

The Influence of Petrarch upon the Elizabethan Sonnet.

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Preface.

~~Italian on English literature~~, I wish before proceeding to the body of the work to say a few words on the importance of the sonnet form in our poetry. It is the only fixed form we possess; at least it is the only one in which genuine poetry has domiciled itself; for it can scarcely be claimed that the so-called French forms, the Rondeau and Ballade, which have led but a precarious existence from the time of Chaucer until their recent revival under Austin Dobson, have as yet established themselves. The sonnet, on the other hand, has been the vehicle for some of the noblest poetry in our language. It has been used by every great poet, except Dryden and Pope, since the beginning of Elizabeth's reign. Many minor poets have flashed into ^{it} their rarest inspirations. Our sovereign poets have put into it some of their most divine thoughts. No collection of English song would contain in equal space so much of supreme value as an anthology of our best sonnets.

The causes of this are not far to seek. The instrument is used because it fits the purpose. The range and flexibility of its powers seem to be beyond estimation since each new master finds in it something unsounded before. The facts that the creative impulse is not even-flowing but recurrent and that often it consists of but one vigorous wave which sweeps in and breaks, explain the value of short lyric forms. ^{because they} ~~such forms~~ are used in the expression of these isolated creative impulses. "A sonnet is a moment's monument". There are several reasons for the pre-eminence of the sonnet over all other short forms. It is the only one whose length is strictly de-

defined, if we except the above mentioned French forms whose freedom is hampered by the refrain. It possesses a dignified meter, adapted to the expression of serious and noble thoughts. It is distinctly integral. It can not be used as the stanza of a long poem, neither can it be divided into stanzas. The arrangement of rimes without unduly restricting its range and play binds the lines into an artistic whole. But perhaps the most vital cause of its existence is its twofold nature which corresponds to the two phases of a single poetic impulse, the incoming and the fulfilling. In no other lyric measure is it possible to express these two phases so clearly as in the sonnet. This is true both of the Italian sonnet-form where the turn comes at the ninth line and of the English where the second phase expresses itself with forceful brevity in the final couplet. All of these conditions combined render the sonnet one of the most perfect instruments that has come to the hand of the artist. It is conceivable that another equally fit to answer the same requirements might be created but as yet none such has appeared. Therefore, since our literature contains but this one fixed form for short lyrics and since this form has justified its own existence by being used to express true poetry it seems to me that an examination into the origin and development of such a form is not without value to the student of poetry. And since such an examination leads into the domains of another literature, one whose connections with our own have been so wide ranging and so influential, the value of the study is increased. Especially is this so because, although a

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good deal has been written about the sonnet in England, very little if any systematic investigation has been made into its connection with its parent literature.

The ground which I wish to cover in the following investigation divides naturally into two parts. ^{An investigation into} The origin and development of the sonnet in Italy up to the time of Petrarch, with an especial study of the poetry of Petrarch as the representative of the Italian sonnet at its maturity, forms the first part of the field to be surveyed. In this I propose to study the more primitive sonnet-forms with the aim of discovering the essential laws of the structure. The second part comprises the rise and growth of the sonnet in England up to the publication of Shakespeare's sonnets, thus covering the formative period of English sonneteering. This second part falls into two subdivisions, one a study of the external evidence of the relations of the Elizabethan to the Petrarchian sonnet-literature; the second an inquiry into the internal evidence of the same relations. The external evidence will be made up largely of what both the sonneteers themselves and their contemporary critics have said about the matter. Other evidence on this part will be the translations made from the Italian and the use of Italian quotations. The internal evidence ^{is} discussed under the heads of (1) the development of the sonnet form in Elizabeth's time and (2) the thought and language of the amatory sonnets of that ^{period} time.

79. 4.
And every oar, a thought in readiness;

As though that death were light in such a case,

An endless wind doth tear the sail apace

Of forced sighs and trusty fearfulness.

A rain of tears, a cloud of dark disdain,

Hath done the wearied cords great hinderance

Wreathed with error, and eke with ignorance.

The stars be hid that led me to this pain;

Drowned is reason that should me consort,

And I remain despairing of the port. (*Arthur ed. p. 39*)

This sonnet has nothing of the metrical movement of the original, but in the language it is very similar. One should notice such directly translated phrases as "sharp seas" from "aspro mare", "mine enemy" from "'l nemico mio", "an endless wind of sighs" from "an vento sterno di sospir" and "a rain of tears" from "pioggia di lagrimor".

Though Wyatt's lyrics are so largely transcripts from the Canzoniere there is only one Petrarchian mood which comes often into his poems. That is the complaints of the trials of a lover. The bulk of his work both original and borrowed deals with this theme. In a few of his later poems he expresses another, the

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conflict between love and reason, as in the sonnet of renunciation "Farewell Love and all thy lawes forever". The mood of complaint has two parts, one the lady's cruelty, the other the poet's unhappiness resulting from such cruelty. These themes Petrarch used more often in his earlier work and they came to him from the poetry of the troubadours. Wyatt uses the pathetic fallacy in expressing his unhappiness, as this,

"Oft ye rivers to hear my wofull sounde,
Have stopt your cours, and plainely to expresse,
Many a teare by moisture of the grounde
The earth hath wept to hear my heavinesse:
Which causelesse I endure without redresse.
The hugy okes have rored in the winde
Ech thing me thought complayning in their kinde". (Arber ed. p. 43)

An example of the frequency with which Wyatt used Petrarchian language in his original poems is the following.

"Avising the bright beams of those fair eyes,
Where he is that mine oft moisteth and washeth;
The wearied mind straight from the heart departeth,
For to rest in his worldly paradise,
And find the sweet bitter under this guise.

What webs he hath wrought, well he perceiveth:

Whereby with himself on love he plaineth,

That spurreth with fire and brideleth with ice". (asburd. p. 40)

The first word, avising, is probably from the Italian "avvisare" which means to look at attentively; obviously the word is not our modern "advising". The "bright beams of those fair eyes" parallels Petrarch's "de vostri occhi un dolce lume", the enemy "that mine oft moisteth and washeth" is, in the Canzoniere, "che fa nascer de' miei occhi continua pioggia"; so "the wearied mind" is "lo spirito lasso" the "sweet bitter" is "dolce amaro", "what webs he hath wrought" is "il laccio al qual mi strinse", and the "spurreth with fire and brideleth with ice" is the "Amor mi sprona in un tempo ed affrena, x x x arde ed agghiaccia".

Certain similes much employed by Petrarch play an important part, not in the verse of Wyatt alone, but in nearly every Elizabethan poet after him. Each one of these similes occurs in an expanded form in the Canzoniere and often is the motive of a whole sonnet. Many of the English sonneteers use them in an equally pronounced manner, and in nearly every case the occasion of their use is the same as in Petrarch. This together with the strange-

ness of the material of some of the figures renders their appearance in Elizabethan poetry an almost indisputable evidence of Petrarchian influence. One is the magnetic rock which draws ships to destruction. The Italian is,

"Una pietra e si ardita
La per indico mar, che da natura
Tragge a se il ferro, e 'l fura
Dal lago in guisa che i navigi affonde.
Querto prov' io fra l'onde
D'amaro pianto; che quel bello scoglio
Ha col suo duro orgoglio
Condotto ov' affondar convien mia vita". (*Canzone 31*)

Wyatt imitates this in,

"There is a rock in the salt flood
A rock of such nature
That draweth the iron from the wood
And leaveth the ship unsure.
She is the rock, the ship am I;
That rock my deadly foe,
That draweth me there where I must die,
And robbeth my heart me fro". (*Aldine ed. p. 144*)

Another is the comparison of the lady to a phoenix. This occurs in the Canzoniere more than once, but the most amplified form is in sonnet 152.

'Questa Fenice, dell 'aurata piuma
Al suo bel collo candido gentile
Forma senz' arte un si caro monile
Ch' ogni cor addolcisce e 'l mio consuma:

Forma un diadema natural eh' alluma
L'aere d' intorno; e 'l tacito focile
D'Amor tragge indi un liquido sottile
Foco che m'arde alla piu argente bruma.

Purpurea veste, d'un ceruleo lembo
Sperso di rose i belli omeri vela;
Novo abito e bellezza unica e sola.

Fama nell' odorato e ricco grembo
D'arabi monti lei ripone e cela,
Che per lo nostro ciel si altera vola".

This is paralleled in the ode of Wyatt's beginning,

"Will ye see what wonders!
A bird there fleeth and that but one
Of her this thing ensueth
That when her days be spent and gone

With fire she reneweth
 And I with her may well compare
 My love that is alone
 The flame whereof doth aye repair
 My life when it is gone". (Aldine ed. p. 145)

Another less peculiar one is that of water wearing away rock. In
 Petrarch this is,

'Vivo sol di speranza, rimembrando
 Che poco umor gia per continua prova
 Consumar vidi marmi e pieta salde.
 Non e si duro cor che lagrimando
 Pregando, amando non si smova".

Wyatt uses this ~~in the poem "Process of time"~~ and in the following.

"And as the water soft
 Without forcyng or strength
 Where that it falleth oft
 Hard stones doth perse at length:
 So in her stony hart
 My plaintes at last shall grave
 And, rygour set apart
 Winne grant of that I crave". (Arber ed. p. 56)

And of the same conceit is the theme of another poem, "Process
 of time worketh such wonder"^(Aldine ed. p. 86). Still another is the horse spurred
 by a cruel rider,—

"Quando 'l voler che con duo sproni ardenti
 E con un duro fren mi mena e regge,
 Trapassa ad or ad or l'usata legge
 Per far in parte i miei spirti contenti". (115)

In Wyatt there is a sonnet beginning,—

"Though I myself be bridled of my mind". (Aldine ed. p. 21)

The sailor making for a port during a storm is the motive of
 Petrarch's sestina which begins "Chi e fermato",⁽¹¹⁶⁾ and comes into
 Wyatt's,—

"Though this the port and I thy servant true
 And thou thyself doth cast thy beams from high".

The simile of a bird caught on a limed twig is in Petrarch's
 sonnet 219,—

Vo 44 ("Come nuovo augello al visco in ramo", and in Wyatt's
 "Tangled I was in Loves snare", where he speaks of a "bird tangled
 in lime". There are several other Petrarchian figures which
 occur frequently in the poems of Wyatt. Among these are the fire
 and water, and the fire and ice metaphors for his love and her

cruelty, as

"For to the flame wherewith ye burn my thought and my desire
When unto ashes it should turn my heart by fervent fire

Ye send a stormy rain that doth it quench again". (Aldine ed. p. 100)

And, "Sending such flame from frozen breast". Others, "Within my
bones to rankle is assigned what poison pleasant sweet", "In deep
wide wound the deadly stroke doth turn to curelesse scar". "Fierce
tiger fell, hard rock without recure, cruel rebel to love". The
weaving of proverbs into a poem is found in Petrarch, especially
in one poem "Mai non vo' piu cantar", and occurs in Wyatt's "it is
a grievous smart" and his "I long have sought".

There ^{is} are also a class of sonnets on certain themes which
are in the Canzoniere and also in the work of the Elizabethans.
Among these are addresses to one's bed, to the lady's hand, to
the moon, to a nightingale, accounts of the lady appearing in a
dream. Petrarch's "bed" sonnet has the following,

"O cameretta, che gia fosti un porto

Alle gravi tempeste mie diurne

Fonte se' or di lagrime notturne

Che 'l di celate per vergogna porto

O letticiu^o₁l, che requie eri e conforto

In tanti affanni, di che dogliose urne

Ti ⁶fagna Amor con quelle mani ⁶burne
Solo vêr me crudeli a sì gran torto". (198)

Wyatt's begins,

"Thou restful place, renewer of my smart:
The labours salve, encreasyng my sorow
The bodyes ease, and troubler of my heart
Quieter of minde, myne unquiet fo:
Forgetter of payne, remembrer of my wo:
The place of slepe wherein I do but wake:
Besprent with teares, my bed I thee forsake".

Petrarch's sonnet on the lady's hand is,

"O bella man che mi distringi 'l core
E 'n poco spazio la mia vita chiudi
Man ov' ogni arte e tutti loro studi
Poser Natura e 'l Ciel per ^farsi onore;
Di cinque perle oriental colore,
E sol nelle mie piaghe acerbi e crudi
Diti schietti, soavi; a tempo ignudi
Consente or voi, per arricchirmi, Amore.
Candido, leggriadretto e caro guanto
Che copria netto avorio e fresche rose;

Che vide al mondo mai sì dolci spoglie?

Così avess'io del bel velo altrettanto.

O incostanza dell' umane cose

Pur questo è furto; e vien ch' i' me ne spoglie". (166)

Wyatt's is,

"O goodly hand wherein doth stand

My heart distract in pain

Dear hand, alas! in little space

My life thou dost restrain.

O fingers slight departed right

So long, so small, so round!

Goodly begone and yet a bone

Most cruel in my wound.

With lilies white and roses bright

Doth strain thy colour fair

Nature did lend each finger's end

A pearl for to repair." (Aldine ed. p. 62)

Petrarch has several poems in which a dream of Laura is described, among them the sonnets beginning "Alma felice, che so-
(241)
vente torni" and "Deh qual pieta, qual angel fu si presto". (277)

Wyatt has only one,—

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"Unstable dream, accordyng to the place
Be stedfast ones, or els at least be true.
By tasted sweetenesse make me not to raw
The soden losse of thy false fained grace.
By good respect in such a dangerous case
Thou broughtest not her into these tossing seas,
But madest my sprite to live my care ten crease,
By body in tempest her delight timbrace.
The body dead, the sprite had his desire.
Painlesse was thone, the other in delight
Why then alas did it not kepe it right,
But thus return to leape in to the fire:
And where it was at wishe could not remayne
Such mockes of dreams do turne to deadly payne." (Arthur ed. p 35)

A notable lack in Wyatt's poems is the almost entire absence
of any description of the lady's ^{appearance}. Except in the one just quoted
(O goodly hand), there is complete silence as to the color of her
hair, the brightness of her eyes and all of those details which
Petrarch paints with fond care. On the other hand, considering
the small number of original poems in the collection, there is
not a little revelation of her ^{character} ~~personality~~.

As in Wyatt's poems so in Surrey's, the principal theme is a lover's sorrows, and it is expressed with the same comparisons to ice and flames, weeping fountains and cruel rocks.

No 4.

His complaints of unhappiness are largely of the changes of the passion,

"The slipper state I know, the sudden turns from wealth

The doubtful hope, the certain woe, the sure despair of health".

This is a line of thought common in the Canzoniere, ("Such wayward ways", *Arden ed. p. 6*)

The conflict of passion and reason never comes into his poetry. His frequent resolves to leave the lady of his poems, Geraldine, spring from impatience with the ways of womankind, not from any reviving asceticism. In this his work resembles some of the earlier poems of the Canzoniere.

Surrey's translations are similar to Wyatt's in being direct and simple. The accuracy with which he follows the original may be shown in a few quotations; "Love that liveth and reigneth in my thought", is a close translation of "Amor, che nel pensier mio vivo e regna";⁽¹⁰⁹⁾ so is a later line in the same poem, "Coward Love then to the hart apace taketh his flight", exactly like "Amor

paventoso fugge al core", and another "Swete is his death that takes his end by Love"; "Che bel fin fa chi ben amando more"; and in another sonnet ("I never saw my lady") we have similarly accurate phrases such as "So doth this cornet governe me", from "Si mi governa il velo"; and in the translation of "Ponmi ove 'l sol", the use of the same phrase at the beginning of each quatrain and of the sestet is carried out as in the original.

An example of the frequency with which Surrey uses Petrarchian language in an original poem is the first of his poems in "Tottel's Miscellany", "The sun hath twice brought forth the tender green". It begins in Petrarch's manner of numbering the years "since I have hid under my breast the harm". Line 10 "The frozen heart, that mine inflame hath made" arises from

"D'un bel, chiaro, polito e vive ghiaccio

Move la fiamma, che m'incende".

The phrase "My fresh green years" is the "La mia fiorita e verde etade"; "Time my hurt increaseth more and more", is the "D'anno in anno Mi rinfresca in qual di l'antiche piaghe"; the "At hand to melt, far off in flame to burn", is the "Da lunge me struggo, e da press' ardo"; "As one that hath the light in hate" is "C' hanno in odio il sole"; the "Me withdraw from every haunted place"

expresses the same as "Ogni abitato loco e nemico"; "To seek the place where I myself had lost" is evidently from "'L loco ov' io per dei mi stesso", and the "lace" in which he was "tangled" is the "laccio" (net) frequent in the Canzoniere; the figure of himself as a ship steering to port in the stars of her eyes, is found in "Come a forza di vente etc." of Canzon "Poi che per mio destino": the use of "suck" seems to be suggested by the Italian "sugge" as used in Son. 169 and 218; the "venomed shaft" of Love, is the "saette velenose" in Son. 62.

Elsewhere Surrey uses the favorite Petrarchian figures of the insect flying into the flame, "Like as the fly that see'th the flame, and thinks to play her in the fire"; the "weave a web of trust", uses the same figure as "tela novella".

"The flames doth quench by rage of fire

And running streams consume by rain".

comes directly from Son. 40

"Se mai foco per foco non si spense,

Ne fiume fu giammai secco per pioggia".

and the "Cupid did me whip and guide" of the same poem is, "Amor mi sprona in un tempo ed affrena". (145)

The sailor making port comes in the third stanza of ,

"Though I regarded not,

Or if I sought to saile
 Into the brittle port
 Where anker hold doth faile
 To such as do resort
 And leave the haven sure
 Where blows no blustering winde
 Nor fickelness in ure

So far forth as I finde." (*Arber ed. p. 25*)

Many others occur, notably in the poems "Since fortunes wrath,"
 "Give place ye lovers", "Oh happy dames", and "When youth had led
 me".

In one poem, "Each beast can choose", ^(*Arber. 218*) Surrey uses allegory
 in a manner very like certain Canzoniere poems. His vision of
 Geraldine as "a wolfe as white as whales bone" recalls Petrarch's
 vision of where Laura appears as "Una candida cerva". ⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ He uses
 the pathetic fallacy not at all, ^{but} his poems have, as do Petrarch's,
 a great deal of out door nature.

The other poems in the Miscellany are in much the same style
 as those of Wyatt and Surrey. There is a detailed comparison of
 a lady to the phoenix.

"Like the Phoenix a bride most rare in sight
 With golde and purple that nature hath drest:

Such she me semes in m whom I most delight,
 If I might speake for envy at the least.
 Nature I think first wrought her in despite
 Of rose and lillye that sommer bringeth first,
 In beauty sure exceedyng all the rest
 Under the bent of her brows justly pight:
 As polisht Diamonds or Saphires at the least
 Her glistryng lightes the darkenesse of the nighte". (arbr. p. 214)

The similitude of the stone worn by water appears.

"What harder is then stone, what more then water soft?

Yet with soft water drops, hard stones be persed softe". (arbr. 228)

The prevailing theme of the love poems is the unhappy state of a lover. This is shown in one sonnet in the Petrarchian manner of antithesis.

"Holding my peace alas how loud I crye

Pressed with hope and dread even both at ones

Strayned with death and yet I cannot dye.

Burning in flame, quaking for cold that grones,

Unto my hope with outen winges I flye.

Pressed with dispayre, that breaketh all my bones,

Walking as if I were and yet am not,

(arbr 208)
 the path of pensive thought" recalls Petrarch's "I vo pensando". (Canzone XVII)
 The poem "A kinde of coale", plays ^{(arbr 246) throughout} ~~altogether~~ with the conceit
 of fire and water.

The manner in which love began is invariably described with
 the figures that are used by Petrarch (compare sonnet 2)

"Cupid with his bow,
 Should shote his arrows from her eies, on me his might to show". (arbr 126)
 "Though mine eye into mine heart
 All sodenly I felt it glide.
 He shot his sharped fiery dart,
 So hard that yet under my side
 The head alas dothe still remaine". (arbr 145)

And so in the long poem beginning "When Cupide scaled first
 the fort". (arbr 172)

The figure of the sailor and the storm fills stanzas 11 and
 12 of the poem "In sekying rest unrest I find": (arbr 161) and the pathetic
 fallacy is marked in ^{the second and third} stanzas ~~2 and 3~~ of the same poem.

A description of a lady, done in the detailed method of the
 Renaissance occurs in the poem on the Phoenix; another ^{(arbr 214) (arbr 163)} descrip-
 tion of her uses expressions that are common in the Canzoniere.

"The virtue of her lively lokes excels the precious stone:

I wishe to have none other bokes to read or looke upon.

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In eche of her two cristall eyes smileth a naked boy". (Arthur 163)

"She may be well comparde unto the Phenix kinde

Whose like was never seen, or heard that any man can finde".
(ibid)

In another poem the author uses the story of Pygmalion and Galatea as a text for his praises of his lady. (Arthur, 131.)

The poetry of the ten years between Tottel's Miscellany and Turberville does not contain a great deal which could be called Petrarchian. One little stanza in Googe's "Sonettes" plays on the conceit of the fly and the flame ("Ous musynge as I sat"), He also speaks once or twice of the "fyled wordes" a phrase resembling the "polir con la mio lima" of son. 18 (Vergonando talor) and in one poem "The rushyng Ryvers" which has not a little of the pathetic fallacy", there is this description of a lady recalling some passages in the Canzoniere.

"My Ladyes heare of purest Golde

Her face of Crystall to the same

Her lippes of precious Rubyes molde

Her necke of Alabaster whyte,

x x x make her Hart of Wax alone

And not of Flynt and Marble stone".

Nor is there very much in Turberville that shows kinship to

the Italian. One poem ("Forcause I still") which "blames his tongue that failed to utter his sute in time of neede", is a translation with additions, of the Canzoniere sonnet (41) "Perch 'io t'abbia guardato"; while another "Whatso the Golden Sunne" is a development of the first stanza of the sestina,—

'A qualunque animale alberga in terra. xxx

Tempo da travagliare e quanto e l'giorno

Ma poi ch' il ciel accende le sue stelle

Qual torna a casa, e qual s'annida in selva

Per aver posa almeno infin all'alba". (Sestina I)

He has, too, a poem to his bed, resembling in theme the sonnet "O cameretta". (198)

His poems of unhappy love are sown with such figures as

"A fierie frost, a flame that frozen is with ise."

"For winde are scalding sighs an secret sobbings prest

Mixt with a cloude of stormie teares to to baive the Lovers
brest,

"Thus day and night y tost with churlish Gale

Of sighes in seas of surging brine I bide".

I consume my green and growing youth".

and many others common in the Canzoniere.

Taking into consideration his avowal that he is "Petrarcks Journeyman" Gascoigne has not a great deal that is genuinely Pe-

trarchian. A number of poems in his 'Flowers' are lovers' lamentations, using the conventional frost and fire and floods, but even these are carried to such an excess of exaggeration and are withal so wooden that the resemblance to the real⁴ monotonous grief of the Canzoniere is slight.

Occasional lines recall passages of Petrarch.

"When first I thee beheld in colours black and white" may be from

"Ma l'ora e 'l giorno ch' io le luci apersi

Nel bel nero e nel bianco" (Canzone 6) So,—

"I call to minde howe many loving layes,

Howe many Sonets and how many Songes,

I dyd devise within those happie dayes". is like,

"Mia benigna fortuna e 'l viver lieto

x x x e 'l dolce stile

Che solea risonar inversi e'n rime". (Sestina TX)

And, in all, the Petrarchianism of Gascoigne is rather made up of such patched on pieces than of any pervading likeness to the spirit or to the style of the Canzoniere. In both Gascoigne and Turbervile the thought is of the earth earthy. There is nothing to recall the high ideals of Petrarch or to compare with his refinement of moral tone. The themes are trivial and the

manner in which they are handled is one of unnaturalness and exaggeration.

The same kind of Petrarchian coloring as that in Gascoigne and Turberville pervades the Miscellanies of their time. There is less of it in the "Paradise of Dainty Devices," which contains only a few love poems, than in the "Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions." One by Lord Vaux in the former begins

"When I look backe and in myself behold

The wandering wayes that youth could not descry".

which is like Son. 257, "Quand 'io mi volgo indietro a mirar gli anni", but he does not carry the translation further.

There is one poem in the "Gorgeous Gallery", of which the first three stanzas are a translation from "Si e debile il filo" (*Canzone III*) Besides this the Miscellany is strewn with those figures and phrases which by this time had become almost conventional expressions, such as the fire and flood, the rivers of tears, the stony heart.

Most of Sidney's poems outside of the "Astrophel and Stella" are more classical than Petrarchian. Even the few which borrow Italian forms, as the three sestine in the "Arcadia," have rhetoric borrowed almost exclusively from the Greek and Latin. Shepherds,

nymphs and satyrs are frequent and the discourse even of lover's woes has an air of pleasant unreality. Sometimes the elaborated conceits suggest a Petrarchian origin, as

"My earthly mould doth melt in waterie teares

And they again resolve

To aire of sighes, sighes to the hart's fire turne

Which doth to ashes burne.

Thus doth my life within itself dissolve,"

and a number in the poem describing Philoclea:

But even here these resemblances are few and as a whole they fail to touch the reader with the sense of living emotion which the Canzoniere even in its most fantastic passages seldom fails to do.

In Sidney's sequence the classicism is not so predominant, and there is more Petrarchian coloring, but the resemblance to the Canzoniere is less in language than in thought: Some of the Canzoniere phrases, so prevalent in the poems of Sidney's predecessors, occur rarely here. There is almost none of the ice and fire contrast, and floods of tears are rare. The little god of love, however, is constantly present, and shoots his arrows from ambush in the lady's eyes, or spurs and reins his restless horse, or tangles his victim in a net, as he does in the Canzoniere. Perhaps

the reason for this is that the marked feature of Sidney's style is personification. Almost every emotion and attribute is personified. Some few of these find parallels in Petrarch's poems: as Desire and Reason, Fortune, Nature and the omnipresent Cupid. But Petrarch personifies very little except Amor and, in the sonnets after Laura's death, La Morte.

It is this constant use ^{of personification} that gives Sidney's sonnets a dramatic glamour. The embodied emotions step forth as actors on a stage and speak their parts. Reason pleads, and Love commands, and Hope flatters. Dialogue is not unknown in the Canzoniere and sometimes few sonnets are wholly dialogue, but the speakers are not definitely characterized. In sonnets 117 and 232 the Italian poet commune with his soul, and in 204 with ^{his} ~~his~~ cor vago, and in 63 with his eyes, but in none of these is the object addressed given human attributes other than a voice, whereas in Sidney personification is carried to a high degree.

It is in Sidney's descriptions of Stella that the most Petrarchian language is used. Her beauty seems to have been very similar to Laura's. Each possessed, if we may trust the poets, golden hair, "starry" eyes, and a fair rosy skin, with a graceful carriage and a sweet voice. In one sonnet of Sidney's on this subject the description is taken from the Canzoniere.

Petrarch's is an account of "that fair prison whence she now is free (Nella bella prigione, ond' or è sciolta) in the canzone "Tacer non posso" of the In Morte poems,-

'Muri eran d'alabastro e tetto d'oro,
D'avorio uscio, e fenestre di zaffiro,
Onde'l primo sospiro
Mi giunse al cor." (*Canzone IV*)

In Sidney's ^{from} the figure is carried farther, and for the fenestre di zaffiro are substituted windows of touch, a kind of black granite, because Stella's eyes were black.

'Queen Vertue's Court which some call Stellas face
Prepared by Nature's choisest furniture,
Hath his front built of alabaster pure;
Gold is the covering of that stately place.
The door by which sometimes comes forth her grace,
Red porphir is, which locke of pearl makes sure
Whose porches rich which name of cheeks endure
Marble mixt red and white do enterlace.
The windows now through which this heavenly guest
Looks over the world and can find nothing such,
Which dare claime from those lights the name of best
Of touch they are that without touch doth touch,
Which Cupid's selfe from Beauties mine did draw

Of touch 'they are, and poor I am their straw." (TX)

'Wanton winds . . . in her golden hair

They did themselves (Osweetest prison) twine," (CIII)

recalls to the reader of the Canzoniere Sonnet 103,-

'Erano i capei d'oro a l'aura sparsi

Che'n mille dolci nodi gli avvolgea

and the trio of sonnets on the same subjects.

Stella's

Her hair is also Cupid's "day-nets" as Laura's is "lacci."

"Those two starres in Stella's face are paralleled often in the descriptions of Laura, as "gli occhi eran due stelle"⁽¹²⁴⁾ and

"l'una e l'altra stella,"⁽²⁵⁸⁾ "le mie due stelle fide"⁽¹²⁷⁾ And so,

"Those beamy eyes like morning sun on snow" is parallel to "il bel guardo ch'un sole fia sopra 'l ghiaccio."^(viii) And "her eyes . . the

two only darts of Love,"

"L'arme tue furon gli occhi onde l'accessò saette uscivan."^(Canzone 4)

Stella's "ivorie rubies pearle and gold" resemble Laura's

"L'oro e le perle, e i fior vermigli e i bianchi,"⁽³⁸⁾ and "that sweet

black which veils the heavenly eye" is,-

"quel raggio altero

Del bel dolce soave bianco e nero,"

and "her voyce the angels lay" is "l'angelico canto"⁽¹⁰³⁾, again, "la voce angelica soave."^(Ballata V)

So, too, Stella is "my sunne" as Laura is "^mMio Sol." (2143)

These are but a few of the many which might be cited. But it should be remarked that though Sidney details her personal beauty in a Petrarchian way yet he never describes her dress. He has none of those gay-hued Renaissance pictures which Petrarch paints.

Certain similes used by Petrarch in an amplified way are found in the "Astrophel and Stella" but compressed into brief metaphors, as "Lo mio voler

Arde, e more, e riprende i nervi suoi,

E vive poi con la fenice a prova;"

becomes "Yet shall I die in Phoenix fire." And the whole sonnet in which attributes to Laura the beauty and rare gifts of this same fabulous bird resolves into "Phoenix Stella."

The fly-in-the-flame simile is not so condensed,—

"To greater woes by presence I return

Even as the fly which to the flame doth go

Pleased with the light that his small corse doth burn."

The storm-tossed ship of Sestina IV, "Che e fermati, and Sonnet 156, "Pa^ssa la nava", becomes

"These tempests of vaine love to flie

And anchor fast my selfe on Vertues shore,"

A few other likenesses must be noted, the "freddo foce"⁽¹¹⁵⁾ and

Chapter I.

Perhaps the first conviction that forces itself upon the student of the sonnet structure is that, so delicately perfected and elaborate (a form) can have resulted only from a somewhat long and involved process of evolution. It is too intricate to have sprung full-grown from the brain of one poet. Yet there is not a great disparity between ^{and} the earliest specimens which we have and (the sonnets of Petrarch.) The limitation to fourteen lines, the hendecasyllabic meter, the division into octave and sestet, the fundamental laws of the rime-scheme are accepted restrictions in the most primitive of extant sonnets. Therefore we are compelled to believe that the earliest efforts in the art have been lost, a loss which seems not only probable but almost unavoidable when the circumstances surrounding the earliest sonneteering are considered.

There are two credible theories of the origin of the sonnet form. There is scarcely a doubt that the sonnet's birthplace was Sicily. The first is that it developed from the strophe of the canzone; the second, that it sprang from the folk poetry of Sicily and Italian poets. In the latter half of the twelfth and the first half of the thirteenth centuries, under the rule of the Suabian emperors, the common basis upon which these theories rest is that the earliest extant sonnets are of the thirteenth century and are there flourished at Palermo a school of poetry of much contemporary fame and importance. It was composed chiefly of Provençal the mainland.

2

troubadours who had been attracted ^{thither} there by the culture and brilli-
ancy of the emperor and his court.³ Frederick himself, his son
Enzio and his chancellor Pier delle Vigne were poets, if we are to
trust the evidence of certain sonnets which are attributed to them.
The content of the poetry of these courtly singers was entirely
that of the Provençal + chivalrous love with its fantasies and
artificialities. The language, however, was Italian,⁵ and the met-
rical forms show several radical innovations upon the Provençal
models of the troubadours, such as the octave stanza, the terza
rima and the sonnet, forms destined to be of utmost importance in
Italian literature. (Symonds' Ital. Lit. Vol. I. p. 23)

But it is probable that these forms did not originate with
the court since they are very unlike Provençal forms. Alongside
of the aristocratic school there existed a poetry of the people, which,
although little authentic production of it has come down to us,⁶
yet was probably vigorous and well-developed. Hence it seems
likely that to the popular, rather than to the court poetry, we
owe these new forms, and that the court poetry exerted a refining
influence over the popular poetry and at the same time received
hints of new forms from the spontaneous improvisations of the
people.

Although there exists among such Sicilian sonnets as we have,

The second theory arises ^{primarily} from the fact that ~~all~~ Italian lyric poetry before the fourteenth century was ~~was~~ ^{termed} ~~called~~ Sicilian. Dante (*De Eloquentia Volgari*, Book I, ch. XII)

The second theory arises from the predominance of Sicilian ^{poets} over others in the earliest school of Italian lyric poetry. This school, which comprises the work done in the manner of Provençal poetry was termed Sicilian, as Dante witnesses in his treatise, *De Volgari Eloquentia*, (Book I, ch. 12). It is probable that this school originally centered in Palermo at the court of the Emperor Frederick II (1194-1250), and that many poets from the mainland and from Provence were drawn there by the fame of the emperor's culture and generosity. Sonnets are extant which are traditionally attributed to the emperor, to his son Enzo and to his chancellor Pier delle Vigne. The supporters of this theory rest also on the generally accepted belief that a school of popular poetry existed also at that time in Sicily. It is to these songs of the people rather than to the artificial poetry of the court that the inception of the sonnet is attributed.

2⁶

The weight of critical authority is with the theory
~~Another theory, which is less easily put aside, is that the~~
~~sonnet was originally a canzone strophe.~~²³ The canzone was known

²⁴ in Provence and northern France[?] as a form for amatory lyrics.

It appeared early in Italy also, and was perhaps indigenous there.

It was composed of several similar stanzas with a short final one

which was known in Italian as comiato, congedo, licenza, chiusa

or ritornello.^(Boscham. 57) In the hands of Italian poets the strophe became extended and more complicate, tending to divide itself into three parts, two of which were of like structure and the third differ-

²⁵ ent. Also, the repetition of the same rimes in each stanza, which the French observed, was not customary in Italy. Upon these two

characteristics, the three-fold division and the new rimes with the change of strophe, the theory is based, the assumption being that the two like parts became the two quatrains of the octave and the third part developed into the sestet. The new rimes serve merely to render the separation of the strophes possible.

The chief argument against this theory, is that the early sonnets do not show such a triplicate division. The octave is ^{apparently} ~~clearly~~ composed of four pairs instead of two quatrains. Besides this, the customary meter of the canzone line was not hendecasyllabic but octosyllabic;²⁶ and still further,²⁷ the canzone form was considered a stately and dignified form suitable for elevated themes, while the sonnet was deemed plebian.²⁸

The second theory is supported of more recent origin and is supported especially by those who have made investigations into the folksongs of the peasantry.

now, none that is a specimen of purely popular poetry, yet the theory that the form sprang from native Sicilian song is the most tenable one that has yet been offered. ⁸ ~~The second theory~~ ⁹ ~~It~~ is, briefly, as follows.

^(Cesareo. 396)
~~The Sicilian people at that time possessed, and still possess,~~

^{There were in popular poetry}
~~ess,~~ two lyric forms which are removed only a step from the sonnet. These are known as strambotti; one, the ottava strambottesca having eight lines alternately rimed on two rimes (abababab); ⁹ the

other, six lines similarly rimed (cdcdcd) being the sestina strambottesca. ¹⁰ ~~It is supposed that~~ ¹¹ ~~These two~~ ^{were} are joined in the order just given, the

result ^{being} is a well-known sonnet form, the one most used by the first important sonneteer, Jacopo da Lentino, a Sicilian; the favorite form of the so-called "father of the sonnet" Fra Guittone d'Arezzo; and a form often used by the later and greater masters including Dante and Petrarch.

^{support to this theory}
Additional ~~proof of the origin of the sonnet~~ is furnished by

the meter and the subject matter of the strambotti. The former ^{almost invariably} ~~usually~~ ¹² ~~was invariably, in Sicilian strambotti,~~ the hendecasyllabic, the meter in which the earliest extant sonnets were written and which

has been the accepted sonnet meter in all Italian literature ¹³ ~~(Cesareo. p. 398)~~

The subject matter was love, that which was the content of the earliest as well as of later sonnets ¹⁴ ~~(Cesareo p. 397)~~

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Still further ^{support} ~~proof~~ is produced by a study of the line arrangement of sonnets in early manuscripts, which show that the octave was regarded as a composition of four pairs instead of two ¹⁵ quatrains as we now divide it. ¹⁶ This makes the early sonnet-octave more closely akin to the ottava strambottesca which is formed of pairs, ~~couplets~~. The fact that the term piedi was applied to the pairs of the strambotti, even sometimes to the separate lines of ¹⁷ it, is another piece of evidence, since the earliest commentators on the sonnet used the term in the same way for its two line ¹⁸ divisions.

The principle difficulty in the way of accepting this theory is the fact that, even in the earliest sonnets, the sestet divides into two tercets instead of three pairs, as its rime scheme (cdcdcd) would indicate. The only explanation for this is to assume that one of the early and lost steps in the evolution of the form was to relieve the monotony of the seven successive pairs by breaking up those of the latter part into two sets of threes. This is a ^{not un} ~~very~~ likely step since another attempt to compass the same end was the early introduction of a third rime into the sestet. The octave, too, went through an analogous change later when its four pairs became two quatrains.

3-

In both of these theories the sonnet is considered a native of Italy, but the question of what part of Italy brings various answers, ^{the choice lying chiefly between Tuscany} ~~the claims of Sicily are~~ and Sicily, ~~apparently stronger.~~ ~~It is known that~~

The earliest Italian poetry, the work done ^{in the thirteenth century} in the manner of Provençal lyrics, is termed Sicilian, as Dante witnesses in his treatise on the Italian language, *De Vulgari Eloquentia* (Book I. ch. 12). ~~This is the school comprises all of the~~ ~~The work of this school is comprised in the thirteenth century and~~ ~~probably it was.~~ This school centered originally in Palermo at the Court of Frederick II (1194-1250) whether it is probable that many poets from the mainland and from Provence were drawn by the fame of the emperor's culture and generosity. Among the earliest of extant sonnets are some which are traditionally attributed to Frederick, to his son Enzo, and to his Chancellor Pier delle Vigne. If the sonnet developed from a canzone stanza it might well have originated ~~here~~ ^{among} the Sicilian court poets.

If the sonnet came from the strambotto the question of locality becomes more difficult since the early history of popular poetry is more obscure. But in this the claims of Sicily are again strong since it is undoubted that a popular poetry existed contemporaneously with the aulic school. One of the earliest ^{of Italian} forms, in the remarkable tenzone of Cielo dal Carmo, is an example of Sicilian folk song. But it is probably that the strambotto was known on the mainland about as well as in Sicily in very early times, and the fact remains, ~~the~~ unexplained that this early poetry of Sicily, as it has come down, is in a language curiously Tuscanized.

A mistake has been made by many seekers into the origin of the form by assuming that the history of the name was the history of the form. Even in the very beginnings of the sonnet we find the name given to different forms as, for example, the Canzone of Rinaldo di Aquino (c.1250) which begins "Giammai non mi conforto" calls itself "un sonetto". Such misapplication of the name continued through Italian literature,¹⁹ was frequent in the Elizabethan and is not unknown in the poetical nomenclature of to-day. This is due, probably, to the obvious derivation of the word from the Latin sonus. Probably the Provençal "sonet" was a generic term and had a meaning which was about equivalent to our word "song".^(Biadeneh. 20) The tendency to confine the word to the specific form of fourteen five-stressed lines has met from the first with a natural but blind resistance. So, too, the form itself appeared under other names, as in some old manuscripts it is called mottetto and rispecto.²⁰

Probably it is from the philological method of research that the theory of the Provençal origin of the sonnet arises since the words sonet and sonnette appear in that language.²¹ Further the theory has color of probability from the known influence of the Provençal literature upon the Sicilian^{school}. But since there has been

as yet nothing of Provençal poetry shown that even distantly approximates the sonnet in structure we can hardly accept the theory as adequately supported.

Even less adequate is the evidence offered to prove the Arabic origin of the form. Beyond the fact that the Saracens occupied Sicily a century before the Suabian dynasty began, there is ^{little} ~~nothing~~ but the emperor Frederick's interest in the scientific knowledge and social customs of the Arabians. These are sufficient to show only a ~~remote possibility~~.

22 The only Sicilian sonneteer of whom we have enough poetry to warrant drawing conclusions about his characteristics is Jacopo (or Giacomo) da Lentino²⁹, generally spoken of as "il Notaro", to whom twenty-five sonnets, besides other poems, are attributed. Cesareo^(p. 289) finds in these evidences of three stages of development, beginning with popular ~~bourgeois~~ poetry, followed by attempts at the courtly style, and ending with work similar to the later poesia dottrinale. If this is true, the Notary is an example of the interplay of influences of the ^{aulic} ~~antique~~ and the popular poetry. His

sonnet form is what we may call the primitive or strambottesca type, except that in fourteen of the twenty-five he has introduced a third rime in the sestet, giving the arrangement, cdecde. It may be that he was the father of this innovation on the primitive structure.

It is necessary to consider at this point the content of the poetry of the ^{Provençal} ~~troubadeurs~~ and the Sicilian ^{schools} ~~court~~. Its theme was love which was expressed through a certain fixed set of conceptions and conceits which were looked upon as common property and as the only suitable material for poetry. There were two persons treated, Madonna and her lover Messere. She was the embodiment of all perfections,³⁰ a conventional ideal, usually described as the flower of womankind,³¹ the mirror of beauty, the morning star,³² as more splendid than precious stones,³³ yet cold, pitiless, immovable to her lover,³⁴ who served her in accordance with the code of chivalry, ~~and the laws of the Courts of Love~~. A man who did not so love was held to be without true valor.³⁵ Love was "di due voleri voglienza"; it drove all sin out of the heart in which it dwelt.³⁶ Service was the keynote of this love,³⁷ and the reward of such arduous devotion was found in the conviction that such a state of servitude was the only right one for a true knight.³⁸ Love inspired

all good things.

The poet's subjects, aside from the praise of the lady, were the supplication for mercy,³⁹ boasts of his love and service,⁴⁰ accounts of his unhappy state,⁴¹ questions as to how Love, which was almost always personified, began and where it dwelt.⁴²

~~From Sicily the sonnet and other lyric forms soon came into the mainland, more especially into Tuscany. At the head of a new school which included most of the Tuscan cities was Guittone d'Arezzo, (1230 ?) -- 1294) who has been called "the Columbus of the sonnet". His sonnets, which number in all more than two hundred, fall into two classes, those on love and those on religion.⁴³ It is thought that the second class was composed later in his life, since in them he takes occasion to bewail the time spent in the idle effusions of love. This would coincide with the development in his use of the sonnet form since in the first class he uses the strambottesca arrangement and in the second adopts the innovation of a third rime in the sestet.⁴⁴ Guittone's connection with Provençal poetry was not only through the Sicilian but he was also directly in touch with contemporary troubadours.⁴⁵ But Fra Guittone did not possess the true spirit of the troubadour. He was by nature a keen reasoner rather than a ~~fervent~~^{floury} poet, hence~~

his sonnets are cold arguments and treatises. His style is crude and ungraceful yet it is not without energy and individuality.⁴⁶

He was undoubtedly much esteemed as a poet by his contemporaries and his influence was widespread.⁴⁷

~~Forward the latter part of~~
~~About the middle of the 13th century there were a number of~~
~~about the middle of~~
 attempts to alter and elaborate the structure of the sonnet. A significant one was that of Monte Andrea who added two lines to the octave, thus making it to consist of ten lines or five pairs, and so showing his belief that the octave was made up of pairs not quatrains. This new form (ab, ab, ab, ab, ab, cde, cde) was not accepted generally by other sonneteers. A more intricate reconstruction was the sonetto doppio or sonetto rinterzato which it is supposed Guittone invented. It consisted in the normal form, ^{with} of short lines inserted at regular intervals, these lines being seven syllabled in length and using the rimes of the longer lines.⁴⁸ Several other attempts were made to introduce shorter lines for the sonnet, the sonetto minore in which all lines were shorter than the hendecasyllabic, and the sonetto comune in which part were shorter, are examples of this tendency.

The most important and most permanent of these innovations was the sonetto ritornellato, or sonetto caudato as it was later known.⁴⁹ It was a regular sonnet with a coda, or tail of from one

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to six lines appended; an addition which corresponded to the com-
miato of the canzone or the envoy of the French ballade.

Another kind of artifice which became popular with sonnet-
eers was change of the customary arrangement of the rimes. This
took various forms, as when it touched the rime schemes and pro-
duced the sonetto continuo in which the rimes of the octave were
continued in the sestet (abbaabbaababab) or are all alike (aaaa
aaaa,aaaaaa) or are otherwise more limited in number than the
normal sonnet; another result was the rimalmezzo^{so} or intermediary
rime, which is, in moderation, not unpleasant, but was carried to
fantastic extremes. It consisted in the riming of words in the
midst of the lines either with the end rimes or, in some regular
manner among themselves. It was of common occurrence in Provencal
poetry.

The normal rime in the Italian language is the parassitona,
or piana, that is, a word which has the stress on the penultimate
syllable. The sdrucchiola rime, in which the stress is on the
antepenultimate, and the tronca, which is of one syllable, are
uncommon and difficult, therefore a continual use of them by a
poet is obviously an artifice. A parallel artifice is the caras
rimas of the Provencal. The true sdrucchiola rime does not occur

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extensively but the tronca rime was more used and examples of it are found in the fourteenth century whereas the former ended with the thirteenth.

Another conceit of rimes, one which never wholly died out in Italian and which flourished in Elizabethan sonnets, was the similar rime in its two variations of assonant and consonant (asson^{an}za and ⁵¹consonanza). Assonant rimes were alike in their consonant sounds but unlike in their vowel sounds, or, at least, in the those of a certain syllable; while consonant rimes reversed this and were alike only in their vowel sounds.

Still another and a very persistent artifice or giochetto was the rime equivoche in which the words were identical in sound but diverse in meaning, that is to say, puns. And equally persistent was the replicazione, a use of the same word or root in as many as possible forms and meanings. Both of these are so noticeable in Petrarch and the Elizabethans that a more extended account of them will be given later.

An end was put to most of these contortions of the sonnet by the introduction of a new subject matter or rather a revivification of the old primary theme of love, ~~in a new aspect~~. Love became as it were, a handmaid for the religious philosophy of the

Middle Ages. The conventional allegory of Sicilian poetry was retained but it was used to express a new feeling, a love that was mystical, intense and wholly of the spirit. The "donna" of the ^{troubadours} ~~trouvires~~ was served faithfully and humbly as a feudal lady by her vassals, but the "madonna" of this new school was adored with the spiritual fervour which devout christians gave to the Virgin Mary. The strong religious instincts of the Italians and their minds trained in the scholastic philosophy found here a new outlet, and Italian lyrics became for the first time truly national and representative, in that they embodied dominant characteristics of the Italian people.

The first poet of this "dolce stil nuovo" was Guido Guinicelli, a learned jurist of the university of Bologna.⁵² His canzone "Of the Gentle Heart", (Al cor gentil) is the first poem.⁵³ In this, while keeping to the old conventions of personified Amor, of the fire of Love, of water and fire, of the precious jewel similes, there is a new spirit evident, the lady is the medium through which holiness finds way to the cor gentil of the lover. The poetic style of Guinicelli is more musical and finished than that of earlier poets. He developed the canzone form almost to its full but he had no effect on the form of the sonnet, which he

used a great deal, beyond the general one of refinement of its language and rhythm.

But it was in Florence that this new philosophic lyric found its home : and the next great expounder of it was Guido Cavalcanti whose canzone, "Donna mi prega", is perhaps the best representative of it because it contains most of the logical apparatus of scholasticism. It is an answer to his lady who asks the old question of the Provençals, whence came and what is love. Among the others who essayed this manner were Lapo Gianni, Lupo degli Uberti, Gianni Afani, Dino Frescobaldi and Loffo Bonaguidi?

The apotheosis of the dolce stil nuovo is found in Dante's "Vita Nuova" where the emotion is exalted to a purely spiritual passion, rhapsodic in its intensity yet not unreal. The poet used, even more than his predecessors, the mysticism and symbolism of mediaeval philosophy, but the work cannot be considered a mere production of the intellect for the note of genuine feeling is ~~per~~ powerful; nor does the use of symbolism render it heavy and unpoetic. The book is composed of twentyfive sonnets and six other lyrics, set in a prose commentary and narrative. The sonnet forms which Dante uses are noteworthy, not because they are novelties, but because Dante was a poet not only of supreme poetic pow-

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er but of exceptional command of the technique of his art and therefore the forms which he has used bear a certain hall mark of authoritative approval. He has preferred for the octave rime scheme the rima chiusa or grouped rimes (abbaabba) but he has not discarded the more primitive rima alternata (abababab). In the sestet he preferred the use of three rimes. Besides these regular sonnets there are two sonetti doppi in the "Vita Nuova," which may be considered links connecting Dante with the sonneteers of Guittone's time.⁵⁴

Although the leading poets among Dante's contemporaries were devoting their energies principally to this exalted and philosophic lyric yet another and very different kind of poetry, the direct realistic lyric, was cultivated. Sometimes the philosophic poets turned to it, as Cavalcanti in his ballata beginning "In un boschetto trovai"; and Dante in his four canzoni della pietra; but there were also a number of poets who used it almost exclusively, such as Folgore da San Gemignano and Cecca Angiolieri. The sonnet was the chief form in which this school wrote. Folgore da San Gemignano drew detailed pictures of the pleasures of the fraternities (brigade) of young noblemen, in his two corone of sonnets, one on the appropriate avocations for each month, the other on

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(Russelli pp. 289-298)

those for each week day. Cecco Angiolieri wrote coarse and virulent sonnets on themes of low life in Florence (Russelli 130-141)

The connecting link between Dante and Petrarch was the poet Cino da Pistoia, who exchanged sonnets and letters with the elder poet concerning his love for Beatrice and was praised by him in his Latin treatise on poetry, De Eloquentia Vulgari,^(Book I. Chapter 8) and who later in life was the friend and poetical guide of young Petrarch who mourned his death in the sonnet "Piangete donne e con voi pianga Amore". Cino was the last of the poets of the dolce stil nuovo. The intrinsic value of his poetry is not great. The subject matter is weak and conventional but the language is pure and refined though marred by use of conceits especially excessive personification. Gaspari^(p. 402) considers him the prototype of Marino the poet of three centuries later whose name has furnished the epithet for over-elaborated rhetoric.

Cino's use of the sonnet-form shows the stage of development which the form had attained when it came into the hands of Petrarch. The rima chiusa arrangement of the octave is practically established, as he uses it in 131 of his 169 sonnets; yet he does not ignore the earlier rima alternata since it appears in 30 sonnets; his third octave scheme, ababbaba, which he uses six times,

seems to be an invention of his own for no traces of it have been discovered in earlier sonnets though it occurs in later ones, as in Petrarch I.202, and it is common among the Elizabethans. His sestet schemes are many and loose, though a decided preference is shown for the simple strambottesca type, cdcdcd, which is used 73 times; the remaining 96 sonnets show 17 different schemes none of which use more than three rimes. Among his various arrangements for three rimes he has hit upon one which is the only example I have found of anything which could be considered as akin to the couplet ending of the Elizabethan sonnet.⁵⁵ This arrangement is ccdde⁵⁶ee, and, as may be seen, fulfills the technical requirement of the English couplet ending, that is, the last two lines employ a rime which has not been used earlier in the sonnet; but since Cino has used the scheme but once, since he has almost every possible arrangement of three sestet rimes, since the preceding rimes are paired, not alternated as is usual in the English sonnet (e.g., cdcddee) and since the divisions of the subject matter in the sestet do not in any way correspond to the rime scheme,⁵⁷ we are justified in considering it a sporadic case and, in all probability, not at all a source of the English couplet.

Several of the artifices of form used by the Guittonian sonneteers are found in Cino's works; he has the sonetto doppio, the

(p. 162)

sonnet of lines unequal in length (^{l. 150}~~comune~~), the sonetti caudati (^{11.173.406})
the sonetti continui in which the rimes of the octave reappear in
(385; 8, 329, 413, 123, 133, 146, 162) (342, 414) (20, 199, 415)
the sestet, the intermediary rimes, assonance, punning on the name
of the lady, (8, 16, 262, 352)

The place of Petrarch in the development of Italian sonnet-poetry is so important that it is difficult to define it concisely. He at once summed up and embodied what had been done before and at the same time began a great and wholly new species of poetry, the poetry of il mondo interiore. He has been called, on account of his leadership in the revival of learning, the "first of the moderns"; this epithet is equally true when he is considered as a poet for he was the first of those poets whom we term subjective. The drama of the inner life was the source of his poetical material. The objective world was of use only so far and in such manner as it affected his inner life. He perceived all things through a veil of egoism. Out of this attitude of mind came certain other new traits in poetic thought. One was his use of physical nature. Nature became to him a partaker of his moods. He projected his own feelings into the landscape, a method of using Nature which is now known by Ruskin's name for it, "the pathetic fallacy" (^{Symonds IV. 96}). Another outgrowth of his egoism was the struggle between feeling and reason, a theme which became almost

universal in subsequent love poetry.

The leading facts of his life may be briefly stated. He was born at Arezzo, though of Florentine parents, on July 19, 1304 thus his birth preceded the death of Dante by seventeen years. His youth was passed in various places, ^I Ancisa, Pisa, Avignon; his exceptional fondness while a child for the classics is noteworthy. He studied at the universities of Montpellier and Bologna in which latter place it is probable that he became acquainted with Cino da Pistoia. In 1326 he settled at Avignon, then the seat of the brilliant and corrupt papal court, and there he entered the church. The next year he saw for the first time the lady Laura of the Canzoniere. From that date onward until his death in 1374 his life ran in two distinct streams; one, his outer life, was perhaps the most steadily prosperous and honor-laden of any poet of either ancient or modern times. He formed friendships with powerful nobles of his own and of other countries, was fêted by cardinals, popes and emperors, travelled on important embassies to Germany and Paris, withdrew sometimes from the splendors of court life to the idyllic seclusion of Vaucluse, where he enjoyed a life of scholarly retirement; his fame as a poet and as a scholar was widespread; in 1341 he was called to

Rome by the Senate and there on the Capitoline hill in the midst of great celebration was crowned with a laurel wreath in honor of his poetry; a similar honor was offered him by the university of Paris; scholars from many places came to consult him and admirers thronged about him; he collected a library of valuable works which he left at his death in 1374 to Venice. Such was his outer life for a half century, while his inner life, as shown in his lyric poetry and somewhat in his letters, was flowing through a separate world, the world of passions and thoughts created by his love for Laura.

His Italian lyric poetry forms a collection usually spoken of as the "Canzoniere". This contains 317 sonnets and 61 other lyrics. In the manuscripts and in the earliest editions these are arranged in unbroken and unnumbered succession; in later editions they are divided into two sections entitled In Vita di Madonna Laura and In Morte di Madonna Laura. There are a number of the poems which are not addressed to Laura and these have been placed by some editors of the present day in a third section.

A set of six poems in terza rima, known as I Trionfi; forms a kind of epilog to the Canzoniere and is usually appended to it. This, the last work of Petrarch, reverts considerably to the man-

ner of the Italian poets who immediately preceded him, being allegorical and learned, built upon a frame work of visions, but, because it reviews and completes the long history of the Canzoniere it forms the natural conclusion and necessarily must be considered in a study of Petrarch's poetical material.

The theme of this whole collection of poems is the poet's love for a lady whose name is given as Laura. This passion, which lasted throughout his life, if we are to believe his statements, began with a sight of her at the church of Santa Chiara in Avignon on April 6, 1327, when he was nearly twentythree years old. The material upon which his passion fed was of the slightest. A glimpse of Laura at her window, a solitary walk in her native Vaucluse, or the sight of a laural tree on the coast of the Tyrrhene sea, each supplied the motive for one or more sonnets. The music runs upon a very few themes, her beauty and coldness, his love unhappy but unextinguishable, the struggle between his reason and his love, and, in the latter part, her saintly spirit leading him to God. "Non ha 'l regno d'Amor si vario stile" he says in one canzone. The one really important event of this history was the death of Laura in 1348. It powerfully affected the currents of his inner existence so that the poems from that

time on are clearly distinguishable from those of the earlier years. They are, if possible, more subjective than the preceding ones and yet are more unreal, more nearly in the superhuman spirit of the Vita Nuova. Laura becomes a vision to him. He thinks of her as dwelling in beatitude among the angels but descending at times to comfort and encourage him. This is much more a revival of the attitude of the Middle Ages than it is a progression toward the manner of the Renaissance, hence it is easy to see why the poetry of this second period appealed less strongly than that of the first to the thoroughly Renaissance minds of the Elizabethan poets.

The Laura of the sonnets is not a very vividly delineated character. "She sits like a lovely model in the midst of a beautiful landscape, like one of our Burne-Jones's women, who incarnate a mood of feeling while they lack the fulness of personality" ^(Symonds, Vol. IV. 75) Yet her appearance is portrayed in detail. The golden hair (le trecce d'or), bright eyes (i begli occhi), fair complexion (le rose vermiglie infra la neve), beautiful arms (le braccia gentil) white hand (la bianco mano) are frequently described, as well as her sweet smile (dolce riso), graceful carriage (il divin portamento) and many other details. Symonds says that every feature is men-

tioned except the nose. Her dress too forms part of the description. It was green with violets when the poet first saw her (le violetta² l'verde), Another time it was a garment wrought with crimson and pearls and gold (Vedi quant' arte dora e'm perla e' mostra, L'abito). Her hair is sometimes loose to the wind (Erano i capei d'oro a l'aura sparsi) and again braided and adorned with pearls and gems (avvolte in perla e' in gemme).

The Canzoniere opens with a sonnet which must have been written later than some which are placed after it because it is an address to those who have read his complaints of unhappy love. The mood of this sonnet is one of renunciation. The succeeding sonnets are much lighter in tone and are marked by conceits. The manner of the Sicilian school is evident in them. Amor shoots his arrows from the lady's eyes into the defenseless lover's heart,^(2,3) again he is a cruel rider spurring and curbing the unhappy lover;⁽⁶⁾ other of these early sonnets contain celebrations of Laura's birth place,⁽⁴⁾ puns upon her name,⁽⁵⁾ addresses sent with presents, comparisons of himself to an aged pilgrim,⁽¹⁴⁾ to a blind man seeking light, to a moth dying in flame.⁽¹⁷⁾ In general the theme is one of complaint merely, though an exception is Son.¹² XII where in the manner of the dolce stil nuovo he avows that his love for her

is leading him to contemplate divine goodness. Son.¹⁸ XVIII is the first of a number of sonnets which touch upon the purpose of his poems to immortalize her. The first canzone is full of curious allegory. After this are a number of non-amatory poems, including addresses to other poets and pleas for a new crusade. ~~(XXIII)~~ Then the tone deepens into weariness and despair; he seeks solitude ⁽²⁸⁾ and prays for death; ^(26, 27) he learns that she is dangerously ill, ⁽²⁴⁾ he sees her in a dream in which she assures him that she will recover; with these are poems written at parting and in absence. Two lighter sonnets on Laura at her mirror are interposed in the current. ^(37, 38) The next break is at Son. 47 where he blesses the time and the place when he first saw her and every circumstance of their relationship, but this is immediately followed by the powerful burst of renunciation "Padre del ciel dopo i perduti giorni". In the succeeding poems he relapses into unhappiness with alternating resignation and rebellion. A trio of beautiful canzoni ^(18, 19, 20) to her eyes occur here. Several anniversary sonnets are scattered along so that the passing of the years may be reckoned; the fourteenth, ⁽³⁹⁾ fifteenth, ⁽⁸⁴⁾ sixteenth, ⁽⁹⁵⁾ and seventeenth, ⁽⁹⁷⁾ are so marked. Sonnet 90 is upon a view of Vancluse, ^(91, 94) and others have similar local allusions. Sonnets upon her beauty and charm are frequent in the

earlier half of the second hundred and the pervading tone of this section is happier although occasional "agony" sonnets occur.

Sonnets 166, 167 and 168 are upon the theme of a stolen glove.

At the turn of the second hundred we come upon sonnets of her illness again and a little later presages of her death; the last sonnets of this section are in praise of her virtue. ^(195, 197, 203) ^(205, 212, 213) ^(223, - 225)

With sonnet 228 the In Morte section begins. At first his grief is stiffly expressed, it seems as if he were numbed by the calamity. He converses with Amor upon the subject and meditates his own death. ⁽²³²⁾ Then he turns to thoughts of her in heaven and ⁽²³⁴⁾ upon this comes visions of her coming to console him. Mingled ^(241, 242, 296, 297, 298) with these are exquisite sonnets upon his loneliness. He reviews ^(238, 239, 240, 247, 253, 269, 270) past years and sees the wisdom of her virtuous conduct. ^(244, 249) The desire to immortalize her in his poetry grows upon him. ^(263, 266, 267, 268) In spite of his sorrow he has one consolation, that she understands him at last. ^(273, Canzone 43) But with these simple and sincere poems there is a reviving tendency to use allegory. ^(277, 280, Canzone 42, and 44) Forebodings of his own death are in sonnets 287, 288 and 309. Following these are anticipations ⁽³⁰²⁻³⁰⁵⁾ of meeting her in heaven. In such lyrics he approaches very near to the exalted mood of Dante. Canzone 48 is a triumphant eulogy of Laura. The final poem is a rapt invocation to the Virgin.

I Trionfi form, as has been said before, a kind of epilog to the Canzoniere. The first of the six parts, the Triumph of Love, narrates in allegory a vision of the coming of Amor who causes to appear before the poet all the famous lovers of antiquity; in the second part, the Triumph of Chastity, the apparitions are of Judith, Virginia, Lucretia and other noble examples of chaste women; in the third death appears and leads Laura away but she returns to the poet in a dream with counsel and consolation. The Triumph of Fame brings into the vision the spectres of innumerable great men of former times; the Triumph of Time portrays the Sun in his chariot who discourses to the poet upon the brevity of mortal glory; in the last, the Triumph of Eternity the poet stands awed, gazing into infinity, when a still, small voice bids him trust in the Almighty who will bring him purified and redeemed to meet Laura in the realms of the blest.

It will be evident from the foregoing analysis that there is a general progression and development of story in the poems considered as a whole but that the movement is not evenly graduated from sonnet to sonnet. The pervading tone is sad, even monotonously so, but it is rarely unreal. The changes in the cause of this sadness mark the advances in the narrative. At first his complaint is that she is unresponsive, then the weariness of the

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long struggle between love and reason is felt and with this are regrets for his wasted life, but these troubles are overshadowed by his grief at her death. This latter is a dignified and noble lament which almost removes from our memory the somewhat childish wailings of the earlier poems and justifies the enduring fame of the book.

I have given above an analysis of the sonnet form in the stage of its development which is marked by the work of Cino da Pistoia. This was the stage at which Petrarch took it up. Although he advanced it greatly his improvements were not in the line of fundamental alterations in its structure but took the form of renewed observances of the rules already established. He did not confine himself to one rime scheme but admitted certain variations. His sonnets may be classified according to three types.

(1) abbaabbacdecde

(2) abbaabbacdcdcd

(3) abbaabbacdcdce.

In the first class he has 117, of the second 104 and of the third 69. In addition he has 27 in other arrangements which for convenience I shall put into a fourth class and entitle "diverse".

It will be seen that all of the nearly three hundred that come under the three classes above given, have the octave framed on two rimes, which is one of the two distinguishing marks of the Italian sonnet as opposed to the English or Shakespearian. All of those in ^{the fourth} class 4 also conform to this regulation. But not all of these diverse ones follow those of the three other classes in arranging the octave rimes in the rima chiusa. He has ten sonnets which have rima alternata; and four others in the mixed styles which are found later in the Elizabethan work, - ababbaba, and ababbaab.

In the sestet, Petrarch allows more latitude, restrictions being that there must be either two or three rimes, and that the final two lines must not use a rime which has not been used elsewhere in the sestet. This latter restriction makes the second mark of distinction from the English form which always reserves a new rime for the closing couplet. Petrarch's preference was for three rather than for two rimes in the sestet, as is shown in Classes 1 and 3, whose order he followed whenever he used three except in Son. 72 which has cdeede, and in 74 which has cdedec. In all he used the three rime sestet 194 times. When he had only two rimes he usually ordered them in the rima alternata of Type 2. His other arrangements for two rimes are : cdccdc, of which he

has ten, cdddcc which he uses four times.⁶⁰

Thus it is shown that while the Italian sonnet in its beginning recognized only two divisions, the first the octave, the second the sestet, still in its maturity each of these was divided into two subordinate parts, in the octave the two quatrains or piedi, in the sestet the two tercets or volte. These divisions are marked not merely by the rime scheme but by the stages of thought development. This can be best shown, perhaps, by an analysis of the following example.

"Conobbi, quanto il Ciel gli occhi m'aperse,
Quanto studio ed Amor m'alzaron l'ali,
Cose nove e leggiadre, ma mortali
Che'n un soggetto ogni stella cospersse.

L'altre tante, si strane e si diverse
Forme altere, celesti ed immortali,
Perche non furo all'intelletto eguali,
La mia debile vista non sofferse.

Onde quant'io di lei parlai ne scrissi,
Ch'or per lodi anzi a Dio preghi mi rende,
Fu breve stilla d'infiniti abissi:

Che stilo oltra l'ingegno non si stende;
E per aver uom gli occhi nel Sol fissi,
Tanto si vede men quanto piu splende," (275)

Here each of the four parts is self-containing yet a part of the whole. The things of earth he could see clearly, (first quatrain of the octave, but things celestial dazzled his sight so he can sing of her in the measure of earth only (first tercet) for he, being mortal, is unable to behold the glory to which she is taken (second tercet).

These divisions were denoted in Italian editions after printing began by the indentation of every line except the first of each of the four sections, as in the one last quoted. There is no separation into ~~xxx~~ stanzas either in two as is often done in modern sonnets which are written in the Italian form, or in four, as is often done in sonnets framed on the English model. The unity of the poem was expressed by keeping it in one stanza, while its four steps were marked by this line arrangement.

Tottel, however, in printing the first sonnets in our language, did not keep to the Italian manner but set forth each poem unmarked by any indentation, as an indivisible whole.

An idea of the popularity of the Canzoniere after the death of its author may be gained from noting the number of editions published after printing began. In the catalog of the Bodleian library there is a list of forty dated earlier than 1600, beginning with the first (1470). Brunet's Manual Bibliographique increases this list to seventy-two. Besides these, at least twenty translations, mostly French and Spanish, appeared in the same period.

The history of the English sonnet begins¹ with the publication ^{on June 5,} in 1557 of the so-called "Tottel's Miscellany", more accurately "The Songs and Sonnettes written by the ryght honorable Lorde Henry Howard late Earle of Surrey and other. Apud Richardum Tottel, 1557. cum privilegio". This book contains, beside the forty poems known to be Howard's, ninety-six by Sir Thomas Wyatt, forty supposed to be by Nicholas Grimald and ninety-five by uncertain authors among whom it is known were Thomas Churchyard, Lord Vaux, Edward Somerset, John Heywood and Sir Francis Bryan, ^(ed. Arthur. Introd. II) Many of these authors were dead before the book was printed. It represents the poetical attempts of a group of versifiers, most of whom were courtiers to Henry VIII, so, in the social rank of the authors and in the effort to introduce the art of a foreign literature, the case is parallel to that of the Sicilian court school. ~~Pattenham says of them~~ in ^{his} "Arts of English Poesie" (1589) ^{attributed to Pattenham, the author says}

"In the latter end of the same kings" (Henry VIII) "raigne sprong up a new company of courtly makers, of whom Sir Thomas Wyat th' elder and Henry Earle of Surrey were the two chieftanes, who having travailed into Italie and there tasted the sweete and stately measures and stile of the Italian Poesie as novices newly crept out of the schooles of Dante Ariosto and Petrarch, they greatly pollished our rude and homely maner of vulgar Poesie,

from that it had bene before, and for that cause may iustly be
 sayd the first reformers of our English meetre and stile. x x x x
 Their concerts were loftie, their stiles stately, their convey-
 ance cleanelly, their terms proper, their meetre sweete and well
 proportioned, in all imitating very naturally and studiously their
 Maister Francis Petrarcha" (ed. Hazlewood. Chap. XXXI. pp 48-50)

Returning to the ^{Miscellany} ~~book itself~~ we find in the short prefatory
 address of the "Printer to the Reader" the author's point of view
 pithily expressed.

"That to have wel written in verse, yea in small parcelles,
 deserveth great praise, the workes of divers Latines Italians
 and other, doe prove sufficiently. That our tong is able in that
 kind to do as praise worthely as y^e rest, the honorable stile of
 the noble earle of Surrey and the weightinesse of the depe witted
 sir Thomas Wyat the elders verse, with severall graces in sondry
 good Englishe writers doe show abundantly. x x x If parhappes
 some mislike the statelinesse of stile removed from the rude skill
 of common eares, I aske help of the learned to defend their learn-
 ed frendes." (ed. Arthur. p. 2)

It is obvious from this that the intent of the Tottel's Mis-
 cellany poets was to write short poems in the manner of the melo-
 dious lyrics of the Latin races, and more especially modelled

upon those of the Italian; and a correlative purpose^{was} to prove the adaptability of the English language to subtler harmonies than it yet had sounded.

The leadership of this group is ascribed to Sir Thomas Wyatt, not on account of the excellence of his work, for Surrey is the better poet, but because of his seniority, of Surrey's epitaph on him which is the tribute of a pupil to a master and because of the journey which he made while a young man into Italy whence it is supposed he brought back an enthusiasm for Petrarch which he communicated to the other courtier poets of his time. ^(Simond's Wyatt. p. 18) He was considerably older than either Grimald or Surrey. ² His work ³ contains no direct mention of Petrarch or any Italian poet but it is remarkable for the number of translations from the "Canzoniere" which are scattered through it. Only twelve of his thirty two sonnets are original, and he has incorporated into his otherwise original poems many translated passages, as, for example, the first line of "The lively sparks that issue from those eyes", which comes from "Vive faville uscian de' duo bei lumi" (Son. 220). He has also a number of translations from other Italian poets. None of his translations bear any acknowledgement of their origin,

but are printed as originals in the first and in subsequent editions of Tottel's Miscellany.⁴

The second member of the Tottel Miscellany group, Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, is easily first in point of poetic skill. It is to him more than to all the others that we owe the new refinement of style and melody of meter, with which they began the chorus of Elizabethan poetry. His poems are much fewer in number than Wyatt's. Beside the forty in Tottel⁵ we have three collected from other sources, and some paraphrases of Ecclesiastes and Psalms, as well as his translation of the Aeneid, which was the first English blank verse. But the little body of lyrics, which alone concerns us here, contains four translations, and five poems which may be classed as close imitations,⁶ some of these latter being combinations of two or more of Petrarchs, ~~as for~~^{an} example^{of this is} the satire on London which is made up from three of Petrarch's sonnets.

^{Surrey} He has, however, woven more single lines and phrases into the texture of his own poems than did Wyatt. These together with a more evident appreciation of the peculiar graces of the Italian thought and expression, render his lyrics more conspicuously Petrarchian than those of his predecessor. Surrey, like Wyatt, makes no direct reference to Petrarch or to Laura.

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The third poet of the group, Nicholas Grimald or Grimoald, was of an Italian ^{descent but} ~~family and~~ spent his life as a scholar in Cambridge and Oxford. The latter fact rather than the former is evident in his poems, for there is much classical influence evident, ^{and} but little Italian. Nor is it known definitely what poems he did write, since of the forty that appeared under his name in first edition of Tottel, thirty were suppressed in the edition which followed in the next month. These thirty contain all that show traces of Petrarch, yet Grimald was no doubt connected with the new movement. Some critics think that he was the editor of this Miscellany, ^(Saintsbury, Eliz. Lit. p. 3) Assuming that he was, it is to him that we owe the polishing of Wyatt's verses, a labor skillfully performed as is shown by comparison with the Harington manuscript text. ^(Simonds p. 57) But unfortunately for the theory Grimald's own poems, accepting the whole forty as his, betray a lack of the sense of rhythm which makes it highly improbable that he could have improved the halting measures of another poet.

The ninety five poems by uncertain authors are interesting as the first appearance of a marked characteristic of Elizabethan literature, that is, the excellence of the verse of minor poets. The general manner of these poets is very similar to that of Wyatt and Surrey. Among them are two sonnets which express the

attitude of the group toward their Italian master, a lively sense of his greatness and their own weakness.

"A praise of Petrarke and of Laura his ladie.

O Petrarke hed and prince of poets all,
Whose lively gift of flowyng eloquence
Wel may we seke, but finde not how or whence
So rare a gift with the did rise and fall,
Peace to thy bones, and glory immortall
Be to thy name, and to her excellence.
Whose beauty in thy time and sence
So to be set forth as none other shall.
Why hath not our pens rimes so yfit wrought
Ne why our time forth bringeth beauty such
To trye our wittes as golde is by the touche,
If to the stile the matter aided ought.
But ther was never Laura more than one
And her had petrarke for his paragone.

That petrarke cannot be passed but notwithstanding that
Laura is far surpassed.

With petrarke to compare there may ne wight,
Nor yet attain unto so high a stile,

But yet I wote full well where is a file,
 To frame a learned man to praise aright:
 Of stature meane of semely forme and shap,
 Eche line of just proportion to her height:
 Her colour freshe and mingled with such sleight:
 As though the rose sate in the lilies lap.
 In wit and tong to show what may be sed,
 To every dede she joynes a parfet grace,
 If Laura livde she would her clene deface.
 For I dare say and lay my life to wed
 That Momus could not if he downe descended,
 Once justly say lo this may be amended." (ed. Arthur p. 178)

These sonnets, taken in connection with the fact that there is scarcely a mention of another poet anywhere in Tottels' Miscellany,⁷ testify to the importance of the Petrarchian influence on the writers of this group, and to their recognition of the influence. Further evidence of their knowledge of the Canzoniere is given by the translations from it which are among the poems of these anonymous singers. I have found three and it is likely that there are others which no one has yet identified with the originals.⁸

The numerous translations from Petrarch in Tottel's Miscellany are not all that were done at that time. A number of others are extant. In the sixteenth century manuscript of Sir John Harington, an Elizabethan poet, which was first published in 1779 and then given the title of Nugae Antiquae, there are four sonnets translated from the Canzoniere. The first of these is Wyatt's "I find no peace", but the others do not occur elsewhere so it is fair to assume that they are the work either of Sir John himself or, more probably, of his father, John Harington who was a contemporary of Wyatt and Surrey, and, like them, a member of the court of Henry VIII. Many poems of the collection belong doubtless to him and, since the style of these three is plainly that of ^{the} Tottel's Miscellany poetry, it is more than likely that these are his. They are,

- "Vengeance must fall" (No VI) - - - "Fiamma dal ciel" (No 105)
- "Spring of all woe" (No VII) - - - "Fontana di dolore" (No 107)
- "Playne ye mine eyes" (No VIII) - - ^{Gechi} "Oceti piangete" (No 63)

Another Petrarchian translation, probably by the same John Harington, is given in Campbell's volumes of English translations of Petrarch. The source of these is given merely as "Harington MS." It does not appear, however, in any edition of the Nugae Antiquae, nor among the Wyatt and Surrey poems found in a Harington MS,

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though Wyatt did a translation of the same poem. The Harington ^{form} form is, "I cited once ~~T~~'appear', (Campbell, p. 311) ^{from} 'Quell' anti-quo" (First 38 lines) Canz. VII, 48.

A short time previous to the publication of Tottel's collection,¹⁰ there had appeared in London "The tryumphes of Fraunces Petrarcke, translated out of Italian into English by Henry Parker Knyght, Lorde Morley." But, like the Tottel poems, it must have been done sometime before it saw print, for the author says in the preface that he, "did translate the sayde booke to that moost worthy kynge our late soueraygne Lorde of perpetuall memorye kynge Henrye theyghte who x x x toke the worke verye thankefullye mer-velynghe muche howe I coulde do it". As Henry VIII died in 1547 we may place the book as contemporaneous with the Tottel poems, and an outcome of the same general influence, although the author is not known to have had any connection with the Wyatt and Surrey group. It is known that he did a number of translations mostly from Plutarch. He was as devoid of poetic ability as the limping lines of the Petrarchian translation betray. The dedicatory epistle prefixed to the book has, however, some comments on Petrarch which are as straws showing the set of the current.

"Even so there be a nomber x x x x that percase when they shall eyther heare redde, or themselfe reade this excellent try-

umphe of this famous clercke Petrarcha, shall lytle set by them and peradventure cast it from them desyring rather to have a tale prynted of Robyn Hooode, or some other dongehill matter then of this, whiche I dare affirme, yea and the Italians do the same, that, the devine workes set aparte, there was never in any vulgar speche or language, so notable a worke, so clerckely done as this his worke, x x x x that no poet or gentleman could amend nor make the lyke. x x x But alas who is he that will so reade them that he will marke them, or what prynter will not say that he may winne more gayne in pryntyng of a merye jest, x x x very few or none, whyche I do lamente at my harte, consyderynge that, as well in French as in Italyan, there is no excellent worke in the latyn but that strayght wayes they set it forth in the vulgar." Here he tells how a French courtier translated the Triumphs for Francis the French king who "toke suche pleasure in it that wheresoever he went x x x that booke was always caryed with him xx and as much esteemed by hym as the rychest diamonde he hadde." This shows clearly an awakening interest in literatures, and a recognition of the English need of culture that bid fair for the progress of the succeeding generation. It is the breath of the Renaissance beginning to blow, two centuries late, upon the yet

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winter-bound Albion.

One significant difference between Lord Morley and the Tottel poets must be noticed. He makes no attempt to graft upon his own language the delicate graces of Petrarch's style. He says "I have not erred moche from the letter but in the ryme which is not possible for me to folow x x x nor touche the least poynt of the elegancy that this elegant Poet hath set forth in his owne maternall tongue."

The next important addition to English poetry, the Mirroure for Magistrates,⁽¹⁵³⁹⁾ was planned about 1555 as a supplement to Lydgate's translation of Boccaccio's De Casibus. Thomas Sackville, whose Induction is the chief poem of value in the volume,^(2nd ed. 1563) is known to have written sonnets, or something called so, though none remain now. Jasper Heywood in his poetical address ^{prefatory} ~~before~~ his translation of Thyestes,⁽¹⁵⁶⁰⁾ says

"There Sackvylde's Sonnets sweetly sauste

And featly fryned bee."

One, in English form, was prefixed to Hoby's translation of Castiglione's "Il Cortegiano". (works, 1820.)

During the score of years that elapsed between the Mirroure for Magistrates and Spenser's "Shepherds' Calender", lyric poetry was unquestionably at a low ebb in England. A number of books of verses appeared but their contents ^{are} ~~were~~ devoid of the genuine poetic ring except in occasional rare lines and stanzas. Such

books ^{are} were Barnabe Googe's "Eglogs Epitaphs and Sonnettes" (1563), George Turberville's "Epitaphs, Epigrams Songs and Sonets" (1567)¹¹ neither of which contains any direct allusion to Petrarch or other Italian ^A Poets, nor any translations out of the Italian so far as I have searched. Yet each is in the Italianate manner of Tottel's Miscellany. Turberville's volume has a poem in praise of Surrey. Other such works were two Miscellanies, The Paradise of Dainty Devises (1576) and "A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions" (1578). Both of these were very popular, the former ~~went~~ going through its fourth edition in 1580, and thus showing a demand for lyrical poetry which as yet was scantily supplied.

The most important poetically as well as the most Italianate of the volumes of verse produced in this interregnum was, "A Hundreth Sundrie Flowers" which blossomed in 1572 from the fertile brain of George Gascoigne who was a university man and had travelled in Italy. The title page states that these poems had been "gathered partely (by translations) in the fyne outlandish Gardins of Euripides, Ovid, Petrarke, Ariosto and others." Among the varied contents of the book are a prose comedy, the Supposes, translated from Ariosto's "Gli Suppositi"; a prose tale translated from one of Bandello's novelle; a tragedy, "Jocasta", which is a free version of Dolce's "Giocasta"; and twenty three sonnets that

are clearly attempts at the Petrarchian manner. Other evidence of the Italianism of Gascoigne is found in one of the commendations of him prefixed to the second edition of this work (1575). It is by an Italian, M.A. Perugino, who writes "Io lo truovo un Immitatore di Petrarcha, Amico d'Ariosto & Parangon di Bocaccio". Further evidence is found in a later work "The Griefe of Joye" (1576), where Gascoigne entitles himself "Chaucers boye and Petrarks journeyman;" and says,

"But if some Englishe woorde herein seme sweet,
Let Chaucers name exalted be therefore;
If any verse doe passe on plesant feet,
The praise thereof redownd to Petrarks lore".

But more significant than the actual results of the southern poetry upon the verse of this time are the testimonies as to the widespread interest in Italy and its literature among the educated people. Roger Ascham in "The Scholemaster" (1570) bears witness to the strength of the new influence on English customs and thought. He objects strongly both to the Englishing of Italian books and to the sending of young men to travel in Italy.. "Englese e un diablo incarnato." "They have in more reverence the Triumphs of Petrarche; than the Genesis of Moses; of a tale of

(ed. arbut. p 82)

Bocace than the storie of the Bible". Yet he speaks of "The Italian tonge, which next the Greeke and Latin tonge, I like and love above all other."^{Q. 71)} "Some that make Chaucer in English and Petrarch in Italian, their Gods in verses, and yet be not able to make trew difference, what is a fault and what is a just prayse in those two worthie wittes, will moch mislike this my writyng".^(p. 146)

~~A little later Gosson in "The School of Abuse", says that Italian comedies "were ransacked to furnish matter for the London theatres."~~

Late in the seventies there arose a new group of writers, the members of the Areopagus. They were, like the Tottel poets, mostly courtiers. ^{a society which} ~~The Areopagus~~ was founded for the express purpose of moulding English verse in classic forms.) "Now they have proclaimed in their Areopagus a general surceasing and silence of bold rhymers x x x instead whereof they have by authority of their whole senate prescribed certain laws and rules of quantities of English syllables for English verse."^(Spenser to Harvey Oct. 6. 1579)

The head of the Areopagus was Sir Philip Sidney and the only other known members were Edmund Spenser, Fulke Greville and Edmund Dyer, while the learned Gabriel Harvey acted as corresponding member and counsellor-in-chief.¹² Although the avowed preference of the club was for classic models, yet they seem to have