

John Lyly's *Galatea*: Memes, Cross-Dressing, and Likeness*

Hsin-Yi Hsieh

Department of Foreign Languages and Literatures
National Chung Hsing University
No. 145, Xingda Rd., South Dist., Taichung 40227, Taiwan
E-mail: hyhsieh@dragon.nchu.edu.tw

Abstract

John Lyly's *Galatea* (1584) is a court comedy of virtue, which was written specifically to be performed before Elizabeth I. Composed after *Campaspe* (1583) and *Sapho and Phao* (1584), *Galatea* is the third in Lyly's first series of court comedies, and situated within the author's successive approaches to the cult of Elizabeth I, who was worshipped as the Maiden Queen of England and the Virgin Mother of her nation. Furthermore, after the playwright's first prose fiction work, *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1578), *Galatea* is also Lyly's first play to revise the motif of father-daughter disagreement and to

© Institute of European and American Studies, Academia Sinica

Received April 25, 2019; accepted November 11, 2019; last revised December 20, 2019

Proofreaders: Alex C. Chang, Lin-Yi Yang, Hsin-Wen Fan

* The present article is part of a research project (102-2410-H-005-045-MY2) financed by National Science Council (Ministry of Science and Technology since 2014) in Taiwan. The author would like to thank the anonymous reviewers for their encouraging suggestions and inspiring feedbacks, which helped improve the early version of the manuscript.

rethink conflicting male likenesses. Through double cross-dressing, two females' love of being alike is thus dramatized in response to the dysfunction of patriarchal authority. Accordingly, this article explores the way in which certain figures or ideas are reproduced, even mutated through imitation, as memes in the play relating to the queen's virtue. Given the presence of the queen at the play's performance, this article explores how far Lyly redefines the subordinate relationship of the on-stage subjects to the off-stage Queen Elizabeth I: examining how the sacrificial virgins, vagrant boys, and cross-dressed maidens of *Galatea* seek various routes to the same shelter under the eye of the constant and multidimensional queen who stands in as an exemplar of divine perfection.

Key Words: Galatea, memes, likeness, cross-dressing, Queen Elizabeth I

I. Introduction

Tityrus. The sun doth beat upon the plain fields; wherefore let us sit down, Galatea, under this fair oak, by whose broad leaves being defended from the warm beams we may enjoy the fresh air, which softly breathes from Humber floods.

Galatea. Father, you have devised well, and whilst our flock doth roam up and down this pleasant green you shall recount to me, if it please you, for what cause this tree was dedicated unto Neptune, and why you have thus disguised me. (Lyly, 2000: 1.1.1-10)¹

Galatea (1584) is John Lyly's first play implicitly set in England and away from the court.² It presents no parallel regal stand-in for Lyly's chief royal spectator, Queen Elizabeth I, whose mind, as suggested in the prologue, accommodates nothing but virtue (prologue, lines 16-18). Nor is the queen directly addressed in the epilogue; however, as though harkening back to the playwright's prose fictions, where the Queen appears only as a side character in the narrative and stays aloof from the main story, her majesty can be imagined as seated above gender and risen above love, observing how *Galatea*, her on-stage subject, encourages her ladies off-stage to yield to love (epilogue, line 5). Unlike *Campaspe* (1583) and *Sappho*

¹ The above quotations from John Lyly's (2000) *Galatea*, a five-act play with a prologue and an epilogue, are based on G. K. Hunter's edition, and are cited with act, scene, and line numbers; thus, the Arabic numerals "1.1.1-10" here refer to act 1, scene 1, lines 1 to 10. All further quotations refer to the same edition and will be cited in the same style; exceptions will be annotated individually.

² Composed after *Campaspe* and *Sappho and Phao*, *Galatea* has long been recognized as the third in Lyly's first series of court comedies. However, the date of its first composition and records detailing its premiere performance before Queen Elizabeth I are subject to unsettled conjectures. Recently, Martin Wiggins has posited 1584 as the best potential composition date for *Tityrus and Galatea* (the title of an early version of the play), which was performed with the shortened title *Galatea* before the queen around 1588 and then reentered into the Stationers' Register in 1591 (2012: 754), one year before the first official publication of *Galatea*.

and *Phao* (1584), both of which depict a monarch-like character's destined struggle between his/her personal desire and regal duty, *Galatea* centers on the incidental quests of two shepherds' daughters. It is also Lyly's first exploration of the father-daughter relationship after his literary debut *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit* (1578), a prose fiction, wherein Lyly explores the traditional conflict between two male friends competing for the same beautiful lady, who is later denounced by her father as a wanton daughter. In the *Anatomy*, the seemingly destined pairing of Euphues and Philautus is delineated, thus creating and questioning a rhetorical effect of the Ciceronian "like will to like" in *De Amicitia (On Friendship)* (Cicero, 2005: 3). *Galatea's* narrative does not contain severe parental disapproval of daughters falling in love; nevertheless, so-called likeness, that is similitude or resemblance, is dramatized in the form of a romantic encounter between the two shepherdesses, both of whom are at first reluctant to be cross-dressed by their respective fathers, but who later relent to avoid the violence of virgin sacrifice.³ Despite its rural setting and rustic characters, overall, *Galatea* may be considered as a court comedy reflective of Lyly's habit of referencing, and even imitating, previous works; this creates continuity between the variations in his approach to the core of his writing—that is, constant inconstancy—and in his praise for the chief member of his royal audience, Queen Elizabeth I.⁴

³ Modern scholarship on *Galatea* tends to focus on the narrative triumph of love. On one hand, Robert J. Meyer explores the theme of love as the cause and effect of "pleasure reconciled to virtue," a natural impulse beyond the control of deities, let alone human beings (1981: 200). Michael Pincombe holds a similar view, proposing that "the love between the two girls is spontaneous, and, in that respect, 'natural'" (1997: 140). On the other, in a more gender-oriented direction, Andy Kesson highlights the importance of *Galatea* as a play that dramatizes "the female experience of love" (2015: 43). Furthermore, Simone Chess views the double cross-dressing as a means by which the two girls can collaboratively transform their mutual experience of love into a "queer gender play that is at the core of [*Galatea*]" (2016: 149).

⁴ According to Leach Scragg, a modern editor of the two parts of Lyly's *Euphues*, "Lyly's dictum that there is 'nothing' constant 'but inconstancy' (p. 236) has at last

Beginning with imitation, the process by which Lyly recreates and then transmits a series of kaleidoscopic imageries can be described in comparison with the origins of the concept of “meme” in Richard Dawkins’s *The Selfish Gene*. Dawkins states that, in contrast to the biological concept of genes, this term was coined to denote a new and nongenetic replicator that “conveys the idea of a unit of cultural transmission, or a unit of imitation” (2016: 249). Originally, “mimeme,” a Greek term for “imitation,” was the first word that came to Dawkins’s mind; however, to highlight both its likeness and unlikeness to genes (the generators of biological similarity), the “meme” was thus newly conceptualized (249). Though genetic features can be inherited from one’s parents, they need not be identical to their origins; nevertheless, genetic analysis can help to identify connections between organisms. Similarly, when certain “tunes, ideas, catchphrases, clothes fashions, ways of making pots or of building arches” (some of Dawkins’s examples) (249) are passed on as cultural reproductions from one brain, one generation, one context etc., to another, they become memes. However, as in the biological context, some genetic variation may occur, occasionally, memes can also undergo transformation. In her research on the transforming motifs of English romance from Geoffrey Chaucer to William Shakespeare, Helen Cooper refers to this term as “an idea that behaves like a gene in its ability to replicate faithfully and abundantly, but also on occasion to adapt, mutate, and therefore survive in different forms and cultures” (2004: 3). Whereas Cooper’s study does not include any of Lyly’s works, the present article explores how Lyly’s dramaturgy features balance and antithesis, and presents a range of intriguing variations on imitation, disrupting conventional binary oppositions between youth and age, beauty and virtue, and so on. Particularly evident in *Galatea*, the father-daughter motif, the theme of likeness, and the mechanisms of cross-dressing are incorporated into a Lylian memetic evolution of

proved valid, however, in relation to the estimation of his own work” (2003: 1).

the cult of Elizabeth I, who was worshipped as the Virgin Mother of her nation and the Maiden Queen of England.⁵ Boy actors' mimicry of female mannerisms combined with the double cross-dressing of female characters paved the way for later writers, such as Shakespeare, to introduce more runaway daughters and cross-dressing heroines.⁶

While Galatea and Phillida, the two cross-dressed virgins, are both beautiful and virtuous, one appears to be more masculine and is later offered by Venus a sort of sex change. Jacqueline Vanhoutte posits this seemingly destined and somewhat unnatural union as the playwright's response to the obligations imposed on Elizabeth I, who expected to be recognized as a metaphorically androgynous figure able to oversee both a maternal body natural and a patriarchal body politic. Vanhoutte suggests that Lyly manipulated the shadow theme of the queen's virtue in order to dramatize the virtue of the chosen sacrifices, in that the queen had to acknowledge the virtue of the two virgins so as to affirm her own virtue.

Certainly, the gendered confusion is part of Lyly's theatrical strategy for staging visual inconstancy by subtly alluding to the queen's virtuous constancy. However, this article does not take issue with Vanhoutte, who suggests that "Elizabeth remains the embodiment of *virtue* only so long as she acquiesces to the virtuousness of Lyly's dramatic enterprise; her virtue is thus subject to the plays" (1996: 2). Rather, my research explores the opposite notion—that is, the merits of Lyly's works are subject to the queen's

⁵ Helen Hackett's *Virgin Mother, Maiden Queen* (1995) explores a parallel development between the Elizabethan reverence for the queen and the medieval cult of the Virgin Mary in sixteenth-century England. Although it refers to Lyly's prose fictions, Hackett's study does not discuss Lyly's *Galatea*, which the author of this article takes as a significant example to illustrate Lyly's dialectical approach to the cult of Elizabeth I, especially in terms of the court context of performance.

⁶ The term "double cross-dressing of female characters" has two meanings: first, it refers to boy actors playing female roles who have to "cross-dress" as males when playing female cross-dressed characters; second, it means two boy actors playing respective female roles who are both cross-dressed as males and thus become alike.

virtue, which forms the basis for the generation of more memes through imitation. In *Galatea*, it is implied that the queen has been sitting and observing memes concerning herself, that is, imitative ideas or figures. Later memes, although not fully reflecting an identicalness to the figures of Elizabeth I, bear some likeness to Lyly's earlier literary innovations and thus participate to some extent in their original relationship with this Virgin Mother and Maiden Queen. In other words, it is different sorts of subject characters including beautiful virgins, motherless children, cross-dressed maidens, and nymphs serving a queen-like goddess (all designed to be played by boy actors), who are redefined in response to the constant and multidimensional queen.

II. The Virgin and Virtuous Beauties

The opening scene of *Galatea* depicts a pre-Christian past of the "land," which is recounted by Galatea's father, a shepherd, as he sits with his daughter under a tree and explains to her why she must remain disguised as a boy. In antiquity, the people of the land served Neptune, the sea god, in exchange for his protection, but they were soon invaded by the "Danes who instead of sacrifice committed sacrilege" (Lyly, 2000: 1.1.24-25);⁷ this angered their god, who then caused shipwrecks and barren soils. To appease his divine wrath and restore fertility to their land, the later inhabitants consented to pay for their ancient forebears' sins as follows: "that at every five years' day, the fairest and chastest virgin in all the country should be brought unto this tree, and here being bound (whom neither parentage shall excuse for honour, nor virtue for integrity)

⁷ John Stowe, a historian and citizen of London during Lyly's time, also refers to the "The City of London, having been destroyed and burnt by the *Danes*, and other *Pagan Enemies*, about *Anno Domini* 839" in his *Survey of London*, originally published in 1598 and then reissued as a new version (with some notes added by Stowe) in 1603 (1908: 10). The present article uses C. L. Kingsford's 1908 edition, a reprint of Stowe's 1603 version.

is left for a peace-offering unto Neptune” (Lyly, 2000: 1.1.47-51). Unaware of her own status as a candidate victim for the year’s sacrifice, Galatea pities these supposed innocents:

Galatea. Dear is the peace that is bought with guiltless blood.
Tityrus. I am not able to say that, but he sendeth a monster
called the Agar, against whose coming the waters roar, the
fowls fly away, and the cattle in the field for terror shun the
banks. (1.1.52-56)

The seeming pastoral serenity of the land is thus riddled with crises, as depicted by the violence of the virgin sacrifice and hostility toward fair chaste maids. At first glance, the opening of *Galatea* bears some resemblance to Virgil’s first *Eclogue*, which begins with Melibeus’s curious commentary on Tityrus, who “lie[s] under the canopy of a spreading beech . . . at ease beneath the shade, teach the woods to re-echo ‘fair Amaryllis’” (1999: 1, 4-5). This pleasant shade is where Tityrus lies in repose, but it is also where Melibeus seeks rest in exile and recalls the unpleasant political pressures of the past. Lyly appropriated these neighboring shepherds as the worried fathers of Galatea and Phillida. With a pastoral pause, Tityrus invites his daughter to sit down in the shade because “[t]he sun doth beat upon the plain fields” (Lyly, 2000: 1.1.1); this recalls a curious combination of the ease of Virgilian Tityrus and the suffering of Virgilian Melibeus. What Lylian Tityrus wants to *teach* his on-stage audience is not the idyll of a fair nymph, but the tragedy of beautiful and helpless virgins being sacrificed to the storm, beyond the sunny pastoral peace. This father then urges Galatea, the chosen sacrifice for this year, to run away from their land, as if he could only seek rest for his daughter by sending her into exile. Nevertheless, from a meta-theatrical point of view, the Lylian characters, unlike the Virgilian shepherds, are not without political support. Instead, consider that the prologue of the play, which addresses Elizabeth I as follows: “Your Majesty’s judgement and favour are our sun and shadow” (Lyly, 2000: prologue, lines 3-4), thus informing the off-stage audience that the virtuous notions in the play and of the boy

actors' performances are subject to the guardianship of the queen.

By the time Lyly dedicated *Galatea* to Queen Elizabeth I, the queen had devoted most of her life to England, believing herself to be God's earthly delegate as well as His chosen sacrifice. Becoming no king's spouse and refusing to share her kingdom with any potential husband, Elizabeth I symbolically married herself to her country. She was hence called the Virgin Queen of England, in celebration of her twin virtues of beauty and chastity exceeding traditional concepts of virginity, that is, she was more than merely pure, clean, and untouched. A virgin ruler dedicated to God, the Heavenly Father, the off-stage queen of England, although lacking a biological father to advise her, is acknowledged as a more trustworthy authority in the prologue of *Galatea*. Thus, whereas, in the pagan tradition, a virgin embodying beauty and virtue was expected to neutralize Neptune's threat to the patriarchal community, the playwright esteemed no one but the chief member of his royal audience, Elizabeth I, to be the true virtuous Virgin—one who makes sacrifices for the country, brings an end to religious conflicts, and halts the chaos that ravaged the land. From this perspective, the prologue prophesizes that the off-stage Virgin will be the only resource of justice for the on-stage virgins in *Galatea* because only her majesty can bathe her memes in the light of the sun, and have them rest in the shade of a shadow.

Now, we may imagine an interesting context: the on-stage virgins perform their roles before the real-life "virgin queen," heir to the throne of her deceased father; however, unlike the queen, they receive fatherly counsel to be obedient daughters while in fact being instructed by their respective fathers to challenge the traditional notion of female honor. Particularly evident in Act I, the play enacts the conventional gap between the young and the old.⁸

⁸ Although very little evidence exists to potentially reveal the true extent of Lyly's possible revisions to the 1588 performance of *Galatea* based on the lost script of 1584 (the year of its first composition according to Wiggins's supposition), the title of the script, *Tityrus and Galatea*, apparently indicates that the play emphasizes a

Whereas Tityrus believes the risk of using an unlawful means, such as cross-dressing, is far more tolerable than living with the intolerable grief of losing a daughter's life and honor, Galatea is reluctant to go against the ideal female embodiment of beauty and chastity. She challenges her father, thinking that since her good nature in Tityrus's eyes brings her temporary admiration, especially from men, her honor and virtue could win her more esteem in history. Although she is young, and thus treated like a child in need of the attentive care of her father, Galatea protests that she is not so childish as to "desire to live ever" (Lyly, 2000: 1.1.85). Instead, rather than "grey hairs" (1.1.86), it is "virtues" (1.1.85) that she intends to carry to her grave.⁹ However, her actual behavior still accords with her father's wishes—that is, running away in disguise rather than embracing death through virgin sacrifice, which is contrary to her society's notions of honor.

As a result of the eponymous heroine's escape, another beautiful victim must take her place; Phillida is thus chosen as Galatea's virgin substitute. She is first dressed as a maid on stage, but later, like Galatea, disguises herself as a boy under the advice of her shepherd-father Melibeus, who, like Tityrus, reveals his worry and pride to his daughter: "I, the greatness of thy beauty; we both, the fierceness of the monster Agar" (Lyly, 2000: 1.3.3-4). Phillida is not exactly happy with her father's advice to transform into that which is so unlike herself, but unlike Galatea she does not protest; rather, she soon agrees to Melibeus's plan to ensure her safety and prepares to run away in male clothing, as though performing a meme of Galatea for the audience, even though these two beautiful cross-dressed virgins are yet to meet.

father-daughter context.

⁹ Galatea's decision to run away as encouraged by her father presents a mock version of Euphues's condolences to Eubulus, whose daughter died of an unknown cause in *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit*, where Euphues encourages this old hermit to "deem it more glorious to be buried with an honest name" than to think "it honourable to go to grave with a grey head" (Lyly, 2003: 140).

However, an augur later warns the community in Act 4: “[t]o this tree must the beautifullest be bound until the monster Agar carry her away, and if the monster come not, then assure yourselves that the fairest is concealed” (Lyly, 2000: 4.1.10-12); this prospect could lead to Neptune’s destruction of the country. Accordingly, Hebe, the third choice among the so-called fairest, is bound and waits for Agar to carry her away. Curiously, she is neither devoured nor deflowered; instead, she is released and returned to her father, Ericthinis, before Agar arrives. In fact, in the augur’s words, the “monster is not come” (5.2.61); with this seemingly good fortune, Hebe’s “want of beauty hath saved her own life and destroyed” the public’s (5.2.63-64). Thus, Hebe is not acknowledged as an ideal embodiment of beauty and chastity—a fact that recalls her initial lamentations over, and surprise at, being chosen as the sacrifice to Neptune:

Miserable and accursed Hebe, that being neither fair nor fortunate, thou shouldst be thought most happy and beautiful! Curse thy birth, thy life, thy death, being born to live in danger, and having lived, to die by deceit. Art thou the sacrifice to appease Neptune and satisfy the custom, the bloody custom, ordained for the safety of thy country? Aye, Hebe, poor Hebe, men will have it so, whose forces command our weak natures. (5.1.8-10)

In contrast to Galatea and Phillida, Hebe is presented by her father to be bound to the tree and is thus left to lament her fate. Additionally, unlike Tityrus and Melibeus, Ericthinis is not confident in his own daughter’s beauty; instead, when the augur suspects that the fairest has been concealed, Ericthinis simply admits: “We could not find any fairer” (5.2.65). As Hebe’s abovementioned complaint shows, she must become a sacrifice only under the duress of men and because of the deceit of some individuals (perhaps hinting at Galatea’s and Phillida’s unlawful cross-dressing); regardless of fairness (or the lack thereof), the male gaze has anatomized her as a sacrifice. In short, the more she is perceived to

be beautiful, the more danger she faces. Therefore, the less Hebe is viewed as a beauty, the safer she is; however, she considers this a cause for shame rather than a blessing. Although she is ready to embrace her fate, she receives no approval from the male gaze: of the augur, of the fathers of the two runaway sacrifices, of other members of the public, of her own father, and even of Neptune's monster. Therefore, despite her sincere efforts to play the role of a heroine in this tradition of virgin sacrifice, Hebe does not succeed; thus, she fails to be praised as a beauty worthy of Agar's pursuit, which, to Hebe, is worse than having "died with fame" (5.2.69), an obligation that Galatea once claimed to hold.

Given this episode, we may view the play as an audition for the role of the virgin sacrifice—one that is held under the watchful eyes of Lyly's audience, with Elizabeth I as judge. Hebe, who is present in only one scene and remains in woman's attire until she exits, performs as a caricature, rather than a qualified substitute, for Galatea, who is clothed as a boy from the beginning to the end. Her histrionic nature invokes an ironic predeath version of female roles, in that she is not killed by a wild animal but is shamed as if she had been literally or figuratively put to death under the male gaze. In contrast, Phillida, dressed as a maid when she first appears on stage, is portrayed as a likeness of Galatea, recalling the curious destiny of resemblance between Philautus and Euphues in the *Anatomy*. The similarity between Galatea and Phillida is also grounded in their approach to unlikeness, whereas Hebe, who seeks any likeness between herself and societal ideals regarding beauty and chastity, is excluded from the sought-after likeness within which she seeks to be included. On the shortlist for this virgin contest, the third is rejected, whereas the first two become cross-dressed runaways. Thus, when their own fathers are dysfunctional and can only act deceitfully or remain helplessly shackled by the law, perhaps, as the prologue intimates, only the off-stage Virgin and motherly guardian of the people and her land can favor these characters with hope.

III. The Mother and Masterless Men

The Lylian reverence of Elizabeth I as a virgin mother is more courtly than religious, in that it is neither a replacement for nor an alternative to Catholic Marian iconography; furthermore, Protestant iconoclasm in Tudor England did not overshadow the maternal authority of this Protestant sovereign. According to Helen Hackett, “Elizabeth was often eulogized as the nursing mother of the English Church and nation” (1995: 4). As indicated by *the Geneva Bible*, which was dedicated to Queen Elizabeth, “All Kings shall be thy nursing fathers, and Queens shall be thy nurses” (Isaiah 49:23, *The 1599 Geneva Bible*).¹⁰ Additionally, Queen Elizabeth, as Lyly’s chief royal audience, was a significant sponsor for *Galatea*, which was the first of Lyly’s plays to be performed singly by the Children of Paul’s.¹¹ Thus, from a meta-theatrical perspective, the queen, rather than any patriarchal figure, appointed and financially supported Lyly’s actor boys for their service, thus ensuring they did not become masterless men. *Galatea*’s journey is undertaken with parental consent to seek refuge in *unlikeness*; this dramatic situation introduces more young characters who remain masterless men because they lack proper role models. As structured in the successive scenes of Act I, following *Galatea*’s escape, we encounter a loitering nymph of Diana in the forest; furthermore, after the conversation between Phillida and Melibeus, we encounter a miller’s three vagrant sons; these are all young characters played by boy actors, and they all travel without a destination. During some critical

¹⁰ The biblical excerpts referred to in this article are all adopted from *the Geneva Bible*, published as a complete version in 1560 and with “the most complete compilation of annotations of any of the Geneva editions” in 1599 (Foster, 2013: loc. 283).

¹¹ Lyly’s first two plays were performed by the Children of Paul’s and the Children of the Chapel Royal as a combined troupe under the name Oxford’s Boys because they were under the patronage of the Earl of Oxford, to whom Lyly dedicated his second work of fiction: *Euphues and His England*, which was first published in 1580.

periods of the Elizabethan era, it was dangerous and even illegal to move from one place to another without a government license. In particular, this rule applied to people from the lower strata of society; and for those under the age of 21, it was necessary to seek a master's supervision before completing their apprenticeship in a certain craft. However, under the queen's guardianship, scenes of females wandering alone and children traveling unaccompanied by adults are transformed into comic episodes in *Galatea*.

Right after Galatea's first exit, we see an isolated nymph of Diana confront an intruder-like Cupid. She, as though responding to the unlawful departure of the cross-dressed eponymous heroine, is found alone by Cupid and is thus suspected by him of risking her honor for temporary freedom while she is straying from Diana, the embodiment of chastity, in a somewhat realistic forest haunted by pre-Christian deities:

Cupid. Fair nymph, are you strayed from your company by chance, or love you to wander solitarily on purpose? (Lyly, 2000: 1.2.1-2)

In poetic rhetoric, the term "nymph," according to *The Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, refers to "a beautiful young woman; a maiden, a damsel" (1989: def. *n.1* 2b). Therefore, Cupid's reference to "a fair nymph wandering solitarily on purpose" may immediately recall the just-exited Galatea, who is claimed by her father to be the fairest of all virgins. Nevertheless, the audience is left to imagine this fairness because Galatea has been wearing a male disguise since her first stage appearance. Surely, Lyly does not limit his usage of the adjective "fair" to just praising a maiden; for example, in *Sappho and Phao*, Venus calls Phao a "pretty youth" (Lyly, 1999: 1.1.56-57) and then updates his look, which, according to Phao himself, is too beautiful to be described by the word "fair" (2.1.6-7). In addition, in *Galatea*, the nymph appropriates this word to playfully fire back a retort at Cupid, the provoking child-god:

Nymph. Fair boy, or god, or whatever you be, I would you

knew these woods are to me so well known that I cannot stray though I would, and my mind so free that to be melancholy I have no cause. There is none of Diana's train that any can train, either out of their way or out of their wits. (1.2.3-8)

When described as “fair,” Cupid is associated with the female gender, and when addressed as a “boy,” he is, in a sense, placed among those who are immature. Although she customarily addresses Cupid as a god, the nymph deems him to be a “little god” (1.2.32). In fact, she is less interested in whatever Cupid is than in his awareness of where he is and whose honor he is doubting. Therefore, she provokes Cupid to demonstrate that he is indeed “a great god” (1.2.34); he thus plans to avenge himself on Diana's nymphs by making them fall in love “with their own eyes” (1.2.37). Cupid then enchants them into loving other (figurative) “nymphs”—that is, the cross-dressed Galatea and Phillida, the two runaway would-be virgin sacrifices. However, this little god's revenge remains incomplete, for his mischief is soon exposed, and he is captured by Diana (3.4.104-106) until Venus seeks Neptune's aid to rescue her runaway boy, complaining that Diana has taken her lovely son Cupid, “using him like a prentice, whipping him like a slave, scorning him like a beast” (5.3.35-37). Interestingly, Venus's complaint in *Galatea* mirrors her anger in *Sappho and Phao*, where the Queen of Syracuse, Sappho, adopts Cupid and replaces Venus as the goddess of love and beauty. Therefore, given the intertextuality between these two plays, if Sappho is a shadow and meme for Elizabeth I, then Cupid's escape from Venus and his capture by Diana may suggest that this child-god needs another more reliable mother figure, with the off-stage Virgin Queen as the best choice. Thus, whether it is the chaste Diana or the amorous Venus, the fierceness of the two pagan goddesses accentuates the benevolence of Lyly's chief royal audience—the true nursing mother appointed by God.¹²

¹² Although the present article is not a comparative study on Lyly's early works, to

The triumphs and defeats of the boyish deity can be paralleled with those of the three human boys in service, who eventually receive protection from Cupid's mother. The miller's sons, Robin, Rafe, and Dick, are apprenticed to a less qualified mariner, after which these three boys are separated, leaving the audience to see Rafe serving alone as a reluctant apprentice to an unreliable alchemist and later to a braggart-like astronomer. Away from home and in the absence of their father, they seek a responsible master to adopt them; thus, before their eventual recruitment by Venus, much like Galatea and Phillida, Robin, Rafe, and Dick are masterless men who are forced to undertake the dangerous act of vagrancy within the mysterious woods. "The crime," in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England, "was taken so seriously because to the dominant classes vagabonds appeared to threaten the established order" (Beier, 1985: xix); unlawful travelers from the lower strata of society were thus considered "masterless in a period when the able-bodied poor were supposed to have masters" (xix). In the play, under the instruction of a mariner, Robin, Rafe, and Dick commence their first apprenticeship; according to Beier's research, "No occupational groups increased as much as sailors and soldiers among vagrants from 1560 to 1640" (93). Given the rising military needs during this time of heightened tensions between England and its continental neighbors, Spain and France, continuous recruitment and discharge activities increased the number of underemployed sailors and soldiers. The year 1588, which is the likely year that the court entertainment *Galatea* was premiered, was also the year that the

identify the continuity of Lyly's cult of Queen Elizabeth I, who was revered as a metaphorical virgin mother, it is necessary to refer to the queen's earlier shadow roles or the roles contrasted with her on-stage shadows. In this view, the reference to Queen Elizabeth I as the most virtuous virgin as well as the best mother for the pagan Cupid is not to challenge the queen's monarchical Protestant status but to strengthen Lyly's courtly approach to the queen, the chief royal audience of *Galatea*. For the justification of the queen's motherly status distinguished from Catholic Marian iconography, please refer to the first paragraph in this section and see also note 5 in the present article.

Spanish Armada sent to attack England was defeated by the queen's navy. Premiered in the wake of the Spanish threat, Lyly's delineation of shipwreck reveals that serving as a vessel sailor could hardly have been a romantic career given its potential dangers:¹³

Robin. Now, Mariner, what callest thou this sport on the sea?

Mariner. It is called a wreck. (Lyly, 2000: 1.4.1-2)

As though staging a boy's shattered dreams of sailing, Lyly stages the entrance of these three apprentices into the play in a near-shipwreck, which is thus dramatized at the shore near the woods. This episode humorously recalls one of Euphues's examples demonstrating that it is better for a father to find a qualified master for his son than to entrust him to a so-called acquaintance: he warns fathers not to "refuse a cunning pilot and choose an unskillful mariner, which hazardeth the ship and themselves in the calmest sea" (2003: 106). Undoubtedly, in comparison with the boys' unpleasant experiences and Euphues's reminder, Elizabeth I, as the commander of the English navy, the leader of England, and the *spouse* of her kingdom, is the Virgin Mother, whom Lyly considers more trustworthy than any of his patriarchal figures or mythological interpretations. While employed by Venus as three "minstrels at the marriage" (2000: 5.3.198), Robin, Rafe, and Dick are required to serve at the church, of which Queen Elizabeth, as mentioned above, was the true nursing mother. Similarly, although the Children of Paul's were under Lyly's supervision, it was the Maiden Queen who looked after their welfare.

¹³ In the following year, Sir Christopher Hatton, an Elizabethan politician, "linked together hypothetical syllogism, rhetorical question and vivid portrayal (with dialogue) of the shipwreck scenario to persuade his audience that they ought to start paying for the next war" (Mack, 2002: 235). In comparison with Lyly's *Galatea*, Hatton's accounts of future well-prepared triumphs, including invocations to God as England's pilot, are set more in a celebratory mood for England's victory.

IV. The Maiden and Cross-dressers

According to the *OED*, a maiden can refer to “a girl” or “a young (unmarried) woman” (1989: def. 1a), “a virgin,” (especially with respect to “the Virgin Mary”) (def. 2a), or “a man without experience of sexual intercourse, esp. by reason of abstention” (def. 2b). In the early seventeenth century, the term “maiden” also became applicable to an old maid, “a spinster,” or “an unmarried woman,” especially “of mature years” (def. 4). This change in the connotation of the words “maiden” and “maid,” whether referring to the young or to the old, did not overshadow Lyly’s reverence of Elizabeth I, whose lack of a spouse and need of an heir had been of great concern to the court and the public. By the time of her attendance of *Galatea*’s premiere, the queen had passed not only the usual age for marriage, but also the age of fertility, according to the medical beliefs of the age. However, Lyly transformed this anxiety into a compliment, noting that the queen, who was revered within the cult of the Maiden, could remain unaffected by age and by men. Thus, while the off-stage Maiden chose to remain above gender norms in order to remain wary of foxlike overseas suitors who coveted her kingdom more than her virginity, the maidens on-stage are made to run away, gender disguised to protect their virginities from a sea monster.

During Lyly’s time, cross-dressing posed a reputational risk, especially for females, because they were liable to be brought to trial at a church court, normally on suspicion of committing sexual misdemeanors while in male disguise (Emmison, 1973: 18). Although Lyly did not directly mention that the *land* in the play was England, Tityrus’s reference to the Danish invasion repeats a history of “the attack on churches and monasteries and the slaughter of clerics” that occurred in eastern England (2000: 1.1.24n, 26-27n). Moreover, some parts of *Galatea* are indeed set in the woods of Lincolnshire (1.4.13), an ancient county located in eastern England. In addition, as suggested in Deuteronomy, cross-dressing is

considered to be contrary to God's wishes; thus, "[t]he woman shall not wear that which pertaineth unto the man, neither shalt a man put on woman's raiment: for that do so, are abomination unto the Lord thy God" (22.5). *The 1599 Geneva Bible* indicates that cross-dressers are abominable to God because their behavior can "alter the order of nature" and "despite (*sic*) God" (Deuteronomy 22:5n1, *The 1599 Geneva Bible*).¹⁴ Given this societal context, it is unsurprising that both *Galatea* and *Phillida* customarily express a preference for death over disguising themselves as members of the male sex, even though this so-called ungodly trick stems from the love of their two fathers and as such is endorsed by their patriarchal authority. To preserve *Galatea*'s "honour," namely, her "chastity," Tityrus thinks "it better to use an unlawful means" (Lyly, 2000: 1.1.69-71, 70n), but *Galatea* wonders whether "an honourable death is to be preferred before an infamous life" (1.1.83-84). Similarly, *Phillida* denies her father's suggestion to put on a "man's apparel" (1.4.15), arguing that such a disguise "will neither become [her] body nor [her] mind" (1.4.16). In fact, our first impression of *Phillida* is that of a maid still in her female attire rather than a man's attire, unlike *Galatea*, who has been dressed as a boy since first entering on-stage:

Melibeus. Why, *Phillida*?

Phillida. For then I must keep company with boys and commit follies unseemly for my sex, or keep company with girls and be thought more wanton than becometh me. Besides, I shall be ashamed of my long hose and short coat, and so unwarily blab out something by blushing at everything. (Lyly, 2000: 1.4.17-21)

Phillida's reply reveals a female anxiety about the dangerous effects of cross-dressing, where the incongruity between her inner mind and outward appearance may prevent her from seeking friendship with either sex. However, this unseemly means is necessary to prevent *Phillida* from falling victim to a dangerous violation of her chastity,

¹⁴ The term "despite" refers to the word "despise."

corresponding precisely to the case of Galatea. Thus, despite their respective biases against assuming a male appearance, Galatea is eager to “learn of him how to behave [her]self” (2.1.12-13), as is Phillida (2.1.15-16), when Galatea and Phillida chance upon each other in the woods.

Curious about the other’s adoption of male attire, these two cross-dressed maidens share a mutual attraction toward—and doubts about—the other’s true nature. While assuming that the other is an improper model of imitation for men, Galatea and Phillida both maintain great pride in their respective female natures and choose to secretly spy on each other’s supposed maleness:

Galatea. [Aside] I perceive that boys are in as great disliking of themselves as maids. Therefore, though I wear the apparel, I am glad I am not the person.

Phillida. [Aside] It is a pretty boy and a fair. He might well have been a woman, but because he is not, I am glad I am. For now, under the colour of my coat, I shall decipher the follies of their kind. (Lyly, 2000: 2.1.18-24)

In their eagerness to decode the other’s seeming maleness, Galatea and Phillida seem to confirm more about their own inner femininity despite their outward male appearances. The play thus draws the audience’s attention to the major crisis facing Galatea and Phillida. On one hand, Galatea, a girl in boy’s disguise, believes that males are different from females and attempts to detach her boyish appearance from her maidenly identity; she expresses an anxiety about being mistaken for something that she is not. In contrast, Phillida, who instinctively compares Galatea to both a pretty boy and fair woman, strives to observe Galatea heterosexually while noticing a feminine similarity between her own fairness as a woman in disguise and Galatea’s prettiness as an ostensible boy. Galatea and Phillida thus experience a chiasmic struggle between the other’s true self and disguise: that is, one is a girl, whereas the other is a boy. Alternatively, the external is male whereas the internal is female, greatly informing the audience about the similarities rather than the

differences between these two cross-dressed maidens.

Unlike in the case of Euphues and Philautus, the hotbed of intimacy sustained by the resemblance between the two female characters does not engender a same-sex friendship between them. Rather, the two runaway sacrifices fall in love with each other:

Galatea. I would not wish to be a woman, unless it were because thou art a man.

Phillida. Nay, do not wish to be a woman, for then I should not love thee. For I have sworn never to love a woman. (Lyly, 2000: 3.2.8-11)

Thus, their same-sex minds are attracted to each other's heterosexual appearance, and their mutual heterosexual love, although remaining unspeakable to each other, becomes an excuse for the audience to justify their same-sex relationship—one that is inwardly female and outwardly male:

Phillida. Suppose I were a virgin (I blush in supposing myself one), and that under the habit of a boy were the person of a maid. If I should utter my affection with sighs, manifest my sweet love by my salt tears, and prove my loyalty unspotted and my griefs intolerable, would not then that fair face pity this true heart?

Galatea. Admit that I were as you would have me suppose that you are, and that I should with entreaties, prayers, oaths, bribes, and whatever can be invented in love, desire your favour, would you not yield? (3.2.19-28)

However, as they find more similarities between themselves, their doubts about each other's true natures grow.

Phillida. Tush, you come in with "admit."

Galatea. And you with "suppose."

Phillida. [Aside] What doubtful speeches be these! I fear me he is as I am, a maiden.

Galatea. [Aside] What dread riseth in my mind! I fear the boy to be as I am, a maiden. (3.2.29-34)

Eventually, they have no choice but to go “into the grove, and make much of one another, that cannot tell what to think one of another” (3.3.61-62); neither can deny the other’s undressed nature. In short, they agree to explore their corporal knowledge of each other, which, however, is only suggested, not staged.

Indeed, this decision brings more problems than solutions to their relationship. If they do not have the same sex—a possibility that worried them both—will they be suspected of having *carnal* knowledge of each other before they can be lawfully matched? Alternatively, if their respective bodily natures prove them to be of the same sex, will they choose to end their affection for each other or risk their chastity and be accused of engaging in same-sex love, which is denounced in Romans as an unchristian passion against nature (Romans 1:26, *The 1599 Geneva Bible*).¹⁵ Nevertheless, if we recall the *OED* definition of “maiden” as “a man without experience of sexual intercourse, esp. by reason of abstention” (def. 2b), we can imagine how entertaining, rather than offensive, it would have been to insinuate such off-stage erotic exploration between two chaste and inexperienced cross-dressed maidens, who were indeed performed by boy actors before Lyly’s chief royal audience, namely, the Maiden sitting off-stage. Additionally, according to Simone Chess, the “double-crossdressing plot” is a unique invention of Lyly, whose use of the “cross-gender disguise,” in Michael Shapiro’s terms, “is rare for the mid-1580s and does not recur in his later works” (as cited in 2016: 148). Although, during that era, cross-dressers were likely to be suspected of sexual inconstancy, Lyly’s later contemporaries went on to adopt cross-dressing as a literary mechanism to characterize courageous heroines who traveled disguised as males in order to avoid male persecution or to rescue a beloved. For example, Thomas Lodge’s *Rosalynde or Euphues’s Golden Legacy* (1590) is an imitation of Lyly’s prose style;

¹⁵ “For this cause God gave them up to vile affections: for even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature” (Romans 1:26, *The 1599 Geneva Bible*).

it is also the pastoral romance from which Shakespeare adapted his *As You Like It* (1600), a romantic comedy colored with some resemblance to *Galatea*. Like their literary memes, Galatea and Phillida are not captive princesses who wait passively for their respective knights to rescue them; but, rather than travelling in male disguise for the purpose of rescuing their beloved men as would cross-dressing heroines in later works, Galatea and Phillida, in a sense, accidentally take on the roles of both knight and princess and expect to be rescued by each other. Meanwhile, as the boy actors cast in such roles, they remain on-stage subjects and rely on the justice and favor of Elizabeth I, who does not have to run away or hide her female body by cross-dressing. Instead, the queen, the role model of the Lylian cult of the Virgin, Mother, and Maiden, remains what she was appointed to be by God—that is, she carries out her role of guarding against foreign intruders and maintaining the metaphorical virginity of her land. From this perspective, perhaps only the queen, as the embodiment of such resolved conflicts between the societal notion of gender and the biological concept of sex, can resolve the complications of *Galatea*.

V. The Queen and Divine Perfection

Reconciliation of conflicts is important for achieving divine perfection in that disagreements are alleviated through the memetic mutation of patriarchal norms, which are elaborated through the cult of Elizabeth in *Euphues and His England*; this is then dramatized in response to the imagery of the Virgin Mother and Maiden Queen in *Galatea*. Lyly's second prose fiction work moves toward its ending with a Latin panegyric poem, "Iovis Elizabeth," in which Greco-Roman myths are woven into Lylian praise for Elizabeth as "a Queen, a woman, a virgin" (Lyly, 2003: 342).¹⁶ Juno, Venus, and

¹⁶ The present article cites an English translation of the poem titled "Jupiter's Elizabeth," which is appended by Scragg to her edition of *Euphues*.

Minerva struggle for ownership of “a nymph filled with divine majesty” (356), who is later revealed to be Elizabeth; she is portrayed as a character who can absorb the goddesses’ disagreements into a perfect synthesis of beauty, eloquence, and power. Appealing to Jupiter’s judgment, Juno describes Elizabeth as a queen who is as beautiful as Venus (the goddess of love) and as artistic as Minerva (the goddess of art and warfare); however, Juno also refers to the queen as a prince and then wonders “who would deny the nymph is [hers]” (356). The reference to “prince” here suggests less of Elizabeth’s androgynous status than justifies the queen as the rightful heir to the throne—an heir whose royalty bears some likeness to Juno’s, given that she is the wife of Jupiter, the Olympian king.¹⁷ At the end of the poem, Jupiter also becomes attracted to Elizabeth and makes his claim for her as both a suitor and as the judge for ownership of such divine perfection. However, as Euphues concludes, although the queen is “Jupiter’s Elizabeth and nothing should be thought greater than Jupiter” (357), Jupiter, like Juno, Minerva, and Venus, can only testify that Elizabeth remains in his eyes rather than in his possession. That is, unlike the nymphs, the queen is not subject to any of the Olympians. In the prologue to *Galatea*, the queen is again compared to Minerva “as a virgin ruler who is both intellectually astute and militarily strong” (Lyly, 2000: 31, n12),¹⁸ but as mentioned earlier, the play is subject to the queen’s judgment and favor, not any Greco-Roman divinities. Here, Lyly seems to suggest that the queen belongs to no one other than God and England, who appointed her to rule as a virgin and to whom she is thus a willing subject.

With the presence of such a queen, *Galatea* ends with the

¹⁷ According to Scragg’s annotation on this poem, “royal” means “*regia*” in Latin, “a traditional epithet for Juno (as wife of the king of the gods),” and such “references to her as ‘royal’ pave the way for the claim that Elizabeth, as a member of a royal line, rightly belongs to her” (Lyly, 2003: 357, n7).

¹⁸ The quote is adopted from Hunter’s footnote on Minerva, which associates the goddess with Queen Elizabeth I; the Arabic numeral “31” here refers to the pagination of this book.

promise of multiple reconciliations: between the Olympians, between divinity and humanity, between family members, and between males and females. This reconciliation is not intended to flatten differences, but to reconstruct a symmetrical matrix of dissimilarities. For example, the almost homoerotic complications and human difficulties fail to reach a satisfactory denouement until Diana (representing chastity) reaches a compromise with Venus (symbolizing love) in order to negotiate with Neptune on behalf of the human beings and thus conclude a new peace agreement between mortals and immortals. In this play, the debate between virtue and love is visualized in the conflict between Diana and Venus; this recalls a similar visualization in the conflict between the Queen of Syracuse and the goddess of beauty in *Sappho and Phao*. After Diana reconciles with Venus, the goddess of love promises to transform either Galatea or Phillida into a member of the opposite sex (as Juno had done to “Iphis and Ianthes” [Lyly, 2000: 5.3.155]), by virtue of which boon they can lawfully marry. In Ovid’s tale, Iphis’s mother had disguised her daughter as a boy since she was born until Juno transformed this pious maid into a real man, thus allowing the newly transformed man to marry Ianthes.¹⁹ However, in Lyly’s dramaturgy, Venus states that neither Galatea nor Phillida “shall know whose lot it shall be till they come to the church door” (Lyly, 2000: 5.3.183-184); this yields a paradox, where a pagan metamorphosis or, in a more modern sense, sex reassignment is the prerequisite for a Christian endorsement of heterosexual marriage. In response to this paradox, Vanhoutte interprets *Galatea* as the play where Lyly “literalizes Elizabeth’s rhetoric by representing the queen in his two protagonists, Gallathea and Phillida” (1996: 8). The former is portrayed as being more masculine than the other, even though both are female characters. For Vanhoutte, their union, as promised by Venus, allegorizes the androgynous union between

¹⁹ For the tale of “Iphis and Ianthe,” see Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* (Naso, 1986: bk. 9); see also Hunter’s introduction to Lyly’s *Galatea* (2000: 7).

Elizabeth's womanly body natural and manly body politic (9). Nevertheless, this promise remains a mere promise, and it is up to the audience to verify this pending myth, whose validity only the off-stage queen has the authority to judge, given that the subjects on-stage, including Venus, are all subject to her.

Galatea is a variation on the cult of Elizabeth I, wherein love is reconciled to chastity, and paganism to Christianity. The love between Galatea and Phillida, and their seemingly same-sex erotic relationship, appears to be shielded from suspicion of sin, for the play itself tends to associate this pagan-oriented same-sex affection with the Christian heterosexual love. Thus, it questions heterosexual friendship more than same-sex romantic interaction. For example, when Cupid, who is chained by Diana because of his mischief against her nymphs, boasts that his mother Venus has "some gods [among] her friends" (Lyly, 2000: 3.4.99-100), his emphasis on "gods" instead of "goddesses" may remind us that Venus tends to build better relationships with her male comrades than her female counterparts; among these, Diana is portrayed as one of her rivals on Mount Olympus. Notably, the intimacy between Venus and Mars, for example, is often acknowledged as being adultery rather than friendship.²⁰ Curiously, in Lyly's *Galatea*, despite their long feud, Diana and Venus, who both share friendships with Neptune, agree to place blame upon this male Olympian rather than Galatea and Phillida, who are, of course, their female disciples in love and chastity. Thus, it seems that these two rival goddesses collaborate to overturn the traditional theme of an innocent woman being put on trial and level their accusations against the male deity instead. Furthermore, Lyly's portrayal of the disharmony between Neptune and the people in this "land" relates to an Ovidian tale of Laomedon. In the tale, the Trojan king refused to hand over a virgin sacrifice to the furious sea god when, one year, the chosen sacrifice turned out

²⁰ The triangular relationship between Venus, Vulcan, and Mars is humorously broached in Lyly's letter to Lord Delaware, which prefaces the first part of *Euphues*.

to be his own daughter, Hesione.²¹ In another tale from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Galatea, a sea nymph, was passionately pursued by the Cyclops Polyphemus, a son of Neptune, who flew into a jealous rage and killed Galatea's true love, Acis. Galatea then caused him to be reborn as an immortal river-god, for "Acis was son of river-nymph Symaethis/And Faunus was his father" (Naso, 1986: 318).²² Acis's life was thus revived through Galatea's power of metamorphosis, but Ovid does not reveal whether his love for her was simultaneously restored. In general, Lyly seems to weave the tragic flaws from the abovementioned tales into *Galatea*, and these belong more to males such as an ungrateful mortal (King Laomedon), a merciless sea-god (Neptune), and an importunate lover (Cyclops Polyphemus) rather than to females, whom Lyly's dramaturgy upholds as likenesses of divine perfection made possible by the reconciliation of love and chastity. While carrying out her role as the chief spectator of *Galatea*, Elizabeth can also be contrasted with three male mythological figures: the ungrateful King Laomedon, who is too selfish to make a sacrifice, the merciless Neptune, who is too irrational to make a proper judgment, and the importunate Cyclops, who is too jealous to let Galatea love another male. Seated above love and gender, the off-stage Virgin Mother and Maiden Queen requires no cross-dressing or sex change to strengthen her likeness to the supposed masculinity of the body politic. Instead, since God authorizes her to retain her position as such, this rightful heir is obliged "to beleue in him, to feare him, and to loue him" (Booty, 2005: 286), as recorded in the 1559 edition of *The Book of Common Prayer*—a standard prayer book authorized by the queen.

²¹ For the story of "Laomedon and Hesione," see Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Naso, 1986: bk. 11); for more details about the sources of this story, see Hunter's introduction to Lyly's *Galatea* (2000: 7).

²² For the myth of "Acis and Galatea," see Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (Naso, 1986: bk. 13); for more details about Lyly's adaptation of this source, see Hunter's introduction to Lyly's *Galatea* (2000: 7).

VI. Conclusion

Galatea, adapted from the young-old debate in *Euphues: The Anatomy of Wit*, starts with a father-daughter disagreement in the context of a Lylian memetic evolution of the cult of Elizabeth I, who was worshipped as the Virgin Mother of her nation and Maiden Queen of England. Patriarchal authority plays its role but also gradually loses its function within this dramatic continuity. Curiously, the epilogue to *Galatea*, which is recounted by the still cross-dressed eponymous virgin to the audience, who are particularly referred to as “ladies” (Lyly, 2000: epilogue, line 1), does not involve any mention of the queen’s judgment, which is indeed of great concern to the prologue. G. K. Hunter suspects that this lack of direct mention was “a strange omission if Elizabeth was present” (108, n1-13).²³ He also refers to the epilogue’s attention to “ladies” as “a courtly device” and a repetition of “the second dedication of *Euphues and His England*” (108, n1-13). However, given that *Galatea* is among the plays in Lyly’s first dramatic series, Lyly’s expectations regarding the queen’s reaction to his plays and to her on-stage subjects are indeed gradually structured along with his successive approaches to the queen’s presence.²⁴ *Galatea*, as discussed above, is a court comedy positing some memes in response to the queen’s virtue. The seeming absence of the queen in the epilogue may imply a continuity of Sappho’s suggestion to “keep [love] only for ladies” (1999: 5.3.104-105). More likely, whereas Sappho is portrayed as a ruler who can be overcome by love and who has no choice but to suffer from temporary blindness because of Phao’s charms, Elizabeth is revered as the best authority because she is perhaps expected to turn a blind eye to both her on-stage and

²³ The Arabic numeral “108” here refers to the pagination of this book.

²⁴ For example, Alexander ceases to struggle with Apelles for Campaspe and helps them become what he calls “Two loving worms” (Lyly, 1999: 5.4.141) in *Campaspe*, whereas Sappho defines love as “a toy made for ladies” and declares that one should “keep it only for ladies” (5.3.104-05) in *Sappho and Phao*.

off-stage subjects' experiences and enjoyment of love as long as it is true love.²⁵ Similarly, as long as *Galatea* can be truly evaluated in terms of the queen's virtue, perhaps the chief member of the royal audience would be more willing to turn a blind eye to some memetic mutations of her virtue, even if such imperfections in imitation are somewhat incongruent with her virtue as the Virgin Mother and Maiden Queen.

²⁵ Although the queen's virtue is conventionally associated with certain Olympians, in contrast to the irrational pagan deities, she is expected to behave rationally. For example, Diana forbids her nymphs from indulging in love, and Venus and Cupid trick both mortals and immortals into unreasonable love.

References

- Beier, A. L. (1985). *Masterless men: The vagrancy problem in England 1560-1640*. London: Methuen.
- Booty, J. E. (Ed.). (2005). *The book of common prayer, 1599: The Elizabethan prayer book*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press.
- Chess, S. (2016). *Male-to-female crossdressing in early modern English literature: Gender, performance, and queer relations*. London: Routledge.
- Cicero, M. T. (2005). *Treatise on friendship and old age* (E. S. Shuckburgh, Trans.) [Kindle version]. Retrieved from Amazon.com
- Cooper, H. (2004). *The English romance in time: Transforming motifs from Geoffrey of Monmouth to the death of Shakespeare*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Dawkins, R. (2016). *The selfish gene: 40th anniversary edition* [Kindle version]. Retrieved from Amazon.com
- Emmison, F. G. (1973). *Elizabethan life: Morals & the church courts* (Mainly from Essex Archidiaconal Records). Chelmsford, UK: Essex Country Council.
- Foster, M. (2013). The history and impact of the Geneva Bible. In *The 1599 Geneva Bible* (locs. 220-352) [Kindle version]. Retrieved from Amazon.com
- Hackett, H. (1995). *Virgin mother, maiden queen: Elizabeth I and the cult of the Virgin Mary*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hunter, G. K. (2000). Introduction. In G. K. Hunter & D. Bevington (Eds.), *Galatea/Midas* (pp. 3-25). Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Kesson, A. (2015). "It is a pity you are not a woman": John Lyly and the creation of woman. *Shakespeare Bulletin*, 33, 1: 33-47. <https://doi.org/10.1353/shb.2015.0001>
- Lyly, J. (1999). *Campaspe/Sappho and Phao* (G. K. Hunter & D. Bevington, Eds.). Manchester, UK: Manchester University

- Press.
- Lyly, J. (2000). *Galatea/Midas* (G. K. Hunter & D. Bevington, Eds.). Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Lyly, J. (2003). *Euphues: The anatomy of wit and Euphues and his England* (L. Scragg, Ed.). Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Mack, P. (2002). *Elizabethan Rhetoric*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Meyer, R. J. (1981). "Pleasure reconciled to virtue": The mystery of love in Lyly's *Gallathea*. *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 21, 2: 193-208. <https://doi.org/10.2307/450144>
- Naso, P. O. (1986). *Metamorphoses* (E. J. Kenney, Intro.; A. D. Melville, Trans.). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- The Oxford English dictionary*. (1989). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Pincombe, M. (1997). *The plays of John Lyly: Eros and Eliza*. Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Scragg, L. (2003). Introduction. In L. Scragg (Ed.), *Euphues: The anatomy of wit and Euphues and his England* (pp. 1-20). Manchester, UK: Manchester University Press.
- Stowe, J. (1908). *The survey of London* (Vol. 1, C. L. Kingsford, Ed.). Oxford, UK: Clarendon. Retrieved from <https://archive.org/index.php>
- Vanhoutte, J. (1996). Sacrifice, violence, and the virgin queen in Lyly's *Gallathea*. *Cahiers Élisabéthains*, 49: 1-14. <https://doi.org/10.1177/018476789604900104>
- Virgil. (1999). *Virgil: Eclogues. Georgics. Aeneid: Books 1-6* (H. R. Fairclough, Trans.; G. P. Goold, Ed.). Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Wiggins, M. (2012). *British drama 1533-1642: A catalogue, Vol. II: 1567-1589*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Wiggins, M. (2013). *British drama 1533-1642: A catalogue, Vol. III: 1590-1597*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

約翰·黎里的《嘎樂媞亞》： 模因、異性裝扮、模似

謝心怡

國立中興大學外國語文學系
40227 臺中市南區興大路 145 號
Email: hyhsieh@dragon.nchu.edu.tw

摘 要

約翰·黎里的《嘎樂媞亞》(1584) 是一部專為伊莉莎白一世撰寫、演出的美善宮庭喜劇，撰於《坎珮絲珮》(1583) 及《莎芙與費歐》(1583) 之後，為黎里的第一組宮廷系列的第三部作品，參與了作者頌揚伊莉莎白一世「以閨女之姿作為一國之君」及「以貞女之態作為一國之母」的承繼性「女王崇拜」。此外，《嘎樂媞亞》延續了黎里的首部小說《尤弗伊斯：智慧的剖析》(1578)，首次改編了父女之間的爭執與男性之間的「因相似而相怨」，並藉由雙重異性裝扮，讓女性「因相似而相愛」的劇情得以對應父權的失能。因此，本文旨在探索《嘎樂媞亞》中的特定人物或概念，如何透過模仿而經歷「模因」般地複製、甚至突變，卻仍能展現與女王美善之間的關聯。本文析究黎里如何藉由首席觀眾的風采，重新定義了《嘎樂媞亞》中台上臣民與台下伊莉莎白一世的主從關係：檢視恆久不變及多重面向的女王，猶如神聖完美的典範，在她的看顧下，處女獻祭的人選、流浪的男童、異性裝扮的閨女如何透過不同的方式尋覓相同的庇護。

關鍵詞：《嘎樂媞亞》、模因、模似、異性裝扮、女王伊莉莎白一世