# THE SCOTTISH AMATORY LYRIC, 1561-1604

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**Thesis submitted for the**
**degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

**University of Edinburgh**
**1997**

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## ~The Scottish amatory lyric, 1561-1604~

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## Part II
## Chapter 1

# Discovering desire in the *Amatoria* of James VI

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## *Introduction*

> *truly thou wast borne before in our hearts; but thou wishest also to be thumbed in our hands; and laying aside thy majesty, thou dost offer thyself to be gazed upon on paper, that thou mayest be more intimately conversant among us...*

George Herbert's comment of 1620 lays bare the paradox of how to read James VI and I's body of secular love poetry[1]. In 'gazing upon' the twenty lyrics of the *Amatoria* are we 'intimately conversant' with the difficult ways in which James loved Anna (the first twelve sonnets) and with a contrastingly erotic devotion to certain courtly gentlewoman ('A dreme on his Mistris my Ladie Glammes')? In contrast, might not James's amatory lyric voice (as earlier proposed for Mary's) be interpreted as the rhetorically flexible construct invented by other renaissance love lyricists? As James Doelman astutely observes, James's words 'removed from context...were subject to the vagaries of interpretation and the danger of manipulation'[2]

James's secular love poetry has never been critically assessed at length[3]. Its diminished importance in the context of the king's literary canon might, as discussed below, be attributed to James's own poetic and generic preferences. But the sheer diversity of the *Amatoria* miscellany has also proved perplexing, its frequently rebarbative tone and misogynistic satire held as the antitheses of the love lyric's conventions: as 'love poems, they are exceptionally antifeminine...' and 'singularly unamorous'[4].

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[1] James Doelman, '"A King of thine own heart": the English reception of King James VI and I's Basilikon Doron', *Seventeenth Century* (1994), pp. 1-9 (7) cites this in translation from Grosart's edition as an 'oration' to James. It is, however, published as an epistle of May 18, 1620, by Hutchison: '*Sane, gestabaris antea in cordibus nostris; sed Tu vis etiam manibus teri, semotaque Maiestate, charta conspiciendum Te praebes, quo familiarius inter nos verseris*': The Works of George Herbert edited by F.E. Hutchison (Oxford; Clarendon Press, 1941), p. 458.

[2] Doelman, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

[3] Discussion of the *Amatoria* can only be found in the editorial comments of Allan F. Westcott, New Poems by James I of England (Columbia University Press, 1911) and James Craigie, The Poems of James VI of Scotland, 2 vols (Blackwood: Edinburgh and London, 1958); in D.H. Wilson, King James VI and I (Jonathan Cape: London, 1956), p89; Murray F. Markland, 'A Note on Spenser and the Scottish Sonneteers', *SSL* 1 (1966-7), pp. 136-40 (139); Antonia Fraser, James VI of Scotland and I of England (Weidenfield and Nicholson, 1974; 1994) p. 52; R.D.S. Jack, 'Poetry under King James VI', History of Scottish Literature, 4 vols (Aberdeen University Press, 1988), vol 1, pp. 125-39 (128, 130); Jonathan Goldberg, James I and the Politics of Literature. Jonson, Shakespeare, Donne and their Contemporaries (Stanford University Press, 1989), pp. 22-5; J. Derrick McClure, '"O Phoenix Escossais": James VI as Poet', A Day Estivall edited by Alisoun Gardner-Medwin and Janet Hadley Williams (Aberdeen University Press, 1990) pp. 96-111 (106-107).

Superficially to some the received historical portrait of James might not suggest an auspicious love poet. Weldon remarks that he 'was not very uxorious', and Anna herself was allegedly

> ...grieved at the little esteem she thought he had for her, though, one would think, she could not but be sensible it was not personal to her, but to the whole Sex, (whom he was taxed with looking on, as necessary Evils)...She grew to despise him for his Want of Spirit, and took...little care to conceal her mean Opinion of him'[5].

Such 'little esteem' is amply attested by the fiercely antifeminist rhetoric of the Daemonologie, and by the Basilikon Doron which proclaims the spiritual and political subordination of woman to man, wife to husband (though both mirror conventional ideologies of gender); and his political absolutism is famously conceived in terms of the marriage doctrine: 'I am the Husband and the whole Isle is my Wife'[6]. In 'A Satire Against Women', that seemingly disparate inclusion in the *Amatoria*, female duplicity is rhetorically celebrated: 'sum craft thay haue yit foolish are indeid/with liying quhyles esteiming best to speid...'. Similar retractions stud other lyrics of the collection: 'all uemen are in ouers in uertue sum excell/& sum in uyces may ouer matche the greatest deuill in hell' ('Dier', ll. 49-50); 'O womans witt that wauers with the wind' (l.1 of final sonnet in apparent sequence to Anna). While James cannot be absolved from charges of misogyny in many aspects of both his literary and political writings, the 'anti-feminist' satire of these *Amatoria* texts should not be glibly decontextualised but redefined within the more particularised context of amatory lyric conventions. The 'Satire' recalls the *querelle* poetry of the Bannatyne's collection, and reflects many allegedly Petrarchistic sequences which reveal the alterity of the beloved woman: duplicity, artifice and guile are attributes not solely confined to the female caricature of the blatantly anti-feminist text. Adoration and condemnation are often mutual states to the lyric lover.

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[4] Goldberg, *op. cit.*, p. 24; Jack, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

[5] Anthony Weldon, 'Character of King James', Secret History of the Court of King James the First edited by Walter Scott, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1811), vol 2, p. 5; an anonymous and possibly spurious memoir cited in Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, 'Enacting Opposition: Queen Anne', Writing Women in Jacobean England (Harvard University Press, 1993), p. 17.

[6] *Daemonologie*, The Workes of that Most High and Mighty Prince, James (London, 1616), p. 136 especially; The Political Works of James I (Cambridge, 1918), p. 272. Discussed by Goldberg, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

This chapter seeks to reassess and partly challenge the critical orthodoxy, offering the *Amatoria* as a consciously provocative work. Discussion of the complexity of royal self-representation prefaces analysis of the lyrics, principally in terms of rhetoric, the construction of the female, and the courtly context to which the *Amatoria* is inextricably bound. That James himself was construed as the figure of the beloved (in Castalian lyrics which fused amatory and political idioms), and achieved in his *Phoenix* tragedy a portrait of homosexual desire, is finally considered.

***Representations*** If judged by the principle published editions of the king's work within his own lifetime, the *Amatoria* did not attain status in the official canon of James's poetry. Its lyrics are found in two manuscripts: principally BM Add. 24195, and Bodley MS 165[7]. As endorsed by James's earliest poetic editors, Westcott and Craigie, the two manuscripts show clear evidence of editorial revision at hands other than James's own. In MS Add 24195, it is significant that both the main title ('All the kings short poesis/that ar not printit'), and the majority of the prefatory titles are judged to be later additions chiefly by Charles I [8].

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[7] The text of the poems in this chapter is based on these manuscripts; reference will also be made to the STS edition. Each MS is described respectively in Westcott *op. cit.* pp. xi-xvi and Craigie *op. cit.*, vol 1, pp. lxxi-vii. Bodley MS 165 contains only two of the *Amatoria* texts: 'A Satire Against Woemen' ('As falconis ar..') ff. 43r-44v, and 'If mourning micht amend', ff. 46r-v, later titled 'A Dier at her M: ties Desyr'. These are each written on separate manuscripts and bound together with the other works (including the Lepanto and the Furies).

[8] Title on f. 2r. For further details see Westcott, pp. xiv-xv and Craigie, pp. 206-10. The contents of the *Amatoria* are listed on f. 2v. Two different hands are identifiable in the inscription of the poems beteen ff. 4r and 29r.

With regard to critical interpretation, such interference implies that the extant texts must be accepted as to some degree imperfect and corrupt. Yet their provisional status accords with the general nature of much Castalian court literature which reflects the characteristics of a coterie culture as defined in studies by Marotti and others[9]. None of the secular amatory works by the principle lyricists - Alexander Montgomerie, William Fowler, John Stewart - were published[10]. Existing solely in manuscript form (often exhibiting clear evidence of revision), these texts were by implication circulated within the court's inner literary *milieu* or, recalling the Marian period of lyric performance and recitation, were enacted or presented by the poet. Subject to endless recreation through such oral (or musical) performance, such texts are of necessity more fragile, less stable entities than publicly sanctioned printed poetry[11].

James fully participated in the coterie culture's facet of poetic exchange and 'game' (his poetry engages in dialogue with other Castalian lyrics[12]). Simple self-representation is frequently eschewed in favour of inventive self-fashionings, the latter richly illustrated by the invention of poetic names and different *personae* within the inner Castalian circle[13]. By implication, James's love lyrics - certainly written prior to 1603 - may have found two circles of reception: within the immediate Castalian band (in which, significantly, coterie intimacy appears to license the more playful or ambiguous representation of the royal self); and within more extended royal and courtly circles. The first sonnet of the *Amatoria*, for example, occasioned a 'reply' from Constable[14].

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[9] See Arthur F.Marotti, John Donne, Coterie Poet (Madison, Wis.,1986)and Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric (Cornell University Press, 1995); Ted Larry Pebworth, 'John Donne. Coterie Poetry and the Text as Performance', *SEL* 29 (1989), pp. 61-75; H.R. Woudhuysen, Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640 (Clarendon Press: Oxford, 1996).

[10] The exception is William Alexander's Aurora, published in 1604 but generally considered to have been written in the late 1590's. On the popularity of manuscript circulation and the alleged 'vulgarity' of print see Woudhuysen, *ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

[11] Helena Shire, Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI (Cambridge University Press, 1969) is the standard study of the Castalian song-lyric.

[12] For example, the conceit of the 'Solsequium' in the final stanza of 'A complaint of his mistressis absence from Court' may allude to Montgomerie's lyric, 'Lyk as the dum Solsequium'; and the conceit of the lizard's affection in line 7 of sonnet nine in the opening 'sequence' may allude to Montgomerie's third sonnet to Robert Hudson: see The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie edited by James Cranstoun (Blackwood: Edinburgh and London, 1887), p. pp. 148-51 and p. 102.

[13] Well illustrated by James's 'An admonition to the maister poet to be warr of great bragging hereafter...' (Craigie, vol 2, pp. 120-7). Consider also the title assigned the fourth sonnet in the opening 'sequence': 'To the Queene, Anonimos'.

The apparently social and occasional nature of some 'Amatoria' lyrics have (spuriously, it will be argued) implied an historical specificity which leads James's commentators to delineate a clear chronology for the Anna 'sequence':

> This double sonnet [the first two] *must* have been written in 1589 in the five weeks between 15th September - the day when James learned that the fleet bringing Anne of Denmark to Scotland had been scattered by a storm, that her ship had taken refuge at Oslo and that she would not come to her husband's kingdom till the next year...
>
> The opening lines of this sonnet [the third] *make it certain* that it was composed after James had arrived in Norway towards the end of October 1589, its closing ones suggest that it was actually written after he had met Anne of Denmark for the first time about the middle of the next month...[15] (my italics).

Though the occasion of the opening sonnets - the impending royal marriage and the voyage to Norway delayed by 'contrary Wyndes' - is attested by contemporary accounts such as Melville's[16], the assumption of such apparent topicality and such systematic correlations should be treated with some scepticism. The desire of critics to discover the 'sincerity' of these lyrics is essentially reductive, insensitive to the rhetorical complexity of much renaissance love lyric which offered, not the transparent reflection of an inner life, but an imaginatively invented amatory self[17]. Such a literally biographical reading is critically insecure with the apparently nuptial

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[14] Craigie, p. 225; see also The Poems of Henry Constable edited by Joan Grundy (Liverpool, 1960), 'Introduction', pp. 28-31, and Constable's other two sonnets to James, *ibid.*, pp. 140-1, one of which proclaims James's poetic separation from 'others hooded with blind loue'. Marotti, Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric, p. 14, also cites a likely imitation of the first *Amatoria* sonnet by Nicholas Breton in Stephen Powle's commonplace book: 'A passionate Sonnet made by the Kinge of Scots uppon difficulties ariseing to crosse his proceedinge in love & marriage with his most worthie to be esteemed Queene'.

[15] Craigie, p. 225, and endorsed by Westcott, pp. 69-74, Wilson, *op. cit.*, p. 89, and Bingham, *op. cit.*, pp. 116ff.

[16] Sir James Melville, Memoirs of his own Life (Edinburgh, 1827), pp. 369-73.

[17] See the argument in Part I, Chapter 2, on the rhetorical invention of a poetic self.

Anna 'sequence' which portrays a love ending in disillusion and dissolution; or with the lyrics of erotic persuasion to a mistress. That James was engaging in a poetic game of desire which - as exemplified by Stewart's poetry which addresses playful tokens of love to various courtly women - might be a more persuasive argument than that such lyrics might offer evidence of adultery (the *terminus ad quem* of the biographical argument, and a veiled anxiety of Westcott's guarded conjectures)[18].

The corollary of these qualifications is that the *Amatoria* lyrics can only be assigned a general period of composition which spans the period from the mid 1580's to the late 1590's; and in contrast to the circuitous, self-perpetuating arguments of biographically oriented criticism, the present assessment seeks to be more attentive to the poetic and sexual etiquette of the Scottish Jacobean court.

If the *Amatoria* presents instances of poetic and amatory dissembling, then the Basilikon Doron is offered as a mirror of James's 'very minde': 'first written in secret, and now...published, not of ambition, but of a kinde of necessity...'[19]. It is revealing to compare this pledge of authenticity with the opening sonnet of Alexander's Aurora (James's text is written in 1598, and arguments for the dating of Aurora favour the late 1590's though it was published in 1604).

Whilst charming fancies moue me to reueale
The idle rauings of my brain-sicke youth
My heart does pant within, to heare my mouth

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Westcott (pp. 78-9, later endorsed by Craigie, p. 228) identifies the poetic subject of 'Ane dreme on my mistris the Lady Glammes' as 'Anne, a daughter of Sir John Murray, later first earl of Tullibardine, a companion of the King's childhood and later master of his household', citing the evidence of two documents alluding to her marriage to Patrick Lyon, Lord Glamis, in 1595. Westcott conjectures that the 'dreme' must have been written, for the implicit reason of moral decorum, 'before her marriage in 1595, though not long before, since even at that date she was scarcely more than a child'. He assumes that the prefatory title, denoting Anne Murray's married title, was a later addition. Yet given the sexual etiquette of the court - its apparent tolerance of kingly favourites or mistresses which need not have implied a sexually adulterous liason - there seems no reason to assume that the lyric was *not* composed after the marriage of either Anne Murray or James himself. Lyrics expressive of seemingly intense desire could be exchanged betwen female and male courtiers as tokens of social complement and poetic cultivation: consider, for example, the erotic license of Montgomerie's poems or 'quasi-epithalamia' to Margaret Montgomerie: see Part II, Chapter 2.

[19] STS ed., p. 15, 'Preface to Reader' (Waldegrave edition).

Vnfold the follies which it would conceale:
Yit bitter Critickes may mistake my mind;
Not beautie no but vertue raised my fires
Whose sacred flame did cherish chast desires
And through my cloudie fortune clearelie shin'd
But had not others otherwise aduisd
My cabinet should yet these scroles containe
This childish birth of a conceited braine
Which I had still as trifling toyes despisd
Pardon those errours of mine vnripe age;
My tender Muse by time may grow more sage.

The lover and the king are allied in their rhetorical strategies of self-representation: both proclaim (Alexander's lover is especially disingenuous) the sincerity of their endeavour; their writing is not sanctioned by vanity or ambition but imposed (in different ways) upon them. In Aurora (as in other love lyrics examined throughout this study), the lover's actions, words and inner feeling are linked by a tenuous thread, subject to misconstrual by the beloved. In Mary's secular sonnets, the difficult communication of love is rendered as a discourse of authenticity and illusion, being and seeming.

This anxiety, combined with an analysis of gesture and language as acts of simultaneous transparency and concealment, informs the Basilikon Doron. For the king who is judged 'as ane sett on a skaffolde', 'outwarde behauioure' realises 'conceates of...inuairde intention'. The 'inwarde disposition of the minde' is constantly inferred from 'outwarde' action whether any concordance does indeed exist; it is the player-king phenomenon. Yet James declares that the king should serve as an emblem of truth: 'artificial' courtly fashions should be shunned as also a language 'fairdit with artifice'[20]. Much of James's instruction to Henry is concerned with the cultivation of an image or illusion suggestive of integrity. The disavowal of 'all affectate formis', the fascination with 'inwarde' and 'outwarde' forms of representation, and the ironic advocacy of a self-revelation which still requires the subject to be 'trustie and secreate': each strategy of self-representation (or rather the evasion of it[21]) is mirrored in the kinds of amatory lyric which this thesis examines. James's prose reflection on self-representation (written in a period shortly after or perhaps even contemporary with the *Amatoria*) should at least caution advocates of the transparently biographical reading. If the courtier as lover/lover as courtier figure may be aligned to Puttenham's portrait of courtly dissembling, then the figure of the lover/king might bear comparison to Machiavelli's prince.

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[20] This is ironic given the highly manneristic style of the Castalian court lyric: see Part II, Chapter 2 for discussion of mannerism in Montgomerie.

Sen thocht is frie, Think quhat thow will
O troublit hairt to eiss thy paine
Thocht vnrevelit can doe na ill
\bot wordes past out cummis not againe
Be cairfull ay for to Invent
the way to get thy awin Intent

To play thy self with thy awin consait
and lat nane knaw quhat thow dois mene
Houp ay at lat thocht it be lait
To thyne Intent for to attene
Lat quhyllis it brek furth in effect
Bot ay let wit thy will correct.[22]

Duplicity and guile, the expedient sustaining of an illusion, are political 'virtues' mirrored in the language of the love lyric written at court. In one sense, the Amatoria may be regarded as a kind of eroticised politics; yet what cannot be ignored in the analysis of James's love poetry is the status and function which he accords the latter in the Castalian manifesto of the *Reulis and Cautelis*.

***The sovereign definition of love poetry*** James's *Schort Treatise, conteining some Reulis and Cautelis to be obseruit and eschewit in Scottis Poesie* (1584), has been established as a work of predominantly rhetorical theorising, indebted to the ascendancy of the vernacular in European literary thought and which (although derivative in part) clearly and consciously articulates Scottish linguistic and literary difference[23]. Yet what role and significance is the secular love lyric assigned in James's particular renaissance which, as R.D.S. Jack has demonstrated, favoured religious and philosophical works? It is significant that Stewart's *apologia* for secular poetry depicts his chastisement by the muse Uranie, allusion to James's translation of Du Bartas's 'L'Vranie ou Muse Celeste' (in many ways a paradigm of Castalian poetics and ethics) which castigates works of secular love as immature, duplicitous, and blasphemous[24]. Nevertheless, James's poetic strictures for the purpose of 'loue' are suggestive. He advocates the use of 'commoun language with some passionate wordis'[25]. 'Commoun' may be intended in a linguistic or stylistic sense (to be distinguished from 'heich, pithie, and learned wordis' or 'corruptit and vplandis wordis') or may denote simply the use of familiar or well known terms (the *Amatoria* certainly shuns the linguistic mannerism of Stewart or Montgomerie). Yet James's precept also demands that amatory language be expressive and emotive. It must convey 'wilfull reasonis, proceeding rather from passioun, nor reason...'[26]. That the lover should argue from emotion rather than reason may merely reinstate the traditional conflict between love and the rational faculty; but it does exempt love poetry from the analytic and logical qualities - 'witt' and 'reasons fitt' - elsewhere sought[27]. The corollary (whether consciously sought or not) is that the ideal Castalian love poem is endowed with a kind of emotional integrity or sincerity. The sheer power of feeling or passion must compel the Jamesian poet to write 'viuelie' of desire[28]. Yet one ironic *envoi* by James himself confirms Sidney's scepticism that love lyricists seldom 'feel those passions which easily...may be betrayed by that same forcibleness or *energia* (as the Greeks call it) of the writer'[29]:

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[21] Goldberg, *op. cit.*, p. 148, comments that in the Basilikon Doron, James 'offered and withdrew himself at once'. But note the lover's desire in the 'Dier': 'I only craue a spectacle to be' (l. 53); this interesting poetic remark is not commented upon by Goldberg.

[22] 'Sen thocht is frie', STS p.133, ll. 1-12, based on the Scots inscription in the Maitland quarto, f. 105v; a version in English, entitled 'Song. the first verses that euer the King made' is found in Add MS. 24195, ff. 51r-v.

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[23] See R.D.S. Jack, 'James VI and Renaissance Poetic Theory', *English* XVI (1967), pp. 208-11 and Richard M. Clewett, 'James VI of Scotland and his Literary Circle', *Aevum* 47 (5-6) (1988-9), pp. 445-6.

[24] 'The Prolog' to 'Ane Schersing out of Trew Felicitie', Poems of John Stewart of Baldynneis edited by Thomas Crockett (Blackwood: Edinburgh and London, 1913), vol II, pp. 196-8. Compare especially 'Uranie', lines 25-8, ll. 141ff.; ll.221-29; ll. 289-90. On James's translations of Du Bartas see in particular Anne Lake Prescott, French Poets and the English Renaissance. Studies in Fame and Transformation (Yale University Press, 1978) pp. 176-8. the love lyric on evidence garnered from his othe poetry. The prefatory sonnets to the Essayes of a Prentise (1584) (Craigie, pp. 9-14) reveal James's Virgilian ambition, and imply the generic superiority both of epic and imperialistic, martial and heroic subjects. It is perhaps significant that James praises Petrarch - in his sonnet 'on Mr W. Fullers translation of Petrarchs triumphe of loue' - for loyalty to his vernacular and the 'triumphe' of 'chastnes, deathe, and fame' over earthly love.

[25] Craigie ed., vol 1, p. 76.

[26] *ibid.*, p. 76.

My Muse hath made a willful lye I grante,
I sung of sorrows neuer felt by me;
I haue as great occasion for to wante,
My loue begunne my blessing for to be.
How can I then excuse so lowd a lye?

Emotional license or inventiveness is here permitted[30].

The sixth chapter of the *Reulis and Cautelis* manifests (with specific reference to love poetry) the fear or anxiety of literary repetition in the context of a treatise which argues generally for invention at the expense of imitation. In the creation of a distinctively national literature love poetry, perceived as inherently derivative, must strive towards innovation: 'Ye man also be warre with composing ony thing in the same maner, as hes bene ower oft vsit of before. *As in speciall*, gif ye speik of loue, be warre ze descryue zour Loues makdome, or fairnes....for thir thingis are sa oft and dyuerslie writtin vpon be Poëtis already, that gif ze do the lyke, it will appeare, ze bot imitate, and that it cummis not of your awin Inuention, quhilk is ane of the chief properteis of ane Poete' (my italics). The beloved's beauty (*descriptio pulchritudinis*) is singled out as a topic which requires invention:

> ze sall rather prayse her vther qualiteis, nor hir fairnes, nor hir shaip: or ellis ze sall speik some lytill thing of it, and syne say, that zour wittis ar sa smal, and your vtterance so barren, that ze can not discryue any part

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[27] 'A Sonnet painting out the perfect Poet', Add. MS. 24195, f. 40v, ll. 1, 3, and printed in the *Reulis and Cautelis*.

[28] *Reulis and Cautelis*, p. 76.

[29] An Apology for Poetry ed. Geoffrey Shepherd (Manchester University Press, 1980), p. 138. James's own precept of *enargeia* appears in the sonnets prefacing the treatise, a concept largely derived from Quintilian, De Institutio Oratore, vi.ii.32 and viii.iii.61-2.

[30] This is appended to 'If mourning micht amende' only in Add. MS 24195, f. 13r, STS p. 78.

> of hir worthelie: remitting alwayis to the Reider, to iudge of hir, in respect sho matches or excellis *Venus*, or any woman, quhome to it sall please yow to compaire hir...[31]

It may be in deference to this early prerequisite that the *Amatoria* seldom conceives the beloved in physical terms, at least *via* the conventional language of the *blason*. The chapter will return to the issue of whether James obeys his own amatory ideals.

***The sonnets to Anna*** James's title, *Amatoria*, is suitably all-embracing for such a heterogeneous collection of 'amatory' lyrics. The most immediate resonance of the term, 'amatoria', is Ovidian: the irony (not least the misogyny) of Ovid's Ars Amatoria is certainly present though James's poetic 'I' seldom assumes the didactic, preceptorly posture of its narrator[32]. Although the term does not seem to appear as a defined genre in any of the most likely texts of Renaissance poetics (for example, in Scaliger's *Poetices libri septem*, 1581), at least in a purely verbal sense, *Amatoria* can simply be glossed as meaning 'the amorous, the erotic'.

The collection opens with a series of twelve sonnets. If conceived as a sequence offering a coherent narrative of desire, the first three sonnets are in essence lyrics of courtship: James's lover sues for reciprocal love, persuading the other of his 'paine' and 'Melancholie'. Anticipation of their union, the joy and anxieties of that eventual union as felt by the lover, then remorse for such love's diminution (a 'like sorrow' shared by both) precede the culminating sonnet in which the beloved is accused of infidelity, and the speaker's own desire extinguished without regret. The later editorial insertions of title and number impose a spurious unity upon these sonnets[33]. Though Anna is posited as the recipient in only the first six (those which precede the disenchantment), is this an ironic sequence for Anna, a flawed beloved? Why do the fairly graceful nuptial sonnets, protesting 'paine' but certain of the beloved's 'louing' response, end in disenchantment? Ultimately James's original design (if it ever existed) is irrecoverable, and the issue of whether Anna's name was intended to 'decore' each sonnet irresolvable. It is even arguable whether this tentative sequence was even intended for Anna but rather for the pleasure and admiration of the poetic coterie.

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[31] *ibid.*, p. 78. But other poetic treatises comment on the relationship between female beauty and rhetoric in similar terms: Gascoigne's Certayne notes of Instruction (avoiding what is *trita et obuia...*') and Sidney's Apology.

[32] On transformations of Ovidian genres in general see Robin Sowerby, The Classical Legacy in Renaissance Poetry (Longman, 1994), pp. 250-307.

[33] These are reproduced only in Craigie from Add. MS 24195.

The figure of the beloved (whether explicitly Anna or not) might be defined as an absent presence. Even when she is solicited it is only as she impinges on the lover himself; she is scarcely a Laura or Beatrice who ceaselessly (and innocently) compels her poet to proclaim her moral and physical beauties. For example, the paired sonnets illustrative of two different 'stiles' are presented as responses to the beloved's (Anna's) 'request' (l.2). The first confesses to creative failure; and although the second proclaims the inspiration of her 'enchanting fame', the first melancholy response is sufficient to render the beloved an imperfect and limited Muse. Creative power is fallible - 'Now ar Castalias floods dried up in me/Like suddain shoures this time of yeere ye see' (ll. 13-14) - as is implicitly (in accordance with the frequent associative bind between poetry and the female beloved) the poet's sexual power. In either sense, this sonnet serves to qualify the power of the beloved's 'enchaunted fame' which bears the poet 'alofte' in the opening sonnet and the sixth: 'From natiue soile to follow on your name/And Eagle like on Theatis back to flie/Wher she commaunded Neptune for to be...' (ll. 7-9). There the image of the 'Eagle like lover communicates an almost imperialistic sense of sexual power (even acquisitiveness), evoking Jupiter's possession of Ganymede.

This sense of the gendered imbalance of sexual power suggests Jonathan Goldberg's interpretative paradigm for James's love poetry: 'He invokes the ideal of political suppression for conquest in the realm of love...'[34]. Though Goldberg's Foucauldian arguments about power are persuasive for other aspects of Jacobean cultural relations, that the *Amatoria* should dissect the alliance between lover and beloved in terms of sexual and emotional power is hardly unique within the context of the love lyric[35]. Further, Goldberg presents James in sole possession of sexual authority when more delicate oscillations of power occur. Sexual desire, nurtured 'secrete and unseen', is portrayed as a dangerously latent force. Desire has the capacity to delude the lover into believing it 'sensles deade':

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[34] *op. cit.*, p. 25.

Although that crooked crawling Vulcan lie
An-vnder ashes colde as oft we see
As senseles dead whill by his heate he drie
The greene and fizzing faggots made of tree,
Then will that litle sponke and flaming eye
Bleaze brauelie forth and sparkling all abreed
With wandling wp a wondrous sight to see
Kithe clearlie then and on the faggots feede;
So I am forc'd for to confesse indeed
My sponke of loue smor'd under coales of shame
By beauties force the fosterer of that seede
Now budds and bursts in an appearing flame (ll. 1-12)

The intensity of such repressed desire makes the lover guilty ('Smor'd' is peculiarly apt).

The self-autonomy denied the lover in the Cupid sonnet (conventionally love-god and mortal are analogous to sovereign and unruly subject) is reasserted in a subsequent sonnet by the quiet yet firm parenthesis, 'Then happie Monarch sprung of Ferguse race....'[36]. This self-legitimising reference (which James frequently invoked in other contexts) contrasts with the invented genealogy assigned to the beloved or Anna. As Minerva, Diana and Venus incarnate, she symbolises wisdom, chastity and love (perhaps the sensual rather than heavenly Venus given the sensuous embrace of line 14). In these mythical roles, the beloved serves or obliges her 'Monarch':

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[35] See Achsah Guibbory, '"Oh, let mee not serve so": the Politics of Love in Donne's *Elegies*', *ELH* 57 (1990), pp. 811-33.

[36] 'To the Queene, Anonimos', f. 5v, l. 9.

That talkes with wise Minerue when pleaseth the
And when thou list sume Princelie sporte to see
Thy chaste Diana rides with the in chase
Then when to bed thou gladlie does repaire
Clasps in thine armes thy Cytherea faire (ll. 9-14)

Each occasion presents James's desire as foremost; each virtue exists as if purely to oblige the lover's whims ('when pleaseth *the*/when *thou* list/when...*thou* gladlie...'). The notorious comment of line 5, 'and as of female sexe like stiffe in will' (in reference to the goddesses' indecision) reflects the typically insidious quality of James's amatory misogyny, here offered as a 'witty' parenthesis. Not just the three deities but all women are indicted; by implication 'our earthlie Juno...our gratious Queene' (l. 2) is not exempt from feminine frailty. Since Minerva, Diana, and Venus cannot agree 'who protect her [the beloved] shoulde by right' (by reason of their equal claims to authority as 'Goddesses of equall might'), a greater authority is invoked to quell the dispute: 'It was agreed by sacred Phoebus skill/To ioyne there powers to blesse that blessed wight' (ll. 7-8). As Goldberg also notes, 'sacred Phoebus' is identified with Apollo; and Apollo is, of course, James's favoured mythological persona. Even if the Phoebus/Apollo allusion is not accepted as another instance of witty self-reference, the sonnet still establishes a sexual hierarchy of authority which submits female to male: god rules goddess as, by implication, the king his queen.

In purely rhetorical terms, ideas of analogy and correspondence structure many of these sonnets: lover and beloved, for example, are conceived as the marigold and the sun. In the first sonnet, relationships obtain between divine and earthly, inner and external states, macro and microcosm. In the fifth, James constructs a physical topography of love, posited on the correspondence between lover and (a Scottish) landscape: 'the Cheuiott hills doe with my state agree'. The ordered, sequential structure by which the analogies are declared recalls James's own 'perfect' precept of 'summaire raisons suddinlie applied/For euerie purpose vsing reasons fitt'[37]:

For as there toppes in cloudes are mounted hie
So all my thoughts in skies be higher gone
There foote is fast, my faithe a stedfast stone
From them discends the christall fontains cleare
And from mine eyes butt fained force and mone
Hoppes trickling teares with sadd and murnefull cheare
From them great windes doe hurle with hiddeous beir
From me deepe sighs greate flockes of sheepe they feede
I flockes of loue, no fruicts on them appeare
My houpe to me no grace can bring or breede[38]

In the pantheistic mode of Petrarch's Rime, the lover's body is anatomised by the degree to which it mirrors the land's physical features and effects. That tears reflect streams, or sighs the winds are resolutely conventional but there are more unusual abstract comparisons. Contemplation of the beloved is an abstruse pursuit: 'thoughts' of her are likened to the Cheviot 'toppes' obscured by cloud, delicately suggesting (in a rare moment of Neoplatonic suggestiveness) that so rarefying the beloved obscures or veils her true form, and that she herself is similarly elusive (or illusory). The tone is more reverential towards love: his passion is rooted as deeply as the hills are to the earth's foundation; the assertion of 'faithe' as 'a stedfast stone' has a religious tenor. But the analogies are not always 'fitt' or felicitous: 'flockes of sheep/flockes of loue' is a faintly comic, scarcely persuasive correspondence. In the couplet, 'In these alike, in this we disagree/That snowe on them and flammes remaines in me', the desired sense of *concordia discors* is meagre.

Analogy is conceived more successfully in the next sonnet when fused with the idea of metamorphosis (itself a conventional trope of the renaissance love lyric). As 'man, a man am I composed all' (note the lack here of a kingly or divine identity) he is a microcosm of the four elements; but as a lover he uniquely 'of mankinde... /...posseseth onlie one' (ll. 4-5).

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[37] ' Sonnet painting out the perfect Poet', *op. cit.*, ll. 2-3.

[38] f. $6^r$; Craigie, p. 70, ll. 2-12..

My flames of loue to firie heauen be past
My aire in sighs euanish'd is and gone
My moysture into teares distilling fast
Now onlie earthe remaines with me at last (ll. 6-9)

James's conceit is rich in implication. In retaining the 'earthly' part which is, according to Elyot, 'of substance grosse and ponderous,...set of all elementes most lowest'[39], the lover portrays desire as an incorruptible element of his being. It is accordingly rooted in the body but deprived of any Neoplatonic conception of physical matter as sensually degrading or corrupt. Yet the primacy of 'earth' also suggests the lover's mortality especially when allied to the ultimate metamorphosis of line 13. On death, the body's earth is united with the earth of its grave: 'Send als my earth, with earth for to remaine'. The final plea, 'restore me to my selfe againe', is a familiar request for the beloved's grace (consent or compliance) which will rescue the lover from imminent death. The particular phrase, 'my selfe', sustains the sonnet's intensely physical sense of self, and confirms that the lover's self as neither unitary nor stable.

One should emphasise the predominantly sensual or sexual tone of these first sonnets. Desire is enflamed by the 'wonder' of the beloved's 'beautie' and not, as in Petrarch, by her superlative moral wisdom as well. The ultimate consummation is therefore not spiritual: the reductive, vaguely threatening 'I houpe Madame it shall not be for nought'[40] clearly implies that 'nought' is the beloved's refusal to be sexually compliant. Unsurprisingly, the figure of woman does not reveal a Petrarchan capacity for salvation but rather a peculiarly feminine (and entirely proverbial) moral flaw:

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[39] The Boke named The Gouernour edited by H.H.S. Croft, 2 vols (London, 1883), vol 1, I.i, p. 4.

[40] 'Although that crooked crawling Vulcan lie', f. 9r, l. 14.

O womans witt that wauers with the winde,
When none so well may warie now as I
As weathercocke thy stablenes I finde
And as the sea that still can neuer lie;[41]

This apparent inversion of the Petrarchistic-Neoplatonic female beloved is similarly found in the lyric, 'if mourning micht amende my harde unhappie cace', later titled 'A Dier at her M:ties desyr'[42]. The lover's sacrifice to death is prevented by the sudden realisation that he martyrs himself for a wholly worthless beloved:

yett if the endles smairte & sorrou I sustaine
uaire sufferid for some uorthie uicht I happie uolde remaine
I uolde me happie thinke if thus I martired uaire
for sum sueit sainte in sacrifice that both uaire goode & faire
but o alace my paine & restles griefe it grouis[43]

As the 'sequence', or at least the first of the identifiably Anna sonnets, began with frustrated efforts to breach the literal absence that separated lover and beloved (or bride and groom), the final poem implies the beloved's abstract 'absence' through her lack of faith and constancy. *His* loyalty is proclaimed: 'I fail'd not to fulfill/All sort of seruice to a Mistres dew' (masculine virtue, feminine weakness). But this apparent lapse on the beloved's part does not make James's lover disconsolate but almost cheerfully resigned: 'What shall I saye, I neuer thoght to see/That out of sight shoulde out of languor be'. He will not languish for a fallen ideal.

***Courtly mistresses*** Absence, and the perilous survival of love through separation, serves as the foundation for other lyrics. In 'A complaint of his mistressis absence from Court', the female absence is regretted as if the loss of a decorative ornament. She had embellished what is now termed 'Plutos court' (as opposed formerly to Venus's by implication):

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[41] 'O womans witt that wauers with the winde' (f. $9^{v}$, Craigie, p. 72), ll. 1-4.

[42] Add. MS 24195, ff. 10v-13r; MS Bodley 165, ff. 46r-46v; STS pp. 74-9. In Add. MS. 24195, it was originally titled '*on* her M:tie's desyr'.

[43] Text based on the orthographically Scots version in Bodley 165 (f. $46^{r}$; Craigie, p. 77), ll. 41-5.

The Court as garland lacks the cheefest floure
The Court a chatton toome that lackes her stone
The Court is like a volier at this hour
Wherout of is her sweetest Sirene gone.
Then shall we lacke our cheefest onlie one?
No, pull us not from ws cruell cloude I praye
Our light, our rose, our gemme, our bird awaye.[44]

This privation is felt collectively: '*Our* princelie court' (l. 45). In one sense this is not a love poem *per se* but a panegyric or praise of a female subject. Written in 'Troilus verse' (which the treatise advocated to express 'Tragicall materis'), at one moment the mistress appears absent through death ('pull not from ws cruell cloude I praye'). Yet the lyric concludes in anticipation of her return: 'Haste golden Titan thy so long'd returne/To cleare the skies where now we darckned mourne' (ll. 62-4). The figure of Apollo/Phoebus is invoked several times but not solely, as Goldberg argues, for the purpose of self-representation[45]. The Apollo symbolism of this lyric embraces the idea of the literal-metaphoric storm which enfolds the court, the figurative radiance of the mistress, and even the poetic response to the latter: 'Bot what my Muse, how pertlie thus thou sings/Who rather ought Solsequium-like attend/With luckned leaues till wearie night take end' (ll. 59-61). The implication is sexual: despite the absence of the mistress/Apollo (by which figuratively the flower seals its petals) he thrives at the mere recollection of her 'alluring grace'.

Yet, in one sense, the absent mistress is incidental to the display of rhetorical prowess. A descriptive prologue of five stanzas exemplifies James's characteristic analogical and descriptive propensities. The *exemplum* of the ship which suddenly enters a storm the court before and after the mistress) is a beautifully evanescent image:

Whill as a statelie fleeting castle faire
On smoothe and glassie salt dois softlie slide
With snowie sheets all flaffing here and thaire

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[44] Add. MS 24195, ff. 14r-16r; Craigie, pp. 81-2, ll. 50-6.
[45] *op. cit.*, pp. 24-5.

So deck'd and trimm'd as she were Neptunes bride
And no ways troubled with contrarious tide
And shining Titan from his firie cart
Smiles seing nature triumph'd of by art. (ll. 1-7)

In the two, stanzaically varied lyrics, 'What mortall man may liue but hart' and 'When as the skilfull archer false', the lovers' separation by seas again prompts James's biographers to ally both to the occasion of James's delayed voyage to Anna[46]. Yet in the first lyric the lovers have been united before separation: '& syne hou ue sa soone uar shedd/& lost oure lang desirit ioy....'(ll. 17-18). Their separation contrasts with the spurious or feigned reasons for absence invented by inferior lovers who 'abuse[s]/thaim venus boy' (ll. 23-4), thus the nature of true earthly love. Different kinds of absence are contested in the other lyric but to present the relationship as itself imperfect. The opening Hero and Leander analogy (oddly interpreted as a direct analogue of Anna and James) offers the triumph of love over adversity to which the lovers who are are the poem's subject are expressly contrasted. Even the analogue to Pyramus and Thisbe - 'Deuydid onlie by a wall' - is inapposite: even the means of communication is obstructive in a metaphoric sense:

The verrie like did ws befall
As them of whome I shewe before
We distant are by such a walle
And often spacke by such a bore
Whill enuie called a naile
There through so strate
As made our moyen faile
To speake of late. (ll. 25-32)

The lovers' self-created, self-imposed 'barr' contrasts with the reciprocal love hymned in the first lyric where each lover is the other's 'half in all'. Their parity is 'consolation':

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[46] The text for the first lyric is based on the Scots orthography of Bodley MS 165, ff. 52r-v, Craigie pp. 95-7; 'When as the skilful archer false' is found only in Add MS 24195, ff. 29v-30r, Craigie p. 98.

bot be the contraire i reiose
quhen i persaue ue marrois be
in trouble sorrou & in uoise
that is ane thinge quhilk confortis me
the prouerbe makis relation
that lykis in tribulation
is uratchis consolation
so nou ar ue. (ll. 41-8)

This is notable in the context of the *Amatoria* for its vision of a mutual love unqualified by irony[47]. It is endowed with a piety, or frame of religious reference, absent from the other love lyrics:

i pray the lorde abone
to send it til us soone
faireuill quhill that be done
& after ay. (ll. 53-6)

Although simply an appeal that the lovers be reunited, the apostrophe nevertheless lends a quiet intensity to this slight but moving lyric.

***The question of redemptive love*** Its brief intimation of love's redemptive possibilities are deepened by the longest, most narratively structured of the *Amatoria* lyrics, 'A dreame on his Mistris my Ladie Glammis'[48]. The account and attempted exposition of a dream in which a *donna angelicata* presents the poet-dreamer with the tokens of 'A tablet and an Amethyst' (that on awaking he still possesses), the 'dreame' is linked generically to the Petrarchan dream vision, its *Petrarchisti* variants, and to the vogue for allegorical narrative within the Castalian coterie[49]. The dreamer's desire to expound the apparent *arcana* of the dream (and how to classify the dream itself with implicit allusion to Macrobius's categories) is held in tension with the lover's impulse to construe the dream as the assurance of reciprocal love. The 'dreme' has been praised for its 'originality'[50]. Certainly its carefully orchestrated symbolism and the intimation of a quasi-mystical love distinguish it at least within the *Amatoria*.

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[47] 'Constant Loue in all Conditions' (f. 10r, STS p. 73) declares fidelity only on the part of the lover.

[48] Add. MS 24195, ff. 16v-24v; STS, pp. 82-9.

[49] See, for example, Petrarch's Rime 250 and the sonnet, 'Ane Dreame', in EUL Laing MS 447, f. 70r, attributed to Montgomerie in Poems of Alexander Montgomerie (Supplementary Volume) edited by George Stevenson (Blackwood: Edinburgh and London, 1910), p. 218, for another Scottish version of this *topos*.

It also offers a more redeemed version of woman, the beloved mistress conceived as an 'Idee' (with the Neoplatonic resoances of rarity and spiritual virtue) who acts as an unambiguous muse:

Loe here she is who makes thee trade
        The statelie forcked hill,
Whose pleasant grasse beginnes to fade
        So trampled by thee still,
Lo here she is who makes thee drinke
        The christall siluer spring
of flying horse and riding foule
        As ancient Poëts sing        (ll. 25-32)

Not only does this she inspire the lover to create (specifically in terms of Castalian poetic mythology) but she herself, and secular love by implication (compare James's general critical view), is the sole subject of such rarefied poetry:

Loe here the subiect and the wings
        Of thy high flying verse
That mountes aboue the flammie vaults
        And to the heauen does pearse        (ll. 33-6)

Her beauty is later emblematically portrayed by the visual tableau of the 'Sunne...shining bright/Into the midst, with stars about/Bot darckned by his light' (ll. 202-4). This recalls the conventional Petrarchistic conceit of the beloved as the sun which James develops to a small extent in the apostrophe to the literal sun in whom he seeks her 'shaddowe'. The image is glossed by the 'dittie' (as if the inscription attached to the image in an actual emblem book): 'As sunne/Amongst the stars does shine,/So she her sexe surpasseth far/In vertues most diuine...' (ll. 205-9). She kisses the dreamer, an act objectified by James's sole use of the blason's imagistic mode which reifies female beauty - here, the lips and teeth - into a precious object: 'With this me thought she bowed her doune/and ioyned the rubies sine,/(That hides her iuorie rankes and smells/Of Nectar) unto mine' (ll. 37-40).

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[50] Jack, 'Poetry under King James VI', p.130.

This partial 'conversion' of the beloved to a precious stone reflects the emblematic status of the stone and tablet. The attempt to attach 'mottos' (or 'ditties') to each presents the most elaborately conceitful writing of the *Amatoria*. The stone's fusion of 'purple' and 'gray' tones mirrors the dreamer's humours (his being composed of 'flames' and 'earthe' as in the sixth sonnet of the 'Anna sequence). The stone's 'secret vertue[s]' as a 'remeade' against inebriety is applied to the province of desire: 'So shall my harte be still preserued/By vertue from abowe,/From staggering like a drunken man/Or wauering into loue...' (ll. 129-32). Drink's 'poisonous' allure is likened to the 'poysoned lookes/of Dames I shall not swerue' (ll. 135-6); (woman characterised by the extremes of virtue and vice). Other women are antagonists (because they threaten the integrity of his love) whom he can subjugate with the aid of the amethyst: 'That with my conquering hand I may/Enforce my foes to flie...' (ll. 139-40).

The third and last interpretation of the stone rests on its 'force/A hunter for to aide/In ende to catche his pray, the fruict/Of all his trauell made' (ll. 157-60). The king's self-referential statement, 'So am I an prentise past/Into that Princelie game' (ll. 161-2), makes the analogy personally apt. Yet it also connotes the game of amatory pursuit. As lover he desires to seek and possess his 'pray/That prayes on me, and is of all/My passion'd thoughts the stay' (ll. 166-8). The implicit myth of Diana and Actaon has been inverted according to gender: the victim is now female, the hunter male.

The tablet's visual characteristic of pure distilled gold represents the mistress's 'chastnes'. Yet its visual and symbolic import is intensely detailed: 'The crawling scores of ameling blacke/That on the golde are wrought,/The diuers passions represents/That walters in her thought' (ll. 176-80). Her 'Syren voice diuine' is also abstrusely imaged by 'A nacked man.../Whome Phoebus rosts with hote reflexe/And stinging flees dote teare/Yett sitting in the forrest greene...' (ll. 182-85). This figure can most probably be identified as Orpheus, another of James's mythological *personae*[51]. Yet the connection here between the literal and abstract senses is unclear. How is she to be compared to this suffering Orpheus? Is she made oblivious to such unidentified pain by 'Esteeming so' the 'ioye' of those whom she enchants by her voice?

This quizzical interpretativeness continues: reluctant to perceive another emblem - the beloved's heart held by 'ane hand.../Whill Cupide with his bended bowe/And golden arrow aime,/To shoote his firie subtle shaft/For pearcing of the same' (ll. 219-24) - as signifying her unwilling submission to the Ovidian golden arrow, the dreamer reads (or manipulates) the image as the offering of her heart to 'Be shotte into for me...'(l. 228).

The final exegesis rests on the union of tablet and amethyst (lover and mistress) 'both knitt together be/Euen by a string' (ll. 244-5). Literal and metaphorical senses delicately interweave: the 'threed' which binds the emblems to one another symbolises the 'threed' which only fate or death in the guise of Atropos can sever.

The dreamer's way of sanctioning the felicity of their love blends caution and authority. Apollo has guided him yet there remains the possibilty that 'verrie truth' is not revealed. In allusion the discourse on the reliability of dreams which opened the poem, the dreamer concedes that such consolation may be illusory. yet even the duplicity of a false vision is embraced as a 'gladd deceate': 'so my guesse/In gladnes doth me keepe...' (ll. 99-200). Distance is transformed into intimacy, absence into presence by the efficacy of desire.

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[51] Also a common emblematic figure: see p. 1610 of Arthur Henkel and Albrecht Schoene, Emblemata: Handbuch zur Sinnbildkunst des XVI und XVII Jahrhunderts (Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 1967) for a variety of Orpheus emblems to which James might be alluding.

James's 'dreme' is thus uncharacteristic of the *Amatoria* collection in assenting to the idea of love as joyful ('glad' repeated three times). While wedded to the generic mode of the Petrarchan visionary allegory, it renders the divine consolation of that mode (the beloved who comes as an incarnation of divine *caritas*) in a secular sense. The beloved's visitation serves almost to license or endorse the dreamer's desire. But the nature of that desire is in itself recondite or arcane: the process of emblematic (or allegorical) interpretation by which the lyric is structured lends that love a kind of intellectual credence; and this in turn may reflect that logical and analytic aspect of poetry extolled by James's treatise. Further, the beauty of James's beloved is not represented in simple descriptive terms. Rather her physical and abstract forms are displaced into symbolic images. The 'dreame''s mistress is desired not for what she herself is, in a sense, but for the symbolic weight she is made to bear[52]. The other leafe is bare but the dreamer conjectures that it is 'ordain'd to containe' the image of the beloved herself. This is the supreme representation of the beloved and the desire she inspires. Though the other emblems signify 'Her qualities most rare' 'So shoulde her selfe, though vivelie no/Yett best it can be there'. The most 'viuelie' incarnation of the beloved would be, by implication, her actual living presence.

### ***Insubordinate women***

euen so all wemen are of nature uaine
& can not keip no secreit unreueild
& quhair as once thay do conceaue disdaine
thay are unable to be reconceild
fulfillid uith talk & clatteris but respect
& oftentymes of small or none effect[53]

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[52] The coupling of invention with the physical description of the beloved in the treatise might here be consciously realised by James. The rhetorical invention of the beloved in the 'dreme' is likened to the portrait of 'sume Apelles fine': in both instances, a male creation.

[53] The text is based on the Scots orthographical version of MS Bodley 165, ff. 43r- 44r, ll. 43-8, as opposed to the Anglicised verison of Add. MS 24195, ff. 25r-27r, STS, pp. 91-3.

The seventeenth century copyist or editor (in the British Museum copy) entitled the text, from which the above stanza is extracted, 'A Satire against Woemen'. Yet placed between two ostensibly amatory lyrics, its presence (whether authorially sanctioned or not) raises questions about the acceptability (or more aptly the 'invisibility') of misogyny within the amatory context.

The poem is founded on a single premise: that woman's nature (her social, moral and sexual conduct) is predetermined by nature itself. She instinctively acts 'uithout regard or schame') just as 'skoles of herring flees the quhaile for feir'. Seven stanzas provide illustration of the analogy (only two expatiate on female flaws), endorsing the view that sixteenth century literary antifeminism was equally an exercise in rhetorical virtuosity as a quasi-philosophical argument[54].

as falconis are by nature faire of flicht
of kynde as sparhalkis farr excellis in speid
as marlzonis haif in springing greatest micht
as gooshalkis are of nature geuin to greid
as mauuisis of kynde are geuin to sing
& laiurokkis after candlemess to spring (ll. 1-6)

James's catalogue conveys the impression of rich natural diversity: the first two stanzas list a variety of birds (the 'falconis, sparhalkis...pyettis, gleddis' implicitly suggest woman as predator); the third wild or more exotic creatures ('tigris, lyonis, beiris'); the fourth smaller 'woodland' animals; the fourth and fifth various aquatic creatures (including the mermaid). Both the rhetorical structure and the types of creatures seem drawn from the genre of medieval bestiary.

Yet conceptually the lyric's 'argument' is neither innovative nor ingenious but derivative and citational in the characteristic antifeminist mode. James's conceitful wit can easily be deconstructed into a series of orthodox essentialist points. The vices assigned 'all wemen' - successively vanity, indiscretion, animosity, garrulity, ambition, material avarice, deceitfulness and artifice - constitute the familiar indictment, in Bloch's terms, of woman's 'overdetermination' or 'excess', her lack of 'mesure' (l. 50) [55]. Not (as man) made in the image of God, woman is associated with sensual (if not bestial) characteristics. The basis for this tacit assumption of James's satire originates in Aristotelian creational biology which conceives the female species as imperfectly derived from the male (*mal occasionatum*)[56]. The renaissance debate whether woman could be considered fully human might be argued as the *terminus ad quem* of James's lyric: that female nature is predetermined to the same degree that 'remorae uill stopp ane ship to steir/seahors[are] cruell/creuisses...suimm abak' (ll. 29-30) bears comparison to Aquinas's association of women with 'other monsters of Nature'[57].

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[54] On the antifeminist or *querelle des femmes* poem as purely a rhetorical exercise see Woodbridge, *op. cit.*, p. 17, and Lisa Jardine, Still Harping on Daughters. Women and Drama in the Age of Shakespeare (Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1983), p. 162. McClure, *op. cit.*, p. 107, asserts that the 'Satire' is 'the most extreme instance in all James's work of a poem written purely to display his knowledge in witty form...'; but it is 'knowledge' purely of an established literary genre.

Further, the inclusion of such a starkly antifeminist piece within a context which conceives the female subject (with the exception of the Anna sonnets) as an orthodox beloved does have a precedent in the fourth 'pairt' of the Bannatyne manuscript (1568). James may consciously imitate the formal retractions and recantations of the *querelle* controversy gathered under its general prefatory heading of 'ballattis of luve'[58]. Their inclusion within Bannatyne's all-encompassing generic title suggests that the entrenched paradigm of female duality - the Virgin/Eve paradox with its theological and philosophical roots - is peculiarly enacted by the renaissance amatory lyric. The archetypal sonnet-mistress, fickle, cruel and uncharitable (see Petrarch's Rime 265), can incur the displeasure and revulsion of her lover (witness the Anna sonnets) or (as in one version of Fowler's *Tarantula of Love*) prove a source of moral corruption. Giordano Bruno's canonical treatise on spiritual love even seeks to justify why the object of Petrarch's adoration was a woman. James's amatory anti-feminism should not be regarded as a remarkable aberration: the 'Satire' is certainly dissonant but may be compared to the latter less explicit or strident instances.

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[55] Howard R. Bloch, Medieval Misogyny and the Invention of Western Romantic Love (University of Chicago Press, 1991), p. 47.

[56] See Ian Maclean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman: a study in the fortunes of scholasticism and medical science in European intellectual life (Cambridge University Press, 1980), p. 42.

[57] Maclean, *op. cit.*, p. 12. Female monstrosity is famously declaimed by Knox in the First Blast. In Petrarch's Rime 135, Laura is portrayed as a wild creature which, Sara Sturm-Maddox suggests, Petrarch's Laurels (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), p. 98, evokes 'the basilisk of the bestiaries'.

[58] See Bannatyne's division into 'four pairtis': 'The first Ar songis of luve The second ar Contemptis of luve And evill wemen The thrid ar contempis of evill fals vicious men [and the defense of women] And the fourt Ar ballattis detesting of luve And lichery' (f. 211r): The Bannatyne Manuscript edited by W. Tod Ritchie, 4 vols (Blackwood: Edinburgh and London, 1928-34), vol III, p. 240.

The 'Satire''s interpretation is incomplete without attention to the subtle defensive manoeuvre of the *envoi*. In this 'Exposition' (or what the other MS copy more aptly terms an 'excuise'), James's speaker atones to 'ye damis of uorthie fame':

since for youre honouris I employed my caire
for uemen bad heirby are lesse to blame
for that they follou nature eueryquhayre
& ye most uorthie prayse quhose reason dantis
that nature quhilk into youre sexe so hantis (ll. 55-60)

The castigator becomes the apologist. This is a complete *volte-face:* even 'uemen bad' are 'redeemed' for being helpless to act other than instinctually; and 'uorthie' women are granted a characteristically male rationality. That the text's 'true' significance depends on its poem's interpreter or recipient prompts interesting speculation on its original context. If a recitation or performance by James, the 'expositioun' may have deferred to female courtiers or gentlewomen in attendance. If an exclusively male audience or readership, then the obsequious eulogy seems a more ironic jest[59]. James's 'Satire' succeeds in exposing the discursive paradox at the heart of courtly, and expecially amatory, lyric: who addresses whom? James's poem demonstrates how the sexual politics of the courtly environment could be manipulated by the lyricist, and how the standard tropes of antifeminism can appear as if playfully mimicked.

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[59] This kind of *excusatio* is used, for example, by Jehan Le Fevre: 'For if some women are evil and perverse and abnormal, it does not necessaril follow that all of them are so cruel and wicked; nor should all of them be lumped together in this general reproach...': Women Defamed and Defended. An Anthology of Medieval Texts ed. Alcuin Blamires *et al.* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), p. 193.

How ultimately should we judge the constructions of the feminine in the *Amatoria*? Goldberg asserts, 'James's attacks on women explore the strategies of discursive power, the negations and disclaimers and the annihilative erasures that ensure the monarch's freedom and truth'[60]. That may be justly claimed of the political and ideological strictures in place at the Jacobean courts; but the *Amatoria* lyrics, dually conceiving woman as a redeeming (quasi-Petrarchan) beloved and as the faithless corrupter of male purity, remain within the orthodox conceptual limits of what might be termed the love lyric's 'screen of representation' (Irigaray's phrase). Goldberg asserts that James consistently 'imposes his power' on the beloved (or Anna). Yet this imposition is imaginatively replicated in many varieties of (male-authored) renaissance love lyrics. The female subject (or rather object of desire) is 'controlled' or subjugated by the poet-lover's positioning of her within the established symbolic system of representation (similar to what Cixous terms 'the literary enclosure'). This imaginative reification can be partly conceived as a reactionary response to the emotional and sexual power wielded by the female beloved: as Woodbridge notes, 'the sonnet mistress at her best is as potent a symbol of feminine dominance and power as the Renaissance ever provided'[61]. She is also a male invention. The 'dreme' seemingly fragments precisely this creative act by portraying the perfect beloved as the construct of symbolic 'parts'[62]. Goldberg appears to contend that James's amatory antifeminism reflects the larger ideological authority of his writings (the 'instrument of royal power'). This essay proposes that it instead exemplifies the sheerly rhetorical construct of woman in love lyric: converted into an aesthetic artefact in the 'dreme' and 'A complaint...', and a topic of rhetorical

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[60] *op. cit.*, p.25.

[61] Linda Woodbridge, Women and the English Renaissance: Literature and the Nature of Womankind 1540-1620 (Harvester, 1984), p. 189.

[62] This process of interpretation the 'substantial and real gift' offered to the reader according to Goldberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 21-2.

*inventio* and conceptual 'wit' in 'A Satire'. Note how James encloses his antifeminism within an expiatory fictive framework. Woman remains an object of discursive exchange. And, in the end, James's angelic or demonic women (merely) reflect the enduring feminine mythic types of the male imagination.

***'my Phoenix rare'*** Within the Elizabethan courtly context, recent studies have argued for the devious use of the amatory lyric idiom. Louis Montrose's readings argue that 'desires for wealth, status, and power might be intentionally disguised or unconsciously displaced in metaphors of erotic or spiritual desire'[63]. An earlier chapter considered the evocative ways in which Mary Stuart's sonnets offered an ironic portrait of *amour courtois*; the subsequent analysis of Alexander Montgomerie's love poetry considers its ambiguously erotic incarnations of James. Such lyrics seem to reflect, in Sedgwick's terms, a network of social structures in which the homosocial cannot be distinguished from the homosexual[64].

James's own 'tragedie', the *Ane metaphoricall Invention of a Tragedie called Phoenix*, written in commemoration of the death of Esmé Stuart (James's French cousin whom he created Duke of Lennox) is duplicitous in the same sense[65]. David Bergeron interprets James's self-professed 'Metaphoricall Invention' as the poetic embodiment of the king's homosexual love for his cousin, proposing that the femininity of the 'Phoenix rare' which symbolises Lennox reflects James's 'sexual confusion'[66]. But the conviction with which Bergeron perceives a homosexual love is not entirely sanctioned by the poem itself[67]. The poem seeks consolation as well as the expression of loss; as an emblem of resurrrection the conventionally female phoenix permits a 'comike end'. How the beauty of the bird's 'body whole' is described might be likened to the female *blason:*

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[63] 'Celebration and Insinuation: Sir Philip Sidney and the Motives of Elizabethan Courtship', *Renaissance Drama* 8 (1977), pp. 3-35 (26); see also '"Eliza, Queene of shepheardes", and the Pastoral of Power', *ELR* 10, pp. 153-82; 'Of Gentlemen and Shepherds', *ELH* 50 (1983), pp. 415-59.

[64] See Eve Kosofsky Sedgwick, Between Men. English Literature and Male Homosocial Desire (Columbia University Press, 1985), especially 'Introduction', pp. 1-15, and 'Swan in Love: The Example of Shakespeare's Sonnets', pp. 28-48.

[65] Bodley MS 165, ff. 36r-42r.

[66] David Bergeron, Royal Family, Royal Lovers. King James of England and Scotland (University of Missouri Press, 1991), pp. 26-34 (33).

Whose bodie haill uith porpour uas ourcled,
Whose taile of coulour uas celestiall bleu
With skarlat pennis that through it mixed grew:
Her craig was like the yallowe burnisht gold,
and sho hir self thre hundreth yeire uas old[68]

James himself might be construed in the allusions to 'Phoebus bricht' and to Apollo 'quha brunt uith thy reflex/Thine onely foulle, throu loue that thou hir buire'. Lennox is thus imaginatively resurrected - possessed of 'ane longer lyfe' - by James's desire[69]. Yet though the poem profoundly registers its grief (in Bergeron's phrase, 'the wonderful love he has known'), it is perhaps too incautious and essentialist a critical move to construe it *simply* as the expression of homosexual love[70]. James does not succeed, at least explicitly, in subverting the gender of the conventional beloved.

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[67] In many ways perhaps a reading which gains from the ambiguity of James's sexuality: homosexual practices condemned in the Basilikon Doron compared to the accusation that he engaged in 'great familiareties and quyet purpossis' with Esmé Stuart: David Moysie, Memoirs of the Affairs of Scotland 1577-1603 (Bannatyne Club, 1830), p. 55. On the subject in general see, for example, Alan Bray, Homosexuality in Renaissance England (Gay Men's Press: London, 1982); the collection of essays, Queering the Renaissance edited by Jonathan Goldberg (Duke University Press, 1994), and especially Bruce Smith, Homosexual Desire in Shakespeare's England. A Cultural Poetics (University of Chicago Press, 1991).

[68] f. 36v, ll. 38-42

[69] It is interesting to note also that the phoenix also symbolises the female beloved in an amatory context: for example, in Petrarch's Rime 185; and Thomas Watson, Hekatompathia or Passionate Centurie of Love (1582), sonnets XIand XXXIX. The phoenix conceit also occurs in James's 'A sonnet on Du Bartas': 'His pen in Phoenix...shall change' (l. 28, Craigie, p. 102). See also Guss, p. 162, on the Rime's use of the phoenix where the mythical bird is portrayed as an analogue of Petrarch's desire in a perpetual state of dissolution and recreation.

[70] Given that it was published (in the Essayes,1584), and also makes some politically cogent points. This is not intended as a deliberately conservative reading of the 'Phoenix', the kind against which Goldberg cautions ('Introduction' to Queering the Renaissance (Duke University Press, 1994)) if the sexuality of Renaissance texts is to be confronted; rather that Bergeron's reading of allegorised homosexual love is too absolute for a text which invites other (not wholly compatible) readings *in addition*.

***Conclusion*** The *Amatoria* as a whole does not achieve the innovative originality which James desired of Castalian love literature. The arch mannerist conceitfulness of Montgomerie is rarely attained; it does not engage in rhetorical or philosophical terms with the Petrarchan paradigm (as arguably achieved by the complex religious vision of Fowler's sequence). James is not a Petrarchistic or Neoplatonic love poet; neither can he be called 'anti-Petrarchist' (a term much misused) since he does not coherently challenge or revise any aspects of the Petrarchan inheritance. Even its misogyny is less startling once recontextualised. But there *are* moments of erotic intensity, James's amatory language can yield an arresting conceit, and the analytic construction of meaning (love allegorised, then deconstructed) in the 'dreme' is clever and playful - all achieved almost in spite of the love lyric's precarious standing in Castalian poetics. The teasingly interpretative glosses which James provides for the 'Satire' and the 'Dier' disclose a keen alertness to how the expectations of genre can be manipulated, and so the responses of audience or readership. These poems reflect the apogee of the court love lyric in Jacobean Scotland. Ultimately, the *Amatoria* is almost more notable for the provocative possibilites it raises than for its articulation of a coherent style of love lyric: to what degree does James write as a wholly royal subject, or express desire in another sexuality, or Castalian amatory lyrics construct about the king a discourse of eroticised politics? 'To play thy self with thy awin consait and lat nane knaw quhat thow dois mene': the *Amatoria* is at once enriched and circumscribed by its own artful resonances.

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## Part II
## Chapter 2

# Desire and the arts of representation *in the lyrics of Alexander Montgomerie*

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§ *Introduction*

§ *Rhetorical representations*

§ *Towards a definition of mannerism*

§ *In pursuit of Daphne: rhetoric and the representation of woman*

§ *Cupid and the representation of sovereignty*

§ *Erotic politics*

§ *Conclusion*

## *Introduction*

Even sa vha sayis they sie me as I am
I mene a man suppose they sie me move
Of Ignorance they do tham selvis condam
By syllogisme this properly I prove
Quha sees (by look) my loyaltie in love
Quhat hurt in hairt vhat hope or hap I haiv
Quhilk ressone movis the senses to consaiv[1]

The art of representation in the love lyrics of Alexander Montgomerie (*c*1545-1597) is the binding theme of this chapter. 'The secreit prais of love' gives eloquent, quasi-analytical expression to an idea of representation arising from the dilemma: how can one know whether one is loved, or in love? Many lyrics within Montgomerie's characteristically diverse amatory *oeuvre* have an underlying concern, or fascination, with the epistemological nature of desire. This chapter proposes that the verbal plenitude or *copia* displayed by many of Montgomerie's love lyrics is one, partly facetious response to the difficult representation of 'secreit' love (another facet of the 'inwardness' which perplexed Alexander Scott's lovers). The arts of rhetoric and representation are also twinned in the analysis of how the female subject of Montgomerie's love lyrics is conceived. Thirdly, the representational status of the figure of Cupid is debated as the issue of 'erotic politics' - the vexed relationship between James and Montgomerie, the sovereign and his exemplary poet - is addressed.

Montgomerie may be judged the most prolific love lyricist among his Castalian contemporaries. Though he appears not to have essayed a substantial amatory sequence such as Fowler's *Tarantula* or Alexander's Aurora (thus offering some form of sustained or coherent vision), he presents a considerable body of shorter love lyrics which (by their inclusion within Bannatyne and later miscellanies) attest his poetic presence at both Marian and Jamesian courts[2]. It is difficult, nonetheless, to assign a fixed chronology to Montgomerie's love lyrics. It is probable that his most prolific, prominent period as an amatory lyricist occurs between the late 1570's and 80's on the evidence of James's fêting of Montgomerie as the 'maister poet' of his revolutionary poetic treatise. In this, one of Montgomerie's most wittily elusive lyrics, 'Befoir the Greeks dois enterpryse' is offered as the exemplary love lyric of the new Scottish poetics[3]. Many of Montgomerie love lyrics's seemingly reflect (consciously or not) Jamesian poetic values: scepticism, wit, philosophical impulses, and an inventive as opposed to imitative, translation practice (Ronsardian sonnet and Marotic elegy are suggestively transmuted). The most sensitive study of these love lyrics conceives the most skilful as 'earthy' in their refusal to accommodate the full spirituality of the Petrarchist and Neoplatonic traditions, but possessed on occasion of a metaphysical spirit of inquiry. His flaws are the adoption of

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[1] 'The secreit prais of love', ll. 8-14: EUL La. De.3.80, ff. 32r-33r; reprinted in The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie edited by James Cranstoun, STS (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1887), pp. 168-9. The text of the poems in this chapter is based on the manuscript but reference is also made to Cranstoun's edition.

> ...Petrarchan ideas and images in a meekly imitative manner. Any invention is lavished on the choice of verse form or on perfecting a particularly extravagant rhetorical trope. Such works would deservedly meet with the approval of the court group for whom they were intended. Even now we can appreciate the skills involved, but they are essentially contributions to a courtly game, no more, no less. Secondly, the idealism and the seriousness associated with later Petrarchanism deprived Montgomerie of some of his most effective

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[2] R.D.S. Jack, Alexander Montgomerie (Edinburgh: Scottish Academic Press, 1985), pp. 4-5, 35-6, judiciously assesses the evidence. Oscar Hoffman, Studien zu Montgomerie (Altenburg, 1894) and Rudolf Brotanek, Untersuchungen über das leben und die Dichtungen Alexander Montgomerie (Vienna, 1896) note that 'My fansie feeds upon the sugred gall' is based on a lyric in *A Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions* (1578); see the edition by Hyder E. Rollins (Cambridge Massachusetts, 1926), p. 73. Arthur F. Marotti, Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p. 214, observes that its editor, Thomas Proctor, 'simply collected from various sources poems that appealed to him, perhaps changing or supplying words and lines at his fancy'. The lyrics of EUL La.III.447, which George Stevenson reprinted in his Supplementary volume to Cranstoun's edition, cannot be considered as Montgomerie's own(though stylistically the evidence is to a certain degree persuasive). The attribution is made on the basis that a copy of 'The Cherrie and the Slae' (ending on f. 31v) precedes the lyric collection. Copies of Montgomerie song lyrics appear in later MSS such as NLS Adv.5.2.14, f. 16v and Adv.81.9.12, f. 12r.

[3] *Ane Schort Treatise conteining some Reulis and Cautelis to be eschewit in Scottis Poesie*, The Essayes of a Prentise (Edinburgh, 1584), sig. Miiijv.

> weapons - the interplay of stylistic levels, the sudden introduction of powerful invective, couthy wit and the direct, simple tones of the plain man speaking to plain men[4].

This chapter seeks to deepen but also qualify aspects of this reading. Courtly rhetorical mannerism is an offshoot of Montgomerie's enduring epistemological concern with love and its representation. Alleged simplicity may also be a manifestation of courtly and poetic affectation. In the chapter's conclusion, the archetypally Montgomeriesque earthy particularity is alternatively conceived as much a manifestation of the lover's soul or spirit as it is of the body.

***Rhetorical representations*** 'The secret prais' is partly construed as a quasi-scholastic or learned disquisition on how, and if, one can define the 'force' of love (even the title, the 'secreit prais', seemingly plays on the poem's epistemological curiosity).

As evirie object to the outuard ee
Dissaivis the sight and semis as it is sene
Quhen not bot shap and cullour yit we se
for no thing els is subject to the ene
As stains and trees appeiring gray and grene
Quhais quantities upon the sight depends
Bot qualities the cunning [sense transcends] (II.1-7)

That gesture is subject to scrutiny, 'Euen sa, vha sayis they sie me *as I am...*', has particular resonance since the lyric reflects a poetic practice deeply rooted in the social and cultural networks of its realisation. 'as I am': Montgomerie's simple phrase is riddlingly recondite for the lyric questions the apparent transparency of a mere 'look' (l. 12). If physical gesture and action imperfectly translate 'the richt anatomie of mynd', then the *onus* of interpretation is placed upon language itself which is the product of 'Imaginatione...the outuard ee'[5]. Love might be discerned by 'some...sympathie' (the mutual sensitivity of lovers) but such a virtue is itself (like the desire it hopes to disclose) 'secreit'. The underlying poignancy of the observation (love is impalpable, and defeats the palpability - even when 'pithilie exprest' - of language) is veiled by a delight in the implications of erudite science, and the physiology of 'the passions':

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[4] Jack, *op. cit.*, p. 57. For criticism of Montgomerie's love poetry, see R.D.S. Jack, *The Scottish Sonnet and Renaissance Poetry*, unpub. PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh (1968); 'The Theme of Fortune in the Verse of Alexander Montgomerie', *SLJ* 10 (1983), pp. 25-44, and 'The Lyrics of Alexander Montgomerie', *RES* 20 (1969), pp.168-181; Helena Shire, Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of James VI of Scotland (Cambridge University Press, 1969), pp. 82-116, 139-180. The studies by Hoffman and Brotanek are excellent philological and source studies: see the former, esp. pp. 26-50; the latter, pp. 42-135.

Of hevins or earth some sim'litude or shape
By cunning craftismen to the ees appeir
Bot vho is he can counterfutt the Ape
Or paint a passion palpable I speir
Quhilk enters by the organ of the eir (ll. 22-6)

Love is a 'force' incalculable, defeating the 'certain bounds' of astrological and cartographical sciences. The lyric culminates (by rhetorical parallelism, ll. 36-40) in the virtue of love's paradoxically expressive inexpressiveness:

Quhat force is this that careis sik a fame?
A vehemency that words can not reveill
Quhilk I conclude to suffer and conceill (ll. 40-2)

The lover's final concealment is nicely ironic, for the lyric itself has rhetorically testified to the witty, erudite power of frustrated articulation. The exuberant parallelism of the final stanza itself realises love's elusive virtue of 'vehemency'.

The rhetorical art of representation in Montgomerie's love lyrics is sharply crystallised by this elegant, almost Donnean lyric which intimates a knowledge of contemporary theories of perception[6]. Its concerns are echoed in tonally disparate poems: in the testament of the lover which strives to communicate in the end a treu...hairt' though 'feu persavd my secreit smart'[7]; and in another lyric which seeks with similar 'vehemency' to 'publish [his] complantis'.

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[5] The sixteenth century definition of imagination was varied: 'the action of imagining, or forming a mental concept of what is not actually present to the senses...often with the implication that the conception does not corespond to the reality of things...; creative faculty of the mind in its highest aspect': OED. In sixteenth century aesthetics, imagination 'contained inventive possibilities which made it a property of genius': Milton Kirchmann, Mannerism and Imagination. A reexamination of Sixteenth Century Italian Aesthetic (Salzburg, 1979), p. 5.

[6] It has affinities, for example, with Wright's exposition of 'how passions are moued': 'to our imagination commeth by sense or memorie, some obiect to be knowne, couenient or disconuenient to Nature, the which being knowne (for *Ignoti nulla cupido*) in the imagination which resideth in the former part of the braine...when we imagine any thing, presently the purer spirits, flocke from the

Waill weghtie words, because ye cannot weep;
For pitthie poemis prettilie out paintis
My secreit sighis as sorouis gritest heep...[8]

Regret that language is not literally animate (it cannot shed tears) endows the text of love with the desired expressive capacity. The ostentatious alliteration, a stylistic constant of much Castalian poetry, is intrinsic to the communication and concealment of love. The *literal* function of the sonnet's language is laid bare; the lover's appeal seems to base its persuasion at the level of the letter. In his treatise, James writes: 'Let all your verse be literall, sa far as may be...Be Literall I meane that the maist pairt of your lyne sall rynne vpon a letter...'[9]. In Montgomerie's second line, phonological stress means that the initial /w/ aurally 'enacts' or bears the burden that the lover imposes upon his language.

The poem also posits an interesting relationship between emotion internalised and emotion articulated. 'Inwardness' is here conceived as literal place: feeling is enclosed within the 'dungeon deep' of the lover's breast 'as prisoners perpetually in pane...' (ll. 5-6). The 'force of love' (the term of 'The secreit prais') is withheld or imprisoned until liberated by the agency of lovers' language. If love's declaration is thus conceived, its comprehension depends upon the beloved's correct 'reading' or interpretation. The lyric engages only with the first part of this interpretative exchange; the couplet is a miniature *envoi* in which the poem is urged

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brayne, by vertaine secret channels to the heart': *op. cit.*, p. 45. Renaissance psychology divided experience into two kinds: an outer level of sense and matter; an inner one of imagination and reason. Both reason and the evidence of the senses were construed as fallible: see Richard Popkin, The History of Skepticism from Erasmus to Spinoza (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1979).

[7] ff. 32v-33r, STS p. 170, l. 6.

[8] f.74v , STS p. 115, ll. 2-4. 'Publish' as used here seems to mean 'to proclaim, to make known' rather than printed; it still suggests that once committed to 'Pen and Paper', l. 1, his desire is irrevocably made public.

[9] *op. cit.* sig. Mr.

'unto my Soveran say,/Redeme your man, or dam him but delay' (ll. 13-14). If such words compel 'sympathie' in the beloved, the lover's rhetoric will be vindicated. Love is as much a trial of rhetorical skill as of requisite emotion.

This rhetorical virtuosity might be conceived as a response to, or compensation for, the genre's perceived limitations. In James's treatise and (to an extent) in his own poetic practice, a certain generic anxiety is placed on the love lyric. By contrast, Montgomerie appears to present (with ironic self-reflexiveness) a defence of love poetry. Poetry is portrayed as the lover's habitual occupation; the poet is simultaneously a lover. Love, accordingly, is eulogised as the quintessential poetic subject:

Vhat subject sacred Sisters sall I sing?
*Vhase praise Apollo sall my pen proclam[e]*
Vhat nymph Minerva sall thy Novice name
The bravest blossome beutie can outbring...[10]

Poetry and the beloved are mutually complementary. The lover's rhetoric seeks to 'ornament' her by verbal (here alliterative) decoration: 'the bravest blossome beutie can outbring...'. The latter verb delicately exposes the notion of formation implicit in the lover's rhetorical anxiety (she is not merely 'formed' through beauty's agency). Yet the relation between beloved and language also presents the dilemma of representation: 'How sall I sound the fanfar of her fame'[11]. As the beloved eclipses the sun (a conventional measure of female beauty with the quasi-platonic resonance of 'angells ees'), so she eclipses the power of his language:

But hola Muse! thou mints at such a mar[k]
*Vhais merit far excedes thy slender skill* (ll. 9-10)

This audacious irreverence before the Muse contrasts with the rhetorically grandiose:

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[10] f. 75r, STS p. 115, ll. 1-4.

[11] This expression nicely captures the sense of the poem as a formal, public proclamation of, to, and about the beloved (with emphasis on the poem's orality, its 'sound').

Yit if hir grace for weill accept gude [will]
*Then war thou weil reuardit for thy wark*
Bot since to mount thy Maistres the comands
With hope once hazard for to kis hir hands (ll. 11-14)

'Reduction' does not occur purely at the rhetorical level. Successful rhetorical practice achieves sexual persuasion. A rhetorical process of substitution informs the term 'wark' (as poetic/sexual effort); 'mount' (in a sexual sense); and the phrase, 'for to kis her hands' (a familiar deferential ritual which asks that the text of love be physically embraced by the beloved). With rhetorical and sexual *bravura*, the letter becomes a tangible extension or synecdoche of the poet-lover.

The lover's textual representation is emphasised in another lyric, 'Quhen folish phaeton had his course outrun':

Luik this my letter; it sall you releiv
In absence alswueil as I war in sight
I will not stand with mo words you to deiv
*Bot for this tyme I bid you haif Guid nicht*[12]

The text of love seeks to convey the lover's the self as transparently as if he were present: 'In absence, alsueil as I war in sight'. The poem both marks and prevents absence: ending with words of parting ('Guid nicht', gently mimicking the intimacy of a lover's voice) yet as a written text symbolising a form of permanence in itself[13]. This is poetry of sexual courtship, exemplifying the characteristic 'slippage' in signification (rhetorical-courtly-sexual) to which its *milieu* of performance and circulation seems receptive.

But love vhat wer bot sturt or stryfe
But love vhat kyndnes culd indure
But love hou lothsum war our life
But love vhairof suld we be sure
    But love vhat wer delyt
    *But love vhat bot despyt*

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[12] ff. 39r-v; pp. 179-81, ll. 45-8.

[13] As exemplified by Montgomerie's Marotic translation, 'The Elegie' (about which see below), his love poetry is frequently written on, and from, the point of a lover's departure.

But love vhat wer perfyt
Sur suld we sie[14]

This stanza, and the lyric from which it is drawn, might be classified as Montgomerie's epideictic poetry of love: the rhetorical praise or celebration of love. The litany of praise in each stanza culminates in the refrain, 'I rather far be fast than frie', a terse abbreviation of the conventional liberty/thralldom antithesis. This oscillation between declarative simplicity and rhetorical address is realised through repetitive, anaphoric structures. In the second stanza quoted, the sense of litany combined with the triplet of ll. 17-19 ('delyt/despyt/perfyt'), seems almost to 'efface' meaning, or to result in playful imprecision: without love, one loses 'delyt' but also 'despyt'. Virtues and vices are rhetorically assimilated, if not confused. Within the unit of the single stanza occur rhetorical movements and contrasts: in the same stanza, the verbal *tour de force* of the first seven lines quiesces in the almost riddling simplicity of 'Sure suld we sie...'. Even the grandiose postulate of lines 21-2, which again aligns the practices of rhetoric and love ('But love what wer to wryt/But love vha culd indyt'), is answered by a seemingly naive simplicity: 'No, nothing worth a myte'. The verbal patterning of this particular lyric implies that rhetorically elaborate forms evince statements of near ingenuousness.

Montgomerie's lyric must be placed in the context of the accompanying piece which is its thematic and verbal inversion: 'I rather far be frie than fast'.

But libertie vhat micht me meis?
But libertie all things me grieve
But libertie vhat might me pleis?
But libertie I loth to leive
But libertie alace
Hou cairfull wer my cace
But libertie my grace
And joy wer past[15]

Like the 'pro' and 'contra' *querelle* pieces of the Bannatyne manuscript, these two poems rhetorically 'answer' one another as if in imitation of a 'scholastic exercise', as

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[14] ff. 20v-21r, STS pp. 145-6, ll. 13-20.

[15] f. 20v, STS pp. 147-8, ll. 13-24.

Jack claims[16]. The stanzaic and grammatical structure remains intact but the signifier - 'love' or 'liberty' - is altered. The relationship between love and rhetoric is thus further refined by these twin poems: the paradigmatic anxiety regarding the truth of the lover's words is playfully refuted. Though the lover assumes different emotional postures, her or his rhetoric still possesses a concomitant virtuosity. The exchange of love for liberty, the state of being 'fast' for 'frie', is an issue of verbal facility (the alliterative bond between each term enables this easy exchange)[17]. Although these paired lyrics address the dilemma of self-determination in love (in Scott, manifest as anxiety regarding the scope of the 'will'), they exemplify Montgomerie's poetry of deliberate rhetorical playfulness. A lover's language may be manipulated, ornamented or embellished but ultimately exploits or evades 'meaning'. The deft exchange of amatory and rhetorical stances between these twinned poems is ultimately comic.

Montgomerie's exploration of the limits of love's representation is frequently more refined or subtle than the latter lyrics might imply. Its most provocative articulation is ultimately found in his 'Echo' lyric[18].

To the Echo and thou to me agane
*In the deserts among the wods and wells*
Quhair Destinie hes bund to remane
But Company within the firths and fells
Let us complein with wofull youts and yells
*On shaft and shooter that our hairts hes slane*
To the Echo and thou to me agane (ll. 1-7)

The figure of Echo, condemned to eternal repetitiousness, provides the lover-poet with a verbal companion in adversity: 'Let *us* complain...'; 'Anes eviry day with murning let *vs* meet...' (l. 50)[19]. The invitation to mourn jointly is delicately voiced in the poem's refrain: 'To the Echo *and thou to me agane..*'. The elision of the verb pares down the statement to simple reciprocity: 'the/thou/me' are limpidly asserted in union, repeated (or echoed) again as a refrain.

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[16] Montgomerie, p. 178.

[17] This swift interchange of 'positions' in love is also made ironic by the assumed posture of the didactic *preceptor amoris*: 'remember ony man/In chronikle ye can/That ever worship wan/But love let sie/And once that rink he ran/Sen this is treu vhy than/I end as I begun...' ('I rather far be fast than frie', ll. 41-7).

[18] ff. 15r-16r, STS pp. 138-9.

The parallels between Ovid's female protagonist of the Metamorphoses, Book III, and the figure of the poet are richly suggestive. Echo, tricked by Juno, 'nec reticere loquenti/nec prior ipsa loqui didicit'[20]. The amatory poet must contend with the mere citation (or 'echoing') of prior poets and texts of love. The lover may be inarticulate, chained to the responses of the beloved (s/he speaks first), and their language (like Echo's) possessed of a similar futility (does the beloved, like Echo's desired Narcissus, listen or not?) As Montgomerie's lover seeks to persuade the beloved, so Echo in the Ovidian narrative desires to seduce Narcissus with 'blandis dictis'. Though Montgomerie's classical analogies are, as Jack rightly claims, neither as frequent nor as recondite as Craig's[21], the analogy between Echo and lover is delicately and thoroughly worked out. Both inhabit a landscape of 'deserts...among wods and wells.../...firths and fells'; Ovid's Echo conceals herself in shame among 'silvis....solis antris'. Echo's plight condemns her to solitude, aptly translated into the prerequisite secrecy of the lover's predicament: 'Thou hyds thyself; I list not to be sene...' (l. 22). An endless exchange of voices ensues, almost beyond 'rational' articulation ('elrish skirls...', l. 36), and constantly redoubles on itself ('The roches rings, and *rendirs me* my cryis...'. The language of mourning to which Echo is sentenced is self-perpetuatingly fruitless: 'Thou does bewaill and I do still lament/Thou murns for nocht I shed my teiris in vane...' (ll. 12-13). Her voice is essentially purposeless, unable to find fulfilment or true realisation (it only answers but can never itself be answered); her speech is not creative in itself but is merely reiteration.

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[19] Compare Montgomerie's other lyric, Lyk as Aglauros' (ff. 30r-31r, STS pp. 164-6): 'And wair my words, with weiping, all in vane/Quhir nane, bot Echo ansueirs me agane...': it is unclear whether the figure of Echo serves as a protagonist or mere allusion; but the notion is also that of the lover's unanswered language, thus unreciprocated love. See also Stewart's lyric, 'To Echo. Of inwart haviness' (discussed Part II, Chapter 4). For general discussion of this pervasive Renaissance myth, see Leonard Barkan, The Gods made Flesh: Metamorphosis and the Pursuit of Paganism (New Haven: Yale Univesity Press, 1986); John Holland, The Figure of Echo: a Mode of Allusion in Milton and After (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981); Joseph Loewenstein, Responsive Readings: Versions of Echo in Pastoral, Epic, and the Jonsonian Masque (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1984).

[20] III, ll. 357-8. Consider George Sandys' gloss to the translation: 'Now Echo signifies a resounding: which is only the repercussion of the voice, like the rebound of a ball...': Ovids Metamorphoses Englished, Oxford, 1632 (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1976), p. 103. The relationship between Echo and language is similarly glossed by other mythographers: see Vincenzo Cartari, Le Imagine degli Dei, 1571(New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1976), pp. 136-8.

[21] Montgomerie, p. 177.

The lyric's concern with the bathos of lovers' language, and the mirrored predicament of Echo and the lover, becomes a verbal structure. In the second stanza, the analogue finds grammatically cohesive structures:

Thou hes no hope and I am clene dispaird
Thow tholis but caus I suffer innocent
Thou dois bewaill and I do still lament
Thou murns for nocht I shed my teirs in vane (ll. 10-13)

The caesura, the point of contrast, creates its own repetition. In this stanza, the lover's voice is cajoling, enjoining: 'Thy pairt to mine may justlie be compaird/In mony poynts vhilk both we may repent' (ll. 8-9). The third stanza displaces this mutual pity. Difference (or dissonance) is expressed: 'He did the hurt, bot I am kild by myne/He fled from the, myne is my mortall fo/Without offence and crueller nor thyne' (ll. 16-18). The poem is a composite of dissimilarities and similarities between the lover and Echo; there is no rigid or schematic delineation of these but rather they weave in and out of each stanza.

The analogy with Echo partially aligns male and female desire; or at least inasmuch as they may be unreciprocated[22]. Interestingly, the figure of the beloved is differently represented. The lover envies Echo the plight of her Narcissus: 'First he is dead syne changed in a Rose/Quhom thou nor nane hes pouer for to brook...' (ll.

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[22] Though there is a certain 'democracy' between Echo and Montgomerie's lover - in that they are united verbally and by shared grief - the lover dictates to Echo: 'As I demand then ansueir and repeit...'. Such a request is 'tautological' in a sense; Echo can *only* repeat: see Heather Dubrow, Echoes of Desire. English Petrarchism and its Counterdiscourses (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 90ff. for consideration of Echo's as evoking 'specific problems of female speech as a type of counterdiscourse' (91).

45-6). Echo has at least the privilege of loving one who is immured from temptation and the danger of possession by others. In contrast,

> ...evirie day I look
> To sie my Love attrapit in a trane
> from me Echo and nevir come again (ll. 40-2)

The entrapment metaphor frequently expresses the plight of lover rather than beloved; here, the beloved is metaphorically ensnared (possessed by another?) In this stanza (as in the last), the refrain is modified; emphasis duly falls on the initial, '*From* me...'. The final line, compelled by the French echoic rhyme scheme, implies that the poem has no closure: 'Quhair is our Ioy o Echo *tell agane...*' (my emphasis). In a text which pursues the paradoxical futility of love language, this forms an apt epilogue (both poignant and witty) to the theme and enactment of eternal repetiousness.

***Towards a definition of mannerism*** The facet of repetitiousness illustrated by the 'Echo' poem is sustained in the sonnet, 'Thyne ee the glasse'[23], where the repetition of the single word, 'ee', mirrors the mutual reflections of beloved within lover (and *vice versa*). The effect is that of controlled but parodic excess as the unity of the lovers becomes matter for verbal display:

> Thyne ee the glasse vhare I beheld my [hairt]
> Myn ee the windo throu the vhilk thyn ee
> May see my hairt and thair thy self espy
> In bloody colours hou thou painted art
> Thyn ee the pyle is of a mur[therers dairt]
> Myn ee the sicht thou taks thy levell by
> To shute my hairt and nevir shute awry
> Myn ee thus helps thyn ee to work my smarte
> Thyn ee consumes me lyk a flamming fyre
> Myn ee most lyk a flood of teirs do run... (ll. 1-10)

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[23] ff. 71r-v, pp. 108-9. This is apparently based on a sonnet in Henry Constable's Diana (1584): see Brotanek, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-6; the influence may have been mutual, or the sonnet collaborative.

Though each conceit is itself unremarkable (the lover's eyes as mirrored reflection; the beloved's gaze as an arrowpoint; the antithesis of fire and water)[24], the lyric exemplifies Montgomerie's characteristically manneristic extension of what is (*a priori*) mannered rhetoric.

Oh that the water in myne ee begun
Micht quench the burning fornace of desyre
Or then the fyr els kindlit by thyn ey
*The flouing teirs of sorrou micht mak dry*

This 'double couplet' seemingly exemplifies the inherently dualistic or dialectical structure of the sonnet *per se*, while sustaining the poem's method of pairing ('Thyne ee/myn ee') at the opening of each quatrain (as if to realise in verbal terms the 'doubling' or mirroring effects both 'glasse' and 'ey', and the actions of both lover and beloved). This lyric represent two characteristic strains of Montgomerie's writing: parody or subversion in both verbal and conceptual terms which the present study proposes may be related to the phenomenon of mannerism.

'Melancholy grit deput of despair' is one lyric which rhetorically enacts the expressive 'vehemency' of love:

Yea thoght I had a hundreth thousand hairts
And euiry hairt perirc't with als mony dairts
        And euirie dairt thairof also
        Als mony shafts and mo
        And euiry shaft thairof must need
        To haif als mony heeds
        *And euirie heed als mony huikis*
        And euirie huik als mony fluikis
        And eviry fluik in me war fast
            So long as breath of lyf micht last
            *I suld not seme for shame to shrink*
            ffor hir of death to drink
            Quhais Angels ees micht ay I think

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[24] The role of the eyes in engendering desire was a commonplace of Renaissance physiological theory. On the sexual power of the woman's eyes see, for example, Agnolo Firenzuola, On the Beauty of Women (*Dialogo delle bellezze delle donne*, 1548) translated and edited by Konrad Eisenbichler and Jacqueline Murray (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1992), p. 26.

Revive me wt a wink[25]

Accumulation and repetition of certain compounds ('And evirie'/'Als mony') and aurally similar words ('huikis/fluikis'; 'needs/heeds) are the precise tools by which Montgomerie achieves this virtuosic expression of anguish. The parody (literally) achieves a peculiar 'sharpness' or intensity of focus as each object is gradually condensed into the next, 'hairt/dairt/shaft/heed/huik/fluik', until finally the lover's body - the physical seat of anguish - once again emerges. A single conceit (that of the dart of love which pierces the lover's heart) is thus subject to excessive qualification or, in more apposite terms, ornamentation. This verbal extravagance mirrors the poem's emotional *hubris*: love's melancholy cannot bow this lover (he resembles the fixed rock rather than the humble reed of the conventional moral simile).

One may justly claim as a generalisation that linguistic excess is both cherished and cultivated by Castalian poets. Devices of alliteration and internal rhyme, for example, are considered rhetorically desirable; certainly this love of verbal ornamentation is not, it would seem, displayed in contemporary English poetry of the 1580's and 90's, and one preeminent rhetorical stylist, Puttenham, advises that alliteration be practiced with restraint[26]. Consider, for example,

O cleir
Most deir
Give eir
Unto my cry
Sueit thing
Bening

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[25] f. 34v-35r, pp. 171-3. , ll. 51-64.

[26] 'the flowers as it were and colours that a Poet setteth vpon his language of arte, as the embroderer doth his stone and perle, or passements of gold vpon the stuffe of a Princely garment, or as th'excellent painter bestoweth the rich Orient coulours vpon his table of pourtraite: so neuerthelesse as if the same coulours in our arte of Poesie (as well as in those other mechanicall artes) be not well tempered, or not well layd, or be vsed in excesse, or neuer so litle disordered or misplaced, they not onely giue it no maner of grace at all, but rather do *disfigure* the stuffe and spill the whole workmanship taking away all bewtie and good lyking of it...the chief prayse and cunning of our Poet is in the *discreet* vsing of his figures...with a delectable varietie, by *all measure and iust proportion,* and in places most aptly to be bestowed...': George Puttenham, The Arte of English Poesie (1589), Book III, chp. 1, ed. E. Arber (London, 1869), p. 150 (my italics).

And ying
Of yeirs grene
But sleuth
Haiv reuth
My treuth
The tym sall try
Remeid
With speid
Or Deid I must sustene
for thoght
Hes wroght
And broght
Me to dispair...[27]

Each line repeats the last phoneme of either the first or second word : /eir/, /ing/, /euth/, /eid/, /oght/; each word seems to 'generate' another; verbal plenitude becomes a delicate, aural 'game'. On occasion, the imposed strictures of internal rhyme and the triplet trimeter of lines 6-8 within each stanza produce a kind of wilful *naivete* borne of verbal decorativeness: 'My quent torment/Consent sen it is richt'; 'My wo/but ho'to slo/me but offence'. Arguably, such simplicity contrives the contrary effect: the obfuscation of sense or meaning as the 'literal' element, the Jamesian level of the letter, is spun out or (over)elaborated.

'*Inuention*, is ane of the chief vertewis in a Poete': in his treatise, James eulogises the role of poetic invention while refusing to expound in detail on this precept of sixteenth century rhetorical and literary theory. The present thesis contends that the sixth chapter of the *Reulis and Cautelis* may be conceived as an anxiety regarding poetic origins, influence and repetition ('Ye man also be warre with composing ony thing in the same maner...'). It might therefore be instructive to regard Montgomerie's exploration of verbal representation, and the sense of joyful linguistic anarchy communicated by these and other love lyrics, as licensed by James's advocacy of invention[28]. This concept of invention as difference (or dissent from what 'hes bene ower oft vsit before'[29]) finds expression in mid sixteenth century French treatises, for example: 'L'ofice d'un Poete, et de donner *noueaute aus choses vielhes, autorite aus noueles*, beaute aus rudes, lumiere aus obscures...'[30]. Sebillet allies the poetic facility of invention with oratory: '..plus expert en l'invention, comme celle qu'il ha particuliérement plus commune avec l'Orateur: et de laquéle résulte toute l'élégance de son pöéme'[31]. Though the precept of invention works in other different and subtler ways in these and other European contexts, it serves as an apt rhetorical classification of Montgomerie's 'dissenting' rhetoric of love founded on verbal ornamentation, parody, and excess. In particular, the 'self-perpetuating' or generative quality of Montgomerie's alliteration and internal rhyme aptly exemplifies the etymological meaning of *inventio* (from *invenire*, to find or discover).

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[27] f. 39v, pp. 181-2, ll. 1-20.

[28] The term *inventio* is also historically associated with *amplificatio*, an interesting alliance given the dependence of Montgomerie's particular inventive rhetoric on devices of amplifying: Vickers

In lyrics such as 'Melancolie, grit deput of dispayr' or 'Bright Amorous Ee'[32], verbal excess seems to cultivate a deliberate disproportion. This quality might appear to contravene the Renaissance principle of decorum (not in the sense that James's treatise uses 'decorum' - vocabulary and style governed by purely generic criteria - but as the kind of verbal 'affectation' deplored by contemporary English theorists.

The lyrics discussed above might be defined in narrower terms as the products of *amplificatio*. They demonstrate, in essence, a love of *copia* in the Erasmian sense, the 'abundant style' (though the scope of the subject lies outwith the present context, the ideal of *copia* seems to flourish in aspects of early sixteenth century Scottish writing though Castalian court poetry fosters it with greater

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explains that in the context of 'medieval arts [of rhetoric]' *amplificatio* 'seems to have acted as a substitute for *inventio*...' (In Defence of Rhetoric (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), p. 242.

[29] *op. cit.*, sig. Mij.

[30] Jacques Peletier du Mans, De l'Art Poétique (Geneva Slatkine Reprintes, 1971), Book 1, p. 24 (my emphasis).

[31] Thomas Sebillet, Art Poétique François edited by Felix Gaife (Paris: Librairie Nixet, 1988), p. 22.

[32] ff. 33v-34v; f. 71r.

intensity)[33]. Terence Cave offers a definition of Erasmian *copia* pertinent to the rhetorical effects which Montgomerie's love poetry seems to achieve: '*copia* is envisaged not as a quantitative linear process but as a manifestation of the desire to write, releasing and bringing to life, as in poetry, the potential nuances of a single bare statement'[34]. This vivifying, almost 'explosive' power of language may be witnessed in these lyrics which exploit the aural *copia* of late sixteenth century Scots. Yet this is the kind of verbal meretriciousness which English theorists seem to condemn. One appears to be confronted with two interpretative choices: whether to read these instances of Montgomerie's *copia* as obscurity which results in parody, or as ornamentation in the pursuit of James's sense of verbal beauty (proverbs and epithets are chosen 'to beautifie' a subject[35]).

Ornamentation, exaggeration, virtuosity: these qualities exemplify what might be termed the 'mannerist' tendency in late sixteenth century secular Scottish poetry[36]. The critical history of this term, both in literary and artistic terms, is complex and contentious; to invoke the term as a descriptive category is not to draw on a predefined, homogeneous definition (in literary terms, 'mannerism' has been used to define Shakespeare, English 'Metaphysical' poetry, English Euphuistic prose, English Jacobean drama, Gongorism, Marinism, emblem books and emblematic poetry). A detailed history of the critical controversy can be found in several recent attempts to redefine and limit the phenomenon of 'mannerism'. One particular uncertainty is whether 'mannerism' should serve as a distinct period term, or describe a tendency or occasional movement (therefore 'transhistorical') within artistic history. Yet as a descriptive term, it may bifurcate into either of the epithets

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[33] See in particular the first Prologue to Douglas's Eneados: '*ornate* eloquens' (emphasis mine) is the rhetorical ideal.

[34] Terence Cave, The Cornucopian Text.Problems of Writing in the French Renaissance (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), p. 25.

[35] *op. cit.*, sig. Mv, in Puttenham's sense of ornamentation as the 'burnishing' of language, a 'bewtifulle habit'.

[36] Fowler's twin poems, 'Sonet Pedantesque' and 'The same mair senseble' (NLS MS 2063, ff. 65r, ff. 13v-14r), are beautifully apposite illustrations of mannerism and its semi-comic verbal excesses. Mannerism is also discussed in the chapter on Stewart (Part II, Chapter 4) with reference to 'of the Qualiteis of Lufe', 'The Assaultis of Lufe', and 'To his Maistres'.

'mannered' or 'manneristic'[37]. Its ability to represent a particular period is made complex by the uncertainty of its chronological demarcations. Some (principally art) critics define it in relation to the movements 'Renaissance' and 'baroque', thus imposing a distinct teleological shape on the late fifteenth to early seventeenth century[38]. 'Mannerism' is accordingly conceived as the product and response to the movements which enfold it, at once reactionary and revolutionary, appearing '...hard upon the high-Renaissance as a sign of irresolution, a movement deprived of the sense of security, equilibrium, unity and proportion expressed in renaissance styles...'[39]. Disproportion is conceived as the epitome of the 'typical Mannerist technique [that is] to abut opposites very directly or to pass from disorientation to hoped for reorientation with a subtlety evoked by the difficulty..'[40]. Mannerism is highly self-reflexive, 'an art that comments upon art...'[41].

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[37] cf. Arnold Hauser, The Social History of Art, 2 vols (Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1951), 2, pp. 38-9 ('mannerism' indicates a 'unique historical style', 'mannered' a generic term'); James V. Mirollo, Mannerism and Renaissance Poetry. Concept, Mode, Inner Design (Yale University Press, 1984), p. 20ff. has extended and insightful discussion of what he terms the post-Vasari 'controversies over Mannerism', offering a survey of the major critical literature. For interesting discussions of mannerism, see also James Haar, 'Self-Consciousness in the Cinquecento Madrigal', Atti del congresso internazionale sul tema "Manierismo in arte e musica"' (Rome, 1973), pp. 219-27; Don Harran, 'Mannerism in the Cinquecento Madrigal', *Musical Quarterly* 55 (1969), pp. 521-44; Francis Haskell, 'The Moment of Mannerism', *Encounter* 35 (1970), pp. 69-73; Kirchmann, *op. cit.*; Denys Sutton, 'Mannerism: the Art of Permanent Ambiguity', *Apollo* 81 (1965), pp. 222-7; A.D. Cousins, 'The Coming of Mannerism: the late Ralegh and the Early Donne', *ELR* 9 (1979), pp. 86-107; Roy Daniells, 'The Mannerist Element in English Literature', *University of Toronto Quarterly* 36 (1966), pp. 1-11; Alastair Fowler, Conceitful Thought (Edinburgh University Press, 1975); J.F.G. Gornall, 'The Poetry of Wit: Góngora Reconsidered', *MLR* 75 (1980), pp. 311-21; R.O. Jones, 'Renaissance Butterfly, Manneist Flea: Tradition and Change in Renaissance Poetry', *MLN* 80 (1965), pp. 166-84; Odette de Mourgues, Metaphysical, Baroque and Précieux Poetry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953); Marcel Raymond, La Poésie française et le maniérisme 1546-1610 (Geneva: Droz, 1971); Daniel B. Rowland, Mannerism, Style and Mood: an Anatomy of Four works and Three Art Forms (Yale University Press, 1964); D.L. Rubin, 'Mannerism and Love: the Sonnets of Abraham de vermeuil', *L'Espirit Créatur* 6 (1966), pp. 257-63; Aldo Scaglione, 'Cinquecento Mannerism and the Uses of Petrarch', *Medieval and Renaissance Studies* (1971), pp. 12-53

[38] Odette de Mourgues' often perceptive study, seems to offer too rigid a literary schematisation in proposing clear-cut differences between 'Metaphysical, Baroque, and Précieux' European poetry. Early Scottish literature (late fourteenth to early seventeenth century) has lacked the clear, rigid boundaries of periodisation which structure studies of English literature, for example (with its categories of 'Elizzabethan', 'Metaphysical', 'Cavalier' etc.), and have provoked resistance to adoption of 'new' terms such as mannerist or baroque. There seems greater scope *a priori* in readings of early Scottish literature for proposing, even if eventually rejecting, new periodic and stylistic definitions.

[39] Sypher, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[40] Daniells, *op. cit.*

[41] Mirollo, *op. cit.*, p. 40.

Despite the controversy over the cogency of mannerism as a literary term, the epithet 'mannerist' still has pertinence as a classificatory or descriptive terms for Montgomerie's (and much Castalian) love lyrics. R.D.S. Jack has already commented that Castalian poetic practice *per se* was in general 'mannered'; this chapter proposes a more detailed refinement of this comment as it impinges on the conceptual parody and verbal ornamentation of the love lyric in its creation at James's court in the late 1570's-90's. Its sense of 'mannerism', and what might justly constitute elements of the 'mannerist', is entirely confined to these particular writers and texts, therefore 'locally' and generically defined (as opposed to the pan-national and pan-generic observations of many 'mannerist' critics). Since these observations arise from one genre only, a definitive period named 'Mannerism' in late sixteenth century Scottish poetry is not claimed. Rather, Mirollo's advocacy of mannerism as an occasional '*modal* variety of Renaissance literary style' is endorsed.

The thesis's use of the term is much influenced by Shearman's provocative study (1967), and in some ways seeks to recall Vasari's original sense of the word. For etymological and historical reasons, it may be justified to apply the term to an essentially secular and courtly Scottish form. Mannerism has been defined as a quintessentially courtly form, as 'the artistic style of an essentially international cultured class'[42]. That the smaller European court is felt to be particularly amenable to mannerism's preciosity or precociousness has particular resonance for James's court: its' *milieu* '...is less dazzling, less public and, in some respects, more in line with the intimate, intellectualistic nature of mannerism'[43]. Shearman provides this illuminating linguistic gloss on the term *maniera* derived

> from the literature of manners, and...originally a quality - a desirable quality - of human deportment. Lorenzo de Medici, for example, required *maniera* in the deportment of ladies. In turn the word had entered Italian literature from French courtly literature of the thirteenth to fifteenth centuries. There *manière*, like its Italian derivative, meant approximately *savoir-faire*,

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[42] Hauser, *op. cit.*, p. 359.

[43] *op. cit.*, p. 360. Consider Harran's comment (*op. cit.*, p. 528) that manneristic expression is 'the intellectual property of an elite'.

> effortless accomplishment and sophistication; it was inimical to revealed passion, evident effort and rude naivete. It was, above all, a courtly grace.[44]

Earlier, the thesis offered a reading of Scott's love lyrics which perceived in their expressions of social anxiety the desire to act rightly, and so display an apposite courtly *grazia* (for the lover speaks not merely to the beloved but to the social world encompassing both). Further, it was suggested the equivocation between emotional extremes in Scott might be related to the notion of *sprezzatura* as delineated by Castiglione's treatise. This term seemed to epitomise aptly the lover's striving for emotional resolution; order was sought so that s/he might act and love with emotional, no less than social, grace. Here, *maniera* when defined in this social or cultural sense, evokes the conscious, stylised refinement of the typical Montgomerie love lyric in the mannerist style. Though the virtuosic rhetoric may threaten to dissolve such 'effortless accomplishment' into (verbal) disorder, these lyrics are usually 'redeemed' by witty, graceful resolution (as in 'Melancolie, grit deput of despair'), if only at the conceptual level. Meretricious rhetoric, however, is a highly significant but partial aspect of Montgomerie's response to the difficult representation of desire. The proverbial strain is another which, despite its apparent ingenuousness or simplicity, may be claimed as a distinctly Montgomeriesque facet of Castalian amatory mannerism.

Nane lovis bot fools vnlov'd agane
Quha tyns thair tyme and comis no speid
Mak this a Maxime to remane
That Love beirs nane bot fools at feid[45]

Earlier criticism frequently observes the recurrent allusion to proverbs, or quality of proverbial expression, as a reflection of Montgomerie's 'popular' simplicity (an epithet often drawn in direct distinction to 'courtly')[46]. Yet, as previously suggested, the division between courtly and non-courtly forms is often tenuous (and in many instances obscured by uncertainty regarding the manuscript audience or readership). 'Vhat better ar they nor a beist/fra tym that Reson thame refusis?' (ll. 33-4): there is ironic tension between the preceptor's faith in the authority of 'words' (his own counsel or maxim) and the faith of those allegedly foolish lovers who adhere to 'cappit vane conceats' (l. 23). Different kinds of verbal authority are contested in such a way to inflect irony upon the self-righteous speaker: 'Some by ane Proverbe fane wald prove/Quha skantly never sau the scuills/That Love with resone is no love...' (ll. 25-7). Perhaps the poem's final rebarbative conclusion - 'ffor ding a Dog and he will byte/And fan on him vha givis him fude' (ll. 39-40) - is a peculiarly apt literal proverb by which to conclude the advice. The notion that love can be enclosed in, or codified as, a body of knowledge is virtually undercut by such a 'resolution'.

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[44] p. 17.

[45] ff. 17r-v, p. 140, ll. 1-4.

[46] Jack, RES, *op. cit.*, p. 168, which considers Montgomerie's 'popular elements' as not pertaining to the 'courtly tradition'. The 'popular' is elsewhere conceived as a 'modification' of the

One strand of Montgomerie's proverbialism is clearly (if ironically) linked to the stance of the preceptor, and to associated notions of authority assigned to belief and language (the subversion of the lover-preceptor's maxims is most explicitly performed by the lyric 'I rather far be fast nor frie', and its inverse 'pendant'). In 'Quhen first Apollo python sleu', the didactic preceptor commands an intimidating sexual authority over his beloved[47]. The mythic *exemplum* of Daphne and Apollo is admonitory, a fable of virginity; the desired woman has no other choice but to submit:

Nou lovesome Lady let vs leir
Example of these Ladyis heir
Sen Daphne boght hir love so deir
        Hir fortun suld effray you

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rhetorical tradition: see R.D.S. Jack ed., A Choice of Scottish Verse (Edinburgh University Press, 1978), p. 25. The proverb is theoretically linked to oral tradition.

[47] ff. 24v-26r, p. 152-5.

'As Natur passis nuriture' is a sustained, highly discursive lyric in which the opening line and refrain is recorded as a common proverb[48]. The socially fraught complexity of love, a motif well illustrated by the courtly love lyric, is conceived by beast fable: the *exemplum* of the 'gentle girking gay' who forsakes 'his oun kynd' when compelled by desire of a 'kyt'[49]. Montgomerie's allegorisation conceals its moral 'kernel' by a decorative, particularised 'shell': the 'girking''s love tokens, and the measure of his love, are depicted in gastronomical terms ('Hir meit of modeuarts and myce/He changed in Partridge and in pout'). The lyric has been discussed in detail as a narrative founded on a cumulative 'series of ironies', conceived as a 'serious message somewhat at odds with Petrarchism's code of obsessional aspiration'[50]. Yet this miniature fable may also (not necessarily alternatively) be seen as a piece of witty courtly 'teaching', exploiting in more comic or bathetic terms the social anxieties and aspirations of its audience. As Jack indicates, the hawk rebels against Nature's hierarchy; by analogy, the lover may breach social and societal decorum (the profoundly conservative, highly stratified codes of her/his society); such a lover acts irrespective of 'nouriture', or in an uncivilised or unregulated fashion. Sexual desire (though allegorised as such in the core narrative, and in the opening stanza) may not purely be at stake here; aspiration, ambition, flattery, and ultimately betrayal may be translated into political terms. Although the preceptor claims that his moral point may be illustrated by 'ald Examplis past aneu/Quhareof I micht haif tuentie tane', s/he also alludes, in proverbial manner, to common shared 'experience'. Might this lyric, if performed at court, refer to a specific incident of political or courtly hubris?[51]

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f[48] ff. 23r-24v, pp. 155-7. See Fergusson's Scottish Proverbs. From the original print of 1641 together with a larger manuscript collection of about the same period hitherto unpublished ed. Erskine Beveridge, STS, (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1924), pp. 80-1.

[49] In regard to the definition advanced here of Montgomerie's style as one of mannerist amplification, it is relevant to note that the fable is rhetorically classified as a form of persuasion subject to embellishment.

[50] Montgomerie, p.55.

[51] As Henryson's Fables attest, the fable lends itself to social or political satire.

The allusion to 'experience' and its subtle ramifications recurs in these proverbial lyrics. In 'Love if thou list', the proverb (postponed until the final stanza) *is founded not upon didactic precept but the lover's own individual experience*[52]. Love as an antagonistic, contradictory experience (the quintessential metaphor of fire/ice rendered limpidly in line 41) is exemplified within:

I sie
In me } This proverbe to be trew
Quha wald
Not hold } Me frie (ll. 44-7)

As in Montgomerie's other proverbial lyrics, the lover seeks to rationalise the experience of love: first a personified love, then reason, are addressed. As in 'Natur passis Nuriture', the lover is foolishly aspiring, and his *hubris* rebuked.

Tak tym in tyme vhill tyme is to be tane
*Or ye may wish and want it when ye wald*
Ye get no grippe agane if it be agane
Then vhill ye haif it best is for to hald
Thoght ye be yong yit once ye may be ald
*Tyd will not tarie, speid or it be spent*
To prophesie I dar not be so bald
Bot tyn ye tyme perhaps ye may repent

This, the sixth stanza of 'Yong tender plante', forms a grim *carpe diem* motif. The pressure of time, felt keenly throughout Montgomerie's poetry as Jack demonstrates, is here transmuted into an insistent sexual persuasion. This conventional proverb[53], and the general *topos* of beauty's frailty, serve as expedient motifs for sexual coercion. The stanza is riddled with imperatives: 'speid or it be spent' (consent to my desire now or it will not be worthwhile later); yet the preceptive voice is also hedged about with coy qualifications: 'yit once ye *may* be ald.../*perhaps* ye may repent' (ll.45,

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[52] ff. 27r-28r, STS pp. 160-1.

[53] A variant (used to manneristic effect) is found in one of the lyrics in EUL MS La.III.447, ff. 82r-83r (published in STS Supplementary volume, pp. 201-4), 'Fresche flureis fair and lusum ladie quhyte': 'Tyme to prowyde quhill tyme prowyde remeid/For tyme of tymeis to luiffaris is releife...' (ll.32-3). The lyric is attributed to 'I Nisbit' but the Montgomeriesquestylistic quality of these lines perhaps suggests conscious imitation, or a case for Montgomerie's authorship (under a pseudonym) of these otherwise authorially conjectural pieces.

48). The point is made tangibly; time is literally evasive: 'Ye get no grippe agane...' (l. 43). In this lyric, proverbial wisdom is the foundation for seduction and sexual jest. The appeal to authority is sanctioned early: 'Not that I grene your honour to degraid/Bot rather wald your weilfair ay advanc[e]/Yit I must say as sooth men oft hes said/Love maks the choice bot fortun maks the chance' (ll.5-8). The object of desire (inflicted by 'the Destinies', ll. 9-16) may disappoint: 'Men mettall tryis by sey and not by slight/For ye mon grant all is not gold that gleits' (ll. 23-4). This proverb is the prelude to a kind of homily on female duplicity which is achieved through a series of six simple metaphors with proverbial overtones:

Dreigh river marks w$^{t}$ hights and hidden houis
Ar perrillous and not as they appeir
Beguyling bairns that shoots with brissall bouis
And dou not drau thair arrouis to thair eir
Short butts ar better vhair thair bouis may beir
far foullis hes ay fair fethers sum will say
Quhen ye haif lost it is too lait to leir (ll. 33-40)

In 'Melancholie grit deput of Dispayr' the analogy of the reed and oak, which the lover actually parodies, may also be found in emblem texts[54]. Though this may seem a minor equivocation, it emphasises the more subtle and manifold purpose of proverbial rhetoric in Montgomerie's lyrics[55].

In the poem, 'nane lovis bot fools vnlovd agane', the proverbial refrain is instrumental in cultivating the emotional and intellectual status of the *persona*. The lover's dependence upon didactic authority (maligning those who do not cite 'the scuills') is subtle. Cautioning against complacency, the lover counsels, 'I wald ye lookit or ye lap/And waver not lyk widdercok in wind'. In the ninth stanza, the 'airt' (l. 85) of the sexual power game is aptly translated into a children's guessing game.

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[54] For example, in Alciati's Emblematum Liber (Paris, 1545): see Geoffrey Whitney, A choice of emblemes and other deuises (Leyden, 1586), with the gloss, 'Vincit qui patitur', (p. 220).

[55] Rhetorically the proverb was broadly classified with sententia: 'an Oracion, in few woordes, shewyng a godlie precept of life, exhorting or diswadyng...whiche is as moche to saie, a rule or square, to direct any thyng by, for by them, the life of manne is framed to all singularitie', Richard Rainold, *The Foundation of Rhetoric* (1563), cited in A Dictionary of Literary-Rhetorical Terms in the Renaissance eds. Marjorie Donker and George M. Muldrow (Greenwood Press, 1982).

Can ye not play at nevie nevie nak
A prettie play whilk Childrene often use
Quhair tentles Bairns may to their tinsall tak
The neiv with na thing, and the full refuse[56]

In its appeal to a kind of familiar or common knowledge, this allusion might be considered as another facet of the proverbial in Montgomerie. Concealment, danger and evasion, ideas so germane to the love lyric, are telescoped into this naive yet potent microcosm of desire.

Proverbial language proves an important and flexible tool for Montgomerie's construction of amatory selves. The intrinsic assumption of the proverb as accepted and authoritative wisdom permits Montgomerie to play with crucial aspects of the lover's voice already perceived in Scott's lyrics: notions of self-definition, belief, and 'experience' which are frequently ironic counterparts to a fallacious or impossible standard. If the proverbial stance is assumed by the lover, didacticism may become a means of sexual coercion. Though pertinent to the relation between male desire and female agency, there are degrees of intensity to the sexual persuasion. The proverb of 'Yong tender plante' is found differently in another lyric, 'O plesand plant passing in pulchritude': 'Tak tym in tym for tym will not remane/Nor come agane, if that it once be lost.'[57] As declared in the final stanza, time should not be 'neglected' by these lovers. If the pressure of mortality, the *carpe diem* motif, is the essence of this argument as in the other poem, then here it is elegiacally qualified. The lover (rather than conventionally the beloved) is threatened by the failure of consummation: 'My vexit ghost, quhilk raging Love dois roste/Is brint almost...' (ll. 12-13).

Characteristically, a feature of Montgomerie's lyric practice evades simple or absolute definition. Rather than conceive the proverbial idiom in Montgomerie as purely reflecting his 'popular' vein, it exemplifies the consistently rhetorical nature of his poetry whether striving towards a contrived simplicity or *naiveté*[58]. Aptly, if Puttenham's terms are used, the proverb is a quintessentially 'courtly' figure of speech, exemplifiying the practice of dissembling cultivated by the courtier-poet which Montgomerie (as most Castalian poets) exemplifies.

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[56] Interestingly, this also appears in Fergusson's Proverbs in the manuscript version: 'Nevie nevie nak quhilk hand wil yow tak' (p. 83). DOST glosses it as a 'jingle based on neve, n. fist, the first line in rhyme used in children's guessing game'. The proverb appears in Alexander Craig, *Amorose Songs and Sonets* (1608) in Poetical Works edited by David Laing, Hunterian Club, (Glasgow, 1875)
p. 108, perhaps an overt borrowing from Montgomerie.

[57] ff. 43r-44v; STS pp. 187-8.

> Like the cryptological forms with which they were frequently connected- emblems, devices, and posies - proverbs wrap in figurative darkness a hidden truth that must be unfolded or explicated by exactly the sort of learned commentary Erasmus writes on proverbs in the *Adagia*[59]

Montgomerie may favour the proverb in conscious adherence to James's advocacy the device as one of three essential poetic ornamentations: 'As for the *Prouerbis*, they man be proper for the subiect, to beautifie it, chosen in the same forme as the *Comparisoun*'[60]. This kingly precept itself provides proof that rhetorical reduction or simplicity is not a desired effect. His emphasis on figurative ornamentation as a form of verbal beauty accords well with the definition of mannerism outlined above[61]. Ultimately, both James's and Montgomerie's use of proverbs may consciously reflect French *rhétoriqueur* practice, an idea first proposed by Jack[62] (in Molinet's treatise on 'rhetorique vulgaire', for example, 'commun proverbe' is found in the example of 'vers septains').

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[58] One might note (perhaps inevitably) the large number of proverbs in Fergusson on the subject of love but more importantly the correlation between these aphorisms and certain figurative expressions which recur in love lyrics by Scott and Montgomerie, for example: 'Als gud love coms as goes' (Scott); 'Ye seek hot water under cold yce' (Montgomerie).

[59] Lawrence Manley, 'Proverbs, Epigrams and Urbanity in Renaissance London', *ELR* 23 (1993), pp. 247-76 ( 250-1).

[60] *op. cit.*, sig. Mijr.

[61] The traditional rhetorical textbook definition of *sententia* associates it with persuasion and amplification. Shire, *op. cit.*, p.99, claims that James's praise of proverbs is highly significant.

[62] Molinet (1435?-1507): *L'Art de Rhetorique Vulgaire* (1493), reprinted anonymously at the end of the fifteenth, and the first quarter of the sixteenth century. The *rhetoriqueur* influence is discussed in 'Lyrics of Alexander Montgomerie', *op. cit.*, p. 169; also Choice of Scottish Verse, p.26. Helena Shire in her introduction to Mg's poems comments on his use of *rhetoriqueur* stanza forms. This point has been elaborated by Jack (eg. History of Scottish Poetry, p.129); not only Montgomerie but Stewart seems to demonstrate the influence of *rhetoriqueur* techniques (Choice, p.25, on Stewart's 'theatrical' use).

Yit as I dar my Deutie sall be done
With more Affectione nor with formall phrais
I seme, vhill I vpon hir graces gaze
Endymion, enamor'd w$^t$ the Mone
My Muse let Mercure language to me len
With Pindar pennis for to outspring the spheirs
Or Petrarks pith surpassing all my peirs
To pingill Apelles pynsell with my pen[63]

This section seeks to explore the different ways by which Montgomerie represents the figure of the beloved woman. The desire to rival Apelles's artistic creation by his own poetic invention is apposite; Montgomerie offers images and depictions of woman which reflect more on the nature of their male 'inventor' than on the female subject herself[64]. The section begins by considering several of Montgomerie's lyrics which are addressed to particular women: Margaret Douglas, and Margaret Montgomerie. From these dedicatory and occasional poems insight may be gleaned into the conception of woman which informs other purely 'amatory' pieces. The complexity and variety of Montgomerie's love lyrics (their use of mythological narrative and tonal range, for example) render his depictions of female beloved-male lover relationship particularly fruitful for an understanding of his status as the pre-eminent love lyricist of the Castalian period.

Several lyrics in Montgomerie's *corpus* cross the generic threshold between amatory and epideictic poetry. These concern or are addressed to a female subject who is in some instances identified by name, in others by anagrammatic allusion. These poems are included in the analysis of Montgomerie's love poetry for several reasons. Firstly, they gesture towards an audience or readership which clearly included women (from aristocratic or courtly circles)[65]. The female addressee becomes a focus for issues and anxieties which afflict this type of court or patronage-dependent poetry. Adoration of the female beloved in these lyrics serves as a vehicle (a kind of metonymic displacement) for flattery and praise of the patron or pre-eminent figure whom the woman (usually as wife) symbolises. These feminine panegyrics refine and render more complex the symbolic and practical function of the beloved woman in Scottish love lyric of the period.

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[63] 'Eufame Wemis', f. 72v , STS pp. 110-11, ll. 5-12.

[64] Tullia d'Aragona's comment that 'The lover...is properly a portrait of that which he loves' is apt (from her *Infinità d'Amore* cited in Mary Pardo, 'Artifice as Seduction in Titian', Sexuality and gender in early modern Europe ed. J.G. Turner (Cambridge University Press, 1993), pp. 55-89 (57). On the significance of the Apelles myth in detail, see Part II, Chapter 5. In Castiglione's Il Cortegiano Apelles' portrait of Campaspe engenders a debate about the representation of beauty; see also Petrarch's two sonnets on Simone Martini's portraits of Laura.

Two sonnets apparently addressed to Margaret Douglas well exemplify the typically Castalian love of pun, wordplay and anagram[66]. In the sonnet, 'Thoght perlis give pryce and diamonds be deir', the pun on 'Margarit Douglas' is conceived in verbal and visual terms. The play on her first name is derived from the repository of lapidary terms which conventionally signify the beloved's precious rarity: 'The Margarit does merit mekle mare/As jem of jeuels paragone but peir' (ll. 3-4). The conceit portrays her as a desirable (because valuable) object. Her symbolic worth is measured in conspicously mercenary terms: 'pryce...deir...rich'. This orthodox language of feminine praise may evoke images of beauty; but in depicting woman as an exquisite artefact it portrays her as an object for possession[67]. Montgomerie's second quatrain is explicitly avaricious, as if purposefully exploiting the materialist and acquisitive implications of the conceit. The lover exclaims of Margaret: 'wald God if *it* wer gettible for geir' (l.5)[68]. Such acquisitiveness is then undercut: 'For cost I wald not care/Both lyfe and goods, to win it, wold I [ware]/Provdying I war worthy it to weir...' (ll.6-8). This qualification seems to achieve the paradox of being at once materialist and non-materialist in implication. Does the poet-lover imply that he is *morally* unworthy of the jewel/Margaret? Or does he imply, perhaps more persuasively, that he cannot aspire to its/her possession materially or socially? The third quatrain achieves the verbal union of 'Margarit' and 'Douglas', projecting the imaginative union at least of Margaret and her panegyrist.

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[65] The female readership or *milieu* is suggested even more persuasively by Stewart's lyrics: see Part II, Chapter 4.

[66] ff. 73v-74r, pp. 112-13. Anagrammatic word play is especially favoured by coterie *milieu*, and in the genre of love lyric which play upon notions of secrecy and identity. The Notes to the STS edition identify Margaret Douglas as the 'eldest daughter of Sir William Douglas of Drumlanrig, was married to Robert Montgomery of Skelmorlie' (p. 345).

[67] Mary Rogers in analysing Renaissance treatises on female beauty comments that 'traditions of talking about the female form were oriented towards the *appeal of its surfaces* to the male eye...' (my itlics): 'The decorum of women's beauty: Trissino, Firenzuola, Luigini and the representation of women in sixteenth century Italian painting', *Renaissance Studies* 2 (1988), pp. 47-60 (57).

[68] Italics mine; though certainly the impersonal pronoun is used in grammatical accordance with the conceit ('Margarit' here represents the stone; only analogically is the female Margaret signified).

Nixt wald I wish my purpose broght to p[as]
*That I micht tak and tame the tyrtle Do*[u]
And set hir syne vhare that I micht sie th[rou]
Ane costly Cage of cleirest cristall *glas* (ll.9-12)

'Dou' and 'glas' when conjoined signify 'Douglas'[69]. The dove symbolic of love evokes beauty and fragility also. These qualities belong to the cage made of 'cleirest cristall glas' (the adjectives evoke both purity and delicacy while 'costly' sustains the conceit of material splendour). Yet there is also a sense in which the imprisoned dove may symbolise the beloved Margaret herself, an object of beauty immured within the male vision. The latter is controlling: note how the emphatic '*my* purpos', 'set hir syne...that I micht sie' permit only the lover-poet agency. The final couplet desires that the emblems of both jewel and glass cage will be joined to form an ornament or possession (a decorative love-token). This union - which seems to signify also at least the symbolic possibility of union between poet and subject) will seemingly requite the desire for possession in line 5. Beginning avariciously, the sonnet ends simply on an expression of finitude and fulfilment: 'I culd not wish in world that I want'.

If this Margaret sonnet clearly exemplifies how male desire may objectify his female subject (verbally and symbolically), the other conveys in strangely plangent terms the frailty of *both* female and male subjects, beloved and lover. An apostrophe to the nightingale, 'Sueet Philomene', the sonnet rests partially on the lover's empathic identification with the plaining bird:

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[69] This is pointed out by Jack, Alexander Montgomerie, p. 89.

for murning I may be thy mirthles match
As thou art banishd so am I exyld
As thou art trumped so am I begyld
Thou art unweirdit, I a woful wrech (ll. 9-12)

This concord between the lover and an element of the natural world is a common *topos* of medieval love lyric (and of Petrarchistic amatory pastoral). This has persuasively been claimed as a conscious allusion to the Kingis Quair, 'easily recognised at court'[70]. Yet what seems of particular issue here is the nightingale's mythological identity as the Ovidian Philomene ('beuailing thy virginitie', l.3) and thus as the sexual victim of the Metamorphoses. With characteristic aural intensity (onomatopoeia, alliteration), the lyric communicates not only her 'mirthles mone' but her vulnerability to violent 'skaith':

Vhill as thy changing chivring nots thou chants,
The peircing pyks groues at thy gorge thou grants;
So neir is skaith, supose thou skantly skarris (ll. 6-8)

In Ovid, part of Philomela's tragedy is the violent deprivation of her voice. Both her verbal and physical mutilation are here implicitly enacted in the 'peircing' of the nightingale's throat by predatory 'pyks'. This image of desecrated beauty and innocence evokes a violence which seems to far exceed the later import of the analogy: exile and deceit[71]. The sonnet has several dissonances. The disharmony of Philomene's song (it 'mars' the 'melodie' of the poet's plaint) contradicts the customary beauty (albeit pathos) of the nightingale's 'nots'. The implication of sexual violence also contravenes the generic assumptions of the opening allusion: the conventional pastoral evoked by the 'hauthornes'. The couplet draws an ironic discrepancy between Philomene's concealed 'smart', and the lover's own that is proclaimed or literally emblazoned upon the beloved's 'bagie' or heraldic arms[72]. This emblem of course signifies the lover's own anguish but it seems also to recall the violation of Philomela so pointedly illustrated in the second quatrain[73].

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[70] Jack, *The Scottish Sonnet and Renaissance Poetry*, 2 vols, unpub. PhD diss. (University of Edinburgh, 1968), p. 233.

[71] For an insightful analysis of the Philomela myth, see Ann Rosalind Jones, 'New Songs for the Swallow: Ovid's Philomela in Tullia d'Aragona and Gaspara Stampa, Refiguring Woman: Gender Studies and the Italian Renaissance eds. Marilyn Migiel and Juliana Schiesari (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990) pp. 263-77. On Renaissance mythographic readings, see William J. Kennedy, Authorising Petrarch (Cornell University Press, 1994), pp. 192-3.

Montgomerie's 'Luiffaris leif of to loif so hie' (included in the Maitland quarto of 1586) is in essence an epithalamium[74]. The nuptial celebration of 'maikles Margareit' is only revealed in the final two stanzas after forty lines of glorification which draw on a conventional rhetoric of secular and Marian praise. Though the female subject cannot be possessed by the poet himself (but note the dutiful envy of 'Happie is hie that sall posseid/In mariage this margareit'), she is still depicted as the ideal beloved of secular lyric:

Luffaris leif of to loif so hie
Y$^{r}$ ladyes and thame styill no mair
But peir the erthlie E per sie
and flour of feminine maist fair
Sen thair is ane without complair
Sic tytillis in y$^{r}$ sanges deleit
And prayss the pereles [perle] preclair
*montgomrie maikles margareit* (ll. 1-8)

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[72] The Notes to the STS edition identify this as the Douglas arms, p. 14.

[73] The heraldic image symbolises Margaret's familial lineage rather than Margaret herself, perhaps a flattering gesture which signifies some kind of patronage. Heraldry was also a device used in emblems: see Michael Bath, Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture (Longman, 1995), p. 97, on the Scottish royal badges found in Peacham's preface to Minerva Brittanica (1612). Nancy Vickers in commenting on heraldic arms as 'the symbolic marks of gentlemanly pedigree' notes that 'the name of the house could not be preserved by a woman', ('"The blazon of sweet beauty's best": Shakespeare's *Lucrece*', Shakespeare and the Question of Theory eds. Patricia Parker and Geoffrey Hartman (New York: Methuen, 1985), p. 105; but the Margaret Douglas poems imply that the female figure represents the patriarchal lineage in other ways. Patricia Fumerton observes that 'numerous glances at [the beloved's] heraldic arms' reflect the Elizabethan's lyric's 'miniature arts': see '"Secret Arts': Elizabethan Miniatures and Sonnets', *Representations* 15 (1986), pp. 57-97. Renaissance female portraiture also uses heraldic devices to proclaim the woman's lineage, reflecting this poetic culture of display: Paola Tinagli, Women in Italian Renaissance Art. Gender, representation, identity (Manchester University Press, 1997), pp. 50-3. .

[74] CUL PL, ff.97v-98v; see The Maitland Quarto Manuscript, STS, ed. W.E. Craigie (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1920), pp. 198-200. The Notes to the STS edition, p. 346, identify Margaret Montgomerie as the 'eldest daughter of Hugh, third Earl of Eglinton' who married '"Robert, Maister of Seyton", son of George, 5th Lord Seton'.

This suggestion, that Margaret's beauty renders all other love lyrics superfluous, recalls the frequent assertion of other love lyricists that their desired woman is Laura incarnate. Yet this beauty, the subject of secular praise, exists with a purity which is venerated in terms redolent of mariolatry.

fair forme, and face angelicall
*Sua meik and full of mansuetud*
With vertew supernaturall...
Mirror of madinis m[ar]gareit (ll. 10-12, 16)

This sense of religiosity is found with two mythological parallels common to love poetry in praise of a secular beloved: the judgement of Paris and Pygmalion's creation. Both analogues boast that Margaret has the power to challenge and make redundant the classical paradigms of female beauty (the Pygmalion allusion an apt metaphor for the artistic reinvention here practiced by Montgomerie). The obvious exigencies of an occasional celebratory poem compel Montgomerie to reincarnate the courtly daughter (possessed of 'nobill birth, and royall bluid...native giftes and graces gud') as the common lyric *inamorata*. A similar transformation occurs in the companion piece, 'Ye hevinis abone with heavinlie ornamentis':

The myildest may the mekest and modest
*the fairest flour the freschest flourisching*
The lamp of licht of youth the lustiest
The blythest bird of bewtie maist bening
groundit with grace and godlie governing
As A *per* C / *aboue all elevat*
To quhome comparit is na erthlie thing
Nor with the goddis so heichlie estimat[75]

Not only does the fusion of secular and religious praise recur but also the *topos* of Margaret as a mythological figure reincarnate. She eclipses Diana (literally so; the analogy is delicately twofold): 'Thinking scho had bene phoebus verelie/At quhose dep[air]t scho fell into the eclipis' (ll. 23-4). The conceit succeeds as an illustration of graceful wit while suggesting that Margaret embodies purity or chastity: virtue and beauty must be in concert. The allusion in stanza two to Margaret's 'grace and godlie governing' complies well with the ideological dictates of a commemorative or social marriage poem which obviously demands that its bride be desirable yet pure.

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[75] CUL PL , ff. 96v-97r, STS Quarto, pp. 196-8, ll. 9-16.

Paradoxically, Montgomerie seems to invest the last three stanzas with a peculiar sensuality. The image of her luminous 'goun' (specifically her wedding dress) is intensely beautiful: 'The Asteres cleir.../did discend to schyne this nymph anixit/Vpon hir schoulderis twinkling euerie on' (ll.25, 29-30). Then occur two references to Jupiter's possession of Europa and Clymene. Flattery is intended ('Gif scho had bene into the dayis auld' the god would have chosen her) but Montgomerie's allusions also admonish that female innocence is easily corrupted by 'slichtis quent...furteous' deception. The 'virgine' Margaret must preserve the symbolic value of purity. This is, in essence, paradoxical: if these two Margaret lyrics are indeed composed for her marriage, the prospective consummation will negate her presently exalted state of 'virgine'[76]. In one sense, Montgomerie skilfully manages this ideological bind. The lyric's mythological framework ensures that Margaret passes, as it were, from the chaste Diana to a beneficent 'hemene...Quhilk to hir brother so happie fortoun gave/That scho sallbe exaltit by the laif/Baith for her bewtie and hir nobill bluid...' (ll. 43-6).

Ideal womanhood is thus symbolised by the poetic figure of Margaret Montgomerie. She partly reflects the desired woman of love lyric (the rhetoric of praise is identical) but crucially she is *not* an object of desire for the lyricist himself. Her beauty may be verbally displayed but is not imperilled by the desiring rhetoric or vision of the lover. Irony, satire and pathos have been expelled from these two lyrics, qualities which inform other amatory lyrics in which the female subject is desired and *therefore* reviled. Margaret's virtue is only threatened hypothetically by Jupiter's duplicity. In a sense her virtue represents the 'unfallen' or 'prelapsarian' construct of woman for the secular love lyric: sexually pure, beautiful, moral but an impossible object of desire.

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[76] That this is a form of epithalamium is made persuasive by the first stanza which depicts nature as full of auspicious intent: 'To asuir colour turne your elements/And soft yis seasoun quhilk hes bene schairp and sair...For now scho cummis the fairest of all fair...'.

That the female subject may be a boastful invention of the male poet's rhetorical powers has already been acknowledged. That she may also be made subject to the love lyricist's emotional control is exemplified in Montgomerie by a Cupid figure endowed with punitive powers, further exemplifying how the female beloved illustrates the complex alliance of power, rhetoric and control possessed by the poet-lover. This may be witnessed in the vision (usually the first) of the beloved: that is, the moment of enamourment, a crucial point in any narrative of desire that constitutes a lyric or sequence. Quintessentially, this moment acts as a descriptive or rhetorical *topos* which fixes or 'stills' the female figure in the desire of the 'male gaze'[77]. Consider the following vision (framed within in an allegorical narrative) from the lyric entitled 'The well of Love':

Hir deasie colour rid and vhyte
Lyk lilies on the lake
Hir glistring hair of grit delyte
Behind hir nek did shaik
Of Diamonds hir ees were maid
That in hir heid did stand
With armis long and shulders braid
And middle small as wand

fra I behald hir beauty bright
I had no strenth to steir...[78]

In one sense, the vision of feminine beauty can only occasion a standard *descriptio*: the canon of poetic beauty has been determined by medieval love lyric, Firenzuola's treatise and the rise of the *blason*, all of which combined with other influences establish an ideal female form (against which Shakespeare, Craig and other witty poems rebel in favour of a dark, ugly or disproportionate beauty). Montgomerie's 'nymph' does not differ from the canon: the expression is formulaic ('middle small as wand'), and the epithets archetypal ('rid and vhyte', 'diamond[s] ees'). Characteristic of Montgomerie perhaps is the particularity of detail: 'Hir glistring hair.../behind hir nek did shaik' (an alluring motion which recurs in the description of Ovid's fleeing Daphne (see below). Yet this very orthodoxy is the lyric's point of culmination. The landscape so characteristic of allegory or dream vision ('Quhen that my dimmit sight greu cleir/Incontinent I sau/A palice stand before me neir/And thidder did I drau...') is merely a descriptive prelude and no more. The apparent revelation promised by lines 23-4 -- 'they [the Gods of Love] did open vp my ees/Quhilk long wer shut before' -- is pictorial or decorative rather than shelter for an allegorical kernel. The figure of woman is ornamental (seeming to form a decorative pattern - 'armis long...shulders braid'), an object of beauty, desire and display.

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[77] The classic exposition of the male sexual and aesthetic case is by Laura Mulvey, 'Visual Pleasure and Narrative Cinema', The Sexual Subject. A 'Screen' Reader in Sexuality (Routledge, 1992), pp. 22-34.

[78] ff. 18r-19r, STS pp. 142-4, ll. 41-9.

The implication for understanding of the beloved-lover relationship (how love is gendered in this period of Scottish lyric) is that 'woman' may be reified into a purely aesthetic figure or symbol. One derives from these lyrics an imperfect or impartial vision. In one brief lyric, Montgomerie offers a *tableau*:

Quhill as with vhyt and nimble hand
My Maistres gathring flours doth stand
   Amidst the florisht meid
Of lilies vhyt and violets
A garland properly sho plets
   To set vpon hir heid[79]

This aptly exemplifies the 'specularisation' of the beloved. The poet's vison is composed as if in the temporal present ('doth stand') while the participle, 'gathring', imparts immediacy to her actions: we, the readers or auditors, are also privy to her actions. The particular detail represents the whole: her delicate hand, as in Petrarch's *bella mana* sonnet (and the notable derivations by Fowler and Alexander), is a synecdoche or symbol of the beauty which is not visible. Montgomerie plays in typical fashion with his conceit of beauty. The sun's 'fyre' may be an apt metaphor for the beauty of her 'ees' but it endangers her white purity. She will then grant a favour to the audacious sun: 'To close hir cristall ees/A brightnes far surmounting thyne'. What these beautifully interwoven conceits exemplify - even within this lyric's small compass - is the insidious and seductive objectification of woman. Rhetorical or verbal beauty creates the beloved woman. Elizabeth Cropper, in analysing Renaissance female portraiture, cites Lucian's dialogue *Essays in Portraiture* in which the portrayal of a beautiful woman 'stands characteristically for the descriptive power of words...the portrayal of a beautiful woman also came to function as a synecdoche for the beauty of painting itself'[80]. By analogy, in many Scottish love lyrics the challenge of representing the beloved's beauty prompts rhetorical display.

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[79] f. 26r, STS pp. 157-8.

This interlinking of the beautiful female form and 'beautiful' rhetoric is appositely exemplified by 'Quhy bene ye Musis all so long...'[81]. The lyric's opening vigorously chides the 'Musis':

Distill by influence
Your stremis of Eloquence
That throu your heuinlie liquor sueit
My Pen in Rhetoric may fleit
        for till expres
        the comlines
        Of my Maistres
          With ioy repleit (ll. 5-12)

As her beauty ('curling loks') explicitly decorates 'Hir body more', so the poet's rhetoric itself (recalling the definition of mannerism proposed earlier) is ornamental: for example, the aurally decorative couplet of the third stanza, 'Tuinkling illuminous/With beams Amorous' (ll. 29-30), complimented by a 'chiming' triplet,

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[80] Elizabeth Cropper, 'The Beauty of Woman: Problems in the Rhetoric of Renaissance Portraiture', Rewriting the Renaissance. The Discourses of Sexual Difference in Early Modern Europe ed. Margaret Ferguson *et al.* (University of Chicago, 1986), pp. 175-90 (176). See also Mark Breitenberg, Anxious masculinity in early modern England (Cambridge University Press, 1996), p. 135, on the masculine poetic desire for '*representational* satisfaction'.

[81] ff. 40v-42r, STS pp. 183-5.

'for they appeir/Vith smyling cheir/As they wald speir' (ll.31-3). This is a deliberately sensuous celebration (or arguably reduction) of female beauty, which delights in aesthetic patterning ('Hir brouis ar brent: lyk golden threeds/Hir siluer shyning brees', ll. 25-6), and invokes the stylised anatomical fascination of the *blason*: 'Hir rosie lippis most eminent/Hir teeth lyk pearle of Orient' (ll. 43-4). The next stanza fully exemplifies the characteristically depersonalised language of the *blason*. The beloved is depicted as mere form; her sexual desirability is encoded in a single physical feature which, as here, is rhetorically elaborated.

Hir Vestall breist of Ivorie
Quhairon ar fixit fast
Tua tuins of clene Virginitie
Lyk boullis of Alabast (ll.49-52)

This sexual and rhetorical display is ironic, offering a vision of chaste sensuality. 'Ivorie' and 'alabaster' signify purity (note how the term 'Vestall' is resumed explicitly in the phrase, 'clene virginitie') as well as a visual and tactile evocativeness[82]. One might suggest that this somehow offers a reassuring vision of female sexuality: one that is clearly displayed but is essentially unthreatening in its virginal innocence (and therefore one might add embodying sexual vulnerability). Montgomerie's contemplation becomes almost visceral in its detailed *minutiae*:

Out throu hir snauie skin
Maist cleirlie kythes within
Hir saphir veins lyk threids of silk
Or Violets in vhytest milk
    If Natur sheu
    Hir hevinly heu
    In vhyt and bleu
      It wes that ilk (ll. 53-60)

This, of course, is Montgomerie's variation on the classical composite of red and white beauty; reconceived as white and blue, this is a remarkable, almost defamiliarising visual beauty drawn from the image of the lover's veins (the implication being that this tracery still belongs to her 'vestall breist'). This seemingly constitutes the poet's most extreme aestheticisation of the female form. Each of the two analogies is richly evocative: for example, 'threids of silk' invites ideas of wealth and sensual touch. Ultimately, these images of feminine sexuality are fascinating by their occurrence in a poem which seemingly belongs to the Margaret *epithalamia* series:

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[82] Rogers, *op. cit.*, p. 61, comments on the special symbolic function of comparisons in poetry and portraiture of 'the lady's flesh to white, hard and cold substances like marble, ivory and alabaster...'.

Diana keeps this Margarit
Bot Hymen heghts to match hir meit
        Deserve let sie
        Amount from thrie
        Go merie she
            That is so sueet (ll. 67-72)

Again, the figures of Diana and Hymen are invoked to signify her transition from purity to consummation (note the sense of Diana's possessiveness by the verb, 'keeps'). The lyric exemplfies the established paradox of the present yet absent female subject. Margaret is the poetic subject - the focus of sexual and rhetorical display - but is merely a discursive exchange between poet and audience: 'Persaiv this pithie Paradox/And mark it weill in me/Quhais Beutie hes me burt?' (ll.75-7)[83]. Her sexual innocence and yet potent allure has been objectified. The lyric fully embodies the paradoxical status of the female beloved in the love lyric *per se*: hers is an ironic presence, achieved through the absence of emotional agency and autonomy. Arguably, this forms the thread of connection between Montgomerie's 'love' lyrics and his female praise genre.

One lyric which offers a revealing commentary on the paradox of 'chaste sensuality' (and on the varieties of antagonism discussed below) is 'Quhen first

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[83] Patricia Parker refers to exactly this 'structured, triangulated nature' of the text in which the speaker describing the body of woman 'speaks not directly to her but 'rather of her to others': 'Rhetorics of Property: Exploration, Inventory, Blazon', Literary Fat Ladies. Rhetoric, Gender, Property (New York: Methuen, 1987), p. 129.

Apollo Python sleu'[84]. The Ovidian tale of Daphne and Apollo is its structural and psychological basis (he alludes to but does not name his *auctoritas* at line 52). The lyric begins exactly as Ovid's on the description of Cupid's malice towards Apollo, and his engendering of desire in Apollo, disdain in Daphne by the detail of the gold and leaden arrows. The description of Daphne in lines 53-64 both adheres to and elaborates the Ovidian source. Daphne as the female subject is refracted through the gaze of two male poets; indeed one contemplates her form through Apollo's gaze also: 'Hir Countenance did move him mair/Quhen throu hir garments heir and thair/Appeirit hir lustie limis square/As sho ran by him quyt' (ll. 61-4). This imperfectly glimpsed but alluring beauty is lent particular emphasis by Montgomerie. He borrows the detail of Daphne's 'Unkamed' hair (note the delicate suspension of 'hovring' in this line)[85]. Yet Montgomerie exaggerates the naked exposure of Daphne ('Most from the belt vp scho wes bair', l.53), and amplifies the description of her beauty to increase her desirability: 'With blinkis dulce and debonair/Lyk beuties freshest florish fair/Exemed clene from Lovis lair' (ll. 57-9).

In the following stanza Daphne's metamorphosis is wrought:

Sho prayd the Gods hir helpers be
To saif hir pure Virginitie
Quha shupe hir in a laurell trie
As he did hir embrace (ll. 77-80)

Apollo's words of reassurance (that she need not fear him) are powerless, and Daphne's apotheosis pointedly occurs at the moment of his embrace. Desire and resistance are fused instantaneously; and Montgomerie's narrative accordingly ends[86].

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[84] ff. 23r-24v, STS pp. 152-5. For other Scottish instances of the myth, see Alexander, Aurora, sonnet 84; Alexander Craig, *Amorose Songs and Sonets*, *op. cit.*, pp. 30, 88.

[85] On Daphne's hair loosed to the breeze and its significance within the Petrarchan context, see Sara Sturm-Maddox, Petrarch's Laurels (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), pp. 23-25: 'the formalised representation of discreet physical attributes, result in the fragmentation of her physical image, much like the synecdochal representation of the laurel, the bark, branches, leaves, and roots all present in Ovid's account of Daphne's transformation' (p. 25).

[86] In the Metamorphoses emphasis is placed on how Daphne's flight renders Apollo mute. The laurel tree into which she changes is, of course, a poetic symbol. Petrarch's verbal conflation of the laurel and Laura exemplifies the close alliance of woman and language in love poetry. Lynn Enterline

Finally, Montgomerie's lover provides a kind of moral gloss on the Ovidian tale:

Nou lovesome Lady let vs leir
Example of these Ladyis heir
Sen Daphne boght hir love so deir
*Hir fortune suld effray you* (ll.81-4)

It is Daphne and not Apollo who is condemned. The lover's threat is barely veiled. Virginity is folly; his beloved should not become a second Daphne but consent to his sexual pursuit[87].

Yet these clear illustrations of female impotence offer an incomplete account of Montgomerie's visions of the feminine. One lyric in particular implies the vulnerability of the male voyeur:

....o wareit be my weird
for wondring on a Deitie divyne
The Idee of Perfectione in this eird
Quhilk sorie sight oft gart me sigh sensyne
I sau tua sunnis in semicircle shyne
Compelling me to play Actaeons pairt
*And be transformd into a bloody hairt*[88]

The moment of enamourment (the *innamoramento*) is illicit. The lover realises his *hubris* in scorning love, and is subject to an emotional and intellectual transformation presaged by the Acteon analogy:

My qualities incontinent did change

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comments perceptively on how Ovid converts the Daphne-Apollo myth into a commentary on poetic form, turning 'to trope by making Daphne's *figura* the body and the 'figure' that the god of poetry wants': 'Embodied Voices. Petrarch Reading (Himself Reading) Ovid, Desire in the Renaissance. Psychoanalysis and Literature eds. Valeia Finucci and Regina Schwartz (Princeton University Press, 1994), pp. 120-45 (121). Arguably, Montgomerie does *not* invest his retelling with this rhetorical self-reflexiveness though the very elision of the Ovidian poetic coda might in itself be revealing. See also Marga Cottino-Jones, 'The Myth of Apollo and Daphne in Petrarch's Canzionere: the Dynamics and Literary Function of Transformation', Francis Petrarch Six Centuries Later: a Symposium eds. A Scaglione (Newberry, 1975), pp. 152-76.

[87] For an illuminating analysis of the metamorphoses's sexual violence with particualr reference to the Daphne narrative, see Froma Zeitlin, 'Configurations of Rape in Greek Myth', Rape ed. Roy Porter (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986), pp. 122-51.

[88] 'Lyk as Aglauros...', ff. 30r-31r, ll. 15-21, STS pp. 164-6

for I that somtyme solide wes and sage
Begouth to studie stupefact and strange
Bereft of Resone reaving in a rage.... (ll. 29-32)

The figure of woman represents a dangerous knowledge which threatens the self-integrity of the male lover[89]. His curiosity may be punished as implied by the first cautionary analogy to Aglauros in Book II of the Metamorphoses:

Lyk as Aglauros curious to knaw
Vhat Mercurie inclosit within the creell
Suppose defendit ceist not till sho sau
The serpent chyld that Juno causit to steell
Quhilk to her sisters willing to reveill
Or sho wes war evin with the word anone
Sho was transformit in a marble stone (II.1-7)

In Ovid's narrative, Aglauros's trespass stems from the sin of envy. This notion, at first perhaps curious, richly informs the lyric's opening scene, the fearful and audacious contemplation of a desired woman. The third stanza depicts the latter in terms of neoplatonic resonance ('the Idee of perfectione'). Her superiority therefore engenders desire certainly but also implicit envy[90]. Montgomerie deepens this notion of desire as curiosity in the second mythic analogue of Psyche and Cupid. Montgomerie invokes the moment at which Psyche disobeys Cupid's imperative, that they love one another in darkness, by taking a light to 'him vho sho lovd'. Montgomerie borrows detail from Apuleius's tale:

That sho foryet to close the lamp till he
In wrath auok and fleu sho wist not vhair
And left his deing lover in dispair (ll. 12-14)

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[89] The figure of Acteon in Petrarch has received considerable analysis from feminist critics: see Vickers, 'Diana Described: Scattered Woman and Scattered Rhyme', Critical Inquiry 8 (1981), pp. 265-79.Giordano Bruno, *Gli eroici furori*,The Heroic Frenzies trans. Paul Eugene Memmo (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 123 expounds the myth as an allegory of unlicensed desire.

[90] Such envy may be read in a quasi- Neoplatonic narrative such as Drummond's Poems (1616) in which lover and divine beloved are condemned to exist separately; she symbolises a mode of love which Drummond's lover covets but seems unable to attain.

This miniature fable yields this lyric of illicit love the idea of desire which can only (or must of necessity) exist in a state of ignorance or at least impartial knowledge; one partner (Psyche, and in Montgomerie's lyric the male lover) cannot truly know the other (Cupid; the female beloved)[91]. The pathos and ironic beauty innate to the Psyche-Cupid fable is delicately urged by Mg's brief account which concentrates on external detail rather than providing any kind of interpretative gloss. The danger incurred by seeking the light of knowledge is disclosed by the third and final analogy, Diana's punishment of Acteon. In the context of love lyric, Acteon is commonly invoked to symbolise the figure of the desiring and voyeuristic male poet. Acteon's dismemberment (his metamorphosis) powerfully symbolises the threatened integrity and stability of the male lover's psychological self.

The Acteon *exemplum* seems to serve as a fable of the masculine fear of the feminine. The sequences of Fowler and Alexander amplify the moral revulsion of these shorter illustrations from Montgomerie:

To wit unto your womanheid
*Quhilk worst I wyt of all my woes*
Quhais beutie be it homicide
I feir it most of all my foes
  Quhilk Natur set so far above
  *The rest vhill that it vanquisht Love*[92]

That woman represents death is exploited by the conventional conceit of the beloved's eyes as weapons possessed of the power to pierce and wound. In one lyric, Montgomerie playfully pursues this metaphor to literal extremes: even if the mythological Helen were veiled in 'murning blak' (a sign to 'sa many lovers' that her 'angells ee' is fatal) 'a thousand lovers' would still ignore the figure of 'that Burrio Death.../Within [hir] eyis'[93]. This symbolic association of woman, beauty and death is instanced at the level of delicately jesting conceit: 'Yit feirles ran they.../To se these eyis; and *syn gaiv vp the ghost*' (ll.13-14, my italics).

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[91] This reversal of gender is interesting. Cupid is possessed of a 'hevenly beautie' which, in the context of love lyric, is usually attributed to the female beloved.

[92] 'On Love and Fortune I complene', ff. 35v-36v, ll. 25-30, STS pp. 174--5..

[93] f. 76v, STS p.118.

The sonnet which follows 'Of the Duleweid' in the Ker manuscript, 'Had I a foe that hated me to deid', discloses more darkly the notion of the beloved as fatal adversary.

Hir looks belyve such horrour suld him b[reid]
His wish wold be his Cative Corps to kill
Euen plesurs self could not content his wi[ll]
Except the Death no thing culd him rem[eid]
The vgly looks of old *Medusa*'s eyi[s]
Compaird to hirs ar not bot *Poets* leyis
for hirs exceids thame in a sharper sort
The *Gorgon* bot transfformit men in sta[nis]
Bot she inflammis and freizis both at anis
To spulyie hairt that minion makes hir sp[ort][94]

Though the sonnet does not persuasively employ Petrarchistic verbal antithesis (the exception being line 13), it fully pursues paradox at a conceptual level. Beauty becomes ugliness; myth and truth are contested. The familiar conceit of the beloved's obduracy as a living death for the lover underlies the sonnet but is now achieved by transforming the figure of the beautiful beloved into a monstrous representation. Her deformation is not literal; she is not 'vgly...old' Medusa but rather the power and intensity of her beauty so corrupts men that it assumes the latter's distorting, deathly image[95]. This fusion of two feminine myths - the lyric beloved and Medusa - occasions but does not resolve these different conceptions of woman. Medusa is often presented in cautionary terms, exemplifying how desire may (literally) disfigure woman's naturally chaste self[96]. Here it is *woman*'s capacity to inspire anguished desire that disfigures her in the masculine vision.

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[94] ff. 76v-77r, ll. 5-12, STS pp. 118-9.

[95] Laura is conceived as a Medusa in the Rime 23, 179, 213 325: see Barkan, *op. cit.*, p. 209; Kennedy, *op. cit.*, pp. 102-3. For a conventional mythographic exposition of the myth see Boccaccio, Genealogiae (Venice, 1494) (Garland Publishing Inc., 1976), X. 10.

[96] See Vickers, 'The blazon of sweet beauty's best', p. 109. It may also allude to the final poem of the Rime sparse in which Laura is conceived as Medusa.

This sonnet portrays the female beloved as fallen. The notion of her imperfection prompts the ironic and reductive address typified by the early seventeenth century poetry of Robert Ayton. Montgomerie offers Aytonesque irony in the lyric, 'Yong tender plante in spring tym of your yeiris', a persuasion to love which ironically diminishes the beloved. Yet what might be termed the 'demythologising' of the female figure is here a strategy of seduction. Praise is elided into retraction but coyly so; Montgomerie's skilful manipulation of tone is well exemplified.

Some flours may shoot suppose they haif no seed
Als trees may floorish and bring furth feu fruit
Not that in you sik doublenes I dreid (ll.25-7)

The beloved *is* clearly indicted for her duplicity, that archetypal charge of the Bannatyne *querelle* genre. The analogies of the fifth stanza assert that appearances are deceptive; by implication, the beloved may cultivate a similar illusion. The fragility of illusion is exposed differently by the lover's imperious counsel, 'Tak tyme in tyme vhill tyme...'. This dark *carpe diem* plays on two notions: that her beauty, hence desirability may in time diminish, and that *his* desire for *her* may diminish (she ought to make the most 'or it be spent')[97]. This ironic persuasion to love is sustained in the next stanza which subtly deprecates her beauty by implying that the beloved ought not to be complacent: 'I wald not sik men in your credit crap/Quha heght ye fairer nor I feir ye find'. This relates to the earlier argument about illusion. The authorial male voice warns that she may be deceiving not only other men but herself: '...I wald ye lookit or ye lap/And waver not lyk widdercok in wind'.

This lyric interestingly reflects the sexual politics and power which underlie many of Montgomerie's love lyrics. The metaphor of the child's game, 'nevie nevie nak' (discussed in the earlier analysis of proverbial rhetoric), crystallises this sense of a sexual power game derived from the shifting authority between female beloved and male lover. The final two stanzas endorse the latter's confident possession of authority: 'I haif the moyan lyk ane other man.../Thoght I be laich I beir a michtie mynd/I count me rich can I content my hairt...' (ll.76, 83-4). His phrase, 'or I enter in ane other airt' (l.85), implies a cultivated indifference which makes love either inconsequential, or an Ovidian game.

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[97] This is also another manifestation of Montgomerie's preoccupation with rapacious time: time as an acquisition which must be handled prudently (exemplifiying his literalising tendency as well as the proverbial; on the latter see 'Rhetoric' section).

The fusion of power and sexuality is provocatively intimated in the third and final mode of representation to be considered by this chapter: the symbolic and sovereign significance of Cupid.

***Cupid and the representation of sovereignty*** The power of *Amor* or *Eros* when embodied in the figure of the little Cupid usually signifies an unruly authority; Petrarch's lover in the Rime declares Cupid his *nemico*. His frequent citations and appearances in Montgomerie's love lyrics is scarcely original but seems to exceed Cupidian allusions made by other Castalian poets, namely Stewart, Fowler, James or Alexander. In an illuminating survey of types of the Cupid figure in medieval and renaissance European poetry, Thomas A. Hyde comments on the irony or satire arising 'when a poem lends its readers to understand Cupid differently than do its speaker or characters'[98]. Helena Shire wishes to attribute precisely such irony to Montgomerie's Cupid poetry or genre in interpreting the figure of Cupid as James himself. Cupid, according to Shire, is an early representation of royal authority succeeded by that of Apollo[99]. R.D.S. Jack is unconvinced by Shire's hypothesis[100].

Despite some persuasive aspects, Shire's unduly rigid identification of Cupid with James ignores both the actual poetic function, and the political implications, of the *putto* in Montgomerie's love lyrics. In general, the love-god may offer Montgomerie a point of characteristic pictorial elaboration. Similar to Stewart's descriptive, explicitly painterly incarnation of Cupid, Montgomerie's Cupid mirrors the later artistic depictions of *Eros* or *Amor*[101]. The familiar iconography of the 'winged boy' is allegorised by Montgomerie in conventional ways, reflecting (if not consciously derived from) the exegeses of some Italian Neoplatonic treatises[102]. Cupid is both a delicately impious and defiantly belligerent figure of desire (both degrees of provocation are mirrored in the tonal extremes of Montgomerie's Cupid poems). In many ways, this reflects the personification of love in Scott's poetry (often but not always allegorised as Cupid,) and confirms Hyde's point that in many Renaissance poems Cupid's divinity 'figures the power of passion as an exterior force possessing the lover'[103]. He is threatening (playfully or otherwise); his spurious authority over human desire may be challenged but is invariably irresistible. As a vicissitudinal, thus dangerous ruler, he hardly seems the ideal mythological incarnation of James; especially as Shire assumes that the Cupid poems belong to an early phase of Montgomerie's writing when relations between subject and monarch were supposedly harmonious[104]. Nevertheless, as studies of English Petrarchism in the reign of Elizabeth amply attest, amatory discourse may prove a powerful political tool[105]. Further, the allegorical staple of much medieval-renaissance love lyric - the lover as subject in a court of love - has intrinsic political potential by laying a metaphorical foundation for ideas of submission and rebellion to ruling authority. Shire's firmly held thesis about Cupid as James seems not to consider this conventional and inevitable 'translation'. Further, it seems to ignore the device of Cupid as a playful or attractive poetic embellishment in Montgomerie's lyrics which offers, in Hyde's words, 'a nearly autonomous realm within which the imagination could sport without the ambivalence that woried medieval and early Renaissance fabulists...the old ironic or guilty religion of love becomes a *jeu d'esprit*'[106]. In several of Montgomerie's love lyrics, this imaginative scope licenses a characteristic manneristic wit. This section aims to consider the many faceted figure of Cupid in Montgomerie's love lyrics, and to explore in greater analytic detail this fascination with the little amorous divinity.

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[98] Thomas A. Hyde, The Poetic Theology of Love. Cupid in Renaissance Literature (University of Delaware Press, 1986), p. 19.

[99] See Song, Dance and Poetry, pp. 90-1, 111, 123.

[100] See his 'The Theme of Fortune in the poetry of Alexander Montgomerie', p. 32.

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[101] See Part II, Chapter 4, on Stewart's painterly representation of Cupid.

[102] See Vincenzo Cartari, Le Imagini degli Dei (Garland Publishing, 1976), pp. 495, 516; Natalie Comes, Mythologiae, Venice 1567 (Garland Publishing, 1976), pp. 386-89, 481; Boccaccio, *op. cit.*, Book 3 xxii, xxiv, 5, xxii, 9, iv.

[103] p. 75-6. See Lisle Cecil John, The Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences. Studies in Conventional Conceits (New York: Russell and Russell, 1964), pp. 195ff. for a list of Cupid conceits in English Elizabethan poetry.

[104] For a concise account of Montgomerie's troubled political relationship with James, see Jack, Montgomerie.

[105] See below, 'Erotic politics' section.

Many of these lyrics querulously depict the paradoxical nature of Cupid's power. As a mere 'Boy' ('suckling' or 'bearne' in Montgomerie's terms), he is attacked for the unwarranted and unmerited usurpation of authority. This is a common charge: in his philosophical treatise on love, Leone Ebreo writes that as a child he lacks prudence, and disobeys his mother Venus[107]. Bembo's Gli Asolani claims that painters illustrated him 'as a boy...because he makes those who follow him become children in their powers'[108]. The lyric which seems most vehemently to treat of the paradox of this false 'god' is 'Against the God of Love' possessing the verbal vituperation and alliterative fury of Montgomerie's flyting mode:

Blind brutal Boy that w$^t$ thy bou abuses
Leill leisome Love by Lechery and Lust
Judge Jakanapis and Jougler maist unjust
If in thy rageing Resone thou refusis
To be thy Chiftanes changers ay thou chuisis
To beir thy baner so they be robust[109]

Cupid's travesty of justice and law (the secular law of 'leill, leisome love') implicates his loyal subjects (figured as standard bearers; the triumphal evokes Petrarch's 'Trionfi d'Amore') in similar corruption. The sestet parodies the conventional iconographic features of Cupid; his 'staitly styl[e]' (l. 13) is systematically reduced to the trappings of mere disguise. This reductive metamorphosis divests Cupid of his supposed divinity:

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[106] *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[107] Leone Ebreo, *Dialoghi d'Amore*, translated as The Philosophy of Love by F. Friedelberg-Seeley and Jean H. Barnes (Lobdon, 1937), p. 57.

[108] Gli Asolani translated Rudolf B. Gottfried (Indiana University Press, 1954).

[109] ff. 80r-v, ll. 1-6, STS p. 124.

Art thou a God no, bot a gok disguysit
A bluiter buskit lyk a belly blind
With wings and quaver waving with the Wind
A plane playmear for Vanitie devysit
Thou art a stirk for all thy staitly stylis
And these good Geese vhom sik a god begylis (ll. 9-14)

This denunciation has been interpreted as an assertion of 'spiritual truth in the low style'[110]. Yet the assertion is made in intensely negative terms which do not allow for any articulation of spiritual sense (the notion of *caritas*, whether signifying a love which is sacred or virtuously secular, must be inferred). It remains a conventional denunciation of Cupid's profanity, echoing earlier conservative moralisations of the love-god. The charge of duplicity, for example, is derived from emphasis upon Cupid's blindness ('a gok disguysit/A bluiter buskit lyk a belly blind'). Panofsky provides an extensive historical gloss on the significance of the blindfold Cupid, and his association with Fortune and Death through this shared iconographical feature[111]. Leone, through the character of Philo, expounds Cupid's blindness as a consequence of love's being born without the faculty of reason[112]. Natalis Comes distinguishes between clear sighted 'right' love and a blinded 'wrong' love[113]. Though Montgomerie's denunciation seems to reflect these mythographical glosses, the conceit of blind Cupid was ubiquitous by the late sixteenth century in both poetic and artistic terms:

> the bandage motif frequently ceased to carry a specific meaning. More often than not it was almost as common and insignificant in art as the designations *il fanciul cieco*, 'the blind boy' or *le dieu aveugle* in poetry. A majority of Renaissance artists...began to use the Blind Cupid and the Seeing Cupid

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[110] Jack, Montgomerie, p. 85.

[111] Erwin Panofsky, 'Blind Cupid', Meaning in the Visual Arts. papers in and on Art History (Doubleday Anchor Books, 1955), pp. 109ff. See also Giordano Bruno, *op. cit.*

[112] *op. cit.*, p. 57.

[113] Cited in Panofsky, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

> almost at random. In the illustrations of Petrarch's Triumphs both types appear indiscriminately'[114].

The proliferation of Cupid in sixteenth century lyric poetry arises also from the rediscovered Greek Anthology and the Anacreontea[115]. Yet Montgomerie's iconography is precise in its moralistic reading of Cupid's features, his possession of wings no less than his blindness. Montgomerie's rejection of the profane Cupid seems to belong to the sacred and profane conflict of love which Panofsky perceives as clearly retained in Renaissance (albeit indiscriminate) uses of Cupid[116]. Montgomerie's Cupid is also depicted as bestial, evoking the classification of love without reason (pure sensuality) as mere appetite[117].

If the figure of Cupid has here a moralising or spiritual function, it also serves a 'decorative' purpose, providing rhetorical ornamentation in Montgomerie's manneristic style. The intensely verbal manifestation of Cupid's power may also shed light on the demand of line 8: 'Quhy maks thou Makrels of the Modest Muses?' This might be a self-referential parody of the sonnet's rhetorical virtuosity (or excess); if 'modest' is glossed in the sense of 'restrained' or 'decorous', then the poem's rhetoric is seen as a travesty of such decorum. Such rhetorical 'folly' is caused by the emotional and intellectual folly of human (or profane) desire.

This is the most ambiguous or difficult of Montgomerie's Cupid poems. In its complexity it refuses a simple or clear-cut classification as either a sonnet advocating spiritual love, or as a rhetorically virtuosic (ultimately witty or playful) exercise on the poetic excesses of earthly love.

The fallibility of human love is pursued in terms of the authority-submission paradox in Montgomerie's Ronsardian translation, 'Vha wald behold him vhom a god so grievis?'[118] The poet-lover offers himself as the supreme victim or exemplar of Cupid's grievous power, a revelation reserved for the suitably exclamatory line 7: 'Behold bot me persaiv my painfull pairt...'. This rebellious lover promises the solicited reader/auditor that (his) reason will overcome (Cupid's) passion: 'Thair sall he sie vhat Resone then c[an do]/Against his bou if once he mint bot, to/Compell our hairts in bondage basse to be[ir]' (ll.9-11). Montgomerie's final three lines richly draw out the eroticism of the Ronsardian resolution:

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[114] Panofsky, *op. cit.*, p. 121.

[115] The subject of Cupid in the Renaissance lyric is more complex and vast than these generalistions here can hope to suggest: cf. Hyde, *op. cit.*, 'Renaissance Poetry'.

[116] *op. cit.*, pp. 126-8.

[117] Panofsky's observation on depictions of a Cupid figure possessed of talons or claws may be pertinent here.

Yit sall he se me happiest appeir
That in my hairt the Amorous heid dois [lie]
Vith poyson'd poynt vhairof I glore [to die] (ll.12-14)

Proposed rebellion becomes joyful submission. Cupid's ubiquitous arrow is here not an instrument of suffering (the metaphor of 'poysond' now bears different implications) but inculcates a seemingly ecstatic sexual surrender; the verb, 'glore', is triumphant.

'The well of Love' imparts a similarly sexual gloss to desire inculcated by Cupid's dart:

fra tym that winged God did sie
That I did love disdane
He took a shaft and shot at me
And peirsit evirie vane
The head so deeply in me sank
That all my body brist
*Then of the well of Love I drank*
To quench my birning thrist[119]

The resonance of 'brist' seems provocatively erotic (as opposed to the more conventional 'wounding' of line 51). This literal surrender to desire forms a kind of introductory prologue to the vision of a palace which harbours 'nymphis mony a one'. This allegorical, visionary lyric thus aptly opens with a mythologised or deified depiction of love. The device performs the characteristic psychological twist of absolving the lover of responsibility for his desire[120]. 'The well of Love' from which the lover is compelled to drink in the second stanza is not a conventional aspect of the Cupid mythology but here seems to symbolise either consummation or at least some kind of fulfilment of desire. The poem's final two lines, 'God give hir grace to reu on me/And meit me at the well', seem to intimate the resolution of the lover's desire, and the beloved's pity or 'reu' is often synonymous in the love lyric *per se* with sexual consent. In the companion or twin piece immediately subsequent to this lyric, 'To the O Cupid king of love', the well is explicitly identified as a province of Cupid's rule: 'We pray whair thou dois duell/That but respect thou wold remove/All rebells from thy well'[121]. To drink from Cupid's well is to engender desire within oneself; the symbolic corrrelation between fire and water intrinsically part of figurative amatory discourse is niçely transmuted. Water is not an assuaging power but 'droun[s]' lovers 'with desyre' (l. 13).

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[118] f. 76r, STS p.117.

[119] ff. 18r-19r, ll. 9-16, STS p. 142.

Cupid's iconography - the traditional armoury of devices bestowed on the 'winged god' - lends Montgomerie's poetic depictions of desire literal and particular force: 'for lurking Love.../took a shaft and suddently me shot/Quhais fyrie heid brint in my harte so hot'[122]. In other instances, Cupid's arrows of love are consciously Ovidian, made either of lead or gold: 'He nok't ane arrou longer nor a speir/The heid wes gold vhilk brint lyk ony lou'[123]. A forceful particularity has been termed characteristic of Montgomerie's poetic idiom in general; but the lyric, 'If faithfulnes suld friendship find', reveals in manneristic fashion the comic excesses of such amatory literalism:

  Quhat neids thou Cupid all thir dairts
Me to ourthrou that els am cum thy thrall
  thoght I had had ane hundreth hairts

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[120] cf. ll. 53-4: 'The gods of love releiv my pain/and caus hir for to reu'.

[121] 'Of the same well', ff. 19r-v, ll. 2-4

[122] 'Lyk as Aglauros', ll. 23-5.

[123] 'Quhen folish phaeton had his course outrun', f. 38r, ll. 11-12.

Long syne my Lady had bereft thame all
Since that a hairtles man
Mak na resistance can
Quhat worship can ye win[124]

The lyric which most fully pursues to witty and metaphorical extremes the conventional panoply of Cupid is 'The Sacrifice of Cupid'[125]. Its chief conceit is the sacrificial relation between lover and love-god, a premise which yields further conceits such as the second stanza's rich parody of religious ceremonial sacrifice. In the first, the lover's sacrifice is emotional and physically arduous as he makes his plaint to 'Cupido'. He fears that his deity may not learn of his grief; a kind of comic bathos is achieved gently in the appeal, 'Suppose thou sees not yit I hope thou heirs/Or otherwyse but dout I suld dispair'[126]. The sense of bathos is especially acute given the portentousness of the opening which depicts the lover's plaint as being voiced through cosmological vastness.

Hou oft throu compass of the christall skyis?
Hou oft throu voyd and watrie vaults of air?
Hou oft throu cluds vhair exhalations lyis? (ll. 1-3)

These macrocosmic analogies delicately correspond to the lover's act of mourning: his sighs and tears are mirrored in the vastness and plenitude[127]. Cupid, the god of love, is depicted as omnipresent and omniscient: 'Hou oft haif I thou knauis hou, vhen, and vhair/Caus'd my complante ascend into thy eirs?' This playful evocation of the tension between secular and profane (witness the lyric 'Of the god of love') is rendered by a vivacious wit in the mock-devotional service of lines 16-24:

Yea I sall on thyn alter evrie day
Tua turtle doves for ane oblatin lay
A pair of pigeons vhyt as ony flour
A harte of wax, a branche of Myrhe and ay

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[124] ff. 29r-30r, ll.11-17, STS pp. 163-4.

[125] ff. 31v-32r, pp. 167-8.

[126] Lines 9-10: a coy allusion to Cupid's blindness.

[127] This conceit which posits a correspondence between lover and universe is made facetiously in Monrgomerie's 'Plato' sonnet (a translation of Ronsard). James's love poetry deals also in such correspondencies and analogies.

The blood of sparouis thairon sprinkle and pour
*Yea I sall fort hyn honour evrie hour*
In songs and sonets sueetly sing and say
Tuyse or atanes vive vive l'amour
And sa my voues I promise for to pay[128]

The composition or performance of love lyric is a profane counterpart to devotional liturgy. The offerings are secular (the doves of Venus; the myrtle branch) yet seem also to parody distinctly Catholic rites: the 'oblatione' not of bread and wine but of 'tua turtle doves' and the blood 'of sparouis'. The sacrifice exemplifies Montgomerie's intensely visual, emblematic imagination: the 'harte of wax', for instance, symbolises the lover's own while delicately suggesting its very fragility (the impermanence, and vulnerability to heat, of its wax form). This emblematic power is sustained in the third stanza which renders the lover's heart as a kind of relic, hung 'In signe' upon Cupid's 'Trophee' conceived as a precious and rare offering ('buiting[s]') of 'A rubie rich'. The intensely literal quality of Montgomerie's visual conceit is further brought out by the lover's inscription: 'Behold the spoills of him/Quha for his Conqueis may be calde a king'. The emblematic image finds its motto[129].

Montgomerie's brief parody possesses both erotic beauty and yet humour. The liturgical text is celebrated in French; 'vive vive l'amour', following the detailed procedures of devotional presentation, is wittily irreverent. It evokes a kind of impious *joie de vivre*. Uttered in another idiom, this homage to the love deity possesses a kind of covert verbal sanctity while its French form seems to retain a secular exoticism.

The poem's final stanza ends on a paradox: though the lover resigns himself to Cupid's kingly power, he achieves a surrogate conquest over his beloved by commanding Cupid to 'Anis burne hir breist' (l. 47). He desires her to suffer likewise: 'That sho may sey vhat sicknes me possest'. Though expressed in conventional metaphorical terms (the flame of desire), his imperative is at root violent. Impotence compels the lover to inflict suffering upon the intransigent woman. Cupid becomes a figure onto which frustrated desire is displaced.

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[128] Lines 16-24. Montgomerie plays in similar terms on the alliance of sacred and profane devotion in other Cupid poems: eg. 'Blind Love if ever thou made bitter sweet': 'If on thyn altar *sacrifice I sall...'; 'Hir brouis tuo bouis of ebane ever bent', ll. 6-12.*

[129] The popularity of Cupid as an emblem or device is copiously illustrated by Alciati, for example: Emblematum Liber, *op. cit.*, VII, XXXIII, LXVI, LXXII, LXXVI.

This is not an isolated occurrence. In the lyric, 'Blind Love if euer thou made bitter sueet', Cupid as the powerful 'Lord of Love' is solicited to exert power over the desired woman in terms which imply violation: 'If thou can brek ane allabaster breist...'[130]. The female beloved is here depicted by a traditionally iconic language of beauty (the purity of 'allabaster') yet rendered as a virtual absence (a mere object, '*ane* allabaster breist'); her physical form is made brittle. This lyric even employs an identical phrase in its last line, 'And *burne hir breist* that of my baill is blyth' (my emphasis) Both lyrics convert Cupid into an instrument of punitive power; the lover's desire to possess the beloved is laid bare in terms which suggest sexual violence.

In yet another sonnet in this Cupid vein, the relation of authority and power between lover and beloved is depicted conventionally; that is, the female beloved subjugates the lover. Indeed, she is literally transformed into a Cupid figure by the familiarly iconographical beauty:

Hir brouis, tuo bouis of ebane ever bent
Hir Amorous ees the awfull Arrouis ar
The Archer Love vho shoots so sharpe and far
My breist the butt vhairat hir shots ar sent[131]

It may be argued that this allegorisation of her brows and eyes grants the female beloved a similar capacity for violation[132]. Yet the power of the woman's eyes to pierce the lover and engender in him desire is a wholly conventional lyric trope, its lineage both classical and Neoplatonic. These other two Cupid lyrics by Montgomerie seemingly invert the poetic norm of sexual power.

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[130] ff. 16v-17r, STS p.140.

[131] f. 75v, ll. 1-4, STS p. 116.

[132] This figurative extension of the beloved's eyes and brows is, of course, not Montgomerie's invention: see Alexander, Aurora, song 8: 'I for two crescentes take thy browes/Or rather for two bended bowes', and Sidney, Astrophil and Stella, sonnet 17: 'Of Stella's browes made him two better bowes/And in her eyes of arrowes infinit'.

The lover's complicity with Cupid's power is rare. It is this pervasive notion of Cupid's incontestable authority which renders persuasive Shire's hypothesis of the juncture between Cupid's and James's authorities. Despite the earlier caveat on the established conceit of Cupid as ruler, the lyric, 'Blind love if euer thou made bitter sueet', is easily (if not persuasively) translated into a commentary on kingly rule.

Let not thy Lau be lichtleit at the leist
*Bot tak revenge vhen Rebels thee reboots*
If thou be he of vhom so many moots
Quha maks the hardiest flintie harts to melt
And beirs thame ay about the lyk a belt

Or if thou be that Archer so renound
That vhair thou mints thou missis not the mark
Bot lyk a king is for thy Conqueis cround
*To vhom all stoupis thoght they war neuer so s[tark]*[133]

Might this be political advice veiled as an amatory conceit? If this is Montgomerie's brief lyric exercise in the advice to princes tradition, then the counsel offered to James seems to concur with his use of power but to imply that it is not exercised either enough or sufficiently: '*If* thou be..'. The obdurate female beloved, one of Cupid's 'rebels', may represent an insubordinate political subject. 'To the O Cupid king of love' may be construed as a pledge of loyalty on behalf of the love deity's faithful 'subjects' (l. 13) and a warning to 'All rebells' (l. 4) intent on insurrection. If Cupid is James (note the reference to Apollo in l. 9, James's favoured mythographic guise), and Montgomerie writes as a loyal political subject, then the last stanza transparently expresses the latter's desire for princely beneficence:

As we do serve thy Celsitude
In hope to haif reuaird
Let thame vhom we haif so long lude
*Our service once regaird* (ll. 17-20)

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[133] f. 16v-17r, ll. 10-18, STS p. 140.

'Service' is especially resonant, evoking several alliances: between lovers; poet and patron; and sovereign and subject. In 'The Sacrifice of Cupid', a kind of contract is established between lover and Cupid: 'Releiv my briest that sik a burthen beirs/And thou sall be my maister evermair..' (ll. 11-12). This mutually enabling contract also rests on the lover's poetic glorification of his ruler: 'My pen thy princely pussance sall report' (l. 15). As well as this writing contract, the lover implies that he will act as the exemplary subject: 'Quhat wald a maister wish mair of his man/Then till obey his thoght in evry thing' (ll.35-6). In many aspects, Shire's hypothesis gains credence by a conceit such as this which seems to render so transparently the possibility of poet communicating with sovereign, and of political appeal displaced into the supplicating, flattering idiom of love.

Yet one should be sensitive to the tonal modulations of such apparent political request poems. In the 'Sacrifice', the last stanza is an intensely felt protestation against the ruler's intransigence:

So do I nou mair painfully opprest
Hope help at him vhais help culd never heall
Bot be the contrair martyr and molest
forgive me Cupid I confess I faill
To crave the thing that may me not availl
Yit to the end I may my grief digest... (ll. 41-6)

In one sense, this confession of frailty and frustration in the context of political relations is characteristically Montgomeriesque: the series of pension sonnets to James, and to the Lords of the Session, bear ample witness to this[134]. These poems, which speak plangently of the injustice of mercurial rule, might be echoed in this politically 'veiled' lyric. The possibility of latent political complaint then gives satiric or bitter edge to such conventional railery against Cupid's fickleness:

fell peart q Cupid thou appeirs

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[134] 'To his M$^{tie}$ for his Pensioun', a series of four sonnets found on ff. 64r-65r; 'To the Lords of the Sessioun', a series of four sonnets found on ff. 65r-66r.

Syn to his bou he maid a braid
*And shot me as soon be I had said*
Quhill all my laughter turned to teirs
Now gesse q he if thou be glaid
Nou laugh at Love
*That pastym prove* } *Am I ane archer nou or nocht*
His skorne and skaith
I baid them baith } And got it sikker that I socht[135]

The persuasive crux of Shire's hypothesis rests on a profound uncertainty: that is, the compositional and performative circumstances of Montgomerie's Cupid lyrics. It seems scarcely credible that the lyrics which seemingly criticise the love god would be performed in James's presence, if the latter's identity as a Cupid fiction was a publicly recognised trope of Montgomerie's. A lyric such as 'To the O Cupid king of love', which implies adoration of Cupid/James, is more plausible. Further, James's *Reulis and Cautelis* depict, or at least project the ideal of, a closely knit poetic coterie of which Montgomerie is the exemplary love lyricist. These critical Cupid lyrics seem improbably to risk censure or repudiation although Shire is willing to claim that 'Against the God of Love' communicates 'rage and bitterness of affection' towards the king[136].

In conclusion, the readings proposed here neither support nor endorse Shire's hypothesis in absolute terms. Rather, the body of Montgomerie's Cupid lyrics reflects the equivocalness at the heart of the love lyrics conceived at James's court. Lacking irrefutable evidence that would identify a performative context, the rhetorical language of these poems inevitably courts a political reading. The paradoxes of authority are *already* rooted in traditions of Cupid lyric. The figures of the lover and the political subject are *already* bound by a similar vulnerability. Cupid, in the context of Montgomerie's highly varied writing, is not merely a possible tool for kingly flattery or critique. Montgomerie's pervasive liking for mannerist ornamentation is well exemplified by his visual manifestations of the love god which evoke emblems in their pictorial detail. The antagonisms of power and conquest riven deep in the relationship between female beloved and male lover are deflected onto the figure of Cupid. The sonnet which began this section is one facet of a fundamental difficulty or dilemma which besets interpretation of Montgomerie's love poetry: 'seriousness' or the lack of it. Whether the sonnet constitutes reflection on the profanity of secular love, or parodies mannerism in love poetry with rhetorical exuberance, may ultimately be an ambivalence desired by Montgomerie. Facetiousness, irresolution and irony are qualities which define Montgomerie's practice as a love poet, and the writing of love lyric in general at this period of James's court. Yet outwith Montgomerie's Cupid poetry is a small but significantly evocative collection of love lyrics which may allude to Montgomerie's sovereign, and the practice of erotic politics.

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[135] 'In throu the windoes of myn ees', ff. 28r-29r, ll.10-18, STS pp.161-3.
[136] p.111.

## ***Erotic politics***

> And another to say I haue read that the Lady Cynthia came once downe out of her skye to kisse the faire yong lad Endimion as he lay a sleep: and many noble Queenes that haue bestowed kisses vpon their Princes paramours, but *neuer vpon any Poets...I kept not to sit sleeping with my Poesie till a Queene* came and kissed me. But what of all this?[137]

That the sovereign should embrace her poetic subject is a possibility dismissed by Puttenham. The embrace is, however, purely figurative: poets should not now expect 'such extraordinarie fauors' from their princes who are 'ouer earnestly bent and affected to the affaires of Empire and ambition'. Yet an influential body of criticism regarding the Elizabethan court has argued that political courting occurred beneath the protective veil of the lover's discourse. Arthur Marotti's '"Love is not Love": Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences and the Social Order' was one of the first and most succinct analyses of this cultural duplicity:

> From the time of the troubadours, courtly authors in particular used love

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[137] George Puttenham, The Arte of English Poesie, p. 36.

> poetry as a way of metaphorising their rivalry with social, economic, and political competitors, converting what psychoanalysis calls "narcissistic" issues into "object libidinal" ones, that is self-esteem and ambition into love. Their verse reflects courtly striving for the rewards available in hierarchical societies that functioned according to systems of patronage and allowed (at least limited) forms of social mobility. Love lyrics could express figuratively the realities of suit, service and recompense with which ambitious men were insistently concerned as well as the frustrations and disappointments experienced in socially competitive environments[138].

Louis Montrose has extensively analysed in these terms the Elizabethan courtly aesthetic: 'desires for wealth, status, and power might be intentionally disguised or unconsciously displaced in metaphors of erotic or spiritual desire'[139]. Fumerton writes about the artificial enclosing of the queen's secret self as a political game: lovers are ministers and ministers lovers. Jones and Stallybrass endorse this symbiosis between the lover and the courtier: 'the love the sonneteers depicted, then, was a peculiarly appropriate symbolic version of a courtier's life: a life of constancy, obedience, and devious means, all in the service of a beloved/prince who all too rarely granted mercy'[140]. The manipulation of political and social power through the tropes of conventional amatory poetry creates, in Javitch's term, an 'impure' poetry.

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[138] Arthur F. Marotti, '"Love is not Love": Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences', ELH 49 (1982), pp. 396- 428 (398).

[139] 'Celebration and Insinuation: Sir Philip Sidney and the Motives of Elizabethan Courtship', *Renaissance Drama* 8 (1977), pp. 3-35 (26). See also his '"Eliza, Queene of shepheardes', and the Pastoral of Power', *ELR* 10 (1980), pp. 153-82; 'Of Gentlemen and Shepherds: the Politics of Elizabethan Pastoral Form', *ELH* 50 (1983), pp. 415-59; 'A Midsummer Night's Dream and the Shaping Fantasies of Elizabethan Culture', Rewriting the Renaissance ed. Margaret W. Ferguson *et al.* (Chicago, 1986), pp. 65-87; 'The Elizabethan Subject and the Spenserian Text', Literary Theory/Renaissance Texts ed. Patricia Parker and David Quint (Baltimore, 1986), pp. 303-40.

[140] Ann Rosalind Jones and Peter Stallybrass, 'The Politics of Astrophil and Stella', *SEL* 24 (1984), pp. 53-68 (64). Other analyses of coded political poetry include Rosemary Kegl, '"Those Terrible Aproches": Sexuality, Social Mobility, and Resisting the Courtliness of Puttenham's The Arte of English Poesie', *ELR* 20 (1990), pp. 179-205; Stephen W. May, Elizabethan Courtier Poets. The poems and their Contexts (University of Missouri Press, 1991); Achsah Guibbory, '"Oh, Let Mee Not Serve So": the Politics of Love in Donne's Elegies', *ELH* 57 (1990), pp. 811-33; Daniel Javitch, Poetry and Courtliness in Renaisance England (Princeton University Press, 1978); 'The Impure Motives of Elizabethan Poetry', Genre 15 (1982), pp. 225-38; Leonard Tennenhouse, Power on Display. The Politics of Shakespeare's Genres (New York: Methuen, 1986); Stephen Orgel, 'Jonson and the Amazons', Soliciting Interpretation. Literary Theory and Seventeenth Century English Poetry eds. Elizabeth D. Harvey and Katharine Maus (University of Chicago press, 1990); Phillippa Berry, Of Chastity and Power. Elizabethan Literature and the Unmarried Queen (London: Routlegde, 1989). For a critique of this critical mode in its earliest stages see Jonathan Crewe, Hidden Designs. The critical profession and Renaissance literature (London: Methuen, 1986).

These studies emphasise Elizabeth's instrumentality in the cultivation of the dissembling courtier-poet descended from Puttenham's Arte.

> In Elizabethan England, a female monarch, whose unmarried state preserved her symbolic and real value in both domestic and international transactions, specifically encouraged the use of an amorous vocabulary by her courtiers to express ambition and its vicissitudes[141]

Montrose observes that Elizabeth was celebrated as another Laura[142]. Yet the arguments for political Petrarchism appear dependent on the *femininity* of the sovereign. Marotti asserts a *terminus ad quem* for the kind which he proposes: the coronation of James VI.

> Instead of a Queen who recognised the reality of ambition, manipulated it, and allowed it to be expressed in the language of love, there was a king on the English throne, a man whose earlier sonnets to his wife were perfunctory performances and who misread the ambitious designs of many of his courtiers as love and affection for his person...Complimentary affection, often baldfaced flattery, was sanctioned as socioliterary currency in patronage transactions with the crown and spectacular villainesses were popular in the drama and fictions of the period, women whose ambitions and dangerous sexuality were the grotesque projections of culturally repressed desires[143].

Such an argument is flawed in two ways: firstly, by its Anglocentric refusal to acknowledge the Scottish court over which James presided, and the literature to and about the sovereign which flourished; secondly, its blinkered assumption that a male sovereign could not be the subject of lyric desire for an assumed male courtier. As the example of the Maitland quarto attests, 'illicit' sexuality could be espoused by poetic ambiguity. There are two lyrics by Montgomerie which court the possibility of sovereign desire.

The figure of Apollo, one of James's favourite mythological personae, dominates both 'Befoir the Grekis durst enterpryse' and 'Lyk as the dum solsequium'[144]. Divested of conventional amatory lyric, the former might at first appear an unlikely love lyric. Its apparent inappositeness is observed by Shire though James himself offered it in his treatise as an exemplar of the genre[145]. That it might be a coded expression of homoerotic desire for James seems to have a degree of royal sanction.

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[141] Marotti, *op. cit.*, p. 398.

[142] 'Eliza Quene of shepherds', p. 174.

[143] *op. cit.*, p. 421

Before the Greeks durst enterpryse
In Armes to Troy toun to go
Thay set a Counsell sage and wyse
*Apollos ansueir for to kno*
  How thay suld speid and haif succes
  In that so grit a busines

Than did thay send the wysest Grekis
*To Delphos vhare Apollo stood*
Quha with the tearis upon thair Cheeks
And with the fyrie flammis of wod
And all such rites as wes the guyse
*Thay made that grit god sacrifyce*

Quhen thay had endit thair Requests
And solemnely thair service done
And drunke the wyne and kild the beists
*Apollo made them Ansueir soon*
Hou Troy and Trojans haiv they suld
To use them hailly as they wold

Quhilk Ansueir maid thame not so glad
*That thus the Victors they suld be*
As evin the Ansuer that I had
Did gritly joy and comfort me
*Quhen lo thus spak Apollo myne*
All that thou seeks it shall be thyne

Its mythological analogue - the resolution of the Trojan war - is not as recondite as it might seem; the Greeks pray to Apollo that he might prophesy the war's end as the lover implores the beloved to deliver an answer of refusal or compliance. The utterance of Apollo - 'All that seeks it sall be thyne' - is enigmatic and provocative if interpreted as the response of the lover[146]. The female beloved is often conceived as a goddess at whose altar the lover sacrifices himself (the idea of love as conquest is familiar in Montgomerie). The lyric conveys pursuit of the beloved as a long period of endurance (the Trojan war lasted ten years), and renders it in ritualistic terms. 'Hailly' implies complete possession or surrender. Not only in its use of myth but structurally the lyric anticipates Alexander Craig: in the latter's sonnet, the mythological vehicle may typically dominate as much as the three quatrains, reserving only the couplet for clarification of the analogy; in Montgomerie's lyric, the simile is postponed until the authorial revelation of line 20, 'As evin the answir that I had...'.

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[144] ff. 43v-44r, STS pp. 188-9; ff. 21r-22r, STS pp. 158-51.

[145] Song, Dance and Poetry, p. 94. Shire's footnote is cautious: 'This concluding stanza is cited in the King's "Tretis" as is the stanza describing Cupido from "The Cherrie and the Slae"...because they directly figured the King himself -- and the poets's affection for him?' In her unpublished paper, 'The Play of the Poet and the King', AUL MS 3407/6/3/12/1, Shire pursues the relationship between James and Montgomerie in more biographical and historical detail, drawing on *The Cherrie and the Slae*, yet without suggesting the homoerotic implications.

But what are the implications if Apollo is read as the king himself? In one sense, the poem can easily and effectively be divested of its amatory content and replaced by political or courtly terms of aspiration. Shire postulates that the lyric records Montgomerie's gratitude for receiving his pension[147]. The king as Apollo ('Apollo *myne*') is portrayed as a prophet or instrument of oracular truth (note the apt ceremonial formality of stanza three). The assurance delivered by Apollo suggests that the lover/expedient courtier may profit or gain from sovereign beneficence. Yet a sense of uncertainty and risk is also implied. To imply that the king was willing to make reward of political favour, material benefit, or reciprocal desire, might well have been construed as the greatest audacity.

Lyk as the dum
Solsequium
With cair ou'rcum
And sorou vhen the sun goes out of sight

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[146] The association between Apollo and the outcome of desire are found in Jacques Ferrand's De la maladie d'amour ou melancholie erotique (1623): 'Diogenes one day consulted the oracle of Apollo at Delphi to discover the most sovereign, speedy, and direct means for curing his son's love frenzy' (trans. Donald A. Beecher and Massimo Ciavolella (Syracuse University Press, 1990), p. 333). The idea of a sovereign remedy is here suggestive.

[147] Song, Dance and Poetry, p. 94.

Hings doun his head
And droups as dead
And will not spread
Bot louks his leavis throu langour of the nicht
Till folish pheton ryse (ll. 1-9)

On one level, the representation of James in this song-lyric is transparent: James is Phaeton/Apollo, 'prince' to the birds 'in thair bour'. Yet an analogy is then clearly drawn between the sun, 'My lamp of licht', and the female beloved. In the final stanza, Apollo returns in his incarnation as the sun who has the power to prolong the loves' joy. Apollo's power is resonantly emphasised:

Thy presence me restores
To lyfe from death
Thy Absence also shores
To cut my brea[th]
I wish in vane
Thee to remane
Sen Primum mobile sayis aluayis nay
At leist thy wane
Turn soon agane (ll. 63-71)

It is an apposite metaphor for the sovereign relationship: eternally, inevitably, and securely changeful. 'to behold vhom I love best': the object of the lover's contemplative 'plesur' is ambiguous[148].

Outwith the secular amatory lyrics, Montgomerie offers reflection on the perils of courtly politics. Most notably, the 'Oppositione of the Court to Conscience' ironically comments on the duplicitous art of princepleasing:

First thou mon preis thy Prince to pleis
Thoght contrare conscience he comands
With Mercurius mouth and Argo's eis
And with Briaris hundreth hands
And seme vhatsoever he sayis to seill
So Court and Conscience wallis not weill[149]

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[148] The emblem of the sunflower itself had several different meanings (see Part II, chapter III, for an exposition of Montgomerie's poem in Scottish emblem lyrics): in Capaccio, for example, the heliotrope signifies friendship, secular and spiritual love, and (suggestive in the present context), the love of inferior for superior: Delle Impresa Trattato Di Giulio Cesare Capaccio. In tre libri diuiso (Naples, 1592), I, ff. 125r-v.

[149] ff. 9r-v, ll.13-18, STS p. 128.

This might imply that Montgomerie's poetry would not seek to solicit favour or to seduce his sovereign. In his poetic reminiscence to Robert Hudson, Montgomerie's confines his lyric practice to the amatory as opposed to political realm. Ineluctably, the effect is one of contrived ingenuousness (as if a preemptive expurgation of any controversial content):

With mightie maters mynd I not to mell
*As copping Courts or Comonwelthis or Kingis*
Quhais Craig yoiks fastest let them sey thame sell
me thoght culd nevir think upon sik thingis
I wantonly wryt under Venus wings[150]

The other two sonnets in this miniature sequence are reflections on the kingly disfavour into which Montgomerie fell. In their anxious vindication of loyalty and enduring affection, they movingly invite parallel with the justifications of an unjustly condemned lover:

I feid Affectione when I sie his Grace
To look on that vhairin I most delyte
*I am a lizard fainest of his face*
And not a snaik with poyson him to byte...

So stands with me vho loves w$^{t}$ all my hairt
My maister best some taks it in ill pairt[151]

Whether these lyrics express political or sexual desire, a fusion of both, or purely the loyalty of a faithful (if ultimately rejected) subject cannot (for the moment) be historically attested. That they evoke the terms and language of a lover's desire is highly persuasive. The poetic and political relationship between Montgomerie and his sovereign deserves further inquiry. It is testament to the ambiguously representational power, or 'vehemencie' of amatory language within the intimate courtly context of Castalian poetry that the declaration, 'for me I love the king', can never be wholly innocent[152].

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[150] f. 67v, ll. 1-5, STS p. 101
[151] f. 67v, ll. 1-4, f. 68r, ll. 13-14.

***'a cooplinge of soules'*** Writing about Montgomerie's testament lyric, 'Ressave this hairt', R.D.S. Jack proposes that the lyric eschews the 'final spiritual optimism of Petrarch's poems in Death' in favour of a philosophical pessimism which anticipates Drummond's 'pessimistic reflections on mutability'[153]. The insight is precious yet arguably Montgomerie's conception of love in his amatory corpus as a whole does admit the possibility of 'a purifying mystic love'[154]. If Montgomerie's testament lyric concedes that even the most faithful love ends with, rather than transcends, bodily dissolution (the lover's 'carioun of clay' and the beloved's 'snawie throt' are blended in baroque disharmony), his Ronsardian sonnet, 'So suete a kis yistrene fra thee I reft', combines the physical materiality of desire with an erotic Neoplatonism[155]. This recreation of Ronsard's 'Hyer au soir que je pris maugre toy' is held to epitomise the concrete particularity of the Montgomeriesque style. As much as Ronsard's, the sonnet portrays love as a union embracing more than than the purely physical. The 'spirits' and 'hart' which seek to join the beloved evoke the Neoplatonic union of souls[156]. One might almost construe the sonnet as a disavowal of the worth of the body: the 'corps' remains 'als cold as ony Kie'. There is a curiously erotic yet threatening deathliness about this Neoplatonic apotheosis. It describes the lifeless moment after consummation (*le petit mort*), a helpless surrender of the body so 'inamored' with the beauty of the other body in which it seeks sublimation. Yet this apparent sexual and spiritual death is precluded by the revivifying power of the beloved's 'breath'. The tender intimacy of the exchange recalls and metaphorically reinvests the kiss of the first three lines with Bemboist significance.

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[152] f. 67r, l. 12.

[153] Montgomerie, op. cit., p. 56.

[154] op. cit., p. 56.

[155] f. 71v, STS p.117.

[156] On the Neoplatonic exchange of souls, see Ficino's exposition.

> Wherupon a kisse may be said to be rather a cooplinge together of the soule, then of the bodye, bicause it hathe such force in her, that it draweth her unto it, and (as it were) seperateth her from the bodye. For this do all chast lovers covett a kisse, as a cooplinge of soules together.[157]

Akin to Montgomerie's characteristic synthesis of extremes, the resonant spiritual implications of 'lyfe' are bound to the delicate erotic beauty of 'lippis'. The lyric draws on the Ficinian conceit of the lovers' exchange of souls which joins together their bodies in one unity. The sonnet beautifully unveils the spiritual and sexual potential of the common lyric paradox about of desire as life-in-death, death-in-life[158].

***Conclusion*** Montgomerie's love poetry frequently conveys itself as a challenge to the rhetorical limits of amatory (not exclusively Petrarchist) discourse. His mannerist rhetoric is at once an ebulliently witty and delicately thoughtful corroboration and contradiction of the representational power of the lover's words. The female beloved and rhetoric are mutually engaged in ways that exploit the ornate mannerism of Montgomerie's language, and the aesthetic and sexual objectification of the female form. Scepticism is often expressed: Montgomerie's wry Ronsardian translation, 'Excuse me Plato', is a composed inquiry into the credence of amatory philosophy, finely judged beween intellectual incredulity, and a sense of love's anarchically transcendent power[159]. Montgomerie's love poetry as a whole combines postures of irreverence and reverence towards secular love. Many of the lyrics are compelled by a moment of joyful insight or discovery ('Evin dead behold I breath'); others, such as the testament lyric, suggest how the circumscriptions of mortality and human frailty are inevitably and unwillingly imposed upon love. Montgomerie's translation of Marot's elegy contains miniature expressions of this pathos which are highly Montgomeriesque additions or qualifications of the French original. Marot's pledge of erotic fulfilment until death, rendered as 'And ay sall do whill I am living man', subtly emphasises the temporal limitation of love (*only* until death, as it were)[160]. Poignantly, the beloved's pledge of fidelity is spoken is an act of imitation in itself: that is, the voice of the lover speaks for the beloved.

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[157] Il Cortegiano translated Thomas Hoby, p. 354. Montgomerie's erotic kiss may also be modelled on Johannes Secundus' Basia. Another source may be Marullus's 'Epigrammaton': see Nicolas James Perella, The Kiss Sacred and Profane. An Interpretative History of Kiss Symbolism and Related Religio-Erotic Themes (University of California Press, 1969).

[158] It may also allude to the Neoplatonic conceit of the 'death' occasioned by the departure of the lover's soul from the body: see Donald Guss, John Donne Petrarchist.Italianate conceits and love theory in the *Songs and Sonets* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1966)
note 15, p. 204

[159] f. 75v, STS pp. 116-7.

Thou answeir him Go Love reteir the hence
For I love one vho hes my hairt so far
He merits not to tyne him bot offence (ll. 89-91)

The lover merely writes, 'Adeu my lady quhyt' (l. 4): a miniature and imperfect text encompassed within the larger text (the poem) which is, in essence, an expression of parting as the lover would wish it (not insignificantly Montgomerie renders Marot's 'mon depart' as 'our depairt'). The lover strives to make the beloved comprehend his pain, and to participate in the act of parting as it affects him, and therefore (as mutual lovers), her too. In this, Scott's elegiac poetry of parting is recalled, and the philosophical pathos of William Fowler's love writing. In one final yet deeply evocative sense, certain of the love poems both reveal and yet withhold the implications that James himself for Montgomerie represented a changeful sovereign and beloved.

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[160] 'The Elegie', ff. 52r-53v, STS pp. 202-5; compare Marot's 'Et y sera jusques à ce qu'il meure', l. 38; this, the third elegy, was first published in La Suite de l'Adolescence Clementine (1533). See 'Montgomerie and Marot. A sixteenth century transaltor at work', *Etudes Ecossaises* 2 (1993), pp. 79-94.

## Part II

## Chapter 3

# Imitation and invention; the sacred and profane: paradoxes of Petrarch recreated in the love poetry of William Fowler

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§ *Introduction*

§ *Writing like Petrarch*

§ *Love sacred and profane*

§ *The mortality of love*

§ *Emblematic love language*

§ *The topography of love*

§ *Conclusion*

## *Crudele aceba inesorabil Morte* (Rime, canzone 332, l. 7)

***Introduction*** I spye of deathe bot yet of lyfe no way'[1]. This admission, by the lover of the *Tarantula of Love*, refracts in miniature a large and enduring theme of William Fowler's amatory *corpus*: the alliance of love and death (two of the magisterial allegories of Petrarch's Trionfi which Fowler (1560-1612) himself translated). Despite the hubristic assertion of one *Tarantula* sonnet, that 'Love fearles is of deathe or yet disgrace'[2], Fowler's series of amatory sonnets (including those outwith the *Tarantula*) pursue how human love is bound by mortality; whether love can endure given that the beloved is mortal (enacting the drama of Laura's death in the Rime and the Trionfi); and the metamorphosis of the loving into the sinful soul.

R.D.S. Jack has observed that Fowler's 'whole output is modelled on the Rime'[3]. Both the translation of the Trionfi and the love poetry attest how profoundly Fowler's writing, both rhetorically and philosophically, is moulded in the Petrarchan image. The *Tarantula of Love* is commonly interpreted as the quintessential Petrarchist sequence[4]. Certainly, the conventional *loci* of Petrarchistic imitation are found, and their familiar antithetical litanies duly reproduced[5]. Despite such apparent fidelity to the Petrarchan inheritance, Fowler's amatory poetry arguably brings into sharp relief the Jamesian conflict between imitation and invention. The *Tarantula*'s ending can be conceived as an inventive rather than purely imitative resolution of the Rime's apotheosis, intensifying the penitential crisis of Petrarch's lover rather than the spiritual apotheosis attained through adoration of the beloved. In defence of Fowler's creativity, the chapter does not analyse the literal Petarchistic fabric of the *Tarantula* (as earlier studies have so persuasively achieved), but suggests that Fowler's deeply rooted preoccupation with love's profanity and mortality (from the overarching divine perspective, its circumscriptions) represents an overlooked aspect of Fowler's enduring Petrarchan dialogue. Unlike previous readings, it does not perceive a seamless apotheosis of secular into divine love (the Petrarchan-Neoplatonic strain) but tensions and contradictions which stem from the portrait of an idolatrous desire.

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[1] EUL De.3. 68 (hereafter referred to as the Drummond manuscript) f. 4r, l.4. Fowler's love poetry (excluding the Trionfi translation) is inscribed in several manuscripts: principally NLS MS 2063-5 (thereafter referred to as the Hawthornden MSS), and EUL MS De.3.68 which is a copy of *The Tarantula*, ff. 1-36v). EUL MS De.1.10 is a presentation copy of Fowler's translation of Petrarch's Trionfi. The Hawthornden manuscripts are a collections of miscellaneous papers preserved in haphazard arrangement. The texts reproduced in this chapter are all based on the manuscript copies as opposed to the STS edition, The Works of William Fowler ed. Henry W. Meikle, James Craigie, and John Purves, 3 vols (Edinburgh and London, 1912-39) which adds punctuation, and is often misleadingly numbered in the interest of presenting a poetic chronology. Reference will accordingly be made first to the relevant MS, then to the STS edition. Any particular textual difficulty or interest will be noted where relevant. There is a helpful summary of the manuscripts' contents in volume 3 of the STS edition, pp. xliii-xlix.

[2] 'Perhapps yow think with your disdainfull words', Drummond MS f. 5r, STS p. 146, l. 6.

[3] The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature, (Edinburgh University Press, 1972), p. 82.

[4] For criticism of Fowler's work see John Purves, 'Fowler and Scoto-Italian Cultural Relations in the Sixteenth Century' STS, vol 3, pp. lxxx-cl ('an epitome of the situations and imagery most commonly found in the Petrarchan poets of the sixteenth century', p. cxx); R.D.S. Jack, *The Scottish Sonnet and Renissance Poetry*, 2 vols, University of Edinburgh, unpub. PhD diss., 1968; 'William Fowler and Italian Literature', *MLR* 65 (1970), pp. 481-92; The Italian Influence pp. 74-89; Scottish Literature's Debt to Italy (Edinburgh University Press, 1986), pp. 9-13; 'Poetry under King James VI', History of Scottish Literature, vol 1, (Aberdeen University Press, 1988), pp. 125-139 (p. 129). Janet C. Smith, Les sonnets elisabéthains (Paris, 1929), lists other likely Italian sources; see also the 'Notes' in vol 3 of the STS edition, and Appendix V, pp. clvi-viii. A partial biography of Fowler can be found in Purves's essay.

The *leitmotif* of invention versus imitation underlies the subsequent sections which analyse two further aspects of Fowler's love poetry: the influence of emblematic conceit upon Fowler's amatory discourse, and how the fascination with Orkney maps out an innovative *topographia* of desire. The first of these 'inventive' qualities demonstrates that Fowler's language does not merely reproduce Petrarchistic conceit but reflects a significant strand of late sixteenth century Scottish culture; the second how the figurative reinvention or transposition of desire can be richly evocative. The chapter begins by suggesting how the courtly, coterie context of Fowler's love poetry might reveal an historically identifiable *inamorata*; and then observes as a preliminary to the argument proper several aspects of how Fowler attempts to 'write like Petrarch'. Jack has rightly claimed that Fowler's preference for Italian sources was 'revolutionary' in contemporary Scottish terms; yet ironically his Petrarchism and Neoplatonism have helped to assign his poetry the mark of conventionalism. The present chapter tries to reclaim both these source influences as creative of less reactionary, more innovative love poetry as Fowler's lover 'to this age proclame[s]' desire[6].

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[5] See Jack, Italian Influence, p. 82, for summary of the principle Petrarchan imitations (such as 'I burne by hope and frese agayne by feare' modelled on 'Pace non trovo, e non o da far guerra').

In accordance with the general trend of Castalian secular literature, none of Fowler's amatory poetry was published within his lifetime. Outwith the principle poetic writings, the Triumphs and the *Tarantula*, lies a small miscellaneous body of work which reflects the conventional characteristics of poetry created and consumed within a small coterie. Amongst poems of praise, dedication, and patronage, one particularly prominent female dedicatee, the recipient of playful, anagrammatic love poems, emerges: Arbella Stuart (1575-1615) who, one might conjecture, is the 'Bellisa' of Fowler's major amatory *corpus*.

Thou, godlie nymph, possest with heavenlie feare,
Devine in soule, devote in life, and grave,
Rapt from thy sence and sex, thy spirites doth steire,
Tries to avoyd w$^{ch}$ reason doth bereave.
O graces rare! which tyme from shame shall save,
Wherein thou breath'st (as in the seas doth fish,
In salt not saltish) exempt fron the grave
Off sad remorse, the lott of worldlinge's wish.
O ornament both of thy selfe and sex,
And mirrour bright wher vertues doth reflex![7]

Another 'Extempore' lyric is jubilantly conceived as a drunken toast to her 'beautey'. Its appended 'dedication' seems covertly to allude to Arbella's shunning the imperial or political power which James, as her cousin, was always conscious she potentially possessed: 'whose chastfull hands disdayned for to sweye/both sceptars crovnes w$^{t}$ all imperial rod'[8]. Fowler's literal and poetic courtship of Arbella, the loyal 'Seruice and...Vowes' (p. 318) which he proclaimed[9], is well documented in biographies of the latter: 'That summer of Arbella's first year at court [1582] he sent her two sonnets, one dedicated to her, extremely fulsome in its praise of her. To be certain of the effect he sent copies to Gilbert Talbot, enclosing with them a letter announcing his good fortune in making the acquaintance of Arbella...'[10]. In 1604, Fowler appears to have contemplated, but ultimately rejected, the possibility of a marriage proposal: 'My Lady Arabella...will not hear of marriage...I dare not attempt her'[11].

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[6] Drummond MS f. 27r; STS, p. 191, l. 4, my italics.

[7] STS p. 261, from the Talbot MS, f. 121. Other lyrics to Arbella include Hawthornden MS 2063, f. 58r, STS pp. 317-8, and f. 68r, STS p. 319, 'To my onely L. Arb.'. The untitled sonnet, 'Once wandringe forth in Maye', found in the collection of poems in NLS MS 2065, ff. 16r-35r (Fowler's authorship of which is contested) on f. 25r, provides implicit evidence for Fowler's authorship: the visionary beloved whose 'name begins & endeth with an A' is most probably the ubiquitous Arbella. I use the name, 'Arbella' rather than 'Ar*a*bella', since she herself used the former.

Arbella's name is the subject of copious anagrams and puns strewn throughout the Hawthornden papers[12]. Fowler's poetic *inamorata*, *Bell*isa, might persuasively be taken as an elaboration of 'Ar*bella*', as well as being obvious verbal play upon beauty (*bella/belle*). Fowler's Arbella lyrics must stem from the early 1580's to the mid 1600's (the time of her prominence at the English court before her seclusion and eventual marriage in 1610); she was especially favoured by Anna and Fowler, as the Queen's secretary, would have had early acquaintance with her. There is other evidence to attest how rooted in the social and political fabric of court society are such seemingly ubiquitous love lyrics. The other notable female dedicatee of Fowler's lyrics is Mary Middlemore, another gentlewoman at Anna's court[13]. But that Arbella may have served as the nominal muse for Fowler's love poetry, and especially of the *Tarantula* (in 1603, he declares her 'the Tenth Muse'[14]) lends particular cogency to what can appear a highly abstract and allegedly conventional sequence. In a letter of 1603, Fowler eulogises Arbella as 'the e[i]ght[h] wonder off the world...to the first seven'; in one of the *Tarantula* sonnets, Bellisa is adored as 'Newe wondar of the world, one mo then seaven'[15]. The *Tarantula* is thought to belong to the 1580's and '90's; certainly this coincides with Arbella's presence at court although there is no record of the *Tarantula* having been presented to her, nor does the sequence contain any allusively biographical or coded dedication[16].

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[8] Hawthornden MS 2063, f. 247r, ll. 3-4. In the topographical poem to Arbella on f. 58r, Fowler alludes to her as 'next to our kinge as next by bloud and name', l. 20. Sara Jayne Steen has analysed on the basis of Arbella's letters how she fashioned 'an acceptable self' which balanced the imperatives of ideologically sanctioned female conduct at court, and her own convictions: 'Fashioning an Acceptable Self: Arbella Stuart', *ELR* 18 (1988), pp. 78-95. Fowler's brief inscription seems to hint at this conflict.

[9] Hawthornden MS, f. 58v, STS p. 318, l. 29.

[10] David N. Durant, Arbella Stuart. A Rival to the Queen (London: Weidenfield and Nicolson, 1978), p. 131. B.C. Hardy, Arbella Stuart (London, 1913), writes: 'Amongst her chief admirers was Sir William Fowler...a quaint, pedantic, ridiculous creature...who promptly fell head over heels in humble love with her, and wrote long effusions to Earl Gilbert...' (p. 165). See also Elizabeth Cooper, The Life and Letters of Lady Arabella Stuart, 2 vols, (London, 1886), vol 1, p. 277, and E.T. Bradley, Life of the Lady Arbella Stuart, 2 vols, (London, 1889), vol 1, p. 70, 174, who both cite the sonnets to Arbella as evidence of Fowler's allegedly foolish and extravagant passion; also M. Lefuse, Life and Times of Arbella Stuart (London: Mills and Boon, 1912), pp. 115 - 118; P.M. Handover, Arbella Stuart. Royal Lady of Hardwick and Cousin to King James (London, 1957), pp. 87, 177-8. Recent commentators also cite Fowler's 'bad' poetry among the many dedicatory and praise poems she received (Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, Writing Women in Jacobean England (Harvard University Press, 1993), 'Writing Resistance in Letters: Arbella Stuart and the Rhetoric of Disguise and Defence', p. 81).

[11] Quoted in Lefuse, *ibid.*, p. 169

[12] See Hawthornden MSS 2060, f. 229r and 2063, ff. 105v, 127r.

***Writing like Petrarch*** In rhetorical terms, the claim that the *Tarantula of Love* is written in imitation of the Rime is partly justified. There is the common weave of Petrarchan allusion ('I fallowe her that fleithe far from me'; 'how can I be cald inconstant in my love'; 'Vpon this firthe as on the sees of love'[17]), and the recurrence of certain rhetorical forms: for example, sustained paradox (intensified in 'I fallowe her...')[18], and antithesis ('O quhat great power lurketh in these eyes'[19]: here, the repetitious exclamation 'stey stey go go' (l. 13) seems a microcosm of the Petrarchism itself which is expressed through imitation, a form of repetition itself).

On occasion, Fowler's Petrarchist rhetoric is sensitively attuned to the nuance and potentiality of the original conceit or trope: that of the ship, for example:

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[13] See Hawthornden MS 2063, f. 72r, STS p. 268, and f. 78r, STS p. 269; also anagrams on ff. 78r and 143r. For an account of Middlemore see Edmund Lodge, Illustrations of British History, 3 vols (London, 1791), III, pp. 366-7, and Lefuse, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[14] Hawthornden MS f. 58r, STS p. 318, l. 28.

[15] To the Earl and Countess of Shrewsbury, 11 September, 1603, from Woodstock, in Lodge, *op. cit.*, pp. 168-9, enclosing the two 'horologe' sonnets for Arbella; Drummond MS f. 13r, STS p. 160, l. 1.

[16] There is a Latin prose dedication to Arbella in Hawthornden MS 2064, f. 6r-v, dated 1604, in which he offers unidentified work to her, humbly requesting that she may deign to read it in her infinite learning and virtue.

[17] Drummond MS, f. 10v, STS p. 153; Drummond MS, f. 35v, STS p. 204, and Hawthornden MS f. 24r, STS p. 205; Drummond MS f. 32v; STS p. 197.

[18] Drummond MS, f. 10v; STS, p. 153.

[19] Drummond and Hawthornden MSS, ff. 11r and 27v; STS, pp. 154-5.

euen so my tossed saule through fyres and frost
conseumd with feares confunded w$^t$ dispaire
desyrous of the eyes quhase sight shee lost
doeth covet more the causer of her caire
alyke far aff nar hand now heire now there
succumbing in lovs seas I faynte and tyre
far aff your face enflams me mair and maire
nar hand, your eyes dothe burne me in ther fyre[20]

The appositions of line nine playfully evoke how the lover remains eternally near yet irreparably distanced from the beloved. This emphatic paradox ('far aff/nar hand') expresses the elusiveness of Bellisa herself in a literal and symbolic vision of unattainability. The inevitability and repetition of such forever elusive desire is also evoked in another nautical conceit: 'Schip brokken men quhome stormye seas sore tost'[21]. Analogy or 'similitud' (the poem's title in the Hawthornden manuscript) is drawn with ship wrecked sailors who vow never 'to adventur more' but neglect their promise on returning once more to 'schore'. The 'similitud' is that the lover is unable to renounce Bellisa but that desire inevitably (almost cyclically) destroys his resolve; the impermanency of this broken resolution is neatly contradicted by the permanence and strength of 'ancour'. Bellisa is his imagined refuge: 'ye will me thole to ancer in your heaven'. The ship conceit culminates in 'Vpon this firthe as on the sees of love'[22], where the lover aspires to reach the elusive 'heaven' that Bellisa symbolises. As if a nautical variant of the *blason,* various parts of Bellisa - 'words/eyes/winks/feite' - are 'mapped' onto the literal panoply of the ship: 'Mapp, cairt/compass/rudder'. This is a fanciful cartography: Bellisa remains '*imagin[ed]*...on the schore' (my italics). Though the lover endeavours to decipher by map and compass her precise position (symbolically, her consent to love him), the sonnet's final line proclaims the impossibility of reaching, in Fowler's beautiful phrase, 'the bright fyre'. Bellisa and the safe haven that she enshrines are imagined and so illusory, a denouement that aptly reflects back on the poem's own conceitful practice of 'illusioning'.

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[20] Drummond. MS, f. 17r, ll. 5-12; STS, p. 169.
[21] Drummond f. 24v, STS p. 184; Hawthornden f. 31v, STS p. 185: the text is based on the latter.
[22] Drummond MS, f. 32v; STS, p. 197.

Arguably, the *Tarantula* rarely offers other examples (or series) of conceptually refined and rhetorically taut Petrarchistic conceits. Fowler's sonnets (as Montgomerie's) frequently demonstrate how the inherited rhetorical and conceptual structures of Petrarchan and Petrarchistic rhetoric are difficult to disentangle from favoured Castalian excesses: for example, 'O wakned thoughts of my incensed mynde'[23], riddled with opportunistic alliteration ('sobbs/sighs/smokie'; 'movers, mad mournful'; 'undecaying doole'; 'ruid refuse'), hurries towards triumphal exclamation. Such is the intensely successive rhetorical structure that self, beloved and the external or personified 'love' are barely distinguishable (ironically this rhetorical excess cannot move the beloved to compassion but dissolves or is 'dispersed in the wynde').

When Petrarchistic rhetoric is tantamount to a virtuosic display of artifice in Fowler, it frequently conveys a sense of fragility as a form of rhetorical excess which threatens to 'implode':

O nights no nights bot ay a daylye payne
*o dayes no dayes bot cluddie nights obscur*
o lyfe most lothd transchandge in deathe againe
o doole no doole bot certen deathe and suire
o harte no harte bot rok and marble dure
quhair wawes of woe with tempests stryketh soare
o eyes which ay against my harte conteure
o teares no teares bot of salt stremes the store
o heavens no heavens bot chaos of disglore
o godds the guyders of my best hard happ
o dame quho dothe depress all reuthe and smore
*o nights day lyfe o doole of deathe the trapp .*
o harte o eyes o teares o godds and dame
quhen sal her frosts be warmed be my flame [24]

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[23] Drummond MS f. 6r; STS p. 147.

[24] Drummond MS, f. 21v; STS, p. 181.

As Jack illustrates in his study of Fowler's Trionfi translation, the poet's verbal characteristic is excessive elaboration; as if the text makes verbal reparation for the ironic flaw of not being Petrarch's original[25]. Partly it is Fowler's own intellectual and spiritual response to Petrarch which produces the Puttenhamesque term 'surplusage'; in the *Tarantula*, the effect can on occasion be one of simple verbal excess rather than philosophical anxiety.

Yet there are other rhetorical affinities between Fowler's lover and Petrarch's. For both, desire, and the desire to write, are inseparable. As an 'authentic' lover, Fowler's poet writes in, and with, tears: 'I weiping wryte'[26]. The communication of love is exemplarily difficult: in the latter sonnet, for example[27], the diffident, almost ingenuous qualification, 'I meane', closes a rhetorical catalogue of subjects about which the lover would write: 'things yet hidd, and to the world vnseene' (l. 13). Despite enumeration of the beloved's beauties, a sense of excess remains, or of what is not yet disclosed: as an incomplete *blason*, both Bellisa's sexual parts and the undisplayed ('vnseene') erotic potential of his rhetoric. The phrase of line 14, 'paint with plaints', is suggestively paradoxical: 'paint' signifying texture and palpability yet implying a creation that must be seen; even the phrase 'to wryte w$^{t}$ teares' has pathos for tears may efface the ink. If this sonnet intimates the 'vnseene' possibilities of poetic revelation, then the succeeding poem (in the Drummond manuscript) fears that his imperfect 'songs' may 'dark[s]' her beauty[28].

In the sonnet 'O maist vnhappie and accursed wight'[29], the lover expounds this attitude toward the poetry which compels him to 'prayse her most who doith me most disgrace/or her extoll that by her pryde and slight/dois circumvene me by a snaring face' His poetry is judged as paradoxically both 'loving and lothed': he devotes it to a 'loving' subject who yet despises both it and its author; and he too exists in a 'loathing' relationship to the poetry which aspires 'to eternise [the] prase' of one who so belittles him. As the third quatrain riddlingly states, Bellisa is both object and subject of his text. He writes *of* her, or imaginatively possesses her; yet she dominates both him and his poetry as its subject (and he is subjected to her). Further irony is implicit in the claim that his poetry cannot contain her as its pernially elusive 'subject': 'shee subiect subiect not as wyld as roe/or any hynde that in the woddes remaynes...' . The lover is condemned perpetually to 'rehers[ing]' his 'lothed' poetry.

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[25] See in particular The Italian Influence, pp. 76-81.

[26] 'The fyres the cordes the girns the snairs and darts': Drummond MS f. 1v; STS p. 138, l. 14.

[27] Drummond MS, f. 1v; STS, p. 138.

[28] f. 2r, p. 138; and in Hawthornden MS also, f. 51v, p. 139, l. 6

[29] Drummond MS, f. 3v, Haw. MS, f. 29v; STS, pp. 142-3.

The *Tarantula* pursues the alliance between rhetoric and the beloved in a later miniature 'sequence'[30]. In one sonnet, Bellisa and the poetic Muse, 'fair dame', are almost inseparable; for the lover extols the 'beautye' which seems to refer implicitly to the Muse as much as Bellisa. Though her beauties command inspiration his poetry can only respond by remaining wholly artless. The subsequent poem announces how both his creativity and 'courage' (sexual and poetic powers) are miraculously renewed: 'o quik reviver of my deid conceates'. The contradictions of love writing, as will be argued, inform the *Tarantula*'s final renunciation when, 'released' from love, he acquires the liberty to shun the penance of writing.

The art of love writing (as later argued) assumes wholly different significance in another, far briefer sonnet collection of Fowler's. The outcome of poeticising desire, as two of Fowler's works attest, either compels atonement, or redeems that desire from mortality or oblivion. Fowler may superficially write like Petrarch but his affinities with Petrarchan rhetoric are also voiced in deeper, subtler ways. In short, the Rime serves as both a locus of origin and departure. The *Tarantula*'s first sonnet illustrates this concisely where that of the Rime is its actual source and origin:

O yow who heres the accents of my smart
diffusd in ryme and sad disordred verse
gif euer flams of love hath touchte your hart
I trust with sobbs and teares the same to perse
yea euen in these ruid rigours I reherse
which I depint with blodie bloodles wou[n]ds

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[30] Drummond MS ff. 27r-29r; STS pp. 191-2.

I think dispared saules there plaints sal sperse
and mak the haggard rocks resound sad sounds
yet whils as ye the causes reids and groun[n]ds
off her immortal beautye and my payne
through which griet greiffs and grace in bothe abou[n]ds
with huimble speache speake this to her agayne
O fo this stayles thought the stayed sing
briede him not deathe to the dois bring[31]

*Voi ch'ascoltate in rime sparse il suono*
*di quei sospiri ond' io nudriva 'l core*
*in sul mio primo giovenile errore*
*quand' era in parte altr' uom da qul ch' i' sono:*
*del vario stile in ch'io piango et ragiono*
*fra le vane speranze e 'l van dolore,*
*ove sia chi per prova intenda amore*
*spero trovar pietà, non che perdono.*
*Ma ben veggio or sì come al popol tutto*
*favola fui gran tempo, onde sovente*
*di me medesmo meco mi vergogno;*
*et del mio vaneggiar vergogna è 'l frutto,*
*e 'l pentersi, e 'l concoscer chiaramente*
*che quanto piace al mondo è breve sogno*[32]

In essence, the imitation is partial, and its differences evocative. Petrarch's apostrophe makes a vital distinction that Fowler's seems not to: in ll. 3-4, Petrarch confesses that the self which writes at present is not the self which originally experienced love. His lover possesses self-knowledge from the outset and guides his readers on a retrospective philosophical and religious pilgrimage that atones for a past *errore*. In contrast, Fowler weaves the threads of Petrarch's sonnet into a new or recreated poem which elaborates only a minor aspect of the original; namely the fragmented form of his writing and the pity which it must inspire ('I think dispared saules there plaints sal sperse'). Petrarch's lover fears the response of those who hear him, seeking both 'pieta' and 'perdono'. Fowler's, in contrast, seems to possess supreme confidence in the affective power of his 'sad disordered verse'; indeed, he urges his community of listeners/readers to communicate his 'smart' to intransigent

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[31] Drummond MS f. 1r, STS p. 136; also Hawthornden MS 2063, f. 51r.

[32] Robert M. Durling, Petrarch's Lyric Poems (Harvard University Press, 1976), p. 37. All subsequent references and translations are from this edition.

Bellisa. Fowler's poetic incarnation should merit her gratitude. In part, Fowler draws out the implications of 'rime sparse', the literally and symbolically fragmented nature of love rhetoric. 'diffusd in ryme and sad disordred verse...ruid rigours.../which I depaint with blodie bloodles wounds': each phrase is expressive ('diffusd' is sensitive to the expansiveness implicit in 'sparse; 'ruid' seems to plead the poverty of his language; writing is an act of cathartic purgation as the lover literally writes with the blood of his wounded heart. The frailty of 'rime sparse', the sheer meagreness of love words in both these first sonnets, will return in Fowler's ending which contends with the *vanitas* of written desire.

***Love sacred and profane*** The ending of the *Tarantula of Love* in a sense remains unwritten. Two different narratives are available depending from which manuscript of the *Tarantula* sonnets one chooses to read. The most authoritative ending may be judged that offered by the Drummond manuscript which contains a greater number of poems, and appears to be a presentation copy. Its 'resolution' rejects the adoration of Bellisa (which constitutes a false idolatry) for penitential and abject submission to God. Yet the mere fact that the *Tarantula*'s ending is nevertheless 'divided' creates an open-endedness which (it will be argued) is mirrored in Fowler's other sonnet collections that appear to be 'rewritings', extensions, or alternate versions of the *Tarantula*'s ostensible resolution of love.

The final *Tarantula* sonnet in the Hawthornden manuscript (certainly the last text inserted within the same manuscript binding) is entitled 'Contrair'[33]. It suffices as a paradoxical celebration of Bellisa's beauties in which aspects of the beloved's conventional cruelty and occasional grace are indiscriminately fused: 'sueit lovely frosts sueit kyndlye loving flames'. The consequence is a seemingly anarchic yet joyous state of irresolution:

this humeur her that humeur me dois move

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[33] f. 35v, STS p. 187; found also on f. 25r of Drummond MS, STS p. 186.

this is her state and that is myne agayne
*now louting lowe now montynge high above*
so none of vs can tell quho feils more paine (ll. 9-12)

Inevitably, the beloved's tyranny imposes 'dommage' and 'doole' (l. 14) upon the lover. The unremarkable series of 'contraries' in this sonnet therefore forms one possible ending. Its suspension of the lover in a predictably contrarious state contrasts profoundly with the greater philosophical or spiritual paradox in the Drummond manuscript, expressed in two sonnets, which both echoes and contradicts the Rime's. The 'contrair' dilemma of the last Hawthornden sonnet assumes theological import in both these texts of renunciation.

Lord quha redemes the deid and doth reviue
and stumbling things preservs fra farder fall
quha mercyeis maks the sinfull sul to liue
*and dothe to mynde na mair there guylt re[call]*
aboliss lord my faults baith great and smal
and my contempt and my offence efface
by thy sweit meiknes and thy mercye thral
*my stubborne thoughts proud rebells to thy grace*
In thy sones bloode my sinns great god displace
and giue me words to cal vpon thy name
*lord in thy wonted kyndnes me embrace*
that to this age I my these word p[ro]cla[m]e
*as I in one God euer ay haith trust*
*so ar his promeis steadfast trewe and Iust*

With sudden alacrity, this sonnet makes Bellisa obsolescent; the consolatory and redemptive role of Petrarch's earthly beloved is wholly elided from Fowler's religious vision. Secular and devotional amatory idioms are made congruent in the lover's obeisance to a God defined by 'sweit meiknes' and 'mercye'. Subjugation to Bellisa is transformed into the willing subjugation of the penitent.

Crucially, such penitence partly consists of atonement through language: instructed by God, he will enunciate 'thy name' and 'p[ro[cla[m]e' the true spiritual text rather than that text celebrating Bellisa which only profaned true, or rightful love: 'as I in one God euer ay haith trust...'. The lover seeks the sufficient verbal power and spiritual courage which will enable him to articulate God's word. He desires to become an instrument of oracular truth: 'that to this age I must these words proclaime...'. It is an ironic recollection of the earlier sonnet, 'Muse yow fair dame...': there he desired that he may 'to this age proclame' love for Bellisa[34]. The couplet of this, the ultimate, sonnet represents the true divine 'text of love'.

This process of 'rewriting' (the lover appeals, 'giue me words') is also a process of imagistic 'reclarification': Christ's sacrifice ('In thy sones bloode...'), for example, recalls the earlier, frequent portraits of the literally martyred lover[35]. Spiritually, it is a process of effacement and wilful forgetfulness: 'doth to mynde na mair.../my offence efface'.

Eternal lord God of immortal glore
though I in love my self and sense have lost
by vainlie vowing quhome now I do abhor,
with sighs and teares causd baithe by flams and frost
though soverene prence I have in playning most
bewaild my panis bot not bewaild my sinn
and so maid sad in me thy holie ghost
yet drawe my saule from hell that thense doth rin
this O Sueit lord to grant I will begin,
that I have blaikned beutyes lovd and servd
and hethe adord bot outward bark and skin
and earthlie things to heu[n]lye hes preferd
yet let thy mercie the to mercie move,
and off my mortal mak immortal love[36]

In Petrarch's sense, the lover desires 'a più beata spene/mirando 'l ciel'[37]. Again, there is reflection upon the text of love, and the profanity (or vanity) of the lover's preceding secular hymn of love: 'I haif in playning most/bewaild my panis bot not bewaild my sinn...'. The lover's forgetfulness of God is also here imbued with the implication of original sin. While the other sonnet briefly permitted the alliance of secular and sacred language, love words are here exposed for their hollowness and near absurdity: 'by vainlie vowing quhom now I do abhor...'.

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[34] Drummond MS, f. 27r; STS p. 191, l. 4.

[35] Compare Petrarch's allusion to Christ's sacrifice in the Rime 357.

[36] Drummond MS f. 36r, STS, p. 206.

[37] Canzone 264, ll. 48-9; 'a more blessed hope by gazing at the heavens' (Durling, p. 428).

As the rhetoric of desire is condemned for its duplicity, so is its object, Bellisa, similarly indicted. Fowler's lover has sacriligously adored beauty which is merely external. 'I haif blaikned beutyes love and served... ': glorification of an idolatrous image is here strikingly denounced (true beauty is 'blaikned', tainted by the moral colour of corruption, and stripped bare to 'bark and skin'. This has been compared to the Neoplatonic theory of divine beauty classically expounded by Bembo in Il Cortegiano: 'He turns within himself, as Bembo advised the courtier, and suffers a period of doubt...The outcome, however, is that transference of love from lady to God promised in The Courtier...'[38].

> ...doeth verie sildome an ill soule dwell in a beawtifull bodye.And therefore is the outwwarde beawtie a true signe of the inwarde goodnes, and in bodies thys comelynesse is imprynted morew and lesse (as it were) for a marke of the soule...
>
> ...the Courtier by the helpe of reason muste full and wholy call backe again the coveting of the body to beawtye alone, and (in what he can) beehoulde it in it self simple and pure, and frame it within his imagination sundred from all matter, and so make it frindlye and lovinge to hys soule... [39]
>
> *Ora se le bellezze corporali che vere bellezze non sono, ma simulacri e sembianze, o più tosto ombre di bellezze, cagionano negli alti cuori e spiriti generosi cotanti effetti, ed hanno quaggiuso sotali privilegi, she avemo da credere, altissimi ed ingegnossimi ascoltatori, che abbiano in sè e producano in noi le bellezze dell'anime, le quali tanto più degne sono e più perfette di quelle dei corpi, quanto le terrene cose e transitorie delle celesti e sempiterne men perfette e men degne sono?*[40]

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[38] Jack, Italian Influence, p. 85.

[39] *Il Libro del Cortegiano* trans. The Book of the Courtier by Thomas Hoby ed. Virigina Cox (Everyman, 1994), pp. 347, 356. For original see Baldassare Castiglione, Il Libro del Cortegiano (Venice, 1541), ff. 190v-192v.

[40] Benedetto Varchi, cited in Nesca A. Robb, Neoplatonism of the Italian Renaissance (London, 1935), pp. 185-6. For the immanence of divine in corporeal beauty see also Leone Ebreo, Dialogi di Amore (Venice, 1541); Marsilio Ficino sopralo amore o ver' Convito di Platone (Florence, 1544); Giordano Bruno, *De gli eroici furori*: Giordano Bruno's The Heroic Frenzies trans. Paul Eugene Memmo (University of Carolina Press, 1964), pp. 115, 153, 212. For succinct accounts of varieties of Renaissance Neoplatonism see Platonism and the English Imagination ed. Anna Baldwin and Sarah Hutton (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); Ficino and Renaissance Neoplatonism ed. Konran Eisenbichler and Olga Zoizi Pugliese (Toronto: Dovehouse Editions, 1986); R.T. Wallis,

But in renouncing external beauty, the body's outer vestment, Fowler arguably precludes the Neoplatonic resolution which assigns a divinity to the material beauty of the female beloved. Based on the reading of those final Drummond sonnets given above, it may be contended that no such felicitous resloution occurs: sensual love is condemned per se by the failure 'to see beauty imaginatively in the light of its ascendant possibilities'[41].

Crucially (if the Rime is used as a further comparison), Bellisa does not serve as the source of relevation. The desire for divine reconciliation is not, as partly conveyed in the Petrarchan text, impelled by the desire either to be united with Bellisa (for in the *Tarantula* the beloved does not die), nor to purge that desire and so render it apposite for a morally sanctified beloved:

*O felice quel dì che del terreno*
*carcere uscendo, lasci rotta et sparta*
*questa mia grava et frale et mortal gonna*
*et da sì folte tenebre mi parta,*
*volando tanto su nel bel sereno*
*ch' i'veggia il mio Signore et la mia donna!*[42]

*questo bel variar fu la radice*
*di ma salute, ch'altramente era ita*[43]

In a phrase of extraordinary plangency, Fowler's penitent confesses to God that his 'sin' has 'maid sad in me thy holie ghost'. God is now internalised (compare the familiar conceit of the beloved inscribed on the heart within), addressed as if He were a lover betrayed. Rather than anticipating salvation, Fowler's lover fears

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Neoplatonism (London: Duckworth, 1972); Sears Jayne, 'Ficino and the Platonism of the English Renaissance', *Comparative Literature* 4 (1952), pp. 214-38.

[41] Robb, *op. cit.*, p. 210, who also observes that Renaissance commentators of the Rime frequently acknowledge the morally redemptive quality of the love for Laura (Bruno exceptionally classifies it as *amor volgare, animale e bestiale*' (p. 173).

[42] Sonnet 349, ll. 9-14: 'O happy that day when, going forth from my earthly prison, may leave broken and scattered this heavy, frail, and mortal garment of mine, and may depart from such thick shadows, flying so far up into the beautiful clear sky that I may see my Lord and my lady!' (Durling, p. 546)

[43] Sonnet 351, ll. 13-14: 'that lovely variety was the root of my salvation, which otherwise was gone' (Durling, p. 548).

imminent damnation: 'drawe my soul from hell that thense doth rin'. Earthly love is not granted transfiguring power. Salvation is only imminent in the final sonnet rather than attained or assured, contingent upon the lover's articulation, and anticipated revelation, of the correct words of love.

Arguably, that aspect of the Rime *in morte* with which the *Tarantula* has greatest affinity is the lover's anguished moments of spiritual crisis:

*Questi m'à fatto men amare Dio*
*ch' i' non deveva, et men curar me stesso;*
*per una donna ò messo*
*egualmente in non cale ogni pensero.*
*Di ciò m'è stato consiglier sol esso,*
*sempr' aguzzando il giovenil desio*
*a l'empia cote, ond' io*
*sperai riposo al suo giogo aspro et fero*[44]

*Omai son stanco, et mia vita reprendo*
*di tanto error che di vertute il seme*
*à quasi spento; et le mie parti estreme,*
*alto Dio, a te devotamente rendo*
*pentito et tristo de'miei sì spesi anni*
*che spender si deveano in miglior uso,*
*in cercar pace et in fuggir affanni*[45]

Petrarch's lover, as Fowler's, seeks the spiritual absolution that will enable him to receive God's grace: 'soccorri a l'alma disviata et frale/e 'l suo defetto di tua grazia adempi'[46]. Both lovers lament the mortality (the flawed earthliness) of their object of desire: 'mortal bellezza, atti et parole m'ànno/tutta ingombrata l'alma'[47]. The vanity of human love is indicted with particular moral vehemence in Petrarch's dialogue with his spiritual confessor, Augustine, in the Secretum. The moral impulse of Fowler's sonnet in contempt of beauty's 'outuard bark' is fully glossed by Augustine's chastisement of Petrarch for 'gazing only at the outward envelope of the body, you consider not that the eyes of the mind tell you how vile and plain it is within....the stormy course of life itself ought to show you how transient and perishing that flower of beauty is...'[48]. Secular desire, an idolatrous passion, obstructs knowledge of God, 'the vision of the Divine...'. Both Fowler and Petrarch's lovers have sinned in loving 'the created more than the Creator'[49]. Yet the *Tarantula*, unlike the Rime but imbued with the doctrinal and moral rigour of Augustine's counsel, forbids Bellisa any mitigating or intercessionary role.

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[44] Canzone 360, ll. 31-8: 'He [Love] has made me love God less than I ought and be less concerned for myself; for a lady I have equally disregarded all cares. In that, he alone has been my counselor, always sharpening my youthful desire with his wicked whetstone, and I hoped for rest under his harsh fierce yoke' (Durling, p. 562).

[45] Sonnet 364, ll. 5-8: 'Now I am weary and reproach my life for so much error, which has almost extinguished the seed of virtue; and I devoutly render my last parts, high God, to You, repentant and sorrowing for many years spent thus, which ought to have been better used, in seeking peace and fleeing troubles' (Durling, p. 572).

[46] Sonnet 365, ll. 7-8: 'help my strayed frail soul and fill out with your grace all that she lacks' (Durling, p. 365).

[47] Canzone 366, ll. 85-6: 'mortal beauty, acts, and words have burdened all my soul...' (Durling, p. 580).

The ending of the *Tarantula* offered by the Drummond manuscript places the preceding part of the sequence in ironic light. The reading of a sonnet sequence *per se* is founded on accretive ironies and recapitulations[50]. Fowler's *Tarantula* anticipates the ironic interpetative process of Drummond's amatory sequence in Poems (1616), conceived in two parts (a conscious echo of Petrarch's *in viva et in morte* division). There the full significance of the first sequence is contingent upon the second: the sonnets written before Auristella's death are made deeply ironic by a reading of the palinodic second half which transforms earlier apprehensions of the lover's death through anguished love, and of pervasive mutability, into a travesty of the later, greater tragedy (Auristella's death). Fowler's sequence contains a similar, ironic 'redoubling' effect. The lover's final penitential submission displaces his earlier apprehensions of fragility, and Bellisa's threat of death: for example, 'I see my wrak, and authours I embrace'; 'Alas quhat paynes and plagues ar these I prove/to purchas death for lyfe in this my love'[51]. Fowler's lover frequently plays the role of the *amant martyr*, crucified by love who 'saws his breirs and thornes within my hart', and in whom is inscribed in blood 'her fatal name'[52]. The lover's proverbial death is the subject of facetious conceit (as a welcome respite from her rancour) but on occasion is enforced with greater subtlety and plangency. The mourning lover within a pastoral landscape seeks 'ease' for 'disparing saules in love'; 'Within this mortal vayle I coverd beare/a solid doubt of an unsolid stey'[53].

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[48] Petrarch's Secret or the Soul's Conflict with Passion. Three dialogues between himself and S. Augustine translated by William H. Draper (Westport: Hyperion Press, 1978), p. 55.

[49] *op. cit.*, p. 124, which are translated into the sins of God-forgetfulness snd self-forgetfulness.

[50] See Carol Thomas Neely, 'The Structure of English Renaissance Sonnet Sequences', *ELH* 45 (1978), pp. 359-89.

In the sonnet, 'I hope to sie sweet saule at my returne', the lover's possession of life is commensurate with Bellisa's 'fairnes', the resonantly 'heuenlye coleur' of her 'angel face' (l. 2); her beauty endures while he is subject to 'chainge..of haire and hew' (as in Petrarch, a visible sign of his mortality). Yet by the *Tarantula*'s end, it is a purely spiritual death which imperils the lover.

Throughout the *Tarantula*, love is conventionally represented as an aberration of reason ('yea senses all my reason dois destroy'[54]). Early in the sequence, secular desire is evocatively treated as a lapse of 'faithe': a faith which is undenominated but by its very presence evokes religiosity. The opening quatrain of the latter 'sense' and 'reasoun' sonnet, by allegorically recounting how 'love' and 'doole' caused the lover to stray, recalls the metaphor by which Petrarch's lover errs: the aberrant paths which Petrarch's lover takes despite Laura's symbolising the rightful path to heaven. The lover's confession of his fallen 'empyre' of faith and reason implies that he seeks to make reparation. Yet in the couplet it is Bellisa, and not God, who is sought:

> ...all is fallen that I buildt by faithe
> quho sall then drye my tearis quhairin I bathe
> quho shal my harte deburden of his grief
> and tak from senses the empyre they hathe
> quho to my schaking feares sal giue releif

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[51] 'Ten thousand wayes love hes enflamed my harte', Drummond MS, f. 8v, STS p. 150, l. 11, Hawthornden MS f. 23r, STS p. 151 (also a cancelled version on f. 33r where 'causer' replaces 'authours'); 'Euen as the painfull pylot day and night', Drummond MS f. 17r, STS p. 169, ll. 13-14.

[52] 'The day is done the Sunn doth ells declyne', f. 11v, STS p. 156, l. 13; 'Suld I not heate these harmefull hands and blame', Drummond MS f. 9r, STS p. 152, l. 4.

[53] Drummond MS f. 21r, STS p. 181, l. 14; Drummond MS f. 20v, STS p. 180, l. 1-2.

[54] 'I tred the futstepps of a thorted gate', Drummond MS, f. 13v, l. 7, STS p. 160, l. 7.

quho quho but shee to quhome the gods hes geven
to be the pryde of earthe as pompe of heaven[55]

In this appeal, sacred and profane senses are simultaneously evoked and held in precarious tension: 'faithe' may equally signify the lover's belief in Bellisa's underlying mitigant grace as religious faith[56]. Bellisa's apparent divinity in the final line is curiously undercut by the terms 'pryde' and 'pompe', both of which suggest 'gaudiness' or showy insubstantiality[57]. She is proclaimed as the 'heauen' in which he may anchor[58]; even glimpsed in heaven; apostrophised as 'Deare Sant on earthe and yet of heavenly race'. In the final two renunciatory sonnets, Bellisa is wholly acquitted of any redemptive grace. The divinity, or unearthly power, which Bellisa is at moments granted earlier in the sequence may now be regarded as ironic. As the ultimate sonnets denounced the hollowness of love words, so these eulogies of Bellisa are offered in ironic retrospect as mere words. Her spurious divinity is epitomised in a sonnet not encompassed in the sequence itself but perhaps a later addition:

Bellisa pansiue satt and in her hands
more whyte then snaw, did hald the holye booke,
and reiding that which shee weill vnderstands
devoltlye wt her eyes did thairin looke
and quhils her heide was boued her brest shee strooke
and with a godlye and a gudlye zeale
pourd furth her sighs of vapours ful and smoke...[59].

Here, her 'godlines' appears a posture, and is imbued with eroticism.

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[55] *ibid.*, ll. 8-14.

[56] As in 'Bellisa faire as I am bound I byde', Drummond MS f. 26r, p. 190, l. 9: 'my faithe lyk to your hyde'; also 'gif mortal prayers move immortal pouers', f. 5r, STS p. 147, l. 7: 'who never in my faithe did fant or fayle'.

[57] Compare 'O of my barren muse the birthfull seed', Drummond MS f. 27v, STS p. 191, l. 13: 'o glore of earthe and pryde of euery place'.

[58] 'Schip brokken men whome stormye seas sore toss', l. 14; 'Tuix heavenes and her whome onlye I adore', Drummond MS f. 33v, STS p. 199, l. 14: 'convert his eyes to heaven and sie hir thaire'; 'Pryde of my spreits and brightnes of my eyes', Drummond MS f. 2v, STS p. 140 and Hawthornden f. 27r and f. 51v (the latter a fair copy), STS p. 141, l. 6 (in the Drummond version on f. 27r, 'holye' is replaced by 'heauenly'.

[59] Hawthornden MS f. 25v, STS p. 210, ll. 1-6.

This evocative alliance between sacred and profane senses (whereby one can signify the other) can be linked to the greater, underlying preoccupation of the 'Tarantula': that desire is nurtured by 'love' and not 'lust'[60]. The lyric, entitled 'A Dreame', pays homage to this idea of illusion: consummation of his desire ('conqueist' of Bellisa) is dreamt of[61]. Fulfilment is tantamount to imagined subjugation: 'is this the Muskett mouthe of maist sueit scent...ar these the hands proud rebells to desyre'. As in 'sleip and dreames' he embraces Bellisa 'in my armes', so too is another illusion dissolved: 'is this the breist quhair chastetie is schrynde'. Bellisa's refusal to consent, on the premise that love is made 'sweitar' by non-realisation, is partly associated (in the fiction of the male poet) with preserving the illusion of her purity. At the heart of Fowler's sequence (as in the Bannatyne sequence of lyrics) lies the illusory fiction of the feminine. The beloved is not a paragon of virtue but reveals the male lover's capacity for sinfulness: 'thus do I see approche my fatal houers/quhair loss and shame is myne and *blame* al yours...'[62].

The *Tarantula*, for all its supposed evocations of classical Petrarchistic motif and Neoplatonic transmutation, is a dark sequence. Fowler's unusual title itself seems to condemn desire from the outset. Not only does the 'tarantula' serve as the source of metaphorical and imagistic *entrelacement* throughout the sequence but is a striking conceit in itself: the idea of 'love' is yoked to that of ugly, fearful deathliness. The tarantula conceit is not Fowler's invention: the most probable source is Il Cortegiano[63]. It is also bound up with the common definition of love as an illness; while the association between the poison of desire and of the spider may also be derived from the etymological association between Venus and venom which Bembo uses to prove that 'love is bitterness' [64]. Love is also made venomous in a conceit in the Rime to which Fowler may allude:

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[60] Drummond MS f. 4r, STS p. 144; Hawthornden MS f. 33v, p. 145, l. 8.

[61] Drummond MS f. 12r, STS p. 157.

[62] 'Full of desyre bot fraught agane with feare', Drummond MS f. 23v, STS p. 183, ll. 13-14.

[63] See Il Cortegiano, *op. cit.*, ff. 6r-v: noted by Purves, op. cit., p. cxxi, and Jack, *MLR*, *op. cit.*; *Purves feels that the title* 'suggests the extravagances of Marino and other Neapolitan poets of the seventeenth century, and is often absurdly out of keeping with the matter of the poems' (cxx-i). The STS Notes suggest that 'the pest' refers to a particular plague of 1585 (p. 25).

I have no feare of a pestiferous breathe
sen of love force I feil the full effect
whoe in my breist his poyson sparpled hathe...
for so lovs venim dois on me encroache..[65]

'This vyld pest' is also the cause of Bellisa's temporary separation from the lover. She herself is also endowed with the power to kill, her eyes 'pouring poysoun sprinkleth oh all quhaire...'. Love and death are considered as mutual states in one sonnet, the 'flight' of the heart and the soul in search of refuge:

I equal absence loss[e]s with deaths agayne
for quhen by her we mortallye lye slayne
to the immortall thrones our soule dois flie
euen so my harte in this impatient payne
abandons this my corss and fleyes to thee
deathe maks us leave the derest things we see
this pest depryvs me of your heunlye face...[66]

Love is already overshadowed by mortality in the *Tarantula* before the renunciation *per se* occurs. In Fowler's other sequences, this constitutes the beloved's only flaw. As there are other versions of Bellisa, so another, different rewriting or version of the Rime's ending can be perceived.

***Love and mortality*** *'Morte ebbe invidia al mio felice stato'; 'Or ài fatto l'estremo de tua possa,/o crudel Morte...or di bellezza il fiore/e 'l lume ài spento et chiuso in poca fossa'*[67]. The series of sonnets which share the drama of the beloved's death (entitled 'of Death', if judged by the 'the tabill' of contents in the Hawthornden manuscript[68])

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[64] Gli Asolani, trans. Rudolf B. Gottfried (Indiana University Press, 1954), p. 79.

[65] Drummond MS f. 14r, STS p. 161, ll. 7-9, 12.

[66] Drummond MS f. 13r, STS p. 160, ll. 4-10.

[67] Rime, sonnet 315, l. 12: 'Death envied my happy state' (Durling p. 494); sonnet 326, ll. 1-4: 'Now you have done your utmost, O cruel Death...now you have extinguished the flower and the light of beauty and closed it up in a little grave' (Durling, p. 514).

[68] MS 2063, ff. 253r-v; STS pp. 333-4.

'reconceive' or creatively engage with the Petrarchan consolation for the beloved's death (crystallised in the Rime 359, and the third of Petrarch's Trionfi on death). Fowler's 'sequence'[69] assumes or recreates Petrarch's narrative at the moment of Laura's death, sustained until her visionary return and the vital moment of colloquy between poet and beloved[70]. Such a narrative conveys a process of grief and mourning which the beloved's manifestation seeks to annul.

O eyne of myne myne eyne poure furth your teares
gusch furth in floods to waill my wretched state
bedew my cheiks in quhome no Ioy appeirs
sen all my mirth hes yeild wtout debait
to vapourd sights and thow o atropos
vnfreind to hir and to to friend to me
my lyflye threid w$^t$ speid in sunder loss,
dissolve this corpss quhilk languish after thee[71]

In the baroquely macabre 'Elagie' (the first text) and in the succeeding sonnet, the familiarly ironic paradox recurs: love is a form of death for the unrequited lover, yet the actual or literal death of the beloved is the supreme diminishment of such figurative assertions. The ironically prophetic quality of love language which both the *Tarantula* and Drummond's Poems exploit is again exposed:

for love by cairs my youtheid hes defaitt
*and maed me oft for death to call and crye*
preserving it before that rage and hate
by w$^{ch}$ my hairt in burning fyre did frye...' (my emphasis)[72]

The beloved's death bereaves 'this lothsome earth hir grace and glore heirbye' (l. 11), an echo of Rime 338: 'Pianger l'aer et la terra e 'l mar devrebbe/l'uman legnaggio, che senz' ella è quasi/senza fior prato...'[73]. The admission of line 10, 'that loue hes lost the starne off his Impyre', delicately achieves a momentous sense of elision, and of an exalted notion of love that is suddenly dethroned. The poem's conclusion is richly equivocal: 'more than love death hes me wrought *disgrace*'. Why should the beloved's death confer a kind of infamy on him? Does 'disgrace' refer to the lover's previously held belief or philosophy of love that now appears foolishly fallible?

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[69] The sequential movement through these nine poems is stongly implied but not necessarily endorsed by the manuscript arrangement: 'Elagie', f. 38r, 'My witts and thochts and 'A Dreame' on f. 38b; ff. 39r-v introduce a new manuscript binding with the text of 'cap i' of the 'Triumph of Love'; ff. 40r-41v 'Alread those'; ff. 42r-v blank; f. 43r psalm 129; ff. 43r-44r blank; 44v-45v 'ffor his valentyne'; then on a new manuscript binding f. 46r 'Dial' and 'renponit', and then order in STS as in MS to f. 48v.

[70] Drummond in Poems (1616) also engages with this moment.

[71] VIII, 'Complaint', ll. 25-32; STS, p. 241.

[72] f. 38r, STS p. 234, ll. 5-8.

This closing enigma may be 'answered' by the third sonnet, 'a dreame', the Petrarchan consolation *en miniature*. Bellisa (as does Laura in the Rime) speaks directly (Fowler's repetitious phrasing emphasises her presence rhetorically): 'Can these availl...[the lover's 'sobbs'] can these availl to rander me my lyfe?' (ll. 5-6). The beloved urges that he should celebrate her release from an earthly condition marked only by 'stryfe'

I ioy my ioyes wt the celestiall troupe
wtin my grave then troubill me na more
raise vpp thy spreits, and longer do not droupe
thy faithfull hairt dois weill my death decore[74]

"Che val," dice, "a saver chi si sconforta?
Non pianger più, non m' ài tu panto assai?
ch' or fostu vivo com' io non son morta!"[75].

Ironically, the ultimate poem of Fowler's sequence (in which the beloved appears a second time) disobeys this desire to be 'troubill[d]...na more'. There, her death is 'decored' by the lover's poetry which achieves what is here deemed by her an impossibility: 'to rander my lyfe'. The ultimate recompense or consolation of this miniature sequence is discovered to be poetry, and not the Rime's all-embracing religiosity.

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[73] ll. 9-11: 'The air and the earth and the sea ought to weep for the lineage of man, for without her it is like a meadow without flowers...' (Durling, p. 534).

[74] f. 38v, STS p. 235, ll. 9-12.

[75] Rime sonnet 342, ll. 12-14: '"What good," she says, "is knowledge to one who despairs? Weep no longer, have you not wept enough for me? For would that you were as much alive as I am not dead!"' (Durling, p. 538).

The grief wrought by 'Cruall death' can only be assuaged by 'writing', and by reparation of the lovers' bond ('hir love wt myne so coupled did remaine/hir hairt wt myne so hairtfully conIoynde'[76]. Remembrance is an act of fidelity, a tribute to the dead beloved: 'hir curtesie dois crave/that I suld haif hir lasting in my thought'[77]. The beloved implies in 'a dreame' that the very act of remembrance is sufficient to 'decore' her death[78]. Their valediction is tender: unlike the poem's Rime archetype, the beloved embraces him:

adieu my loue receave off me this kiss ,
for faith nor love no gretar I culd wiss[79]

Bellisa's consolatory gift to the lover is merely dreamt of: the sensual intimacy thus celebrated is merely an illusion.

This sonnet nevertheless embodies a degree of repose before the lover rails against Bellisa's unjust death. The two subsequent poems are a 'dialogue with death' just as the preceding sonnet was a colloquy with the beloved; in each text, 'love and death'[80] are dramatised:

Thow Cruall death thow noysome plage and pest
quhilk wt thy dairt my derest hairt hes slaine
quhy spairs thow me quhase bodye is adrest
to tak thy straiks to frie me of my paine[81]

Heart/body, sense/spirit: mutuality is expressed as the inseparable identity of the lovers, and is invoked in the verbal symmetries of ll. 5-6: 'hir love $w^t$ myne so coupled did remaine/hir hairt wt myne so hairtfully conIoynde...'. Yet this intimation of quasi-Neoplatonic oneness is confronted by the reductively literal voice of Death's 'Ansuer': 'thought hairts were one *yet* bodyis war disjoyn...' (l. 8, my emphasis). Given the irreducibility of death, the lover is condemned 'to sing a suanlyk songe' (l. 14). In response, the couplet of the companion sonnet is a defiant gesture. The act of mourning (his tears) will efface the 'cruelty' of her loss: 'quhair I have plast a flood out from myne [ene]/to drowne the death that hes so cruell bene'. The power of elegy is rendered literally.

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[76] 'Dial', f. 46r, STS p. 236, ll. 5-6.

[77] 'renponit' (possibly error for 'responsit'), f. 46r, ll. 5-6.

[78] The term is richly evocative: mourning becomes a kind of honorary tribute or 'ornamentation' (literally, as regards poetry).

[79] f. 38v, STS p. 235, ll. 13-14.

[80] f. 38v, STS p. 234, l. 2

[81] f. 46r, STS p. 236, ll. 1-4.

Yet such belligerence is diminished by the next sonnet which depicts the grieving lover in danger of his own dissolution: 'my daisled eyes by sorrow ar o$^{r}$syld...'[82]. Its last quatrain confesses the lover's loss of faith in the beloved's immortality, her ability to transcend death: 'quhen as I thought the graces of my dame/and heuinly port might served for releif...' (ll. 10-11). In both the Trionfi and Rime, the knowledge of mutability is integral to the lover's spiritual 'education':

bot now I see the errour of my mynde
sen farest things to wrak ar maist inclynde (ll. 13-14)

*.....Morte fura*
*prima i migliori et lascia star i rei*
*questa aspettata al regno delli dei*
*cosa bella mortal passa et non dura*[83]

*"Se già è gran tempo fastidita et lassa*
*se' di quel falso dolce fuggitivo*
*che 'l mondo traditor può dare altrui,*
*a che ripon' più la speranza in lui?...*[84]

That 'farest things to wark ar maist inclynde' is a maxim reiterated in the first line of the following poem (he effect is *almost* one of bathetic *naivete*: 'ways me alas that saying is to trew'[85].

The sonnet depicts a lover in full possession of orthodox wisdom, and a female beloved who, like Laura, redirects the lover's thoughts to God:

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[82] f. 46r, STS p. 238, l. 3.

[83] Rime sonnet 248, ll. 5-8: 'Death steals first the best and leaves the wicked: awaited in the kingdom of the blessed, this beautiful mortal thing passes and does not endure' (Durling, p. 410).

[84] Sonnet 264, ll. 27-30: '"If you have already long been tired and disgusted by that false fleeting sweetness which the treacherous world gives, why do you place your hopes in it any longer?..."' (Durling, p. 426).

[85] f. 46r, STS p. 239, l. 2.

O blissed luk my spreit no mair in trance
nor into dumps contenew sal thairfore
*God hes her taine in mercye not in yre*
*that vnto him my thoughts may all aspyre* (ll. 11-14)

This is the conventional petrarchan text which must be learnt.

Yet Fowler's sequence does not end on this transformative moment but modulates into a meditation on poetry. Although the Christian Neoplatonic resolution is so clearly adopted here, the subsequent 'Complaint' and 'fantasie' seem to qualify in different ways its absoluteness. The 'Complaint' (the eighth text) seems inappositely placed: rather than sustaining the divine contemplation, the lover addresses the changed 'tennor' of his poetry, now lamentation as opposed to the celebration implicit in the previous sonnet:

O mournfull muse Melpomene bewaill
o mournfull muse lament hir loss and death
with trikling teares thought they not muchte prevail
In this behalf agane to vitall breath
hir to restore quhome atropos hes kild
and cutt the threid quhilk did hir lyfe prolong
yit lat your nots w$^{t}$ sorrow fully fild
at hir disease resound this woefull song[86]

The sudden apostrophe to the beloved in line 53 (death, then 'love' gain addressed) confesses a movingly undefined frailty on the lover's part; the effect is intensely poignant, an 'interlude' of rhetorical quietness.

thought thow my deire heirby sall rype not fruit
thought thow my deire exspect not such of me
yit sall our love rest fixed in this ruit
and all wayes budd in memorie of the (ll. 53-6)

Might the 'ruit' not signify his poetry - the 'doolfull songs' of the final text, earlier 'the swanlyk songe' - through which the beloved will live and flower? Poetry, commemorative of her name, seeks a sufficiency of its own.

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[86] f. 48r, ll. 1-8, STS p. 240.

althocht hir corpss interred be in clay
and I w$^{t}$ sobbs the echo off her name
sal still resond till death my lyfe assay (ll. 70-2)

Accordingly, it is the enduringly resilient or immemorial quality of poetry (and of the figure of the poet), and not love *per se*, which the ultimate sonnet, the beloved's visionary return, affirms.

Thus as I wrett w$^{t}$ full Intent to end
these doolfull songs which dois hir death deplore
me thought I saw down from the heavens discend
that peirles perle quhome I in hairt adore
In courtlye grace in semlye schaw and glore
In heuinlye [fr]ame, and beauty w$^{t}$out blame
with all these gfts which she posest before
most lovingly to call me be my name

Despite her 'heuinlye [fr]ame', she appears essentially untransformed, her beauty neither beatified or altered but simply as 'she posest before'. Fowler's *donna angelicata* therefore retains vestiges of her earthliness, unlike Laura who returns in sonnet 359 of the Rime as a *spirito ignudo* who assures Petrarch that she will appear immeasurably beautiful through offering him the possibility of their mutual 'salute'[87]. Fowler's manifestation of the beloved therefore fulfils Petrarch's yearning to contemplate the dead Laura's beauty: her 'forma miglior che vive ancora/et vivrà sempre su ne l'alto cielo,/di sue bellezze ogni or piu m'innamora...quale ella è oggi e 'n qual parte dimora,/qual a vedere il suo leggiadro velo'[88].

Fowler's beloved offers another consolation: not that he must patiently wait for the death which will return him to herself and God, but that she can 'name', l. 8, the lover as poet (the emergent identity of Fowler, the historical poet, here exemplifies the fragile balance of the lyric ego between actual writer and invented construct):

O *fouler* o immortall be thy fame
Lat never dame thy honest suit disdaine

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[87] Canzone 359, lines 60-6.

[88] Sonnet 319, ll. 9-11: 'her better form, which still lives and shall always live up in the highest hevaen, makes me ever more in love with her beauties...what she is like today and where she dwells, and what her lovely veil is to see' (Durling, p. 498).

thy machth[l]es faith of trewth deservs the same
*though thow my loue by death did not obtea[ne]*
thow death hes kild thy verse dois mak me liue
and wt thy name my fame sal ay reviue (ll. 9-14)

Poetry promises eternity for its subject, the *memoria eterna* of which Petrarch assures Laura[89]. In Fowler's sonnet, the task of writing about desire paradoxically allows that desire belated realisation ('though thow my loue by death did not obteane../thow death hes kild'). Such an ending may be seen as triumphant (not least wryly self-referential). There is none of the self-abasement which ends the *Tarantula*, nor its sense of the sheer futility of love words. The lovers are reunited by (and enshrined in) language. This poetic communion is desired but unattained by Petrarch:

*Pur vivendo veniasi ove deposto*
*in quelle caste orecchie avrei, parlando,*
*de' miei dolci pensier l'antica soma,*
*et ella avrebbe a me forse resposto*
*qualche snta parola sospirando,*
*cngiati i volti et l'una et l'altra coma*[90]

Since Fowler's sequence is threaded through with Petrarchan allusions (both implicit and overt), one may conceive that this poetic and loving reunion after the beloved has died invokes the myth of Orpheus and Eurydice myth as sonnet 332 of the Rime. There, as in Fowler's sonnet, the affective power of language reclaims the beloved from death: 'Or avess' io un sì pietoso stile/che Laura mia potesse torre a Morte/come Euridice Orfeo...[91]. Fowler's beloved grants her lover the recognition which Petrarch seeks from Laura: 'Se sì alto pon gir mie stanche rime/ch' agiungan lei ch' è fuor d;ira et di pianto/et fa 'l Ciel or di sue bellezze lieto,/ben riconoscerà 'l mutato stile'[92].

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[89] Sonnet 327, l. 14.

[90] Sonnet 317, ll. 9-14: 'If only she had lived we would have come to where, speaking, I could have put down in those chaste ears the ancient burden of my sweet thoughts. And she would perhaps have answered me with some holy word, sighing, though our faces were changed, and the hair of both' (Durling, p. 496).

[91] ll. 49-50: 'Would I had so sorrowful a style that I could win my Laura back from Death as Orpheus won his Eurydice...' (Durling, p. 526).

[92] *ll. 61-4:* ' *If they can go so high my weary rhymes as to reach her who is beyond sorrow and* weeping and with her beauties now makes Heaven glad, she will surely recognise my changed style' (Durling, p. 528).

This sequence authenticates the role of poetry, love words, rather than condemning its profanity as in the *Tarantula*, or the Rime. Desire remains confined to the earthly, and so Fowler's imitation of the Rime's tragedy of the beloved's death omits the transmutation of secular into divine love. Unlike Laura, Fowler's beloved does not look back to see if the lover is following her in the literal and contemplative ascent 'al Ciel'[93]. Yet what persists is a characteristically Fowlerian residual pathos. This joyful vindication (in its simplest terms of love and poetry over death) is merely declared 'a fantasie'. Though Renaissance psychology endows dreams with prophetic truth, the sense remains of a wholly *imagined* power conferred on (Fowler's) words[94]. The beloved also appears recreated, as beautiful as she was in imagination. Beauty (imagined beauty), as in Petrarch, becomes 'the measure of the transience of all mortal life'[95]. As a 'fantesie', it may conceal how irrevocably the dead beloved remains (in the sense of Rime 335 and 336) 'out of sight' but within the lover's memory[96].

Arguably, Fowler's most typical 'rewriting' of the Petrarchan consolation (the beloved as the root of salvation) denies that both lover and beloved are capable of attaining a state of grace. The fallenness of earthly love, so compellingly drawn in the *Tarantula*'s close, is echoed in another, more disparate miniature sonnet sequence[97]. In the sonnet 'Ansuer' ('Gif that my thoughts in loving yow'), the lover attests 'affectioun trew': if he has violated the sanctity of their love,

then lett al plags vpon me wrechte insew
and let me ay heirafter be disdaind
Let thir myne eyne by blindnes so be staind
quhilk did abeus your sparks and heuinly hew
and lett my toung sa falcefyd and faind
serve to none vse bot ay my faults to rew

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[93] Sonnet 346, l. 13 ('mirando s' io la seguo, et par ch'aspetti', l. 12).

[94] The poem closes with the beloved's words; the lover/poet is silenced.

[95] Sara Sturm-Maddox, Petrarch's Laurels (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1992), p. 104.

[96] 'ma tropp'era alta al mio peso terrestre/et poco poi n'uscì in tutto di vista', sonnet 335, ll. 9-10: 'but she was too high for my terrestrial weight, and a little after she went entirely out of my sight' (Durling, p. 532).

[97] ff. 47r-v seem to consitute a definitive sequence.

And let my hairt become a seat of hell,
and alls my soul the scourger off hir sell[98]

If he is unfaithful, recrimination (recalling the *Tarantula*'s) will consist of self-chastisement. Punishment is a kind of spiritual self-flagellation.

The intense preoccupation with an *inward* fall from grace is woven through these sonnets which mirror the *Tarantula*'s 'dialogue' with Petrarchan penitential love:

In by way roadds I ran a restles race
as best besemd my vaine vnlauful lust,
quhair I haue found long pains with cares unlust
and feading ioyes my pleasours to displace
But nou the glass of sin before my face
presents my eyes the schaps of uorldly trust
that trusting to the same confes I must
that verteu vyce and errour reuth doth chase[99]

The final quatrain and couplet envisage, as if apocalyptically, the lover's demise ('my yeres sall showe the horrour of my sin/and dayes that rests the errour of my hart'[100]); he shall make atonement, or 'washe his wounds', in teares which will inscribe his 'Smartt'. Fowler's powerful communication of moral and religous imperfection bears comparison to the strain of anguished, introspective devotional lyric epitomised (in contemporary Scottish terms) by Mary and Montgomerie's poetry. Yet Fowler's self-reflections in the 'glass of sin' occur (as in Alexander Scott) in texts ostensibly devoted to the subject of secular love.

Fowler's amatory poetry seldom achieves continuity (as, paradigmatically, in Petrarch) between each state of loving; a profound, unbreachable division between the sacred and the profane is constantly imposed, and rarely transcended. Neoplatonic and Petrarchan elements are present but are qualified or rewritten with consequent emphasis upon the lover's inward frailty, and the diminished possibility of redemption. In a different sense, this dissent from the Petrarchan consolation is exemplified by a sonnet which outwardly proclaims a love which will endure until death:

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[98] f. 47rv, STS p. 248.

[99] f. 13v, p. 252; though this sonnet does not fall within this ostensible sequence it is pertinent to include because of its exploration of 'lust').

[100] There is implicit allusion to the classical Petrarchan *errore*.

My winding scheits my steidfast love sal end
my heid sal tend vnto his buriall toume
to tak that rowme, this bodye sal be bend
*or I make end of love, al this sal cume.*
then sen my dome and death I wiss, respect
my faith, suspect no chainge for to insew
na vncouth hewe sall hinder thy aspect
*let prove detect and furyis all persew*
and yeild thair dew to my deserved hyre
gif I desyre in vthers to mak chose
*or in thame Ioyse quha wouyld my lovlye fyre*
Quensche through impyre of faucos [?] wanto(n) toyes
fame schame may noyse and foull be my report
and all my deids to seve fro skorne and sport[101]

This is Fowler's most beautiful, and seemingly unequivocal, assertion of absolute faith in the loved one. Yet death's intense depiction in the first quatrain (echoing Montgomerie's physical particularity) cannot be effaced by the subsequent intimations of eternity. Against the opening retraction or rescension, the statement of love's ceaselessness must be measured. Despite the ardent declamation, 'or I make end of love', the finitude of death is implied, if only by its denial. As in Drummond's love poetry, which Fowler's so strongly anticipates, a separateness (inevitable and insurmountable) exists between beloved and lover; here, and in Poems (1616), it is death. Despite both poets' clear allusions to Neoplatonic doctrine, the Ficinian assimilation of lover into lover is never achieved. Fowler's is a spiritual love which wholly renounces rather than assimilates the earthly.

In conclusion, one might speculate that the refusal of Fowler's various amatory works to accomodate the full religious transfiguration of Petrarch's Rime may stem from doctrinal difference. Petrarch's Marian hymn in canzone 366, his moment of conversion, presented sixteenth century Protestant commentators with interpretative difficulty[102]. Fowler's text ends in penitent submission before God where Petrarch's adores the Virgin Mary. One might conjecture to what degree this is a Protestant excision or purely aesthetic. Even in the short sequence, 'Of death', the beloved's death is not apotheosised as in the Rime where Laura arrives among the angels (sonnet 346). Laura is subsumed into the image of the Virgin; it is difficult to conceive this divine veneration of the feminine in Fowler's sequence where woman's sinfulness is irredeemable.

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[101] f. 47v, STS p. 249.

***Emblematic love language*** Fowler's conceitful love discourse may not solely be the product of *petrarchisti* influence. The emblem tradition, a significant strand of sixteenth century visual and literary culture, may demonstrably have shaped the imagistic emphasis of the *Tarantula of Love* and other pieces. Prior to the investigation of Fowler's emblematic representations, the equation of visual and verbal structures is justified by reference to several emblem theorists; while the neglected subject of Scotland's participation in renaissance emblem culture is first briefly assessed with respect to several of Fowler's poetic contemporaries.

Rosemary Freeman's classic study of English emblem books observed that a 'widespread interest' in emblematic forms was current in England by the 1580's[103]. Her assertion that emblem books are the products of two entrenched 'Elizabethan' interests 'in decoration and in rhetoric'[104] might be claimed as precisely two concerns twinned in the stylistic modes of Castalian rhetoric which cultivate verbal ornateness;

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[102] William J. Kennedy, Authorising Petrarch (Cornell University Press, 1994), p141, who cites amongst notable Protestant commentators Sebastiano Fausto da Longiano, Il Petrarcha col commento di M. Sebastiano Fausto da Longiano (Venice 1532); Lodovico Castelvetro, Le rime del petrarca bruemente sposte per Loduico Casteluetro (Basel, 1582); Antonio Brucioli, Sonetti, canzoni, et triomphi di M. Francesco Petrarca con breue dichiaratione, & annotatione di Antonio Brucioli (Venice, 1548). The appeal to the Virgin in canzone 366 cannot have doctrinal validity for the Protestant poet error as God alone has power over grace (p. 219).

[103] English Emblem Books (London; Chatto and Windus, 1948),p. 48.

[104] Speaking Pictures. English Emblem Books and Renaissance Culture (Longman, 1994), p. 85.

and that the imagistic and rhetorical procedure in certain sonnets by Fowler recalls (albeit purely in verbal terms) emblem poetry. Though Scotland cannot offer an emblem book *per se* comparable to Whitney's 1586 'Englishing' of 'sundrie writers', Michael Bath has already drawn attention to the painted ceiling at the palace of Culross in Fife which displays on panelling sixteen of Whitney's emblems with a two line *subscriptio*: 'It is clear that Whitney's emblems reached the Scots during the reign of that highly educated monarch, James VI, to whom Théodore de Beze had dedicated his Icones...in 1580'[105]; the inventory of James's library also reveals a copy of Alciati's Emblematum Libellus[106]. Mary Stuart's embroidered emblems were famously recorded in a letter by Drummond to Ben Jonson; while the fragmentarily inscribed poetry in her Book of Hours seemingly exemplifies by verbal illustration an emblematic mode of thought. Drummond himself also composed a brief treatise on emblems and *impresas*[107]. Consonant with the general impulse of sixteenth century Scottish artistic culture, it is probable that French sources also mediated knowledge of emblematic traditions (for example, *via* Le Fevre (1536), Parradin (1537), Perriere (1539), Aneau (1549), and Scève). But it is in Fowler and his acquaintance with Italian culture that emblematic representations seem to take firm root[108].

In the eclectic collection of Fowler's extant papers are found two allusions to 'Discorsi di M Gul. Palassi sopra l'imprese' and 'Imprese di Giulio Cesare Capaccio'[109]. From 1591- 4, Fowler was in Italy but whether his transcriptions[110] of these illustrated prose treatises were made while there, or on return to the Scottish court, cannot be determined. Fowler's obvious fascination with emblem culture is elsewhere attested by a list of devices for Scottish nobility[111]. Fowler's MSS collectively resemble a commonplace book containing miscellaneus and fragmentary notes and quotations from other writers. Another leaf entitled 'Emblemata and Impresas' prefaces single line Latin and Italian quotations, and frequent, brief and marginal allusions to Ovid and Tibullus[112]. The term, *impresa*, was distinguished in comtemporary (mostly Italian) theoretical writings from that of emblem, and Fowler uses it more frequently than the latter. *Impresa* theorists were preoccupied with the antiquity of the *impresa*, and its relation to biblical and classical sources, and with the identity of the *impresa* in relation to other contemporary symbolic forms; and 'rules' were devised for inventing the perfect *impresa.* While the emblem's descriptive text beneath the image expressed a general motto, the *impresa* was felt to signify the individual's personal intentions:

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[105] *ibid.*, pp. 87-8 (Fowler also made translations of de Bèze's Psalms).

[106] 'Textbooks of King James VI of Scotland', in T.W. Baldwin, William Shakspere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke, 2 vols (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1944-50), II, p. 535.

[107] Published in the 1711 collected Works: see p. 137 on Mary Queen of Scot's tapestry emblems. In his library, Drummond possessed several emblem works: see Robert H. MacDonald, *The Manuscripts of William Drummond of Hawthornden*, 2 vols, unpub. PhD diss. (University of Edinburgh, 1969), vol I, p. 149; MacDonald draws attention to how Drummond's poetry frequently displays 'naked emblems' (vol 1, p. 166).

[108] On Italianate influences in Scotland during the period see essay 'Scoto-Italian Cultural Relations' and Jack, The Italian Influence. It may also have been encouraged by James's desire to recreate or renew love tradition, and experiment modally.

[109] Hawthornden MS 2064, f. 122r. These are Delle Imprese Trattato Di Giulio Cesare Capaccio. In tre Libri diuiso (Naples, 1592) and I Discorsi di M. Gio. Andrea Palazzi Sopra L'Imprese (Bologna, 1575). Both are lengthy illustrated prose treatises. Palazzi, for example, discusses subjects such as the antiquity and nobility of the impresa; how the motto signifies 'l'intentione dell'autore'; the symbolism of colours; animal and plant impresas.

> the framing of an Impresa is the aduenture of a readie and phantasticall braine: and it is not in our power, although with long studie, to forge an inuention, fitting the humour of him who shall weare it...[113]

That Fowler either wrote or intended to compose such a treatise on impresa is suggested by an entry in the inventory of his works on the 'art of impreses'[114]. Another work cited but not apparently extant is entitled the 'art of memorye' which

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[110] Hawthornden MS 2064 f. 122r *ff.* they are not full transcriptions; nor are there any illustrations.

[111] MS 2064, f. 36. Bath, *op. cit.*, p. 97, notes that Peacham's preface to Minerva Brittania (1612) proclaims of Scottish royal badges, 'Who hath ever seene more wittie, proper & significant devises, then those of Scotland?'

[112] Capaccio declares that mottos are 'better....esteemed being taken out of some famous author. As out of Ouid, Horace, Catullus, and other Latin poets...' (n.p.) (cf. Alexander Craig's Latin 'epigrams' placed beneath the Amorose love sonnets, 1606). In MS 2063, f. 103r, are instructions how to 'make a Phoenix drouping', with suggested mottoes for the emblem; see also MS 2064, ff. 28r, 34r-35r ('morum emblemata').

[113] Samuel Daniel, The Worthy Tract of Paulus Iovius, contayning a discourse of rare inuention, both Militarie and Amorous called Imprese (London, 1585), sig. Eij$^{v}$. How such devices were enlisted in seduction is then described.

[114] NLS MS 2063, f. 107r; it does not appear to have survived.

may allude to the 'memory arts' methods for organising access to human knowledge which, according to Bath, emphasise the role of the visual image[115].

The mutually influential relationship between emblem books and European amatory lyric language has been studied most extensively by Mario Praz[116]. The canonical work by Alciati, for example, confirms the amenability of amatory conceits to visual representation: allegorised representations of Cupid (variously blindfolded or stoking the fire of love with bellows), Fortune and Death in addition to the common repository of mythical exemplars (Diana and Actaeon,; Jove and Ganymede). In Montgomerie's secular love lyrics, Cupid is a frequent protagonist and usually depicted as a playful, impious *putto* figure. Several other facets of Montgomerie's poetry imply more persuasive influences of the emblem tradition which suggests that Fowler's emblematic borrowings are not isolated. The proverbial tenor of Montgomerie's work is often been noted. The quality of colloquial verve and lucidity derived from proverbial utterances might be differently considered from the perspective of emblem writing. Praz cites a Dutch emblematist on the congeniality of proverbial allusions to the emblematic art of deciphering: 'while they appear to be one thing, in reality they contain another, of which the reader, having in due time seized the exact meaning and intention, experiences wondrous pleasure in his soul...experience teaches us that many things gain by not being completely seen, but somewhat veiled and concealed'[117]. Montgomerie's use of proverbs therefore acquires a less transparent meaning; certainly persuasive for those texts in which Montgomerie does not so overtly strive for the lyric simplicity of which Shire repeatedly writes.

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[115] List published STS, vol. II, p. 5; Bath, p. 51.

[116] Studies in Seventeenth Century Imagery (Rome, 1964), esp. chp. iii. On p. 206, Praz cites an example of emblematic imagery in the Aurora drawn from Whitney. See also Praz, 'Petrarca e gli emblematisti', *Ricerche anglo-italiane* (1944), pp. 311-19, and Donald L. Guss, John Donne Petrarchist. Italianate conceits and love theory in the Songs and Sonets (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1966), chapter 5.

[117] *ibid.*, p. 87, citing Jacob Cats in a work of 1632.

Montgomerie's 'Solsequium' lyric which, in comparing the lover to the flower in constant need of the beloved's sun and her power of replenishment, deploys (whether consciously or not) a common emblem image[118]. Scève's emblematic sonnet sequence Délie (1544) pursues the same conceit by text and image, and the claim has been made that the flower became a popular device only in works published afterwards. Of course, Montgomerie's lyric may primarily draw on the Ovidian source in the Metamorphoses, Book IV, and its poignant narrative of Clytia's faithful, unrequited love of the sun. Yet it is still interesting to note the image's currency as an *impresa amorosa* in contemporary French and Italian works. In Ruscelli's 1566 Imprese Illustri (its motto *mens eadem*), the Ovidian source is related to the Neoplatonic concept of the sun as the source of virtue and light[119]. In suggesting that Montgomerie's 'Solsequium' may be an offshoot of this European emblem, I do not mean to deny the joyful levity of the lyric which anyway possesses an intensely lucid symbolic meaning; but merely to suggest its possible 'implicatedness' in other traditions. Though the analogue between lover and flower is explicitly announced by the opening line of the second stanza, much remains for the listener/ reader to 'decipher' (in the mode of accretive allegory) beneath the surface form of brief, delicately constructed rhetoric: for example, the beloved is Aurora, evoking Neoplatonic resonances, but also possessed of the power to 'awaken' the lover/sunflower sexually (cf. ll. 48-54). The intimation of natural, cyclical and thus eternal rejuvenation wholly dispels the pathos of the Ovidian text, and is more resonant of the emblem's motto of fidelity; certainly it evokes the prerequisite of 'sondrie interpretations'[120].

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[118] EUL MS De.3.80, ff. 21r-22r.

[119] D.C. Coleman, An Illustrated Love '"Canzionere". The Délie of Maurice Scève (Geneve-Paris, 1981), p. 31; she also cites its use in a sonnet by Bembo, 'L'alta cagione...'; Praz, *op. cit.*, p. 109, cites its presence as an emblem in Vaenius; Capaccio, ff. 125v-126r, declares its significations of love , friendship, spiritual affinity, citing Camillo Camilli's motto, "Soli et Semper", 'significando amor dedicato ad vna Donna sol...' while the actual emblem illustrated bears the motto, 'Despicis Aspicio Si'.

[120] Daniel, sig. Biii$^{v}$.

Much of the rhetorical fabric of Fowler's poetry of love consists of the devices of *amplificatio*, paradox and antithesis, all of which find classification as conventional Petrarchistic rhetoric. Another offshoot of this rhetorical vein is found in Fowler's pictorial or visual embellishments of conceit. This ornamental mode is displayed by the choice of a single image for elaboration and refinement - a physical characteristic of Bellisa, for example - subjected to intense verbal scrutiny. This practice is bound up with Castalian mannerism, a rhetorical phenomenon sensitive to the inherent mannerism of Petrarchan/Petrarchistic idioms. But I choose the term 'emblematic' to epitomise the isolated visual image or idea (of course verbal, and not actually pictorial text) on which the poem then comments.

Akin to the lyric sequence of love *per se*, the *Tarantula of Love* derives emotional and rhetorical power from the fact of the beloved's absence (in both physical and spiritual senses). Conseqently, the devices of synecdoche and metaphor figure the absent beloved by extension. In 'Far from these eyes and sondred from that face'[121], the lover declares that 'Vnto this dyell horologe att last/I me compaire', ll. 9-10. The metaphorical relation is then made explicit (as if to imitate the motto or commentary which explains the visual emblem): 'love the neidile is/my hart the glass.../the threid my thoughts he schaddow a reft kiss', concluding finally that 'I am the dyell sirs and shee the sune'. Analytical clarity has resolved potential obscurity. Fowler's metaphor is beautifully taut, self-sufficient, and meticulously broken down to evoke connotations of flux and movement yet also continuity and solidity. Abstract and literal are hauntingly fused so that the shadow cast by the needle in the lengthening sun is made to resemble 'a reft kiss' (forced in the sense of hurried or insubstantial in accord with the poem's implications of time, 'al grace is *past*'?). The relation posited between lover and beloved is almost identical to that of the 'Solseqiuim''s; but a possible analogue may also be found in the 'Horologe' sonnet of Scève's Délie. Here, the ceaseless revolution of the clock is aligned with the faithful ardour of the lover in pursuit of desire. Again the claim for Scève's primacy is made: although the clock analogy 'became popular later in emblems and devices it does not seem to have appeared before the Délie[122]. Whether Fowler's conceit is conscious recollection of Scève's, whose text precedes Fowler's by at least thirty years, he clearly favoured its metaphorical richness for it (re)appears in another occasional piece entitled 'Vpon my Lord Mordent horologe'[123]. The analogy, concentrating on beloved rather than self this time, proceeds by extremely literal or mechanical identification: the mistress by implication possesses 'wheils...signs...hammer brod and bell/In paces motions , in slownes not to strike' (ll. 2-3) (the scold eager to strike with her weighty devices seems to have generic roots in female satire rather than the love lyric of fidelity). In the second quatrain, the poetic self marvels at the clock's insidious marking of time which mimicks the illusionism or 'showe' of her vows. The complaint against female infidelity finds complex argumentative expression in the final quatrain:

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[121] Drummond MS f. 14v, STS, p. 161.

tuyse twelf be signs depainted on this brod
and tuyse tuelf tyme shee hath me tyme assynd
to mak al reknings euen which now ar ods
*bot in these all I euer cum behind*

The emblem has been defined as an 'iconic sign'; so the twelve numbers of the clock's dial ('brod') signify the twenty four hours of night and day. Analogously, the 'beloved' appears to have promised a reunion or meeting for each of the twenty four hours of the clock (assigned him 'tyme', another pun). The sense of the lines 11-12 appears that the lover is always belated or 'behind' either in a literal sense (too late for her) or regarding her wit or duplicity (not quick enough, thus he can never judge or make arbitrary 'reknings' regarding her favour). In other instances, the conceptual ingenuity of the emblematic analogy is less extravagant. The common Petrarchistic motif of the butterfly tempted by the candle flame appears in a *Tarantula* sonnet, 'As that poore foolisch flie...'[124].

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[122] Coleman, *op. cit.,* p. 71; perhaps it should be noted that neither Mary's nor James's library inventory surprisingly contains a copy of the Délie.

[123] Hawthornden MS f. 68r, STS p. 263; on f. 68v appears the title 'Folyeis Vpon my lord Mordant horologe'. In Scéve's Délie, appears an emblem poem entitled 'L'Horologe'; this might be a possible source for Fowler's lyric: see Coleman, *op. cit.*, pp. 71-2.

In the absence of specific proof, it cannot be established whether Fowler's conceitful language is conscious citation of a known emblem or device (especially given the acknowledged mutuality of emblem and amatory conceits). I would merely cite those analogies offered above as possible, persuasive evidence or practice of Fowler's already documented knowledge of emblematic forms. One particular sonnet, however, mirrors the fusion of various pictorial forms, and accords with the definition of emblematic thus far advanced.

The body and beauty of the female beloved gives rise in the early sixteenth century to the genre of the *blason*. Fowler engages in this putatively erotic enumeration of the woman's physical attributes in several sonnets but the single image of Bellisa's 'faire whyte hand' in one poem occasions a series (or a metaphorical commentary) of elaborately conceptual conceits and visual vignettes.

o faire whyte hand quha onlye ought to hold
of cupids chariott the triu(m)phant reanes
whils he with conquests chargd of yong and old
will all the warld and heaven did feel his traynes
O lyvlye snow lovs sceptar that susteanes
from whome proceids bothe fyre and golden darte
quhyte silk quhyte Milk which spredeth in my vaynes
by heire by touche by taist that kills my harte
whyte polisht yvore wondar of gods arte
Faire obiec of the heavens eye and beames
Lovs pryde and pompe of his triumphant cairte
yeild grace to me the trophee of extremes
and panse the wonds of my vnceasant payne
for as yow hurt so can thow hail agayne[125]

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[124] Drummond MS f. 31r, STS p. 196, ll. 1-4. Giordano Bruno expounds this common emblem: The Heroic Frenzies, *op. cit.*, p. 150.

[125] Found in both Drummond and Hawthornden MSS though there are minor variants between each; the version here is from Drummond f. 25v, STS p. 188 (the Hawthornden sonnet appears to have the title 'hand': f. 35r; STS, pp. 189.

Her tyranny is embodied in that beautiful hand which 'onely ought to hold' the reigns of 'cupids chariot'[126] and should possess 'lovs sceptar'. Its ultimate imperial status is as the emblem of 'Lovs pryde and pompe'. The hand as the synecdochal representation of Bellisa's beauty affords scope for sensual and textural detail. 'snow/Milk/yvore' forms a collocational colour field suggestive of purity, remoteness and yet a tangible sensuality appealing to at least visual and tactile senses: 'Lyflye snowe' (visual); 'quhyte silk' (visual/tactile); 'quhyte Milk' (visual/taste); 'whyte polishd ivore' (visual). Bellisa 'by heire, by touche, by taste, ...kills my harte'[127]. Despite such overtly sensual allure, the hand's beauty merits quasi Platonic allusion as 'Faire obiec of the heavens eye and beames'. Further, her hand is not only an object of contemplation but may serve as a gesture or embodiment of her own desire. Ostensibly, the touch of 'lovs sceptar' signifies pity (she might 'panse the wonds of...vnceasant payne'). Yet the language of the extraordinary phrase, 'quhyte milk that spredeth in my vaynes', betrays what Puttenham declares the 'secret wittie intent' of emblems: marrying associations of milk (feminine) and blood, the conceit seems to anticipate in a curiously organic or corporeal way the lovers' physical union.

Fowler's poem is, of course, a recreation of sonnet 199 of the Rime: 'O bella manche mi destringi 'l core'. Mirollo in his study of mannerism perceives its prolific European imitations in the sixteenth century as the source of an 'abundant *maniera*'[128]. He rightly perceives that such imitative Petrarchism 'exists in an autonomous and self-referential aesthetic' but paradoxically condemns one rewriting for lacking 'one fresh human touch...[an] ordinary and 'realistic' gesture...Equally ominous is the hyperbole...the literalization and materialization of Petrarch's amatory scenario'[129]. Mirollo can perceive manneristic techniques at work yet seek to impose aesthetic criteria wholly at odds with the cultivated artifice he well describes. In 'O faire whyt hand', Fowler's whole artistic point is to demonstrate his verbal and conceptual ingenuity in aligning disparate sensual realms. The beloved is not seen in her physical and spiritual totality but refracted through this emblematic representation replete with erotic potential. Implicit in Petrarch's sonnet is such eroticism, for Laura is seen unveiled, her hand unclothed[130].

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[126] Jack, *The Scottish Sonnet, op. cit.,* observes this as an instance of Neoplatonic imagery; it may also be intended to evoke the visual allegory of the Trionfi.

[127] Note variation in the Hawthornden MS text: 'enpoysned hath my hart'.

[128] James Mirollo, Mannerism and Renaissance Poetry. Concept, Mode, Inner Design (Yale University Press, 1984), p. 130.

[129] *ibid.*, p.130.

This conception of the beloved as a visual emblem exemplifies well the fragmentary aestheticistion of the lyric male gaze. In another of Fowler's emblematic sonnets, 'Grieve not, faire flouer of couleur, sight, and sent'[131], the object of contemplation bears traces not only of Bellisa but of the lover's own self in seemingly empathic identification. The flower, a natural symbol of frailty and beauty, is enclosed within a glass as his heart is 'within her hand'. The image is at once delicate and unusual, transferring the usually feminine associations of flower-like fragility to the lover himself, and endowing Bellisa with the power of nurturing or cultivating his love or 'hart' (exemplifiying the literal particularity of amatory language). Since the 'sueit flouer' has been sent as a (meaningful) token or gesture from Bellisa, to the lover it represents her absence synecdochally. Hence he will embrace the flower in a process of metaphorical transference at once complex, oddly beautiful, and faintly suggestive of baroque extremes in its yoking of beauty and violence:

and gif that water want of well or strand,
teares from my eyes thy feading sal renewe,
and by the wound which love giuis by his brand,
my lyflyie bloode sal the restore thy hewe.

As the punning last line makes clear, 'Fouler' and his 'flouer' are emblems of one another.

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[130] Compare the sonnet, 'Quhils I beheld bellisaes breist was baire', Hawthornden MS 2063, f. 10v, STS p. 218, in which the lover witnesses Bellisa unveiled, as it were, her 'breist..bare'. The lover's contemplation of her nakedness is depicted as consumption, an intense voracity: 'my faynting spreits to feid theme did reteire.../so hungrie nowe to searche foode for the same'. See Sturm-Maddox, *op. cit.*, and Kennedy, *op. cit.*, p. 157, for the enduring eroticism of the Rime which sixteenth century commentators observed.

[131] Hawthornden. MS, f. 9v (not part of the *Tarantula*).

The emblematic qualities of these poems demonstrate that Fowler's love rhetoric is subtler, more audacious, and culturally attuned than the epithet 'Petrarchistic' suggests. Although Fowler (in comparison to Montgomerie or Stewart) cannot be classified as the most extreme exemplar of Castalian mannerism, the emblematic structure of such sonnets aptly accords with the rhetorical and conceptual procedures of elaboration and amplification at its heart.

### *The topography of love*

> And if this description be of any true place, citie, castell, hill, valley, or sea, and such like: we call it the counterfait place *Topographia*...[132]

The Rime's lover inhabits the landscape of Vaucluse; Fowler's miniature sequences place their lovers on Orkney. The relocation or transposition of love according to the poet's nationality is a conventional device: the amatory lyrics of Drummond, Stewart, and Alexander, for example, share allusion to the River Forth. In Craig's Poeticall Essayes (1604) and Amorose Songs and Sonets (1606), Scottish topography serves less as a decorative pastoral reference than as a symbolic alliance of political nationalism and femininity[133]. While Fowler's Orkney sonnets lack Craig's sustained and complex topographical vision, they constitute an interesting trope of desire and the feminine. The physical marginality of Orkney symbolises both emotional estrangement and female sexuality.

Fowler composes his love poetry within a period which is secure enough, or ambitious enough, in its sense of national identity to merit a theory of vernacular poetics, an aesthetic version of 'Scottishness'. That Fowler's two Orkney sonnets should insert Scotland (or its periphery) into the predominantly Southern European framework of love poetry may be considered a natural consequence of this nationalistically assertive climate.

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[132] George Puttenham, The Arte of English Poesie ed. Edward Arber (London, 1869), p. 247.

[133] Andrew Hadfield writes illuminatingly on how literary works in the sixteenth century 'affirmed a free space outside the constraints of a consciously politicised vocabulary and mode of writing', and yet 'as a key component of a national culture, [they] played a specifically political role': Literature, Politics and National Identity (Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 9. Craig's post-Union love writing delicately negiotiates this balance.

Sonet. in orknay

Vpon the vtmost corners of the warld orknay
and on the borders of this massiue round
quhaire fates and fortune hither hes me harld
*I doe deplore my grieffs vpon this ground*
and seing roring seis from roks rebound
by ebbs and streames of contrair routing tyds
and phebus chariot in thare wawes ly dround
*quha equallye now night and day devyds*
which euer wax and never dois decress
for nights of dole dayes Ioys ay euer hyds
*and in there vayle doith al my weill suppress*
so this I see quhaire euer I remove
I chainge bot sees but can not chainge my love

Orknay

As charming Circe did vlisses stey
within the bounds of the sicilian yles
transforming men euen to there awen decay
*and chainging theme in foules and beastes by wyles*
so thow chaist love quha in my long exyles
from my Penelope haithe me deteind
conIuring wynds which ay my hope beguyles
*hes me with the but grief in grief reteind*
And though this grace I have of yow obteind
as not to be in foule nor beaste transformd
quhair through the loss the losser may be meind
yet charming charmer thow hes me deformd
quhils my weake witts now wittles doe becum
*and eyes but sight and toung baith tyed and dum*[134]

The first sonnet protests the lover's anguish 'vpon this ground' which a marginal insertion glosses as 'orknay'. It culminates in the neat, albeit unremarkable, paradox that inward emotional states remain constant despite an altered environment: 'I chainge bot sees, but can not chainge my love' (l. 14). The second neither as explicitly or as vividly evokes the physical context of 'Orknay' but conducts its argument entirely figuratively. The beloved is conveyed as an extension of the island's remoteness, symbolised as another Circe while the lover appears as an errant and tempted Ulysses. This symbolic and Homeric affiliation has rich implications.

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[134] On folios 12v and 15r of Haw. MS. xi (STS edition, pp. 221, 227), respectively entitled 'Sonet. In Orknay' and 'Orknay'. 'orknay' appears as a marginal gloss to the line 'Vpon the vtmost...'. Fowler's personal connection with Orkney (if such exists) is not known; Purves, *op. cit.*, pp. cxliv-v discusses the library of Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney who officiated at court ceremonies.

The earlier sonnet may be conceived as an imaginative recreation of the Rime landscape, mirroring in its marginality the psychological isolation of the Petrarchan lover who haunts the valleys and woods round Florence[135]. Fowler's Orkney is represented as a place of exile, found on the extreme margins of a vast globe (its 'corners' and 'borders'), a little microcosm encompassed by physical grandeur; even the specifically referential phrase, 'this ground', conveys a sense of meekness. It is also a place of natural violence, chaos ('ebbs and streames of *contrair routing* tyds'), and darkness ('phebus chariot in there wawes ly dround'). Even if the sense of an apocalyptic eclipse imposes too great a strain on Fowler's language, the natural order of Orkney is clearly depicted in a wholly *un*natural state. As in the Rime and its pantheistic depictions of love, a mimetic relationship is posited between the lover's state and his outward landscape[136]. But Fowler's pantheism possesses peculiar significance in its definition of 'northernness' as a metaphor for isolation and marginality, a place ungoverned by nature. This aptly prefigures Orkney's status as a symbol for ungoverned desire in the second Orkney sonnet.

This 'relocates' or transposes the myth of Circe and Ulysses (Odyssey, X) from 'the sicilian isles' to the northern island[137]. Fowler draws on the significatory power of the island *per se* - the implication of unknown territory[138] - to ally it with the poem's female object of desire. 'Otherness' resides in both Orkney and the Circe figure who inhabits it. De Beauvoir writes of feminine alterity in the context of mythology: 'Woman is the siren whose song lures sailors upon the rocks; she is Circe, who changes her lovers into beasts, the undine who draws fishermen in to the depths of pools'[139]. In Fowler's sonnet, Circe seeks to allure him (literally by 'conIuring wynds', l. 7) from his 'Penelope'. In juxtaposing these Homeric female protagonists, two polarised archetypes of femininity are at once given: woman as temptress and as purity incarnate[140]. Circe's wily enslavement of men by transforming them into 'foules and beasts', l. 4, figures with powerful simplicity the bestiality of human sensual desire (or rather man's for he is tempted by woman who is already fallen). As the archetypal Neoplatonic beloved symbolises the potential for the moral apotheosis of the lover, so Circe discloses feminine corruption:

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[135] See, for example, Rime 35, 129, 214, 237, 280, 301, 310, 320, 321, 323; see M.A.M. Flansburg, Landscape Imagery in Petrarch's Canzionere (University of Oklahoma Press, 1986).

[136] This affinity is exemplified by the amorous arcadia of Sannazaro's poem, expressive of unrequited love. Recent interpretations of Renaissance pastoral reject its status as a site of imaginative yearning and emphasise it as a coded imaginative structure which gives free play to social/political concerns. It seems to me that Fowler's poems unite rather than oppose both tendencies. The sonnet also evokes associations of the wilderness opposed to paradise rooted in medieval nature poetry.

[137] Line 2; in the Odyssey, the island is actually Aeaea. Note the implication of constraint and enforced isolation in the phrase 'the *bounds*' of the 'yles'.

> ... that excessive injury and distortion of nature, which with surface appearance, a shadow, a phantasm, a dream, a Circean enchantment put to the service of generation, deceives us as a species of beauty...[141]

But Fowler's assimilation of the myth and its symbolism is neither absolute nor conventional. His Circe figure spares him physical transformation but diminishes him intellectually and emotionally, and is apostrophised as 'thow, *chaist* love': the misogyny of the Circe *topos* has itself been transformed though his 'weake witts' may make its tenderness ironic:

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[138] Especially resonant in a period of discovery and colonisation of 'new worlds'. Greenblatt writes evocatively of senses of 'wonder' evoked by the 'discourse of discovery': 'Wonder-thrilling, potentially dangeous, momentarily immobilising, charged at once with desire, ignorance, and fear - is the quintessential human response to what Descartes calls a "first encounter"', Marvellous Possessions: the wonder of the New World (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), p. 20.

[139] The Second Sex (*Le deuxième sex*, 1949; Picador, 1988), p. 197. For Circe's mythographic representation see, for example, Hyginus, Fabularum Liber, Basel 1535 (Garland Publishing Inc., 1976) CXXV, *CXXVII, CLVI, CXCIX*; Boccaccio, Genealogiae Venice 1494 (Garland Publishing Inc., 1976), IV.6. Laura is accused of an implicitly Circean enchantment in Rime 65 and 213, and in the sonnet 'Responsio ad Iacobum de Imola' (Durling, pp. 592-3); see Sturm-Maddox, *op. cit.*, pp. 56-60, and Kennedy, *op. cit.*, who cites Velutello's gloss on how Circe challenges norm of female passivity by affirming the enchantress's power to attract what she wants and transform her environment in order to gain it. The crimes of Circe in Machiavelli's Discorsi serve to exemplify the subversive power of a strength which seems covert and unexpected.

[140] The changeful ambiguity of woman/femininity is commonly cited in (indeed underlies) the early love lyric; cf. the Bannatyne MS for clear rhetorical evidence of this.

[141] Giordano Bruno, The Heroic Frenzies, *op. cit.*, p. 60; as a Neoplatonic treatise exemplifying the continuity between exaltation and condemnation of woman.

And though this grace I have of yow obteind
as not to be in foule not beaste transformd
quhairthrough the loss the losser may be meind
yet charming charmer, thow hes me deformd
quhils my weake witts now wittles doe becum

Resonantly, the lover is now blind and inarticulate. Blindness is a common trope for sensual depravity in religious and Neoplatonic texts[142]; but the lover's inability to speak seems not merely to signify love's affective power but *implicitly* contrasts with the verbal skills of the goddess herself[143]. Desire is here transformative, literally 'magical', and offers a variation on the lover's 'metamorphoses' variously enacted in the poetry of Petrarch, Ronsard, and in the present context, Montgomerie and especially James. Fowler renders the island of Orkney as a *locus* of unlicensed sensuality, an enchanted, illicit place of feminine allure, and a symbolic border.

***Conclusion*** Fowler's love poetry presents an orthodox sheen of Petrarchan quotation, and the Neoplatonic apotheosis secular into divine, particular into universal love. This chapter has argued for a deeper transmutation of this inheritance, principally in religious terms. Fowler's philosophy of desire is shaped by the anxieties of the penitential soul. The conflict of sacred and profane mirrors Petrarch's lover in his unredeemed state; while the mortality of the beloved, and of love itself, is never wholly overcome by conventional consolation. Fowler's portrait of desire does not present the reified conceits and conceptions of Petrarchistic imitation; it is dark, deeply elegiac, and intensely moving.

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[142] Quintessentially in Bembo's exposition in Il Cortegiano; perhaps Fowler also anticipates blind Tiresias in the Odyssey's next book.

[143] Odyssey, Book X, l. 162. Circe's beguilement is mirrored in quizzical, playfully repetitive and punning rhetoric: 'grief in grief reteind'; 'charming charmer' (ironically a display of rhetoric rather than inarticulacy).

In one aspect, Fowler's lyrics as a composite whole may be regarded as a poetic equivalent of the sixteenth century prose commentaries and expositions of the Rime: how Fowler transmutes and modifies the Petrarchan consolation reflects the similar hermeneutical enterprise of the commentaries. In a larger sense, Fowler's love poetry acts as a filter for different ideas and movements within the period: for example, the cultural and literary interest in emblems, and the expression of a nationalist poetics, or at least of a poetry which draws attention to its geographical origins. Ultimately, human love in Fowler's lyric poetry is muted by its moral and religious circumscriptions. Its exclusion of the female beloved from the final apotheosis builds important bridges with Alexander's Aurora, while the penitential lover recalls Alexander Scott's. Fowler's love poetry fulfils the Jamesian precept of invention, offering also a process of recreation by which the James sought to define the act of translation. By analogy, Fowler arguably offers Petrarch recreated, and so 'translated'.

## Part II
## Chapter 4

# The love poetry of John Stewart of Baldynneis: courting desire

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- § *Introduction*
- § *Courtly contexts*
- § *Reflections on rhetoric*
- § *The subject of love*
- § *Coterie and occasional love poetry*
- § *Secrecy and revelation*
- § *Female sexuality*
- § *Love, faith, and chastity*

## *Introduction*

*to talke of loue........very necessary abiding in court*
Castiglione

In John Stewart's poetry of secular desire, found in the manuscript collection *Rapsodies of the Authors Youthfull Braine* which was presented to James in the mid 1580's, love frequently acts as a rhetorical topic: a subject seemingly chosen for its verbal rather than conceptual potential. Yet the sixteen lyrics which constitute less than half of the miscellany's poems should not simply be held as endorsement of the received critical view on Stewart (*c*1550-*c*1605) that he is an overwrought verbal mannerist with little substance. Although the *Rapsodies* do not offer a sustained love sequence in the manner of Fowler's *Tarantula*, nor display the thematic range of Montgomerie's amatory *oeuvre*, its virtue and interest consists partly in being the embodiment of the archetypal Scottish courtly text of the period. The sonnets either concerning or addressed to James, for example, convey the anxieties of the courtly subject who writes for the sovereign as poetic, social and political registers blend. with apparent seamlessness.

Significantly, this quality of 'courtliness' informs the nature of Stewart's love poetry. Rather than possessing an abstract beloved (a Bellisa or Auristella) as its recipient, Stewart's amatory poetry is inextricably rooted within the courtly *milieu.* These are poems ostensibly written at the request of or on behalf of others; sonnets about Cupid or love which are exchanged between Stewart and his poetic correspondents. The solipsistic lover of the *Tarantula*, for example, is replaced by one who appears social and extrovert. Within this discursive network of conversant lovers, women play the role not merely of passive beloveds (one finds conventional courtly mistresses) but of epistolary correspondents. Furthermore, in two lyrics which articulate the female voice, the feminine subject becomes the agent of her own desire. These lyrics are here argued to be acts of male 'ventriloquism' which seemingly resist the conventional critical paradigm that such an appropriation of voice is necessarily an act of subjugation. Simultaneously, the ironic subversion of one such text is ultimately foreclosed by the male voice that is reinstated in two accompanying short lyrics. The inclusion of this 'commentary' imitates and so endorses the voice of a prescriptive society against which the lyric's female protagonist had chafed. Stewart's 'feminised' poetry strongly intimates the presence and possible participation of women within the *milieux* in which the love lyric was created[1].

Within the small compass of sixteen sonnets the subject of desire is varied: it makes for the elaboration of a visual conceit ('The Portrait of Cupid') or of mythological narrative ('In Going to his Luif'). Secular love is portrayed as agonistic ('Of the Assaultis of Love') and sacrosanct ('In Comendatione of Two Constant Louers'), founded on the pain of absence and longing ('Dishuitain', 'To his Awin Mistres'), and is derived from the art of rhetorical persuasion. Each individual poem is analysed in the present chapter in rhetorical and abstract terms but its implications are also allied to several general facets of Stewart's *Rapsodies*. Given the relative paucity of Stewart lyric criticism, the social and literary contexts of the manuscript as they significantly impinge upon the love poetry are discussed, and preface a brief appraisal of Stewart's rhetorical styles. This method of analysis may define more clearly the endeavour of the manuscript as a whole, and reveal affinities and distinctions from Stewart's contemporary Scottish love lyricists.

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[1] Criticism on Stewart is slight, and tends to favour the Orlando Furioso at the expense of the shorter lyrics. Matthew P. McDiarmid provides a general survey of Stewart's *corpus* (citing instances of Desportes's influence) in 'Notes on the Poems of John Stewart of Baldynneis', *RES* 24 (1948) pp. 12-18, and in 'John Stewart of Baldynneis', *SHR* 29 (1950) pp. 52-63, offers a more biographical account. R.D.S.Jack in the Introduction to A Choice of Scottish Verse (Edinburgh University Press, 1975), comments on Stewart's rhétoriqueur inspired stanzaic forms (pp. 13-14) as well as the Roland Furious, and in 'Poetry under King James VI', History of Scottish Literature, 4 vols (Aberdeen University Press, 1988), vol 1, pp. 125-39 observes the wide thematic compass of Stewart's sonnet writing before more extended discussion of the *Roland* and *Schersing* (p. 134). In The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature (Edinburgh University Press, 1979), Jack considers Stewart's indebtedness to Petrarch in the lyrics (pp. 71-2) within the context of the most detailed analysis of the *Roland* to date (pp. 57ff). All quotations from Stewart's poetry are here based on the orthography and punctuation of the sole manuscript, NLS Adv. 19.2.6, but reference is also made to the Scottish Text Society edition, The Poems of John Stewart of Baldynneis ed. Thomas Crockett (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1913) (volume 1 of an incompleted two volume edition).

***Courtly contexts*** This tersely encyclopaedic portrayal of desire (with no single aspect the subject of sustained focus) is in part the corollary of Stewart's position as a court poet. The *Rapsodies* is a gift made by a subject to his sovereign, a courtly presentational text which, as Woudhuysen comments, constituted 'a powerful weapon in the quest for patronage'[2]. Its frequently mannerist poems provide an aptly meretricious rhetoric for a poet who seeks the favour of a king who is both patron and poetic mentor. This sense of display is mirrored in the ornamentations of the manuscript itself, notably by titles and certain words embellished in gold ink. The sole surviving copy of the *Rapsodies* (that presented to James, prefaced by the *Roland Furious* and concluded by *Ane Schersing* [3]) is a fair text which shows virtually no revisions or amendments[4]. McDiarmid dates the manuscript to the period 1585-8[5]. The subject of love occupies only a third of the collection: lyrics of praise, appeal but also advice are bestowed on James, and a sense of *gravitas* is struck by several moral and religious pieces. Overall the *Rapsodies'* heterogeneous nature does not deliver an impression of purpose or order to the lyrics' arrangement.

There are 'local' arrangements, however, which suggest a deliberate grouping. The collection opens and closes on a sonnet to James; appositely the king forms its beginning and end. Two religious complaints succeed the opening sonnet: both solicit God's mercy for a frail and 'vnvordie' penitent; and both ask that the king be granted divine grace[6]. The moral and pious consolation immediately offered 'Ane Honarabill

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[2] H.R. Woudhuysen, Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts (Oxford: Clarndon Press, 1996) pp. 90-1.

[3] There is a note on the flyleaf, believed to be in an eighteenth century hand, which asserts that James took the manuscript to London.

[4] The exceptions occur on f. 72r (STS p. 124), 'To His familiar freind In Cowrt', at line 7 where 'welth' is repeated and crossed out; and on f. 97v (STS p. 181), 'The answuir of the foirsaid hostes. Sonnet', at line 9 where 'for' is inserted above the line in a darker ink. It is likely that Stewart transcribed the manuscript himself.

[5] McDiarmid, *RES*, p. 12; based on the evidence of allusions to James's Essayes of 1584, McDiarmid suggests 'a date nearer to 1585 than to 1588, perhaps about 1585-6'. I assume that this dating refers to the MS's transcription rather than to the poems' actual composition: the New Year poetic gifts to James are inscribed 1582 and 1583; and the acrostic lyric, 'In Name of ane Loyale Ladie', is addressed to Margaret Wemyss whose marriage suggests another dating (see below, footnote 102.

[6] 'Ane Prayer in Adversitie' (f. 63v-64v; STS pp. 104-6); 'Ane Prayer and Thankisgiwing' (f. 65r-65r; STS pp. 107-9). The suppliant languge between sovereign and subject is transposed to the religious realm: 'His guidnes yit sall ons restoir/His seruant frie of euerie smart' (f. 66r).

And distressit ladie' is therefore a natural extension of this religious discourse, and of the second lyric's closing certainty: 'I feirles am And suir sall bie'. Loyal friendship is then extolled in a lyric 'To his rycht inteirlie belowit freind'[7]; the speaker's assurance that 'miserie' can be endured in the knowledge of God's salvation renders less striking the two short lyrics of 'derection' to the 'amorus ladie'. Consolation and instruction are then offered to another (or perhaps the same) 'Honarabill Ladie' and on worldly vicissitude to 'His familiar friend in Cowrt'. This coherent set of poems are concluded by the exhortation, 'To his Maiestie in fascherie' (even the king is subject to frailty). This moral prelude - a sustained unity - is not found again but is echoed instead in such individual sonnets as 'Of Fidelitie' and 'On Treuth'. This moral or pious tenor, as discussed below, sheds an interesting but also ambiguous light on the collection's secular amatory lyrics: for example, the 'Host' and 'Hostess' sonnets are prefaced by a sonnet devoted to 'Chastitie'.

Given the often disparate style and nature of the *Rapsodies* miscellany, it is likely that many were circulated individually within the courtly *milieu* before being assembled. In its range of petitionary, dedicatory, and 'exchange' poems, Stewart's collection imitates what Elias defines in relation to a type of courtly literature as 'the incessant conversation of society'[8], forming a single-authored collection exemplary of the qualities of coterie writing so comprehensively witnessed in the fourth *pairt* of the Bannatyne manuscript. Written 'in commendatione of' or 'at the desire of' other (often not explicitly named or identified) courtly figures, these poems are often harnessed to specific social occasions (or at least premised as such): for example, 'In Nam of sum guid ladeis vpon the vater of forth to ane honorable person quho conwoyt tham to the schoir'.

Yit ve presume In to this hamwart style
To yow thois lynis hamlie to compyle
Desyring your guid freindschip to remaine
Vnto us all ve sall acquyt againe:

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[7] f. 67v-8r, STS pp. 113-4.

[8] Norbert Elias, The Court Society trans. E. Jephcott (Oxford: Blackwell, 1983), p. 105.

Vreat from amongs the vater *Nymphs* on forth
Approtching nar the cost lyis to the north
At houris aucht the tuentie fyft of may
Quhan vpwart vent the birnand torche of day[9]

Here, Stewart composes a poetic expression of gratitude on behalf of several (unidentified) women; this slight but delicate lyric of courtesy belongs to the group of female-voiced lyrics (discussed below) which so distinguishes the *Rapsodies*. This is occasional poetry: the king's poetic 'Coronation Vith laurell' is commemorated, and other lyrics offered to James as a 'new yeirs gift'[10]. Even those lyrics which do not arise so explicitly (as the latter) out of actual events often imply or posit another sense of occasion: for example, the titles 'For Confirming of ane Faithfull Promeis' or 'In Going to his Luif' create an occasion (even if hypothetical) upon which the poem is constructed. The miscellany is full of implied but anonymous presences: the unidentified mistresses and 'honorabill ladies[s]' to, about, and on behalf of Stewart writes: for example, 'To ane Honorabill and Distressit Ladie', 'To ane Honarabill Ladie', 'In the end of ane letter to ane honorabill ladie', 'Ane Answer to the letter of ane honorabill ladie'[11]. These particular lyrics addressed to 'honarabill' women eschew the subject of love in favour of moral consolation but one exceptional instance praises (and envies) the *ladie*'s own poetic gifts:

All *Nymphs* preclair that hants thois blomie banks
And schruds amongs the semlie schaddouit schaws
To yow *Madam* dois Rander humyll thanks
Quhais hich Ingyn vorschips thair sacrd laws
Thair is no *Muse* your ladischip misknaws,
Bot honoris yow as Patrone principall:
The sisters thrie your famus fame furthblaws,
*Sibilla* sayis ye salbe speciall[12]

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[9] f. 76r, STS pp. 132-3, ll. 20-27.

[10] See f. 73v (STS p. 127), 'To his Maiestie the first of Ianvar. *1582*'; f. 74r, 'To His Maiestie the first of Ianvar vith Presentation of ane lawrell trie formit of Gould. *1583*'; f. 75r, 'To his Maiestie the day of his coronation Vith Laurell'. On the typical social and occasional circumstances of English court poetry (such as the New Year's gift), see most recently Arthur Marotti, Manuscript, Print and the English Renaissance Lyric (Cornell University Press, 1995), pp. 2-3; Woudhuysen, *op. cit.*, p. 90.

[11] ff. 66v-67v, STS pp. 110-12; ff. 70r-v, STS pp. 120-1; f. 71v, STS pp. 122-3; ff. 79r-v, STS pp. 141-2.

[12] 'Ane Ansueir...', ff. 79r-v, ll. 31-8, STS pp. 141-1.

This offers tantalisingly incomplete evidence that women were not merely passive among Stewart's community of courtly readers but actively participated in the network of coterie exchange. The female presence, as later suggested, becomes more complex and less assured in the example of Stewart's 'hostess' sonnets which might be aligned to the discursive paradigm by which poetry of desire is exchanged between men, and the literary subject - woman - is herself excluded from this exchange.

Puttenham's precept that the courtier must expediently dissemble in order to ensure courtly survival is echoed in Castiglione's advice to cultivate privacy: 'if oure Courtier would folowe my counsell, I would exhort him to kepe his loves secrete'[13]. The tension so thoroughly exploited in Alexander Scott's poetry between courtly caution and the poet's inevitable revelation in the act of articulating love is embodied by Stewart in a single poem, 'In Going to his Luif'[14]. As demonstrated below, this lyric evocatively expresses the paradox of a desire that ironically (and helplessly) derives both its anxiety and its intensity from the imposition of secrecy; the integrity of this 'synceir' love is dependent upon its being kept 'secret'. Though the tension between disclosure and withdrawal can be regarded as self-contained within the poem itself, contextualisation of the lyric within its likely courtly environment (as in the reading of Scott's poetry) invests it with greater *frisson* or resonance: as part of the poetic 'signes and tokens' (Castiglione's phrase) by which courtiers might express desire[15], this confession of covert love is made within a milieu in which the virtues of discretion and dissembling are apparently cherished. Desire is veiled within Stewart's lyric as it might also be within its circle of courtiers/poets/lovers.

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[13] Castiglione, *Il Cortegiano*, The Book of the Courtier translated Thomas Hoby edited Virigina Cox (Everyman, 1994), Book III, p. 279.

[14] f. 101r, STS p. 188.

[15] Julia Boffey, Manuscripts of English Courtly Love Lyrics in the late Middle Ages (D.S. Brewer Ltd., 1985), comments on how the typical courtly MS miscellany served partially to document the 'amorous relationships "in real life" of its owners and writers. But there are difficulties in assuming that any of Stewart's 'mistress' poems imply a real beloved (does the phrae of one lyric, 'His **awin** mistress', imply this?), or cross the threshold between courtly complement and 'authentic' seduction?

The *Rapsodies* are offered to James as a token of 'guid vill' ('To his Maiestie vith Presentatioun', l. 9), and the kingly presence is anxiously courted throughout by Stewart, occasionally solicited with the same eagerness and deference usually conferred on a female beloved. Much of this is duly and conventionally reverential[16]; MacDiarmid comments on the 'tedious amount of dutiful reference'[17]. Yet these obsequious poems also betray a sense of the literary practice and ideals to which Stewart (albeit in deference to James as his Maecenas) aspires. This in turn bears implications for the secular love poetry here considered. As borne out in his translation of Du Bartas's Uranie, James's own propensity was for moral, religious and philosophical poetry in the highest genre of epic[18]. The *Rapsodies* is not, of course, a wholly secular lyric collection; its moral tenor may well be a concession to James's poetic preferences· *Ane Schersing out of Trew Felicitie* which follows the *Rapsodies* in part atones for the latter: 'Beliwis thow his godlie blissit braine/Vill tak delyt of thy fantastick vaine/Quhilk hes sic fectles frioulteis don fram...'[19]. In part an *excusatio*, this renunciation and pledged allegiance to 'mair prudent verse' reflects the frequent two part division of a poetic collectin into secular and divine halves, with the latter presented as a moral and spiritual progression[20]. Stewart's *apologia* is most probably a conscious response to Jamesian poetics: the composition of secular poetry (although it nevertheless flourished) is charged with 'fantastick facill sayings vaine/from Sonets als, And euerie friuoll verse...'[21]. MacDiarmid observes of Stewart that 'as a courtier...he reflects more clearly than most the change in the spirit and theme of contemporary poetry'[22]. The *Rapsodies*' 'merrie ryms' are not only formally retracted in the *Schersing* but implicitly qualified by the sonnets in praise of James's 'dyt celest':

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[16] Exemplified, for example, by the rhetoric of 'To his Maiestie the first of ianvar', f. 74r, STS p. 128; 'At command of his Maiestie in prais of the art of poesie', f. 74r, STS p. 129; 'To his Maiestie with presentation of this volume', f. 103r, STS p. 192.

[17] SHR, op. cit., p. 60.

[18] See part I, chapter I, for discussion of this.

[19] 'The Prolog', f. 111r, ll. 9-11; STS p. 196.

[20] See, for example, Watson's Hekatompathia and Tears of Fancie, and Mure of Rowallan's concise sonnet sequence 'Fancies Farewell'.

[21] *Ane Schersing*, 'The Mateir', f. 114r, ll. 11-12.

[22] *SHR*, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

The Mychtie Muse is no Subiectit Slawe
To mundan mater Bot with dyt celest
The Gloir of God Immortall thow dois crawe
Quho dois deteine thy peirles spreit possest
Vith heawenlie gifts of grace abowe the rest[23]

In part, the *Rapsodies* preempts censure by confessing itself a miscellany of literary beginnings ('my first dyt'), as yet untutored and unrefined[24]:

.......Ay hoiping surely still
Your hienes vill My minchit meiter mend
So condiscend, And do the same defend
Than sall be kend Quhat vertew in yow lyis...[25]

From his king, no less than the courtly women whom he petitions, Stewart nevertheless seeks inspiration for 'Meit michtie mater'. Despite the apparent failings of his 'first dyt', poetry remains the instrument by which royal favour may be procured: his 'sempill versis...to my end Sall ay awance your pryis'[26]. The presentation of this 'sempill gift' is simultaneously the offering of 'ane treuthfull luifing hart alone'[27]. Although Stewart's lyrics do not as markedly as Montgomerie's fuse the languages of erotic and political service, occasional vows of fidelity are phrased with amatory overtones: 'Daylie to see your grace is my disyre'[28]. As if addressed to an unreciprocating beloved another appeal that his devotion should not pass unobserved

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[23] 'To the former effect. Ane vther sonnet', f. 88r, STS p. 160, ll. 5-9. The sonnet, 'In prais of his Maiesties Work', f. 87v, STS p. 159, seems to allude to James's translation of Du Bartas: 'Sum holie Angill...', ll. 7-9, and in the third sonnet in this apparent series, f. 88v, STS p. 161, to James's 'Dewyise celest', l. 4. This has bearings for his own poetry: 'Muse than assist me vith sum mater meit/Meit mychtie mater As his Muse dois wse...', ll. 7-8.

[24] This is, of course, declared by the title; it might also allude to Petrarch's 'primo giovenile errore' in the Rime, and 'excuse' Stewart as a youthful Petrarchan.

[25] 'To his Maiestie/Sonnet', f. 63r, STS p. 103, ll. 7-10 (though here there is also more subtly the promise of mutual reward: James will prove himself virtuous in attending to Stewart's writing).

[26] 'To his maiestie/Sonnet, op. cit., ll. 11-12.

[27] 'To his Maiestie the first of Ianvar. 1582', f. 74v, STS p. 127, l. 21.

[28] 'Ane New sort of rymand rym', ff. 82v-83v, STS pp. 149-51, l. 73.

(and unrewarded) is almost poignant: 'Remember me And do me not foryeit'[29]. The *Rapsodies* succeeds in glorifying the sovereign - in Montrose's terms 'enhanc[ing] not only the splendour but the strength of the monarchy'[30] - and to endorse his absolutism in the literary, as well as the political realm.

Yet the miscellany also betrays anxiety about the fragile and duplicitous nature of the environment in which such homage and display occurs. It is an anticourtly as well as a courtly text: 'Tyds hich dois flow, Bot ebs als fast,/Than richtlie row, for courts will cast'[31]. The 'quadrain', 'Of ane Certane Courteour', evokes Puttenham's assimilation of the courtier to the figure *Allegoria*:

Vit but veals vith vertew but vyce
He doith possess, now all may persawe.
Sit sall he still suir nicht semyng nyce
Sie may ye him trew nocht leing knawe [32]

'Courtliness' is the synonym for guile. Not purely a 'princepleaser', Stewart solicits James to 'flie Sir from...' such dissemblers, and is vexed that his own reputation might be tarnished by 'vthers of dispyt/[that] Vill me bakbyt'[33]. Within this milieu - characterised in the *Rapsodies*'s portrayal by extreme unction, an illusory sense of order and the threat of duplicity and dissent - Stewart's poetry of love is enacted (and transacted).

***Reflections on rhetoric*** In the context of Castalian writing, Stewart's poetry is perceived as the most highly manneristic in rhetorical terms. Indeed, his mannerism is occasionally regarded as rather facile[34]. The verbal style of the love poetry is characterised by extremes, encompassing both the rhetorically ornate and the more colloquial (the sense of courtly conversations). What is seldom observed is how markedly many of Stewart's sonnets appear to act as a metacommentary upon his own literary practices. Both occasional and more sustained observations throughout the *Rapsodies* seemingly constitute an informal or miniature poetic treatise. The art of poetry is a 'Sacred...science maist deuyne': the divine epithet is most probably a Jamesian allusion[35]. The poetic *desiderata* which Stewart's own poetry most palpably exemplifies is 'fouth of langage' or 'vordie verse' (literally, full of words)[36]. As argued in relation to Montgomerie's mannerism, this particular term, 'fouth', and its manifestation in Stewart's lyrics of verbal plenitude may be compared to the Erasmian doctrine of *copia*.

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[29] *op. cit.*, l. 65.

[30] 'Of Gentlemen and Shepherds: the Politics of Elizabethan Pastoral Form', *ELH* 50 (1983), pp. 415-59 (440).

[31] 'To his Familiar friend in Court', f. 72r, STS p. 124, ll. 5-6.

[32] f. 100r, STS p. 186; see 'To Fame. Sonnet', f. 102r, STS p. 191 also.

[33] 'Ane New sort of rymand rym...', l. 15; 'To his Maiestie. Sonnet', f. 83r, STS p. 148, ll. 5-6.

[34] Jack, Choice, p. 13ff (Stewart on occasion exemplifies the Castalian 'unhealthy obsession with virtuouso manneristic effects'), and History, p. 130: 'Even Stewart, whose talents are not inconsiderable, allows his interest in rhetoric to become an end in itself rather too often'.

Dull dolor dalie dois delyt destroy,
Vill vantith vit vaist vorn vith vickit vo,
Cair cankert causity confortles conwoy
Seueir sad sorrow scharplie schoris so:[37]

What might be perceived as tiresome affectation on Stewart's part may illustrate Erasmus's own strictures on the abuse of the abundant style (displaying *garrulitas* instead of *copia*): 'just as dress and outward appearance can enhance or disfigure the beauty and dignity of the body, so words can enhance or disfigure thought'[38].

Yet, to an even greater degree than Montgomerie, Stewart's poetry suggests that the 'abuse' of language is the *raison d'etre* of a distinctly Scottish kind of manneristic practice. Contemporary English criticism and poetic practice mostly shuns the idea of cultivated verbal excesses (typically the disdain for alliteration) in contrast to such poetry which partly strives for a consciously beautiful or ornate 'disfigurement'. Stewart's manneristic poetry is meretricious in the sense of

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[35] 'In Prais of his Freindis Work', f. 91v, l. 3, STS p. 165; see also 'At Command of His Maiestie in Praise of the Art of Poesie', f. 75r; STS p. 129.

[36] 'Againe of ane poet', f. 103r; STS p.190, l.7; 'Ane Ansueir to the Letter of ane Honarabill Ladie' f. 80v; STS p. 142, l. 30. Stewart's purely 'literary' poems in the *Rapsodies* often make conscientious allusion to James's treatise: for example, 'Of ane Poet', f. 102v; STS p. 189, l. 14: 'To thraw thair verses either schort or lang'.

[37] 'Ane Literall Sonnet', f. 99v, STS p. 185, ll. 1-4.

[38] *De Copia*, in Collected Works of Erasmus. Literary and Educational Writings edited byy Craig R. Thompson (University of Toronto Press, 1978), p. 306.

Montgomerie's. The latter's feature of 'self-begetting' alliteration, for example, is echoed in 'Of the Qualiteis of Luif': 'Sound syn to suell in syching sour and sweet/Sueit luif heirvith dois suffer monie stound:/Stound both vith cair And confort lairge repleit'[39]. This conveys the illusion of being improvised, *extempore* discourse (the theory of improvisation transmuted in the renaissance from Quintilian's sense of the verbal 'gifts of the moment'[40]). As Jack has amply demonstrated, Stewart's individual mannerism is profoundly shaped by the influence of the *grands rhetoriqueurs*, and their fascination with formal expression and *harmonie imitative*[41].

Yet the sheerly witty quality of Stewart's verbal displays is seldom noted or explored. In an article which insightfully exposes the court jester role of Marot (as opposed to Marot, Protestant humanist), Scollen-Jimack reveals the significance of the poet's 'foregrounding of the ludic and the fantastic, a show of sheer linguistic dexterity and an overwhelming sense of joyous anarchy'[42]. Precisely these qualities are displayed in many of Stewart's lyrics. The aesthetic and emotive effect of pleasure may be courted by such lyrics as 'Of the Qualities of Lufe', 'Of the signification of colors', 'Of the Assaultis of Luif', the 'Host' and 'Hostes' sonnets, 'Ane Literall Sonnet', and in occasional passages of alliteration or verbal ornamentation within other poems[43]. Stewart's word *congeries* often exuberantly flout linguistic decorum.

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[39] f. 86v, ll. 10-12, STS p. 157. Though Montgomerie's preminence is implied by James's Reulis, the innovation of Stewart's mannerism cannot be ruled out as an influence upon Montgomerie, rather than the inverse which is the more usual assumption.

[40] Quintilian, De Institutio Oratore, X.vi.5-6.

[41] The ideal of musical quality (Molinet's *musique des mots*) is frequently endorsed in Stewart's literary sonnets: for example, 'At Command of his Maiestie in praise of the art of poesie' (f. 75v, STS p. 129), l. 11, and 'Againe of ane Poet' (f. 103r, STS p. 190), l. 14. Stewart's well-documented use of rime batelee, rime riche, rime entrelacée is advocated in the formal treatises of the rhetoriqueurs (for examples of which see Pierre Champion, Artes de Seconde Rhétorique) but also in later critical works such as Sebillet's L'Art Poétique Francoise (for example, p. 63 ed. Felix Gaiffe (Paris, 1988)).

[42] 'Clément Marot: Protestant humanist or court jester?', *Renaissance Studies* 3 (1989), pp. 134-46 (145). Marot's poetry also reflects the influence of the fifteenth century *rhetoriqueur* tradition, and the pervasive influence of Marot in sixteenth century Scottish poetry is attested by translation (of the elegies in particular); the highly rhetorical character of Castalian writing may also be shaped to an extent by this Marotic mediation of *rhetoriqueur* poetics.

[43] See Heinrich F. Plett, 'The Place and Function of Style in Renaissance Poetics', Renaissance Eloquence. Studies in the Theory and Practice of Renaissance Rhetoric ed. James J. Murphy (University of California Press, 1983), pp. 356-75 on the concept of rhetorical delight, an extension of the affective power of rhetoric discussed in the 'Introduction' to the present thesis in relation to the amatory lyric.

Yet just as Stewart's royal *encomia* are juxtaposed with poems sceptical of the rhetoric of courtly adulation, his poetic virtuosity is combined with expressions of creative anxiety[44]. On occasion, Stewart merely invokes the conventional *excusatio*: the recurring phrase, 'my sempill speitche', is surely in part an ironic nod to the facetiously ornamental rhetoric of other poems[45]. Stewart's exercise in the genre of the 'echo' lyric conventionally exploits the mythical figure as the rhetorical device of amplification: '*O Elresche Echo* that dois schout so schill/Quham *Narcissus* luif constraneth to complaine/Throch daill, throch vaill, throch forrest, Rock and hill/In cair consumit for his cald disdaine...'[46]. Yet the sonnet displays a characteristically Stewartian sensitivity to the aurally echoic potential of his language. The poet-lover requests (significantly, given the other striking female-voiced lyrics discussed below) that his voice be ventriloquised through hers: 'Supplie my speitche now till exprime my paine' (l. 5). The anticipated 'relasche' (l. 11) recalls the sense of the rhetorical release attained through *copia* as well as being implicitly sexual: 'So reuthfull cryis sum part my cair sall suadge/Quhilk holdin In vold suell me in ane radge' (ll. 13-14). The lyric is therefore concerned with the anxious articulation of love.

The lover solicitous about how she or he should speak of love is a *persona* much beloved by the lyric poet. Rhetoric becomes the only tool of persuasion by which sexual (and political or courtly) favour can be secured. Accordingly, the lover's rhetoric can never be considered 'innocent': its formal shape or particular lexis is designed to seduce. Rhetorical display is itself a form of courtship. One particular *Rapsodies* lyric exemplifies this facet, a paradigm of the 'little ornamental poem of love' discussed (in Elizabethan terms) by Fumerton[47].

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[44] For example, 'Of ane Poet' f. 102v; STS p. 189.

[45] 'In Prais of his Freinds Vork. Sonnet', f. 91r; STS p. 165, l. 5, and 'To his Maiestie. Sonnet' f. 64r, STS p. 103, l. 11. The term also, of course, conveys in poetic (and social) senses the deferential humility of the suppliant court poet.

[46] 'To Echo of Invart Havines Sonnet', f. 85r, STS p. 154, ll. 1-4.

[47] Patricia Fumerton, Cultural Aesthetics. Renaissance Literature and the Practice of Social Ornament (University of Chicago Press, 1991).

O Rair,
Preclair,
Most fair:
My chois:
Repair,
My cair,
And spair
My lois.
O Rois
formois
that gois
vith sort of thois, In dians rout
Suppois
Quhat vois
Dois clois
As fremit fois My hart about.[48]

To his Maistres' is structurally composed of three apostrophes to the beloved ('O Rair/Preclair', 'O Rois formois', 'O Deir'); simply a lover's appeal that his love be returned. Yet it is the overall visual effect of the stanzaic organisation, the rhyme scheme (disyllabic, *aaabaaabbbbcbbbc*[49]) compelling the repetition of certain vowel clusters, and the simplicity of language in semantic terms which transforms the request into a delicate (perhaps playfully so) poetic ornament. This particular kind of rhetoric has been classified by Jack as Stewart's technique of 'underwriting'. It might be claimed that this effect of simplicity or verbal paucity is as purposefully cultivated and manneristic as his other ebulliently 'vordie' lyrics. Stewart's types of manneristic ornamentation when exclusively composed on the topic of love are now considered in detail.

### *The subject of love*

Luif is ane aigre douce delyt and grief:
Grief is in luif ane lustie langing lyf:

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[48] f. 81v, STS p. 147, ll. 1-16.

[49] Perhaps another instance of Scottish manneristic practice directly influenced by French rhetorical forms: disyllabic verse, for example, is discussed by Sebillet in L'Art Poetique Francais, *op. cit.*, pp. 34-5.

lyf may not last Quhair luif pretends mischief:
Mischief of luif is euirlasting stryf;
Stryf reuling luif, than rancor raidgeis ryf:
Ryf raidge is not, gif luifers luif abound:
Abounding luif is sharp as scharpest knyf:
knyf may not kill moir scharplie vith ane wound:
Vound deip vith vo, And schortlie haill and sound.
Sound syn to swell in syching sour and sueit,
Sueit luif heirvith dois suffer monie stound:
Stound both vith cair And confort lairge repleit:
Repleit vith luif hes bein both gods and men:
Men luif obeyis Gods vill not luif misken[50]

The sonnet is aptly defined by its title: the abstract 'Qualities of Luif', as endured by the archetypal lover, are catalogued in swift succession. This conceit, the classification or description of love, has ample precedence[51] but, as with another sonnet by Stewart on the subject of 'Trewth', the topic is less the subject of conceptual wit than of rhetorical ornamentation. By the device of *rime enchaînee* and the medial repetition in lines 1-5, the text is woven around the single word, 'luif', which is then embellished in both textual and abstract senses[52]. Words beget words, and each state of love defines or engenders another: therefore 'luif' begets' grief', 'grief' begets 'lyf'; 'lyf' begets 'mischief' *et seq*. At first (certainly as a visual effect), the *reduplicatio* appears chaotic. Yet the correspondence between interlinked 'qualiteis' also reflects the logical and analytic wit desired by James's treatise as each of the lover's states discovers another. Ironically, a supremely ordered logic is conferred on the conventionally disordering experience of love. Aptly (though arguably he is not a typically Petrarchist poet), Stewart begins with the archetypal Petrarchan oxymoron of love as 'aigre douce', the quintessential 'quality' which discloses other paradoxical sets: 'delyt and grief'; and grief that nevertheless procures 'ane lustie langing lyf'. Love is transmuted into a less anguished condition at line 6; yet even there the inexorable rhyme scheme compels 'abounding luif' to cause strife. The wound of love comparable to that inflicted by the 'scharpest knyf' is an unremarkable analogy but the exigencies of Stewart's rhyme and its rhetorical effects render the infliction and alleviation of pain with ironic economy: 'Vound deip vith vo And schortlie haill and sound'. Such brevity and terseness suggests the 'qualitieis' of love to be in a state of constant flux; its effects of love are constantly metamorphosed into others.

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[50] f. 87r, STS p. 157.

[51] See, for example, Rime 135.

[52] That the sonnet can be conceived as the rhetorical ornamenting of the topic of love is made persuasive by the fact that in the MS the actual word, 'luif' is 'ornamented' in gold leaf in line 1.

This rhetorical anatomy of love concludes with a paradox: 'men luif obeyis Gods vill not luif misken'. Perhaps a more unusual conclusion than anticipated, the couplet seems to declare that those possessed with divinity are less subject to the power of love than mere mortals who are easily consumed by love's self-perpetuating logic. The sonnet may be considered pleasingly witty, mildly ingenious (despite being conventionally figurative), and offers through its technique of verbal interlacing certain sound collocations. It is therefore an apposite piece of courtly, poetic display.

*Rhetoriqueur rime* is applied with even greater intensity in a comparable 'display' poem which expounds the topic, the 'Assaultis of Luif':

The deedlie dolor quhilk I do Induir
So dois combuir / my bodie all in baill
That I laik haill / And may find no recuir
Sic sorrow suir / so soir dois me assaill,
In vaill and daill / all fredome dois me faill
In seis I saill / Schersing remeid thairfoir.
Bot moir and moir / My vois I do beuaill
No vattir paill / may quenche my flames soir:
My reuthfull roir / maist humyllie dois Imploir
The mychtie gloir / of the bold blyndit boy
Quhois dart of noy / my death dois dalie schoir
As bullering boir / me brewlie till distroy
Och, ons sic ioy / to grant me or I die
That paine I drie / may pleis my ladie frie[53]

Here, the cumulative, virtuosic effect of *rime batelée, rime renforcée, and rime brisée* masks the figurative simplicity of the conceits used. This is not to convict Stewart of an empty superficiality as a love lyricist but rather to suggest that, in this and the previous sonnet, he is less preoccupied with the exposition of love (in abstract or philosophical terms) than with the different verbal effects which can be wrought from the genre's intrinsic language. The conceits all possess Petrarchan analogues: love's physical torture, the metaphorical sea-voyage of love, the antithesis of fire-water; the lover's wounding by Cupid. Yet these allusions, like the implicit reference to the myth of Acteon in line 12, are not sustained: they act as customary 'tokens' of convention, or as verbal decoration in a sonnet which is, ultimately, descriptive rather than intellectually or emotionally analytic. Not that the sonnet entirely lacks emotive power: the couplet, with its sudden conversational inflection, is gently resigned in tone as the lover's sheer pain, let alone the quality of his desire, is offered to 'pleis' her.

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[53] f. 98r, STS p. 182.

As noted previously, Stewart criticism (and a broader critical strain which chastises most apparently imitative Renaissance love poetry) has tended to denigrate such poems as *mere* stylistic exercises. Yet their whole point is that they enclose the subject of love (in these two sonnets both defined or stated as a series of effects) within an ingeniously crafted rhetorical artifice. Neither the tropes nor the rhetorical figures of love are ingenious but only the composite structure of the words and their relation to each other. At the expense of generalisation, this fascination with the 'materiality' of the text, as it were, seems a peculiarly Scottish, and intensely Castalian, trait which can be wed in the advocacy of 'literall' verse in the 'Reulis' to which Stewart's 'Ane Literall Sonnet' probably alludes. Within this consensus of manneristic traits, one might distinguish Stewart's manneristic 'display' poems from the conceptual or intellectual manneristic strain which was identified in some of Montgomerie's love lyrics. This distinction might usefully be compared to Gracian's twin classification of *agudeza* in his *Agudeza y arte de ingenio*, claimed to be the 'most consistent and representative Baroque aesthetic treatise'[54]:

> There is an *agudeza* or shall we say an ingenuity of understanding and ingenuity of making artificial things. The former aims at discovering

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[54] Rocco Montano, 'Metaphysical and Verbal *Aguzia* and the Essence of the Baroque', *Colloquia Germanica* 1 (1967), pp. 49-65 (55).

> difficult truths; the latter is concerned more with beauty. It may be divided into *agudeza* of conceits and verbal *agudeza*[55].

Accordingly Stewart's sonnets do not present any abstract 'difficulties' or provocations but impose on the reader (or listener) a sense of their formal beauty as invented *artefacts*.

As these sonnets concentrate upon the language of love so another descriptive sonnet, 'Vpone the Portrait of Cupid', offers a visual analogue or portrait[56]. In one sense, it may be considered the verbal 'painting' of an implied, actual painting (*ut pictura poesis*, or a poetic gloss on the image of Cupid). Stewart's sonnet emphasises another, typically 'courtly' facet of his poetry in general: the recurring presence of objects (for example, the laurel tree given to James, or the Cupid ornament belonging to the beloved in another lyric). His poetry is rooted in a distinct social and material world: its objects of beauty (as this portrait of Cupid or of the mistress's Cupid set in 'cristall') intrude into poems which may may be conceived as beautiful artefacts.

Luif young is paintit lyk ane prettie boy
In signe that youth of him hes greatest cuir:
Vith semblant sueit he smylith sum thing moy
To schaw he dois be craft his sute allure:
His bodie quhyt all nakit dois Induir
for his delyt but onie schame at all:
His laik of sycht Also dois ws assuir
His snappring state And Iudgement verray small:
The schaft And bow quhilk both he beirs so tall
Declairs him prompt All persons to persew:
Thay giwe him vings hich vith the vind to brall
becasue he is so vauering and untrew:
Auld painters hes this form for luif prepaird
To lerne ws wit quhan ve do luif regaird

The significances of Cupid's form - the interpretation of a pictorial language invented by 'auld painters' - are expounded by a didactic commentator who constantly gestures towards a collective audience (of readers/viewers?): 'dois *ws* assuir', 'To lerne *ws* vit'.

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[55] Cited by Montano, *ibid.*, p. 61.

[56] f. 86r, STS p. 156.

Vulnerability to Cupid's power is a humanly frail attribute (this Cupid pursues 'All persons', line 10), therefore cognisance should be given to those who create his image: '*Thay* giwe him wings hich vith the vind to brall....'. The 'glosses' provided by this solicitously moral *persona* - who comments on Cupid's nakedness with a faintly comic prurience ('for his delyt but onie shame at all') - may purposefully recall the Neoplatonic, moralistic commentaries on the *putto* representative of profane love, or in Leone's words[57], the 'little child (cf. l.1), naked (ll.5-6), winged (11-12) and an archer (9-10).

> Love is called *the senseless boy*, not because it is foolish of itself, but because it makes most lovers foolish and in such lovers a foolish thing[58]

That Cupid's pictorial form is intended 'To lerne ws wit' is redolent of Bembo's statement in Gli Asolani that Cupid acquired his symbolic aspects 'in order that he might be more completely known...'[59]. Bembo proceeds to comment on Cupidian nakedness, his youth, and in a phrase which Stewart's peculiarly echoes, his wings; '*They give him wings* because lovers, who are lifted on the pinions of their mad desires, flit lightly through the empty air, even, their hopes make them believe, right up to heaven...'[60] (my italics).

Yet the sonnet also glosses the profane *putto*'s iconography with an element of facetiousness. The frequently observed disparity between Cupid's stature and age, and the authority that he commands is drawn with a delicate wit: the little Cupid bears his 'schaft And bow...so tall'. This is a playful fusion of the sonnet's literal and abstract senses.

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[57] Leone Ebreo, *Dialoghi d'Amore* (1541); translated as The Philosophy of Love by F.Friedelberg-Seeley and Jean H. Barnes, p. 155. Classical descriptions of Cupid, of course, reflect this iconography (for example, Propertius, *Elegies*, II.1). See Part II, Chapter II, on the iconographical significance of Cupid in Montgomerie's poetry.

[58] Giordano Bruno, *De gli eroici furori*, translated as The Heroic Frenzies by Paul Eugene Memmo (Chapel Hill: North Carolina Press, 1964), p. 91.

[59] Pietro Bembo's Gli Asolani trans. Rudolf B. Gottfried (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1954), p. 39.

[60] *ibid.*, p. 39.

***Coterie or occasional love poetry*** These rhetorically and visually conceitful sonnets about love may have been written in response to a specific request for such an 'ornamental' or facetious poem. Stewart's love lyrics exemplify Elias's premise that the individual at court is always conceived as 'a person in relation to others'[61]; as a poet at court, Stewart writes within a society. One lyric is announced as (or at least creates the illusion of being) a 'response': 'In Praise of luif at the desyre of ane Nobile ladie'[62]. It exemplifies Jones's comment on Il Cortegiano and Guazzo's Il civil conversatione that the woman at court 'serve[d] courtiers as stimulus and audience', acting as 'an erotic catalyst'[63]. The composition of love poetry is one of 'the things taken in hande to please women withall....'[64]. Stewart's lyric does not portray a particular passion. Cupid, rather than any imagined or actual beloved, is the subject of praise. Love's exaltation is presented as the supreme poetic subject. Stewart is portrayed as a poetic *ingenu*, daunted by the description of a 'celestiall art' which is evidently not of the Jamesian kind:

*from Secreit Seit* And ceinter of my hart
Pen inexpert[65] depaint sum speitche expres
In mychtie praise of that celestiall art
Quhilk vordie vychts behuifs for till profes:
Great *Gods abowe* And men below dois dres
All Reuerence dew vnto thy gouldin bow[66]
O lord of luif lowing thy luiflie lowe: (ll. 1-7)

Cupid's omnipotence is illustrated in the second stanza by a miniature 'catalogue' of mythical and historical figures vulnerable to his power. This rhetorical listing is conventional (the *querelle* texts in the Bannatyne manuscript especially deploy this technique). Yet Stewart's *exempla* reconcile the traditional Venus-Mars paradox by symbolising heroic, martial prowess:

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[61] Elias, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[62] f. 76v, STS pp. 134-5.

[63] Ann Rosalind Jones, The Currency of Eros. Women's Love Lyric in Europe 1540-1620 (Indiana University Press, 1990), p. 16.

[64] The Courtier translated by Thomas Hoby, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[65] Does this coyly pun on the sense of sexual as well as poetic inexperience?

[66] Shire's hypothesis that all Cupid references in Castalian poetry are allusions to James is clearly made tenuous by such commonplace invocations of Cupidian authority: see Part II, Chapters 1 and 2 for extended discussion of Castalian Cupids.

king priams sone *The Trustie troylus* stout
Did bind his brows about vith *myrtle* grene
*Achilles* als chief of the grecian rout
Becam thy slawe for lustie *Polixeine*
And monie mo to the hes thrallit beine.
Naine may resist thy dintis douce and kynd
Bot sluggische sauls that laiks couragius mynd: (ll. 8-14)

Unlike Murray's later Caelia, Stewart's lyric does not condemn but rather celebrates Cupid's effeminising power (Troilus wears Venus's myrtle rather than the laurel wreath of victory). Sexual rather than heroic 'courage' is lauded (l. 14), and Cupid's wounding, as a benevolent 'lord of luif', is peculiarly gentle ('dintis douce and kynd').

The third stanza twins love with poetry; both arts are imagistically entwined in 'chains of Rosis reed' (l. 16). This is a graceful conceit, evoking the sense of purely rhetorical 'flowers', and a poetics of love aptly garnered from the rose (symbol of desire and beauty perhaps in conscious allusion to the Anacreontic myth)[67]. The delicacy implied by the interlaced roses is nicely balanced by the solidity of the linking 'chains'. This evocation of beauty, allied to celebration of Cupid's gentle absolutism, is concluded by a sudden sacred (as opposed to profane) comment: 'And to be schort scripture dois condiscend/All things in erthe Bot onlie luif hes end' (ll. 20-1).

How seriously should one take this brief religiosity in such a courtly celebration of the secular? It may be intended as decorous reassurance to the 'nobile ladie' that earthly love has moral sanction; or that love is infinite and therefore transcends the limitations of the earthly. It might be merely a wittily reverential posture rather than reflect the moral *gravitas* of Stewart's anticurial poetry and several other amatory pieces (see below). This particular Cupid seems happily to embrace both *cupiditas* and *caritas*. The 'L'enwoy' is a veiled compliment to the gentlewoman herself, exemplifying the fashionable exchange of the ornamental, 'small poem' of love between courtiers:

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[67] Greek Lyric trans. David A. Campbell, Loeb Classical Library, 4 vols (London: Heinemann, 1988), II, 189-91: translated as 'The Muses tied Love with garlands and handed him over to Beauty. And now Cythereia brings ransom and seeks to have him released. But if he is released, he will not leave but will stay: he has learned to be her slave'.. Also Watson LXXXIII and Ronsard ode as discussed by A.E.B. Coldiron, 'Watson's "Hekatompathia" and Renaissance Lyric Translation', *Translation and Literature* 5 (part 1) (1996), pp. 3-25 (18-19). The Roman de la Rose may also be implicated.

L'enwoy to the foirsaid ladie
Quha possessit Cupid inclosit
In ane tablat of christall.

*fair luiflie dame* In quham all bontie beine
Thy prope persone dois approwe thy mycht
Quhilk keips incloist in rock of christall cleine
This lord of luf quho dantons euerie vycht,
Thocht he be vechtie yit thow bears him lycht:
Laith *venus* is hir bonie boy to vant
Yit gifs him liwe thy vordie brest to hant

This seemingly slight text is rich in implication. Firstly, it exemplifies the 'material surfaces' with which such courtly poetry is often faceted: a world of artefacts and objects is frequently intimated by such poetry which is itself an (aesthetic) artefact. Stewart's epilogue is literally decorative, embellished with gold leaf. Secondly, the little *putto* enclosed in crystal which she possesses recalls an emblematic image. As the thesis argues, emblematic forms and conceits recur in the poetry of Fowler, Montgomerie, and James. Stewart's gloss (ll. 28-32) on the crystal Cupid recalls the exposition of an emblem. This gloss, of course, flatters 'the ladie', decorously praising first *luif*'s power, then her own to subjugate or at least contain the god of love. She 'beirs him lycht': both literally as she holds the 'rock', and by implication in her heart. She loves reasonably rather than not at all. The final couplet, alluding to the myth of the errant Cupid sought constantly by Venus, gently suggests that she 'beirs' love at present - or that she might in time for the poet himself[68]. Such a lyric exemplifies the codes for male courtly seduction as laid out by Il Cortegiano: 'the way which the

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[68] There is a kind of decorous sensuousness in the allusion to her 'vordie brest'.

Courtier ought to take, to make his love knowen to the woman me thinke should be to declare them in *signes and tokens* more then in woordes...'[69].

Lacking the 'occasion' or request of the latter lyric, 'To his Maistres. Dishuictain' nevertheless creates the illusion of an intimate letter, composed 'heir vithin my restles bed' (l. 16)[70]. Its expression of regret at parting from the beloved is found also in the explicitly epistolary 'In the end of ane letter to ane Honorabill Ladie': 'I think rycht heir myn alon/And has no pleasour bot to reid,/Sen our depart my sport is gon'[71]. The *ladie* is enjoined to take delight in summer's beauty. That it is also an expression of love (or desired love) is implied by the union of Venus and Mars, Jupiter and Danae in this 'sesone maist formois'.

Both lyrics possess a simpler, more transparent rhetoric than the orthodox Stewartian lyric. 'To his Maistres' constitutes a moment of reflection on their separation; his interpretation or reading of word and gesture crucially differs from hers: 'Yit moir to me it bein Quhois spreits vas reft/from all the syntirs of my troublit hart' (ll. 3-4). The valediction poem is, of course, a staple amatory genre. Scott and Montgomerie produce especially eloquent examples, and indeed the conceit of the lover's sundered spirit with its physical emphasis ('reft') is Montgomeriesque. The 'ioy Inwart' of presence cannot surpass the anguish of absence; 'presence sueit' can never be fully enjoyed for the threat to its survival.

Ten thousand wayis dois moir my mynd miseis:
As fyrie vod in feuent flame dois bleis
Consumit am I so vith thochtfull cair
And laiking yow Quha may my murning meis
Ay duyning dies in dalie deip dispair (ll. 8-12)

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[69] *op. cit.*, p. 276 (my italics).

[70] f. 95r, STS p. 176.

[71] f. 71v, STS pp. 122-3, ll. 1-3.Claudio Guillén, 'Notes Towards the Study of the Renaissance Letter', Renaissance Genres. Essays on Theory, History, and Interpretation ed. Barbara Lewalski (Harvard University Press, 1986), pp. 70-101, comments that the poetic letter was traditionally conceived as 'a gift and an exercise in friendship' but on the Horatian model it was 'normally masculine' (ie. exchanged between men), pp. 78-9; popular manuals of letter writing (eg. an Italian collection of love letters by Parabosco) were in circulation in the late sixteenth century.

This characteristic figurative (and rhetorical - the last line is formulaically alliterative) anguish is replaced by a greater specificity as the lover roots himself and his desire: 'lat ons thy seruant sie thy visage fair./Tormentit heir vithin my restles bed' (ll. 15-16: note that the epithet 'restles' is not predicated of the eager lover himself, as if to absolve him of such sensual longing). In the closing couplet, the lover awaits sentence from the beloved. This strongly recalls the prophetic beloved of Montgomerie's Apollo sonnet: 'So lyf or death than sall I suirlie knaw/Ewen as your breath the oracle doith blaw'. The oracle (whether the beloved will consent to see him or not) will literally redeem him from death; her breath allows her to voice ('blaw') her pronouncement but also (in another possible Montgomerie allusion) revive him by a kiss. The lyric closes on an imagined intimacy. Though it can be classified among Stewart's request and exchange poems, it is a lyric in want of a reply for the beloved's 'oracle' is not voiced.

'In Comendatione of Tuo Constant Luifers' is an occasional poem which, in its desire for propitious love, suggest an epithalamium: 'Than Michtie *Iove* And velthie *Iuno* queine/Your godlie gifts vpon thir tuo Incres...'[72]. That this was a 'publicly' celebratory poem - circulated or performed at court - is made persuasive by the final allusive stanza which invites 'hich Ingyns' to discover the lovers' identities: 'Behold *Rosmarie* Spring and lustie greine/Bebatht vith vapor of the morning *Gray*'. MacDiarmid claims that the poem 'is clearly occasioned by the marriage of the Master of Gray to Marie Stewart, the daughter of Robert, the Earl of Orkney'[73]. The historical protagonists and occasion of the poem are less important than its evidence that Stewart assumed a similar role to Montgomerie as a 'commemorative' poet. The 'Comendatione' has the same qualities of playfulness and authorial evasiveness as Montgomerie's Margaret poems. The actual praise of the lovers is preceded by three stanzas which form a literary prologue.

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[72] ff. 80r-v, STS pp. 143-4, ll. 39-40.

[73] SHR, op. cit., p. 59

*Spreits of pernass* than pouss my pen ane space
To praise Quhair praise derseruit dois abound:
O brycht *Apollo* vith thy schyning face,
Thy harp deuyn this subject sueit sould sound (ll. 9-13)

I haif guidwill, Bot sclender skill of myn
May clipse that lycht Quhilk schyns in both so cleir:
The fyrie fyn and pretious diamant deir
Or perfyt perll Thair self preclair will schaw:
Than vith my langage neids me navayis heir
To blaise thair praise of quhom thir lyns I draw (ll. 19-24)

The implied allusion to James and the confession of poetic humility are, as exemplified, characteristics of the *Rapsodies*. The second stanza is of particular interest for declaring the rhetorical or poetic challenge of the subject of love, and that perhaps James (in the guise of Apollo) should himself 'sound.../Sutche mychtie mater' with his harp (a poetic motif which James adopted). This is partly mock-humility and mock-grandeur but allusions to the king's own poetic ideas are studded throughout the *Rapsodies*, and may have formed a pleasingly topical literary reference in the circle for which the 'Comendatione' was intended. Stewart's conceits of poetic humility are especially delicate: that the lovers 'lycht' might be eclipsed by his inadequate words, and that the lovers' worth can be conceived without language at all but symbolised visually by precious stones.

Structurally, the lyric mirrors the celebration of mutual or 'constant' love. The fourth and fifth stanzas (ll. 1-2) respectively 'blaise' the virtues of each lover while the remainder of the fifth and sixth unite them. Interestingly, the male lover is praised for his artful 'obteining of his luif preclair' with seemingly labyrinthine ingenuity (ll. 29-32). Yet the beloved is not passively possessed but consciously 'elects him for her onlie chois' (l. 34), a vocabulary of female agency which recurs in the 'ventriloquised' poems. Stewart's social 'comendation' equally extols virtuous love *per se* as the two loves in whom it is enshrined: 'onlie luif for luif Sold haif no end:/Quhair luifers luif till honest luif dois tend,/Syn in effect firm fund and stabill trew' (ll. 4-6). This recalls the statement of eternal love - love 'without end' - in the 'Prais of luif at thedesyre of ane Nobile ladie', and the occasional piety of the *Rapsodies* as a whole. The opening stanza almost mutes the celebration of love's infinity by a quietly intrusive pathos: the reminder that 'be tym all thingis erdlie dois dissolwe...' (l. 3).

### ***Secrecy and revelation***

O siluer hornit *Diane* nychtis queine
Quha for to kis *Endimeon* did discend
Gif flame of luif thow haid don than susteine
As I do now that instant dois pretend
T'embrasse my luif, Not villing to be kend,
Vith mistie vaill thow wold obscuir thy face
for reuth of me that dois sic trauell spend,
And finding now this vissit grant of grace,
Bot lett it be thy borrowit lycht alace
I staying stand in feir for to be seine
Sen yndling eine Inwirons all this place
Quhois cursit mouths ay to defame dois meine
Bot nether thay Nor yit thy schyning cleir
May cause appeir my secret luif synceir[74]

'In Going to his Luif' is an apposite poem for a miscellany which in part enacts the rituals and observes the codes of court society. The lover seeks to evade being seen, and must accordingly act duplicitously; his love only exists, or possesses integrity, insofar as it remains unknown. Its rhetoric of secrecy, and its concept of 'inward' and thus inviolate love recalls Alexander Scott's lyrics (in particular the *aubade*). The sonnet recreates the moment at which the lover prepares 'T'embrasse my love', and the brief consummation which fulfils the longed for 'grant of grace'. The framing analogy of Diana and Endymion carries the conceit of secrecy. Diana as the moon goddess can envelop the lover in darkness. He solicits her aid since she has loved in the illicit or covert way of the lover himself. She may withdraw or soften her light through the 'reuth' of mutual understanding. So far the lover's secrecy is a virtue in the sense that

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[74] f. 101r, STS p. 188.

Bacon portrays 'this hiding and veiling of a man's self' : 'an habit of secrecy is both politic and moral'[75].

Yet Diana's love for Endymion was condemned to secrecy, or 'obscuir[ed]' in Stewart's sense, for Endymion, in perpetual sleep, did not know of her embraces[76]. This other implied aspect of secret love imbues the sonnet's love with pathos: this 'pretend[ed]' embrace may be as unfulfilled or impartial as Diana's. The fear of revelation imposes temporal limits: 'Bot let it be thy *borrowit* light allace...'; the verbs 'pretend' and 'borrow' emphasise the illusoriness or impermanence of this desire. Even if the condition of its secrecy ensures its virtue ('secret luif synceir'), this love is fragile in other ways. Diana's protection is not assured but hypothetical: 'Vith mistie vaill thow *vold* obscuir thy face...' (my emphasis). Grammatically, the sonnet is bound to the present: the title communicates the present immediacy which is emphasised by other temporal reminders ('As I do now.../I staying stand').

Yet Stewart's title implies a sense of stasis as well as movement. The present participle suggests eternal deferral, and that his desire is immured in a state of imperfect fulfilment. And the literal opacity in which this love must be briefly fulfilled suggests opacity of other kinds: must it be covert in fidelity to the precept of *amour courtois*, or is it adulterous (the implication of Scott's *aubade*) and thus of necessity 'secret'? This lover is protective not only of his 'luif synceir' but the of beloved too whose presence is almost wholly effaced. This is a hauntingly elusive love which, as the couplet declares, would defy even the moon's 'schyning cleir'.

***Female sexuality*** Religious consolation, moral advice, poetic inspiration, courtly complement, and frustrated desire: Stewart's lyrics addressed to women are diverse in subject. Yet outwith these lyrics ostensibly *to* women are several poems

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[75] 'Of Simulation and Dissimulation': Francis Bacon, Essays, intro. Michael J. Hawkins (Everyman 1972), pp.17-18.

[76] Hyginus *op. cit.*, p. 186: 'Endymione uero pastorem amasse dicitur duplo scilicet modo, seu quod primus hominu Endymion cursum lunae inuenerit, unde & triginta annos dormisse dicitur...', and p. 148 also; Comes *op. cit.*, Book III; Boccaccio, Book V, *op. cit.*, pp. 40r -v.

*about* women. The distinction is crucial, for these are important texts in the effort to understand the female presence and poetic response within the court *milieu*. These lyrics - the twinned Host and Hostes sonnets, 'In Name of ane Amorous ladie', and 'In Name of ane Loyale ladie' - are concerned with aspects of female sexuality. In the first, woman speaks as a prostitute (thus 'fallen' according to Renaissance prescriptions of female virtue); in the other two pieces (which mirror each other to a certain extent as the similarity of titles suggest), the female subject is eloquent about her sexual and emotional desire, and its relation to (its permissable expression within) the social and moral contexts which control its expression. Stewart 'impersonates' the female voice in all three lyrics with paradoxical results. Woman is at once rendered as sexual subject and object by this same discursive act: as exemplified below in detail, one is a conventional appropriation while the others subvert this inherently proprietorial or possessive 'voicing'.

At the heart of these lyrics lie several interpretative dilemmas: to what extent can a feminist criticism 'recover' such poems articulated in the other gender? How might the sexually scabrous prostitute sonnets be placed within this allegedly 'refined' courtly miscellany? What does its inclusion reveal about the position of women as readers and audience for such a miscellany (the same dilemma of reconstructing or imagining the conditions of possible reception for the Bannatyne and Maitland lyrics but which is especially pertinent regarding the *Rapsodies*'s prominent female presences? These issues will be addressed in an analysis of the poems which draws theoretically on predominantly French 'feminist' formulations of gender and the writing subject.

The twinned sonnets which form the dialogue between the 'hostes' and 'host' (prostitute and client) are built on irony[77]. The phrase, 'Ane Salutation', has pretensions to humility or genteel deference which are sustained by the apostrophising 'madam' of line 1. The elaborate humility - 'Excuise my part the falt vas not in me' (l.

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[77] ff. 97r-v; STS pp. 180-1.

3) - is merited by his sexual inadequacy: the confession 'That I vas forst to bow vpon my kne' (l. 8), obviously fuses the postures of sexual and social suppliant. The prostitute rebukes this lack of 'boldnes...strenth' with alliterative flourish: 'Your feruent folische furreour far feils...' ('The Ansuir', l. 1). In discursive or rhetorical terms, the female speaker is superior. The sonnet might be reclaimed on this ground: as a 'celebration' of an assertive female sexuality. A more persuasive argument is that it merely enacts (with an incriminating garrulousness or verbosity on the woman's part) the enduring male myth of the sexually voracious woman (the type which recurs in Bannatyne's *querelle* lyrics). The sonnet portrays another aspect of 'the fear of the feminine' which informs (as the works of Fowler and Alexander attest) any conventionally petrarchistic sequence: fear of the beloved's moral or emotional potency is translated here into fear of the prostitute's sexual potency.

The conceitful language for sexual intercourse in each sonnet - as hospitality, a kind of 'navigation', and as a feast - turns the female vagina into a source of rhetorical *inventio*: declared by the host as a 'ludgeing lairge' and 'frie', a 'pathed pavement', an 'oppine port' and a 'brod resort', and by the hostess heself as a 'palice'. This euphemistic discourse has the effect of depicting the hostess's body with a sense of Rabelaisian grotesqueness. Mikhail Bakhtin's analysis of the latter has revolutionised critical understanding of 'the grotesque'[78]. The bodily fascinations of Gargantua et Pantagruel, founded on 'exaggeration, hyperbolism, excessiveness', are conceived as 'triumphant, festive'[79]. Bakhtin therefore dissents from the 'typical...interpretation of the grotesque image as purely satirical, that is, negative'. He comments on the frequency of erotic debasement which reflects the 'fundamental artistic principle of grotesque realism; all that is sacred and exalted is rethought on the level of the material bodily stratum or else combined and mixed with its images'[80]. By analogy, the sonnet's language (though euphemistic) does not evade but rather cherishes bodily palpableness. Sexuality is feasting ('Your *sthomack* seruith bot for sempill cheir'), sexual fluids are implicated: the sonnet might be read on the principle of Bakhtinian license. .

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[78] See principally Mikhail Bakhtin, Rabelais and his World translated by Hélène Iswolsky (Indiana University Press: Bloomington, 1984; first published as *Tvorchestro Fransua Rable* in 1965).

[79] *ibid*, p. 19; 303.

[80] *ibid.*, p. 306; 370-1.

These sonnets are scarcely unique within the context of 'comic' courtly poetry: both Dunbar and the Bannatyne Manuscript provide illustrations of what Jones terms the 'downward movement of courtly discourse'[81]. Yet it might be argued that this particular instance of Bakhtinian displacement - however much a convention of courtly aesthetics - acts so as to *exclude* women. By this, I do not mean any anachronistic sense of 'alienation'. The source of the comic grotesque here is patently the female body, and its deviation from the conventional or prescribed ideal of 'controlled' sexuality and proportionate *genitalia*. It might be carnivalesque in the Bakhtinian sense but the feminine is nevertheless made monstrous for the purpose of (male) comic pleasure. It exemplifies the rhetorical process which, in Patricia Parker's acute analysis, informs the *blason*: the female body is made 'the engaging 'matter' of male discourse...an instance of amplification or dilation by division'[82]. The Renaissance ideal of a classically proportioned and ordered female beauty (in Firenzuola, for example) is inverted here in favour of an unruly female body[83].The objectification of the female body here thus recalls the technique of the *blason*, albeit in less visually ornate terms. Yet rather than the aesthetic reification of the beloved woman's *bella mana* (as in the much imitated Petrarchan sonnet), here the bodily fragmentation in Stewart's sonnet almost creates a vagina dentata, or at least confers a measure of autonomy onto the prostitute's 'brod resort'. Though the 'hostess' may be made articulate she speaks as if through her body, and that body in the context is conceived as a mere sexual object[84]. She conforms to E. Jane Burns's articulation of the paradoxical female speaking subject: 'a heroine who, even as she speaks, cannot, it seems, escape primary identification as an object'[85]. Stewart's prostitute is given a voice only to condemn herself; she is as offensive in her speech as in her body. The archetypal correlation between women's speech and sexuality is borne out by the hostess's feistier and more embellished language[86]. Figurative and physical senses are also allied. Her capaciousness clearly signifies her sexual availability ('frie' and 'oppine') but the fluidity of her vagina reflects a well-documented physiological theory about female anatomy. In Renaissance humoral theory women are decribed as cold, moist and passive; in the case of 'womb hysteria' (defined as an excessive desire to copulate), 'a certain kind of moisture' occurs; and (pertinent to Stewart's prostitute) the first book of Hippocrates asserts that intercourse renders the womb slippery[87]. The hostess's body is easily 'allegorised' (in that a symbolic, not least moral, significance) can be inferred from its literal description), or interpreted. In the sense of this miniature allegory, the sonnet's 'joke' is easily perceived; both its comic point and its misogyny are transparent and ordinary.

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[81] The Currency of Eros, *op. cit.*, p. 19.

[82] Patricisa Parker, Literary Fat Ladies. Rhetoric, Gender, Property (New York: Methuen, 1987), p. 131, 130.

[83] In the *Dialogo...delle bellezze delle donne* (1548), Agnolo Firenzuola advocates that a woman should consciously restrain excessive bodily responses such as laughter: see On the Beauty of Women translated and edited by Konrad Eisenbichler and Jacqueline Murray (University of Pennsylvania Press: Philadelphia, 1992).

If Stewart's two sonnets appear to exemplify the conventional diversity of courtly discourse, its 'humour' might also reflect the 'homosocial' aspect of much court poetry: the poetic context in which a male poet addresses a male audience. Yet to suppose the exclusion of women at a reading or 'performance' of the 'Salutation' and its 'Ansuir' might be to endorse or take at face value the ideological strictures of, for example, Il Cortegiano: '...they that be filthie and bawdye in talke and that in the presence of women have no maner respecte, and seem to take none other delighte than to make women blush for shame, and upone this goe sukynge out meerye and jesting woordes'[88]. In the absence of documentary evidence attesting the gender and responses of any Castalian poetic audience, one can only make conjectures about a contemporary female response. To an extent, the misogyny perceived in the present reading may have been 'sheltered' to an aristocratic female audience by the social and moral status of Stewart's satirical butt, the prostitute. Unlike the cultivated and socially acceptable courtesan of sixteenth century Venetian society, the prostitute in Britain possessed less cultural sanction. In Protestant societies in particular, she 'provided reformers with a conspicuous example of woman as the eternal repository of weakness and original sin'[89]. A certain social and moral 'distancing' from the satirised female subject might thus have been ensured. Yet two distinct lyrics in Stewart's miscellany suggest the complicity of a female audience.

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[84] Robert Sempill's the 'ballat maid upoun Margret flemi[n]g, callit the flemyng bark' In Edinbur$^{t}$' offers an interesting parallel to Stewart's sonnet, both in terms of the objectification of the female body and in the female subject as a prostitute (Bannatyne manuscript, NLS ADv.1.1.6, ff. 123r-124r; bannatyne Manuscript ed. W. Tod Ritchie, STS, 4 vols (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1928), vol 2, pp. 327-9). Sempill's poem seems to pursue to its conceptual extreme the Petrarchistic conceit of the beloved as a beautiful ship: Margret's body, 'a fair veschell abone the water', is anatomised sexually as the different parts of a ship; this conceit produces lamentably obvious and crude analogies of penetration ('Plum-weill the grund...'). Her body is used by her clients and 'owned' by the bawd in whose voice the poem is spoken: the idioms of sexual and economic possession are fused in the final stanza. Sempill's 'ballat' (though detailed analysis lies outwith the scope of this thesis) seemingly exemplifies the 'traffic in women' (Gayle Rubin's notable phrase) in both sexual (the prostitute's body an object of exchange between men) and textual (the female body as matter male poetic invention) senses.

[85] E. Jane Burns, Body Talk: when women speak in Old French literature (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1993), p.1.

[86] As if the prostitute's public sexuality earns her a public voice; woman's purity of body was equated with silence.

[87] Ian MacLean, The Renaissance Notion of Woman (Cambridge University Press, 1989), p.43; 53; 58.

'greit force of luif I feill': the impulses of feminine desire are expressed by two lyrics written 'In Name' only. In titling the poems 'In Name of ane Amorous ladie' and 'In Name of ane Loyale Ladie', Stewart seemingly lays bare the provisional or appropriative nature of this articulation: in *name* only. These texts present a paradox for any feminist reading: they beautifully and incisively expose the circumscriptions imposed upon woman's sexual and emotional agency, and dissociate feminine desire from its conventional poetic ideologies. Yet these achievements are enclosed or enfolded by the male poetic discourse. Do the lyrics only offer the rhetorical *illusion* of subversion, and are the intimately articulate women speakers as much a masculine invention as the beloved woman of the archetypal *petrarchisti* lyric? Both assertions are incontrovertible; yet the impersonated female voice (desire spoken only in name) need not of necessity produce a reading which perceives the figure of woman imprisoned, silenced or marginalised within male discourse. 'Woman' or 'the feminine' (to speak in general terms) as articulated by male writers has been the fruitful subject of recent studies which address

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[88] *op. cit.*, p. 176.

[89] Olwyn Hufton, The Prospect Before Her (Harper and Collins, 1996), p. 330. Prostitution grew with urban expansion and economic growth. There is little historical analysis on prostitution in sixteenth century Scotland but see Rosalind Marshall, Virgins and Viragos. A History of Women in Scotland 1080-1980 (London: Collins, 1983) p. 157: 'prostitutes continued to offer their services in the large towns in spite of the fulminations of both Church and local authorities. Any harlot apprehended in vice, declared Edinburgh Town Council in 1578, should be wheled through the streets in a cart and banished from the town'. Sempill's ballad, in proposing that Margaret will refuse any 'landwart Jok', possibly endows her with a spurious social status to reflect her sexual authority or 'distinction'.

> the precarious balance betwen men's appropriation of the category of femininity in order to strengthen their own authority and men's attempts to critique mmasculinity through adopting a feminine (and potentially feminist) position in the system of sexual difference'[90].

Elizabeth Harvey has recently defined a critical strategy for precisely this recovery of the imitated female voice in Renaissance texts[91]. She analyses the notion of 'ventriloquistic cross-dressing', and coins the term 'transvestite ventriloquism'. This useful (if slightly cumbersome) category of voice is created in deliberate opposition to the term *persona* which, Harvey rightly claims, is not 'historicised or gendered as a theory'[92]. Her adoption of French theoretical models of gendered writing and subjectivity takes issue with the Anglo-American 'gynocritic' model (exemplified by Elaine Showalter) which seeks an 'essentialist' authenticity of the female voice. This ignores the textual paradoxes of much Renaissance writing (anonymous, and in miscellanies such as the *Rapsodies*), and ignores the corollaries of 'authorial indeterminacy, textual "property", intertextuality'[93]. This fact of textual instability mirrors French theoretical preoccupations with writing which lacks a unified subject (*sujet un*) (for example, Cixous's theory of the Imaginary)[94].

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[90] Men Writing the Feminine. Literature, Theory and the Question of Genders ed Thaïs E. Morgan (State University of New York Press, 1994), p. 3. See also the Introduction to The Routledge Anthology of Cross-Gendered Verse eds. Alan Michael Parker and Mark Willhardt (Routledge, 1996).

[91] Elizabeth D. Harvey, Ventriloquised Voices. Feminist Theory and English Renaissance Texts (Routledge, 1992)

[92] *op. cit.*, p. 3.

[93] p. 26; 'Ventriloquistic cross-dressing...transgresses the laws of gender, propriety, and property by undermining in a fundamental way the conventional relationships between author and voice, making visible in the process the radical contingency of poetic and authorial identity', p. 134.

The kernel of Harvey's revisionist argument on literary 'transvestism' is its 'radical potential to expose the contingency of gender, opening cultural discourse to the 'voices' it otherwise marginalises and silences'[95]. The fluidity of gender in Renaissance texts (the apparent ease and frequency with which a writer such as Stewart's inhabits the gender of the other) is then harnessed by Harvey to the rich Cixousian notion of bisexual writing. The concept of literary bisexuality - 'the location within oneself of the presence of both sexes'[96] - emancipates readings of such ventriloquised texts as Stewart's from the inevitable critique (the feminine appropriated or subjugated) which is imposed by an essentialist understanding of gender. Cixous's utopian theory of *écriture féminine* rejoices in its gendered plurality: writing from the Imaginary permits a sensitivity to gendered 'otherness'. The dilemma of reading (as a woman) the female-voiced text created by the male writer is to some degree resolved by Cixous's refusal to name writing either feminine or masculine: she instead speaks of a writing 'said to be masculine or feminine...I speak of a decipherable libidinal femininity which can be read in writing produced by a male or female'[97]. My analysis of these lyrics by Stewart assumes as a theoretical preface this Cixousian notion of bisexual writing, and is greatly influenced by Harvey's refusal to accept the superficial conservativeness of the ventriloquising male author.

Sen I am frie to scherse my peir
I knaw my freind vill so desyn.
Bot than sall I vith cairfull cheir
Drywe out my duilfull dayis in pyn.
Sen that this luifing hart of myn

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[94] See 'The Book of Promethea', in The Hélène Cixous Reader ed. Susan Sellers (Routledge, 1994), p122; Sarah Cornell, 'Hélène Cixous and *les Etudes Féminines*', The Body and the Text. Hélène Cixous Reading and Teaching (Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1990), p. 36; Verena Andermatt Conley, Hélène Cixous. Writing the Feminine (University of Nebraska Press, 1991), p. 137.

[95] *op. cit.*, p. 53.

[96] Cixous, *La Jeune Née* (1976), The Newly Born Woman translated Betsy Wing (University of Minnesota Press, 1986), p. 85.

[97] Cornell, *op. cit.*, p. 36.

Hes chosin ane Inferior
To quhom my nature dois Inclyn
To luif as my superior: (ll. 9-16)

Stewart's 'amorous ladie' is caught, in her own words, between 'contrarieteis'. She debates whether to choose (presumably in marriage) 'the man quhom I luif best' (l. 28) or to comply with the dictates of 'freindis...counsell' (l. 46) in a highly reasoned complaint. Constructed *pro* and *contra* and replete with *exempla,* woman is here endowed with reason. Though she seems at first to indict herself by the classic binarism of female passion as opposed to male reason - 'it veill accoris with my heart/to luife where luif hes meed me thrall/Bot Reson says pull back thy dart' - Stewart's 'intellectualising' of her emotional conflict is nicely ironic. The institution of marriage and instinctual desire, as in the 'Elegie' of the Maitland quarto, are portrayed in conflict. As expounded by Vives, marriage demands of woman 'greate reuerence, greate obedyance, and seruyce also'. Submission 'vnto hyr husbande' is sanctioned by ideologies 'bothe spyrituall and temporall'. Stewart's lyric articulates the conflict between individual desire and society according to such doctrines which entail the suppression of female agency. Although Stewart's *ladie* would fulfil 'Gods law' in taking her true beloved (l.27) - thus faithful not only to her own desire but to the Christian precept of love - she fears that this would be construed as mere pursuit of her 'vanton vill', injurious to her 'former famus fame' (ll. 43-4). Her moral reputation is all. Like Mary's anxious lover, she seeks to dissociate herself from archetypes of desiring women: 'Medea *and vthers mo*' (l. 56)[98]. Stewart's phrase, 'playing the fuill', sharply implies that to act licentiously would be to assume a mere role or to act contrary to the virtuous love she inwardly bears. 'Me to guwernne It better war' (l. 45): female desire must be circumscribed and disciplined by authority. 'Ane venerian Interpryse' (l. 48) or profane love may reveal an aspect of the female self unguarded and unlicensed.

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[98] Medea is an ambiguous figure alternately claimed by both sides of the *querelle* debate. She is redeemed by Chaucer in his Legend of Good Women; and Ovid's Metamorphoses is generally mitigating (placed in the company of heroines who sacrificed themselves for love); compare the Bannatyne manuscript's 'lettre of Cupid': 'How freindly was medea to Iason/In conquering of the flece of gold/How falsely quit he hir trew affectioun/By quhome victory he gat as he wold...'. But clearly she functions in Stewart's poem as an anti-feminine type, her witchcraft alluded to as an example of unnaturalness (by analogy the speaker herself culpable of a kind of 'unnaturalness' in desiring beyond the constraints of the 'natural' social order)

Stewart's lyric further develops the 'dangerous' (in the view of conservative society) alliance of woman and desire by marrying the *ladie's* internalised fear of the ungoverned (uncontrolled) sexual self to what resembles the conventional precepts of *amour courtois*. Her concern for social decorum may be particularised as the 'courtly lady''s archetypal dilemma whether to choose a social 'peir' or inferior. Castiglione counsels that 'neyther is it to be thoghte that a great ladye wyll at ant tyme showe to beare good wyll to her Inferiour, onlesse she love him in very deede' [99]. The *ladie's* loved one is the latter: sexual and social concerns are fused, and the anxieties of social status commonly expressed by the courtier-lover (in the lyrics of Alexander Scott, for example) are feminised. Mindful of her 'nobill race', she can act only in the capacity of a familial (or more appropriately patriarchal) symbol[100].

Yet the *ladie* herself contradicts social hegemony by investing the terms 'Inferior/superior' with a moral or spiritual currency in contrast to the social or materialist values espoused by her coercive 'friendis'. Yet her speech ends on the threshold of imminent choice:

Quhen sall my wofull weird compleit
Quhen I efter my constant kynd
May rander vp ane faythfull spreit? (ll. 71-2).

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[99] Il Cortegiano, trans. Hoby, p. 202. For a succinct and interesting analysis of the role of the courtly gentlewoman in literary and social practice, see Georges Duby, 'The Courtly Model', Silences of the Middle Ages ed. Christine Klapisch-Zuber (Harvard University Press, 1994), pp. 250-66, esp. p. 262: 'In high society, courtly love[was]...also a device for disciplining women...for confining the female sex within a web of carefully orchestrated rituals...'. Duby's analysis of the 'courtly model' is based on early medieval European court societies. I do not suggest that this poem displays *amour courtois* in practice (a nebulous term itself) but rather that the social investment which the poem places in female desire might usefully be compared to the critical understanding of 'courtly love'. The circumscriptions placed on the agency of the speaker's desire reflect the unhappiness of the 'Elegie''s protagonist: in that lyric also the autonomy of female desire was specifically associated with marriage.

[100] Compare Montgomerie's lyrics to Margaret Douglas: Part II, Chapter 2.

In a sense the lyric becomes her own elegy: at once a revelation of, and frustration against, the impossibility of female desire to find realisation and fulfilment outwith the public, social realm of judgement. Her early assertion of individual agency - 'Sen I am frie' - is denied; in loving according to a prescriptive ideal 'it becommeth not a mayde to talke...'[101].

In Stewart's other lyric, 'In name of ane Loyale Ladie', female sexuality and the constraints of morality are happily combined (the resonance between the lyrics' titles and this ironic difference may be intended by Stewart). Loving under the auspices of 'prudent Pallas queine' (l. 20), her

....trustie hart is setlit firme and suir
As diamant dour, or lyk the stabile steill,
Rather to die than ons my fayth abluir (ll. 1-3)

Her love achieves the paradox of being both divinely sanctioned (l. 4: 'God hes contentit my desyr so weill'), and yet fulfilling (by implication) spiritually and sexually.

Ewen as lord phebus lyks the laurell greine
Contentit so for euir I Remaine
he for his daintie dame yit suffers teine
Trewth of my luif Reconforts me againe (ll. 21-4)

Unlike Apollo's desire for chaste Daphne, the *ladie* is assured of reciprocity, her beloved no less than an embodiment of 'Trewth'. This is an interesting mythic analogue: firstly she identifies herself with the desiring Apollo rather than the pursued and passive Daphne frequently allegorised as female virtue; and implies a consenting rather than relucant (or fearful) beloved. The *ladie* is permitted - she permits herself - to contemplate in sensual (or sexual) terms his 'face formois': 'My senses all in solas sueit dois suell/...'. This act of 'beholding' most obviously and strikingly inverts the common gender of the sexual gaze. The beauty which is adored is also male. 'Vith suggurit sop as recent Rois dois smell/Ewen so resemblith my maist comelie chois': the male beloved is imaged by the highly sensual and conventionally female (cf. Le Roman de la Rose) conceit of the moist or dewy rose.

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[101] Joannes L. Vives, *De Institutione foeminae Christianae* (1524) trans. Richard Hyrde, A very frutefull and pleasant boke, called the instruccion of a Christen woman (London, 1545), Book I, sig. Mr.

The intensely sexual nature of her desire is also disclosed by the simile of line 13: he is a sun to her marigold; she opens as the flower. The erotic connotations are transparent: she responds obediently, naturally, to the movements of her male lover. 'And quhan his Person absent from me gois/Destrest I am And closit vp with smart..': she seals herself sexually. This conceit in evoking her sexual compliance may imply in consequence her subjugation; rather than female sexual parity or even dominance, the lyric may be felt to reinstate the conventional sexual hierarchy. Yet the controlling, desiring gaze is hers, and she desires sexually but like a 'trew Penelope' or Pallas: female wisdom and female love are mutual. Such consonance between sexual desire and moral virtue in the female lover are unusually reconciled. The strength of this alliance between purity and erotic desire presents a new, almost redeemed, embodiment of the feminine sexuality which is so feared and reviled in anti-feminist literature (of which Stewart's 'hostess' poem might be considered an example).

It is likely that this lyric was a 'gift', as indicated by the anagram formed by the initial letter of each line, to Margaret Wemyss, 'Ladie Crevcht'. She is most probably identified as the daughter of Lady Cecilia (d1589) and Sir David Wemyss of Weymss (c1535-91) who married James Beaton of Creich as his second wife and who died in 1636. `The poem's address to 'Margaret Vemis Ladie Crecht' perhaps implies that it was intended either to commemorate or announce her marriage though its date has been claimed as both 1578 and 1598 [102].

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[102] Peerage of Scotland, vol 2,claims 1598; Scots Peerage, vol 8, 1578. The latter is perhaps the most likely date given that her parents married in 1556, and Stewart's 'buik' as a whole suggests a late 1570's-80's dating. The Scots Peerage states that Margaret's father was a prominent figure at James's court, and that the king stayed at Wemyss Castle.

Yet what renders Stewart's lyrics such a fascinating example of 'missexual' writing is the further complication of voice presented by the two short poems placed immediately after 'In name of ane Amorous ladie'. In 'The Author vith derction heirof to the foirsaid ladie' and 'The Authors adwyce to the foirsaid ladie', the verbal travesty is exposed as Stewart now 'impersonates' a male voice which is offerred as his own. The fictional illusion is broken. In the first lyric, the 'happie man' of whom the female lover speaks is addressed. He is fortunate to be loved or 'elect[ed]' by her. Though 'the author' grants the *ladie* free choice or 'election', he advises that she should love 'ane vther maik' in desiring him she degrades herself ('ourfar she dois abuiss/Hir freindlie fauor for thy saik'). In the eight line *envoi* he excuses himself (perhaps his audacity too for by 'vne vther maik' may imply himself) and courteously defers to her: 'Your hand I kis/And so I end'[103].

The second lyric (termed 'adwyce' rather than the more direct 'derection') is a brief *exemplum* on the folly of aspiring to the impossible or vnattainable.

Althocht the fruite dois fairest spring
that hichest on the trie dois grow
In greatest dainger dois it hing
Quhan Boreas begins to blow
The hiche set The sooner low
As be experience we see
The faster knet the harder throw
heirfoir vith the myd meine aggrie

Through proverbial *sentens* and a rather complacently didactic tone, the poem articulates the moral that desire must be restrained and reasonable. There are conscious echoes of the *amorus ladie*'s own cautionary maxims - the example of Icarus, the 'prowerbe plain' of lines 37-40 - though when uttered in her voice they were felt to be dutifully and publicly proclaimed. Her desire to love unreasonably (in her own phrase not to be 'content'), symbolised as the 'fruite.../That hichest on the trie dois grow', has (perhaps deliberate) resonances of that archetypal paradigm of illicit and covetous feminine desire, Eve and the apple.

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[103] These courtesy rituals are particularly emphasised by the Bannatne Manuscript.

As these male-voiced poems literally (in the sense of their actual textual position within the manuscript) conclude or seal her utterance, so they might be conceived to represent the coercive and cautionary instructions of the companions to which she alludes. Aas if a further imitation or act of ventriloquism, her unfinished and questioning poem is 'answered' by words of social propriety, decorum and censure; her desire, that she may desire as she wishes, is symbolically 'finished'. The effect of silencing or effacing of the female subject is achieved: the first of these 'answer' lyrics is a communication between men (one prospective, jealous lover to another?), contesting the emotional agency of the absent female subject (depicted in the 'third person' in ll. 1-8 though the poem is ostensibly addressed '*to* the foirsaid ladie').

***Love, faith, and chastity*** In praising love 'at the desyre of ane Nobile ladie', Stewart celebrates the eternity of human love, and its sole exemption among 'all things in erthe' from religious censure. But within the 'Rapsodies' sonnets such as 'Of Fidelitie' and 'Of Chastetie' seemingly present moral ideals to which secular love cannot aspire. As noted earlier, *Ane Schersing out of Trew Felcitie* partly begins as a palinode to the *Rapsodies* collection. Allegiance is declared to 'Sum purpois mair prudent'[104]: to Urania Stewart's poetic persona mourns the folly of presenting his former 'buik' to the king. She replies that James will 'correct' its flaws ('correctioun', l. 91, has moral connotations), and that 'be inspectioun of his luifing luik/In euerie blob sall beautifeit appeir'. In 'the Mateir' of 'Ane Schersing', Charity appears personified as a 'chast virgin', a 'heawenlie dam' as if in emulation of the Petrarchan *donna angelicata*. *Caritas* is exalted:

Your luif is courtas godlie and synceir

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[104] (f. 110r; STS p. 195)

Your luf from all Inwy is purgit cleir
Your luif is not prouockit to desdaine
Your luif in suffering long dois perseweir
Your luif reiosis to sie trewth appeir
Your holie luif from anger dois refraine
Your luif not seiketh out your proper gaine
Your luif in meiknes ll things dois induir
Your luif belewes veill and hoipis suir

Your luif, madam dois neueir fall away...

This perfect ideal of disinterested, virtuous and enduring love is to a degree borne out in the 'moral' poems of the *Rapsodies*. Yet to what extent should the lyrics 'For Confirming of ane faithfull Promois', 'Of Chastetie', 'Of Amitie', and others, be regarded as a conceptually coherent unity which might present a recantation of pieces such as 'In Going to his Luif' and the 'Host and Hostess' sonnets?[105] A purposeful arrangement might be persuasively deduced from the placing of 'Chastetie. Sonnet' before the sexually overt 'Salutation' and 'Ansuir'; the latter are suggestively succeeded by 'Of the Assaultis of Luif' and 'Of Deth' in which the body is shown to suffer agonistically[106]. Though a formal *apologia* for secular desire is offered by the subsequent *Schersing*, might the *Rapsodies'* miscellany itself denounce love on the assumption that it also compels one 'the narrow rod ascend/To plutos doungeon dounwart' (*Schersing*, ll. 20-1)?

Stewart's 'Chastitie' sonnet seeks a figurative comparison for its 'precious bewtie...grace conding'[107]. Equivalances can 'onlie' be found in the phoenix or the 'vermell Rois'. The phoenix is an emblem much favoured by the Castalians: here, its rarity and 'valeur' are singled out for praise but (given the *Rapsodies* extreme adulation) may also serve as allusion to James himself, or perhaps even to the king's tragedy of *The Phoenix* and the possibility of its implicitly coded love for Esmé

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[105] Jack, Italian Influence, notes the '*Rapsodies*'s heterogeneity in love: 'A courtly love sonnet like 'In Going to his Luif', itself derived from Desportes' 'Contre une Nuict trop claire', rubs shoulders metaphorically with the details of sexual intercourse'.

[106] 'The deedlie dolor which I do induir/So dois combuir my bodie all in baill'; 'Sen that our saull of deuyn mater mai/is losit captiwe in our corps of cair/Quhilk formd of erth vnto the erth dois leid...'.

[107] f. 96v; STS p. 179

Stewart. This would offer a masculine version of the normally feminised phoenix emblem to contrast with the feminine associations of the 'vermell Rois'[108]. The rose (which has notable Marian symbolic resonances and of the *rosa sempiterna*[109]) interestingly evokes the 'paine' by which the 'blis' of chastity is attained:

for as the Rois of flouris all the chois
maist semlie sproutith from the scharpest thorne
So thow (I out not) dois vith paine inclois
All sort of thois be quhom thy blis is borne

Yet this sonnet seemingly belongs to Stewart's rhetorical 'display' genre, and does not offer an exposition of *caritas* or the renunciations in order to attain this divine 'vertew great'. The sonnet, 'for confirming of ane faithfull promeis', instead illuminates a concept of love which contrats with the sexual degradations of the 'Hostess' sonnets, and also the courtly machinations of 'In Going to his Luif'. A 'sacred oth', never defined or 'explaine[d] (line 13), is made to 'yow my luif alone/Vith fixit faith'. In a sense the secrecies of 'In Going to his Luif' are not renounced; the reader appears to eavesdrop on a confession or vow whose sanctity must be taken on trust. The lover pleads, 'Och vold to god I mycht be pruif explaine/My Inwart treuth quhilk constant sall remaine'. Belief and the conviction in the loved one are so assured that to eny the truth of the lover's 'sacred oth' would be a sacrilege:

The suelling sie sall first rewert in fire
And mollifieit salbie ilk dourest stone
The reth abowe the hewenis sall Impyre
of sone And mone the lycht sall als be gone
Yea godis vorks decay sall euerie one...

The sonnet amounts to a profession of faith; and this sanctified virtue of 'firm faith' is extolled throughout a number of other poems which celebrate friendship rather than love.

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[108] The phoenix also symbolises Christian resurrection which too may inform Stewart's concept of chastity here as an implicit kind of 'resurrection' of the spiritual over the bodily.

[109] Perhaps in deliberate contrast to the Anacreontic associations of the rose in the earlier sonnet 'In Prais of Luif at the Desyre of ane Nobile Ladie'.

Quhat solas is so sound sinceir and sueit
As freindschip flowing from effection frie?
Quhat mundan mirth may man obtein so meit
As sutche guid hap to find for his supplie?
for freindis tuo, quhois nature dois aggrie
Ar lyk vyn branchis linkit growand greine
About the stoupis of that kyndlie trie
Quhilk luifinglie againe dois tham susteine...[110]

The dourest nails dois not so suirlie clois
Tuo hardnit buirds conloinit both in one
As faythfull freinds be faith affixit gois
Quhan mutuallie thay do thair faith dispone
Yea in gud faith my faith in out dois stand
Gif death it self may brek ane faithfull band[111]

My luifing hart dois will aggrie
Vith yow to bie
Quhair euir I go
In veill and vo
It conforts me
the freindschip frie
betuix us tuo
But fleing fro
thair is no mo
Quhom I luif so
vith firm effect[112]
.
The faithfull freind in frendschip firmlie bound
Vith constant hart dois so his treuth respect[113]

These celebrations of friendship accord with dominant renaissance conceptions inherited from Cicero and Aristotle and transmitted through Neoplatonic works. The 'faithfull band' ('Amitie') which binds true friends is, as in the Nicomachean Ethics and De Amicitia, based on virtue, the recognition of equality, and inexpedient motives[114].

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[110] 'Of Amitie', f. 95v; STS p. 177.

[111] 'Of Fidelitie', f. 94v; STS p175.

[112] 'To his Darrest Freind', f. 81v; STS p. 145.

[113] 'To his Rycht inteirlie belowit Freind', f. 67v; STS p. 113.

[114] See The Nicomachean Ethics,Books VIII and IX; De Amicitia especially Books VI and VII; the notion of Renaissance *amitie* is discussed more fully in Section II, Chapter 5, in relation to the Maitland quarto. Stewart's 'amitie' sonnet deploys the characteristic exemplariness of the friendship discourse: illustrations drawn from 'the auncient heroicis love' as the MQ lyric declares. But Stewart's example of Nisus does not seem to appear in any of the standard *exempla*.

But why should 'amitie' be so lauded in the *Rapsodies*? Are its virtues of loyalty and mutual devotion to be contrasted with other denunciations of earthly vicissitudes, particularly the anti-curial poems? Do they simply reflect the social and 'conversational' aspects of the *Rapsodies* as a whole, poems given as gifts to 'friends' as to mistresses; Castiglione's manual of good courtiership advises how one should enter into friendship[115]. Yet who addresses whom? The speaker's gender is never identified. These particular lyrics form a striking parallel to the Maitland quarto's lyric of lesbian desire which partly presents (or veils) itself as a celebration of amity. It is conceivable, though no textual evidence can be drawn from the actual lyrics, that Stewart's friendship poems seek to exploit the affinity between *amor* and *amicitia* so that the ideal love, founded on faith, is same-sex love.

Jack perceptively proposes that the moral ethos of the *Rapsodies* love poetry is derived from Petrarch's Trionfi rather than the Rime:

> ...the Trionfi was currently more popular in Scotland. In the four chapters of the first triumph of Love, Stewart would find love in all its varities from lust to the highest aspirations. Love is then conquered by Chastity and we find the *Castalian composing a sonnet called 'Of Chastetie', using the* conventional Petrarchan parallels with 'phoenix' and 'vermell rois', while stressing its superiority to earthly pleasures....[116]

Stewart's sonnets 'Of Deth' and 'Of Fame' are offered as evidence of his Trionfi imitation. this is highly persuasive, made more convincing by James's own poetic praise of the Trionfi and Stewart's deference (earlier observed) to James's Du Bartesian preferences. Other influences should also be considered: the palinodic convention of amatory writing (especially sonnet sequences); the religiosity of the *Rapsodies*, established from the outset, which raises the spectres of mortality and sinfulness; and the collection's original contexts of production and circulation on which this chapter has already speculated. Were these individual, independent poems which Stewart had to marshal into an arbitrary order for the presentation of his 'buik'? Did the friendship poems contribute to a kind of poetic *debat d'amour* within courtly literary circles? It is also interesting that arguably the miscellany's most incisive portrayal of secular love and morality (the latter defined in both social and religious senses) should be found in the two female-voiced poems. The seemingly marginal voice, as witnessed in Mary's sonnets and the female lyrics of the Maitland manuscript, is ironically the means of the most radical dissent.

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[115] Book II, xxix; xxx.

[116] Italian Influence, p. 72.

## Part II

## Chapter 5

# 'fain'd perfections':
# William Alexander's Aurora and the end of desire

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§ *Introduction*

§ *Imagining desire*

§ *'this sunne': the meaning of Aurora*

§ *Conclusion*

## *Introduction*

'Is this the thing poore marytred men call Loue?.../Can that be loue?': in sonnet 34 of Aurora (1604), Alexander's lover questions the nature of love as if in rhetorical echo of sonnet 103 of Petrarch's Rime[1]. The sequence also challenges the moral symbolism of the orthodox beloved in drawing an equation (as Fowler's *Tarantula*) between desire for woman and *cupiditas*. Yet Alexander's sequence further refines this conflict by seeking to render a new and different aspect of 'the feminine' compatible with the dictates of secular and religious morality.

Aurora is the first of the secular love poetry considered in the thesis to find publication. Its 1604 publication may have been inspired by the publication of Philip Sidney's Astrophil and Stella, and the vogue for published sonnet sequences which it helped create[2]. Alternatively, the entry of Aurora into the public book market may reflect new exigencies incumbent upon a Scottish writer in the wake of the court's relocation to London in 1603. Alexander's first sonnet accordingly constructs the illusion of a work, 'the idle rauings of my brain-sicke youth' (l. 2), reluctantly sent out for public perusal at the request of 'others'. The 'scroles' of the sacrosanct 'cabinet', that archetypal Renaissance emblem of privacy, are disclosed[3]. Yet the paradoxes of revelation, as earlier chapters have argued, are fully exploited by the manuscript love poetry of the courtly coteries.

Linguistically, the anglicised Aurora marks a watershed in the development of the Scottish amatory lyric. Its inclusion of different modal and stanzaic forms (the madrigal, elegy, song) also signifies a line of continuity with the later sequences of Craig and Drummond[4]. Yet it is likely that Aurora was composed in the late 1590's at James's Scottish court. Alexander's subsequent writing in form and subject radically differed; and there are references to Alexander's poetry during that late Castalian period[5]. The sequence crystallises many facets of the amatory poetry which preceded it. Both a work of consolidation and a watershed, Alexander's sequence is here explored as a study of the 'fain'd perfections' of desire and femininity[6].

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[1] Aurora. Containing the first fancies of the *Authors youth* (London: Richard Field, 1604). The text given here is based on the 1604 edition which is published in The Poetical Works of William Alexander Earl of Stirling eds. L.E. Kastner and H.B. Charlton, STS, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Blackwood, 1929), vol 2, 'The Non-Dramatic Works'. When Aurora the sequence is referred to, it will be underlined; otherwise the term 'Aurora' refers to Alexander's beloved herself.

[2] On the implications of the shift to manuscript to print in late English Renaissance culture, see Wendy Wall, The Imprint of Gender. Authorship and Publication in the English Renaissance (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993).

[3] Aurora was omitted by Alexander from his collected works of 1637, Recreations with the Muses (compare James's similar excision of the *Amatoria*); Kastner and Charlton, *op. cit.*, p. xvii, conjecture that this was compelled by 'a purely personal desire to hide what it darkly reveals of his private life. It is hard, however, to resist the feeling that he cut it out on literary grounds as mere amatory trifling'.

### ***Imagining desire***

Threaded through Alexander's sequence (from the first line of the first sonnet to the final song) is the word, 'fancie', and its cognate 'fancies'[7]. Its repetition is striking: the lover makes constant reference to the caprice and vigour of his 'wandring fancies that strange ways do trace'. Insight into the nature of the 'charming', 'forging' fancies which both afflict and inspire Alexander's lover yields other significant insights into Aurora's portrait of desire. Since the lover first clarifies the sequence as the revelation of his 'fancies', it is an apt interpretative beginning.

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[4] This generic variety inspired Drummond's comment about Alexander's Petrarchan affinities: 'the nearest I find to him [Petrarch] is William Alexander, who, insisting in these same steps, hath sextains, madrigals and songs, echoes and equivoques...'; see Drummond's Works (1711).

[5] See Matthew P. MacDiarmid, 'Scots Versions of Poems by Sir Robert Aytoun and Sir William Alexander', *N&Q* CCII (1957), pp. 32-5. James wrote on Alexander's 'harshe verses after the *Inglische fasone' (scarcely possible after 1603); the sequence is also dedicated to 'The Lady Agnes* Douglas' (1574-1604), who became wife of Archibald Campbell, Earl of Argyll. Alexander's recorded correspondence, however, is with the post-Union Scottish writers such as Drummond but he has sonnets prefixed to Drayton's Heroical Epistles. His poetic reputation (he was praised by Arthur Johnston and Andrew Ramsay in their Latin poetry, by Samuel Daniel and others) is based more on his Monarchick Tragedies than Aurora.

[6] Criticism of Aurora can be found the STS Poetical Works, vol 1, pp. xvii-xxiii, and the Notes, pp. 633-42; Holger M. Klein, English and Scottish Sonnet Sequences of the Renaissance, 2 vols (Hildesheim, 1984), pp. 150-204, which suggests English and foreign sources for each sonnet, and glosses any linguistic difficulties yet without offering any general literary comment; Matthew P. MacDiarmid, *op. cit.*; R.D.S. Jack, *The Scottish Sonnet and Renaissance Poetry*, 2 vols, unpub. PhD diss. (University of Edinburgh, 1968), which reads Aurora as a predominantly Platonic sequence; and The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature (Edinburgh University Press, 1979), pp. 101-6, where conceived as Petrarchan; Michael Spiller, 'Poetry After the Union 1603-1660', History of Scottish Literature, 4 vols (Aberdeen University Press, 1988), vol 1 ed. R.D.S. Jack, pp. 141-62 (144-5), and The Development of the Sonnet (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 177, where he terms Aurora a 'long and chilly sequence'. A short biography of Alexander (1567-1640) can be found in T. Crouther Gordon, Four Notable Scots (Stirling: Eneas Mackay), pp. 13-39.

[7] 'Whilst charming fancies moue me to reveale (s.1, l.1); A field of fancies fights within my head (Song 1, st 5); For forging fancies get the best reward (Song 1, l. 62); So by two sunny eyes I *giue my fancies fire (Elegie 1, l. 7); My fancies freely I declare (Song 2, l. 66); Who can faine fancies* and imagine merits (s.11, l.7); Who ore my fancies hath so sweetly reigned (s. 15, l. 12); Loue so engaged my fancies to that faire (s. 16, l. 1); When as my fancies first began to flie (Song 3, l. 1); Whilst nothing could my fancies course controule (s.22. l. 1); Which tosse my fancie like a ball (Song 6, l. 48); I dream'd the nymph that ore my fancie raignes (s. 51, l. 1); To fancie none but them that fancied me (s. 81, l. 11), My wandering fancies that strange ways do trace (s. 89, l. 10); For whilst thy reasones did thy fancies tame (s. 103, l. 13); Shake off soft fancies chaines (s.105, l. 2); Farewell sweet fancies and once deare delights (song 10, l. 1).

The OED offers one definition of 'fancy' that renders it synonymous with love itself, 'an amorous inclination'; yet Alexander's use of the term offers little that could be clarified thus. Although the song 2 ('My fancies freely I declare') might confess to love, other occurrences specifically contrast 'loue' with the 'fancie': for example, in sonnet 16, 'Loue so engaged my fancies to that faire' (l. 1); or *Elegie* 1(l. 7) 'So by two sunnie eyes I giue my fancies fire' . In sonnet 103, the lover's *fancie* is contrasted with the beloved's reason: 'For whilst thy reason did thy fancies tame/I saw the smoke although thou didst hid the flame' (ll. 13-14). While fancy seems to imply here a kind of potentiality to love, it can be more persuasively identified with the lover's faculty of imagination or invention; in the OED definition, the power to invent or to represent 'things not present to the senses'. The quasi-Petrarchan association of desire and youth (*primo giovenile errore*) which informs different aspects of Aurora is manifest in song 3 as the fruitful imagination 'enlarg'd' by 'youth':

When as my fancies first began to flie,
Which youth had but enlarg'd of late,
Enamour'd of ine owne conceit,
*I sported with my thoughts that then were free*  (ll. 1-4)

Such 'thoughts' are portrayed as innocent (unconscious of potential 'mishap'). What is repeatedly stressed thereafter is the unrestrained and uncontrollable power by which desire and the beloved are imagined or 'fancied': 'Whilst nothing could my fancies force controule' (s. 22, l. 1); 'Strange troupes of thought their musters make,/Which tosse my fancie like a ball' (Song 6, ll. 47-8); 'My wandering fancies that strange ways do trace...' (s. 89, l. 10).

Unsurprisingly therefore the final renunciation of secular love (at least of a particular way of loving) disavows the fancy: 'Awake my Muse and leaue to dreame of loues/Shake off soft fancies chaines, I must be free' (sonnet 105, ll. 1-2). 'Fancied' love is here portrayed as delusive and emasculating (not least a comment on the inventions of the love poet). The creative power of desire proclaimed, almost boastfully, as 'A field of fancies' (Song 1, l. 44) and as 'forging fancies' (Song 1, l. 62)[8], and which gave rise to the dream in sonnet 51 of 'the nymph that ore my fancie raignes' , is incipiently exposed as an illusion.

I build great castels in the skies,
Whose tender turrets but of glasse,
Are straight oreturn'd with euery wind,
And rear'd and raz'd, yet without hands;
I in this state strange miseries detect,
And more deuise then thousands can effect (Song 6, ll. 55-60)

Proverbial expression for aspiration is here given peculiarly delicate shape by Alexander as the lover's seemingly limitless desire is exposed as being of a 'glasse' like fragility. The lover nevertheless marvels at the strangeness of this inventiveness ('yet without hands' seems to suggest its autonomy), and his enduring capacity for 'devising' or fashioning desires.

This conceit of the glassy castle might be conceived as a *leitmotif* for Aurora's portrait of desire. The lover's simple confession, 'I toyle for that which I cannot attaine' (s. 30, l. 9), is copiously borne out. The 'Ioyes' of reciprocated desire are likened to 'the fruit that *Tantalus* torments,/Which while he sees & nought attains, his hunger but augments/For so the shadow of that but imagin'd mirth...' (*Elegie* 2, ll. 19-21). Tantalus is also invoked as an analogue of unfulfilled desire which the lover in his intensity exceeds:

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[8] The expression, 'A field of fancies fights within my head', suggests that the lover's ideas or conceptions of love are themselves inchoate.

O if I could recount the crosses and the cares,
That from my cradle to my Beare conduct me with despairs;
Then hungrie *Tantalus* pleas'd with his lot would stand
I famish for a sweeter food, which still is reft my hand (Elegie 1. ll. 13-16)

Alexander is scarcely unusual in drawing parallels between the figures of the lover and Tantalus. As well as being united by eternally unrealisable desires, both might be conceived as transgressors: Tantalus's insatiable desire is inflicted as punishment. At moments, Alexander portrays desire as a form of *hubris* which invites disaster or chastisement. In *Elegie* 1, the lover knows that his persistent desire for Aurora is futile: 'Against my knowledge, yet I many a time rebell...' (l. 33). He is a metaphorical Ixion whose hopes 'raise[d]...high,...bruise me with their fall' (*Elegie* 1, l. 22). A variation on the challenge of sexual desire to reason, Alexander's emphasis on *hubris* is persistent. In sonnet 46, the lover is conceived as a Cupidian 'rebell' who 'proud[ly]' shuns Cupid's power only to be afflicted by 'A nymph that long'd to finish Cupids toyles',

And straight orethrew me with a world of wounds,
Then unto *Paphos* did transport my spoiles.
Thus, thus I see, that all must fall in end,
That with a greater then themselues contend (ll. 11-14)

There is another corollary of the Tantalus analogy with which the sequence frequently contends. The objects which will relieve Tantalus of his desire (his thirst and hunger) are, of course, tantalisingly present before him. Fulfilment remains just beyond the realm of possibility. Aurora too is omnipresent, an object for the lover's sensual and sexual contemplation but placed (with the exception of the kiss, see below) just beyond reach of consummation[9]. Though the lover in sonnet 44 answers his own question - 'to what greater joy can one aspire,/Then to possesse all that he doth desire..../This is the greatest good can be inuented' (ll. 10-11, 13) - such

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[9] Compare the confession of the second sonnet: 'More then I could conceiue my soule desir'd', l. 2.

'possession' is for the most part imagined. This is at once an imperfection and a boon. Aurora's (physical) form or presence can easily be summoned by imagination ('fancie'), a power 'That makes the eyes for to envie the mind,/Whose sight with absence cannot be confin'd/But warmes it selfe still at beauties fire...' (s. 77, ll. 2-4).

Yet the lover is not content with this particular virtue of 'mind' or imaginative memory. Aurora's imagined form cannot compete with the actual manifestation of her beauty:

Yet once the eyes my haue their course about
And see *farre more* then now the minde can thinke
Ile once retire in time before I die...
No no Ile rather die once in thy sight
*Then in this state die ten times in one night* (my emphasis)

The sexual ecstasy (consummation as *le petit mort*) inspired by Aurora's 'real' presence will be recompense for the 'ten times' erotic gratification of the imaginative 'mind'. This paradox of the actual and imagined forms of Aurora (ideal and fallen) haunts Alexander's sequence. The conflict which results in the fierce renunciation of the later sonnets, the chapter will contend, stems from this deeply enshrined paradox.

Finally, this prefatory discussion of Aurora's portrait of desire, founded on the conceit of 'fancie' and its attendant ideas of illusion and imagination, examines another crucial imperfection. The lyricist's love is, *a priori*, 'flawed' by being ignored and unreturned. (Alexander's lover is an amatory but also a 'tragick' poet: 'Let not the world beleeue th'accusing of my fate/Tends to allure it to condole with me my tragick state', *Elegie* 2, ll. 1-2; the hyperbolic, agonistic 'lamenting' of 'mishaps...woes and horrors' is a rhetorical feature of the sequence). Yet there is a further, subtler imperfection: desire is often portrayed as a suspenseful state between fulfilment and decline. This liminal state of incompletion is felt especially in *Elegie* 2: 'ioyes' are '*vnperfected*, scarce constant for an houre', and 'vowes' are '*vnperform'd*' (ll. 15, 43). In sonnet 5, 'desires' are 'neuer-pleas'd' (l. 2), in sonnet 92 hopes are 'abortiue...half born' (l. 8), and in song 10 joy remains 'vnaccomplish'd' (l. 3; Aurora's sexual power is also here conceived as 'beauties *processe*', l. 21). In song 9, a conceit of fruition expresses the untimely blight of

...hopes hard at the haruest [were] orethrowne
And blisse *halfe* ripe, with frosts of feare consum'd
Faire blossomes, which of fairer fruites did boast,
Were blasted in the flowers,
With eye-exacted showres,
Whose sweet-supposd showers
Of *preconceited* pleasures grieu'd me most (ll. 57-63)

Even the revelation of love is partial, both achieved and yet not achieved: 'Whilst I disclos'd yet not disclos'd my mind.../Thus she, what I discouer'd yet conceal'd/Knowes and not knowes; both hid and both reueal'd' (s. 9, ll. 13-14).

Desire is a striving towards completion: this impulse is wittily exemplified in the miniature narrative of sonnets 28 and 29 which also marry this thematic idea to that of imaginative possession or illusion. Like Stewart's sonnet, 'In Going to his Luif', the myth of Endymion embraced by Diana is adopted to reconceive both the lover's embrace of Aurora, and Aurora of him. The lover's identity slips between both mythical protagonists: in the first sonnet, the lover assumes Diana's active role, in the second Endymion's passivity[10]. The lover acknowledges the inadequacy of Diana's 'theft' (the conceit of thieving seems deliberately to play upon the sense of violation): 'this would only proue a maim'd delight, whereof th'one halfe would want'. Diana's possession in the first quatrain of the companion sonnet is made erotically tangible: 'Suck'd from his sleep-sealed lippes balme for his sore' is salaciously alliterative (the intensity of her desire ovecoming the apparent paradox of his lips being 'seal'd' yet compliant). But the sonnet's final witty point is that neither of these mythical enactments can compare in 'pleasure' to the sensual ecstasy of the lover's dream. Insubstantial (or illusory) possession offers greater joy as he 'quaff'd with cupid sugred draughts of loue'. A playful paradox is offered for interpretation which hinges on the divisibility of a kiss between physical and spiritual parts:

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[10] The gender inversion of the Diana-Endymion myth in sonnet 28 (and as already witnessed in Stewart's poem) endows the male protagonist (the lover) with a power and agency absent in the original (Endymion). This makes the illict embrace acquire a greater sense of violation or exploitation. Yet the intensity of female desire is attested by the second poem which portrays the embraces of both Diana and Venus - at least a *mythical* female desire is granted power.

Now iudge which of vs two might be most prowd
He got a kisse yet not enjoy'd it right
And I got none yet tasted that delight
*Which Venus on Adonis once bestow'd*
He onely got the bodie of a kisse
And I the soule of it which he did misse

This is an apt example of Neoplatonic thought invoked for the purpose of anti-Platonic point: the lover seemingly endorses the Bemboist notion of the superiority of the 'soule''s embrace while the implication is overwhelmingly sensuous (a 'delight... tasted' albeit in imagination). That this is a playfully spurious platonism is confirmed by sonnet 30, a kind of 'epilogue' to 28 and 29 in which the 'bodie' is rendered fragile by the very eagerness (and impossibility) of desire: 'Although my hap be hard my heart is hie/And it must mount, or else my bodie die'. The idea of illusion therefore lies at the heart of Alexander's sequence, as if in recollection of the wilful duplicity committed by Petrarch's lover: 'del suo proprio error l'alma s'appaga.../che se l'errore durasse, altro non cheggio'[11]. Its fragility and impermanence in Aurora create a myth of female duplicity.

## ***'this sunne': the meaning of Aurora***

*Cosi mi sveglio a salatar l'aurora*
*e 'l sol ch' e seco et piu l'altro ond' io fui*
*ne' primi anni abagliato et son ancora*[12]
Rime *219, ll. 9-12*

*Quand io veggio dal ciel scender l'Aurora*

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[11] Rime, canzone 125, ll. 37, 39; Petrarch's Lyric Poems translated by Robert M. Durling: 'my soul is satisfied by its own deception...if the deception should last, I ask for no more' (p. 265). All references to the Rime are from this edition.

[12] 'Thus I awake to salute the dawn and the sun which is with her, and even more that other sun by which I was dazzled in my first years and am still' (trans. Durling, p. 374).

*co la fronte di rose et co' crin d'oro*
*Amor m'assale ond' io mi discoloro*
*et dico sospirando: 'ivi e Laura ora*[13]
Rime 291, ll. 1- 4

In naming his beloved Aurora, Alexander at once asserts an allegiance (partly verbal, partly symbolic) with the Rime sparse. Petrarch's Laura both reflects and incarnates the dawn goddess, Aurora, by virtue of her physical beauty (her hair 'd'oro'), and her symbolic evocations of renewal and divinity (she is 'uno spirito celeste, un vivo sole', Rime 90, l.12). The quintessential conceit of Laura's eyes as bright and beautiful as the sun is gradually transfigured until her shining eyes symbolise the divine light which the lover must follow[14]. The name 'Aurora' is also allied in the Rime to the verbal wordplay of 'Laura' and 'aura'[15]. Like Laura, Alexander's Aurora is quickly shown to possess a face 'more bright..full [of] lightnesse', and a 'head...euer garnish'd with [Apollo's] golden beames'. The extent to which she 'imitates' or replicates the Petrarchan portrait of Laura (*l'aurora*) is analysed below. Yet there is another allusion to the classical mythology of Aurora from which Petrarch and Alexander extract different significances.

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[13] 'When I see the dawn coming down from the rosy sky and golden hair, Love assails me, and I turn pale and say signing, "There is Laura now"' (trans. Durling, p. 470).

[14] See Rime 72 and 204 for this divine significance. The significances of the sun allusions in Rime *in morte* are subtle and interwoven but are variously illustrated by 306, 308, 311, 327, 339, 348, 352, 363.

[15] For example, Rime 239. For detailed analysis of this verbal conceit in the Rime, see Sara Sturm-Maddox, Petrarch's Laurels (Pennsylvania State University Press, 1990), pp. 18-21. Aurora as an emblem of beauty, literally and figuratively radiant, recurs as a Renaissance image or conceit. Mure of Rowallan's sonnet, 'In bewty, (loue's sweit object), ravischt sight', wittily exalts the beloved's 'chastnut color'd hair' (a variation on the other black-haired, black-eyed sonnet mistress) over 'Awrora's flaming hayre [which] some fondly love' (possibly making direct allusion to Aurora). Compare also Hawthornden MS 2065, f. 25v, Fowler's Works, STS, vol 1, p. 366), anon, 'Enigme': 'Ther I beheld the rosed lyllyes newe/That flowers the fresh AURORA of her face'. It has been suggested (by David Atkinson, 'William Alexander: the forgotten Scottish poet at the English court', Eighth International Conference on Medieval and Renaissance Scottish Language and Literature, St Hilda's College, Oxford, 17-21 August, 1996) that Alexander my have chosen the name, 'Aurora', to suggest that his beloved eclipses Sidney's Stella - as the dawn succeeds the night star. Certainly there is a reference to her 'star-staining' eyes which might suggest an audacious attempt to outdo Stella, the canonical beloved for sonnet sequences. But Alexander still endows Aurora with starry significances (eg. sonnet 7, 'iuorie orbes, where stilll two starres arise...christall Comets'); and in sonnet 74, Aurora exemplifies aspects of 'each of the Planets', an hyperbole which almost seeks to surpass (manneristically?) the Aurora comparison itself. I would attribute any significance in the choice of the beloved's name to the Petrarchan and classical aspects; it is not incontestable that Astrophil and Stella had the canonical influence on Scottish sonnet-sequences as on English counterparts of the period.

Aurora is the beloved wife of ancient Tithonus: in Rime 219, Aurora is observed tenderly attending to '*suo vecchio*', '*pettinando...i bianchi velli*' (l. 8). The couplet observes the paradoxical communion of the lovers: '*veduti...'n un punto e n un'ora/quel far le stelle et questo sparir lui*'[16]. Rime 291, the sonnet *in morte* with which 219 is twinned, expresses the lover's envy of Tithonus's felicity who is eternally assured (in spite of his 'bianche chiome') of Aurora's return. In song 9, Alexander alludes to the Aurora-Tithonus myth, and perhaps implicitly to the latter sonnet of Petrarch:

O happy *Tithon*, if thou know'st thy hap,
And value thy wealth, but as I do my want,
Then need'st thou not (which (ah) I grieue to grant)
Repine at *Ioue*, lull'd in his lemmans lap:
That golden shower in which he did repose,
One dewie drop it staines,
Which thy *Aurora* raines
Vpon the rurall plaines,
When from thy bed she passionatly goes. (ll. 1-9)

The lover envies Tithonus's possession of this mythical Aurora because she is faithful (the 'liquid pearles' of the dew are created when she mourns their inevitable separation): 'O favor'd by the fates,/Aboue the happiest states,/Who art of one so worthie well belou'd' (ll. 16-18). In that last phrase, 'worthie' may be predicated as an adverb qualifying 'well', or as an adjective making implicit the 'unworthiness' of the other imperfect Aurora. Though Aurora is frequently conceived as an emblem of loving fidelity, Alexander's allusive use of the Aurora-Tithonus myth discloses that other facet of the mythical Aurora who takes lovers other than Tithonus. In the seventh boom of Ovid's Metamorphoses, she seduces Cephalus ('invitumque rapit', against his will) which engenders in Procris her fatal jealousy[17]. In sonnet 45, Alexander's lover expresses empathy for Procris, afraid 'of thy entangling grace' (l.

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[16] 'I have seen...in an instant, in a moment,...him make the stars, her make him disappear' (trans. Durling, p. 374).

[17] See Metamorphoses VII, ll. 700-8 especially: 'quod sit roseo spectabilis ore,/quod teneat lucis, teneat confinia noctis,/nectareis quod alatur aquis, ego Procrin amabam;/pectore procris erat, procris mihi semper in ore'.

2). Subsequent adaptations and retellings of the myth portray Aurora as having duplicitously destroyed the married love of Cephalus and Procris[18]. In the Praise of Folly, Erasmus places Aurora in the company of Medea, Circe, and Venus: in the context of a discussion on the human desire for perpetual youth, their affinity is based on their powers to bestow immortality (on Aeson, Ulysses, and Phaeton respectively). But Aurora's inclusion by Folly is a (conscious) error, for the goddess did not help Tithonus to remain young. This is yet another example of a flawed Aurora, and it is interesting that she is associated with other female mythical protagonists who are also renowned for their powers of sexual seduction[19].

This chapter proposes that Alexander's female protagonist is a flawed and fallen beloved. The insidious disclosure of her 'corruption' is partly achieved by this 'decoding' or interpretative reading of her name. The Laura-Aurora allusion comes to be ironic. 'And why should Tithon thus, whose day growes late/Enioy the mornings loue?' (ll. 68-9): this closing resentment in song 9 is interpreted by one commentator that 'the poet's lady has engaged - or has already married - an old man, perhaps even an ugly, not to say lame one'[20]. This depends upon construing the 'she' of the exclamatory welcome, 'But this is she, whose beauties more than rare...' (l. 21), as the lover's Aurora (and not as the goddess), and the 'Tithon' of line 68 as an inadequate rival of the lover's. But this seems too dogmatic an intepretation to impose on the song's subtle shifts between mythic, figurative and 'literal' realms which render each Aurora almost perplexingly implicit in the other ('she' in line 21 may indeed imply the mythical Aurora if the beauty 'that onely shines by night' is understood as Diana). The final allusion to the frail figure of Tithonus possibly suggests what the lover himself might become, if duped by the beloved and her 'fain'd perfections'[21]. Faithful to the archetypal amatory paradigm of states of opposition and antithesis, Alexander's beloved is at once Laura and Aurora, chastity and seduction. This liminal state of conflicting identities is aptly mirrored in the image of the dawn - a temporal interlude between night and day - which her name symbolises.

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[18] Hyginus, *Fabularum Liber*, Basel 1535 (Garland Publishing Inc., 1976), CLXXXIX: 'Tunc Aurora ait nolo ut fallas fide, nise illa prior fefellerit...Quae cum Cephalsum uidisset, sensit se ab Aurora deceptam...'. On the sources of the Aurora myth, see Vincenzo Cartari, Le Imagini degli Dei (Garland Publishing Inc., 1976), pp. 98-9; Natalis Comes, Mythologiae, Venice 1567 (Garland Publishing Inc., 1976), Book II, cap. ii; Boccaccio, Genealogiae Venice 1494 (Garland Publishing Inc., 1976), Book VI, cap. x and xi; Book XIII, cap. lxv. See also George Sandys, Ovids Metamorphoses Englished, Oxford 1632 (Garland Publishing, 1976), p. 263, where Cephalus's jealousy of procris is 'said to be infused by Aurora, or the practise of a riuall'.

[19] For the relevant passage, see pp. 15016 of The Praise of Folly and other Writings. A new translation with critical commentary translated and edited by Robert M. Adams (Norton Critical Edition: Norton, 1989).

[20] Klein, *op. cit.*, p. 195

Alexander's beloved remains in many aspects a conventional beloved. She tyrannises the lover (sonnets 94-6); is hailed as a Medusa figure (Song 2, sonnet 59), and is accused of bearing a 'tygrish heart' (sonnet 90)[22]. But the complexity of this Aurora, deriving from her constant, at times confusing, oscillation between the roles of saint and sinner, may be more fully measured by Alexander's subtle imagistic manipulations of the 'Sunne' emblem. Early in the sequence (sonnet 17) her beauty, conceived as a startling 'new light', makes her the most luminous of 'sixe gallant Nymphes':

One stain'd them all, one did them onely grace;
And with the shining of her beauteous face,
Gaue to the world new light when it had none.
Then when the god that guides the light was gone,
And ore the hils directed had his race,
A brighter farre then he supplide his place,
And lightned our horizon here anone.
The rest pale Moones were bettered by this Sunne,
They borrowed beames from her star-staining eyes:
Still when she sets her lights, their shining dies
And at their opening is againe begun:
Phoebus all day I would be bard thy light,
For to be shin'd on by this Sunne at night. (ll. 2-14)

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[21] This is implicit in sonnet 99 where the lover portrays himself in 'the evening of his age'; the implications of this ageing are also related to the Petrarchan sense of the disparity between young beloved and aged lover (see below for discussion of sonnet 99). Petrarch cannot look on Laura's radiant beauty with impunity: see Sturm-Maddox, *op. cit.*, p. 116-17.

[22] Petrarch accuses Laura of being Medusa-like in Rime 179, 197, and of veiling a tiger's heart beneath an angelic form in sonnet 152.

This graceful sonnet (exemplifying the sequence's recurrent visualisation of Aurora by the quasi-voyeuristic male gaze) turns Aurora's emergence, her 'new light', into a kind of momentous or apoclayptic dawn. Briefly, she assumes the transfigured quality of the beloved who (as in the Rime, and in Scottish terms, in Drummond's Poems 1616) can illuminate a deprived or fallen world. But in Alexander's sequence (as exemplified below), collocations of the dawn, light and radiance more frequently denote a physical rather than abstract beauty[23].

In sonnet 37, Alexander founds the affinity between Aurora and the sun on a quasi-scientific paradox or conceit:

Euen as the sunne (as the Astrologian dreames)
*Inh th' airie regione where it selfe doth moue,*
Is neuer hote, yet darting from aboue
Doth parch all thinges that repercusse his beams (ll. 5-8)

By analogy, Aurora is herself 'from fires...free', and the lover is 'th'obiect' which cannot evade the heat (or desire) she engenders. In this, the third quatrain, Alexander puts the astrological fact to the witty conception of the relation between self and beloved: Aurora is self-contained, closed to receiving the image or sensation of another ('in thy selfe'), and her visual desire is controlled ('Who eye's indifferent still'); the lover merely reflects back the image (her beauty's 'rayes') which she projects. Though this conceit (a variation on the *topos* of lovers' as mutual reflections or mirrors of one another) clearly subordinates the lover to her power, it also implies that, consciously or not, Aurora is guilty of a kind of narcissistic self-adoration (he reflects her light which is in turn reflected back to herself, its source)[24].

In sonnet 69 the lover, denied the vision of Aurora's 'diuine face', loses the faculty of sight, or at least his ability to contemplate her is impaired: 'What wonder though my count'nance be not bright/And that I looke as one with clouds inclos'd?'

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[23] Though it also affords opportunity for simple word punning as in sonnet 12: Klein, *op. cit.*, notes this 'morning/mourning' pun.

[24] This anticipates the theme of Aurora's narcissism: see below.

In lines 3-4 the lover's separation from her is imaged in terms of magnitude: 'A great part of the earth is interpos'd/Betwixt the Sunne and me that giues me light'. Both Aurora and the obstacle of separation possess an elemental quality (and since the 'part of earth' serves as the grammatical subject, their separation appears unwilled, determined by the unjust fate against which the lover constantly rails). Yet the sonnet implies more than the contrast between the figuratively dark lover and bright beloved. If Aurora cannot display her light (to find her beauty, as it were, reflected in or onto the lover as in the previous sonnet), then she does not truly exist, or is beautiful without 'euidence':

No more then can the Sunne shine without beames,
Cann she vncompas'd with her vertues liue,
Which to the world an euidence do giue
*Of that rare worth which many a mouth proclaimes:* (ll. 9-12)

Aurora's 'vertues' have no ostensible worth until publicly acknowledged. Praise and retraction are therefore combined. The sonnet anticipates the lover's fraught, manipulative relationship with Aurora in poetic terms: since she finds realisation only through his writing both poet and subject are embroiled in a kind of mutual determination; one cannot exist without the other. Here, Aurora may be the centre and being of his world (literally its sun) but such an existence is fragile and circumscribed.

Aurora's capacity for such radiance also invites the contrary possibility of her diminution; the 'Sunne' may be dimmed into shadows. At first, this occurs at the figurative or conceitful level. In sonnet 73, Alexander toys with conceits of light and shadow in relation to the playful revelation and concealment of Aurora's beauty. The visual moment on which the lover founds the conceit is announced in line 1: 'When whiles thy daintie hand doth crosse my light...'. Even this act is ambiguous: does it refer simply to the lover's brief glimpse of her hand, or suggest that Aurora deliberately shields her self (her face?) from the lover's gaze? Despite this, the sonnet is clearly moulded in the imitative tradition of Rime 199[25]. Here, the beloved's 'daintie hand' is abstracted into an object of rhetorical and aesthetic invention.

It seemes an yuorie table for Loues storie,
On which th'impearled pillars, beauties glorie,
Are rear'd betwixt the Sunne and my weake sight (ll. 2-3)

Alexander's mannerist vein transfigures (or distorts) Aurora's hand into several conceptually refined conceits[26]. It becomes 'an yuorie table', 'impearled pillars', an 'Alabaster bulwarke'. Such images of considerable material size and strength ('pillars' has classical connotations of authority or imperialism; her hand is almost erected as a temple) are qualified by conventional epithets of feminine light and delicacy: 'yuorie...impearled'. The implication of fine luminosity is sustained in the lover's desire for transparency: 'And that the pillars rarer than they are/Might whiles permit some hapning rayes to passe' (ll. 11-12, the sunlight from which she shields herself and the 'rayes' of her beauty). Aurora's apparent 'humanitie' in assuaging his desire (her occluding hand is an 'Alabaster *bulwarke*', l. 10) presages her later, briefly assumed and highly Petrarchan, role as the beneficent director of his passion.

The sonnet beautifully exposes how the female beloved serves (is used) as a topic of *inventio*. Her form 'seemes'[27] an yuorie table for Loues storie': Aurora becomes a text; and therefore may be purloined by the lover-poet to flaunt the fascinated intensities of both his rhetoric and his desire. Her beautiful form even gives him the material tool for his creation (as an 'yuorie table' an object on which he rests/places himself[28]). Aurora's hand also suggests a creative *potential*: 'Loues storie' is yet unwritten though her hand offers the material tool for its creation. The sonnet may in part be considered a minitaure narrative of love as the lover has produced three separate conceits by the sonnet's end[29].

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[25] See Part II, Chapter 3, for Fowler's imitation.

[26] Alexander's Anacrisis, or A Censure of Some Poets Ancient and Modern (1634), is surprisingly ambiguous about the 'external Gorgeousness' of language which should be simply 'a Conduit'; he praises, however, 'a witty Conceit, which doth harmoniously delight the Spirits' (Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century, ed. A.C. Spingarn, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1908), vol 1 1605-1650, pp. 180-9 (182).

[27] Note the vague or cautious verb, 'seemes': the correspondence is not exact but suggestive.

[28] Perhaps the conceit is also sexually evocative: the lover-poet literally and abstractly writes on the beloved's body (as in later amatory epistolary fiction such as Laclos and Richardson).

Yet this conceit conveys the lover's frustration as much as a rhetorical and sexual license. The obscuring hands of both Laura and Aurora deny their lovers' visionary access to their complete form:

*Et d'una bianca mano anco mi doglio*
*ch'è stata sempre accorta a farmi noia*
*et contra gli occhi miei s'è fatta scoglio*

*Torto ma face il velo*
*et la man che sì spesso s'atraversa*
*fra 'l mio sommo diletto/*
*et gli occhi...*[30].

But if eclips'd thy beauties Sunne must stand/Then be it with the moone of thine own hand'. As the couplet to Alexander's *bella mana* sonnet, this image sustaines the richly textured evocation of light: her beauty succeeds in being at once both 'Sunne' and 'moone'; and the moon-like paleness of her hand evokes the chastity of Diana, moon-goddess.

Yet the sequence also pursues the notion of Aurora's (self-created or engineered) eclipse in discreet but vivid comments about a diminishing sun: 'I see the Sunne begins for to descend' ('An Eccho', l. 19); 'The Sun being mounted high doth seeme the lesse' (s. 86, l. 14, in regard to her 'pride'). By the sequence's end, Aurora is no longer the dawn-goddess; she no longer is Aurora in that sense.

Alexander's *bella mana* sonnet disclosed the rhetorical potential of tne beloved's beautiful form, and yet the paradoxical impossibility of contemplating that *whole* form (in other words, her unveiled body). Alexander circumvents this apparent dilemma by extensive use of the *blason*. This construction of Aurora as a beautiful object defines more precisely the relation of power between beloved and lover.

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[29] In the widest sense, the subject of Aurora as a whole is, of course, 'Loues storie', and Aurora herself the text on which it is founded.

[30] Rime 38, ll. 12-14 and 72, ll. 55-8. In the Rime, Laura's protective hand is also bound up with the image of the veil which finally becomes the obscuring veil of mortal form *in morte*): see Rime 52 (in Aurora sonnet 83, the lovers are also separated), 127, 182, 252, 268, 277, 319 (where the veil symbolises the body), 329.

The third madrigal is a brief decorative conceit, manneristic in its embellishment of Aurora's hair (superficially recalling the Petrarchan fascination with the physical nuances and symbolic import of Laura's 'capei d'oro'[31]). Alexander's *tableau* begins as a voyeuristic moment:

I saw my Loue like *Cupids* mother,
Her tresses sporting with her face,
Which being proud of such a grace,
Whiles kist th'one cheeke, and whiles the other (ll. 1-4)

This first image evokes the alluringly disordered hair of Laura (made explicit by the next madrigal's conceit of her 'toss'd...streames'). Aurora's 'tresses' touch her face as if she lovingly and 'proud[ly]' embraces herself. This seems to anticipate the narcissism of which she is finally accused. She takes pleasure in witnessing herself in this act: 'her eyes glad such a meanes t'embrace...' (l. 5). Aurora's gaze is inward. As the subsequent madrigal implies, she is not innocent of her physical allure:

Once for her face, I saw my Faire
Did of her haires a shadow make:
Or rather wandring hearts to take,
She stented had those nets of gold (ll. 1-4)

On one level, this offers a pleasingly mannered visual conceit. The lover seeks the sheltered 'shadow' of her hair to 'flie the burning of [her] eyes' (l. 10)[32]. Yet the 'shadow' implies other meanings which deny Aurora innocence: her hair has (literally) darker implications in being contrived so as 'all men t'ensnare' (l. 5). 'She toss'd the streamers with her breath,/And seem'd to boast a world with death' (ll. 6-

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[31] See in particular Rime 37, 59, 127, 143, 196, 197, 198, 220.

[32] Note how the beloved's 'parts' can be fragmented even within a decriptive conceit which is not a *blason* as strictly defined, and that perception of her beauty can only be fragmentary, never complete.

7): Alexander's image evokes Petrarchan visions of Laura's disordered hair, the disordered hair of the Ovidian Daphne as she flees the desirous Apollo (in ironic contrast with Aurora's hair that is 'toss'd' in a sexually artful way) and, ultimately, the generally pejorative sexuality attached to 'undisciplined' female hair.

That Aurora's beauty has partial status as a text is attested by the sequence's major *blasons*. Her 'wonders' pose a rhetorical challenge to the lover but one which evolves into a teasing game between lover and reader, as the eighth song reveals. As earlier suggested, her 'existence' depends upon the lover's creation of her; she is known only through his desire, and (as we shall see) the lover seeks to control or manipulate Aurora by this inequity. In sonnet 18, for example, the lover proclaims himself the instrument by which her 'beauties' may be revealed: 'Ile to the world thy beauties wonders show...'. This task proves a poetic 'labour'; but spuriously so for it allows the poet to give the (male) reader tantalisingly fragmented accounts of her beauty:

Shall I commend the corall, or the snow,
Which such a sweet embalmed breath did blow,
That th'orientall odours are disgrac'd?
*Mouth moisten'd with celestiall Nectar still*,
Whose musicke oft my famish'd eares hath fed,
With softned sounds in sugred speeches spred,
Whilst pearles and rubies did unfold thy will (ll. 6-12)

This is a provocative anatomisation of her lips, seeking sensuous appeal (the tactile quality of 'mouth moisten'd', the aural allure of her voice, the hard, facetedness of her lips and teeth as 'pearles' and 'rubies'). This beautiful mouth articulates her 'will': Aurora's conscious manipulation of her beauty to achieve her own sexual purpose is again implied.

The sonnet's spurious dilemma of how her beauty might be displayed is reassumed in Song 8; indeed its first line directly echoes the latter's ('I would thy beauties wonders show'). 'none can tell, yet all do know' (l. 2): this parenthesis ironically confesses to the sheer ubiquity of the *blason* mode, and that the 'wonders' of the female body constitute 'knowledge' that can be assumed and shared by Aurora's readership. This ninety line *blason* ends with a sexual pun: 'yet doth thy worth so passe my skill/That I shewe nothing but good will' ('will' suggests the desire to possess Aurora sexually as the Song already has rhetorically). Since her body is conceived in topographical terms, the lover announces himself as a kind of cartographical guide: 'at the head Ile first begin....' (l. 5); 'I see whiles as I downward moue' (l. 61). The body is laid out for the reader's voyeuristic contemplation. Alexander portrays his rhetorical survey as a surrogate for sexual contact: 'I no other thing will *touch*' (l. 84). The unhappy connotations of this verb (this *blason* becomes an insidious kind of textual and physical violation) is reflected in the frequently odd manneristic transformations of Aurora's body (which the *bella mana* sonnet exemplified in miniature). Though certain descriptive moments are drawn from the conventional repository of beauty's terms (eyes are 'sunnes', breasts 'globes'), other conceits are mannerist in their achieved distortion and curious analogies: her 'eares' are labyrinthine; her cheeks appear as 'strawberries dipt in milke'; Cupid is perched upon 'their daintie round' (ll. 29-32). Even her chin is alluring, fashioned as a 'daintie pot' which entraps lovers with amusing literalism: 'Makes many a heart for to fall in/Whereas they boil with pleasant fires' (ll. 49-51).

Though these analogies seemingly 'convert' Aurora's body into kinds of poetic artifice, the lover ironically declares her mouth to be 'a grot by *Nature* fram'd/Which *Art* to follow is asham'd' (ll. 41-2, my italics)[33]. More importantly, this stylish reification of her body wages a rhetorical and sexual war for its possession by the beloved herself or by the figures of lover and reader. Her beauty is constructed as a defence ('the red and white 'colours' 'reare[d]' by Beautie are heraldic or military emblems raised in 'Beauties field'). Aurora must guard he

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[33] In sonnet 70, Aurora also defeats the ingenuity of 'Art': 'Yet never Art to that true worth attained/Which Nature now growne prodigall, imparts/To one, deare one, whose sacred seuerall parts/Are more admir'd then all that Poets fain'd'. While Aurora is partly invented or created (as Alexander's Apelles analogy in sonnet 3 makes clear) she still challenges art's power. (Laura's 'infinite beauty' is indebted to sher good fortune (*ventura)* rather than art in Rime 261). Paradoxically of course (as discussed below), Aurora still acts artfully despite this alleged 'artlessness'.

'treasures vndefac'd'. This reflects her conventional position elsewhere in the sequence as a beautiful tyrant who conquers those who gaze on her 'Eye-rauished'and 'orethrow[s] whole monarchies of minds' (sonnet 7). Sonnet 94 renders the lover's attempt to make Aurora compliant as an assault by 'Th'ouer daring heart' on 'the heauen of beautie':

The faire fac'd goddesse of that stately frame
Look'd on my haughtie thoughts with scorne a pace
Then thundred all that proud gigantike raec
*And from her lightning lights throw'd many a flame*

Albeit orthodox, the metaphor of the beseiged fortress makes explicit the combative or violent nature of the male lover's desire. Female chastity when so objectified is a challenge to male strength and ingenuity. But this type of conceit also grants power to the endangered beloved. In the intricately structured sonnet 49, Aurora is made a citadel of beauty, composed of 'stately altars', her dominance analogous to the colonial expansionism of 'Cipris...barr'd by the barb'rous Turkes that conquer'd seate/To reerect the ruins of her state/Comes ore their bounds t'establish beauties raigne...'[34].

In the immediate context of song 8, the *blason* renders Aurora (who elsewhere 'thirsts for my bloud', s. 23, l. 8) entirely passive. The possibility of spoilation is implicitly threatened by the lover: the sexual innocence of her breasts 'vndiscouer'd, vndistressed/...neuer with no burden pressed' (ll. 63-4) is illusory for the lover's voiced desire is to render them less 'barren'. The *blason* thus achieves a figurative violation, hypothetical ('Yet I to it ['the wast']/*Would* make a girdle of my armes', ll. 73-4) but imaginatively achieved. Ultimately, the lover desires to break her defensive virginity:

There is below which no man knowes,

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[34] Woman is conceived as a state, a space of land or territory that may may be colonised or subject to rule, or may assert its own imperial power. Aurora is an object of rarity or wonder, comparable to the material or spatial magnificence of 'huge buildings/theaters, mountaines, floods and famous springs/Some monuments of monarches' (s. 52).

A mountaine made of naked snowes,
*Amidst the which is Loues great seale,*
To which for helpe I oft appeale,
And if by it my right were past,
I should brooke beautie still at last. (ll. 75-80)

The aesthetically decorative *blason* in Aurora betrays itself as an excuse for the sexual titillation or voyeurism of the male reader. In the seventh song, the lover (in the *chanson d'aventure* mode) observes Aurora 'amongst the flowres'. Her beauty is mirrored in the flowers but such decorously abstract analogues are subverted by one overtly sexual desire: Whilst in her bosome whiles she placed a flowre,

Straight of the same I enuy would the case,
And wish'd my hand a flowre t'haue found like grace;
Then when on her it rain'd some hapning howre
*I wished like Ioue t'haue falne downe in a showre* (ll. 46-50)

She is not allowed to remain intact or untouched: he wishes to touch the sign of her beauty with his hand, then dissolve into her (penetrate her?) as Jupiter possessed Danae in a golden shower.

As these *blasons* demonstrate, Aurora is portrayed as an object of sexual desire, though their coy topographies seek to diffuse the sexual exploration and exposure. The earlier sonnets concede her an independent or intrinsic worth as the lover fears that even concealed ('secret') or unvoiced desire will debase Aurora. His injunction to 'Stay blubring pen to spot one that's so pure' punningly suggests the power of his rhetoric to 'admire' yet simultaneously to 'disgrace' her (as if the ink stain by which he tells his desire is figurative).

Shall she, euen she in whom all vertue shin'd,
Be wrong'd by me? shall I her worth inure?
No, rather let me die, and die disdain'd,
*Long ere I thinke, much lesse I speake the thing,*
That may disgrace vnto her beautie bring (s. 15, ll. 7-11)

In daring to think that Aurora is imperfect (in her 'unkindness' or resistance), the lover commits a kind of blasphemy or 'apostasie'. Ironically, by the sequence's end, the lover's greatest sacrilege is that he has desired her at all.

Aurora's ultimate status as a fallen idol is principally derived from her apparent complicity in the lover's sexual desire. She embodies both sexual purity and sexual 'provocation', at once inviting yet prohibiting the lover's desire. Sonnet 78 presents a novel twist to the archetypally cautionary example of Diana and Actaon. Aurora is an unusually merciful Diana yet also paradoxical: there is the semblance of sexual modesty ('comely garments') but also the implication that her 'arising' is contrived rather than fortuitous. Though she dutifully blushes, her pardon for the lover's 'light...fault' renders her compliant or complicitous in the lover's self-gratifying (cf. 'mine eyes did please') gaze. 'I came througherror not of pride': he is redeemed from Acteon's deliberate *hubris*.

Sonnet 87 which invents a curiously moral rhetoric of beauty. In the first two quatrains, the 'brightness' of Aurora's beauty conventionally subdues and 'dazle[s]' those who dare to 'gaze vpon' her. the lover fears to contemplate her for another reason:

That cled with scarlet, so thy purest parts,
Thy face it having wounded worlds of harts,
Would die her Lillies with the bloud they lost:
Thus ere thy cruelties were long conceal'd,
They by thy guiltie blush would be reueal'd (ll. 10-14)

The conventional red and white of female beauty acquires another resonance. The 'bloud' which will suffuse Aurora's face in a 'guiltie blush' is derived from the sacrificed lovers who 'dare looke'[35]. Yet the adjective, 'guiltie', implies that she has culpably provoked desire. Suggestively, her 'purest parts' are 'cled with *scarlet*' (evoking at least the image of the Scarlet Whore) to contrast with the lily-like beauty of her face (the lily symbolic of sexual purity). Aurora's beauty is here a more complex compound of the ubiquitous 'red and white'. She is seen to be complicit in this debasement.

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[35] Compare sonnet 45, l. 7: 'blushing by so many to be viewed'.

Aurora is therefore a paradox: a compound of virtuous purity and conscious, contriving sexuality. She embodies the duplicity of the conventional lyric mistress which the Bannatyne lyrics first fully explored. As sonnet 14 reveals, Aurora is difficult to interpret or 'read': the lover misjudges her on the basis of what she 'seem'd' (ll. 3, 7; as in the first elegy, she 'seemst to affect' certain emotions). She presents herself other than she is, offering 'a deceitfull show', and 'acting' a part'[36]. Though this 'part' of the archetypally duplicitous mistress makes Aurora conventional, it engenders a series of other paradoxes which stem mainly from the ambivalent relationship of sexual and emotional power contested between lover and beloved, male subject and female object. Alexander's lover alledges 'superiority' in one particular way: if Aurora (the sequence) is his invention or creation so too, by extension of this self-referential 'wit', is Aurora herself. As the product of his creation, her beauty and virtue are fragile, contingent on his disposition towards her.

That beloved is bound to lover as created to creator in Aurora is at once implied. In the third sonnet's extension of the Apelles/Zeuxis conceit[37], the beloved is proclaimed to surpass the perfect platonic creation of beauty: 'If worldly knowlege could so high attaine,/Thou mightst haue spar'd the curious Painters paine/And satisfide him more than all the rest...' (ll. 10-12). 'Beauties Goddesse'[38] is drawn 'Till all the world admir'd the workmans part'. By analogy, Aurora's perfection reflects the skill of her creator. The lover regards his desire for Aurora as in part honorific: 'I who striue her praises to proclaime...' (s. 16, l. 6). On occasion, the task of Aurora's poetic incarnation defies the 'highest apprehensions': 'For where the subject doth surmount the sence,/We best by silence show a great pretence...' (s. 82, ll. 13-14 ). Yet the lover expects the relationship between creator and created to be mutual. In exchange for his 'praise', she should be grateful: only through his poetic agency - a gift to her - is her beauty and worth is made apparent.

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[36] Sonnet 19, l. 1; sonnet 31, l. 4.

[37] Klein asserts that Alexander is here referring to Zeuxis. Zeuxis's portrait of an ideal beauty achieved by copying the best features of five individual women (Cicero, De Inventione, II. 1.3) certainly accords with the quasi-neoplatonic 'Idæa' of Alexander's sonnet. But Apelles is also another probable allusion who, in Pliny's account (Natural History XXXV.36.86-7), is said to have fallen in love with the subject of a commissioned portrait, Campaspe (Alexander's mistress), while painting her; the 'Painter' and the 'Picture' in line 14 of Alexander's sonnet may well be Apelles and Pancaspe (there may also be an allusion to Pygmalion though he was enamoured with a *sculptured* mistress). Kastner emends the phrase of line 6, 'naked snowes' to 'naked showes'; but 'snowes' seems to be perfectly uncorrupt, and may well refer to the portrait of Pancaspe naked (Natural History, XXXV. 36. 86). The Apelles/Zeuxis allusion is a common metaphor for the creation of an exemplary beloved.

[38] This makes the case for Apelles more persuasive since Pliny comments on his painting of Venus, and on another unfinished Venus at Cos.

Although I grant they need not to be prais'd
*It may suffise they be Auroraes all*
yet for all this O most ungratefull woman
Thou shlt not scape the scourge of iust disdaine
I gaue thee gifts thou shouldst haue given againe
*it's shame to be thy inferiors common*
I gaue all what I held most deare to thee
Yet to this houre thou never guerdon'd me

The 'burden' of his 'song', in the terms of the first elegy, is her praise[39]. This text pursues the paradox of dependence in another, less antagonistic sense but which again hinges upon the extent to which the love controls or 'invents' Aurora's behaviour. At this point, she is exonerated: 'Was euer god as yet so mad to make his temple burne?' (l. 76). Her 'fault' is entirely of his own making: 'For she who was of nature mild, was cruell made by me./And since my fortune is, in wo to be bewrapt,/Ile honour her as oft before, and hate my own mishap' (ll. 82-4). He must take responsibility for the flaw (her cruelty) of his creation. Yet this apparent resignation and self-indictment is converted into an opportunistic moment of self-advocacy:

Her rigorous course shall serue my loyall part to proue,
And as a touchstone for to trie the vertue of my loue.
Which when her beautie fades, shall be as cleare as now,
*My constancie it shall be known, when wrinkled is her brow*

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[39] See Gordon Braden, 'Love and Fame: the Petrarchan Career', Pragmatism's Freud ed. Joseph H. Smith and William Kerrigan (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), pp. 126-58 for an account of the Petrarchan relationship between creator and created, Petrarch and Laura.

So that such two againe, shal in no age be found,
She for her face, I for my faith, both worthy to be crownd (ll. 85-90)

Subtly, almost insidiously, Aurora is at once glorified and diminished. As lovers united they are proclaimed to be unique (and so also Aurora the sequence). Yet there is a clearly articulated division between female and male, beauty and virtue. This dualism unfolds into another distinction: virtue can be defined as male, moral and permanent; beauty as feminine and transient. Aurora's 'vertue', when exemplified by her beauty, is easily surpassed by the lover's which is self-glorifyingly enduring. The lover desires her as if only to display his alleged virtues, and to have these 'princely vertues that enrich [his] mind' vindicated by the approbation of 'the world' (s. 86, l. 6).

Spuriously endowed with such 'vertues', the lover admonishes the beloved:

Ah, why should'st thou thy beauties treasure wast,
Which will begin for to decay I see?
Earst *Daphne* did become a barren tree,
Because she was not halfe so wise as chaste (s. 84, ll. 5-8))

This is an extraordinary and crucial moment in understanding how Alexander's lover entraps Aurora (should she consent to his desire or not) by a kind of pseudo-logic derived from a modified or expediently redefined ideology of feminine duty and morality. The lover gradually invests her beauty with moral valency. If, as proclaimed in sonnet 14, Aurora's face is upheld as the 'worldes chief treasure', then it always risks potential devaluation. On the basis of the lover's Daphne *exemplum*, beauty cannot exist through and for itself but must seve another purpose: in other words, Aurora cannot intrinsically be beautiful but must reap the rewards of that beauty by submitting to the lover's desires. Daphne unwisely elected to remain chaste.

In Rime 254, Petrarch concedes that such beauty as possessed by Laura is a danger for 'forse vuol Dio tal di vertute amica/torre a la terra e n'ciel farne una stella/anzi un sole'[40]. Though Laura is semingly unconscious of her 'divina incredibile bellezza', on one occasion she almost incurs the fate of Narcissus: 'Certo, se vi rimembra di Narcisso,/questo et quel corso ad un termino vanno/ben che di sì bel fior sia indegna l'erba'[41]. Sixteenth century commentators interpreted this sonnet as a clear indictment of Laura's vanity and self-love which Alexander's adoption of the Narcissus myth reflects[42]. The three quatrains of sonnet 26 celebrate the magisterial, pageant-like qualities of Aurora's beauty ('Let maiestie arm'd in thy count'nance sit,/...And Ile not hate thee', ll. 5, 7) but the couplet exhorts, '...do not fall in loue with thine owne selfe;/*Narcissus* earst was lost on such a shelfe'[43]. There are other surreptitious hints of Aurora's narcissism: in sonnet 28 the lover contemplates the 'stil-*selfekissing* roses' of her lips (l. 7, my emphasis). Sonnet 98, a mannerist poem of metmorphosis and dissolution, offers the miniature allegory or fable of the 'Nymph' who contemplates her image in the 'liquid ruslets' of the lover's 'liquified' soul:

And cruell she (ah, that it should be told)
Whiles daign'd to grace them with some cheerfull beames,
Till once beholding that her shadow so,
Made those poore waters partners of her praise,
She by abstracting of her beauties rayes,
With griefe congeal'd the source from whence they flow:
But through the yce of that vniust disdaine,
Yet still transpares her picture and my paine. (ll. 8-14)

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[40] Lines 7-9: '...perhaps God wishes to take such a friend of vitue away from earth and make her a star in Heaven/rather a sun...' (Durling, p. 416).

[41] Sonnet 45, lines 12-14: 'certainly, if you remember Narcissus, this and that copurse lead to one goal - although the grass is unworthy of so lovely a flower' (Durling, p. 110)..

[42] See William J. Kennedy, Authorising Petrarch (Cornell University Press, 1994), p. 268: Bruccioli, for example, reads Rime 45 as evidence that she "'*piu non curaua del Petrarca, hauendo per persuasion dello specchio*; 'She no longer cared about him because she now had the eloquence of her mirror' (36v). Her indifference means that she no longer needs Petrarch as a poet or admirer to persuade her of her beauty...Daniello reads the figure misogynistically...as an emblem of self-regard associated with female narcissism: "'*Che le sonne si consigliano con lo specchio*" 'For women take counsel with their mirror".

[43] On Laura's preoccupation with her own beauty in the Rime, see further Sturm-Maddox, *op. cit.*, pp. 41- 46.

The 'sense' of this sonnet is curious and elusive: why should she resent that the lover's tears reflect to her the measure of her beauty? Is it the inferiority of this liquid mirror that inspires her 'griefe'? Yet the posture of the nymph contemplating her reflection recalls the Narcissus motif. Sonnet 101 represents the apogee of Aurora's identity as a female Narcissus: the 'glasse' by which she presently adores herself will in time become her 'enemie':

When as that liuely tent of beautie dies,
And that thou as thine enemie fleest thy glasse,
And doest with griefe remember what it was,
*That to betray my heart allur'd mine eyes:*
Then hauing bought experience with great paines
Thou shalt (although too late) thine errour find,
Whil'st thou reuolu'st in a digested mind,
*My faithfull loue, and thy vnkind disdaines:*
And if that former times might be recald,
While as thou sadly sitst retir'd alone,
*Then thou wouldst satisfie for all that's gone,*
And I in thy hearts throne would be instal'd:
Deare, if I know thee of this mind at last,
Ile think my selfe aueng'd of all that's past[44]

Superficially, this is a *carpe diem*, an invitation (or rather imperative) to love before too late. Yet as Daphne in the earlier *exemplum* was condemned for her wilfulness, so here Aurora is admonished for the 'errour' of ignoring his 'faithfull loue' only to reflect on and regret this lost 'opportunity' once her beauty has gone. This, the lover's imagined penitence for Aurora, again exemplifies the punitive aspects of his desire. The lover vindicates himself while Aurora is punished (as was Daphne in Alexander's gloss on the myth) for her beauty. She is solely defined or constituted by her physical, therefore fragile, form.

These paradoxes which define Aurora's beauty unfold into the larger paradoxes of the sequence which ultimately places her in the manichaean role of angel and *diablesse*. Certain of the late sonnets ascribe to her qualities of redeeming virtue but that suggested redemptive potential, it will be argued, is succeeded by the revelation of the corruptive and self-degrading power of sensual love or sexual desire[45]. On occasion, Aurora is redolent of the Petrarchan type of the *donna angelicata*. R.D.S. Jack perceives Aurora as 'the ideal of love, half-human, half-divine'[46]. The lover's opening claim that the sequence promises the love of 'vertue' rather than 'beautie' is partly or superficially fulfilled. Already in sonnet 10, the lover 'swears' the purity of his desire to Aurora. Her abstract virtue, 'the iewels of thy mind' (l. 5), are proclaimed as unique: 'Thy solide iudgement and thy generous thought,/Which in this darkened age haue clearly shin'd' (ll. 7-8). This recalls Petrarch's adoration of Laura as the 'redeemer' of a fallen age, an aspect of the Petrarchan beloved which (in the immediate Scottish context) Drummond will assign to Auristella[47]. As late as sonnet 97, Aurora's angelic beneficence is extolled:

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[44] This recalls *Elegie* 1: 'A mirror makes of me/Where she herself may see/And what she brings to passe/I trembling too for feare...'; in sonnet 42, he desires to metamorphose himself into her mirror.

I'm glad that it was not my chance to liue,
Till as that heauenly creature first was borne,
Who as an Angell doth the earth adorne,
And buried vertue in the tombe reuiue
For vice ouerflowes the world with such a flood,
That in it all saue she there is no good. (ll. 9-14)

Aurora resembles the Laura who constantly deflects Petrarch's desire to ensure his own moral salvation: 'thy vertue...working all things for the best' (s. 103, ll. 3-4).

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[45] Ironically, Aurora has the peculiar ability to perceive the lover's true state so that throughout the sequence lover and beloved are engaged in a kind of duplicitous warfare. This sensitivity is at first a virtue. In sonnet 11, she is praised for 'iudgement...so cleare, that she anone/Can bu the outward gestures iudge the mind'. Such percipience is unusual for 'this degener'd age' when 'those are thought to haue the brauest spirits/Who can faine fancies and imagine merits/As who but for their lusts of loue allow'. She preserves herself from the abasing machiavellian desire which tolerates deceit for the sake of 'lustful' gratification. But this allusion of Alexander's to the 'fallen' nature of contemporary desire does not attain the moral isolation which confronts the lovers of Drummond's Poems 1616. As this chapter argues, Aurora herself is ultimately made to bear responsibility for the the failure of his desire. So already in sonnet 5, he grants Aurora a superficial wisdom: 'She knowes the best yet can make choice of none

[46] Ph.D. diss., vol. 2, pp. 322-3.

[47] see Rime 29, 30; and Poems (1616).

Yet her Neoplatonic or redemptive status is fragile, its precariousness exemplified in other ways than the seemingly straightforward renunciatory tenth song. As a minor example, the Neoplatonic gesture of sonnet 10 is preceded by a quatrain that constitutes a miniature *blason* on her 'starrie eyes', 'golden lockes', 'rosie lippes', 'naked snowes which beautie dies' (ll. 1-4) . His avowal to love only 'those vertuous parts in thee' seems almost to be a contractual part of the seduction: 'Shouldst not loue this vertuous mind in me?' The lover's dutiful Neoplatonic gesture is portrayed as a means to gain approval ('such as modestie might well approue'). As the sonnet which precedes the final song seems to suggest, Aurora is ultimately symbolic of a 'Beautie' which does not, it seems, bear little if any spiritual or quasi-Neoplatonic valency beyond such phrases as 'vertuous parts'. Aurora may be proclaimed a 'diuine creature' but she presents merely a 'show diuine'[48]. Alexander's sequence ends on rejection and renunciation: of a poetics of 'soft fancies', and a beloved who represents sensual corruption. Aurora, it seems, is a resolutely secular beloved who cannot guide the lover on a divine journey (the persistent Petrarchan metaphor). As Fowler's Bellisa, she is too flawed to offer the lover any apotheosis.

Aurora perpetuates the enduring illusion that the only virtuous woman is one who is sexually pure. Though she remains an object of sexual desire, she cannot fulfil that desire for otherwise she destroys the lover's illusion. As a corollary of this paradoxical virginity, Alexander's sequence ultimately portrays sexual desire as a kind of desecration. Though the lover as late as sonnet 101 expresses frustration at her resistance, he also portrays her as 'fallen' if she had indeed placated him. Sonnet 99 strikingly dramatises the symbiotic relation between death and the loss of virginity. The disparity between the aged lover and the young (here innocent) beloved is first drawn simply as an imagistic contrast:

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[48] Defined by OED: 'in show', suggesting idea that 'the reality behind is diferent'; in appearance only, seemingly, ostensibly; 'suted for display'; 'an unreal or illusory appearance'; 'an appearance...asssumed with more or less intention to deceive; a feigned or misleading appearance; a simulation or pretence'.

Should hoary lockes sad messengers of death,
*Sport with thy golden haires in beauties Inne?*
And should that furrow'd face soyle thy smooth skinne,
And bath it self in th'Ambrosie of thy breath? (ll. 5-8)

In the highly nuanced final quatrain (alluding to the physical expression of desire), the lover portrays himself to be corrupt in self-excoriating language.

Must he who iealous through his owne defects,
*Thy beauties vnstain'd treasure still suspects,*
Sleepe on the snow swolne pillowes of thy paps,
While as a lothed burthen in thine armes,
Doth make thee out of time waile curelesse harmes. (ll. 10-14)

Is the root of the lover's antagonism towards Aurora jealousy of her beauty? Does envy and resentment compel him to deprive her of her virginity (her 'beauties *vnstain'd* treasure')? The implication of the final line is that he has unjustly ('out of time') compelled Aurora to consummate his desire (though the issue of compliance or coercion is uncertain). This is a richly provocative sonnet, the complexities of which (does it, for example, refer to an imagined or actual consummation; if the latter then the end renunciation of desire can partly be rooted in a particular 'event') are imbued in Aurora's conclusion.

Aurora does not end in the absolute renunciation of secular love as does Fowler's Tarantula. In the final song, Venus is replaced by Hymen, and cupiditas seemingly evolves into a secular version of caritas:

Great god that tam'st the gods old-witted child,
Whose temples brests, whose altars are mens hearts,
from my hearts fort thy legions are exild,
*And Hymens torch hath burn'd out all thy darts;*
Since I in end haue bound my selfe to one,
That by this meanes I may be bound to none (ll. 13-18)

The sacrament of marriage is extolled, defined (in the terms by which the lover reconceives the Judgement of Paris) as 'honest flames pent in a lawfull bounds' (l. 29). The state of holy matrimony removes the fear of sexual temptation as if in allusion to the Augustinian conception of marriage as the only licit form of sexuality[49]. In pledging himself 't'obtaine another' (the curious final line in which the lover appears morally as opposed to sexually acquisitive), the lover abjures 'both Cupid and his mother' (l. 47), the sensual love symbolised by 'the mirtle tree', and 'beauties sacred doues' (s. 105, ll. 3, 4).

Alexander's renunciation may espouse the conventional Neoplatonic doctrine of two types of secular love, virtuous and vicious, and appear to culminate in a celebration of marriage. Yet one may also interpret it as the inevitable extension and resolution of Aurora's dualism. Aurora the sequence presents two types of women, the sexually desirable mistress figure and the chastely beloved wife, and therefore conflates the two ideologies of femininty which Aurora (as the female beloved of other works here studied) herself incarnates. The presence of the 'other woman', the pure, redemptive beloved which Aurora fleetingly embodies, is anticipated as early as the third song and its allegorical *vignette*. The lover is imprisoned by a beautiful *ladie* in a 'curious building that was wondrous faire,/A labyrinth most rare' (ll. 88-9). This 'beauteous guide' suddenly abandons him, and he is delivered from 'the guilefull place' by another, more merciful, Ariadne. Significantly, she is depicted as 'A nymph like th'other in the face' (l. 111). Aurora's dualistic nature is symbolised by these two allegorical nymphs, one a dangerous sexual temptress, the other beneficent and 'more mildly bent' (l. 112) on saving, rather than destroying, her lover. By the end of the sequence, this miniature allegory has bifurcated into the lover's ethical choice between Aurora and the unnamed marriage partner who will symbolically deliver him from the latter's moral and sexual 'labyrinth'.

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[49] Compare this definition of marriage to that espoused as an ideal in the Maitland quarto lyrics (see Part I, Chapter III), and which reflects the Protestant notion of companionate marriage. Alexander's mirrors this description of the late sixteenth century epithalamium which 'typically tame[s] and civilise[s] desire', transforming it 'from the anarchic lust that can threaten the couple and their culture to the love that produces harmony in this generation': Heather Dubrow, A Happier Eden. The Politics of Marriage in the Stuart Epithalamium (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1990), p. 84.

Aurora, despite such clear-cut antitheses, is in part a subtle work. Despite his accusations against his beloved, Alexander's lover is himself guilty of 'feigning'. In order to preserve the 'secret fires' whose betryal he so fears, he deliberately constructs a 'mask' by which to evade and deceive Aurora. The sequence is bound by certain lexical repetitions: like the term 'fancy' and its cognates, 'mask' (functioning as both verb and noun) threads together certain texts. The word evokes and embodies this persistent play of deception and beguilement[50]. The first reference is found in *Elegie* 1:

Whil'st my distracted thoughts I striu'd for to controule,
*And with fain'd gestures did disguise the anguish of my soule,*
Then with inuiting lookes and accents stampt with loue,
The mask that was vpon my mind thou labordst to remoue (ll. 49-52)

Aurora strives to know him, to uncover his artfulness, and render him exposed and thus vulnerable. Alexander's final use of the term occurs in sonnet 85 in which the beloved is condemned for her 'maske of rigour'. In its phrasing, the line parallels the first occurrence cited above, only in the latter it was the lover who feigned: 'That maske of rigour from thy minde remoue/And then thou art accomplish'd in all parts' (ll. 11-12). Only she is condemned for her part in guising. In a sense, the wheel of duplicity has come full circle. The lover now speaks freely; and Aurora, if she 'labourdst to remove' her attitude of disdain, would apparently admit her love. Woman must represent the figure of truth.

***Conclusion*** Alexander's sequence is not an orthodox Petrarchist or Neoplatonic work but a powerful indictment, dressed in a beautiful, strained mannerist language, of female sexuality. Ending in endorsement of the most conservative ideology of marriage as a release from the temptations of sexual desire and woman, it sustains the myth of the angel and *diablesse*, the symbolic Scylla and Charybdis (in Alexander's own conceit), between which the male lover must steer morally[51]. The female manichaeism first witnessed in the Bannatyne lyrics has come full circle.

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[50] Wayne A. Rebhorn, Courtly Performances. Masking and Festivity in Castiglione's Book of the Courtier (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1978), p. 14, provides an illuminating account of the concept of figurative 'masking' in Castiglione and Machiavelli, the invention and assumption of a certain role which can be used to deceive.

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[51] 'Betwixt two rockes I did with danger fleete': Song 3, l. 45.

## ~ General conclusion ~

The kernel of the present thesis has been the re-evaluation of the amatory love lyric in mid to late sixteenth century Scottish literature. It has endeavoured to show that the genre acts as a prism: these small, complex, beautiful and underrated poems about desire refract issues of language, gender and culture. On the evidence of the poetry here studied, the Scottish love lyric was not a static genre (in either intellectual or rhetorical terms) but constantly redefined and recreated itself. Arguably, the genre most sharply realises James's ideas of a Castalian Renaissance by virtue of the qualities of *inventio* that he demanded.

Thomas M. Greene proposes that Petrarch bequeathed the dilemma of 'how to write with integrity under the shadow of a prestigious cultural alternative'. The consequent danger, in his words, is the creation of 'a rhetoric so respectful of its subtexts that no vital emergence from the tradition could occur'[1]. The Scottish love lyric responds to this dilemma in a variety of ways. The mannerist rhetoric displayed by Montgomerie and Stewart is arguably a response, partly facetious, to the perceived obsolescence of love discourse. Montgomerie's love poetry as a whole may be conceived as an inquiry into the limits of rhetorical representation. Stewart's mannerism also stems from the idea of the ornamental love poem as a gift exchanged betwen courtiers, rhetorically sculpted as a beautiful artefact in itself (love poetry was a highly fashionable genre).

Fowler's *Tarantula of Love* illustrates powerfully the 'estrangement' from the original source of which Greene writes in its 'failure' or refusal to adopt the full religious apotheosis of the Rime sparse. His love poetry, in its entirety a poignant rumination on the nature of love and mortality, seeks to recreate (or reinvent) the end of the Rime. Despite the *Tarantula's* wealth of Petrarchistic conceits, it suggests that the late sixteenth century Scottish response to Petrarch (and Petrarchism) could be

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[1] Thomas M. Greene, The Light in Troy. Imitation and Discovery in Renaissance Poetry, (Yale University Press, 1982), p.30.

By this innovation, Craig dissociates his sequence from the Petrarchan (and most *petrarchisti*) beloved who is desired precisely because of her uniqueness, and who in her death irrevocably denudes the earthly world of her beatific presence. In loving Laura, Petrarch commits his *primo* but only *errore*. The (partial) adoration of eight different women in the *Amorose* sequence appears perplexing because each beloved is asserted to be loved uniquely; the respective desire for Idea, Cynthia, Erantina, Pandora, Kala, Penelope, Lithocardia, and Lais is conceived independently of all the other seven desires; the lover and each beloved are seemingly enclosed in an autonomous narrative world. Each in fact constitutes a coherent sequence by itself so that the *Amorose Songs and Sonets* as a totality presents, as if randomly and without an overarching logic, eight interwoven love sequences. Perhaps the point (if there is indeed one) of Craig's sequence(s) is to confound readerly expectations of a structurally and psychologically coherent sonnet sequence, and to offer instead a wholly chaotic and disorderly juxtaposition of different beloveds which would *appear* to be an encyclopaedic portrait of desire. Though this sense of facetiously deconstructive anarchy is perhaps difficult to resist, it is revealing to analyse each of the beloved women in detail and their symbolic potential to incarnate a different facet of desire. The prefatory letters are highly significant, not least by indicating that the independence of each sonnet series is an illusion. Craig (his lyric *persona*) intends on the evidence of this 'generall' letter that each beloved is aware of the other's existence. There is no pretence of fidelity, and the closing effect is comic: 'I humbly craue at *all* your hands (which with all reuerence, and analogike seruice I kisse'[3]. The address 'to the Reader' has been interpreted by critics as a clear justification of Craig's 'mixtture' of beloveds:

> The subtile mechant placed Æsop in the middle bewtixt Cantor and Grammaticus that by the interposition of that deformed fabulator, the other two might appeare the fayrer. So haue I in middest of my modest Affections, committed to the presse my unchast Loue to Lais, that

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[3] *Amorose Songes and Sonets* (1608), Poetical Works edited by David Laing, Hunterian Club, (Glasgow, 1875), p. 10.

contraries by conttraries, and Vertue by Vice, more cleerlely may shine[4]

As if a conscious inversion of the Aristotelian mean (the mean between two extremities is undesirable), Craig's markedly simple explanation of his procedure serves only partly to define the sequence's playful complexities. While Lais and Idea can be clearly defined as the 'contraries' which negate each other, Idea seems to be implicated as one of 'the 'modest Affections' which reveal Lais's iniquity. Love for Idea may not be sexual in its intensity but the epithet, 'modest', scarcely complies with the Neoplatonic ideal that her name evokes. Ironically, Lais is so fulsomely disclaimed that she paradoxically becomes the most significant. Craig's declared aim to juxtapose 'contraries by conttraries' or different types of woman has precedent, for example, in the *querelle* section of the Bannatyne manuscript which explores the capacity of the sexually desired woman to inspire both revulsion and reverence. The *querelle* debate conceives the feminine by opposition: woman incarnates either the Virgin or Eve. In the figures of Idea and Lais, Craig seems to endorse this polarity. Yet Craig, by encompassing Idea and Lais with six other female protagonists, collapses the distinction between 'contraries', and prevents the emergence of distinct female types. Each beloved does not clearly symbolise a distinct Bemboist stage or moral level of love. Idea's Neoplatontic worth is imperfect; though Lais represents the ultimate degradation, the other women are portrayed in stages of incipient decline (for example, the implied possibility of deformation in Pandora). One beloved has the potential to become another.

Craig's sequence pursues the consequences (as does Alexander's Aurora) of desire which ends after sexual possession, and the extent to which the figure of the beloved woman can be debased rather than praised[5]. These pursuits are made more ironic by the fact that the figures of historical women - Penelope Rich and Queen Anna herself - are subtly implicated.

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[4] *op. cit.*, p. 11.

[5] See Joel Fineman, Shakespeare's Perjured Eye. The Invention of Poetic Subjectivity in the Sonnets (University of California Press, 1986), for a complex analysis of this inversion of praise in Shakespeare's sonnet sequence.

Appositely, the first half of the seventeenth century closes with the intervention of a female reader and writer into the history of Scottish amatory literature. Anna Hume (*fl.*1644) pursues the paradoxes of being (in the terms of Marie de Gournay outlined in the thesis's introduction) the literary 'daughter' of an illustrious male predecessor. Hume's English translation of the first three 'chapters' of Petrarch's Trionfi - the narratives of love, chastity and death - was published in 1644[6]. Though there are several sixteenth century translations of the Trionfi (including Mary Sidney's version of the Triumph of Death), none provide the exegetical prose commentary which she does. One especially interesting, if enigmatic, facet of Hume's Triumphs is its dedication to Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia, daughter of Queen Elizabeth of Bohemia (1596-1662) (who was herself the daughter of Anna of Denmark and James VI). The eulogy appears to suggest that Elizabeth acted as Hume's patron, and that she was 'Pleas'd to approve' Hume's poetry. This implies not simply that Hume was more prolific than her extant work suggests but that she may have visited the Bohemian court and participated in its intellectual and literary coteries. Hume's panegyric preface sets out the agenda for the defence of women which her commentary offers. Though her work is ushered out under the protection of 'great Petrarch's name', she announces that her poem will rediscover the voice of Laura, Petrarch's beloved. According to her metaphor of reclamation, she will unveil Laura and lead her out from the 'dark Cloyster' of her role as Petrarch's silent and angelic beloved.

Hume 'rewrites' Petrarch in a distinctively sharp, epigrammatic, and almost Donnean style. Her rhetorical and interpretative procedures are illuminated by her commentary. The range of 'explanations' given by Hume range from the simple identification of mythological figures to semantic interpretation. Though she alludes simply to the 'Italian Commentary', this can be traced to two particular editions of

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[6] Anna Hume, The Triumphes of Love: Chastetie: Death translated out of Petrarch (Edinburgh: Evan Tyler, 1644)

Petrarch published in Italy in 1543 and 1549 by two different scholars[7]. Yet she is only dependent on these for the more obscure historical or mythological references. When these sources are not cited, one sees a piquant humorist at work, and a critical intelligence which takes issue with some exegetical points of the commentaries. The female wit opposes masculine convention to revise received notions of the infamous female characters of legend, and to display sensitivity to Laura's dilemmas. Hume's facetiousness may be construed as evidence of her awareness of the vast historical and cultural gulf between her poem and Petrarch's. Her wry comments seem particularly attuned to the demands of a female readership. The profound tonal variation between the translation and the commentary is arguably a deliberate manoeuvre to undermine (using humour as subversion) a dominant cultural tradition and male poetic *auctoritas*. Hume's work sustains many of the impulses (a critical sensitivity, and the irony of the feminine 'point of view') which inform the late sixteenth century Scottish amatory lyric.

> for the Scottish poets love is not winged...Nowhere is there the artificial setting and jargon of chivalric romance, the insubstantial aspiration of neo-Platonism, the sensuous playing with ideas amatory and spiritual that we find in Shakespeare and John Donne. On the contrary, at all times it affects a realistic simplicity[8]

On such a reading, the Scottish Renaissance amatory lyric might be conceived as an impossibility, a contradiction in terms. Mark Alexander's Boyd sonnet, 'Fra banc to banc fra wods to wods I rin', is extolled as the exception, and as the exemplar of the Renaissance Scottish love lyric: 'a bitter sermon weighted throughout with vivid images...'; 'The punishments of a Tantalus, a Sisyphus, an Ixion are suggested to us in the same folk idiom that gave us the bairn Cupid and the wyfe Venus. Boyd places us in the hell of sterile passion'[9]. The 'success' of the late sixteenth century Scottish poem of love is measured by its apparent refusal of the terms of love and desire in their continental Petrarchan and Neoplatonic currency:

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[7] Il Petrarcha con L'Espositione d'Alessandro Velutello (Venice, 1545); Bernardo Lapini, Sonetti Canzone Triumphi del Petrarcha con li soi commenti (Venice, 1519).

[8] Matthew McDiarmid, 'Scottish Love Poetry before 1600: a Character and Appreciation', Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance (Fourth International Conference, 1984) ed. Dietrich Strauss and Horst W. Drescher (Peter Lang, 1986), pp. 443-50 (443).

> even if human love is presented as the dominant metaphor, it is either subordinated to a moral or devout superstructure, or expressed in purely physical or highly ambiguous terms, or even straightforwardly parodied...Within the Scottish lyric there was thus a stubborn resistance to the dominant trend in English literature to set up love, Petrarch or even poetic activity *per se* as the standard which poets and poems ought to measure themselves by. The Scottish lyricist was essentially a 'makar', a craftsman...'[10]

The present study has offered evidence for a critical and conceptual revision of such contentions. The exigencies of a highly refined intellectual and aesthetic court culture during the reigns of Mary and James arguably produced a rhetorical, intellectual and philosophically sensitive love lyric. In the transmutation rather than rejection of inherited convention, its manifestations reveal an alert and subtle awareness of the potentialities of love rather than the supposedly laudable earthy scepticism of Boyd. In 'The secreit prais of love', Montgomerie plays upon the notion of love as an immeasurable and expansive 'force'; desire is defined by Robert Burton 'as a word of...ample signification'[11]. If this thesis has conveyed a sense of the rhetorical, imaginative and sexual scope (or 'ampleness') of the late sixteenth century Scottish amatory lyric, it will have justified itself.

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[9] 'Sonet' (Jérôme Haultin, c1590); McDiarmid, *op. cit.*, p. 448; Ian Ross, 'Sonneteering in Sixteenth Century Scotland', *Texas Studies in Language and Literature* 6 (1964), pp. 255-68 (268).

[10] Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'The Sixteenth-Century Scottish Love Lyric', *Essenses: Bulletin of the Netherlands Society for English Studies* 3 (1993), pp. 19-37 (29).

[11] *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, cited in Donald Guss, John Donne Petrarchist.Italianate conceits and love theory in the *Songs and Sonets* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1966), footnote 43, p. 317.

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[11] *The Anatomy of Melancholy*, cited in Donald Guss, John Donne Petrarchist.Italianate conceits and love theory in the *Songs and Sonets* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1966), footnote 43, p. 317.

# ~BIBLIOGRAPHIES~

*Explanatory note*: for ease of reference, the bibliography is divided into two principle sections: primary and secondary sources. Within the former section are two further divisions between manuscript and printed material; and between Scottish and non-Scottish material.

## I
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### § Scottish (manuscripts and printed texts)

### (i) MSS

***NLS***

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Adv.81.5.8
Adv.5.2.14
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Dep 314/23

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