making joy glad to be sorry
Showing sorrow in such fashion
As truth seemed in love with passion,
Such a sweet enamel giveth
Love restrained that constant liveth.

"The flint keepeth fire" comments Greville in XXXVII, the lady has "sorrow's glory" for her realm, the frustrated lover only the perpetual oscillations between his mistress' favour and disfavour, "love" and "shame", "promised grace" and its denial.

In sonnet LXXIV Greville demonstrates "How fatal are blind Cupid's ways", seeking to

expose the psychological foundations of sentimental chastity as he does so. Bruno would have considered this task unworthy, as to him the 'love-sickness' of men and the ploys of mistresses were equally grotesque and irrelevant:

Che spettacolo, o Dio buono! piú vile ed ignobile può
presentarsi ad un occhio di terso sentimento, che un
uomo cogitabundo, afflitto, tomentato, triste...(e)
maninconioso.⁴⁴

There could certainly be no finer "uomo maninconioso"^{on} than Greville in love-poetry, his bitterness and pessimism in affairs of the heart lead him to vituperate on all aspects of that love which Bruno disdained as "bruto e sporco",⁴⁵ but which the English poet more positively defined as "love in humble humour born"(LXVI). Where in Bruno could we find the attention to the details of human courtship that we find, for example, in Greville's sonnet XXII? :

I with whose colours Myra dressed her head,
I that wore posies of her own hands making,
I that mine own name in the chimneys read
By Myra finely wrought ere I was waking...

Despite the sometimes difficult obscurity of Greville's language (not made easier by tortuous and unmethodical syntactical construction), it is hard to sympathise with Yates' view that this constitutes an emblematic approach to conceits when confronted with such unambiguous descriptions of natural love. At times Greville is deeply entrenched in a much older poetic tradition than the contemporary revival of the "pretty boy" Cupid and the "ill-quartered coat" of Petrarch's paradoxes. In sonnets XXIII and L, for instance, we find an earthy, folk-like humour which recalls John Skelton and late-mediaeval bawdy lyrics. The simple misogyny of these sonnets is drawn from a different atmosphere to that of Bruno's monastic-Platonic loathing of woman as "una bottega..de quante sporcarie, tossichi e veneni abbia possuti produrre la nostra madrigna natura".⁴⁶ The first of Greville's sonnets deals with the "English Prophet", Merlin. This figure from folk-legend is yielded an insight into the deceits of women in love at an ironic funeral where a mourning 'father' is cause for amusement :

This man no part hath in the child he sorrows,
His father was the monk that sings before him...
True father's singing, supposed father's crying,
I think make women laugh that lie a-dying.

This harsh native wit is as remote from Bruno's sophisticated Neoplatonic conceits as could

be imagined, partaking instead of the Tudor morality tradition, or folk-tales. Sonnet L recalls the "learned bawdiness" of Skelton who was praised by Caxton for having written "not in rude and olde langage, but in polysshed and ornate termes craftly, as he that hath redde Vyrgylye, Ovyde and Tullye"⁴⁷, but was not averse to vulgarity and sexual innuendoes in his poetry. Skelton would certainly have appreciated Greville's scholarly joke at the expense of Ovid, where a nobleman's attempts at procuring the wife of a rustic (Scoggin) is likened to alms-giving and to the 'shower of gold' which marked Jove's appearance to Danae as recorded in the sixth book of the Metamorphosis :

(this lord) nobly pitying this poor woman's hap,
Gave alms both to relieve and to delight,
And made the golden shower fall on her lap.

With understated but mordant irony Greville attacks what he sees as the weakness and infidelity of woman's nature :

Scoggin his wife by chance mistook her bed;
Such chances oft befall poor women-kind...
This bed it was a lord's bed where she light...

The poem ends with the cuckold publicly humiliating his adulterous wife to the general merriment of his neighbours, recalling nothing so much as the brutal comedy of Chaucer's Miller's Tale, and obviously stemming from an oral tradition of humour.

It is hard to reconcile this with Brunian poetics, and it paints a sad picture for those hoping to find the influence which Yates speaks of. Even when Greville's poetry does share the same amorous vocabulary as Petrarch and Bruno, the wounds and stars and Classical allusions, there is still a sense of straightforward transaction, that his conceits are still a language of vulgar love and not suggesting a Platonic 'beyond', a deeper layer of meaning. Bruno's dialogue bristles with the latter sort of signification. Of an oak-tree he says "(Questa è) mia fe il ritratto vero"⁴⁸, of the moon he says "l'anima nostra...è significata per la luna"⁴⁹, the four winds are a "hieroglifico"⁵⁰ of his desire, a boy stranded in a tillerless boat is "il Tipo di mio mal forte"⁵¹. Bruno constantly stresses the symbolic function of his poetic language, as a variety of what George Chapman called the "dark conceit" or the "doctrinal and witty hieroglyphic"⁵². In Bruno the visual and material meaning is continually made to serve spiritual and metaphysical ones. Greville's conceits on the other hand, like Sidney's, never seem to rise (or aspire) any higher than the human heart and the human mistress.

As in the case of Bruno and Sidney, there is no better way of beginning to assess the differences between Greville's love-poetry than to analyse their use of the central figure of Cupid. As with Sidney, there is no trace here of Bruno's "amoroso imperio di Cupidine superiore"⁵³. Greville's Cupid is the "naughty boy", the mischievous child of Ovid and the French Anacreontists, the "saeve puer" of the Amores,⁵⁴ who, as Ovid's Elegia says, is little related to the noble themes of Bruno's celestial Cupid: "Sum levis, et mecum levis est mea cura Cupido/non sum materia fortior ipsa mea."⁵⁵ The lightness and wit of Greville's Cupid, who totters on the brink of gravity and seriousness, is alien to the heavy baroque palette of Bruno's "tabelle". The unrelieved earnestness and mediterranean piety of the Eroici sonnets could not sustain the light-hearted, satirical dalliance of Greville's god without deflation; just as the plump cherubims of Bronzino would affront the earnest composure of an El Greco. Greville's god is ephemeral, "no god of years but hours"(XIII), a god who "covets change"(XX), a god of "wanton passion"(XXXV) and "dalliance and desire"(XXVIII) who blinds his victims with delusion and sin, forcing them to surrender "reason, memory and sense"(XXVII), he is, that is to say, Ficino's "cupidine vulgarem", not true love but "amoris abusen".⁵⁶

Bruno's god is superficially similar, starting life as the mischievous archer, inflaming the lover with fiery arrows:

Stral, fuoco e laccio di quel dio protervo,
che punse gli occhi, arse il cor, legò l'alma
E fé'ami a un punto cieco, amante e servo.⁵⁷

He sounds rather like the faithless god of Greville, "non si vede nune piú violento, non è dio piacevole, non agente piú traditore e finto"⁵⁸. But he soon becomes much more, revealing in Bruno's commentaries his deeper meanings. He is the primordial god of Plato's Symposium⁵⁹ ("L'amor precede tutti gli altri dei"⁶⁰), he is also an expression of the Platonic 'All-soul' or $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\eta\tilde{\alpha}\nu\tilde{\alpha}\mu\tilde{\alpha}$,⁶¹ a moving-principle of the universe similar to that "comunità d'amore" of the Dialoghi d'Amore of Leone Ebreo, "un spirito vivificante che penetra tutto il mondo, ed è uno legame che unisce tutto l'universo"⁶²

l'amor sia tutto e faccia tutto; e de lui si possa dir tutto e tutto possa attribuirsi a lui..il suo alloggiamento è [nell']anima...il suo letto è l'istesso core, e consiste nella composizione de nostra sustanza, nel χ appulso de nostre potenze..ogni cosa naturalmente appete il bello e buono.⁶³

Bruno's arrow-firing, blinding god is not false eros (σκαλιος ἔρως) but the true eros (ἔρως), with the power to give men the transforming blindness of spiritual vision:

(L'Amor è) quel dio che dal cieco volgo è stimato insano e
cieco, il quale per mercé e favor del cielo è potente di
trasformalo come in quell'altra natura alla quale aspira⁶⁴

The blindness caused by the "dio protervo" of the poem above is interpreted by the interlocuters (Severino and Minutolo), as the overwhelming of the intellect by the transcendence of its object: "cossí avviene a chi vede Giove in maestà che perde la vita", the "ria pugna"⁶⁵ of Love's arrow is the engrammatic permanency of the divine image which blots out (or persists over) the inferior images of the material world in the lover's mind:

Indi deriva la formazione ed impressione del proprio
vestigio, sopra il quale altro non è che possa essere
impresso o sigillato.⁶⁶

There is no such transformation of the Cupid figure in Greville, whose deity is unmistakably the σκαλιος ἔρως, "of man's wand'ring thoughts the restless being"(X) a "godhead which but lives to move"(XLI), a "wanton" who, "naked and for vagabonding noted", clouds the judgement of man and "makes reason wish that reason were forgotten"(XII). The early poems manipulate the Cupid figure in a light, humourous way, and approach the opposition of spiritual and carnal desires with a levity which would have alienated Bruno:

When I am thinking how to keep him under,
He plays and dallies with every toy;
With pretty stealths he makes me laugh and wonder.(XXVI)

Cupid, my pretty boy, leave off thy crying...
Did reason say that boys must be restrained?
What was it? Tell, hath cruel honour chidden? (XXV)

The 'bound' or 'injured' Cupid which we found was mutual in Bruno and Sidney, recurs again in Greville, but in a form nearer to that of Sidney's Astrophel than to the Eroici. As in Sidney, the figure of Cupid is none other than sexual libido, fooled by the "bewitching eyes" of a frozen lady. Sidney's Cupid sought the "ease and warmth"⁶⁷ of sensuality, Greville's seeks the "miracles of pleasure" dancing in Myra's beauty (XXVII). While Bruno's Cupid fires the "doppio strale" of Truth and Goodness, causing the furioso's soul to be inflamed by "le piaghe de vita eterna",⁶⁸ Greville's Cupid uses the same firearms as Sidney's "firebrands", which burn with the flames of sexual love, and threaten the chastity of the beloved

...thou offeredst me her heart,
Thy bow and arrows, if I would conspire
To ruin honour, with whose frozen art
She tyrannized thy kingdom of desire. (XXVII)

Greville's Cupid of Desire is "bound for honour's sacrifice", in Bruno the bound Cupid symbolizes the furioso's inability to betray his love for Godhead once he is enflamed, he is trapped forever in the prison of his love for divine beauty :

è impossibile che uno possa voltarsi ad amar altra
cosa, quando una volta ha compreso nel concetto la
bellezza divina..cossí ristrette son le penne che
soleano esser fugaci.⁶⁹

Greville's Cupid denudes him of "reason, memory and sense", Bruno's 'opens' the understanding of the wounded lover, piercing with his arrow "la porta della potenza intelletiva".⁷⁰

The "mystical reflections" which Greville ironically describes Cupid working in his soul are the 'Circean enchantments' of lust which Bruno condemns. Greville's complaint to Cupid : "wilt thou now../Feather all thy shafts with fear?", is no more than a complaint against his inability to achieve a purely sexual fulfillment.

Again in sonnet XXXV, Cupid is caught in his beloved's cruel heart, Greville taking the role of cajoling parent to his tearful "little boy", who has received a beating from Myra's "modesty and truth". "Cupid, my little boy, come home again!" he exhorts, to which Cupid replies "Alas I cannot sir; I am made lame". His "right wing of wanton passion" has shrivelled in the cold of Myra's virtue, and he has "lost all hope to scape away". Again Cupid is antagonistic to that chaste spirituality which characterizes Bruno's deity. Greville also extends the motif into criticism of Myra's manipulation of her lovers, a flirtatious prisoner of men's hearts, who, having stolen Greville's 'boy', uses her arts to lure others to the same fate, "I yet take pleasure to 'tice hither youth", says Cupid, "that my schoolfellows plagued as well as I/May not make merry when they hear mercy". This cruel mistress is totally dissimilar to Bruno's "grazioso nemico", who becomes "unico ed intiero possessore e disponitor de l'anima"⁷¹, she is merely an exploiter of man's sexual desires. In sonnet XXXVII Greville re-iterates this point expansively. In the first few stanzas he weaves a little fable in which the "pretty boy" Cupid deceives a thief, using the thief's own selfish and material desires to trick him. This fable is then further developed in relation to Greville's love for Myra, in which the "little lad" tempts Greville with "Myra's stealing eyes", in which he becomes "fast bound and prisoned". Again he represents lust frustrated by virtue. Cupid's bow, Virtue insists, "hiding her beauties do counterfeits show". Cupid entices Greville to "conquer" Virtue with "passion's

art", promising him "Beauty and pleasure free, joy without pain". Greville selfishly ("not for pity, but hope of the prize"), like the thief, accedes to his own downfall through Cupid's confidence trick. Greville is 'furious' in love, but it is a purely sexual 'fury', and he laments, rather than champions, the triumph of chastity, "I and delight are odd; Myra says 'no'.../Love is not his that raves; hope is untrue". There seems little hope here of finding a parallel to Bruno's 'superior Cupid' in Greville's sequence, and any hopes initiated by the appearance of two Cupids in sonnet LXX are soon quashed. In this poem Greville consciously presents as an emblematic or symbolic statement of his state of mind a mythological tableau ("Caelica, this image figures forth my heart"), yet it in no way resembles the style of Bruno's emblematism, seeking through the "figure" of Eros and Anteros, not to champion a spiritual love, but to lament his lack of success in his worldly love for Caelica. In his tableau Cupid "pines", the gods are counselled for a cure. Apollo asserts the truism of the *trattatisti d'amore* that love "is a relative/whose being only must in others be". So Eros is provided with a "mate with whom to play". The outcome of this is a mutual and consummated love, "Love straight enjoyed and pined no more away". Greville would have been aware of the treatments of the Eros/Anteros theme in any of a number of Italian mythological manuals available to Elizabethan readers, but he significantly chooses to ignore Anteros' identification with Plato's (and Bruno's) higher Cupid. Vincenzo Cartari, for example, in his *Imagini dei Dei degli Antichi* (1556), fuses Eros and Anteros with the Charioteer myth from Plato's *Phaedrus*⁷², and the mythological swans which draw Venus' chariot as can be seen by comparing the two illustrations below (see Fig.2).⁷³ In the first, one of the insets shows the two Cupids, Eros and Anteros (the "fratelli e figliuoli di Venere") drawing their mother's chariot, Eros holding the lyre which designates him as the celestial Cupid (the lyre representing the divine harmony underlying the universal design); in the second, which is an expansion of the same motif, here Eros is the sighted, Celestial Cupid and Anteros the vulgar, blindfold Cupid, as before both "Amorini" are astride Venus' swans. This Platonic 'two loves' distinction is continued by Cartari in the text

Percioché noi amiamo in due modi, bene quando alle cose buone applichiamo l'animo, male quando seguitiamo quello che è rio. Et come questo si dimanda amore dishonesto e brutto, così quello è detto bello e honesto. Alcuni vogliono che di questi due nati di Venere uno solamente sia Amore... e l'altro si dimandi Anterote...⁷⁴



Fig.2 - From V.Cartari, Imagini dei Dei degli Antichi (Venice 1647)

Instead of highlighting the Platonic interpretation of Eros and Anteros, Greville follows the more terrestrial interpretation which Cartari gives it, "l'intesi l'uno per l'amare, l'altro per il riamare, ovvero l'amor reciprico"⁷⁵. Greville's Anteros is merely an idealized partner who is able to return his love, no exploitation is made of the second brother to make any philosophical claims about the nature of love. The purpose of the poem is merely to accentuate the fact that Caelica has betrayed his love and not returned it. Cupid in his tableau is fulfilled, he meanwhile, is left to pine in vain :

My love that lacks her play-fellow in you,
Seeks up and down, but blinded cannot see.
The boy hath stolen your thoughts some other way,
Where wantonlike they do with many play.

This attack on Caelica's promiscuity places Greville at a point distant from Bruno, and nearer to that of those French and Italian sonneteers who used the conventions of Petrarchism not to seek divine love, but to explore conventionally the vagaries of a human one. Scholars such as Mario Praz would have us look toward France and Italy for the origins of the Elizabethan Cupid, to the sophisticated, punning concettismo of Serafino, Tebaldeo and their French imitators, and they are, moreover, not a little convincing. Certainly a comparison of Cupid in Bruno, Sidney and Greville shows that the English poets drew little or nothing from Bruno's deity.⁷⁶

Just as Greville's Cupid differs from Bruno's in its sensual and physical orientation, so too does his employment of the familiar Petrarchan conventions of wounds, icy fires, living deaths and the "felice morire" of the moth dying in the flame of love. Bruno's wounds, we remember, are not those of the earthly Cupid. In Bruno's sonnets the wound always signifies a wounding of the soul similar to that found in Solomon (Cant. IV, ix), "le piaghe che sono per segno nel corpo, ed in sustanza o in essenza nell'anima"⁷⁷. They are blows struck by the "guerriero irato" of his Godhead, the "freccie de Diana o di Febo"⁷⁸, sent to open the inner eyes of the furioso. Greville's wounds are those of Petrarch, a "colpo mortale"⁷⁹ or "fatal wound"(II) which binds reason to its "servant humour". Bruno's wounds are delightful suffering "dolce dardi/Dolce..piaghi"⁸⁰, Greville's reflect the despair and anguish of human love, "uncured wounds/where joy and peace do issue out/And only pain abounds"(LXXXIV), destroying the "soul's peaceful innocence"(II) and leading it to "anguish". So too with the 'icy fire' which Greville uses in one of Petrarch's amorous configurations :

His heat in her chaste coldness so confoundeth,
 As he that burns must freeze, who trusts must fear,
 Ill-quartered coats which yet all lovers bear. (XV)

Here is the familiar opposition of the lover's fiery ardour and the lady's chaste rebuttal, which is the foundation of numerous paradoxes in the Canzoniere, "Ite, caldi sospiri, al freddo core/rompete il ghiaccio che pietà contende"⁸¹. Greville's flames are "heats of lust"(XI) the ice is the chaste virtue of his beloved. The conceits refer to sexual transaction. Not so in Bruno, where the icy fire motif is made to serve an argument on the difficulties faced by the furioso when his intellectual passion to perceive the truth of Godhead can cloud his understanding. Thus in his sonnet 'La beltà che per gli occhi scorse al core', Bruno's blind man warns :

...datemi piazza, o gente;
 Guarda-tevi dal mio foco cuocente;
 Che se contagion di quel v'assale,
 Crederete che inverno
 Sia ritrovars'al fuoco de l'inferno.⁸²

This Bruno interprets in his commentary as follows :

La settima, contenuta allegoricamente nel sentimento del settimo cieco, deriva dal fuoco dell'affezione, onde alcuni si fanno impotenti ed inabili ad apprendere il vero, con far che l'affetto precorra a l'intelletto.⁸³

Just as one who is burnt could not tell at the height of pain the difference between fire and snow, so the furioso overwhelmed by his passionate intellect, finds it hard to distinguish the truth, to tell "fiamme infernali" from "fredde neve"⁸⁴. Both poets deal with the paradoxical extremes of human emotions, but where Greville speaks of the "ill-quartered coat" of "all lovers", Bruno narrows his signification to the revelation of Godhead granted to few.

Bruno also adapts the Petrarchan commonplace of the 'living death' to his philosophical purposes. To Petrarch it belongs to the extremities of the lover's plight, his passionate suffering, "O viva morte, o diletto male.../(Io) tremo a mezzo stato, ardo il verno"⁸⁵. In Bruno's sonnet 'Ahi qual condizion, natura o sorte' the phrase "In viva morte, morta vita vivo" is interpreted as the oscillation of the soul between its spiritual and material components :

Non è morto, perché vive ne l'oggetto; non è vivo, perché è morto in se stesso..È altissimo per l'aspirazione dell'eroico desio che trapassa di gran lunga gli suoi termini...è bassissimo

per la violenza fattagli dal contrario sensuale che
verso l'inferno impiomba.⁸⁶

Bruno's shepherd in the pastoral 'Pastor, che vuoi? Che fai?' complains "non m'ha per suo vita, né morte"⁸⁷. The furioso sees the reality of Godhead as the only real 'life', and because the material part of his soul impedes his union with that reality he is forever only half alive, and consequently half dead. This brilliant adaptation of a commonplace of amorous casuistry is to be contrasted with Greville's usage, which merely replicates it without alteration, as in sonnet XII, where Greville says of Cupid "to Myra's heart he flieth/where living to the world to me he dieth". Or in LX, where he says "who leaves himself, you say, doth living die". This motif of the migrating heart is another conceit which Praz identifies with the influence of Serafino,⁸⁸ and again it is hard to see any connection between Bruno's usage and Greville's passing reference to it.

Petrarch's Rime 19 which compares the self-destructive nature of love to a moth flying into a candle-flame, "col desio folle che spera/gioir forse nel foco, perché splende"⁸⁹, is taken up by Greville and Bruno in their sequences. In Bruno's sonnets 'Sopra de nubi, a l'eminente loco' and 'Mai fia che de l'amor io mi lamente', accompanied by the emblem of '[la] mosca che vola circa la fiamma e sta quasi per bruggiarsi'⁹⁰, the Petrarchan conceit is taken as an image of the furioso's voluntary surrender to a Godhead whose presence would obliterate him, a fortunate death similar to the mors oculi of the cabbalists :

S'il mio destin fatale china un poco,
A fin ch'intenda l'alta grazia il vampo,
In cui mi muoio, e non si sdegne o adire,
O felice mia pena e mio morire!⁹¹

Just as Petrarch contrasts the "desio folle" of the insect with the fully conscious self-destruction of the lover ("so ben ch'io vo dietro a quel che m'arde"), so Bruno contrasts the fate of the insect and that of the divine lover :

Qua nella figura mostra la similitudine che ha il furioso
con la farfalla affetta verso la sua luce; ne gli carmi
poi mostra piú differenza e dissimilitudine che altro :
essendo che comunente si crede che se quella mosca prevedesse
la sua ruina, non tanto ora séguita la luce..ma a costui non
men piace svanir nelle fiamme de l'amoroso ardore, che
essere abstratto a contemplar la beltà di quel raro splendore.⁹²

Bruno makes precisely the same point earlier in the dialogue, in the sonnet 'Se la farfalla', "Se la farfalla al suo splendor ameno/Vola, non sa ch'è fiamma al fin discara"⁹³.

And again he contrasts this with the "sensatissimo e pur troppo oculato furore"⁹⁴ of the divine lover. Greville's use of the fire and the fly motif sees lovers more pessimistically (as befits his Calvinist temper) as precisely like the insect, with no control over their destiny, and unaware of the harm they are doing themselves :

Caelica...
 You to whom all passions pray,
 Like poor flies that to the fire
 Where they burn themselves, aspire,
 You, in whose worth men do joy,
 That hope never to enjoy..(LXXVI)

Again Greville's conceit owes little to the Eroici , and makes no attempt to transpose the literary language of Petrarch onto a symbolic or 'emblematic' plane.

The picture which has emerged of Greville so far is one of a poet even more disinclined than Sidney to indulge in an idealizing of woman as an index of divine beauty, a man with a great distaste for Neoplatonic love and its intrusions into human relationships, and yet late in the Caelica sequence we can trace a definite shift away from human love, and a glimpse upward toward a better, higher reality, just as we saw at the close of Astrophel and Stella, many of the motifs of which it shares and sympathetically echoes. But more than this, the sequence moves onward from its conclusions concerning human love and the nature of God, to proceed to a new breed of sonnet ideologically remote from the earlier love-sonnets.

The earliest indication of this look toward God and away from woman comes in sonnet LXII (although it is implicit in some of the pessimism concerning love and man's fallen nature in sonnets XLII and XLVIII), where he announces: "who worships Cupid doth adore a boy../ Who seeks true glory must look to the sky". Already his language is reminiscent of the Puritan attacks on "Ethnickes" and their "Cupide Lord" with which we began this chapter, although of course, a poet of Greville's talents deals with the subject far more sensitively than the ephemeral broadsides handed out in Elizabethan streets. In sonnet LXXI Love addresses the poet and begs him :

Let me no longer follow womankind,
 Where change doth use all shapes of tyranny;
 And I no more will stir this earthly dust,
 Wherein I lose my name to talk on lust.

He would rather cleave, he pleads, to "knowledge, honour, fame or honesty". Already there

is a resolve to transcend his ill-starred love-affairs, the promiscuous lovers who have betrayed his constancy and thus tyrannized him. It is a resolve hardened by a gloomy view of humanity, "Only our griefs in constant moulds are cast" (XLII), he says, "hope is untrue"(XXXVII). Like fate, he says, Myra "never varies, / Yet in her eyes the doom of all change carries"(VII). The idea begins to ferment in sonnet LXXXV, 'Farewell, sweet boy, complain not of my truth', in which he bids adieu to the "wanton visions" of his youth in an embittered farewell : "But Cupid, now farewell, I will go play me / With thoughts that please me less and less betray me". This leads into a pair of powerful affirmations of a new conception of love in sonnets LXXXVI and LXXXVII, which pick up the refrain of Sidney's 'Desire' and 'Splendidis longum'. Just as Sidney exhorted himself to rise above the ephemeral welter of becoming and "Grow rich in that which never taketh rust", by means of an overcoming of desire ("Desiring nought but how to kill desire"), so Greville too seeks a "quintessence of passions overthrown / Raised above all that change of objects carry."

Sidney calls for a unifying, contemplative repose :

Draw in thy beams, and humble all thy might
To that sweet yoke where lasting freedoms be...
O take fast hold; let that [heavenly] light be thy guide.

Greville also seeks an inner peace which results from the all-embracing notion of love common to Pseudo-Dionysius, Dante, Ficino and Ebreo (as well as Bruno) :

Love is the peace whereto all thoughts do strive,
Done and begun with all our powers in one;
The first and last in us that is alive,
End of the good and therewith pleased alone. (LXXXVI)

The reference to the first and last implies that Greville sees this "End of the good" in an explicitly Christian framework, man's repose is in the alpha and omega of Christ's love, a principle unifying the powers of the soul. As in Sidney's sonnets, where the price for belief is a purgatorial experience of the "mangled mind" inflicted by earthly desires, so too Greville who reaches his "goddess of the mind" (a personification of "perfection's spirit", not really reminiscent of Bruno's goddess), by having

Passed through hope, desire, grief and fear,
[To] a simple goodness in the flesh refined
Which of the joys to come doth witness bear.

Again the language is strongly Protestant tinged, "the flesh" is intended in the broadened sense of man's fallen, worldly existence, the promise of heaven's "joys to come", dominates

his conception of a higher love. This love is abstracted (or "refined") out of the predominantly painful turmoils of human love until only simple goodness remains. Unlike ordinary loves this quintessential passion is constant, "because it sees no cause to vary", having as its sole object the end of all goodness, God, "A nature by no other nature known" (recalling that "pura e semplice diletatione" of Malipiero which is "invariabile"⁹⁵).

The following sonnet (LXXXVII) continues to preach a divine passion in a Calvinist setting : "Oh man, forsake thyself, to heaven turn thee; / Her flames enlighten nature, never burn thee." Man's soul is enflamed by heaven, but this passion illuminates rather than destroys the reason. The destruction of the animal passions is likened to natural disasters : "earth with thunder torn, with fire blasted / With waters drowned with windy palsy shaken". It is not the fault of God, however, but of man's disobedience :

Man torn with love, with inward furies blasted,
Drowned with despair, with fleshly lustings shaken
Cannot for this with heaven be distasted,
Love, fury, lustings out of man are taken.

Greville preaches a brand of Stoic meditation : "Then, man, endure thyself, these clouds will vanish". Through contemplation, endurance, and turning to heaven, man can transcend his fallen condition and achieve a tolerant repose. This is a far cry from Bruno's more radical asceticism which, through a methodically applied and regulated passion for God, can render the furioso "changed into a god". Bruno's road is stonier than Sidney's or Greville's. There is no inner peace or stoic repose for him, but only ceaseless turbulence, a sweet but hateful torment of a soul trapped between its spiritual and material components :

Per amaro diletto e dolce pena
Impiombò al centro, e vers' il ciel m'appiglio;
Necessità mi tien, bontà mi mena.

"Cercando gioia", Bruno says, "afflizzion mi reco"⁹⁶. Sidney and Greville's love for God gives them respite and healing of desire's wounds, Bruno's love gives him spiritual wounds which pierce more painfully than those of the body. The divine passions of Greville, Sidney and Bruno differ in another respect also. The English poets make no reference to an ordered contemplation of nature, one which seeks to know and reveal what Bruno calls the "occolta harmonica" of the universe, the "edificio eccellentissimo ed ornatissimo" which "pasce L'intelletto umano"⁹⁷ and offers man the means of his own redemption. Where Bruno utilises

the figure of Cupid and the torments of the Petrarchan lover to serve as an image-repertoire for his higher love, Greville and Sidney use them only while describing the "hope, desire, grief and fear" of human relationships, and shed them for those poems which deal with their spiritual, Christian love. The traditional Christian framework of Greville's higher love is reinforced by the sonnet immediately following the pair we have just examined, sonnet LXXXVIII, which is a memento mori verse recognisably in the same tradition as the mediaeval drama of Everyman :

Whenas man's life, the light of human lust,
 In socket of his earthly lanthorn burns
 Then fond desires that only fear their end,
 Do vainly wish for life but to amend...
 Where time doth end and thoughts accuse the dead...
 Then living men ask how he left his breath,
 That while he lived never thought of death.⁹⁸

Greville continues the theme of the evil of human desires as part of Christian eschatology, with the 'sin' of desires punished at judgement-day, "that eternal glass / Where time doth end".

This peccatorial view of desire, leading to overcoming and redemption, is set out most forcefully in sonnet XCVII, which appears to be one of Greville's last attempts at confronting his history of unhappy passions with his theological beliefs. Sidney presented us more humbly with what he called the "map of my state", Greville here attempts a wider canvas, creating for man the "True map of his mortality", charting his progress through earthly love, his fall and afflictions, and his consequent search for grace in Christ, a higher love more deserving of loyalty and trust. What we have, in effect, in the course of a single poem, is a reflection of the drama enacted by Sidney's whole sequence. In his youth man is tyrannized by love, held in thrall by "sense's idoll"(LV), that region where "sense, desire and wit" overthrow reason and install pleasure as "a goddess fit" (here again is an echo of early protestant reactions against love-poetry, recalling John Hall's claim that the poets made Venus, "the strompet vyle", into a "goddess dere"). Venereal love is again linked to idolatry and sin, Venus being "like an idoll apparelled.../ In all the glories of opinion's art". The glory of desire dissolves before "perfect knowing", it is a transient beauty and one which brings much attendant suffering: "Making that torment which before was play / Those dews to kindle which did quench the fire". Greville makes his final judgement here on virtuous or Platonic love : it is ultimately earthly, he says, and no more worthy

than lust itself, "Now honour's image, now again like lust / But earthly still and end repenting must". The "fair-appearing light" of the beloved burns the "satyr-like" lover with her "scorching power", enflaming him with "fiery apparitions" and reducing him to a "confused sphere" where "many passions reign". The "vice" of human love is torn hither and thither by the impermanence of Becoming, it is a "restless infinite" because infinitely disappointed. Greville then brings the issue into the sharpest moral and theological focus, it is man's lapsed state, he suggests, the state of the Flesh, with its "many moulds of change and will" which are the cause of this uncertain and sorry state. When man perceives this, when he sees the "hypocrisies of frail humanity", he sees the need for grace and disdains earthly values, his "many idols are at once defaced", in short, he repents :

Fal'n nature by the streams of vanity,
Forced up to call for grace above her placed;
Whence from the depth of fatal desolation,
Springs up the height of his regeneration.

Grace "wars" in man against "woe and lust that dazzle and intrall", and helps him to seek peace, the "seed of grace in dead flesh sown", guided by Christ's "clear star / Figure of sabbath's rest". In this poem the linguistic orientation is clearly toward Protestant, and particularly Calvinist, rhetoric, which Greville brings vitally alive, sharpening and strengthening in verse the energy of the broadsheet idiom. It is slightly incongruous, but oddly fitting that he should end this very important poem with a flurry of Petrarchan motifs. He begins the last stanza with the more conventionally Protestant appeal to colloquial, homely metaphor and biblical allusion :

Flesh [is] but the top which only whips make go,
The steel whose rust is by afflictions worn,
The dust which good men from their feet must throw.

But then ends the sequence with some familiar Petrarchan language :

[Flesh is] a living dead thing till it be new born,
A phoenix-like life that from self-ruin grows...
A boat to which the world itself is sea,
Wherein the mind fails on her fatal way.

It is, as we shall see later, a Petrarchan flare before its ultimate extinction in favour of an exclusively gospelic or biblical language, a last dalliance with the Italian tastes of his youth. As with Sidney's final Astrophel sonnets, we have a sense that Greville here approaches only the gates of Bruno's domain. A higher love enters the stage of his poetry,

but only in an exterior sense, conceptually or discursively. It does not, as in the Eroici, seek to enter into the skin of Petrarchan love and use desire as a homology for spiritual desire. In stanza 65 of Of Religion Greville sees faith as "a wooinge and... marriage ringe", but this idea derives from patristic sources which view the relationship between Christ and the believer's soul as one of love or 'espousal' (Origen's view of the Song of Songs as an epithalamium for instance). If anything, the abyss separating Greville's orthodox Calvinism and Bruno's idiosyncratic occultism asserts itself in the language difference, Greville turning more toward the Bible as he manages to disengage himself from the Platonic 'beloved-as-paragon' ideal which haunted his youth, and leaves behind also his subtle psychologies of promiscuity, betrayal and disappointment.

For Sidney and Greville, the issue of chastity and the overcoming of desires is not an issue by any means inherited from Bruno's philosophy, but was a basic Christian concern with the 'ways of the flesh', and as such part of their upbringing. It was also part of the potent Neoplatonic imagery fostered in the court of Elizabeth I, the "Virgin Queen". In one of the public spectacles in which this pervasive symbolism was enshrined, Sidney and Greville played key roles in a drama concerning the overcoming of the passions :

On the day when, in the chivalrous entertainment in honour of the Duke of Anjou, the Four Foster Children of Desire stormed the Fortress of Perfect Beauty, Sidney and Greville were two of the four, and Greville's gilded armour, the tawny tafetta of his pages and trumpeters, were equal in splendour to the blue and golden armour and velvet and feathers of Sir Philip and his train.⁹⁹

Yates' analysis of the chastity symbolism in Elizabeth's court, in chivalrous entertainment,¹⁰⁰ poetry and portraiture is unsurpassed, and brilliantly untangles the political implications of her identification with Virgo and Astraea (amongst a host of other denominations) and the string of meanings pertaining to her public and private 'chastity', lauded by Shakespeare as "a most unspotted lily".¹⁰¹ That this public symbolism of chastity should find private expression in the sequences of Greville and Sidney is hardly surprising (Sidney actually makes reference to the chivalrous tournaments of Elizabeth in sonnets XLI and LIII of Astrophel). As I suggested earlier there is also some evidence of influence from earlier Italian sources in this debate of desire and chastity, the rime of Guinzelli, Dante and Petrarch (whose Trionfi were a source of Elizabeth's virgin symbolism), who asserted "Combattea in me co la pietà il desire".¹⁰² The increasingly influential :

revival of Platonism in the academie of Europe and the nostalgic revival of the chivalric code must also have brought to the fore the chaste ideals of the amour courtois and earlier French poetic traditions.

The necessity of virtuous and non-concupiscent courtship seems to have more than mere private meanings in Elizabethan society, it was part of a cultural imagery stretching from political propaganda and spectacles through actual love-affairs back to philosophy and poetry; chastity acting as both metaphor and actual sexual transaction (in the pre-marital courtship at least). For Greville, as for most Protestants, these issues also had distinct theological implications, and theology leads the sonnet in Caelica into a new and alien territory, estranged from the temper of both the Eroici and Sidney's Astrophel (although anticipated in Sidney's Apology). This new territory was increasingly religious and less and less Petrarchan. This further development of Greville's sonnet and its relation to the emergence of the 'divine sonnet' in the 1590s is something I would like to return to later. Firstly let us examine some of the other iconographic correspondences between Caelica and the Eroici.

In the examination of the concept of love in Greville and Bruno above, we found a divergence in their use of the mythological figure of Cupid or Amor. The two sequences have other classical deities in common, and the closeness or disparity of these employments need to be determined. The first of these mythological allusions, to the 'competition of the gods', is found also in Sidney's Astrophel XIII and Bruno's sonnet 'Venere, dea del terzo ciel'. Greville's treatment of this theme is to be found in Caelica LXII, although his line-up of deities differs both from Bruno's and Sidney's. Where Bruno has Paris judge the beauty of Juno, Venus and Minerva, and Sidney has Phoebus judge the beauty of Mars, Jove and Love, Greville is himself a judge over the rather more unlikely trio of Cupid, Mars and Mercury. Sidney and Bruno exalt the beauty of their beloved (Sidney's terrestrial, Bruno's divine), but Greville's comparison is aimed solely at criticising worldly concerns, and replacing them with a worthier deity, Jehovah. Cupid is slightly dismissed as merely "a boy", unworthy to be adored; human love is far too chaotic and untrustworthy to be exalted :

Boys' earnest are at first in their delight,
But for a new soon leave their dearest toy....

They cry to have and cry to cast away.

Martial glory is similarly disparaged as a mere mortal "idoll", another symptom of man's fallen nature : "man's lust is his [ie Mars'] sky". The fame it brings is far-reaching, but ephemeral. Eventually it must relinquish itself to "neighbours and succession", and is based on the suffering of others : "still of ruin and distress it sounds". The worldliness of Mercury is rather more ambiguous. It is uncertain whether Greville intends Mercury here as the god of writing or the god of medicine. Given the poem's echoes of Petrarch's attacks on worldly success, the former would seem more likely, as an attack on the poet's own fame as a writer of verse and drama. Whichever it is, Greville's "mercurists" are said to work "upon humours", and so "make others' skill and power their own", a sorry occupation which requires "long winters" of patient harvesting only to leave their work to the hands of others : "like the masons, whose art building well / Yet leaves the house for other men to dwell". The three activities which these deities represent are then disposed of concisely : "Mercury, Cupid, Mars, they be no gods / But human idolls set up by desire". Greville's stress on the term "idolls" (used also in sonnets LV and XCVII) sets his criticism in the Protestant mainstream, invoking the Biblical prohibition of idolatry as worship of anything which concerns the world of the flesh, of transient becoming and appearances. Instead he concludes in his final couplet, man must search for a higher glory than the virtues embodied by the pagan deities : "Who seeks their [the gods'] glories on the earth must pry / Who seeks true glory must look to the sky". Although sharing the same mythological motif of competing deities, the three poets all seek very different effects from it, and share only a desire to exalt or praise through a conventional medium. The amorousness of Sidney's poem, the Calvinist disgust with the world in Greville, and Bruno's mystical adulation of "la specie intelligibile della divina essenza"¹⁰³ : their literary paths seem here to diverge to a point of the loosest constellation, held together only by a fragile shared literary storehouse of metaphors and conceits.

Another mythological reference shared by all three sonnet-sequences is that of Jove's metamorphoses. While this Ovidian motif is merely one of the literary pretensions enumerated by Sidney in Astrophel VI, Greville, like Bruno, actually tries to incorporate Jove's transformations into the texture of his poetry, although for different reasons. The

changes mentioned by Greville in sonnets XXXIII and L are some of those laboriously catalogued in Bruno's 'Quel dio che scuote il folgore sonoro', taken from Book VI of Ovid's Metamorphosis and passed down by Renaissance mythographers like Cartari :

Giove...cangiava sovente in diverse forme per godere de
suoi amori; come quando si muto in toro bianco per portarsene
via Europa, in Aquila per rapir Ganimede, & per avere anco
Asteria; in pioggia d'oro per passare a Danae; in Cigno per
starsi con Leda....& in altri figure assai. ¹⁰⁴

Whereas Bruno takes Jove's various forms as a cosmological allegory, demonstrating how "le cose superiori s'inclinano all'inferiori, e le...cose inferiori s'inalzano alle superiori", ¹⁰⁵ Greville uses them ironically to express his distaste about a decidedly terrestrial love-affair. Thus in sonnet XXXIII, Greville is vituperating Myra's ambitious decision to court influential lovers in preference to himself ("You fix those fatal stars [her eyes] on fortune's skies"), while Cupid's "true servants" are held powerless "under fortune's ties". In this passage Jove is a metaphor for the rich and powerful lover, who compared to Greville is a high-flying deity :

Must Danae's lap be wet with golden showers,
Or through the seas must bulls Europa bear?
Must Leda only serve the higher powers?

Greville's other use of the same motif also uses the humorous comparison between wealth and power, and Jovian divinity. It is the sonnet of Scoggin's wife, Caelica L, which we quoted earlier, comparing Danae's "golden shower" to the procuratory "alms" of a none-too-altruistic Lord. Greville's uses of the metamorphosis theme in Caelica also extends to the more subtle, psychological realms which we associate with Petrarch's treatment of this theme in Rime 23, and the "sei visioni" of Rime 323, which deal with the "incomprehensible change-ability of the self in love". ¹⁰⁶ In Caelica XLII, Greville uses the Pelius and Thetis myth to represent the "travels of desire" :

From stone she turns again into cloud,
Where water still had more power than the fire,
And I poor Ixion to my Juno vowed
With thoughts to clip her, clipped my own desire;
For she was vanished, I held nothing fast,
But woes to come and joys already past.
This cloud straight makes a stream, in whose smooth face,
While I the image of myself did glass,
Thought shadows I for beauty did embrace
Till stream and all except the cold did pass.

The smooth dreamlike suddenness with which Greville blends the myths together in a re-enactment

of his own experience recalls those of Petrarch's 'Nel dolce tempo' :

...io mi stetti et mossi et corsi,
 com'ogni membro a l'anima risponde,
 diventar due radici sovra l'onde
 non di Peneo ma d'un più altero fiume,
 e 'n duo rami mutarsi ambe le braccia!
 Né meno ancor m'agghiaccia
 l'esser coverto poi di bianche piume
 allor che folminato et morto giacque
 il mio sperar che tropp'alto montava...
 io presi col suon color d'un cigno.¹⁰⁷

In both cases the experience of love is allegorised by the poet in terms of Classical myths. In Petrarch his overreaching hope is shot down like Phaeton by Jove's thunderbolts, leaving him to mourn like Cygnus, whereupon he is transformed into a laurel like Daphne, because the lover takes the form of his beloved (Laura = il lauro). In Greville the Narcissus myth is interpreted almost theologically as an image of the transience of worldly pleasures, and his own tragic disappointments in love : "Thus our delights like fair shapes in a glass / Though pleasing, to our senses cannot last". Greville's use of mythology stands more firmly in this tradition of psychologically integrating myth into experience, rather than the more strictly exegetical significations which Bruno employs. Greville's myths imply an emotional state, Bruno's imply a methodical explanation, albeit of a passionate experience of Godhead.

Take for example the figure of Ixion, which we encountered a moment ago in Greville's sonnet XLII, and which he employs again later in sonnet LXXXIV. Bruno's Ixion represents the torments of the furioso's soul trapped in its material form, "la materia...con quella misura ch'ama la forma absente, odia la presente"¹⁰⁸. Ixion was conventionally used as a type of the tormented lover (his torture was devised by Jove as a punishment for his attempted seduction of Hera), and Bruno uses him as such, albeit transposed onto the plane of spiritual love in his sonnet 'Ahi qual condizion, natura o sorte'. The heroic frenzy is said to differ from "furori piú bassi" not as vice differs from virtue "ma come un vizio ch'è in un soggetto piú divino o divinamente, da un vizio ch'è in un soggetto piú ferino, o ferinamente"¹⁰⁹. The divine furor is qualitatively different from baser loves, but shares some of their features in a homological way, it is a divine vice with divine torments :

...in mezzo di due scorrenti ruote,
 De quai qua l'una, là l'altra mi scuote,
 Qual Ixion convien mi fugga e siegua.¹¹⁰

Like the Petrarchan lover, the furioso tantalized by the elusive nature of the divine essence is tormented by "l'eccesso delle contrarietà", which Bruno casts in the traditional Petrarchan paradox: "triema nelle gelate speranze, arde negli cuocenti desiri".¹¹¹ The torments of Greville's lover pick up both these strands (Ixion and the icy fire), but to express the tortures of a more mundane love.:

My winter is within
Which withereth my joy;
...And my desires are wheels
Whereon my heart is borne,
With endless turning of themselves,
Still living to be torn. (LXXXIV)

Greville's theme here is a frustrated love for a real woman ("She ever must be my desire /
And never my relief").¹¹⁵ The cyclical torture of Ixion, a fitting metaphor for burning desires which enflame the lover despite the cold reality of the beloved's departure, play again turned to torment (cf XCVII above). In the earlier sonnet, XLII, Greville makes a more precisely appropriate use of the Ixion myth to express something about the nature of desire. Ixion is deceived by Jove into making love to a simulacrum of his desired Hera made out of a cloud.¹¹² This is used by Greville to express the inwardly directed, futile aim of desire deprived of its object :

...she turns again to cloud...
And I poor Ixion....
With thoughts to clip her, clipped my own desire
For she was vanished.

The fantasm of Hera is a perfect metaphor for the experience of the abandoned lover, and its appropriateness is typical of Greville's sensitive use of mythology to express his emotions.

Sometimes the very close personal identification of Greville with myth leaves the reader at something of a loss, the message is only tangentially relayed and we are left guessing as to its specific import. This is true, for instance, of Endymion in sonnet LXXV, a short, almost epigrammatic poem, a single octave of rhyming couplets (I am using 'sonnet' throughout in the non-specific, Elizabethan sense which applied equally to shorter and longer poems of a lyric inclination). The poem speaks of "Endymion's poor hap", which is "that while love sleeps the heavens kiss". Endymion was loved by Selene, the moon, who kissed him while he slept so as to avoid his too fertile passion. Greville seems to imply here that he, like Endymion, is condemned to "silent love", a passive, unrewarding status as beloved object. One can surmise that Myra/Selene is happy with this unconsummated affair.

Greville kicks out at the idea impatiently, this, he says, "is simple wooing / Even destiny would have us doing". He leaves us suggestively with an obscure reproach of Myra, "Myra leaves him and knows best / What shall become of all the rest". In the myth Endymion, as a result of Selene's surreptitious kiss, falls into a dreamless, unending sleep. One can only assume that Greville is intending us to see his plight as a sort of oblivion, unfulfilled love perhaps, which Myra knowingly and callously abandons him to. Greville's other reference to the Endymion myth plays upon the same situation, he is railing against Patience with regard to Myra's banishment of him from her affections; he only asks for an active role, a normal exchange of mutual affection :

Disperse the clouds that coffer up my treasure,
Awake Endymion with Diana's kiss,
And then, sweet patience, counsel me to measure!

Greville uses verse (and myth) to integrate and order the "commotion" of his feelings. Bruno's sole use of Endymion in no way resembles integrative, narrative approach to myth. It is only fair to point out that the inclusion of Endymion to the sonnet 'Quel ch'il mio cor aperto' is only an afterthought, one of the tornelli or refrains which he requires the reader to add to the printed version of the sonnets in Part Two, dialogue one.¹¹³ The allusion to the myth is as follows : "Costui or ch'av'affissi gli occhi al sole / Che fu rival d'Endimion, si duole"¹¹⁴. This is merely an allusion to his mythological expression of Godhead, which we will recall is Diana (the moon) in its immanent aspect,(the deum in rebus), and Apollo, or the sun, in its transcendent aspect. To call himself "rival d'Endimion" is merely to say he worships the vestiges of divinity in nature, that he is a natural philosopher. Again Bruno's poetry is soluble in purely conceptual terms, whereas Greville's requires assumptions about his emotional, affective experience.

I do not mean to imply by this that Bruno's transformation of mythology is in any way inferior to Greville's, this is far from the truth, as his intelligent use of the Actaeon motif demonstrates. Here we find a strong sense of identity between fable and his conceptual significations (the kind of confident allegorising which was facilitated by the optimistic assertions of mythographers that: "omnia philosophorum dogmata sub fabulis continebantur"¹¹⁵). Greville's use of the Actaeon motif is limited to the punning conceits of sonnet II, where his beloved is cast as a "Fair dog" who has run him to ground :

Fair dog which so my heart dost tear asunder
 That my life's blood my bowels overfloweth...
 Thou hast attained, thou gavst that fatal wound
 Which my soul's peaceful innocence hath rased,
 Kill therefore, in the end, and end my anguish
 Give me my death....
 Or if thou wilt I live, then pity pleadeth
 Help out of thee, since nature hath revealed,
 That with thy tongue thy bitings may be healed.

That Greville was adapting this hunting theme from Bruno is unlikely, ~~Firstly~~ because alternative sources abounded in Tudor and Elizabethan verse, often in the form of borrowings from Petrarch. Thomas Wyatt's 'Whoso list to hounte', for example, adapts into more basic amorous terms Petrarch's 'Una candida cerva' (Rime 190); Spenser's epigrams in the Theatre of Worldlings (1569) and 'Visions of Petrarch' in the Complaints volume (1591) made the pathetic image of Laura pursued by "duo veltri, un nero, un bianco" from Petrarch's Rime 323 freely available in English. The Actaeon scene from 'Nel dolce tempo' (lines 147-160), found early translation in popular collections: 'Sythe singyng gladdeth oft the hartes' in Tottel's Miscellany, and an imitation of this by the anonymous "FG" in the Paradyse of Dainty Devyses (1576).¹¹⁶ The idea of the lover as passive deer and his mistress as the cruel pursuer is also taken up by Robert Tofte's Laura (1597), "A gentle tame deere an I, cald a hart / The cruel huntresse fierce my mistress is".¹¹⁷ Added to this, falconry and the chase had a long tradition in English native poetry as amorous metaphors. Secondly, Bruno's own use of the Actaeon myth is very different in temper from the punning, flirtatious irony of Greville's sonnet. The pun on the hound's "tongue", which blends an appeal for kisses with a folk-remedy for dog bites gives it a rustic feel which would have been too coarse for Bruno's intellectual mythologies. It is impossible that we should understand the "fatal wound" of Greville's sonnet, or the "death" or "pity" for which he pleads as referring to anything other than a conventional amorous affair. He seeks real kisses, not Platonic metaphors.

Bruno's Actaeon is more complex, and in its way just as stimulating as Greville's involved personal mythologies. In his sonnet 'Alle selve i mastini e i veltri slaccia', Bruno's "giovan Atteon" becomes a subtle metaphor for the philosopher's mind in the process of apprehending the nature of Godhead:

...! gran cacciator [Actaeon] doverne caccia.

Il cervio ch'a piú folti
 Luoghi drizzav'i passi piú leggiéri,
 Ratto voráro i suoi gran cani e molti.
 I'allargo i miei pensieri
 ad altar preda, ed essi a me rivolti
 Morte mi dàn con morsi crudi e fieri. 118

In his commentary Bruno extrapolates on this poetic expression of his ideas :

Atteone significa l'intelletto intento alla caccia della divina sapienza, all'apprension della beltà divina.... l'intelletto apprende le cose intelligibilmente idest secondo il suo modo; e la volontà perseguita le cose naturalmente, cioè secondo la ragione con la quale sono in sé. Cossí Atteone con que' pensieri, quei cani che cercavano extra di sé il bene, la sapienza, la beltade, la fiera boscareccia, ed in quel modo che giunse alla presenza di quella, rapito fuor di sé da tanta bellezza, dovenne preda, veddesi convertito in quel che cercava; e s'accorse che de gli suoi cani, de gli suoi pensieri egli medesimo venea ad essere la bramata preda, perché già avendola contratta in sé, non era necessario di cercare fuor di sé la divinita. 119

It is worth quoting this at length to show what a burden of meaning Bruno required his short sonnets to convey. The strictness of this signification is evidenced by his explanation and attribution of even minor adjectival details. Thus we are told that the "mastini" and "veltri" of the poem signify "l'operazione del'intelletto" and "l'operazione della voluntade" respectively, and that the robes of Diana, which are "ostro, alabastro ed oro" signify "la divina vigorosa potenza", "la divina sapienza" and "la beltade divina" according to colour. Bruno carefully explains his transposition of Petrarchan categories of beauty : "Quello che in figura nella corporal bellezza è vermiglio, bianco e biondo, nella divinità significa l'ostro della divina vigorosa potenza...&c". The methodology which he pursues in the Eroici of divine signification of conceits, and in particular his use of each poem as a mnemonic sequence of images summarizing an argument or discourse rendered in prose is clearly in Bruno's mind in the opening of La Cena delle Ceneri, where the muse of his mnemonic science (or art), Mnemosine is linked with Petrarchan topoi ("biondi capelli, bianche guance, vermiglie gote....petti di smalto e cuori di diamante") as a kind of Petrarchan or courtly love 'damsel in distress', "rinchiusa nel tetro carcere", to be released by the contemplation of the philosopher-lover; an amorous metaphor for the apprehension of truth. Thus in his argument for the fourth dialogue of the Eroici, Bruno summarizes the poems under simplified headings or "articoli" :

In sette articoli del Quarto dialogo si contempla l'impeto
e vigor del'intelletto...ed il progresso de pensieri del
furioso....Là non è oscuro chi sia il cacciatore,
l'ucellatore, la fiera, gli cagnuoli, gli pulcini, la tana,
il nido, la rocca,[e] la preda.¹²⁴

The arguments are laid out here like so many rebuses or mnemonic loci, vivid images with which the reader is invited to associate specific philosophical points. Bruno's sole object in poetry is to "metter avanti a gli occhi ed orrecchie...eroici amori"¹²⁵, to reveal "il stato del furioso....per le antitesi, similitudini e comparazioni"¹²⁶ of Petrarchan poetry.

This seems to be the great gulf separating Greville's poetics and Bruno's, it is also the tactical difference in their use of mythology. For Bruno the classical gods are equated with, or symbolize, certain noetic or epistemological categories, his exegeses involve a precise determination of meanings and do not reverberate or accumulate⁴ multiple associations as Greville's emotional or sentimental transformations must. Bruno's poems are indeed "tabelle", hieratic tablets upon which his significations seem fixed and rigidly framed. Bruno's attitude to the gods is often one of fixed equivalences, as in this example from the Spaccio :

il senso, l'intelletto, la memoria, la concupiscibile,
l'irascibile, la sinderesi, l'elezione : facultadi significate
per Mercurio, Pallade, Diana, Cupido, Venere, Marte, Momo,
Giove ed altri numi.¹²⁷

In the Eroici we meet similar determinations. Diana is "il splendor di specie intelligibile"¹²⁸, Amphitrite is "il fonte de tutti numeri...che è la monade, vera essenza de l'essere de tutti"¹²⁹, and Apollo is the "luce assoluta per specie suprema ed eccellentissima"¹³⁰. When Bruno names a god in his poems we are to imagine (literally 'image') these fixed concepts, "ognuno intendere e definire come l'intendo e definisco io"¹³¹. Bruno draws on the Neoplatonic exegeses of pagan deities from the Italian mythological manuals or, following the example of Leone Ebreo, exerts his own metaphysics on less Platonic sources of mythological science to create a personal mythography.¹³² For Greville, mythology "figures forth...[the] heart"(LXX), it is an impulse toward creating a personal language, a storehouse of vivid pictures, a medium for translating his own problems and feelings into language, and not for the indulgence of metaphysical speculations : "For my own part, I found my creeping Genius more

fixed upon the Images of Life, than the Images of Wit."¹³³

The problem of comparing mythological allusion in Renaissance verse is the sheer magnitude of the available information on myth which poets could draw. Not only were the Italian mythological manuals beginning to reach Britain at this time,¹³⁴ but equivalents (albeit rather more phlegmatic than their continental forebears) were beginning to appear in English, such as Stephen Bateman's A Golden Booke of Leaden Gods (1577), and the rather later De Sapientia veterum liber (1609) of Francis Bacon. Ovid and Cicero formed a staple part of the English courtier's education, and Sidney and Greville were taught at Shrewsbury and Christ Church Oxford by some of the best Latin scholars of the time.¹³⁵ Ovid's Metamorphosis was also popular^P in Arthur Golding's translation of 1567,¹³⁶ and there were a host of 'moralized' Ovids available in Latin and French.¹³⁷ Added to this we must bear in mind quantities of Italian, French, and Neo-Latin poetry circulating in Europe which offered ready examples of personalized mythology to the polyglot courtier (Sidney, for example, is said to have composed verse, much of it now lost, in six languages, including Latin and Greek).¹³⁸ This variety of available discourse on myths is evidenced in Bruno and Greville's sometimes completely opposite interpretations of mythological figures. Vulcan for instance, is for Bruno the type of vulgar love :

l'amor volgare, il qual non è altro che la fucina di Vulcano,
quel fabro che forma i folgori de Giove che tormentano l'anime
delinquenti.

He is "la sordido e sporco consorte di Venere",¹³⁹ while Greville's sonnet LIII contrasts the "heavenly life which Vulcan led" to the adulterous bed of Mars and Venus. For the most part the treatments of mythology by Greville are at such variance with Bruno that there is little likelihood that he was writing under the influence of the Eroici Furori. One notable exception to this rule is the use to which the two poets put Luna/Cynthia. In sonnet LV Greville discourses on the seeming variance of the moon in its different phases and its actual sameness. The thrust of his argument is against the betrayal of man by mere sense perceptions, and his ignorance of higher realities :

Poor earth that dare presume to judge the sky!
Cynthia is ever round and never varies;
Shadows and distance do abuse the eye,
And in abused sense truth oft miscarries.

He sees this reliance on "abused sense" and false perceptions as a thing of "the people",

the vulgar masses, while he shatters "opinion's empire,[and] sense's empire", transcending the world of appearances to perceive the eternity of Being behind the "shadows" of becoming. Bruno is equally disdainful of the masses in his sonnet 'Luna inconstante, luna varia' in which he compares the full moon, which represents the "intelletto in atto [che]...sempre vede il suo oggetto [ie God] fermo, fisso e costante", through the incessant labour of meditation, to the more fickle moon of the "intelletto in potenza"¹⁴⁰, which is alienated from Godhead by the deceitful shadow of matter. But even this seemingly satisfactory correspondence of usage disguises a variance at a deeper level between the two poems. Greville's sonnet is playing on the analogy between his philosophical argument and his amorous affair. Coming as it does between sonnets LIII and LVI which both address his lover Cynthia (a purposeful reminiscence on Greville's part of the fickle lover of Propertius' lyrics?) on the subject of her variance in love and his abandonment, sonnet LV seems to be an assertion of Greville's belief in his beloved's loyalty and fidelity, and a refutation of the contrary belief held in "opinion's empire", or the gossiping court of Elizabeth. Never at any point is this analogy explicitly stated, and yet the force of the comparison is irresistible. It goes without saying that Bruno's sonnet bears no such hidden amorous significance. Added to this we find a greater philosophical depth in Bruno's poem, a specificity of concepts which is lacking in the surface philosophical debate of Greville's poem. There is no reference in Greville to the sun of "la intelligenza universale", there is also no identification between soul and moon as there is in Bruno, and no discussion of the Cusan coincidentia oppositorum which forms the kernel of Bruno's manipulation of the light/shadow opposition. Greville's poem also lacks the fiery asceticism of Bruno's meditations. Greville quietly contemplates in repose, Bruno's thought is tormented and burdensome :

La luna mia, per mia continua pena,
 Mai sempre è ferma....
 E' tale la mia stella,
 Che sempre mi si toglie e mai si rende,
 Che sempre tanto bruggia...
 Questa mia nobil face
 Sempre sí mi martora.¹⁴¹

Torment, burning and martyrdom afflict Bruno's love for God, but have no place in Greville's quiet, philosophical irony on a vulgar love.

Having comprehensively analysed the shared mythological motifs of the two sequences I shall go on to examine other mutual motifs which could possibly bear witness to a Brunian influence. The first of these is the motif of the furrowed face, a commonplace conceit of Italian and French lyrics. Greville takes the carpe diem theme of the beloved ageing, but does not wield it as a means to gain his lover's compliance, a threat exhorting her to hedonism, or to vaunt the immortality bestowed by the poet, a Renaissance theme best remembered by English readers from Shakespeare's sonnets. In sonnet VIII, Greville uses the motif to make a typically Calvinist observation on the perishable nature of worldly beauty and the relative brevity of man's sufferings caused by them. In a complex rhetorical pattern which consists of the enumeration and then reversal of the themes "Furrows, despairs, sighs, [and] tears", Greville contrasts the furrows of the face in grief "not worn by time but wheels of anguish" with the very real wrinkles left in his beloved's face, a mark which, unlike the temporary signs of grief, cannot be smoothed out. Mortality and the passing of time, Greville asserts, are facts more real than the ephemera of beauty and lovers' anguish :

Beauty whose scorching beams make wrinkles flourish;
Time hath made free of tears, sighs and despair,
Writing in furrows deep, 'she once was fair'.

There is in this quiet reflection on Time and old age, perhaps, a bitter streak, a vengeful hitting-out at his now aged lover. Sonnet XIX is a gently humorous piece about an ageing court dowager called Cala by Greville, whose "furrowed face" now prevents her from the "flat homage" she once paid love. Greville makes a sympathetic plea to Cupid to find her a suitable partner for her autumn years : "Good archers ever have two bows at least / With beauty faded shoot the elder sort". In sonnet LXI, rejecting the belated pleas of Caelica that "she ever loved only me" after her "unkindness" and "broken vows", Greville is not slow to remind his lover of her altered appearance : "I see in thy once beloved brows / The heavy marks of constant love". The word 'constant' here must be ironic given the context (a reference to persistent promiscuity rather than fidelity), and he goes on to liken her to a dead tree, sneeringly bidding her "Put thou thy horns on others' heads". Greville uses this common theme to reflect a series of very personal emotions : the stoic repose of the afflicted soul in maturity, empathy with an old courtesan, and bitterness at an old lover attempting to fan life into dead love. Bruno's use of the furrowed face motif, like

Petrarch's, refers to the poet's own face rather than the beloved's,¹⁴³ and represents a very particular philosophical meaning. The conceit appears in the seventh sonnet of the second part of the *Eroici* : "Per man d'amor scritto veder potreste / Nel volto mio l'istoria de mie pene"¹⁴⁴. Greville's "wheels of anguish" remind us of Bruno's "pene", but the suffering is of a different order, as Bruno's commentary explains :

Qua il volto in cui riluce l'istoria de sue pene, è l'anima, in quanto che è esposta alla recepcion de doni superiori, al riguardo de quali è in potenza ed attitudine, senza compimento di perfezione ed atto, il qual aspetta la ruggiada divina. ¹⁴⁵
Onde ben fu detto : 'Anima mea sicut terra sine aqua tibi'.

Greville's face is an actual face, distorted in anguish, Bruno's represents the soul "without water" of Psalm 142. The "pene" are the sufferings caused by the thirst for the divine dew of union with God. Again we find the clash of poetry which must be interpreted "per segno" (the "emblematic conceit"), and that which is merely figurative.

Returning to Greville's sonnet LXI again for a moment, we find his use of the phoenix motif which is present in both Petrarch and Bruno. For Petrarch Laura is the phoenix, a fantastic bird which is the image of her uniqueness and transcendent beauty :

né dal lito vermiglio a l'onde caspe
ne 'n ciel né 'n terra è più d'una fenice.¹⁴⁶

Una strana fenice, ambedue l'ale
di porpora vestita e 'l capo d'oro,
vedendo per la selva altera et sola,
veder forma celeste ed immortale
prima pensai, fin ch'a lo svelto alloro
giunse ed al fonte che la terra invola.¹⁴⁷

Bruno too regards the phoenix as a "forma celeste ed immortale", but his phoenix, not subject to the transience of worldly love, does not disappear like Petrarch's (which "'n un punto disperse"). Bruno's phoenix is the *furioso's* soul, enflamed like Petrarch's fateful moth, but doomed, or privileged, to burn forever :

Sia chiar o fosco il ciel, fredd'o ardente,
Sempr'un sarò ver l'unica fenice.
Mal può disfar altro destin o sorte ¹⁴⁸
Quel nodo che non può sciórre la morte.

Before "la beltà di quel raro splendore" the *furioso* is "unico con la fenice unica", and does not, like the human lover, "muta con la luna"¹⁴⁹. Bruno exploits the phoenix in a more complex way in the sonnet 'Unico augel del sol', which contrasts the destinies of the lover

and the phoenix :

....vaga Fenice
 Ch'appareggi col mondo gli anni tui,
 Quai colmi ne l'Arabia felice,
 Tu sei chi fuste, io son quel che non fui.
 Io per caldo d'amor muoio infelice;
 Ma te ravviv'il sol co'raggi sui.
 Tu bruggi 'n un, ed io in ogni loco;
 Io da Cupido, hai tu da Febo il foco.¹⁵⁰

This opposition is interpreted by the interlocuter Tansillo as "la differenza ch'è tra l'intelletto inferiore....e l'intelletto superiore"¹⁵¹. That is to say the emblem

significata la natura dell'apprensione ed appetito vario, vago, inconstante ed incerto del senso e del concetto ed appetito definito, fermo e stabile de l'intelligenza; [e] la differenza de l'amor sensuale che non ha certezza né discrezion de oggetti, da l'amor intelletivo, il qual ha mira ad un certo e solo, a cui si volta.¹⁵²

For Greville the phoenix signifies the very opposite of Bruno's "amor intelletivo", and shares instead the characteristics of his inferior potency :

...love is of the phoenix kind
 And burns itself in self-made fire,
 To breed still new birds in the mind
 From ashes of the old desire;
 And hath his wings from constancy,
 As mountains called of moving be. (LXI)

It shares little in common with Petrarch's "fenice de l'aurata piuma" of Rime 185 either, relying little on the fantastic-transcendent elements of the phoenix image, but concentrating instead on its generation of "self-made fire" as an image of the consuming fire of passion. Whereas uniqueness characterises the phoenixes of Petrarch and Bruno, Greville's mind unleashes a profusion of "new birds", a domesticated, humbled form of phoenix, as a symbol of sensual love. When the phoenix briefly re-appears later in sonnet XCVII, it is transformed into the traditional Christian emblem of resurrection and redemption. The soul, Greville says, is "A living-dead thing till it be new born / A phoenix-life that from self-ruin grows"¹⁵³.

The use of climatological metaphor which marked a high point of similarity between Bruno's and Sidney's sequences also re-appears in Greville's Caelica, in the same pair of sun-centred conceits, the immovable zenith and the tropic/pole contrast. These metaphors follow naturally from the conventional Petrarchan (and dolce stil nuovo) identification

of the beloved with the sun, as giver of life and light, as in Rime 144 :

Né così bello il sol giamai levarsi
 quando 'l ciel fosse più de nebbia scarco...
 in quanti fiammeggiando trasformarsi
 nel dì ch'io presi l'amoroso incarco....
 ...ogni altra vista oscura
 da indi in qua m'incominciò apparere.¹⁵⁴

The zenith, or meridian, of the three poets each deals with a different form of amorous experience. The zenith of Bruno's sonnet 'Partesi da la stanza il contadino' signifies the continuous bombardment of the furioso by the enflaming rays of the divine beauty, or the intelligible species of the universe ("le raggioni con la quali la divina beltade e bontade si manifesta a noi"¹⁵⁵). The universe is eternally present to the contemplating mind and so eternally enflames it :

Questi focosi rai,
 Ch'escon da que' doi archi del mio sole,
 De l'alma mia....
 Da l'orizzonte non si parton mai,
 Bruggiand' a tutte l'ore
 Dal suo meridian l'afflittito core.¹⁵⁶

The zenith of Sidney's Astrophel XLII is the solar gaze of the beloved on the poet; the poet yearns for total consummation in his passion, an ecstatic, infinite extension of the beloved's presence in which he forsees a kind of Platonic death caused by Stella's "majesty of sacred lights". Greville's zenith, although closer to Sidney's in that it concerns an actual woman, and not Godhead, is of a different nature :

Who grace for zenith had,
 From which no shadow grows,
 Who hath seen joy of all his hopes
 And end of all his woe,
 Whose love beloved hath been,
 The crown of his desire....
 If from this heavenly state
 Which souls with souls unites,
 He be fal'n down into the dark
 Despaired war of sprites;
 Let him lament with me. (LXXXIV)

Here Greville blends the zenith motif with one of his characteristic ⁹lapsarian metaphors. The endless noon of his beloved's "grace" signifies mutual love ("love beloved") which he yearned for in the Anteros myth of sonnet LXX, a paradisaal state from which the rejected lover falls, like Satan or Adam, into a hell of despair. Although this love is a "heavenly state", it is an earthly bliss compared to the zenith of Bruno's sonnet and lacks even the

ecstatic dimension of Sidney's sonnet and its "sacred lights". Greville typically weaves the initial themes of light and shadow, bliss and fall, into the continuing texture of this long poem (nearly two hundred lines), enriching and re-iterating the motifs in subtle ways :

In paradise I once
 Did live and taste the tree
 Which shadowed was from all the world
 In joy to shadow me....
 My soul both black with shadow is,
 And overburnt with heat....
 My saint hath turned away her face,
 And made that heaven my hell! ...
 Exiled from lovely bliss....
 And as in shadows of curst death.

Greville's use of the motif differs then, in the more specifically Christian framework in which he uses it, creating a parable of man's "forlorn estate" in a tale of love and rejection, opening the way for the transcendent visions of Christian love in sonnets LXXXV and LXXXVI.

Greville's use of the tropics motif is more strictly comparable to Sidney's usage in Astrophel VII, where tropical climate signifies the "lively heats" of sensual love, and northern climes the "frozen clips" of chastity. In Greville's sonnet LVI, where the star-struck persona of the poem is left frustrated after raising his temperature by his lady's bedside, this same figurative language prevails :

Cynthia who did naked lie
 Runs away like silver streams...
 Thus stand I, like arctic pole,
 Where Sol passeth o'er the line,
 Mourning my benighted soul,
 Which so loseth light divine.

His loss of "light divine" here is an ironic reference to a more physical disappointment on a "bed of play", as is reinforced by the pragmatic amorous advice of the poem's last four lines. The "arctic pole" and "the line" (or equator) signify consummation and abstinence from the "lively heats" as in Sidney, and has none of the Platonic symbolism we find in Bruno's 'Quando declin'il sol'. The same motif finds even more precise articulation in Greville's sonnet XI, where the equivalence of equinox and lust is more explicit :

Juno...
 Knew while the boy in equinoctial tarried,
 His heats would rob the heaven of heavenly treasure;

Beyond the tropics she the boy doth banish,
 Where smokes must warm before his fire do blaze....
 For women's hearts far colder are there than ice,
 When once the fire of lust they have received.

A certain similarity in phraseology can be detected also between Greville's sonnet XXIX, where he declares "Experience of my youth / Thus makes me think the truth / In desert born", and a passage from the Eroici where Bruno refers to "Diana...cioè [la] dea de gli deserti della contemplazione de la Veritade"¹⁵⁷. This similarity is in all probability merely coincidental. The equation of the desert and truth was a Christian commonplace : the hermitage of African saints, the Jews in exile, and even Christ in the wilderness all could have provided the background of this remark, and Greville certainly doesn't develop the idea in a way that shows he had Bruno's phrase in mind.

Both Bruno and Greville deal with the traditional issue of the absence and presence of the beloved and its effect on the lover. Whether love diminishes with absence, and whether this can be used to cure the 'disease' of love was a favourite theme of the Italian trattati d'amore. Petrarch himself, in the Secretum cites the advice of Ovid's De Remediis Amoris on this subject, although in his case the "tenacissimus unas" which bound his soul to the love of Laura condemned him to a perpetual martyrdom in absence : "Fuge enim, sed malum meum ubique circumfrens"¹⁵⁸. Dante, too, deals with the effects of presence and absence on the lover in his Vita Nuova :

Dico che quando ella apparia da parte alcuna, per la speranza de la mirabile salute nullo nemico mi rimanea, anzi mi giugnea una fiamma di caritade....poi che la mia beatitudine mi fue negata mi giunse tanto dolore, che, partito me da le genti, in solinga parte andai a bagnare la terra d'amarissime lagrime.¹⁵⁹

Sidney gave full rein to this theme in Astrophel and Stella, particularly in the broken sequence LXXXVIII, LXXXIX, XCI and CVI. And it is here, I think, that we can trace much of the impetus for Greville's poem on presence and absence, sonnet XLV. Compare these lines from Greville :

Absence, like dainty clouds
 On glorious bright,
 Nature's weak senses shrouds with haming light....

Absence is free.
 Thoughts do in absence venture
 On Cupid's shadowed centre;
 They wink and see.

And these from Sidney's Astrophel LXXXVIII :

Tush, Absence! While thy mists eclipse that light,
My orphan sense flies to the inward sight,
Where memory sets forth the beams of love,
That where before heart loved and eyes did see
In heart both sight and love now coupled be.^{16b}

The two poets are obviously sharing imagery, as can be seen from a multitude of such cross-fertilisations in Caelica and Astrophel,¹⁶¹ but doing so in a creative and independent way. Often Greville's retorts to Sidney's poems are aggressive and antagonistic (one cannot help thinking of Sidney in Greville's sonnet LVI where he criticises idealizing lovers who "In the stars go seek [their]...fate"). In the case of Caelica XLV and Astrophel LXXXVIII the difference is only one of perspective, Greville's poem is discursive and abstract, Sidney's poem dramatizes a psychological situation, a coming-to-terms with promiscuous temptations while absent from Stella. Although Greville's poem is more reflective or philosophical, it is still tied to the conventional amorous situation of a man separated from a woman. The poem takes the form of an argument in favour of absence, an argument which proves to be ironic, as the poet concludes ultimately that absence is an evil rather than a good. The first four stanzas each carry one main argument in its favour. The first sees absence as "the noble truce / Of Cupid's war", a protection from "prodigal affection". The second sees absence as a seedbed for a constant love, and a deterrent from base passion :

Of wounds which presence makes
With beauty's shot,
Absence the anguish slakes,
But healeth not....
She cherisheth the spirits
Where constancy inherits
And passions mourn.

The second sees absence as a chance for liberating fantasy, for imagining the consummation painfully denied in actuality :

Presence plagues minds and senses
With modesty's defences;
Absence is free
Thoughts do in absence venture
On Cupid's shadowed centre.

The final stanza destroys these comforting illusions :

The absence which you glory,
Is that which makes you sorry,
And burn in vain;

For thought is not the weapon
 Wherewith thought's ease men cheapen;
 Absence is pain.

The brutal common sense of the last lines is made all the more plangent by the preceding web of sophisms. Like Dante's "tanto dolore" and Petrarch's "letali harundo", Greville's pain is the suffering of the human heart separated from its human object. That Greville's affection and desire concern a lover is undoubted, "Cupid's shadowed centre" is the mysterious, confused world of sensual love, and no Platonic mystery. Bruno's exploitation of the absence/presence theme is, of course, quite otherwise.

Bruno's poems involve a spiritualization of the amorous experience, so for him the experience of pain and jealousy at the lover's absence becomes a figurative expression of the furioso's meditative experience of the nature of God : "ogni amante, ch'è disunito e separato de la cosa amata...si crucia"¹⁶². Whether the "cosa amata" is a woman or "la divinitade", in both cases it is desire which is "privo di quella frizione...al qual tende"¹⁶³. But the special characteristic of the furioso's love is its absolute incapability of consummation. While the human lover can hope that he will be united with his absent lover again, the divine lover knows that he can never unite with Godhead in this life, his fate "Uccid'in speme e fa viv'in desio"¹⁶⁴. The heroic lover undergoes an "amoroso martire"¹⁶⁵, Tantalus-like he thirsts for the "ruggiada divina"¹⁶⁶ but is constantly denied : "L'Amore mi mostra il paradiso, il toglie via"¹⁶⁷. For Bruno "gelosia" is the pain of deprivation of the divine presence, unlike Greville's jealousy which is the more familiar emotion, "Jealousy of rival's grace"(LXXVI). While the presence of Greville's lover wounds him with "beauty's shot", and stirs corporeal desires, Bruno's darts cause "le piaghe de vita eterna" which "batteno sempre alla porta de l'intelligenza"¹⁶⁸, the rays of divine beauty which stir an intellectual desire. Just as Greville's absence slaked the "anguish" of not possessing the object, yet "healeth not" the desire, so too, ⁱⁿ the furioso :

gli occhi imprimeno...nell'intelligenza, suscitano nella
 volontà un infinito tormento di suave amore; dove non è pena,
 perché non s'abbia quel che si desidera, ma è felicità, perché
 sempre vi si trova quel si cerca; ed in tanto non vi è sazietà,
 per quanto sempre s'abbia appetito.¹⁶⁹

The paradox of the soul which "concepe la luce...per quanto s'estende l'orizzonte della sua capacità"¹⁷⁰, and so is perpetually barred from true union with the divine nature is

endowed by Bruno in verse with some of that pathos which Petrarch displays in his yearning for his dead lover :

Ahi dispietata Morte, ahi crudel vita!
 l'una m'`a posta in doglia
 et mie speranze acerbamente `a spente;
 l'altra mi tèn qua giù contra mia voglia,
 et lei che se n'è gita
 Seguir non posso, ch'ella no 'l consente.
 Ma pur ogni or presente 171
 nel mezzo del mio cor Madonna siede.

Occhi miei, d'acqui sempre mai pregnant
 Quando fia che del raggio visuale
 La scintilla se spicche fuor de tanti
 E sí densi ripari, e vegna tale,
 Che possa riveder que'lumi santi,
 Che fûr principio del mio dolce male? 172
 Lasso! credo che sia al tutto estinta.

While not endowed with the more universal appeal of Petrarch's plight, Bruno's poem adapts his philosophy well to the passionate, pathetic lament of the unfulfilled Petrarchan lover, founding his verse as he does on the assumption of the analogy between love of God and the highest kind of love between human beings.

Both Greville and Bruno also make use of cyclical visions of history in their poetry, although from radically different sources. Greville's sonnet LXIX mingles Christian eschatology and the classical idea of the revolution of the ages from gold down to bronze and back to gold, and adds to this the judicial (Christ-like) figure of Astraea who returns to earth to demand "heavenly justice". Greville follows up this cosmic-apocalyptic vision ("the very seas do burn / Glory grows dark, the sun becomes a night"), which mingles in a hint of the Platonic year (Greville sees history set "in a circle" rather than the linear conception of orthodox Christian theology), with an application of this cyclical idea first to his immediate society, and then to his own personal dilemma :

When love doth change his seat from heart to heart,
 And worth about the wheel of fortune goes,
 Grace is diseased, desert seems overthwart....
 My age of joy is past, of woe begun...
 The wheel is turned, I hold the lowest place.

Bruno's sonnet 'Quel ch'il mio cor aperto e ascoso tiene' shows us quite a different use of the wheel motif. The poem is designed to accompany an emblem depicting "la ruota del tempo...che si muove circa il centro proprio",¹⁷³ and the paradoxical motto "manens moveor".

Here Bruno combines the mathematical geometry of his purely mnemonic works (here a meditation

imposed upon the physical-mathematical notions of "moto orbicolare" and "motto retto"¹⁷⁴) with verse extrapolations on the theme in Petrarchan "antitesi e similitudini", two visual languages (the emblem and the "picture language" of the poetic conceits) to express the same truth. The poem elaborates the psychic state signified by the emblem, just as Alciati elaborated his emblems with snatches of his own Latin verse :

Quando penso suttrarmi da le pene,
Speme sustienmi, altrui rigor mi lassa;
Amor m'inalza, e riverenz'abbassa,
Allor ch'aspiro a l'alt' e sommo bene.¹⁷⁵

Bruno uses the inevitable rising and falling of the wheel's felloes as a metaphor of the dynamic equilibrium which the soul achieves between its material and spiritual impulses :

il continuo moto d'una parte suppone e mena seco il moto
del tutto, di maniera che dal ributtar le parti anteriori
sia conseguente il tirar de le parti posteriori; cossí
(nella anima) il motivo de le parti superiori resulta
necessariamente nell'inferiori, e dal poggiar d'una
potenza opposita séguita l'abbassar de l'altra opposita.¹⁷⁶

This use of the wheel motif is part of a pervasive wheel symbolism in the Dialoghi Italiani, based on a cosmology which Bruno draws principally from the Asclepius of Hermes Trismegistus (along with other Alexandrine and Italian sources), which sees time, the soul and the material universe as a constant cycle of vicissitudes, constantly degenerating and regenerating (as in the classical succession of ages): "la rivoluzione è vicissitudinale e sempiterna; e che tutto quel medesimo che ascende, ha da ricalar a basso; come si vede in tutti gli elementi e cose che sono nella superficie, grembo e ventre de la natura"¹⁷⁷.

Bruno combines all these personal, apocalyptic and cosmological elements in the first sonnet of the second part, where he discusses the "forza di vicissitudine" at work in the universe, and the imminent apocalypse of the "anno grande del mondo", citing "quel profetico lamento ad Asclepio"¹⁷⁸ as his source. In the Spaccio Bruno quotes the work at length, announcing the coming of the Hermetic "renovazione de le tutte cose", when God will "[fichiam] il mondo all'antico volto", back to the blessed state of Egyptian antiquity, to the "religioso cultore della divinitade"¹⁷⁹. In the Eroici he gives poetic and emblematic expression to this epic vision of time in the figure (appropriately "tolta dall'antiquità de gli Egizii"¹⁸⁰) of Serapis, the subject of the sonnet 'Un alan, un leon, un can'. This figure, dispersed in Renaissance mythologies from the Hiero-

glyphica of Horapollo,¹⁸¹ becomes in Bruno a symbol of epochal degeneration, and of "la testa d'un furioso amante"¹⁸². In Bruno's cosmology, history, the material world, and the individual soul intersect, they are all expressions of (or consubstantial with) the universe's "occolta armonica", the order and disposition of nature's form. Elsewhere we find mention of wheels of various kinds, reflecting this cosmological belief, for the furioso seeks his enlightenment first "nella ruota delle specie naturali"¹⁸³. In Bruno's 'Quel dio che scuote il folgore sonoro' the "conversione e vicissitudine" of the cosmos is "figurata nella ruota delle metamorfosi"¹⁸⁴ which transform Jove into the images of beasts. In the final dialogue Bruno gives us a sestina which is sung by the "illuminati" in "ordine di ruota",¹⁸⁵ a cyclical form where the last line of the poem replicates the first, and each stanza begins with the last line of the preceding one. This poem's form echoes the subject-matter, which is again the great vicissitudes of the cosmos :

Supprime gli eminenti e inalza i bassi
 Chi l'infinite machini sustenta,
 E con veloce, mediocre o lenta
 Vertigine dispensa
 In questa mole immensa
 Quant'occolto si rende e aperto stassi.¹⁸⁶

The figure of the wheel is deeply imprinted in Bruno's philosophy, even down to his preference in mnemonics for the Lullist wheel as a device for distributing images around a central motif (each fellow holding a device, calligraphic, mythological or geometrical), as in these diagrams from the De Unbris Idearum (see Fig.3).¹⁸⁷ From this it emerges that Bruno's idea of the "wheel of time" metaphor is far more radical and systematically deployed than is Greville's, and develops from a very different ideological soil. Greville's "wheel of fortune" is still, in a sense, mediaeval.¹⁸⁸ There is no metaphysical rigour in Greville's application of it, although his poem does give us a descent from the epochal to the personal, the intersection of the three worlds is not precisely asserted; Greville seeks only the suggestive personal metaphor focussed from the universe at large, a peccatorial, lapsarian sense of fallen nature mingling with the self-pity of a disastrous love-affair. Lovers betray each other, Greville suggests, because they are imperfect vessels, blighted with original sin. For him the wheel is a pessimistic, melancholy image of his private pain, and it is his emotional life that is the foreground of the poem, a lifetime

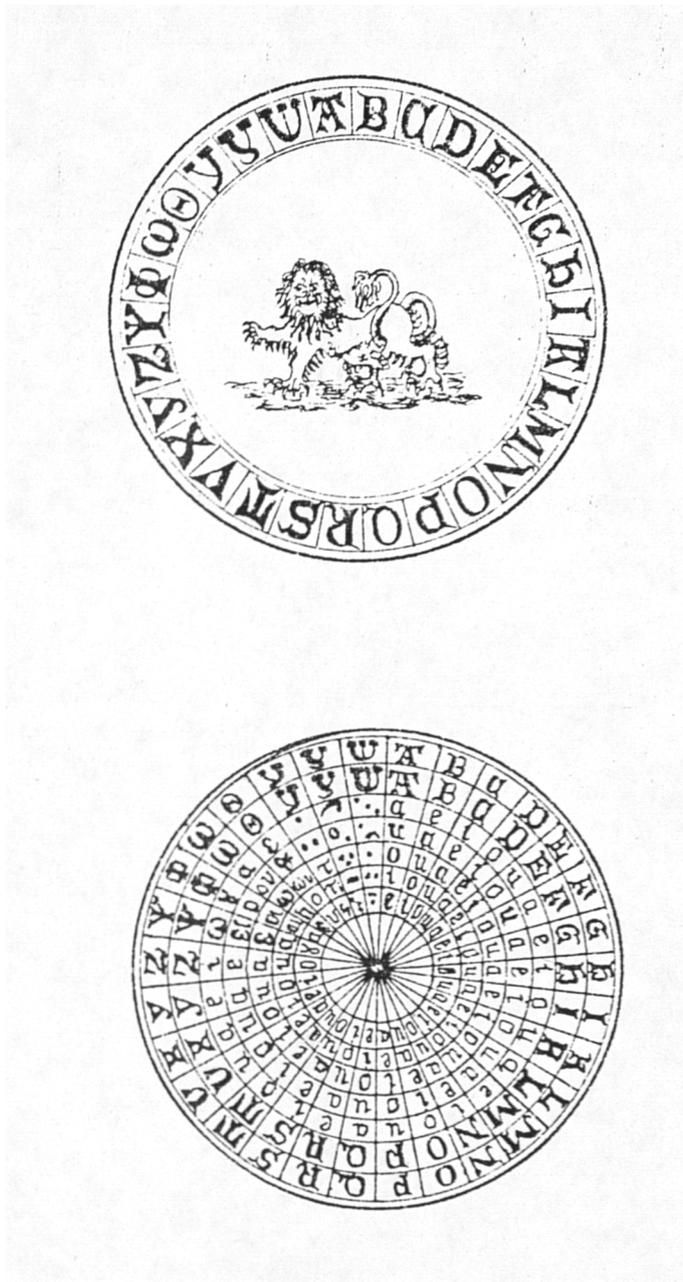


Fig.3 ~ Lullian Wheels from De Umbris Idearum (1581)

of failures in amorous affairs :

Chance then gives law, desire must be wise
And look more ways than one, or lose her eyes....

What can be good to me since my love is,
To do me harm, content to do amiss?

Bruno's laments are metaphysical and Asclepian, Greville's, paradoxically, both Calvinist and amorous, there can be little common ground between them.

This antagonism between Bruno and Greville's world views is made clearer when we compare the most metaphysical (or at least cosmological) poem of Caelica, sonnet VII, to the ideas which Bruno maintains. This sonnet of Greville's has been a source of suggestion to those searching for Bruno's influence in his poetry, and this is due mostly to the initial hint of animism : "The world that all contains, is ever moving", and yet it quickly demonstrates glaring contradictions with Brunian cosmology. Greville's poem is entrenched firmly in the Ptolemaic model of the universe which Bruno despised :

Questo mondo, tolto secondo l'imaginazione de stolti
matematici, ed accettato da non più saggi fisici, tra
quali gli Peripatetici son più vani...[e] prima diviso
come in tante sfere, e poi distinto in circa quarant'otto
imagini (nelle quali intendono primamente partito un cielo
ottavo, stellifero, detto da' volgari 'firmamento')¹⁸⁹

In Cena delle Ceneri, we are given Bruno's account of a supper in the company of Greville and other courtiers and scholars, where he explains, in great detail, how the Ptolemaic system is a "sogno e...[una] fantasia"¹⁹⁰ (although significantly he says in this reputedly Copernican work that "il Nolano...non vedea per gli occhi di Copernico, né di Ptolomeo, ma per i proprii"¹⁹¹). Greville's stars, however, move "within their spheres", and his earth "stands still" while the sun moves round it ("With Phoebus' wand'ring course the earth is graced"). Greville's world may be "ever moving", yet it is not in the Brunian sense of cosmic metabolism:"quel spirto si trova in tutte le cose, le quali, se non sono animali, sono animate"¹⁹², but rather in the more conventional climatological and seasonal sense, with no sense of the radical divinity of matter which haunted Bruno's theology. Greville's matter is rather the lumpen earth of the Protestant, echoing the Book of Common Prayer : "Man made out of earth and from whom earth is made / Still dying lives and living ever dieth"¹⁹³. Certain elements of Greville's cosmology find analogues in Bruno, but only in so far as they both share elements of Aristotelian physics (in Bruno Platonized and distorted

Erratum (p218, eighth line from bottom).

The quotation from Petrarch should end "..opra d'aragna / vede"

to his own purposes, often through the mediation of Arabic commentators). Thus Greville speaks of the fluctuations of matter : "Nature the queen of change to change is loving / And form to matter new is still adjourned", and Bruno speaks in similar terms of change : "le formi esteriori solo si cangiano e si annullano ancora, perché non sono cose ma de le cose, non sono sustanze, ma de le sustanze sono accidenti e circonstanze"¹⁹⁴, but both can be traced back to the Aristotelian differentiation of "incidental attribute" and "real nature", form and essence, as discussed in the Physica II, 193 A-B. That Greville is working from an Aristotelian basis is suggested by the line "place is not bound to things within it placed" which recalls Aristotle's discussion of topos in Physica IV, 211A-212A, "Place is no part of the thing...[but] can be left behind by the thing and is separable". Likewise we could look at the lines in Greville's poem : "The fire up ascends and planets feedeth / The water passeth on and all lets weareth", and compare them to these lines from the Eroici : "la materia convertita in foco / Acquista il moto di lieve elemento / E [se ne] sale a l'eminente loco"¹⁹⁵, or this from the Causa : "il principio materiale de le cose è l'acqua...l'intelletto efficiente...li dava virtù procreatrice, e da quelle produceva le specie naturali"¹⁹⁶. And yet these ideas do not imply a certain attribution of influence, as they were commonplaces of Greek and Arabic philosophy. More importantly, the ends to which Bruno and Greville apply these cosmological ideas differ substantially. Greville's sonnet VII is steeped in orthodox Christian pessimism, depicting the flux of the fallen world, where "Each creature in unconstant mother lieth", and man is condemned to the living death of the flesh. Like Petrarch, Greville is forever trying to prove that "quant' al mondo si tesse opra d'aragna"¹⁹⁷. The vessel of man is frail, and so likewise is the nature of love, which, while holding out the promise of Edenic constancy is fated to concur with the "queen of change" and disappoint : "like fate sweet Myra never varies / Yet in her eyes the doom of all change carries". The moral and theological world of Greville is sombre, passive and pessimistic, Bruno's is passionate, active and optimistic. Bruno's "religion della mente"¹⁹⁸ enables man to become godlike, to take a hand in his own redemption by actively ordering his soul to conform to the structure of the universe. Bruno's attitude to cosmology reflects this, his universe is alive "un gran spacio e campo" peopled by living planets, "ethera, cioè corridori, corrieri"¹⁹⁹. Greville's is merely changing, a negative, fatalistic

value which makes man into an object acted upon by forces. In addition to this, Greville makes his cosmology focus on his amorous life, using theology as a microscope to analyse the disappointments of love. Bruno by contrast, uses amorous discourse as a vehicle for theology.

This fundamental difference in outlook is manifested if we look below the surface similarity of Greville's and Bruno's ideas about the limitations of human knowledge. Greville's sonnet LXVI and, more expansively, his long poem the Treatie of Human Learning give expression to a peculiarly Calvinist critique of man's pursuit of knowledge, seeing reason as being blighted by original sin, mirroring the frailty of man himself and the vanity of his "apparitions" : "What are Mens' lives, but labyrinths of error / Shops of deceit, and Seas of misery?"²⁰⁰ While Sidney had trouble reconciling his pursuit of knowledge and his love for Stella,²⁰¹ Greville's *Caelica* proves no such distraction, but is seen (in sonnet LXVI) actively urging him to study, to "delight...[his] mind with books", which she sees, optimistically, as :

The glass where art doth to posterity
Show nature naked unto him that looks,
Enriching us, shortening the ways of wit,
Which with experience else dear buyeth it.

But Greville proceeds to demolish this suggestion from his beloved. "Books", he begins, "be of men, men but in clouds do see, / Of whose embracements centaurs gotten be". This characteristic metaphor of Greville's blends Classical and Christian elements together. The birth of Centaurus from Ixion's coupling with the cloud-simulacrum of Hera (afterwards called Nephelè) is likened to the distorted knowledge which man has "in a glass darkly", the Centaur being a precise symbol of man's soul trapped between material (bestial) and spiritual (human) qualities, blighted, as Greville sees it, by sin. The knowledge which is drawn from books is imperfect and distorted, Centauran. Against this Greville postulates a recourse to nature philosophy, or at least to the 'book of nature' :

I have for books, above my head the skies,
Under me earth, about me air and sea,
The truth for light, and reason for my eyes.

This knowledge is "More lively far than...dead books or arts" (Bruno too valorized the truth deduced from nature : "Altro è giocare con la geometria, altro è verificare con la natura"²⁰²).

This reliance on Nature is again expounded in Greville's drama, as in this chorus from his Mustapha :

Man should make much of life, as Nature's table,
Wherein she writes the Cypher of her glorie.
Forsake not Nature, nor misunderstand her :
Her mysteries are read without Faith's eyesight :
She speaketh in our flesh; and from our senses,
Delivers down her wisdoms to our Reason....²⁰³
She...[never] promised any man, by dying, ioy.

This definition draws out the dissimilarities between Greville's "Cypher" of Nature and the vestiges of Bruno's Diana. In Greville's eyes Bruno had misunderstood nature, overvalued what she offers, for Greville her traces and vestiges "speaketh in our flesh", and are abstracted by the sin-blighted faculty of reason. This knowledge does not have the value of knowledge which is gleaned from "Faith's eyesight" and so cannot promise man joy in the after-life. Bruno, however, dispenses with the need for Christ the redeemer, whose passion is scorned as a "tragedia caballistica". For Bruno Nature or Diana is the furioso's means of redemption, the sole source of the "acqui salutifere di ripurgazione", she is the "potente ad aprir ogni sigillo"²⁰⁴, the key to the mysteries of Apollo, the transcendent godhead. Bruno's nature is bound to faith, Greville's only to natural reason.

Greville's praise of nature is reminiscent of Sidney's critique of "wordish Philosophie" in the Apology.²⁰⁵ Like Sidney, he is suspicious of verbal knowledge, of Nephele the book who spawns illusion and superstition. He is also dubious of moral philosophy which "at second hand deliver[s] forth / Of few men's heads strange rules for all men's worth". Ethics provides "False antidotes for vicious ignorance". Both "causes" and "cure" of vice are to be found "within", and Greville suggests the kind of spiritual reform which Bruno spoke of in his Spaccio della bestia Trionfante, although the means to achieving this reform are not necessarily the same.

Greville stresses the need to "set straight...[the] inward sprite" so that the affections "May follow reason, not confound her light.../ When the heart and eyes' light grow pure together". To achieve this happy situation man must make himself pure, for if he is not then "All is made crooked" in the spirit's "inward moulds". This is very close to Bruno's ideal of purifying contemplation. The Spaccio and the Eroici constitute the enactment of this purgation in different ways. The Spaccio presents us with an exotic model of the psyche, "il spacio del signifero"²⁰⁶, a heaven haunted by gods and beasts which

undergoes a revolution signifying the reform of the soul :

un repentito Giove, ch'avea colmo di tante bestie, come
di tanti vizii, il cielo, secondo la forma di quarant'otto
famose imagini; ed ora consultar di bandir quelli dal cielo...
ed in quelle medesime stanze facendo succedere le...virtude.²⁰⁷

This detailed revolution is none other than the triumph of temperance, "la Temperanza" says Bruno, "è quella che riforma il tutto".²⁰⁸ The vices are "purgato", replaced by their corresponding virtues. Bruno's means to this are given in nine "colirii", which are intended "per purgar l'animo umano".²⁰⁹ This principally revolves around contemplation of "la moltitudine, grandezza ed armonica proporzione di cose sensibili", and the consequent awareness of "cose archetipe e superne".²¹⁰ This depends on two capabilities in the human soul "quanto alla cognizione e quanto alla affezione".²¹¹ The Eroici shows how "l'anima studia....purgarsi, sanarsi [e] riformarsi",²¹² and how in the ideally tempered soul "la cognizione muove l'affetto, ed appresso muove la cognizione",²¹³ the passion driving the soul to apprehend the deum in rebus.

Greville's description of the soul's reform is couched in terms both similar and dissimilar to Bruno's :

...this strange building which the flesh knows not,
Revives a new-formed image in man's mind
Where arts revealed are miracles defined.

What then need half-fast helps of erring wit...
Since outward wisdom springs from truth within,
Which all men feel or hear before they sin.

Bruno's furioso constructs a "strange building" in his mind, a "new-formed image" which helps him to achieve the soul's purgation :

con la forza del pensiero [lui] edifica castegli in aria...
una torre di cui l'architetto è l'amore, la materia
l'amoroso fuoco, ed il fabricatore egli medesimo.²¹⁴

Greville's "new-formed image", however, relies not so much on nature (that is to say on truth approached through man's natural reason) as on revealed truth direct from God (or mediated by Christ, his earthly manifestation). The Protestant framework of this image-philosophy (which spurns "dead books or arts") is made only too clear by the terminology : references to the Fall, the Flesh, revelation and sin ^uaccumulate to ensure that the "truth within" of which Greville speaks is an orthodox Christian one. This does not mean that its basis is not Platonic. On the contrary, Greville's disdain for the "half-fast helps" of

verbalized philosophy, and Sidney's championing of the "speaking picture" over "wordish description" both seem to stem from that same blend of Protestant pietism and Neoplatonic philosophy which was so brilliantly fused in their Oxford tutor John Dee. Dee believed visual signs, and especially the hieroglyphic, to be "Characteres...Vita imbuti Immortali",²¹⁵ and that this "Sacram...scriptionis Artem"²¹⁶ (typified by his own "Hermetis sigillo" constructed on Brunian quasi-mathematical lines), had its foundation in the Christian God, signifying "Mysteria, quae solidissima habent...in sacrosanctis DEI OMNIPOTENTIS scripturis".²¹⁷ It seems likely that Greville and Sidney were both deeply impressed by Dee's Christian-Cabalist worldview which taught that the image "sine verbis, ipsa docet",²¹⁸ and so transcended the constraints of phonetic language. Nonetheless, it is unlikely that either Dee or Bruno would be wholly sympathetic to Greville's sweeping dismissal of philosophy in his darker, more Puritan moments :

...what is our high-prais'd Philosophie,
 But bookes of Poesie, in prose compil'd?
 Farre more delightful than they fruitfull be,
 Witty appearance, Guile that is beguil'd;
 Corrupting minds much rather than directing,
 The alay of Duty and our Pride's erecting.²¹⁹

While both men might have appreciated his call for thought "As without words may be conceiv'd in minde", neither had quite his depth of pessimism concerning the frailty of "vain humanity".

Bruno's pessimism of knowledge is based on the Christian-Platonic idea of the docta ignorantia (which came down to him via the ideas of Augustine, Pseudo-Dionysius and Nicholas Cusanus) which insisted on the ultimate unknowability of God as the supreme transcendent object. Thus in the "Argomento" of the Eroici Bruno argues that, "non possa mai gionger piu' alto che alla cognizione della sua cecità ed ignoranza e stimar piu' degno il silenzio ch'il parlare".²²⁰ This ignorance is not that of the vulgar, but an ignorance experienced "nelle porte de l'acquisitione della luce".²²¹ Bruno repeats this dictum of worthy silence later on, and credits it to an unnamed "teologo",²²² later still he celebrates "la teologia negativa de Pitagora e Dionisio" over the "[teologia] dimostrativa de Aristotele e scholastici dottori".²²³ Pseudo-Dionysius is confirmed as the principal source of Bruno's doctrine in this passage from the Cabala del Cavallo Pegaseo (1585) :

O santa ignoranza, o divina pazzia, o sopraumana asinità!
 Quel rapto, profondo e contemplativo Areopagita, scrivendo
 a Caio, afferma che la ignoranza è una perfetissima scienza.²²⁴

It is this negative theology which is behind Bruno's sonnet 'Questa Fenice ch'al bel sol s'accende', where he bemoans, in Petrarchan fashion, his inability to describe his beloved's beauty :

...il mio spirto (ch'il divin splendore
 Accende e illustra)....
 Manda da l'alto suo concetto fore
 Rima, ch'il vago sol vad'oscurando.²²⁵

Once again it is Greville's Calvinism and his exacerbated sense of man's unworthiness which sets him apart from Bruno. Greville sees human knowledge as essentially warped, it is "Pride's erecting"; man is limited by original sin, which threw him from paradise into the blighted world of the Flesh. For Bruno man is not limited by sin but merely by his own material impulses, the finitude of his composite soul : "il fonte della luce...gli nostri intelletti [sopraavanza]"²²⁶.

Greville's Calvinism becomes still more important towards the end of the Caelica sequence where, as I mentioned at the start of this chapter, Greville makes a serious departure from the Petrarchan world of his early sonnets, and from those of Sidney and Bruno. A brief analysis of the sequence will give us some idea of these later developments, which reflect the changes in literary fashion which occurred between his "familiar exercise" with Sidney in his youth and the interlineations and additions of his rural retirement. Whereas the early poems dwell almost entirely on love and amorous affairs (nineteen are addressed to Myra or Mira, twenty-four to Caelica, and six to Cynthia), after sonnet LXXVI only six poems deal ostensibly with love, and make no mention of a particular woman (these late love-poems also approach love in a new way, discussing it in an abstract, detached manner as part of a theological discussion on the nature of desire). The rest of the poems concern themselves with the sombre themes of government (especially the corruption of the Jacobean court), faith and the nature of sin.

Sonnet XCVIII, for instance, is a meditation on man's sinfulness even in the very act of repentance, faith and prayer :

True words pass out but have no being within;
 We pray to Christ, yet help to shed his blood
 For while we say 'believe', and feel it not....

We with the Jews even Christ still crucify.

This is a perfect example of Protestant vigilance which submits even repentance (the life-line to salvation) to the scrutiny of doubt and dissection, haunted by a powerful sense of personal unworthiness. The terms of this poem are all those of Puritan theology, and leaves far behind the gay, Ovidian satires of early poems such as sonnets XII and XXV, dwelling instead on pitiful man trapped in "hell and sin", "ignorance and disobedience", and God "exiled from man's fleshly heart". Sonnet XCIX is nothing less than a confessional prayer, building up powerfully through a repeated refrain: "Lord, I have sinned, and mine iniquity / Deserves this hell; yet Lord, deliver me". Its subject is again the "soul dark desolation", and is a precursor of the passionate religious poetry of the English baroque, the personal prayers of Henry Vaughan, Richard Crashaw and John Donne. One could say of Greville in this dark, religious mood that which Richard Baxter said of George Herbert, that here is a man "who speaks to God like one that really believeth a God", and that "Heart-work and Heaven-work make up his Books". Greville's poetry testifies to the increasing seriousness and pietistic vein of sonnet-writing since Sidney's death. The religious sonneteers such as Robert Southwell, William Alabaster and Henry Constable all share Greville's "Heaven-work", edging the sonnet toward hymn and prayer and away from traditional Petrarchism. By the time Greville came to collect his sonnets for publication in the 1620s, altogether different things were expected of the sonnet form, and his early poems must have seemed jarringly anachronistic to his contemporaries, who would have felt more at home with the later, more recently composed sonnets LXXVI-CX. In these later poems we are seeing the fruition of the seeds of disillusion with love-poetry that gradually took root in Sidney's sequence and were implicit, though dormant, in Greville's pessimistic love-sonnets. More importantly it witnesses the burgeoning influence of Du Bartas, which disdained the cupidity of amorous verse, "a verse prophane...[serving] but fleshly men".

Aside from his probings into the Flesh, "that ugly centre.../ Where each sin feels her own deformity", Greville also ventures into political themes, a subject popularized by the witty, satirical effusions of the London Inns of Court. Greville's topics are those which thrived in Jacobean dramas: court corruption, flattery and statesmanship, themes not inappropriate to the political dissatisfactions of the age, "a time when the business of

government was impeded by blundering, speculation and factious rivalries"²²⁸. Dismayed by what he saw as the degeneration of James I's court, he championed the virtues of Christian government, eschewing the sinful pursuit of power for its own sake which he saw all around him. Thus in sonnet XCII he inveighs against the "Rewards of earth" which are "to senses glory, and to conscience woe" :

For earthly power that stands by fleshly wit,
Hath banished that truth which should govern it.

In the Jacobean court he saw panderers and flatterers adoring the "calves of brass" and gaining preferment, while virtuous politicians declined. In his old-age he looked back nostalgically to the reign of the virtuous Protestant Queen whom he worshipped as a "she-David", a "spirit of annointed greatness" who avoided the "monopolous use of favourites"²²⁹. In sonnet LXXXII he offers a poetic tribute of the kind which flourished when the Queen was alive, praising her as "star of the north", and championing her political virtues : "State in her eyes taught order how to sit / And fix confusion's unobserving race". By contrast, sonnet CII shows his disapproval of James' government, which he saw as morally weak and decadent :

...states grow old, when princes turn away
From honour to take pleasure for their end;
...a narrow way
That wins [only] a few dark friends.

In a court ruled by "dark friends", men such as Count Gondomar and George Villiers, "power's baby-creatures" who scorned "worth" and "honour" (as Greville defined them), Greville did not flourish, and was ultimately forced by his marginal role in the shadow of the rival favourites into rural retreat. These poems on tyranny and unvirtuous government represent the venting of a very personal political spleen, and it is not surprising that they did not see the light of day until Greville was safely deceased, and beyond the reach of disgruntled courtiers.

These poems are worlds removed from those of the Eroici Furori. Although Bruno did not necessarily disapprove of political poetry (the heroic poet presents in his poetry a "specchio esemplare a gli gesti politici e civili"²³⁰, and in the Spaccio Bruno claimed that the philosopher "serva la republica e defension de la patria piú...che con la spada, lancia e scudo, il soldato, il tribuno, [e] l'imperatore"²³¹) he did not attempt it in the Eroici. He believed that the reformation of individual souls would ultimately help to reform

society and initiate a unified state-religion, and he is political in this indirect way in his poetry. The later poems of Greville, written probably twenty or more years after the Eroici Furori obviously owe more to the religious and political atmosphere of Jacobean England than they do to the influence of Bruno, they are an example of the pious and serious kind of poetry which the Areopagus poets were only groping toward in the 1580s, a poetry which engaged serious political and religious concerns.

If, as Yates generously believed, Bruno offered a model of Petrarchan practice to the Elizabethan poets, he was certainly not unaided in his task. A strong network of literary and political relationships linked the Elizabethan court to those of the Netherlands and France, and in addition to this the influence of Italian theorists and poets must be taken into account (whether through the offices of book-fairs, continental tours, or through the literary tastes of emigrée diplomats, publishers or booksellers). These are the "other considerations" which Joan Rees refers to so nebulously in criticising Yates' hypothesis above, a wealth of alternative literary sources disregarded by Yates in her appraisal of Elizabethan poetry. Given the casual and self-effacing (ie often unpublished) nature of literary relations and correspondence at that time, it is not surprising that the full complexity of the situation is difficult to reconstruct, much of the information necessary to do this (the letters and poems only in MS) being irrecoverable.

However, Jan Van Dorsten's Poets, Patrons and Professors (1962), offers us a tantalizing glimpse of such intimate literary exchanges in his detective-work on Sidney, Daniel Rogers and the Leiden Humanists. In Leiden the Academia opened in 1575 as a college for training Protestant preachers was cultivating the 'encyclopaedia of knowledge' after the fashion of the Italian and Parisian Academies, following the light of "Divinus ille Plato, quem Tullius philosophorum deum appellat"²³². This humanist academy, intended to dispell the "rustic and unrefined" attitudes of the Louvain and Douay Academies, was strengthened by a web of international correspondence binding scholars from London, Paris and Antwerp together with those of Leiden, many of whom figure in the correspondence of Areopagus members : Jean Hotman, Christophe Plantin, Hubert Languet, and Justius Lipsius. The Leiden circle, and especially the English diplomat Daniel Rogers, provided a vital link between England and literary Paris, where Rogers was working in the household of the English ambassador

Sir Henry Norris, and socializing with French humanists and poets such as Germanus Valens, Auratus Dorat, Antoin de Baif, Des Autels and the Scottish poet George Buchanan, whom Sidney praised in the Apology with "divine admiration" for his "piercing wits"²³³. Van Dorsten convincingly argues the case for the French-Dutch influence on the poetical experiments of the Sidney circle, Leiden functioning as a rendezvous of intellectual and literary liberalism, coming to a peak in the late 1570s :

The result was, though on a smaller scale, the same kind of literary reform which Ronsard, de Baif, and their friends had...advocated in Paris, and which, some years later, Sidney, Spenser and their group were to bring about in England....this proposed reform was really becoming articulate by 1575....initiating a new poetry; divine poetry, psalms, odes, sonnets, epitaphs, translations from Desportes, Buchanan, Petrarch, Horace and Janus Secundus.

The philosophical and religious themes of the Neo-Latin poetry of this Dutch circle could be seen as a major untapped source for the Neoplatonism and pietism of the Sidney circle and later Elizabethan poets, a subject worthy of closer scrutiny than the necessarily limited scope of Van Dorsten's book, which only hints at the extent of this Anglo-Dutch influence :

With their philosophical conception of 'divine poetry', and their obvious desire to assimilate the 'new religion' and 'new poetics', Duplessis Mornay, Guillaume du Bartas and 'so piercing wits as George Buchanan' to use Sidney's own phrase, naturally exercised a lasting influence on their admirer's poetic ambitions.²³⁴

Rogers' Elegia ad Phillipum Sidnaeum (1579)²³⁵, presents a "divine representation of Eliza's court", extolling the "Poetic passion" which "seizes" Sidney and describes the philosophical debates of the circle. Rogers' enthusiasm for Sidney was taken up by Dutch poets, who produced a substantial volume of memorial poetry or tunuli on Sidney's death in 1586. A small delegation (legatiuncula) of Leiden poets visited Elizabeth's court in the winter of 1585-6 and were extravagant in their praises of Elizabeth, Leicester and Sidney. That this recorded diplomatic contact, and published tributes masked a continuous, lost literary correspondence is deduced by Van Dorsten from hints in the correspondence of Paulus Melissus, Jean Hotman and Janus Dousa, and some concrete examples of mutual influence between Henry Constable (later a doyen of Mary Sidney's circle) and Janus Dousa, whose twenty carmina, the ἑρωτικὸν κίτυλλον (1591) bear close resemblance to the Englishman's Diana

sonnets, and revealed a shared interest in Dutch and English poets concerning the "heavenly fire" theme pursued by Sidney, Greville and Spenser.²³⁶ That Dousa's Neo-Latin and Dutch vernacular poetry engaged in Petrarchan conventions and talked of a Platonic 'noble love' in the context of an informal Anglo-Dutch exchange of MSS in the early 1590s is an index of the mutual literary preoccupations of the English court and the Leiden Academia (which in their turn can be seen as a continuation of French Neoplatonic love-poetry, as diffused by Sidney's friends and correspondents Paulus Melissus and Daniel Rogers²³⁷). Interestingly, Dousa's Oda v. celebratio natalis regii, on Queen Elizabeth's birthday names, amongst ten scholars associated with the Sidney circle and the Leiden Academia, Alexander Dicson, ally of Giordano Bruno, whose defenses of Brunian mnemonics were so savagely criticised by Cambridge Puritan William Perkins as "Barbarism and Dunsicality".²³⁸ Dicson's works were printed in Leiden by the Englishman Thomas Basson. As well as importing Platonic poetry, Leiden must also have been an important route for the influx of Du Bartas' poetry into England (along with King James' Uranie) : Groslootius writing to Janus Dousa in March 1586 speaks of Ronsard as "Principem nostrum vatem, in uno Bartasio minor"²³⁹, revealing the esteem which the latter poet enjoyed in the Academia.

The importance of the Leiden correspondence cannot be valued lightly, all the elements of the Elizabethan poetic experiments are there in germ in the Neo-Latin exchanges of Dutch, German and English scholars : the Neoplatonic Petrarchism of Ronsard and the Pleiade, the neo-Catullan conceits of Janus Secundus, and the religious, devotional verse of George Buchanan and the "French Salomon", Du Bartas. The Protestant bonds uniting Du Bartas, the Leiden poets and the English courtiers must have helped catalyse the Protestant poetic tradition already extant in England, as evidenced by Joseph Hall's Court of Vertue, which attacked the immorality of early Elizabethan collections of amorous lyrics. This dissatisfaction with love-poetry led the Sidney circle in their different ways, first to vaunt a "noble love" over the "abuse" of sensual love, and then to strike out into purely religious lyrics under the new influence of Du Bartas' Christian Muse, L'Uranie.

As I said earlier, Greville's delay in publishing the Caelica sequence gave it a transitional character, in that it 'contains' the historical-literary process which I have described. In his sonnets we can trace a parabola, beginning with the Platonic love-sonnets such as sonnet III ('More than most fair, full of heavenly Fire') through ironic parodies

of this (sonnets LVI and LXIV) and psychological dissections of decidedly un-Platonic loves, through to the abandoning of love for faith (sonnets LXXXVI and LXXXVII), and the purely devotional prayers and religious meditations of the final section, culminating in the apocalyptic lamentation (after the fashion of Jeremiah) 'Sion lies waste, and thy Jerusalem' (sonnet CX). The calls of devout Catholics like Malipiero and Salvatorino to abandon the "licentosi componitori e cupidine poeti", and to tune the poet's lyre instead to the "esercito di spirituale amore"²⁴⁰, in glorifying God, were soon taken up by their Protestant opponents, like Du Bartas. Jesuits and Calvinists, both yoked literature to the cause of religion and devotional lyric poetry abounded in late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century Europe, in both Latin and the vernaculars, reflecting the fervour of both Reformation and Counter-Reformation.

If Bruno's Eroici Furori can be regarded ultimately as a product (albeit idiomatic) of the latter, then Sidney and Greville must largely be seen in the context of the former, as part of a continuum of Protestant literature beginning in the early sixteenth-century. That the two traditions are closely connected is undeniable, the Italian beginnings of the idea of spiritualizing secular lyrics stands behind both, as we saw in Chapter one. The conclusion then is that it was predominantly French and Dutch re-workings of Italian themes which catalysed the native Protestant poetic tradition to produce the philosophical germination and the devotional fruition of the Elizabethan sonnet; even such peddlers of bland amorous conceits as Barnabe Barnes were persuaded to repent and bend their song to the "true lyre" of Urania. The influence of the Italian Neoplatonic sonnet and its theorists in commentary and the accademie is also present, inextricably bound up in a trans-national cultural matrix. These influences may have made Greville congenial to some aspects of Bruno's philosophical love-poetry, but the absence of documentary evidence and the lack of congruence between their employment of Petrarchan and mythological topoi make the case for Bruno's actual influence very doubtful indeed.

Chapter Four - 'The Furye from above' : George Chapman, Giordano Bruno and the Northumberland Circle.

The philosophical interests of Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland, and his annotations to the Degli Eroi Furori.

Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland (1564–1632) was foremost amongst the "virtuosi [or] wealthy amateurs who gave their time and patronage to the advancement of the new philosophy".¹ He was, in fact, responsible for "the patronage of an entire school of natural philosophers",² including the mathematicians and astronomers Thomas Hariot, William Gilbert, Nicholas Hill and ~~Walter~~ Warner. In the prefatory epistle to his Shadow of Night (1594) George Chapman, without doubt the most unreservedly Neoplatonic of the Elizabethan poets and a child of this "new philosophy", introduced his "philosophicall conceits" and "heaven-high thoughts of Nature"³ with praise for Percy, whom he regarded as one of the select band of learned noble-men able to appreciate the dark conceits of his poetry :

...that most ingenious Darbie, deepe-searching Northumberland, and skill-imbracing heire of Hunsdon [who] had most profitably entertained learning in themselves, to the vitall warmth of freezing science, & to the admirable luster of their true Nobilitie, whose high deserving virtues may cause me hereafter [to] strike that fire out of darknesse, which the brightest day shall envie for beautie.⁴

The "deepe-searching" Earl held court over a great number of scientists, philosophers and poets in his London residence, Syon House (and subsequently in the Tower of London, and Petworth House, Sussex). This gathering of like minds (which M.C.Bradbrook has popularized as "the School of Night" or the "Raleigh group")⁵ was renowned for its unorthodox pursuits, and more than one of its members earned a reputation for impiety or atheism.⁶ Sir Walter Raleigh faced a public inquiry where the judges were told by a number of witnesses of his religious heterodoxy : "Rawleigh [said]...at Gillingham there was a God in nature" one of them reported.⁷ Thomas Hariot, too, was viewed with some suspicion for his views on God, as John Aubrey later reported : "[Hariot] made a philosophical Theologie; wherein he cast off the Old Testament and then the New one would [consequently] have no foundation. He was a deist, his doctrine he taught to Sir Walter Raleigh, Henry Earle of Northumberland and some others".⁸ The Earl made Hariot a member of ^{his} household, settling an annuity of £200 a year on him, so that he could pursue his mathematical, astronomical and philosophical research.⁹

The Earl himself was the victim of similar accusations, his scientific interests earning him

the disparaging sobriquet of "the Wizard Earl". In a letter, Lord Henry Howard described Percy's beliefs as "the distemper of an atheist, that, besides Raleigh's Alcoran, admits no principles"¹⁰. Another contemporary poet, George Peele, in his poem Honour of the Garter (1593) commissioned by the Earl ("the Muse's love, patron and favourite") to celebrate becoming a Garter-Knight, sheds some light on the nature of the Earl's "philosophical Theologie". The Earl was a follower of the "true philosophy", says Peele, "following the ancient reverend steps / Of Trismegistus and Pythagoras", a student of "Mathesis", the "stars and zodiac", and "divine science and philosophy". The Earl's theology then, was Neoplatonic, and disdained the "schoolmen's vulgar trodden paths"¹¹. This Neoplatonism was also adumbrated by Thomas Eliot, a noted critic of the "School of Night" and their "melancholy arte", in Gabriel Harvey's Pierce's supererogation (1593), where he catalogues their interests thus :

Hermes ascending spirit...Orpheus' enchanting harpe...Homer's
divine furie...Tyrtaeus' enraging trumpet...Plato's enthusiasticall
ravishment; and I wott not what marvelous egges in moonshine.¹²

It was not surprising that a man of these interests should find the works of Bruno congenial to him, and the Earl in fact possessed the fullest documented collection of Bruno's works in sixteenth-century England. R.H.Kargon summed up Bruno's philosophical appeal to Percy and the Northumberland circle thus : "combining Platonic-Pythagorean emphasis upon mathematics, with a Neo-Epicurean doctrine of atomism, Bruno provided a fruitful new mode of explanation which Percy, Hariot, Hill, Warner et al were prepared to explore"¹³. What immediately concerns us in this chapter is the further possibility that the Earl's interest in Bruno was communicated to the poets of his circle. Percy's patronage "extended to poetry and drama as well [as the new philosophy]"¹⁴, and poets associated with him include Raleigh, Spenser, Marlowe and Chapman. Yates, while unaware of the Earl's collection (reconstructed in part by the diligence of Professor G.R.Batho in 1960)¹⁵ was not unaware of the possibility of Bruno's influence in her 1936 study of Love's Labour's Lost :

Those who would seek Bruno's influence in England should, in my opinion, study the output of the Raleigh group, on its poetic no less than on its scientific side...who shall say how much the heroic fury of Marlowe's high-aspiring mind, the Neoplatonic yearnings of Raleigh, the nocturnal obscurities of Chapman owe to the great Italian?¹⁷

That Bruno's works were known and seriously regarded by the scientists of the Northumberland circle is well known,¹⁸ as in this letter from Sir William Lower to Thomas Hariot, dated 21 June

1610, which freely assumes Hariot's familiarity with Brunian theories :

wee were a consideringe of Kepler's reasons by wch he indeavours
to overthrow Nolanus and Gilbert's opinions concerninge the immensitie
of the sphaere of the starres, and that opinion particularlie of
Nolanus by wch he affirmed that the eye beinge placed in anie parte
of the univers the appearance would still be all one unto us here.¹⁹

Hariot's papers frequently mention Bruno and his astronomical or philosophical theories.²⁰

Recent work by Hilary Gatti and Saverio Ricci shows a pervasive influence (even verbatim quotation in some instances) of Bruno's De Triplici minimo and De immenso on Thomas Hariot's unpublished De Infinitis MSS, Nicholas Hill's Philosophea Epicurea (1601) and William Gilbert's De mundo nostro sublunari philosophia nova (1651).²¹ The question which concerns us, however, is whether this interest was shared by poets acquainted with, or patronised by the Earl of Northumberland - and particularly the philosophical poet George Chapman. If Chapman's poetry does bear signs of Brunian influence, we must consider the possible role played in this by the Earl's evident interest in Bruno's philosophy, and the collection of Bruno's texts in his Syon House library.

The Earl's annotations of the Degli Eroici Furori

In his article on "the Library of the 'Wizard Earl' ", Professor Batho mentioned in passing that the Earl's philosophical reading was wide-ranging and eclectic, "including...Giordano Bruno, that erant terrible amongst sixteenth-century speculators".²² In his appendix Batho named the Eroici Furori among a list of texts annotated by Henry Percy.²³ Upon visiting Petworth House I discovered a further six works by Bruno not mentioned by Batho, including the Latin philosophical poems De triplici minimo and De Monade published in Frankfurt in 1591. Three of them bear the distinctive book-stamps and two-number classification system of the Ninth Earl's library identified by Batho,²⁴ making them indisputably from his collection. The other three have been rebound together at a later date, but almost certainly originated in the Earl's library.

Most exciting of all was the existence in a contemporary hand of annotations to the Eroici Furori, bearing witness to the hitherto undocumented fact of a receptive Elizabethan readership for Bruno's work.²⁵ I have included my full transcription of these sometimes barely legible, pencilled annotations in the Earl's characteristic Italic hand in an appendix to this chapter.²⁶

Gatti deduces from Northumberland's reliance on Florio's New World of Words (1611) in his translations that the Earl probably read the Eroici during his long imprisonment in the Tower of London (1605-1621) when, as a suspect in the Gunpowder Plot "an intense study of Italian was undertaken by Northumberland"²⁷. We know, however, that the Eroici was purchased by the Earl on his return from Paris in 1585, and was in Syon House library until it was shipped to him in the Tower by one of his servants Walter Warner. Disappointingly, the annotations which the Earl chose to make in his copy of Bruno's dialogue tell us little about what he felt about Bruno, consisting largely in underlining difficult vocabulary and providing marginal translations (the Earl appears to have been quite proficient in Italian as he underlines relatively few words for later reference, and also corrects a number of printing errors)²⁸. Nonetheless some of the phrases which the Earl underlined may have been chosen for more than purely linguistic reasons. When, for example, the Earl underlines the phrase "le bellezze et prorogative del suo oggetto" from the commentary to Bruno's 'In luogo e forma di Parnasso ho 'l core', and translates it in the margin as "the beautyes and prerogatives of his object",²⁹ he seems to be reminding himself of Bruno's Platonic exegesis of the "muses" of the sonnet rather than any language problem (the phrase seems too simple to have caused any difficulty for someone of the Earl's ability). The same emphatic underlining occurs a little later in the commentary to 'Amor, sorte e l'oggetto', when the Earl underlines "l'entusiasmo" and translates it as "the furye from above" in the margin.³⁰ Why does Northumberland translate a word which was in current usage (the Greek root "enthusiasmos" appears both in Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar, and in the Elizabethan "best-seller", Sylvester's translation of Du Bartas' Semaines), unless it is because he is interested in the "furye" itself? The Earl was, as Peele intimated, an "heroical spirit", the kind of "eroico e generoso animo"³¹ for whom Bruno intended his Eroici. Elsewhere we find the Earl underlining Bruno's philosophical terms, such as "impeti" and "affetti", and enumerating their several connotations carefully.³²

Most importantly perhaps, the annotations show that the Earl had meticulously studied the "argomento", and at least eight sonnets and their commentaries, ending in the first dialogue of the second part (the lack of notes, however, need not imply that the Earl hadn't read the whole dialogue). This fact directly contradicts those questioning Bruno's influence in England. Andrew Weiner, for example, depicts Bruno as an isolated, ludicrous figure ignored by the English audience he was so eagerly soliciting: "Bruno's visit, save for what

he himself tells us of it, remains almost unremarked, let alone unapplauded by his hosts.... worse still, most of the few comments about Bruno that do exist portray him as somehow risible ...we may wish to sum up Bruno's adventures in England as a sort of stand-off in which no-one won and only Bruno lost".³³ Weiner is right to point out the ridicule of "N.W"'s preface to Daniel's Worthy Tract, the silence of Sidney and Greville concerning him, and the uncomplimentary remarks of Alberico Gentili (all of which we mentioned in our introduction). But it is equally possible to cite contrary opinions of Bruno's genius. Bruno himself names amongst the generally inhospitable ranks of the Oxford scholars the names of two men who seem to have been tolerant of his ideas :

celebri li dottori vanno a buon mercato come le sardelle...riserbando però
la reputazione d'alcuni, e per l'eloquenza e per la dottrina e per
la civil cortesia, quali sono un Tobia Mattheo, un Culpepero, e
altri.³⁴

One of Bruno's acquaintances, Alexander Dicson, became nothing short of a disciple, and Bruno thought very highly of him : "quel dotto, onesto, amorevole, ben creato e tanto fidele amico Alessandro Dicsono, che il Nolano ama quanto gli occhi suoi".³⁵ Dicson penned an occult mnemonic work in the style of Bruno's De Unbris Idearum, called De unbris rationis (1584) which was dedicated to Sidney's uncle the Earl of Leicester (it is interesting to note that along with Brunian mnemonic works the Earl of Northumberland's library contained a copy of this treatise in the reprinted edition of 1597, when it was re-titled Thamus)³⁶ and a string of pamphlets defending Brunian mnemonics against Puritan and Ramist critics.³⁷ In addition we now have the Earl of Northumberland, whose close attention to the Eroici persuaded him to collect a number of Bruno's Latin mnemonic treatises some of which bear marked passages showing signs of study and reference,³⁸ and the Lucretian poems of his Frankfurt years. This is a far cry from the derision and disinterest suggested by Weiner.

As Yates pointed out, Love's Labour's Lost was in part an attack on the "scientific and learned preoccupations" of the Northumberland circle;³⁹ and the preoccupations satirized in the "little academe" of King Ferdinand (the Northumberland figure) reveal points of contact between the Eroici and the "School of Night". Northumberland himself wrote an Essay on Love, which asserted that to "gaine a Mistris with long sute, mutch passion and many delaiies and follow knowledge in his hight is impossible".⁴⁰ He shows the "great strife of humours" caused by the conflict of his love for his "Mistress" and his love of knowledge : "sometymes

I...exchanged light for darknes, thus taking up the booke [the Alhazen, an Arabic work on optics], discarding my Mistris, [while at] other tymes embracing the conceites of her shadowe I left the booke shut⁴¹". He gradually inclined towards knowledge and away from his beloved : "Knowledge havinge overwrought the other by the sownes of his arguments, for they remayned demonstrative, my Mistris' shaddowes but probable, which afterwards p[roved] meere fallatious". He became then "wholy dedicated to this infinite worthy Mistris [Philosophy], growing cowld towardes my finite Mistris"⁴². Bruno's Eroici preaches much the same values, seeing the "finite Mistris" equally as fallacious as Northumberland's : "una superficie, un' ombra, un fantasma, un sogno, un Circeo incantesimo"⁴³. Likewise replacing this "disordinato amor venereo" with a passionate love of an "infinite" mistress, in Bruno's case Diana, the symbol of immanent Godhead. It is tempting, along with Yates and Gatti, to see close links between Northumberland's Essay and his reading of the Eroici in the Tower : "interpreting his youthful courtly experience in the light of Bruno's anti-Petrarchan satire"⁴⁴. Shakespeare's Love's Labour's Lost mocks Northumberland's misogynistic condemnation of the "finite mistress" and amorous love, and his advocacy instead of passionate study (wooing an "infinite worthy Mistris"). It is perhaps significant that this satirical attack seems at certain points to evoke the Eroici Furori as well, linking them together.

The misogynistic Neoplatonism of Bruno and the Earl is pilloried in the failure of the idealistic "statutes" and "schedules" of King Ferdinand's Academy. The King echoes Northumberland directly when he tells Berowne that women, feasting and idleness "be the stops that hinder quite / And train our intellects to vain delights"⁴⁵. Berowne's mockery of this temperance plays upon the same symbolism of light and darkness that Northumberland used in his essay on love : "Light seeking light doth light of light beguile : / So ere you find where light in darkness lies / Your light grows dark by losing of your eyes"⁴⁶. Dumaine, iterating the oath of the scholars, voices the same ascetic rejection of worldly values in search of truth that we find in Bruno's dialogues :

My loving lord, Dumaine is mortified :
 The grosser manner of these world's delights
 He throws upon the gross world's baser slaves :
 To love, to wealth, to pomp, I pine and die;
 With all these living in philosophy.⁴⁷

This programme will make the scholars "heirs of eternity", the King declares. They are also

"brave conquerers" of sensuality : "for so you are / That war against your own affections / And the huge army of the world's desires".⁴⁸

How do these preoccupations, thus satirized, compare with the Eroici sonnets annotated by the Earl? King Ferdinand's assault on the "huge army" of the passions, for instance, seems to echo Bruno's sonnet 'Chiama per suon di tromba il Capitano', which deals with the "milizia" and "guerra civile" fought by the Will against the soul's concupiscent impulses :

Chiama per suon di tromba il capitano
Tutti gli suoi guerrier sott' un' insegna;
Dove s'avvien che per alcun in vano
Udir si faccia, perché pronto vegna,
Qual nemico l'uccide, o a qual insano
Gli dona bando dal suo campo e 'l sdegna :
Cossí l'alma i disegni non accolti
Sott' un stendardo o gli vuol morti, o tolti.⁴⁹

Just as the "little academe" is said to be "still and contemplative in living art", so in Bruno's sonnet 'Muse, che tante volte ributtai' the philosopher^{says :} "quieto, imparo et imbellisco"; the Muses grant him "tai rime e tai furori" withheld from lovers "che de mirti si vantan ed allori", through which "frenzies" of knowledge he is raised "in astri eterni",⁵⁰ just as the Academicians are "heirs to Eternity".

That Love's Labour's Lost satirizes the Northumberland circle's obsession with "that angel knowledge"⁵¹ as Yates suggests is undoubtedly true (note particularly the slighting use of references to astronomy, mathematics and Pythagoreanism⁵² - interests ascribed to the Earl by Peele in his Honour of the Garter), and it is entirely feasible that the philosophical, anti-Petrarchan and anti-Love ideas which it derides are a conscious reflection by Shakespeare of the circle's interest in the Eroici Furori. Yates sees ironic references to the Eroici in the play as part of a web of "contemporary jokes" at the expense of "pedants and fantasticks" like the "Wizard Earl", and as part of the "literary war" between scholars and writers in the "School of Night" and the Earl of Essex's retinue, to which Shakespeare belonged.⁵³

Not only does the Earl's interest in the Eroici betray itself in the anti-Platonic satire of Love's Labour's Lost, and the Earl's essay on love, but there is also a strong possibility that the Earl's interest in the Bruno's philosophical poetry was transmitted to the poets of his acquaintance, whether through patronage or intellectual fraternity, and especially George Chapman, whose Shadow of Night is considered to be the definitive literary

expression of the Northumberland circle's intellectual aspirations.

The Eroici sonnets annotated by the Earl are some of the most intense expressions of Bruno's higher love and "nuova filosofia", created with a highly charged, mutated Petrarchan language :

Un oggetto riguardo;
 Chi la mente m' ingombra, è un sol viso.
 Ad una beltà sola io resto affiso,
 Chi sí m'ha punto il cor, è un sol dardo,
 Per un sol fuoco m' ardo.⁵⁴

This adaptation of profane conceits to express spiritual experience, and especially the transformation of Cupid's flaming dart to the enflaming rays of divine love became a common-place of late sixteenth- and seventeenth-century devotional literature, as can be seen by reference to the illustrations of emblem-books from that period.⁵⁵ This theme of contemplation and divine love seen in amorous terms, as the relation of a Petrarchan lover to his cruel beloved is continued in the other sonnets consulted by the Earl. In 'Amor, sorte, l'oggetto', Bruno describes his mystical experience of the divinity in terms of love-conceits. The mediator of the process is "il putto irrazional", who is not the traditional Cupid (although "cieca e ria"), but instead an "eroico signor" inflaming the furioso with love for the "alta bellezza" of Godhead : "il correlativo de l'amante" in Bruno's mystic love-drama. The love of the furioso is marked by the paradoxes typical of Petrarch's unrequited lover :

Amor, sorte, l'oggetto, e gelosia
 M'appaga, affanna, contenta e sconcola.
 Il putto irrazional, la cieca e ria...
 Mi mostra il paradiso, il toglie via.⁵⁶

In 'Cara, suave, ed onorata piaga' Bruno re-interprets the traditional Petrarchism of Luigi Tansillo's sonnet, which he appropriates as an expression of divine-love :

Occhi, del mio signor facelle ed arco,
 Doppiate fiamme a l'alma e strali al petto,
 Poich' il languir m' è dolce e l'ardor caro.⁵⁷

In his Triginta sigillorum (1583), Bruno cites Love as one of the four "receptoribus" of the soul (the others being Mathesis, Art and Magic), it is Love, he says, which "inferiora divino furore ducens supercaelestem plagam peragrare facit".⁵⁸ In the sonnet 'Amor, per cui tanto alto il ver discerno' Bruno expounds to the hilt this amorous-ecstatic form of knowledge, which is the foundation of the Furori's Petrarchism. "L'Amore", he says in his commentary,

"illustra, chiarisce, apre l'intelletto e fa penetrar il tutto"⁵⁹. In this sonnet he draws an analogy between the conventional amorous theme of love entering through the eyes and his natural philosophy where meditation upon the deum in rebus, pierces the simulacrae of sense-data to perceive the forms of divinity itself, and ultimately the unity of the Monad or "One" which is sought deep within the soul :

Amor per cui tant' alto il ver discerno,
 Ch' apre le porte di diamante nere,
 Per gli occhi entra il mio nune, e per vedere
 Nasce, vive, si nutre, ha regno eterno....
 [Amor] Fa presenti d'absenti effigie vere,
 Repiglia forze, e col trar dritto, fere, ⁶⁰
 E impiaga sempr' il cor, scuopre l'interno.

Bruno defends the "fanciullo" Cupid against the misunderstandings of the "volgo vile". In one who is "piú intelletuale e speculativo" Bruno says, Cupid "inalza piú l'ingegno e piú purifica l'intelletto...promovendolo ad un' animositate eroica ed emulazion di virtudi", it is only in baser souls that Cupid produces vulgar effects, rendering them "pazzo e stolto".⁶¹

In Northumberland's essay on love we find a similar appeal to a "higher beloved" than that of the stupid and foolish. Just as Bruno roundly condemns the disordered sensual love of Petrarch and his amorous imitators, wasting the elixir of their intellects in "un strepito, un fracasso d'insegne, d'imprese...de sonnetti"⁶² in the 'prefazione' which was closely annotated by the Earl, so too the Essay on Love rounds on the "platts" and "sweet flimflams" which poets use to "utter lethargious passions". The Earl contrasted what he saw as the amorous flippancy of Sidney's Arcadia, with the philosophical sustenance which he derived from "an owld Arabian called Alhazen"⁶³. This contention between love and learning leads the Earl to compare his two mistresses; on the one hand his wife Dorothy Perrot née Devereux (the sister of Penelope Devereux, Sidney's "Stella"), and the earthly love which he associates with her, and on the other his "infinite worthy Mistris", philosophy. In this comparison the Earl decides whether "knowledge or my Mistris in reason should be predominant over my endeavors" :

Knowledge I found spake gravely, my Mistris idelly, it constant,
 shee fickle, it treated of hidden misteries, shee of vulgar trifles,
 it contented ever, shee displeased often...it produced out of
 conclusions p[er]petual contentment, shee in conclusion p[ro]duced
 sadness, for they say Omne animal post coitum triste...the bewties
 of my Mistris were eclipsed, p[ro]ceedinge from the perfectest
 creature under the sonne, to the most ugglely and deformed of all
 p[er]fections, not that shee was so amongst women, but in respect
 of Knowledge.⁶⁴

And in conclusion he characterizes each Mistress' effect thus :

in the first there is myndes disquiet...losse of tyme,
 passion without reason, obseruinge base creatures, torture of
 iealowsie, allowance of tryfles, toyle of body....In the other
 mynde's quiet, sowles felicitie...Inseeinge into all...free
 from passions...embracing goodnes for goodnes sake.⁶⁵

That such sentiments could have been inspired by the Eroici, as both Yates and Gatti attest, is corroborated by Chapman's dedication to his Shadow of Night (1594) which reflects the conclusions of the Earl's essay, re-iterating as it does the need for the seeker of knowledge to "subdue their monstrous affections to most beautifull judgement". Here Chapman echoes the Earl's use of the word "platts" to describe amorous poetry, condemning those who compose "Idolatrous platts" which "grovill on the earth" instead of the "serious and eternall" poetry of Chapman and his friends. The influence of the Eroici is present in the penumbra of Chapman's vocabulary. He speaks, for instance, of "an exceeding rapture of delight" in the "deepe search of knowledge", which suggests the furori of Brunian meditation, and there is also a peculiar use of Petrarchan paradox to describe Northumberland's learning :
 "the vitall warmth of freezing science"⁶⁶. It is tempting to see the Eroici behind the anti-Petrarchan attack on "idolatrous platts" by the Earl and Chapman, and as a source of a philosophy compared both to the "icy fire" of Petrarch, and to the passion for an "infinite Mistress". If this is so, is it possible, perhaps, that The Earl of Northumberland actively encouraged George Chapman to write poetry on the Brunian model? The Earl was a noted patron of the arts, as George Peele testified in his Honour, Spenser dedicated a verse to the Earl thanking him for his patronage of the Faerie Queene and the "sacred muses"⁶⁷ (might we not also see the Earl in the October eclogue of the Shepherd's Calendar, as the swain "Pierce" or "Percy", advising Cuddie to dedicate his poetry to "enthousiasmos and celestiall inspiration"⁶⁸). Chapman too implies that the Earl is his patron, commissioning him to write on exalted themes :
 "[his] high deserving virtues may cause me hereafter [to] strike that fire out of darknesse, which the brightest day shall envie for beautie"⁶⁹. We also know that the Earl possessed a copy of Chapman's Homer in his library. As patroness (or prospective patroness), it would have been most fitting for Chapman to incorporate influences from one of the Earl's favoured authors, and the Eroici Furori was a fitting paradigm of Neoplatonic poetry, and part of "the core of [the Earl's] working library"⁷⁰. As we saw earlier, Yates thought this was highly likely.⁷¹

Bruno's presence in London raises the question of whether he influenced the Earl's

circle, to which he had possible access through Mauvissiere's friendship with Sir Walter Raleigh, one of the foremost poets of the Northumberland coterie or "School of Night". To the question of Bruno's influence on this coterie, Yates thought that the answer "ought certainly...[be] in the affirmative"⁷². As we mentioned earlier, as far as the scientists of the group such as Hariot, Hill and Harvey are concerned, this has been seen to be the case. But now we come to the central concern of this chapter - the possibility that Bruno's conception of philosophical poetry was behind that of George Chapman.

Giordano Bruno's Degli Eroici Furori and the poetry of George Chapman.

George Chapman wrote only one sonnet-sequence during his long literary career, and it was dedicated to the same "infinite Mistris" whose virtues were expounded by the Earl of Northumberland's essay. A Coronet for his Mistresse Philosophie was written as part of Chapman's collection of "philosophicall conceits" entitled Ovid's Banquet of Sence (1595). This collection was prefaced by a number of dedicatory sonnets written by Chapman's friends, vying with each other in praise of his "sweet philosophick strains". Of these, the sonnet by Sir John Davies is most revealing about the kind of poetry which Chapman was writing, although it refers more specifically to the title-poem :

Onely that eye which for true love doth weepe,
Onely that hart which tender love doth pierse,
May read and understand this sacred vierce
For other witts too misticall and deepe :
Between these hallowed leaves Cupid doth keepe
The golden lesson of his second artist....
For Ovid's soule, now grown more old and wise,
Pours fourth it selfe in deeper mysteries.⁷³

Just as Bruno deals in "eroici furori...[e non] d'amori volgari"⁷⁴, Chapman's poetry addresses itself to true love, which is "misticall" and deals with "deeper mysteries", a sacred verse presided over by a temperate Cupid. Another of Chapman's friends refers, significantly, to the poet's "bright Saturnian Muse"⁷⁵, that is to say the kind of "inspired melancholy" referred to by Ficino in the first book of his De Vita, and Henricus Cornelius Agrippa in his De Occulta philosophia (one of Bruno's philosophical touchstones) :

This humor melancholicus has such power that they say it attracts certain demons into our bodies, through which activity and presence men fall into ecstasies and pronounce many wonderful things...when the soul soars [through melancholy] completely to the intellect it

becomes the home of the higher demons, from whom it learns the secret of divine matters.⁷⁶

Bruno, too, claimed the "Saturnian Muse", the "malancolici umori" which the disciplined soul can divert from madness to "piu' generose imprese"⁷⁷ when they are tempered and attached to divine aspirations. Thomas Williams, Chapman's friend, refers to the "divine matters" of this humour, daring the "unhallowed" to "kisse this sacred fire"⁷⁸. Chapman too refers to the Northumberland circle scholars as being "girt with Saturn's adamantine sword"⁷⁹. Yates in her essay on Chapman stresses this Saturnian imagery :

The Saturn of the Renaissance, star of highest and deepest learning and of profoundly ascetic life, is the guiding star of this group [the Northumberland circle]....These Elizabethan noblemen and their learned friends are Saturnians, following the 'revalued' Saturn [of Ficino] ...in their deep scientific studies and lofty moral and religious aims.⁸⁰

We can expect then that Chapman's poems will deal with Ovid's enamourment with Julia (and his sonnets to his "Mistresse") not in the amorous manner of those "issue of Semele" who are blighted with "formeles" judgements, but in the heroical manner of Bruno and other Neoplatonists - through the furore of inspired melancholy.

Chapman's Coronet for his Mistresse Philosophie is a ten-sonnet sequence condemning sensual love and praising intellectual love. He is, Janet Scott averred "un adversaire notable du petrarquisme...Chapman s'inspire du Platonisme le plus pur"⁸¹, but which or whose Platonism? It would certainly be very difficult to ascertain this purely on the basis of the Coronet, which as A.H.Bullen has said is "perhaps the obscurest of all Chapman's writings"⁸². What is of immediate concern to us here is, do these sonnets show any signs of the influence of the Eroici Furori? Certainly Chapman's theme is not uncongenial to that of Bruno's dialogue, attacking the sensual lover and

Muses that sing loves sensuall Emperie
And lovers kindling your enraged fires
At Cupid's bonfires burning in the eye,
Blowne with the empty breath of vaine desires (I).

The sensual lover, Chapman says, prefers the "painted Cabinet" of the flesh rather than the "wealthy Jewels it doth store" (ie the spirit). The "honord subiect" of love should be knowledge and not cupidity :

Your eyes were never yet let in to see
The maiestie and riches of the minde,

But dwell in darknes; for your God is blinde (I).

The sensual lover like Prometheus, Chapman warns, has the eagles of lust to "eate your entrails out with extasies" (II). The "Colour" (in the Elizabethan sense of a deceptive outward appearance) of passionate love destroys him with "painted fires" which can "beat... soules in peeces with a pant" (II). "But my love", continues Chapman (echoing the comparison of the two mistresses in Northumberland's essay) :

...is the cordiall of soules,
Teaching by passion what perfection is,
In whose fixt beauties shine the sacred scroules

....
Love flowes not from my lyver [lust], but her [philosophy's] living (II).

Chapman here is speaking of knowledge and philosophy in a similar manner to Bruno, who felt that love and knowledge were in some way homologous : "tutto quello ch' in certo modo si desidera, in certo modo ancora si conosce"⁸³, concluding from Aristotle that "[concorrono] l'appetito e la cognizione"⁸⁴. The Heroic lover strives for the comprehension of comprehending "la bellezza...senza similitudine, figura, imagine e specie"⁸⁵ (Chapman's "fixt beauties"). Chapman speaks of Cupid as the blind god, recalling those lines underlined by the Earl of Northumberland in Bruno's sonnet 'Amor per cui tanto' alto il ver discerno' : "Perché ratto ti cangi, ei par fugace / Per esser orbo tu, lo chiami cieco"⁸⁶.

Chapman's mistress leads him to an "unblind" Cupid who works not from the liver (traditionally associated with lust), but from his living goddess "from whence all stings to perfect love are darted" (III). Like Bruno, Chapman treats knowledge as a species of desire, albeit intellectual desire, and speaks in terms reminiscent of Petrarchan poetry with its chaste Madonna with luminously beautiful face and enflaming eyes :

Her life so pure and she so spotles harted,
In whom sits beautie with so firme a brow
That age, nor care, nor toment can contract it;
Heaven's glories shining there...
Her minde (the beame of God) drawes in the fires
Of her chast eyes, from all earth's tempting fewell;
Which upward lifts the looks of her desires (III).

Chapman's sonnet has affinities in this way with many of the Eroici sonnets. In Bruno's 'Se la farfalla al suo splendor ameno', for example, we find a similar concatenation of love's arrows, the heavenly face, the amorous fire and knowledge-as-desire :

I' al lume, al fonte, al grembo del mio bene,
Veggio le fiamme, i strali e le catene.

S' è dolce il mio languire,
 Perché quell' alta face sí m' appaga,
 Perché l'arco divin si dolce impiaga,
 Perché in quel nodo è avvolto il mio desire,
 Mi fien eterni impacci
 Fiamme al cor, strali al petto, a l'alma lacci.⁸⁷

Unlike Chapman, Bruno expounds his use of these amorous metaphors in a commentary. The fire of love, he says, is "l'ardente desio de le cose divine",⁸⁸ the arrow of the "heavenly bow" is "l'impression del raggio della beltade della suprema luce",⁸⁹ while the nooses which bind him are "le specie del vero",⁹⁰ binding him in ecstatic, passionate contemplation. The "drawn-in fires" of Chapman's philosophy also denotes an ecstatic knowledge: "Drunk with extractions stild in fervencie / From contemplation, and true continence" (VII). Chapman's description of this amorous communion with God is redolent of the Song of Songs, which is also so much in the background of Bruno's poems:

When from the world, into herself reflected...
 Content for heav'n to be of earth relected
 Shee thus deprest, knocks at Olympus gate,
 And in th' untainted Temple of her hart
 Doth the divorceless nuptials celebrate
 Twixt God and her; where Love's prophaned dart
 Feedes the chast flames of Hymen's firmament...
 Vertue is both the meritt and reward
 Of her remov'd and soule-infusde regard (IV).

These "divorceless nuptials" resemble those described by the Patristic and Cabalist commentators of Solomon. Origen, for example, says of the Song of Songs:

This book seems to me an epithalamium...written by Solomon in the form of a play, which he recited in the character of a bride who was being married and burned with a heavenly love for her bridegroom... For whether she is the soul made after his image, or the Church, she has fallen deeply in love with Him.⁹¹

Bruno wrote his sequence as a "Cantica...simile a quello di Salomone", as it was interpreted by "gli mistici e cabalisti dottori",⁹² as we have said earlier. Chapman too uses "love's prophaned dart" as an emblem for the "chast flames" of a divine love in the Solomonic fashion. As in the Eroici, Chapman emphasises the "soul-infusde regard" of meditation directed inwards, leading to the drunken "fervencie" of the furore. Bruno's furioso turns to experience the "divorceless nuptials" of union with Godhead: "già avendola contratta in sé, non era necessario di cercare fuor di sé la divinità".⁹³

The fifth sonnet of the Coronet recalls the military metaphor of Bruno's 'Chiama per suon

di tromba' which we quoted earlier, which depicts the Will as a captain routing the madmen and traitors out of his army - that is, purging the soul of sensuality and irrational instincts. By doing this he brings the soul's impulses "sott' un insegna",⁹⁴ into a state of repose because "l'opra d'intelligenza non è operazion di moto, ma di quiete".⁹⁵ Chapman's Mistress, philosophy, also presents a bellicose face to the forces of sensuality :

Th' inversed world...
 My love disdaynes...
 And without envy sees her emperie,
 Loaths all her toyes, and thoughts Cupidinine
 Arrandging in the army of her face
 All vertues forces, to dismay loose eyne...
 War to all frailtie; peace of all things pure
 Her look doth promise (V).

Chapman's philosophy gives "peace of all things", an "operazion di quiete" (just as Northumberland sought "mynde's quiet" rather than "mynde's disquiet"). Chapman opposes "thoughts Cupidinine", Bruno the soul's "naturali émpiti". To Chapman vulgar love is Circaean : "Working poore men like waxen images / And makes them apish strangers" (VI), just as Bruno saw the worship of women as "un Circeo incantesimo" rendering man "bestiale e animale".⁹⁶ Philosophy "to living virtues turns the deadly vices" (VI), and in the seventh sonnet Chapman expounds this last point in a series of clever paradoxes, making philosophy "vicious" in its excessive pursuit of virtue : "Proud for she scorns prostrate humilitie / And gluttonous in store of abstinence" etc. This paradox recalls the moral relativism of a passage from the *Eroici*, where the "furor eroico" itself is seen as a vice :

questo furor eroico...è differente dagli altri furori piú bassi,
 non come virtú dal vizio, ma come un vizio ch' è in un soggetto
 piú divino o divinamente, da un vizio ch' è in un soggetto piú
 ferino o ferinamente...la differenza è secondo gli soggetti e modi
 differenti, è non secondo la forma de l'esser vizio.⁹⁷

This idea of "divine vice" could well have suggested Chapman's rhetorical device, as could Bruno's reference in the same commentary to the aptitude of Petrarchan conceits for the expression of "contrarietà" by polar inversion : "dirò massime savio colui che potesse veramente dire talvolta il contrario di quel che quell' altro".⁹⁸ Chapman's Philosophy is too "slothful" to dislodge itself from the "all-seeing trance" of the *furore*, which is the "band [ie prison] of sence", where she views "all the soules skils" (VIII) or faculties. Bruno's *furore* too seeks a "unità superessenziale",⁹⁹ the subjection of the body and senses in a kind of ecstatic "death", so that "non ha piú vita né senso circa altri oggetti".¹⁰⁰

As Platonists, both Bruno and Chapman are pessimistic about the expressivity of writing,

which is seen as somehow inferior to the "spiritual pictures" of contemplation, and as mere "shadows" or "veils" trying to give a glimpse of mental truths. Chapman, with a homely floral metaphor expresses it thus :

Like the Pansye, with a little vaile
 Shee [Philosophy] gives her inward worke the greater grace;
 Which my lines imitate, though much they faile
 Her gyfts so hie, and tymes conceites so base :
 Her vertues then above my verse must raise her,
 For words want Art and Art wants words to praise her (VIII).

Here Chapman's Mistress Philosophy seems to become analogous to eternal truth itself, shadowed forth in the vestiges of creation, as well as the allegory of Neoplatonic discourse. Bruno also despairs of being able to do justice to his Deity in his sonnet 'Questa fenice ch' al bel sol s'accende' :

Tal il mio spirito...
 Manda da l'alto suo concetto fore
 Rima, ch' il vago sol vad' oscurando,
 Mentre mi struggo e liquefaccio intiero.
 Oimè ! questo adro e nero
 Nuvol di foco infosca col suo stile ¹⁰¹
 Quel ch' aggrandir vorrebbe, e 'l rend' umile.

There is a faint echo between these two expressions in their use of the colour purple. Bruno describes the "purple and black cloud" of writing, as a means of showing to others the "studio e ardire"¹⁰² of the furioso. Chapman, using an optical metaphor, speaks of the "purple tincture" of "reverence" depicted in the face of the ardent, as if by coloured glass. In both cases the Sun of Godhead is mediated by a material medium, symbolic of the relatively opaque and distorting soul of man.

Having demonstrated the superiority of his Mistress, "register[ing] her worth past rarest women", Chapman goes on to re-assert how this "deere love" of the philosopher for Truth ought to be the proper subject of art. Here the Coronet takes on an interesting polemical specificity. According to Chapman's most recent editor, the sequence engages "Chapman to Shakespeare in bands of rivalry"¹⁰³. Arthur Acheson's Shakespeare's Sonnet Story identified Shakespeare as the direct target of Chapman's anti-sensualist tirades, and sees a direct reference to Shakespeare's plays and their patronage in sonnet IX, where Chapman disdains "Muses that Fames loose feathers beautifie", and in sonnet X where he speaks of those poets who "From honors Court theyr servile feete exempt / That live by soothing moods, and serving tymes"¹⁰⁴. Chapman's reference to the "foule cloudy-browd contempte" of his "sacred rymes" (X)

could well refer to the satire of Love's Labour's Lost, which was published in the same year as Chapman's Ovid's Banquet, 1595. This brings us to an interesting analogy between the Eroici Furori and Chapman's Coronet, in the sense that they are both public statements exhorting English poets to shun the dominant muses of "sensuall empyrie". Chapman's poem warns Shakespeare of the folly of poetry which encourages "Cupid's bonfires", and is in fact an abuse of poetry, Bruno's 'prefazione' warns Sidney of the dangers of sensual Petrarchism. Although the iconographical similarities are not so detailed as to confirm beyond doubt the influence of the Eroici, there is an affinity between Chapman's and Bruno's Petrarchism which was largely absent from that of Sidney or Greville, who for the most part, as we have seen, veer between Varchi's "humano" or "cortese" in their amorous outlook, with singular exceptions. Chapman joins Bruno and Malipiero as a Petrarchist who concerns himself solely with spiritual love, and what the Earl called "the fureye from above". As we can see from this comparison, there are points of contact between the themes of the two poets which merit attention, especially in the light of the Earl's interest in the Eroici. As a coterie poet (Chapman limits himself in the Shadow of Night to only three noblemen), the presence of the Eroici could certainly have been felt by Chapman's closest audience. In addition to this, if Yates' assumption about the role of the Eroici in the anti-pedantry satire of Love's Labour's Lost is correct, what better retort from one of the butts of this "cloudy-browd" attack, than an assertion of the Neoplatonic philosophy criticised by Shakespeare, and one which draws on Bruno's Eroici for a counter-attack? Nevertheless we must be aware that the credo behind Chapman's Coronet and his philosophical poetry in general is by no means unique to the Eroici. Bearing that in mind, let us continue by looking at Ovid's Banquet of Sence, the title-poem of the same collection in which the Coronet appeared.

The Eroici Furori and Chapman's Ovid's Banquet of Sence (1595).

The narrative of Chapman's Banquet is based on an encounter of Ovid with his beloved Julia / Corinna, whilst she bathes in the garden of ^aCesar's court. It begins with an account of the poet's voyeuristic activity, culminating in a heated dialogue between the two, in which the poet kisses and caresses her. The structure of the piece, as noted by Douglas Bush,¹⁰⁵ closely follows Ficino's discussion of the senses in the Comentarium in Convivium Platonis.

Proceeding from the rapture of the more spiritual senses of auditus and visus, it gradually becomes more sensual through submission to what Ficino regarded as the less spiritual senses of gustus and tactus.¹⁰⁶ The point of the piece is to contrast a chaste nobil desio with the irrationality of lust, and to show the dangers of the former descending into the latter.

This subject is what Sir John Davis^e saw as the "deeper mysteries" of the piece. In it, he says, "Ovid's soule [is] now growne more old and wise",¹⁰⁷ just as Ovid's principal Elizabethan translator, Arthur Golding, found in him "darke and secret misteries" and "good ensamples" or "reprooves of vice in youth and age".¹⁰⁸ The idea of Chapman's poem (Ovid's encounter with Corinna in a garden setting) is thought to have been suggested either by Lemaire de Belye's Illustration de Gaule, or a dialogue in Giovanni Giovano Pontano's De amore conjugali, III.¹⁰⁹ But what, if any, influence of Bruno can we find in the Banquet?

Chapman's Julia / Corinna has much in common with the heroines of the early sonnets of Greville and Sidney; she is "our Poets Goddess" (VIII), and "Nature's naked Iem" (X). Her beauty is essentially a reflection of the celestial and angelic beauties, the lowest rung on Diotima's ladder of love :

...she cast off her robe, and stood upright,
As lightning breakes...
Or as that heaven cast off it selfe, and showde
Heaven's upper light (VIII).

The poet marvels at "her sweet breast's divinitie" (X), and is overcome by "loves holy streame" (XIV). The Poet hears Corinna's "correcting voyce"(XIX) singing against sensual love : "Tis better to contemne than love" (XII), she inveighs. The true end of her "beauties sorcerie" she says, is to raise men to knowledge :

Our beauties sorcerie...
That sets wise Glosses on the foole,
And turns her cheekes to bookes,
Where wisdom sees in lookes (XII).

This recalls Sidney's Astrophel LXXI, where Stella is seen as the "fairest book of Nature", where wisdom is gained through the eyes : "Let him but learn of Love to read in thee, / Stella,There shall he find all vices overthrow". Just as Stella is the Petrarchan "star of heavenly fire", Julia / Corinna (or at least her physical beauty) "was the star [which] his life directed" (XIII). He is "Rul'd by loves beames, which Iulia's eyes erected" (XIII), and this love and her angelic "silver voice", leads Ovid into a rapture of the soul :

his wit assumed fierye wings,

Soaring above the temper of his soule,
 And he the purifying rapture sings
 Of his ear's sence.

In these notes from Julia's voice, the poet is led into "furious trance", the "Poets furies" (XVI). Her sweet voice, says the poet, "whose species through my sence / My spirits to their highest function reares" (XVII). Like Bruno's furioso, whose transport is a kind of death to the world, Chapman calls on Corinna's music to "sting me thus to death / Or turne me into swounde; possesse me whole" (XVIII). Like Bruno's amorous spirituality Chapman's rapture is overseen by a spiritual, rather than a carnal Cupid :

And now my soule in Cupid's furnace blazeth,
 Wrought into furie with theyr dalliance
 And as the fire the parched stuble burns,
 So fades my flesh, and into spirit turns (XXII)

It is, however, Varchi's "amor cortese" which pervades the Banquet, just as it pervades the bulk of Astrophel and Stella. The vital difference between the Eroici and the Banquet is again the vexed question of the role of female beauty. In the Coronet Chapman rejected outright the beauty of woman for the beauty of Truth or Philosophy. That is the position of Bruno's Eroici. In the Banquet, however, Julia's beauty and virtue play the familiar role of the lowest rung on the Diotiman ladder, outlined in the belletristic philosophy of Plato's Symposium (only grudgingly admitted in Bruno's Eroici). "Ladies must be ador'd", says Chapman, "that are but fayre", although it is the spiritual beauties of voice ("motions fled out of... spirits flames", XXVI), and odour ("the heaven on earth / Where vertues live" XXXVI), which are a "Goddesse part" (XXVIII). Chapman's main guide here seems to be Ficino's commentary on the Symposium, which gives the piece its larger structural form. The body of Julia is a means of ascent : "Buried is Heaven in earthly ignorance" (XXIX), just as Ficino taught that the body is "vestigia quaedam" in which we trace the fixed beauty infused in it by God as a kind of spark or beam.¹¹⁰ The subject-matter of the Banquet is only peripheral to the discourse of the Eroici, whose domain is Varchi's "amor divino o spirituale", where the role of female beauty is marginalized. While Bruno condemns "il culto d'un^{-a} donna in vita", he concedes reluctantly that the blighted corporeality of woman can act as "un indice della bellezza del spirito"¹¹², raising man up to consider divine beauty. Bruno gives these sentiments to a female interlocuter at the end of the Eroici, whose name - coincidentally - is Giulia. The immediate resemblance of this figure's role ("la mia beltade...far discuooprir

quell' unica e divina")¹¹³, and that of Chapman's Julia is dispelled by the absence of any Ovidian reference in Bruno's character, who is modelled on a childhood acquaintance, one Giulia Savolino.¹¹⁴

By concentrating on the adoration of "una donna in vita", Chapman necessarily places the fulcrum of the piece towards the distinction between the noble and ignoble love of female beauty :

So men in love aspire perfections seate,
When others, slaves to base desires are sold...
Gentle and noble are theyr tempers framde
That can be quickned with perfumes and sounds,
And they are cripple-minded, Gowt-wit lande,
That lye like fire-fit blocks, dead without wounds...
The bane of vertue and the blisse of sinne (XXXIII-XXXV)

This distinction is of no significance or interest to Bruno, who concentrates on describing the amorous fires of meditation, "il stato del furioso"¹¹⁵, and its vicissitudes and spiritual processes. Where Bruno's aim is to express this state, Chapman, in the Banquet, aims to show how a similar contemplative state, when mediated by the "index" of the female body, can be thwarted and drawn down into the ignoble desires of "Cupid's night" (XL), a "vulture love" feeding on Ovid's "increasing liver" (XLI). This difference is encapsulated in the divergence between Bruno and Chapman's use of the Actaeon motif. Bruno's is an allegory of the inwardly-directed meditation of the furioso, while Chapman's refers instead to the dangers of the senses which "Wound him with longings... / Quicker in danger then Diana's eye" (XLI). The danger of the "visual fires" ^{is} ~~are~~ that the soul, bent on chaste devotions can be unwittingly "prickt with other sences stings" (XLIII), and from this point (Stanza XL onwards), Chapman shows Ovid dragged down to the "Cyprian sports" of the lower Venus (XLVII) of vulgar lovers, albeit against his will : "his strong affections striving" (XLVI). Despite the perfection of the object ("th' extraction of all fayrest Dames", XLIX), and despite the fact that "sacred beautie is the fruite of sight" (LII), Ovid falls into error and sensual desires which are the "feeble Image" of virtuous love, caused by "th' imperfection of human sight" (LV). It is "nature's witchcraft" (LI) which undermines chaste intentions, man's natural fallibility. Chapman, as a typical Elizabethan, blends the new Neoplatonic philosophy with Protestant sentiments : "Thought, sight's childe / Begetteth Sin" (LXXVIII), he says. Elizabethan Platonists were obsessed with the fragility of Diotiman philosophy, struggling to overcome the long misogynistic tradition of Christianity so suddenly revolutionized by

the notion that admiring female beauty could be virtuous. The sinfulness of sight is an exact counterweight to the claim that corporeal beauty is a "perfect image of our purities" (LXXVIII), and ^{was} a conflict at the heart of the Elizabethan temper. The plight of Chapman's Ovid is well attuned to the contemporary English debate on the new philosophy, and one similarly engaged by Sidney and Greville in their love-poetry - all three poets are quick to point out the sophisms of barely-sublimated Platonic "desires", and to pinpoint the pitfalls awaiting those who preach man's perfectibility. It is precisely in this focussing that all three poets diverge from Bruno's position in the Eroici, which acknowledges the needs of human love only briefly, looking down on the problems of those less ascetic than himself from a great height. The average English courtier, patiently absorbed in measuring his personal experience of love against Platonic ideals must have seemed remote to a man like Bruno, who virtually gave his soul over in toto to the love of God, as befits his monastic education.

Despite certain points of contact with Bruno's sonnet-sequence (see particularly the emblems and devices incorporated by Chapman in stanzas LXX and LXXI, recalling - though not derived from - the panoply of such devices in Bruno's fifth dialogue), the glosses, structure and preoccupations of Chapman's Banquet of Sence show that his direct source was more probably Ficino's Platonic commentaries rather than Bruno's Eroici, along with some rather idiomatic adaptations of Aristotelian psychology (see stanzas XXIII and XXIV and their glosses, describing the formation of thoughts in Julia's mind). In particular the stress on the conflict of noble and ignoble desires in contemplating female beauty, and the sinfulness of the senses, places this work at least into an area remote from the concerns of the Eroici. Thus, when Chapman turns to that metaphor which proved to be one of the strongest common denominators between the iconographies of the Eroici, Astrophel and Stella and Caelica - the unmoving zenith motif, his employment reflects this remoteness. Bruno's zenithal metaphor, we will recall, signifies the eternity of spiritual love : "Mi scald', accend', ard' avvamp' in eterno"¹¹⁶, and the eternity of God : "il suo sole...essere la eternità istessa"¹¹⁷. Chapman's sun and its attendant ecstatic swoon is purely sensual, the rapturous "death" of the vulgar lover before excessive beauty ("a flood of Diamant / Bounded in flesh") :

Now Ovid's muse as in her tropicke shinde,
And hee (strooke dead) was meere heaven-borne become...
Now as she lay, attirde in nakednes...

Her body doth present those fields of peace...
 Shee is a sweet Elisium for the senses
 And Nature dooth not sensuall gifts infuse
 But that with sence, shee still intends their use (LVII-III, LXII)

The divine / human, sacred / sexual ambiguity which plays around this metaphoric "death" in Sidney's Astrophel, and to some extent in Greville's Caelica is resolved in Chapman to mere exalted sensuality, a swoon of lust.

This is not to say that Chapman's Banquet is sensualist, it merely takes as its theme the danger of sense-impressions for the virtuous philosopher. The theme of the Coronet, we remember, was more comprable with the Eroici, and the progression from the senses in Ovid's Banquet to pure meditation in the Coronet represents a reasonable progression, probably intentional, as intimated by Chapman's Latin instructions at the end of each work, gesturing the reader towards the following poems for further elucidation.

Yates felt that Chapman's most ambitious philosophical poem, the Shadow of Night (1594), with its "nocturnal obscurities", would be particularly interesting for those seeking Bruno's poetic influence in the "School of Night", or Northumberland circle. Where the Banquet was "a study of sense-impressions", the Shadow of Night was concerned with "the approach to knowledge through intuitive revelation", the "soul-infusde regard" of the Coronet, where the "senses [are]...in abeyance"¹¹⁸. As the contact of man with God in a "death of the senses" is the principal object of Bruno's treatise on the "furor heroico", it seems natural that this work should be singled out for particular scrutiny. Was Yates right to make this assumption? Was this poem commissioned by the Earl of Northumberland, the nurse of the "sacred muses", in order to encapsulate the philosophy of Bruno which the Earl was accumul^uating so avidly in the 1590s when this work was being written?

The Eroici Furori and Chapman's Shadow of Night (1594)

At first the mythological allusions of Chapman's preface to this long, complex poem seem to promise the reader just such an influence. Opening with a paean to the "exceeding rapture" of knowledge's "deepe search", Chapman couches his exhortation to Platonic knowledge in language referring to the two mythological heroes - Perseus and Hercules - which Bruno chose as symbolic guardians of his own philosophical raptures in the Spaccio :

It is an exceeding rapture of delight in the deepe search of

knowledge...that maketh men manfully indure th' extremes incident to that Herculean labour : from flints must the Gorgonean fount be smitten. Men must be shod by Mercurie, girt with Saturne's Adamantine sword, take the shield from Pallas, the helme from Pluto and have the eyes of Graea...before they can cut of the viperous head of benumbing ignorance, or subdue their monstrous affections to most beautifull judgement. ¹¹⁹

In the Spaccio, Hercules the "dio terrestre" is invoked as Jove's "luogotenente e ministro" in the war against the "mostri" of religion. ¹²⁰ These monsters included Spanish Trinitarians ("nel regno Ibero è qualche tricorporeo Gerione" ¹²¹), Calvinists and any of the violent sectarian dogmas of religion which "soleano annuolar l'aria ed impedir l'aspetto de gli astri luminosi" ¹²². Hercules is the embodiment of the virtuous and truly religious, he represents "sollecitudine, vigor d' ingegno ed efficacia di spirito" ¹²³. In effect he is the figurehead of Bruno's own vision of an institutionalized Egyptian religion :

ne gli luoghi dove effettuarà le sue eroiche imprese, gli sieno drizzati trofei, statue, colossi, ed oltre fani e tempj, se non mi contradice il fato. ¹²⁴

In the Spaccio the figure of Hercules is closely associated with Henri III of France, whom Bruno saw as the main hope for the irenic reform of Europe (recalling the imperial imagery of Charles V). ¹²⁵ Jove's laudation of Hercules is immediately preceded by an attack on "religious monsters", and especially the Calvinists whom Bruno considered a "poltronasca setta di pedanti" ¹²⁶, and "peggiori che li bruchi e le locuste sterili" ¹²⁷. Bruno considered their doctrines to be the cause of the intestine violence Europe was suffering at that time, outrages like the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre of 1572, witnessed at first hand by the young Philip Sidney. Henri, Bruno felt, would "riportarà la tanto bramata quiete alla misera ed infelice Europa" ¹²⁸. He would at the same time drive out the "pestilenza" of Calvinism. "E' ben degno premio", says Bruno's Saturn, referring to the Calvinists, "la corona per colui che le toglierà via" ¹²⁹, alluding both to Dante's Divina Commedia ¹³⁰ and Henri's heraldic arms (three crowns with the motto "tertium in caelo manet").

The second mythical hero adopted by Bruno for this heroic task of reform was Perseus, also figuring in Bruno's praise of Henri, depicted as the guardian of Truth, the throne of the heavenly crown : "Ivi [la verità] starà stabile e ferma...ivi sarà sicura guida di quelli che vanno errando per questo tempestoso pelago d' errori; ed indi si mostrerà chiaro e terso specchio di contemplazione" ¹³¹. Truth being the shield of Pallas, Henri is Perseus, using the virtues of "le scienze speculative" ¹³² to conquer what Bruno saw as the ignorant

dogmas of reformed Christianity : "fiaccando gli tanti capi di questo peggio che Lerneo mostro, che con moltiforme eresia sparge il fatale veleno"¹³³. Needless to say, it was Bruno's own "religione della mente" and "nuova filosofia" which he envisaged as being the shield of Pallas, the answer to Europe's sectarian violence, and the Perseus myth also gave him an emblem of his philosophical method in the shape of the Pegasean horse (winged like the soul of the furioso) released from the corpse of Medusa by Perseus.

In the Bruno dialogue which bears the name of this mythical creature, the Cabala del Cavallo Pegaseo, the character Onorio describes an ecstatic experience on Mt Parnassus, famous for its "fonte Caballino" consecrated to "padre Apolline" and his Muses.¹³⁴ This experience is an allegorical description of the sudden revelation or furore :

Ivi per forza ed ordine del fato tornai ad essere asino, ma senza perdere le specie intelligibili...per forza della cui virtude m' uscimo da l'uno e l'altro lato la forma e sustanza de due ali sufficientissime ad inalzar in sino a gli astri il mio corporeo pondo.¹³⁵

Chapman's "Gorgonean dewes" are also said to "breed extasies" for the poet's muse, allowing her to "reach the top-lesse starrie brows of steepe Olympus".¹³⁶ Likewise in the Spaccio Pegasus is the constellation dedicated to "il Furor divino, il Rapto, l'Entusiasmo, il Vaticinio, il studio ed ingegno".¹³⁷ The "fonte Caballino", opened by the hooves of Pegasus is seen as "già per molto tempo confuso, destrutto ed inturbidato da bovi, porci ed asini", that is to say, the truth of the prisci theologi had been corrupted by Christianity and Judaism. By means of contemplative Neoplatonic philosophy, Bruno holds, this fount can be "posta in buono ordine e rassettata", and hence "l'acqua divina, per lavar gli animi ed abbeverar gli affetti, stille a ^{gli} mortali".¹³⁸

Chapman's use of these two mythological heroes is not dissimilar to Bruno's, although their congruence might not lead us directly to attribute this fact to Bruno's influence. Like Bruno's Perseus, Chapman's figure is a champion facing religious sectarianism and violence, his enemy is "benumbing ignorance" and "monstrous affections". In the first part of the Shadow of Night (there are two parts, the Hymnus in Noctem and the Hymnus in Cynthiam) the figure of Night, representing Truth and Spirit, is opposed to "Stepdane Night", her deluded alter ego, who represents "blindnesse of the mind".¹³⁹ She is a "Gorgon", guilty of the same crimes as Bruno's "peggio che Lerneo mostro" :¹⁴⁰

A Gorgon that with brasse and snake brows...

Disiunction shows...
 Religious curb, that managed men in bounds
 Of publique wellfare; lothing private grounds
 (Now cast away by self-lov's paramores)
 All are transformed to Calydonian bores,
 That kill our bleeding vines, disploy our fields...
 ...creates men...all to slaughter bent.¹⁴¹

Chapman sees the move towards personal salvation or "private grounds" instituted by Puritanism as an unwelcome unleashing of materialist, selfish and violent forces, "nought more then thanklesse avarice"¹⁴². He calls on a return to the values of kindness and charity symbolized by the "living signe" of Amalthea, the goat beloved of Jove, but bemoans her impotence against sectarians : "Stone-pesants, that like Typhons fight / Against their maker, and contend to be / Of kings"¹⁴³. These revolutionaries, Chapman says, "love the kindest lest"¹⁴⁴. Such sentiments seem very closely in tune with the anti-Puritanism of Bruno who also expressed this loathing of charity on the part of ^{the} Calvinist : "vuol che si spregge il bello, il dolce, il buono; e del male amaro e rio facciamo stima"¹⁴⁵. It will be remembered that Bruno too identified religious moderation and charitable feelings with a caprine symbol, Aries, ^{as does} to Chapman with Amalthea. It was the role of "Promethean poets", according to Chapman, with "fire fetcht from heaven"¹⁴⁶ to combat this "blindnesse of the mind" by reflecting the ugliness of their vices in works of art so as to prick their consciences ;

Therefore Promethean poets with the coles
 Of their most geniale, more-than-human soules
 In living verse, created men like these [Puritans]
 With shape of Centaurs, Harpies, Lapithes...
 [That] Seeing themselves in these Pierian founts
 Might mend their minds, ashamed of such accounts.¹⁴⁷

Bruno also felt that his work - the contemplative "mirror of Pallas" - might have some edifying effect on the "poltronesca setta" of the reformed religion. In the second dialogue of the Spaccio Bruno talks of the "nuova Medusa"¹⁴⁸ of Calvinism turning men to stone (Chapman's "fallen Puritan" also : "In him the world is to a lump reverst"¹⁴⁹), to be overthrown by Perseus "montato sul Pegaseo", using the shield of speculative philosophy to save Andromeda from the "violenza di falsa religione"¹⁵⁰ :

Perseo...col specchio luminoso della dottrina e con la presentazion del ritratto abominando de la scisma ed eresia, alla perniciososa conscienza de gli malfattori ed ostinati ingegni metta il chiodo.¹⁵¹

Bruno here explicitly links his two heroic reformers : "gionto ad Ercule...compaia Perseo"¹⁵², and their twin aims are said to be the conquest of the evil of false religion, and the evil of

false love (Chapman's "benumbing ignorance" and "monstrous affections"). The virtue of Hercules / Perseus will mean that "si doma ogni forza, si toglie ogni cattività"¹⁵³, and that the mind of the individual will be purged to become free of the dominion of sensual pleasure ("voluttà"), and "cose basse...frivole [e] vane"¹⁵⁴. Perseus and Hercules both function as allegories of man overcoming the beast within himself and in the collective mind. Chapman's Hercules is invoked like Bruno's as an avenging lieutenant of Divine power, although not explicitly aimed at the "monsters of religion", but at worldly, material values in general, all which is opposed to the "lunar" world of the spirit, embodied in Chapman's allegory by the Sun : "Fall Hercules from heaven in tempests hurld / And cleanse the beastly stables of the world"¹⁵⁵. Although this apocalyptic mission would include the destruction of the "thank-lesse avarice" of zealous Puritans, its immediate task is to vanquish the Sun's "envious beames" and "lustfull rayes"¹⁵⁶, which is a reference to Hercules' arrow shot at Hyperion, god of the Sun (this Tartessian labour was held by Yates to be a conscious allusion to Matthias Gerung's Melancholia, or a lost Dürer engraving Melancholia II)¹⁵⁷. Chapman urges Hercules to surround the temporal, sensual Sun with the "Ebon bowes" of inspired melancholy, which Bruno's Eroici also recognises as the province of the furioso. The melancholy humours, Bruno says, are the "instrumenti...d'un spirto chiaro e lucido"¹⁵⁸.

The fact that both Bruno and Chapman couple these two mythological heroes together as champions of their respective philosophies does not immediately mean that we should assume Brunian influence. The work of Dr Franck Schoell has done much to uncover the sources of Chapman's poetry, and especially his debt in the Shadow of Night to Natalis Comes' Mythologiae¹⁵⁹. The quotations contained in Chapman's glosses, particularly from Greek authors, betray Comes as his principal source of mythological knowledge. The list of Perseus' accoutrements from the preface, for example, can be found in Book VII, chapters XI and XII (De Medusa and De Gorgonibus) of the Mythologiae¹⁶⁰. Bruno cast Perseus as enemy of "voluttà", Chapman saw him as destroyer of "monstrous affections", but Comes too interpreted the Gorgon myth as a gnostic battle of "ratio" against both "voluptates" and "cupiditas" and exhorts his readers to learn from the Gorgon allegory : "animadvertite mortales; quod vita humana multis voluptatibus circumventa est; quae vos in perniciem & perpetuas aërunas trahent"¹⁶¹. As such Comes could equally well have been Chapman's source of Platonic mythography. Whilst we should not forget the possibility that Bruno and Chapman were autonomously working from Comes as a repository

of mythological interpretations, the precise configuration shared by these two authors of Perseus and Hercules as champions of philosophical and religio-political (specifically anti-Puritan) values is close enough to be persuasive, especially in the context of a preface whose terms of reference echo those of the Eroici Furori.

Gatti, in accordance with the Yates hypothesis on the Shadow of Night sees this poem as a "particularly Brunian poem"¹⁶², and perhaps the largest single factor in giving this impression is the central figure (or figures) of Night or Cynthia. The Petrarchan madonna of the Eroici, we will remember, is Diana, the "dea selvaggia" embodying the deum in rebus, the "similitudine [di divinità] speculare nelle cose inferiori"¹⁶³, the "bella disposizione del corpo della natura"¹⁶⁴. She is the goddess of the chase and the moon, beloved of Actaeon and Endymion (all of which serves an allegorical function in Bruno's philosophical discourse). Chapman too exalts Diana, as Cynthia, in his nocturnal lunar goddess of the spirit. She is "Bride of Brides", after the fashion of the Solomonic commentaries, chaste goddess of "All-ill-purging puritie"¹⁶⁵, an "enchantresse-like"¹⁶⁶ figure who opposes sensual love ("love she hates"¹⁶⁷). She is also an embodiment of Nature : "Nature's bright eye-sight, and the night's fair soule"¹⁶⁸, the anima mundi or form-giving spirit of the material universe : "the purest part of [Nature]"¹⁶⁹. There is an immediate, if superficial, congruence between Chapman's Nocte / Cynthia and Bruno's Diana, but how far does this similarity in Neoplatonic mythography go? The crux of our comparison lies in the role allotted by the two authors to the moon's neighbour, the Sun. But let us first concentrate on the Moon alone, "circkled with charmes, and incantations"¹⁷⁰.

In the sonnet 'Chi fèmmi ad altro amor la mente desta', beneath the compound Petrarchan device of "un giogo fiammegiante ed avolto de lacci"¹⁷¹, Bruno celebrates his goddess, the "bel nune" Diana, symbol of the divinity immanent in nature : "il splendor di specie intelligibili"¹⁷². It is by studying her hamony and disposition that the philosopher comes to understand the divinity in himself, and the "genitura" (if not the "essenza"¹⁷³) of Godhead : "il fonte de tutte numeri, de tutte specie, de tutte raggioni, che è la monade"¹⁷⁴. As the beloved of Actaeon Bruno's Diana is depicted clad in white, gold and purple, which represent divine power, divine wisdom and divine beauty respectively. She bathes in the waters which represent the "specchio de le similitudini...[dove riluce] la bontade e splendor divino"¹⁷⁵. Actaeon, devoured by his own meditations, is snatched away from worldly pleasures and desires : "finisce la sua vita

secondo il mondo pazza, sensuale, cieco"¹⁷⁶. Diana in fact "desta la mente ad amor alto" to proceed in "gli pensieri, studii ed opre", leading the heart away from "cose basse...[ed] indegne"¹⁷⁷.

Chapman's goddess also has the power to quench man's sensual appetites and lead him to heavenly truths. In a characteristically dense and learned analogy Chapman compares the powers of his "goddess of most worth"¹⁷⁸ to Saturn's castration of Uranus (derived, Chapman says, from L.G.Giraldi's mythography De deis gentium). Just as Saturn cut away "heaven's Geniall parts" with his "adamantine Harpey"¹⁷⁹ to show his lack of power, so Diana (or Cynthia) has "adamantine power" :¹⁸⁰

...[powre] given
To thy chaste hands, to cut of all desire
Of fleshly sports, and to quench Cupid's fire.¹⁸¹

The beauty of Chapman's Diana "scorches the wings of time"¹⁸², it is immutable and divine, just as Bruno's Diana with her "alabastro della beltade divina"¹⁸³ surpasses the ephemeral beauty of women : "la bellezza [che] insieme viene e passa". She inflames her devotants with the "solemn fire"¹⁸⁵ of the Platonic lover; she is the "perfect circle", Ficino's "circulus unus"¹⁸⁷.

Chapman's "Queen Celestiall"¹⁸⁸ has power to "ravish and refine / An earthly soule, and make it meere divine"¹⁸⁹, and she does this through the heroic furore - "Make her drunk with Gorgonean dews", exhorts Chapman speaking of his muse :

And therewith, all your Extasies infuse
That she may reach the top-lesse starrie brows
Of steep Olympus.¹⁹⁰

The poetry of the Shadow, like that of the Eroici is intended as an inspired, frenzied expression of Platonic truths, the "heavenly Magicke mood"¹⁹¹ of Cynthia, Nature's "purest part". At this level Chapman's poetry is very close indeed to the poetry of Bruno. Cynthia is said, for instance, to be a representation of the soul : "Mightie Cynthia : truly figuring... / In her force, the forces of the mind"¹⁹², just as Bruno's Diana in her guise as the moon : "l'anima nostra...è significata per la luna"¹⁹³ (Leone Ebreo, in his Dialoghi d'amore, spoke of the moon as "un simulacro de l'anima"¹⁹⁴). Chapman's goddess is also the object of natural philosophy. Democritus, Chapman recalls, was the first to "reade in natur's browes"¹⁹⁵, and these "ancient fashions" says Chapman are now to be "newlie worne"¹⁹⁶. He exhumes references to lunar worship among the Romans and Macedonians from Plutarch's Paulus Aemilius, and applies these ancient

practices of "soul-winging musicke" and "teare-stilling mourning" to his modern poetic expression of Neoplatonic philosophy. His model of the moon-worshipper, Endymion, is kissed by Cynthia (Semele), whose "soul-chast" kisses send him into a "learned trance". Bruno's furioso is also referred to as Endymion in his sonnet 'Quel ch' il mio cor' (her kisses bringing him to the supreme joy "chiamata de Cabalisti mors osculi"). In this furore "his eyes were evermore awake / To search for knowledge of thy excellence / And all Astrologie".¹⁹⁷¹⁹⁸¹⁹⁹²⁰⁰

The lunar worshippers of antiquity, with their "religious feare" thus become symbolic of a modern Neoplatonism (the "philosophical Theologie" of Hariot, Raleigh and Northumberland), a "Dear precedent for us to imitate".²⁰¹ Chapman's poem is an intentionally obscure manifesto of the Platonic studies of the Northumberland group, and the Brunian echoes of the poem's themes are no doubt an intentional reflection by Chapman of Bruno's importance to the scientists of the Syon House coterie. Chapman's Cynthia, like Bruno's goddess, presides over the heroic frenzy in which the soul is said to be severed from the body :

Presume not then ye flesh-confounded soules,
That cannot beare the full Castalian bowles,
Which sever mounting spirits from the sences,
To look in this deep fount for thy pretenses :
The iuice more cleare than day, yet shadows night...
[Where] iudgement shall displaie to purest eyes
With ease the bowells of these misteries.²⁰²²⁰³

The "deep fount" of Cynthia is analogous to Bruno's "fonte di Diana"²⁰⁴ which also promises the paradoxical mystery of light in darkness (the glow of divinity in gross matter) : "la luce che è nell' opacità della materia, cioè quella in quanto splende nelle tenebre".²⁰⁵ In contemplating her, Bruno's furioso, like Chapman's "mounting spirit" is "presente al corpo che con la miglior parte di sé sia da quello absente...congiunto ed alligato alle cose divine".²⁰⁶ In the Cena Bruno compares this "learned trance" to the furore of Ariosto's furious lover Orlando, who exclaims : "Chi salirà per me, Madonna, in cielo / A riportarne il mio perduto ingegno?".²⁰⁷ Chapman also sees Diana's thrall in erotic terms, as a "willing rape on all our harts",²⁰⁸ a purgation of the base soul, analogous to love, entering in at the eyes of the "philosopher-lover" (as in Bruno's 'Amor per cui tant' alto il ver discerno') :

This beautie [Cynthia] hath a fire upon her brow
That dimmes the sunne of base desires...
...[her] beames divinitie
Forever shine upon their sparckling eyes
And...[quench] those pestiferent fires

That through their eyes, imprison their desires.²⁰⁹

Here we have the same appeal to stil nuovo / Petrarchan motifs to express an amorous mysticism founded on the rejection of passionate human love as we found in the Coronet, and which both of Chapman's poems share in common with the Eroici. Just as Bruno claimed to put heroic frenzies "avanti gli occhi ed orecchie" by means of Petrarch's "antitesi, similitudini e comparazioni",²¹⁰ so Chapman introduces his poem declaring his intention to "make each frightened soul come forth and heere"²¹¹ by means of a violent language of passionate paradoxes "fierce bolts well rammd with heate and cold"²¹² - the "icy fire"²¹³ of the spiritual lover.

Nonetheless the Petrarchan expression of heroic love is of only minor importance to the Shadow of Night, making only brief, occasional appearances. The major focus, and the principal point of comparison between Bruno and Chapman is the mythological figure of Night / Cynthia. Like Bruno's goddess, Chapman's twinned figures (inextricable, as a kind of body and soul to each other) represent a "religion of the mind" in large part alien to mainstream Protestant orthodoxy. "The minde", says Chapman, "hath in her selfe a Deitie / And in the stretching circle of her eye / All things are compast, all things present still".²¹⁴ It is easy to see how members of the Northumberland circle earned themselves a reputation for impiety. Bruno, however, in his Eroici (and in other dialogues) constantly appealed to this notion of a God within man. The furioso finds "al profondo della mente" that "Dio è vicino, con sé e dentro di sé piú ch' egli medesimo esser non ^{si} possa".²¹⁵ Of Actaeon, the natural philosopher, Bruno says "non era necessario di cercare fuor di sé la divinità".²¹⁶ In the search for God in nature, Bruno concludes, the highest God-like object to be found is "la specie intelligibile piú alta che egli s' abbia possuto formar della divinità".²¹⁷ That is to say, the concept of God held within the human mind, by which the furioso "contrae la divinità in sé".²¹⁸ Thus Bruno says in the sonnet 'Quel dio che scuote' : "Mi cangio in dio da cosa inferiore".²¹⁹ Chapman's "Deitie" in the mind seems close to Bruno's , especially as he refers to her as a "stretching circle" where Bruno refers to the cosmos (which is a similitude of God himself) as "una ²²⁰ revoluzione ed un circolo", and under the "imprese eroica" of the circle, refers to it as the image of God, "l'eternità istessa".²²¹ Chapman shared Bruno's Platonic belief in purifying the soul through the suppression of corporeal appetites :

...that mind is most bewtiful and hye,
And comes nearest to a Divinitie,
That furthest is from spot of Earth's delight,

Pleasures that lose their substance with their sight.²²²

Bruno thought that women would join with him in his rejection of "Earth's delight", or at least women who are "casta e onesta"²²³, reproving woman's sensual appetites just as Bruno criticised man's. Chapman too calls on such virtuous women, whom he calls "Elisian ladies". He exhorts these women to reject "female softnesse"²²⁴, and to "Build Cynthias temple in your virtuous parts"²²⁵ - that is, to inculcate a chaste, virtuous life-style : "To further good things, and to curb the ill"²²⁶. "Thrice mightie Cynthia should be frozen dead", he advises, "to all the lawlesse flames of Cupid's Godhead"²²⁷.

Chapman's Cynthia has two further things which link her to Bruno's Diana. The first is her apocalyptic role in reforming a corrupt, materialist age :

Descend againe, ah never leave the earth
But as thy plenteous humors gave us birth,
So let them drowne the world in night and death...
Come, Goddess, come.²²⁸

He bids Cynthia to drown the world in which man's "first excellence" has been abused,²²⁹ fallen from the Golden age when "Saturne's golden scepter stroke the strings of civill Government".²³⁰

It is an age showing more deformity than "that confusion out of which we fled"²³¹, that is, the Prime matter or Chaos. Bruno too called upon Diana's "humors", the "acqui salutifere di ripurgazione" which he identifies with the "acqui di sapienza" of the Biblical Genesis (Chapman identifies her "plenteous humors" with the Creation also). He frequently calls on his Egyptian religion in apocalyptic terms to heal a degraded and strife-torn Europe. In the *Eroici*, for example, he predicted "l'anno grande del mondo"²³³ or Platonic year (the 36,000 yr cyclè which heralded a "ritornare a miglior stati"²³⁴) to sweep away the present "feccia della scienza...[e] degli costumi ed opre"²³⁵. Naturally it was his own philosophy and mnemonic art which he saw as the lynch-pin of these great revolutions (a return to the ancient theology which his works espouse), being the "arte delle arti" by which he could "indirizza gli animi e riforma gl' ingegni"²³⁶.

As well as this desire for apocalyptic reform of morals and religion (both writers seem to have been offended by the increasing democratization of theology and institutions implicit in the notion of personal salvation), Chapman and Bruno both attempt to incorporate Elizabethan imperialism into their philosophical visions, in the figures of Cynthia and Diana. This, of course, is not unnatural in the English poet, but perhaps slightly more surprising

in the Italian as a bird of passage from the French court of Henri III. Poetic champions of Elizabeth amongst foreign visitors, though, were not uncommon - see for example Janus Dousa's Poemata of 1575, which includes odes praising Elizabeth as a semi-goddess,²³⁷ or Paulus Melissus' Schediasmata Poetica of 1586 which plays on Tudor symbolism in naming its heroine 'Rosa'.²³⁸ Bruno, in the argomento of the Eroici refers to Elizabeth as "l'unica Diana", and her ladies-in-waiting as "nimfe" and "dive" : "son di sustanza celeste",²³⁹ he says. In the earlier dialogues he made similar effusive gestures in praising the English Queen. In the Cena, for example, he refers to her as :

quel nume de la terra...quella singolare e rarissima Dama, che da questo freddo cielo vicino a l'artico parallelo, a tutto il terrestre globo rende sí chiaro lume.²⁴⁰

As a Queen, he says, "non è inferiore a quasivoglia re, che sii nel mondo",²⁴¹ and elsewhere he goes on to predict great things for Elizabeth's empire :

se l'imperio de la fortuna corrispondesse, et fusse agguagliato a l'imperio del generosissimo spirito et ingegno, sarebbe l'unica imperatrice di questa terrestre sfera; et con piú piena significazione quella sua divina mano sustentarebbe il globo di questa universale monarchia.²⁴²

Bruno obviously had hopes that Elizabeth, as a Queen noted for "cognizione de le arti, [ed] notizia de le scienze"²⁴³ would be a patron of his plans for an organized Egyptian religion along with Henri III. In the Causa Bruno calls her "Diva Elizabetta" the "piú eroico tra nobili" and "piú dotto tra togati".²⁴⁴ Although Bruno later dismissed this as an innocent revival of antique etiquette, it is clear in the Eroici, that such praises signified more than merely a learned courtly compliment. By referring to Elizabeth as a kind of goddess, and associating her with Diana, Bruno was trying to associate her with his philosophical project. Elizabeth's motto, for instance, "semper eadem" is turned by Bruno in his sonnet with the motto "Idem semper ubique totum" , 'Quando declin' l'sol al Capricorno', into an exposition of the "active splendour"²⁴⁵ of Godhead diffusing throughout the inferior world. Elizabeth's role in Bruno's philosophy is made most explicit, as we will remember from our introduction, in the pastoral tale of the nine blind-lovers, who find illumination and "doppia felicitade" through the agency of the Queen (Diana), and sing a circular sestina to her, praising her as the "unico sentiero" by which "scuopra di Dio la piú bell' opra".²⁴⁶ In the Cena when Bruno spoke of Elizabeth as the "nume de la terra", he also referred to her as "questa grande Amfitrite",²⁴⁷ the Ocean goddess who represents Bruno's "monad", the "fonte...de tutte specie".²⁴⁸ As Diana

the "unique nymph", "Diva Elizabetha" and Amphitrite, the English Queen and her empire is woven suggestively into the tapestry of Bruno's Neoplatonic discourse.

Chapman too incorporates Elizabeth into what is essentially a philosophical manifesto. At the beginning of the Hymnus in Cynthiam, for example, he is able to play on the ambiguous similarities between Cynthia's god-like qualities and those of an Imperial Queen :

[Cynthia] that with thy triple forehead dost controule
 Earth, seas and hell : and art in dignitie
 The greatest, and swiftest planet in the skie :
 Peacefull, and warlike, and the powre of fate
 In perfect circle of whose sacred state,
 The circle of our hopes are compassed :
 All wisdom, beautie, maiestie and dread 249
 Wrought in the speaking pourtrait of thy face.

Cynthia's "triple forehead", the three aspects of Diana, Luna and Heccate (see Chapman's third gloss), traditionally preside over nature, the sea and the underworld respectively, which conveniently suits the role of a Queen who had maritime dominance, colonies in the New World, and ^{was} also "controller of Hell" in the sense of being the controller of a national Protestant religion. "Peacefull and warlike" applies equally to the benign and bellicose lunar goddesses and to Elizabeth's cautious but unforgiving foreign policy, whilst the "sacred state" of the Classical goddess doubles neatly with what the great promoter of Elizabeth's empire, John Dee, called the "Brytish Earthly paradise and Monarchie incomparable".²⁵⁰

Chapman, like many of his contemporaries, was able to play on Queen Elizabeth's unmarried condition as a "Virgin Queen" in comparing her to the chaste goddess of the moon (a mythological allusion which accords well with the Neoplatonic rejection of earthly desires). Later in the same poem Chapman makes the imperial connections between Elizabeth and his own "Queen celestiall" more explicit, drawing an analogy between his moral reform (which calls for a rejection of the fiery Sun of sensuality), and Elizabeth's role in Europe :

...set thy Christall and Imperiall throne
 (Girt in thy chast, and never-loosing zone)
 Gainst Europe's sunne directly opposit, 251
 And give him darknesse that doth threat thy light.

²⁵²
 Cynthia's "rare Elisian pallace" is, in fact, linked specifically with Elizabeth's imperial ambitions "twixt two superior pillars framd / This tender building Pax imperij nam'd",²⁵³ as well as being the edifice associated with his exhortation to reject sensual pleasures at the end of this hymn, building Cynthia's temple in the "vertuous parts" (Chapman here shares the

Platonic optimism of John Dee, who persistently linked the attainment of spiritual purity and virtuous knowledge through philosophy with imperial success. This species of monarchism, shared by Bruno, ultimately looks back to Plato's Republic for its inspiration). Both Bruno and Chapman, then, make strong connections between their philosophical manifestos and the Elizabethan Imperial idea. It is surely not without significance that a similar employment of the Cynthia motif occurs in the work of the other major poet of the Northumberland coterie, Sir Walter Raleigh. In the midst of his personal lament on his fall into political disfavour the Booke of the Ocean to Scinthia, Raleigh interweaves a Neoplatonic vision of Elizabeth as an Imperial Goddess :

A vestall fier that burnes, but never wasteth,
That looeth nought by gevinge light to all,
That endless shines eachwher and endless lasteth...
Th' Idea remayninge of thos golden ages.²⁵⁴

Raleigh speaks of the "furious madness"²⁵⁵ of his love for the Platonic Queen, which is a type of heroic love which rejects the illusions of the senses and the sensual appetites :

Love of delight while such delight indureth
staves by the pleasure, but no longer staves....
But in my minde so is her love inclosde
and is thereof not only the best parte
but into it the essence is disposde....²⁵⁶
yeven as the Center in each parfait rounde.

Not only does Raleigh share with Chapman the Brunian themes of the furore and the "sacred circle", and heroic love, but Raleigh's reference to Elizabeth "gevinge light to all" recalls Bruno's laudation of the Queen quoted earlier, where he says she "a tutto il terrestre globo rende sí chiaro lume".²⁵⁷

Despite these similarities, Bruno's Diana and Chapman's Cynthia are nonetheless divergent in some respects. The two poets, for instance, assign contrary roles to the Sun in relation to the Moon and Night. For Bruno, as for Leone Ebreo and many Neoplatonists since Plato himself, the Sun or Apollo is the image of the universal Intelligence, the transcendent, incorporeal aspect of Godhead emanating through the hierarchy of the cosmos down into the very essence of matter itself (Hence for Bruno matter is not "dead", but living "materia spirituale" : "medesimo piú chiaro e piú oculto, principio e fine...infinita potenza ed infinito atto").²⁵⁸ Bruno's Sun and Moon are in a complementary, reflective relationship :²⁵⁹

a nessun pare possibile de vedere il sole, l'universale Apolline
e luce assoluta per specie suprema ed eccellentissima; ma sí bene

la sua ombra, la sua Diana, il mondo, l'universo, la natura
che è nelle cose, la luce che è nell' opacità della materia.²⁶⁰

In Chapman, however, the Night and her "faire soule" Cynthia, stand in an oppositional relationship to Day and the Sun which, rather than representing the Universal Intelligence as is customary in Christian and Platonic tradition,²⁶¹ represents base worldly and material appetites, "fiery lusts". In the two hymns which comprise the Shadow of Night, which is above all a summons to the virtuous, philosophical life, the poet calls on the Sun to retreat before the Moon, and Night to vanquish Day and its values. This fundamental symbology is expressed in lines 350 to 376 of the Hymnus in Noctem where Chapman calls on the "noblest heires of men",²⁶² men such as the "true nobilitie" of Northumberland, Derby and Hunsdon, which he calls "indepressed spirits" with "aspiring wits",²⁶³ to join him in a vow to pursue Platonic studies : "consecrate with me, to sacred Night / Your whole endeavours and detest the light".²⁶⁴ It is the "freezing science" and "deepe searche of knowledge" associated with the Northumberland circle scientists to which Chapman alludes under the banner of Night and Cynthia. Chapman's characterisation of the nocturnal values of this creed shows us that the beliefs of the group went beyond a rationalist, empirical conception of science (such as that of Johannes Kepler, who was nonetheless firmly admired by the group), to embrace a Platonic ethics and epistemology, a "spiritual science" which looked beyond the evidence of sense-data to an eternal God above and beyond the perceived universe. These are the "deeper contemplations" which Northumberland recommended to his son in his Essay, which included geometry, metaphysics, astronomy and "the Doctrine of generation and Corruption" and "the doctrine De Anima".²⁶⁵ The doctrine of generation and corruption, in particular echoes Brunian atomism in its pursuit of "the method general of all atomical combinations possible in homogeneal substances".²⁶⁶ Bruno considered that "le cose grandi son composte de le picciole, e le picciole de le picciolissime",²⁶⁷ and that in all matter "le particelle tutte si muovono e cangiano di loco e disposizione".²⁶⁸ It was just such a Neoplatonic variant on the themes of Epicurus and Democritus which the Earl of Northumberland took as the "philosophical project" underlying his alchemical experiments.²⁶⁹ The Earl's conception of the "rise and fall" of generation in the material universe recalls Bruno's cosmos of "innumerabili vicissitudini e specie di moto e mutazione" which is based on "uno infinito ente e sustanza" - the Earl looks at all "the ways possible of generating the same [homogeneal] substance".²⁷⁰²⁷¹

Chapman's passage continues like this :

...day or light, in anie qualitie
 For earthly uses do but serve the eye.
 And since the eyes most quicke and dangerous use,
 Enflames the heart, and learnes the soules abuse,
 Since mournings are preferd to banquettings,
 And they reach heaven, bred under sorrowes wings.²⁷²

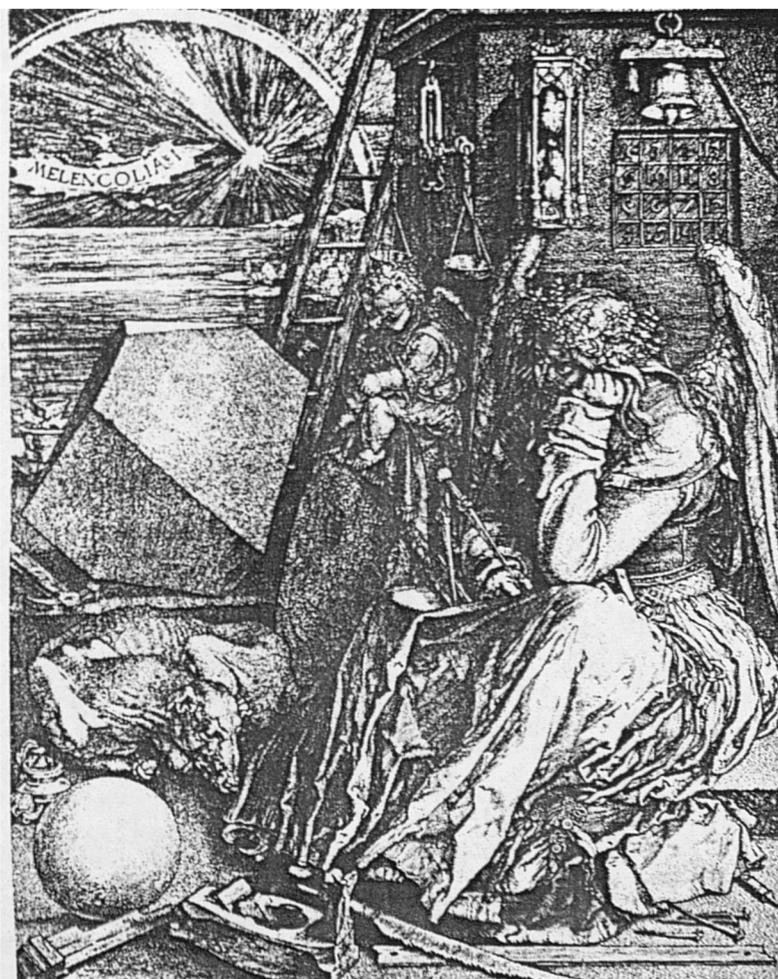
Day and Sun represent the senses, and the corruption of the soul by sensual appetites, or "banquettings" (here we have the germ of Chapman's later elaboration of the theme in Ovid's Banquet of Sence) but Night represents the winged sorrow of inspired melancholy as expounded by Pseudo-Aristotle and Ficino's De Vita, a melancholy of "trances" or furori which helps the scholar to "reach heaven"²⁷³. Earlier in the Hymnus in Noctem we are told that Night is "black in face, and glitterest in [the] heart"²⁷⁴, which is true at the literal level (ie the night sky is dark), but also signifies the black complexion of the Saturnine melancholiac as in Dürer's Melancholia I (Chapman, we will remember, has his Pegasean philosophers "girt with Saturn's Adamantine sword", and Cynthia has "adamantine powre" over the passions). "Mournings are preferred to banquettings"²⁷⁶, says Chapman, the Moon will vanquish the Sun, spiritual, tempered melancholy will overcome sensual appetites and bring divine wisdom. "Serve the Night", he exhorts the reader, "To whom Pale Day (with whoredome soked quite) / Is but a drudge"²⁷⁷. In this manifesto we find the same world-weary search for peace from the world's struggles and disappointments which is at the heart of Northumberland's advice to his son, where he rejects, quite cruelly, his wife (representing earthly love) for the infinite mistress of philosophy. Of Night's philosophy Chapman says : "Her trustie shadows succor men dismayd / Whom Dayes deceiptfull malice hath betrayd"²⁷⁸. Northumberland, the brooding thinker of Sir Anthony Van Dyck's portrait (see Fig.4) hanging in Petworth House,²⁷⁹ has all the weariness and ennui of one of Chapman's "men dismayd", his hand resting on his cheek, his elbow crooked (in the manner of Dürer's Melancholy), but also - with his hand resting idly on a mathematical diagram from a Latin treatise - melancholy in the strict Ficinian sense, inspired by the "divinis influxibus oraculisque" of Saturn, the "arcanae contemplationis autor"²⁸¹.

Whereas Bruno's Sun is the "universale Apolline" then, Chapman's is the "glassie strumpet", and this difference of opinion makes a serious counter-argument to those seeking

Fig.4



Portrait of
Henry Percy,
Ninth Earl of
Northumberland.
Sir A. Van Dyck



Albrecht Dürer,
Melancholia I

a Brunian influence in Chapman's mythography. In particular it throws into disarray the superficial resemblance of Bruno and Chapman's use of the Moon's illumination and phases as metaphors of the soul's structure, its equilibrium of material and spiritual appetites.

In the Hymnus in Cynthiam Chapman, addressing Cynthia, treats the theme thus :

Make us tremble, lest thy sovereign parts
 (the whole preservers of our happinesse)
 Should yield to change, Eclips or heavienesse.
 And as thy changes happen by the site,
 Neare or farre distance, of thy father's light,
 Who (set in absolute remotion) reaves
 Thy face of light, and thee all darkned leaves :
 So for thy absence, to the shade of death ²⁸³
 Our soules fly mourning, winged with our breath.

Earlier in the same hymn Chapman compares, at great length, the Battle of Nymeghen in the Netherlands War to Cynthia's eclipse :

So (Gracious Cynthia) in that sable day,
 When interposed earth takes thee away,
 (Our sacred chief...)

 As chrimsine a retrait, and steepe a fall ²⁸⁴
 We feare to suffer from this peace and height.

In both cases the eclipse or absence of the moon, and the presence of the sun is bemoaned.

In the first Chapman compares the "Neare or farre distance" of the sun to his own relationship to the "soveraigne parts" (ie spiritual, divine gifts) of Cynthia - the moon's darkness due to the sun's "remotion" is akin to the "darkness" of his soul without the moon. It is to darkness that the inspired melancholiac flies, not the Apolline light which it shuns as the "sable day" of gross sensuality and material appetites. For Chapman sunlight represents the "interposed earth" of the soul's material appetites which prevent it from reaching its spiritual home, the moon. Chapman's chaste, Cynthian philosopher disdains the unworthiness of the Sun, daring it "like Theban Hercules...[to] calm the furies and to quench the fire" ²⁸⁵ of the lunar furore. This is Chapman's portrait of the "vertue-temperd mind" ²⁸⁶ seeking the Moon's spiritual values and shunning solar materialism. The very reverse of this symbology is to be found in Bruno's Eroici.

Bruno in his sonnet 'Luna inconstante, luna varia' and its commentary presents us with a different picture of the moon as an image of the soul. The lightness and darkness of the moon according to the various "sites" of the sun in relation to it, are seen as the product of the soul's imperfections rather than the sun's illumination (which here is a positive

force, the "intelligenza universale" to the "intelligenza particolare" of the furioso as represented by the moon) :

da quella [intelligenza universale] viene eternamente illuminata
in tutto l'emisfero : benché alle potenze inferiori e secondo
gl' influssi de gli atti su_o or viene oscura, or piú e meno lucida.²⁸⁷

The moon, or "intelligenza humana" is illuminated (or spiritual) only insofar as it is in receipt of this spirituality from the superior world. In itself the moon is regarded as the "infima de tutti gli astri", just as the human soul is "l'ultima in ordine de l'altre intelligenze"²⁸⁸. It is a vessel prone to material impediment "travaglioso, combattuto, invitato, sollecitato, distratto e come lacerato dalle potenze inferiori"²⁸⁹. The darkness of the matter which reigns in the soul is only dispelled by solar influence. This the human soul has in common with all the other inferior intelligences of the universe animated by Godhead :

Tansillo : Tutte l'intelligenze son significate per la luna, in quanto che son partecipi d'atto e di potenza, per quanto, dico, che hanno la luce materialmente, e secondo partecipazione, ricevendola da altro; dico, non essendo luci per sé...ma per riguardo del sole, ch' è la prima intelligenza...puro ed assoluto atto.

Cicada : Tutte dunque le cose hanno dipendenza e che non sono il primo atto e causa, sono composte come di luce e tenebra, come di materia e forma, di potenza ed atto?

Tansillo : Cossí è.²⁹⁰

Thus, while for Bruno as for Chapman the "luna piena" is a symbol of the spiritual pinnacle of the furore ("La luna mia.../ ...è mai sempre piena"²⁹¹), of the soul's superior potencies, Bruno's differs in so far as it is the sun which is the decisive part of the image, and the moon a passive receptacle. "Talis mihi semper" reads Bruno's motto to this poem (and the impresa of the full moon) "et astro"²⁹² - "Such it is always to me and the sun". In Chapman the moon is an unambiguous symbol of spiritual perfection. In Bruno the moon is essentially inferior, but raised by virtue of its participation in the life-giving rays of the "luce del mondo intelligibile"²⁹³, whereas these solar beams are for Chapman "whoresoked", "glassie" and debasing.

It is not surprising, considering Chapman's obvious autonomy from Bruno's mythography in the case of Diana, that he does not share Bruno's reading of the related Actaeon myth, eschewing the "venagione...divina ed universale"²⁹⁴ of the "orme e vestigij imprese nelle cose naturale"²⁹⁵ by God's emanating presence. He eschews also the figure of Actaeon as prey, choosing instead one of Cynthia's nymphs, Euthymia, as the prey of Actaeon's hounds, whose names Chapman derives from Comes. While the basic premise of Chapman's complex allegory,²⁹⁶

that "virtues are meat for vices"²⁹⁷, is not entirely alien to Bruno's ethical conception of Actaeon, which resides in his realisation of the inferiority of the body and corporeal pleasures ("non far caso del corpo ed aver in odio questa vita"²⁹⁸), the specificity of Chapman's version shows that his impetus obviously comes from some other direction than Bruno.

Two other Brunian themes dealt with by Chapman in the Shadow of Night must be briefly considered before we conclude. Firstly the "tears" of the philosopher, and the "waters" or "humors" of the Divinity. In Bruno the tears of the Petrarchan lover become an important unit in his symbolic language of divine love, an idea which is bound up with a cosmology which sees the universe divided between superior and inferior waters as in Genesis I,vi.²⁹⁹ The furioso depends upon "l'acqui salutifere" of Godhead to purge himself of material imperfection (these waters were identified by Bruno as the biblical "acqui di sapienza" and "fiumi d'acqua di vita eterna"³⁰⁰). Bruno's philosophy in particular relies upon the "acqui inferiori sotto il firmamento che acciecano"³⁰¹, the vestiges of God in nature, which studied closely can raise the soul up to the superior waters of Godhead. This identification of water or "humor" with divinity naturally determines the significance of weeping as a metaphor of divine meditation. In the second part of the Eroici there is a debate between the heart (the fiery, material part of the soul), and the eyes (the watery, divine part of the soul, or mens). Here the metaphor of weeping is explained. First Bruno repeats the conventional account of love's genesis current at that time :

Gli occhi apprendono le specie e le proponeno al core, il core le brama ed il suo bramare presenta a gli occhi : quelli concepeno la luce, la diffondono il fuoco in questo; questo, scaldato ed acceso, invia il suo amore a quelli, perché lo digeriscano.³⁰²

This is then expounded in terms of the spiritual or intellectual process which Bruno describes in his sonnets :

la cognizione muove l'affetto, ed appresso l'affetto muove la cognizione...l'intelletto speculativo prima si vede il bello e buono, poi la volontà l'appetisce, ed appresso l'intelletto industrioso lo procura, séguita e cerca.³⁰³

"Gli occhi lacromosi", Bruno adds "significano la difficoltà de la separazione della cosa bramata dal bramante"³⁰⁴. The frustration of the lover deprived of his beloved becomes symbolic of the imperfect cognition of Godhead by man, and it is the "eyes" of the mind which apprehend

the divine vestiges, and make possible the desire to know the Deity, which becomes the nexus of Bruno's metaphor for the "improporzionalità de mezzi"³⁰⁵, weeping. This imperfect apprehension is also described in the song of the fifth blind-man in Part II, dialogue IV, where the cieco complains of being blind "per il molto lacrimare"³⁰⁶, that is, by becoming accustomed to the absence, or inconceivability, of God, which is a "cecità...al tutto privata"³⁰⁷. The furioso is unable to rise to comprehend the nature of this elusive divinity. His intellect becomes, in the words of the sonnet : "dal contrario [umor] oppressa e vinta"³⁰⁸, which is to say that he loses hope of uniting with God. The "fuoco luminoso" which "accende l'alma"³⁰⁹ is extinguished. Another problem of excessive weeping (privation) is dealt with in the sixth blind-man, who cries so much that "non gli è rimasto umore"³¹⁰. This "umore" is that which according to the poem "tenne il corpo, il spirito e l'alma giunti"³¹¹, which is to say that it is the element which "tener unite...le parte diverse...e contrarie"³¹² in the universe, and which allows the soul access to the illumination of the "raggio visuale"³¹³. It is characteristic of Bruno's philosophy that his description of the physical universe should coincide with his theology. Hence he claims in the De l'infinito, universo e mondi that "l'acqua... giunge e copula le parti, cominciando da minimi della natura"³¹⁴, and it is water or "humor", the "visual ghiaccio"³¹⁵ of the soul's eye which allows it access to wisdom, to understand the copulative harmony of the superior and inferior worlds.

Chapman too makes frequent mentions of the purgative and salutary effects of tears, and of the necessity of illuminating "humors". Early in the Hymnus in Noctem Chapman gives an account of the furore which begins with weeping :

Let humor give
 Seas to mine eyes, that I may quickly weepe
 The shipwracke of the world...
 ...lose my working soule,
 That in her highest pitch, she may controule
 The court of skill, compact of misterie
 Wanting but franchisement and memorie
 To reach all secrets...in blissful trance.³¹⁶

Chapman's "working soule", like Bruno's "intelletto industrioso"³¹⁷ needs moisture to receive illumination (it is interesting to note also Chapman's identification of "blissful trance" and "memorie" as in Brunian mnemonics). Like Bruno's Amphitrite or "fonte delle idee", and watery Diana (or his Father Ocean), Chapman's spiritual goddess is a "sweet sea of golden humor"³¹⁸ which infuses the universe : "everie corner fild / By bewtious forme"³¹⁹. She is the fount

from which the philosopher draws the "Gorgonean dew³²⁰" of the heroic frenzy, the provider of the "oyles and expulsatorie Balme"³²¹ which quenches the passions. Chapman's vision of philosophy, however, is very much tinged with a Protestant strain :

Kneelee then, with me, fall worm-like on the gronde,
And from th' infectious dunghill of this Round...
Weepe, weepe your soules into felicitie.³²²

His tears are as much the Christian tears of repentance and contrition, as the self-purging tears of the furioso filled with the "golden humor" of Cynthia. The prayer of humility, and the sense of the fallen world's corruption, and the dwelling on "darned sinne"³²³ and memento mori themes ("Strewd up with the bones and relickes of the dead"³²⁴), give Chapman's philosophy a unique English Protestant character, traditional pietism interwoven with the Italian Neoplatonist strands of his work.

Like Bruno, Chapman definitely sees the furore as his muse : "No pen can anything eternall wright", he says, "that is not steeped in humor of the Night"³²⁵. Bruno thought that poetry should be subservient to philosophy; "contemplazione e studia di filosofia", he says, "denno...come parenti de le Muse, esser predecessori a quelle"³²⁶. Eternal poetry, he says, is the province of those "che degnamente cantano cose eroiche, istituendo gli animi eroici per la filosofia speculativa e morale"³²⁷. Chapman, as one of the finest English translators of Homer often spoke of the furore in connection with the Greek poet (just as Bruno spoke of the "arti e furori"³²⁸ of Homer in the Eroici), so it is just as well to bear in mind when dwelling on the furore common to the Eroici and the Shadow of Night that this belief was a commonplace of Renaissance criticism, especially in the Italian tradition (Andrea Menichini's Delle lode della poesia d'Omero et di Virgilio of 1572, for example, speaks of the "poetic frenzies" of these two idols of the Renaissance), going as far back as the fifteenth-century and the first discussions of the furori outlined in Plato's Phaedrus.

The last similarity of imagery I wish to discuss is the conceit of the meridian of the beloved's face which Chapman shared in common with Bruno, and Sidney and Greville. Bruno's sonnet 'Partesi da la stanza il contadino' speaks of the "focosi rai" of Godhead burning in the features of Nature (the "doi archi" of Diana) which constantly inspire his soul heavenwards "Bruggiand' a tutte l'ore / Dal suo meridian l'afflitto core"³²⁹. The meridian motif in Sidney and Greville we will recall, differed from Bruno's in their essentially secular applications. This is not the case with Chapman, although there is still some

departure from the Brunian usage. While like Bruno Chapman departs from the "heavenly face" of an actual beloved (as in Sidney's Astrophel XLII) he doesn't go as far as Bruno in the emblemizing of the furore. He does, however, identify the motif as part of the divine inspiration of his Night / Moon goddess, her "graver dreames inspir'd with prophesies".³³⁰

The essential difference between Bruno and Chapman is Chapman's reference to dream, which has little counterpart in Bruno (although he does talk of the legitimacy of allegorizing "sogno e profetico enigma"³³¹ in the Eroici, and links dream to "tutti eroici e divini ingegni"³³² in the Spaccio). In the Hymnus in Noctem Chapman speaks of these inspired dreams which send, amongst others, visions of female beauty which recall his Coronet, and the Eroici motif :

Sweet Protean dreames she [Night] sends of every sort...
 ...some (deare favour) Lady-like attyred,
 With pride of Beauties full Meridian fir'd.³³³

This is surely the Mistress Philosophy with the "firm...browe", whose face inspires the lover of wisdom : "Heaven's glories shining there".³³⁴ The female figure of Chapman's dream is a Platonic Lady who "loves the inward parts" of man, and "pities our contempts, revives our harts".³³⁵ Chapman makes a traditional Neoplatonic assertion of Ideas over the perceived world when, speaking of these inspired dreams, he says : "If these be dreames, even so are all things else / That walk this round by heavenly sentinels".³³⁶ Chapman's dream, like Greene's Rare and Excellent Dreame (which we mentioned in our introduction) reflects an English taste for Petrarch's "dream visions" of Laura in the Canzoniere which is absent from Bruno. There is no sense either, in Chapman's use of the image, of Bruno's very specific iconography where the sun's rays signify "le raggioni...[della] divina beltade e bontade",³³⁷ and the "bows" of his beloved's eyes are "le due specie di rivelazione",³³⁸ and the "horizon" is "la parte delle potenze superiori".³³⁹ Nonetheless, the two images both represent an appeal to the "potenze superiori" and what Bruno calls the "meridiano del core",³⁴⁰ and Chapman the "highest pitch" of the soul - the part of man's nature which, through philosophy and contemplation, urges him to look toward heaven.

Conclusions.

The question of Bruno's influence on George Chapman in the Shadow of Night is at best an uncertain one. There are certainly strong parallels between the Eroici and the Shadow at many points, although Chapman's poem largely ignores the Petrarchan milieu suggested by

Bruno's work, it nonetheless retains elements of his mythography. Even here, as we have found, there are certain divergences between the two writers. We cannot ignore the fact that much of Chapman's work bears the marks of other influences (some glossed, others not) : Ficino, Aristotle, the Orphic hymns, and - above all - the Mythologiae of Natalis Comes. Nonetheless, there are sufficient similarities here to create a suspicion that the Northumberland circle's discussion of, or interest in, Bruno's works - as suggested in the Ninth Earl's Library and annotation of the Eroici Furori - had some role in the genesis of Chapman's Shadow, and his philosophical style of poetry in general. Unlike the "Areopagus" circle (represented in our analysis by the two key figures, Sidney and Greville) the Northumberland poets - by which I mean Chapman, Raleigh, Peele and Donne - seem likely to have been more receptive to Brunian ideas, given their philosophical inclinations and the corroboratory fact of the Bruno texts being in the library of the "Muse's love, patron and favourite". An examination of Chapman's poetry shows us an absence of the secularity of reference which marked the "Areopagus" poems in comparison with Bruno's. The analogues in Chapman tend to share the philosophical reference and context of the Eroici, above all in his dedication to the furore "bred under sorrow's wing", and natural philosophy. The Earl of Northumberland as a patron of divine philosophy "following the ancient reverend steps of Trismegistus³⁴¹ and Pythagoras" and curious about the "furye from above", is the most likely patron of a Brunian style of philosophical poetry in England, and we can cautiously confirm this in the case of George Chapman.

In closing, I would like to indicate a further direction for research into the influence of Bruno on the poets of the Northumberland circle, suggested to me by a metaphor from Chapman's Coronet, and its relation to a passage from Bruno's Latin philosophical poem De triplici minimo e mensura. This poem and Bruno's two other "Lucretian" poems printed at Frankfurt in 1591, the De Monade and the De innumerabilis were all present in the Earl's library. Gatti considered these poems as being "especially congenial" to the interests and enquiries of the Northumberland circle, and concludes that : "Detailed reference of the philosophical writings of the Northumberland group to the Latin works may show a more direct influence of Bruno than has so far been suspected"³⁴². Although Gatti here was thinking "principally of the more scientific aspects"³⁴³ of the Northumberland circle's activities (such as the

cosmological and mathematical papers of Thomas Hariot and William Warner³⁴⁴), there is no doubt that future considerations must be extended to encompass the impact of these works on the poets associated with the Earl. Gatti herself identified a similarity in imagery between the first chapter of De Mensura from the De triplici minimo and the Earl's essay on love addressed to his son. Gatti described the theme thus : "truth is a straight line, unique and powerful in its brevity and simplicity; falsehood is a twined thread, a 'circular maze'³⁴⁵". Northumberland's contrast of a "Mathematicall line" and an "untwined thredd" or "circular maze" recalls Bruno's discussion of Truth and falsehood, point and line, in the De Mensura as Gatti has suggested in her article :

Inter duo puncta infinitae produci possunt curvae. sic una atque simplex et brevissima apprehensionis est veritas, falsitas vero multiplex, prolixa, difficilis, qualem sophisticam geometriam cum aliis philosophiae partibus esse videmus.³⁴⁶

The mathematical line, Northumberland says, is "lesse than" the tangled chaos of falsity. Bruno finds it "brevissima". In both the tortuous line between two points is a symbol of falsehood : "falsi innumerae veniunt formae atque figurae" says Bruno but "verum sanctumque bonumque...conspirat in unam Perpetuo"³⁴⁷. For Bruno God is represented by the point or the perfect "linea recta", or by their conjunction in the circle or sphere. As Kepler, a continual critic of Bruno's "infinitism", sarcastically commented in a letter to Matthias Bernegger : "Brunum Romae crematum...Religionem omnium vanitatum asservit, Deum in mundum in circulos, in puncta convertit".³⁴⁸

It is therefore quite exciting to find this same metaphorical opposition at work in George Chapman's Coronet, where he speaks of Philosophy as :

A right line, forcing a rebateles point,
 ...through everything obscure
 To full perfection; not the weake disjoint
 Of female humors.³⁴⁹

The same contrast is here, "curvae" against "recta", "right line" against "weake disjoint", the same comparison of truth and falsehood in geometrical terms. This link between Northumberland, Bruno and the poetry of Chapman suggests fruitful ground for further investigations into the imagery of poets associated with the Earl's principally mathematical and scientific circle. Previously all comment on Brunian influence on English poets has been restricted to the "Areopagus". In future the net will have to be cast wider, to encompass Yates' suggestions about the influence on the "Northumberland poets", and not only the influence of the Eroici

Furori, but also the Latin poems of Bruno's Frankfurt period, the De triplici minimo, the De monade and the De innumerabilis.

Conclusion.

Having accomplished (at least for the authors and works covered) the stringent poetic analyses of Elizabethan poetry which has been neglected in the past by critics of Yates' hypotheses concerning the influence of the Degli Eroici Furori on the poetry of the 1580s and 90s (particularly in the Sidney and Northumberland 'circles'), I feel in a position to temper Yates' claim that the Eroici is a work of the greatest importance to students of Elizabethan poetry.¹ This is not to say that Bruno's dialogue is irrelevant to the study of the Elizabethans, but merely that we should be more reserved in gauging its significance, and more accurate as to the field of its influence in English poetry. In addition, the research undertaken here raises a few questions about the way in which we should be looking at the Neoplatonic strands in Elizabethan poetry – whether the belletristic philosophy of the love-poetry, or the more discursive engagement of Platonic or Neoplatonic cosmology and metaphysics in the more strictly 'philosophical' poetry (although I would not be overzealous in pursuing this distinction, as we have seen that they can be intermingled at a deep level). It also raises the question of where we should be looking for a greater understanding of Elizabethan Neoplatonism in poetry, which sources of these ideas had the most influence on the literature of the period. Lastly, I feel in a position to suggest possible directions for continued research into Bruno's influence in English culture, which has been far from exhausted by my analysis of Sidney, Greville and Chapman and the Eroici Furori.

The oft-repeated fragments of circumstantial evidence (and germ of what Professor Elton called in 1907 the "Bruno legend"), that Bruno dined with Greville and Sidney and discussed philosophy, and that this (together with Bruno's warm references to the two poets in the Dialoghi) was enough to deduce a deep interest, or friendly, sympathetic attitudes toward Bruno and his idiomatonic vision of Italian Neoplatonism must be firmly laid to rest. Despite Yates' claim that the Eroici had "connections with Sidney",² and that Greville's poetry used conceits "in exactly [the] obscure and broken kind of way that Bruno used [his] conceits",³ we have found that these two poets are more remarkable for their lack of congruency with the Eroici strategy than their similarity. In the light of the largely negative findings of my analyses of Bruno's imagery and that of Astrophel and Stella and Caelica, and despite the fact that we have not attempted to scrutinise other poets from the Sidney

circle, such as Edward Dyer and Edmund Spenser,⁴ it seems reasonably safe to assume that the degree of penetration of Bruno's Eroici into the so-called "Areopagus" of English versifiers is surprisingly slight given Bruno's warmth and flattery toward Sidney, Greville and Sidney's uncle Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester. There is little evidence in our comparative study to show that Bruno's visit and his dialogues were "the supreme experience of these years [ie 1583-5]"⁵ for the Sidney circle, and still less for her claim that "some of the most recondite productions of Elizabethan poetry [Yates refers here to Sidney et al.] use his imagery"⁶. The reason for what Ferruolo calls the "analogia di motivi e d'immagini"⁷ between the Eroici and Sidney and Greville's sequences seems largely to be the mutual reliance on the common Renaissance repertory of Petrarchan and mythological topoi. The actual use of these images in the English poets betrays a Neoplatonism more nearly akin to that of the "amor cortese" of Varchi's Lezzioni and the Platonic Petrarch-commentaries than to Bruno's spiritual Petrarchism written "simile a quello di Salomone".⁸

I have found more substantiation for Yates' assertion that the Northumberland circle (or 'Raleigh group') was a fertile area of research for those seeking Bruno's influence in England,⁹ both in their scientific and poetic activities. The collection of Bruno's works owned by the Ninth Earl of Northumberland, and his annotation of the Eroici Furori in the 1600s, and certain analogous employments of motifs and imagery between the Eroici and the poetry of George Chapman lead me to believe that the influence of Bruno was very much alive in this coterie of scholars, unlike their counterparts in the "Areopagus". This is evident in their Neoplatonism, which is far less concerned with the belletristic Platonism of the "heavenly face" and more committed to the pursuit of natural philosophy (in a Trismegistean and Pythagorean mould, as in Bruno), and the scientific application of the "starrie science" of alchemy, as suggested by the presence of works such as the Novum Lumen Chymicum (1614) of "Antonium Boetzerum" in the Earl's library.¹⁰ There is not much evidence of an interest in mnemotechnics, as for Sidney, although there is a primitive (probably non-Brunian) mnemonic aid in the Earl's hand written in the final fly-leaf of his copy of Lodovico Dolce's Observationi (1556) as a means of memorizing Italian pronouns.¹¹ At least one of the Earl's circle, Nicholas Hill, was interested in Lullism and memory-arts,¹² and the existence of three of Bruno's mnemonic works in the Earl's collection - some of which bear pencilled marginal signs - show that the memory-art must have played some part in the "philosophicall project"

described by the Earl to his son. Nonetheless, we must moderate Yates' suggestion that Bruno's intellectual presence was the "supreme experience" of the scholars and poets whom he met, or who knew of his works. Instead a line must be drawn somewhere between Yates' pre-emptory effusions and Andrew Weiner's baleful view of Bruno's England visit as "a stand-off in which no-one won and only Bruno lost"¹³. That Bruno made some impact we know from the derision of some of his contemporaries in England, such as Alberico Gentile, "N.W", and George Abbott. His Oxford debate was a minor cause célèbre, and his stream of vibrant, extravagant dialogues no doubt created a fair amount of cautious curiosity and bemusement amongst English Italianophiles. We know also that there were people who took Bruno's work seriously, his emulator in mnemonics Alexander Dicson, the astronomers of the Northumberland circle (who even discussed his "infinitism" with Johannes Kepler), Henry Percy, and even Greville was said by Bruno to have been genuinely curious about the Italian's "nuova filosofia" and Copernicanism.¹⁴ This does not constitute a "supreme experience", but neither does it suggest the studied indifference or derision implied by Weiner. The Dialoghi Italiani, and particularly the Eroici Furori, coming at a moment in the English cultural Renaissance when great interest in Neoplatonism was stirring in the English court and private circles, inevitably played a role in the construction of our native Platonism and, in the particular case of the Eroici, in the development of English Neoplatonic poetry. However, as one source amongst a complicated amalgam of French and Italian sources, its role was subdued and only partially significant. On the basis of my findings, I would suggest that the Eroici's significance is best described as moderate, and the foremost field of its influence the Northumberland coterie. If for no other reason, however, Bruno's purposeful adoption of poetic conventions associated with the so-called "cult of Elizabeth" would assure the Degli Eroici Furori of a place in the history of Elizabethan literature. In one of her later essays Yates herself began to stress this side of Bruno's connections with Elizabethan poets, underplaying the idea of direct influence: "Perhaps one should look at the question as not so much an influence of Bruno on Elizabethan poets, as a reflection by Bruno of the imagery of the Elizabeth cult".¹⁵

Although largely negative and sobering, this conclusion does lead us to some considerations about the way research into Elizabethan Platonism should be undertaken. In the past it has been too easy for literary critics to daub sonorous generalisations over the

Neoplatonism permeating English sonnets : "Spenser knew of Bembo, Ficino and Bruno"¹⁶, said Edward de Selincourt in 1912, as if this had a significant bearing upon his poetry, but without the slightest inclination to analyse how (if at all) this "knowledge" of the Italian philosophers was evident in Spenser's works. What are needed now are concrete studies examining in detail whether or not the influence of particular Neoplatonists can be discerned at work in the Elizabethan poets. This necessitates a more general study of how Neoplatonic ideas came to be diffused in England, and through which texts (literary and philosophical). Once this reconstruction of the diffusion of French and Italian texts is completed through investigating the composition of English libraries and the literary tastes of Italian emigrees and the activities of Elizabethan publishers and booksellers (especially the Italians such as Jacopo Castelvetro and Ascanius de Renialme), we can begin to understand the Platonism of English poets. The attribution of precise influences can doubtless be vague and hazardous, but without the attempt we are left with vapid platitudes and clumsy guess-work. If, for instance, L.I. Bredvold had not troubled to adduce the reliance of Sir John Davies' Platonic poem Nosce Teipsum on a French compendium of Neoplatonic ideas, Pierre de Primaudaye's Academie Francois (translated in 1586 as The French Academie by "T.B.") might we not still be searching for corollaries in more familiar or obvious sources, or be reduced, as a recent editor of Davies was, to concluding that Nosce Teipsum was merely representative of "the average Christian philosophy at the end of the Renaissance"¹⁷? My comparative study of Bruno's Eroici and the poetry of Sidney, Greville and Chapman represents precisely this kind of attempt to locate specific influence.

Worse perhaps than the anodyne generalities of some critics are those who instead seek to depict Neoplatonism as in some way alien to the "English character" or "English literary tradition". A.S. Satterthwaite mars, for instance, an otherwise excellent study of the Neoplatonic characteristics of the poetry of Spenser, Ronsard and Du Bellay by making what he confesses is an "artificial but convenient distinction"¹⁸ between Platonism and Christian religion in the works of the three poets, which leads him (as a conspicuously Protestant critic) to make a series of damaging judgements on the Christian Platonism of Spenser when he tries to isolate and diminish the vital Platonic element : "Spenser's creed is a consistent Protestant Christianity, while the Platonism and Neoplatonism are adventitious"¹⁹. The Neoplatonism of the Fowre Hymnes, for example, is seen as "an accidental quality of the

diction" and "without rational consistency"²⁰. In essence, Satterthwaite anxiously asserts, Spenser has produced a "ringingly Christian hymn"²¹, untainted by the "heresy" of foreign Platonism. Other critics mirror Satterthwaite's equally spurious division between the "true Neoplatonist" and "a poet caught up in the current of Neoplatonism"²², describing the popular Platonism of Castiglione's Cortegiano as if it were a flimsy, fashionable manual beyond which English poets were too "pragmatic" or "domestic" to proceed. Mark Rose, for example, in his Heroic Love : Studies in Spenser and Sidney (1968), blithely dismisses English Platonism as "little more than a literary fad for a few popularizers", Ebreo and Bruno, he says, were "too difficult and abstruse" for the Elizabethans who are characterized as "down to earth and practical and less mystical and Neoplatonic than their Italian models". This, Rose says, is due to the "practical domesticity of the English"²³.

Against this "pragmatic romanticism" we must counterpose the recent work of Frances Yates, and a few isolated scholars such as Peter French and Daniel Banes, who urge us to take the Platonism of Elizabethan poets more seriously. In one of her last collections of essays The Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age (1979), Yates examines how the Italian Renaissance in philosophy which fused late-Alexandrine and Hellenic Neoplatonism with Jewish-Cabalist ideas into a "Christian Platonism" reached Northern Europe via the agency of such figures as Henricus Cornelius Agrippa and Francesco Giorgi. In particular she tries to show how this philosophy served as the context for specific Elizabethan works of literature : Agrippan melancholy in Chapman's Shadow of Night, Christian Cabala in Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice, and the Neoplatonist numerology of Francesco Giorgi's De Harmonia Mundi in Edmund Spenser's Faerie Queene. Her pioneering attempt at tracing the "history of Christian cabala"²⁴ in the iconography of Elizabethan and Jacobean poets sets the pattern for future research in the iconography of Elizabethan literature, and its links with the history of ideas. This aim is also asserted by Peter French in his study of the English Hermetic philosopher John Dee :

The fact that men like Dee and Sidney and Dyer were interested in mystical Platonism, Hermetecism and alchemy, in magic, cannot be dismissed as a despicable remnant of mediaevalism... a continuing analysis of such topics will bring us closer to a full understanding of the English Renaissance.²⁵

Daniel Banes, in his excellent commentary on Shakespeare's Merchant of Venice in 1975-6

works out what he considers to be the dramatist's debt to Giorgi's Harmonia Mundi,²⁶ while Alistair Fowler's Spenser and the numbers of Time (1971) follows up the numerological analysis of Maren-Sofie Røstvig²⁷ with a close analysis of the Faerie Queene in which he traces an astral or planetary pattern.²⁸ It is as part of what French calls the "continuing analysis" of Neoplatonism in Elizabethan literature that I intended this research into Bruno's impact on the English poets of the 1580s and 90s. My results have shown, I hope, that this is present, although not to quite the extent (or the precise direction) that Yates surmised.

The moderation of Yates' claim for Brunian influence on the Petrarchism of the "Areopagus" group naturally gives rise to the question of where we should look for the Platonic sources of this group, and their models for Neoplatonic Petrarchism. Here in particular two main veins of research present themselves. Firstly, in the light of my study of Italian Petrarch-commentaries and lezioni, Italian Academicism (and its subsequent manifestations in France, enshrined in theoretical works such as ^{those of} Pontus de Tyard and Pierre de Primaudaye, as well as in the practice of the Pleiade and other poets) with its tendency to "Neoplatonize" or "spiritualize" Petrarch's poetry in such a way as to preserve the role of female beauty in belletristic philosophy seems to be particularly congenial to Elizabethan writers, and in need of a good deal of analytic spadework. The role of Platonic commentaries such as those of Pietro Bembo and Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo need to be investigated along the lines indicated by J.A. Quitslund's study of a single Spenser sonnet (Amoretti VIII).²⁹ Also the diffusion of the lezioni of Varchi, Gelli et al. and later Italian Neoplatonists such as Guazzo, Cinzio and Piccolomini through booksellers and libraries such as Percy's or Florio's must be considered in the genesis of Neoplatonic Petrarchism in England.

Secondly, an area of research already suggested by Yates and French (but subsequently neglected) is the connection of the "Areopagus" poets to the Hermetic philosopher John Dee. Sidney's ideas on poetry and music in the Apology, French felt, were akin to Dee's ideas about music in his Mathematicall Preface to Euclid (1570).³⁰ French speaks frequently of Sidney's "close association with Dee",³¹ and Dyer (Sidney's close friend and fellow poet) was "one of Dee's closest disciples and constant patrons",³² while Adrian Gilbert, the laborator of Sidney's sister Mary at Wilton House was the only witness to Dee's experiments in practical Cabala or "angel magic".³³ Gilbert's presence at Wilton, French felt, "draws the [Areopagus]

group closer to the Hermetic philosophy that Dee espoused"³⁴. Yates was more forthright in her opinion of Dee's mentorship of Sidney at Oxford in the 1570s : "Sir Philip Sidney's group of courtiers [were] studying number in the three worlds with John Dee"³⁵, Sidney had been "initiated by Dee...into the Hermetic mysteries of the Monas [Hieroglyphica]"³⁶, and Dee was also a source of poetic inspiration : "the more mystical and esoteric side of [Dee's] thought...inspired Sidney and his circle and the Elizabethan poetic movement which they led"³⁷. That Dee taught Sidney and Dyer "starry science" or "Chymistry" we know from the testament of chemist and entomologist Thomas Moffett,³⁸ and according to French, Dee frequently corresponded with Sir Henry Sidney, and Lady Sidney wrote to Dee in 1571-2 when Philip was studying with him. Are perhaps these letters extant? Certainly the family papers of Penshurst Place might provide us with some of Lady Sidney's letters which could shed light on Sidney's relationship with Dee - a role totally neglected by John Buxton, for instance, in his account of Sidney's education.³⁹ Sidney certainly valued Dee's opinions enough to consult him before leaving with Dyer on his important diplomatic mission to Bohemia in 1577.⁴⁰ How far were the Sidney circle guided in their Platonic studies by their "teacher" John Dee, who sought to reconcile the very latest Italian theories with the older English traditions of Roger Bacon and John Colet?

Another result of this research (I am thinking here particularly of the comparison of the Eroici with Sidney and Greville's sequences) has been to make me aware of the need to take equal account of the non-Platonic elements of the Elizabethan sonnet in order to understand the impulse behind its creation. The "secularity" of the Elizabethan sonnet looks back to the examples of the neo-Catullan Petrarchists such as Joannes Secundus in his Rasia or Cristoforo Landino in his Xandra, to the Anacreontic lyrics of the Pleiade poets with their hedonistic vaunting of the ephemeral joys of life. They look too to the Neo-Latin poetry of the Leiden Humanists and the international web of literary correspondence which they initiated (Sidney, in particular, was heavily involved with these poets and scholars). They also looked to the Italian anthologies of Petrarchism, especially from the Venetian presses, which reached the English courts through young men returning from their continental "tour", or via the nexus of Venice-London communications, Paris.⁴¹ In my chapter on Greville I mentioned the increasingly pietistic evolution of the sonnet in England, inspired by the

example of Sallust Du Bartas' "muse chrettienne", the rime spirituali of the Italian Counter-reform and their French imitators. In particular we need to be looking at the "economy" of Petrarchism in England, the interplay of different forces and desires within the conventional framework. How important is Neoplatonism in this economy? To what extent did Neoplatonism infringe upon the writing of secular love-poetry (and vice versa)? Often in English poets we find the Neoplatonic Idea of woman (or divine beauty, "l'indice della bellezza del spirito") eroded away against the harder bedrock of particular amorous situations, an anvil upon which the viability of Platonic love is tested against lovers' realism and found more or less wanting according to the poet. Typically the Elizabethans created an admixture of Neoplatonism and sensuality, caught in a paradox of resistance and yearning, as in Donne's 'The Extasie' (c1595) :

So must pure lovers soules descend
 T'affections, and to faculties,
 Which sense may reach and apprehend,
 Else a great Prince in prison lies...
 Love's mysteries in soules doe grow,
 But yet the body is his booke.

Bruno's Petrarchan economy, on the other hand, is totalized, in him Platonic or spiritual love fills out the language of Petrarch with no reserve or ambiguity, he mints a new ideological currency out of the old coin. With the English poets, at least in the case of Sidney and Greville, there is a tendency towards using Petrarchan topoi in the old ways (albeit with the vigorous enthusiasm of recent apostasy), enthralled by the purely sentimental language of love for a woman. This tendency runs parallel with Neoplatonism in the sonnets, and merges with it at certain points. Only ^{through} a genuine concern to do justice to both the Neoplatonic and the secular elements of the Elizabethan sonnet will a greater understanding of this poetry be achieved.

Finally, some speculations on avenues for further research into Bruno's influence on English poetry. Although my analysis of Sidney and Greville has led me to be pessimistic about Brunian influence in the "Areopagus", I have not exhausted the possibilities, and similar careful scrutiny of the sonnets and lyric poetry written by Edmund Spenser, Edward Dyer, and later satellites of the Sidney circle such as Samuel Daniel and Michael Drayton would give a fuller picture of any potential links between the Eroici Furori and this group. In particular the tendencies towards Neoplatonic and devotional works by poets patronized

by Mary Sidney could usefully be investigated for evidence of Bruno's influence (although the close connections of John Dee with Wilton House and the Sidney family over a protracted period must also be borne in mind)⁴². I also feel that further research into the minor Elizabethan sonnet-sequences in relation to the Eroici poems will be necessary before a comprehensive appreciation of this dialogue's impact on the practice of sonnet-writing can be reached. Again it is the intensive (and often tedious) iconographic comparisons of Bruno's topoi and those of the English poets which will be required.

More positively encouraging are the signs of an active interest in Bruno from the Northumberland circle's coterie of poets, with the Earl himself evidently having devoted himself closely to a selected handful of the Eroici sonnets, and their commentaries. Amongst the Earl's literary acquaintances three at least suggest themselves as candidates for further research in relation to Bruno. Given his interest in natural philosophy, alchemy and magic,⁴³ Sir Walter Raleigh must be the first to consider. Dr Gatti has suggested to me that "Raleigh's metaphysical lyrics will, I think, also prove good hunting ground"⁴⁴. George Peele, whose Honour of the Carter poem we quoted at length in the last chapter, expounded the Earl's creed of "divine science and philosophy",⁴⁵ and is another poet whose philosophical complexion must nominate him as a candidate in the search for Brunian influences. Donne has been mentioned before in connection with Bruno's philosophy by the translator of De la Causa, Jack Lindsay.⁴⁶ Most importantly, all these poets, and George Chapman, must be analysed with reference not only to the Degli Eroici Furori, but also to Bruno's Frankfurt trilogy of Latin philosophical poems, a task which will be, given the length and intricacy of the poems, long and painstaking. We already know that Bruno's influence on the Northumberland scientists was not inconsiderable and persisted well into the seventeenth century. I believe that this might also be the case for the philosophical poets of the group. Bruno research in the field of English poetry has already reached as far as Marvell,⁴⁷ and when we consider that the bulk of Bruno's texts did not reach the universities of Oxford and Cambridge until the middle of the seventeenth century, when new Platonic impulses were stimulating intellectuals such as Sir Thomas Browne and Henry More, it will not be surprising to find Bruno's philosophy emerging as a subterranean influence well into the century after their publication. In particular the history of the Petrarchan conceit in England, and its religious or spiritual transformation into a mystical language in

poets such as George Herbert and Marvell must take account of Bruno's dialogue as well as the more obvious source in the "divine sonneteers" of Italy and France. The story of Giordano Bruno's short visit to England is not yet a closed book. His ⁱnnervating intellectual and diplomatic presence, and his intense, voluminous literary production in that short space of time continue to echo throughout the period of the English Renaissance.

Notes to the Introduction.

1. See A.D.Imerti Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast (Rutgers University Press 1964) p10 : "It is believed that [Sidney]...may have financed the publication of Bruno's Italian works".
2. Vincenzo Spanpanato, Vita di Giordano Bruno (Messina 1921)
3. D.W.Singer, Giordano Bruno : His Life and Thought (New York 1950)
4. F.A.Yates Giordano Bruno and the Hermetic Tradition (London 1964), especially chapters 11-20.
5. Vincenzo Spanpanato Documenti della vita di Giordano Bruno (Florence 1933), p85
6. Giordano Bruno, Philothei Iordani Bruni Nolani explicatio Triginta sigillorum (1583), fol.A3r :
"Philotheus Jordanus Brunus Nolanus, doctor of a more abstruse theology, professor of a purer and more innocuous wisdom, noted in the best Academies of Europe, an approved and honourably received philosopher, a stranger nowhere save amongst the barbarous and ignoble, the waker of sleeping souls, tamer of presumptuous and recalcitrant ignorance, proclaimer of a general Philanthropy".
Trans. F.A.Yates Hemetic Tradition, p206.
7. See C.E.Mallett History of the University of Oxford (London 1924), II, p147ff
8. Giordano Bruno, Triginta sigillorum (1583), title-page.
9. Thomas Watson Compendium Memoriae localis (London 1585), cit. D.W.Singer, p40.
10. See F.A.Yates 'The Religious Policy of Giordano Bruno', JWCI, III, 1939-40, pp181-207, reprinted in Lull and Bruno : Collected Essays Vol I (London 1983), pp151-179.
11. V.Spanpanato, Vita, p734. The item is dated June 3 1592 : "In England where I was at that time, and where I composed that book, it was the custom to give this title 'Goddess' to the Queen; and I was so much more induced to call her this by the fact that she knew me, [as I was] continually going with the ambassador into court".
12. Dial.Ital. pp549 and 552.
"to the very illustrious and excellent knight Sir Philip Sidney"
"numbered and ordered seeds of his moral philosophy".
13. ibid. pp549-550
"I don't know what I should do...if I did not esteem your intellect, nor honour your manners, nor celebrate your merits; with which you acquainted me when I first arrived in this island of Britain...[and showed me] your natural inclination [which is] truly heroic...in addition to that most generous and noble spirit of Sir Fulke Greville...who, concerning me was the one who (after your first offices) proposed and offered me his second offices".
14. On Sidney's patronage see note 1 above. On Sidney's advancement of Bruno to an Oxford lectureship see Spanpanato, Vita p329ff.
15. Dial.Ital. p550
"I would have accepted [these offices], and he would certainly have effectuated them, if there hadn't been scattered between us the arsenic of the vile,

- malign and ignoble interests of the envious Erinni".
16. Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, Jan-Jun 1583, p214
 17. Dial.Ital. p10. "more poetic and tropological than historical".
 18. Dial.Ital. p51. "many gentlemen and learned persons".
 19. ibid. "discussing of various beautiful matters"
 20. ibid.^{p.50} "that he could not give him an explanation, not knowing his capacity; and not knowing if he would be understood by him".
 21. ibid.^{p.51} "Many doctors of this country, with whom he [Bruno] has discoursed about literature he has found in their manner of proceeding to have been more boorish than he would have desired".
 22. John Dee's diary June 15 1583. See 'Dr Dee's Diary' Camden Society Journal, old series, XIX, 1842, ed. J.O.Halliwel, p20
 23. Dial.Ital. pp133-4
 "...in this happy country there reigns a constellation of most obstinate, pedantic ignorance and presumption mixed with a rustic incivility, which would try the patience of Job. And if you do not believe me, go to Oxford, and let them recount to you the things which the Nolan endured when he disputed with these doctors of theology in the presence of the Polish Prince Alasco and others from the English nobility. Let them tell you that he knew how to respond to their arguments; how that poor doctor halted, like a chicken in the stubble, fifteen times over fifteen syllogisms, who as Coryphaeus of the Academy was put before him on that grave occasion. Let them tell you with how much incivility and discourtesy that pig conducted himself, and with how much patience and humanity that other [behaved], in fact showing himself to be a Neapolitan born and raised under a more benign sky. Let them inform you how they made him finish his public lectures, and those on the immortality of the soul, and those on the quintuple sphere".
 24. R.McNulty, 'Bruno at Oxford' Renaissance News, XIII, 1960.
 25. ibid. pp302-3.
 26. ibid.
 27. Gabriel Harvey, Marginalia, ed. G.C.Moore-Smith (1913), p.156
 "The Neapolitan Jordanus (disputing with Doctor Hill at Oxford) now in theology, now in philosophy, brought everything back to the Topics and Axioms of Aristotle; and, in fact, he argued most readily on whatever matter [came up]. The chairman, Hopper, was very effective in this public debate".
 28. See for example Bruno's Figuratio Aristotelici physici auditus (1586)
 29. Dial.Ital. p1115. "The philosophy of Aristotle is incomparably viler than that of the ancients [Hermes Trismegistus, Orpheus &c]".
 30. F.A.Yates, 'Bruno's conflict with Oxford' in Lull and Bruno (1983), p138. On the repressive insistence on students adhering to Aristotelian tenets (on sufferance of fines) see Anthony a Wood History and Antiquities of the University of Oxford, ed. J.Gutch (1792-6),II,p226

31. John Florio's translation of Montaigne's Essays (1603), preface. See also "N.W"'s preface to Daniel's Worthy Treatise of Paulus Jovius (1585) : "by the helpe of translations, all sciences had their offspring".
32. cit. D.W.Singer, p50.
33. Spampinato, Documenti, pp85-6
34. Dial.Ital. p209. "Before speculative philosophy was rediscovered in other parts of Europe".
35. Dial.Ital. p210.
"I hold in more esteem the metaphysics of these [philosophers of an earlier time]... in which they have surpassed their Prince, Aristotle...than that which can be produced by these [philosophers] of the present age with all their Ciceronian eloquence and declamatory skill".
36. F.A.Yates, Lull and Bruno (1983),p139.
37. *ibid.* p145.
38. See in particular John Dee's unpublished MS of 1557 Speculum Unitatis : sive Apologia pro Fratre Rogero Bachone.
39. On Bacon and his descendants in Platonic thought at Oxford see Lull and Bruno (1983), pp142-3.
40. Dial.Ital. p210. "solicitous of eloquence and grammatical rigour [at the expense of] speculations".
41. Sir Philip Sidney's Prose-works, ed. A.Feuillerat, 4 vols (Oxford 1912-26), Vol III, p.132. Letter dated Oct 18 1580.
42. Dial.Ital. p141. "which has been bereft of humanism [buone lettere], in so far as they concern the profession of philosophy and real mathematics".
43. See note 30 above and also Strickland Gibson, Statuta antiqua Universitatis Oxoniensis (Oxford 1931), p437.
44. F.A.Yates Hermetic Tradition, pp233-4
45. Dial.Ital. p761 "protuparent of lambs".
46. *ibid.* p665. "the arrangement and situation of good gods in the places where there were beasts".
47. *ibid.* pp761-2
"...around the Thames...that place in keeping with its predominant season, by being more temperate than elsewhere, whether beyond or on this side of the equinoctial; because the excessive cold of the snow is banished from the earth by the immoderate heat of the sun, as is testified by the perpetual green and flower-strewn terrain, making it a fortunate place, like a continuous and eternal spring. In addition to this here, enfolded by the protection of the embrace of the ample Ocean, one shall be safe from Wolves, Lions and Bears and other fierce animals and inimical powers of terra firma".
48. *ibid.* p761. "where frequently plants are killed by the winter cold".
49. D.W.Singer, p28

50. M.M.Reese Tudors and Stuarts (1940), p.101. Reese describes, for instance, the 1559 settlement drawn up by the liberal Matthew Parker as "a native compromise between the two infallibilities of Rome and Geneva". It dispensed with the Zwinglian severity of earlier rubrics, and is symptomatic of Elizabeth's attitudes to the freedom of religious worship.
51. Dial.Ital. pp1071-3.
"The better and more excellent things are in the world when all its parts correspond excellently. And this I believe is when all the planets attain Aries, being that also when the eighth sphere attains that of the superior and invisible firmament where the other zodiac is...the revolution... and great year of the world."
52. ibid. p1073. "we can expect to return to better things".
53. ibid.p549. "the sun...master of the senses, father of substance, author of life".
54. ibid.p22, "coryphaeuses of the celestial signs". The other is Taurus, see p80.
55. ibid. p80
56. ibid. "the chief prince of the herds"
57. ibid. p713. "a happy circle, where the light is continuous and where darkness and cold is never seen, but there is a perpetual temperate climate".
58. John Dee, Monas Hieroglyphica (1564). Theorems XI-XIII, fols.13v-14r and 7v. "mystical sign of Aries", "Hermetic labours", "the Art of Aries".
59. F.A.Yates 'Renaissance philosophers in England : Dee and Bruno', in Lull and Bruno (1983), pp210-221.
60. ibid. p221. "the influence of Agrippa is obviously vital to an understanding of the whole phenomena".
61. John Dee, Monas, fol.14v, "most famous Mercury of the philosophers", "separated from its body", "is able to perform wonders".
62. 'Dr Dee's Diary', ed.cit. p37, Dec 16 1590.
"Mr Candish recyved from the Queen's Majestie warrant by word of mowth to assure me to do what I wold in philosophie and alchimie, and none should chek, controull or molest me".
63. ibid. p49, May 1594.
64. John Dee, Monas, fol.7v. "revealed to the Parisians in their own Monad"
65. ibid. fol.7r. "our Aphorisms to the Parisians".
66. Dial.Ital. p69. "first through report [or fame], when we were in Milan and France"
67. ibid. pp947-8.
"[I am not presenting] a harp to a deaf person or a mirror to a blind man. To you, then, they are presented, because the Italian reasons with one who understands him...the heroic things are directed towards a heroic and generous soul".
68. F.A.Yates Hermetic Tradition, title of chapter XV.
69. F.A.Yates 'Dee and Bruno', Lull and Bruno (1983), pp220-221
70. In J.Nichols The Progresses of Queen Elizabeth (1788), Vol.II, fols. B1-B2

71. *ibid.* fol.D1
72. *ibid.* fol.B1
73. Spanpanato, *Vita*. p734, see note 11 above.
74. *Dial.Ital.* pp222-3. "Goddess Elizabeth"
75. *ibid.* pp67-8n
76. *ibid.* p951
 "Oh beautiful and lovely nymphs of England,
 It is not you who my spirit shuns or disdains...
 If it is not fitting that you should be called women...
 I am certain that the name of goddesses is suitable,
 If the common influence does not rule in you,
 And you are on earth as the stars are in heaven.
 Oh ladies, your sovereign beauty is not stung
 By my severity, nor do I so wish,
 Because it does not aim at your superhuman kind.
 Bitter suffering [=arsenico] steals it far away to
 Where the unique Diana is,
 Who among you is as the sun among the stars".
77. *ibid.* pp929-930. "a Circean enchantment", "a cookhouse...of filth, poison and venom"
78. *ibid.* p1125. "intelligible nature, into which the sun and the splendour of superior nature flows, according to the unity which is assigned to generated things".
79. See pp935-6 where Bruno expounds the same sentiment.
80. *Dial.Ital.* p1058.
 "Call the Trojan shepherd to judge, which
 Of them, most beautiful, deserves the fruit.
 If my goddess were to be compared with them
 It would not be awarded to Venus, Athena or Juno...
 But my goddess contains within herself all that
 Is necessary of beauty, intelligence and majesty".
81. *ibid.* p1059. "through participation and derivatively"
82. *ibid.* "All these perfections are equal, because they are infinite".
83. *ibid.* p1060. "comprises the perfection of all the other species to the highest degree".
84. F.A.Yates, *Astraea* (1975), p64
85. *ibid.* p64 and Plate 9c
86. *ibid.* p76
87. F.A.Yates 'Elizabethan Chivalry : The Romance of the Accession-Day Tilts', *JWCI*, XX, 1957, in *Astraea* (1975), p110
88. *ibid.* p106.
 "an important source-book of Elizabethan chivalry...is the Book of the Ordre of Chyvalry by the mediaeval Catalan philosopher Ramon Lull, which was translated into

English by William Caxton".

89. F.A.Yates, Hermetic Tradition. p290. Many of the Elizabethan imprese are recorded in the Remains of the antiquary William Camden.
90. The Queen's Majesty's Entertainment at Woodstock, 1575 (London 1585), see edition of A.N.Pollard (Oxford 1910)
91. Dial.Ital. p963. "reason" and "natural impulses"
92. ibid. p1030.
"See as they carry the insignia of their passions or fortunes. We refrain from considering their names and garments; let it suffice to be clear about the signification of the imprese and the comprehension of the motto, whether it is a complement to the imprese as the form is to the body, or (which is most common) as an explanation of the emblem."
93. See J.Nichols Progresses of Queen Elizabeth (1825), II, pp122-7
94. Dial.Ital. pp1032-4
95. ibid. p1032. "The more difficult the sense the more excellent it is, the less vulgar it is; which you see to be sole, unique and not strained".
96. See Paolo Giovo's Dialogo (1574), pp7-12, on the unity and simplicity of the emblem.
97. See Henry Lee's MS of the Hermit's Tale, British Library Add.MS 41499.
See also F.A.Yates Astraea (1975), pp95-7
98. Dial.Ital. pp1166-7.
"Having arrived, they become inspired by the majesty of the solitary place, by the wind-blown, high and craggy cliffs, by the murmur of the sea waves, which broke in that cave."
99. ibid. p1167. "who with plants, minerals, poisons and spells were able to control nature".
100. See F.A.Yates, Astraea (1975) pp165-6 on the Ballet comique de la reine.
101. Dial.Ital. p942. "the defect of the human gaze and apprehensive power with regard to divine things".
102. ibid. p1171
"Oh curious wits,
Take another of my fatal vases
Which my own hand is powerless to open;
Go far and wide
On a pilgrimage through the world,
Seek out all the numerous kingdoms :
Because destiny wishes that this vase remain
Closed until lofty wisdom and
Noble chastity and beauty together
Apply their hands to it."
103. ibid. "two of the loveliest stars in the world"
104. ibid. "divine power".

105. *ibid.* p1172. "lovely nymphs on the grassy banks of the Thames".
106. *ibid.* p1173. "From below remounts to the top, rewinding to its source".
107. *ibid.* ^{p. 1125} "the source of all species...the true essence of all being".
108. *ibid.* ^{p. 1173} "almost spontaneously, she opened it by herself"
109. *ibid.*
"How can you believe that I can express the extreme happiness of the nine blind ones...opening their eyes and seeing the two suns, they find they have a double happiness : the one of recovering the light they have lost, and the other of a newly discovered [light], which alone can show to them the image of the highest good on earth?"
110. F.A.Yates A Study of Love's Labour's Lost (1936), p111
111. Sir Philip Sidney, Astrophel and Stella, sonnet XI.
112. F.A.Yates L.L.L (1936), p113
113. *ibid.* p113
114. *ibid.*
115. *ibid.* pp114-120
116. *ibid.* pp121-135
117. *ibid.* p129
118. 'The Emblematic Conceit in Giordano Bruno's Degli Eroici Furori and the Elizabethan sonnet-sequences', JWCI, VI, 1943, pp101-121.
119. *ibid.* p110
120. *ibid.* p113
121. *ibid.* p114
122. *ibid.* p117
123. *ibid.* p101
124. *ibid.*
125. See Hermetic Tradition (1964) p290, Art of Memory (1966) pp258 & 308, Astraea (1975) pp108-110, and 'Renaissance philosophers in England : Dee and Bruno' in Lull and Bruno (1983), pp220-1
126. Arnolfo Ferruolo, 'Sir Philip Sidney e Giordano Bruno', Convivium, 17, 1948, p688
127. Angelo Pellegrini 'Bruno, Spenser and Sidney', Studies in Philology, XL, 1943, p135
128. Joan Rees Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke 1544-1628, A Critical Biography (1971), p71
129. Andrew Weiner, 'Expulsion of the Triumphant Beast : Bruno's Adventure in England', Modern Philology, 78, 1980-1, pp1-13. p3

130. *ibid.* p5
131. *ibid.* p11
132. Pellegrini, *art.cit.* p136
133. Ferruolo, *art.cit.* p694
"the two canzonieri show a surprising similarity and frequently an absolute identity of states of mind".
134. F.A.Yates, L.L.L (1936), p96
135. *ibid.*
136. See O.Elton & T.Whittaker, 'Bruno in England', Modern Studies, 1907.
G.B.Levinson 'Spenser and Bruno', PMLA, XLIII, 1928, pp675-681.
B.E.C.Davis Edmund Spenser (Cambridge 1932), pp235-240.
137. See note 124 above
138. Dial.Ital. p932

Notes to Chapter One.

1. George Watson, The English Petrarchans, Warburg Institute Surveys, III, 1967, p3
2. Henry Constable, Diana (1594), I,iii,4.
3. See frontispiece of C.T.Prouty, George Gascoigne, Elizabethan Courtier, Soldier and Poet (New York 1942).
4. On Thomas Wyatt and commentaries see P.Thomson Wyatt and his Background (1964), pp190-200, and Sergio Baldi, 'Sir Thomas Wyatt & Velutello' in English Studies Today, series IV, ed. I.Cellini and G.Melchiori, Rome 1966, pp121-7. On Spenser's links with Gesualdo see J.A.Quitslund 'Spenser's Amoretti VIII and Platonic commentaries on Petrarch', JWCI, 36, 1973, pp256-276.
5. John Florio, Queen Anna's New World of Words (1611), fols.5-6
6. See Chapter two below.
7. Sir Philip Sidney, Apology for Poetry, ed.G.K.Shepherd (London 1965), p141
8. Edmund Spenser's Shepherd's Calendar in Poetical Works, ed. E.de Selincourt (Oxford 1912), pp417-467. See esp. comments on "Bay branches" from April, and comments on "forever" and "immortal myrrhour" from October.
9. Cristoforo Landino, La Prolusione Petrarquesca (c1467),ed. Roberto Cardini in Rassegna della letteratura Italiana, 1968, p294.
"None of you can doubt that all speech [or communication] has need of words, and of sentenzie. Words without art are always inept because they lack composition and dignity. The sentenzie, which are not ordered according to true studies of Humanism are always frivolous and facile, neither can the writer

ever have gravity or strength or virtue in his style, when he is not (if not very learned) at least introduced to philosophy."

10. *ibid.*
"Let the authority of Horace [*Ars Poetica*, 310] suffice you, who in the *Art of Poetry* said that 'the source and origin of ornate style is doctrine, which the Socratics', that is to say philosophers, 'pages can show to us' "
11. Giulio Marzot, 'Il tramite del Petrarchismo dal Rinascimento al Barocco', *Studi Petrarqueschi*, vol VI, first series, 1956, p124. "the text of everyone, pious or impious, religious or worldly".
12. *ibid.* p124. "spreads outwards...through culture and in the forms of social life itself", "an innumerable literature swarmed around the Petrarchan text, and those of his slightest imitators".
13. Landino, *op.cit.* p296.
"We ought with great surety in this imitate our Latin fathers, and just as they ornamented their [literature] with Greek, we ought [to ornament] ours with Latin"
14. *ibid.* p292.
"to be rather worthy of reprehension than praise; esteeming that this same time could more usefully be spent in the investigation of Latin or Greek letters".
15. *ibid.* p294. "of so much shrewdness in inventions...of such varied ornaments in his elocution! "
16. Mario Pozzi, 'Aspects of early Cinquecento love-treatises', preface to 1975 reprint of Giuseppe Zonta's *Trattati d'amore del '500* (1912), p.xi
17. Girolamo Tiraboschi *Storia della Letteratura Italiana* (Rome 1785), Tom.VI, ptIII, p2
"Every word, every syllable used by him was an object of admiration... in that infinite array of lectures, exegeses and dissertations which dealt with that poet; pamphlets full of useless speculations and now abandoned to the dust and moths".
18. Marzot, *art.cit.* pp140 & 148. "a process of distress", "spiritual substance".
19. *Dial.Ital.* pp1001-2.
"That God who wields the resounding thunderbolt
Asteria saw as a furtive eagle,
Mnemosyne saw as a shepherd, Danae as gold,
Alcmena as a fish, Antiope as a satyr....
I, through the loftiness of my object,
From a most vile subject am become a god."
20. Barnabe Barnes, *Parthenophil & Parthenhope* (1593), sonnet 63.
21. Giles Fletcher, *Christ's Victorie on Earth* (1610), Canto II, stanzas 9-11 in *The English Spenserians*, ed.W.B.Hunter (University of Utah 1977), pp51-2
22. *The Phoenix Nest* (1593), Haslewood Reprints (1926), ed.H.McDonald, pp33-5.
cf Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* poem 'what tongues can her perfection tell?' in *England's Parnassus* (1600), pp385-390, which follows a similar pattern to this *blason*, proceeding from hair to the "namelesse blisse" of the vagina which in both cases is elided from the description.
23. Alessandro Velutello, *Il Petrarca* (Venice 1550), fol.309v, 'Sonetto sopra le sacri ceneri del Petrarca & di Madonna Laura'. "illustrious war", "the sweet fire of

- celestial love".
24. M.Pozzi, art.cit. p(v), quotations from Mario Equicola, Libro di natura d'amore (1515). "a burning furnace, a receptacle of fire, an Etna and volcanic island full of flames and vapour, a target for the poisoned and mortifying arrows". "repeating a thousand times, I repeat they speak of divine motions, angelic customs, celestial bearing, lovely and decorous actions, words that quieten the sea, hair of gold, brows of ebony, two shining stars for eyes, cheeks of crimson rose".
 25. Le Cose volgari di messer Francesco Petrarca, ed. Pietro Bembo (1501), from 'Aldo A gli lettori', fol. Biiv. "changed into the popular speech of the present day".
 26. Pietro Bembo, De gli Asolani, ed. C. Dionisotti, Prose e Rime (Turin 1960), pp488-9. "O foolish ones! Why do you rave? You blind ones, occupied with your false beauties, in the manner of Narcissus you feed on vain desire, and do not see that they are shadows of the truth, which you have abandoned. Your souls are eternal : why do you inebriate yourselves with ephemeral beauty?".
 27. Baldassare Castiglione, Il Libro del Cortegiano (1528), cap.LXX-LXXI. ed. E.Bonora (Milan 1972), pp348-9 (translation G.Bull, London 1976). "Consent then, Oh Lord, to hear our prayers...quicken our intellects with the incense of spirituality and make us so attuned to the celestial harmony that there is no longer room within us for any discord of passion...and so that we, liberated from our own selves, like true lovers can be transformed into the object of our love, and soar above the earth to join the feast of the angels... as did those ancient Fathers whose souls, by the searing power of contemplation, you ravished from their bodies to unite with God ...Having spoken in that way with such vehemence that he seemed transported out of himself, Bembo then remained silent and still, looking towards heaven, as if dazed".
 28. *ibid.* cap.LXXIII, p351.
 29. M.Pozzi, art.cit. p.ix. "brought together Petrarchism and Platonism, not in the abstract, but propounding precise literary models".
 30. E.Bonora, in W.Binni's I Classici Italiani nella storia della Critica (Florence 1956), p141. "he^{had} translated the drama of Petrarch's love for Laura into a drama of mystical love".
 31. Girolamo Tiraboschi, Storia, p3. "One of the first to be praised for having brought back from antiquity the elegance of Tuscan poetry is Pietro Bembo...he strove almost alone to return to the ways of Petrarch, which he tried not only to imitate but surpass in himself".
 32. P.Bembo, Asolani, ed.cit. Cap.XVII, Lib.III, p491. "Good love is not only love of beauty...but is the desire of true beauty, and true beauty is not human and mortal, which can lack [or have defect], but is divine and immortal".
 33. P.Bembo, Il Petrarca...con annotazioni di Mon.P.Bembo (Venice 1564), pp171-2 "M.Francesco [Petrarcha] wishes to praise the infinite beauty of his beloved Lady, and at the same time [to praise] her chastity and show that she was not one of those souls burning with lasciviousness and concupiscent appetites,, but inflames him with chastity and other honourable desires,such that the stars and heaven vie with one another to put all their arts and power in the living light of the clear visage of M[adonna] L[aura], whose beauty was such that Nature itself was mirrored in her and gazed upon her."

34. *ibid.* p170.
 "The poet wishes to show with the similitude of the weary navigator that just as he [the navigator] flees the angry waves and fierce storms and returns to port, thus [the poet flees] from vile and unclean thoughts : which are frequently wont to arise in the minds of lovers, he flees [this vileness] and comes to the contemplation of the ~~dark~~ and divine ^{true} beauties of Madonna Laura, where he sees a Love not blind (that is to say without reason), but chaste and rational, that dwells in her beautiful eyes".
35. M.Ficino, Comentarium in Convivium Platonis (1496), ed.& trans. Sears Jayne, (Missouri 1942), pp104-5. Oration VII, cap.I
 "These loves struggle with each other in man : the former banishes him down to the animal and voluptuous life : the latter raises him on high to the angelic contemplative life. The latter is free from disturbance and is found only in a few people; the former is full of passions and is in many people".
36. Il Petrarca (1564), p3. For a fuller description of the Petrarchino see letter of Antonio Magliabechi to Lorenzo Panciatichi, cit. A.Graf, Attraverso il Cinquecento (Turin 1926), p10n : "Il Petrarchino non può essere mai più bello, essendo in fino di carta scelta, giacchè, se non tasterà una pagina sentirà quanto sia più grossa dell' altra ordinaria. Il sommacco è di quello grosso da dura cento anni, e credo, che sia legatura forestiera".
37. Pietro Aretino, La Cortegiana, I,xxii.
38. Garzoni, Piazza Universale di tutte le professioni del mondo (Venice 1587), discorso CXVI, pp700-701.
 "they go round all day dressed like Narcissan nymphs, with a flower in their ear, a rose in the hand, with perfumed gauntlets...with a doublet full of joy they depart singing, and go to their house to compose a sestina or a little madrigal".
39. John Eliot, Orthoepica Gallica, esp. 'The Parlement of Pratlors', pp108-110, cit. F.A.Yates L.L.L (1936), pp117-119
40. William Shakespeare, Love's Labour's Lost, Act III, scene i, 191-3.
41. *ibid.* Act IV, scene ii, 74-5
42. Il Petrarca (1564), prefatory epistle, p6
 "a work so full of the chastest and most divine love [as this] was a most worthy gift for a most chaste and most divine noble lady, as you are"
43. *ibid.* pp6-7. "The excellence of your most rare intellect, your marvellous beauty and most divine grace".
44. *ibid.* p5.
 "[These comments] can help others to weave their compositions with grace and smoothness : and certainly it should always be in the hand of one who wishes to be esteemed a poet, being the best tool for him to learn, from the smooth and graceful rhymes of Petrarch, [so that] he can become proficient easily and with great speed."
45. Marzot. art.cit. pp126-7. "a precise esthetics of the power of words"
46. Il Petrarca (1564), p320
 "The order [of words] is appropriate, eg 'O usato sostegnodi mia vita', 'Dolce mio caro' &c. He sometimes removes the last syllable by [using] the second person, one reads 'suo' for 'suoli', 'cre' for 'credi' &c 'Pur lassu' instead of 'costassu'.

47. *ibid.* p212.
 " 'L'onde Caspe' : he says 'Caspe' instead of 'Caspie'. 'L'innaspe' instead of 'annaspi', 'Aspe' instead of 'aspide' which is called 'sordo'[deaf] by the vulgar" cf Angelo Poliziano Rispetti Spicciolati, stanza V, "anzi un aspido sordo".
48. Pietro Bembo, Prose della Volgar Lingua, ed.cit. pp204-5
 "Boccaccio says Recatosi suo sacco rather than il suo sacco, as it seems to me that it has more gracefulness in it than that rule which is given about it. One sees that, it seems, also in Petrarch when he says 'I' dicea fra mio cor : perché paventi', rather than 'Fra 'l mio cor' "
49. Ficino, Convivium, Oration IV, Cap.I. "An Orphic and Platonic poet".
50. Cristoforo Landino, his edition of Horace's Ars Poetica (1482), pp clviv-clvii
 "embellishes with admirable fictions...whatever they have known and contemplated with a divine genius, and for fear that they cannot be understood except through allegories perceived by us, it transposes completely into things of different kinds. For when it most appears to be narrating something humble and ignoble or be singing a little fable to delight idle ears, at that very time [poetry] is writing in a rather secret way the most excellent things of all, and which are drawn forth from the fountains of the gods".
 cit. and trans. B.Weinberg A History of Literary Criticism in the Italian Renaissance, 2 vols (University of Chicago 1963), I, p80
51. G.Marzot, art.cit.
 "the classification of the various styles and 'colours' of Petrarchan elocution"
 "fragmentation", "properly mediaeval and Christian substance", "worldly text".
52. Luigi Groto, Lettere Famigliari, ed. 1739, Vol I, fol.3v, cit. Graf, p53.
 "Recently your Canzoniere is nothing to us if not more confused, more mixed-up and topsy-turvy than the pages written by the Sibyll in a long gust of wind... If you were to see yourself, you would not recognise yourself. Here there are those who make you prate after their own fashion...To your Madonna Laura they have given a name, one calls her the Soul, another Poetry, and another Philosophy and a thousand other fantastical chimeræ of commentaries... Oh how much of what you did is worn away and hung up by thieves....who rob, defile and assassinate you! "
53. Niccolò Franco, Le Pistole Volgari (1539), fol.191r
 "I see the annotated Petrarch, the dirtied Petrarch, the embroiled Petrarch, the ransacked Petrarch, the temporal Petrarch and the spiritual Petrarch".
54. Sperone Speroni, Dialogo della Rettorica, ed.Carabba, p118, cit. Marzot, p135.
 "things pertinent to the orator".
55. For specific instances of inclusion of Petrarchan luoghi in Italian emblem-books see Marzot, pp143-6.
56. Apology, ed.cit. p96. Sidney's phrase could almost have been written with Alunno in mind.
57. Il Petrarca (1564), p5
 "It is of endless use to one who delights in making those compositions which are called centoni, which style as it is very difficult to be orderly in composition unless you lift some ornate and graceful figure out of his [Petrarch's] work : so indeed when it is conducted well, in the end it renders marvellous pleasure and loveliness. Such compositions have been made before, and very beautifully by the most graceful [Jacopo] Sanazzaro and the divine Marchesa di Pescara".

58. See note 52 above.
59. Centoni di versi del Petrarca Raccolti di Giulio Bidelli Da Siena (Verona 1588), British Library 240.1.2, fol.A2r. "written in pen more than thirty years before [publication]".
60. *ibid.*
"In various places in Italy, many having been moved to desire a similar labour to Probia Falconia, who with verses of Virgil variously woven together with the greatest beauty, described the Old and New Testament in epitome, singing in like manner with the verses of Petrarch, instead of his amorous sickness, some other guise".
61. *ibid.* "a little taste for the Rime of Petrarch"
62. *ibid.* "the malignant with viper's teeth"
63. See V.Cian, Un decennio della vita di M.Pietro Bembo (Turin 1885), pp46 & 158
64. Centoni di versi, fol.A2v. "most delightful garden",
"Linked together and composed with such craftsmanship that sometimes it leaves one bewildered with admiration....the rhymes, used once, do not serve again as a rhyme in the same sonnet; but what gives the greatest wonder of all is that he does not split asunder or break up the lines of the original author, as Falconia did, but most religiously, and without changing [them] by a single syllable, sweetly continues his subject in these two amorous discourses, using complete lines. The invention is on the whole lovely, delightful and strange".
65. *ibid.* Centone XXXII.
"Love has set me up as a target for arrows,
When she gazes at me now, now raises her eye a little,
O living death, o delightful evil,
That makes my bitterness sweet and my weeping joyful.
King of Heaven, invisible, immortal,
Lead my wandering thoughts to a better place,
Open the prison where I am enclosed,
That I may recognise my transgression and not excuse it".
66. Thomas Watson, Hekatompathia, or Passionate Centurie of Love (1581), ed 1869, The Spenser Society. Title-page.
67. V.da Sola Pinto The English Renaissance 1510-1688 (London 1951), p207.
"[Watson's Hekatompathia] consists of a hundred poems described as 'sonnets', though each contains eighteen lines. They are a cento of tr[anslations] from Petrarch and other [poets]."
68. Hekatompathia, ed.cit. p103, sonnet LXXXIX, 9-18. Other sources cited by Watson for this poem include Hieronimus, Ausonius, Seneca, Horace, Tibullus, Xenophon, Calenti and Virgil.
69. *ibid.* pp110-111. Sonnets XCVI and XCVII
70. *ibid.* p110
71. *ibid.* p115
72. *ibid.* p21

73. *ibid.* pp3-13. On the "Areopagus" poets see esp. Matthew Roydon's dedicatory sonnet praising Watson's "Pythy, sweete and cunning poesye" and Watson's Authoris ad libellum suum Protrepticon.
74. J.G.Scott Les Sonnets Élisabéthains : Les sources et l'apport personnel, Vol.60 of Bibliothèque de la revue de littérature comparée (Paris 1929), p7 "an epitome of all Elizabethan collections". Scott also comments that "Pour qui étudie les sonnets Elisabethains, rien n'est plus instructif que de lire l'Hecatopathia."
75. *ibid.* p8n. eg "Hecatopathia VII, LIV a comparer avec Amoretti LXIV...LXXV, XXXVII a comparer avec Astrophel and Stella VI... &c".
76. Hecatopathia, ed.cit. p113
77. Marzot, art.cit. p165. "a pleasant entertainment to dispell melancholia"
78. Scipio Bargagli, I Trattenimenti (1587), British Library 1080.k.7 "Where, for lovely ladies and young men, honest and delightful games are represented, tales are told, and some amorous canzonets are sung".
79. *ibid.* p38. "whether the lover of a noble lady ought to devote himself to military endeavours, or rather to letters".
80. Antonio Sebastiano Minturno, Lettere (1549), fol.165v "the secretary of the heart"
81. Marzot. p163. "the air of an ambiguous imagination between the true and the false"
82. Pietro Bembo, Lettere, ed.Verona 1743, p124 "I have kissed her a thousand times instead of you, and ask her for that which I would willingly beg from you, and I see that she seems to listen to me more kindly than you do, if you will not respond to my words".
83. Marzot. p163
84. Pietro Bembo, Lettere, ed.cit. p163. "the thronging snowflakes of his hot love"
85. cit. Marzot, p163. "that every day touch the one and other key to his heart", "keeping covered that beautiful ivory".
86. Edmund Spenser, Poetical Works (Oxford 1912), epistle to Raleigh attached to the Faerie Queene, p40
87. The Phoenix Nest (1593), ed.cit. pp68-9. Anonymous.
88. *ibid.* p69
89. A.S.Minturno, Lettere (Venice 1549), p42 "In truth my heart does not know what to do other than cry...Oh so many times between the night and the day, more than a thousand times I pick up again her most gracious letters...reading them, lovingly and devotedly I kiss them, and kiss the cruel one tenderly with tears; and then with hot sighs I dry them"
90. *ibid.* fols.125v-126r, trans. J.A.Quitslund, art.cit. p274n "Since Minturno has undertaken to praise the supreme worth and singular beauty of this lady as the instrument and means of raising the human mind to contemplation of the eternal beauty, that of God himself, he has woven his letters so full of Platonic threads that perhaps you will judge his prose in no way inferior to

that poetry which Petrarch adorns with the same finery".

91. *ibid.* "a love not vulgar...but celestial and divine", "in the three sisters of Petrarch as Gesualdo expounds them".
92. See note 4 above.
93. Alessandro Velutello, *Il Petrarca* (Venice 1550), British Library C.47.g.20
Giovanni Andrea Gesualdo, *Il Petrarca* (Venice 1541), British Library 11427.g.6
94. On the liberal tradition of Venice and Padua see John Buxton's Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance (1964), p65
95. Velutello, *op.cit.* fol.Alr. "almost useful and notable document", "it shows us his sententia", "to excuse his amorous errors of which the whole work diffusely treats", "human fragility", "lascivious error".
"Wherefore, having left off his hopes and vain amorous passions for some time, and having come to mature years, and fully cognizant and repentant (as we see at the end of the work) of his amorous error : now wanting to free himself of all blame which could be incurred by him, he shows how worthy he is - through three most forceful and irreproachable reasons - to be forgiven and excused".
96. *ibid.* fol.Alv. "in youth erring is less shameful"
97. *ibid.* "being removed from all lasciviousness"
98. Rime 1, "of my raving shame is the fruit and repentance"
99. Velutello, fol.Alv.
"Petrarch recognising that vice in old age is to be more vituperated, as much as it is to be tolerated in youth whence Ovid says 'Military age equals amatory age, fighting and making love don't suit the old' "
100. *ibid.* "He imitates Horace in the Odes, where he says 'Heu me per urbem, nam pudet tanti mali, fabula quanta fui' "
101. *ibid.* "whatever pleases the world is a brief dream"
102. Velutello, fol.22v
"The poet turns in this stanza to the praises of Madonna Laura, telling with how much favour the heavens looked on her birth, and then he speaks of her great virtue, that the benign and favourable stars at her birth accompanied the fortunate and happy womb of her mother, in giving birth to such an excellent thing as her, who was a similitude of them, a star on earth, of which benign stars we see in that canzona 325...where in the person of Fortune he says 'Il di che costei nacque eran le stelle' &c. And as the laurel keeps its leaves always green, 'OVE non spira folgore', meaning metaphorically where the fires of concupiscence have no place, 'NE indegno vento che mai l'aggrave', nor molested by an unworthy appetite, and thus she kept evergreen the worth of her venerated chastity."
103. *ibid.* fol.B6r-v.
"The poet describes the noble and worthy nourishment which he takes from looking at Madonna Laura, and sometimes from hearing her sweetly talking, whence he says he is 'rapt', that is, rapt by the hand of Love, not knowing where. Also he wants to infer that he was, through such sweetness, full of stupor with internal feelings, 'IN un volto delibo' - In one face he tastes a double sweetness. Ambrosia and nectar are the food and drink of the Blessed, signifying nothing other than seeing and enjoying God, of which these are

- the nutriments, as the Poet wants to infer, which nourish him when he looks at and listens to Madonna Laura."
104. *ibid.* fol.136v
"Athens, Arpinium and Mantua", "the one and the other lyre", "Horace and Pindar, the one a Greek and the other a Latin lyric poet".
 105. *ibid.* fol.137r. "a mortal tongue cannot reach to the heights of her divine state"
 106. *ibid.* fol.47r-v
"Whence he says that he does not see him [Cupid] as being blind, as he is usually depicted, but with a quiver, to denote that he can see, and has the ability to wound, NUDO, because of the conceits of lovers which are manifest to the whole world...GARZON CON ALI [a boy with wings] denotes their discourse and its great instability, NON PINTO MA VIVO [not painted, but living] which signifies that love is not fiction, but truthful. In which eyes, he says, he show him that which is hidden from many - wanting to infer that he is rare who has wit enough to penetrate to the height of her excellence."
 107. Scipio Ammirato, *op.cit.* (1562), pp14-15. cit. B.Weinberg (1961), I, p281.
"poetry and painting are sisters both born in one delivery", "imaginary fables", "they contained many fine secrets".
 108. Leone Ebreo, *Dialoghi d'Amore* (1535), ed. Caramella (Bari, 1929), Dial.II, p155
"Cupidine, che è passione amorosa...il dipingono nudo, perché non si può coprire né dissimulare; cieco, perché...la passione l'accieca...lo dipingono alato, perché egli è velocissimo."
 109. Velutello, fol.309v. 'Sonetto sopra le sacre ceneri del Petrarca & di Madonna Laura',
"The sacred ashes of Petrarch and Madonna Laura", "with the sweet fire of celestial love / Burning and inflaming every frozen heart", "On the starry thrones between Dante and Beatrice".
 110. *ibid.* fol.200r
"most devout" and "most elegant", "The poet...takes as his protectress and advocate the Mother of Sinners, the Virgin Mary, whom he praises as Horace praised those of Diana and Phoebus at the end of the Odes."
 111. *ibid.* fol.201r
"He calls her Wise Virgin, and also one of the blessed Wise Virgins, and with the brightest lamp, imitating that parable of our saviour told by Matthew XXI, of the ten virgins, five prudent and five foolish...whence also in the first Antiphon [it is said] 'This is the wise virgin, and one of the prudent number' "
 112. *ibid.* fol.201v. "in imitation of that hymn O Gloriosa domina, where it says 'she is made the window of heaven' ".
 113. *ibid.* fol.201r
"He adds that she is a refuge and helps the afflicted in the similitude of a solid and strong shield against the three kinds of evil, that is, of the body (which is meant by the blows of death), of temporal things (which is meant by Fortune), and of the soul (which is meant by blind ardour, which burns blind mortals with the cupidity of earthly things)."
 114. *ibid.* fol.200v. "to save him from the war between sense and reason which was waged within him"
 115. See J.Quitslund, *art.cit.* pp271-6, 'Appendix : G.A.Gesualdo, A.S.Minturno and the Neapolitan Academy in the sixteenth century'.

116. See note 90 above.
117. Gesualdo (1541), fol.CIr-v. "the intention and love of the poet".
118. *ibid.* "her celestial beauties and divine virtues"
119. *ibid.*
 "That which commends his amorous fire more...is the notable time [Good Friday 1327] in which he became enamoured of her, which was not without heavenly destiny, nor did it seem to happen without divine counsel...that most holy day he completely retreated into himself, he was overthrown by the mind, raised up to consider the marvellous mysteries of the passion of our Lord...he came against human beauty which took hold of him and enflamed him."
120. *ibid.*
 "He had many times in vain attempted to free himself from the hands of love in the end, when he had carried the harsh chains about his neck for ten years, in order to flee the fierce prison, he distanced himself from Provence and from her. He could not ever flee from it enough, nor go far enough away so that love could not reach him."
121. *ibid.*
 "He still loved, but more shamefully, and more sadly than before, and by force, and against his will...he affirms that for two years appetite and reason had fought in him, and he had relented as much as he had burned with love".
122. *ibid.*
 "It was not a false love but a true one. Which without doubt anyone will find if he looks not just in the [Latin] Eclogues but in the Familiar Letters".
 "to cool by venting his amorous heart-sadness".
123. *ibid.* fol.A1r
 "whence not only the holy and Christian theologians saw how much power is had by confession and repentance, but the philosopher Plato also..."
124. Leone Ebreo, Dialoghi, ed.cit. p291 . "makes Plato Mosaic"
125. *ibid.* fol.XCIXv
 "He has spoken of the glorious fruit which comes through the virtue of her beautiful eyes. Now he goes on, with graceful and exalted Platonic sentiments, he comes to be raised by the effects of the celestial lights : since the beautiful eyes...with most beautiful splendour show to the poet the way to go to heaven".
126. *ibid.* "long and learned exposition", "we intend it to be for the Academy of Minturno"
127. *ibid.* "It is the divine splendour of the highest sun which is shown in the beautiful eyes of Madonna Laura".
128. *ibid.*
 "Which splendour and light 'shows me the way which leads to heaven', and guides me : because Beauty is the means by which one arrives at the highest principle which is God".
129. Francesco Petrarca, Rime 360, "a ladder to the Creator, if one judges it rightly" cf Gesualdo : "il bello è quello mezzo etc...com' Amor disse difendendo sua ragione nella Canz. ov' è citato innanzi alla giustizia dal Poeta" (Rime 360 was popularly called the 'canzone di contenzione' because of the rhetorical device of legal complaint and defense).
130. Gesualdo, fol.Cr

- "Where through the splendour of the lover's eyes, not only are the affects of the lover revealed, but the heart of the beloved object clearly shines through : whence the enamoured mind, seeing it [the beloved's heart] full of virtue and worth is compelled to make itself similar to it, imitating it with noble and exalted actions".
131. J.Quitslund, art.cit. p261
132. Gesualdo. fol.Cr . "beauty, especially that of the soul, is perceived by him, as the Platonists teach it".
133. *ibid.*
"the beauty of Madonna Laura, then, was the reason why the poet left the life of the mob and followed the studies of the few and the glorious".
134. Calendar of State Papers, Domestic, 1603-1610, p183, cit. F.A.Yates L.L.L (1936), Appendix III, p211. Two contrary attitudes to lovers and study can be found in Astrophel and Stella XVIII and XXI, and Caelica, LXVI
135. Gesualdo. fols.CIIIv-CIIIr
"By the Latins this kind of speech is called exaggeratio".
136. *ibid.* fol.Cr. "Spring, called by Virgil formosissimus annus [Eclogues, III,57]"
137. *ibid.*
"By these two seasons he intends the other two as well, wanting to say 'at all times'...thus the poet does not use macrologia which is a vice, but graceful description , which is the ornament of speech".
On macrologia see John Florio, Queen Anna's New Worlde of Words (1611), p293
"idle tedious talke wherein is no substance. Also a kind of figure of speech of overtentious and long describing of any thing which might be done in fewer words".
138. An exception to this silence on linguistic matters is Gesualdo's frequent comments on the difference between the Tuscan and Neapolitan dialects (eg "DEGNO, o s' degno, come direbbe il Napoletano").
139. Gesualdo. fol.Cv
"Through this beauty he had remembered contemplating the celestial beauty, from whence she had her origin; because with the wings of amorous desire he rose to see the beauties of heaven. But because it was not the time that the wings had enough power that it could raise him out of this earthly prison to heaven, the divine furore ceasing, he returns to himself".
140. *ibid.*
"That which it seemed to Plato, in the first mover, which according to the ancient writers should be the eighth sphere".
141. *ibid.*
"Because metaphorically the body has been called the prison of the soul, in the Platonic manner, that is to say the soul, leaving the body, which retains it, cannot go freely to heaven. This is that divine frenzy as it pleased the great Plato [to call it], beauty, which we see down here, creates in the soul of the lover whence she [the soul] is raised on wings, believing that it can fly freely to heaven : but the corporeal prison blocks the entrance of the path which leads up there."
142. Dial.Ital. p995
"[Love] has presented to the eyes of the mind an intelligible species in which in this earthly life, [although] enclosed in this prison of the flesh..."

he is allowed to contemplate the divinity more exaltedly than if any other species or similitude was offered to him".

143. *ibid.* "the highest intelligible species that he can form of the divinity".
144. *ibid.* p994.
 "My heart truly adores a living and divine object,
 Most beautiful image of God on earth,
 I am nourished by my high endeavour,
 And although the soul does not reach its desired end,
 It is enough that I have been raised to the sky,
 And freed from the number of the ignoble."
145. *ibid.* p996. "drawn from the effects...shadows and similitudes of that [divine beauty]"
146. Gesualdo, fol.Cv. "although love is sweet it is bitter also, as Plato said, following the divine Orpheus".
147. *ibid.* fol.CIv. "sometimes with her name he seems to allude to his ardent love for poetry and study".
148. *ibid.* fol.CIv.
 "Filling with one high sweet thought, which was [that] of coming to sempiternal glory, than which there is no higher or sweeter thing, or perhaps the thought of the beautiful eyes - high because of the altitude of the object, and sweet through the pleasure of gazing upon them."
149. *ibid.* fol.CIv. "the pleasure of the beautiful eyes".
150. *ibid.* "she was certainly ineffable, and above our intellect".
151. Rime, 72. "every other light is dispersed and flees / Where yours shines"
152. Rime, 218. "With her beautiful face she used to make others / Like minor stars before the Sun".
153. Gesualdo, fol.CIv. "By her he was emptied of all other joy", "celestial & divine... ineffable".
154. The Phoenix Nest (1593), ed.cit. pp62-3
155. *ibid.* p80
156. *ibid.* pp49-50
157. Gesualdo, fol.CIIr. "the lovely black and white...that part through which we see, which the Latins called pupilla".
158. *ibid.* "the comfort of the beautiful eyes".
159. *ibid.* "heaven not having given him any other remedy to compensate for his imperfection other than rejoicing in the beautiful eyes."
160. *ibid.* "because the turning of the beautiful eyes is very amorous".
161. *ibid.*
 "The disdain of the beautiful eyes gave him fear, which restrained the sweet ardour, which gazing on the celestial lights delightfully penetrated into his heart."

162. Rime, 72. "the lovely eyes at the end sweetly trembling / Ultimate hope of courteous lovers".
163. Gesualdo. fol.CIIIr
"SWEETLY TREMBLING] moving in amorous glances : since this movement of the eyes... comes from sweet amorous affection...the 'ultimate hope of courteous lovers', of Liberal and noble lovers, and not those avaricious and lustful of illicit things : since for true lovers the desired end is the enjoyment of beauty : beauty is not perceived through other perception than from the mind, the eyes or the ears; understanding, gazing and hearing : touch is not for courtly lovers, but for covetous beasts".
164. Marsilio Ficino, Convivium, Oration I, Cap.IV. "All [true] love is honourable, and every [true] lover is virtuous"
165. *ibid.* Oration V, Cap.II. "reason, sight and hearing alone pertain to the soul"
166. *ibid.* Oration II, Cap.IX. "The wantonness and derangement of a servile man".
167. Baldassare Castiglione, Il Libro del Cortegiano, LXIII, ed.cit. p341. "ways which are the entrance of the soul, that is sight and hearing".
168. The Phoenix Nest, ed.cit. p82
169. *ibid.* pp80-81, 'A Counter-Love', anonymous.
170. Gesualdo, fol.CIIIr.
"Because in these words the Poet seems to have imitated Virgil and Juvenal; of which Virgil in his Bucolics said 'Vidimus & qui le transversa tuentibus hir quis' and Juvenal at the end of the seventh satire 'Non est leve tot puerorum observare manus osculusque in fine trementes', both poets meant that dishonest purpose [of trembling the eyes], but to behold these men does not corrupt the majesty and graceful virtue of this canzone and...its Platonic sentiment : since it is not fitting that if, the beginning and the middle of the canzone the poet distances himself from vulgar desires, that at the end he should change to it, as if he had forgotten what it was he had chosen to talk about."
171. *ibid.*
"the lover...has two desires which Plato denoted by two horses...whence the poet having until now followed the honest desire, could now be speaking about that desire [which is] spurred by the restrained appetite".
172. *ibid.*
"poets are accustomed in art to join together truth and falsehood, sweet and bitter, the virtuous with the illicit, to show the nature of things of which he speaks"
173. *ibid.* "make their interpretations seemly"
174. *ibid.*
"The poet was not, in imitating the two Latin poets, constrained to follow their sentiments in following their words : since he will not be the first who had imitated the words of another in a different sentiment, he was able to draw it to that which he wanted to say, forasmuch that it was not caused by amorous effects".
175. *ibid.* fol.CIIv. "the lover studies to be that which is fitting to the nature of his beloved object"
176. Rime, 72. " I force myself to be worthy of that high hope / And of that noble fire with which I completely burn."

177. *ibid.* "disprizer of all that the world desires".
178. Gesualdo, fol.CIIv. "sweet glances", "diligent study", "lasciviousness and dishonest appetites".
179. British Library 11421.aa.14
180. Giovambattista Castiglione (1532), fol.3r
"Many more things would be necessary to the understanding of our loveliest and most graceful poet than these that I have considered and set down, and much greater wit, and more copious doctrine than mine would be required".
181. *ibid.* fol.5r. "I am most certain that many would say that I want to make our poet Platonic against his will".
182. *ibid.* "either they have never seen anything Platonic before, or they have not understood our poet".
183. *ibid.* fol.5r-v.
"Petrarch says in this sonnet that the soul of Madonna Laura puts on clothes, [that is] puts on the body, because according to the Platonists, of which our poet was an imitator, by being studious of St Augustine, almost himself the soul of Plato, they [the Platonists] maintain that the soul is invested by the body when it was united with matter, and in so far as they claimed that the more these bodies were purified, the better their souls acted [or worked]... Whence Hermes Trismegistus says that man has two modes : the interior which is the soul : and the exterior which is the body, which they also called the vessel...which matter our poet touches on, calling it 'la bella vesta' [the lovely garment]".
184. *ibid.* fol.11v.
"THE SOUL WHICH ONLY BY GOD IS MADE NOBLE] Truly our poet was very Platonic... here M.Francesco touches upon the creation of the soul...Many Platonists, such as Plotinus & Proclus thought it was made by God through the angels : nevertheless Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite, Origen and St Augustine and as most excellent Platonists held, and likewise the Christian theologians, that the human soul which is made by God [is made] directly, without means of any second cause."
185. Niccolò Franco, Il Petrarchista (1532), cit. B.Weinberg (1961), I, p263.
"Who can say how many and how great thoughts of divine and human philosophy are hidden in his rhymes? How modest (Oh immortal God!) he is? How clean and pure of every stain of lowness? How gay without lewdness? How religious in his thoughts? How chaste in his mind? How Platonic in his love?...there is nothing in him which does not belong to the divine virtues, to the celestial beauties, to angelic habits, to the most honest love, to the highest humanity, and to ineffable courtesy."
186. Apology, ed.cit. p125
187. B.Weinberg (1961), I, p320
188. A.Graf, Attraverso il Cinquecento, p63, ^{Graf} where he draws our attention to a sonnet by one Antonio Camelli di Pistoia which records a preacher who from the pulpit "stacciava al Petrarca il mantello" (tore Petrarch's cloak), see I sonetti del Pistoia giusta l'apografo Trivulziano, ed.R.Renier (Turin,1888), sonnet III, p3
189. *ibid.* pp63-4. "in accord with morals and faith"
190. *ibid.* p65

191. Girolamo Malipiero, Il Petrarca Spirituale (1567), British Library 11421.aa.1 and Il Petrarca Spirituale, novamente ristampato, et dall' auttore con nuova additione reynosciuto (1545), British Library, 241.d.25
Gian Giacomo Salvatorino, Thesoro di Sacra Scrittura sopra rime del Petrarca (1537), British Library, 241.d.31.
192. Malipiero (1567), title-page. "Petrarch, his theological and spiritual introductive"
193. B.Weinberg (1961), p290.
194. Malipiero (1567), fol.108r
"Truly indeed, man's study of God, in public as in private, revolves around the cross of our Lord, by the devout and frequent embracings of which he frequently hears resounding a melody in the ears of the mind, with a marvellous sweetness in the heart which makes one seem to be among angelic choirs enebriated by the excessive taste of love."
195. *ibid.* fol.106r.
"where with most enticing frauds the venomous teeth of these bland [or flattering] sirens are hidden".
196. *ibid.* "with opportune and seemly antidotes purged of all ancient poison".
197. *ibid.* fol.95r. "to excite man to divine love".
198. Graf. p67. "so much the vogue"
199. *ibid.*
"the evil is that there have been these which you have wanted to make Christian two hundred years after his death, and of a priest you have made a friar, putting on him clogs and hood, and calling him the spiritual Petrarch".
200. Giraldi, *op.cit.* ed. Milan 1864, p89. "dressed him as a minorite friar, and then girdled him with a cord and put clogs on his feet".
201. Graf, p67. "a stupid, but curious book".
202. Weinberg (1961), I, pp297-8, 'Platonism : The Triumph of Christianity'.
203. *ibid.* pp293-6
204. Malipiero (1545), fol.ZIIIr
"C : Why Petrarch is it that you come so proudly,
and happier in aspect than you were before?
P : Thanks to the learned and Wise Malipetro
who has freed me from vain love and serious error.
C : So then, your sweet and gentle lyre
no longer resounds for Laura?
P : Not now indeed.
C : What for then?
P : The highest good that gives me life.
C : Happy you, who left such a frenzied enterprise
And have offered the song to Christ,
Whence your Muse will be eternally grateful."
205. Malipiero (1567), fol.84r. "corruptible, corporeal and finite", "more of wormwood than of honey", "the glorious and sempiternal God is simple and unchanging, he always and continually pleases one with a pure and simple delight which is always the same in contemplation".
206. Dial.Ital. p1032. "I burn infinitely".

207. *ibid.* pp1032-4. "Always and everywhere the same", "my tears, sighs and ardours do not accord with these frosts, tempests and hot seasons".
208. *ibid.* p935. "obstinate and vulgar love"
209. Malipiero (1567), fols.99v-100r.
"If we run over the histories of the great deeds of generous men who have been in the world, we truly find that without comparison the undertakings of those for love of divine beauty are superior to those undertaken for human love".
210. *ibid.* "nothing in comparison to the excellent and difficult deeds which have been done by those enamoured by divine beauty."
211. *ibid.* fols. 95v-96r.
"our most unhappy...vicious and corrupt times", "divinely devised to praise and glorify God and for the exercise of spiritual love", "abuse and perversity", "into the vituperation of God, in the commerce of carnal love, and to acquire for themselves foolishly the horror of the infernal abyss."
212. *ibid.* "with holy images making virtue vicious".
213. J.Cleveland, Poems (1651)
214. Malipiero (1567), fol.96v
"beautiful and fabulous materials" which "in itself is otherwise most useful and honourable" and "makes them almost into a sluttish prostitute, noisome and pernicious".
215. G.F.Pico, Epistolarum Libri quattor (1506-7), fol.FVv, cit. Weinberg (1961), I, p257
"Obscene and lewd poems, in my opinion, bear the same relationship to true poems as do wanton prostitutes to honest matrons. I, indeed, do not deem a poem to be a true poem and one capable of withstanding every censure unless it be serious, pure and holy...nor should we listen to the soft and effeminate poets, for whom nothing is savoury if it is not base, impure, corrupt and malodourous".
216. Weinberg (1961), I, p294
217. Malipiero (1567), fol.96r
"agonising passions...shameful loves and frenetic desires", "institute with their own signature bridled slaves of I know not what nude and blind little boy".
218. *ibid.*
"the incautious and evil", "as fish are taken and caught in nets : since under amorous verses and flattering little words they take occasion and matter for vain concupiscence and illicit lust".
219. *ibid.* fol.105r.
"Why, when you seek to solace the soul, do you give it poison at the same time, by reading so often the brutish, foul, and disgusting comedies of the lascivious poets of our times?"
220. *ibid.* "contrary to the sacred institution of Christian life".
221. *ibid.* "they deprave good habits"
222. *ibid.* fol.105v. "such poisonous and pestiferous readings"
223. *ibid.* "writers of wanton matters, unmannered and false poets"; -"they are deposed from sacred baptism in the faith".

224. *ibid.* fol.106r-v. "lovely sonnets", "so that nothing more [in them] will be able to be noxious to you".
225. *ibid.* fol.106r-v
 "although the modified odes and ballads do not in every part preserve their neatness and gracefulness : nonetheless, they are : not pleasing to you, if ^
 [at least] after they have been stripped of all ancient vanity, they cannot sing to you about anything but good and holy things...your noble poet being completely made maestro of established and true doctrine".
226. *ibid.* "vain tickling of the ears, but for the internal consolation and true comfort of the soul".
227. *ibid.* fol.106v. "Why do you say 'so much changed'? "
228. *ibid.*
 "After many years of forgetting, he opened - by divine grace - the eyes of his mind, and converted his lyre to singing with a spiritual melody, saying with the prophet [David] that line 'Lord I sing you a new song' [Psalm 96 &c]".
229. *ibid.* fol.108v.
 "amorous song", "full of vain desire", "Now that the divine ray has radiated with another subject, according to celestial and holy love, ornamented with the same notes...Well do I believe, noble souls that my gentle and chaste harmony will be more pleasing to you, if errors of the internal senses do not overshadow them".
230. *ibid.* fol.81r. "the true, certain, destined and blessed end of man".
231. *ibid.* fol.83r.
 "innate attraction", "according to the diversity of their perfections", "in the order of the universe", "stones, metals, elements, heavens, planets, and stars... in their own way desire the highest Good".
232. *ibid.* "divine introductions, so that man is provoked to his end"
233. *ibid.* fol.95r-v
 "to celebrate the feasts...of their Gods", "Almost through instinct and divine frenzy they were given the faculty to compose such sacred songs and odes".
234. *ibid.* fol.95r-v.
 "spiritual sweetness", "introduced psalmody into divine worship", "celebrates the divine offices with much melody...[whence] the auditors can be excited to divine love and to desire the eternal songs, which we expect to sing in heaven"
235. *ibid.* fol.94r-v.
 "spiritual exercises and studies", "from such delightful consonance and harmony the intellectual soul can be raised to its proper object and true origin, and easily be made fitted to receive high and divine illuminations".
236. *ibid.* fol. 91r-v
 "conforms through its nature", "the secret things of nature".
237. *ibid.* fol.94v.
 "noble college of religious men", "hearing their sacred melody [Saul]...had the spirit of Prophecy". The references are to II Kings,iii and I Samuel,x.
238. *ibid.* fol.95r. "a sacred hymn in praise of divine majesty", "strange fantasies and vain thoughts".

Erratum (p309)

Note 251 (translation of Scoti's verse to be added)

"He is a slave who sings of his Laura,
But one who wants sweetness pithily mixed with utility,
And wants to acquaint himself with the sacred ways of God,
He will read you, greatly astounded, and say to himself :
'The band of little Christians [ie Minorites] will be satisfied
with you'.

inter
p 308 & 9.

239. *ibid.* "elevated [~~the soul~~] to the angelic songs, and to the Harmony which the soul takes from God".
240. *ibid.* fol.90v. "composed according to modes, numbers, times and measures"
241. *ibid.* fol.105r
"changed the style of his lyre into spiritual song, in consonance and the melody of the cross of Jesus Christ".
242. *ibid.* "most excellent monochord", "Jesus Christ, the great reconciler, reformed in himself all the register - not one skillful consonance remains in the universe which can give to the intellectual soul the tune and note of the true song".
243. *ibid.* fol.107v. "as viol and harp tuned in harmony / Of many strings", Paradiso XIV, lines 118-119. "a melody / Which ravishes me", lines 122-3.
244. *ibid.* fol.108r. "made himself the harpist of Jesus Christ".
245. *ibid.* fol.106v. "error of equivocation"
246. *ibid.*
"no distinction is made [in Petrarch's poetry] between melody which delights only the corporeal sense of hearing, whose end is wicked, and melody which delights the spiritual sense of hearing, whose end is good....[erring] through the wantonness of the sensitive appetite overthrowing reason".
247. *ibid.* fol.108r. "completely spiritual...through a new taste of spiritual melody"
248. Enciclopedia Italiana (Rome 1950), Vol.XXVII, p22. "arbitrary and continual substitutions of words and phrases", "a scandalous profanation which nonetheless had a notable success".
249. Malipiero (1567), fol.106r. "maestro of established and true doctrine".
250. See Appendix 1 for full texts and translations of the sonnets mentioned in detail in this section (in each case the Petrarchan original is given along with the "corrected" versions of Malipiero and Salvatorino).
251. Salvatorino (1537), dedication of Federico Scoti.
252. For distinction between Platonic and more properly Horatian usages of the adage about delight and instruction see Weinberg (1961), I, p287.
253. Salvatorino (1537), 'prefazione', "I begin these blessed / verses, God using my vile wit / For his instrument".
254. *ibid.* "lovely and graceful style, holy [and] divine".
255. *ibid.*
"But if these [poems] of mine are rude
As you see, I have taken the path which
God willed that I follow, moving my conduct;
To show better how things conceived for vanity
Could be made by him worthy
Subjects of virtue, and the base wit of
A sinner could be [made] blessed."
256. *ibid.* "I hope, I say, that it [the Thesoro] shall help his Christians / To move against the infidels the great divine Power".

257. *ibid.* Sonnet IX.
 "Oh King so daring, by which title you are put
 In charge of all Christians; now explain the sign
 Given by Heaven to make your sceptre always
 Worthy to extirpate the Mahometan sects".
258. *ibid.* Sonnet XXI. "in three times seven headings". The seven motif is common to both the meditative and the polemic strands - in the latter it is introduced as an apocalyptic "segno / Dato del Ciel", linked to Biblical virtuous wars, and prophecies.
259. *ibid.* Sonnets XV and XVII.
 "[Consider] the seven enflamed
 Words spoken on the cross....
 To what end did he set down those seven days
 Of the Creation for us?

 Giving it to us eternally, although [we are] unworthy."
260. *ibid.* Sonnets XIX and XXI. "I, unworthy worm, / Persevered in describing them, although / My wit was stupefied [by them]". "And I understand how unworthy I am, / Because in itself the soul promises nothing".
261. See note 250 above, and Appendix 1 for full texts and translations.
262. See I.McFarlane, Renaissance Latin Poetry (Manchester 1980), p237n. "Billy was known in England, Heywood refers to him on more than one occasion", and see 'Quis latice oculis' and its French counterpart 'Qui me donra de l'eau', pp98-9.
263. Apology, ed.cit. p137.
264. *ibid.* p125.
265. *ibid.* p122
266. *ibid.* p99
267. *ibid.* p96.
268. Dial. Ital. pp1174-6
269. Iamblichus paraphrased by Simplicius in his Categoriae, in The Concept of Time in Late Neoplatonism, ed. Samburksy and Pines (Jerusalem 1977), pp26-7.
270. Michele Ciliberto, Lessicon di Giordano Bruno (Rome 1978), p(xxxiv).
 "The linguistic horizon defined in the Spaccio and maintained in all the vernacular works...is that of a conception of language as an eminently plastic material, not defined and closed".
271. Gabriele la Porta, Ombree delle Idee (Rome 1978), a translation of Bruno's De Unbris Idearum. Preface. "images which, impressed in the mind, have the property of bringing man...closer to the Ideas themselves".
272. Dial.Ital. p936.
 "My intention in this composition was to bring [the reader] to divine contemplation, and put before the eyes and ears other frenzies, not of the vulgar, but heroic frenzies".
273. Apology, ed.cit. p122.

274. Dial.Ital. p26. "Muses of England", "blonde hair, white cheeks, scarlet faces, delicious lips, divine eyes, breasts of enamel, and hearts of diamond", "through whom [the Muses] I put together so many thoughts in my mind, and collect so many affections in my soul", "O my Mnemosine [Muse of Memory], hidden beneath the thirty seals".
275. *ibid.* p933. "those poets who spoke of Doris, Cynthia, Lesbia, Corinna, Laura and other such"
276. Explicatio Triginta sigillorum (1583), fol.131
277. See the gross misunderstanding of Bruno's symbolic narratives in S.L.Jaki's translation of Bruno's Cena, The Ash-Wednesday Supper (The Hague 1975), which suffers from consistently trying to see Bruno as the scientific Copernican which he clearly was not.
278. Dial.Ital. p11. "moral topography", "I am like a painter, to whom it is not sufficient to make a simple portrait of a scene; but rather, by filling the picture, and making it conform to the art of nature, there depicts the figure [or likeness] of the scene".
279. Giulio Camillo, L'Iddea del Theatro (1550), British Library 56.b.6
Giulio Camillo, Il Petrarca (1554), British Library C.65.f.2
280. Giulio Camillo, Opere edite, cit. Tiraboschi, Storia, p351.
281. M.Galliard, Life of Francois I, cit.Tiraboschi, Storia, p352, "a large wooden structure".
282. Tiraboschi, Storia, p352. "a great Cabalist, well-versed in oriental languages, an orator and Latin poet".
283. *ibid.* p358. "solemn imposter".
284. *ibid.* p352.
285. *ibid.* pp352-3. Camillo's address to Francois I, "the ways through which you can ascend to immortality".
286. *ibid.* p354. "a dream theatre"
287. *ibid.* p356. A description of Camillo by his friend Muzio. "[There seemed] to me represented a kind of frenzy which...I could not endure without fear".
288. *ibid.* p357.
"He represents the seven supercelestial measures by means of the seven planets and finds a capacious, sufficient and distinct order, such that it keeps aroused and strikes the memory, and serves the function not only of conserving for us the assigned things, words and arts...but also gives to us the true wisdom, in the sources of which we come to understand things by their causes [ie the super-celestial influences] and not by their effects".
289. Camillo (1550), p9. "in which are concealed the Ideas of all things in the celestial and in the inferior worlds".
290. *ibid.* ppl and 9. "base language", "the subject of angelic language", "the eyes of vulgar souls cannot endure the rays of divinity...if the visage is not covered".
291. *ibid.* p2. "through signs and similitudes".

292. *ibid.* p11. "eternal loci"
293. *ibid.* p14. "we follow the order of the creation of the world"
294. *ibid.* p14. "The noblest locus in the whole theatre"
295. *ibid.* pp58-9. "the triplicity that is interior to man".
296. *ibid.* p62. "between them they have only one shared eye".
297. *ibid.* p67. "Because she is enamoured of the bull it signifies the soul which, according to the Platonists, fell into the cupidity of the body."
298. *ibid.* p68.
"A young girl descending through Cancer. This signifies the soul falling from Heaven entering its body...Diana handing the garment to Mercury signifies the mutation of the soul"
299. *ibid.* p15. "the fictions of poets concerning these supercelestial measures"
300. *ibid.* p41.
"When the writer mentions hair...he does not intend corporeal hair, but that of the soul which, metaphorically, has hair, eyes and other parts corresponding to those of the body".
301. *ibid.* p52. "the mysteries of the poets".
302. *ibid.* p61. "to the end that covered in this way they were kept hidden and were thus not profaned".
303. G.Marzot, *art.cit.* p142. "Camillo interprets Petrarch according to the Platonic wheel".
304. See for example Jacopo Sadoletto *De Liberis recte instituendis Liber* (1533), and Andrea Menechino, *Delle lodi della poesia, d'Onero et di Virgilio* (1572).
305. Camillo (1550), p94. "the renewal of all things"
306. *Dial.Ital.* pp216, 225, and 1071-2, for examples.
307. Camillo (1550), pp49-50.
"Of this renewal Petrarch wished to make mention, who as one who cannot proceed beyond the celestial world made that sonnet which begins 'Quando il pianeta...'. He gives to the heavens this operation of revolving to make the world beautiful, not understanding that the world-soul is full of the animating spirit that is Christ, carried down from the hollow of the moon".
308. See *Midrash Rabbah*, a commentary on the *Song of Songs*, I,ii-iv, ed. Rabbi H.Freedman (Soncino Press 1961), pp26-9. This commentary considers the "kiss" of Solomon as a form of death and purification of the soul.
309. Camillo (1550), pp74-5
"One reads in the Cabalists that without the kiss of death one cannot truly unite with the heavens or with God. This is that kiss of Solomon which is mentioned in the first chapter of the *Canticle* ["let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth"] ...and Petrarch puts this unforgettably when he says 'O felice quel di...&c' "
310. *Dial.Ital.* p1100.
311. Giles Fletcher, preface to *Licia, or Poems of Love* (1593), in *Elizabethan sonnets*,

ed. M.Evans (London 1977), pp.(xii)-(xiii). Platonic "madonnas" were already rife in France, see for e.g Pontus de Tyard's lute-playing mistress Pasiphée in his dialogue expounding the "fureur poetique" Solitaire Premier (1552); she is intended as a symbol of the Platonic soul, enchanting her lover with "celestial harmony". See F.A.Yates French Academies in the Sixteenth Century (London 1947), pp78-80.

312. Camillo (1554), fol.IIIv
 "Although this work contains amorous things : they were, however, written by a religious person and one of a good and holy life; and it is for no other end than the showing to beautiful wits the ladder by which one can rise from a contemplation of earthly beauties to the love of the celestial [beauty]"
313. *ibid.* p87.
 "He complains that Laura is miserly with her glances, we can now recognise through Platonic reason that his desire is chaste : as if observing faith".
314. *ibid.* p131. "Petrarch says in this sestina that, enamoured of Laura with that love, he comes to flee the pitiless light of Venus; that is, libidinous love".
315. *ibid.* pp243-4.
316. See Tiraboschi, Storia, p140
317. *ibid.* "investigating allegories and mysteries which the poet had never dreamt of using".
318. J.Quitslund, *art.cit.* p266
319. G.B.Gelli (1551), British Library 1472.aa.30
 B.Varchi (1560-1), British Library 1341.i.15, and 1173.b.1 (1-2)
320. Gelli (1551), pp51-2.
 "The thing that chiefly induced him in his love for her, was the sensitive appetite, called by the philosophers 'concupiscible' : which is none other than a desire of corporeal beauty".
321. *ibid.* p52. "that this love was not his ultimate end".
322. *ibid.* pp52-3. "many times he repented of being in such restrained love".
323. *ibid.* pp56-7.
 "deal with amorous passions", "so full of serious sentenze, and of excellent and salutary precepts and so much decked with the profound conceits of philosophy and the highest mysteries of theology, that I dare to say freely that his is not a lesser doctrine than that you would wish from any other poet, except perhaps our most-divine Dante".
324. *ibid.* pp55-6. "blameworthy passions", "they do not merit being remembered, let alone described".
325. *ibid.* p56. "He only wrote these sonnets so as to instruct others by his example not to allow themselves, as he had, to be drawn into the servitude of Love".
326. *ibid.* p54.
 "Although not being able to withdraw himself from such a wretched servitude, he acted like the prudent, who extract some profit from everything, often by means of the contemplation of her beauty, corporeal and visible, according to the doctrine of Paul the Apostle [Romans, I,xx] rose to the contemplation of things incorporeal

- and invisible : & finally to that of the supreme and divine beauty : which is none other than God himself."
327. *ibid.* pp53-4. "the severe judgement of those who have wanted to blame him for being thus wretchedly caught...in the amorous snares of a corporeal and transient beauty".
328. *ibid.* pp57-8.
"And it should not seem strange that I tell you this concerning Petrarch, since some of the ancients such as Musaeus, Orpheus and others wrote of the hidden and profound mysteries of their sacred theology beneath amorous conceits".
329. *ibid.* "of the blessedness of our soul and of the union of that [soul] with God as was clearly demonstrated by [Francesco] Giorgi in his Harmonia Mundi".
330. Dial.Ital. p932.
"I first thought of giving this book a title similar to that of Solomon's, which beneath the surface of loves and ordinary passions contains similarly divine and heroic frenzies...I wanted, so to speak, to call it Cantica."
331. Apology, ed.cit. p99
332. Gelli (1551), p60. "briefly [expounding]...the sententia of the sonnet".
333. *ibid.* p60.
"I ought to be on my guard when I am enamoured, of allowing my liberty to be taken away by following the allurements of the senses, which most of the time is followed by our damnation. Since the soul...is freed and loosed to its evil and falls into the most serious error of enamourment."
334. *ibid.* p61. "because without understanding these it would be difficult for you to understand him".
335. *ibid.* p61. "the light of which is much more certain than any other wisdom".
336. *ibid.* pp83-4. "The appetitive parts", "to understand this sonnet perfectly"
337. *ibid.* pp83-7.
338. *ibid.* p91. "the rebellion of the flesh against the spirit"
339. *ibid.* p93.
" 'I am driven back against my will' - that is to say against my rational will, which, as we have said above, wishes always for the Good. And he says 'voglia' [wish] meaning 'la volontà' [the Will], and when he says 'desio' [desire], he means to signify 'l'appetito' [appetite]".
340. *ibid.* p90. "the way that we sin and commit any error".
341. *ibid.* p92.
"in which place the images of the things understood by the senses are imprinted".
342. *ibid.* "between the Will and the Appetite".
343. Astrophel and Stella, sonnet IV.
344. Gelli (1551), p95.
"Our errors are born from no other cause than from allowing ourselves too much to be overthrown by the sensitive passions".

345. L.Bryskett, Discourses on Civill Life (1606), pp130-131.
346. *ibid.* p24.
347. Florio was a friend of Bruno and was present at the dinner described in the Cena along with members of the "Areopagus" such as Greville and Matthew Gwynne (and an unnamed knight assumed by Yates, and Singer to be Sidney (On Florio see Dial. Ital. pp52 and 55).
348. B.Varchi (1560), 'Lezzione d'Amore', fol.37r-v. "No-one wrote of love before Dante", "in which the Tuscan language has found her Plato".
349. *ibid.* fol.38r
"Some, such as Ovid in that book [Ars Amatoria]...merit rather much blame than few praises, dealing only with vulgar love".
350. Equicola's sequence runs thus : Guittone d'Arezzo, Guido Cavalcanti, Dante, Francesco Barbarino, Petrarch, Boccaccio, Marsilio Ficino, G.F.Pico, Francesco Diaccetto.
351. Varchi (1561), 'Lezzione sopra l'Amore', p327.
"Celestial, or divine; courteous, or honest; the civil, or human; the vulgar, or plebian; the bestial, or fixed".
352. *ibid.* "three kinds of love at different times".
353. *ibid.* "had only loved with a dishonest, lascivious love", "even in a more blameworthy way", "he had only loved Madonna Laura with a divine love".
354. Rime, 265 (lines 1-4),
"A harsh heart and a wild and cruel desire,
In a sweet, humble, angelic form,
If this rigor she has taken up continues long,
Will have spoils of me that bring little honour" (trans. R.Durling), Varchi, p328
355. Rime, 23 (line 143), "unrestrained boldness". Varchi, p328
356. Rime, 334 (lines 1-4),
"If virtuous love can merit mercy, and if pity still has all her
wonted power, I shall find mercy,
For brighter than the sun is my
Faithfulness to my lady and the world" (trans. R.Durling), Varchi, p328.
357. Varchi (1561), p329. "He loved with that first, and most tranquil divine love".
358. Rime, 347 (lines 5-11),
"O high and rare wonder among ladies : now in the face of Him
Who sees all things, you see my love and that pure faith
For which I poured out so many tears and so much ink.
And you know that my heart was towards you on earth
As it is towards you now in Heaven, and that I never wished anything
From you but the sun of your eyes." (trans. R.Durling), Varchi, p329.
359. *ibid.*
"None other than her most virtuous beauty, by means of which he was raised to the contemplation of celestial beauties and consequently to those of God, the Father, and source of all beauties".
360. G.Malipiero (1567), fol.96r. "With holy images making virtue vicious".
361. Propertius, Sexti Properti Carmina, ed. E.A.Barber (Oxford 1957), I,ix, stanza 3

- "For you poor fellow, what use to recite grave poems,
Or tell sad tales of the city raised by Amphion's lyre?
In love one verse of Mimnermus outweighs all Homer,
For peaceful Cupid wants tender songs,
Go then, and put away your sombre books
And sing instead of themes that a girl
Would wish to hear."
362. George Chapman, Hero and Leander, third sestiad, line 35.
363. The Phoenix Nest (1593), ed.cit. pp90-91, anonymous poem entitled 'A Description of Love'.
364. Lodovico Castelvetro (1582), British Library 638.h.6
365. E.Raimondi, 'Gli scrupoli di un filologo : Ludovico Castelvetro e il Petrarca', Studi Petrarqueschi, series 1, V, 1952, ppl31-210. p194n
366. Tiraboschi, Storia, p32. "Castelvetro in this censure...goes somewhat beyond the limits of a just moderation".
367. *ibid.* p32. "plebian speech", "vanity", "not very wise", "the argument of the canzone is nothing at all".
368. Tiraboschi, Storia, p32. "more restrained and modest"
369. Giuditio delle Comedie di Terentio, Parere sopra ciascuna comedia di Plauto, both c1565.
370. Poetica d'Aristotele vulgarizzata et sposta (1570)
371. Castelvetro, Poetica (Basel 1576), fol XX*. "a first rough form, and imperfect...a collection of notes and brief reminders".
372. Weinberg (1961), I, p69
373. Castelvetro, Opere critiche inedite, ed.Muratori (1726), I, p228. "a philology of opposition".
374. Raimondi, art.cit. p133. "hidden skirmishes".
375. Tiraboschi, Storia, p38. "now illuminating them, now correcting them".
See, for e.g, Castelvetro (1582), p147,
"Quanta dolcezza unquanco] Qui è un essemplio contra il Bembo, che unquanco non sempre si pone con negativa".
376. Castelvetro, Poetica (1570), p202. "They were read and studied without impediment... until they came to the notice of the inquisitors".
377. Tiraboschi, Storia, p38. "The art of oratory and poetics have found in Castelvetro a valiant writer".
378. Castelvetro (1582), ppl and 4. "The lovers of most polite letters...noblemen and scholars...and beautiful wits".
379. Raimondi, art.cit. p138. "the spirit of a work", "the conceptual organism", "from within".
380. Castelvetro, Sposizione...a XXIX canti dell'Inferno Dantesco, in Memorie della

Regia Accademia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti in Modena, series II, Vol.3, p141.

"Proceed from the words of the poet".

381. Castelvetro (1582), p166. "'stampa' by example and similitude [ie metaphorically]".
382. Raimondi, art.cit. p152. "researcher of sources".
383. ibid. Raimondi cites this comment from Castelvetro's exposition of Rime, 70 ;
"Taken from Act I,ii of Terence's Andria, 'Hinc illae lacrymae'. And likewise
from Horace Lib.I, epistle XIX, v.41, 'Hinc illae lacrymae' "
384. Castelvetro (1582), p175.
"All this depiction of beauty is taken from Virgil, when he depicts Venus in the
form of a Nymph appearing to Aeneas [Aeneid I, 314-328, 402-5], except he does not
mention the eyes."
- | | |
|---|---|
| Petrarch, <u>Rime</u> 90 | Virgil, <u>Aeneid</u> ,I |
| "They were hairs of gold
loosed in the breeze" | "She had let her hair stream in the
wind" |
| "Her face made itself the
colour of pity" | "You have not the countenance of a
mortal" |
| "Her manner of walking was
no mortal thing" | "Her gait alone proved her a goddess" |
385. Castelvetro, Opere Critiche inedite (1726), pp265-270.
"When reading Petrarch the Florentine Academies and many others talk of metaphysics,
physics and morality, to judge if Petrarch had spoken of all good things. But
to understand poets does not consist in anything but common and popular sense"
386. ibid. "it is not unfitting for a philosopher to comment upon canzoni",
"[these] things, however, I cannot and will not recommend".
387. Raimondi, art.cit. p140. "The matter of the sciences...cannot be a subject for poetry".
388. Castelvetro, Opere critiche inedite (1726), p90.
"In truth, Poetry never had its beginning or its middle or its end in a divine
frenzy infused by the Muses or by Apollo in the poets...but the poets, to render
themselves marvellous and worthy of attention in the eyes of men, helped and
augmented this opinion, calling upon that divine aid and pretending to have
obtained it."
389. ibid. p88. "Because human industry is not believed by the Vulgar masses to be
fitted by itself to make them [ie poems]"
390. ibid. p124.
"Because the one and the other proceed by demonstrative proofs. Next it has in
common [with science] the order of the teachings, which in the one and the other
must be complete and perfect".
391. Castelvetro Poetica (1576), p28 and p5. "a similitude or resemblance of history",
"Poetry takes all its light from the light of history".
392. A.Caro, Apologia degli Accademici dei Banchi di Roma (1558), p83. "The licence of
the poets".
393. Weinberg (1961), I, p504

394. Raimondi, art.cit. pp161 and 163. "rabid rationalism", "geometrical method".
395. Castelvetro (1582), PtII, pp136-7
 "Al mio stanco riposo] In my dream, which is repose, but weary and disturbed...
 Spira] Having called [her] a breeze [he means] she comes, or appears...
 Io comincio] He tells the story of his love... Ella si tace] She listens
 patiently."
396. Raimondi, art.cit. p138. "Puritan faith in poetry".
397. Fontanini, *Bib. dell' Eloquenza Italiana* (Parma 1734), p41.
 "published [or exalted] Petrarch", "to corrupt the poor Catholic youth of his home-
 land".
398. Raimondi, art.cit. p181.
399. Castelvetro (1582), PtII, pp165-6.
 "If others were to put it on the anvil of Christian purity, giving it all the licence
 which one can give to poetry...one can clearly see what the reasons were which
 prevented Petrarch from giving it to others to read".
400. Raimondi, art.cit. p178. "the temptation of a pagan style".
401. Castelvetro, *Opere critiche inedite* (1726), p213.
 "The Devil in all he can seeks to darken the eye of the soul so that we cannot
 apprehend the truth of things".
402. Castelvetro (1582), pp338-9.
 "Diotima, who speaks with Socrates in Plato's *Convivium*, says to him 'You first,
 and many others who wish to see the people you love - you would stay with them,
 if it was possible, without eating or drinking, it would satisfy you just to see
 them and be with them' ".
403. *ibid.* "Agathon in the *Convivium* of Plato says that Love is a boy".
404. *ibid.* p146.
 "[The poet] intends to demonstrate two things principally in this canzone,
 firstly that he is exalted, by looking into the eyes of Laura, to Heaven. The
 other that she set him to study. But because he could not rise to Heaven if it
 weren't for divine beauty, he chiefly commends the beauty of them [the eyes],
 nor would he be put to study if it were not for desire of seeking them, and
 for the usefulness and joy which he takes from seeing them".
405. *ibid.* "La prigione] The body which is the prison of the soul...Alzo mio cor] With
 her beauty and with her actions full of divinity".
406. *ibid.* "Lactantius, Lib.VI, Cap.3...Seneca in *Hercule Oetheo* 'Redde nunc nato patrem,
 vel astri forti / Nec peto ut monstres iter".
407. *ibid.* p150. "Et al foco gentil] Of his love for Laura, or it is an explanation of
 that [phrase] 'A l'alta speranza' ".
408. *ibid.* pp147-9
 Amor &c] He means, saying Love, of the amorous state, saying Fortune he means the
 state of the kingdom...It is taken from Horace and surpasses him. 'Num tu quæ
 tenuit dives &c'....Che forma &c] That is, my heart is now happy, now sad, according
 to...Laura's aspect...cf Statius 'tecum tristisque &c'. "
409. *ibid.* "vaghe faville] He calls the eyes sparks, because they sparkle....Et lei]
 Laura."

410. Castelvetro Poetica (1576), p29. "Poetry was invented exclusively to delight and give recreation to the minds of the uneducated crowd, and of the common people".
411. *ibid.* p679. "not for the pleasure of the educated".
412. *ibid.* p493.
"the Dithyrambic effusions [of Pseudo-Dionysius]", "The purity of the fables of the Apostles...the eloquence of which is [that] of the cross".
413. Dial.Ital. p35. A citation of Luigi Tansillo's Il Vendemmiatore, stanza XIX, "Leave ye the shadow and embrace the truth".
414. *ibid.* p933. "the mystery and spiritual substance concealed beneath the shadow [of the literal sense]".
415. *ibid.* pp215-216.
"This sacreligious pedant, one of the rigid censors of philosophers, one of those who have concocted a beautiful construction, produced an elegant little epistle, cadged a fine phrase from the Ciceronian cook-house, are at once Demosthenes revived, inspired by Tullius, a re-incarnation of Sallust : here is an Argus with an eye for every letter, every syllable, every word...he contemplates his divinity in the mirror of a Spicelegium, a Dictionary, a Calepinus, a Lexicon, a Cornucopia, a Nizzolio" (trans. J.Lindsay)
NB. Spicelegium = a grammar by L.G.Scoppa, "Calepinus" = A.Calepino, author of a Latin vocabulary (1502), Cornucopiae = Niccola perotti (1489), "Nizzolius" = M.Nizzoli's Thesaurus Ciceronianus (1535).
416. Apology, ed.cit. p138
417. Prose Works, ed.Feuillerat, p132. Letter Oct 18 1580.
418. Henry Peacham, Garden of Eloquence (1577), fols. Aii-Aiii.
419. Apology, ed.cit. p132
420. Dial.Ital. pp957-8.
"certain poetic rulemakers", "heroic poet", "in his genius was not a poet who depended on rules, but is the cause of the rules which serve those who are better fitted to imitate than to invent".
421. *ibid.* p785. "religion of the mind".
422. F.A.Yates, 'The Emblematic Conceit' (1943), p110
423. Gabriel Harvey, Pierce's Supererogation (1593), p61.
424. Astrophel, sonnet XV
425. Astrophel, sonnet XIV. See also Apology, ed.cit. p75 "Alas Love, I wouldst thou couldest as well defend thy selfe, as thou canst offend others...But grant love of bewtie to be a beastly fault, although it be verie hard, since onely man and no beast hath that gift to discern beauty...[and] my maisters the Philosophers spent a good deale of their Lamp-oyle in setting forth the excellencie of it".
426. See note 66 above.

Notes to Chapter Two.

1. G.Malipiero, Il Petrarca Spirituale (1545), fol.100v. "spiritual songs", "arouse man to divine love."
2. Petrarch, Familiarum rerum libri, ed. Vittorio Rossi and Umberto Bosco, for the Edizione nazionale delle opere di Francesco Petrarca (Vols.X-XIII), 1933-1942, reprinted with Italian translation by Enrico Bianchi in the 2 vol. Le Voci del Mondo series (Florence 1975). XIII,6,3, p781. "A divine gift acquired by few men".
3. Cicero, Pro Archia Poeta Oratio, VIII, 18.
"The nature of the Poet is to have the ability both to excite the minds of men and to be inspired by a kind of divine spirit".
4. R.G.Witt, 'Salutati and the Poeta Theologus', Renaissance Quarterly, XXX, 1977, pp538-563. p542
5. C.Salutati, De Laboribus Herculis (1383), ed.B.Ullmann 1942, II, p461
"The inspiration of the divine spirit and genuine and pure truth".
6. C.Salutati, Epistles, ed.B.Ullmann 1951. Epistle III, p298.
"It is fitting therefore, [that] it employs figural truth in the manner of the poet, in as much as it conceals the truth and its hidden and tractable mystery produces truth."
7. *ibid.* Epistle III, p292. "fictions and foolish devices".
8. *ibid.* Epistle IV. "Since the truth [of the poet's verse] is true, it has a marvellous harmony with theological truth...there can be no disagreement between truths."
9. *ibid.* Epistle III, p292.
"We speak of God or incorporeal creatures, [which] is almost writing in accordance with truth, [but] is nothing else but truth under a covering of falsity. And why then can anyone object to poetry?"
10. C.Salutati, De Laboribus Herculis, ed.cit. I,xiii, p68. "a philosopher in poetry".
11. See Michael Allen, The Platonism of Marsilio Ficino (University of California 1984), pp42-3.
12. Marsilio Ficino, Commentarium in Convivium Platonis, Oration IV, Cap.I.
"Orphic and Platonic poet".
13. *ibid.* Oration IV, Cap.II. "it was the custom of ancient theologians to conceal their sacred, holy secrets in the shadowy guise of allegories lest they be desecrated by the profane" (trans. S.Jayne)
14. *ibid.* Oration I, Cap.IV. "immutable beauty", "shadowy and passing image".
15. Dante, Convivio, III, . "In her descends the divine virtue / As it does in an angel who sees Him".
16. *ibid.* II,xii. "I imagined her made like a noble lady".
17. *ibid.* II,xv. "[Love] is the zeal which is the application of the soul enamoured of that thing, to that thing".
18. *ibid.* "the spiritual union of the soul and the thing beloved".
19. *ibid.* "the unifying and cohesive power".

20. Petrarch, Rime 183. "a thing by nature unfixed".
21. Petrarch, Rime 360. "a ladder to the creator".
22. Petrarch, Rime 366.
"Kindly Virgin, enemy of pride...
If I am wont to love with such marvellous faith
A bit of deciduous mortal dust,
How will I love you, a noble thing?" (trans. R.Durling).
23. Pico della Mirandola, Opera (1557), p912, Lib.III, Cap.I.
"Guido Cavalcanti dealt with the vulgar love in his canzone [Donna mi prega].
Of the other love, that is the celestial one, our poet treats in the present
work, in which although he deals with the one and the other, nonetheless he
deals principally with the celestial, and does not speak of the other [vulgar
love], unless as a weak of image of that [celestial love]."
24. *ibid.* p897. "I have in a few verses summed up that which Marsilio described in many
elegant pages".
25. *ibid.* Lib.III, Cap.II, p912. "a simulacrum and shadow of celestial love".
26. *ibid.* 'Canzona d'Amore', stanza I. p910.
"The flame which by him was already kindled in that [heart]
Moves my tongue, forces my wits to
Speak of him..."
27. See F.A.Yates, French Academies of the Sixteenth Century (London 1947), Chapters 2 & 3.
On Ficino's Orphic chants see D.P.Walker Spiritual and Demonic Magic from Ficino to
Campanella (London 1958), pp12-24, and his 'Orpheus the Theologian and the Renaissance
Platonists', JWCI, XVI, 1953, pp100-120.
28. F.A.Yates (1947), pp78-80.
29. Dial.Ital. pp969-970. "superior Cupid", "opens the gates of black diamond".
30. *ibid.* pp1174-6.
31. *ibid.* p91. "the divine Cusanus".
32. *ibid.* pp755-6. "divine principle", "the commensuration and coincidence of the maximum
and minimum".
33. Bruno is often critical of Cabalist or Neoplatonic philosophy which appealed to
'Angels' or 'Demons' to wield power - Bruno's 'natural magic' connects the magus
directly to the world-order through the manipulation of affinities.
34. F.E.Cranz 'The Transmutations of Platonism in the development of Nicolaus Cusanus',
pp73-96.
35. Dial.Ital. p232. "mover and agitator of the universe", "Mind, which is blended into
all the vast universe and pervades every part of it, enlivening the whole mass"
(Aeneid, VI, 726-7).
36. *ibid.* pp233-4.
"Now if we believe that forethought and intellect are required to beget even inanimate
works...as when, cutting and carving a piece of wood, we make appear the image of a
horse - how much superior must we esteem that creative intellect which from the
interior of seminal matter solders the bones together, extends the cartilage, hollows

- out the arteries, breathes out the pores, interweaves the fibres, branches out the nerves, and disposes the whole with such admirable mastery?". (trans.Lindsay).
37. *ibid.* p795.
"The Egyptians, as the sages know, from these natural exterior forms of living beasts and plants ascended to and...penetrated to the divinity".
 38. *ibid.* p782. "mediatory and mathematical", "the contemplation of nature", "supernatural principles".
 39. *ibid.* p781. "[Thus it is] with members, colours, seals, characters, signs and images, [all] distributed in seven species".
 40. *ibid.* p782. "On the horizon of the corporeal and the spiritual".
 41. *ibid.* p778.
"These ceremonies were not vain fantasies, but living words which touched the ears of the Gods; who were accustomed to understand them not through the utterances of language...but through the utterances of natural effects... through ceremonial acts".
 42. On the affinities between Giulio Camillo, Leone Ebreo and Giordano Bruno's use of imagination see Marco Ariani, Imago Fabulosa : Mito e Allegoria nei Dialoghi di Leone Ebreo (Florence 1984), pp148 and 48.
 43. Dial.Ital. p778. "diverse physical forms...and certain orderings".
 44. On Brunian mnemonics see F.A.Yates, The Art of Memory (1966), chapters 9 and 11-14.
 45. Dial.Ital. p987. "builders and doers".
 46. *ibid.* p555. "tapestry", "theatre".
 47. *ibid.* p934. "Everyone understanding and defining as I understand and define".
 48. *ibid.* p555. "not ordinary eyes".
 49. *ibid.* p233. "He forms matter and form from within".
 50. Pico della Mirandola, Opera (1557), Lib.III, Cap.I, p912.
"The treatment of the one and the other love belongs to different disciplines. Vulgar love is dealt with by the natural philosopher and the moral philosopher. Divine love is dealt with by the theologian...or metaphysician. Solomon speaks excellently on both, on the vulgar love in Ecclesiastes, as a natural philosopher, and in the Proverbs as a moral [philosopher] - on the celestial and divine [love, he speaks] in his Song of Songs and thus it is said that among all the songs of sacred scripture, this is the most sacred and divine."
 51. On the multitude of commentaries on the Song of Songs see G.Ricciotti, Il Cantico dei Cantici (Turin 1928).
 52. Dial.Ital. p932. "under the surface [lit."rind"] of ordinary loves and passions".
 53. Yates felt that "It would be valuable to compare the mediaeval commentaries on the Canticle with Bruno's commentaries on his poems" (Yates, 1945. p104). cf also the Enciclopedia Filosofica, Centro di Studi Filosofici di Gallarate (1967), Vol.1, p1098 : "Bruno trovava nell' interpretazione teologica del Cantico dei Cantici la più gradita conferma al concetto platonico dell' Eros".

54. Dial.Ital. p933. "similar to...those who speak of...Lesbia, Corinna, Laura".
55. ibid. "similitudes more in keeping with the common meanings, which are used ordinarily by adroit lovers."
56. ibid. "latent and occult meaning".
57. ibid. p927. "continual torments", "the beauty of a female body", "an ugly and filthy wit".
58. ibid. p935. "an obstinate, vulgar love, animal and bestial".
59. ibid. pp928 & 931. "a poisonous fungus", "a thing...deprived of all constancy".
60. ibid. pp931 & 932. "honours and divine obsequies", "an heroic subject and object".
61. ibid. p936. "To bring about divine contemplation and put heroic loves before the eyes and ears [of the reader]".
62. ibid. p934. "metaphor and pretence of allegory".
63. ibid. p939. "antitheses, similitudes and comparisons".
64. ibid. p937. "beats against the doors of our senses".
65. ibid. p940. "confused, vanquished and stupefied".
66. ibid. p942. "the nine causes of the inability...and defect of the human gaze and power to apprehend divine things".
67. ibid. p939. "a seminary of the manners and causes of the state of the heroic furioso".
68. ibid. p941. "all that which in a certain way is desired, in a certain way is understood [or known]".
69. ibid. p946. "the power to open every seal, to loosen every knot, to discover every secret".
70. ibid. "the salutary waters of purgation".
71. F.A.Yates (1943), p114.
72. A.Pellegrini, art.cit. p136.
73. A.Weiner, art.cit. pp3-5
74. John Dee, A Letter Apologeticall &c (1599), in facsimile The English Experience, No.502, fols. A2v-A3r.
75. Weiner, art.cit. p5
76. Thomas Moffett, Nobilis (1590), cit. P.French, John Dee (1972), p127
77. ibid. . . .
78. Gréville, Life of Sidney, cit. French, p131.

79. John Dee, Private Diary, ed. J.O.Halliwel, Camden Society Publications, First series, Vol.XIX, 1842, pp 37 and 47.
80. *ibid.*
81. A.Ferruolo, *art.cit.* p689.
82. *ibid.* pp689-690.
83. See John Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance (1964), pp57-8.
84. L.Bryskett, A Discourse of Civill Life (London 1606), pp143-8, cf Malipiero (1545), 'Introduittione' caps. IV-V, fols.98v-103v. On the "musical Humanism" of the Baif circle see Yates (1947), Chapters 2 & 4, and D.P.Walker 'Musical Humanism in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', Music Review, Vol.II, 19
85. Apology, *ed.cit.* p105.
86. *ibid.* p106.
87. *ibid.* p107.
88. *ibid.*
89. *ibid.* p104.
90. *ibid.*
91. *ibid.* p119
92. *ibid.* p96
93. Dial.Ital. p654.
"A greater art cannot be imagined than that [art] which directs souls and reforms wits in this way, which from these produces the useful fruits necessary for human intercourse; it is indeed a divine thing, the art of arts and discipline of disciplines, that [art] through which men have been ruled and governed".
94. Apology, *ed.cit.* p122
95. *ibid.* p103.
96. *ibid.* p99.
97. *ibid.* p99 and Dial.Ital. p1034
98. Dial.Ital. p1034. "with the power of thought builds castles in the air".
99. *ibid.* p1035. "physicians by means of the truth".
100. Apology, *ed.cit.* p100.
101. *ibid.* p125
102. *ibid.* p98
103. *ibid.* pp101-2
104. *ibid.* p99

105. *ibid.*
106. *ibid.* p96
107. *ibid.* p99
108. *ibid.* p125
109. *ibid.*
110. *ibid.*
111. *ibid.*
112. See Chapter One above.
113. Sidney, Trewnesse (1587), title-page.
114. The Prose-Works of Sir Philip Sidney, ed.A.Feuillerat, 4 vols (Cambridge 1962), Vol.III, p199.
115. *ibid.*
116. See F.A.Yates Hermetic Tradition, Chapter X.
117. Prose-Works, III, p200
118. *ibid.* p199
119. In my analysis of the Eroici and Sidney's Astrophel I am out of sympathy with critics such as Ferruolo (art.cit. p 688) who discount Bruno's influence by claiming that Astrophel was completed before Bruno's arrival in England. As the work was published posthumously in 1590 we must allow that at least some of the sonnets could have been written during Bruno's visit. Janet Scott allows that Astrophel was "ecrit entre 1580 et 1583, circula en manuscrit" (Les Sonnets Elisabèthains, 1929, p301), which would put the latter part of the sequence within Bruno's sphere of influence (Yates herself was inclined toward the opinion that "the late sonnets may have been written under Bruno's influence", (1936) p113). Even the sceptical Pellegrini concedes that "there is some grounds for concluding that [Astrophel]...may have been written, in part, after Bruno arrived in England" (Pellegrini, art.cit. p129). For my own part I would allow 1585 to be an arguable terminus ante quem, disallowing the possibility that Sidney composed during the military campaign in the Netherlands. As such I feel the whole sequence can feasibly be compared with that of the Eroici Furori (especially as we cannot disallow that Sidney may have known the Eroici in MS during the years 1583-5).
120. Dial.Ital. p69
121. *ibid.* p947. "The Italian reasons with one who understands him".
122. Plato, Symposium, 180E.
123. *ibid.* 203B
124. *ibid.* 211A-212C.
125. *ibid.*
126. See note 68 above.
127. Ficino, Commentarium in Convivium Platonis, Oration I, Cap.IV.

- "That libido and coitus are not the same kind of impulse, but contraries can be demonstrated" (trans.S.Jayne)
128. *ibid.*
"the desire of beauty", "lust and madness", "irrational perturbations",
"proper, pure and divine passions".
 129. *ibid.* Oration II, Cap.VI.
"It is not a human passion which frightens them...but the glow of divinity shining
in beautiful bodies, like an image of God compells lovers to awe, trembling and
reverence".
 130. Petrarch, Rime 366, lines 136-7. "True God / That receives my last breath in peace".
 131. Petrarch, Secretum, ed. E.Carrara (Turin 1977), p78.
"The celestial doctrine of Plato has the tendency to distance the soul from the
passion of the flesh and to tread down its imaginings, until it can rise,
pure and free to the visions of divine mysteries, to which it is connected the
meditation of its own mortality."
 132. *ibid.* p116.
"Here is a mind that has no care for things of the earth, and burns only with love
of what is heavenly. In whose face...a certain divine loveliness shines out; whose
character is the image and picture of perfect honour".
 133. *ibid.* p112. "the vilest passion of the spul", "the noblest action of the soul".
 134. *ibid.* p114.
 135. Petrarch, Rime 29. "[She is] a star on earth, and like the laurel leaf / Keeps green
the worth of her chastity".
 136. See note 33 of Chapter One above.
 137. See note 326, Chapter One.
 138. See note 125, Chapter One.
 139. George Chapman, Hero and Leander, Sestiad III, lines 35-6.
 140. See Basia I, VII and XIII in Renaissance Latin Poetry, ed. I.McFarlane (Manchester
1979), pp51-57. cf especially Basia VII and Astrophel LXXIX's hyperbole, and
Sidney's use of the epithet "swelling" with regard to the lips (see Secundus' "turgi-
dulis labris").
 141. Dial.Ital. p929.
"Laments which make the caves of hell reverberate, dolorous: cries which stupify
living souls, sighs which make the Gods swoon and take pity, [all because] of those
eyes, those cheeks, that breast, that whiteness, that vermillion, that lip, that
hair... that extreme injury and distortion of nature, which with a superficial
appearance, a shadow, a fantasm, a dream, a Circaean enchantment put in the service
of generation, deceives us as a species of beauty".
 142. G.Bullett, Silver Poets of the Sixteenth-Century (London 1947), p418.
 143. Ficino, Convivium, Oration V, Cap.VIII, "Where Love's desire rules, all other
desires are spurned". Dial.Ital. p1075. "Leave me, leave me you other desires".
 144. Dial.Ital. p1119. "the delightful yoke...of Diana"
 145. G.Marzot, art.cit. p172.

- "Against the sweet ambiguous meanings with which the Petrarchists had sought to spiritualize natural love, against the 'savage goddess' who expresses that impure passion, [Bruno] opposed the Platonic Eros : the intellectual love of God and Truth, but without the mediation of the female".
146. Dial.Ital. p934. "An Orpheus worshipping a living woman".
 147. V.Spampanato, Vita, p64
 148. A.Ferruolo, art.cit. p693. Ferruolo says here that "gli Eroi Furori non siano originariamente inteso all' esaltazione dell' amore intellettuale...[ma] poesie d'amore per una donna".
 149. Dial.Ital. p951. "the more virtuous and lovely ladies", "goddesses", "the unique Diana".
 150. *ibid.* ppl176-7. "loud-thundering Jove", "god of the wave-tossed seas", "Father Ocean",
 151. *ibid.*p1177.
"And among these the whole world gazes upon the Sun,
But I tell you the sun does not shine as much
As her who renders me
The most glorious god of the great Creation."
 152. *ibid.* "they run as equals".
 153. *ibid.* p934. "from ordinary love", "has given conceits"
 154. *ibid.* p936. "disordered Venereal love".
 155. *ibid.* p1112.
"She who aroused my mind to another love...
That is she who I saw coming from the forest,
My huntress, my Diana,
Among beautiful nymphs on the golden Campania."
 156. *ibid.* p1113. "splendour of intelligible species", "the multitude of other species, forms and ideas."
 157. *ibid.*
"l'aura Campania, that is to say, that spirit which shows itself in Nola. which is situated on the level of the Campanian horizon".
 158. See Dial.Ital. p754. The "fonte caballino" caused by the hoof of Pegasus was one of Bruno's mythical symbols of the ancient theology of Hermes and the Egyptians. It is significant that Pegasus, the symbol of his philosophical method stresses both "il Furor divino [e] il Rapto" and "il Studio ed Ingegno", the "aligero cavallo della studiosa perseveranza" [p712], method and intellect for the immanent aspect of God, and rapture and ecstatic transport for the transcendent.
 159. Dial.Ital. p930. "a storehouse...of filth".
 160. *ibid.* p992. "an index of the beauty of the spirit"
 161. *ibid.* p931. "the natural virtue" of "beauty, splendour and humbleness"
 162. *ibid.* p930. "the sweetest apple...produced by our terrestrial paradise".
 163. *ibid.* p931. "to cool my heated passion I do not know if the snows of Mt Caucaso would suffice".

164. *ibid.* p1076.
 "Although one remains fixed on a corporeal beauty and worship of the exterior, one can honourably and worthily treat of this subject; because from material beauty, which is a ray and the splendour of spiritual act and form, of which it is a vestige and shadow, one can come to a consideration and worship of the divine beauty, light and majesty".
165. *ibid.* p1076. "purgation of the soul"
166. *ibid.* "beauty without similitude, figure, image and species".
167. *ibid.* p1078. "that take him to be a captive of base beauty to which he scatters vows and hangs up tablets [ie poems]".
168. *ibid.* "his living images", "a window [opening on] the aspect of the Sun".
169. *ibid.* p1178.
 "I give thanks to the gods...[that] in my youth, that the amorous flames could not be kindled in my breast, by means of my great reluctance and such simple and innocent cruelty, I gave my lovers the chance of obtaining infinitely greater graces than they would have otherwise had."
170. *ibid.* p937. "The intention, definition and determination which the soul makes regarding the one, perfect and ultimate end".
171. Petrarch, *Rime* 133, lines 5-11.
 "From your eyes the mortal blow came forth
 Against which time and place do not avail me;
 From you alone proceeds...
 The sun, the fire and the wind which make me such.
 Thoughts of you are arrows, your face a sun,
 And desire a fire; and with all these weapons
 Love pierces me, dazzles me and melts me" (Trans. R.Durling)
172. *Dial.Ital.* pp963-4.
 "I regard one object;
 Which takes up all of my mind, and is one face alone.
 I stay fixed upon only one beauty,
 Which has so pierced my heart, and is one sole dart,
 I burn with only one flame,
 And I do not know more than one paradise".
173. *ibid.* p964.
 "And from there [the sole beauty] he only conceives 'that dart' which kills him, that is to say, which constitutes to him the ultimate end of perfection".
174. *ibid.* p963. "Which enemy he kills, or which madman he banishes from his field and disdains".
175. *ibid.*
 "This captain is the human Will, which sits in the poop-deck of the soul, with a small rudder of the reason governing the passions of some interior powers against the waves of natural impulses". cf p561 : "il certo lume che siede nella specola, gaggia o poppa de la nostra anima, che da alcuni è detto sinderesi".
176. *ibid.* p964.
 "paradise commonly signifies the end, which can be distinguished into that which is absolute, in truth and essence, and that other which is in similitude, shadow and participation".
177. *ibid.* p969. "Love illuminates, clarifies, opens the intellect and makes everything

penetrate and causes miraculous effects".

178. *ibid.* pp969-970.
 "Love through which I discern such a high truth
 That it opens the black doors of diamond...
 Makes me descry how much there is in heaven, earth and hell.
 Makes present the true forms of absent things...
 And forever wounds my heart, uncovering what is inside."
179. *ibid.* p969. "My god enters through the eyes".
180. *ibid.* p947.
 "The movements of worlds, the works of nature, the discourse of intellects,
 the contemplation of the mind, the decree of divine providence, all in
 accord celebrate the high, magnificent vicissitudes which make the inferior
 waters equal to the superior."
181. *ibid.* p970.
 "Oh then, vile herd, attend the truth...
 You believe the boy because you understand little;
 Because you are rent by changes, you call him fleeting,
 Through being blind, you call him sightless."
182. *ibid.* p973.
 "Now here the *furioso* begins to show [ie describe] his passions and uncovers the
 wounds which are figuratively in the body, and in substance or essence in the soul".
183. Petrarch, *Rime* 134.
 "I fear and hope, burn and am like ice;
 I fly above heaven, and fall to the earth...
 I see without eyes, have no tongue yet cry out;
 I yearn to perish and cry out for help;
 I hate myself and love another." (Trans. R.Durling)
184. *Dial.Ital.* p973.
 "I love another, and hate myself;
 But if I spread my wings, the other is changed to stone;
 The other resides in heaven, while I am placed below;
 The other always flees if I ceaselessly pursue it;
 If I call, it does not respond;
 And the more I seek it, the more it is hidden from me".
185. *ibid.* p978. "a vice which is in a more divine subject".
186. *ibid.* p975. "it does not rejoice in the present, like brutal love; but in future
 and absent things".
187. *ibid.* p978. "the excess of contrareity...the discordant soul".
188. *ibid.* p975. "the garden of the animal's paradise".
189. *ibid.* p974. "Nothing is pure and unmixed...all things consist in contraries".
190. *ibid.* p973. See note 184.
191. *ibid.* p1032.
 "My goddess...
 Neither listens to my voice,
 Nor ever pities my ardour."
192. *ibid.* p1014. "savage goddess".

193. Ferruolo, art.cit. p695. "an extraordinary analogy in images and expressions",
See also the introduction above.
194. Dial.Ital. p1058. "Give it [the prize] to the more beautiful one"
195. *ibid.*
"Because of her lovely and beautiful limbs
The Cyprian Goddess [Venus], Minerva because of her intellect,
And Saturnia [Juno] pleases with that worthy
Splendour of nobility, which appeases the Thunderer [Jove];
But [my goddess] pleases so much more
With her beauty, intelligence and majesty."
196. *ibid.* p1059. "comprehends the perfection of all the other species most highly",
"the simplicity of divine essence".
197. *ibid.* p1060.
"The object of this furioso, almost inebriated with the drink of the gods, is
incomparably higher than the other diverse objects of that [vulgar love]".
198. *ibid.* p1002. "And I, thanks to love, am changed from an inferior thing into a god"
199. *ibid.* pp1002-4.
"In nature there is a revolution and circle through which, by the other's
perfection and aid, the superior things are inclined toward the inferior,
and...the inferior things are raised up to the superior...This conversion
is shown where Jove, according to the diversity of passions and their
behaviour towards inferior things, invests himself with diverse figures,
taking on the forms of beasts...just as the heroic furioso...raises
himself up toward the divinity, leaving behind the form of a baser subject".
200. *ibid.* p1101.
"It marked that place, and firmly held itself there,
Planting its trophy upon me where it succeeded
In keeping my fugitive pinions restrained".
201. *ibid.* p1099. "those wounds of eternal life of which the Canticle speaks when it says :
You have pierced my heart, oh my beloved, you have pierced my heart".
202. *ibid.* p1100. "beat forever at the door of the intelligence", "material and sensitive
passions are overcome".
203. *ibid.* "the lights of Truth and Goodness".
204. *ibid.* p1102.
"It is impossible for one to turn to love anything else, once one has comprehended
the concept of divine beauty".
205. See the song of the fourth cieco, Dial.Ital. p1175 :
"...a la piú degna luce,
Vi siete fatta duce;
Con far men degni oggetti a l'alma cassi".
206. *ibid.* p1113. "the splendour of intelligible species" "the all in all".
207. *ibid.* pp1050-1051. "Our soul, according to its whole substance, is signified by
the moon".
208. *ibid.* p1050. "matter and form, potency and act".

209. *ibid.* p1048.
 "...varying moon, who
 Rises with horns now empty, now full,
 Whose orb reascends, now white, now dark."
210. *ibid.* p1050. "the first intelligence, which is pure and absolute light"
211. *ibid.* p1048. "always fixed and always full".
212. *ibid.* p1049. "distracted...and torn by inferior potencies".
213. *ibid.* p1048.
 "Always so beautiful and so cruel;
 This my noble torch
 Always martyrs me, and yet delights me."
214. Petrarch, Rime 226.
 "No sparrow was ever so alone on any rooftop
 As I am...
 For I do not see her lovely face and I know no
 Other sun, nor do these eyes have any other object".
215. Dial.Ital. pp1009-1010.
 "He gives it [the heart] permission...to attain a better condition, applying it to
 a higher design and intent, now that these powers of the soul (which the Platonists
 have signified by two wings) are more firmly feathered".
216. *ibid.* p1009. "a more noble refuge".
217. *ibid.* "guided by a god / Who by those who see nothing is called blind".
218. *ibid.* pp1032-3.
 "At whatever point of the ecliptic one finds it, it makes winter, summer, autumn
 and spring, and the universal globe of the earth receives in itself [from it] the
 four named tempests".
219. *ibid.* p1033. "Tears which are waters...passions which are flames, and sighs which
 are vapours".
220. *ibid.* pp1033-4.
 "Always equally in tears,
 However intense are the sighs and flames...
 I always sigh less than so much,
 I burn infinitely."
221. *ibid.* p1045.
 "His sun is not like that which...circles the earth...but is such that, being
 eternity itself, and consequently being in possession of everything and perfect,
 it comprises the winter, the spring, summer and autumn together : because it is
 everything at once, and in all points and places."
222. *ibid.* p1046. "In spring, summer, autumn, winter / I burn, am kindled, am scorched,
 and inflamed eternally".
223. *ibid.* p1047. "The divine light, in this life consists more in laborious emptiness
 [or devotion] than quiet fruition".
224. *ibid.* p1064.
 "These fiery rays,
 Which issue from these two bows [or arcs] of my sun,

Never depart from...
 The horizon of my soul,
 Burning at all hours
 From its meridian my afflicted heart."

225. On the conventional theme of noon and the meridian see Nicholas Perella, Noontime in Italian Literature (Princeton University 1979), esp. Chapter One 'From Dante to Pindemonte', pp33-55.
226. Dial.Ital. p1093. "Open the gates of your gracious glance / Gaze on me, o beautiful one, if you want to give me death".
227. ibid. pp1093-4.
 "God can kill him [the furioso] with the light of his glances...that death of lovers which proceeds from the greatest joy, called by the cabalists mors osculi"
228. ibid. p1100.
 "Finally love...by being encamped in those sacred lights, that is by having shown divine beauty through two intelligible species....which with the reason of goodness burnt his passion, overcoming material and sensitive desires were overcome."
229. See Chapter One above.
230. Petrarch, Rime 224. "chaste desires kindled in a noble fire".
231. Dial.Ital. p933.
 "In this poem one does not discern a face, which so vividly leads one to seek a latent and occult sentiment; but rather through the ordinary mode of speech, and by similitudes more adapted to the sentiments employed usually by shrewd lovers".
232. F.A.Yates (1943), p115.
233. ibid. p112.
234. See J.U.Fechner, Die Antipetrarkismus (Heidelberg 1966).
235. See A.H.Upham, The French influence in English Literature from the Accession of Elizabeth to the Restoration (Columbia University 1908, reprinted NY 1965), on the "slavish imitations" of Thomas Lodge and Robert Soothern (p101). Soothern's Pandora (1584), for instance, is condemned as being "of all crude, blind specimens of servile imitation in sonnet-history...perhaps the worst" (p111). Upham also enumerates the "literal renderings" to be found in Samuel Daniel's Delia and Henry Constable's Diana (pp113-118). On Daniel's imitation see News from Parnassus (1600) : "Sweet hony dropping Daniell doth wage / Warre with the proudest big Italian /..../ Onely let him more sparingly make use / Of others wit, and use his owne the more".
236. Apology, ed.cit. p138.
237. ibid. p137.
238. ibid. p139
239. Dial.Ital. p936. "worthily sing of heroic things, instituting heroic souls through moral and speculative philosophy".
240. ibid. p957. "poetic rule-makers", "true beasts...and pedants".
241. ibid. p960.
 "They are nothing but worms, who not knowing how to do good things, but born solely

to gnaw at, to soil and defecate on the studies and labours of others"

242. *ibid.* pp958-9, cf. Apology, ed.cit. p101.
243. *ibid.* p936.
244. Apology, ed.cit. p125.
245. *ibid.* p137
246. *ibid.* p142.
247. See Chapter 1, note 323.
248. Apology, ed.cit. pp141-2
249. See Chapter 1, note 326.
250. Dial.Ital. p936. "zealous and disordered venereal love".
251. Apology, ed.cit. p125.
252. See note 182 above.
253. Dial.Ital. p1034.
 "Cicada : This sonnet does not declare its meaning so much as the preceding discourse does, but rather speaks of the consequence of it, or accompanies it.
Tansillo : To put it better, the figure is latent in the first part, and the motto is further explained in the second part."
254. Yates sees the Eroici commentary as an "invaluable guide" to the iconography of the Astrophel sonnets, and as a partial substitute for "a commentary by Sidney himself". (1943), pp114-115.
255. Dial.Ital. p973.
 "I have frozen hopes and burning desires :
 At the same time I tremble, freeze, burn and sparkle,
 I am mute yet fill the sky with ardent screams :
 From my heart come sparks, and from my eyes I distill water;
 I live and die, laugh and lament".
256. *ibid.* p974. See note 189 above.
257. *ibid.*
 "separation is the reason why we find pleasure in conjunction; and generally speaking, one finds that a contrary is always the reason why another contrary is desired and is pleasing".
258. Ficino, Convivium, Oration VII, Caps.V and VII. "fever", "contagion".
259. Petrarch, Rime 134.
 "I do not find peace...
 I fear and hope, I burn and am ice...
 I see without eyes, tongueless I cry out...
 I feed on pain, weeping I laugh...
 In this state I am, Lady, because of you." (Trans. R.Durling)
260. Petrarch, Rime 226.
 "To me night is labour and the clear sky dark / And my bed a harsh battlefield".
261. Dial.Ital. pp964-5.

- "The high beauty...
Shows me paradise, and takes it away...
So much that my heart, mind, spirit and soul
Has joy, discomfort, coldness and heat.
Who will free me from this war?"
262. *ibid.* p655. "a cabalistic tragedy".
263. See J.G.Scott, Les Sonnets Élisabéthains (1929), p304
264. See J.Van Dorsten, Poets, Patrons and Professors : Sir Philip Sidney and the Leiden Humanists (1962), p16. On Buchanan and the Sidney circle see J.E.Phillips, 'George Buchanan and the Sidney Circle', Huntingdon Library Quarterly, XII, 1948, pp22-55. and George Buchanan Quatercentary Studies 1906 (Glasgow 1907).
265. Thomas Watson, Hekatompathia (1582), preface.
266. Apology, ed.cit. p141.

Notes to Chapter Three.

1. Apology, ed.cit. p137
2. Jud Smith, A Mysticall Device (1575), cit. L.C.Campbell, Divine Poetry and Drama in England in the Sixteenth Century (Cambridge 1959) p54.
3. Thomas Brice broadsheet, cit. L.C.Campbell, p46.
4. *ibid.* p47
5. *ibid.*
6. *ibid.* p49
7. *ibid.* pp57-8
8. Apology, ed.cit. p102
9. L.C.Campbell, p55. Thomas Lodge on Biblical poetry.
10. M.Drayton, Harmonie of the Church, preface, cit. L.C.Campbell, p61.
11. King James VI, Essays of a Prentice (1584), cit. Campbell, p79
12. Campbell p85
13. The admiration was mutual it seems, Du Bartas once described Sidney as "un cygne doux chantant / Va les flots orgueilleux le Tamise flatant", Semaines (1615), II, cit. Sidney Lee, French Renaissance in England (Oxford 1910), p343. See also A.W.Osborn, Sir Philip Sidney en France (Paris 1932), pp35-6 & 66.
14. G.Harvey, Works ed.A.B.Grosart, 3 Vols. (London 1884-5), II, p103.
15. Campbell p92. See also Nathaniel Baxter's Sir Philip Sidney's Ourania (1606), a

"poetical hotch-potch...containing all philosophie".

16. G.Harvey, Marginalia, ed.G.Moore-Smith (Stratford-Upon-Avon 1913), p161.
17. E.Spenser, Poetical Works (1912), p470.
18. B.Barnes, Divine Centurie of Spirituall Sonnettes (1595), preface.
19. B.Barnes, Parthenophil (1593), cit. Campbell, p137.
20. E.Spenser, Poetical Works (1912), p586.
21. Dante, Vita Nuova, II and XLIII, ed.E.Sanguineti & A.Berardinelli (Milan 1977), pp2 and 27.
22. Martha Foote-Crowe, Elizabethan Sonnet-Cycles : Caelica (London 1898), p21.
23. *ibid.* p12
24. F.A.Yates (1943), p118.
25. J.Rees, Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, 1544-1628 : A Critical Biography (1971), p94
26. Dial.Ital. pp549-550. "the most noble spirit of Fulke Greville".
27. *ibid.* p38. "fortunate and well-born wits on whom no honourable study is lost...[who] have free minds". See also pp26-7 where Bruno refers to Greville as "colui branava sua conversazione, per intender il suo Copernico ed altri paradossi di sua nova filosofia" ("One who had desired his conversation in order to understand his Copernicus and other paradoxes of his new philosophy").
28. *ibid.* p69. "noble personages of the kingdom", "the most-excellent Sir Francis Walsingham".
29. See D.Massa, 'Bruno's ideas in Seventeenth-Century England', Journal of History of Ideas, 38, 1977, p277 : "Bruno fell under the strict surveillance of Walsingham's efficient spy network, especially when on landing, he made a bee-line to the French Embassy with secret instructions or letters".
30. See J.Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney, p105. Buxton believes^e that the two sequences were in part composed "in the same room together, at the same table".
31. See E.Dyer's 'Prometheus, when first from heaven high' and Sidney's reply 'A satyr once did run away from dread' in the 1598 Arcadia. Also Dyer's 'A Fancy' and Greville's Caelica LXXXIII. On Greville's Caelica and its correspondences with Astrophel see Buxton, p109, J.M.Purcell, 'Sidney's Astrophel and Greville's Caelica', P.M.L.A., 50, pp413-422, and H.Ward, English Poets (1880).
32. Ficino, Convivium, Oracion II, Cap.VI.
33. Plato, Symposium, 211A-B
34. Dial.Ital. p983.
"From regarding the corporeal form raises itself to the consideration of the spiritual and divine". cf pp1041 and 1135.
35. *ibid.* p1078. "an index of spiritual beauty", "the aspect of the sun".
36. Greville probably had in mind Petrarch's phrase from Rime 366 (line 31) : "o fenestra

- del ciel lucente altera", which in turn is drawn from the hymn O Gloriosa domina.
37. See Vita Nuova XX, 'Amore è 'l cor gentil sono una cosa', and Guido Guinzelli's 'Al cor gentil repara sempre Amore'. On the 'Lenten lover' of the troubadours see R.Nelli, L'erotique des Troubadours (Toulouse 1963), p154, on Macabru's Breviare d'amour.
 38. Dial.Ital. p990. "I suffer eternally through the fire of my heart"
 39. *ibid.* p1002. "I, thanks to love, am changed into a god".
 40. *ibid.* pp1012 and 1032. "harsh and merciless", "wicked and cruel".
 41. *ibid.* p1012.
"metaphysical motion", "measured thing", "[that which] has neither limit nor circumscription", "circles through the grades of perfection to reach that infinite centre, which is neither form nor formed". [the intellect]
 42. *ibid.* p1178. "incomparably better graces".
 43. Sidney, Astrophel and Stella, sonnets LVI and LXII.
 44. Dial.Ital. p927.
"What spectacle, oh good God, more vile and ignoble can be presented to the eye of one with lucid sensibilities than a thoughtful man who is afflicted, tormented, sad and...melancholic".
 45. *ibid.* "bestial and filthy".
 46. *ibid.* p930.
"a storehouse...of so much filth, toxins and venoms as it is possible for our harsh nature to produce".
 47. W.Caxton, Boke of the Eneydos (1490), cit. W.Tydemar, English Poetry 1400-1580, p193.
 48. Dial.Ital. p1051. "This is the true portrait of my faith".
 49. *ibid.* pp1050-1051. "Our soul in its complete substance is signified by the moon".
 50. *ibid.* p1062
 51. *ibid.* p1110. "The type of my unfortunate destiny".
 52. cit. G.W.Digby, Elizabethan Embroidery (1963), p46.
 53. Dial.Ital. p941. "the amorous domination of the superior Cupid".
 54. Ovid, Amores, I,i,5. "savage boy".
 55. *ibid.* III, i, 41-2. "I'm gay and frivolous like my darling Cupid, as unheroic as my theme".
 56. Ficino, Convivium, Oration II, Cap.VII. "vulgar Cupid", "the abuse of Love"
 57. Dial.Ital. p1152.
"Arrow and flame and noose of that insolent god,
Who pierced the eyes, burnt the heart, bound my soul,
And made me blind, a lover and a slave together".
 58. *ibid.* p1105. "There is no god more violent, or more pleasing, nor any agent more perfidious and feigning."

59. See Phaedrus' speech on the extreme antiquity of Love, 178B, where he cites Hesiod, Acusilaus and Parmenides in support of his argument.
60. Dial.Ital. p1106. "Love precedes all the other gods".
61. Phaedrus, 245C.
62. L.Ebreo, Dialoghi d'Amore (1535), ed. S.Caramella (Bari 1929), p165.
"Love is the unifying spirit which penetrates the whole world, and is a bond which unites the whole universe".
63. Dial.Ital. pp1105-6.
"Love is everything and created everything; of him one can say everything and everything can be attributed to him...his dwelling is in the soul...his bed is the heart itself, and consists in the composition of our substance, in the impetus of our potencies...everything naturally hungers for the good and beautiful".
64. ibid. p1010.
"Love is that God who by the blind and vulgar is deemed to be insane and blind... which, by the mercy and favour of heaven is the power to transform oneself into that other nature to which one aspires".
65. ibid. p1163. "thus it happens that one who sees Jove in his majesty loses his life".
66. ibid. "wherever it forms and impresses its vestige [image], no other form can be impressed or sealed".
67. Sidney, Astrophel, VII.
68. Dial.Ital. p1099. "double arrow", "the wounds of eternal life".
69. ibid. p1102.
"It is impossible to turn oneself to love another thing once you have comprehended the concept of divine beauty...thus 'restrained are the feathers which used to be fugitive' ".
70. ibid. p1100. "the door of the intellectual potency".
71. ibid. p1102. "gracious enemy", "unique and entire possessor and disposer of my soul".
72. Phaedrus, 246A-E
73. Vincenzo Cartari, Le Imagini dei dei degli Antichi (1571), ed. Venice 1647, pp259 and 275 respectively.
74. ibid. p258.
"Since we love in two ways, good when we apply our souls to good things, bad when we follow that which is wicked. This [latter] is called dishonest and bestial, and that [former] is called beautiful and honest. Some would have it that of these two, both born of Venus, only one is Love...and to the other is applied [the name] Anteros".
75. ibid. p259. "by the first is meant loving, and by the other 're-loving' or reciprocal love".
76. M.Praz, The Flaming Heart (NY 1958), pp270-275.
77. Dial.Ital. p973. "the wounds which are figuratively in the body, but in substance or essence in the soul".
78. ibid. pp1099-1100. "the irate warrior", "the arrows of Phoebus or Diana".

79. Petrarch, Rime 133, line 5.
80. Dial.Ital. p1102. A purposeful misquotation of Petrarch's Rime 205.
81. Petrarch, Rime 153. "Go, hot sighs, to her cold heart / Break the ice that fights against pity".
82. Dial.Ital. p1152.
 "...give me space oh people,
 Beware of my scorching fire;
 For if the contagion of it assails you,
 You would believe that winter
 Was to be found in the fires of hell."
83. ibid. p1161.
 "The seventh, contained allegorically in the sentiment of the seventh blind-man derives from the flame of the affections, whence some are made impotent and unable to apprehend the truth, by making it so that passion precedes the intellect".
84. ibid. p1151. "infernal flames", "cold snow".
85. Petrarch, Rime 132. "O living death, O delightful harm / ...I shiver in midsummer and burn in winter".
86. Dial.Ital. p980.
 "He is not dead because he lives in the object, he is not alive, because he is dead in himself...He is most noble through the aspiration of the heroic desire which surpasses greatly his own limits...and most base because of the violence done to him by the sensual contrary which weighs him down towards Hell."
87. ibid. p981. "Neither life nor death has me for its own".
88. Praz, Flaming Heart, p270
89. Petrarch, Rime 19, lines 5-6. "with the mad desire that hope perhaps / To enjoy the fire because it shines".
90. Dial.Ital. p1036. "the fly which flies around the flame and is almost at the point of being burned".
91. ibid. pp1035-6.
 "If my fatal destiny inclines a little,
 So that the high grace heeds the flame,
 In which I die, and does not scorn it or fly into a rage,
 O happy is my suffering and my death! "
92. ibid. pp1037-8.
 "Here in the figure is shown the similitude which the furioso has with the butterfly drawn towards the light; in the verses, is then shown his difference and dissimilarity, rather than his similarity : since it is commonly believed that if the fly were to foresee its own ruin, it would not follow the light so much...but to him [the furioso] there is no less pleasure in dying in the flames of amorous ardour than being transported in contemplation of the beauty of that rare splendour".
93. ibid. p990.
 "If the butterfly wings its way to the splendour which delights it / it does not know that the flame will kill it".
94. ibid. "the most judicious and even too prudent frenzy".
95. G.Malipiero, Il Petrarca Spirituale (1567), fol.84r. "pure and simple delight".

96. Dial.Ital. p1095.
 "Through bitter delight and sweet suffering
 I fall to the centre, and am drawn up towards Heaven;
 Necessity holds me, the good leads me on."
 " seeking joy,I find affliction".
97. *ibid.* p945. "the occult harmony", "the most excellent and ornate edifice [which] feeds the human intellect".
98. cf Everyman, lines 902-917, ed.Skot (1977)
99. M.Foote-Crowe, Caelica, p4.
100. F.A.Yates, Astraea (1975).
101. Shakespeare, Henry the Eighth, V,v, line 61.
102. Petrarch, Trionfo della Castità, line 43. "In me piety contends with desire".
103. Dial.Ital. p1060. "the intelligible species of the divine essence".
104. V.Cartari (1647), p95.
 "Jove frequently changed into different forms in order to take pleasure with his lovers; as when he changed into a white bull to carry Europa away, into an eagle to rape Ganymede, and also to obtain Asteria; into a shower of gold to get to Danae; into a swan to stay with Leda...and in many other figures."
105. Dial.Ital. p1002. "Superior things incline themselves towards the inferior, and... inferior things raise themselves to the superior".
106. R.Durling, Petrarch's Lyric Poems : The 'Rime Sparse' and other poems (Harvard 1976), p27.
107. Petrarch, Rime 23.
 "I stood and moved and ran,
 As every member answers to the soul.
 becoming two roots beside the waves
 Not of Peneus, but of a prouder river,
 And my arms changing into two branches!
 Nor do I fear less
 For having been later covered with white feathers,
 When thunderstruck and dead lay
 My hope that was mounting too high....
 [Then] I took on with the sound of the swan its colour" (Trans. R.Durling)
108. Dial.Ital. p978. "matter hates its present form in proportion to its love of the form it does not have".
109. *ibid.* "but as a vice practiced in a divine way by a more divine subject differs from vice practiced in a bestial way by a more bestial subject".
110. *ibid.* p979. "between two burning wheels, / One which throws me here, the other there, / Like Ixion I must pursue myself and flee from myself".
111. *ibid.* p978. "I tremble in freezing hopes, burn in scorching desires".
112. See R.Graves, The Greek Myths (1955), 2 vols, I, 63, pp208-9.
113. See Bruno's 'Avertimento a' lettori', Dial.Ital. p949 : "voglio che vi piaccia d'aggiungere a tutti tre [sonnetti]...[questi] tornelli". For "tornello" see

John Florio's New World of Words (1611), p569 : "Tornello ...a spinner's wheel, also the burden of a song".

114. Dial.Ital. p1090. "This one who has fixed his eyes on the sun /[And] who was the rival of Endymion, grieves".
115. Natalis Comes, Mythologiae (Venice 1567), Lib.X, p289. "~~whereby~~ All the dogmas of the philosophers were contained in fables".
116. See George Watson, The English Petrarchans : a Critical Bibliography of the 'Canzoniere', Warburg Institute Surveys, III, pp27 & 38.
117. *ibid.* p39
118. Dial.Ital. p1005.
 "The great hunter becomes the prey,
 The stag which to the denser
 Places [in the forest] directs its lighter steps,
 Is snatched and devoured by his large and numerous dogs.
 I stretch my thoughts
 To the high prey, and these turn back on me
 Bringing me death with their cruel and fierce bites."
119. *ibid.* pp1006 and 1008.
 "Actaeon signifies the intellect intent upon the hunt for divine wisdom, in the apprehension of divine beauty...the intellect apprehends things intelligibly, that is, according to its own mode; and the will pursues things naturally, that is, according to the manner in which things exist in themselves. Therefore Actaeon with these thoughts, these dogs which searched for goodness, wisdom, beauty and the sylvan animal outside of himself, attained them in this way. In the presence of that [beauty etc], he was ravished out of himself by so much beauty, became the prey, seeing himself converted into that which he had sought; Then he perceived that he himself had become the prey of his dogs, of his thoughts, because having already tracked down the divinity within himself, it was no longer necessary to search for it outside of himself".
120. *ibid.* p1006. "mastiffs", "greyhounds", "the operation of the intellect", "the operation of the will".
121. *ibid.* p1007. "purple, alabaster and gold", "the vigorous divine power", "divine sapience", "divine beauty".
122. *ibid.* "That which figuratively in the body is vermilion, white and blonde, in the divinity signifies the purple of the vigorous divine power etc."
123. *ibid.* p26. "blonde hair, white cheeks, red lips...breasts of enamel and hearts of diamond", "imprisoned in a gloomy dungeon"
124. *ibid.* p939.
 "In seven articles of the fourth dialogue one contemplates the impetus and vigour of the intellect...and the progress of the thoughts of the furioso...there it is not unclear who are the hunter, the birdcatcher, the beast, the hounds, the offspring, the cave, the noose, the rock and the prey".
125. *ibid.* p936. "to put before the eyes and ears heroic loves".
126. *ibid.* p939. "the state of the furioso...through antitheses, similitudes and comparisons".
127. *ibid.* p562.

- "sense, the intellect, memory, the concupiscent, the irascible, synderesis, election : faculties signified by Mercury, Pallas, Diana, Cupid, Venus, Mars, Minus, Jove and other gods".
128. *ibid.* p1099. "the splendour of intelligible species"
129. *ibid.* p1125. "the source of all numbers...that is the monad, the true essence of all things.
130. *ibid.* p1123. "the absolute light, and the supreme and most excellent species".
131. *ibid.* p934. "Everyone understanding and defining [my conceits] as I understand and define [them]".
132. On Ebreo's "Neoplatonic re-reading of the Boccaccian repertory [ie the Genealogie deorum gentilium]" see Marco Ariani, Imago Fabulosa (Florence 1984), Chapter 3 'Corpus Mythicum e allegoria cosmica', p21ff.
133. J.Rees, Fulke Greville, pp197-8.
134. J.Seznec, 'Les Manuels mythologiques italiens et leurs diffusions en Angleterre a la fin de la renaissance' in Mélanges d'Archeologie et d'histoire (Paris 1933), and B.C.Garner, 'Francis Bacon, Natalis Comes and the Mythological Tradition', JWCI, 33, 1970, pp264-291.
135. See Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney, pp38-42, 'The Education of a Patron'.
136. Arthur Golding was Sidney's chosen co-author for Du Plessis Mornay's Verité.
137. See for eg Metamorphosis Ovidiana Moraliter... Explanata (Paris 1509), for a full examination see Ann Moss, Ovid in Renaissance France, Warburg Surveys VIII.
138. See J.Van Dorsten, Poets, Patrons and Professors, pp102-3 on Sidney's "multi-lingual muse".
139. Dial.Ital. pp1055 & 1057.
"vulgar love, which is none other than the forge of vulcan, that blacksmith who makes the thunderbolts of Jove which torment deliquent souls". "the sordid and filthy consort of Venus".
140. *ibid.* pp1048-9. "the intellect-in-action which...always sees its object firmly, fixed and constant", "intellect-in-potency".
- ibid.* p 1048.
141. ^a "My moon, for my continual suffering,
Is always firm...
And my star is such that
It always snatches me up and restores me,
And forever burns me...
This noble torch of mine
Forever martyrs me."
142. See Shakespeare's sonnet III : "So thou through windows of age shalt see / Despite of wrinkles this thy...golden time...Die single and thine image dies with thee", etc. On these themes of carpe diem, and the "vaunt of immortality" in Classical, French and Elizabethan lyrics see Sidney Lee, The French Renaissance in England, chapters IV and XIV of Book IV, 'French influence in the Elizabethan lyric'.
143. See Rime 361, "la cangiata scorza", and Rime 195, "Di di in di, vo cangiando il Viso e 'l pelo". His beloved Laura, who was quite maternally at her death, seems perfect to Petrarch even until the last moment of her death (see Rime 283).

144. Dial.Ital. p1093. "You can see, written by the hand of love / In my face, the history of my torments".
145. ibid. p1093.
"Here the face in which the history of his torments shines is the soul, in as much as it is exposed to the reception of superior gifts, in regard of which it exists [only] in potency and aptitude, lacking the completion of perfection and act, which awaits the divine dew. Hence it was well said 'My soul is like dry earth without your water' ".
146. Petrarch, Rime 210. "Not from the Red sea shore to the Caspian wave / Neither in Heaven nor on earth, is there more than one Phoenix".
147. Petrarch, Rime 323 (lines 49-54).
"A wondrous phoenix, both its wings
clothed with purple and its head with gold,
I saw in the forest proud and alone,
At first I thought it was a celestial and
immortal form, until it came to the uprooted laurel,
And to the spring which the earth steals away" (Trans. R.Durling),
cf also Rime 185 and 321.
148. Dial.Ital. p1037.
"Whether the sky is clear or obscure, cold or burning,
I shall ever be a true phoenix.
Another destiny or fate cannot undo
That knot which death cannot loosen."
149. ibid. p1038. "the beauty of that rare splendour", "unique like that unique phoenix",
"the human lover changes with the moon".
150. ibid. p1042.
"...lovely phoenix
Who equal the world with your years,
Which reaches its limit in happy Arabia,
You are what you were, I am not what I was.
I because of the fire of love die unhappily;
But the sun revives you with its rays.
You burn in one, and I in every place;
I have my flame from Cupid, you from Phoebus."
151. ibid. p1043. "the difference between the inferior and superior intellect".
152. ibid. p1044.
"It signifies the nature of apprehension and sensual appetite [which is] indefinite, inconstant, uncertain and the concept of the definite, firm and stable appetite of the intelligence; and the difference between sensual love which is not certain and has no discernment in its [choice of] objects, and intellectual love, which gazes upon one certain object alone, to which it turns".
153. Sidney is altogether less interested in the phoenix motif, in sonnet XCII he makes only a passing reference to "Phoenix-Stella", a nodding acceptance of Petrarch's convention.
154. Petrarch, Rime 144.
"I never saw the sun rise so fair
When the sky is most free of cloud...
As on the day when I took on my burden of love,
I saw her flaming transform herself..."

- Every other sight from then on
Began to seem dark to me".
155. Dial.Ital. p1064. "The reasons by which divine beauty and goodness are manifested to us".
156. *ibid.*
"These fiery rays,
Which issue from these two bows of my sun,
From the horizon...
Of my soul never depart,
Burning my afflicted heart at all hours
From its meridian".
157. *ibid.* p1099. "Diana, that is to say, the goddess of the deserts of the contemplation of truth".
158. Petrarch, Secretum, ed.cit. p144. "I have fled everywhere, but always bear my wound with me".
159. Dante, Vita Nuova, XI-XII.
"I say that whenever and wherever she appeared, in the hope of receiving her miraculous salutation I felt I had not an enemy in the world. Indeed I glowed with a flame of charity...after such bliss had been withheld from me I was so overwhelmed with grief that, shunning all company, I went to a solitary place where I drenched the earth with bitter tears."
160. On sun and mist see Sidney's sonnet XCI : "you, my sun, thus overspread / With
Absence's veil."
161. See especially the lengthy comparison of J.M.Purcell (see note 31 above), which seeks to demonstrate "a close relationship in thought and structure of the Sidney and Greville sonnets", although some of Purcell's claims are exaggerated.
162. Dial.Ital. p995. "Every lover who is disunited and separated from the thing loved... is crucified".
163. *ibid.* "deprived of that fruition...towards which it tends".
164. *ibid.* p994. "Kills in hope and revives in desire".
165. *ibid.* p1011. "amorous martyrdom"
166. *ibid.* p1093. "divine dew"
167. *ibid.* p964. "Love shows me paradise and takes it away".
168. *ibid.* pp1098-9. "the wounds of eternal life [which]...forever beat at the door of the intellect".
169. *ibid.* p1136.
"The eyes make their imprint in the intelligence, exciting in the will an infinite torment of gentle love; where there is no suffering because one cannot have that which one desires, but it is happiness because one always finds what one is searching for; and meanwhile satiety never comes, because one always has the appetite."
170. *ibid.* p1136. "[The intellect] conceives the light as far as the horizon of its capacity is extended".

171. Petrarch, Rime 324, lines 4-11.
 "Ah pitiless death, oh cruel life!
 One has placed me in sorrows
 And has untimely extinguished my hopes;
 The other keeps me down here against my will,
 And I cannot follow her who has gone.
 For Death does not permit it.
 But still, always present,
 My lady sits enthroned in the midst of my heart" (Trans. R.Durling)
172. Dial.Ital. p1149.
 "My eyes, forever pregnant with waters,
 When will the spark of the visual ray
 Detach itself from so many and
 Such dense protective covers, and become such
 That it can again see those holy lights,
 Which were the origin of my sweet evil?
 Alas! I believe that it is completely extinct."
173. *ibid.* p1089. "the wheel of time...which moves around its own centre".
174. *ibid.* p1089. "moving it remains still", "orbital movement", "movement in a straight line".
175. *ibid.*
 "When I think of dragging myself away from my torments,
 Hope sustains me, the rigour of another [thought] binds me;
 Love exalts me, and reverence abases me,
 As I aspire to the highest and utmost good".
176. *ibid.* p1090.
 "The continual motion of one part supposes and leads with it the motion of the whole [wheel], in such a way that from the descent of the upper parts leads to the ascent of the lower parts; thus [in the soul] the impulsion of the superior parts necessarily draws up the inferior, and from the raising-up of one potency follows the abasement of its opposite."
177. *ibid.* pp944-5.
 "The revolution is vicissitudinal and eternal; and all who ascend must be lowered again; just as one sees in all the elements, and things which are to be found in the superficies, in the bosom and womb of nature". Bruno here adduces Plotinus and Origen as sources for the idea. Origen is also likely to have been Greville's source for cyclical time.
178. *ibid.* pp1071 and 1074. "the force of vicissitude", "the great year of the world", "that prophetic lament of Asclepius".
179. *ibid.* pp784-6. "recalling the world to ancient times", "the religious worship of divinity".
180. *ibid.* p1073. "taken from Egyptian antiquity".
181. See E.Panofsky Meaning in the Visual Arts, Chapter 4, 'Titian's Allegory of Prudence : a Post-script', which follows the history of Serapis from statuary in ancient Serapeion, down through Macrobius' Saturnalia and Petrarch's Africa, via Horapollo into the emblem-books and mythological manuals of Cartari, Valeriano, Ripa et al.
182. Dial.Ital. p1074. "the head of a frenzied lover".

183. *ibid.* p946. "in the wheel of natural species".
184. *ibid.* p1003. "figured forth in the wheel of metamorphoses"
185. *ibid.* p1174. "in circular order"
186. *ibid.* p1176.
 "He crushes the great and raises up the base,
 Who sustain his infinite schemes,
 And with quick, moderate or slow
 Rotations, distributes
 In this immense creation
 All that he keeps hidden and which remain open."
187. Illustrations in Fig.3 come from De Umbris Idearum (1582), reproduced in G.della Porta's Italian translation Le Ombree delle Idee, pp152 (A) and 195 (B).
188. On the Wheel of Fortune and its applications to Love in the Middle Ages see H.R.Patch, The Goddess Fortuna in Mediaeval Literature (Cambridge, Mass. 1927), esp. p96 on the image of Venus exalting and debasing mankind with Fortune's wheel in Les Echcs Amoureux.
189. Dial.Ital. p560.
 "This world, taken according to the imagination of foolish mathematicians, and accepted by no more wise physicists, amongst whom the Peripatetics are most vain... [is] first divided into so many spheres, and then into some forty-eight different images (into which they intend firstly to be divided into an octave, stelliferous heaven, called by the vulgar 'firmament')."
190. *ibid.* p143. "a dream...a fantasy".
191. *ibid.* p27. "The Nolan does not look through the eyes of Copernicus, nor Ptolemy, but through his own".
192. *ibid.* p243. "that spirit one finds in all things which, even if they are not animals, are animated."
193. See The Book of Common Prayer, 'The Order of the Burial of the Dead' : "In the midst of life we are in death...we therefore commit this body to the ground; earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust".
194. Dial.Ital. p245.
 "Only the exterior forms of things can be changed and annulled, because they are not things, but of things, they are not substances, but are the accidents and circumstances of things".
195. *ibid.* pp1132-3. "matter is converted into fire, and acquires the motion of the light element, and then rises into an eminent place".
196. *ibid.* p311.
 "The material principle of things is water...the efficient intellect...gave them [the waters] a procreative virtue and produced from them the natural species".
197. Petrarch, Rime 173, "whatever is woven in the world is cobweb".
198. Dial.Ital. p785. "the religion of the mind".
199. *ibid.* pp143-5. "a great space and field", "ethera, that is to say messengers, runners".

200. Greville, An Inquisition Upon Fame and Honour.
201. cf Astrophel XXI and XVII, eg "my knowledge brings forth toys / My wit doth strive these passions to defend / Which for reward, spoil it with vain amoyes".
202. Dial.Ital. p148. "It is one thing to play with geometry, it is another to verify by nature".
203. Greville, Mustapha in Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville (London 1939), 2vols, ed. G.Bullough, II, p136.
204. Dial.Ital. p946. "the salutary waters of purgation", "the power to open every seal".
205. See Sidney's Apology, ed.cit. p107 : "[the poet] yieldeth to the powers of the mind an image of that where the philosopher bestoweth but a wordish description", and p105 : "the moral philosophers...sophistically speaking against subtleties...casting largesses as they go, of definitions, divisions and distinctions".
206. Dial.Ital. p802. "The space of the zodiac". cf Cicero, De Divinitate,II,42, "signifero in orbe, qui Graece Ζωδιωνος dicitur" (p802n).
207. *ibid.* p554.
"a repentant Jove, who had a heaven full to the brim with as many beasts as vices, according to the form of forty-eight famous images; and now consulting about banishing them from heaven...and in these same seats allowing virtues to succeed."
208. *ibid.* p801. "Temperance is what reforms the whole".
209. *ibid.* p702. "[the nine] collyria...[intended] to purge the human soul".
210. *ibid.* p703. "the multitude, grandeur and harmonic proportions of sensible things", "archetypal and supernal things".
211. *ibid.* p702. "so much in cognition, and so much in passion".
212. *ibid.* p1056. "The soul studies to purge itself, heal itself and reform itself".
213. *ibid.* p1138. "cognition moves the passions, and that in turn moves the cognition".
214. *ibid.* p1034.
"With the power of thought he builds castles in the air...a tower of which the architect is love, the materials are amorous fire, and the builder is himself".
215. John Dee, Monas Hieroglyphica (Antwerp 1564), fol.A3v. "characters imbued with immortal life".
216. *ibid.* fol.A4r. "sacred art of writing".
217. *ibid.* fol.A4v. "mysteries which have solid foundations in the sacred scriptures of God almighty".
218. *ibid.* fol.B3r. "It teaches without words".
219. Greville, Treatie of Human Learning, stanza 29.
220. Dial.Ital. p942. " [Man] is unable to get higher than the ^{re-}cognition of his own blindness and ignorance, and he deems silence worthier than speaking".
221. *ibid.* "at the threshold of the acquisition of light".

222. *ibid.* p1084. "a theologian".
223. *ibid.* p1164. "the negative theology of Pythagoras and Pseudo-Dionysius", "the demonstrative [theology] of Aristotle and the scholastic doctors".
224. *ibid.* p879.
"O-h holy ignorance, oh divine foolishness, Oh superhuman asininity! That enraptured, profound and contemplative Areopagite [Pseudo-Dionysius], writing to Caio, affirmed that ignorance is a most perfect knowledge".
225. *ibid.* p1080.
"...my spirit (which the divine splendour
Inflames and illumines)...
Sends forth verses from its high conceit,
Which only succeeds in obscuring the lovely Sun."
226. *ibid.* p1084. "the source of light transcends our intellects".
227. The Puritan writer Richard Baxter on the poet George Herbert. cit. V.da Sola Pinto, The English Renaissance, 1510 - 1688 , p99.
228. M.M.Reese, The Tudors and Stuarts (London 1940), p190.
229. Greville, cit. Foote-Crowe, Caelica, p22.
230. Dial.Ital. p957. "an exemplary mirror for political and civil customs".
231. *ibid.* p717. "[the philosopher] serves the republic and the defense of his country more...than the soldier, tribune and emperor with their sword, lance or shield".
232. Guillaume Fergeray, Programme of Studies, (June 1575). cit. Van Dorsten, pp4-5, trans. Appendix II,i. "Divine Plato whom Tully called the philosopher's God".
233. Apology, ed.cit. pp109 and 113. See alongside Sidney's praise of Buchanan his praise of French Neo-Latin poets Michel L'Hôpital, and Marc-Antoine Muret.
234. Van Dorsten, pp38-41.
235. *ibid.* pp175-9
236. See Appendix II, taken from Dorsten, pp82-3.
237. See for eg Daniel Rogers' poem to Baif (Dorsten, p214) on Ronsard's death : "Nuper quam peterem tuos Baifi / Penates, legeres mihi tuae quum / Musae delicias venustiones /... Illum [Ronsard] dum video audio tuasque / Cantatem lepido sono cano enas" ("When I visited your house Baif / And you read to me the graceful delights of your muse.../ I see him before me, singing your poems with his refined voice".
238. F.A.Yates, Art of Memory (1966), pp260-278. The quotation is from G.P.Cantabrigensis, Libellus de Memoria (1584), pp3-4. cit. Yates (1966), p267.
239. Dorsten, p210. "Our principal yates, inferior only to Du Bartas".
240. G.Malipiero, Il Petrarca Spirituale (1567), fols.93v-94r. "licentious composers and Cupidinous poets", "the exercise of spiritual love".

Notes to Chapter Four.

1. R.H.Kargon, Atomism in England : from Hariot to Newton (Oxford 1966), p5.
2. *ibid.* p5
3. George Chapman, The Poems of George Chapman, ed. P.Brooks (NY 1962), p19.
4. *ibid.*
5. M.C.Bradbrook, The School of Night : a study in the literary relationships of Sir Walter Raleigh (NY 1936, reprinted 1965). The nickname is derived from Love's Labour's Lost, IV,iii, and was originally coined by Arthur Acheson in Shakespeare and the rival poet (London 1903). The composition of the "School of Night" as Bradbrook described it (see p8), overlaps with what Kargon and others (see note 18 below) call the "Northumberland circle" - the key figures in both being the Earl of Northumberland, Thomas Hariot and Walter Raleigh.
6. See Bradbrook, p8. Also J.Jacquot, 'Thomas Hariot's reputation for impiety', Notes and Records of the Royal Society, IX, 1952, pp164-187.
7. For a record of this public inquiry see G.B.Harrison, Wiloughby his Avis (1926), appendices, pp235-271.
8. John Aubrey, Brief Lives, ed.O.L.Dick (London 1949), p123
9. *ibid.*
10. G.B.Harrison, Advice to his Son (1930), pp19-21.
11. George Peele, Honour of the Garter (1594), in Works, ed A.Bullen (1888), 2 vols. II, pp316-320. Here is the passage in full :

Renowned Lord, Northumberland's fair flower,
 The Muse's love, patron and favourite,
 That artisans and scholars dost embrace,
 And clothest Mathesis in rich ornaments;
 That admirable mathematic skill,
 Familiar with the stars and zodiac,
 To whom the heaven lies open as her book;
 By whose directions undeceivable,
 Leaving our schoolmen's vulgar trodden paths,
 And following the ancient, reverend steps
 Of Trismegistus and Pythagoras,
 Through uncouth ways and inaccessible,
 Dost pass into the spacious pleasant fields
 Of divine science and philosophy;
 From whence beholding the deformities
 Of common errors, and world's vanity,
 Dost here enjoy that sacred sweet content
 That baser souls, not knowing, not affect :
 And so by Fortune and Fate's good aspect
 Raised in thy height, and these unhappy times,
 Disfurnished wholly of heroical spirits
 That learning should with glorious hands uphold,
 (For who should learning underbear but he
 That knows of the precious worthiness,
 And seeks true science from base vanity?),
 Hast in regard the true philosophy
 That in pure wisdom seeks her happiness.

12. cit. F.A.Yates (1936), p85.
13. Kargon, p.10.
14. *ibid.* p5.
15. M.C.Bradbrook,p8. Also J.Bakeless, Tragicall History of Christopher Marlowe, 2vols, (Cambridge Mass. 1939), I, pp134-7. On Donne and Northumberland see Edmund Gosse, Life and Letters of John Donne (1899), 3 vols, I, pp99-102.
16. G.R.Batho, 'The Library of Wizard Earl, Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland, 1564-1632', The Library, 15, 1960. pp246-261
17. F.A.Yates (1936), p96.
18. See F.A.Yates (1936), pp92-3. Daniel Massa, 'Bruno's ideas in the Seventeenth Century', Journal of History of Ideas, 38, 1977, p227ff. H.Gatti, 'Minimum and Maximum, Finite and Infinite : Bruno and the Northumberland circle', JWCI, 48, 1985, pp144-163, Kargon, *op.cit.* Chapter 2, 'The Wizard Earl and the New Science', pp5-17. A.Koyre, From the Closed World to the Infinite Universe (Baltimore 1957) pp39-55, Saverio Ricci, 'Giordano Bruno e il "Northumberland circle" 1600-1630', Rinascimento, XXV, 1985, pp 335-355.
19. British Library Add.MS 6789, fols.425-6. cit F.A.Yates (1936), pp93-4
20. See Elizabeth Seaton's paper to the Elizabethan Literary Society 1933, and British Library Add.MS 6788, fol.67v
21. See note 18 above.
22. Batho, *art.cit.* p255
23. *ibid.* p259
24. *ibid.* pp252-3, and Plate 1.
25. After my visit to Petworth I discovered that these same annotations had been previously documented and studied by Dr Hilary Gatti of the University of Rome. See 'Giordano Bruno : the texts in the library of the Ninth Earl of Northumberland', JWCI, 46, 1983, pp63-7. Dr Gatti also adds a further two Bruno works from the Earl's library, now in Alnwick Castle, Northumberland. The full list of the Bruno texts at Petworth and Alnwick is as follows :
 - Petworth House -
 - 1. De gli Eroici Furori (London 1585, marked 'Paris')
 - 2. De triplici minimo et mensura (Frankfurt 1591)
 - 3. De Monade numero et figura Liber...&c (Frankfurt 1591)
 - 4. De Progressu et Lampade venatoria logicorum (1587)
 - 5. De lampade combinatoria Lulliana (1587)
 - 6. De Unbris Idearum and Ars Memoriae (1582)
 - Alnwick Castle -
 - 1. De Progressu et lampade venatoria (1587)
 - 2. De specierum scrutino et Lampade combinatoria Raymondi Lulli (Prague 1588)
26. See Appendix III.
27. Gatti (1983), p70.
28. For evidence of the Earl's competence see his corrections of pages 12 and 34 of the Petworth Eroici, Appendix III below.

29. Degli Eroi Furori (1585), p40, Dial.Ital. p962.
30. Eroici (1585), p43, Dial.Ital. p965. See frontispiece for a photograph of this page.
31. Dial.Ital. p948. "heroic and generous soul".
32. Eroici (1585), p41. Dial.Ital. p954.
33. A.Weiner, 'Bruno's ^dAventures in England', Modern Philology, 78, 1980, pp1 and 13.
34. Dial.Ital. p212.
"doctors are as cheap as sardines...excluding, however, the reputation of some, celebrated for their eloquence, doctrine, and civil courtesy, which are Tobias Matthews, [Nicholas] Culpepper, and others."
35. *ibid.* p214.
"That learned, honest, affectionate, well-established and faithful friend Alexander Dicson, whom the Nolan loves as much as his own eyes".
36. See F.A.Yates, Art of Memory (1966), p277.
37. *ibid.* pp266-278.
38. Gatti,(1983), pp74-5
39. F.A.Yates (1936), p89ff. See esp. p147 : "the play answers the document [Northumberland's essay on love], and the document answers the play, point for point."
40. *ibid.* Appendix III, pp206-211. 'Essay by Henry Percy, Ninth Earl of Northumberland, undated', p211.
41. *ibid.* p209.
42. *ibid.* p210.
43. Dial.Ital. p929. "a superficial appearance, a shadow, a phantasm, a dream, a Circean enchantment".
44. Gatti (1983), p69
45. Love's Labour's Lost, I,i,70-71.
46. *ibid.* I,i,77-9
47. *ibid.* I,i,28-32.
48. *ibid.* I,i,8-10.
49. Dial.Ital. pp962-3.
"The Captain calls with the sound of a trumpet
All his warriors beneath one standard;
Where if for some [the trumpet] is made to
Sound in vain, because it sounds quickly,
Those who are his enemy he kills, those that are mad
He banishes from his camp and disdains :
Thus [also] the soul's intentions which are not collected
Under one standard, either it wants to kill or remove them."
50. Dial.Ital. pp955-7.

"I am quieted, I learn and am beautified", "such rhymes and frenzies", "[those] who vaunt the myrtles and the laurels", "to the eternal stars".

51. Love's Labour's Lost, I,i,112.
52. See esp. IV,iii,317-320,337-342 on Pythagoreanism, and I,i,88-91 on Astronomy. On Hariot in LLL see G.B.Harrison, 'The New Astronomy and English Literary Imagery', Studies in Philology, 1935, XXXII.
53. F.A.Yates (1936), pp149-151. On the "literary warfare between the School of Night and Essex's group [in]...1593-5" see Bradbrook, p23ff.
54. Dial.Ital. p963.
 "I regard one object;
 Which takes up my whole mind, and only one face.
 On only one beauty I remain fixed,
 Who has so pierced my heart, and one dart alone,
 With one fire I burn."
55. See F.A.Yates (1943), pp105-108, and Plates 33 (a), (d) and (e), showing illustrations from Van Haeften's Schola cordis sive aversi a Deo cordis ad eundem reductio et instructio (1635), and O.Vaenius' Amoris divini emblemata (1608). See also the conceit of "Divine love wounding the heart" in a Jesuit poem of the same period, Bernard Bauhusii's De amore divino :
- O cui cor Christus terebravit harundino amoris,
 hoc qui vulnus habet, quam leve vulnus habet!
 hoc qui vulnus habet, vitae dispendia sentit
 nulla, sed e dio vulnere robur habet.
- He whose heart Christ has pierced with the reed of love
 he who has this wound, how light is his wound!
 He who has this wound feels no loss of life,
 but gains strength from the divine wound.
- From Renaissance Latin Poetry, ed.I.McFarlane, (Manchester University 1979), pp100-101.
56. Dial.Ital. pp964-5.
 "a heroic Lord", "the supreme beauty", "the correlative of the lover",
 "Love, fate, the object and jealousy
 Wound me, torment me, content and console me...
 The irrational child, the blind and cruel one...
 Shows paradise to me, and takes it away."
57. ibid. p966.
 "Eyes, flames and bow of my Lord,
 Double fire in the soul, and arrows in the breast,
 Since the languishing is sweet to me, and the fire is dear".
 Cf Bauhusii' "quam leve vulnus", note 55, and also Bruno's use of Luigi Tansillo's 'Cara, suava ed onorata piaga', pp965-6.
58. Philothei Iordani Bruni Nolani explicatio Triginta sigillorum (c1583), fol.Fiiij.r-v.
 'De Amore'. "[Love] leads the inferior, through the divine frenzy to reach the supercelestial shore".
59. Dial.Ital. p969. "illumines, clarifies, opens the intellect and makes all things penetrate".
60. ibid. pp969-970.
 "Love through which I discern so high a truth,
 That it opens the doors of black diamond,

Through the eyes my goddess enters, and through sight
 Is born, lives, nourishes and has eternal reign...
 [Love] makes present the true forms of absent things,
 Regains force, and with a straight draw [of the bow], stabs
 And eternally wounds the heart, [and] uncovers what is within."

61. Dial.Ital. p968.
 "the boy", "the vile mob", "more intellectual and speculative", "he exalts the wit more and purifies the intellect more...moving him with an heroic boldness and emulation of virtues", "stupid and foolish".
62. *ibid.* pp928-9. "a clamour, a crash of symbols, of emblems...of sonnets".
63. F.A.Yates (1936), pp207-8. The work in question is the Opticae Thesaurus of Hasan Ibn Hasan, an eleventh-century Arabic treatise on optics, published in Latin in Basel, 1572. The Opticae was not only studied by the Earl, but also by his patroness Thomas Hariot (see Hariot's correspondence with Kepler, 1606-8, and diagrams drawn from Hasan's work in his mathematical papers, British Library Add.MS 6789, fols. 415-423). On Hariot's work on optics, and generally, see the two excellent studies of Professor John Shirley, Thomas Hariot, Renaissance Scientist (Oxford 1974), and Thomas Hariot : a Biography (1983)
64. F.A.Yates (1936), p210.
65. *ibid.* pp210-211.
66. Poems, ed.cit. p19
67. See the sonnet 'To the right honourable the Earle of Northumberland' in Poetical Works ed. E.de Selincourt (Oxford 1912), p411 :

The sacred Muses have made alwaies claime
 To be the Nourses of nobility
 Then by like right the noble Progeny
 Which them succeed in fame and worth, are tyde
 T' embrace the service of sweet Poetry...
 To thee therefore right noble Lord I send
 This present of my paines, it to defend.
68. Poetical Works, ed.cit. pp456-459.
 It is well known that this eclogue is based on the fifth of Baptista Mantuanus' Eclogues (1498), a pastoral dialogue between a discontented poet Candidus, and a potential patron, Silvanus. In lines 37-42 of the October eclogue Spenser advertises his willingness to move from the pastoral to epic poetry. Given the reference to Northumberland's patronage of the Faerie Queene (see previous note), it would not be unreasonable to link the "Percy" of the eclogue to the Earl himself. Given this, and the Earl's later interest in the Eroici of Bruno and its "furye from above", it is interesting that Spenser's Percy is acting as the patron of Platonic poetry, exhorting Cuddie to "make thee wings of thine aspyring wit, / And whence thou cam'st, flye backe to heaven apace" (lines 83-4).
69. Poems, ed.cit. p19.
70. See Bradbrook, p8.
71. Batho, art.cit. pp253-4.
72. F.A.Yates (1936), p92.
73. Poems, ed.cit. p52

74. Dial.Ital. p932. "heroic frenzies...and not of vulgar loves".
75. Poems, p51.
76. H.C.Agrrippa, De Occulta Philosophia (Cologne 1533), translated and cit. Raymond Klibansky, Fritz Saxl, and Erwin Panofsky, Saturn and Melancholy (London 1964), pp355-7. The Pseudo-Aristotelian Problemata, XXX,i first expounded the idea that the "atrabilious" temperament of natural melancholy was responsible for prophecies, divine frenzies and the philosophical genius of Plato, Empedocles and Socrates. This positive view of melancholy (as opposed to the pathological view of the Galenic tradition) was widely popularized by Ficino's De Vita Libri Tres (1482-9), esp. the first book De studiosorum sanitate tuenda. The authority of Ficino was then cited and the theories repeated by philosophers such as Agrippa, but also in many French and English physiological treatises. cf for example Francois Valleroile's Enarrationum Medicinalium Libri Sex (Lyons 1604), pp426-430, and Thomas Elyot's Castel of Helth (1541), fol.73r. For a full exposition of inspired melancholy see Klibansky, Saxl, and Panofsky, op.cit. and the admirable summary of scientific theories of melancholy in Lawrence Babb, The Elizabethan Malady (Michigan 1951), chapters II-III.
77. Dial.Ital. p1057. "melancholy humours", "more generous enterprises".
78. Poems, p51
79. ibid. p19
80. F.A.Yates, 'Agrippa and Elizabethan Melancholy : George Chapman's Shadow of Night' in Occult Philosophy in the Elizabethan Age (London 1979), p136
81. J.G.Scott, Les Sonnets Élisabéthains (1929), p204. "a notable adversary of Petrarchism... that Chapman was inspired by Platonism is most clear".
82. A.Bullen, cit. Scott, p205n
83. Dial.Ital. p941. "Everything that is in a certain way desired, in a certain way is also understood".
84. ibid. "the appetite and cognition concur".
85. ibid. p1077. "the beauty without similitude, analogy, image or species".
86. ibid. p970. "Because you are rent by changes / Through being sightless they call you blind".
87. ibid. p990.
 "In the light, the fount, the bosom of my good,
 I see the flames, the arrows and the chains.
 If my languishing is sweet,
 Because that exalted light fulfills me so,
 Because the divine bow wounds me so sweetly,
 Because in that knot is my desire is bound,
 I am eternally encumbered
 By the flames in my heart, arrows in my breast and the snares upon my soul".
88. ibid. p991. "the ardent desire of things divine"
89. ibid. "the impression made by the ray of the supreme light's beauty".
90. ibid. "the species of the True"

91. Origen, Prologue to the Commentary on the Song of Songs, ed.R.Greer in Origen (London 1979), p217
92. Dial.Ital. p932. "Canticle...similar to that of Solomon", "the mystics and Cabalist doctors".
93. *ibid.* p1008. "having already drawn it into himself, it was not necessary to search outside of himself for divinity".
94. *ibid.* p963. "under one standard"
95. *ibid.* p964. "the working of the intellect is not an operation of motion, but of rest"
96. *ibid.* pp929 and 935. "a Circean enchantment", "animal and bestial".
97. *ibid.* p978.
"This heroic frenzy...is different from the other, baser frenzies, not as virtue differs from vice, but as a vice which is in a subject which is more divine, or divinely, is different from a vice which is in a more bestial subject, or bestially...the difference is according to the subjects and different modes, and not according to the form of the vice itself".
98. *ibid.* p977.
"I would say that he is most wise who can truly express one of his contrary states, by means of another contrary".
99. *ibid.* p1107. "superessential unity".
100. *ibid.* p1108. "he no longer has life nor sensation regarding other objects".
101. *ibid.* pp1080-1081.
"So my spirit...
Sends from its high conceit verses
That make obscure the lovely sun,
While I am destroyed and dissolved entirely.
Ah me! this purple and black
Cloud of fire darkens with its style,
That which it wants to exalt, and renders it humble."
102. *ibid.* p1084. "zeal and ardour"
103. Poems, Notes, p433.
104. *ibid.*
105. D.Bush, Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition of Poetry (1963), p204n.
106. Ficino, Convivium, Oration V, Cap.II.
107. Poems, p52.
108. Arthur Golding, The Metamorphosis of Ovyde (1567), ed. J.F.Nims (NY 1965), p18.
109. MS notes by G.Schoell, cit. Poems, pp430-431.
110. Ficino, Convivium, Oration I, Cap.IV, "some kind of track".
111. Dial.Ital. p934. "the worship of a living woman".
112. *ibid.* p992. "an index of the beauty of the spirit".

113. *ibid.* p1187. "my beauty...uncovers that unique and divine [beauty]".
114. See V.Spanpanato, Postille, pp235-6.
115. Dial.Ital. p937. "the state of the furioso".
116. *ibid.* p1046. "I am warmed, burnt, enflamed and kindled eternally"
117. *ibid.* p1045. "his sun...being eternity itself".
118. F.A.Yates, Occult Philosophy, p144.
119. Poems, p19.
120. Dial.Ital. p628. "terrestrial god", "lieutenant and minister", "monsters".
121. *ibid.* p629. "In the Iberian kingdom there is a three-bodied Geryon".
122. *ibid.* "they are accustomed to cloud the air and impeding the appearance of the luminous stars".
123. *ibid.* p628. "solicitude, intellectual vigour and spiritual efficacy"
124. *ibid.* p630.
"in the places where he will effect his heroic undertakings, there will be erected for him trophies, statues, colossi, and other shrines and temples, if fate does not contradict me".
125. See F.A.Yates, Astraea (1975), Chapter 1 'Renaissance Humanism and the Imperial Idea', esp. pp20-27.
126. Dial.Ital. p623. "an indolent sect of pedants".
127. *ibid.* pp624-5. "worse than worms and sterile locusts"
128. *ibid.* p622. "bring back the so much desired peace to wretched and unhappy Europe".
129. *ibid.* p626. "The crown is a worthy prize for the one who drives them away".
130. See Dante, Paradiso XXV and XXX.
131. Dial.Ital. p618.
"There [Truth] shall be stable and firm...there she will be a safe guide to those who come wandering through this tempestuous sea of errors; and thus she will show herself to be a clear and lucid mirror of contemplation".
132. *ibid.* p624. "speculative sciences"
133. *ibid.* p622. "beating down the many heads of this worse than Lernean monster, which with multi-form heresy spreads its fatal poison".
134. *ibid.* p884. "Caballine fount", "Father Apollo".
135. *ibid.*
"Here through the power and order of destiny I once more became an ass, but without losing the intelligible species...through the power of which virtue, the form and substance of two wings sprouted out of my sides, sufficient to raise up my corporeal burden to the stars".
136. All references to the Shadow of Night are to Poems, ed.P.Brooks. The abbreviations "Noct." and "Cynth." refer to the two parts of the Shadow, the Hymnus in Noctem and

- the Hymnus in Cynthiam. Cynth. 144-9
137. Dial.Ital. p754. "the Divine Frenzy, Rapture, Enthusiasm, Prophecy and Zeal and Intellect".
138. ibid.
"already for a long time confused, destroyed and made turbid by bulls, pigs and asses", "put in good order and restored", "the divine water, so as to purge the souls and quench the passions will be distilled for mortals".
139. Noct. 63
140. Noct. 71.
141. Noct. 73-89.
142. Noct. 103
143. Noct. 118-119
144. Noct. 121.
145. Dial.Ital. p730. "[The Calvinist] wants the beautiful, the sweet and the good to be despised and wants us to have esteem for cruel and guilty crime".
146. Noct. 131 and gloss
147. Noct. 131-138
148. Dial.Ital. p709. "New Medusa".
149. Noct. 101
150. Dial.Ital. p710. "mounted on Pegasus", "the violence of false religion".
151. ibid. p711.
"Perseus...with the luminous mirror of doctrine and by the presentation of the abominable portrait of schism and heresy, drives a nail into the pernicious conscience of malfactors and obstinate minds."
152. ibid. pp710-711. "alongside Hercules...stands Perseus".
153. ibid. p711. "All violence is subdued, every captivity is put to an end".
154. ibid. p713. "things base...frivolous and vain".
155. Noct. 255-6
156. Noct. 260 and 264.
157. F.A.Yates, Occult Philosophy, pp139-140.
158. Dial.Ital. p1057. "instruments...of a clear and lucid spirit".
159. F.L.Schoell, Études sur l'Humanisme Continental en Angleterre a la Fin de la Renaissance, esp. p179ff, On Comes and Chapman's Shadow of Night see also W.Schricker, Shakespeare's Early Contemporaries - the background of the Harvey-Nashe polemic and 'Love's Labour's Lost' (Antwerp 1956), and his article 'George Chapman's borrowings from Natali Conti', English Studies, XXXII, 1951, pp107-112.

160. Natalis Comes, Mythologiae (Venice 1576), fols.221r-223v
161. ibid. fol.223v.
"You must pay attention mortals...because human life is circumvented by many sensual pleasures; by which you are drawn into ruin and perpetual affliction".
162. Private correspondence, December 1986.
163. Dial.Ital. pp1122-3. "the similitude [of divinity] reflected in inferior things".
164. ibid. p1124. "the beautiful disposition of the body of nature".
165. Cynth. 13.
166. Cynth. 395
167. Cynth. 398
168. Cynth. 1
169. Cynth. gloss 2.
170. Noct. 396.
171. Dial.Ital. p1112. "a flaming yoke surrounded by snares"
172. ibid. p1113. "beautiful goddess", "splendour of intelligible species"
173. ibid. p1125. "generation", "essence".
174. ibid. p1124. "the fount of all numbers, species, and causes, which is the monad"
175. ibid. p1007. "the mirror of similitudes...where the divine goodness and splendour is reflected"
176. ibid. pp1008-9. "he stops living according to the stupid, blind sensual world"
177. ibid. p1113. "raises the mind to noble love", "thoughts, studies and works", "things base and unworthy"
178. Noct. 213.
179. Cynth. 21-2
180. Cynth. 26
181. Cynth. 26-8
182. Cynth. 17
183. Dial.Ital. p1007. "the alabaster of divine beauty".
184. ibid. p929. "the beauty which both comes and goes"
185. Cynth. 15
186. Cynth. 6
187. Ficino, Convivium, Oration II, Cap.II
188. Cynth. 95

189. Cynth. 154-5
190. Cynth. 146-9
191. Cynth. 159
192. Cynth. 151-3
193. Dial.Ital. pp1050-1051. "our soul...is signified by the moon".
194. L.Ebreo, Dialoghi d'Amore ed.cit. p189. "a simulacrum of the soul". For more concerning the long Christian-Judaic tradition of the mysteria lunae see M.Ariani, Imago Fabulosa (Florence 1984), p54ff.
195. Cynth. 80
196. Cynth. 84-5
197. Cynth. 34
198. Cynth. 495-9
199. Dial.Ital. p1094. "called by the Cabalists mors oculi [the kiss of death]"
200. Cynth. 496-8
201. Cynth. 505-6
202. See H.Gatti, art.cit.(1985), p157 : "the philosophical background to the scientific enquiries of the Northumberland circle was closely dependent on their study of Bruno's works".
203. Cynth. 162-9
204. Dial.Ital. p1124. "the fount of Diana"
205. ibid. p1123. "the light which is in the opacity of matter, that is to say that which shines so much in darkness".
206. ibid. p1088.
"Present in the body such that [being] with its better part [ie the soul], it is absent from that [the body]...conjoined and bound to divine things"
207. ibid. p32, from Ariosto, Orlando Furioso, XXXV,i. "Who will fly to heaven for me, Madonna, / To bring back with them my lost wits?"
208. Cynth. 106
209. Cynth. 477-488
210. Dial.Ital. p936. "before the eyes and ears"
211. ibid. p939. "antitheses, comparisons and similitudes"
212. Noct. 24
213. Noct. 21
214. Cynth. 444-6
215. Dial.Ital. p1087. "in the depths of the mind", "God is near, with him and within him,

- more than he is with himself".
216. *ibid.* p1008. "it was not necessary to search outside of himself for divinity"
 217. *ibid.* p995. "the highest intelligible species that he can form of the divinity"
 218. *ibid.* p996. "draws divinity into himself". On this contemplation which leads the magus to discover divine truth in the mind's centre see Ficino, De Vita, pp18-20, where he talks of the intellect which "semper rerum omnium & centra petit, & penetralia penetrat".
 219. Dial.Ital. p1002. "from a base thing I am changed into a god".
 220. *ibid.* "a revolution and a circle".
 221. *ibid.* pp1044-5. "heroic impresa", "eternity itself".
 222. Cynth. 466-9
 223. Dial.Ital. p931. "chaste and virtuous".
 224. Cynth. 449 and 500
 225. Cynth. 451
 226. Cynth. 461
 227. Cynth. 483-4
 228. Cynth. 406-410
 229. Noct. 193
 230. Noct. 195
 231. Noct. 200
 232. Dial.Ital. p946. "the salutary waters of purgation", "waters of wisdom".
 233. *ibid.* p1072. "the great year of the world".
 234. *ibid.* p1073. "returning to better things".
 235. *ibid.* "the dregs of the sciences...customs and works".
 236. *ibid.* pp654-5. "art of arts", "directs souls and reforms minds"
 237. See J.Van Dorsten, Poets, Patrons and Professors (1962), pp27-8 and p202. Note esp. Dousa's reference to Elizabeth as "Regina magnis edita regibus / Ipsa erudita o Pieridum manu, / O Gratijs secunda nulli" (Queen, issue of great kings / Yourself taught by the hand of the Muses / Second to none of the Graces).
 238. See Leonard Forster, The Icy Fire (Cambridge 1969), Chapter 4, 'The Political Petrarchism of the Virgin Queen'.
 239. Dial.Ital. p936. "the unique Diana", "nymphs", "goddesses", "they are of celestial substance".
 240. *ibid.* p67
"That goddess of the earth...that singular and most rare lady, who from this cold heaven near to the arctic parallel renders so clear a light to the whole terrestrial

- globe".
241. *ibid.* "she is not inferior to any King in the world"
 242. *ibid.* pp67-8n. From the A-text of the Cena.
"If the empire of Fortune would correspond to, and was matched by the empire of her most generous spirit and intellect, she would be the unique empress of this terrestrial sphere; and to express it more fully, she would sustain with her divine hand the globe of this universal monarchy".
 243. *ibid.* p67. "knowledge of the arts, and awareness of the sciences"
 244. *ibid.* pp222-3.
"Goddess Elizabeth", "most heroic among the nobility", "most noble of the togaed [ie ruling-class]".
On Bruno's "mission" on Henri's behalf as suggested in the Dialoghi see F.A.Yates, 'The Religious Policy of Giordano Bruno', Collected Essays Vol.I : Lull and Bruno pp151-179. See esp. p165 where Yates identifies his immediate concern to discuss with Elizabeth a "supra-national policy of Catholic union [against the Hapsburgs]".
 245. Dial.Ital. pp1032-3
 246. *ibid.* p1175. "a unique path...[to] discover the most beautiful work of God".
 247. *ibid.* p68. "this great Amphitrite"
 248. *ibid.* p1124. "the source of all species"
 249. Cynth. 2-9
 250. Letter to Queen Elizabeth by John Dee, from "Trebon. in the kingdome of Bo[h]emia", dated November 10 1588. British Library Harleian MS 6986, fol.45
 251. Cynth. 116-119
 252. Cynth. 176
 253. Cynth. 188-9
 254. Walter Raleigh, The Eleventh and Last Booke of the Ocean to Scinthia (c1592), lines 189-191 and 348. in Longer Elizabethan Poems, ed. M.Seymour-Smith (London 1972), pp 177-193
 255. *ibid.* line 145
 256. *ibid.* lines 424-8 and 433
 257. See note 240 above.
 258. Dial.Ital. p883. "spiritual matter"
 259. *ibid.* p947. "at once the brightest and the darkest, beginning and end...infinite potency and infinite act".
 260. *ibid.* p1123.
"To nobody does it seem possible to see the sun, the Universal Apollo and absolute light by means of a supreme and most-excellent species; but [it is possible] through his shadow, his Diana, the world, the universe, the nature which is in things, the light which is in the opacity of matter."
 261. On the use of Sun and Moon as oppositional symbols in the Christian-Platonic tradition

- see Marco Ariani, Imago Fabulosa (Florence 1984), Excursus XII and XIII, pp235-8
262. Noct. 379
263. Noct. 370-371.
264. Noct. 372-3
265. Earl of Northumberland, Advice to his Son, cit. Gatti (1983), p64
266. *ibid.*
267. Dial.Ital. p643. "large things are composed of small things, and small things of the smallest things".
268. *ibid.* p355. "the tiny particles all move and change their place and disposition".
269. On the Earl's alchemical experiments see J.W.Shirley, 'The Scientific experiments of Sir Walter Raleigh, the Wizard Earl and the three magi in the Tower - 1603-1617', Ambix, IV, 1953, pp52-66.
270. Dial.Ital. p556. "innumerable vicissitudes and kinds of motion and mutation" ,"one infinite being and substance".
271. Gatti (1983), p64
272. Noct. 362-377
273. See note 76 above.
274. Noct. 277
275. See Klibansky, Saxl and Panofsky, *op.cit.* For Dürer's Melancholia I, see Fig.4
276. Noct. 366
277. Noct. 328-330
278. Noct. 338-9
279. For a full description and further information concerning this likeness of the Earl see C.H.Collins Baker, Catalogue of the Petworth Collection of Pictures (Medici Society 1920), No.223, p29, and also Sir Oliver Millar, Van Dyck in England (London 1982), published to coincide with a Van Dyck exhibition at the National Portrait Gallery in 1982-3. pp53-4.
280. Ficino, De Vita, p19
281. H.C.Agrippa, De Occulta Philosophia, p.lxviii
Also cf title page of Robert Burton's Anatomy of Melancholy, ed. 1632, and "The argument of the Frontispiece". There is a striking resemblance between the Earl's portrait and Burton's figure of "Hypocondriacus", who "leans on his arm" and "Saturn's aspects signify".
282. Noct. 380
283. Cynth. 107-115
284. Cynth. 58-62
285. Noct. 127-8

286. Noct. 132.
287. Dial.Ital. p1048.
"By that universal intelligence the entire hemisphere is eternally illuminated : although to the inferior potencies and according to the influence of its actions [the hemisphere] seems now dark, now more or less light"
288. *ibid.* "human intelligence", "lowest of all the planets", "the lowest in the order of other intelligences"
289. *ibid.* p1049.
"troubled, beaten, sollicitated, distracted and torn apart by the inferior potencies"
290. *ibid.* p1050
Tansillo : All the intelligences are represented by the moon, in so far as they participate in act and potency, in as much, I say, as they have their light materially, and by participation, receiving it from another; not being luminous in themselves...but through the gaze of the sun, which is the first intelligence... pure and absolute light, pure and absolute act.
Cicada : All the things, then, which are dependent and that are not the first act and cause, are composed likewise of light and darkness, matter and form, potency and act?
Tansillo : Precisely."
291. *ibid.* p1048. "My moon is eternally full"
292. *ibid.* p1047.
293. *ibid.* p1051. "light of the intelligible world"
294. *ibid.* p1124. "divine and universal hunt"
295. *ibid.* p1122. "traces and vestiges impressed in natural things"
296. cf Cynth. 232-241 and Mythologiae, Lib.IV, Cap.XXIV. See Roy Battenhouse, 'Chapman's Shadow of Night : an interpretation' in Studies in Mythology (1941), p584ff.
297. Cynth. 228
298. Dial.Ital. p1120. "he counts the body as nothing and despises this life"
299. *ibid.* pp945-6.
300. *ibid.* p946. "salutary waters", "waters of wisdom", "rivers of eternal life".
301. *ibid.* p946. "the inferior waters beneath the firmament which enlighten"
302. *ibid.* pp1137-8
"The eyes apprehend the species and propose them to the heart, the heart desires them, and its desire is presented to the eyes, these conceive the light, this spreads the fire to the heart; [the heart] burnt and enflamed, sends its love to [the eyes], because they cool [or absorb] it."
303. *ibid.* pp1138.
"The cognition moves the passion, and then passion moves cognition...the speculative intellect first sees the beautiful and good, then the will desires it, and the industrious intellect procures, follows and searches it out".
304. *ibid.*
"the weeping eyes signify the difficulty of the separation of the thing desired"

- from the one who desires".
305. *ibid.* p942. "disproportion of means".
306. *ibid.* p1148. "through too much crying"
307. *ibid.* pp1148-9. "a blindness [which is] totally privative"
308. *ibid.* p1149. "oppressed and vanquished by a contrary [humor]"
309. *ibid.* "luminous flame", "enflames the soul"
310. *ibid.* p1150. "None of his humor is left"
311. *ibid.* "holds the body and spirit and soul together"
312. *ibid.* "keeps the diverse and contrary parts united"
313. *ibid.* "visual ray".
314. *ibid.* p461. "Water joins together and binds up the parts [of the universe], beginning with the minima of nature [ie atoms]"
315. *ibid.* p1150. "visual crystal" or "crystal of the eye"
316. Noct. 8-15
317. Dial.Ital. p1138. "industrious intellect"
318. Noct. 214
319. Cynth. 194-5
320. Cynth. 146
321. Cynth. 133-4
322. Noct. 324-7
323. Noct. 318
324. Noct. 277
325. Noct. 376-7. See W.Schricker, *op.cit.* pp43-4, where he attributes Chapman's continual use of the word to "humor" to Comus' mention of the "noctis humor" in 'De Nocte', Mythologiae, Lib.III, Cap.XII.
326. Dial.Ital. p956. "contemplation and philosophical studies", "they ought, as parents of the Muses, be prior to them"
327. *ibid.* p957. "those who worthily sing of heroic things, instructing heroic souls through speculative and moral philosophy".
328. *ibid.* p958. "art and frenzies"
329. *ibid.* p1064. "fiery rays", "two bows", "Burning my afflicted heart / At every hour from its meridian".
330. Noct. 353
331. Dial.Ital. p934. "dream and prophetic enigma".

332. *ibid.* p725. "all heroic and divine minds".
333. Noct. 341, 346-7
334. Coronet, III.
335. Noct. 348
336. Noct. 350-351
337. Dial.Ital. p1064. "the rays of...divine beauty and goodness".
338. *ibid.* "the two species of revelation".
339. *ibid.* p1065. "the parts of the superior potency".
340. *ibid.* p1066. "meridian of the heart".
341. Chapman's Cynthia is Hermetic, hence her appellation "thrice-mightie", Cynth. 483, after Hermes Trismegistus ("Trismegistus" = thrice-great).
342. H.Gatti (1983), p66
343. Private correspondence, December 1986
344. Gatti, art.cit. (1985)
345. Gatti (1983), p73. See also F.A.Yates (1936), p208.
346. G.Bruno, Opere Latine Conscripta ed.F.Tocco (1880), I, iii, pp 300-301.
"Between two points infinite curves (or bends) can be produced. Thus at the same time, the simplest and briefest apprehension is indeed Truth, Falsehood is in fact multiple, prolix, intractable, such as we see to be the case in sophistic geometry and other parts of philosophy."
347. *ibid.* p300.
"the false comes in innumerable forms and figures", "Truth, Holiness and Goodness... conspire in one Perpetual [form]".
348. J.Kepler, Werke (Munich 1938), Vol.I, p142. Letter from Kepler to Bernegger dated April 5 1608. "Bruno, who was burnt at Rome...who asserted a religion which was completely vain, converted God into the world, a circle or a point".
349. Coronet, VI.

Notes to the Conclusion.

1. F.A.Yates (1943), p121.
2. *ibid.*
3. *ibid.* p118
4. Despite a number of articles concentrating on the links between Spenser and Bruno (particularly with reference to the Platonism of the Fowre Hymnes), no extensive points of contact have been established between them. See esp. Whittaker & Elton,

26. D.Banes, The Provocative Merchant of Venice (Chicago 1975-6)
27. M.S.Røstvig, 'The Shepherd's Calendar : a structural analysis', Renaissance and Modern Studies, XIII, 1969, pp49-75
28. See F.A.Yates, Occult Philosophy, Chapter 9.
29. J.A.Quitslund, 'Spenser's Amoretti VIII, and Platonic Commentaries on Petrarch', JWCI, 36, 1973, pp256-276.
30. P.French, op.cit. p137
31. ibid. p132
32. ibid. p128
33. cf British Library Sloane MS 3188, fols. 133r.ff
34. French, op.cit. p129
35. F.A.Yates, Hermetic Tradition, p137
36. F.A.Yates, Art of Memory, p258
37. F.A.Yates, The Rosicrucian Enlightenment (1972), p265
38. T.Moufett (or Moffett), Nobilis, or a Life of Sir Philip Sidney, cit.French, p127
39. J.Buxton, Sir Philip Sidney (1964), Chapter 3 'Education of a Patron'.
40. French, op.cit. p126
41. F.Braudel, Capitalism and Civilisation, Vol.I Structures of Everyday Life (1979), pp426-7
42. Dee's association with the Sidney family began as far back as the 1540s, when he was tutor to Sidney's uncle, Robert Dudley, later to be Earl of Leicester (see French, p126).
43. See J.W.Shirley, art.cit.
44. Private correspondence, December 1986.
45. See notes to Chapter 4, note 11.
46. See J.Lindsay, Of the Cause, Principle and the One (1975), Appendix on 'John Donne and Giordano Bruno', where he offers some tentative comparisons of philosophical themes in Donne's poetry with corollaries in Bruno's Dialoghi Italiani.
47. Paulina Palmer, 'Marvell, Petrarchism and the Degli Eroici Furori', in English Miscellany, 24, 1973-4, pp19-57. Palmer notes similarities in "general composition" between the Eroici and Marvell's Unfortunate Lover, and also "specific resemblances between their use of emblematic conceit".

APPENDIX I. "Purged of all ancient poison" : Corrections of Petrarch by Girolamo Malipiero and Giovan Giacomo Salvatorino.

Voi ch' ascoltate in rime sparse il suono
 Di quei sospiri ond' io nudriva 'l core
 In sul mio primo giovanile errore
 Quand' era in parte altr' uom da quel ch' i' sono,
 Del vario stile in ch' io piango et ragiono
 Fra le vane speranze e 'l van dolore,
 Ove sia chi per prova intenda amore,
 Spero trovar pietà, nonche perdono.

Ma ben veggio or sì come al popol tutto
 Favola fui gran temp, onde sovente
 Di me medesimo meco mi vergogno;

Et del mio vaneggiar vergogna è 'l frutto,
 E 'l pentersi, e 'l conoscer chiaramente
 Che quanto piace al mondo è breve sogno.

Petrarch, Rime, 1

You who hear in scattered rhymes the
 sounds / Of those sighs with which I
 nourished my heart / During my first
 youthful error, / When I was in part
 another man from what I am now : / for
 the varied style in which I weep and
 speak / between vain hopes and vain
 sorrow / Where there is anyone who
 understands love through experience / I
 hope to find pity, not just pardon./
 But I now see well how for a long time /
 I was the talk of the crowd, for which
 often / I am ashamed of myself within; /
 And of my raving shame is the fruit /
 And repentance, and the clear knowledge /
 That whatever pleases the world is a
 brief dream. (Trans. R.Durling)

Voi, ch' ascoltate in rime sparse il suono
 De miei novi sospir; ch' escon dal core
 Per la memoria di quel cieco errore;
 Che mi se in parte altr' huom da quel ch' i' sono;

Poi che del vario stil più non ragiono,
 Ma piango il fallo mio pien di dolore,
 Il van desir, e 'l fuggitivo amore,
 Pietà, prego, vi mova a mio perdono.

Conosco ben, si come al popol tutto
 Materia fui d'error : onde sovente
 Di me medesimo meco mi vergogno.

Hora, drizzato al ciel, spero far frutto
 Di vero ben; ch' io veggio chiaramente,
 Che quanto piace Al Mondo, è breve sogno.

Malipiero, Il Petrarca Spirituale, Son.I

You who hear in scattered rhymes the
 sound / Of my recent sighs; which issue
 from the heart / In remembrance of that
 blind error; / When I was partly another
 man than that which I am now / Since I no
 longer speak in varied style, / But weep
 full of sadness for my sin, / The vain
 desire and the fugitive love, / I pray
 that you are moved to mercy for my pardon./
 I know well how for everyone / I have been
 pretext for error : Whence often / I
 have been ashamed of myself. / Now, di-
 rected toward Heaven, I hope to give fruit/
 Of true goodness; for I see clearly, / That
 whatever pleases the world is a dream.

Voi ch' ascoltate in basse rime il suono
 D'alti concetti, onde si pasce il core
 A dio devoto; hor ogni vostro errore
 Lasciate, si pentiti, com' io sono;

Sono un vil verme, il qual vosco ragiono
 Dolente del mio fallo; che 'l timore
 De pene eterne, insieme con l'amore
 Del sommo Dio, chieder mi farà perdono;

Ne à tanto sarei gionto, s' à lui tutto
 Non havessi il mio mal mostro sovente
 Con gran dolor, & ancho men' vergogno;

Ma prima fu sua gratia in me à far frutto;
 Che senza lei in vano chiaramente
 L'huom s' affatica, e questo non è sogno.

Salvatorino, Thesoro, Son.II

You that hear in base rhymes the sound /
 Of high conceits by which the heart is fed/
 To God devoted; now leave off from all
 your / Error, repent as I have / I am a
 vile worm, who talks with you / sadly of
 my error; because fear / Of eternal pains,
 Together with love / Of the highest God,
 urges me to make my pardon; / Nor would
 it have come about, if I hadn't / Com-
 pletely shown him my evil / With great sad-
 ness and not less ashamed; / But his
 grace was the first to make fruit in me;/
 Because without him man clearly / Labours
 in vain, and this is not a dream.

L'aura mia sacra al mio stanco riposo
Spira sì spesso ch' i' prendo ardimento
Di dirle il mal ch' i' ò sentito et sento,
Che vivendo ella non sarei stat' oso.

I' comincio da quel guardo amoroso
Che fu principio a sì lungo tormento,
Poi seguo come misero et contento
Di dì in dì, d'ora in ora, Amor m' à roso.

Ella si tace et di pietà depinta
Fiso mira pur me; parte sospira
Et di lagrime oneste il viso adorna;

Onde l'anima mia dal dolor vinta,
Mentre piangendo allor seco s' adira,
Sciolta dal sonno a se stessa ritorna.

My sacred breeze breathes so often for my /
Repose in weariness, that I become bold / To
tell her the ills that I have felt and feel, /
Which I would not have dared to do while she
was alive. / I begin with that love-inspiring
glance / That was the beginning of so long a
torment / Then I follow with how wretched and
happy / day by day, hour by hour Love has
gnawed at me. / She is silent, her face the
colour of pity / And still looks fixedly at me;
sometimes she sighs / And adorns her face with
virtuous tears; / And so my soul, overcome by
sorrow, / As, weeping, it grows angry with it-
self, / Shaken from sleep returns to itself.
(Trans. R.Durling)

Petrarch, Rime 356.

L'aura che spira al mio stanco riposo
Da Christo in croce, mi presta ardimento
Di levar gli occhi al ciel : che (com'io
sento)

Non altramente mai sarei stato oso.

Esso signor, ch' in atto si amoroso
Per me hebbe morte : leva il mio tormento,
Et di se mi fa degno & piu contento,
Poi ch' in tal modo il mio peccato ha roso.

In croce dunque è la pieta depinta :
Ver cui beato chi spesso sospira,
Et di lagrime honeste il viso adorna.

Non puo d'alcun dolor l'Alma esser vinta,
Ne dal nemico anchor, quando s'adira.
Se spesso al santo legno humil ritorna.

The breeze that blows for my repose / From Christ
on the cross grants me the boldness / To raise
my eyes to heaven : because (as I feel) I would/
not otherwise dare dare to do so. / The Lord him-
self, who in such an amorous act / Has died for me
relieves my torment / And of himself makes me
worthy and most content, / Since in this way he
has consumed my sin. / On the cross then is mercy
depicted : / Towards which blessed is he who
often sighs, / And adorns his face with honest
tears. / The soul cannot be overcome by any sad-
ness, / Nor even by the enemy when he is angered, /
If often to the holy wood she humbly returns.

Malipiero, Il Petrarca Spirituale, Son.CCCVI.

L'aura mia sacra, al mio stanco riposo,
Spira sì dolce, ch' io prendo ardimento
Alquanto palesarti, quel ch' io sento,
Ma tutto scriver, già non sarei oso :

Nel turpe stato, hora detto amoroso,
Chi sospir finge, cianze, atti, tormento,
Chi per sua manza (o sua vacca) è contento.
Morir; chi 'l cor (o lo matton') hà roso :

La donna, quanto hà spende, per star
pinta;

E mille fiate, in un punto sospira,
Per chi sol dica, sei pur bella, e adorna :

Quel vò al beccaio, come bue; e vinta
Questa si trova, al fin' tutto è pien d'ira;
Che desperando, in terra ciascun torna.

My sacred breezes blows so sweetly for my repose/
That I become bold / To reveal to you some of
what I feel, / But to write all I have never
dared before : / In the shameful state, now
called amorous / Some lovers feign sighs, idle
chatter, deeds and torments, / Some are content
to die for their heifer (or sweetheart), / Some
have their heart (or brain) consumed : / As for
the woman, she spends all she has to paint her
face; / And sighs a thousand times in one moment /
For one who might only say 'You are beautiful and
graceful' : / This lover goes to slaughter like
the bulls; / And she finds herself vanquished, and
all is rage and fury at the end; / For despairing,
both return to the earth.

Salvatorino, Thesoro, Son.CCCVII.

Dodici donne onestamente lasse,
Anzi dodici stelle, e 'n mezzo un sole
Vidi in una barchetta allegre et sole
Qual non so s' altra mai onde solcasse;

Simil non credo che Jason portasse
Al vello onde oggi ogni uom vestir si vole,
Né 'l pastor di ch' ancor Troia si dole,
De' qua' duo tal romor al mondo fasse.

Poi le vidi in un carro triunfale,
Laurea mia con suoi santi atti schifi
Sedersi in parte et cantar dolcemente :

Non cose umane o vision mortale
Felice Automedon, felice Tifi
Che conduceste sì leggiadra gente!

Twelve ladies virtuously languid, / Rather twelve
stars, and in the midst a sun / I saw, gay and
alone in a little bark / Such that I know not if
its like ever ploughed the waves; / I do not
believe its like ever carried Jason to the fleece /
With which everyone wishes to be dressed today, /
Nor the shepherd on whose account Troy still
grieves, / Of which two so much noise is made in
the world. / Then I saw them in a triumphal char-
iot, / And my Laura with her holy, retiring
manner / Sitting to the side and sweetly singing :/
Not human things or a mortal vision / Happy Auto-
medon, happy Tiphys, / Who steered such charming
folk! (Trans. R.Durling)

Petrarch, Rime 225

Dodici stelle a nostre menti lasse
Appariranno, e in mezzo il vero Sole
A giudicar le genti insieme & sole :
Di che spesso romor al Mondo fasse.

Allhor non se Jason seco portasse
Il vello, ond' hoggi ognihom vestir si
vole,

Ne se con la belta, di cui si dole
Troia, il pastor quel mar allhor solcasse,

Ne Cesare col carro triumphale
Potrian far, che lor atti fossen schifi
Da quel giuditio, ove sarà ogni gente
La parte allhor, che sia in colpa mortale
Nel scuro abisso audrà con Giove & Tifi;
Et l'altra al ciel cantando dolcemente.

Twelve stars will appear to our weary minds
And in the midst of them the true Sun, / To judge
the people together and alone : / Of which there
was often rumour in the world. / Now not if Jason
carried with him the fleece, / With which everyone
today wishes to be dressed / Nor if with the
beauty for which Troy grieves / The shepherd
ploughed that sea, / Nor Caesar with the triumphal
chariot / Could make it so that their acts were
able to avoid / That judgement, where all people
shall / At that time be divided, those in mortal
sin going to the dark abyss with Jove and Tiphys; /
And the others going to heaven sweetly singing.

Malipiero, Il Petrarca Spirituale, Son.CLXXXIX

Dodici stelle, in te fisse, ne lasse
Christo, scendendo al ciel', e in mezzo un
sole,

Acciò che 'l Peccator, a queste sole
Secur per l'atro mar Mondan, solcasse.

Dodici dico, bench' una sen' trasse,
Che di tuoi raggi, il bel lume, non vuole;
Lo traditor', à cui si mal puo duole,
Che suspendendo sè, convien crepasse :

Ma il fortito Mathia, al triumphale
Episcopato, ricever non schifi,
Ch' in gli altri, è annoverato di presente,

Lor prego, con Maria, quest' hor mortale
Corpo guidar col spirto, non sian' schifi,
Quando che sia, alla beata gente.

Salvatorino, Thesoro, Son.OCLXXX

Twelve stars, fixed in you, were bequeathed to us
By Christ / Descended from heaven, and in the
midst a sun, / So that the Sinner, to these sure/
stars could plough through the dark sea of the
world. / Twelve I say, although one feels himself
drawn / By your rays, beautiful light, he does
not will it; / The traitor for whom you lament
so badly / That keeps you suspended in doubt,
must be killed : / But the undaunted Mathias
did not receive / The disdain of the Triumphal
Bishopric, / Which is accounted in others today: /
I beseech them, with Mary, at this time / To
guide the mortal body with the Spirit, they will
not be disdained / If that be so, by blessed
people.

Fresco ombroso fiorito et verde colle
 Ov' or pensando et or cantando siede,
 Et fa qui de' celesti spiriti fede
 Quella ch' a tutto 'l mondo fama tolle :
 Il mio cor che per lei lasciar mi volle,
 Et fe' gran senno, et più se mai non riede,
 Va or contando ove da quel bel piede,
 Segnata è l'erba et da quest' occhi è molle.
 Seco si stringe et dice a ciascun passo :
 Deh, fusse or qui quel miser pur un poco,
 Ch' è già di pianger et di viver lasso!
 Ella sel ride, et non è pari il gioco :
 Tu paradiso, i' senza cor un sasso,
 O sacro, avventuroso et dolce loco!

Petrarch, Rime 243

Fresco, fiorito, chiaro & verde colle;
 Ove 'l Beato eternalmente siede;
 Et ha di sua speranza amor & fede
 Premio, che mai d'alcun via non si tolle.
 Seggio alto, ch' ogniun brama, & ciascun
 volle;
 Ma non di quello ogniuno è fatto herede;
 Perch' a virtu raro è chi mova il piede :
 Et molti al vitio van per la via molle.
 Saggio colui, ch' ogni suo varco & passo
 Misurando col viver frale & poco,
 A ben oprar per te non è mai lasso.
 Inferno è questo Mondo, e ogni suo gioco :
 Tu paradiso : & però ha 'l cor di sasso
 A te chi non aspira o dolce loco.

Malipiero, Il Petrarca Spirituale, Son.CCV

Fresco, ombroso, fiorito, e verde colle,
 Ove il Sepolcro d' Egittiaca sede,
 E 'l simbolo si fè di nostra fede,
 E d'onde Christo dal Mondo si tolle :
 Che per nostro conforto, lasciar volle,
 Quando al Supremo Padre se ne riede,
 Il bel vestigio del suo sante piede,
 Sopra te impresso, come in cera molle :
 Quando fia mai? Ch' inverte volga il
 passo?
 E te con dolci pianti bagni un puoco?
 Gionto di vita, piu che de via lasso;
 Ogni gran pena mi sarebbe à gioco,
 S' io mai, fossi in te chiuso in picciol
 sasso,
 O sacro, avventuroso, e dolce luoco.

Salvatorino, Thesoro, Son.CCC.

Fresh, shady, flowering green hill / Where,
 sometimes thoughtful, sometimes singing, she
 sits / And gives testimony here of the spirits
 in Heaven / She who dims the fame of all the
 world : / My heart, who wished to leave me for
 her / And he acted most wisely, and even more
 so if he never comes back, / Now goes counting
 Where the grass is signed by that lovely foot /
 And is wet from those eyes. / He draws close
 to her, and says at every step / 'Ah, would
 that wretch were here even for a little / For he
 is already tired of weeping, and of living!' /
 She smiles at that, and the portions are not
 equal : / I am a stone without my heart, but
 you are a paradise, / Oh holy, lucky, sweet
 place". (Trans. R.Durling)

Fresh, flowering, green and clear hills; /
 Where the blessed one sits eternally; / And has
 the reward for his hope, love and faith / Which
 can never be taken from him in any way. / That
 high throne which everyone desires, and each
 wishes for; / But not everyone is given that
 inheritance, / Because rare virtue has the one
 who moves the foot : / And many in vain vice
 leave off the path. / Wise is he who measures
 every yard and pace / Of his frail and worth-
 less life, / For you good works are never
 tiring. / This world is Hell, and all its joys /
 You are a paradise : & therefore he has a heart
 of stone / That does not aspire to you, Oh
 sweet place.

Fresh, shady and flowering green hill, / Where
 the holy land of Egypt stands, / And the symbol
 is made of our faith, / And from whence Christ
 was taken from the world : / Which for our com-
 fort he wished to leave, / When he returned to
 the supernal Father, / He left the beautiful
 print of his holy foot impressed in you / As in
 soft wax : / When shall it be that this pace
 shall be turned to you again? / And with sweet
 tears water you a little? / Overtaken by life,
 more than weary of the path; / All great suffer-
 ing would to me be joy, / If ever I was closed
 up in one of your small stones, / Oh holy,
 fortunate and sweet place.

Passer mai solitario in alcun tetto
 Non fu quant' io, né fera in alcun bosco,
 Ch' i' non veggio 'l bel viso et non conosco
 Altro sol, ne quest' occhi ànn' altro obietto.

Lagrimar sempre è 'l mio sommo diletto,
 Il rider doglia, il cibo assenzio et tosco,
 La notte affanno e 'l ciel seren m' è fosco,
 Et duro campo di battaglia il letto.

Il sonno è veramente, qual huom dice,
 Parente de la morte e 'l cor sottrage
 A quel dolce penser che 'n vita il tene.

Solo al mondo paese almo felice,
 Verdi rive fiorite, ombrose piagge :
 Voi possedete et io piango il mio bene.

Petrarch, Rime 226

Se 'l passer solitario sopra il tetto
 Et Philomena in verde e ombroso bosco
 Dio lodano cantando; io che 'l conosco,
 Quanto più debbo far ver tanto obietto?

Se l'Alma mia non trova alcun diletto
 Salvo ch' in Dio; & senza lui, m' è tosco
 Il mele, il bianco è nero, il sole è fosco,
 Et duro campo di battaglia il letto,

Perche mi dee piacer quel, che si dice
 Et è vil cosa & frale, & mi sottrage
 Il cor da buon pensier; che in vita il tiene?

Te sol dunque o signor almo felice
 Lodando, vo seguir per monti & piagge,
 Perche solo tu sei tutto 'l mio bene.

Malipiero, Il Petrarca Spirituale, Son. CXC

Passer piu solitario in alcun tetto,
 Di me, nel Pelicano in alcun bosco,
 O ver Notticorace, non conosco,
 Poiche mancò, di Morte, in me l'obietto :
 Conforto al men Giesu, se non diletto,
 Dammi nel pianto amaro piu che tosco;
 Che fugge il tempo mio, qual summo fosco,
 Di lagrime lavando spesso il letto :

Salvatorino, Thesoro, Son. CCLXXXI, 1-8.

No sparrow was ever so alone on any roof / As
 I am, nor any beast in any wood, / For I do
 not see her lovely face and I do not know /
 Another sun, nor do these eyes have any other
 object. / To weep always is my highest del-
 ight, / Laughing is pain, food is gall and
 poison, / Night is labour, and clear sky is
 dark to me, / And my bed is a harsh battle-
 field. / Sleep is truly, as they say, / Akin
 to death, and relieves the heart / Of the
 sweet care that keeps it in life. / Sole in
 the world, rich, happy country, / Green,
 flowering banks, shady meadows : / You poss-
 ess and I yearn for my treasure.

(Trans. R.Durling)

If the solitary sparrow overhead / And Philo-
 mel in the green and shadowy wood / Sing in
 praise of God : I, who know him / So much
 better, how much more should I praise such
 an object? / If my soul finds no delight /
 Except in God; and without him, honey is /
 poison to me, black is white, the sun is
 dark, / And my bed is a hard battlefield, /
 Because it ought to please me, as they say, /
 And it is a base and frail thing, and the
 heart / By good thought frees me; which keeps
 it living / You only then, Oh Lord on high,
 I happily / Praise, I follow you through
 mountains and rivers, / Because you alone are
 all my Good.

A sparrow more solitary than me overhead, /
 Or a pelican in any wood, / or a night-owl,
 I do not know, / Since I lack, because of
 death, my object; / Comfort, if not delight
 is given to me by Jesus, / In my more than
 poisonous, bitter plaint; / I frequently
 wash my bed with tears / So that my time,
 that utmost darkness, will flee.

APPENDIX II.

Janus Dousa, Carmen XII, Ἐρωτοπικύβιον (1591)

Ne, quod te celso fugiat per inane volatu,
 Cor precor ah misero saevius ure mihi.
 Culpa tua hæc; vestri pennis sublatus Amoris
 Mortali ignotas cogitur ire vias.
 Ac velut halantes coeli ad confinia fumos
 Cynthus aetheris usque trahit radiis,
 Unde trabes flammisque creet, dirosve Cometas,
 Aut crine accendat lampada flammifero;
 Affixam sic ante solo lux enthea mentam
 Sustulit, ut superis inserat ordinibus :
 Hic ubi sacratae radiant velut astra Coronæ,
 Fulgurat ardoris sic quoque flamma mei.
 Quin igitur tellure etiam me tollis inertis,
 Ne patiar mentis flebile discidium.
 Sic mihi tu coelum, coeli sic lumine nobis
 Continget totis noctibus usque frui.
 En iterum clamo : effectus utriusque calor
 Expendens, pectus mitius ure meum.
 Idem nos ignis, in te qui fulgurat, urit :
 Secum cuncta trahens ignis, ut attrahitur.
 Ignis more tuum ad sese trahit omnia lumen;
 Utque ignis, noster summa petissit amor.

Henry Constable, Diana (1592)

Blame not my hearte for flying up so high
 Sith thou art cause that it this flight begun,
 For earthly vapours drawne up by the sun
 Comets become and night-suns in the skie
 My humble hearte so with thy heavenly eye
 Drawn up alofte all low desires doth shun.
 Rayse thou me up as thou my hearte hast done.
 So during night in heaven remayne may I.
 Blame not I say againe my high desire
 Sith of us both the cause thereof depends,
 In thee doth shine, in me doth burne a fire,
 Fire drawes up others and it selfe ascends,
 -Thyne eye a fire and so drawes up my love,
 My love a fire and so ascends above.

"prodecessori"	[illegible]
"vena"	stile
"sussurandolo"	—
"sfacendato"	idell, unbuzied

p38 (960)

"pampino"	vines,
"edera"	ivy
"pioppa"	popler
"olmo"	elme
"spighe"	ears of corne
"scazzate"	[illegible]
"affibbi"	to bucle, claspe
"boldoni"	puddings
"busecche"	tripes or dildoes
"cervellate"	sausesges.

p40 (962)

"le bellezze et prorogative del suo oggetto"	The beautyes and prerogatives of his obiect.
--	--

p41 (963)

"l'alm' i' disegni"	—
"[non] accolti"	not collected or received
"ingombr' "	to afflict
"affetti"	motions, passions, dispositions, love, inclined, affected [last two underlined]
"empiti"	furyes, force or outrages.

p42 (963-4)

"donasse bando"	proclamations, an acte of law published
"la sferza"	the whippe
"s'appaga ingombra la mente"	to satisfy the incombred mind
"concepe"	to conceive with child.

p43 (964-5)*

"sconsola"	to discomfort
"putto"	a boy or stripling [underlined]
"ria"	guilty or culpable
"il toglie via"	—
"invola"	to hide ones selfe.
"salma"	a loade, a carcasse.
"l'entusiasmo"	the furye from above
"solcar"	to ploughe or furow.

p44 (965-6)

"piaga"	wound
"scelse"	lett louse

* = see frontispiece.

"vaga"	beautiful or wandering
"scarco"	_____
"facelle"	litel brand or burning lights.

p46 (968)

"spinge"	to thrust forward or to urge
"svegliato"	watchfull
"sconci"	disordered, absurd, abortive.

p47 (968)

"avezzo"	accoustomed.
"straviare"	to wander.
"spasso"	pastime

p48 (970)

"scorger"	to discover a far of.
"bieco"	squinty

p213 (1075)

"aura"	[illegible]
"vegna"	ditto
"convegna"	ditto

p214 (1076)

"piatosi"	_____
"sei vagosi?"	_____

Hilary Gatti's addenda and variants

p4 (928)

"exitiale"	deathly (?)
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p12 (935)

"qua non volgo" [<u>non</u> added superscript]	_____
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p36 (958)

"conchiu-" [hyphen added]	_____
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p45 (966-7)

"ria"	_____
"volgi"	_____
"augel"	_____

p211 (1073-4)

"mai si die"	_____
"scuote"	_____

The only variation between Gatti's transcription and my own, bar these addenda is her reading of the Earl's annotation of "l'enthusiasmo per solcar" on p43 (965), which she gives as "the fury from which to ploughe or furow". To my mind Northumberland does not translate "per", but gives separate translations of "l'enthusiasmo" and "solcar". My reading brings the Earl's annotation in line with Florio's entry on "l'enthusiasmo" (in seven cases the Earl's annotations are direct quotes from Florio, see Gatti (1983), p70).

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