THE INFLUENCE OF THE PLEIADE ON THE AREOPAGUS

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THE INFLUENCE OF THE PLEIADE ON THE AREOPAGUS.

INTRODUCTION.

Two important schools of literature in Europe during the second half of the sixteenth century were the Pléiade in France and the Areopagus in England. These two schools had so much in common in their purposes, that one should study them in connection with each other. The program of the Pléiade is set forth in Du Bellay's "La Défense et Illustration de la langue française," which appeared in 1549. Thirty years later in 1579 Spenser's "The English Poet" appeared. This treatise has been lost but it is supposed that many of its doctrines were incorporated by Sidney in his "Apology or Defense of Poetry", which book is supposed to have set forth the work of the Areopagus. The leaders of the Pléiade, especially Pierre Ronsard, influenced by the humanistic teachings of Jean Dorat, took a step in a new direction, namely in the realization that the vernacular held great possibilities, and that it was their duty to bring these to light. A similar movement occurred in England a generation later, and it was only natural that its leaders should follow the teachings of the French school. The latter was known in England, especially as Pierre Ronsard, the chief of the Pléiade, was a favorite of Queen Elizabeth, and a personal friend of the Earl of Leicester, the uncle of Sidney and the patron of Harvey and Spenser. Sidney became acquainted with him, and fell under his influence during his visit to the Louvre in 1572. (1)

We find that Spenser had read DuBellay in the fact that he began his literary career by translating his "Songe" in Van der Noodt's "Theatre for Worldlings". Hence they looked closely on this society which so clearly expressed what they were attempting.

By the installation of this Humanism with which Ronsard and the Pléiade, and later the Areopagus filled their poetry, and which filled so many phases of the French and English Renaissance, we are to understand, as Wright says, "the domination in belles-lettres of qualities already studied in their learned form; the combination of the love of Greece with that of Rome, and the desire to know their power. By the installation of the Renaissance we understand the sway of the spirit of individualism, and of free emotion, which finds its clearest expression in lyric poetry with the emphasis laid on the self or ego." (1) The poets of the Pléiade sought to introduce this spirit of freedom into the sphere of letters. To do this they had to steep their work in the classics in order to come to a consciousness of its own possibilities. This led to much misunderstanding and many people thought that they intended to make French, an imitation of the classics. They took the following statements as proof:

Ronsard --- Les Français qui ces vers liront,

S'ils ne sont ou Grecs ou Romains,

Au lieu de ce livre ils n'auront

Qu'un faix pesant entre les mains. (2)

(1) A History of French Literature, p. 175.

Du Bellay—"Nostre langue n'est si copieuse et riche que la greque ou Latine (1)

These naturally gave the impression that they thought French was not good enough for their purpose, and that they would imitate the classics. This however was not the case, even if the minor poets fell into this vice. Their remedy was not to reproduce the classics but to use them as a means to an end,—so to steep themselves with classic literature that they could transfer its meaning into their own work.

(1) La Défense et Illustration de la langue française, Ch.III.
CHAPTER I.
THE PLÉIADE.

Thomas Sibilet published an "Art Poétique" in 1548, (1) which based its precepts mainly on the practice of Marot and his followers. Within a year a treatise, "La Défense et Illustration de la langue française" by Joachim Du Bellay appeared. It poured contempt on the whole Marot school, and invited aspirants for the French Parnassus to look somewhere else for their models. This manifesto of revolution expressed not only the ideas of Joachim Du Bellay, but also of a group of young students, who were attending le Collège de Coqueret in Paris. Their leader was Pierre Ronsard. These young men were annoyed by the whole-hearted admiration which prevailed for Marot and his followers, and also because Sibilet's "Art Poétique" anticipated some of their favorite ideas. There is very little argument in Du Bellay's treatise, and he might have found in Marot, epigrams in the manner of Martial, elegies, eclogues, and even sonnets, such as he had expressed a desire for in Book II, Chapter IV. Marot and his school had adopted the principles of the Renaissance in a conservative and half-hearted fashion. Du Bellay broke absolutely and abruptly with the Medieval tradition, and declared that the best models could be found in Greece, Rome and Italy, which had been the first country to be awakened by the spirit of the Renaissance. They were influenced by contemporary Italian literature more than one would think. We find Du Bellay in his "Défense" referring to Luigi Alamanni's "La Coltivazione" as an example of the use of blank verse. (2) The Italian influence was also due to wars and

(2) Bk. II, Ch. vii.
international marriages. Their theories were also set forth in his "Olive", Ronsard's "Abrégé de l'art poétique", the two prefaces of his "Franciade", and in Peletier's "L'Art Poétique". In some respects the last mentioned book is the most useful for the student, as it gives in systematic form details of the various genres, which are mentioned in an indiscriminate way in the writings of the others. Even if they did not openly recognize this work as their creed, it is what they put in practice. It is divided up into two parts; Book I, general topics concerning poetry, and Book II, a discussion of the specific types.

About 1549 or 1550 the society took the name of Pléiade. The name Pléiade is an astral term adopted by this group of poets. It was first given to the seven poets, who lived in the reign of Ptolemy Philadelphus: Lycophron, Theocritus, Aratus, Nicander, Appolonius, Homer, and Callimachus. (1) This French group was first called "le docte brigade" during Ronsard's school days at the Collège de Coqueret. These two names imply the two strongest influences in their moulding, Italianism and Alexandrianism. The title Pléiade includes a vague number of writers, who were united by a common interest. It has, however, become customary to consider the group as being primarily made up of seven men to distinguish them from their followers. With different authorities even these names vary; but the list most commonly used, the one which we shall follow, is that of Ronsard's biographer, Claude Binet. (2) This list contains the names of Pierre Ronsard, Joachim Du Bellay, Jean Antoine

(1) A.L.Konta, History of French Literature, note, p.132.
Baif, Remy Belleau, Jean Dorat, Etienne Jodelle and Pontus de Thyard. He also added as later and minor writers Etienne Pasquier, Olivier de Magny, Jean de la Peruse, Amadis Jamyn, Robert Garnier, Peletier, Florent Chrestien, Jean Passerat, and Desportes. For my purpose I shall consider only the first seven men, their work and influence.

Naturally a struggle followed, when these revolutionary men declared that the literature of their tongue was clumsy, insipid, thin and inartistic, and undertook to reform it by assimilating in the fullest possible measure the artistic refinement of Greek literary art and the warm sensuous melody of modern Italian poetry. Early in 1550 the "Défense" was attacked in the pamphlet "le Quintil Horatian". This work was ascribed to Charles Fontaine, (1) one of Marot's disciples, until M. de Nolhac discovered in 1883 a letter by Fontaine, in which he denies that he is the author, and says that the real author is Barthelemy Aneau, the principal of the Collège de la Trinité in Lyons. (2) J. L. Gerig in his series of articles on Barthélemy Aneau said that he, Aneau, wanted to administer a rebuke to the ambitious young poets by showing them that the way in this field as well as in others had already been blased years before by modest and unassuming scholars. Jean Bouchet, a leading member of the rhetorical school, wrote as early as 1516 in his "Temple de bonne renomee" that poetry approached the divine. (3) Aneau in his "Emblems" anticipated the "Défense", first in his defense of the French language, and next in his apology for not using the Alexandrine form of verse, but it was Ronsard who first used it to any

(1) La Défense et Illustration, par J. Du Bellay, ed. by Em. Person, 1878, introduction, p.34.
extent. (1) There were also answers by Sibelet in his translation "Iphigenia" of Euripides, 1549, in which he defended the practice of translation, hinted at Du Bellay's own lack of originality, and renewed the praises of Marot; and by Guillaume des Autels in his "Replique aux furieuses défenses de Louis Meigret". (2) Then came Du Bellay's reply in the haughty and well written preface, which he added to a second edition of his "Olive". In this struggle the Pléiade triumphed and through the reigns of Henry II, Francis IV, and Charles IX, Ronsard was the honored poet of the Court and he was a very different one from his predecessor Saint-Gelais who had been one of the leaders of the Marot school. His position is testified to by the verses written about 1574 and attributed to Charles IX.

Tous deux également nous portons des couronnes,
Mais, roÿ, je la reçois: poëte, tu la donnes. (3)

We find the theory and the program of the Pléiade best set forth in Du Bellay's "La Défense et Illustration de la langue française". This two fold title corresponds to the two books into which it is divided, Book I being a defense of the French language, and Book II showing how it may be improved upon and made a more fitting instrument for the expression of those qualities, of which it is capable, i.e., made "illustrious". Du Bellay says in Book I, that "languages are born in the same fashion as herbs and trees, some weak and useless, others healthy and robust and more able to

(1) Ibid. Vol. iv, p. 49
carry on the weight of human conceptions, but all their virtue was born in the world by the wish and will of mortals. That seems a good reason to me why one should not praise one language and blaspheme another. They all come from the same source and origin." The French language is potentially as good as Greek or Latin for literary purposes, but it needs cultivating. The French have already done some good work in the translation of Greek, Latin and Italian authors, but more than translation is needed. Take for example the Romans. They imitated the best Greek authors, transforming themselves into them, devouring them and after having thoroughly digested them, converted them into blood and nourishment. They then applied what they had learned from them to their own language. Cicero and Virgil imitated the Greeks. Cicero copied Plato, the vehemence of Demosthenes, the joyous sweetness of Isocrates. Virgil imitated so well Homer, Hesiod and Theocrite that one said, he surpassed one, equalled another, and almost approached the other. If the ancients could do this, Frenchmen ought to be able to do it. They must imitate the Greeks and Romans, not in Greek and Latin, but in French. They should look deeply into their style, not just glance at the words and amuse themselves with their beauty and lose their force. They must borrow from them words and phrases that they think would help their own language. He also wanted them to enrich their vocabulary by examples from home. After having proved, so he says, that it is only by imitation of the Greeks and Latins, that the French language can acquire the excellence of her more famous sisters, and after having answered several objections raised by the people concerning the French language, he goes on to Book II.

In Book II, he gives his opinion of French poets. Of the an-
cient poets only Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun are worthy of being read; not that the moderns should imitate them, but because their work "le Roman de la Rose", was the earliest model of the French language, and it is venerable for its antiquity. He then mentions favorably Jean de la Maire whose principal work was "Les Illustrations de Gaul et Singularitez de Troye". This gave him many words and manners of speaking poetically, which have served well enough for the most excellent writers of our day. He would not mention the modern writers, as he might change the opinion of many, and might be too severe with them. He also might speak well of some, and so turn their heads, that their next work might not be any account. However, he goes on and criticizes some of them severely, but does not call them by name, although contemporary readers could easily put in the right names. He says of one, probably Marot, "il marqait le commencement de bien escrire c'est la scavoir et aurait augmenté sa gloire de la moitié il eust diminué son livre." Of another, probably Saint- Gelais, he says "Un autre pour n'avoir encore rien mis en lumiere sous son nom, ne merite qu'on luy donne le premier lieu". Thus he goes on down the list showing a natural gift for satire. He then insists that a natural gift for poetry is not enough, for without work or study one cannot produce an immortal poem.

Then in Chapter IV, the best known and most important chapter of the book, he recommends the kinds of poetry that should be cultivated. "Leave all the old poems of French poetry to the Floral games of Toulouse and to the Puy of Rouen, also the rondeaux, ballades, virelais, chants royaux, chansons and other rubbish (épiceries), which corrupt the taste of our language, and serve only
to bear witness to our ignorance. Write epigrams like Martial, tender elegies like Ovid, Tibullus and Propertius, odes hitherto unknown to French poetry "et quant à ce te fourniront de matière les louanges de dieux et des hommes vertueux, le discours fatal de choses mondiales, la sollicitude de jeunes hommes, comme l’amour, les vins libres et toute bonne chère," epistles and satires like Horace, sonnets of Italian invention like Petrarch, eologues like Theocritus, Virgil, and Sannazaro, tragedies and comedies, if they are restored to their ancient dignity, instead of farces and moralities! In the next chapter he urges his countrymen to write a long poem like Homer, Virgil and Ariosto.

In Chapter VI he states his views in regard to the enrichment of the French vocabulary for the purpose of poetry. Do not use Greek and Latin proper words, change them into French, it would be as absurd as putting green velvet on red. Use words purely French and even use a few old French words that better express the meaning than new ones, and that have fallen from use through neglect. He then talked on rhyme and ‘vers libre’. Rhythm must be voluntary, not forced, received not called, its own, not alien, natural, not adapted, in short, it should be as harmonious music falling in good and perfect accord. It would be better to use ‘vers libre’ as Petrarch than a poor scheme as did Loys Aleman in Agriculture. (1) Then came some observations on speaking French. In the end, after writing against the petty rhymsters of the Marot school, he finished in an eloquent chapter extolling France as superior to all other modern countries; and urging her learned men not to neglect their own country.

(1) I.e. Luigi Alamanni, 1495-1556; the work referred to is La Coltivazione, 1546.
Ronsard argued with Du Bellay and in fact probably inspired and helped him in his work. In his "Preface" to his "Odes" we find him writing, "Solicité par Joachim du Bellay, duquel le jugement, l'estude pareille; la longue frequention et l'ardent désir de réveiller la poésie française, avant nous faible et languissante ...... nous a rendus presque semblables d'esprit, d'inventions, et de labeur!"(1) In his "Art of Poetry" he tells us that it is necessary to have a prime requisite which is to have a noble conception, "Le principal point est l'invention". This "invention" is due to natural endowment and to the study of the ancients. They wanted to redeem native tradition from charges brought against it, to elevate the native vernacular, to accept native tradition and to endeavor to improve it. This was to be done through the poet, who was divine, and whose verse was immortal. Their theory was "Let us ennoble poetry, if necessary use two languages, one for prose and one for poetry". (2) They learned, that the language and style of poetry was different from that of prose. That verse that could be turned into prose was bad verse and that prose which could be turned into poetry was bad prose. Their bounds rarely, if ever, encroached upon each other. This was their capital theory around which all their reforms centered in vocabulary, syntax, style, and versification. Ronsard also preached the close affinity of music and poetry; which could not lend itself with facility to musical setting, was without sure signs of excellence. His main contributions to poetic art were his new turns of language which removed verse from

(2) Wright, op. cit., p. 188.
public speech, and new turns of meter which gave prosody the melody of music. The result of these theories was far from democratic, as they did not take into consideration all natural life, and as they accepted literature as an inheritance of an élite for the educated groups and the court society at Paris. It continued the "odi profanum vulgus" of Horace, the "seguiute poche e non la volgar gente" of Petrarch, and the contempt of the Italian poets of the Renaissance for the populaccio and canaglia. (1)

The theme, to which the Pléiade poetry owes its sparkling radiance, is the pagan's delight in life's fleeting joys, that the present is all that counts, the worship of love and youth, faith in women and wine. The themes were first taken from the Pindaric odes but later about 1553, they were stimulated by the publication of a series of poems by Henri Étienne ascribed to Anacreon. Since then scholars have proved that these poems are of an era later than Anacreon and were probably written at Alexandria early in the Christian era, and that they are a close imitation of him. (2)

From these poems the lines

Gather ye rosebuds while ye may

Old Time is still alying

became a recurrent refrain of the lyric poetry of the French Renaissance. Ronsard rejoiced in the confession, that he loved laughter and women's smiles, music and masque, a cup of wine, a walk beside the river, or a bock in season. His temperament was largely pagan, and Greek sentiment swayed his being. They wrote

(1) Wright, op. cit., p. 188.
about all aspects of nature that were pleasing to the eye and ear, as the seasons, birds, flowers, etc., sometimes even some little movement of nature, about which one would think nothing could be written. They did not confine themselves entirely to the lighter side of life, but also wrote poetry of a more serious strain expressing political ambition, patriotic elation, religious zeal, dread of death, and sympathy with suffering. Life according to them was not wholly free from complexity or grief, notes of sadness being often present. The lover's melancholy and grief over his lady's fickleness had a somewhat hollow tone, but on the other hand, the grief for the loss of friends was of a pathetic earnestness, especially in their elegies on the death of their associates. Their love of Greek Literature filled them with such a desire for the regeneration of Greece, which was being laid waste by the Turks, that they wrote poems begging for it to be restored, Ronsard called upon Charles IX the ruling king to do what he could. They wrote on ruins and in connection with these ruins there were visions or songs. We have of this type Du Bellay's "Antiquités de Rome" and his "Songe".
CHAPTER II.

THE AREOPAGUS.

At the time when the Areopagus made its appearance, English literature was at the beginning of a period of creative activity, in which the men of this society were to play an important part. The Areopagus, like the Pleiade, went to the Greek as a source for its name, 

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taking the name Areopagus from the tribunal at Athens. There has been a great deal of dispute concerning the organization of the Areopagus. Was it a definite organization or not? It has only been within the nineteenth century, three hundred years after its existence, that historians have referred to the Areopagus as a definite organization. Almost all since then have agreed that it was a club of some sort, but they differ as to its organization and membership. It has been accepted that it began with Spenser and Harvey. Contemporary writers, such as Thomas Nash, Ben Jonson and Drummond do not mention the Areopagus as a club or even the name itself as being known to the public. In glancing through the various editions of Spenser's Works, and also of those of Sidney, up to 1839, we do not find any reference to it. We should almost expect some mention of it in the 1679 edition of Spenser printed by Henry Mills for Jonathan Edwin, when he gave some anecdotes concerning Spenser's life. Also in the edition brought by H.J. Todd in 1805, we find nothing concerning the club, although he quotes from the Harvey-Spenser letters.

In 1839 there were new editions of Spenser on each side of the Atlantic. In America we have the first edition of Spenser edited by P. Masterman, and published in Boston. He says "From the before-mentioned letter of the 16th, Oct. 1579, Spenser appears, but rather
from complaisance than conviction, to have entered into the absurd scheme, formed by Harvey, and patronized by Sidney, of introducing the use of quantity into English verse." Speaking of Sidney and Sir Edward Dyer, he says that they have proclaimed "a general surceasing and silence of bald rhymes, and also of the very best too; instead whereof they have, by authority of their whole senate, prescribed certain laws and rules of quantity of English syllables for English verse; having had already great practice, and drawn me into their faction." (1) From this we gather that he thought Harvey was at the head of a literary movement but he does not mention the Areopagus itself. In London in the same year the Rev. John Mitford wrote a biographical notice for the "Poetical Works of Edmund Spenser", which was published by Pickering. He quotes Spenser's reference to the Areopagus in his letter to Harvey, but does not say anything concerning the society. Mr. Child, in his biographical "Memoir" written for a new edition of Spenser by Little and Brown, published about sixteen years later says that "the project for reforming English versification..., seems to have originated with Harvey and to have been taken up with zeal by a coterie over which Sidney and Dyer presided". However, J.P. Collier does not mention the Areopagus, as an organization, in his five volume edition of 1862. But on the other hand Dean Church in his "Spenser" of 1879 implies, though he does not actually say that the Areopagus was an organized literary society. (2)

(2) pp. 33, 34.
From this time on we find many editions that have accepted and mentioned the Areopagus as a literary movement. Grosart in the 1873 edition "The Complete Works of Sir Philip Sidney" says, "I have no intention to intermeddle with the 'Areopagus' as Spenser called it, wherein Gabriel Harvey, Sir Edward Dyer, Fulke Greville, Lord Brooke, Sidney, and Spenser sought to found a new school of poetry. We are not yet furnished with information on either the design or the methods contemplated." (1) However in his ten volume edition of the works of Spenser he does not mention the Areopagus. J.A. Symonds considered it as a society for the purpose of the reformation of English poetry. He says: "And thus a little academy formed apparently upon the Italian model, came into existence. Its critical tendency was indicated by the name Areopagus given it perhaps in fun by Spenser; and its practical object was the reformation of English poetry upon Italian and classical principles". (2) Fox Bourne said that the Areopagus "was a sort of club, composed mainly of courtiers, who aspired to be also men of letters, with Sidney evidently as its president". (3) He also thought that 'Dyer and Greville were evidently busy members'. R.E.N. Dodge thought it was probably founded by Sidney and Dyer, and named the Areopagus. He also thought that it was probably inspired by the work of the Pléiade in France and aimed at a general reformation of English poetry. (4). J.C. Collins said "with Harvey Spenser, and Sidney came

(1) p.LIII.
Sidney's old college friends Fulke Greville and Edward Dyer and a literary circle was formed which they called the Areopagus. (1) We find amongst critics and biographers who believe in the Areopagus Sidney Lee (2), A.H.Upham, (3) J.B.Fletcher (4), Percy Addleshaw (5) S.F.Winbolt (6), and Higginson (7). On the other hand we have Howard Maynadier (8), P.W.Long (9) and J.J.Jusserand (10), who give very little credit to this club, who in fact try to prove that it did not exist as an organization.

All of their evidence, both for and against the Areopagus as an organization, is taken from the five Harvey-Spenser Letters, two written by Spenser, and three by Harvey. The following extracts are what they used for evidence. Oct. 5 (16?) 1579, Spenser says, "As for the twoo worthy Gentlemen, Master Sidney, and Master Dyer, they haue me, I thanke them, in some use of familiarity: of whom, and to whom, what speache passeth for youre credite and estimation, I leaue your selfe to conceiue, haung alwayes so well conceiueci of my vnfained affection, and zeale towards you. And nowe they haue proclaimed in their αρευφυνγγ a generall sur-ceasing and silence of balde Rymers, and also of the verie beste to: in steade whereof, they haue by authoritie of their whole Senate, prescribed certaine Lawes and rules of Quantities of English silla-

(1) Sidney, Apology for Poetry, 1907.
(3) A.H.Upham, French Influence in English Literature, Ch.II.
(4) J.B.Fletcher, Journal of Germanic Philology 1898, Vol.II.
(6) S.F.Winbolt, Spenser and His Poetry, pp.19-38.
(7) J.J.Higginson, Spenser's Shepherd's Calender in relation to Contemporary affairs, p.357.
(10) J.J.Jusserand, A Literary History of the English People,Vol.II, pp.355-7;As Mitford, Child,Collier,Church and Bourne were not available,Maynadier and Higginson were used as authorities.
bles, for English Verse; having had thereof already great practise, and drawn mee to their faction. . . . But I am, of late, more in loue wyth my Englishe Versifying, than with Ryming: whyche I should haue done long since, if I would then haue followed your counsell".

Also later on he says, "I will imparte yours (that is his verses) to Maister Sidney and Maister Dyer, at my nexte going to the Courte."

Harvey's reply Oct. 23, 1579, "Your new-founded Spirituall yde is more than you will or can suppose: and make greater acconpte of the twoo worthy Gentlemenn, than of two hundredth Dionisii Areopagitae, or the verye notablest Senatours, that ever Athens dydde affourde of that number". In April 1580, Harvey declares "I cannot choose, but thanke and honour the good Aungell, (whether it were Gabriell or some other) that put so good a motion into the heads of those two excellent Gentlemen M.Sidney, and M. Dyer, the two very Diamondes of hir Maiesties Courte for many speciell and rare qualities: as to helpe forwarde our new famous enterprise for the Exchanging of Barbarous and Balductum Rymes with Artificial Verses: the one being in manner of pure and fine Goulde, the other but counterfet, and base ylfauoured Copper. I doubt not but their liu-lie example, and Practise, wil preuaile a thousand times more in short space, than the dead Aduertizement, and persuasion of M.Ascham to the same Effects: whose Schôlemaister notwithstanding I reuerence in respect of so learned a Motiue". (1)

Higginson, Dodge, and Symonds accept the Areopagus as a club on the proof of these letters. Maynadier questions its formal organization. However he goes on to say that there is nothing to prove that they did not meet, and in fact, they did. These meetings

were casual, and if there was any pre-arrangement it was in all probability nothing more than a tacit agreement between Sidney and Dyer to meet from time to time for reading and discussion. He also believes that Harvey was not their adviser, but that they had consultations with him concerning their work. (1) Percy Long denies that such a club existed. He says that if it had existed, we should have heard about it from contemporary writers and from these men themselves, while in reality all we have are these five Harvey-Spenser letters. (2) However, for our purpose we will accept the opinion that there was such a club, whether it was a formal organization or not, that Harvey aided them, whether he was their advisor or not, or if they consulted with him, and that their purpose was for the ennobling of the English language and the experimentation with classical meters in English verse.

The list usually considered as making up the membership of the Areopagus includes Gabriel Harvey, Philip Sidney, Edmund Spenser, Edward Dyer, and Fulke Greville, and a little later Samuel Daniel and Abraham Fraunce. Others have added Edward Kirke, who was in all probability the "E.K." mentioned in the "Shepheardes Calendar," and Diant, who was no less famous than Harvey in his effort to apply classical meter. The meetings were not definitely arranged for, and if anything was said, it was probably an argument between Spenser and Dyer to read and discuss their work, when they had any ready. The Countess of Pembroke, Sidney's sister was their patron-

(1) The Areopagus of Sidney and Spenser, Mod.Lang.Rev., Vol.IV.
ess and inspired and helped many of them in their work. Her career was probably modelled considerably on that of Margaret of Navarre, "the amiable mother of the French Renaissance". Harvey like Dorat was older than the other members of his society, and acted as critic and adviser from one point of view and from another he was urging the same theory of meter as Baïf had in French poetry. For this same purpose the Accademia della Nuova Poesia had existed forty years before in Italy, from which came Talomeis "Versi e Regole de la Nuova Poesia Toscana", Rome 1539, and Baïf's Accadémie de Poésie et Musique chartered two years before Sidney's first visit to France. (1)

A note of their purpose appeared in the introduction to the October Eclogue of the "Shepheardes Calendar" by Spenser"In Cuddie is set out the perfecte paterne of a Poete, whiche finding no maintenaunce of his state and studies, complayneth of the contempte of Poetrie, and the causes thereof: Specially hauing bene in all ages, and even amongst the most barbarous always of singular account and honor, and being indeede so worthy and commendable an arte: or rather no arte, but a diuine gift and heauenly instinct not to bee gotten by laboure and learning, but adorned with both". (2) Also in his "English Poet" we are acquainted with the same thing and also the dignity and responsibility of the poets' calling. In Sidney's "Defense of Poesy" we find the patriotic desire to develope and enrich the English vernacular, that it might assume its proper place before man. The theories of Spenser's "The English Poet" and Sidney's "Defense of Poesy" conform, and it has been

(1) Upham, French Influence in English Literature, p. 53.
surmised that the former essay was digested into the latter.

Sidney in his "Apology" or "Defense of Poesy" begins by Pugliano's eulogy on horsemanship. Sidney says he has as much affection for poetry as Pugliano had for horsemanship, so he undertakes its defense. He gives some arguments in favor of poetry:—1st, its antiquity, (a) first light given to ignorance, (b) earliest historians and philosophers were poets, as Thales, Plato, and Herodotus; 2nd, great popularity of poetry among uncivilized nations, in Turkey, among the Indians, and in Wales. He then defines a poet, the divine nature of poetry and gives the functions of poetry, and its relation to fact and nature. He breaks down the arguments given for the preeminence of philosophy and history and puts poetry in their place, as philosophy gives precepts, history examples, but poetry gives both. He gives various species of poetry and defends it against the following charges:—1st, man might spend his time in knowledge more profitable than poetry, 2nd, poets are liars, 3rd, poetry abuses man's wits, 4th, Plato banished poets from his Republic. He then goes on to tell why poetry is not honored in England as elsewhere:—1st, it is abandoned to inferior wits, who disgrace the names of poets, 2nd, or to men, who, however studious, are not born poets, 3rd, want of serious cultivation of poetic art. So far few good poems had been produced in England since Chaucer; the best of these being Chaucer's "Troilus and Cressid", "Mirrour of Magistrates", Earl of Suries"Liricks", and Spenser's "Shepheardes Kalender". He deplores the degraded state of drama, the only redeeming one being "Gorboduc" and it is a faulty work, especially as to time and place. He goes on to tell how a
tragedy should be constructed. The English dramas are neither right tragedies nor right comedies. There is a great scantiness of lyric poetry. The advantages of the English language for poetry are, its complexity, freedom, adaptability, both to ancient and modern systems of versification. The ancients marked the quantity of each syllable, and the moderns observed rhyme. The ancients believed that poetry was divine and that it made the people of its verses immortal.
CHAPTER III.
THE INFLUENCE OF THE PLEIADE ON THE AREOPAGUS.

Both the poets of France and England tried to trim between two parties, on one side the humanist critics bound up with the classics and on the other side the nationalist critics with their patriotic but crude Medievalism. They formed a third party, basing themselves on a free reconstructive imitation of the classics. French influence was strong, and could easily be seen in the writings of the Areopagus, since as a rule, it lay near the surface. With them however, we must make allowance for other sources. The English poets were influenced by Greek, Latin and Italian verse in such authors as Anacreon, Horace, Pindar, Ariosto, Quarini and Tasso. Some of the poets read these men in the original language, but more often they were influenced by them through the French translations. In some cases this French influence worked through a process of adaption which left ample room for independent activity of Elizabethan individuality. In other cases it worked through a process of fairly close translation. This influence is most strongly felt in metre, terms of phraseology, sentiment and idea.

At this point one should take into consideration the term "borrowing" according to the Renaissance idea. It was not considered a crime, but a praiseworthy thing. We find this idea in Du Bellay's "La Défense et Illustration de la langue française," "Et certes, comme ce n'est point chose vicieuse, mais grandemement louable, emprunter d'une langue estrangers les sentences et les mots et les approprier a la sienne".(1) It was considered as much a

(1) Chapter VIII.
gift to be able to translate well the work of some foreign author as to write something original. The Renaissance critics decided that good poetry was a matter of manufacture, through a somewhat perverted rendering of the classical doctrine of 'imitatio' as applied to literary form. (1) They took the term as not alone meaning the imitation of life and nature, but also the imitation of existing literature especially poetry. Ben Jonson defined poetry as a compound made up of four simples: 1st, ingenium, a goodness of natural wit, 2nd, exercitatio, the exercise of native power, 3rd, imitatio, imitation, and 4th, lectio, the exactness of study and the multiplicity of reading. (2) The Frenchman Scaliger summed up poetic imitation as "Every poet is somewhat of an echo". (3) Having this in mind, it will be easier to understand the situation. The English borrowed much from the French, they published poems, which appeared to be original, but upon close investigation sometimes proved to be translations from French and Italian literature. In a like way the French authors borrowed from classical and Italian works. The Elizabethans very rarely, if ever, gave open acknowledgment of their translation from the Pléiade. Only one literary work of Ronsard, his "Discours de Misères de ce temps à la Royne Mere de Roy," a denunciation of Calvin, which was published in Antwerp by the Englishman William Jenye 1568, was acknowledged as a translation. It appeared under the title of "A Discours of the Present Troobles in Fraunce, and Miseries of

(2) Ben Jonson, Discoveries, ed. Schelling, pp. 122-126.
(3) S. Lee, op. cit. p. 252.
this Tyme, compiled by Peter Ronsard Gentilman of Vandome, and dedicated unto the Quene Mother. Translated into English by Thomas Jeney, Gentilman. Printed at Andwerp 1568, 4 to". Only one copy seems to have been identified in modern times and it belonged to the great collector, Richard Herber, and its present whereabouts seems unknown. (1) Translations of Du Bellay's works were a little more openly confessed. In fact Spenser in 1569 began his literary career by translating for Van der Noodts "Theatre for Worldlings", Du Bellay's "Vision" or "Songe" (2). We also find him translating his "Ruins of Rome". The Elizabethan translators gave only to Du Bartas, the Huguenot poet, who did not stay very long with the Pléiade, an open acknowledgment of their obligation to him.

The members of the Pléiade were above all great metrists, and practiced with ease almost every variety of rhyming stanza. Ronsard tried his hand at sixty-three metres or strophes of varying lengths and mutations. One of their new stanzas was that which was used later by Tennyson in "In Memoriam", consisting of four lines with the last syllable of the first and fourth, and the second and third rhyming. They rejected, as Du Bellay had advised, the rondeaux, ballades, virelais, chants royaux, and they took up epigrams, elegies, odes and sonnets. (3) Du Bellay says that the ode in its true and natural style is represented by Pierre de Ronsard. (4) Ronsard began with the Pindaric ode with its classical distribution into strophe, antistrophe, and epode, but soon abandoned it for the simpler scheme of the Horatian ode. His odes were neither

(1) S. Lee, op. cit., p. 213.
(2) Also found under Spenser's Complaints.
(3) Defense, Bk. ii, Ch. iv.
Greek nor French. They had however a brilliant success. His longest and most ambitious was addressed to Michel de l'Hospital, in which he relates the birth of the Muses, their visit to Jupiter, their father, while he was staying beneath the ocean, and then the rise, progress and decline of poetry, the sway or ignorance and the final revival of learning at the birth of the great chancellor (1). This involved tale is interspersed with learned literature and mythological allusions. The feelings at the bases of these odes is the old epicureanism life in the present and neglect of the future with an occasional melancholy sentiment over the fleeting quality of youth and beauty and the passage of time. Ronsard's famous ode to Cassandre, "Mignonne, allons voir si la rose" exemplifies this. (2) The Anacreontic qualities interwoven with these Horatian ones deal largely with the setting, source of love, doves, bees, etc.

The sonnet played a very prominent part both in England and France; and what can be said of it in one country can very well apply to the other. Du Bellay told his companions to imitate the Italian poets and especially Petrarch. Before this Melin de Saint Gelais and later Marot used this form, but this fact did not deter the Pléiade. They gave to the sonnet the name 'Amour', from the "Amores" of Ovid. This title was used by Ronsard, Baif, Olivier de Magny and also the "Erreurs amoureuses" of Thyard. Ronsard wrote more than nine hundred sonnets; Du Bellay's "Olive" and "Regrets" number more than three hundred and Desportes, of the later school wrote three hundred. They used Italian themes but modified

(2) Les chefs d'oeuvre de Ronsard et de son école, ed. A.Dorchain, 1907, p.25.
them to suit the environment. In this Petrarchist revival they made an effort after dignity and polish of rhetorical style. Ronsard especially championed this, and developed it to such an extent that it has individualized his work. He added a vigor and vividness of imagination. These writers, however, let their efforts be affected by their individual needs, and the degraded practices of a corrupt court. They made much of the Greek and Latin models, which they were to imitate, but often went directly to the Italian work. They used a ten-syllable verse instead of the classical system of quantitative verse which was not, with its illogical spelling, well suited to their language. However, Baïf used the Alexandrine in his "Amours de Méline" 1552, and Ronsard in his "Amours de Marie," "Sonnets pour Hélène", and in his "Hymnes". They gave fanciful names to their mistresses, and used their names as titles of the collections. The sonnet was introduced into England first by Wyatt and Surrey, who were influenced by Serafino in Italy. Their works were published in 1557, in "Tottel's Miscellany", but there was no further development until it was taken up by members of the Areopagus circle, who were influenced by the French and Italian, but more directly by the French; in fact, they translated sonnets from both languages, especially the French sonnets of Ronsard. Sidney took the lead, and he too, like Ronsard, was little affected by the extravagant conceits of most of the Italians, but employed the polished simplicity of the school of Petrarch and Bembo. Spenser in his " Complaints" was influenced by Du Bellay's sonnets, which celebrated the transitory nature of human affairs. After the publication of the "Astrophel" and "Stella" sonnets, 1591, the great wave of English sonneteering began, and French
influence was more strongly felt. This was probably due to the fact that men were less careful at this time about adding their original ideas, so as to conceal their borrowing. In some places it can not be denied that they translated the French sonnet, but this indicates that these men had carefully studied the sonnet series of the French.

The Pléiade also used the decasyllabic rhyme, and this measure filled in the new French prosody the place which the heroic hexameter filled in Greek, and the elegiac couplet in Latin poetry. Ronsard used it in the "Franciade", his explanation being found in the first preface that experience had shown him that the Alexandrine was too prosaic, and that it should be used for tragedy or translation. (1) They also revived the Alexandrine and gave it a new cadence and pliancy. Jodelle was the first to use it in tragedy, and he made it for all times the standard type for dramatic verse in France.

The technical terms of poetic art, although Greek in origin, reached the Elizabethans directly from France, as the words lyric, complaint, ode, and hymn. The sonnet also was adopted by some of the Elizabethan poets from France; it was of Italian origin, but was Gallicized by the Pléiade under the name "amour" as well as the name "sonnet". Almost all of the new ways of rhyming, which were employed in England, were first used in France by the Pléiade. The really significant reformed versification of both was the 'fourteener', making rich and varied stanzas keeping to the national rhyme principle, but developing its monotonous singsong into rich harmonies. The 'fourteener' was used by the translators of

(1) Oeuvres de Ronsard, ed. Blanchemain, Vol.iii, p.16.
the Latin poets. Either the last syllable of each line rhymed or each verse was divided into two, the first having eight syllables and the second six. The two sixes must rhyme and sometimes the two eights, but the latter depends on the will of the writer.

In the sixteenth century in France and Italy treatises appeared calling attention to the difficulty of adapting a modern language with its illogical spelling to the classical system of quantitative verse. They decided that a relief for this was to be found in simplifying the orthography and making it phonetic. In Italy there was established the Accademia della nuova poesia, and in 1539 we have Talomies "Versi e Regole de la Nuova Poesia Toscana". (1) In 1562, Ramus worked out a system of simplified spelling. Baïf put these theories into execution in his Académie de Poésie et de musique, 1570, which took up classical meters and music. He believed with Ronsard that there was a close connection between poetry and music and this led him to found the Académie under the patronage of Charles IX. It consisted of two classes of members, Musicians or poets, and Listeners, the former being paid by the subscriptions of the latter. They recited poems to the accompaniment of music. Its chief study was the determination of the study of sounds. (2) In England we find Sir Thomas Smith, who knew Ramus, and with the aid of John Cheke promulgated a phonetic system of English orthography. Sidney in his "Defense of Poesy" discussed it and the relation of classic metres to verse. (3) Spenser in a letter to Harvey discussed the system formed by Drant, who demanded

(1) Upham, French Influence in English Literature, p.69.
(3) Sidney, Apologie for Poetry, ed. J.C.Collins, p.60.
a strict observance of the Latin rules for syllabic quantity without modifying the orthography to facilitate this. Harvey argued against this, and wanted a system, in which accepted English accents should be retained, and also insisted on a reform in spelling. He preferred the system of Sir Thomas Smith. Practically, however, the Areopagus never published a verse of the reformed versification. Spenser's one remaining specimen is found in a letter to Harvey written Oct. 5, 1579. The "Arcadia" contains Sidney's attempts, which he did not wish to have published, but which were published after his death. In the Pléiade we find two odes in sapphics of Ronsard and some poems of Bâif.

The Areopagus closely followed the Pléiade in the enrichment of their vocabulary. Like the Pleiade they said it must be enriched by 'homebred' and 'learned' words and phrases. In this way they hoped to elevate the common vocabulary without rendering it unintelligible to the intelligent. Mr. Fletcher includes under 'homebred' or 'homespun' revivals: 1st, archaisms, 2nd, dialectical terms and phrases; under 'learned' accretions: 1st, naturalized importations from foreign tongues, ancient or modern, 2nd, technical terms from arts and sciences, 3rd, coinages. (1) To the formation from disused French words Ronsard gave the picturesque name of 'provignement', the technical term of layering of plants. (2) There were differences of opinion concerning the use of archaisms. Du Bellay and Sidney did not want a too constant use of them, while Ronsard alone rivalled Spenser in their use. Du Bellay also ignored the uses of terms and phrases from the provincial dialects; Ronsard welcomed this but did not use it freely, Spenser used it conspicu-

(2) Lanson, Hist. Lit. Fr., p. 232; J. J. Jusserand, Ronsard, p. 173.
ously in the "Calender" while Sidney censured him for doing it. They also wished to ennoble the language in its relationship of words, its syntax. (1) Here they could very easily run into affectation. To be unusual in syntax, they made one part of speech take the part of another, they put one clause of a sentence, where another naturally belonged. Ronsard was the first modern European to create adjectives and epithets out of two words, which were different parts of speech, and he declared that his "vocabules composez" sufficiently differed from any antique pattern, that it could be called original. He formed such words as *donne-vie* (life-giving), *chasse-peine* (trouble-chasing) and *oste-soin* (care-dispersing). This was a most conspicuous gift to Elizabethan poetry. Sidney especially drew much of his use of this device from Ronsard. In his "Sonnets to Stella" we find *love-acquainted* (eyes) *rose-enamelled* (skies) etc. In his "Apology for Poetry", he urged the composition of compound words made up of two or three words. We find these in Spenser's sonnets and in his "Faerie Queen". Along with this they tried to reform the orthography, and made it phonetic which topic I have already discussed.

The Areopagus also followed the Pléiade in their view of life, which they had taken from Anacreon. They also described the things of nature, that were pleasing to the eye. The poets of both groups greeted the months of April and May and the flowers of spring and summer with bouyant note, and wrote poems to every sort of flower. Spencer made out a floral inventory, which was

distinctly Ronardian. (1) The English lyric play of amorous fancy ran in a French mould and all seemed to pattern their love poems on a famous sonnet of Desportes.

The Areopagus took from the Pléiade the idea of immortality of the name, when written in verse along with the idea that the poet was divine. The Pléiade believed that the poet not only achieved immortality for himself and his poetry, but that he also had the power of conferring it upon those to whom his poetry was addressed. This idea was a classical conceit of great antiquity, Pindar having held it among the Greeks and Horace and Ovid among the Romans. In connection with this, they considered the mutability of time, which became a favorite topic, being especially used by Spenser and Du Bellay. (2) Spenser, besides considering the ruins of Rome, considered those of England. All except literature is destroyed by time,—that alone remains. This theme was not to be kept apart from the "Visions", especially written by Du Bellay, Petrarch and Spenser. (3) They were never tired of the theme, that their pens and papers were the base implements of a poetic spirit, which through such poor agencies was winging its way to eternity. This thought, along with the arrogance of Ronsard, who said

"Je suis, dis je,Ronsard et cela te suffice,
Ce Ronsard, que la France honore, chante et prise.
Des Muses le mignon, et de qu'i les escrits
N'ont craint de se voir par les ages surprise", (4)

(2) Spenser, The Ruins of Time, and translation of Du Bellay's, Antiquites de Rome; Du Bellay—Antiquites de Rome.
was carried over to England, and was used by the poets of the Areopagus quite freely.

We are able to find some similarity in Ronsard's "Franchiade" and Spenser's "Faerie Queen". The elements in common are easily distinguishable. Both, as Fletcher says, set out avowedly to overgo Ariosto, whom they both mistake as an epic maker in direct descent from Homer and Virgil. (1) Harvey, in a letter to Spenser, in a friendly manner criticizes the "Faery Queen" in reference to "Orlando Furioso". In a letter addressed to Raleigh, which prefaces the "Faery Queen", Spenser couples Orlando with Aeneas, as being meant to "ensample a good governour and a virtuous man". (2) Ronsard's most cherished models, at any rate, in theory, were Homer and Virgil. In the original preface to the "Franchiade", he professes to have modelled his work rather on the naive spontaneity of Homer, than on the careful diligence of Virgil. (3) The influence of Virgil is in reality more conspicuous than that of Homer. They both gave the exploits and progeny of certain mythical Trojan ancestors of the ruling houses, Ronsard in Francus, and Spenser in Britomart and Artegall. Ronsard profited by the "Illustrations de Gaul et Singularités de Troie" by Lemaire de Belges. (4) Both had their heros fight in single combat with invulnerable giants, Ronsard once and Spenser many times. They used personified abstractions and virtues and vices, in Ronsard we find love and

(3) Oeuvres de Ronsard, Blanchemain, Vol.iii, p.9.
(4) J.J.Jusserand, Ronsard, p.139.
jealousy personified, and in Spenser we find the 'twelve virtues of Aristotle' personified, and also such things as the Den of Error, House of Pride, and House of Holiness. The "Franciade" is a poor performance. Francus, the son of Hector, having escaped from the fury of the Greeks, after a series of adventures, arrived at Crete. The two daughters of the king of Crete fell in love with him. One of them, very jealous, threw herself into the sea; the other a prophetess, disclosed the future to him, in which he appeared as the ancestor of a long line of kings in France, from the legendary Pharomond to Charlemangue. (1) He brought together a medley of episodes drawn from older writers and loaded with pseudo-antique comparisons and similies. At the request of Charles IX, he was obliged to draw lessons from the lives of all the kings, to incline one to virtue and to make one hate vice. In the "Faery Queen" we find a prophecy of Britomart's future line. (2) His book was written as an aid in the instruction of the 'perfect gentleman', to instruct him in virtue and chivalry, and to show him the pitfalls of vice. To him chivalry was an inspiring ideal, the highest expression of human nobility and earnestness, and he tries to show this in his "Faery Queen".

Sidney, in his "Defense of Poesy" wrote concerning the present and future of English drama. (3) He said that the popular plays of the day were bad, as they disregarded the unities, and blended the tragic and comic, which was not classical and which made them lack a stately dignity. He gave the Senecan drama as a standard and favorably mentioned "Gorboduc" and the Latin plays of Bucanan.

(2) Book iii, canto 3.
(3) Ed. Collins, pp.51 ff.
These opinions were merely an echo of the French and English critics. When Du Bellay in his "Défense" bade Frenchmen to banish farces and moralities, which were prevalent at that time and to put in their places true tragedies and comedies, which should recreate in the native tongue the archetypes of Greece, French tragedy and comedy was conceived on a regular classical pattern. Étienne Jodelle was the leader of this drama and devoted his time to both tragedy and comedy, "Cleopatre" being his first tragedy and "Éugène" his first comedy. In 1590 the Countess of Pembroke's "Antoine" appeared. It was a careful translation of the 1585 edition of "Antoine", by Garnier, who was the most popular French playwright of his day, and who had responded to the call of the Pleiade. She turned his Alexandrine couplets into blank verse, but attempted to reproduce the lyric variety of his work. After this followed dramas by Daniel, Kyd, Fulke Greville, and William Alexander, in all of which French influence may be seen. Daniel's "Cleopatria" 1594 took up the story where the Countess of Pembroke's "Antoine" had left it. No real sources for this play have been discovered, unless it could have been from Garnier's "Antoine", Jodelle's tragedy of 1552, or Giraldis' "Cinthio". Thomas Kyd translated Garnier's "Cornalie" under the title of "Pompey the Great, his Faire Cornelia's Tragedy". Fulke Greville had a didactic purpose in his work, and made tragic action as the means to a higher end. The writers of the French and English choruses lost no chance to moralize on the situations, and Greville and his followers wrote the play to fit the preaching. (1)

(1) Upham, French Influence in English Literature, pp. 76 ff.
CHAPTER IV.

SUMMARY.

In going over briefly the main points of similarity of the Pléiade and the Areopagus, we find that Du Bellay, Spenser, and Sidney bewailed the base condition of poetry and wanted to elevate and make it worthy of the regards of princes and noblemen,—it was to be for the educated class. As the Pléiade sought consciously to reform and enrich the French language and to make possible a nobler French literature, so the Areopagus sought to refine and embellish the language and literature of England. Ronsard was the founder of modern French poetry, and he introduced for the first time the idea that form and style were necessary in the composition of verses. (1) He aimed for nobility, earnestness and splendor of language. According to Rosenbauer, the reform of the Pléiade may be said to consist in the substitution of poetic style for rhyme as the principal aim of poetry. (2) The triumphs of both schools were in their songs, odes and sonnets. The Pléiade cradled a new conception of lyric theme, a new standard of poetic vocabulary, an imitation of the Greek, Latin and Italian authors, and a new temper of poetic melody, the effect of which is a substitution for the literature of the Middle Ages, another based on antiquity, becoming itself a sort of pseudo-antique. We must also consider their defects. The more general of these were that they did not learn economy, restraint, or that all great poetry springs from direct observation of life; they overshot the mark as to style, being too bond of paraphrases and too afraid of common

(1) A. Konta, History of French Literature, p. 135.
words; they studied literature too much, and life not enough for the good of their work; they held and expressed too great a contempt for the common and unlearned class; they were too easily satisfied with their own work and lacked the habit of self criticism. (1)
The Areopagus was influenced by the Pléiade in metre as the ode, sonnet, epic, etc., and the 'fourteener'. The vocabulary of both was enriched by 'homebred' or 'homespun' terms as archaisms and dialectical terms and phrases, and second by 'learned accretions' as naturalized importations from foreign tongues, ancient or modern, technical terms from arts and sciences, and new coinages. The members of the Areopagus were influenced in its drama by the Pléiade. They also took from them the view of life of Anacreon, the mutability of time, immortality of the poets, their poetry, and of the persons whom they wrote about. They did not however need to go to their French predecessors for the reforms of their poetry, for a patriotic conception of the vernacular nor the plan of digestive imitation by which they were to enrich their native language; it was innate. But in regard to the means of establishing the desired reform, they show indication in many directions of deriving their methods and ideas from the writers of the Pléiade.
