AN ANALYSIS OF MONTEMAYOR'S *DIANA* AS A SOURCE OF *THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA*

511

A THESIS

SUBMITTED TO THE DEPARTMENT OF

ENGLISH AND THE GRADUATE COUNCIL OF THE KANSAS STATE

TEACHERS COLLEGE OF EMPORIA IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF

THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF

MASTER OF ARTS

By

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June, 1969

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To

My Husband

PREFACE

This study deals with two important works: Shakespeare's _The Two Gentlemen of Verona_ and Montemayor's _Los Siete Libros de la Diana_, popularly known as _Diana_. _The Two Gentlemen of Verona_ is one of Shakespeare's earliest comedies; _Diana_ is the first and the best pastoral novel of Spanish literature. Since both works have elements in common, these have been pointed out and explained after intensive reading and studying of the play and the novel in their respective original languages, English and Spanish. However, a command of the Spanish language only does not suffice for the understanding and interpretation of _Diana_; a knowledge of and a feeling for the culture inherent in the language are also requisite. There seems to be no evidence of Shakespeare's knowledge of Spanish; however, his grasp of the elements common to the culture reflected in Romance languages is apparent in his play. Thus, an explanation of Spanish culture to the reader has been the present author's major effort throughout the following study; it mainly purports to focus attention upon elements common to both works, and to bridge the gaps that apparently existed between the romance and the play. In so doing, the writer has tried to retrace hypothetically the workings of Shakespeare's mind when he interpreted _Diana_ and adapted it for his play, _The Two Gentlemen of Verona_. If the present author has succeeded in this endeavor, much of the credit should go to Dr. Charles E. Walton,

Head of the English Department, for his valuable guidance and untiring effort, and to Dr. June Morgan for her kind advice and assistance in the criticism of the manuscript.

The writer also wishes to express her appreciation to Mrs. Ruby B. Kirk for her voluntary, ready help, and to the writer's husband, Eugenio L. Revilla, for his remarkable encouragement and moral support throughout the long periods of time devoted to the preparation and writing of this thesis.

June 16, 1969 G. L. R.

Emporia, Kansas

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CHAPTER I

SHAKESPEARE'S *THE TWO GENTLEMEN OF VERONA* AND MONTEMAYOR'S *DIANA*

Nothing is more characteristic of Shakespeare than his ability to discern the dramatic possibilities within a narrative or an historical episode as manifest in his transforming of such material into a fully developed, unified drama. The literary artist is seldom able to use material in the form in which it presents itself initially to him, because it almost never corresponds completely to the idea which he recognizes in it or imparts to it. Therefore, the artist exercises his right to transform primary and secondary materials in accordance with his purpose, that is, to bring them into an agreement with his own ideas. An unrivalled master in this field, far more than in the field of composition, is Shakespeare; his greatness is revealed most of all in the infallible intuition with which he feels his way into the dramatic elements of a story, bringing these to a complete dramatic expression. He follows, to be sure, tradition established by others, but produces a far superior result. The case is perhaps more an example of his skill in alchemy than of his indebtedness. The manner in which he manipulates and supplements source materials is, therefore, a fundamental subject of study in determining this man's genius.

But the problem of Shakespeare's sources itself warrants most careful consideration. Scholars have long been concerned in their efforts to find a single, entirely satisfactory work to account for the origin of given plots in the case of source studies of Shakespeare's plays that they have submitted to all kinds of reinvestigations, dissatisfied with previously proclaimed sources.

Scholars undertaking a study of Shakespeare's early comedies, for example, will find a stream of Italian influence running through each one of them, to a greater or lesser degree.[1] However, whether or not Shakespeare knew enough Italian to read its literature in the original often has been debated. Lothian believes that he did, pointing out that Jonson, Chapman, Daniel, and many others also knew Italian; that there were many Italians living in London at the time; that Italian was one of the languages practised at court; that Shakespeare himself used many Italian and Italianate words and phrases; and that he revealed a knowledge of Italian works of which translations into English had not been made at the time in which he was composing.[2] Similarly, some have assumed that

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[1]W. J. Rolfe (ed.), The Two Gentlemen of Verona, p. 15. Rolfe says that the tone of The Two Gentlemen of Verona is, perhaps, not so thoroughly Italian as in some of Shakespeare's later plays--The Merchant of Venice, for example. He adds, "All along we feel that his characters are not English."

[2]John M. Lothian, "Shakespeare's Knowledge of Aretino's Plays," MLR, XXV (October, 1930), 415. This author claims that Shakespeare knew Italian, because ". . . it is rather unlikely that words and phrases from a language with which one is slightly acquainted would rise naturally to one's mind in the course of composition," p. 416.

Shakespeare knew French, since it is known that he frequented courtly circles and, therefore, may have known enough French to have enabled him to read works in this language. Of his knowledge of Spanish, nevertheless, little is known. Of course, the scholarly question of whether he had a true command or a mere reading knowledge of these languages did not prevent him from using foreign sources, for there were many English translations available.[3] But for the source seeker, this philological matter is important in trying to establish the certainty of a Shakespearean source. Thus, it is pertinent to know whether Shakespeare could have read the proposed source in its original language, or in a given translation.

The present study is not aimed at the establishment of a source and a demonstration of its validity as such. It may be said, rather, to deal with the re-establishment of Diana of Jorge de Montemayor as the main source of Shakespeare's early comedy, The Two Gentlemen of Verona. For years, Diana has been

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[3]T. P. Harrison, Jr., "Concerning The Two Gentlemen of Verona and Montemayor's Diana," MLN, XLI (April, 1926), 251-252. The author believes that Shakespeare's indebtedness to Diana not only involves The Two Gentlemen of Verona, but also Twelfth Night and A Midsummer Night's Dream. Shakespeare used Spanish sources for other of his writings: La Comedia del Degollado by the Sevillan dramatist Juan de la Cueva, is believed to be an analogue of Measure for Measure. See J. P. Wickersham Crawford, "A Sixteenth Century Spanish Analogue of Measure for Measure," MLN, XXXV (June, 1920), 330. Noches de Invierno, by Antonio Eslava is mentioned as a source of The Tempest. See Henry David Gray, "The Sources of The Tempest," MLN, XXXV (June, 1920), 321.

an accepted source of Shakespeare's play. Lately, however, this fact has been questioned by some scholars who believe that Montemayor's work accounts for only a small part of Shakespeare's plot. As a result, they have proposed other works which they feel Shakespeare may have used for the remainder of his plot. One proposes to demonstrate that the impelling need to look for complementary sources results from these scholars' failure to interpret adequately Montemayor's Diana.[4]

It is often easy to misread Shakespeare, especially when the critic's own standards of conduct and ideas of psychology differ from Shakespeare's. The same principle applies to Montemayor's Diana. Some attention to the literary background of The Two Gentlemen of Verona clearly reveals that Shakespeare is simply assuming, without explanation or question, standards and goals, the exact nature of which may not be readily apparent to the modern reader. In the present study, therefore, one proposes

1. to re-establish Diana of Jorge de Montemayor as the main source for Shakespeare's The Two Gentlemen of Verona,
2. to indicate certain standards of conduct and ideals of life with which Shakespeare is working in this play, thus leading to an understanding of Diana, and
3. to review the play in the light of the problems posed and the terms in which Shakespeare achieves his solution.

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[4] Dorothy F. Atkinson, "The Source of The Two Gentlemen of Verona," SP, XLI (April, 1944), 224. Atkinson believes that Diana supplies only the Julia parts of the plot; that Cupids Cautels is not "the absolute source," but that it seems to be the basic plot onto which Shakespeare grafted the Diana passages.

But before one begins a reinvestigation of _Diana_, he should review briefly the many important areas of narrative in _The Two Gentlemen of Verona_ and reconsider those works that have been proposed as sources for such areas. Scholars believe that _The Two Gentlemen of Verona_ is a dramatic laboratory in which Shakespeare experimented with many of the ideas and devices which were to be his stock-in-trade and delight for years to come.[5] Thus, the play contains stories of love and friendship; of a disloyal and a faithful friend; and of deceit between lovers. There are such motifs as travel, music, clothes, and exile; and elements like the outlaws, the servant and his dog, and the maid who delivers the letter. The play is rich in incidents such as the rope-ladder, Valentine's joining the outlaws, details in the delivery of the letter to Julia, and Sir Eglamour's disappearance. Many devices are used to develop the complex action in the play: the sex-disguise, the rings, the letter, the woods, and the hasty ending. Likewise, such devices are used to precipitate the outburst of emotions in the form of soliloquies; for example, Julia's and Proteus' internal conflicts, and Valentine's speech in praise of solitude.

Many sources have been suggested for the just mentioned narrative areas in _The Two Gentlemen of Verona_. Those who

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[5]Geoffrey Bullough (ed.), _Narrative and Dramatic Sources of Shakespeare_, I, 210.

believe the main basis of Shakespeare's work to be the conflict between the duties of friendship and love point to Lyly's Euphues and Endimion; to Bandello's Appolonius and Sylla, translated by Barnabe Riche; to Boccaccio's La Tseida; and to the tale of Tito and Gissipo (Decameron X. 8), as possible sources.[6] For the episode of Proteus' faithlessness to his friend, some have considered the Comoedia von Julius and Hippolita as a pattern.[7] For Valentine's consent to lead the robber-band and for his speech in praise of solitude, the Arcadia of Sir Philip Sidney has been accepted as a model.[8] The lost play of Felix and Philiomena weighs much as a source for Shakespeare's work, and there is some evidence to indicate that he was also acquainted with the Italian play, Gl' Ingannati, and with Bandello's novels (Pt. II, Novel 36).[9] On

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[6]Ibid., pp. 206-209. A study of The Two Gentlemen of Verona, as well as of Twelfth Night indicates that Shakespeare was acquainted with other versions of the original story found in the play Gl' Ingannati, drawing from Riche's Appolonius and Sylla. This original story seems to be that of Bandello's Nicuola and Lattanzio (Pt. II, Novel 36). This last story has been suggested as the source of Felix and Felismena in Montemayor's Diana. See Jorge de Montemayor, Los Siete Libros de la Diana, pp. 94-96.

[7]Joseph L. Tynan, "The Influence of Greene on Shakespeare's Early Plays," PMLA, XXVII (1912), 246-264. See also Bullough, op. cit., I, 260-266.

[8]The Two Gentlemen of Verona, The University Society, p. 3. The Arcadia of Sir Philip Sidney is regarded as a very close imitation of Diana; therefore, when it refers to the problem of solitude, it is only borrowing from Diana. Solitude is the consciousness running throughout Montemayor's pastoral work. See Sir Philip Sidney, The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia, I.9.

[9]Harrison, op. cit., p. 251. The lost play of Felix

the other hand, it is known that George Brooke's Romeus and Juliet was used as a parallel for the rope-ladder incident in The Two Gentlemen of Verona; also, attention has been called to the similarities of the names of the female protagonists in both plays.[10] The Italian Commedia dell' Arte of the period has been assumed to be the source for many plays of the general type of The Two Gentlemen of Verona.[11] However, when Lothian analyzes Aretino's Five Comedies, and draws parallels between Valentine's being banished from Mantua and joining the outlaws

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(continued) and Philiomena was presented before Queen Elizabeth at Greenwich, shortly after New Year's, 1585. Professor Campbell believes that ". . . of all the versions of the Diana this was the most apt to come within the range of Shakespeare's notice." Harrison says that ". . . it would seem contrary to the playwright's methods to base a play of his own upon an adaptation of a work which was extant in the original and in translations, both French and English."

[10] Arthur J. Roberts, "The Sources of Romeo and Juliet," MLN, XVII (February, 1902), 82. For further parallels, see also Mozelle Scaff Allen, "Brooke's Romeus and Juliet as a Source for the Valentine-Silvia Plot in The Two Gentlemen of Verona," Texas University Studies in English, XVIII (1938), 25-46.

[11] S. Asa Small, "The Ending of The Two Gentlemen of Verona," PMLA, XLVIII (September, 1933), 774. In the Shakespeare Jahrbuch for 1910 is an article by Max E. Wolff on "Shakespeare and die Commedia dell' Arte" which traces in detail all the analogies the writer can find between Shakespeare's humorous situations and those which the traveling Italian companies may have presented in London. Wolff makes a remarkable showing, and fully justifies his conclusion that there is scarcely a comedy of Shakespeare which does not show somewhere this Italian influence. See also Grey, op. cit., p. 323. Also, K. M. Lea, Italian Popular Comedy. A Study in the Commedia dell' Arte, 1560-1620, with special reference to the English Stage. Also, Winifred Smith, The Commedia Dell' Arte, A Study in Italian Popular Comedy.

in Shakespeare's play, he finds similar situations in Aretino's Filósofo, and also asserts that details of Proteus' letter to Julia are those originally found in Aretino's Marescalco.[12] Jacques D'Yver's Le Printemps, originally written in French, in 1572, translated into English six years later by Henry Wotton as A Courtlie Controversie of Cupids Cautels, contains five histories of which the fifth has been proposed as a source of The Two Gentlemen of Verona.[13] Some scholars also believe that Shakespeare drew from this source for plot and characterization.[14]

Even after a careful study of all of these suggested influences, divergent as they may be, none seems to surpass the others, since the prime factor in Shakespeare's art is its composite quality. Indeed, a realization of its composite nature is the essential key to one's understanding of his

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[12]Lothian, op. cit., pp. 416-417. In 1588 John Wolfe published in London a volume containing four of Aretino's comedies--the Marescalco, Talanta, Cortigiana, and Hipocrito. He did not include the Filósofo, because he had been unable to secure a copy of the somewhat rare volume.

[13]Arthur Tilley, The Literature of the French Renaissance, II, 181-183. Jacques D'Yver, a follower of Rabelais, was moved by the success of the French translation of Bandello to write some original stories of a similar character. Yver wished to rival Bandello and adopted for his stories a framework similar to that of the Heptameron. His most popular work, Le Printemps, published in 1572, produced many imitations. Some of these are L'Été by Benigne Passenot (1583) and Le Printemps d'Été by Nicholas de Montreux. See Samuel Putnam, The Portable Rabelais.

[14]Atkinson, op. cit., pp. 223-234.

genius; thus, it is without questioning the value of these recognized sources or analogues that Montemayor's Diana will be re-established as the main influence upon the genesis of Shakespeare's play.

CHAPTER II

THE FAME AND IMPORTANCE OF *DIANA*

Jorge de Montemayor's *Diana* became a model for the pastoral genre. It has influenced the literature of the time more than any other work with the exception of the *Arcadia* of Sannazaro.[15] Two of Spain's greatest writers, Don Miguel de Cervantes y Saavedra and Lope de Vega, immortalized *Diana* in their works. Although Cervantes was not a lover of pastoral works, in *Don Quijote*, he speaks through the priest who was anxious to eliminate all of these kinds of books that he believed responsible for his friend's demented state of mind:

> Soy del parecer que no se queme, sino que se le quite todo aquello que trata de la sabia Felicia y de la agua encantada y casi todos los versos mayores, y quédesele enhorabuena la prosa y la honra de ser primero en semejantes libros.[16]

Cervantes, nevertheless, is magnanimous in his judgment of the pastoral novels as a whole and thinks that the *Diana* would have

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[15] Diez-Echarri, *Historia de la Literatura Española e Hispano-americana*, p. 225. In addition to Boccaccio's two contributions, *Ameto* and *Ninfale Fiesolano*, the most famous early European pastoral novel was the *Arcadia*, 1504, by Jacopo Sannazaro, an imitation of the *Ameto*. Sannazaro's work was translated into Spanish in 1549. It remained for two Portuguese authors, however, to develop the genre first in Spain--Bernardim Ribeiro, with his Portuguese *Menina e Moça*, 1554, and Jorge de Montemayor with his Spanish *Diana*. See also, V. Hugo Rennert, "The Spanish Pastoral Romances," *Publications of the University of Pennsylvania*, XXVII (1912), 12-14.

[16] Miguel de Cervantes, *Don Quijote*, Edición IV Centenario, p. 55.

been even better without a few verses and the episode based on Felicia's magic water.[17]

Lope de Vega believes in the real existence of Diana. He explains that she lived in Valencia de Don Juan, close to León, and that her Ezla river and herself will be forever immortalized by Montemayor's pen:

> ¿Qué mayor riqueza para una mujer que verse eternizada? Porque la hermosura se acaba, y nadie que la mira sin ella cree que la tuvo; y los versos de su alabanza son eternos testigos que viuen con su nombre. La Diana de Montemayor fué una dama natural de Valencia de Don Juan, junto a León; y Ezla, su río, y ella serán eternos por su pluma.[18]

During the second half of the sixteenth century, Montemayor's Diana appeared in seventeen editions in Spanish.[19] Lourenço Craesbeeck, a Portuguese writer, attests to the popularity of Diana: ". . . ñao havia casa onde se ñao lesse, rua onde se ñao cantassen o seus versos, nem coversaçao onde se

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[17] Ibid., p. 1064. Cervantes, though he devoured books of chivalry himself, made fun of enchanted castles and islands, with their giants and dwarfs and magicians; but he never made fun of Arcadia or the pastoral convention, for which he had only a grave smile. But Don Quijote has much to say about it, for his Galatea is written under the influence of Montemayor's Diana. Lope de Vega's Dorotea and Arcadia are also influenced by this work. With Cervantes, the shepherds and shepherdesses belong to an ideal world of pure poetry; they were not real shepherds, they were courtiers or educated people masquerading as shepherds. But as those shepherds of Garcilaso, Sannazaro and Montemayor, they were in no sense realistic; they were a creation of the intellect. See Américo Castro, El Pensamiento de Cervantes.

[18] Francisco López Estrada, "Prólogo," Los Siete Libros de la Diana, p. xxxiv.

[19] Diez-Echarri, op. cit., p. 243.

nao engrandecesse o seu styllo."[20] Also, Father Malon de Chaide, a Spanish friar, gave relevance to _Diana_; resenting his parishioners' preference for the pastoral works, he felt they should turn more to religious readings. Nevertheless, he contributed to the popularity of _Diana_: "¿Qué ha de hacer la doncella que apenas sabe andar y ya trae una _Diana_ en la faltriquera?"[21]

There are innumerable testimonies that make reference to the success of _Diana_. The 1624 Lisbon edition bears only praises. Father Ponce de León, who wrote _Clara Diana a lo Divino_, reports a certain conversation he had with Montemayor, in which he told him about writing things that were to the benefit of his soul. To which Montemayor added: "Padre Ponce, hagan los frailes penitencia por todos, que los hijos dalgo armas y amores son su profesión." "Yo os prometo," said Father Ponce, "señor Montemayor, de con mi rusticidad y gruessa vena componer otra _Diana_, la cual con toscos garrotazos corra tras la vuestra." A short time later, Father Ponce de León wrote his own _Diana_.[22] Lope de Vega, besides his mention of _Diana_

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[20] _Loc. cit._

[21] _Ibid._, p. 244.

[22] López Estrada, _op. cit._, p. xviii. Father Ponce de León, in the prologue to _Clara Diana a lo Divino_, refers to Montemayor's fame as a lover: ". . . pues con amores vivió, y aún con ellos se crió, en amores se metió, siempre en ellos contempló, los amores ensalzó y de amores escrivió y por amores murió."

in Dorotea, continues to praise Montemayor's work in the Laurel de Apolo. Grazian, in Agudeza, grants Montemayor superior qualities in the handling of affections in Diana.[23]

So much for personal testimonies. It is important to scrutinize the bibliography of the many editions of Diana.[24] One starts with the Spanish editions and later considers the influence of Diana on the literature of other countries, such as Italian, German, French, and English editions that will be studied in careful detail.[25]

The first edition of Diana is that of Valencia. Its date has been the object of controversy, but scholars, like James Fitz-Maurice Kelly, have provided enough evidence to place the first edition of the book between 1558 and 1559.[26] Another convincing evidence is the facsimile of the title page of what seems to be the first edition of Diana. It bears a coat of arms, a dedicatory of Los Siete Libros de la Diana, by Jorge de Montemayor, to ". . . the most illustrious Sir Ioan Caftella de Vilanuoa, Master of the Baronetcies of Bicorb and Quesa," and under the coat of arms, "Printed in Valencia. La Diana, de Jorge de Montemayor. Valencia. (before 1559)."[27]

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[23] Ibid., p. xxxvii.

[24] Ibid., p. lxxxvii.

[25] Menéndez y Pelayo, Orígenes de la Novela, II, 278-288.

[26] Ibid., p. 259. See also James Fitz-Maurice Kelly, "Revue Hispanique," (November, 1895), pp. 304-311.

[27] Cervantes, op. cit., p. 1038.

Pedro Salvá y Mallán, a Spanish scholar and bibliographer, considers this edition to be the most ancient, printed by Ioan Mey while Montemayor was still living.[28] Menéndez y Pelayo points out that the introductory letter preceding the edition of Clara Diana a lo Divino indicates clearly that, in 1559, editions of Montemayor's book already existed.[29] Further evidence is provided in what Ticknor believed to be an edition of Diana, dating from 1542. This edition already contained the Canto de Orfeo in which the following octave occurs:

> La otra, junto a ella, es doña Ioana
> De Portugal Princesa, y de Castilla,
> Infanta, a quien quitó fortuna insana
> El cetro, la corona y alta silla;
> Y a quien la muerte fué tan inhumana,
> Que aun ella assí se espanta y maravilla
> De ver quán presto ensangrentó sus manos
> En quien fué espejo y luz de Lusitanos.[30]

But Menéndez y Pelayo asserts that Ticknor is not right in his dating of this edition, arguing that since the preceding verses mention the princess as a widow, these verses could not have been written before 1554.[31] Furthermore, Menéndez y Pelayo

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[28] Lopez Estrada, op. cit., p. lxxiii.

[29] Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 261.

[30] Ibid., p. 259. In Canto de Orfeo, Montemayor pays homage to the beauty of the ladies of the time, at Court and at Valencia. The same praise to beauty had been made by Vazquez in Cancionero General at the beginnings of the century. Later on, the Canto de Orfeo was imitated by Gil Polo. He inserts his own Canto de Turia in Diana Enamorada. Cervantes composed Canto de Caliope for his Galatea. See Diez-Echarri, op. cit., pp. 241-242.

[31] Ibid., p. 260. The verses in the Canto de Orfeo refer to the princess as a widow. Since the prince died in 1554, the

reminds one of the passage in which Father Ponce de León so eagerly wished to meet the author of _Diana_. Father Ponce refers to Montemayor's work as ". . . the fashionable book in 1559, which aroused in him the desire to meet its author."[32] In the light of the evidence produced, there is no doubt as to the date of 1559 established for the first edition of _Diana_.

There is one edition of _Diana_ considered to be very important--the Cuenca, 1561, edition. It is a very curious copy and seems to be the transition text between the first series of _Diana_, which do not contain the story of _Abencerraje_, and the second series which do, starting with the edition of Valladolid, 1561.[33] The story of the _Abencerraje y de la hermosa Jarifa_ has been inserted in Book IV of _Diana_. It is a Moorish novel of unknown authorship. It seems that ambitious printers added the famous story to _Diana_ after Montemayor's death. In some editions, the story is added at the end, often incompletely. The importance of the _Abencerraje_ is significant, because it is the first example of its kind as well as one of precursors of the modern historical novel. Many consider it

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(continued) verses could not have been written before that year. Ticknor maintained that _Diana_ had been written in 1542, but since the first edition of _Diana_ had the _Canto de Orfeo_, there is no doubt that the correct date is 1559, as generally accepted by most of Montemayor's scholars.

[32] _Ibid_., p. 261.

[33] López Estrada, _op. cit_., p. lxxiv.

to be the outstanding short fiction example of the Renaissance.[34] This story is told by Felismena in Book IV of Diana. It is about the Moor, Abindarraez, who is an Abencerraje, a famous Moorish family in Granada. Rodrigo de Narváez or Antequera, a noble, honorable and courageous knight, captures Abindarraez, while the latter is on his way to marry the lovely Jarifa. Narváez frees the Moor, who gives and keeps his pledge to return to prison three days after his wedding, and Narváez, impressed by his worth, liberates him.

The Abencerraje gives a poetic picture of the manners and customs of the Moors and Christians of Granada, shortly before the fall of the city in 1492.[35] Since this story is a part of Diana, it is pertinent to realize that its fame ran parallel to Montemayor's work. For example, Don Quijote speaks of the three principal protagonists in the story. In Don Quijote, Diego Clemencin makes one aware of a curious note concerning the Abencerraje. It seems that the one who handled the edition of Quijote made in London, 1738, believed that Abencerraje was an erratum, and substituted for it Abindarraez. Clemencin explains: "If this editor had read Diana of Jorge de Montemayor, he would not have made this mistake."[36] The

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[34] Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 129.

[35] Ibid., p. 135.

[36] Cervantes, op. cit., p. 1038.

same characters, that is, the three principal protagonists, are treated of in Duran's Romancero, and Lope de Vega used the plot of the Abencerraje in Remedio de la Desdicha, which he dedicated to his daughter, Doña Marcela del Carpio, and which is contained in part XII of Lope's Comedies.[37] Among others, the Abencerraje also influenced Victor Hugo, Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, Chateaubriand, and Washington Irving.[38]

The second part of this story, Historia de los Bandos de Zegríes y Abencerrajes, was written by Ginés Pérez de Hita, between the years of 1595 and 1604. The first part (1595) is more novel than history; the second (1604) part is more history than novel. The work of Pérez de Hita had a tremendous impact upon Lope de Vega, Pedro Antonio de Alarcón, Cervantes, Calderón, Martínez de la Rosa, and many others.[39]

Besides the story of the Abencerraje, there are other narratives added to some editions of Diana. For examples one refers to the story of Alcida and Sylvano; to Piramo and Tisbe; to Triunfo de Amor; and to Canto de Orfeo, the latter composed by Montemayor in praise of the ladies of the Court and Valencia. Years later, Gil Polo, the author of La Diana Enamorada, included Canto de Turia in his work, and Cervantes, his Canto de Caliope in his Galatea.[40]

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[37] Ibid., p. 1039.

[38] Ibid., p. 1041.

[39] Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 134.

[40] Diez-Echarri, op. cit., p. 241.

The Diana edition of Lisboa, 1565, is valuable, because it bears, for the first time, Marcos Dorantes' elegy upon the death of Montemayor.[41]

The most important feature of the edition of Venecia, 1568, contains the second part of Diana (1564), that is, the continuation of the story by Alonso Pérez.[42]

For the first time, Montemayor's Diana and Gil Polo's Diana Enamorada were bound together in the edition of Amberes, 1575; whereas in the edition of Pamplona, 1578, the three Dianas of the time were put together, first, Montemayor's Diana; second, Alonso Pérez' La Segunda Diana; and third, Diana Enamorada of Gaspar Gil Polo.[43]

It must be remembered--referring to Don Quijote's passage of the priest's trying to get rid of some books in the knight's library--that Cervantes himself, speaking through the

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[41] In many editions of Diana and Cancionero of Montemayor, there is a long elegy at the poet's death. It was composed by Marcos Dorantes, who refers to Montemayor's death as "tragic." See Lopez Estrada, op. cit., p. lxxvi, and Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 261. Menéndez considers this elegy to be an imitation of Ovid's beautiful elegy at the death of Tibulo.

[42] Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 288. In 1564, the Segunda Parte de la Diana was published. Its author was Alonso Pérez. Pérez, a medical doctor and close friend of Montemayor, said that the latter wished him to write the continuation of Diana: ". . . Antes que d'Espana se fuesse Montemayor, no se desdeno comunicar conmigo el intento que para hazer segunda parte a su Diana tenia: y entre otras cosas me dixo havia que casar a Sireno con Diana enviudando de Delio."

[43] López Estrada, op. cit., pp. lxxviii-lxxix. See also, Romera-Navarro, Historia de la Literatura Española, p. 209.

priest, decided to keep the Diana of Montemayor. In this same passage, the knight gives his opinion on Alonso Pérez' and Gil Polo's Dianas. The barber, who is helping the priest, holds the two books. Again, Cervantes states his opinion:

> Pues la del Salmantino, respondió el cura, acompañe y acreciente el número de los condenados al corral, y la de Gil Polo se guarde como si fuese la del mismo Apolo; y pase adelante señor compadre, y démonos prisa, que se va haciendo tarde.[44]

Cervantes suggests keeping Gil Polos's Diana Enamorada, which he praises, but he is decidedly against Alonso Pérez' La Segunda Diana; therefore, the book is deleted from Quijote's library.

One has already alluded to Cervantes' La Galatea, written in 1584, a pastoral novel that very much follows Montemayor's Diana. Cervantes' Galatea is brought about at this point to continue the dialogue between the priest and the barber in Quijote's library. Cervantes also criticizes his own work, for when the barber mentions Galatea, the priest says:

> Muchos años ha que es grande amigo mío ese Cervantes, y sé que es más versado en desdichas que en versos. Su libro tiene algo de buena invención, propone algo y no concluye nada: es menester esperar la segunda parte que promete: quizá con la enmienda alcanzará del todo la misericordia que ahora se le niega, y entretanto que esto se ve, tenedle recluso en vuestra posada.[45]

Cervantes is not in favor of throwing away his own book; he

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[44]Cervantes, op. cit., p. 55.

[45]Ibid., p. 56.

suggests putting it away until he writes the second part of it which, he believes, might improve the work as a whole.

Other pastoral works modeled after Diana of Montemayor are mentioned by Cervantes in his Don Quijote: Los Diez Libros de Fortuna de Amor (1573), by Antonio de Lofraso, is regarded by the priest as ". . . comic, incoherent, but at the same time, unique in its genre." Cervantes is quite lenient in his judgment of this work. Scholars believe ". . . it is all incoherence and none comic."[46] It is also said that Cervantes borrowed the name of Dulcinea from this work, for in Los Diez Libros de Fortuna de Amor, there is a shepherd named Dulcineo, and a shepherdess named Dulcina.[47]

El Pastor de Iberia (1591), by Bernardo de la Vega; Las Ninfas de Henares (1587), by Bernardo González de Bobadilla; and Desengaño de Celos, by Bartolomé Lopez de Enciso, are all pastoral novels of less importance. Cervantes contributed to the little fame they had by mentioning them in his Quijote.

El Pastor de Filida (1582), by Luis Gálvez de Montalvo, also resembles Diana. It became very famous at the time, highly praised by Cervantes, and is the last of the pastoral works discussed in Don Quijote.

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[46] Ibid., p. 1066.

[47] Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 312.

Besides the already mentioned Alonso Pérez' La Segunda Diana and Gil Polo's Diana Enamorada, there were many other works written in Montemayor's pattern: Cervantes' Galatea (1585); Lope de Vega's Arcadia (1598) and Dorotea (1632); Bernardo Balbuena's Siglo de Oro (1608); and Fray Bartolomé Ponce's Clara Diana a lo Divino (1582).[48]

Los Pastores de Betis (1633), by Gonzalo de Saavedra, is the last pastoral novel written before the decadence of the genre in Spain. It was composed well into the seventeenth century.[49]

So far, one has considered the success and influence of Diana from a national point of view. But the fame of Montemayor's work went beyond the Iberian frontiers. This diffusion of Diana was made possible because of the neutrality of the pastoral genre. Diana achieved great popularity in France and England, but not in Italy. Italian literature was already saturated with the dramatic pastoral represented by the works of Tasso and Guarini; therefore, some local authors dealt with the pastoral novel in forms more attached to the poetic tradition. In spite of this trend, Diana had some imitators in Italy. Celio Malespini, the translator of Jardín de Flores Curiosas by Antonio de Torquemada, borrows from Diana. In his

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[48]Romera-Navarro, op. cit., p. 210.

[49]Ibid., p. 211.

Ducento Novelle (1609), many of the histories are Montemayor's: the stories of Ismenia, Alanio and Selvagia; the story of Abindarraez and Jarifa, and the story of Belisa.[50]

The pastoral element does not become important in the literature of Germany before Gessner. It was not until the end of the eighteenth century that he remodeled this genre, imparting originality to it and a deep sense of feeling for nature. Translations of Diana were not found in Germany before the seventeenth century, one by Hans Ludwig Kuffstein, printed in Nuremberg in 1610, and another by Hardsdorfer in 1646. The continuation of Diana, that is, the one by Gil Polo, is found in the Hardsdorfer edition.[51]

In 1652, Diana was translated into Dutch by Schonherr. This edition contains the reference of T. A. Varnshagen Da litteratura dos livros de Caballeria, Vienna, 1872.[52]

The Hamburg, 1750, edition is one of the last European echoes of Montemayor's work. According to Schonherr, the original Diana is almost unrecognizable.[53]

Portugal, Montemayor's fatherland, printed several editions of Diana. The best-known translation is that of

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[50] Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 278.

[51] Ibid., p. 287.

[52] López Estrada, op. cit., p. xcii.

[53] Ibid., p. xciii.

Lisboa, 1924, by Alfonso Lopez Vieira.[54]

Montemayor's Diana exercised a powerful influence upon the literature of France, where, following the pattern established in Spain, Montemayor's work was first translated, and then, imitated.[55] The year of 1578 is the date usually agreed upon for the first translation of Diana by Nicolas Colin. Much to one's surprise, however, Walther Fischer refers to Colin's translation as being published in 1572, not in 1578.[56] The two continuations of Diana, those of Alonso Pérez and Gil Polo, were translated by Gabriel Chappuis in 1587.[57] In 1603, Pavillon's version was published. It contained the original Spanish text. This translation refers to Montemayor as "a courtly poet." It is interesting to notice the comment in the French version:

> Toute l'Espagne tient que l'intention de George de Montemayor a esté d'escrir les amours du Duc d'Albe, au seruice duquel il a esté fort long temps. Et que Sirene, qui porte les principales actions de cette bergerie, est celuy qui le represente.[58]

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[54]Loc. cit.

[55]Romera-Navarro, op. cit., p. 206.

[56]Walther Fischer, "Honoré D'Urfeé's Sireine and the Diana of Montemayor," MLN, XXVIII (June, 1913), 166-168. Fischer acknowledges the kindness of Professor Rennert of the University of Pennsylvania. For his work, Rennert lent him "his very rare copy of 1593." This copy is La Diane de Georges de Montemayor, Tours (G. Drobet).

[57]Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., pp. 278-279.

[58]López Estrada, op. cit., p. xiv. The comment in French refers to the belief that Montemayor's work was based on the loves of the Duque de Alba. Montemayor worked for the Duque for

Pavillon's translation was revised by I. D. Bertranet in 1611. Chétien de Croix published La Grande Pastorale in 1613. Also in this same year, Alejandro Hardy published his Felismena. In 1623 or 1631, there appeared a version of Diana by Antonio Vitray. Les Charmes de Felicie was Jocobo Pousset's version, published in 1653. The Roman Espagnol, 1733, is anonymous. Its most important episodes were presented in the theater of the seventeenth century.[59]

The first French writer to be affected by foreign impulses was Nicolas de Montreux, a gentleman of Maine, who, under the pseudonym of Ollenix du Mont-Sacre, produced in succession three pastoral dramas entitled Athlette (1585), La Diane (1592), and L'Arimene (1597). He also wrote in imitation of Diana the first French pastoral novel, Les bergeries de Juliette (1588). All of his three plays show marked traces of influence of the Spanish romance; in all, especially the two later, there is a considerable element of magic inspired by the character of "the wise Felicia."[60]

(continued) some years. Pavillon's words might have been intended to add merit to the book at Court, or he might have echoed an opinion. Lopez Estrada doubts the veracity of this comment: "It is strange," he says, "that the historians mentioned on page xxxiv (Prologue), do not make reference to this fact when referring to Diana." See López Estrada, op. cit., p. xxxiv.

[59]Ibid., p. 279.

[60]Tilley, op. cit., p. 116.

But the most famous disciple of Jorge de Montemayor was Honoré D'Urfeé, an important contributor to the literature of his country as well as a prominent member of its society. His main work, l'Astree, was published in five parts, from 1610 to 1627. L'Astree is regarded as a close imitation of Diana as adapted to the French taste, but still keeping the fable frame, the general inspiration, and the main episodes. Even the initial explanation of the work's title is borrowed from the Spanish original:

> . . . oú par plusiers plaisantes histoires déguiseés sons noms et style de bergers et bergeres sont décrits les variables et étranges effets de l'honnéte amour.

Montemayor's introduction:

> . . . hallarán muy diversas historias de cosas que verdaderamente han sucedido, aunque van disfrazadas bajo el hábito pastoril.[61]

D'Urfeé wrote Sireine before his first part of l'Astree. This poem was composed from 1596 to 1599. Its resemblance to Diana led Walther Fischer to exclaim: "But D'Urfeé's imitation is not confined to general similarities in plot and characters.

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[61] Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 282. This work was highly praised by Mme. de Sevigne, by La Fontaine, by Fenelon, and by other writers of a more severe and classical taste. Bossuet borrowed phrases from l'Astree for his eulogy of Saint Bernard, as Corneille borrowed from Cid. L'Astree is the story of the loves of Honoré D'Urfeé and Diana de Chateaubriand. Brunetiere compared L'Astree's influence in France with that of Don Quijote in Spain: ". . . it gave a crushing blow to novels of chivalry." Only Racine was able to surpass D'Urfeé in writing about matters of love. See also, Tilley, op. cit., p. 52.

In certain instances he even goes as far as to directly translate the Spanish model. . . ."[62]

Montemayor's influence on French literature did not end with the seventeenth-century pastorals; it survives in _Le Berger Extravagant_ (1639), an imitation of _Don Quijote_, and it continues in the idylls of Segrais, Mme. Des Holieres, and Fontanelle.[63]

In the eighteenth century, Montemayor's influence reached Florian. It is patent in the latter's _Galatea_, an imitation of Cervantes' own pastoral, and in his _Stelle_ which Florian wrote on the threshold of the French Revolution. _Stelle_ is very much influenced by _Diana_. Its author himself declares: "He meditado mucho a Montemayor y confieso con agradecimiento que _Stelle_ le debe mucho."[64]

One has omitted the following editions from chronological order because of a special grouping that they deserve; _e.g._,

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[62] Fischer, _op. cit._, pp. 166-168. Fischer regards _Sireine_ as an imitation of _Diana_: ". . . it is not only confined to general similarities in plot and characters, but, in certain instances, he even goes as far as to directly translate the Spanish model": "El sol por ser sobre tarde / Con su fuego no le ofende, / Mas el que amor depende / Y en el su corazon arde / Mayores llamas incende. / Alors le Soleil qui baissoit / Le Berger guere n'offensoit: / Mais d'Amour la chaleur plus forte / Viuante au milieu de son coeur / Par un beau soleil son vaincoeur / Le Brusloit bien d'une autre sorte."

[63] Menéndez y Pelayo, _op. cit._, p. 284.

[64] _Loc. cit._

the Paris 1603, 1611, 1612, and four 1613 editions are bilingual (French-Spanish).[65] For many years, they were used for the teaching of the Spanish language.[66]

Montemayor's impact upon the literature of Renaissance England was enormous. Sir Philip Sidney imitated Diana in his Arcadia (1590).[67] Even though the title reminds one of Sannazaro's work, Sidney seems to have followed Diana more closely.[68] At any rate, the construction in Sidney's Arcadia tends to use long absolutes as an imitation of the Latin ablative absolute, and to make the sentence a cluster of related clauses:

> But then, Demagoras assuring himself, that now Parthenia was her own, she would never be his, and receiving as much by her own determinate answere, not more desiring his own happiness, envying Argalus, whom he saw with narrow eyes, even ready to enjoy the perfection of his desires; strengthening his conceite with all the mischievous counsels which disdained love, and envious pride could give unto him; the wicked wretch (taking a time that Argalus was gone to his country, to fetch some of his principal friends to honor the marriage, which Parthenia had most joyfully consented unto), the wicked Demagoras (I say) desiring to speak with her, with unmerciful force (her weak arms in vain resisting), rubbed all over her face a most horrible poison: the effect whereof was such that never leper looked more ugly than she did: which done,

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[65] López Estrada, op. cit., pp. lxxxiii-lxxxiv.

[66] Diego Marín, Literatura Española, I, 200.

[67] Bullough, op. cit., p. 207.

[68] Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 285.

> Having his men and horses ready, departed away in spite of her servants, as ready to revenge as they could be, in such an unexpected mischief.[69]

There are two eclogues in the works of Barnaby Googe (1563), which are but adaptations in verse of two long passages of Diana: the story of Felismena in Book II, and the scene of the shepherds Sylvano, Sireno and Selvagia, in Book I.[70]

The mixture of pastoral with mythological elements is only natural, both being taken from classical sources; and is in fact, to be found in nearly all pastoral drama. The mixture of pastoral with native comic characters is, perhaps, more distinctively an English development. To some extent, this mixture was anticipated in Spenser's and Barclay's eclogues. Pastoral poetry anticipated the pastoral drama in the introduction of contemporary satire.[71]

Pastoralism was certainly popular in the literature of England: Daniel, Fletcher, Peele, Lyly, Sidney, and Spenser cultivated it. The pastoral plays of Lyly, Peele, and Daniel were court entertainments; some of them, doubtless, suggested Shakespeare's burlesque in the pageants of Holofernes and Bottom, the weaver; some of them with their songs and fairies may possibly have suggested A Midsummer Night's Dream.[72]

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[69] Margaret Schlauch, The Gift of Tongues, p. 217.

[70] Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 284.

[71] Ashley H. Thorndike, "The Pastoral Element in the English Drama before 1605," MLN, XIV (April, 1899), 118.

[72] Ibid., p. 115.

The extent of the influence of Montemayor's Diana on Sidney's Arcadia has already been discussed, and Shakespeare's indebtedness to Diana seems to be an indisputable fact. One also wonders whether some of Spenser's work might have been under this influence. Hughes in Virgil and Spenser seeks to measure the actual debt of Spenser to Virgil and to indicate how far Spenser, as pastoral and epic poet respectively, shared his discipleship between the Roman poet and Italian and French poets and critics of the Renaissance. For Spenser, says Hughes, ". . . was almost indiscriminately hospitable to all literary influences."[73] But Harrison says that extant studies of the sources of Spenser's pastorals indicate that his acquaintance with the classical pastoral was due to French and Italian intermediaries rather than directly to Virgil. According to Harrison, Spenser's absolute sources were Marot, Theocritus, and Sannazaro.[74] The source of Montemayor's Diana was the Arcadia of Sannazaro. Since Montemayor's work became a model in the pastoral genre and influenced the literatures of Spain, France, and England, one thinks it is likely that it may have influenced some of Spenser's works, especially The Shepherd's Calendar and The Faerie Queene.

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[73] Merritt Y. Hughes, "Virgil and Spenser," University of California Publications in English, XXV (March, 1930), 328.

[74] T. P. Harrison, "Spenser and the Pastoral Elegy," Texas Studies in English, XIII (June, 1933), 36-42.

In 1583, Bartholomew Young completed his translation of all three *Dianas* (Montemayor's, Alonso Pérez', and Gil Polo's), but he did not publish it until 1598. This translation is the one that Shakespeare used as a source for the story of Julia and Proteus (Felix and Felismena in the *Diana*) in his play, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*.[75]

[75] Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, pp. 286-287.

CHAPTER III

THE MEANING OF DIANA

Los Siete Libros de la Diana, the most famous work of Jorge de Montemayor, so merges into the author's attitudes, moods, and feelings that it is necessary to mention briefly the relevant passages of his life. He was of Jewish extraction,[76] born around 1520; and, because of poverty, he left his place of birth, Montemor o Velho near Coimbra.[77] He went to Spain, where he earned a living as a musician and singer and remained at Court until 1552, returning to Portugal with the Infanta Ioana on the occasion of her marriage to the Infante Joao. Eventually, he returned to Spain; and later, he may have gone with Felipe II to England and served as a soldier in Holland and Italy. Finally, he died in a duel over a question of love in Turin, Piamonte, in 1561.[78]

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[76] Jorge de Montemayor, Los Siete Libros de la Diana, ed. Francisco López Estrada (Madrid, 1946), pp. viii-ix. Many believed he was Jewish. Some contemporaries attacked him on his ancestry; among these, Juan de Alcalá, who composed some mock verses for a Spanish troubador competition. See Luis Zapata, Miscelánea.

[77] Diez-Echarri, Historia de la Literatura Española e Hispanoamericana, p. 240. Montemayor's date of birth is uncertain. He is supposed to have left Portugal after he obtained his primary education. It has not been verified whether he went to Spain as a member of the entourage of Infanta Doña María, first wife of Felipe II.

[78] Ibid., pp. 240-241. Montemayor sang in the chapel choir of Infanta Doña María. When the Infanta died, he served Infanta Doña Juana.

Montemayor was one of the various Portuguese authors who wrote in Spanish in the sixteenth century.[79] He achieved great relevance in a courtly and aristocratic literary media that conveys the Renaissance gallantry so indigenous to his work. He was an excellent poet and one of the most elegant prose writers of his time; and his verse and prose alternate and fuse in his most important work, Los Siete Libros de la Diana (1559), considered to be not only a classic, but the first, the best, and supreme expression of the pastoral novel in Spain.[80] Montemayor's models were Italian. Scholars have shown that he drew from several Italian works, especially from Sannazaro's Arcadia.[81] Here, the blending of prose and verse is Sannazaro's, but it is in Montemayor's hands that the genre is defined and, as such, passed on to other literatures.[82]

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[79]Montemayor, op. cit., p. ix. Montemayor's decision to abandon Portugal was not welcomed by the Portuguese. In the first edition of Diana in Lisboa, the following was printed: "Prohibirãose em Portugal as obras de Iorge de Monte Mayor parece que em castigo de dar a Reynos estranhos o que devia a este donde nascera. . . ."

[80]Menéndez y Pelayo, Orígenes de la Novela, II, 271. Montemayor owes most of his fame to his own style. His imitation of the Italians is little; including Sannazaro, from whom he copies the mixed form of verse and prose. In Sannazaro's work the descriptive tendency predominates; in Montemayor's, the sentimental.

[81]Ibid., p. 270. Montemayor's Diana differs from Sannazaro's Arcadia basically in the spirit of ancient classicism absent in Diana. Montemayor's humanistic background was known to be limited.

[82]Ibid., p. 271.

Diana is a pastoral novel; it has most of the conventional ingredients: *e.g.*, cross-related stories of unrequited love among shepherds whose names sometimes conceal real passions; subtle concepts of a highly involved erotic idealism; sublimated landscapes of fountains, rivers, woods, where nymphs and other rustic deities dwell--all of these feelings of soul and nature Montemayor produces within his unique rhythmical and lyric prose. For the modern reader, this genre may seem monotonous and artificial, but still there are some beautiful descriptive passages within. The pastoral novel as a whole is a living testimony of the typical Renaissance way of understanding life; *i.e.*, ideal patterns of behavior are sought for through an exaltation of beauty. The pastoral novel, furthermore, within its conventionalism, initiates an analysis of feelings. Hence, Del Río believes that this genre should be considered among the remote antecedents of the psychological novel.[83]

The action of Montemayor's *Diana*, whose prose Menéndez y Pelayo calls *tersa*, *suave*, *melódica*, and *expresiva*, takes place on the banks of the Esla River in León.[84] Diana is the most beautiful of shepherdesses. She and Sireno are in love; the

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[83]Del Río, *Antología General de la Literatura Española*, p. 420. See also, T. Anthony Perry, "Ideal Love and Human Reality in Montemayor's *La Diana*," *PMLA*, LXXXIV (March, 1969), 227.

[84]Menéndez y Pelayo, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

shepherd, Sylvano, whom Diana dislikes, also loves her. Sireno goes away, and, in time, Diana marries the shepherd, Delio, forgetting her former love. Sireno, however, returns, and both he and Diana are very unhappy because of their reawakened, unrequited love. Selvagia is also a beautiful shepherdess, who is loved by Sylvano, once he has been able to forget Diana. Hence, Selvagia's passage constitutes a pivotal episode in Book I of Diana. Her many loves, together with those of other shepherds and shepherdesses, help to integrate the well-linked chain of lovers: Alanio, Ismenia, Montano, and Selvagia herself.[85]

A pilgrimage to the Temple of Diana to see the wise Felicia has already commenced in Book I. Thereafter, shepherds and shepherdesses continue their journey and are joined by others also on their way to the Temple. Felismena is the protagonist of the next episode. One day, in the woods, savages attack the three nymphs, Cinthia, Polydora, and Dorida, who wander about proclaiming their entailment to Diana. Felismena, the shepherdess, very skilled in archery, then makes her appearance to fight the savages, and through her victory, the nymphs become indebted to her. Felismena tells the nymphs the story of her love for Felix and of her adventures while pursuing him (Diana, Book II).

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[85]Montemayor, op. cit., p. 52.

The episode of Felix and Felismena in Diana is the most well known; therefore, the importance accorded Montemayor's Diana is usually a reflection of this tale. Since this narrative is pertinent to a discussion of Diana when linked with Shakespeare's The Two Gentlemen of Verona, one leaves the details of this particular plot for later presentation. It is in Book II that one detects Montemayor's introduction of two elements highly relevant to the whole meaning of his novel: fortune and time. It soon becomes clear that the author wants his reader to identify the Temple of Diana with these two abstractions.

The engrossed shepherds continue advancing towards the Temple of Diana. They are all seeking a remedy for their malady of love. En route, they encounter Belisa, described as very beautiful, and attention is called to her hair. Her predicament involves sadness, intrigue, and witchcraft. She is loved by Arsenio, but Belisa loves Arsileo, Arsenio's son. The episode hinges on the supposed murder of the son by the father, found in Book III of Diana.

In Book IV, the pilgrims arrive at the Temple of Diana. Here, an elaborate description of the Temple follows. The shepherds are welcomed by the nymphs, and the action is curtailed to give way to another pastoral convention--the singing contest. Both the nymphs and the shepherds play musical instruments and sing out their misfortunes in matters of love.

The controlling symbol in this episode is that of chastity, inscribed in the Temple of Diana:

> Quien entra, mire bien cómo a bivido
> Y el don de castidad, si le ha guardado
> Y la que quiere bien o lo a querido
> Mire si a causa de otro se ha mudado.
> Y si la fe primera no ha perdido
> Y aquel primer amor a conservado
> Entrar puede en el templo de Diana
> Cuya virtud y gracia es sobrehumana.[86]

Book IV is very important to Diana. It contains in verse the Canto de Orfeo, Montemayor's praise of the ladies of Court, an historical recounting of notable deeds of great men of Spain; a famous parallel between love and reason; and the historical short novel of the Abindarraez and Jarifa to which reference will be made in discussing the various Spanish editions of Diana. (The real Diana of the novel does not appear until the second part of Book V, and it is significant that she does not participate in the ceremonies at the Temple of Diana.) On the narrative level, it is no accident that the problems presented in the pastoral's beginning (Books I-III) are resolved in the more purely historical sections (Books V-VII), the two being held in perfect balance and joined by the pivotal Book IV, Felicia's Temple of Diana. The ending is well known. Felicia's magic water puts the shepherds to sleep and changes their respective affections: Sireno no longer desires Diana, Sylvano loves Selvagia, Felismena is reunited

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[86] Ibid., p. 165.

with Felix, and Belisa and Arsileo overcome their difficulties.

This resume of the plot has emphasized the narrative facts, passages, and happenings that serve as a framework to the study of the novel and to its interpretation. For convenience in interpretation, the important aspects of the novel will hereafter be discussed under appropriate sub-headings of love, setting, natural setting, God's love for His children, parental love, love for the fatherland, love for the land, friendly love, man-woman love, and supernatural setting.

Love. Lope de Vega identifies Diana as real, as a woman who had great beauty, who lived at León, and who was very much loved by Montemayor. Evidence indicates that her real name was Ana, but there is no record of her marriage or any explanation of what caused the separation of the lovers.[87] Montemayor is often identified as Sireno, the shepherd, who does not stop loving Diana.[88] From the very first pages to the end of the novel, love takes on many forms: God's love for His children, parental love, love for the fatherland, love for the land, friendly love, and man-woman love. All of these forms of "pure" love are intermingled with the homosexual overtones so typical of Vergil's Eclogues.[89] A case of lesbianism is

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[87] Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 248. See also, Lope de Vega, Dorotea, I.ii.

[88] Montemayor, op. cit., p. xiv.

[89] Bruce W. Wardropper, "The Diana of Montemayor: Re-Evaluation and Interpretation," SP, XLVIII (April, 1951), 138.

also quite clear in the novel, in spite of the author's efforts to pretend that there was a "confusion." The suspicion, nevertheless, remains in the minds of readers. Also, suspicion arises as to the identity of the savages who attack the nymphs. No matter what interpretation is made of these creatures, it is obvious that they do not stand for any form of pure love.

Setting. Montemayor forewarns the reader in his synopsis of Book I, as follows:

> Y de aquí comienza el primero libro y en los demás hallarán muy diversas hystorias, de casos que verdaderamente an sucedido, aunque van disfracados debajo de nombres y estilo pastoril.[90]

These lines are a curious example of the blending of myth and reality. Perry uses a similar approach in his study of *Diana*, claiming that the very title of the book is misleading. He also wonders to which Diana the title refers--to the goddess or to Sireno's beloved.[91] In one's opinion, Montemayor fuses the real Diana with the mythical being to provide for the transition of love from the natural to the supernatural setting.

Natural Setting. One must also consider some forms of love in the natural setting. Characteristic of this setting are the following media used by Montemayor to convey his

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[90] Montemayor, *op. cit.*, p. 7. The concept of *disfraz* is Montemayor's. The quotation referred to in this footnote is taken from the *Argumento*.

[91] Perry, *op. cit.*, p. 228. See also, Américo Castro, *El Pensamiento de Cervantes*, pp. 29-30.

meaning: travel, clothes, music, and time. Since time transcends in the novel, one will consider it as befitting both worlds, the real and the unreal.

God's love for His children. This love is expressed throughout Diana. The Shepherd and His flock are a constant that is permitted to remain so because of the pastoral character of the novel. Although Diana has not been regarded as a religious book by many, some, like Francisco López Estrada, believe that, from the narrative struggle between good and evil, there emerges a spiritual love symbolic of religiosity. He believes that ". . . the predominance of the spiritual over the natural is appropriate to make life a trend to the ascension toward perfection."[92] In Book III of Diana there is a letter written by Arsenio and addressed to Belisa. It is written in verse. In line 21, the word, circumstance, is mentioned. According to López Estrada, this word has its genesis in the ecclesiastical language referred to in the Partidas.[93] Montemayor's use of this word is regarded as the poet's cultural effort in Diana. It is typical of the Spanish medieval

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[92]Montemayor, op. cit., p. xxxviii. See also, Wardropper, op. cit., p. 130.

[93]Del Río, op. cit., p. 52. Las Siete Partidas (1256-1276) is the broadest of any of the collections made of the laws under the direction of Alfonso el Sabio, king of Spain. It is the most important compilation of law of the Middle Ages, a reflection of the life and ideas of the era, and it contains immense linguistic value, for it presents, for the first time, prose written in literary style.

lexicon. Furthermore, circumstance is invested with another significance: the Platonic. Thus, in Diana, the religious sense of the word is discovered first, followed by the Platonic.[94]

Parental love. Felix' father hears of the love between his son and Felismena and decides to send his son, Felix, away. This fatherly love, in one's opinion, gives way to Felix' initiation in life and in love. To develop this idea of initiation, Montemayor employs the travel motif. Don Felix is sent by his father to the Princess Augusta Cesarina's Court. The journey takes twenty days. Felix, not yet out of his "mocedad," is sent to the far distant court, not to waste his youth at home, ". . . donde no se podian aprender sino los vicios de que la ociosidad es maestra."[95] The reasoning, here, is typically Renaissance-Humanist. In sharp contrast to this early Felix is the later, sophisticated Felix when observed among the courtiers in the court of the Princess Augusta Cesarina. This Felix is revealed with striking suddenness when Felismena, one night, hears the unfaithful Felix serenading another lady with an Italianate sonnet.[96] In an unusually

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[94] Montemayor, op. cit., pp. 142-143. See also, Juan B. Avalle-Arce, "The Diana of Montemayor," PMLA, LXXIV (March, 1959), 4.

[95] Ibid., p. 104.

[96] O. J. Campbell, "The Two Gentlemen of Verona and Italian Comedy," Studies in Shakespeare, Milton and Donne, University of Michigan Publications, I (1925), 53.

detailed passage, Montemayor describes the clothes, so that in this changed Felix two traits stand out: interest in sonneteering and concern with fashionable dress. A third trait must be added to these--that of inconstancy. Closer examination of Felix' initiation in love reveals Montemayor's use of all four mentioned motifs: travel, clothes, music, and "real" time. One must not forget that the travel motif permeates Diana. It is Montemayor's plan to expose the shepherds' love troubles.

Love for the fatherland. Although Jorge de Montemayor was born in Portugal, went to Spain, became famous writing in Spanish, and died in Italy, he never forgot his native land. His famous expression, "Soledad tengo de tí, ¡oh, tierra donde nací!" depicts the sadness in his soul.[97] These words he said when reminiscing on the Mondego River, the scenery of his childhood. When Menéndez y Pelayo comments on the later years of the poet, he says that Montemayor became tired of courtly life and sought peace in the country.[98] Sireno also has the feeling of saudade. This Portuguese term is difficult to interpret; it can mean loneliness, solitude, yearning. Sireno's soul, after he had drunk Felicia's magic water, turned empty, astray. He felt only soledad. Complicated as it may seem, this sense of solitude may be well described as the consciousness

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[97] Montemayor, op. cit., p. xxxii.

[98] Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 254.

that holds the novel together. Book VI is filled with this spiritual state; it grows by degrees, depending on the episodes: the shepherds' conversation, the meeting of Sireno with the dog and the flock, the sung commentary, the improvised request, and the abrupt ending. Book VII is most interesting in respect to the poet's saudade. When he feels really lonely and the yearning for his country is great, his verses are written in Portuguese.

Love for the land. In the novel, the land symbolizes fertility. Here, the poet hints at the topic of Beatus ille.[99] But most of all, the land stands for nature. Nature praises the fertility of the land. In the Arcadia, nature is exalted in opposition to the city:

> Y mucho más por los solitarios bosques, silvestres paxaritos, sobre los verdes ramos cantando a quien los escucha a plazer, que por las pobladas cibdades de dentro de las hermosas y compuestas jaulas, aplazen los ensenados.[100]

Love interfering with idyllic life gives vitality to the background. For the man in love, nature ceases to be neutral and disinterested. Instead, nature participates in his love. Nature is the birthplace of the shepherd; it is his mother. There is a compenetration of nature and the lover. Thus, man

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[99] Montemayor, op. cit., p. xlix. "Beatus Ille qui procul negotiis." Words said by Horace: "Blessed that who lives away from business." This poet describes a most seductive picture of life in the country.

[100] Loc. cit.

contributes to nature as much as nature helps man:

> ¿Quíen pensais que haze crecer la verde yerba desta isla y acrecentar las aguas que la cercan sino mis lágrimas? ¿Quíen pensaís que menea los árboles deste hermoso valle sino la vos de mis sospiros tristes que inflando el ayre, hazen aquello que él por sí no haría?[101]

The pastoral background is naturalistic. In Diana, Montemayor blends nature with pure love. He enhances the virginal state throughout the novel with the intention of creating the proper poetic environment for virtuous love. All that represents impure love is banished or cruelly eliminated; the savages assailing the nymphs die in statue-like poses before they achieve their objective. The result of all these forces gravitating in Montemayor's work identifies Diana with one of the most rooted principles of the Spanish poetic sense: dramatization, not only of the characters, but of the feelings themselves. This trend sometimes makes it difficult for the unity and orderly exposition of the narrative.[102]

It is through personification that the dramatic touches one's senses: the exchange of opinions and the visible movement of the conversation give way to the mutual shaping of feelings and ideas. To achieve this effect, Montemayor uses dialogue, that is "the flight of words from lips to lips." This technique is not merely Montemayor's; it is also found in the Cantares, Romances, and is typical of La Celestina, wherein

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[101] Ibid., pp. 133-134.

[102] Ibid., p. lii.

the characters organize their vision of the world in broad parallel conceptions. Diana is situated halfway between the Celestina and the Quijote, for it is a good example of what certain novelists were striving for in the middle of the sixteenth century. Together with the dramatization of characters and feelings, another feature runs parallel: the notably psychological profundity attained through Montemayor's careful analysis of love and the attitudes of the soul.[103]

The shepherds' world, then, provides the backdrop for this analysis. The shepherds are lovers in the ideal world of love; they were born in the country, nature is their native environment; here, they love in their natural surroundings, not in an exotic, imaginary world.

Friendly love. This expression of love is represented in Diana by the shepherds, Sireno and Sylvano. They both love Diana, but she loves Sireno. Book I of Diana comprises a beautiful story of selflessness, sacrifice, faithfulness, and real friendship, all of which traits are manifest in Sylvano, the shepherd.

Sireno has to go on a trip. When he returns, he finds that Diana has married Delio, an older, unsuitable, but rich man. Bewildered by Diana's decision, Sireno goes to the fountain where they used to meet and love, to reminisce. Here, he

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[103] Ibid., p. liii.

contemplates some curls from Diana's hair and the green ribbon that she wore. He reads many times Diana's letter to him--in which she claims she still loves him and that there is nothing she would not do for him ". . . as long as it does not stain her honor."[104] This letter contains another pastoral motif: the theme of obedience to parents, Diana's excuse for having married Delio.[105]

While Sireno is reminiscing, Sylvano approaches the fountain and starts the conversation that leads to the discovery of the latter's capability for selflessness. The dialogue is musical; the background is musical. Montemayor was well aware of this effect; musical instruments of the time are played by the shepherds--they sing out about their misfortunes in love. Thus, the musical background sets the tone: the lovers tend, in view of the unreasonableness, to complain more against love itself than against the beloved.[106] Sylvano is a

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[104] Ibid., p. 30. Love must not be blamed for unhappiness caused by fortune. Fortune, in a sense, militates against the natural order of love. Diana's husband, ". . . aunque es rico de los bienes de fortuna, no lo es de los de naturaleza."

[105] Ibid., p. 284. The two Portuguese shepherds, Danteo and Duarda, had the same problem that Sireno and Diana faced before the latter's marriage. Danteo urged his beloved to marry him " a hurto de tus padres," yet he later proved untrue to his love, since he married another shepherdess at his father's command. In both cases of forced marriage Montemayor left the final solution for his projected second part of Diana.

[106] Wardropper, op. cit., p. 137. The suffering is produced by the unreasonable nature of love; it consists of a yearning for the impossible. It would be more tolerable if love did not give the lover the hope that the "bien imposible" could be attained.

true friend. No matter how much he loves Diana, he never envies nor resents Sireno; on the contrary, his love extends to Sireno, because he is Diana's love. Sylvano is capable of the ultimate detachment:

> ¡Ay, Sireno, causa de mi desventura o del poco remedio della!; nunca Dios quiera que yo de la tuya reciba venganza que cuando muy a mi salvo pudiesse hazello no permitiría el amor que a mi señora Diana tengo, que yo fuese contra aquel en quien ella con tanta voluntad lo puso.

One of the few direct mentions of God in Diana is found, here. It seems that Montemayor wished to identify Sylvano's love with heavenly love, when he has the shepherd say, "Pensar deves, Sireno, que te quería yo mal porque Dios te quería bien? ¿Y que los favores que ella te hazía, eran parte para que yo te desamasse?"[107]

There is no jealousy between the shepherds; instead, there is understanding and conformity. Sylvano tells Sireno what has happened during his absence, and how he went to the fountain and saw Diana cry in her solitude. The theme of solitude, so relevant in Diana, is exploited in this passage for the first time, centered around "mal de ausencia."[108] The comment on absence engendering forgetfulness is strongly mingled

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[107]Montemayor, op. cit., p. 19.

[108]Wardropper, op. cit., p. 137. Sylvano, the shepherd, says that "Experience shows that absence defeats love. It weakens the faculty of memory, and memory in its decline drags down with it the other faculties, particularly will."

with time. One must not forget that Diana starts as follows:

> Baxaba de las montañas de León el olvidado Sireno a quien Amor, la fortuna y el tiempo, tratavan de manera que del menor mal que en tan triste vida padecía, no se esperaba menos que perdella. Ya no llorava el desventurado pastor el mal que la ausencia le prometía.

The conversation between the shepherds continues to bring out the best in the shepherds' souls. They make revealing confessions, and when this exchange of thoughts is about to lag, a beautiful shepherdess approaches them. It is Selvagia, who comes to talk about love from the woman's point of view.

Man-woman love. Selvagia is supposed to be skilled in matters of love. She herself acknowledges her experience, "Si yo no fuere, Sireno la más experimentada, seré la más mal tratada que nunca nadie pensó ser. . . ." Montemayor lets her talk to show that the feminine point of view is different. As a matter of fact, the shepherdesses in Diana act and talk far more than the shepherds, and the book is written more from the feminine viewpoint than from the masculine. Clearly, a further purpose of Montemayor's pastoral setting is to permit the study, in ideal conditions, of psychological differences between the sexes.[109]

The protagonists of Diana feel love in a scale of categories, depending upon the place they occupy in society, be it real or mythological. The organization of love in the

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[109] Montemayor, op. cit., p. 39.

novel responds to the Platonic principles as explained by León Hebreo in his Dialoghi d'Amore: the shepherds always respond to virtuous love; it is their ever-present preoccupation.[110] The relations between the sexes are kept pure, not in the Christian sense, but in the Platonic one. Love-making is not an end in itself; the end is marriage.[111] The adulterous and clandestine elements of courtly love are conspicuously absent.[112] All wooing is done in the open, if not in public. Within this set-up, homosexuality is not censured, because it is a result of the Platonic belief that love is caused by the sight of beauty. This belief might have been the reason for the novel's not meeting with the full favor of the Christians, for there are homosexual undertones in Diana.[113] In Book I, there is the episode of Selvagia, Ismenia, Alanio. Selvagia attends religious services to celebrate a festivity. The men are separated from the women; the latter enter the Temple of Minerva, and the shepherds stay outside. An elaborate explanation follows to show that the purpose in this separation was to leave the shepherdesses and the nymphs alone "to rejoice among themselves." Selvagia sits beside a shepherdess whose

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[110] Perry, op. cit., p. 228.

[111] Wardropper, op. cit., p. 138. See Montemayor, op. cit., p. 228.

[112] Loc. cit. This is one of the details in which pastoral love and courtly love differ.

[113] Loc. cit.

beauty ". . . made her miserable throughout the time the memory of her endured." This shepherdess is Ismenia. Selvagia tells of their meeting: "¿Cómo puede ser pastora, que siendo vos tan hermosa, os enamoreís de otra que tanto le falta para serlo, y más siendo mujer como vos?" After a series of mutual confessions, Ismenia tells Selvagia that she is Alanio, a shepherd.[114] Here, this specific passage is too elaborated, the dialogue too revealing to be just a joke or an insinuation. It is quite clear that Selvagia did not reject Ismenia's advances. In Book II, there is a similar episode, and this time the disguise is real. It happens in the Felix-Felismena story. Celia is attracted to Felismena, when she is disguised as Felix' page. Interpretation of lesbianism, here, is not so obvious as in the Selvagia-Ismenia affair.[115] Montemayor, however, insists on this matter, for at the end of the novel, in Book VII, Armia, a Portuguese shepherdess, falls in love with Duarda. In another episode, Felismena's brother was taken to the court of the king of Portugal, and the king became so fond of the boy that he never allowed him to go away.[116]

In contrast with the praise of beauty is the ugliness in the much discussed episode of the savages' attacking the

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[114] Montemayor, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 41-44.

[115] <u>Ibid</u>., pp. 118-119.

[116] <u>Ibid</u>., p. 100.

nymphs. This is not the first time, however, that the Platonic order of love has broken down in Diana. A group of shepherds and shepherdesses are singing and playing musical instruments near a fountain, when Selvagia's verses insinuate a not so pure desire, ". . . pues vengo a poner la vida en las manos del desseo."[117] Hence, the episode of the savages is Montemayor's way of dooming impure love. It is his reaffirmation of the pastoral convention of which chastity is one of its most important pillars. It is also the reaffirmation of the Platonic character that frames the novel, and of his fidelity to León Hebreo. The savages are the negation of beauty: their looks, dress and attitudes depict the ugliness of their souls and of their intentions. On the other hand, the nymphs have great beauty, are richly dressed, and carry musical instruments instead of weapons. Such contrast can only mean that in the pastoral world there is no place for low passions. Obviously, the savages had to be eliminated with the same violence with which they assailed the nymphs. Juan B. Avalle-Arce has a similar interpretation, seeing Platonic love as the foundation of universal harmony. Therefore, any transgression against love is also a transgression against universal harmony. In Diana, the savages resort to force, trying to assuage their bestial impulses; consequently, they break the harmony. Being guilty of the greatest possible crime, they will have to atone

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[117] Ibid., p. 60.

for it with the ultimate penalty. Then, "their death will be a holocaust to Neoplatonic doctrines."[118]

<u>The supernatural setting</u>. This device is represented by the Temple of Diana, her priestess, Felicia, and the nymphs themselves. In Book I, Selvagia's story is of pastoral love. Felismena's (Book II) is of city love, and Belisa's (Book III) is of village love. In the central, pivotal Book IV, the themes of Books I-III are transposed to a new key, as scenic description is replaced by the supernatural. In Book IV, the novel enters the fantastic world presided over by the sage Felicia. In this passage, Montemayor excels in his creation and description of an enchanted place: a fairy-tale pálace overcrowded with marble, precious metals, cloth, stones; bejeweled statues and fountains of flawless craftmanship, celestial music, and ethereal creatures roaming the huge salons. This environment Montemayor elaborates in sharp contrast to the pastoral device, and it is obvious that he is going to transpose worlds.[119] He is also going to transcend love, fortune, and time. For a "moment" the unreal world is going to exclude the real one: the love problems of the pastoral nature will be resolved only in the mythical one. The real Diana is also

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[118]Avalle-Arce, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., pp. 3-4. He explains Montemayor's choice of savages at this point in <u>Diana</u>: from the moment the savages are identified as such the Renaissance reader expects an imminent act of erotic violence.

[119]Perry, <u>op</u>. <u>cit</u>., p. 228.

going to transcend, so to speak. Diana, the goddess of Chastity, will banish the real Diana from her realm, for she sinned against pure love.

Montemayor must have been conscious of the time element when he envisioned a happy ending for Diana. He knew that "time" would heal wounded feelings; that others would be born to replace the old. He also knew that time is slow in the pastoral pace, and he needed to accelerate happenings. Perhaps the novel would have ended differently had Montemayor not been impatient and had he not resorted to the magic water device.[120]

From Book V to the end, Montemayor's narrative technique changes. The thread is subdivided into parallel strands, since the answer to each personal erotic case has been given, and the shepherds make haste to find the preferred solutions. The author's interest is concentrated upon the actions and reactions of each of his characters after the "agua encantada," or the supernatural world.[121]

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[120] Montemayor, op. cit., pp. 23, 69, 203. Time is constantly mentioned in relation to love. Sylvano tells Sireno, ". . . que puesto caso que yo sabía ser el tiempo un médico muy apropiado para el mal que la ausencia suele causar. . . ." (p. 23) Sylvano tells Selvagia, ". . . aora te digo--dixo Sylvano, muy admirado--que amor que está sujeto al tiempo y a la fortuna, no puede ser tanto que de trabajo a quien lo padece." (p. 69) Felicia tells Belisa, ". . . no sería pequeña crueldad poner yo el remedio de quien tanto lo a menester, en manos de medio tan espacioso como es el tiempo." (p. 203)

[121] The magic water has performed its miracle: Selvagia and Sylvano are in love, and Sireno has forgotten Diana. On page 269 of the novel Montemayor wrote a beautiful passage on Sireno's "soledad." When Sireno stops loving Diana, her sheep frolic around him to recall him to his destiny.

Montemayor has depicted village life, courtly life, and a segment of Portuguese life throughout the action in Diana and through the inserted anecdotes of the shepherds who never leave the pastoral setting. However, the shepherds remain immersed in their pastoral world while other characters evoke other worlds, but at the end of the novel, the reader feels himself out of the supernatural world. According to Avalle-Arce, Montemayor has built up this feeling by following Felismena, a "historical" character in the Aristotelian sense.[122] One agrees with this writer's point of view and with others, as well. For example, there is a certain point in the novel in which one begins to be aware of Montemayor's departure from the pure forms of the pastoral pattern, when he incorporates into his narrative other elements alien to the genre, as if he were trying to integrate the pastoral world with other spheres of life--to broaden the novelistic perspective, at the expense of breaking the rules established by his contemporaries in literary criticism.[123]

Montemayor succeeded where other writers had failed; he created a type of novel, in which love, as felt by the courtiers, was his only inspiration.[124] Since Diana depicted

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[122] Avalle-Arce, op. cit., p. 5.

[123] Loc. cit.

[124] Menéndez y Pelayo, op. cit., p. 267.

the ideas and customs of the society of the time, the novel had significant historical and social value.[125] Its style was most suitable to express a feeling about existence, endurance, and unfolding of emotion. Montemayor's choice of the pastoral background was particularly useful in his study of the complex emotion of love, and his ability to mix prose and poetry in narrative established Diana as a landmark in European fiction, for it long continued to exert a powerful influence upon later writers and their works.

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[125] López Estrada, *op. cit.*, p. xxxvii.

CHAPTER IV

SHAKESPEARE'S USE OF *DIANA*

The question of what Shakespeare had in mind when he wrote *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* is difficult to answer, but it is one that inevitably resolves itself into a reconstruction of the materials with which he worked, the dramatic problems with which he had to deal, and the means whereby he sought to meet contemporary dramatic tastes. For such a reconsturction, modern scholarship has provided an abundance of information about both the theatrical practices and intellectual interests of the time, in addition to a knowledge of Shakespeare's habits as a craftsman. In the application of this kind of knowledge, two principles are fundamental. First, *The Two Gentlemen of Verona* must not be viewed in isolation, but rather in close conjunction with its theatrical environment. Secondly, Shakespeare must be recognized as primarily a practical playwright, a business man of the theater, with obligations to fulfill, specific theatrical conditions to meet, and an audience to divert.

Scholars have shown that the pastoral element in Elizabethan entertainments and shows was not uncommon upon the London stage.[126] Indeed, pastoralism was especially popular

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[126] It is a pleasure to record here one's debt to Professor Ashley H. Thorndike, apparent though it must be. His article was mentioned wherever one looked for material on the

in a good portion of the literature of the day and played a considerable part in theatrical productions, even when works were not pastoral in theme or character.[127] Pastoral drama originated and developed in England much in the same way that pastoral drama originated and developed in Italy, that is, through the medium of public pageants in honor of noble families. In Italy, the cradle of the genre, it had developed from the eclogue, and a similar process has been suggested for England.[128]

The pastoral idea, in general, was the product of a fashionable cult of the court: and the pastoral plays of Lyly, Peele, and Daniel were initially court entertainments.[129] An

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(continued) pastoral element in the English drama before 1605. The professor himself says that "the evidence of a pastoral element in entertainments and shows presented to the queen, has for the most part not been presented before." See Thorndike, _op. cit._, p. 115.

[127]It is well known that on the Progresses of the Queen the village schoolmaster, or some equally self-important local functionary often prepared a show; sometimes a court favorite like Gascoigne, or a great gentleman like Sidney, devised the entertainments. See Thorndike, _op. cit._, pp. 115-117. Also Campbell, _op. cit._, p. 17.

[128]The extent and character of Italian influence on the early English pastoral drama is investigated by Professor Thorndike: "While the existence of such Italian influence is undoubted, the existence of a characteristic English development apart from foreign influence is equally to be expected." See Thorndike, _op. cit._, p. 116.

[129]Most accounts of the English pastoral drama have begun with Fletcher's _Faithful Shepherdess_ or Daniel's _Queen's Arcadia_. There have been some references, of course, to some of Lyly's plays, Peele's _Arraignment of Paris_ and Sidney's _May Lady_. Daniel and Fletcher introduced the genre already highly developed by Tasso and Guarini. See Thorndike, _op. cit._, p. 114.

examination of these productions presented to Queen Elizabeth reveals the English process of the pastoral. In the beginning, they contained all of the elements proper to classical sources. Later, when the Italian influence was not so strong, English writers made a direct contribution of their own to the evolution of pastoral drama in the harmonious mixture of stock elements with native comic characters.[130] For example, Lyly's _Love's Metamorphosis_ was acted, probably, about 1580, and neither shepherds nor sheep are mentioned.[131] Sometimes, one notes a marked degeneration in the pastoral style, as in _The Maid's Metamorphosis_; here, the pastoral element follows dramatic conventions that were earlier instituted. This anonymous play, acted around 1590, featured disguised shepherdesses.[132]

In 1580, Lyly wrote _Gallathea_, about the sacrifice of a virgin to Neptune. Melibeus and Tyterus are shepherds; Gallathea and Phyllida are their daughters, who assume boys' clothing to avoid the sacrifice.[133] In _As You Like It_,

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[130]Pastoral poetry anticipated the pastoral drama in the introduction of contemporary satire. See Thorndike, _op. cit._, p. 118.

[131]In this play neither shepherds nor sheep are mentioned; however, in content, the play is nearer to the developed pastoral form than any other of Lyly's. See Thorndike, _op. cit._, p. 119.

[132]This play has been attributed to Lyly and is thought by Fleay to have been written by Lyly and Daniel. See Thorndike, _op. cit._, p. 121.

[133]Besides the pastoral story, the play has a large mythological element, a ship-wreck, and a good deal of contemporary satire. See Thorndike, _op. cit._, p. 119.

probably acted in the later half of 1599, Shakespeare's Arden is inhabited by pastoral shepherds and court ladies in pastoral disguise.[134] One recalls that the use of disguise had its origin in Italy in the works of Tasso and Guarini.[135] It became popular in Spain through the Diana of Jorge de Montemayor.[136] Shakespeare obviously was partial to this artifice. For females to disguise themselves as boys may have been suggested by the fact that there were no actresses on the Elizabethan stage; but Shakespeare does not appear to have used this device so frequently merely to simplify the task of his female impersonators. Significantly, the use of disguise enabled him to symbolize one of his favorite themes, the contrast between appearance and reality.[137] This contrast Shakespeare must have found in Diana, for the novel is seen to be so rich in this aspect that some scholars speculate as to whether he

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[134]Arden is a sort of Arcadia, inhabited by pastoral shepherds and court ladies in pastoral disguise. Just as the Shepherd's Calendar and the Faerie Queene, and doubtless Sidney's Arcadia, influenced the stage pastoral, so here a pastoral novel receives dramatization. See Thorndike, op. cit., p. 121.

[135]Thorndike, op. cit., p. 114.

[136]Wardropper, op. cit., p. 131.

[137]Kenneth Muir (ed.), Shakespeare and the Comedies: A Collection of Critical Essays, pp. 2-3. Muir analyzes Shakespeare's comedies; he says that each one of them must be considered as a unique work of art; the differences between any one play and another are more significant than the resemblances; and the only characteristic that all the comedies share is the use of disguise.

made use of Montemayor's work in more than one of his own comedies.[138]

Most scholars agree on the fact that Shakespeare used only the Felix-Felismena story in Diana as a source of The Two Gentlemen of Verona; these scholars go through painstaking explanations and solutions in order to adhere to this source. On the other hand, there are some scholars who disagree with the Felix-Felismena story as the only source, for when they establish parallels either on plot, character, psychological depth, or a series of traits relevant in The Two Gentlemen of Verona, they find that the passage in Diana does not supply enough source material for the play. For both groups of scholars the problems arise when they overlook other stories in Diana which provide many of the elements lacking in the Felix-Felismena story. They fail to see what Shakespeare must have seen: that the content wealth of Diana is not concentrated into the one famous episode, but runs throughout the whole novel.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona has been viewed by most critics as one in which the ancient theme of love versus friendship supersedes that of love between the sexes. Baldwin

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[138]T. P. Harrison, "Shakespeare and Montemayor's Diana," Texas Studies in English, VI (September, 1926), 72. The author suggests that Shakespeare used Diana in making three of his plays: The Two Gentlemen of Verona, A Midsummer Night's Dream, and Twelfth Night.

belongs in this group; also, he believes that the Felix-Felismena episode is the ultimate narrative source of The Two Gentlemen of Verona. He regards this episode as a simple triangle that passes through five stages:

> In the first stage, Felix wins the love of Felismena. In the second stage, the father of Felix sends him "to the great Princesse Augusta Caesarina's court" for further training, but really to prevent his marrying Felismena. Dressed as a man, Felismena follows and finds that Felix is wooing Celia. The triangle is now formed, with Felismena loving Felix, and Felix loving Celia. In the third stage, Felismena, still in disguise, becomes the page of Felix, who sends her with a letter to the unyielding Celia, who falls in love with the "page" Felismena. Now Felismena loves Felix, who loves Celia, who loves Felismena. In the fourth stage, this situation is broken by the death of Celia. In the fifth stage, after many further mishaps, Felix and Felismena are married and hope to live happily ever after.[139]

Baldwin sees that this simple triangle story has been further complicated by Shakespeare by the introduction of the theme of love versus friendship, a complication that demands at least two men to present the conflict between love and friendship. Since the idea of the old theme demanded at least two young men to present the conflict between love and friendship, and Shakespeare's company at the time also apparently required two young men, Shakespeare creates two male characters instead of one: Proteus, false in love and friendship, and his steadfast counterpart, Valentine, who is faithful both to friendship and to love. But this theme also needs a lady on whom to prove

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[139] T. W. Baldwin, Shakespeare's Five-Act Structure, pp. 720-721.

the faithfulness of the young men, Baldwin continues, and he further explains that the Diana passage provides two ladies; therefore, Shakespeare balances the number of men in the play, and names the women, Julia and Silvia. Princess Augusta Cesarina in Diana becomes the Duke of Milan, Silvia's father, and since there is no comic side in Diana, Shakespeare carries over his solution from The Comedy, that is, he provides comic servants to each of the young men.[140] Baldwin summarizes his analysis of the theme, the ultimate source, and the principal characters, and views The Two Gentlemen of Verona within the five-act structure:

> The first stage is still as in the source story merely complicated by the further business necessitated by the changed theme. Here Valentine and Proteus are bosom friends, but Valentine is now leaving to see the world at the court of the Duke of Milan. Proteus will not go along because he loves Julia. Julia loves Proteus and is finally brought to accept his love, but the father of Proteus decides to send him to be educated with Valentine.
>
> The second stage begins with Valentine falling in love with the daughter of the Duke of Milan, Silvia, who reciprocates but is destined by her father to the foolish Sir Thurio. Proteus arrives and also falls in love with Silvia. Valentine confesses to Proteus his love for Silvia and their plans for elopment.
>
> In the third stage, Proteus discovers secretly to the Duke what "The law of friendship bids me to conceal," (III, 1, 5) the plan of Valentine to elope with Silvia. Thereupon Valentine gets banished and Proteus is put in charge of Silvia to woo her from Sir Thurio.
>
> The first scene of the fourth act is taken up with banished Valentine, and forces him into the Robin Hood leadership of a band of outlaws. We then turn to the main story. Proteus and Thurio serenade Silvia, with the disguised Julia for audience, who thence learns the new

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[140] Ibid., p. 721.

> situation as she overhears the pleas of Proteus to unyielding Silvia. Silvia then plans with Sir Eglamour to flee that evening in search of Valentine. Proteus entertains Julia as a page, and sends her for Silvia's picture. Silvia rejects the advances of Proteus, and causes Julia to hope that Proteus may yet be saved to her.
>
> In the fifth stage, Silvia escapes with Sir Eglamour to save Valentine. The Duke, Proteus, Julia, and Sir Thurio pursue. Silvia is captured by Valentine's outlaws, from whom she is taken by Proteus. As Proteus finally attempts to force Silvia to his desire, with Julia standing by and Valentine at first concealed, the latter steps out and accuses this "common friend that's without faith or love." In the next speech, Proteus asks forgiveness, and in the very next it is not only granted, but as the generosity of true friendship, such as that of Valentine, demanded, "All that was mine in Silvia I give thee." This is too much for Julia, who swoons. Her faithfulness is then discovered, and necessarily must be rewarded with Proteus, who vows to be faithless no more. The Duke and Thurio enter. Thurio proves craven, and the Duke gives Silvia to Valentine, whose outlaws are also pardoned. So love has been won for both young men through a return to the friendship which was above love.[141]

Bullough does not share Bladwin's view as to source, but he does share the belief that the main basis of _The Two Gentlemen of Verona_ is the conflict between the duties of friendship and love. He arrives at the conclusion that many sources were used by Shakespeare, but relies heavily on Lyly's _Euphues_. Bullough says, "Shakespeare's debt to Lyly was probably more one of technique than of matter," and that he used _Euphues_, because of Lyly's symmetrical balance of character so common to the latter's plays.[142] Bullough believes that Shakespeare used many elements of _Diana_ in his play, mostly those discussed by

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[141] _Ibid_., pp. 721-726.

[142] Bullough, _op. cit._, p. 204.

the majority of the critics when making parallels of the play and the novel: e.g., the letter, the delivery of the letter by the maid, the protagonist's being taken by the Host of an inn to hear music played by her lover to her rival, the disguise motif, and the rings; furthermore, Bullough acknowledges Diana as a lively story of adventure, suspense, and pathos, with chivalric and pastoral romance."[143]

Atkinson proposes that Shakespeare used Henry Wotton's translation of Le Printemps of Jacques d'Yver (A Courtlie Controversie of Cupids Cautels 1578), for his play. To be exact, she states: "The last story, about the loves and exploits of Claribel and Floradine, also has found a place, being the source of Shakespeare's The Two Gentlemen of Verona."[144] Atkinson acknowledges that Jorge de Montemayor's Diana has been regarded as "the real source," but at the same time she says that "the Diana only supplies the Julia parts of the plot," and that "for the remainder various sources have been suggested, but none seems to be a close parallel."[145] In general, she advances the theory that Shakespeare found the original of "the sworn friend false in love" theme in Cupids Cautels, which he, in turn, blended with the Felix-Felismena episode in Diana.

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[143] Ibid., pp. 205-206.

[144] Dorothy F. Atkinson, "The Source of The Two Gentlemen of Verona," SP, XL (April, 1944), 223.

[145] Ibid., p. 224.

She further suggests that the combination of these two works resulted in the love-friendship theme of The Two Gentlemen of Verona.[146] However, both Baldwin and Bullough agree on the fact that Cupids Cautels, proposed by Atkinson as a source, is but an analogue of Shakespeare.[147] It must be admitted that all three critics have a point. However, all have refused to step out of the Felix-Felismena episode to find solutions that most of the time they credit to Shakespeare's invention.

To appreciate the problem, the reader must understand counterpoint. Montemayor's contrapuntal structure requires a similar effort; the themes must be traced, not only when they are dominant, but also when they are submerged in other themes. Diana presents many themes; love in some form is the central idea. Because it is a pastoral novel, these themes are intermingled with pastoral devices.[148] The Two Gentlemen of Verona, in one's opinion, is also a pastoral, but a pastoral play the plot of which fits easily into the stock framework. Its action goes from the court to the woods, while the opposite occurs in Diana. The friendship theme, though greatly emphasized in The Two Gentlemen of Verona, is, after all, only a strong framework to motivate the love story.[149]

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[146] Ibid., p. 225.

[147] Baldwin, op. cit., p. 719. See also, Bullough, op. cit., p. 208.

[148] López Estrada, op. cit., p. lxvii.

[149] Small, op. cit., p. 767.

The Two Gentlemen of Verona is a story of love--a story which like its source mainly deals with an analysis of feelings. Since scholars believe that Shakespeare followed his source closely, the play will be studied using the same approach as in *Diana*. Thus, the elements of this study will be love viewed through a natural and a supernatural setting; the means by which Shakespeare carries out his analysis: travel, clothes, and music; the role of fortune and time throughout the play; and devices and situations common to both the play and the romance.

God's love for His children. This kind of love is patent in I.i: Proteus and Speed hold a conversation based on the words, *sheep* and *master*. It seems to one that these lines serve a double purpose: to set a religious tone and to present this facet of love.

> *Proteus*. Indeed, a sheep doth very often stray,
> An if the shepherd be awhile away.
> (I.i.74)

In *l*. 84, the word, *circumstance*, is mentioned. Since it falls within the same conversation, one believes it should be attributed a religious sense, thus reinforcing the tone. The reader recalls that in *Diana*, the word *circumstance* is used in two ways: *i.e.*, Platonic and religious.[150]

There are other lines containing religious allusions: Proteus, in the first scene, says, "I will be thy beadsman,

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[150] Montemayor, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143.

Valentine." (I.i.18) Thurio and Proteus are to meet at "Saint Gregory's well." (IV.ii.84) The mention of the well reminds one of the allusions to fountains in Diana. At St. Gregory's well, Thurio and Proteus meet. Both wish to win Silvia's love, although not through the same means. In Diana, Sireno and Silvano meet at the fountain; they both love Diana. Julia compares the strength of her affection to the unwearied steps of the "true-devoted pilgrim." (II.vii.9) Generally, the word, pilgrim, is associated with religion. One finds implied here, the pilgrimage of shepherds in Diana and Julia's image of the true and devoted Felismena.

Parental love. Proteus' story is very similar to Felix' in Diana. Proteus' and Felix' fathers appear in the play, their function being to separate their sons from their loves. In the first act, Proteus is yet to be ". . . tried and tutor'd in the world." (I.iii.21) He is urged to ". . . see the wonders of the world abroad" instead of ". . . living dully sluggardized at home, and wearing out [his] youth with shapeless idleness." (I.i.6-7) Don Felix is sent by his father to the Princess Augusta Cesarina's court, not to waste his youth at home, ". . . donde no se podían aprender sino los vicios de que la ociosidad es maestra." (Diana, 104) Both fathers propitiate their sons' initiation in life. As in Diana, Shakespeare also employs the travel motif: the twenty-day journey of Felix from Vandalia to the court (Diana, 105) becomes a sea voyage in Shakespeare's play. Both Montemayor and

Shakespeare stress the importance of travel in regard to education. From the very beginning of the play and throughout the first two acts, the primary interest is the "shipping" of Valentine and Proteus, and, later, with the landing of Proteus in Milan. (II.iv.187) Moreover, to emphasize the travel motif, so prominent in Diana, Shakespeare puns on "sheep" and "ship," "tied" and "tide." (I.i.71-73; II.iii.41-43)

The clothes motif is also emphasized. Proteus, like Felix, is clothes-conscious. When he is sent to Milan, Proteus becomes very much concerned with fashion and sonneteering, as did Felix. The new Proteus is not only inconstant, but he also becomes as sophisticated and amoral as his Spanish counterpart. The reader must not forget that the Duke turns to him for worldly advice and for training in intrigue. (III.ii.11-41) Both Felix and Proteus serenade their new loves with Felismena witnessing the scene disguised as a page. The four motifs (travel, clothes, time, and music) are used, here, in the same way as in Diana.

Before examining another kind of love, one would like to point out that this play contains several indications of the prevailing taste for music, a distinguishing characteristic of the age of Elizabeth.[151] In Diana, the language has a rhythm that could be called musical; the disposition of the elements sometimes depicts a symphonic structure; the correct use of

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[151] Rolfe, op. cit., p. 14.

long phrases and their balance fuse the materialism of the expression with the idealism of the Platonic theory. In both the romance and the play, the characters sing and play different musical instruments.

Love for the fatherland. Shakespeare did not have to leave his native land as did Montemayor, but both loved their countries greatly. Shakespeare grasped the meaning of Montemayor's *saudade* (solitude) and gave this feeling to Valentine: ". . . he could sit alone, unseen of any." (IV.iv. 4) Valentine felt solitude the same as Sireno, a shepherd in *Diana* who does not belong in the *Felix-Felismena* episode. Since scholars have identified this shepherd with Montemayor himself,[152] Shakespeare must have modeled Valentine after Montemayor-Sireno. Again, Rolfe reminds the reader that Shakespeare liked to make references to the manners of his own country and times in all his plays.[153]

Love for the land. This trait is taken for granted in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, a pastoral play as one said previously. It is not so prominent as in *Diana*; however, country and everyday life are suggested through allusions mainly supplied by the low-comedy characters: the life of the shepherd and the sheep, wages, fodder, pasture, pound and pinfold; (I.i.70-95)

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[152] López Estrada, *op. cit.*, p. xii.

[153] Rolfe, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

the robbin-redbreast, the crowing of the cock; (II.i.20-27) the walk of lions; (II.i.28) and the country housewife who can sew, milk, brew, knit, wash and scour, and spin. (III.i.270-310)

Friendly love. Valentine is the true friend in the play; Proteus, the villain. Their friendship has been viewed in many ways--as containing a disturbing factor, the theme of masculine friendship, involving an ideal which rivals the demands of romantic love. Scholars have become so conscious of this theme that they have ranked it above that of love between the sexes.[154] Others believe that Shakespeare introduces both themes and ideals on a somewhat equal footing: romantic love and masculine friendship. One believes that Shakespeare presents in The Two Gentlemen of Verona the two ideals of love and friendship. Their contact might be called the purest Renaissance form.[155]

There is no issue of love versus friendship in the Felix-Felismena episode, nor in the other stories in Diana. However, there is a beautiful story of masculine friendship in Book I, represented by the shepherds, Sireno and Sylvano. Although they both love Diana, and Diana loves Sireno, Sylvano remains a faithful friend; there is a perfect balance of love and friendship. Sylvano, as Valentine, is capable of renunciation.

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[154] Small, op. cit., pp. 767-768.

[155] Ibid., p. 768.

Shakespeare must have blended the qualities of these two shepherds in his creation of Valentine: from Sireno he took the meaning of saudade; from Sylvano the meaning of true friendship. The generous, confiding, courageous, and forgiving spirit of Valentine is well appreciated by the Duke--"Thou art a gentleman." (V.iv.146) In his praise are included all the virtues which Shakespeare desired to represent in the character of Valentine; the absence of which he has also indicated in the character of the selfish Proteus. It is Valentine who is linked with fortune. When he is captured by the outlaws, he says, "If crooked fortune had not thwarted me." (IV.i.22) This abstraction so common in Diana was not overlooked by Shakespeare.

Man-woman love. In Montemayor, Shakespeare found ample source material both for Julia's bold conduct and for the development of her inner responses. Thus, it is possible that one of the factors which commended this tale to Shakespeare was its relatively rich portrayal of the psychological states of the heroine. Harrison says that Shakespeare's tour de force is in this concentration upon the figure of Julia-page, together with the tremendously increased dramatic value of the double-edged speech.[156] Both features are relevant in Diana. Julia's soliloquy (IV.iv.180-205), though differing entirely

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[156] T. P. Harrison, "Shakespeare and Montemayor's Diana," Texas Studies in English, VI (September, 1926), 74.

in sentiment, is paralleled structurally in Felismena's tearful complaint as she seeks her master. A similar point in the two pieces is Silvia's and Celia's neglect of the letter, though in Montemayor's work this neglect is additionally motivated by Celia's sudden passion for the page.[157]

Silvia's character is revealed in her interview with Proteus on the night of the serenade:

> Silvia. Thou soubtle, perjur'd, false, dishonest man!
> Think'st thou I am so shallow, so conceitless,
> To be seduced by thy flattery,
> That hast deceiv'd so many with thy vows?
> Return, return, and make thy love amends.
> (IV.ii.98-102)

It is also revealed in her tearful but equally resistant attitude toward marrying Thurio, her plea to Sir Eglamour, and her arrangement to meet him at Friar Patrick's cell. This Sir Eglamour--the so much discussed character--is a trustworthy man who has vowed chastity on the grave of his lady. (IV.iii.21)

Although The Two Gentlemen of Verona follows its source closely, they do not coincide in every detail. For example, the element of pure love as felt by the shepherds in Diana is absent from the play; courtly love predominates. However, since Shakespeare is dealing with abstractions, it is not a far-fetched idea to suppose that Sir Eglamour represents chastity. His ephemeral existence is symbolic.

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[157] Ibid., p. 91.

In the course of the play there is some attempt to show the mind of Proteus from the inside. There are some soliloquies--one on his love affair with Julia--in which he expresses contempt for himself for wasting his time; (I.i.63-69) one explaining the lack of courage which results in his going abroad; (I.iii.78-87) one in which he reveals his infatuation for Silvia and tries to account for the complete change in his own state of mind; (II.iv.191-214) and a fourth soliloquy about forty lines long in which he attempts to display some degree of moral struggle:

> To leave my Julia, shall I be forsworn;
> To love fair Silvia, shall I be forsworn;
> To wrong my friend, I shall be forsworn.
> (II.vi.1-3)

Shakespeare does not present directly the working of Valentine's mind. For example, the latter's praise of Proteus shows what he thinks, with more or less injustice to himself, to be his own defects:

> I know him as myself; for from our infancy
> We have conversed and spent our hours together;
> And though myself have been an idle truant,
> Omitting the sweet benefit of time
> To clothe mine age with angel-like perfection,
> Yet hath Sir Proteus, for that's his name,
> Made use and fair advantage of his days;
> His years but young, but his experience old;
> His head unmellow'd, but his judgment ripe:
> And, in a word (for far behind his worth
> Come all the praises that I now bestow),
> He is complete in feature and in mind,
> With all good grace to grace a gentleman.
> (II.iv.62-74)

Baldwin explains to the reader that these soliloquies were the means used by Shakespeare to inform the audience of the exact

situation.[158] At the same time, some are excellent attempts at psychology, their study deepening and vivifying one's sense of the action as a whole.

In Diana, Shakespeare found ample narrative source material for The Two Gentlemen of Verona. For example, there is one allusion in this play to the games of the people--"bid the base," which shows that the social sport of prison base or prison bars, was a game of Shakespeare's day.[159] Tilts and tournaments are mentioned in Diana: ". . . Pues como yo por señales y por músicas y torneos que delante de mi puerta muchas veces se hazían. . . ." (Diana, 100) Adventures of women in disguise occur in both, the play and the romance (Julia and Felismena become pages); Valentine's exile to the woods can be compared to Montemayor's self-imposed exile (one must not forget that Valentine was paralleled to Montemayor-Sireno earlier in this work); infatuation in love is felt by Proteus for Silvia and by Felix for Celia. Proteus and Valentine are friends, yet exactly opposite in their passions; Sireno and Sylvano are friends, but theirs are almost the same.

In The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Speed says, ". . . Because Love is blind. O, that you had mine eyes;. . . ." (II.i.70-71) In Diana: ". . . Y esta es la causa por la cual

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[158]Baldwin, op. cit., p. 722.

[159]Rolfe, op. cit., p. 14.

le pintan ciego y falto de razón. . . ." (196) The letters to the heroines in both works (Julia and Felismena), are delivered to them by their respective maids, Lucetta and Rosina. Both male protagonists give rings to their ladies (Proteus to Julia and Felix to Felismena). The outlaws in the play could be considered as a stock element much in the same way as the nymphs in Diana. Finally, one finds no parallel for the passage of Launce and his dog, for there is no comic side in Diana. Nevertheless, Harrison seems to think there is: he quotes Bond, "In Fabious, 'a more conventional creature than Launce' (Bond, 90), there is the germ of the clown: in him Shakespeare may have gained inspiration for his Launce and Speed" (Fabious is Felix' servant).[160] However, Shakespeare's addition of the comic element to The Two Gentlemen of Verona may be paralleled to Montemayor's addition of elements alien to the pastoral genre; both depart from its purest form.

In this study of Shakespeare's use of Diana, it has been seen that, for the play as a whole, Shakespeare followed his source closely. The narrative of Diana provided him with far greater possibilities in dialogue than any other of the suggested sources. Doubtless, Shakespeare recognized its value in the Spanish story and utilized it in the dramatization of his play. Furthermore, it is clear that a most effective device

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[160] T. P. Harrison, "Shakespeare and Montemayor's Diana," Texas Studies in English, VI (September, 1926), 84.

which Shakespeare freely employed in his comedy, namely, the veiled dialogue, is found in Montemayor's story in a great degree. Like his contemporaries, Shakespeare borrowed from many sources, native or foreign; this study has shown his indebtedness to the Spanish pastoral romance, and his familiarity with the work which claimed so extensive an appeal in his time.

CHAPTER V

SIMILAR ENDINGS

Shakespeare's The Two Gentlemen of Verona and Jorge de Montemayor's Diana are looked upon as having controversial endings. Both the play and the romance have been greatly criticized for the abrupt way in which both authors achieve solutions. For example, Cervantes was so appalled by the sage Felicia's potion that he carried his protest over to Don Quijote:

> Y pues comenzamos por La Diana de Montemayor, soy de parecer que no se queme, sino que se le quite todo aquello que trata de la sabia Felicia y de la agua encantada, y casi todos los versos mayores, y quédesele enhorabuena la prosa y la honra de ser primero en semejantes libros.[161]

He praised the novel, but lamented the magic-water episode.

The ending of The Two Gentlemen of Verona has been and still is a puzzle. Many interpretations have been made, but none seems conclusive. Critics, trying to penetrate Shakespeare's mind, have passed final judgment on the subject. Thaler defends the ending against critics who label it as "blind and incomprehensible."[162] Thorndike says,

> The dénouement is badly hurried and Valentine so far forgets his part as to offer Silvia to the penitent Proteus. Perhaps this fine gesture might be in accord with the code of honour for sworn friends, but it could

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[161] Cervantes, op. cit., p. 55.

[162] Small, op. cit., p. 767.

> scarcely be justified on a stage devoted to romantic love.[163]

Small observes that ". . . the good taste found in the endings of Shakespeare's other comedies, are not fulfilled in the ending of _The Two Gentlemen of Verona_," and adds, ". . . the ending is not executed artistically."[164] When Campbell considers the ending of _The Two Gentlemen of Verona_, he interprets it as Italian in spirit. He sees it as ". . . a complete victory of friendship in its mortal struggle with love."[165] In addition, there are many others who do not seem to reconcile its ending. It is possible that these somewhat contradictory views of the work are at least partly the result of a narrow view of the origin of _The Two Gentlemen of Verona_.

The _Diana_ of Montemayor provided Shakespeare with almost all of the elements that are compressed in the play. The ending is there; the conditions which precipitate the ending are there. However, actions in the two works do not have an exact correspondence, but the endings are a product of the same mechanism: _e.g._, the hastening of the action.

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[163]Professor Thorndike considers the requirements of romantic love in the play and observes, "The friendship theme, though greatly emphasized, is, after all, only a strong framework to motivate the love story." Cf. Small, _op. cit._, p. 767.

[164]_Ibid._, p. 776.

[165]Campbell, _op. cit._, pp. 49-63.

In a previous chapter was raised the conviction that Montemayor resorted to the device of the magic water of the sage Felicia in order to shorten time. All the love problems of the shepherds would have been resolved in time (it is implied throughout the novel); however, as a result of the many stories and their complications, Montemayor would have needed to double the size of his romance had he wished to accord it a happy ending within a normal span of time. It is true that he intended to write the continuation of Diana; he himself had said so, but he died before attempting it.[166] The magic potion precipitates the dénouement, which starts in Book IV of Diana, which also contains Felicia's argument on love and reason based upon León Hebreo's Diálogos de Amor.

One believes that Shakespeare also wanted to shorten time and needed to depart from his source insofar as superfluous details were concerned and condense the narrative to suit it to dramatic presentation. One of Shakespeare's methods of shortening the action is to combine in one scene, or sequence of scenes, events that in the source occupy a much longer period of time.[167] This method is patent in Act II: e.g., the love of Valentine for Silvia, the departure of Proteus, the work of the clowns, the faithlessness of Proteus to Julia, his resolve

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[166] Montemayor, op. cit., p. 300.

[167] Virgil K, Whitaker, "Shakespeare's Use of His Sources," PQ, XX (July, 1941), 382-383.

to betray Valentine, and Julia's disguise. Again, in Act IV, events progress quickly, bringing about the dénouement. Shakespeare compresses into one scene (IV.iv) the interview of Julia-page with Proteus that follows, as in Diana, the dispatch to Silvia-Celia and her meeting with Julia-page.[168] This is the first overt departure of Shakespeare from Montemayor's time arrangement.[169]

In Montemayor's novel, moreover, the supernatural setting corresponds to the Temple of Diana. In Diana, the goddess of chastity, virtue is emphasized in this passage. Felicia is Diana's priestess, and the nymphs are the permanent servants of the goddess. The Temple of Diana, then, is a world of magic wherein everything is possible except to sin against pure love. Diana, the shepherdess, and the savages are banished from this temple; the first was unfaithful--she married one whom she did not love; the second, the savages, attacked the nymphs to satisfy their impure desires.

It is Felicia, the sage, who reunites the lovers (Felix-Felismena; Selvagia-Sylvano; Belisa-Arsileo) at the end of the

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[168] Tynan, op. cit., p. 262. Scholars have established the following parallels between the main characters in the play and the novel: Julia-Felismena; Proteus-Felis; and Silvia-Celia. Also, that the Spanish counterparts all belong in the Felix-Felismena episode.

[169] T. P. Harrison, Jr., "Shakespeare and Montemayor's Diana," Texas Studies in English, VI (September, 1926), 94. Harrison quotes Bond when he says that Shakespeare, in this play, has used frequent liberties with respect to time; and that the task of designating intervals and lapses of time is difficult.

novel, and it is she who gives the shepherds (Sireno, Sylvano, Selvagia) the love potion. The idea of the potion itself might have been suggested by a Byzantine novel, as well as the inscription at the entrance of the palace which is couched in octava verse.[170] This form also recreates the ancient theme of the "prueba de amor" (proof in the form of trial), a stock element of the Byzantine novel.[171] Furthermore, Felicia, who conducts the famous conversation on the subjects of love and reason, the theme of which was suggested by Sireno, the shepherd, ". . . queriendo que la plática y conversación se conformasse con el tiempo y el lugar," who wished that the conversation be held in accordance with place and time. (Diana, 194)

The ending of The Two Gentlemen of Verona contains a surprising element: Valentine's words to Proteus, "All that was mine in Silvia I give thee." (V.iv.83) This scene takes place in the woods wherein Valentine has sought refuge and has joined a band of outlaws. These woods in The Two Gentlemen of Verona correspond to Montemayor's setting in the Temple of Diana. In this supernatural setting, Shakespeare has placed a highly complex action of heterogeneous elements, every one of which has its counterpart in Diana.

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[170] Montemayor, op. cit., pp. lxxxi-lxxxii.

[171] Avalle-Arce, op. cit., p. 2.

One must return for a moment, however, to follow the fortunes of Valentine. Proteus has told the Duke, Silvia's father, about Valentine's and Silvia's planned elopement; the Duke banishes Valentine from court, and the latter goes to the woods and joins a group of outlaws. When Valentine is deep within the forest, alone with his thoughts, in his soliloquy, he sounds like Sireno, the shepherd in Diana, for both invoke solitude and praise of country life over city life. Valentine reminisces about his love for Silvia, for they have been separated for a considerable time, and this separation of lovers resembles a "prueba de amor"--as much a trait of the Byzantine novel as is the potion in Diana.

As soon as Silvia hears of Valentine's departure, she goes to Sir Eglamour to seek help in order to join Valentine. Sir Eglamour may be analogous with chastity in Shakespeare's play. Silvia's love is pure at all times, a fact that may account for her association with Sir Eglamour. She escapes with Sir Eglamour, with the Duke, Proteus, Julia (in disguise), and Sir Thurio in pursuit. When she arrives in the woods, Sir Eglamour disappears, and she is captured by one of Valentine's outlaws, from whom she is saved by Proteus. At this point, Silvia says, "Had I been seized by a hungry lion, / I would have been a breakfast to the beast, / Rather than have false Proteus rescue me"; (V.iv.34-36) and a parallel, here, with Shakespeare's source may be established: that of the savages in Diana attacking the nymphs, for it seems as if Proteus'

false and impure love is responsible for the savage trait within him. He attempts to force Silvia to his desire, with Julia standing by and Valentine at first concealed. The latter steps out and accuses "this common friend, that's without faith or love"; (V.iv.63-64) Proteus, then, asks forgiveness, and it is granted by Valentine:

> . . . Then I am paid;
> And once again I do receive thee honest,
> Who by repentance is not satisfied
> Is nor of heaven nor earth, for these are pleased.
> By penitence the Eternal wrath's appeased:
> And, that my love may appear plain and free,
> All that was mine in Silvia I give thee.
> (V.iv.77-83)

This resolution is too much for Julia, who swoons. Her faithfulness is then revealed, and Proteus repents, and they are reconciled. The Duke gives Silvia to Valentine and the outlaws are pardoned. Valentine's pardon, nevertheless, is not the first: "And once again I do receive thee." Somehow, these words resemble the religious tenet by which principle God pardons those who repent their sins. Religious implications are found at the very beginning of the play and, again, interwoven with Valentine's pronouncement at the end.

The religious tone in Shakespeare's work is obvious, as is the Platonic in Montemayor's. One has the feeling that Shakespeare wished to abide by the pastoral principle of love when he assigned to Valentine the controversial lines. In doing so, he must have resorted to Felicia's argument on love and reason, in which she tells Sireno that ". . . true love is born

of reason, but the child is unruly." Thus, reason leads man to the natural instinct of self-preservation; and true love implies self-renunciation. Such love, which breaks with the self and leads to self-sacrifice, is no different from generous love of virtue or the love for God (Diana, 197). Such is the love of those ". . . muchos que por sólo el amor de sus amigos perdieron la vida y todo lo más que con ella se pierde" (many that for the love of friends lost their lives and everything that is lost with it). (Diana, 198)

In The Two Gentlemen of Verona, Shakespeare also resorts to the disguise motif, having Julia swoon to draw attention to her attire. Disguise also enabled him to symbolize one of his favorite themes, e.g., the contrast between appearance and reality.[172] Furthermore, the apparent offering of Silvia to Proteus may conceal the real purpose behind it: i.e., Shakespeare's final acceptance of the pastoral code. Thus, Valentine's surrender of Silvia is only symbolic, because Shakespeare wishes to reveal Valentine's capacity for self-renunciation in love. If this were the solution that Shakespeare had in mind, he adheres closely to his source, merely hastening the ending by eclipsing time and honoring Montemayor's doctrine of love.

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[172] Muir, op. cit., p. 3.

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