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POLYGLOTTIA AND THE VINDICATION OF ENGLISH POETRY: ABRAHAM FRAUNCE'S *ARCADIAN RHETORIKE*

Abraham Fraunce,[1] though making very little original contribution to Renaissance culture in England, deserves to be taken into account as a symptomatic figure[2] in a particularly rewarding time for intellectual history. He was a Cambridge scholar who knew and possibly studied with Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe; a friend of two of the most significant English poets of the sixteenth century, Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser; a *protégé* of the Countess of Pembroke; one of the most conscientious followers of Peter Ramus, whose *Dialecticae Partitiones* he translated and whose logic he illustrated in a Latin treatise; and he showed an alert awareness to some of the most important cultural events of his day. His poetic efforts are now deservedly forgotten, and his treatises on rhetoric and dialectic contain very little that is new in terms of theoretical speculation. However, these same treatises— *The Shepherds Logike*, successively transformed in *The Lawyers Logike* (1584), and *The Arcadian Rhetorike* (1588)—can be revealing to the attentive reader as indicators of the cultural debate in Fraunce's time, and offer an instance of scholarly endeavours used for popularizing purposes. This essay is concerned with *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, and particularly with the section devoted to style,[3] but since in both books Fraunce is rewriting, if not translating, Ramist texts, it is important to understand Ramus's influence in England in order to evaluate Fraunce's work.

Ramus's innovations in method, particularly his new division between logic and rhetoric, had considerable and somewhat surprising effects on the treatment of the subject in sixteenth-century England.[4] The work of Peter Ramus and of his collaborator

Audomarus Talaeus[5] on rhetoric and dialectic is focussed on the re-definition of these two sciences in relation to each other. Rejecting the traditional definition of rhetoric as including *inventio*, *dispositio*, *elocutio*, *memoria* and *pronuntiatio*, Ramus assigns the first two to dialectic, eliminating some oversubtle distinctions in the area of topical invention. Dialectic remains a proper mode of philosophical speculation, while rhetoric is confined to the art of eloquence. Its scope is considerably reduced: *elocutio*, or style, constitutes the first part, and is given the greatest attention; *pronuntiatio*, or delivery,[6] is the second. In the *Rhetorica* published in 1548, probably the text on which Fraunce based his own *Arcadian Rhetorike*, style occupies about eighty pages against the mere forty assigned to delivery. The treatment of delivery, a subject that involves directions on extra-verbal matters such as voice modulation and the correct postures for the orator, was an awkward task for the rhetorician in the best of cases, and the traditional texts on rhetoric, such as *Rhetorica ad Herennium*, evinced the same embarrassment when they came to this part. As for style, its treatment shows Ramus's concern with usefulness and simplicity in the application of his method. Since clearness and correctness are the domain of grammar, style is only concerned with adornment. With characteristic dichotomization, Ramus defines the two 'species' pertaining to style, trope and figure. The principle of dichotomization is applied in the further analysis of tropes and figures: what we obtain in the end is an annotated catalogue of most of the figures of speech that had a place in the rhetorical tradition.

Given its clear and innovative structure and its suitability for teaching purposes, the *Rhetorica* was soon known and translated outside France, even though it never enjoyed the popularity of the *Dialectica*. In England Ramism found a fertile centre of study and diffusion at Cambridge.[7] The first English interpreter of Ramist rhetoric was Gabriel Harvey, then a student at Christ's College, and among other enthusiasts were Thomas Nashe, Dudley Fenner, William Kempe, Philip Sidney[8]—all of them at some stage students at Cambridge. Sidney got in further touch with Ramist thought and possibly with Ramus himself (shortly before the latter's death) during his tour of Europe

in 1572, when he met Andreas Wechel and Théophile de Banos, respectively Ramus's publisher and biographer, and other exponents of the Ramist *milieu*, such as Hubert Languet and the humanists John Sturm and Henri Estienne. The Ramist influence was felt also outside Cambridge and continued in the sixteenth century, as is demonstrated by the number of translations and transpositions of both the *Rhetorica* and the *Dialectica*. The orderly, though reductive, Ramist structure, as opposed to the redundancy of traditional manuals, could not but receive favour, along with such gentle mocking as we find in *Twelfth Night*.[9]

The question remains whether Fraunce's works were directed to a specific reading public, since, by the time *The Arcadian Rhetorike* was written, in England there was an audience already familiar with the Ramist structure and with his organizing principles, if not with the treatment of individual tropes and figures. In his *Ramus and Talon Inventory*,[10] Walter J. Ong considers *The Arcadian Rhetorike* a translation *tout court* of Ramus's text along with Dudley Fenner's *The Artes of Logike and Rethorike* (1584), and with John Barton's version (1634): Fraunce's may be considered the first English translation published in England. Ong's interpretation is correct as far as the theoretical exposition of the book is concerned, because in spite of Fraunce's failure to acknowledge his sources, his indebtedness to the Ramist model is evident. The only relevant difference concerns the inclusion of grammar under the heading of 'Eloqution'; an inclusion limited only to the introduction, since he does not discuss in detail either 'Etimologie' or 'Syntaxis', claiming they are not yet 'resolued in this conceipt'.[11] Other, though minor, changes have to do with the different metrical rules belonging to the two different languages, and are one clue to Fraunce's linguistic awareness. But altogether they do not enlighten us either on the relationship established between *The Arcadian Rhetorike* and its source, or on the audience Fraunce intended for his book. A number of Ramists, in France and in England, wrote treatises based on *Rhetorica* 'sans y être scrupuleusement fidèles',[12] and English scholars would use Ramus's works as an accepted philosophical basis into which they could insert more personal issues,

generally of an epideictic nature.[13] The very clarity and simplicity of the original treatises made this possible. Fraunce appears to have used the Ramist *Rhetorica* for a purpose that only in part had to do with the exposition and application of a method. It can be argued that he chose and used the Ramist method, both for personal and for theoretical reasons, as a basic structure which could find its own proof and demonstration in the poetic examples, a figurative language accompanying the literal language of each chapter.[14] It must also be pointed out that, even if Fraunce's purpose had been purely the diffusion of Ramist thought, there would have been hardly any market for rhetoric textbooks in English: scholars and university students read (or at least were supposed to read) Latin, and Latin was the language currently spoken in all grammar schools. Brian Vickers, making this observation in an article dated 1994,[15] notes also how a possible audience might have been constituted by lawyers, who would have preferred a textbook in English for an easier and quicker approach. This explains the existence of Fraunce's other Ramist work, *The Lawyers Logike*, whose target is made clear by the full title: *The Lawyers Logike, Exemplifying the Precepts of Logike by the Practise of the Common Lawe*. The work was dedicated to the Earl of Pembroke, and illustrated with examples from the *Shepherd's Calendar*. But the preface, consisting of a long expostulation against an imaginary lawyer who would maintain the uselessness of a scholarly background for his profession, underlined the eminently practical nature of this treatise.[16] This, however, was not the case with Fraunce's rhetorical work.

The aim of *The Arcadian Rhetorike* is somewhat more complex, though, like *The Lawyers Logike*, it remains primarily an illustration of Ramist doctrine. Illustration in the proper sense of the word: taking Ramus's hint that rhetoric, along with logic, can find its proper channel through literature, Fraunce demonstrates, develops, explains each point of the original treatise with quotations from various poems. The choice of the quotations gives singularity to this work, and distinguishes it from the majority of rhetoric treatises published in Fraunce's time.[17] Quotations, in Fraunce's hands, become

a means to express the profound interest he has in the culture of classical antiquity, with which the writer feels in such close contact that elsewhere he will attempt to revive some of its modes, for instance through the naturalization of classical metres in English verse: witness his interest for leonine hexameters, and the attempt to create an English hexameter. In *The Arcadian Rhetorike* quotations from classical poets (and particularly from the two peaks, Homer and Virgil), are intermingled with quotations from the leading modern European authors, such as Torquato Tasso, Juan Boscàn Almogaver, Guillaume de Salluste Du Bartas. To these is added an incredibly high number of quotations from the works of Philip Sidney, especially from the *Arcadia*. This inclusion deserves special consideration.

Sidney's protection of Fraunce dated from the latter's Cambridge years, and from then on Fraunce had found a friend as well as a patron in him. This bond did not concern them alone: all Fraunce's works are dedicated to members of the Sidney family, whose favour continued after Sir Philip's death. Sidney's influence, moreover, extended beyond mere patronage: it was thanks to him and to his circle that Fraunce had taken an interest in Ramist philosophy.[18] Fraunce acknowledged Sidney's influence in *The Lawiers Logike*, and dedicated to him *The Shepherds Logike*, an obvious choice since Fraunce's Ramism found its origin in Sidney's circle. An episode mentioned in Katherine Duncan-Jones's detailed biography of the poet[19] may further enlighten us on this intellectual as well as social relation. Duncan-Jones describes a manuscript of splendid manufacture, which she believes to be Fraunce's gift to his powerful benefactor. The manuscript, probably dating from Fraunce's undergraduate years and meant only for Sidney's private perusal, contains yet another summary of Ramist logic, along with a collection of *imprese*—another passion shared by the two friends. A scene from the *Aeneid* adorns the cover: in it Fraunce elegantly compares Sidney to Aeneas, on the point of leaving the shore to begin a new adventure, and himself to Achaemenides, left behind and pining to join his friend. In this image their closeness, transcending the usual relationship between patron and scholar, is evidently

emblematized, together with Fraunce's sincere admiration for Sidney's fascinating, multi-faceted personality. Indeed, Fraunce's recognition of Sidney's intellectual superiority owes little to status difference: not a genius himself, Fraunce undoubtedly had the ability to recognize genius. It is important to understand this bond of mutual affection and esteem in order to evaluate correctly the role played by the *Arcadian Rhetorike*. When it appeared in print, Sir Philip Sidney had been dead two years, and his *Arcadia* had not yet been published. *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, possibly occasioned by the very event of Sidney's death, could become a means to make Fraunce's acknowledgement of his spiritual as well as material indebtedness subtler and more graceful. The work is dedicated to Sidney's sister, the Countess of Pembroke, with these words:

> Voi, pia nympha, tuum, quem tolse la morte, Philippum,
> Aedentem llenas caelesti melle palabras.
> Italicum lumen, flowre of Fraunce, splendor Iberus,
> Italicus Tasso, French Salust, Boscan Iberus,
> th'" Romh" Romh Virgil, th'" Ellado" Ella",
> Greekish Homer, tanto laeti iunguntur eJtairw.[20]

A very appropriate definition of this dedication is given by Ethel Seaton in her Introduction: 'absurd but ingenious macaronic medley' (p. xix), while elsewhere it has been called 'an abominable piece of macaronic verse'.[21] It is an extraordinary piece of writing, almost introducing a new figure of speech in the form of *polyglottia*. It appears to have drawn some criticism in its time, if we can consider this quotation from *The Returne from Parnassus* to be a reference to a rhetorical practice somewhat abused by Fraunce: 'As I am a gentleman and a scholler, it was but a suddaine flash of my invention. It is my custome in my common talke to make use of my readings in the Greeke, Latin, French, Italian, Spanishe poetts, and to adorne my oratory with some prettie choice extraordinarie sayinges.'[22] Setting aside aesthetic considerations, it is useful to concentrate on the dedication's importance and meaning, easier to understand if we consider the full title of the treatise:

> *The Arcadian Rhetorike: or the Precepts of Rhetorike Made Plaine by Examples Greeke, Latin, English, Italian, French, Spanish, out of Homers Ilias, and Odissea, Virgils Aeglogs, Georgikes and Aeneis, Songs and Sonets, Torquato Tassoes Goffredo, Aminta, Torrismondo, Salust his Iudith, and both his Semaines, Boscan and Garcilassoes Sonets and Aeglogs.*

The significance of both title and dedication goes beyond the mere boast of linguistic skills. Examples taken from Homer and Virgil were part of the tradition in rhetorical writing, and to these Fraunce had added the three most important modern languages of the early Renaissance—Italian, French and Spanish. It was an erudite feat in itself, but by no means an unknown one: in his already quoted analysis of English Ramism, Guido Oldrini sees this surprising multiplicity of quotations and languages as typical of an attempt to adapt Ramist thought and make it more palatable to the English taste (p. 285). The case of Fraunce, one of the earliest, points also to reasons of a more personal nature: his purpose is something more than scholarly exhibition. Having chosen what were considered the most illustrious examples from ancient and modern tongues, he admits English into this royal fellowship, claiming for it a place among modern literary languages. Yet the title, though announcing examples in English, does not reveal the name of the English poet who shall be ranked alongside Tasso, Boscàn and Du Bartas, as if playing on the reader's expectations. The dedication then makes this clear, and at the same time prepares the reader for a song which has not been heard before: Sidney's song, for the first time given just recognition through Fraunce's words.[23] A new song for the reader both because it was the first time Sidney's poetry was used in this context, and because the *Arcadia* was indeed new for any reader outside Sidney's circle of friends—recent studies on the subject convincingly maintain that Fraunce, with direct access to Sidney's writings, used one of the *Arcadia*'s manuscripts.[24] Fraunce, on the other hand, will reserve only a limited space for himself—the theoretical part of the *Rhetorike* presents almost no novelty for the Ramist reader, and what novelty there is (for example, in the discussion on metre) shall be wholly functional to a more complete exaltation of the English poet.[25] Such modest devotion to the memory of his former patron is reflected in the half-jocose appearance of Fraunce's name in the dedication, where he plays on the spelling of 'France' to highlight, once more, the figure of Sidney under the apparent celebration of Du Bartas 'flowre of Fraunce'.

As mentioned above, a pointed use of quotations was no novelty.[26] As a necessary corollary to the exposition of the rhetorical point, the example would seem to have no weight *per se*. But even the tradition before Fraunce shows that once the rhetorical point has been made abundantly clear by previous knowledge of the subject, the example can acquire new meaning. In the impressive series of examples that accompany the Ramist text, taken from the authors mentioned in the title and from many others, Sidney has a prominent place, since the percentage of his poetry is among the highest—about eighty quotations from his works have been counted. The different treatment Fraunce reserves to the authors he uses has also other explanations: Virgil and Homer are obviously reserved a place of honour, though quotations from Homer occasionally appear to be on the short side, as if the writer (or the intended audience) was not completely at ease with Greek. In his earlier works, on the other hand, Fraunce had used almost exclusively classical quotations.[27] As for the modern languages, Seaton has shown in the introductory remarks to her edition of the *Rhetorike* how he seems to be familiar with Torquato Tasso, whom he prefers to more obvious choices such as Ariosto. French and Spanish quotations, though abundant, are generally restricted in comparison with both the Italian and the Latin lines. Sometimes one or the other of the modern languages is omitted, and in one case Fraunce candidly acknowledges it: 'I remember nothing in Boscàn or Garcilasso fit for the purpose' (p. 15). An English quotation, however, is never missing. He also uses, to a lesser extent, other poets from those mentioned in the title, such as Catullus, Ovid, Petrarch. Yet he is very careful never to use any of Sidney's possible sources for the *Arcadia*: an obvious instance is Sannazario's poem of the same title, which might have been an obvious choice in such a context, but is apparently omitted on purpose.[28] More than one explanation of this attitude is possible: Fraunce did not consider Sannazario worthy to be ranged alongside Homer, Virgil, Tasso; or, which is more probable, he meant Sidney's 'Arcadian' work to stand alone, and not to be subject to comparisons with poems of analogous matter, which could have revealed the English poet's dependence on other writers. This might

give the twentieth-century reader another clue to the significance of quotations in Fraunce's treatise.

As in Fenner's case, examples become more than a means of demonstration by induction. Their quantity and their length, together with the pains Fraunce takes in each case to make the context clear to the reader, tell us that their meaning, particularly as concerns the English examples, resides primarily in their literary value. This is made abundantly clear in chapters 13-15. The first two are dedicated to metrical questions, or, in Fraunce's words, to 'poeticall dimension'. Chapter 13 is merely introductory, and has one quotation—inevitably, from Sidney's *Arcadia*:

> My hart my hand, my hand hath giuen my hart,
> The giuer giuen from guift shall neuer part.

This quotation is inserted as a demonstration of rhyme, that is, something that could find no example in classical poetry. On the other side, chapter 14, dedicated to various types of metre, strives to find Sidneyan examples for every kind of verse, sometimes with much straining, occasionally (p. 31) using twice the same line, since no other would serve the purpose. One instance of excessive straining is the section on hexameter (*ibidem*), where the English quotation comes from a segment of the *Arcadia* that is actually in prose. This treatment of the *Arcadia* as a poem even in its prose parts is a recurring characteristic in the *Rhetorike*, and contradicts what Fraunce himself writes on the necessity of keeping prose and poetry separated:

> In prose auoid verse, vnlesse now and then a verse bee brought in out of some author, either for proofe or pleasure. The beginning or ending of a verse must not be the beginning or ending of prose (p. 34).

In one case in the same section of metre, Fraunce even appears to have modified Sidney's sentence in order to obtain an *adonius versus*.[29] In general he appears to delight most in the versifying Sidney, quoting also from *Astrophil and Stella* (p. 16), or using, to illustrate the pentameter (pp. 29-30), an inordinately long quotation from the *Arcadia*. A possible reason for this attitude can also be the fact that almost all other quotations are from poems. On the other side, chapter 15, dedicated to orators as opposed to poets, contains examples exclusively from Sidney—a choice Fraunce

justifies by the fact that, of the authors and works mentioned in the title, he was the only one who had used prose as well as poetry. Thus the able use of quotations gives the reader the measure of Sidney's protean ability.

Another instance of the role Fraunce assigns to examples comes from the conclusion of the section on 'figures of woords', coming after chapter 25. Here he appears to have abandoned the treatise form altogether, at least for the moment. He writes:

> Before I leaue of to talk of these figures of woords, I will heere confusedlie insert a number of conceited verses, sith all their grace & delicacie proceedeth from the figures aforenamed (p. 53).

The forty passages that follow transform the book *de facto* into a poetry anthology, with indications for further reading. The reader, then as now, ends up reading the passages for themselves, and not as aids toward a fuller understanding of the theory. It is probably this part that makes Seaton compare *The Arcadian Rhetorike* to *Tottel's Micellany*, as far as the readers' expectations are concerned. The difference between the two works possibly resides in a more determined finality of purpose on Fraunce's part— not merely a florilegium, but a homage. Moreover, the examples in English were new to most contemporary readers: Fraunce quotes mainly from the *Arcadia*, using the manuscript now known as the St John's Manuscript (now at St John's College, Cambridge) and thus being able to read Sidney's work well before it was published: the Countess of Pembroke published the so-called *Old Arcadia* in 1593,[30] which may even support the conjecture that *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, dedicated to the Countess of Pembroke, was intended solely for her perusal. However this may be, for the contemporary readers the attraction of *The Arcadian Rhetorike* (and possibly the meaning of its title) resided in the possibility of reading the hitherto unpublished verses of a famous and almost heroic figure of the very recent past.

A secondary purpose was the vindication of the role of English poetry among both classical and modern literatures, which appeared to transcend, if only occasionally, the confines of Sidney's production. There are, in fact, quotations from Spenser, whose *Faerie Queene* had not been published yet.[31] A smaller space (one quotation and a

reference) is reserved for a less known figure, Richard Willey or Willes.[32] What is more surprising, there is a line from *Piers Plowman* (p.63):

> He that made the booke called *Pierce Plowman*, maketh three or foure words in euerie line begin with the same letter, thus.
> In a sommer season, when set was the sunne, &c.

The passage comes towards the end of what I have earlier called a poetry anthology section (ch. 25), and the inclusion is unexpected, since alliteration found no recognition in classical rhetoric, unless in a disparaging form: *homoeoprophoron* was treated as cacophony, the term *alliteratio* being coined by the humanist Giovanni Pontano only in the late fifteenth century. In modern rhetoric alliteration finds a place as a phonetic phenomenon, not as a figure of words. Fraunce himself, though writing a century after Pontano, does not give a name to this device, and appears to be including it only as an oddity. *Piers Plowman*, moreover, should by right have no place in Arcadia. Yet there is no way of interpreting this inclusion other than as a recognition, on Fraunce's part, of the literary value of a poetic genre that had been largely ignored by readers and critics of his time. English literary tradition is thus given depth, if only incidentally, and its past achievements are treated as deserving just recognition.

It must be considered that, even in Fraunce's case, Sidney's work was given a prominent place in the choice of quotations for reasons that went beyond the purely personal recognition. The *Arcadia* in particular, in either versions, lent itself easily to this use. Some years after the publication of *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, Fraunce's example was followed by other scholars, such as John Hoskyns in his treatise *Directions for Speech and Style* (1599). It is improbable that Hoskyns should have used Fraunce for his model: the reason for the popularity of the *Arcadia* with rhetoricians, even in its incomplete state, was its skilful and occasionally astonishing use of oratory, and its aptness as a source of quotations. What was in Sidney's elegant phrase 'but a trifle, and that triflingly handled' (as he called it in the dedication to his sister), would elsewhere be praised as 'a gladiatorial display of oratory which outshines anything achieved in English before and perhaps since'[33]—Sidney's rhetorical qualities finding

unanimous recognition even in the present day. The editor of the Oxford edition of the *New Arcadia*, Victor Skretkowicz, considers the reputation that Sidney's work attained in England as a manual of style to be a direct result of Fraunce's own devoted propaganda.[34] This statement is largely debatable, since it is not probable that *The Arcadian Rhetorike* ever obtained such a popularity as to become decisive for the importance of the *Arcadia*, or even for its role in the contemporary world of rhetorical studies. Fraunce's fame, in his own time as now, rests mainly on his relationship with Philip Sidney, rather than the other way round. It is more likely that Fraunce intended his treatise to be, first of all, an homage to the memory of Sidney through the florilegium of his prose and poetry, and thus that the treatise should be mainly read and appreciated within the Sidney family circle. Yet the fact that the *Arcadia* was to become a sort of touchstone for future rhetoricians testifies to Fraunce's acumen in highlighting the exemplary value of this work.

The value of examples then becomes twofold: by underlining Sidney's magisterial use of rhetorical figures of speech, Fraunce is offering an interpretation of *Arcadia* as a work of rhetoric at its finest, the studious application of figures apt to arouse emotions in the reader through the literary medium that is most fitting to convey these emotions. We are seeing the rhetoric manual as a guide through a literary work: an example of literary criticism *a priori*, in the admittedly reductive use of *elocutio* as one of the instruments of textual analysis. In the perspective proposed by this article, thus, the dedication acquires a meaning that goes beyond the linguistic exhibitionism mocked by the author of *The Return from Parnassus*, though it is tempting to dismiss it as 'a piece of schoolboy conceit, which gives us a poor opinion of Fraunce's judgement'.[35] It symbolizes Sidney's introduction into a group of poets, both classical and modern, who are the most representative of their nations and languages, as well as of two ages of poetry. Polyglottia, evoked in the opening sentences of the treatise, becomes a rhetorical device applied in the unrelenting practice of quotations, and the whole dedication, to use a figure of speech whose existence Fraunce would not have

suspected, can be interpreted as a *mise-en-abîme* of the ensuing book. This interpretation is sustained by the fact that throughout his treatise Fraunce is extremely conscious of differences and analogies in the languages he is dealing with. Typical examples are to be found in the section devoted to metre, where he is careful to include appropriate examples from all the languages at his disposal:

> A foote is either of two syllables, or three, and both of them either simple or compound. The simple one of two syllables, is Spondaeus, consisting of two long syllables, as, ejstw: *Musas*: Learning: *Tutta*: Chacun: *Obras*. Or *Pyrrichius*, conteining 2. short syllables: as, logov": *Deus*: Pretie: *oue*: amys: *mia* (p. 27).

 He is also aware of the increasing importance of a specifically English contribution to European culture. Once or twice in *The Arcadian Rhetorike* we note the attempt to translate into English the traditionally classical terminology of rhetoric: 'Brauerie of speach consisteth in Tropes, or turnings; and in Figures or fashionings' (p. 3). Overall these attempts are rather weak, and do not match the efforts some of Fraunce's contemporaries, such as Ralph Lever, were making for the same purpose.[36] Yet they demonstrate once more Fraunce's concern with the position and importance of English, and support the hypothesis of nationalism concurring with his admiration for and gratitude to Sidney in the construction of *The Arcadian Rhetorike*.[37]

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[1]   Born at Shrewsbury around 1558-1560, he entered St. John's College, Cambridge, thanks to Sir Philip Sidney, who assumed responsibility for the college costs. There he met, among others, Gabriel Harvey and Thomas Nashe. During the time spent in Cambridge, beside translating Ramus's *Dialecticae Partitiones* (1574) and writing a treatise on Ramist logic, he composed a Latin comedy, *Victoria*. After his matriculation (1576) he continued to live under the patronage of the Sidney family, to whose members his works are dedicated (nearly all to Mary, countess of Pembroke). Among his most notable works is a mythography, *The Countess of Pembroke's Ivychurch*, and a volume on *imprese* dedicated to Robert Sidney, *Symbolicae Philosophiae*, of which only the fourth book remains. Until recently he was believed to have died in 1633, but a recent note by M. G. Brennan ('The Date of the Death of Abraham Fraunce', *The Library*, 6th series, 5, 1983, pp. 391-92) demonstrates almost conclusively that his death occurred earlier, in 1592-93, when Fraunce was in his early thirties. Accounts of Fraunce's life are to be found in G. C. Moore Smith's introduction to his edition of Fraunce's *Victoria*, Louvain 1906, pp. ix-xl, and in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, ed. L. Stephen, London 1889. The latter, however, is very inaccurate as far as the events after 1592 are concerned.

[2]   This particularly happy definition is taken from M. M. McCormick, *A Critical Edition of Abraham Fraunce's 'The Shepheardes' Logike' and 'Twooe General Discourses'*, Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Saint Louis, 1968, p. 25.

[3]   The book is divided in two parts: 'Eloqution' and 'Pronuntiation'. The latter, however, is considerably shorter; besides, some of the final pages are missing from the manuscript.

[4]   See G. Oldrini, *La disputa del metodo nel Rinascimento. Indagini su Ramo e sul Ramismo*, Firenze 1997, pp. 227-54. See also Peter Mack, *Renaissance Argument. Valla and Agricola in the Traditions of Rhetoric and Dialectic*, Leiden 1993, pp. 334-55.

[5]   Ramus's name is often associated with that of his collaborator, Audomarus Talaeus (Omer Talon, 1505?-1562) which has made the attribution of many of his works rather doubtful, especially as far as his treatises on rhetoric and dialectic are concerned. Throughout this essay I shall refer to some of these works as 'Ramus's', without taking into consideration the problem of controversial attributions.

[6]   As indicated above, Fraunce writes of 'Eloqution' and 'Pronuntiation'.

[7]   On the diffusion of Ramism in England, see W. S. Howell, *Logic and Rhetoric in England, 1500-1700*, Princeton 1956, pp. 173-281; Oldrini, pp. 248-54; and Tamara A. Goeglein, '"Wherein hath Ramus been so offensious?": Poetic Examples in the English Ramist Logic Manuals', *Rhetorica* (1996), pp. 73-101.

[8]   Sidney, according to Hallam, encouraged Fraunce to translate Ramus's treatise on logic. See G. W. Hallam, 'Sidney's Supposed Ramism', *Renaissance Papers* (1963), p. 11.

[9]   Chided for hiding her beauty from the world, Olivia answers: 'O sir, I will not be so hard-hearted: I will give out divers schedules of my beauty. It shall be inventoried, and every particle and utensil labelled to my will' (*Twelfth Night*, I, v, 247-48). This has been interpreted as an ironic reference to the Ramist vogue.

[10]   Harvard 1958, p. 89.

[11]   Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, ed. E. Seaton, Oxford 1950, p. 3. All quotations from *The Arcadian Rhetorike* are taken from this edition.

[12]   K. Meerhoff, *Rhétorique et Poétique au XVIe siècle en France*, Leiden 1986, p. 317.

[13]   'La trattazione inglese … fa della sua fonte manualistica solo il tronco donde si diparte una frondosa ramificazione esornativa (Fraunce, Richardson), alimentata dall'*humus* propria della cultura inglese e qui e là dottrinalmente aperta all'innesto di varianti locali' (Oldrini, p. 264: the subject matter in this passage is Ramus' logic).

[14]   'Poetry served as the linguistic trace of our immaterial mental processes or, alternatively, as an ur-text of mental discourse'. Goeglein, p. 101.

[15]   'Some Reflections on the Rhetoric Textbook', *Renaissance Rhetoric*, ed. P. Mack, London 1994, p. 89.

[16]   Fraunce had been an apprentice at Gray's Inn from 1583 to 1588, then becoming a professional lawyer.

[17]   This is one of the distinguishing characteristics of this writer: *Victoria*, the Latin comedy written in his Cambridge years, is interspersed with quotations from Latin poets, orators, philosophers, from Cicero to Publilius Syrus, as well as from Medieval Latin literature (see *Victoria*, ed. G.C. Moore Smith, Louvain 1906).

[18]   'Encouraged by Sidney and while still a student, he wrote a treatise in Latin on the Ramist logic, a treatise which he later condensed into English and incorporated into his essay, 'Of the Nature and Use of Logike'.' McCormick, p. 5.

[19]   Duncan-Jones, *Sir Philip Sidney: Courtier Poet*, London 1991, p.155.

[20]   'Pious nymph, I want your Philip, whom death took away, to sing words full of heavenly honey. The Italian light, the flower of France, the Spanish splendor, the Italian Tasso, the French Salluste, the Spanish Boscàn, the Roman of Rome Virgil, the Greek of Greece, Greek Homer, are happily joined by such a companion' [I wish to thank Luc Deitz for his help with this translation].

[21]   J. Buxton, *Sir Philip Sidney and the English Renaissance*, London 1954, p. 126.

[22]   'The Returne from Parnassus', 2, IV, i, 1154-58, in *The Pilgrimage to Parnassus with the Two Parts of the Return from Parnassus. Three Comedies Performed in St John's College Cambridge A.D. MDXCVII-MDCI*, ed. W. D. Macray, Oxford 1886.

[23]   In her already mentioned article (pp. 83-84), Tamara A. Goeglein analyzes an earlier example of the consort of Ramist thought with Sidney's work, if not with his poetry: William Temple's *Analysis tractationisde poesi contextae a nobilissimo viro Philippe Sidneio equite aurato* (ca. 1584-86). The reference is to Sidney's *Apology for Poetry*.

[24]   H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640*, Oxford 1996, p. 246.

[25]   William G. Crane, analyzing Fraunce's choice of tropes and figures of words, observes that 'the significance of the work is chiefly in the attention which it directs to Sidney's partiality toward the figures which it treats'. See 'English Rhetorics of the 16th Century', in *The Province of Rhetoric*, ed. Joseph Schwartz and John A. Rycenga, New York 1965, p. 221.

[26]   The first translator of the *Rhetorica* and Fraunce's only predecessor, Dudley Fenner, was a Calvinist who had written his treatises on logic and rhetoric while spending several months in jail because of his religious convictions and eventually had had the books published in the Netherlands rather than in England. He made his *Artes* a vehicle for Calvinist propaganda by inserting polemically pointed examples taken from the Bible. The practice of inserting poetical example in logical and rhetorical treatises has been also analysed by Goeglein (*ibidem*).

[27]   McCormick, p. 47.

[28]   In his edition of *The New Arcadia* (Introduction, pp. xvii-iv, Oxford 1987), V. Skretkowicz identifies a number of sources for the poem: beside Sannazario' work, he mentions Heliodorus' *Ethiopian History*, Gil Polo's *Enamoured Diana*, etc., all probably well known to Fraunce. None of these works appears in *The Arcadian Rhetorike*.

[29]   See Seaton, p. xxxix. The *adonius* belongs to classical literature, and is a five-syllable verse, generally formed by a dactyl and a trochee, generally used as the fourth line of the minor sapphic stanza.

[30]   The first edition of the revised text was printed in 1590. The so-called *Old Arcadia* was not published until 1912. On the use of Sidney's manuscripts on the part of Fraunce, and particularly of the manuscript of *Arcadia*, see Woudhuysen, pp. 338-40.

[31]   G. C. Moore Smith advances the hypothesis that Fraunce had become acquainted with Spenser 'while the latter was residing in London and seeing much of Sidney in 1579 and 1580' (p. xxii).

[32]   Seaton has excellently reconstructed Willey's life and achievements in her Introduction, pp. xli-li.

[33]   M. Evans, 'Introduction', in *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, Harmondsworth 1977, p. 15.

[34]   Skretkowicz, p. xlv.

[35]   G. C. Moore Smith, 'Introduction', in *Victoria*, p. xxii.

[36]   In his *Arte of Reason, Rightly Termed Witcraft* (1573), Lever had attempted to translate the terms of logic with English compounds, such as 'backset' for 'predicate', 'aslike' for 'equal', and 'saywhat' for 'definition'. See W. G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance: A Study of the Rhetorical Terms in English Renaissance Literary Criticism*, New York 1937, p. 55.

[37]   This interpretation of *The Arcadian Rhetorike* does not make Abraham Fraunce a significantly original figure in the English Renaissance, nor does it demonstrate, as McCormick rather pompously asserts, that 'Fraunce's astuteness as a critic and literary connoisseur is apparent in his early recognition of the literary genius of Sidney and Spenser' (pp. 4-5). It rather confirms the hypothesis that constitutes the opening statement of this essay—Fraunce's value as a symptomatic figure in the cultural landscape of 16th century England, and the representative of a world of 'taffeta phrases, silken terms precise' soon to become outmoded, if not forgotten.