A Critical Edition of Mildmay Fane's *De Pugna Animi*

Gerald W. Morton

*University of Tennessee - Knoxville*
To the Graduate Council:

I am submitting herewith a dissertation written by Gerald W. Morton entitled "A Critical Edition of Mildmay Fane’s *De Pugna Animi*." I have examined the final electronic copy of this dissertation for form and content and recommend that it be accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, with a major in English.

Norman Sanders, Major Professor

We have read this dissertation and recommend its acceptance:

John H. Fisher, Bain T. Stewart, Martha Osborne

Accepted for the Council:

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Vice Provost and Dean of the Graduate School

(Original signatures are on file with official student records.)
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[Signatures]

Accepted for the Council:

The Graduate School
A CRITICAL EDITION OF MILDMA Y FANE'S

DE PUGNA ANIMI

A Dissertation
Presented for the
Doctor of Philosophy
Degree
The University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Gerald W. Morton
June 1984
DEDICATION

For Claire
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

To some extent the completion of a dissertation is the culmination of one's education that motivates a look backwards to those persons who have contributed to one's arriving at the point that writing such a work is possible. I wish, therefore, to note my appreciation for Miss Lucille Edwards who first taught me the rewards inherent in the study of literature, Dr. Robert Goldsmith who fueled my ambition to study literature seriously, and Dr. Patrick Spurgeon who made me aware of the ideal of excellence toward which I still strive.

I wish to recognize also the assistance I have received from the British Library and to thank the Keeper of Manuscripts for permission to use British Library MS Add. 34221 in this work.

I am particularly grateful to the Honorable Earl of Westmorland who also gave permission for my use of manuscripts and who expressed enthusiasm for my study of Mildmay Fane.

My thanks go also to Mr. Gary Bereleth who assisted me so valuably in my efforts to deal with Fane's Latin MS, British Library MS Add. 34220.

I wish to express my thanks to Dr. Norman Sanders, Dr. Bain Stewart, Dr. John H. Fisher, and Dr. Martha Osborne who have guided this study with patience and skill.

My final, and almost inexpressable, appreciation goes to my mother and father who have stood firmly with me through the
last eleven years as I sought something of lasting value. That I have reached this moment is a tribute to them, their ideals, and their love.
ABSTRACT

The purpose of this study was to prepare a diplomatic transcription and critical analysis of Mildmay Fane's De Pugna Animi, an unpublished manuscript play contained in British Library Ms. Add. 34221. The play, a political allegory, was written in 1650 and is the last play in the Fane canon which includes seven extant dramas.

The editorial method of the Malone Society was employed in the preparation of the manuscript. Every effort was made to produce a text true to the original manuscript. Textual notes appear at the bottom of pages. Explanatory notes are located at the end of the text. Critical materials deal with the passing of the text, sources of the play, and interpretative analysis. Material on the life of the author and his other works is included.

Although not of great literary value, De Pugna Animi is an interesting play, partly because Fane was an important member of the court of Charles I. Moreover, the play allegorizes Fane's political philosophy in large part derived from the need for England to find harmony during the Civil War period. The play presents the rebellion of the monarch's senses, represented in the form of renegade kings, and the assault of the vices against the body politic represented by Lord Mens. To counter this rebellion, Mens assembles the virtues under the guidance of reason. This army overcomes the vices and subjugates the rebellious kings, thus leaving the microcosm in order.
De Pugna Animi falls into the tradition of the psychomachia drama. It is particularly related to the political allegories of the Tudor Period. Moreover, the play is built upon a foundation of typical Renaissance thought that includes the cosmic parallel of the microcosm and macrocosm and the ideal of the Divine Right of Kings. Numerous allusions to contemporary events are particularly significant, for through them the reader can see Fane's reaction to his own time and the political discord that ruled it.

Thus far, the Fane canon has received only limited attention. This study adds to that scholarship. However, Fane's remaining unpublished plays require preparation and his poetry scrutiny.
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**LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

1) "Autobiography"  
   British Library MS Add. 34220  
   which contains Fane's autobiographical work.

2) MS  
   Manuscript

3) Add.  
   Addition

4) OED  
   Oxford English Dictionary

5) Tilley  
   Tilley, M. P. A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the  
   Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries  

6) Scot.  
   Scottish Dialect
I. INTRODUCTION

The Manuscript

British Library MS Add. 34221 contains all but one of Mildmay Fane's extant plays (*Don Phoebo's Triumph* is contained in Huntington Library MS 770). These plays are, in the order in which they occur, *Candy Restored*, *Tymes Trick Upon the Cards*, *The Change*, *Vertues Triumph*, *Raguaillo D'Oceano*, *De Pugna Animi*. The MS contains the only extant copy of *De Pugna Animi*, Fane's last play, which was written in 1650. As this was his final drama, one can assume that the MS was prepared sometime after that date. Essentially nothing is known about the history of the MS. Likely, it spent its life in the Westmorland Library along with various other Fane works until it was purchased by the British Museum at Christies 18 July, 1882.

The MS is a folio volume of 152 leaves; the numbering that was added later, possibly at the British Museum, ends with 147, omitting the five blank pages between the plays. The paper is the same throughout. The MS contains 12 gatherings containing in order the following number of sheets: 7, 9, 9, 4, 6, 8 (originally), 6, 7 (originally), 5, 6, 7, and 9 leaves.

1The information presented here is consistent with that presented by Clifford Leech in his edition *Mildmay Fane's Raguaillo D'Oceano and Candy Restored* (Vaduz, Liechtenstein: Kräus Reprints, 1963).
Fourteen leaves have been removed; however, the table of contents and direction lines seem to indicate that none have been lost containing any of Fane's work.

*De Pugna Animi* is the last play in the MS, included on ff. 124v-147r. Certain damage to the MS on the tops of pages 314-317 prevents the reading of the middle of three lines. The play is a political allegory in five acts. It is introduced by an argument that contains a quotation from Prudentius. It has both prologue and epilogue. Between the argument and prologue is a detailed *dramatis personae*. The form of the list of characters suggests that Sir Ratio Prudence was initially conceived as two characters, Ratio representing reason and Prudence personifying wisdom. The play, however, has one character who represents both. The play concludes with a table giving the symbolic significance of each character. At the bottom of the list is the number 23, possibly to indicate the number of actors needed to play the parts.

Act and scene divisions are centered and followed by initial stage directions, also centered, though roughly. Additional entrance and exit directions, sometimes in Latin, are located in the right margins as are other stage directions. All speech prefixes are located in the left margins except for an occasional speech prefix which is positioned within a line and set off with colons or slashes. Direction lines are used consistently throughout the text.
There are four distinct hands used in MS 34221. The fourth, Fane's own, is used only to emend the text throughout. The other three are no doubt those of professional scribes. That there are three suggests that different plays were prepared before the whole manuscript and its binding were decided. Except for emendation, De Pugna Animi is written entirely in the third hand. The final pages of the play show the hand growing much larger, thus suggesting fatigue on the part of the scribe. The hand is a mixture of the secretary and Italian hands, although mostly Italian. Majuscules occasionally show the influence of the rounded hand. Secretary letters used extensively are the miniscule h, the miniscule e—especially the final e—, the miniscule c which appears as a modern cursive r, and the miniscule crossed g. There is no distinction between the majuscule I and J, and essentially none between the minuscule i and j. The ff is used as a majuscule F. The scribe uses the minuscule u and v interchangeably, occasionally even the majuscule U and V. Minuscule forms are at times used to replace majuscules. Size indicates that they are to be treated as upper case letters.

The punctuation is inconsistent. Apostrophes are often omitted. Parentheses are often not closed. Speech prefixes that

2Fane's hand is easily identifiable from his "Autobiography," British Library MS Add. 34220.
appear within lines are generally set off with slashes, and those in the left margins are followed by slashes. The scribe occasionally uses slashes for end punctuation, especially at the end of a page of text. Also used are nunnation marks. They appear as titles above nunnated words to indicate the omission of letters. Excellent examples are "usurpacon" in the argument and "approbacon" in Act I, i, 205.

The scribe is equally inconsistent with the use of abbreviations and contractions. Various abbreviations are used in the speech prefixes. Generally used is ye, although the spelling the does appear. Other common abbreviations are yt, yor, wh, wth, Sr, St. Raised final letters are used in the abbreviations and elsewhere to signal omitted letters such as in "concernmt." Raised final r is common.

Most of the play is written in blank verse although Fane shifts into prose on occasion. He also uses couplets at times in accord with his epigrammatic style. He uses Irish and Scottish dialect with the Highland characters. In fact, Fane appears to have had a solid understanding of the Scottish language, vocabulary and sound. He uses "dirk," "muckle," "kerne," as well as numerous other terms common to the Scottish speech. As well, he uses phonetic spellings such as "I'se," and "tu'l" to capture pronunciation. Possibly his trip with the king and participation in the First Bishop's War provided him the opportunity to learn the speech. He was poet enough to take advantage of such exposure.
Except for the damaged pages, the MS is clean and legible. Emendations by Fane are rarely difficult, and insertions and deletions are particularly clear. The hand used in De Pugna Animi is decidedly the most readable in MS 34221.

Biography of Mildmay Fane

Although Mildmay Fane, the second Earl of Westmorland, was a minor writer of the Caroline Period whose plays never received public performance and whose printed verse received only limited circulation, one is able to put together a credible and somewhat detailed biography of this largely unknown and unstudied poet. Government records contain numerous references to Fane and his prominent family. Moreover, and certainly more helpful, Fane left a Latin "Autobiography" (British Library MS Add. 34220) which details his life before the Civil Wars; his minor participation in that conflict; his contempt for the Puritans, Cromwell in particular; and his enthusiasm for the Restoration. Nonetheless, of those scholars interested in Fane, only Clifford Leech has used this manuscript effectively to fill in details omitted from the other biographical sketches. Leech's biography, despite its accuracy, however, does little to capture the nature of this intriguing figure. The biography presented here will work toward that end by presenting those events in Fane's life that shaped...

3Clifford Leech, ed., Mildmay Fane's Raguillo D'Oceano and Candy Restored (Vaduz, Liechtenstein: Kraus Reprints, 1963), pp. 7-23.
his political and philosophical thought and by quoting minor works which show exactly how Fane reacted to the events of his day. This understanding will be an effective tool in the study of Fane's works, especially a drama such as *De Pugna Animi* which clearly reflects moral and political attitudes that Fane developed as a result of the civil strife that eroded the tranquility of the Elizabethan Period which he longed to see restored in England.

To see precisely how Fane felt about the Civil Wars, one need look no further than the short lyric poem "Friendships Salamander to X. X. X." from which the following quotation is taken:

```
Then though ye Thundring Canons roar
The Trumpetts sound & Coulers fly
I am stil wher I was before
Much more in love wth amity
    Whose Trophy I would raise as soon
As Others horse doe & Dragoon.4
```

Simply stated, Fane was a man who felt keenly the effects of political turmoil and who saw that turmoil enter and change his life, despite his best efforts to ignore the erosion of the order into which he had been born and which he tried to recapture by making his estate at Apethorpe a small island of tranquility insulated from that strife which had led to Charles I's fall and which continued during the reign of Cromwell.

Mildmay Fane was born January 24, 1601, to Francis, first Earl of Westmorland, and Mary, daughter of Sir Anthony Mildmay.

---

Francis Fane's father, Sir Thomas Fane, had taken part in Wyatt's Rebellion of 1554 for which he was imprisoned in the Tower. Later released by Elizabeth I, Thomas disposed forces in Kent against the Spanish Armada. He died shortly after, in 1589. Francis Fane was created Knight of the Bath in 1603 at the coronation of James I. In 1624 he became the first Earl of Westmorland, the title Mildmay would later assume after his father's death. Clearly, Fane's loyalty to the crown, which he later demonstrated, was fostered by the favor his family received from the Stuart monarchy. That this Royalist zeal was often tempered may be accounted for in part by his maternal heritage. Fane's great grandfather, Sir Walter Mildmay, founded Emmanuel College at Cambridge, a stronghold of Puritan thinking that affected the sentiments of many Jacobean and Caroline writers. His grandmother, Lady Mildmay, was a strong Puritan advocate as well. Fane's own brother, Colonel Anthony Fane, died during the Civil Wars fighting for the Puritan cause, even though he had served with Charles I during the First Bishops' War.

What little is known about Fane's youth suggests that he was not a devoted scholar. In the "Autobiography," he states, "Bis ver sexto numerato anno, Ludo commissus est litterario Pythagoraq traditus, unde quarta demum hyeme peracta non paucis ferulis hoc tantum pro omni responsione adepto αὑτὸς ἐφη."5

5British Library MS Add. 34220, f. 6r. (At the age of twelve and committed to belle lettres he was handed over to Pythagoras. After four winters and not a few whippings, the only text he learned was αὑτὸς ἐφη.)
He afterwards must have become a better scholar, for his work illustrates a keen knowledge of Greek and Roman learning. He quotes especially often from Horace in the "Autobiography."

Fane entered Emmanuel College in 1616 and took his M.A. in 1619. After graduation, he travelled in Europe, the customary completion of the education of a young nobleman. There he visited France, Italy, and Spain. He notes in the "Autobiography" an especial appreciation for the beauty of Europe. He comments as well on the dogmatic practices of the religions he encountered. All he says about his education, however, is that he became an excellent horseman.

During the same time he travelled in Europe, November 1620, Fane was elected to Parliament for Peterborough. In 1622 he was admitted to Lincoln's Inn. Reelected to Parliament for Kent in 1625 and again for Peterborough in 1628, Fane early developed a record for public service. Like his father, he must have served as an advocate for the crown, for in 1626 at the coronation of Charles I he was made Knight of the Bath. Other than this obvious sign of favor, there exists no evidence as to why the youthful Fane would have attracted the favor of the crown. However, James I did meet George Villiers, the favorite of his later years and the advisor for Prince Charles, at Apethorpe, which suggests that the Fane residence may have been the scene of court activity and possibly a sanctuary for the embattled James I.
In 1628 Mildmay served on several commissions, including that of Martial Law, and Oyer and Terminer for Northamptonshire. In 1634 he served as Deputy Lieutenant in Northamptonshire and in 1635 was appointed to the Justices of the East Division of the same.

In 1626 Fane married Grace, daughter of Sir William Thornhurst of Herne, Kent. In eight years Grace gave Mildmay six children; the last, a boy, was sponsored at baptism by Charles I in 1634. Grace, however, died in childbirth soon afterwards.

Fane says in the "Autobiography," "Cum vero decem Annos in coniugio maxima cum felicitate eqisset et cum pudica muliere amoris lepidos intermutualcet: illa pariente denuo (ut obid nata) obdormiuit: Et quem faustissimum virum habuit maestissimum viduum reliquit!" 6

In 1638 Fane married again, this time to Lady Townshend, the widow of Sir Roger Townshend and the daughter of Sir Horace Vere, Baron Vere of Tilbury, who had served a distinguished military career in the Netherlands. This second marriage entangled Fane even more in the conflict between the King and the Puritan dissidents. His new brother-in-law, Thomas Lord Fairfax, was commander-in-chief of Parliament's army and consequently became the butt of satire in Fane's verse. Perhaps more congenial to Fane's political

6Ibid., f. 10r. (When he had been married for ten years with the greatest happiness and shared with a chaste woman the charms of love, she dies bearing another child. As she had had the happiest of husbands, she left behind the most miserable of widowers.)
sentiment, his stepson, Horace, First Viscount of Townshend, and Mary's cousin Robert Harley were instrumental in the efforts to restore Charles II to the English throne. At any rate, the years that followed Fane's second marriage saw Mildmay torn between his loyalty to the King and his desire for peace. From this period arises one of the most significant themes in Fane's literary work, the mutability theme.

With the coronation of Charles I, Fane enjoyed even greater court favor than he had under James I. He was recruited to that group of court Cavaliers that included Lovelace, Suckling, and Killigrew. The affection that Fane felt for his King is nowhere better expressed than in the following excerpt from a letter from Fane to Secretary Dorchester:

I pray you to present my humble duty to His Majesty with the joy of my heart for that great blessing it hath pleased God to bestow on him and us all. My daily prayers to God are for the continuance of his favours and to His Royal Majesty, our gracious Queen and hopeful young Prince, so that his succession may continue ever more and be a blessing to this land, as himself now is and his predecessor hath been.7

Such high expectations were no doubt thwarted to some extent. Fane remained a loyal Royalist, devoted to the crown and to the ideal of Divine Right which Charles so often voiced. Like others, however, Fane became troubled by Charles' inability to surround

7Calendar of State Papers Domestic, DXXXI, June 7, 1630: 36.
himself with worthy advisors and by his fickle favoritism. Moreover, Fane never abused his position at court as a Cavalier, as did so many of the self-seeking libertines who enjoyed similar position. His dramas capture his disgust for these and for the King who could not control them. Often the followers of a monarch in his plays are presented as foolish, if not distasteful, characters. The following speech by Harry in *Tyme's Trick Upon the Cards* illustrates well Fane's view of court flatterers:

```
Very good sport,- very good sport
Noe place for foole at Court
All are soe wise
Yet some doe clime vp soe fast
Til they fall and break ther necks at last
Then others may rise---8
```

Nonetheless, Fane's loyalty lasted, though severely tested. In 1639 he and his brother accompanied Charles to Scotland to participate in the First Bishops' War (1639). In fact Apethorpe served as refuge for the defeated Charles on his return from this unsatisfactory campaign, which did more to split than to unify England.

By 1640 Fane began to sound a new note, perhaps because of the King's inability to exert control over his kingdom, as the unsuccessful war in Scotland made clear. The following comes from a petition Fane made to the King regarding new taxes:

```
My house has ever been obedient without dispute
to his Majesty's commands and unwilling to contend
with him; yet when we have any request to him, we
find no more favour than his absolute opposers
```

8British Library MS Add. 34221, f. 43r.
do. God send that way of his to work him no inconvenience, and then for my particular, let it go which way it will, I care the less, and so I leave it to your best consideration. 9

Fane was obviously responding to one of those many measures the King took to try to restore his empty treasury. The result of such actions, especially in the case of ship money, was to alienate from Charles even more those who, like Fane, were in a position to support him and possibly prevent the uprising that cost him his throne. Unlike others, however, Fane was devoted to the Divine Right doctrine; therefore, he remained loyal to Charles longer than did many.

The year 1642 marked a complete reversal in Fane's fortunes. He was well thought of in Parliament, enough so that in that year he was sent to Charles to deliver Parliament's proposals about how to handle the Irish revolt. However, in the same year his name appears in a list of those commissioned "to pay horses for three months" in support of the King. Fane complied with the demand and led about thirty horsemen through one battle. As a result he was arrested by Parliament and placed in the Tower. His estate was sequestered, and a fine of £2000 was levied against him. Fane responded bitterly as suggested in the Prologue of The Change (1642) which he wrote while a prisoner in the Tower:

Pardon my boldeness you that hither Crawle
Or flye from Hiuue or webb if free from Gall
& are profes't to be, and soe auerr
Unlesse the guilteye will prove Comenter

9Calendar of State Papers Domestic, CCCCXLIX, March 30, 1640, 32.
On what I had spun here onely to preuent
The Languishments of an Imprisonment
And to beguile tyme that standes still alone
To such as be in like Condition
Buildinge this Comfort to my selfe hereby
That when all's Chang'd I shall have Libertye.10

More than just placing Fane in the Tower, the passage reflects
his attitude towards the Puritan zeal that landed him there and
his belief that he would be released as soon as the revolt was
ended by Charles. Fourteen months later, Fane must have felt
less convinced, for he took the Covenant in 1643 and was then
released under limited condition in April of that year. That
Fane so quickly gave in to Parliament's demand should have left
him in disfavor at the Restoration. For whatever reason, such
was not the case.

Through a series of petitions for his release, Fane was
able to achieve both his full liberty and the return of his property,
including a reduction in the fine, which he possibly never paid
at all. At this point Fane retired to Apethorpe, where he diligently
worked to create an island of calm in which he and his friends
could enjoy the life that they had once known at court. Indeed,
Fane disappears from government records until after the Restoration.
One can only speculate about what his life was like between 1644
and 1660, for the "Autobiography" deals essentially with political
matters during these years. However, his plays and poems do give
some suggestions about these days.

10British Library MS Add. 34221, f. 50v.
The play manuscripts tell much about life at Apethorpe. Apparently, Fane either built a theatre or arranged part of his house as one, for the elaborate stage directions and devices employed as stage machinery in Raguillo D'Oceano which involved revolving flats mounted upon a moveable foundation would not have been well housed in a typical banquet hall.

The dramatis personae of Candy Restored lists among the players Sir Roger Townshend and Mr. Horatio Townshend, Fane's stepsons, and even more interesting a Mr. Waller and Mr. Stapleton. That such notables, if the Mr. Waller is Edmund Waller and the Mr. Stapleton, Henry Stapleton, were part of the festivities of the evening the play was performed suggests that Apethorpe was the scene of gatherings of important persons. Even if these players were not Edmund Waller and Henry Stapleton, the fact remains that Apethorpe was the scene of much merry activity and the island of political calm that Fane wanted it to be. Fane's plays themselves are akin to the masque; thus one may well conclude that he was trying to write entertainments such as he and his friends had known at court. Also during this time Fane published Otia Sacra (1648), a collection of epigrams and emblem poems with both religious and secular themes. He apparently circulated the collection among friends, possibly at the encouragement of Robert Herrick, for whom Fane had served as patron.

The death of Charles I distressed Fane greatly, as the following passage from his "Autobiography" well illustrates:
Despite the fact that Fane was often dissatisfied with the King, he believed completely in the Divine Right doctrine and that Charles' God-given right to the throne overshadowed all other political concerns. Even in his works in which he suggests that the King must struggle to keep his throne through strength and virtue, he never challenged Charles' right to that throne. He simply pointed out the weaknesses in Charles that caused him to lose it. Fane especially felt the need for a strong ruler in England if there was to be a strong and civilized government.

Fane's poem "A ballet 3d Sept, 1658" shows the contempt he felt for the usurper Cromwell:

Owld Oliver's gon, owld Oliver's gon 0 Hone 0 Hone
And has left his son Richard
That pretty young prick-ear'd

---

11British Library MS Add. 34220, f. 15r. (Our Charles, hence so dear to all and still dear to more than a few, is seized by soldiers--alas, what an unspeakable crime--and prefers to offer himself to the protection of others. Who while he is speaking or writing or even thinking of such things could refrain from tears? We see our pious, holy and peace-loving king cut down by the blow of an axe and by an impious soldiery. A huge grief. And now silence is imposed on words, pens and even thoughts. May it suffice for punishment that such crimes are recorded in heaven!) The allusion here to Virgil's Aeneid, Book II, 11 is interesting and indicative of the many classical allusions in this work.
To govern these nations alone alone.
The counsell & state
He command of late. O Hone O Hone
But the tables turn'd quite
Those govern this wight
And turns our rejoicing to mone to mone.\textsuperscript{12}

The same basic spirit of rejoicing reflected here continued as Fane anticipated the Restoration of Charles II to the throne, an event in which he possibly assisted. Certainly his relatives participated in the making of plans to bring Charles II back to England. Such activity by Fane would explain why he found favor with the King despite his having conceded to Parliament's demands early in the Civil War period. In his "Autobiography," Fane includes the following poem, quoted here completely because it so well reflects his anticipation of better days after the reestablishment of the monarchy:

\begin{verbatim}
To ye Royall Fleet sent out of ye owne
into Portugall to fetch home our
most Gratious & Royall Queen
Katherine 10-20: 1661:

Hayle to \textsuperscript{1}t Floating wood
Rides swelling ore \textsuperscript{2}e Floud
Proud to be so Employed
To bring Great Charles his Bride
Who once heer set on shore
I'le Brag--and--say, no more
But let All Streets with Bonfiers shine
For joy of our Queen Katherine
And Eury Clapper Ring
A Thankfull Offering
To Rayse our hopes vpon
Future Succession
May Cuer again & Heale
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{12}Historical Manuscript Commission Report 13, 1885, p. 45.
This late Hurt Common weale
And so produce like Gileads Balme
After a Rugged storme, a kind Smooth Calme.13

The Restoration complete, Fane was appointed to his last government post, Joint Lieutenant of Northamptonshire. During the last years of his life, he did in fact enjoy quiet favor with the crown and a sense of contentment that all was as it should be. Fane died February 12, 1665.

Fane died believing that England had returned, as he had hoped it would, to that proper state of tranquility which a strong monarchy and succession could provide. Nonetheless, for much of his life, Mildmay Fane, who yearned to live in harmonious times, was surrounded by turmoil. Had he been a better writer, this suffering might have led him to produce some excellent verse and drama. Still, even in the writing that he did leave, for all it lacks in artistry, one can find the reflections of a sensitive man who captured the spirit of the decay of the Renaissance in England.

Sources for De Pugna Animi

Mildmay Fane's theme in De Pugna Animi is that a princely figure who abandons reason to follow his senses will lose control of his domain. To regain control he must enlist the power of reason to govern again the senses. The vehicle Fane used to dramatize this idea is the morality play based on the medieval

13 British Library MS Add. 34220, f. 20v.
concept of the microcosm/macrocosm. De Pugna Animi shares both theme and structure not only with the medieval morality play and the political allegory of the Tudor period, but with a range of works of Renaissance literature as well.

The microcosm/macrocosm parallel is the foundation for much Renaissance writing. For example, John Donne's Sermon XV (1640) begins by suggesting that man must rule his body in the same way that God rules heaven. The work concludes by stating that man sins when he allows the body, which is the Devil's agent, to control him. In other words, man in the microcosm, like God in the macrocosm, must be absolute master of his domain. Fane makes precisely this point in De Pugna Animi, although his theme is political rather than theological. Donne's Meditation XII (1624) does have a political focus. In this work, Donne parallels the body of man with the body politic. He then suggests that like a vapour which infests and destroys the human body, a rumor will spread through and assault the security of the state. In A Murmurer (1607), Nicholas Breton employs the same parallel but develops it in greater detail. Consistent with the classical image of the anthropomorphic state, he says that the parts of the body are like members of the political state; each must work in harmony with the others for the good of the whole.\[14\]

\[14\]In The Anatomy of Melancholy (1621), Burton parallels the parts of the body with the members of a family and the individuals in a state. One finds similar correspondences in Browne's Religio Medici (1634) between the natural world and the microcosm.
E.M.W. Tillyard, however, points to the following speech by Brutus in Shakespeare's *Julius Caesar* (1599) as the best example of the development of the parallel between the state of man and the body politic:

Between the acting of a dreadful thing
And the first motion, all the interim is
Like a phantasma or a hideous dream.
The genius and the mortal instruments
Are then in council; and the state of man,
Like to a little kingdom, suffers then
The nature of an insurrection. 15

Brutus' words present a more poetic expression of the rebellion of the faculties than one finds in Fane's play; however, one does see here the idea of a revolution which is integral to the plot of *De Pugna Animi*. Moreover, Fane intended his work to be didactic, and in this sense it closely resembles those Renaissance prose treatises and chronical history plays which prescribed behavior for princely figures.

*Romeo's Courtier's Academy* (1598) and Thomas Hoby's *The Courtier* (1561) deal with the idea that a princely figure must, through his power of reason, understand and command himself if he is to function effectively in the political arena. A work that develops this idea even better, and that also employs the microcosm/macrocospm image, is Thomas Starkey's *Dialogue Between__

15 Act II, i, 63-69. Tillyard deals not only with this speech but many of the works discussed here in *The Elizabethan World Picture* (New York, 1950), pp. 91-99. Of particular note is the degree to which Tillyard demonstrates the acceptance of the microcosm/macrocospm concept during the Renaissance.
Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset (1534). Starkey's prose tract reviews those things necessary for human happiness and applies them to the establishment of harmony within the state. Such didactic prose works share with Fane's play the warning that a princely figure not overstep his limits as he does when he rejects the faculty of reason.16

The dramatists of the Renaissance also treat this theme. Plays such as Richard II (1595), Macbeth (1606), and Marlowe's Edward II (1593) show that even kings are men, and therefore subject to human limitations. The following speech by Young Mortimer in Marlowe's play well illustrates the point:

Base Fortune, now I see, that in thy wheel
There is a point, to which when men aspire,
They tumble headlong down: that point I touch'd,
And, seeing there was no place to mount up higher,
Why should I grieve at my declining fall?17

The eloquence of the passage does not disguise the Greek idea of the wheel of fortune which had also been developed in the political allegories of Skelton and Bale. In the final analysis, Fane's play does in fact resemble the works of these Tudor writers more than it does any other body of literature, but like them he was reworking material that had seen repeated expression throughout the Renaissance.

16Similar ideas are developed in Thomas Elyot's The Governor (1531), William Painter's The Palace of Pleasure (1575), and George Pettie's A Petite Palace of Pettie His Pleasure (1576).

17Act V, vi, 59-63.
In discussing the sources for *De Pugna Animi*, one must deal with the development of the morality play, so neatly does the play fit into that dramatic tradition. I will concentrate here on discussing the play's morality play characteristics and on showing which works Fane may have known. Finally, I will place *De Pugna Animi* within the morality play tradition. Such an investigation will be particularly fruitful because Fane was selective in his borrowing from source works and in his departures from them. Understanding why he made certain departures will help reveal his ideas about purpose and theme. Moreover, I will show how Fane had precedent in the Tudor political allegories to suggest his use of the morality play to develop a secular theme. Finally, I will deal with the two works to which one can refer with certainty as sources for *De Pugna Animi*: Prudentius' *Psychomachia* (c. 400 A.D.) and Thomas Nabbes' moral masque *Microcosmus* (1637).

*Psychomachia*, a quotation from which heads Fane's play, is generally regarded as the work which led to the morality play. This fifth-century Latin poem employs the techniques of the heroic epic to develop a Christian theme. In it, the virtues and vices do battle, each individual virtue combating and defeating an appropriate vice, man's soul being the prize for the victorious army. The virtues win, in large part because the weaknesses of the vices destroy their own efforts. Fifteenth-century dramatists placed essentially this same conflict on the stage in an effort to dramatize the moral of the religious sermon, as the mystery play
had dramatized the liturgy. The earliest complete extant morality play, *The Castle of Perseverance* (1415), presents the conflict of the vices and the virtues. The conflict, however, is expanded to include other personifications of good and evil and to last the duration of man's life as he vasculates between the two sides. Other fifteenth-century plays, like *Wisdom* (1460) and *Mankind* (1470), presented variations on this same theme. *Mankind* introduced the comic element which became an integral part of the Tudor morality play and which Fane employed in *De Pugna Animi*.

Tudor dramatists altered the morality play significantly by using its form and its didacticism to develop a secular theme. John Skelton's *Magnyfycence* (1515-1523) is by far the best of these Tudor allegories. In this political play, Magnyfycence, the king figure, loses grace and thus his ability to rule when he rejects the power of reason and follows his will instead. At stake is a kingdom, however, not just Magnyfycence's soul. The theme is, therefore, secular; it warns princely figures specifically about the overwhelming consequences of following their passions. Particularly stressed is Magnyfycence's falling prey to false counsellors, Folly and Fancy, who are satiric representations of court flatterers.

Later in the Tudor period, certainly by the mid sixteenth century, the morality play and the interlude had become one, especially as the comic element developed in importance. In general, the morality play lost its essential character. An early interlude,
Henry Medwell's *Nature* (1495), however, does keep the basic morality play form as Nature, although conceding that sensuality is a proper companion to man, insists that reason is his best true guide. What this example well points up about the later morality plays and political allegories of the Tudor period is that reason, not the virtues, was projected as man's ultimate weapon against evil. The change of emphasis, of course, was consistent with the secularization of the form. Fane retained the emphasis on reason. In *De Pugna Animi*, the assembled virtues tell Lord Mens that without the leadership of Sir Ratio Prudence, or reason, they cannot effectively do battle with the vices.

Fane was particularly attracted to the morality play form. All his dramatic works except the masque *Raguillo D'Oceano* (1640) have been classified as either moral or political allegory. In the Epilogue, he calls *De Pugna Animi* a comedy but acknowledges working within the tradition of the morality play by providing a cast list at the end of the play which gives the symbolic representation of each character and directly using Prudentius as a source. He quotes the Latin author in the Argument and even subtitles his work a psychomachia, the term being used in Fane's day, as in our own, to refer to any work that deals with the combat of the vices and virtues and with man's salvation. Of all Fane's dramas, *De Pugna Animi* is the one which is most clearly the kind of allegory which we refer to as a morality play.
The medieval morality play did of course develop in two directions. While the pater noster play continued the basic formula of the *Psychomachia*, the other form, best exemplified by *Everyman* (1529), deals with the death and salvation theme without employing the conflict of vices and virtues. There is, however, nothing of note in *De Pugna Animi* that reminds the reader of *Everyman*. Indeed, that play would have added little to Fane's purpose, as it is completely theological in its statement with none of the battle imagery or the emphasis on the ideal of the microcosm which Fane found elsewhere and which helped him develop his political theme. It is from those fifteenth-century works which do follow the psychomachia tradition that Fane may have taken ideas to shape *De Pugna Animi*, namely the so-called Macro plays—*The Castle of Perseverance* and *Mankind*—and Medwell's *Nature*. Each presents a variation of the psychomachia theme, although *Nature* has a strong secular basis. The secular political theme of *De Pugna Animi*, however, makes the play far different from these basically religious works and aligns it with the sixteenth-century political allegories. The Tudor works took great liberties with the vices and virtues personified, but *De Pugna Animi* presents the traditional characters with only slight variation from those of Prudentius. Had *De Pugna Animi* been written in 1500, we might well refer to it as a transition piece, one which employed the formula and theme which attracted the fifteenth-century writers and which finally contributed to the morality play's becoming the basis for the chronicle history
and historical tragedy drama. What we can do is comment upon Fane's ability to use his sources discriminatingly.

Although Fane appears to have known *The Castle of Perseverance*, his borrowing from that work is minor. The scope of the fifteenth-century play is large; that of *De Pugna Animi* is small, not the entire life of man but rather a moment of crisis in the life of a kingly figure. The central image of *The Castle of Perseverance*, that of breeching a fortress, is employed in *De Pugna Animi*. The reader sees its use when Sir Ratio Prudence sends his army into battle:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Goe with Care & view each place & ground} \\
\text{ffor our advantage steddily informe} \\
\text{Thy selfe, how well our ffoes are fortifide} \\
\text{To make resistance, & where their wall's weakest} \\
\text{Be sure to raise thy battring platforme 'gainst it.}\end{align*}
\]

Fane inserts the image and shows the forces of evil, not man and his protectors, hiding behind a wall. This is a minor difference, however, consistent with his not focusing on the battle at all. He was much more interested in showing a kingly figure muster his forces to put down a rebellion than in showing the theological idea that man is constantly assaulted by evil and needs protection against it. This focus allows the audience to see better the turmoil within the state when the harmony is broken and what the princely figure must do to restore order as he seeks out and confronts the rebellious elements.

\[18^\text{Act V, ii, 84-88.}\]
There is even less in *Mankind* to remind the reader of *De Pugna Animi*. Like *Mankind*, Fane's play refers to the rebels as kings, but this is at best a minor resemblance. In *Mankind*, however, one does see the comic element take shape, and the comic element is important in Fane's play. Belial's mistreatment of his accomplices in *The Castle of Perseverance* anticipated the role of the comic element in later morality plays. However, in *Mankind* the comic roles are more central as Titivillus, Nought, Newguise, and Nowadays engage in some rather rollicking exchanges. Titivillus is a forerunner to comic vice, the basic "embodiment of human weakness" that became in Tudor drama a major figure of the secular morality and interlude. In the sixteenth-century political allegories, the vice character was used to lampoon the political or church party that the writer was satirizing. Skelton's *Magnyfycence* does this with the vice figures Folly and Fancy who are pictured as court flatterers who joust with each other in verbal exchanges. Part of the lesson of the play is that a king must beware of those he brings to court and puts in favor. Similar satire occurs in Bale's *King John* (1530-1536) where Sedition, the vice figure, is represented as a special friend of the Pope. Fane's use of the comic vice figure is close to Bale's. He shows the rebel

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20 Ibid., p. 73.
camp in turmoil when Orexis, Acrateia, Pathos, and Corruscio begin to bicker with the rebel kings. The turmoil so caused contributes to the defeat of the rebel forces. As had Bale, Fane pointed his satire at a particular group, for he makes three of these intemperate rebels Irish or Scottish characters whose drunkenness and self-seeking attitudes initiate their discontent. The use of the comic element in this fashion is, moreover, only one of several ways in which Fane's technique is closer to that of the Tudor dramatists than to the method of their fifteenth-century predecessors.

While there is little evidence that Fane used any of the sixteenth-century political allegories as direct sources, with the possible exception of Skelton's Magnyfycence, De Pugna Animi does depart from the fifteenth-century morality play in ways consistent with his purpose and with the same departures made by the Tudor dramatists. Robert Potter sums up this shift from the old form: "The dramatic methods which had originated in a religious context were gradually detached from that context and adapted

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21 In my analysis of the play I will deal in more detail with the satire of the Irish and Scottish characters. This is, however, one aspect of the play that points its theme at the British Civil War in which these two factions were major concerns for the King.

22 The only possible direct borrowing is that Magnyfycence is saved by Good Hope, and Fane shows Mens' army sailing to Good Hope to battle the vices.
to new purposes." Potter expands this idea of new purpose, which is a direct reference to the secular morality or political allegory, in commenting on Skelton's *Magnyfycence*:

In *Magnificence* the idea of the ruler expands to the idea of *Everyman*. This development, rather than limiting the universal significance of the morality structure, gives it a new dimension of social significance. Whether we interpret this development as primarily a response to the new courtly auspices of the morality or as the logical development of the recurrent king figures in the early moralities, the result is a new drama expressing the old paradox of the human condition in the trappings of Renaissance stagecraft.

In short, Skelton's play is the exemplum of those which applied the religious conflict for man's soul to the conflict a king experiences when his loss of reason, or measure in Skelton's play, leaves him at the mercy of his passions. Fane makes the same point when he shows that what is good for man's governance of his microcosm, the predominance of reason, is equally good for a king's rule over his macrocosm, for it is reason that gives him the ability to bring all parts into harmony. It is well worth noting that this is precisely the point Starkey made in *Dialogue Between Cardinal Pole and Thomas Lupset*, a work approximately contemporary with *Magnyfycence*, when he pointed to those things necessary for a harmonious state.

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24 Ibid., p. 77.
The structure of *De Pugna Animi* is also much more like that of the Tudor drama than that of the fifteenth-century morality play. The early religious plays had used what David Bevington calls a linear or vignette structure in which man appears on the stage alternately with good characters and evil characters.  

The only conflict presented was that between these two forces for man's soul. The increase of importance in the comic element, along with the desire of the writers to make entertainment equal in importance to didacticism, necessitated the development of a new circular structure, in which various levels of conflict and a hierarchy of characters complicate the action. De Pugna Animi has such a structure. There are, for example, three distinct conflicts, one major and two secondary. The major conflict between Lord Mens' army and the forces of the rebel kings is interlaced with a conflict in each camp. Sir Euroclodon Tempest's quarrel with Patience enlivens the early scenes of the play as Mens assembles his troops. The unruly admiral's defection from that army only adds to the moral instruction, as it points out the fact that a king may find his servants disloyal. The bickering between the Irish rabble and the renegade kings adds interest to the latter scenes and gives another dimension to the work.

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26 Ibid.
that the nature of rebellion is such that it will often destroy itself. As well as adding to the didacticism of the play, these secondary conflicts also give substance to the final conflict and dramatic tension to the entire work.

Placing *De Pugna Animi* in the morality play tradition is simple, for it is a play that embodies elements of two distinct periods in the development of that dramatic form. The play retains the basic conflict of the vices and virtues which one sees in the fifteenth-century morality play and employs the microcosm/macrocosp image which provided a foundation for those works. It develops, however, the secular political theme, relies on the comic element, and employs the circular structure of the Tudor political allegories. The way the synthesis occurs and the degree to which each of these concerns plays a part in the formation of *De Pugna Animi* can be better appreciated when one takes into account Fane's two major sources, Prudentius' *Psychomachia* and the moral masque by Thomas Nabbes, *Microcosmus* (1637).

The theme and structure of *De Pugna Animi* do not resemble these elements of the *Psychomachia*; rather they follow from the Tudor drama. However, the basic conflict of the two works is almost identical. For the most part, Fane's list of vices and virtues parallels Prudentius', except that reason becomes a primary character in *De Pugna Animi* and is replaced by bounty in the list of virtues. Prudentius, moreover, dramatizes each virtue's going into combat with his opposing vice, while Fane gives only brief mention to this alignment of opposites:
Send ffraiank 'gainst Avaro, Temperance
'Gainst Luxurioso & alike ye rest
To shew them wee'r in earnest not in iest.27

The degree to which each writer stresses this series of individual conflicts does not, however, change the fact that the conflicts provide the foundation for De Pugna Animi and Psychomachia. Nonetheless, the differences between the two works are far more noticeable than are the similarities. One might well question, therefore, why Fane would have used a source so significantly different from his own work in structure and purpose. This question is easily answered when one considers that Fane and Prudentius lived during and directed their writing at periods when political and religious conflict were to a degree inseparable. No doubt, Fane, like Prudentius, saw the psychomachia form as an excellent literary vehicle for capturing the relationship between the religious and political conflicts of those two periods.

Prudentius wrote at the beginning of the fifth century, a time when Germanic assaults on the Roman empire brought into conflict with the basic ideals of Christianity those of paganism. One sees both levels of conflict in Psychomachia, as man's spiritual struggle within himself becomes an effective metaphor for such struggle within the state. Restated, turmoil in the microcosm reflects chaos in the macrocosm. Similarly, Fane had seen religious and political conflict intertwine during the Civil War. Although not the only cause of revolution against Charles I, Puritan

27Act V, ii, 92-94.
dissatisfaction with the crown had been the most obvious source of conflict. Fane, like Prudentius, would have been motivated to employ a literary mode that would enable him to present this dichotomy. Fane also, no doubt, realized the didactic nature of the psychomachia form which would allow him to develop a theme prescribing behavior for a monarch.

Amidst the turmoil of the 1640's, Fane saw the political and social harmony of the Renaissance vanish as shared Humanistic beliefs collapsed under the assault of religious dogma and the new science. In one sense, De Pugna Animi makes an effort to revive the most important of those beliefs, that of the doctrine of plenitude which had given rise to the microcosm/macrocasm parallel which had itself been used to justify the Divine Right doctrine which stated that kings ruled by the will of God. Parliament had rejected this doctrine to justify its attack against the crown. Prudentius had also been trying to remind men of a basic shared ideal about the salvation of man, as Macklin Smith argues:

Prudentius composed for a cultivated audience whose social class at least approached his own—that is, for the aristocracy and for the administrators of Empire and Church. This class had no solid ideological unity. It was torn by the Christian-pagan struggle, to some extent by heresy within the Christian group, and it was troubled by uncertainty of its social destiny.28

What the *Psychomachia* did was provide a shared ideological foundation for these people by reminding them that all men are engaged in a struggle for salvation and that virtue will win this struggle, since virtue springs from harmony, within both man and state. In essence Prudentius remedied Rome's problems with the German invaders by showing the individual's means of achieving salvation. One sees, therefore, that in essence Prudentius and Fane were not only striving to produce highly didactic works but, despite Prudentius' theological focus and Fane's political one, were advocating the same ideals and suggesting that adherence to these ideals would produce stability in the macrocosm just as it produced harmony in the microcosm. The particulars of Fane's use of the *Psychomachia* bear out this analysis.

The battle imagery in *Psychomachia* well suited the political statement Fane wanted to make.²⁹ The war images also helped Fane direct his work at the Civil War and to apply his theme about the loss of harmony in the state to recent experiences in England. The battles fought between Charles I's army and the roundheads under Cromwell's command had, moreover, been characterized less by valour than by self-interest. Cavalier and Roundhead had both spent more time pillaging than advocating a cause. Much the same can be said of the rebel kings and their officers in *De Pugna Animi*

²⁹The siege image was popular in Cavalier poetry which Fane knew well and to which he made a minor contribution. Although not a common image in his verse, it was one he no doubt had seen well used in the work of such poets as Donne and Carew.
who, like the vices in Psychomachia, manifest their sensual embodiments in the way they conduct battle and enjoy its fruits. They, like the warring factions in England, fight amongst themselves and spend their time between battles feasting on the spoils of their defeated adversaries. In De Pugna Animi Lord Mens’ troops and his admiral Sir Euroclodon Tempest give in to the temptation for spoil. That Fane, who had been imprisoned by the Puritans and chosen not to return to the King’s army after one encounter, would characterize the warring factions in De Pugna Animi as he does, is not, therefore, surprising. Moreover, to show how controversy swept through the rebels’ camp thwarting their own purposes, he would have had no better model than the Psychomachia. Just as dissension in the rebel camp destroys the rebels’ ability to turn back Mens’ army, so too in Psychomachia do Deceit’s trenches bring Pride’s assault to an end. In De Pugna Animi, Acratæia, or Intemperance, creates the stir that divides the rebels, and Orexis, or Appetite, leads the rabble forces into battle against the rebel kings. As Geusis explains to Lord Mens at the end of the play:

The fond Orexis blowing up the Coales
With Acrateia & discentonado,
Soe led our appetites & wills astray
That open to all enemies wee lay

Acratæia and Orexis, like Deceit in Psychomachia, turn that which they embody, their own evil power, against their own troops and

30Act V, v, 41-44.
so destroy their rebellion. Both Fane and Prudentius may well have been adding a second thrust of warning in their works, one that suggested to those who transgressed against the harmony of man and state that their own evil intent would destroy them.

In like fashion, Fane borrowed from Prudentius the emphasis he gives to the virtue of Patience. In *Psychomachia*, we find:

To all the virtues Patience is allied
Their brave companion and their only aid;
No virtue dares to enter combat fierce
Unless by Patience she is fortified

Fane makes essentially the same point. In *De Pugna Animi*, Lord Mens' angry admiral Sir Eurocedon Tempest constantly denounces the aid of Patience and rushes into unsuccessful combat before finally being tempted into Luxurioso's fellowship. On the other hand, Lord Mens' general Sir Ratio Prudence recognizes the folly of rejecting Patience. He tries to reconcile Tempest and Patience, as does Mens, and keeps Patience by his side throughout the battle with the rebel kings:

I to my quarters will retire & there
With Patience wayte ye Issue and successe.

If Fane's point is, as it seems to be, that the strongest weapon in battle is patience, the *Psychomachia* provided excellent precedent.

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32Act V, ii, 99-100.
for the statement.\textsuperscript{33} Moreover, having watched Charles I's officers, especially the young Prince Rupert whose daring lost as many battles as it won, Fane would likely have felt motivated to value highly the virtue of patience.

Like Prudentius, Fane makes all the characters warriors. Prudentius had done so quite understandably because he was employing the epic formula, in essence to do for the Christian world what Virgil had for the heroic in \textit{The Aeneid}. To make the personifications warrior figures well served Fane's purposes also, for doing so allowed him to point his work clearly at the recently ended Civil War. However, again we see Fane revise material from Prudentius to serve a new end. Prudentius wanted to suggest that Christian heroism was as noble as had been the battle spirit in Rome's great warriors of her legendary past. Fane, however, paints a different picture of the rebel characters, for he makes them epic heroes only to more effectively satirize them. The following speech by Corruscio well illustrates this:

\begin{verbatim}
  split them at their landing
  Sink dam & ram them, shew them Pluto's Court
  Make them accost three headed Cerberus
  Kiss, Proserpinas hand: send then from our efforts
\end{verbatim}

\textsuperscript{33}In \textit{The Allegory of Love}, C. S. Lewis suggests that having the virtues engage in battle, especially the virtue Patience, is a flaw in the design of the \textit{Psychomachia}. Fane somewhat corrects this flaw, if it is a flaw, by having Patience wait outside the battle and serving only to give strength to the general of the army.
A peal of such transcendent thunderings
As love once sent against the Giant brood
To quell presumption in their bold attempt. 34

Like a great heroic figure Corruscio threatens destruction for
his foes. That he does so only makes him seem more ridiculous
when he is later vanquished by Patience. Much the same is true
of the Irish and Scottish rabble who boast their bravery until
taken by the rebel kings at which point they plead for mercy as
does Discentonado, "Aye gude King Geusis, spare thy wee bern now,
I'se nere wrong thee mere" (IV, iv, 20). Likewise, Sir Eurocledon
Tempest brags of his daring in battle only to return from the
battlefield drunk and unable to guide his fleet home. Fane saw
his work as comedy; therefore, this shift to mock epic farce is
consistent with his own conception of what he was writing.

A final similarity between De Pugna Animi and the Psychomachia
is that they conclude with marriage. In much of his verse, Fane
had stated the need for an heir to the throne for the kingdom
to be strong. He ends De Pugna Animi on a similar note with the
union of Arete and Mens. This union does two things. Mens had
said at the beginning to the play that while his senses were in
revolt he could not think virtuously of marriage or even of women:

Sometimes I'm caught in Cupids moustrap Beauty
Bewitching mee to dote on its fond charmes
And then I loue to passion then againe,
By second thoughts invited to more Caution.
I hate ye thought of what I lou'd before

34Act IV, vi, 59-65.
A wife me thinks sounds strangely to my pallett,
She'll rob mee of my selfe & bee served first.35

The union of Mens and Arete tells the audience that Mens is in fact himself again, again able to rule the kingdom. Also with the union comes the devotion of the rebel kings who join him in the same faith that he joins virtue. Ultimately, the union of Mens and Arete provides that the microcosm will have an heir to ensure future harmony. In much the same fashion, although couched in theology, Prudentius concludes the Psychomachia:

And then the Holy Spirit will embrace the soul,
So long denied off spring, and by a marriage chaste,
Will make it fruitful with the seed of heavenly grace,
And late in life, thus, richly dowered, it will fill
The household of the father with a worthy heir.36

There is enough here to suggest that marriage is the final sign of salvation and harmony for Fane to take the idea and project it into its political form. Again, therefore, one sees Fane farming his source material and adapting that which he could use to serve his purpose.

In sum, then, Fane's use of the Psychomachia material accounts for much in De Pugna Animi. Both works are highly didactic, and that didacticism is directed at a people in turmoil who had lost sight of basic shared ideals. Both works emphasize the value of Patience and suggest that through marriage the hero shows that he has achieved salvation by following virtue. Finally, both

35Act I, i, 186-192.
36Prudentius, p. 81, 64-68.
works employ the vehicles of the warrior character and combat to allegorize the struggle within the microcosm. Fane, however, gives far greater emphasis to the virtue of reason than does Prudentius. In fact, Fane makes reason the leader of the virtues, not one of their ranks. This shift in emphasis is consistent with the Renaissance appreciation of learning and the power of the mind. Fane's source for this particular focus on reason is the Renaissance work which directly contributed to De Pugna Animi, Thomas Nabbes' moral masque Microcosmus (1637).

The Renaissance masque developed into an elaborate dramatic spectacle, and, in the hands of Ben Jonson, a spectacle which possessed a genuine dramatic interest. It developed from a simplistic form of drama, the medieval mumming or mummers' procession, which was often a celebration of death and resurrection. This early form of the masque had much in common with the morality play which itself often dealt with man's facing death and the resurrection of his soul through salvation. Not surprisingly, therefore, the Renaissance masque employed much of the material of the morality play, particularly its moral didacticism and its allegorical framework, both often revolving around and directed at a monarch figure. The theme of the Renaissance masque was generally moral, and later masques, such as those presented during Fane's life at court, were often political or fused politics and morality as in De Pugna Animi. Davenant's Britannia Triumphans (1638) went so far towards particularizing its political theme
as to celebrate the glory of Charles I and to depict the troublesome period before the Civil War. Thomas Carew's *Coelum Britannicum* (1634) personifies Government along with traditional morality play figures such as Wisdom and Truth. When political, these masques presented the defeat of turmoil and the restoration of harmony, symbolized at the end by the dance, through the morality of the monarch figure. For example, the 1594 Gray's Inn Twelfth Night show presents a prince redeemed from disorder by Virtue and Amity. Also a Twelfth Night show, Ben Jonson's *Hymeniac* (1606) has the character of Reason restore order to the microcosm. In each of these there can be seen at work the basic elements common to the morality play and that Fane employed so well in *De Pugna Animi*. To achieve this didacticism, the masque remained highly allegorical, even after Jonson introduced the dramatic antimasque.

For example, Ben Jonson's *The Masque of Queens Celebrated from the House of Fame* (1609) presented an elaborate, if subtle, allegory in which eleven witches, each representing a vice, combat Perseus, the figure who represents heroic virtue. In the same vein, Dekker and Ford's *Sun's Darling* (1624) is a moral masque in which Raybright is tempted by but rejects various sensual delights. Finally, like the morality play, the masque often placed a king figure at the center of the action. In part this convention was necessitated by the masque writer's need for a figure of such high moral or political stature as would be appropriate for the king to play. Moreover, the masque writers, like the writers
of Tudor political allegories, often intended their lessons for
a monarch or to celebrate the virtues of a monarch. So often
was the moral lesson suggested the necessity of reason for a king
to rule well that Fane would have found these masques excellent
source material for his own work, its theme being that a monarch
ruled by reason will rule a state in harmony. Just such a masque
is Thomas Nabbes' Microcosmus (1637), which, although not political,
was a possible direct source for De Pugna Animi.

Alfred Harbage first suggested and Clifford Leech later
repeated that Nabbes' masque was a possible direct source for
De Pugna Animi.37 Not only is there strong evidence to support
this claim, but it is likely that Nabbes' masque is the only
Renaissance work to which one can point with certainty as having
a major, direct influence on De Pugna Animi.

The action of Microcosmus revolves around Physander's falling
victim to sensuality, after which Bellamina takes him to the physi-
cian Temperance, who cures him by teaching him the value of
prudence. In De Pugna Animi, Mens rejects his chief advisor Sir
Ratio Prudence and, as a result, falls victim to the rebellion
of his senses, each embodied by a renegade king. Like Nabbes,
Fane shows his everyman figure in conflict with his senses, while
the vices are subordinated from their traditional role in the

37Alfred Harbage, "An Unnoted Caroline Dramatist," Studies
in Philology, XXXI (1934), 33. Clifford Leech, ed., Mildmay Fane's
Raguaillo D'Oceano and Candy Restored (Vaduz, Liechtenstein:
Kraus Reprint, 1963), p. 56.
morality play. Actually, Nabbes' and Fane's works are not unusual. As Morton Bloomfield points out in his discussion of sources for the Psychomachia, Philo has the "vices attack man through his five senses, which are his points of contact with the external world."\(^{38}\) Certainly, Fane's work follows this motif much more clearly than it does that established by Prudentius.

Another striking parallel between Fane's play and Nabbes' masque is the emphasis in both on prudence. In Microcosmus, Bellamina says,

So Prudence, when rebellious appetites
Have rays'd temptations, with their batteryes
Assaulting reason, she doth interpose,
And keep it safe. Th' attempts of sense are weake,
If their vaine forces wisdome designe to break.\(^{39}\)

The passage sums up the idea of how harmony must be restored in De Pugna Animi, for it is Sir Ratio Prudence, the embodiment of reason and wisdom, whom the virtues say they must have as their leader before they can effectively go into battle against the rebel kings and the vices. Unfortunately, Prudence is gone, because, as the reader learns in the following passage, Mens has withheld his favor from his most loyal and necessary advisor:

Though for a tyme I have lyon under clouds
Since the bright Ray His fauour once cast on mee


In former dayes, withdrew, & hid itselfe:
Had he been constant to his purposes,
As hee was to th' inconstant breath of fortune,
hee had not been slave to unsettlednesse,
Nor subject to the witchcrafts fear brings on him.\textsuperscript{40}

Worth noting, as well, is that the healing physician in \textit{Microcosmus}, Temperance, becomes in \textit{De Pugna Animi} the virtue who leads Mens' army home after the rebellion of Sir Eurocledon Tempest.

Too much must not be made about these similarities between Fane's play and Nabbes' masque, even though they justify Harbage's claim that \textit{Microcosmus} was a direct source for \textit{De Pugna Animi}. More important is the relationship between the two works in the development of the psychomachia drama. Nabbes' play has little in common with the Tudor political moralities; Fane's resembles them more than any other form of the psychomachia drama. Fane, however, was not so much interested in satire as were the Tudor writers. Rather, he wrote to apply the moral of the psychomachia, that reason and the virtues must rule man, to the monarch figure. Nabbes' masque returned the psychomachia drama to its original emphasis after the political direction it had taken during the Tudor period. Therefore, \textit{Microcosmus} is an intermediary work between the Tudor morality and \textit{De Pugna Animi}. It anticipated Fane's use of the political morality and the psychomachia theme. This relationship is far more significant than minor similarities to our understanding of material that contributed to the form of \textit{De Pugna Animi}.

\textsuperscript{40}Act II, i, 8-14.
The final materials that Fane used in writing *De Pugna Animi* are those from which he borrowed minor ideas and direct quotations. Fane was a plagiarist, as well as a well-read scholar who knew a significant body of literature; he was willing to borrow material wherever he found it and use it in his own writing. *De Pugna Animi* is filled with proverbs, all of which can be found in works written during the Renaissance. Moreover, the play contains several borrowings from Shakespeare, *Macbeth* in particular. The following speech by Lord Mens paraphrases in large part a speech by Macbeth:

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Nownes, Pronounes, verbes, partake of my distress then,
I must decline into some schoolboyes forme
Suffer, & suffer such indignities?
Put up a lye without a just reprooфе
A box o' th Ear at least? I shall be kickt,
And bannisht all society of honnor,
The Hectors will not own mee, Prentesboyes
Will hoot me as I pass.41
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Here, Mens laments the future he sees ahead in much the same terms that Macbeth uses to express his own apprehension, especially as neither sees the fellowship that old age should bring (see *Macbeth* V, ii, 22-28). Also, when Pathos reports the arrival of Mens' fleet, he does so by calling it a wood moving across the ocean in a speech similar to that of the messenger who tells Macbeth of the approach of Birnam Wood. (The explanatory notes for the play give full details on these and other similar

41Act I, i, 110-117.
borrowings.) Although Fane merely paraphrased ideas in such borrowings, he was not beyond an exact borrowing. Early in Act I, Mens says "My mind to mee a kingdome is." This is an exact quotation of the first line of Dyer's poem of the same title. Unfortunately, Fane only knew the works of writers from whom he took material; he had nothing of their talent.

To summarize, _De Pugna Animi_ is an interesting work because it is something of a late summation of the changes that the morality play had gone through as it developed during the early great years of English literature. Fane's two direct sources allow this conclusion for one is the work which established the morality tradition and the other is from Fane's own period. From Prudentius Fane took the basic image and conflict in _De Pugna Animi_. From Nabbes he took the material to give particular emphasis to the virtue of reason. His borrowings are not, however, the most interesting aspect of his use of source material. Rather, what makes the play an interesting hybrid is Fane's ability to depart from his sources, especially in ways that allowed him to produce a work with better characterization and more obviously modern dramatic quality than the morality plays generally had. Such material needs elaboration, however, and will be discussed in the critical section of this introduction.

**The Thematic Unity of Mildmay Fane's Works**

In 1934 when Alfred Harbage first noted the need for study of the work of Mildmay Fane, little attention had been directed
toward the second Earl of Westmorland's poetry and drama. Since then, Clifford Leech has edited two of Fane's plays and discussed the others in minor detail. Scholars have begun to take note of his poetry, pointing out in particular the similarities between the poetry of Fane and that of Quarles, Benlowes, and Herrick.

In his initial article, Harbage assessed Fane's abilities as follows:

The Earl was no poet, and he certainly possessed little dramatic instinct, but he was not a mere scribbler like some of his contemporaries. Although artistically insignificant, the plays make tolerable reading despite their pervasive pedantry and the eccentricity of the attempts at humor. One comes upon an occasional fair line, as well as an occasional bald plagiarism.

None of the subsequent work on Fane has suggested that his abilities were greater than this. Harbage, however, notes also in his article that Fane deserves further study and suggests in particular that editions of De Pugna Animi and Vertue's Triumph would be welcome contributions to the body of scholarly literature.

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45 Harbage, p. 34.

46 Ibid., p. 36.
What makes Fane's canon of literature interesting and significant is the encyclopedic nature of its many allusions to politics, mythology, philosophy, and literature. The "bald plagiarisms" themselves are of value. Leech has used one to show that a bad quarto of *Hamlet* was known to Fane and, therefore, in circulation.\(^4\) In addition, Fane's moral dramas present basic philosophical ideals that had been significant in Renaissance thought but were beginning to be rejected by his day. Similarly, his political allegories reflect the turmoil that England suffered during Fane's lifetime and, therefore, provide scholars with a mirror of that period. Finally, Fane's poetry is typical of that written by the Cavaliers. Perhaps not as well written as the poems one usually studies, it is interesting reading to the literary historian, for it shows the widespread interest in writing poetry. In sum, what Fane lacks in artistic achievement he makes up for by being an interesting vehicle for our understanding of the late Renaissance. Furthermore, Fane did have his accomplishments that demand attention.

The theme of mutability provides a foundation for much of Fane's writing. As Harbage says, "He hated the thought of change, craving only quiet and stability, a drowsing government in London and festivities at Apethorpe."\(^4\) Fane, however, did


not enjoy such a life. His England was torn by war initiated by political and religious dissension; Fane himself was sent to the Tower for his loyalty to the crown. Change, therefore, becomes a constant in Fane's work, particularly in his political dramas that deal with social and political turmoil. He develops these works with the old images of cosmic order, humour psychology, music--anything that would help him point out the sinfulness of disorder and attack changes that led to turmoil in the state. The result is that much of his poetry and essentially all of his plays read like impassioned pleas against domestic, religious, and political turmoil. The "dreadful dangers" of change "were his recurrent themes."49

Apart from his poetry and plays, Fane left two manuscripts that are worthy of study. His Latin "Autobiography" begins with a detailed discussion of his travels in Europe and then moves to a series of reflections on the political events of the Civil War.50 Along the way he gives enough details about his life to provide an accurate biographical sketch. Certainly what is important in this document is the information it gives about the political events between 1642 and the Restoration. Though Fane was involved but little in the Wars, the manuscript reads as a personal response to everything that was going on around him.

49 Harbage, "An Unnoted Caroline Dramatist," p. 34.
50 British Library MS Add. 34220.
He succeeds in painting a ridiculous picture of the Roundheads, including Cromwell. He laments Charles I's defeats and particularly mourns the Queen's flight from England and finally the execution of the King. The manuscript ends with Fane's celebration of the Restoration of the Stuart monarchy, which he welcomed as a restoration of order and sanity to England and the reemergence of harmony within the commonwealth. The ultimate value of this work, despite its rambling structure, is that it allows the reader to see how Fane was affected by England's political strife and, therefore, see in his dramas how Fane responded artistically.

Another extant manuscript by Fane is a translation of the political treatise by Fulvius Pacianus "Of the Art of Well Governing a People."51 This work is a strong defense of the monarchy. Its basic structure is a narrative of virtuous actions of various monarchs from antiquity, supplemented by constant references to the political and moral philosophy of Aristotle, Plato, and other Greek and Roman philosophers. The political ideal advanced is that a ruler to be loved and feared by his people must himself be free of the control of the vices, a state which he achieves through loyalty to God. With this freedom he must combine a sense of justice and the strength to demand obedience to that sense and to his right to rule. The following passage illustrates both the expression of this idea and the essential structure of that work:

51British Library MS Add. 34251.
It concurs a Prince should of his owne accord, doe all ye by humane diligence can be done, to accustome himself To the detestation of vices, & to direct the end of his Calling to the observance of Justice, & other vertues, such as make a Prince amiable, & doe render him most worthy of ye callinge. It being a Clear case ye a true Prince, & a true King (as Xenophon said) is not really he that carries ye Scepter & Crowne, or that is possesst of the Kingdome, by loft, or Succession, But he who hath the true Knowledge how to govern. 52

Certainly the rejection of heredity as the proper determination of who should govern is inconsistent with Fane's defense in his poetry of the Divine Right doctrine and his enthusiastic welcoming of Charles II back to the throne. However, by the time Fane translated this treatise, he had seen Charles I defeated and consequently leave England at the mercy of the Puritan radicals who were unprepared to rule and who had no right to that power. Thus, he would have concurred with the ideals set forth that demand that the king be free from vices which weaken his rule and the arguments later in the treatise which insist that the monarch have the strength to rule. Charles I had been swayed from his better judgment, had turned his back on those who were faithful to him, and had not possessed the strength to keep the throne which he had inherited.

Critics of Fane's work have not thus far considered in any detail the "Autobiography" or "Of the Art of Well Governing a People" and what they tell us about Fane and his basic political

52 British Library MS Add. 34251, ff. 6r-6v.
and moral philosophy. In the preparation of this edition of *De Pugna Animi*, these works have been used to help explicate the text. One finds them especially helpful in dealing with this particular play, for it, unlike his earlier dramas, is not limited by his propagandistic intentions. Rather, *De Pugna Animi* is more than anything else a dramatization of the political philosophy of the treatise he had translated or was translating at about the same time he was writing this his last play.

In 1648, at the encouragement of Robert Herrick,53 Mildmay Fane published *Otia Sacra*, a volume of religious and secular verse which he circulated among friends. Perhaps his accomplishment with this volume can best be summarized as generally clever and occasionally ingenious but rarely inspired. What is, in fact, most interesting about the collection and other poetry which appears in bits and pieces in other British Library MSS is the degree to which the poetry imitates the verse of other more skilled poets of the Cavalier school. Fane apparently knew Herrick and Herbert at Cambridge.54 Like Herrick's first volume, *Otia Sacra* is divided into religious and secular verse. Like Herbert and Quarles, Fane made extensive use of emblem poetry. In general, he followed the school of Jonson, whom he may not have known but whom he eulogizes in *Otia Sacra*:

53Friedman, p. iii.

54Ibid., p. v.
He who began from Brick and Lime
      The Muses Hill to clime;
And whilom busied in laying Ston,
      Thirsted to drink of Helicon;
Changing His Trowell for a Pen,
Wrote straight the Temper not of Dirt but Men.

Now sithence that He is turn'd to Clay, and gon,
      Let Those remain of th' occupation
He honor'd once, square Him a Tomb may say
His Craft exceeded farr a Dawbers way.
Then write upon't, He could no longer tarry,
      But was return'd again unto the Quarry. 55

Jonson, no doubt, received more eloquent testimonials, but perhaps
none more sincere, for Fane read widely and obviously appreciated
the poetry of his contemporaries. Whether he knew Jonson or not,
his poetry certainly shows more sign of influence from the school
of Jonson than of Donne.

Of all Fane's verse, the most unusual is his emblem poetry.
Rarely is it good; Fane appears to have been more interested in
the visual elements of the works than their literary quality.
(Much the same could be said of his dramas, which often replace
dramatic tension with scenic ingenuity. This is especially true
of Raguallo D'Oceano, which has little other than its elaborate
scenery to recommend it for study.) Of more literary interest
than these mechanical flights of fancy in Fane's verse, however,
are his themes. In Fane's poetry one finds little that does not
appear elsewhere in his canon, and especially in his dramas.
However, his poetry is simpler than his drama; therefore, by studying
the poems one can prepare to understand the plays. In his verse,

55Ibid., p. 169.
one especially notes Fane's emphasis on the need for harmony, his adherence to the Renaissance concept of cosmic order, his response to the politics of war-torn England, and his dread of change.

A large part of Fane's secular verse, especially the poems he wrote to celebrate the royal family and to commemorate their important actions, deals with the events of the time. One sees this in the following poem that refers to Charles I's return from Scotland after his attempt to head off political crisis there:

Doth Charles return to make our Climate shine,
And shall not every Spring run Claret-wine?
Is not the Kalendar reverst, and where
Decembers dirt, and th' Frost of Janivere
Threatn'd a winter, now those sheets display
Themselves ore fruit full June, or turning May.56

Also, his poetry captures his personal feelings about the turmoil of the Civil Wars. Stanza II of "Upon the Times" illustrates this:

England that was, not Is,
Unless in Metamorphosis,
Chang'd from the Bower of bliss and rest,
To become now Bellonaes Interest,
In danger of a Funerall Pile,
Unless some happy Swift means reconcile.57

The reference to Spenser is obvious, although Fane's "Bower of bliss" represents the tranquility of the Elizabethan period, not the temptation that distracts men from their duty as in _The Faerie_.

56 Ibid., p. 147.

57 Ibid., p. 50.
Queene. The poem does, however, reveal Fane's fear that England was destroying itself and suggests the mutability theme that was an undercurrent in so much of what he wrote. The poem "To Retiredness" follows similar lines and presents Fane's reflections on his escape to Apethorpe after his release from the Tower. After his imprisonment, Fane spent several years seeking tranquility amidst the storm that surrounded him:

Thus out of fears, or noise of Warr,
Crowds, and the clamourings at Barr;
The Merchant's dread, th' unconstant tides,
With all Vexation besides;
I hugg my Quiet, and alone
Take thee for my Companion,
And deem in doing so, I've all
I can True Conversation call,
For so my Thoughts by this retreat
Grow stronger, like contracted heat.58

Fane's companion here is God, whom he refers to elsewhere in the poem as his patron. Such a weaving of secular and religious ideas, here that of escaping the turmoil of war through meditation on God, is of particular note. Generally when Fane projects a solution to the strife England was suffering he represents that answer as man's coming to know himself and to control his desires, much as the morality plays had taught. In other words, Fane saw religious zeal bring about political and social strife. His answer to political and social problems was, therefore, religious.

Men, he felt, must learn to see the cosmic order and their proper roles in that order as being ordained by God. A knowledge of

58Ibid., p. 174.
God would entail knowledge of His order as well as that of their place in the universe and in the state. This fundamental belief was beginning to dissolve in the late Renaissance. Fane did not want the idea to collapse--again the fear of change surfaces--and, therefore, presented the theme of order over and over again in his work, especially in *De Pugna Animi* which is perhaps its best expression.

Donald M. Friedman, editor of the reprint of Fane's *Otia Sacra*, says that one finds this theme, that through contemplation comes knowledge and thus morality, running throughout the poems, both secular and religious:

In both parts of *Otia Sacra*, we encounter Fane thinking about man's need to escape the tentacles of sense and to cultivate the powers of mind and spirit, to enlarge their freedom and restore their title of Christian responsibility.59

The point made by Friedman is well illustrated in the first stanza of "My Reformation" where Fane deals with man's immorality:

If all the Span  
Of Dayes  
Lent here to Man  
To Pilgrim in,  
And in Times Kalendar enrol'd,  
God should but Skan,  
What might He finde for weight and Measure,  
But Pounds and Pecks of this and t'other evil;  
No one markt to His Praise,  
But spent or sold  
For Profit, or in Pleasure:  
By whole-sale  
Unto Sin;  
And by Retaile  
Unto the Flesh, the World, and the Devil.60

59Ibid., p. xi.

60Ibid., p. 51.
Fane's three evils here are characteristic of the morality play and may be a direct borrowing from *The Castle of Perseverance* (1415), a play which possibly influenced *De Pugna Animi*.

Such poems by Fane well prepare the reader of his canon for the themes of his dramas. The above passage follows ideas that Fane had also found attractive in the Italian political treatise which he had translated and which had helped him finally draw the connection between the basic morality of all men and the especial morality demanded of a sovereign. In essence, Fane, like Renaissance thinkers before him, saw a unity in the world whereby secular order would follow only from divine order and felt a need for men to be aware of this fact lest they slip into sin and plunge their society into chaos.

When Parliament banned public theatrical productions, many of the Cavaliers began writing drama for private production. Fane was one of these. He produced no fewer than seven dramas and possibly as many as ten, although the remaining three have either been lost or have been assigned to him with uncertainty. He definitely wrote the six found on British Library MS Add. 34221: the moral allegories *Tyme's Trick Upon the Cards* (1642) and *Vertue's Triumph* (1644); the political allegories *Candy Restored* (1641), *The Change* (1642), and *De Pugna Animi* (1650); and the masque *Raguillo D'Oceano* (1640). Harbage refers to *De Pugna Animi* as a moral allegory; however, scrutiny of the text suggests that it has definite political meaning. It is the work, however, in
which Fane most effectively weaves his moral and political themes; thus either classification has merit. The final play Don Phoebo's Triumph, a short poetic drama, exists only on Huntington Library MS 770. Of these plays those with political themes most related to that of De Pugna Animi are The Change and Candy Restored.

Fane apparently had no desire to write for the public stage. Rather, his dramas, in which his family and friends acted, were written and produced to provide entertainment for the gatherings he hosted at Apethorpe. The plays are, as a result, modeled on the masques that he no doubt witnessed during his time at court before the Civil War. Fane, however, was not interested in mere entertainment, especially in the works he wrote after his imprisonment. After his first venture as a playwright, he left the pure masque form and took up that of the morality play. The morality play allowed characterization and dramatic qualities which better suited his purpose. Even more, the morality play had been used as a common vehicle for the development of the mutability theme, which Fane often developed.

One can easily discuss Fane's dramas together, for whether moral or political allegory, they all present a variation on one basic theme. In all the plays, Fane suggests that order exists on three levels: within the universe, within the state, and within the human being. Any violation of this order on any level results in disorder at all levels. Certainly in Renaissance drama one often finds the same idea, whether in the storms that ravage Lear
once his kingdom has fallen into disorder or in Ulysses' detailed discussion of the chain of being in Troilus and Cressida (1603). In Fane's works, this theme projects itself into structure and imagery, giving to his plays a sense of organic unity. Moreover, Fane combines this theme of order with that of mutability to project the disastrous changes that result from the loss of order. Clifford Leech has suggested that the basic statement in Fane's plays becomes intensified in those he wrote after the outbreak of the Civil Wars, for Fane's response to that conflict was to remind men of the necessity of maintaining the order by keeping their places within it:

We shall see in his later plays how the violence of the Civil War drove him to assume a slightly more Royalist tone in his writings, but always he is on the side of quiet, rational government, guided by Prudence and Reason and rejecting the autocracy of will.61

Certainly this statement aptly describes De Pugna Animi, a play that provides a moral not only for the governed but for the king as well. To see how Fane gets to this point before treating the text of that play, one should see how his earlier political allegories paved a path toward De Pugna Animi.

Written in 1641, Candy Restored reveals the disintegration of order that England began to suffer just before the outbreak of war in 1642 and that lasted until the Restoration. Using humour psychology, Fane shows the three Goddesses Albinia, Ibernia, and

61 Leech, Mildmay Fane's Raguaillo D'Oceano and Candy Restored, pp. 40-41.
Calidonia suffering from an imbalance in their bloods which results in turmoil and disorder on the island Candy. Unfortunately, the physician who could heal their disorders has been banished from the island. One sees here cosmic disorder manifesting itself in disorder on earth. Candy is restored only when Dr. Synodark returns to diagnose the imbalances from which the Goddesses suffer and to put all to rest by prescribing healing measures. Possibly Fane is allegorizing the return of Charles I from his Scottish campaign, which he had celebrated in verse as seen earlier in this discussion. Certainly Fane's basic theme is well expressed in the following speech by Captain in that play:

What tyme s ar e these where in such actions raigne as discontent the best and fright the swayne and like the world turnd vpside downe dispence comman d to those should learne obedience And limit soe commanders powers that they must only beare the name, learne to obey But this world will not alwaie last, lets on with these we haue.62

The Change is a less effective drama than is Candy Restored; however, one does see a distinct shift in Fane's thinking in the play, a shift that manifests itself more clearly in De Pugna Animi. The basic action of The Change revolves around a trial in which Capritchio accuses the world of having abused him. He assembles a panel of judges who do in fact find the world at fault. Fane apparently wrote the play during his imprisonment

62Ibid., p. 108.
in the Tower. Throughout, Capritchio's accusations reflect Fane's dissatisfaction with the zeal of the Puritans who placed him there. Ultimately, the play is a call for the return of sanity from religious and political zealousness. The moral allegory which followed, Vertue's Triumph, builds upon this basic statement by showing that men can act with sanity when they control their wills. The final words of The Change, "A King's a Man," are of particular interest, for they anticipate a final treatment of the theme in De Pugna Animi where Fane makes the point that a king must control himself the same way men must find order in their lives. De Pugna Animi is more effective than any of these other plays, for in it Fane puts the matter into the context of the microcosm/macrococsm. The play, therefore, provides the most effective allegory of his political beliefs, especially those he had found and accepted in the treatise "Of the Art of Well Governing a People."

This brief review of Fane's work illustrates two significant points. First, there is a thematic unity in Fane's writing that may reflect his artistic limitations but that also allows the student of his work to piece together a coherent understanding of the Earl's mind. Second, after looking at his verse and early drama one has a context within which to view De Pugna Animi as something of a culmination of his artistic ability and themes. In this final play, Fane accomplished a synthesis of political and moral allegory toward which he had been working throughout his literary career.
De Pugna Animi

De Pugna Animi, a Latin translation of psychomachia meaning "the battle of the soul," is not only Mildmay Fane's last play, it is in some ways his best. It is generally the most effectively structured play of his canon, following traditional and logical act and scene divisions. His characterization does more than that in his other works to go beyond mere abstraction. Characters such as Curtois, Tempest, and Corruscio especially embody distinct personalities that make them dramatically effective. The imagery is seldom original; however, it is extremely effective for expressing and enhancing Fane's particular theme. Most impressive is the unity of the work. Unlike his other political allegories, De Pugna Animi is not limited merely to representing English political problems, although numerous references and allusions in the play do point to recent events. These references, however, do not distract the reader from Fane's larger design, but rather give substance to his development of it. Fane's intention is to suggest the need for harmony within the state and to point out that that harmony comes from the order that men and kings experience within themselves. What limits the play and makes it more interesting to the literary historian than to the literary critic are Fane's lack of originality and his general inability to use language effectively, although on occasion his language does well convey his ideas.
Clifford Leech's capsule description of the play is to the point:

In this, his last extant play, Fane has almost disregarded the contemporary world of politics--though its echoes are still obvious enough--and has presented us with a very carefully worked out allegory which has an atmosphere of moral and intellectual puritanism.63 By "puritanism" Leech does not mean the specific political religion of those who had imprisoned Fane nine years before his writing De Pugna Animī. Rather, he is noting the unswerving morality which the play projects as providing the proper foundation of virtue and harmony both within men and within the state. Nonetheless, the play is not a pure propaganda piece denouncing rebellion in any form. Indeed, after studying Fane's poetry, Donald Friedman noted that by the time in life when he wrote De Pugna Animī Fane had grown to see political and moral matters with a greater flexibility than he had when he penned some of his earlier works:

Fane's adherence to hierarchical government was not so doctrinaire that it kept him from protesting against some of the monarch's policies, nor was he ruled so strictly by principle that he could accept exile and the confiscation of his wealth rather than come to terms with an ascendant Parliament.64

In other words, Fane developed the ability to see the revolution in England and its implications for English government from a less dogmatic perspective than did many of his contemporaries.

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63Leech, p. 56.

64Friedman, p. vii.
and indeed than he himself had done earlier in life. By 1650 Fane appears to have blamed Charles I for many of the royal problems and especially for allowing Parliament to wrestle the kingdom from his grasp. Also in 1650, Fane was translating Fulvius Pacianus' political treatise "Of the Art of Well Governing a People" which supported the monarchy but also outlined rigid guidelines for the monarch to follow if he was to deserve his throne. In essence De Pugna Animi deals with the proper roles for both king and subjects. Utilizing the ideas of Pacianus in De Pugna Animi, Fane represents the role of the monarch and shows Lord Mens straying from that role. At the same time he depicts the rebels as equally guilty of the turmoil in the microcosm because of their unjust rebellion against the proper ruler. The duality of the theme gives De Pugna Animi a complexity, enhanced by the moral foundation of the play, that Fane's earlier plays did not achieve and which makes this his most successful attempt at writing drama.

De Pugna Animi opens with the German Rhine Grave (Rheingraf) Lord Mens reflecting on the turmoil that he has experienced since the rebellion of the senses. Throughout the first act he is joined by the various virtues, who have heard about his problem and have

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65Consistently throughout his letters, poetry, and "Autobiography," one finds Fane supporting the King. Only on occasion does he protest the King's actions, these being at times when he felt Charles I was turning his back on friends in favor of soothing his adversaries.
come to help him regain control of the microcosm which the senses have overcome. First, comes Feal, the personification of faith, who encourages Mens to throw off despair. Following Feal, Mens is joined by D'Accordes (Concord), Patience (Patience), Temperance (Sobriety), Curtois (Humility), Chaste Lion (Chastity), and Frayanck (Bounty). Each offers Mens the loyalty of his forces in the effort to overthrow the vices who are serving the rebel senses in order to restore order and bring the senses to proper obedience. All agree, however, that they cannot go into battle and hope to achieve a victory without the help and leadership of Sir Ratio Prudence, the personification of reason and wisdom. Mens, however, has exiled Prudence, who was and should have remained his closest advisor. That action, in fact, is what allowed the revolt of the senses in the first place.

Act II begins with Sir Ratio Prudence considering his summons from Lord Mens to return to lead his army into combat against the vices. He notes the loss of favor he has suffered but responds as duty demands:

I must not slacken mine to find him out,
Though for a tyme I haue lyon under clouds
Since the bright Ray His favoure once cast on mee
In former dayes, withdrew, & hid itselfe:
Had hee been constant to his purposes,
As hee was to th' inconstant breath of fortune,
hee had not been slave to unsettlednesse,
Nor subiect to the witchcrafts fear brings on him:
But now I hear he's much disquieted,
And in a Laberinth, or pack of troubles,
Wanting a clew of thread to bring him out:
ffor since hee cast mee of should bee his guide,
No wonder t'is hee cannot safe abide:
I'll hunt him out & with my prudent care
Seek to reclaime his parts to regular.66

From here the play moves to Sir Eurocleidon Tempest, Mens' blustering admiral, who has been ordered to prepare the fleet to carry the army to the Cape of Good Hope where the virtues will do battle with the vices. Tempest is an excellent comic character who greets the assembling army with boasts of his own prowess. In particular he argues with Patience, who he feels does not have a warrior's spirit. Mens finally reconciles the braggart to Patience and convinces all to follow the guidance of Sir Ratio Prudence.

Act III carries the action to the rebel camp where the senses are enjoying their victory over the island Microcosm. Immediately the audience sees them feasting upon the spoils of their campaign and having their vassals prepare a grand feast for their indulgence in sensual pleasures. While these kings feast, however, the rabble of the island--the Irish and Scottish Orexia, Pathos, and Acrateia--who joined the conquerers, have also begun enjoying the fruits of victory by becoming drunk and unruly. Meanwhile, the vices, who are the commanders of the kings' forces, begin to grow dissatisfied with the actions of their leaders, whom they see growing soft in their luxurious living and unprepared for continued warfare. Finally, all three factions begin to quarrel among themselves and become susceptible to attack by Mens' army.

66Act II, i, 7-21.
In Act IV Mens' forces land, but not without problems, as Sir Eurocleeldon Tempest rushes into battle, again rejecting the assistance of Patience. The vices manage to lure many of Mens' troops away, including Tempest, who falls prey to Luxurioso. However, Prudence arrives to plot a successful battle strategy which finally directs the army to victory when he sends the virtues against their appropriate vices. The only real casualty is Tempest, who is tempted by drink and then lost at sea during the return voyage. The servants of the rebel kings are left behind, no longer a threat after the senses are overcome.

The final act shows Mens welcoming his victorious army home. The turmoil he has suffered has not ended, however. First, he must be reconciled to his senses, who constitute his will, something without which he cannot rule. He faces the rebels, who accuse him of having given them free reign over the microcosm, as he had done when he banished Prudence. Mens, therefore, receives his due blame for the rebellion, for it was he who allowed his servants too much power. Next, the rebels bring in their advocate Costume (Custom) who soothes the turmoil and reconciles Mens to the senses. Finally, Mens accepts Arete (Virtue) in marriage which restores the obedience of the rebels and reestablishes the harmony of the microcosm.

To appreciate fully Fane's accomplishments in De Pugna Animi, one must observe the basic unity of the work. The allusions to current politics, the imagery, and the theme all work
effectively within the morality play format to create a tightly structured drama. So too do the many borrowings help Fane, for they allow him to associate his work with others with a similar theme. To see this unity, however, one must first come to grips with the theme Fane was developing.

Fane was basically an Elizabethan. Elizabeth I had died before he was old enough to remember life under her rule, and Francis Bacon had so affected the late Renaissance that England was moving away from the Humanism of the Elizabethan Period to the ideals of the new science. Nonetheless, Fane preferred to live by the old standards. Tillyard defines precisely what this means:

To an Elizabethan, the old Platonic and consistently orthodox opposition between the bestial and the rational in man, between instinct and understanding, between appetite and will was starkly real.⁶⁷

In Elizabethan literature, this opposition often manifested itself in the basic conflict between passion and reason. Such a simple generalization, however, was seldom adequate. Certainly it was not so for Fane. Rather, he found the medieval morality play a more complete unraveling of the nature of this conflict. Such detail suited his purposes.

To enhance his theme, Fane appealed to an equally Elizabethan concept, taken from medieval theology, that of the doctrine of plenitude. Certainly, the Puritan assault on the throne had been

⁶⁷Tillyard, p. 75.
a challenge to this doctrine. Therefore, Fane would have been especially motivated to emphasize the fact that the conflict of passion and reason in man has its parallel in the state. The passions in man find their counterparts in the zealous rebels, and reason its counterpart in the king. Fane's statement is not, of course, original. The numerous facets of this basic idea had been a mainstay in Elizabethan literature. As Tillyard says, "the usual intention is to establish the unity and mutually necessary ranks of the body politic, through the correspondance with the human organism." Fane's variation on the Elizabethan theme remains, nonetheless, interesting for two reasons. First, he interweaves the morality play structure with the doctrine of plenitude. Second, he advocated this concept in a period that had begun to see it erode in the face of the new science and almost completely disappear in the wake of the movement of political thought toward the ideal of democracy.

68 Ibid., p. 95.

69 In his "Autobiography," Fane says, "Et dum cum tanto ardore Monarchiam quasi mutandi causa in Aristocratiam, vel potius (vt nimis patet) Democratiam res hic nunc agitur vereor ne et principem mutandi illic ex tarda auxiliandi benevolentia causa non solumodo agiretur sed festinetur; & dum nouum gubernandi studium medetur, in veterem illam insulam & Dominationem huic Coronae annexam gubernationis habena totaliter relaxetur." British Library MS Add. 34220, f. 13r. (And while affairs fervently tend toward changing a Monarchy into an Aristocracy or rather, as is too plain, into a Democracy, I fear lest the prince, through a dilatory effort to help himself, not only lends a hand, but actually hastens matters. While this new fashion of governing is contemplated, in that ancient island and annex to the crown the reins of government are relaxed altogether.) Interestingly, Fane made this response in 1640, by the dating in the MS, before the revolt of Parliament had blossomed into war.
As has been observed previously, Fane's political theme in *De Pugna Animi* is that what is good for the harmony of man is equally good for the harmony of the state, and the harmony in both is an ultimate sign of virtue. In the play, Mens must allow reason to rule the senses. When it does not, turmoil exists because the subordinate parts of man, those which compose his appetites, gain control of the microcosm. When Mens rejects his most noble advisor, Sir Ratio Prudence, he breaks the natural order and is left distraught:

My mind to mee a kingdome is: yett still  
I am assaulted with such apprehensions  
(As are concomitants to state & Empire):  
The boystrous Seas when breath'd upon too loud  
By the tempesteous winds present less dread  
Than the unruly Imaginary cares  
Tumble and rowle within mee to a Conquest.70

The whole passage shows the distress Mens suffers because of the rebellion of the senses. It shows, moreover, beginning with the line taken from Dyer, the parallels between Mens and the state. By extension, therefore, the reader moves from man to state in his understanding of the significance of the conflict.71 The rebel senses become adversaries to the state. Just as Mens calls upon Sir Ratio Prudence to put down the rebellion in the microcosm, so too must the king of a state be controlled by reason and assemble

70 Act I, i, 28-34.

71 According to Fane's acceptance of Renaissance cosmology, there are various levels of order in the natural order which he would have acknowledged. Conflict at any level threatens the harmony at all levels.
for advice his wisest counsellors, those whose advice is based upon reason instead of passion, if he is to rule his kingdom effectively. If the king allows rebels to rule him, he, like Mens, will see the harmony of the kingdom erode and his royal power slip away.

From his poetry, one knows that Fane felt men would be able to control their passions if they grew virtuous through their understanding of the divine order in the universe and of the parallels that order has within themselves. Within the state, king and subjects alike must understand that the order of the state is also a reflection of the divine order of God. In this political order, the king must rule the state with the same strength and wisdom with which reason must rule the body politic. Just as reason must overcome that which threatens man, so too must the king exert his power to conquer that which threatens the state. A failure by either reason or the king to do so is the cause of sin and discord within both man and the kingdom.

_De Pugna Animi_ is, therefore, a work which reminds men that just as reason must rule them, so too must the king govern their actions within the state. Yet, the play does more. Mens turned his back on reason which is the initial cause of his turmoil and the loss of harmony in the microcosm. The play, therefore, points a moral at the king as well as would-be rebels in the state. It tells the king that he must use wisdom and reason as his guides, not his passions. It likewise tells the king of the importance
of trusting his wisest counsellors and rejecting the influence of those who seek only self-gain. In this way the king will be free from rebellion and the state from discord. Fane believed this idea completely. He had seen Charles I make the same mistakes Mens makes. Also, his translation of the Italian political treatise "Of the Art of Well Governing a People" indicates his agreement with the political thought it contains or else he would not have found it worthy of his attention. The treatise is particularly descriptive of the need for the king to follow his reason and of the necessity of his attaining virtue as a man before he can be an effective and virtuous king. The following passage illustrates this:

Whence he who by Divine grace is set over those who else by Nature were his equals ought to be puffed vp with the pride of this casual and fading greatness, But calling to mynde that he is a Man, & yt they are Men he governs, ought likewyse to remember yt his office is first to Command himself by soe ordering his Judgm: & desires, that he bring them vnder the power of reason, & adorning or beautifying his lyfe with such qualitiees yt it may appeare manifestly yt he is not guilty of those vices and omissions, wch he severely punishes, & reproves in his Subiects, to wch purpose belongs yt saying of Socrates before mentioned wch saith that he understood to be best king, who knew how to govern & moderate his owne affections, Because out of knowing how to Command himselfe, arose the art of knowing how to govern others rightly, & for this cause Plutarche said that a Prince ought to be lyke a Masons Rule, the which as it cannot make straight nor adjust the thing it is layd to, unless it selfe be first level'd and layd Iust, soe neither can a Prince ever be able to Command Subjects, and punish their misdemeanours if he shall not have learnt first to be Iust himself, & to beare Rule over his owne passions & to Compose his lyfe into such a Method, yt by the Example of his vertue he may prescribe the rule of well living to his people, who allways haueinge their eyes vppon
the Prince, they propound to themselves all things for lawfull & prayse worthy they see him doe.\textsuperscript{72}

The point made here is the same that King Geusis makes to Mens. He says that Mens did not rule his passions; thus they could not rule themselves after Mens gave them control of the microcosm. In turn, they could not rule the vices to which they were subject in the same manner that Mens was subject to his senses:

\begin{verbatim}
Yo" Highnesse knowes with what indulgent care
Wee were plac't over Microcosm to rule
An Ile (though but a spot to th' universe

... Wee warr'd upon her conquer'd & subdue herrs
With th' help of seuerall vices our Comand
Then fond Orexis blowing up the Coales
With Acrateia & discentonado,
Soe led our appetites & wills astray.\textsuperscript{73}
\end{verbatim}

The point is that Mens' subjects, by following his example, suffer the same infirmities that he suffers, thus complicating the already existing turmoil within the state.

The reader who comes to \textit{De Pugna Animi} with a background in Elizabethan literature will find no new themes or methods of development. This is certainly true of the imagery Fane employs, much of which was dictated by the morality play mode he used. Also, Fane's following the philosophy of plenitude necessitated the use of much of the imagery one finds in the play. Yet, when structure and philosophy work together, the imagery takes on a dual dimension. For example, Mens, whose name suggests the

\textsuperscript{72}British Library MS Add. 34251, ff. 12r-12v.

\textsuperscript{73}Act V, v, 27-43.
Everyman of the morality play, becomes also the king figure as Feal's initial greeting suggests:

Most high & mighty Mens Graue of the Rhine
(Whose large descent of parentage & line
The Eagle on her spreding Wings hath borne
Ouer Almania, & whose pompous state
Sits now a Crowne on the Palatinate.)\(^{74}\)

In addition to the images demanded by his mode and theme, Fane also employs other stock embellishments consistent with his design. Images of the war on Olympus, of music, of humour psychology, and of nature in turmoil fill the play.

Mens' first speech describes his inner turmoil as the strife caused when the Titans revolted against Jove:

Mars governing the Skeam
And Vulcan stil at's hamer forging arms
For ye Great Thundring love to beat down giants.\(^{75}\)

The allusion clearly suggests that the rebellion of the senses in man has immense proportion which is consistent with the philosophy of the microcosm and macrocosm. In addition, the passage which follows points to the fact that the climate of war will not allow the superior passion of love, as the reference to Venus suggests.\(^{76}\) Later Corruscio employs the same allusion when he

\(^{74}\)Act I, i, 10-14.  
\(^{75}\)Act, I, i, 2-4.  
\(^{76}\)In his verse and "Autobiography," Fane suggests the need for the king to be securely married. The conflict in the play, moreover, does not end until Mens weds Arete, returning the climate of love.
roused his allies to action by calling upon them to muster up the fury of Jove in dealing with the rebellion of the giants:

send from our efforts
A peal of such transcendent thunderings
As Iove once sent against the Giant brood
To quell presumption in their bold attempt.\textsuperscript{77}

These allusions to the mythological rebellion let the reader know just how significant this rebellion in the microcosm is, equal in significance to the rebellion of the Titans against Olympus.

With the nature of the rebellion so established, Fane uses images of music to point up the loss of harmony in the state that has resulted. Such imagery was typical of Elizabethan works with similar themes for the harmony of music was a favorite metaphor for the cosmic dance.\textsuperscript{78} Mens says that as a result of the rebellion in his domain, "All musiques turn'd to croaking froggs." An even better example occurs when Feal tells Mens that he must act to restore order and makes his statement in terms that suggest the proper ordering of the musical scale:

Why thus display yo" Banners, bid defiance
To all, that would annoy you, rayse up force;
Beat downe sedition, Bannish trembling feare,
Suspitions & such Quavers from yo" Gammuth
Crattchetts & Minnums too, the large & Long
Will not disgrace but add life to------song.\textsuperscript{79}

\textsuperscript{77}Act IV, vi, 62-65.

\textsuperscript{78}Perhaps the finest work to develop in detail the notion of musical order and the cosmic order being parallel is John Davies' "Orchestra" (1596).

\textsuperscript{79}Act I, i, 37-42.
An especially noteworthy use of imagery of music occurs when Oreja, the Ear, has been separated from his king Aoeo (hearing) and finds that he has lost his musical abilities and appreciation for music:

I wish my Ears had been stopp'd with wool, may a black sheeps's wool when they gave attention to Dedo's well touch't strings, that I might not have lost them in Bellona's lowder straines. 80

Now the rebels are in disorder and have lost their harmony as the music images suggest. Also, one sees here that Fane was more than a hack. He has Oreja, who has previously spoken in verse, deliver this speech in prose to emphasize further that his music is gone. Language enhances idea, therefore, and well illustrates Fane's awareness of the poetic even if he is seldom able to achieve it.

Another imagery of which Fane makes excellent use is that of humour psychology. The following passage by Lord Mens puts his condition of disorder in just such terms:

Is ye day faire I long for rain, if rayny
'I beg t'will hold up, moysture drounds my Temper,
Drouth choaks it; Now I like ye longer dayes
And short'ned shadowes, then againe long nights
And shorter lights affect mee. 81

Because melancholy is the condition associated with the element earth, characterized as cold and dry, one must assume that Fane is suggesting that this is Mens' condition, which explains his desire for rain. The reader sees, however, that he is not healed,

80 Act V, iii, 5-7.

81 Act I, i, 176-180.
that he is left in physical and mental confusion. Melancholy also fits into the scheme of Mens' suffering according to the popular Elizabethan documents on that condition described in the following passage from B. G. Lyons' study of melancholy in Elizabethan literature:

In most of these highly moralized treatises sadness acquired much of the meaning of "acciđie," a word dropped out of the language in the sixteenth century. Melancholy discussed as the emotion of sadness or grief, was treated principally as one of the passions, the products of the sensitive ("appetitive") part of the soul that should be controlled by reason.82

The end of this quotation, especially, points up that Mens, while controlled by the passions and while Sir Ratio Prudence is in exile, would in fact suffer from melancholy. His condition in turn explains such lines as "Troubled I am, and vexed with vapouring dreams," which not only conjure up the idea of humour psychology, but also remind one of the vapours of which Swift made much in Tale of a Tub.

A final form of embellishment which Fane uses extensively in De Pugna Animi is that of nature in turmoil. In Candy Restored he had shown nature in actual disarray as a result of the illnesses of the three goddesses. In De Pugna Animi, particularly in Mens' words, he uses images of nature's loss of harmony to reflect the inner turmoil that Mens suffers because of the rebellion in the microcosm. These images, however, serve more than just to embellish the work. They suggest, in accord with Fane's theme,
that when there is disorder at one level of the cosmic order, there results turmoil at all levels. The following passage by Mens is characteristic:

I harbour nought but whirlwinds in my breast
And all confused postures packt together
Lie molded in mee like another Chaos.83

In a previous statement Mens has referred to "an Earthquake in mee." Such images are consistent with those used elsewhere in Renaissance literature to use nature to suggest the kingdom in disarray, such as in Shakespeare's Lear where the king is tormented by storms after losing control of his realm.

Finally, there are the many allusions to recent events that enhance the effectiveness of De Pugna Animi. Fane's major intention with the play was not to reflect upon British politics or to satirize those against whom he often railed in his verse and earlier plays or even to praise those with whom he shared a loyalty to the crown. Yet, to miss the allusions to the times would be to miss an important part of Fane's dramatic technique. More often than not these allusions are very general, although his characterization of Corruscio does remind the reader of Fane's depiction elsewhere of Cromwell. Certainly, Sir Eurocledon Tempest's deserting Mens' army reminds the reader of the lack of loyalty Charles I suffered from his navy after the Civil Wars began. Curtois, too, because he is a foreign cavalry officer, is likely a portrait of Prince

83Act I, i, 193-195.
Rupert, the Austrian officer who came to assist his uncle, Charles I, and whose bravery in battle won him the contempt and praise of the English officers who either appreciated his help or resented the favor he found with the King. Possibly the five rebel senses are intended to suggest the five members of Parliament, led by Pym, whom Charles I tried to arrest and whose escape triggered the initial conflict of the Civil Wars. However, such interpretations are highly speculative and must be so regarded.

The essential issue involved in De Pugna Animi which was equally significant during the Civil Wars is the monarch's failure to understand properly and deal with effectively his advisors. Much was and has been said about how Charles I was unable to judge men and often took advice from those who sought only to help their own causes. He was notorious for trying first to prevent and then to end the rebellion by including his opponents in his government; they in turn used the power he gave them to further damage the King. Fane's letters and verse strongly suggest the Earl was troubled by such mistakes by the King. Mens, of course, not only banishes his most loyal and valuable advisor Sir Ratio Prudence, he also then gives the senses rule over the microcosm. These actions are tied together because without Prudence, Mens cannot control the senses. The situation reminds the reader especially of Charles I's sacrifice of his loyal advisor Strafford to the demands of Parliament, an action which Fane laments in his Autobiography. Even during the war, Charles I was unable to control
his factioned army, just as Mens is unable to control Sir Eurocleron Tempest. This fatal flaw ultimately destroyed the King; however, Mens is able to avoid the same fate through an act of will. Such an act, Eleanor Withington suggests, was what Fane felt was most crucial to a monarch's power: "Royal power, as Fane saw it, could not be bought or sold; it depended on a king's readiness to preserve it."\textsuperscript{84} The Italian political treatise which Fane translated makes the same point. Thus, in Mens one sees what Fane must have felt Charles I should have done and the ruler he would have to have been to retain control of England and to save his subjects from the rule of Cromwell.

In his "Autobiography" Fane, speaking of himself in the third person, makes the following statement about his going with Charles I on his first Scottish campaign:

\begin{quote}
Cum carolo rege de se serenissimo in illas septentrionales partes tam nebulonibus quam nebulis obnoxias pacificendi causa armatus arripitur.\textsuperscript{85}
\end{quote}

Not only is the punning consistent with Fane's style in this manuscript, but the lines indicate his basic contempt for the Scots. He also joined his fellow Englishmen in their disgust with the Irish, especially those who flooded to England during the Wars.


\textsuperscript{85}British Library MS Add. 34220, f. 11r. (He is snatched away with King Charles in an effort to pacify those northern parts, which are as full of good-for-nothings as of mists.)
to enjoy the spoil. These "wild Irish," as they were referred to in the literature of the day, and the Scots became the butts of Fane's best satire in De Pugna Animi, essentially serving the role of comic vice as demanded by the later political moralities from the Tudor Period. These characters--Orexia (Appetite), Acrateia (Intemperance), and Pathos (Desire)--are the island rabble who join the rebel kings and their commanders during the assault on Microcosm. They have no interest in the conflict except to enjoy the fruits of battle. They are drunkards and quarrelsome fellows who bicker among themselves and with their compatriots. The following line by Orexia illustrates both qualities:

> Put up thy dagger Iemmy; Put up thy dagger Iemmy
> And let us quaff this usquebagh till wee bee blith & merry. 86

When these characters are brought under control by the rebel kings they demonstrate that their bravery is in their speech, not their actions. Fane, however, has fine fun with them and in so doing ridicules the Irish and Scots whom he regarded as a primary source of troubles for Charles I and the English during the Civil Wars.

A final assessment of De Pugna Animi points the reader in two directions. One is to note the almost complete lack of originality in the work. However, the very encyclopedic nature of the play often makes it interesting. Fane has brought together so much philosophy, imagery, moral and political thought, and a literary structure that point directly to the Elizabethan Period

that one cannot help seeing the work as an end product of that period. It is not an accomplished work by a fine artist, but a record left by one who admired the Elizabethan Period and who agonized at seeing it slip away and with it all that it had given England.

**Editorial Method**

This edition of *De Pugna Animi* is designed to be a diplomatic reproduction of the text of that play as it appears in British Library MS Add. 34221. To that end I have employed the method of the Malone Society for the preparation of manuscript plays. Editorial notes at the bottoms of text pages explain insertions, deletions, mended letters, and nunnated words. Nunnation marks have been omitted. Insertions are contained in pointed brackets. Deletions are contained in square brackets. In the very few places where words are unintelligible, this is indicated with parentheses and ellipses (...). Foliation marks appear in parentheses in the right margins. Above in square brackets are the numberings added later. Direction lines and stage directions from the right margin follow the line beside which they appear in the MS and are enclosed in parentheses, this to conform to the typing guidelines for this project.

Punctuation marks, contractions, and abbreviations are reproduced exactly as they appear in the MS. Editor's emendations appear in notes where punctuation obscures the meaning of a line. I have retained the *ff* which is used as a majuscule *F*. An *I* is used for
both majuscule I and J. An _ is used as both miniscule i and j.
I have followed the scribal interchanging of miniscule u and v
and majuscule U and V.

Glosses and interpretive notes follow the text and are
assigned by Act, scene and line. These notes clarify difficult
language, point out the significance of interesting passages, review
borrowings, and describe significant allusions to mythology and
other literary works.
II. THE TEXT

Quia tudeus ex patre Christe

Dissere Rex noster, quo milite pellere culpas

Mens armata queat, nostri de pectoris antro

Exoritur quoties turbatis sensibus intus

Seditio atq animum morborum rixa fatigat.

Prudentius

The mind agitated and perplexed through diversity of changes and troubles incident to its nature: through the Revolt of the five senses from their Loyalty to itt & their Tyrannicall usurpacon of sole dominion in that little world of man calls to his ayde, Reason & prudence to subdue & reclaime them; Then calls a 10 Councill of certaine vertues to encounter as many Vices, wch employed under Reasons prudentiall Command vanquish & conquer the enormities of ye senses betrayed through intemperance & discord to followe appetite till they giue occasion by differing amongst themselves to bee surprized and brought home Captiues 15 to ye mind. To wch for ransome & their freedome as alsoe for security for their future loyalty & observance of its commands; They present Vertue a Lady & Queen of the Isle of Providence

8 usurpacon] nunnated word. 11 Councill] i changed from e.
(whom they had overcome with their power of Vices and held Captiue)
to bee married to ye mind, wch accepts her willinglie, & soe 20
becomes cured of all its former distempers, to the great content
of desire, Angers Centinell, & so end's ye Comedy wth Matrimony
according to Custome.

Scene

syxomaxia id est

de pugna animi

The Persons

Lo: Mens-------------A German Rhinegraue. 5
Sr. Ratio Prudens----------A wise & valient Captaine
Sr. Euroclidon Tempest-------Admirl & Genl: att Sea.

Jack his Cabbin boy

Dick--
Tom---}
two sailers 10

Capt'n Sharke one of ye fleete

Mons'r. ffeall-------
Mons'r. Chaste Lyon
Mons'r. Patience
Mons'r. Curtoys
Mons'r. Temperance
Mons'r. ffrayanck
Mons'r. D'accordes---

16 Comanders] nunnated word.
Microcosmus an Island possessed by five princes or Kings vizt

Ki. Aoeo---------his Concubine---------Oreia
Ki. Blepses--------His Page-----------Oio
Ki. Geusis--------His Harlott---------Lingua
Ki. Ozo----------his Pimp----------Naso
Ki. Haphe----------his Pander---------Dedo

Orexis----------a Highland Bandito of that [Island ...] Island
Discentonado------a redshank Captaine to Orexis
Acrateia--------a Thore or Kerne of ye wood

Sig". Idolatra-----  
Sig". Concupiscenza 
(Sig". Corruscio  six Comandrs in chief under the 5
Sig". Altivezza  Island Princes
Sig". Luxuriosa
Sig". Avaro--------

Pathos Capt'n of the Guards to Corruscio 35
Costume a Civilian Mr of Requests to Mens

Queen Arete a young Ladie or Queen of the Amazons conquered and overcome by these 5 Princes & presented in Marriage to Mens serues for their ransom & security

23 [Geusis] u mended.  25 [Haphe] P mended.  28 [Acrateia]
Prologue

The mind of man can never rest
Whilst cares & troubles it molest
Nor are distempers euer layde
Til reason is cal'd in for ayde
This may find out with vertues more
Such prudenc y may peace restore
And curb ye sences led astray
By appetites unruly way
The little Ile of man to ease
of these distractions, winds & seas
Are passed ore & conquering those.
Vertue herselue brings up the Close
Who being betroth'd unto ye mind
Leaus no more Act for Iarrs behind.

Act i-----Scene i

Mens How doe the heauens befreind? w t aspects now [P]
Predominiz? Mars governing the Skeam
<And Vulcan stil at's hamer forging <arms>
For ye Great Thundring Love to beat down giants>

I, i, 3-4] The insert appears in the left margin. Braces indicate the proper position for the insert, although the way the lines read is also a clear indication. The crowding of the insert makes impossible a determination whether this is Fane's change or the scribe's.
Without a Venus to allay his heate?
Is the world sett on madnesse thus to Farr.
And should for maxime, that to bee att odds
Is the most even Course, like musicks spell
T'fframe Concord out of discords? if so t'is well.

Most high & mighty Mens Graue of the Rhine
(Whose large descent of parentage & line
The Eagle on her spredding Wings hath borne
Ouer Almania, & whose pompous state
Sits now a Crowne on the Palatinate.)
How com'st about such clouds of discontent
Seem to ore shadow you? waging a warr
As t'were within you? thoughts in troops of troubles
Mustring up discontent? send them abroad
T'will bee of more advantage? Spirits that rome
Are safer fed att distance, then att home.

Monsieur ffeall my faithful constant friend
With whom my tenderest years first fram'd acquaintance
I thank you for yo' Love. yett I must tell you
The Sun nere shines nor winds ere breath upon mee
But I'm in doubt <some Dire> Portent may followe:
Leave off such Jealousies, hearts that are free
Bear sway alone through magnanimity:

My mind to mee a kingdom is; yett still
I am assaulted with such apprehensions
(As are Concomitants to state & Empire): 30
The boystrous Seas when breath'd upon too loud
By the tempestuous winds, present less dread
Than the unruly Imaginary cares
Tumble and rowle within mee to a Conquest:

Conquer yo'r selfe then first & t'will bee calme; 35
But how may I effect that, faithfull ffal?

Why thus display yo'r Banners, bid defiance
To all, that would annoy you, rayse up force;
Beat downe sedition, Bannish trembling feare,
Suspitions & such Quavers from yo'r Gammuth
Crotchets & Minnums too, the large & Long
Will not disgrace but add life to-----song

To wage <a> warr effective ther's requirend  [271]
Counsell at home, whilst armes abroad are mustred
And though the tryall of thy faith bee showne, 
More must bee called to forme a happy one:
Ther's Monsieur Patience a serious freind
Most fitt to give advice in like importance
Curtois a generous & well bredd soule,
With Monsieur Temperance a soberman;
These well consulted may advance the Cause
And by their suffrages alay distempers
Thus rays'd within mee; Monsieur Chaste Lion too
If hee appear t'assist in this great worke
He'll beat downe all incontinent desires
And ffrainck ffree from fettering Niggardize

Truth, if the sinews shrink it setts a barr
To all actiuity & those of warr
Must first bee rays'd, before the enterprize
Bee gone about soe I applaud yo'r Choise,
of Monsieur ffrainck's [company] verdict heer
---& voyce
Chaste Lion too, & all ye rest you name
Adopted sonns of vertue are, and fame
Then after warr to siment love & peace;
Monsieur D'Accordes must not bee left out:
I, i

Mens./ T'is faithfully & well resolued; He's heere;
(Enter Mons'r D'accord)
Alreadie to saue sending for [them] <Him>./
---D'accord./Sr.

The Loyalty & faith I beare you, raysd
By Citty rumor that some tymes speaks truth
Makes mee ore' swell the bankes wherin becalm'd,
I had some Ages past in quietnesse
Dispos'd myselfe, to tender all my seruice
And't lay it at yo'r Excellencye's feet now:

Mens./ D'accordes wellcome: yf wind blew you hither
Stil moues within mee; motion, & commotion,
Distemperatures ith' height accost me daily,
ffears iealowsies & all distrusts I feed on,
Nor can dispose myselfe to any rest
As long as you were absent those my Guests./

D'accord./ Your Excellencyes merry pleased to lest
Make but content yo'r freind He'Il cook ye feast./

Mens./ He's gon & fled; long since away from mee,
Nor can I learne what ayre hee breaths in now;
I think the drums & Trumpetts fear'd him hence
(The new militia sword in madmens hands)
Those must againe restore in recompence,
That Eu'rie one may hould his goods & lands
(Enter Mons'. Patience)
But, who comes here unsent for Monsieur Patience?
He is best wellcome when not forc't att all
The Labour well sau'd,—yet noe power nor King
(Can tell saue hee that wears them,) where
---shoes wring./

Patience./ Most potent prince--though now under some wayne,
As fame blowes out, & enuyous malice stayne
With black reproach, I'm come to lett you see,
Wherin consists yo' great[f]est felicity:
T'is not in pleasures, honors, riches, store,
Nor any thing this world affords you more,
But in yo'rselfe, yourselfe alone to bee
Contentment in content proues Treasury./

Mens./ 0 how I enuy now the Hermites cell
Where all contemplative retirements dwell,
ffor when a Mind is with vexations tost,
It seldome brooks yo'r Counsailles & so's lost./
I, i]

Patience./ Yet may bee found againe, if you'll but trie
The perfect's cure to all adversity,
Suffer & overcome, win that by Grant
Which other ways (by force) to win you want.
You'll easily bee master of all Charmes
Contemning Spight make Enuy lay downe Armes:

Mens./ Nownes, Pronounes, verbes, partake of my

---distress then,
I must decline into some schoolboyes forme
Suffer, & suffer such indignities?
Put up a lye without iust reproofe
A box o'th Ear at least? I shall bee Kickt,
And bannisht all society of honnor,
The Hectors will not own mee, Prentiseboyes
Will hoot mee as I pass: a Troop will make
An Earthquake in mee; suffer; s'lid I'le die first

Patience./ O S'r but these are suffering times you liue in,
And's better out o'th' world, then out of

---ffashion,
Compliancys a vertue, Reeds, provoakt
By furious winds preuaile more then ye Oake./

(I Graunt)
I, i]
Mens./ I graunt: but where impatient Tumors ride, [273]
There is noe place for Counsailes to abide:
Yett stay, wee will hear farther: Temperance heer
(Enter Mons'r. Temperance)
No fury of distemper should appear.
My sober well composed freind you'r wellcome,
And though t'was in my troubled thoughts to send
And find you out, thus luckily arriu'd
I doe implore yo' ayde to cure my passions, 130
And t' giue access, to prouidientiall Care
To Conquer those contentions in mee are./

Temper:/ Renouned Sr ye streets turn'd all to kennell,
Through those corrupt & lustful appetites
Walkt in them, breath'd upon them, sent a vapour, 135
A damp of such prodigious stench, & payson,
As that I could coniecture noe lesse mischeife
Then 'gainst yo'r Highnesse some plott was a brewing,
And therfore as allegeance enioyn'd,
Hastned to yo'r releife--Mens;--plots still
---a brewing? 140
Thus to intoxicate all Gouernemt,
A new brood of Malignancy a hatching?
I hope to bring th' Contriuers to ye hattchett
Or axe or neckweed; that thus count before hand,
And reckon th' out <their> Host: if the foundation
Bee on that crumbling sandy Element
The shoare consists of, they'1 bee wash't away
By the next tyde: Yet these alarums still
Prompt more to seek my safety, fear my ill:
Hay Briskenanto ye dancing schoole broke up 150

(Enter Mons'. Curtois befethered)

What mimick Gestures travellers affect now?
Surely t'was moultring tyme in affrica.
Wth Ostrages & Parratts, thou'rt so furnish[ed]<'t>
Wth this light Merchandize--leaue Apish tricks
(Curtois) giue me thy hand after th' old fashion 155
In England usd, to proue if albee sound
And can endure a shaking fitt or two:/

Curtois./ S' t'is ye mode I learnt abroade pray Pardon
I cannot Court yo' highnesse att lesse rate,
of whose great fame all forreign parts are full 160
And doe admire yo' Court: only of late

145 foundation] Originally a nunnated word, the nunnation mark remains but ti is written over what appears to be a minuscule c.
150 Briskenanto] l\m mended. 153 furnish't] This is a difficult insertion and deletion, for the scribe has added the 't directly over the ed.
I, i]
The bruit flies woemen & the weather might,
Should but Inconstancy forsake it's station
And Travellers too, find it lodged in you
To yo'r eternall trouble and vexation:/ [274]
Which to the utmost of my power and skill
I would remoue, might action answer will:

Mens:/ Troubled I am, and vext wth vapouring dreams,
Steem out of ffancyes storehouse to molest me,
Nor ever am content wth what I hear, 170
See, Tast, smell feel, since ye revolt o'th' sences:
All musique's turn'd to croaking froggs, each object
I doe behold's discontrie to my Opticks,
And all I tast or smell proues sulpherous
And Gall like, nothing smooth I handle: 175
Is ye day faire I long for raine, if rayny
I beg t'will hold up, moysture drounds my Temper,
Drought choaks it; Now I like ye longer dayes
And short'ned shadowes, then againe long nights
And shorter lights affect mee, some times this, 180
Some times that other conversation
Is my delight men Woemen Books wth in dores

179 short'ned] r mended.
Doggs, horses and the like abroad nor any of these doe please mee longer then a moment, So fickle & unsettled is my nature: 185
Sometimes I'm caught in Cupids moustrap Beauty Bewitching mee to dote on its fond charmes: And then I love to passion then againe, By second thoughts invited to more Caution. I hate ye thought of what I lou'd before 190 A wife me thinks sounds strangely to my pallett, She'l rob mee of myselfe & bee served first: I harbour nought but whirlwinds in my breast, And all confused postures packt together Lie moulded in mee like another Chaos: 195 Discord rakes through my Hull like a great shott:

Curtois./ Sr' what my weak devoir may serue, to serue you You haue it att command, my Pennant or Streamer That brims my hatt proclaims mee man of warr And I haue coulors for it-------- 200

Mens. aside/ Unbutton'd & untrust, he's brought to bed, And bids mee gossip to his complements,

196 through] Again, the scribes emendation is difficult. The r is a mended letter. It appears to be written over ow. The exact letters are unclear.
Leaps out o'th' windowes of his doublett sleeues,  
To Court mee into Kindnesse, stoops, & Cringes  
To screw him selfe into my approbacon:  
(T'is an)  
Tis an obliging Mounsieur: & such are  
To bee esteem'd either in peace or warr:  
I doe embrace ye kindnessse of yo'r tender  
(/Turns to Curtoys)  
Civility's a pleasing Southerne gale  
Becalmes my surges, & wher such appeer,  
I'le make ye Cape where good Hope still is neer,  
Trimming my sailes, all dangers left behind  
Whilst I haue Continency for trade wind  
And heer my conquering freind Chaste Lion  
(Enter Mons'r. Chaste Lion)  
Comes to advance ye voyage:/ Ther's noe lewd  
Affections, rock or Gulf, nor Hurrican  
Or cloud of loose desires, can break to sink mee  
They dread his fury, since hee overcame them  
And shun his meeting:/ <Chaste Lyon.> Worthy  
---Generous Mens,
ffrom ye, disquietings I heard possesed you

And tempting Whirlwinds nature (....) you

I (as a vassall to yo' Excellency.)

Come to asist in what my Counsail may

Or power in force appeer of service to you:

Were lusts all Tamberlaine & mustred thousands,

This Arme should quell them: Temperance heer bye,

We'll conquer all that's of disloyalty

Within yo' breast./ D'Accordes being heer too,

Nothing shall blast yo' hopes, or rouse yo' fear

(Becalmer of all stormes & troubled waues

That warr against the vapring winds of fortune

Hee is undoubted:) May his mild breath lay,

Those spiritts of discord rays'd in you <of> late.

D' accord:/ I doe defie all such molest yo' Highnesse

And by the best arts spell within my Quiever,

Shall seek t' subdue them opposites when neer,

Add greater lustre to each others sphere.

Mens. I'm much obliged to you & your debter,

I want but heer my Exchequer man Fraiank
To pay the score, ffor bounty when us'd well,
Out shines'ly all vertues of like paralell:

(Enter Monsr. ffrayanck)

Hee comes as if pour'd out of some treasury
Of Natures hoard: marke else the freedome sutes him
And by his loose & open guarbe disciphers
Those many Querks & Quilletts did ensnare mee

I must wi th open armes receive his bounty./
And then I think our Sanadrims compleat:

Monsieur ffrayanck I freeli signe yo' wellcome
How doe yé Sciences (yo' daughters) thrive
Those liberall Girles. (ffrayanck:) they proue
---philosophers,

And all else beggars are their clıyents, since
They heard yé thundering disquietings
Awakd yo' excellencyes temper.--frighted
(As t'were from all those solitary Groues,
Where they inspir'd the Bards wth sacred layes,
And crownd ye Druides wth garlands from ye Laurell,

Ordaining Priests for the unshorn Gods Temple,

---
And thus disperc't some here some there doe wander
In great contempt, despised and trampled on,
Till peace assigne them resurrection./

Mens./ I Pitty their hard fate; let's in there trye
To find 'gainst all these harmes some remedy./

(Exeunt)

Musick wth in

Act 2-----Scen 1

Enter Sr ho Ratio Prudence wth a
Letter in his hand

Sr Ra. Prud./ Sent for by great Lo. Mens to parle wth him?
What Eggs are hatching, stratagem a brewing?
And hast Post hast endorc't upon ye Letter
With a <Greek> P too, to exalt his crest
That brought it, if he entertaind not speed? 5
Sure, ye Concernemt is superlatiue:
I must not slacken mine to find him out,
Though for a tyme I haue lyon under clouds
Since the bright Ray His fauvour once cast <on> mee

260 resurrection] The word was first nunnat ed. The nunnation mark remains; however the ti has been written in, apparently by Fane.
In former dayes, withdrew, & hid itselfe.

Had hee been constant to his purposes,
As hee was to th' inconstant breath of fortune,
hee had not been slaeve to unsettlednesse,
Nor subject to the witchcrafts fear brings on him:
But now I hear he's much disquieted,
And in a Lab(e)rinth, or pack of troubles,
Wanting a clew of thread to bring him out:
ffot since hee cast mee of should bee his guide,
No wonder t'is hee cannott safe abide:
I'le hunt him out & wth my prudent care
 Seek to reclaime his parts to regular---

(Exit Sr Ra: Pru.)

Scene 2-----
Enter Sr Euroclodon Tempest wth his
Cabbin boy Jack & two sailers
Dick and Tom./

Sr Euroclodon

Wher sits ye wind Jack?/ Jack./Nor East & by Nore Sr Euroclodon
Sr

& What age is ye moon dick? Dick./neer ye full,
The spring tides rise apace, Sr Eurocle---ye sky
---looks red,

16  Laberinth  _ mended from a minuscule _.
Wee shall have rowing winds to fill our sailes

And capering surges t' teach our keels to daunce

Neptune will make assault on Iove wth's trident, And spout his Element; to quench ye fiery one,

When sett on worke againe by Eolus

He'll fret & foame like mad in Emulacon, Of the faire milkie way in Galexia:

All signes shall run into Aquarius And every month bee consecrate to Pisces

Luna cheif Governesse of the other plannetts With a full aspect shall behold ye Spheres./

Drencht in salt liquor, whilst the twinkling ---orbs

Shall seem att duck & drake wthin ye wellken:

0 that wee might but see this tossing gear

T' would make us men for euer:/ Sr Eurocle:/Noble ---sparks

Bravely resolu'd; these drowsy calmes destroy all,

Shrinking the Sinnews of our tackle, rotting
Those Canuas wings should waft us to our Port,
Affording opportunity for wormes,
To bore into our Keeles, whilst ye suns heat
Limbecks that blacke Iuce that Tarpalin fosters:
And thus benum'd into a Lethergie
Wee seem sleep bound, whilst all ye world is free:
Who's that att dore so active, See boy./Jack./Tis one
(one knocks att ye dore./)
Sent from ye Counsail to require yo' presence;

Sr Eurokele:
Counsaile, what Counsaile? if of the Admiralty
My place eniowes it; the great Lo: Mens comand
Must bee obeyed both on ye Sea, & land,
I'le follow tell him & strike saile, to bee
Impowred to hoise them unto victory--------
(Exit Sr Eurokele/)

Tom./ This is a gallant Prince Dick is he not?

Dick./ The Mermedons were nothing to him Tom:

Tom./ Hee scales the heauens without a Jacobstaff,

30 comand] nunnated word.
II, ii]
Dick./ And tells yē Gammuth of the starrs on's fingers,
Tom./ Sure Iove begott him wth some Thunderbolt,
     Whilst tempering haile stones in some densor cloud,
     And dropt on earth, he can no more endure. 40
     It's stupid solidnesse, butt to aspire
     Let's all yē Elements att odds; his fance's.
     Alwayes a float, would wee were soe Dick: /Dick./Harke
     (A Trumpett wthin)
     The ayre's assaulted, some breath favours us.

Sr Ra: How now my mates, wher's Sr Euroclodon Tempest
Prud./ (Enter Sr Ra Prud) 45
     Yo' Admirall? prepare, make ready streight
     To Lanch, wee must embarke; yē wind's our freinds
     Our Voyage to yē Cape Good Hope extends:

Dick. Hay Tom I tould thee good luck was comming,
     Wee should not lye heere moord in an alehouse 50
     Like drown'd Ratts, but yē state would have need of us
     All or' hopes were wont to lie in or' Anchor flouks
     But now wee will weigh them, & build upon better

43 [Dick] D mended.
II, ii]

Bottoms--A rich prize my rogue will sett us afloat,
Be sure ye Tailer leave roome for pillage in thy 55
Slops, mine are indifferent wide already------

(Tom/peace)

Tom./ Peace, here's ye Admirall----------

(Enter Sr Eurocle:)

Sr Eurocl:/ Saue you braue Sr ho Ratio Prudence,
To ye Land forces Generall------well mett:

Sr Ra Prud.:/ Haile worthy Tempest Sr Euroclodon
ffleets Admirall, since by providence
Blended to seeke atcheivements ore the maine
And fish aswell as fight for honno'r, lett us
Bannish prolix delayes by expedicon
ffor tyme & tide (you know) will stay for no man./ 65

Sr Eurocl: Soe doe the ffloods when Torrents hasten on
To speed their Currants to ye Ocean,
So doth a swift horse start & mend his pace
To gaine the victory of his ffoe in race;
So doth ye sharp eyd hawk pursue her Prey 70

64 expedicon] nunnated word.
II, ii]

As I your mandates readily obey

Turns to Boy: will my Captains bee in readinesse
Jack. & Dick & Tom. / Let every master, masters mate & Boatswaine

Gunner & Surgeon gett aboard each Vessell
Wee'l strait embark, if any want her rigging 75
Send to ye Citty, there we'll bee provi'ded,
Carine, Cauke, & Sheath, lett all bee done straite
Occation's bald behind & cannot wayte:

Dick. / I'll see the cloth att yards. / Tom. / & I the yards slung

(Exeunt Dick Tom & Jack)

Sr Eurocle:/ The northbound <People> shadowed in nights dress 80
Cannot partake of greater happinesse
When ye Sun Kisses Cancer & unties
The misty vapour that orefilm'd their Eyes,
Than I doe now, when action thus againe
Commands my floating wood to plough ye main

(Exit Sr Eurocledon Tempest) 85
I will attend you noble Sr ho Ratio---------

Sr Ra pru:/ I'lle beat my drumms, call in my Voluntiers

81 partake] 1a mended.
II, ii]

Prest men are incident far more to fears.

(Enter Mons'r ffrainck)

ffrayanck:/ Sr there's come freely in to bee enlisted

And to serve under mee in this expedicon

A thousand men at least, all proper gallant tall men.

Sr Ra.
Pru:/

Most like yo'r selfe, soe frank & free a proffer

Merits a high acknowledgemt from o'r master

Draw them out into ye feild & I shall view them:

(Exit Mons'r ffraiank)

ffrayannk./ It shalbee done-------------------

ffeal./

My loyalty hath purchased a Squadron:

(Enter Mons'r ffeal)

I know not by what policy deterr'd

ffew came into my Colours though displayd

Sr Ra
Pruden:

Because so few I shall assigne those bee

Disperst into ye other regiments,

To fill them up, & as occasions are,
II, ii]

To prove their steering Pilott in this warr,  
ffor if there should not some of ffaith bee spun  
into each regiment, all were undone.  
ffor Monsieur Temperance soe few follow him  
To military employments of the old Bands,  
That hee must rayse new, wch undisciplin'd  
I judge fittst to disperse too: The old say flatly  
He's not a man fitt to assault a Breach,  
Who cannot overcome a Pottlepott  
Glasse Kan or Jugg, untill his sconce, or noodle,  
Bee fortified against all fear & danger;  
And temperance is defective in those graces:  
Count Chaste Lion makes scruple att ye service,  
Cause whilst his drums beat, few come in unto him,  
They count it heterogeniall to his nature  
To deal wth Mars when Venus is hated by him;  
But Monsieur Patience though noe sword man  
Wee must take wth us, oft hee overcomes  
And will serve well to counter-ballast Curtois  
That high carv'd Monsieur who would overseett else  
And founder in ye Encounter wth a Gust,  
His Colours flie already, See, vous avez:  

(Enter Monsr Curtois)  
Wellcome my active spiritt: Curt:/Me come not clogd
II, ii]

With homebred cares or fears, but having leavyed 125
Some Troops of Naggs, or Light horse for my Countrie
Att great Lo: Menses mandate I flie to meet.
That action may proclaime my grand Courage
And zeal of loue for Prince & Country's good.

Sr Ra: Pru: This Monsieur's hot att hand & may endure 130
aside/ One charge, but then his horses light like himselfe
(He talkes of flying too) they'l run away
Upon my life if not well backt wth Pikes;

Turns to Curtois Will you make ready Sr to ship yo'r Palfreys
That wee were all aboard; Curt./Me tank you Sr 135
We sall take all de care imaginable
To be te first god on, te first goe off.--
(Exit Mons'r Curtois)

Sr Ra: Pru. I do beleue you Sr without an oath
This weathercock to no point's constant bent,
But when ffeal uncharms his complement: 140
Wee want D'accordes Instrum't hee fram'd
To steer our voyage by & quell those monsters
(Those Iland)
Those Iland Tyrants yt soe domineering, [281]
In all prophane Lascivious Exercise,
II, ii, iii]

Confound that little world call'd Microcosmus: 145

Barbado's but a little molehill unto this,
All Barbary in cruelty & mischeife,
Seems but an Ant heap; such unheard of Thefts
Rapines & murthers noe where else committed:
But if successe prevaile, These Giant monsters 150
Shalbee taught better, & no more molest
The disposition of Lo: Men's breast
Come ffeal let's away the whistle calls aboard./
(A whistle wth in Exeunt Sr Ra Pru & Monsr ffeal./)

Scene--------3
Enter Sr Eurocleron Tempest wth ye Seafaring
men and his Boy and a Captaine
of a Shipp./

Sr Eurocl./ Waigh & unfurle ye day springs fortune to us,
The wind's auspicious, spread out cloth to court it
Soe may wee loome before it, goe a Trip,
And overtake our purposed designes:

Turns to ye Are all ye victuaalls stowed in Hould
Cap
The porke ye Pease & Biskett, Casks of Beer,

2 out] ou mended.
ffresh water, Sider, vinegar for Beueridge & cooling,
Is the gunroome well stored with powder & shott,
Ladles & rammers, spunge, wadds, Carthragus.
Is nothing wanting? Capt./nothing my good Lo:
But all in readinesse when ere yo' Honnor
Pleas t' [come] <goe> aboard./Sr Euroclidon./
---whe r rides ye fleet at present?

Capt./ It is fal'n doune below ye hope by this,

Sr Eurocl./ Below ye Hope? Thou villain I'le cashier thee
Speak but that ore againe: above all thoughts hopes
My Towring <Thoughts> aspire to, conquering dirt
The world below heer I defie, They'r Castles
Built in ye Ayre, I shall attempt to vanquish
And shoot my high designes above all Meteors:

Capt./ You must then hire ye Argo's in the Spheres

Sr Eurocl./ I tell the Ile Command ye Spheres & it
The Lyon & each Bear I'le make my Prey,
And take ye Bull by the Eye, the fiery Dragon

20 Ile Command] These words fuse so that the C circles the final e of Ile.
II, iii]

I'le subiugate, & then partake ye Conquest 
Wth Perseus in freeing of Andromeda:
I'le wth a breath turne up her mothers chaire, 25
And snatch a Lock from Beronices hayre
Tell mee of starrs? wt cannot Tempest doe

Capt./ Sr I confesse yo' Power is prevalent,
Yet t'is below ye Hope you saile to th' Downes

Sr Eurocl./ Belowe againe & Downes thow varlett hence
Thy answers ouersett my Patience./

Enter Lo Mens wth a Guard & Monsr Patience attending wth Papers like Mr of requests & Monsr Temperance

How now what rages heer? I thought disquiet Haed onely harbourd wth mee: Now I see It is ubiquitary & inconstant I wish by transmigation it might leave mee, 35 And those alone posesse ffish in rough streams:

He espies What is not Tempest gone yet? why soe long
In setting saile & furthering our Mandate?
All the land force is ready, as ye Generall
Prudence assures mee; Yo' unruly humor

32] As shown here, the speech prefix and stage directions crowd the lines. The brace keeps the separation clear and is shown here exactly as in the manuscript.
II, iii]

(Tempest). strikes Terror to ye Passengers
Belaiès their budding Prowesse, Vale yo'r breath
Or I'le command you to bee put to death:
You brook not Patience heer at any rate,
(His Counsail's not to bee despis'd I tell you
ffor though noe passion moues him) he's of power
And fitter far than most are to command.

Sr Eurocle./Comand? a shole of dotterells or green goslings,
    New hatch't were fitt for his employt rather:
0, to bee Gefferifide, soe haue ye e hono'r
To drive ye e Grand Signiors asses to ye e water
Would make him swell ouer ye e banks of modesty

Turns to Patience/
    And count it a high grace----Sr Patience

I shall embrace you when my sand's neer out
Till then pray pardon for I cannot do't-----

Mens./
    Come I must haue you ffreinds, & Temperance bound,
Yee neuer more each others glories wound?/

Temperance./Could I prevaile wth this Amphibeous Knight
    Lives sometimes on ye e Land sometimes o'th' water,

48 Comand] nunnated word. 59 ye e Land] The final e of ye
continues and begins the L of Land with a constant stroke.
II, iii]

Soe that hee seems halfe Merman, (yett begott)  
Like to a Spannish Iennett by the wind)  
As I could easily bee satisfied,  
of th' others compliance in euerie thing,  
Yo'r Highnesse can award, I'de undertake  
What you enioyne but now I beg yo'r Pardon.  

Mens/  
Prethee good Temperance do't:/Temp:/Then Sr I will  
Those still obey <best> who commands fulfill:----  
(Exeunt Sr Eurocl Temper: & Patience)

Enter Sr  
Ra Pru./  
Ready t' embarke & all our leauyes full  
I come to Kiss yo'r Excellencyes hands  
In search of yo'r Commands (if any farther)  
And as my ocaisons shall neuer cease  
To be fum'd up in Incense to those deities  
Patrons to yo'r great worth, & those protect you,  
That They'1l help farther what wee goe about  
And bring peace home, & find you setled in it  
Soe doe my hopes encrease this voyage may  
Change Night of discontent to pleasing day./  
(Exit Sr Ra Pru)
II, iii

Mens embraces him: "ffarewell braue Prudence reason bee thy guide And honor croune thy actions a spring tide./ (Sr I haue)"

Temperance. / Sr I haue made them ffreinds though naturally 

(Enter Sr Euro Patience & Temperance)

Their names & natures sound discord, But Being to venture in one bottome upon ye same designe of service to yo:r Highnesse I haue not Without some difficulty, & wth great moderacon. (Though I sayd) peruailed soe the one

Contented to submitt to ye others fury, & to Endure a Toss or two sometimes: ye other Will take in a Cloth, vale a Bonnett, or doe Any thing requisite to satisfie ye other---

They haue shook hands upon it, & now wee are Come to kiss you before ye voyage./----

Mens./ Most happily atchieved, & it showes Where Temper bides, their ffreindship euer flowes

Turns to Sr Braue Tempest I commend you soe orecome Eurocl./ Yo:r furies passion; Action craues few words.  

84 moderacon] nunnated word.
More deeds:/ Prudence by this looks for you
And therefore hast aboard: May noe winds blowe
To Sink yo'r purpose to an overthrow:/

Sr Eurocl./ By Stix, & fflegethon I thank yo'r Highnesse
And if the gods of seas & land befreind us
Home to yo'r great content they back will send us./
(Exeunt omnes.)

Act----3----Scen----I. [284]
(133)
Enter K. Acoè with Oreia his Concubine &
K. Hathè with Dedo his
Servant wth a Gitter etc./

Acoè./ King Hathè well mett:/Hathe:/Saue King Acoè

Acoe./ What news from Tripoly do y' heer:/Hath:/ a Touch
Of some occurrences I felt of late,
But cause not gustfull, I resolv'd to sink them,
And raise some pleasant Ditty to make me merry,
Soe brought my Dedo wth me:/Acoe:/excellent,
And I Oreia heer to trye his skill---

Hathè./ Dedo a Sarabrand. Dedo:/you shall command Sr
(Hee playes)
III, i

Oreia./ 0 that's a sweet touch on ye treble string.

Hathè./ Yor' wench is mettled Acoè, & loues musique

Acoè./ She hath a pretty Ear & understands it

Oreia./ Touch but that string againe; methinks ye Spheres

(He plays again)

Should gently moue in Emulation

Of this soule melting ayre, ther's nothing sweeter

ffand from faire Iunoes region, Certes t'is rare: 15

Dedo./ T'is a composure (Lass) awak't my ffrensy,

As I lay list'ning to the Nightingall

In Venus Groue whilst ye Thorne prickt ye Noats

Vpon his tender breast; besides ye stream

That there ran purling by, became ye hearse 20

Or (siluer shrine) unto a dying Swann

Ore worn wth age whose wings stretch't out & neck

Theorbo-like playd on by Zephirs breath,

Seem'd to resound her sweet Dierge 'fore her death

And thence I stole this ayre: Hathè./ the musiks

---fattall? 25
III, i, ii]

Dedo./ The swans Sr is: all others cherish life,
Saue those to Spells adopted, as skrich Oules,
Night rauens & ye like; ye Mews of Catts
When Caterwawling: Oreia:/ That's most strange
How dead then prove their Gutts [then] Harmonious? 30

Hathe./ Neuer till touch't by Dedo, happy Dedo
That Orpheus like canst make dead Gutts to quaver
As well as hee made Trees & stones to daunce

Acoe./ These raptures turne my sences all to Eare,
Soe Hathè let me hear w't most I fear 35

Hathè./ That wch I touch't upon & felt from fame,
requires retirement to report againe
Let's in & there you'l haue it./
    (Exeunt Acoe Hathè Oreia Dedo./)

Scen----2 [285]
Enter Lingua: & Oio./

Lingua./ Three kings to sup together heer to night,
And nothing yet prepar'd? O Improuidence.
III, ii]

Oio:/ Who should have lookt to 't Lingua save thyselfe
Chief Mistress to Luxurious appetite,
Wt of delicious fare & sauce for gallants
Is cookt to rayse heat, & to raise an army,
(A stand of Pikes at least) without thy art & helpe:/

Lingua./ Oio I see thou'rt of ye truebrood & with Eagles Eyes
Canst peirce & sift into our misteries,
And therfore craue thy ayd t' see all things
---fitted

Oio./ Ile lay the cloth, strew flowers upon ye Table
Beguild ye Marchpans & sett out grand sallett
Doe any thing you'l haue me; Blepses shall say
His Oio hath not idled out ye day:/

Lingua:/ And I'le prepare Botargo, Salmagunde,
With Cauery, Tongues dried, & Mayance hamms
Oysters that swim in pickle, Beef that has
Been hung up in ye smoak since Martimas,
To wch I'le bring t' allay thirst seuerall wines
(As prestmen) from ye farthest Countrys Vines
Tuscan, Verdea, Calabrian, Fiastone,
High raysing pallatt Paris--Vin de bone:
That when these princes have caroust their fill
High rays'd for Action they'll prove Conquerors still
Let's to our tasks least we be taken tarde 25
(Enter Naso)

Stay heer comes Naso that ould smell feast (Pimp
to Ozo) let his part bee t' prepare
The Oio Pudrido & y' Smelts
The Coast shall blesse us with or sauory Ling
The north seaffins from Island shore doe bring. 30
What of Hault Goust all forraine parts afford
Besides redherring to Incense y' board:
Let's in, let's in, the rest he shall haue there
Our Kingss will come ere all bee fitt I fear./
(Exeunt Ling. Oio Naso.)

Enter King Blepces, King Geusis and
King Ozo---with guards & Trumpetts
sounding./

Where is this Oio my Boy? my life on't,
The hairy woeman or such sight in Towne
Has tane him up: I sent him to bespeak
Some Beauties to assist our mirth this night:

And I my Naso to smell out ye Plott:

If they bee shee freinds Beauties feminine,
They'll then excuse my travaile & my Care
And speak, bespeak, & overspeak all present;
They'll rauish Lingua from mee, & out vie
Her modesty: ffond Erro's, babling voice,
Will prove canonickall & orthodox,
Bee put to silence by their shrill expressions,
Noats aboue Ela, & a Key & cliff,
ffar lowder then the Hills can reach unto:
Noe sound of Trumpett, Beat of Drum heard for them,
And Iupiter, awak't will Queries make
Whither his Thunder's wander'd for their sake:

You'd make them roaring Girles then would you not?

Noe magpye chattering rather to descry
Where the ground's stain'd with any cruelty
III, iii]

Ozo./ They can sent blood then: Geus:/yes, & waite as far
As any to revenge; their nature dictates,
Sex readily obeyes, seas once provok't
By furious winds change colour for a season
Nor can soone calme into their former dye
Diuells rays'd quickly are not layd so soone.

Blepses./ Hold you there Geusis, Lingua'l never fail you:
Such serpentine expression, pois'nous language,
I never heard before to blast & blemish
That sex I most adore, where Beauties Throne is
And on whose lipps fayre Currall's alwayes sprouting
And rowes of orient Pearle within those dores;
The whitest marble to their browes but fayle./
And richest Saphirs borrow from those veines,
Branch one those breasts are ye true Elizian
---Plaines./

Ozo./ Hee did but Emulat their active member
Fear t' bee oufvied; But (if my sence betray not)
I smell heer Naso coming to informe us,
That all is ready: Blepses:/ I see where ye wind sits
King Ozo when yo' appetites o'th' tenters

23 seas] 2s mended from e. 39 That] h mended.
III, iii, iv]

The Greedy Smell feasts Heliogabalus,
Vitelliiue or all Gluttony adored,
(are nothing)
Are nothing to you--Naso:/All of entertainment [287]
(Enter Naso)
Stands ready seru'd to serue you, & for cheer
Oio ye boy prouides you'll ha't entier.

Geusis./ Let every sence (courted by Genius) bring
Peculiar Blessings to this offering,
Away let's in, & by past cares release
Then entertaine noe thoughts but future peace./

Scen-------4

Enter Orexis and Iemmy Dissentionado
Hilanders & Patrick Acratelia
An Irish Kern of the wood

Orex./ Swonk fre yon mountaine Clugh ye Crage & Brey
Where naught saue wild beast track skoar out ye way
The quick eard Hart with nimble futed Rea
I'se gar find out ye Lordly Lownes & Kings
That wad Th'out me perfore their revellings

III, iv]
Dissent./ I bruke ne sike accord & freindlinesse
I'se sheath my Winyard in each Wem I meet
And draw my Durk tu: Orex: ffoy man, why secruel?

Dissen./ A pack of Cround Carles iunketting tugether?
Na ens bespeak Orexis & his Gang
Tu bring their wild dish tu'l them? I'se enrag'd./

Acrateia./ Put up thy dagger Iemmy; Put up thy dagger Iemmy
And let us quaff this usquebagh till wee bee blith
---& merry.

Dissent./ Acrateia by St Patrick well mett wher ha yea loaped
Away this muckle muckle tide, Sea?/

Acrateia./ Ouer ye Bog & the Bannock after a wild beast that
Outran me, yet haue I gott some shamrocks heer to eat
With my Butter, By my Grandams soule they are
---Princely food.

Orex. Ise lang very mickle Tu preue them-----

8 secruel} le mended.
III, iv]

Acrateia./ They are at yo'r service Sr, let's sitt downe,
---heere's a fine mossbank
I haue brought you too some Tobacco, wch I take in
---Snuff, since King
Ozo, & his Pimp Naso would smell mee out if I tooke
---it in smoake

Dissen./ What if they gud man, we's deal well enough w'th
---them, I spired at a
Karle ye other euen, as he past by the fute of
---yonder Bray·whilk way
The muckle Kingly Carles did wend, & whare they held
---abode, hee
answered in the Lowlands, and that they did convene
---oft & were
merry & blith & this è of ye tymes by their
---appointmts, let's gang
rayse an army of our Moss trooping swingers to
---alarm them for
Banketting, is ne ay sand a feud, & I' se the fittest
---can gar make one./

23 gud] g mended. 24 fute] e mended.
III, iv

Acrateia./ Yett till excesse rayse to intemperance, you may
---faile of yo' purpose

Iocky Iemmy./

Orex./ No lesse Isse ressle wth them tu they's bee at
---concord:

[288]
(135)

Acrat:/ Yes you must swagger wth them, bee unruly
Tell them Phisitions all are Empericks
Prescribe rules that they follow not themselues
Bid them still follow you through ye mountains
And ther you'll show them princely sport wth freedome
Make them beleeeue they are ensnared below ther
Led out o'th' way wth Ignis fatuuses
Will with a wisp their guide, & Iinny burnt arse
Meteors ye daughters are to marish grounds--
Nothing that's heard or seen or tasted there
But yo' wild mountains, woods & streams abound wth
In greater plenty & perfeccion./

Orex./ I gude faith Patrick well ha ye sayn, lets gar loap
---away to find them;

32 ressle] ss mended. 44 perfeccion] nunnated word.
III, iv, v]

Acrat./ Agreed for those want stomachs to their meat.

When appetite is by are suer to hate./

(Exeunt Orex. Dissent: & Acrat.)

Scen 5

Enter Corruscio & Pathos.

Corrus:/ Pathos I am affronted altivezza

With ye help of Luxurioso should befrend mee

Supplant my hopes of favour with ye Princes

All my desires you know are still bound up

In emulating fancies, angry boyes

5 My favorites--These feasts & revellings

Softens too much the power & sway of Kings:

gives him a paper

Path./ Ye r mandate is my warrant I'le obey't./

(Exit Pathos)

Corrus./ Is ther sense soe stupid & benum'd

My furious cannot waken, am I bannisht

Wretched Corruscio from ye breasts of men

12 Corruscio] 2o mended.
III, v]

To dwell in thunderclaps & stormes at Sea
Hath soft effeminacy so much gaine:
By Luxurioso Mignon to ye Princes
As to award my Exile from their p'sence
with whom I wont soe boldly to prevaile
This cannot hold out long: one sun shine day
May to ye clouds i' th' next bemaskt obey
I shall haue my turne next though't cost mee

---a fall for't

(Reenter Pathos)

Pathos./ I haue been where you sent mee, found these Courtlings
The one at first high in stept went on his tiptoes
And vapour'd 'gainst yo' passions Altuezza:
(Swears you are)
Swears you'r a madman so scornes yo' defiance [289]
The other high as wine & woemen made him
Concludes you are beside yo' selfe to leaus you:

Corrus./ Base stinkard Wretches, Passion; These stile madnesse
Because they shun all action honorble;
They will not fight then? Path:/No S't theyr for Peace

23 Altuezza] A mended.
Ill, v]

Corrus. /

What? drowsy peace? friend to those lazy Beggars
Lye lowing under a hedge & there continue.
Some cheat against ye Pullen of the next yard;
I hate ye thought on't; every thing I see
I would like Basaliske confound,—my musick
All from ye Cannons roaring throat—my foode
The blackest well fed Toade, a maress yeilds;

For drink to which no other iuice Idle craue
Then prest from Spiders bag or Vipers gall
And for perfume a featherbed on fire
Should serve—nor would I feele or handle ought.
Were polish't into smoothnesse or felt soft. /

Pathos. /

Let mee desire you Sr to curb yo'r passion
Least you make good their censure: Corrus:/Pathos away
Thy weaknes'1 whetten fury not allay.
I must find out these courtlings silken shadowes
Noe more of Man than Haruest Jack w' th Gill.
Puppetts or puppies chuse you <w>hither. Dasterds
Not fight when challeng'd, Ile assault their Temper

hee drawes halfe out. /

This blate shall Trowell like Temper such morter
Earth wormes & dunghill cocks—ye first I meet w' th
I'le spitt in's face, & see if I can rayse

47 whither] i mended.
An angry Carbuncle--Ile do't, Ile do't  
And if still could I'le ad a Kick to boot./

(Exit Corruscio tearing his hayre & stamping & Pathos./)

Scene------6

Enter Concupiscenza & Avaro.

Avaro./ Do ye hear ye news o' th Towne Concupiscensa?

Concu./ Noe; I'm with child, & long to hear t' Avaro.

Avaro./ Why thus King Blepses, King Geusis & King Ozo
Mett th'other night att supper & a banquett
Where all ye costliest fare, & sparklingst wines
Were sacrificed through Idolatraes skill
To Captivate those Princes: The chief guests
Besides themselves two favorites those shine on
As Signior Altivezza that proud Squire
And Luxurioso yt intemperate foole
Now cause Corruscio was not there inuited
I hear hee is run mad for very anger
And tears his hayre off, stamping like a Jennett

11 not] no mended.
III, vi]

Nettled or stung with hornets: for familiar
Hee had been with those Kings in former dayes
And now smell out neglect, to which such thoughts
of jealousie are still concomitant
That first on this, & then on that layes blame
And raves soe, nothing can his fury Tame./

Concu./

Alas, poor mad fool; Anger's a disease
More turbulent & boystrous than ye Seas
Noe mervaille Those excus'd his presence then
When they Contriv'd their meeting to bee merry
I should I'm sure though many things I long for
As to hear more./ Avaro:/ O sonne ye worst's to
---come

These high exorbitant expensive feasts
Open soe great a sluice to ye Exchequer
Supports These Kings it layes their Channells drye
Which must require a speedy fresh supplye

Concu:/

O now I smell you father; you'r afrade
Your bags must bee excisd, Heaps unhorded
Taxes sent out to ease you of those Cares
Hinder yo" rest by nighte, cloud days wth fears.

Noe, but I doe not loue soe great profusenesse
These fforeiners are to bee worshipped
They are y*e Mortalls Idolls, & of power
In Court, in camp, in counsailes they can all
ffar fetch't they'r good for LaS: too to dandle
Away in Hoods in scarfs, & masking brauery
T'was Altivezza's first disouery
Who entering the Rio della Plata

(And then)
And then advancing to Peru & Chili
Became the midwife to their preganant mountaines
Bringing their issue forth to bee adored:
They are no mice those Hills are bigg withall
But potent & fine charmes that can doe all things
Carry a cause at barr how unjust soeuer
Betray a ffort, & what not? Concu:/ Had I store
Deere father of those Imps, how I should flourish
Bring ffish unto such silver hookes, & satiate
My lustfull thoughts: all other wichcrafts yeild
Where Mammons standard doth command y*e feild:

(Enter Signior Idolatra)
III, vi]

Idola./
To himselfe./

What's heer? Auaro courting of his gold
Concupiscenza likewise Coueting
To serue his Luxce, these rob mee of my name,
ffor Idolatra noe where more appeers
Than where such spells Christen Idolaters

Turns to them./
I will accost these gallants: saue Count Avaro
And you Concupiscenza saue you likewise:

Auaro./

Well mett my old freind signior Idolatra
Great Potentate of most parts of the Globe

Idola./

Yet noe where better knowne then in yo' round
And splendid orbs, Auaro: shins that shine's
The Persian God[s],--but adore yo' Coyne
Only two Mignions crept into ye Court
Of late seme to despise that pelfe, Luxurioso
That Glutton & effeminate Altivezza:
These well esteem'd because through blandient Vice
They sett on all things they commend a Prise,
Cheat not yo' selfe, for all those say or doe
Must still bee fed with what you help them to:

Auaro:/
Truly I doe beleve ye same: Pride's plume
coughing./
Would soone flag lower; Gluttoniss excesse
Through Temperance perforce bee made goe less:
But let's retire I hear ye ayre presage
Our Kings with those are coming on ye stage:
(Trumpett with in Exeunt Avaro Idola: & Concupiscen)

Scene------7
Enter King Blepses, K. Geusis, K. Ozo
Altivezza & Luxurioso/

K. Geusis./ I neuer eat a better sallat, Ozo; t'was hault
---goust to ye full

K. Ozo./ Nor did I euer sacrificize my smell
To better Odours then ye flowers did make
Were strew'd amidst ye Banquett Luxurioso

Turns to Luxur:
You playde yo'r prankeks indeed to glut wth
---dainties./

Luxur:/ Great Princes if my weak endeavours can
Merit ye least acceptance from yo'r graces
I must lett blood for feare of surfetting

73 [Gluttoniss] iss mended and difficult to read.
III, vii]

On soe great happinesse you cast upon mee
A pleuresy is ye least I can expect else
I did indeed desire to shew my skill
And what in power fell short to rags't in will

K: Bleps:/ Certes you did all rarely & like yo'r selfe
I never saw a Treatmt martiall'd out
With more dexterity & curious art
A marchpan fort contriv'd to more advantage
Not to bee taken but to take beholders,
The Parapett & Counterscarp soe rays'd
With horne works, Ravelings, halfe moones & ye  
---fflankers
To scour e the Greeff or Moate w'th Bastions
Able to fright a squee mish stomackt soule
With wafer ord'nance planted on ye walls
Laden w'th comfits which perfum'd the roome
Being shott att Ozo--t'ill hee conquer'd them:
My part was to assault & take ye Standard
Or colours--Geusis to attempt ye walls.
Dismantle, raze them doune--This overcome.
The defendants to march out'thout stroke of drum

Altivez:/ And how could all this ere bee done th'out mee
Who am ye Cause all great Things disagree
III, vii]

Blepses. You are deceived (Altivezza) warrs.

Such as these were, procure noe wounds nor scarrs

Ceres & Bacchus (as I haue heard told

ffrom Lingua) shend faire Venus from ye Cold

Satisfie Geusis, & wth flora's ayde

Prouide for Ozo till his Thirst's allayde

Only Orexis natures monster borne

In woods, & mountaines seems our bliss to scorne

That Highland Kerne wth Acrateia & more

Of that Gang warr on us & crykill more

Discentinado Captaine of his bands

I hear is coming on us & at hand

To preuent which lett us fly to our armes

Security's ye mother oft to harmes./

(Exeunt K. Blepses K. Geu: K. Ozo Altivez. & Luxurioso)

Act 4-------Scen::---I

Enter Orexis with his sword drawne--

Discentinado With his Durke--Acrateia

with his skene---With two or thre

mosstrooping Carles in Jacks

steel bonnetts with Baskett hilted

swords & Whinyards

Orex./ I'se kill & slea A y't I meet with Iemmy

The sensuall Kingly Lownes ween tu escape mee
But I'se gar find their haunt though nere se seruett
The ilk revellings can nere ay gang inent me
Stand tu yo'r weapons & maintaine ye charge./

Discen./ I'le nere consent tu peace or parley with them

Nor I to temper Humors soe dispos'd
Sound to ye charge ther--

(A bagpipe within They all run out & make a fray a great shout within)

Scen------2---
Enter Lingua, Oio, & Oreia,

Bless us kind fates; Ore: w't noise is that I heere?

T'was like an onsett 'twixt embatteld forces.

I saw indeed as I past ore ye Boorne
Glides doune by yonder Crage, & that Clugh there,
Making a Bray, some Carles & Lownes a mustring
I guess them t'bee moss trooping Highlanders
Their habits & their armes bespeak them such
IV, ii]

Ore./  O t'is Orexis that wild Canniball
He thirst's for blood to satiate's appetite
I heard a bird tell how hee was enraged
And enuy swolne att our great Princes meetings
Having to foster discontent & enuy
That lowzie Blewcap Redshanke Discentonado
Who liues by fewds & brabbles; & t' oppose
All sobernesse & Temper Acrateia
A Kerne o'th' wood upon my maiden head
These with a Band mosstrooping from ye Hills
Are fal'n upon our Kings, & seek to rout them
I cannot hear of such approaching danger
But I must to ye rescue though but woeman
I may endure a shöck I fear noe Launce./

Lingua./  And I'le awake ye Sentinells at ye Port
And sett there double Guards least discord heer
Should giue invitement; Call a foe too neere

Oio./  I will looke on too though my years and
---strength
Can promise little ayde,--Blepses in danger
Oio to perill must not bee a stranger

13 [Discentonado]  i mended, possibly from an e.
IV, ii, iii]

Lingua./ Noe, Noe, You'l venture an eye for ye battle
And I a Tongue if woemen may preuaile

Oreia:/ If they'l hear reason too Oreia
Will bee admitted to compose ye difference
Barr us our suffrage? What's then left to sence
To tast & feel alone? blowes this may cause
And sweetest cates, are sharpened with source sauce./

(Exeunt Lingua Oio & Oreia)

Scen-----3
Enter Blespes haling out Orexis by the haire
of the head

K. Blespes./Come out thou villaine Traitor, Rebell, monster
That in thy selfe inlists & musterst up
A squadron, Troop, a whole regiment of mischeife
A Brigade, Nay a whole army is too pinching
And scanty to comprize thy falsityes:
How hast thou fascinated all my powers
And by false opticks drawne away my sence
How hast thou made mee blind to follow him

3 mischeife] s mended.
IV, iii, iv]

The Poetts faign so---Lust & appetite

Ore'swaying: strait w't ere weesee t' seems right./ 10

Orex./
Wase me, Wase me, my Lord, Wase me, Wase me
Wase me, Wase me, that ere I'se bore tu see
Soe muckle strife 'meng our affinity

K. Bleps:/ Guards lay him fast in chaines see him secur'd

Guard./
It shalbee done an't please yo' Highnesse-- 15
(Exit Blepses & the Guard haling Orex: out./)

Scen----4

Enter Geusic haling out Discentonado

In like manner as ye former./

K. Geusic./ Thou discord moving wretch, whose food's alone

To cast into all freindlinesse some bone
And t'leaven all ye Batch w'h ere concord reignes
ffishing in troubled waters for thy gains: 5
How didst thou soure my sauces & afright
My thirst w'th thy empois'ning Aconite

_________________
2 freindlinesse] 2s mended.
Thy name & nation, Habbitt all agree
To stamp thee of the Curst Chan's progeny;
(And of ye)
And of ye Race of Giants did preferre
That high designe of Conquering Iupiter
Nimrod yt mighty Hunter came far short
Of thee in ffewds & ye Tyrannike sport./
(Discentonado) hee that but names thee may
Conclude all loue & freindship is away,
But now I haue tain thee, bee assur'd I'le bring
Thy Highland rudenesse to my censuring,
Away wth him to ye Clink lay him head & heeles
Make those agree in him are farth'st asunder
To cross his name, & soe create a wonder

Discento./ Aye gude King Geusis, spare thy wee bern now, I'se
---nere wrong thee mere

K. Geusis./ Away wth him I say trust a scott? A divell sooner./
(Guards hale him out & K Geusis Followes./)

8 Chan's] Although Clan's would seem the proper reading here,
the ms clearly reads Chan's. 11 far] r mended.
IV, v]

Scen 5

Enter Ozo plucking Acrateia By the Nose./

Ozo./ Thou skundrell Kern, why dost infect ye ayre
And poysonnst all that fragrancy affords
With Huff & Snuff Mundungus, By St Patrick
I'le forge thee into Temper, or command
Thy Trousse & Broges poster noe more ye land 5

Acrat./ O Gramma cree, Gramma cree--shew pitty Sr I pray you
St Patrick, O St Patrick shon dough first
Before I die let mee but quench my thirst

Ozo./ A with [for] <heer> for him straite; I say away
With this wild Irish' & intemperat Kerne 10
The woods & boggs blush for his wild behauour.

Acrat./ O Gramma cree, Grammacree, St Patrick help mee
Shon dough, Shon dough.
(They hale him out)

Ozo./ Where discord wth intemperancyes unite,

13 ¹Shon] n mended.
IV, v, vi]

There needs must bee unruly appetite

(Exit Ozo.)

Scene----6

Enter Pathos in hast bringing News of a great
fleet approaching the coast./

Pathos./ Awaken'd with desire to serve my Countrey
And what in mee lies to secure it's peace
Observing as I was upon ye Guards
Last night a floating wood come Rowling towards mee
Rootlesse as I suppose, unlesse in mischeif

There in desirous to transplant it selfe
Disquiet & supplant us in our rest
I come to bee ye Herald & proclaine
This depth of danger from ye deep approaching
Wherein if I by warning can fore arme
Our Princes for defence against their foes
I shall accomplish my desire att full
And win applause from my great furious Captaine
Corruscio & ye rest, I haue fird ye Beacons
T' awaken Blepses, & to helpe the Alarne

Soe that our Isle from Microcosmus chang'd.
Seems all a new worlds prospect, & dell Foco
IV, vi]
I wish T'would prove to those Incognita
Seek ye disturbance of it:--but heer's Corruscio/
(Enter Corruscio stark mad at a dream he had/)

steps aside./
I'le step aside observe his garbe & Temper
Before I wake his fury, least excesse
Make him forgett our safetty through Passion

Corrus./
What witchcrafts spell & horrid Divells charmes
Ride on my drowsing Temples to disturb
My ffancyes rest, am I awake or dream still? 
Methought I saw proud Nereus fret & foam
Spouting his untam'd element aloft,
To threat the skies & quench their fiery orbs
Then rowling on his back a wood spied
Wherewith I was by much more terrefide
I sett my Pathos sentinell to watch
The Avenues last night, pray fates that sleep
Robd him not of his duty; Danger neer
Subdues all other passions under feare

Pathos./
steps out./
O Captaine well mett, Arme, Arme all I say
Wee are assaulted, your dreams come to passe
A floating wood upon ye Liquid glass
Makes towards us, what they are I cannot tell
IV, vi]  

Resistance now must prove best Sentinell  
Arme, Arme, Arme all for defence, for defence./  

Corrus./  
Split Rocks & seas evaporate into ayre  
What's this I hear an enemy assaulting  
I thought wee had not wanted 'mongst ourselves  
for ruines practice: but when freinds fall out  
Their Enemies designes they bring about./  

(King Blep)  
King Blepses heer already & amaz'd  
(Enter K. Blepses staring as in a fright./)  
Sure some prodigious sight open'd his windowes  
He stares & is agast, struck dumbe with thinking  
Seiz'd on by apprehensions restlesse wheel  
He is turnd Ixion I have not patience  
T' accost this twinkling Meteor: He a King  
And subject unto fear thus, t'is a shame  
When weaknesse masks it selfe under that name./

K: Blepses./  
O Corruscio, Corruscio, wee are lost & undone  

---Corruscio;  
I say we are undone, undone, undone  

for some Prodigious Enemy's a landing  
The Beakons all on fire denote as much
IV, vi]

See how they blaze else; which way shall wee take
To worke prevention? Corrus:/ split them at their
---landing
Sink dam & ram them, shew them Pluto's Court
Make them accost three headed Cerberus
Kiss, Proserpina's hand: send from our efforts
A peal of such transcendent thunderings
As love once sent against the Giant brood
To quell presumption in their bold attempt
It may bee t'll awaken Acoè
With ye report; bring Geusis from his feastings
To feed on honor.--Ozo will smell ye powder
And helpe to Countermine ye plott, & Hathè
Toucht wth a sence of soe great perill hasten
To our releif & succor--if not sencelesse
Soe lost themselves, & stupid this must follow

(Guns shot of within./)
Passion of mee, ye guns begin already;
Hear how ye small & great shott play to rouse us:
Let's everyone to's Post, & manfully
Defend our Ile & Princes: Pathos:/My desires
Are wing'd to ye same quarry Arme, Arme, away then./

(Exeunt)
IV, vii]

Scene----7

Enter King Acoè stopping his Ears
& King Geusis with a gloue in his mouth./

King Acoè./ I am struck deaf, & that wont feed my sense

Now murthers it: how is thy power assaulted

ffaire Iuno by these ffinns yt vapouring come

To change thy element into a drum?

All <Air> comprised within one thunder cloud

And that discharg'd in bolts to worke our ruine

How say you Brother Geusis, how dost relish?

K. Geusis./ Like soure sauce after sweet meats; very tart t'is

I cannot well disgest such interruptions

ffor this night being invited to a Banquett; (Where all)

Where all that curiosity affords [prepared

---should bee]

Prepar'd should bee, I sett myseife on purpose

As horses are to run a Match, that none

Of all the dainties might escape mee; Belike

I did resolue to sip on each dew pearle

Enricht ye flowers I past by: soe contrive

To gaine for purchase honey to my hiew
IV, vii]

But heere wee meet with stings molest our quiett
And rout mee of my hopes to thrive by diett
I'le seek some other food & fframe invite
To bee my guest & whett my appetite
Lingua shall trie wth yr Orieas features
If wichcrafts may appease these newfound Creatures
ffor Concubines are such, & Mars himselfe
By Venus overcome: When Cyrens sing
The Grecian Captaine dreads a Conquering
And's tied unto ye mast--if these charmses faile
Power will ouer sences all prevaille

But who comes here thus mangled? Dedo's sou'raigne:
(Enter K. Hathe wth his head Bloody,
& K. Ozo wth a bloody nose, & their
boyes bleeding after them./)

King Hathê cut & slasht? & Naso's Prince too
Ozo? who euer wont when I made ffeast
To smell it out, all bleeding hurt & wounded
Prodigious: ye one hath had a touch
I see already & t'other a rubbers att Cuffs
I tast their meanings they but sound retreat
To giue more furios onsett, 'tis soe, 'tis soe:/

He turns to them./

King Hathê where hast mett this Surgery
To ope thy head & giue thy braynes more ayre
IV, vii]

K. Hathè./ A gentle Touch ye rogues yt landed gaue mee
I hope to make them ffeel my touch againe
I will not leaue them soe, though they prickt Dedo too
Hee'l not forsake mee: but through Scratch & Skarrs
Will readily asist mee in all warrs./

K. Geus:/ King Ozo hurt too, Naso bleeding by him?
I thought yt football had been out of use.
Noe cuffs but sleeue cuffs: w't Post in ye darke
Ha: yea mett w'th Naso dubbs you crimson Knight

Naso./ I bore my Princes Targatt went before him
Downe to ye Peer, wher appear'd such monsters
I neuer saw before: I had a Pose
Caught cold, soe could not smell their powder mischeife
T'il one rough Sea finn (Tempest I think they cald him)
Gaue mee this rude salute upon my Gristle;
(I wisht)
I wisht for Gundobarts Contriver by mee
Hee would haue broke ye Bowr, turn'd it 'gainst
---ayre

Turns to Dedo

Made nothing of it: But shal's not repaire
Our blood & losses--Dedo let's to't againe
That blood nere staines is spilt for Soueraine
IV, vii; V, i]

Acoë
Geusis
Hathe/

These blades are loyall, & thus scowr'd m<AO>ly shewe
What duty to a Prince subjectes should Owe./

(Exeunt./)

Act-----5-----Scene-----1
(141)

Enter Sr' Eurocledon Tempest wth his
naked sword all bloody.

Sr' Eurocl./ Where be these cowardly base miscreants
These Iland furies? if least sence of honnor
Inhabit in their breasts, they'l not bee daunted
With ye first shock, but wee shall meet againe
T'was their mad fury wanted letting blood
And I haue sau'd some from that Calenture
Witnesse my Blade here else--I carbonadoed
Ones Coxcombe, cut anothers finger too
Took t'other 'th wart ye snout, soe spoild his rooting

(Enter Mons' Patience)

Patience./ Haue Patience with you lowd Eurocledon
And though yo' power ouer waues prevaille
Consider we'r on land & that command
'Longes properlie to another Generall
Sr' Ratio Prudence; orders all by him
V, i]

 Once <guieu> wee shall obey--t'is his commission 15
 Warrant's our undertakings: ffuries vaine
 In such attempts whither on land or maine./

Sir Eurocl:/ Yes, you'll orcome by suffering, will you not?

Give them more leisure still to reinforce
Soe make resistance? prettily resolu'd; 20
When wee haue wak't ye Seas & giuen alarm
To this fond Iland, sturd ye Humors in it
Then to giue ouer Conquest? tis 'gainst Phisick
Where all obnoxious humors <first> are moov'd
Then wth a Bolis or some Potion
Orecome & wash't away--The saylors may
Now we'r ashore, belay noe more, nor weather
This or yt other forland; come to anchor
There mo[o]re ye vessells, but my fury rais'd
Cannott so soone againe belayd, I tell thee 30
ffond Patient ass, my valour's aboue Prudence
T'is prouidence alone Ile yeild unto;
And yf ye Ile wee past by th' other day
Where, whilst fresh water wee were taking in
I stept a shoare & meeting wth a ffather
Whom Time had dyed into our seafroths liuerie,
Hee grauely bid mee use ye height of power
If euer I desird t' bee Conquerour
Patience farewell, my name & nature rayse
Mee higher then to sort with thy smooth wayes./ 40
(Exit Sr Eurocl.)

Patience./  Goe blustering fury thou shalt see it Tride [311]
My temper can doe more then thy fond Pride

Scene----2
Enter Sr Ratio Prudence Monsr ffeal
ffraianck & Temperance--Curtois D'Accordes./

Sr Ra:
Prud.

After soe great a conflict t'wixt ye winds
And seas (thanks to ye Gods of both) we'r landed
And hope to giue a good account ere long
Of our employment,--Temperance conductor
And patience to giue Counsail, Monsr ffeal
To bee our Rudder, & to steer at land
With ffraianck Treasurer to ye Army by us
Soe that D'Accordes performe his part too
And will bee well & concord end our showe
Then least wee surfett on soe great a bliss 10

2 & 11] In both lines the parentheses are opened but not closed. The closing punctuation is provided by the editor.
T'allay distemper, (Temperance thy part t'is.)

Temper:  I had noe sooner sett my ffoote on shore
But all my men forsook mee; Luxurioso
Had learnt yt stratagem, & craft in warr
To win them from mee: Pipe's of lusty wine
Hee sett before them, to enchant & this
Made them forsake my Colours, followe his:

Fraianck./ Auaro mine corrupted wth more pay
And prov'd a prodigall prouident that way:

ffeal./ One Signior Idolatra layd baites suttly
To haue entrapt my men att landing, sparing
Noe sugred speech, nor promise of allurem't
That might corrupt their ffaiths & loyalties;
But eury Regiment having of mine,
Dispers'd int' shew'd his artiface was vaine. 25
They scorn'd his exorcismes made good their ground
And wayt but yo'r commands to conquer on
A few were bought & sold by wine & treasure
That scorn'd any of mine should march among them
And soe are lost--Corruscio I heard too./

30 Corruscio] 1o mended.
V, ii]

That mad braind fury sett on Patience
Att our first landing and least fire & towe
Should faile & bee extinguisht, wind and weather
Hee sought still to assault him wth; soe bargaines
With Sr Eurocleron to raise a Tempest
To tempt his Temper--Opposites thus trye
Conioign'd to add to each other's souranty:

Sr Ra Pru./ How? Traitors 'mongst ourselves? I haue often

---heard

How Patience hath been tryde; but thus attempted
And by one of our owne; tis very strange
Our Admirall help Corruscio to affront us?
It must not bee I must becalme his fury
Least wee all suffer by his rash attempts
ffeaL goe call ye Admirall Tempest to mee
I will keep Patience by mee till hee comes
Hee does ore act his part, exceeds his Compass./

Feal./ ffaith must obey where Prudence layes commands:

(Exit ffeal)

---

44 [Tempest] pe mended.
V, ii]

Sr Ra Prud:/
In ye meane tyme to loose none each to's charge
And with that courage may commend our prowes
Charge home ye Enemie sack & pillage all
Raise batt'ring ramms to leave noe standing wall./

Patience./ I'le to Corruscio's quarter vanquish him:

Temper./ And I will rout Luxurioso's dishes

ffraianck./ I'le saue Avaro's baggs from rust & moulding

Curtois./ Me vil bring Altivezza that proud Don
To speak ffrench, & cry Monsieur se vous prie
Pardonnez moy; D'Accord:/And if Discentonado
That other firebrand still retaine a sparke
Of blustering furie to create a flame
I will not leave till I haue quencht ye same./

Sr Ra Prud./
Brauely resolu'd & like your selues Heroike
I shall stay patience heer a while to see
How Tempest steers a shore, at sea t'was hee
Alone, rays'd stormes: Now yo' Parts t'is to trye
By storme & conquest ye art of Chivallrie
No thing's perform'd of Honnor worthy of Bayes
But Hazards crowne & difficulties rayse
Bellona prosper, Pallas bee yo' guide
And all the Gods & Goddesses besides.

(Exeunt Temp: ffraianck & Curtois)

To Conquer Eolus bid winds bee still
No more t' infest faire Iunos Empire wth
Their louder breath; I had rather far bee sent
To Neptune to controule his Tides & Ebbs
Without Lucina & her Huntresses
And t' calme his surges: Tempest will obey
Noe other powers but what to peace say nay
Att any rate hee will not come & meet
Where patience bides, but hastning to ye ffleet
Swears hee will weigh, be gon nor longer stay
The drowsy posture of prolix delay./

(What is)

S'r Ra: Prud./

What is hee mad the? ffeal./Yes, stark raging
---mad

Soe fretts & fumes distempers all come nigh him.

S'r Ra Prud:/Lett him alone we'1 conquer then defye him:
Goe wth thy care & view each place & ground
ffor our advantage steddily informe
V, ii

Thy selfe, how well our ffoes are fortifide
To make resistance, & where their wall's weakest
Be sure to raise thy battring platforme 'gainst it
Then drawe ye Army out into Batalia
ffor to amuse ye besieged: if they sally
Mark what Port, & sute each with his Riuall
Send ffraiank 'gainst Auaro, Temperance
'Gainst Luxuriososo & alike ye rest
To shew them wee'r in earnest not in iest

ffeal./ Yo'r excellencyes orders & direccons
Shalbee most punctually observ'd from point [to point]
To point or else Ile die & loose my name
ffidelity best Imps ye wings of fame./
(Exitt ffeal)

Sr Ra:
Prud./
I to my quarters will retire & there
With Patience wayte ye Issue & successse
Of this our high designe leaving Corruscio
To chafe & frett & fume his venom out
And soe keep concord wth Eurocledon
Hold Diapason in intemperate wroth

95 direccns] nunnated word 104 Diapason] p mended or smeared.
V, ii]

Till conquest crown our browes & vanquish both./ 105

Patience./ And I shall waite yo\^r prudent care & skill./
And to yo^r sole decree apply my will.

Sr Ra Prud./Most prudently resolv'd--but soft methinks
I hear ye ordnance already play
(Guns within & a great shout)
And a great shout giving oneside ye day 110
T'is soe t'h'out doubt: Come Patience lett us wayte
I'll news hath wings, good tidings nere came late.

Feal./ All's our owne, All's our owne, Victory, Victory
(Reenter ffeal & Temper: throwing up their caps for joy)
Unleas Ioves Tree of Thunderclaps is over .
Proclaime ye Conquest, Crowne ye Conquerors 115
Both Crownes & Scepters all are in yo^r power
And prudence now's become sole Emperour

Sr Ra Prud./ What sayst thou ffeal all perform'd already

ffeal/ Yes Sr^r ye breach being made I saw some enter
Whilst others scal'd ye walls & mett their
---freinds 120
V, ii] And <then> ye submiss Kings came to a Parley
Surendred with out blowes themselues our Captuies./

Sr Ra Prud: I'st possible? fiue ence subdued [314] (143)
This may be subject some enterlude
Wee'l put to sea, unfurle; & spread our sailes 125
Since prudence over sences all Prevails:/

D'Accord:/ King Acoë, Blepses, Geusis, Ozo: Hathè
(Enter D'Accord leading in ye fiue Captuie Kings./)
I heer present you as yo'r Captuie Vassalls
Noble Sr Ratio Prudence Generall 130
Discentonado wth Orexis fled
Vnto ye woods & mountains, scap'd ye storme
And fury of our conquest, Acriteia too
Repair'd swift to his Boggs; wch unaccessible
Wee left pursuance of the Chase, till tyme 135
By farther order should convince their crime
Yet those their prisoners were, & without doubt
Helpt much to bring our great designe about

123 & 124] The manuscript is damaged here. The tops of 314, 315, 316 and 317 are torn making impossible a transcription of two or three lines completely. Although one might speculate how the lines should read, I have elected not to do so and instead present exactly what the ms has.
(Soe in ye scuffle scap'd us.) noe bonds hold
Intemperate appetite grown fierce & bold

A glorious Prize fiue Kings at once surpris'd
Sound drums & trumpetts, lett our victory clime
The higher Orbs; since Ioves auspitious eye
Hath sign'd ye Triumph--Tribute to him flye:/

(Drums and Trumpets within./)

Bid Tempest muster up his Mar-medons
Wee will embarge strait, & with prosperous wind
Seek to compose our great Lo: Menses mind
Vse ye poore Kings with Kindnesse & respect
T'were our dishonour to shew them neglect.
Goe, Temperance, find out ye Admirall

I wonder he's away, but I forgett
The storme is ouer; Hee may bee asleep
Lull'd so by fall in Luxurioso's quarters
Debauch't therto by fond Corruscio's magick
Tell him we'r ready now for to imbargue
And stay his waiging. Tempera:/ al shalbee pform'd
According to yo' excellencyes command---
(offers to goe out)

Stay here hee comes already rowling in
V, ii]

As if intoxicated with ye Conquest
Or something else---------------------
(Enter Sr Eurocl Tempest drunk & Reeling/)

Sr Eurocl./ Ha bra boyes y faith (hickops) most-------------------
magnanimously performed, (hickops) ffraianks a braue
---lad (hickops)
had wee stayed Patience leisure; Wee mought with
---Temperance heer yt
Coward (hickops) Been long enough in gaining victory,
---Our heels
had been our refuge, with Curtoises; assoone as
---hee sawe
(Altivezza)
Altivezza charge (hickop Plumes those helpt his
---flight
[315]
These winged foule are light, (hickops) ha bra
---Luxurioso
Conquering Tempest (hic come hup nor shend mee
---from his
Excellencyes furie---------------------
(Hee falls downe asleep./)

Sr Ra: I see wine can unlock ye truth: away with him
Prud:/
V, ii]

Stowe him in Hold below ye decks t'will calme
Our passage homewards bound--You Temperance
Enter on his Command let's strait aboard
And then present this triumph to our Lord./
(Exit Sr Ra Pru:)

Temper./

How Dick & Tom there take yo' Admiral heere

(Enter Dick & Tom)
And stowe him under decke, for I must steer
Now he's oresett, founderd & splitt; Tom:/What newes
Tempest Knockt doune? (Bacchus) by what mischance
Wee shall nere steer well under Temperance
Hee th'warts our dispositions Dick nor ere
Be freinds but with small Kanss of single Beere

Dick./

Noe Tom west bee becalmed most sure & then
Prudence perforce will rayse Tempest againe
Let's in with him & stowe him safe neer ye Surgeons
---Cabbin
ffor hee hath gotten but a broken pate--------

Temper./

Lett him nott nere ye Cookeroome nor ye Powder
Least when hee wake hee blowe us up & spoile
The rest & make ye Pott boyle ore, Tom; I warrant you
V, ii, iii]

Weel looke to's water better----------

(Exeunt Temperance Dick & Tom carrying Tempest out)

Scene 3-----

Enter Lingua, Oreia, Oio Naso Dedo

call wringing their hands

as in a great distresse

Lingua     I thought w't would come on't wee should bee sawc't

ffor our liquorishnesse & for our little tattle

Leueties, loue sonnetts & ye like bee taught

Noe other tune now but well a day--well a day./

Oreia./     I wish my Ears had been stopt wth woull nay a black

---sheeps wool

when they gaue attention to Dedo's well touch't

---strings, that I

might not haue lost them in Bellona's lowder straines./

Dedo./     I wish I had eat my fingers ere I had learnt them

---to touch Theorbo

or Gittar, those blades haue mar'd my fingering, I

---haue lost one
V, iii] Naile already ye other wth my haire may too bee

---gon shortly---

Naso: Would I haue reat & turn'd poet [316] (144)
Employed in oth then smelling
This Sulphur has supprest ye musk [. . .] <&> Civett
The Amber greece--and all that gaue content.

Oio weeping./O now for Biblis fate or Phaetons sisters

That I might swimme in tears for this misfortune
Yet iustly layd, when wantoniz'd to folly
How many sermons haue I gone to see
And to bee seen & thrust Oreia
Quite out of dores? how many lustful passions
Let in at Casemat? how bewitch't with Beauty.
All farded & bespotted, gay & trim:
What precious tyme irrevocably lost
In spending all my sight from vanities
This Hairy woeman, that Baboon in Towne
This garden courting all ye yeare wth spring
That other Parke, where all complexions mett
Nor ere desir'd to hide themselves from mee
Their Crittick & observer: Now too late
I seek to drownd that which before had sunk mee

10 Naile] N mended. 20 out] o mended.
V, iii, iv]

My Blepses gon? ffollowe my sacrifice

As many leagues ascyes by Ken comprise./

I'le to ye Peer & look after them howeuer

Naso./ I'le send the Gods an Incense that shall burne

To Expiat Ozoes safety & returne

Dedo./ What I haue left of finger Hathe's thine

And I will consecrate it to thy shrine

Oreia./ Braue Acoè where ere thy praises dwell

I must subscribe unto yt Oracle

Lingua./ Thy glorie (Geusis) shall not want due prayse

Whilst Lingua can procure a leaf or Bayes

Lets in Lets in and to our Cells retire

Nothing Saue solitude now releeus desire./

(Exeunt Lingua, Oio, Naso, Dedo, Oreia)

Scene 4

Enter Mens in state with guards

and retinue./

38 Braue] B mended.
Welcome deere rest supporter of my frame
That hast soe long been stranger to my temper
And without wch nothing is durable
(This last)
This last nights sha  my Pillowe  
More then a thousand  s had done
Yeild soe great comfo  surance
That all things prosper that I sent about
I shall coniure henceforth ye screh Owles, Charmes
Batt & night Rauens; (Birds) portents to harms
Noe more their wichcrafts use, but change their
---Layes
And Nightingals proclaime mine Halcyon dayes----
What noise is that within, a new storm comming
(wth in belay, belay we'r in, we'r in lower ye
sailes let fall ye anchores)
To Cheque my Quiett? conspiracy in fates
To alay fortunes surfetts fear creates./
Goe see what is ye matter------
(Exit seruus./)

We are made, wee are made yo'r fleet Sr's safe come home./
All saue one Galleass wherin was stow'd

17 Galleass] e mended.
V, iv

Yo’ Quondam Admiral whose intemperancy
had forfeited that charge conferr’d on mee

Lo: Mens./ What? hee was drunk then. Temp:/Yes & so unruly
That hee was lost unto our Generall prudence
Nor would comply with reason:/Mens:/ A good riddance
Hee has[t] quench’t his Thirst by this & glutted
---Haddocks

Temper./ Just as our Nauie entring was ye Peer
Wee sawe him oversett, founder & sink
Soe now this Drunkard will not need more drink./

Lo: Mens./ How fares Sr Ratio our great Generall
With all ye rest? Temper:/ Wholl Sr as fishes all
With ye fiue Kings their prisonners whom they conquer’d
By Patiences Counsell, ffraiancks bounty
D Accordes wisedome, ffealls loyalty
And Monsieur Curtoys brisk attempt at first
Though hee gaue ground at last made legs & exit.

Lo: Mens. Braue Temperance I embrace thee for this newes
Huggs him./ And thy report restores mee to myselfe
My mind to Temper brought, me thinks I see
My selfe againe become wt I should bee./
V, iv]

Sr Ra: After a storme a calme ye proverb sayes
Prud./ (Enter Sr Ra Prud./)

And wee haue found it: wherfore thanks & praise
To all those powers smil'd on our enterprise
And gaue us victroy ore our Enemies
ffortune wth reason rul'd y e state of things [318] (145)
Let honnor now reward our Conquerings
And since wee haue brought Conquest home to you

Turns to Lo Most potent Sr; let each partake his due
Mens./ Of praise & glory; Curtoys charged well

Att ye first onsett; ffraianck did excell
In his Encouragement, braue Temperance heer
O'recame their works & struck excesse wth fear
ffeal most faithfull to his Trust gaue on
T'il Patience mastred every Squadron
Soe that D'Accordes had no more to doe
But t' drawe conditions, wch they yeilded too
And so fiue Captiue Princes I present
Who were yo'r ffoes: to bee yo'r settlement:

Lo: Mens runs to him catches him about neck & kisses him/

Thou all of man: for w't's beside's but vaine
ffond foolish forme of natures scum & froth.
Who art ye very extract of her bounty
The Quintessence of all her rich endownts.
How I embrace thy fortunes & successe
V, iv]

Thou hast return'd mee soe great happynesse
Send for ye Pris'ners I shall let them know
I will expect no more then wt they owe
A loyall fealty and that for future
They hold their Province under our great sway
And readily our Lawes & acts obey:

Sr Ra.
Pru:/

I fear ye passage still sticks in their stomacks
They did not brooke ye sea well, second nature
Custome had danled them soe long a shore
That they grew dizzy on ye dancing waues
Their heads turn'd round in measure for their heeles
Goe Temperance feele their Pulses; if recoverd
Bring them away strait to his highnesse heer. /

(Exit Temper)

Lo Mens. /

How did they looke at first, when in yo' hands?

Sr Ra
Prud:/

Agast & wann bandied 'twixt hope & fear
Soe being lost ye one could nothing hear
Nor t'other see, another had lost Taste

76-80] This part of the manuscript contains numerous smears. Particularly noticeable are the many loops that are filled such as in Hard fate in l. 79. Much finer and more distinct lines in scene 5 suggest the scribe cut a new quill after completing scene 4.
V, iv, v]

The fourth his Nose the fifth his Touch at last
Hard fate in severall shapes seizing each one
I sent them Patience for Companion
Peace here they come now stand by make roome there

Scen 5
Reenter Temperance leading in the five
Captiue Princes chained who after
obeisance made to the throne
where Lo: Mens sits one
speaks for ye rest
& himselfe

K: /Geusis./ If to ye noblenesse of our extractions
Such moderation had been shown, was fitting
Rather like ffreinds wee might have been admitted
Into yo'r Highnesse presence than thus Captiues
Nor could you have disdain'd a league of peace
To those soe much concern'd yo'r names increase
Our present State as it falls out proues thus:
Tryumph to you, but ignominious
Vnto ourselues; wee had ye world at will
(The lesser one at least) but when to ill
Wee did employ our Powers, noe wonder then
V, v]

Att once wee lost our Castles, Towns & men,
Nay & ourselues that's worse; You Governe all
No marvell then that all att yo' feet fall:
Had wee been put to death assoone as taine
Noe trophies of yo' Glory had remaind
Nor of our <sad> Mishapps, but hurried gon
Into ye dungeon of oblivion:
If now you but command wee shall not die
T'will blaze ye Example of yo' Clemency:
(Tey Kneel doune)

Lo. Mens./ Stand up bee not dismaied; compassion shon
Like glory ouer Cesar & his Throne------
(They rise up againe)

K. Acoê./ Please you to hear Costume in our Cause
That great Interpreter of rights & Lawes.

Lo. Mens./ Let him bee sent for; in the meane tyme speak
ffreely what for yo' selues; our grace is open./

K. Geusis./ Yo' Highnesse knowes with what indulgent care
Wee were plac't ouer Microcosm to rule
An Ile (though but a spott to th' universe)
Yet wth fertility abounding greatly
Though some parts mountainous & full of boggs
This large prerogatiue soe swells our ffancyes
That to enlarge dominion, stretch out power
Wee left noe means behind or unattempted
To gain another Petty Ile lay by us
Where Aretè a Queen of great Renowne
Though much contemned & despis'd of us
Held th' Amazonian Government in sway;
Wee warr'd upon her conquer'd & subdude her,
With th' help of severall vices our Comand'rs
Then fond Orexis blowing up the Coales
With Acrateia & discentonado,
Soe led our appetites & wills astray
That open to all enemies wee lay
Yet through Aretè's charmes was then our Pris'ner
Wee made them such: but when ourselues were taken
By yo'r great Generall Sr' Ratio Prudence
Who conquers all things: Prison doores flew ope
Soe those escap'd to their Boggs & Mountaines:

29] The closing parentheses is the editor's emendation.
40 Comand'rs] nunnated word.
V, v]

Aretê fix unto her just cause stayd,
Her name & nature cannot bee afraide

Lo: Mens./ But is shee handsome? K Bleps:/all perfeccons are
Centerd in her:/Lo Mens:/how come you then to warr
Upon her: K. Bleps:/for our Prise & to haue power
Over Orexis, Acrateia & others---
If in yo' Highnesse Court shee did appeer
T' would shine more radiant then ye Noontide Sphere

Lo: Mens./ How might I compass this soe rare a Beauty
I would at anie rate enjoy her: K: Bleps:/ffreedome
If you please to award us, take her to you
Let her bee ransome for us, & security
ffor all comportm'ts future: Lo Mens:/It is graunted
Yet on condition still yee hold of mee
As ffeodaries each his Souranty:

K: Geusis./ Wee are content--all sences freedome find  
\{ Where vertue is betroth'd unto ye mind. \} aside

K. Acoè Heer comes our Advocate Costume, pleas you
To give him audience: Lo Mens:/most willingly

52 perfeccons] nunnated word.
Most learned Sir tell us in a few words
What t'is ye Lawe yo' second selfe affords:

Costume.
Most high & mighty Prince wee find in Bookes
Whilst nature full content with less, yet lookes
To Couett more; shee doth herselfe destroy
And brings ye mind into perplexity./

(Tortures ye)
Tortures ye sences, makes them give up right [321]
To this, or that, unruly appetite,
T'il reason ioyn'd to Prudence, masteries trye
To moddell all int' uniformity,
Which graunted, & yo' selfe in wedlocks bands
With Vertue--let ye rest Implore yo' hands./

Si placet plaudite
Epilogue.

The mind thus settled if your's bee too
W'haue done: ye Actors have no more to doe,
Nor I to say, unless 'mongst you there bee,
Our Comick scene would stile a Tragedie
ffinding one shipwrackt in it, sunk & gon
(As is suppos'd) into ye Ocean:
Let such judge soe, but to ye seas repaire
They'll certainly find Tempest liues still there
Wher, let him 'bide (whilst Terra firma's ours)
To exercise ye malice of his powers.

Semper
Sic mihi mens sana
In corpore sano
Sic placeat domino./
Index Nominum

Mens The mind
Ratio Reason &
Prudens Wisdome
Eurocledon A stormy wind

Acoè Hearing Oreia the Eare
Blepses Seeing Oio the Eye
Geusis Tasting Lingua the Tongue
Ozo Smelling Naso the Nose
Hathè Touching Dedo the Finger

Orexis Appetite
Acrateia Intemperance
Pathos Desire
Aretè Vertue onely nam'd

ffeal ffaith Idolatra Idolatry
Chaste Lion Chastity Concupiscenza Lust
Patience Patience Corruscio Anger
Curtoys humility Altivezza Pride
Temperance Sobriety Luxurioso Gluttony
ffraianck Bounty Avaro Couetuousnes
D'Accordes Concord Discentonado Discord / 23
Costume Custome
III. COMMENTARY

Argument

1-5. Quia tudeus ex patre... morborum rixa fatigat] This quotation from Prudentius translates, "Because all things are brought to the judgment of Christ our king, to that purpose the mind's army is able to strike the guilty army, to prevail over the confusion of our soul within from the mutinous senses and to relieve the mind from the quarrel of the vices."

7. incident to] liable to occur inherently.

9. that little world of man] This was a common Renaissance reference to the microcosm and one that suggests the parallels drawn between the microcosm and the macrocosm.

13. enormities] deviations from moral or legal rectitude.

14. appetite] fancy, the desire to satisfy the natural urges.

21. distempers] conditions resulting from an imbalance of the humours.
Argument]

22-23. & so end's ye Comedy wth Matrimonu/according to Custome
Here and in the Epilogue Fane makes the point that his play is a comedy. Of interest is the fact that he feels marriage the proper and established resolution to the stage action in comedy. Scholars such as Northrop Frye who have traced the origins of comedy to the marriage ritual have argued that marriage had been retained in comic theater as the primary means of showing order reestablished. Because the restoration of order is the emphasis in De Pugna Animi, Fane must have felt his play within the comic tradition and thus employed the marriage motif, as he suggests "according to Custome," to stay within that mode.

Dramatis Personae

5. Mens] The name is derived from the Latin mens meaning "mind."

6. Ratio] The name is derived from the Latin ratio meaning "the reasoning faculty."

6. Prudens] The name is derived from the Latin prudens meaning "judicious."

7. Eurocledon] The name is derived from the Latin eurus meaning "east wind."
Dramatis Personae]

12-18. ffeall, Chaste Lyon, Patience, Curtoys, Temperance, ffrayanck, D'accordes] Fane's list of virtues is rather traditional and follows Prudentius closely except for the insertion of ffrayanck (bounty) for reason. The list of characters at the end of the play gives the specific designation for each character.

13. Chaste Lyon] The medieval romance often presented a lion attending a heroic figure. Chrétien de Troyes' Yvain provides an excellent example. Here the suggestion is that the lion is a symbol for chastity such as one finds in Spenser's Faerie Queene with Una and her lion attendant.

21. Aeoë] The name is derived from the Greek αἰω meaning "to hear."

21. Oreia] The name is derived from the Spanish oreja meaning "ear."

22. Blepses] The name is derived from the Greek βλέπω meaning "sight." In proper context, the word can be used to mean "too ambitious."

22. Oio] The name is derived from the Spanish ojo meaning "eye."
Dramatis Personae]

23. **Geusis**] The name is derived from the Greek γεύςις meaning "taste."

23. **Lingua**] The name is derived from the Spanish lengua meaning "tongue."

24. **Ozo**] The name is derived from the Greek οξο meaning "to smell." In proper context, the word can be used to mean "to smell bad."

24. **Naso**] The name is derived from the Italian naso meaning "nose."

25. **Haphe**] The name is derived from the Greek ἁφή meaning "touch." In proper context, the word can also mean "flattery."

25. **Dedo**] The name is derived from the Spanish dedo meaning "finger."

21-25. **Aeoë, Blepses, Geusis, Ozo, Haphe**] These five rebellious kings could represent the five members of Parliament led by Pym whom Charles I tried unsuccessfully to arrest in 1641. The connection is that like the members of Parliament
Dramatis Personae

who tried to overthrow the influence of Queen Henrietta,
the rebellious kings in the play attack Queen Arete and
wrestle control of Microcosm from her.

26. Ořexis] The name is derived from the Greek ὀρέξει meaning
"appetite."

27. Discentonado] The name is derived from the Italian discaro
meaning "disagreeable."

28. Acrateia] The name is derived from the Latin acriter
meaning "fiercely."

29. Idolatra] The name is derived from the Italian idolatria
meaning "idolatry."

30. Concupiscenza] The name is derived from the Latin concupisco
meaning "covet."

31. Corruscio] The name is derived from the Italian corruccio
meaning "anger." The characterization of Corruscio in the
play reminds the reader of Fane's descriptions elsewhere
of Cromwell.
Dramatis Personae, Prologue]

32. Altivezza] The name is derived from the Italian _altezzoso_ meaning "haughty."

33. Luxuriosa] The name is derived from the Latin _luxuriosus_ meaning "luxury."

34. Avaro] The name is derived from the Latin _avarus_ meaning "avaricious."

35. Pathos] The name is derived from the Greek _πάθος_ meaning "rage" or "vehement desire."

37. Arete] The name is derived from the Greek _ἀρετή_ meaning "virtue."

Prologue

9. little Isle of man] The reference was a common one in Renaissance literature used to suggest the microcosm. In the play Fane takes the term literally and makes Microcosm an island.

I, i]

Act I, Scene 1

1. aspects] This is an astrological term used to refer to the relative positioning of the planets, as they look at a given time from the earth.

2. Predominize] This is an unrecorded variant of "predominate" here used to mean the "controlling effect of the heavenly bodies." The earliest OED reference is dated 1642.

2. Skeam] This is an astrological term that means literally a chart of the heavenly bodies. Here the term is used to mean the cosmos itself.

2-5. Mars governing the Skeam ... to allay his heate] The references to Greek mythology in these lines equate the rebellion of the senses in the microcosm with the rebellion of the Titans against Zeus. Such imagery is consistent with Renaissance cosmology and the parallels drawn between the microcosm and the macrocosm. The specific reference to Venus suggests that in this climate of war love cannot flourish. By building this suggestion into the initial lines of the play, Fane anticipates the resolution of the conflict that takes place when Lord Mens weds Aretè and thus insures the fidelity of the senses. The mythological
references here are repeated elsewhere in the play to serve the same purpose.

7. maxim[e] moral precept expressed in sententious terms.

8-9. like musicks spell/T' fframe Concord out of discords] This initial reference to music is significant, for it anticipates numerous such images used throughout the play, all of which function to signal either the loss or the reestablishment of harmony. Renaissance cosmology often defined the harmony of the natural world paralleling that of a musical composition. E.M.W. Tillyard explains in The Elizabethan World Picture, "there was the further notion that the created universe was itself in a state of music, that it was one perpetual dance" (p. 101). The following passage from John Davies' "Orchestra" (1596) gives literary treatment to the idea: "Dancing, the art that all arts do approve,/The fair character of the world's consent,/The heav'ns' true figure and th' earth's ornament" (271-273).

10. Graue of the Rhine] The term is derived from the German "Rheingraf" which means a princely figure whose lands border the Rhine River. Fane uses the term more generally to mean a princely figure.
11. large] great.

12. The Eagle on her spreading Wings] Particularly in Germany, the eagle on a crest suggested princely rank in the Holy Roman Empire.


15. clouds of discontent] The idea of clouds symbolizing sorrow or concern was common in Renaissance literature. The following speech by Claudius in Hamlet (I, ii, 66) illustrates: "How is it that the clouds still hang on you?"


18. My mind to mee a kingdom is] This is a direct borrowing from Edward Dyer's short lyric poem (1588) bearing that title. Dyer's poem combines a sense of Stoic and Senecan thought to suggest that true tranquility comes from within. Feal tells Mens (see line 35) just this and advises him to look within for a resolution to his troubles.
30. **Concomitants** Accompaniments.

35. *Conquer yourselfe then first & t'will bee calme*] This line is thematic, for the play develops its political ramifications. In essence it voices Aristotle's concept or moral virtue prescribed in the *Nicomachean Ethics*. Aristotle says that virtue is attained through moderation which itself is the product of proper habits. Prior to the action of the play Mens had followed immoderate habits and thus given license to his senses to rule. As the play opens, the audience sees Mens mourning the consequences and seeking a restoration of harmony and balance.

37-39. *Why thus display ... Bannish trembling feare*] Feal's speech encourages Mens to act decisively against his opponents, the rebel senses. In the political treatise "Of the Art of Well Governing a People" which Fane translated from the Italian, one sees similar ideas about the need for a monarch to act with strength: "hence it will be known yt noe Prince can be iust who is not severe, & because amongst ye things wch are most amiable ther is none more beloved of ye people than Iustice ye Prince may be assured yt by beeing Iust hee shall make himselfe to be beloved of his suibjects, & by being severe he will make himselfe to be feared." (British Library MS Add. 34251, f. 23v.)
40. **Gammuth**] The reference is to the musical scale from Υ to ut.

41. **Crotchetts**] Quavers in music.

41. **Minnum**] Musical notes.

40-41. **Suspitions & such Quavers from yo' Gammuth/Crotchetts & Minnum**] Fane is suggesting that the microcosm, like a musical scale, must be kept ordered.

41. **large & Long**] great and Successful.

52. **suffrages**] assistance.

55. **incontinent**] unrestrained.

56. **fettering**] impeding.

56. **Niggardize**] Miserliness.

57. **sinews**] energy, force.

64. **Then after warr to siment love & peace**] Here Fane makes the point that for order to be restored the monarch must
not only defeat the rebels but also bring the warring factions together through a spirit of forgiveness. In the final scene Mens does forgive the rebel senses and is reunited with them.

69. City rumor] The Induction of Henry IV, Part II provides the best known treatment of the dangers of political rumor in Renaissance literature. Here, Fane may be dealing with the same idea or possibly with the equally dangerous political pamphlets which were common during the Civil War period and which he attacked elsewhere. The following passage from The Change (Scene 1, 371-373) shows Fane's view:

"'twill be in print about the Towne 'fore Morneing/And Like a Toast thats held too neere the fire/When our discourse was Candid they'le make't Browne."

76. Distemperatures] Conditions resulting from an imbalance of the humours.

75-76. motion, & commotion,/Distemperatures ith' height accost me daily] Mens appears to be referring to that condition which occurs when the vapours from the lower body parts invade the mind and paralyze it. The condition was commonly discussed in the context of the chain of being for it provided
I, i] an example of a lower element dominating a higher, the result being illness.

78. As long as you were absent those my Guests] The absence of a necessary comma between "absent" and "Guests" to complete the elliptical construction confuses the meaning. Mens is saying that while D'accord was absent, the conditions of the humours were his companions instead.

85. militia sword in madmens hands] The reference here is to the army of Parliament, recruited from the lower elements of society, which did battle with Charles I's Cavalier troops. The line is a possible indictment of the revolutionaries.

86. recompence] compensation for an injury.

92. wayne] conquest. Fane's use of the term in this sense post dates the last OED quotation dated 1338.

101. retirements] aloofness. This usage is rare and first listed in OED in 1800.

102. vexations] causes of mental anguish.
I, i]
103. books] endures.

109. Spight] Ill will.

109. Enuy] Desire to replace one who is master.

111-118. I must decline . . . I'le die first] Although worded differently, this speech by Mens reflects his melancholy in terms similar to those used by Macbeth, particularly in Act V, iii, 22-28: "I have lived long enough. My way of life/Is fall'n into the sear, the yellow leaf,/And that which should accompany old age,/As honor, love, obedience, troops of friends,/I must not look to have; but, in their stead,/Curses not loud but deep, mouth-honor, breath,/Which the poor heart would fain deny, and dare not:"

113. Put up a lye] The line is a strong insult. Mens is suggesting that in his fallen state he will have to tolerate the contempt of others.

116. Hectors] This is a reference to Hector, the Trojan warrior hero, in Homer's Iliad. Fane's use means "great warriors."
117. a Troop will make/An Earthquake in mee] A "troop" as used here is a drum beat which calls a regiment to order. Mens is suggesting that his condition is one that has brought forth cowardice.

119. these are suffering times] This is a possible reference to the Civil War period.

120. And's better out o'th' world, then out of fasion] Proverb. See Tilley W 866.

121. Compliancy's] Adaptability to conditions. Fane's use of the term predates the earliest quotation in OED which is dated 1793.

121-122. Reeds, provoakt/By furious winds preuaile more then ye Oak] Proverb. See Tilley 03.

121-122. Compliancy's a vertue, Reeds provoakt/By furious winds preuaile more then ye Oak] The advice here is that a monarch must be flexible in his actions. Fane apparently valued such a virtue in a monarch, for in his "Autobiography" he lauds Charles II for his forgiving spirit: "Omnia deniq tam Piè prompteq sic distribuit, ut neq
I, i]

Ritui Ecclesiastico neq civili deesset Minimo, vitiosorum supprimens Enormitates & Virtuosorum merita praemiis & honoribus remunerans prospere Ita pietatis Fautorem se tam praceptis quam Exemplo demonstrans strenue & Prudentiae Cultorem acutissime: Ex eximiis igitur Pietate & moribus Imbutis as consilia sua Privata appellat consulturos Quorum Licet Aliqui tam Paternae quam suae Restaurationi oppositi aliquando apparuere Nihil ominus dum ex mero motu & gratia particulare cum Condonationem Uniuerso Populo suo exhibuerit Illis etia Ipsam non Negauit, sic vere caesario usus est Exemplo & tantam Ignoscendi Gloriam adeptus et ut inter totius Mundi Reges & Principes Glorioissimos merito euadit Primarius." British Library MS Add. 34220, f. 20r. (He distributed all so justly and promptly both for ecclesiastical and civil purposes that nothing lacked to either. He suppresses the enormities of vice and rewards the merits of virtue with gifts and honors. So much so that he shows himself a fierce patron of justice in precept as well as example and an astute cultivator of prudence. He calls men who are exceptional in the piety of their habits to his private councils and even consults some who, out of pure motives and for particular reasons, on occasion opposed both his father's and his own restoration. Since he had forgiven the people generally he did not
refuse forgiveness to these. Such use he made of the example of Caesar and the glory of mercy that he took the forefront among the glorious kings and princes of the whole world.)

123. **Impatient Tumors**] This is an interesting but unclear usage which appears to relate Mens' physical and mental afflictions.

133. **kennell**] drain ditch. The more specific reference here is to the system of sewage ditches that ran through London.

133. **Renowned Sr ye streets turn'd all to kennell**] Fane seems to be reflecting on the state of London during the Civil War period when the aristocracy moved from the city and turned it over to the lower classes. During this time city services suffered, perhaps leaving the streets in the condition of the sewers. The reference is possibly a figurative suggestion of turmoil.

144. **neckweed**] hemp rope used for hanging.

143-144. **I hope to bring th' Contribuers to ye hattchett/Or axe or neckweed**] In his introduction to *Candy Restored,*
Clifford Leech has discussed the need for drastic action if Candy will be returned to order. Although inconsistent with other passages in the play, this line suggests that equally drastic action may be necessary to bring Microcosm to harmony.


150. Brisk enanto] The term actually refers to the breast piece of a bird. Here the suggestion is that Curtois' dress makes him look feathered like a bright colored bird. Such satire of French fashion is characteristic of the satire in Restoration comedy. The following passage from The Man of Mode depicts Sir Fopling Flutter as a character much as Curtois appears here:

SIR FOP. (overhearing). A slight suit I made to appear in at my first arrival--not worthy your consideration, ladies.  
DOR. The pantaloon is very well mounted. 
SIR FOP. The tassels are new and pretty. 
MED. I never saw a coat better cut. 
SIR FOP. It makes me show long waisted, and, I think, slender.  
DOR. That's the shape our ladies dote on. 
MED. Your breech, though, is a handful too high, in my eye, Sir Fopling. 
SIR FOP. Peace, Medley! I have wished it lower a thousand times, but a pox on't! 'twill not be.  

(III, ii, 236-249)
I, i]

151. mimick] imitative.

152. moultring] moulting.


155-156. give me thy hand after th' old fashion/In England usd] Possibly Fane is alluding to Stephano's speech in The Tempest (III, ii, 111) which begins "Give me thy hand."

157. shaking fitt] assault.

158. mode] dress of a particular society. The earliest OED quotation is dated 1649, one year earlier than Fane's play.

162. bruit] report voiced abroad.

162-165. The bruit flies . . . trouble and vexation] These lines are difficult; however, because Curtois has come from the French Court, one might well read here that he has come to save Mens from his rebellious subjects in the manner that Fane, like many others of the nobility, would have hoped the French would have sent help for Charles I.
The reference in the lines to "Travellers" is particularly interesting and possibly refers to Queen Henrietta and the Prince, who sought refuge at the French Court and who asked aid from the French to help during the Civil Wars.

vext] afflicted.

discontriike] This may be a variant of "contrite" and thus mean "broken in spirit."

postures] mental or spiritual attitudes.

moulded] crumbled.

Lie moulded in mee like another Chaos] The use of the term "Chaos," particularly in the upper case, suggests that the turmoil in Mens is parallel to that in the Biblical or classical macrocosm prior to Creation. Similar references occur in Jonson's Love Freed From Ignorance and Folly, 26-27; and The Masque of Beauty, 282-285, 326-328.

devoir] duty.
I, i]

198. **Pennant or Streamer]** The reference here is to a standard which carried the heraldic devices of a person or family of nobility.

202. **gossip]** to give favor to.

203. **windowes of his doublett sleeves]** Literally, a doublet is an inner garment. Perhaps Mens is suggesting that Curtois is revealing himself too intimately to receive confidence.

205. **approbacon]** expressed approval.

211. **I'le make ye Cape where good Hope still is neer]** Although the reference to "good Hope" suggests an allusion to Skelton's *Magnyfycence* and the character Good Hope who saves Magnyfycence, the context of the line discourages such a reading. In fact, because Fane was a student of geography and particularly of travel, the reference here is likely to the Cape of Good Hope at the tip of Africa. Because Mens' army must travel by ship to confront the rebels, such a reading is even more likely.
I, i]

225. Tamburlaine] The reference is to the Scythian shepherd who became a great warrior and conqueror of kings, who was celebrated in Marlowe's plays Tamburlaine the Great, I & II (1590).

235. arts spell] Because "spell" can mean a "slip of wood" which suggests an "arrow," the reference is to a weapon derived from one's particular abilities.

235. Quiver] The term means literally a case for arrows. Here it may mean more generally a case for weapons.

244. discippers] makes known as in to reveal something mysterious.


245. Quilletts] Quibbles.

247. Sanadrims] Possibly Fane means "Sanhedrin," the high council or governing body of the ancient Jewish nation.

248. signe] signal.
liberall Girles] Fane apparently means here the Muses. The reference to the "Sciences" in l. 249 supports this reading, for the Muses and sciences were the sources of knowledge. More specifically, the sciences were the gifts of knowledge given by the Muses: Calliope, epic poetry; Clio, history; Erato, love poetry; Euterpe, lyric poetry; Melpomene, tragedy; Polymnia, sacred poetry; Terpsichore, choral dance; Thalia, comedy; Urania, astronomy.

solitary Groves] The reference here is to the oak groves where the Druids worshiped.

Bards] These were the minstrels of ancient Celtic worship who sang of the great deeds of the heroes and gods in Druid worship.

Druides] These were the priests of pagan worship in Celtic history.

garlands from ye Laurell] In Greece the laurel was a sign of victory. It was also woven into the hair of the worshipers of Dionysius. Fane may well be mixing his Celtic and Greek mythology, for the sacred plant in Druid worship was mistletoe.
I, i; II, i]

257. the unshorn Gods Temple] The reference here is to Dionysius, the Greek god of fertility who was noted for his long, feminine hair.

249-260. How do ye Sciences . . . assigne them resurrection] This is perhaps the most interesting reference to England during the Civil War period that the play contains. The implication is that while Mens is being assaulted and the microcosm in turmoil the arts cannot flourish but that they will return, in the form of the Muses, when peace is established. Such was the case in London during the decade prior to Fane's writing the play, for the Cavalier poets were involved in war, the theatres were closed and the energies of the great writers were often dominated by political writing.

Act 2, Scene 1

1. parle] meet in conference.

2. stratagem] plan to outwit an enemy.

3. And hast Post hast endorc't upon ye Letter] "Post hast" was commonly written on the outside of letters dealing with matters of government to indicate the importance of prompt delivery.
II, i, ii]

4. <Greek> P] The reference is unclear except to suggest that Mens has marked the letter to indicate its importance.

7. find him out] go to him.


17. clew] strand. In Greek mythology, Theseus used a clew or length of string as he entered the maze of the Minotaur to leave a trail behind him that would enable him to find his way back out. The term has, therefore, connotations that suggest a "clue" to finding something out. Fane's pun here is perhaps better than those one finds elsewhere in his work.

18. cast me of should bee his guide] The line is misleading because "of" should be spelled "off." The implication is that Mens has sent away Prudence his proper guide.


Act 2, Scene 2

3. spring tides] Spring tides, the opposite to neap tides, occur when the solar and lunar waves coincide at the time
of full moon. High tides are higher than normal and low
tides, lower.

6. **Neptune**] Roman god of the ocean.

6. **Love**] Roman ruler of the gods.

6. **Trident**] three pronged spear.

7. **Spout**] squirt, spit.

7. **His Element**] water.

7. **Fiery One**] sun.

8. **Eolus**] God of the winds.

9. **Emulacon**] Desire to equal or excell.

10. **Milky Way in Galexia**] Milky Way is the galaxy which
    contains the solar system of the Earth.

11. **Aquarius**] Astrological sign with a water symbol.
23. **Pisces**] Astrological water sign.

13. **Luna**] Moon.

14. **a full aspect**] a complete view.

16. **att duck & drake**] OED lists this as a common saying to suggest a "skipping movement." Here the implication is that the stars are playing idly.

16. **wellken**] arch overhead in heaven.

6-16. **Neptune will make . . . in ye wellken**] The entire passage presents a series of mythological and astrological images which reflect the lower element water dominating the higher elements air and fire. The audience sees, therefore, that Tempest's plans will disrupt the natural order of the cosmos.

17. **gear**] goings on.

18. **sparks**] merry fellows.

20. **tackle**] rigging of a ship.
II, ii

21. _waft_] convey by water.

24. _Limbecks_] This is a variant spelling of "alembic" which is the liquid used to protect canvas.

24. _blacke Iuce that Tarpalin fosters_] The phrase refers to the fact that tar, "black Iuce," used to waterproof canvas will melt and run under the heat of the sun.

33. _hoise_] hoist.

35. _Mermedons_] Loyal followers. The term is taken from the name of a warrior race, Myrmidons, who followed Achilles into battle.

36. _Jacobstaff_] The term refers to a nautical instrument used to determine the altitude of the sun. Fane is clearly punning here to refer also to Jacob's ladder from the Biblical passage (Genesis 28: 10-17) that tells of Jacob's dream in which he saw angels climbing a ladder to heaven.

37. _Gammuth_] This is a variant of "gamut" which refers to a musical scale. Fane intends the term to mean the "scale of a thing."
II, ii]

37. *tells ye Gammuth* runs the Gamut.

38. *Sure Iove begott him with some Thunderbolt* Possibly this is an allusion to the birth of Dionysius who was snatched from the body of Semele who burned after seeing Iove in his divine glory.

40-41. *he can no more endure./It's stupid solidnesse* The end punctuation after "endure" should be omitted.

42. *Let's* Makes.

52. *flouks* This is a variant form of "flukes" which refers to the iron, triangular pieces on the arms of an anchor.

56. *Slops* This is a reference to the baggy outer garments commonly worn during the seventeenth century. Here the suggestion is that the garment should be worn loose enough for the hiding of spoil captured during the campaign.

58. *Sr ho Ratio Prudence* At only one other place in the play, in the *dramatis personae*, does the spelling "ho Ratio" occur. This may be a remnant from an earlier version of the play in which Fane intended two characters, ho
II, ii]

Ratio and Prudence, to represent reason and wisdom separately. Alfred Harbage incorrectly describes the play as in fact having two characters here (Studies in Philology, XXXI (1934), 28-36).

64. prolīx] lengthy.

65. for tyme & tide (you know) will stay for no man] Proverb. See Tilley T 323.

77. Carine] This a variant form of "carina" which refers to the structures which form the keel of a ship.

77. Cauke] Substance used in ship building to seal leaks around the seams in a ship's frame.


79. cloth att yards] This is a nautical term which apparently refers to the sails having been attached to the yards, long shafts attached to the masts and used to stretch sails.
79. yards slung] This is a nautical term referring to the positioning of the yards to stretch the sails of a ship.

80. northbound <People>] Eurocledon is referring to people in northern climates who enjoy limited sun during the winter months.

82. When ye Sun Kisses Cancer] Cancer is a constellation in the northern hemisphere. The reference is here to times when the earth's orbit allows the sun to return longer hours of daylight to northern climates.

87-88. I'le beat my drumms, call in my Voluntiers/Prest men are incident far more to fears] Proverb. Fane's wording does not resemble any other occurrences of the proverb during the Renaissance.

92. proffer] offer to do something.

94. Draw them out] This is a military term dealing with the calling of troops into lines for inspection.

96. Squadron] Cavalry unit composed of two, three, or four troops.
II, ii]

102. **prove**] test.

103. **spun**] woven into.

109-110. **He's not a man fitt to assault a Breach, Who cannot overcome a Pottlepott**] This line is not entered in any of the standard proverb reference volumes. It does, however, read like one and certainly illustrates Fane's epigrammatic style.

111. **sconce**] head.

116. **heterogeniall**] not homogeneous.

118. **But Monsieur Patience though noe sword man/Wee must take with us**] In *The Allegory of Love* (London, 1959, p. 69), C. S. Lewis takes issue with Prudentius' *Psychomachia* for making the virtues warriors which is inconsistent with their natures. He directs his criticism particularly at the appearance of Patience on the field of battle. Fane avoids this problem in part by saying that although Patience is no warrior, patience is a virtue in war.
The term refers to one with a high impression of self-worth, particularly as a result of social position.

This should read "vous savez" which means "you understand" or "you see."

impeded.

These lines point up that Courtois is the cavalry officer in Mens' army. Fane, too, had been a member of Charles' cavalry at the beginning of the first Civil War. However, because Courtois is a foreigner, the allusion is likely to Prince Rupert, Charles' Austrian nephew, who led the king's cavalry, often with success, always with daring and skill.

Pikemen.

weather vane.

This reference clearly balances the allegory in the play and Fane's calling the island of conflict in the play Microcosm.
146. **Barbado's**] The reference is to Barbados, a West Indies island that became part of the British Commonwealth in 1663.

147. **Barbary**] Located on the coast of North Africa, this city was notorious in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as a haven for Muslim pirates.

**Act 2, Scene 3**

1. **Waigh]** Weigh anchor.

3. **goe a Trip]** set sail.

9. **Lades**] In cannonry; lades are long, cylindrical, metal tubes attached to a metal rod and used to charge a cannon with loose powder.

9. **rammers**] ramrods.

9. **spunges**] packing materials used to secure a charge in the barrel of a cannon.

9. **wadds**] The reference is to a material, usually cloth, that was oiled and wrapped around a cannonball before
it was forced into the barrel of a cannon. Wadding material
well oiled allowed the snug fitting ball to slide through
the barrel during the loading process.


13. cashier] dismiss from a position of power.

16-17. They'r Castles/Built in ye Ayre] Proverb. See Tilley
C 126.

17-18. I shall attempt to vanquish/And shoot my high designes
above all Meteors] Proverb. See Tilley M 1115.

19. Argo's] Argonauts. The reference is to the men, called
Argonauts after their ship the Argo, who accompanied Jason
on his quest for the golden fleece.

21. Lyon] The fifth sign of the zodiac is Leo, the lion.
The constellation is in the northern hemisphere close
to Cancer.

22. **Bull**] The second sign of the zodiac is Taurus the bull. The constellation is located in the northern hemisphere.

22. **take ye Bull by the Eye**] There are two possible references here. The most obvious is that Tempest plans to assault the constellation Taurus. Such a reading is consistent with the entire passage. However, the line also suggests the proverb "take the bull by the horns" which has no literary reference prior to 1659.

22. **fiery Dragon**] The reference is to the constellation Draco, located in the northern hemisphere between the Big Dipper and the Little Dipper.

24. **Wh Perseus in freeing of Andromeda**] Perseus was the son of Zeus in Greek mythology who slew the Medussa and then killed a sea monster that threatened Andromeda, princess of Ethiopia, who afterwards became his wife.

25. **turne up her mothers chaire**] The reference is to the throne of Andromeda's mother Cassiopeia, who was placed as a constellation in the sky according to Greek mythology.

26. **a Lock from Beronices hayre**] The reference is to the constellation Coma Berenices. Berenice was the queen
of Ptolemy II who dedicated her hair to insure that her husband would return safely from war. Her hair became the constellation referred to here.

29. **Downes** Common rendezvous for ships off the East coast of Kent.

30. **Downes** Overthrows. The references in ll. 29 & 30 provide an excellent example of Fane's poor puns.

31. **ouersett** disorder.

35. **transmigration** transition from one state to another.

36. **And those alone posesse ffish in rough streams** Proverb. See Tilley F 334.

42. **Vale** Hush up.

44. **brook** endure.

48. **shole** large number of people flocked together.

48. **dotterells** silly persons.
48. **green goslings**] foolish or inexperienced persons.

50. **Gefferifide**] No OED listing.

51. **To drive ye Grand Signiors asses to ye water**] Tempest is apparently referring to the vassals of the rebel senses whose names have Spanish etymologies.

54. **sand's neer out**] The literal reference is to the sand running out in an hour glass. Here it means the moment of death.

61. **Spanish stallion**] Small Spanish horse.

67. **Those still obey <best> who commands fulfill**] This line is possibly a reference to Milton's Sonnet XIX, particularly the last line "They also serve who only stand and wait." Fane's sentiment is clearly a denial of that in Milton's line. Because Milton was a Puritan, Fane may well have felt motivated to contradict him. If the passage is in fact a reference to Milton, it supports Honnigmann's theory that Milton wrote the sonnet as early as 1642 when he first learned of his blindness rather than much later when he had lost his sight completely (**Milton's Sonnets.** New York, 1966).
II, iii; III, i]

77. **Change Night of discontent to pleasing day**] This is a likely borrowing from the opening speech in *Richard III:*
"Now is the winter of our discontent/Made glorious summer by this son of York:" (I,i,1-2).

88. **take in a Cloth**] furl a sail.

88. **vale a Bonnett**] lower a flag to indicate submission.

99. **Stix**] River in the underworld in Greek mythology.

99. **Phlegethon**] Phlegethon, a river in the underworld in Greek mythology.

**Act 3, Scene 1**

2. **Tripoly**] Capitol of Libya.

5. **Ditty**] Composition set to music.

8. **Sarabrand**] The reference is to a piece of music suitable for a sarabrand, a Moorish dance. A sarabrand is a brisk dance much in the manner of a waltz.

10. **mettled**] spirited.
12-14. Touch but that string again; methinks ye Spheres/Should gently move in Emulation/Of this soul melting ayre]
Again, Fane points up the relationship between the harmony of music and the order of the cosmos.

15. ffand] Fanned.


20. purling] murmuring of a stream.

21. dying Swann] The swan is noted for singing its most beautiful song just before it dies.

23. Theorbo] Large, double necked lute.


24. Dierge] Song sung at a funeral.

27. skrich Oules] The owl was a symbol for melancholy. Here the reference is to the owl's supernatural essence which it was thought to have because of its being a night bird.
III, i]

28. **Night ravens** Like the owl the raven was a bird of ill omen. More specifically, the raven was a portent of death. The power of speech associated with ravens also made them birds of prophecy.

27-29. **Save those to Spells adopted, as skrich Oules, /Night ravens & ye like; ye Mews of Catts** The entire passage deals with ill omens and reads much like the following line from *Macbeth* (II, ii, 3-4): "It was the owl that shrieked, the fatal bellman/Which gives the sternest good-night."

30. **Gutts** The reference is to cat gut which is used to make the strings for stringed instruments.

32-33 **That Orpheus like canst make dead Gutts to quaver /As well as hee made Trees & stones to daunce** In Greek mythology, Orpheus was the son of Apollo and the Muse Calliope. His gift of music from Apollo was such that when he played upon the lyre wild beasts were tamed and even the trees and stones would move to the music. More specifically, trees would bend to him and the stones would lose their hardness. He was even able to charm Cerberus and Charon when he went to the underworld to retrieve his wife, Eurydice.
III, ii]

Act 3, Scene 2

6. rayse heat] stir the emotions.

6-7. to rayse an army, (A stand of Pikes at least)] Both are sexual references to an "erection." The suggestion is that the feast is composed of aphrodisiacs.

8. Eagles Eyes] The eagle is noted for its excellent eyesight.

10. fitted] prepared.


12. sallett] salad.


15. Salmagunde] Seasoned hodge podge of wild game and wine.

16. Mayance hamms] In Northwest France, Mayenne is an area noted for having the finest swine, the Craon pig, in western Europe.
III, ii]

18. **Martimas** The date would be either 11 November for the celebration of the episcopal consecration of Saint Martin of Tours or 4 July for the anniversary of the dedication of his church at Tours. Both dates are noted in the Book of Common Prayer.

20. **prestmen** pressmen. The only OED quotation is dated 1611.

21. **Tuscan** Tuscany is a region in Northern Italy noted for its excellent wines.

21. **Verdea** This is a white wine made in Arcetri near Florence.

21. **Calabrian** Calabria is a region in southern Italy noted for its red and rosé wines.

21. **Fiasstone** Fiano is a district near Naples noted for its wines.

22. **pallatt Paris** The term generally refers to one who has a taste for French food; however, Fane means it here to refer to one who eats indulgently.
III, ii, iii]

22. **Vin de bone**] Fine wine. (French)

23. **caroust**] caroused, drank fully.

25. **tarde**] late.

28. **Olio Pudrido**] Spanish dish containing various meats.

30. **seaffins**] There is no OED listing for the word; Fane obviously intends it to refer to a sea creature.

31. **Hault Goust**] The term in French would be "haut gout" which means "good taste." Fane's is typical seventeenth-century spelling.

32. **Incense**] Perfume.

**Act 3, Scene 3**

2. **hairy woeman**] This is apparently a reference to a sideshow freak such as the bearded lady.

8. **bespeak**] request to do something.

9. **out vie**] overcome.
10. **Erro's**] The reference is to Eris, the goddess of discord.

11. **proue canonickall**] become religious law.

13. **above Ela**] Ela, the upper E in the treble, is the last note in the gamut.

13. **Key & cliff**] The key in music refers to the range of notes and the clef to the sign which specifies the note on the stave.

18. **roaring Girles**] This is possibly a reference to *The Roaring Girles* (1611), a play by Middleton and Dekker which deals with the life of Moll Cutpurse, a reputed harlot.

19. **descry**] discover.

25. **dye**] color, complexion.

28. **serpentine**] having the evil qualities of a serpent.

27-35. **Hold you there ... Elizian Plaines**] Throughout this passage, Fane uses the language of the Petrarchan sonnet which is interesting because he seldom employed such
III, iii] poetic vehicles in his own verse, although he no doubt knew Petrarch as well as the Petrarchan verse of his fellow Cavaliers.

35. **Branch** Adorned by embroidery of gold flowers.

35. **Elizian Plaines** This is a reference to Elysium, the Isle of the Blessed in Greek mythology where souls enjoyed eternal bliss.

37. **outvied** defeated in competition.

40. **tenters** those who have charge of something. Fane's use of the term predates the earliest quotation in OED which is dated 1828.

41. **Heliogabalus** Roman emperor (AD 222) who was killed by his soldiers because of his depravity.

42. **Vitellius** Vitellius was a Roman emperor during the Empire noted for his presence at orgies and regarded as the most depraved in Roman history. He was killed by his own army.
III, iv]

Act 3, Scene 4

1. Swonk] Swung. (Scot.)

2. fre] from. (Scot.)

1. Clugh] This is a variant spelling of "clough" which means "hollow in a hillside." (Scot.)

1. Brey] Slope. (Scot.)

2. skoar] This is a variant spelling of "score" which means "mark for identification."


3. futed] footed.

3. Rea] This is a variant spelling of "roe" which is a small species of deer.

4. I'se] I will. (Scot.)

4. gar] go. (Scot.)
III, iv]

4. **Lownes** This is a variant spelling of "loon" which is Scottish dialect meaning "base fellow."

5. **wad]** would. (Scot.)

5. **perfore]** This is a variant spelling of "perforce" which means "strive to the utmost."

6. **bruke]** This is a variant spelling of "brook" which means "endure."

6. **sike]** such. (Scot.)

7. **Winyard]** This is a variant spelling of the Scottish "Whinyard" which refers to a small sword.

7. **Wem]** The term is unusual and refers to a scar or sign of bodily injury. It can also mean a mark of sin.

8. **Durk]** This is a variant spelling of "dirk" which is Scottish for a small dagger.

8. **tu]** also.
III, iv]

8. *ffoy*] Faith. (Scot.)

8. *secruel*] silent, secretive.

9. **Cround Carles**] Literally, carles are peasants or even unruly fellows. "Cround" appears to be a variant spelling of "crowned." The suggestion then is of peasant kings or possibly usurpers.


10. *Na ens*] No one. (Scot.)

11. *Tu*] To.

11. *tu'1*] unto. (Scot.)

13. *quaff*] Scottish dialect for "drink."

13. *usquebagh*] The term means literally "the water of life" from the Gaelic "usige" and "betha." In Scottish and Irish dialect it means "whiskey."

III, iv]

15. **muckle** much. (Scot.)

16. **Bannock** In Scottish dialect "bannock" means "small cake."
Fane is apparently punning with "bannock" and "bank."

19. **lang** long. (Scot.)

19. **mickle** much. (Scot.)

19. **preue** test.

23. **spired** looked at.

24. **Bray** Roaring noise. (Scot.)

24. **whilk** which. (Scot.)

25. **wend** went. (Scot.)

25. **held abode** gathered.

26. **answered in the Lowlands** spoke in a dialect of the low
country rather than highland speech.
27. be.

27. appointments meetings.

27. gang go. (Scot.)

28. Moss trooping Moostroopers were Scottish marauders in the middle of the seventeenth century who inhabited the "mosses" along the border between Scotland and England.

28. swingers This is a variation of "swinge- buckler," itself a form of "swash-buckler."

28. to alarm them for to scare them from.

29. ne nor.

29. ay aye.

29. sand sound.

29. fittest can most able.

32. ressle wrestle.

32. tu until. (Scot.)
III, iv, v]
39. **Ignis fatuuses** Literally, the term means "foolish fire."
It is more commonly used to refer to the deceptive lights
in a swamp. Here it means "false guide."

40. **wisp** go to and fro.

41. **marish** marshy. See note for line 204.

45. **I** In.

45. **ha** have.

45. **sayn** said.

45. **loap** run.

47. **ha' te** have it.

Act 3, Scene 5
3. **Suplant** Eliminate.

8. **strait** immediately.

9. **warrant** written order from a sovereign to do something.
III, v]

23. *vapour'd*] spoke strongly against.

32. **Pullen**] Pullet.

32. **Pullen of the next yard**] This is an apparent allusion to a practice, common with beggars, who sneak under a hedge into the yard behind to steal a fowl.

34. **Basaliske**] The reference is to the fabled serpent that could kill with its look.

36. *maress*] saline marsh. This is an unusual usage but one Pope suggested as an emendation for "nourish" in *Henry VI*, I, Act I, i, 50.

34-36. **I would . . . maress yeilds**] The punctuation in these lines is confusing. A better reading would be as follows: "I would like Basaliske confound--my musick/All form ye/Cannons roaring throat, my food/The blackest well fed/Toade a maress yeilds, . . . ." 

46. **Jack wth Gill**] Proverb. See Tilley J. I. Although inconsistent with the general meaning of the proverb, Fane's use appears to indicate a man with feminine attributes.
III, v, vi

47. Dasterds] Cowards.

49. blate] blade.

49. This blate shall Trowell like Temper such morter] The analogy almost obscures the meaning in the line. Corruscio means that his sword will cut through rebellion like a trowel through mortar.

Act 3, Scene 6


17. concomitant] in accompaniment.

22. mervaile] marvel.

22. excus'd] released from obligation.

27. sluce] wide gash.

25-29. O sonne ye worst's . . . speedy fresh supplye] These lines appear to be referring to the high taxes imposed
by Parliament during the Civil Wars in an effort to finance its army despite the fact that high taxes had been a point of contention with Charles I.

38. dandle] trifle.

41. Rio della Plata] The reference is to an estuary formed by the rivers Parna and Uruguay that flows between Argentina and Uruguay.

43. pregnant] fertile.

45. bigg withall] equally large.

46. cause at barr] legal suit.

52. Mammons] In New Testament theology, Mammon is a false god of riches. Fane's reference to "Mammons standard" suggests that the rebels are following the banner of this false god. They are, in other words, fighting for spoil not principle, much as did the army of Parliament and the Cavalier troops during the Civil Wars.

56-57. ffor Idolatra noe where more appeers/Than where such spells Christian Idolaters] These lines present a strong attack
on false Christians. Fane no doubt is referring to the Puritan zealots who imprisoned him in the Tower and forced him to take the Covenant. His play *The Change*, written while he was imprisoned, is a stinging attack against his persecutors.

58. accost] attack.

58. saue] except.


66. pelfe] booty.

68. blandient] This is a variant spelling of "blandation" which means "flattery" or "deception."

75. presage] signify beforehand.

Act 3, Scene 7

1. hault goust] This should be spelled "haut gout" and means here "extraordinary flavor" which is idiomatic.

2. sacrificze] surrender.
III, vii]

5. **dainties**] delicacies.

8. **letting blood**] Letting blood, removing blood from the patient's arm, was commonly used as treatment, for it was thought that to do so allowed the heart to relax.

8. **surfetting**] sick from over-eating.

10. **pleuresy**] infection that hinders breathing by putting stress on the lungs.

12. **will**] desire.

13. **Certes**] Certainly.

15. **curious**] attentive.

16. **marchpan**] The reference is to an ornamental wall decorated with overlapping structures to look like a marzipan cake.

17. **Parapett**] Defensive structure of either earth or stone.

18. **Counterscarp**] Outer wall of a ditch built for defense.

19. **horne works**] This is a single fronted wall with wings on its sides used outside a main wall to secure advantageous ground.
19. **Ravelings**] These are fortified outworks with two faces placed beyond a ditch which surrounds a main wall.

19. **halfe moones**] These are moveable fortifications literally built in the shape of a half moon or semicircle.

19. **flankers**] These are moveable fortifications projected to defend the flank of an engaged army.

20. **scoure**] attack. Fane's use of the term post dates the last OED quotation which is dated 1575.

20. **Greeff**] This is a trench, possibly containing water, used as a defense against attacking forces.

20. **Bastions**] These are fortifications projecting from the main wall of a defensive structure.

22. **wafer**] ornamental.

23. **comfitts**] sweet preserves.

33. **Ceres**] Goddess of agriculture.
33. **Bacchus**] This is the Roman name for Dionysius. In mythology, Dionysius was a mysterious god, apparently of middle eastern origin. Among other things, he was the god of wine and fertility. The rites of Dionysius were orgiastic rituals that may have included human sacrifice.

35. **Flora's**] Flora was the Roman goddess of flowering plants, highly prized by prostitutes.

39. **Kerne**] Irish soldier.

40. **Gang warr**] Go to war.

42. **Security's ye mother oft to harmes**] Proverb. See Tilley 152.

**Act 4, Scene 1**

0.4. **Jacks**] Coats of mail.

1. **slea**] slay.

1. **A**] Any.

2. **ween**] suppose.
IV, i, ii]

3. **haunt**] resort.

3. **nere**] never.

3. **se**] so.

3. **servett**] secret.

4. **ilk**] each.

4. **ay gang**] ever go.

4. **inent**] against.

**Act 4, Scene 2**

2. **onsett**] assault.

3. **Boorne**] Stream.

4. **Clugh**] Hollow in a hillside.

5. **Bray**] Loud noise.

5. **Carles**] Irish peasants.
5. **Lownes** base fellows.

7. **habits** attire.

7. **armes** weapons.

12. **envy** invidiousness.

13. **lowzie** vile.

13. **Blewcap** Blue bonnet of a Scotsman. Here Fane uses the term to mean Scotsman.

13. **Redshank** This is a general term for a Scot or Irishman. The term specifically refers to Celtic highlanders whose legs are red from exposure.

14. **brabbles** loud quarrels.

16. **Kerne** Irish or Scottish soldier.

24. **invitement** encourage to come.

34. **cates** provisions.
Act 4, Scene 3

4. pinching] small.

6. fascinated] enslaved. As used here, Fane predates the earliest usage documented in OED, which is dated 1651.

11. Wase] A wase is a cushion which rests under a load carried on the head. Here the reference is broadened to mean "relieve."

12. ere] ever.

12. I'se] I was.


13. affinity] alliance.

14. lay him fast] secure him well.
IV, iv]

Act 4, Scene 4

3. leaven] ferment. Possibly Fane intends the word to mean "spoil."

6. Aconite] This is a deadly poison made from the dried root of the monkshood plant.

8-9. To stamp thee of the Curst Chan's progeny;/And of ye Race of Giants did preferre] The word "Chan's" should be "Clan's" and is the result of a scribal error. The reference is to the race descended from Cain supposedly containing giants and dwarfs. In Irish mythology, we find suggestions that at one time Ireland was inhabited by giants.

11. Nimrod] According to the Old Testament, Nimrod, grandson to Noah, was a great hunter.

17. Clink] Taken from the name of a specific prison in Southwark, this term was used generally to refer to "prison."

17. head & heele] The suggestion is that Discentonado should be bound by the neck and ankles. Possibly this is a form of the phrase "from head to heels" which means "completely."
IV, iv, v]

19. cross his name] The usage is deceptive but appears to mean to cross his name off the list of those who are in favor or who are part of the rebel army.


20. mere] more.

Act 4, Scene 5


3. St Patrick] The reference is to the saint who supposedly brought Christianity to Ireland.

5. Trouse & Broges] Leggings and shoes worn by Scottish highlanders and Irish peasants.

6. Gramma cree] This is a variant spelling of "gramercy" which means "thank you." Fane appears to mean the term to mean "please."
IV, v, vi]

7. shon dough] The term is unrecorded. However, in Scottish dialect "shun" means "push." "Dough" may be Fane's phonetic spelling of "do not." The term would then mean "push not."

Act 4, Scene 6

4-6. Last night a floating . . . to transplant itselfe] Pathos' speech reads much like that of the messenger in Macbeth (V, v, 34-36) who tells of the movement of Birnam Wood: "As I did stand my watch upon the hill,/I looked to ward Birnam, and anon methought/The wood began to move."

16. Microcosmus chang'd.] The period at the end of this line confuses the reading and should be emended to a comma.

17. new worlds prospect] This appears to be a reference to an island being formed by a volcanic eruption.

17. dell Foco] i.e. Terra dell Foco; the Italian form of "Tierra del Fuego" which refers to the southern part of South America and its volcanos. Literally it means "land of fire." Here the suggestion is that with the beacon on the mountain Mens' fleet may mistake Microcosmus for an emerging island in the ocean.
IV, vi]

18. **Incognita**] Unseen.

20. **garbe]** outward bearing or behavior.

24. **My ffancyes rest, am I awake or dream still]** This is possibly an allusion to *A Midsummer Night's Dream* (II, ii, 147): "What a dream was here."

25. **Nereus]** Sea deity with the power of prophecy.

36. **windowes]** eyes.

39. **Ixion]** The reference is to the King of Thessaly whom Zeus placed upon a wheel revolving over a circle of fire because he dared to love Hera.

40-41. **He a King/And subject unto fear thus]** By suggesting that Blepses is afraid, which is improper for a king, Fane points out that he is a false king, much as he had viewed Cromwell. The following passage from Fane's "Autobiography" clarifies his feelings about false kings by attacking Cromwell strongly: "Ita nempe in suauiolentes Rosas & Lilia Pulchra exclusionem é Patria perpetuauerat Qui Oliuario tantum Nomine non symbolo gauisus erat: Ut Faetus suos
IV, vi]
foetidos in Principes & Principessas erigeret: Sed ex quolibet ligno non fit Mercurius: Extincto Namq Patre Regicidio ad Regimina Filius natu maior scilicet Ricardus Opera Nauat nec diurna." British Library MS Add. 34220, f. 18r. (So, in sweet smelling roses and beautiful lilies he departed his country who had delighted more in the "Olive" as a name than a symbol. He would have exalted his own ill-smelling brood to the state of princes and princesses. But Mercury (genius) does not spring from just any lumber. After the regicide's death, his eldest son Richard guides the helm neither with energy nor for very long.)

46. The Beakons all on fire denote as much] This is perhaps an allusion to the beacons in Aeschylus' Agamemnon which were used to signal that Troy had fallen to the Greeks and that Agamemnon was returning home. The following passage from the play's first scene (11. 281-282) illustrates: "Hephaestus, Launching a fine flame from Ida,/ Beacon forwarding beacon, despatch-riders of fire."

49. Pluto's Court] Pluto was the god of the underworld in mythology.
IV, vi, vii]

50. **Cerberus**] Three-headed dog that guarded the entrance to Hades in Greek mythology.

51. **kiss, Proserpina's hand**] The comma creates confusion and should be omitted.

51. **Proserpina's hand**] The daughter of Ceres in Greek mythology, Proserpina was the wife of Pluto who had carried her to his underworld kingdom against her mother's will. Jupiter intervened so that Proserpina could return to earth six months out of each year, thus accounting for spring and summer, the months of fertility.

52. **transcendent**] going beyond the proper order.

Act 4, Scene 7

7. **relish**] thrive.

9. **digest**] digest.

14. **Belike**] In all likelihood.

23. **Cyrens**] Sirens.
31. **Prodigious** [Great extent.]

39. **prickt** [stabbed.]

43. *I thought yt footeball had been out of use* This is an interesting allusion to the fact that football had been banned by several English monarchs, including Elizabeth I. Cromwell, however, played the game. Possibly Fane is pointing to the "false" king who had reversed policy of the proper monarchs.

44. **Noe cuffs but sleeve cuffs** [The pun here enhances the suggestion in line 43 that football had been banned.]

45. **dubbs you** [knights you.]

46. **Targatt** [Small sheild.]

46. *I bore my Princes Targatt went before him* The line needs a comma after "Targatt" to clarify the elliptical construction.

48. **Pose** [Cough.]
51. **Gristle**] Literally, the term means "grind the teeth"; however here it appears to indicate "jaw" or "teeth."

52. **Gundobarts**] No OED reference.

57. **scowr'd**] assaulted.

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**Act 5, Scene 1**

1. **miscreants**] rascals, heretics.

2. **furies**] In Greek mythology, the furies were creatures born of the blood of Uranus who was killed by his son Cronus. They were the creatures who hounded persons guilty of killing a member of their own family, particularly a parent. Fane is simply alluding to the disgusting nature of the creatures.

3. **daunted**] quelled.

6. **Calenture**] Feverous madness common to sailors.

7. **carbonadoed**] slashed.

9. **rooting**] grubbing.
V, i, ii]
22. [fond] foolish.
22. [sturd] stirred.
25. [Bolis] Pill.
27. [belay] delay.
28. [forland] peninsular projection.
36. [seafroths liuerie] This is interesting language.
    Normally, "liuerie" would mean "dark colored." As used here it means simply "colored." The "seafroths" suggests the color white. The terminology suggests, therefore, that the old man had white hair.
40. [sort] share. Fane's use of the term in this sense post dates the last OED quotation which is dated 1483.
Act 5, Scene 2
10. [bliss] glory.
15. **Pipe's**] Pipes are large tubs used in carrying water or other liquids. The term also refers to a cask containing approximately 105 imperial gallons.

19. **Prouident**] Frugal. Normally, the term is used as an adjective. Fane appears to be using it to mean "frugal person." Although rare, such usage as a noun is documented in OED.

26. **exorcismes**] assaults. All citations in OED show the word used in a religious context. Fane's broader use is, therefore, unique.

32. **towe**] tough.

37. **Conioign'd**] United.

38-39. **I haue often heard/How Patience hath been tryde**] Fane is punning on the phrase "to try one's patience." Here he means that Patience has been attacked in battle.

46. **Compass**] Limits.

55. **Don**] This is the title given to a Spanish gentleman of high rank.
56-57  se vous prie/Pardonnez moi] Pardon me if you please.
   (French)


68.  Bellona] Roman goddess of war.

68.  Pallas] In mythology, Pallas was a giant killed by Athena.

73.  Neptune] Roman sea god.


81.  the] at thee.

82.  nigh] near.

88.  battiring platforme] The military machine referred to
    here was a large platform holding a suspended heavy beam
    which several men could swing against a gate or wall of
    a fortification to open an entrance for attacking forces.

V, ii]

91 Port] Demeanour. The passage is suggesting that by observing the nature of each vice, the virtues can select their proper foes in combat.

98. Imps] In falconry, "imping" is the process of grafting feathers into a falcon's wing to improve its flight.

104. Diapason] Literally the term means "harmony of a note to its scale." Here it appears to indicate "control."

109. ordnance] discharge of a missile in war.

112. Ill news hath wings, good tidings nere came late] Proverb. See Tilley N 147, N 145, N 148.

121. submiss] submissive

134. Repair'd] Retreated. Fane's use of the word in this sense post dates the last OED quotation dated 1596.

135. pursuance] pursuit.

V, ii, iii]

146. **embarge**] embark.

156. **waighing**] weighing anchor.

171. **bra**] brave.

178. **shend**] reprove.

185. **pate**] head.

189. **Wee'l look to his water**] A physician of the period would have studied a patient's urine as part of his care. The phrase as used here seems to mean broadly "care for him."

**Act 5, Scene 3**

1. **sawc't**] This is an interesting usage derived from "sauce." In Fane's time the term meant "impudent." However, as used here it means "impudent because of drunkenness." By extension, therefore, it suggests "drunken." The first OED listing for "soused" meaning "drunken" is dated 1920.

2. **liquorishnesse**] love of good fare, sensualness.

2. **tattle**] frivolous chatter.
3. **Leueties** Lack of seriousness.

5. **black sheeps wool** Apparently, black wool was considered thicker and would, therefore, better stop his ears.

7. **Bellona's** In Roman mythology, Bellona was the goddess of war.

8. **Theorbo** Large, double-necked lute.

10. **Naile** Finger.

13. **musk** red or brown substance taken from the glands of a male deer and used in perfume because of its distinctive odor.

13. **Civett** Unctuous substance from the glands of a civet cat.

15. **Bibliis** In Greek mythology, Bibliis was the daughter of Miletus who was turned into a fountain after falling in love with her brother.

15. **Phaetons** In Greek mythology, Phaeton was struck down by Zeus for losing control of the chariots of the sun.
21. Casemat] Frame forming a window or part of a window.

22. farded] painted.

22. bespotted] covered with blemishes.


33. Peer] Pier.

Act 5, Scene 4

8-10. I shall coniure . . . their wichcrafts use] All the birds listed in this passage were regarded during the Renaissance as signs of ill omen. The owl was a symbol of melancholy and death. The bat was considered an agent of the devil whose blindness represented moral blindness. The raven was a bird of prophecy and a portent of death.

11. Halcyon dayes] Calm days.


18. Quondam] Former holder of an office. Fane's use of the term in this sense post dates the last OED quotation dated 1583.
V, iv, v, Epilogue]

64. _fealty_ faithfulness.

65. _sway_ sovereign power.

68. _brooke_ endure.

69. _danled_ moved.

Act 5, Scene 5

1. _extractions_ lineage.

15. _taine_ taken.

58. _compass_ obtain.

64. _ffeadaries_ Those who hold land because of their support.

81. _Si placet plaudite_ If it pleases you, applaud.

Epilogue

4-10. _Our Comick scene . . . malice of his powers_ As in the
   Prologue, Fane refers to his work as comedy and defends
Epilogue]

his reference in the face of Tempest's death by using that character's allegorical name to suggest that Tempest remains at sea.

11-14. **Semper/Sic mihi mens sana/In corpore sano/Sic placeat domino**] Always, the mind is cured when the senses in the body are sound, in this way is the ruler calmed.
LIST OF REFERENCES
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VITA

Gerald W. Morton was born in Winston-Salem, North Carolina on February 4, 1954. He attended W. B. Speas Elementary School, Mount Tabor Junior High School and R. J. Reynolds High School from which he graduated in June 1972. The following August he entered Emory & Henry College, and in June 1976 he received from that institution a Bachelor of Arts degree in English, graduating magna cum laude. In September of 1976 he accepted a graduate teaching assistantship at Georgia Southern College where he worked toward a Master of Arts degree. He received that degree in English in August 1978 after passing his thesis defense "with distinction."

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