Colin Clouts Come Home Againe

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS (Regulation 7.9)

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Title of Thesis Colin Clouts Come Home Againe

Colin Clouts Come Home Againe, one of the longest pastorals written in the late sixteenth century, expresses the classical spirit of pastoral in an unique form which combines Neo-Latin, Renaissance, and medieval genres. The Renaissance poets made love the most important activity in the bower, but no one had attempted to explain its function in the pursuit of peace. By creating a shepherd philosophy in which Cupid has the power of the Logos, Spenser demonstrates that even the unrequited lover can find happiness in a pastoral community if he follows Cupid's rules.

The method is "ernest unto game". Through such stylistic devices as the use of a narrator, comic irony, parodic transformation of romance conventions and the creative use of pastoral tropes, the poet directs us to issues of which the shepherds are unaware. The biographical material is presented wittily: the ecloga nautica discloses the appreciative understanding that Raleigh and Spenser had for each other; and a delicately constructed myth of locality reveals a sensitive exemplum of Raleigh's seduction of Elizabeth Throckmorton and the tragic cost of defying intransigent authority.

Critics believed that CCCHA existed in two states in the outer forme of sheet C, but my collation of 47 copies reveals that there are some minor variants on B^{r}_{3} and C^{v}_{3}. There is no evidence to suggest that Spenser was in London at the time of publication.

This thesis has been composed entirely by Carmel Gaffney

Carmel Gaffney.

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PREFACE

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A REVIEW OF THE CRITICAL LITERATURE ON *CCCHA* 1937 - 1982.

One Spenserian poem that has borne the burden of critical neglect is *CCCHA*. By comparison *The Shepheardes Calender* has been rummaged and ransacked for every conceivable source and lauded for every possible technique. Perhaps critics contented with their display of erudition on *The Shepheardes Calender* believed that such critical exposition of pastoral could be expected to cover *CCCHA*. However, Spenser in composing a mannerist pastoral did not repeat old forms, but embarked on the composition of a new pastoral genre.

Much of the criticism that exists is incorporated into studies that examine certain recurring Spenserian themes or Renaissance motifs, myths and sources. The most valuable readings come from critics, such as Harry Berger Jr., who have a comprehensive knowledge of Spenserian thought. For instance, Berger explains in his first article "The Prospect of the Imagination: Spenser and the Limits of Poetry", that essential to the poem's meaning is the resolution of love's dualities in the bower. He demonstrates Spenser's loss of faith in Governmental means for ordering society, and his corresponding growth in the personal vision of the poet. [1]Of course this is correct, but Berger's emphasis on personal vision paralyzes the pastoral movement in the poem. Colin's fulfilment derives from a philosophy that sustains a shepherd community; and as their poet he merely gives the way of life a name and a form.

Later in "The Spenserian Dynamics" (1968), Berger uses *CCCHA* to exemplify his sophisticated theory of Spenser's understanding of *discordia concors*.[2] He claims that Eros represents a "process which guides the *concors* creatively through a number of phases tending ideally towards a 'higher' or more complex form of organization." [3]The following lines are quoted as exemplification:

> He then them tooke, and tempering goodly well
> Their contrary dislikes with loved meanes,
> Did place them all in order, and compell
> To keep them selves within their sundrie raines,
> Together linkt with Adamantine chaines;
> Yet so, as that in every living wight
> They mixe themselves, and shew their kindly might.

[1]*SEL*, 1 (1961), 93-120.
[2]*SEL*, 8 (1968), 1-18.
[3]*Ibid.*, p.11.

So ever since they firmely have remained,
And duly well observed his beheast
Through which now all these things that are contained
Within this goodly cope, both most and least
Their being have, and dayly are increast,
Through secret sparks of his infused fyre.
(11. 85-97.HHOL).

At most, evolutionary dynamism is only latent in Spenser's thinking in this passage, and it has no function in the resolution of Colin's problems. "Adamantine chains", "compell", and "firmely have remained" suggest an endless repetition of sameness which supports Colin's ideas on fixed laws, rather than the progressive process of evolution that Berger describes.

In contrast to Berger's comprehensive knowledge of Spenserian thought are those writers who have a limited understanding of it, and who are led to the poem by their interest in Renaissance poets' use of certain creation myths. Sacvan Bercovitch, for example, merely suggests in "Empedocles in the English Renaissance" that if the Empedoclean love-strife theory were applied to *CCCHA*, it might lead to a more precise understanding of Spenser's meaning. [4]A.R. Cirillo in "The Fair Hermaphrodite: Love Union in the Poetry of Donne and Spenser" limits himself to one comment on "For Venus selfe doth soly couples seeme/ Both male and female through commixture joynd" (11. 801-2). This he argues demonstrates a kind of correlative to the basic harmony of love celebrated in the Hymns, especially *An Hymne in Honour of Beautie* (11. 197-207). [5]No doubt the hermaphroditic theory which Cirillo analyses underpins much of Spenser's writing on Love, but its relevance to *CCCHA* is limited. Of first importance to Colin's resolution of love is adherence to Cupid's rules of fidelity; and for him self-knowledge in the light of them brings peace in a community that has this common tradition.

Although Berger's first article is usually the source for those who believe in an affirmative answer to the poem's analysis of Love's dualities, Terry Comito eleven years later (1972) in "The Lady in a Landscape and the Poetics of Elizabethan Pastoral", constructed a similar scheme for demonstrating that the poem is a pastoral failure. [6]He shifts the Bergerian emphasis on vision to myth, which he describes simply as the presence of the beloved evoked by the pastoral setting. Rosalind now replaces Cynthia as first lady; but still Colin cannot transcend Cynthia's presence, because her glory is greater than his simple

[4]*SP*, 65 (1968), 67-80.
[5]*SEL*, 9 (1969), 81-95.
[6]*UTQ*, 41 (1972), 200-18.

thought. Thus the pastoral images enclose Colin and prevent his finding contentment.

The incorrect assertion of Cynthia's importance to Colin's happiness, as well as the literal interpretation of statements on man's inability to praise princes, have enabled Comito to wrest the poem from its pastoral impulse. Certainly the tensions within the poem needed critical scrutiny, but it would have been more fruitful if they had been correctly identified.

By examining the poem's structure through its numerological composition, David Burchmore in "The Image of the Centre in *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*", restores Rosalind to her correct position in the poem and thus indirectly redresses Comito's erroneous inflation of Cynthia. [7]He locates Rosalind's pre-eminence in the deliberate structural intrusion of the catalogue of 12 poets and 12 nymphs. Within its 52 quatrains, with 93 quatrains preceding and following it, he finds that Colin's three quatrains of praise to Rosalind reveal her as the poem's centre. By a count of the poem's 955 lines he locates a more "precise" centre in:

> And I hers ever onely; ever one:
> One ever I all vowed hers to bee,
> One ever I, and others never none.
> (11. 477-79)

Even the poem's central line, Burchmore continues, is enclosed for emphasis:

> The insistent reiteration of the words 'ever' and 'one' (including the concealed echoes in 'ever onely' and 'never none') gives a remarkable emphasis to the passage, with the central line itself enclosed by the chiasmus 'ever one/one ever' of the flanking lines - the adverbs of eternity surrounding the adjectives of unity.[8]

However, Burchmore allows two mistresses of Spenser's to be celebrated with singleness of devotion in the poem. The first, and the subject of lines 477-79, he identifies as Elizabeth Boyle who married Spenser in 1594.[9] The second, the Rosalind of *The Shepheardes Calender* wins Colin's final accolade (11. 903-51). Since vows of undying commitment to two ladies would mock Colin's philosophy and destroy the unity of the poem, we cannot agree with Burchmore's attribution of the lines to Elizabeth Boyle. Moreover, the central vow of commitment finds an echo in Colin's final assertion to honour Rosalind "paravant" (1. 941). And critics have not noticed that Hobbinol after Colin's long exposition of love, echoes Colin's vow "ever one" in "That ill (said *Hobbinol*) they him requite/ For having

[7]*RES*, New Series, 28 (1977), 393-406.
[8]*Ibid.*, p.397.
[9]For other critics who have identified the mistress of this section with Elizabeth Boyle, see Commentary, n. 468- 79.

loved ever one most deare" (11. 903-4). The context too allows us to read "ever one" in both instances as a comment on Colin's pathetic plight as the unrequited lover.

Perhaps T.R. Edwards in his study of *CCCHA* in *Imagination and Power* was influenced by Berger, for he too believes Colin resolves his problems.[10] He constructs an unconvincing analogy between Colin's unrequited love and Bregog's, and argues that the Bregog-Mulla myth is the artistic process by which Colin sublimates his loss. Both Colin and Bregog exceed their status - Colin, by praising Cynthia, and Bregog by seducing Mulla. We see in this interpretation how a wilful misapplication of the pastoral convention that the praise of princes was beyond the powers of a shepherd, distorts the poem's meaning.

Edwards also finds that Colin's extraordinary devotion makes an interesting adjustment between politics and art:

> The artist, the man who can't get along at court in the court's own terms, proves the limitations of those terms by demonstrating the more intense devotion of the exiled imagination.[11]

The analogy is then extended to include the poet's ability to transcend his court disillusionment:

> For Spenser . . . the conjunction of love and ambition shows that both prove the value of devotion. One learns to understand the Court, the world of power and policy, by investing its central figure of authority with some of the properties of a love object . . . and one learns to cope with failure at court by associating it with failure in love. Each kind of failure makes available a role of devotion - despite rejection that feels dignified and imaginatively fruitful.[12]

There are many misinterpretations in these two passages. Love and ambition are not joined in the poem. Colin never comes to terms with the court: he denounces it. True, he continues to admire Cynthia, but his belief in her springs from a vision of the Golden Age that she could establish if her courtiers were incorrupt.

Throughout his discussion Edwards ignores the poem's pastoral theme. Perhaps he intended that this objection should be met by his statement that the poem's genre is "the poetic equivalent of a mind occupied by a variety of matters to which it can't confidently assign priorities".[13]This surely cannot be correct. How can any artistic expression of grief come from a mind unable to order its material? The assertions that the form is the meaning

[10](1971). For all books published in London only the year of publication will be cited.
[11]*Ibid.*, p.60.
[12]*Ibid.*, p.61.
[13]*loc.cit.*

and that Colin transcends the court corruption through devotion, make Edwards's resolution of the poem's meaning less convincing than Berger's.

Nancy Jo Hoffman's book *Spenser's Pastorals* is the most complex of the recent studies on *CCCHA* , and it reflects the influence of earlier studies in the seventies.[14]She expands Comito's comment on pastoral images into the raw facts of history. And she develops his concept of failed pastoral, and Edwards's belief that the poem resists generic classification, into arguments on the disintegration of the poem's pastoral form.

Twentieth century concepts on what should constitute pastoral peace were first introduced into literary criticism in the fifties, when history of ideas critics, such as R. Poggioli, argued that the vision of Christianity and the vision of pastoral were irreconcilable. [15]Then in the sixties, S.K. Heninger claimed that Renaissance poets were forced to pervert the pastoral mode which was essentially an escapist form of literature, because they could not cope with any dichotomy between life and art.[16]It is this kind of criticism that Hoffman resuscitates in her socialist statement that pastoral's democratizing power with its "patrician quietistic bias", and its "hint of class struggle against a vision of humanity", offers us a steadying force today.[17]

Much of her argument concentrates on those sixteenth century political and social facts, which she believes have influenced Spenser and coloured the poem's imaginative landscapes. Thus she claims that his position as land-owner forced him to recognize that "woods, fields and stream" were of economic and political value and not idealized or emblematic forms for pastoral peace.[18]The "cold, care and penury" (l. 656) of Ireland likewise caused him to lose faith in England's ability to establish peace:

> Then, following the section comparing Ireland and England (with its subsequent praise of Eliza), Spenser for the first time directly undercuts England's virtues, and the English court appears conflictingly in both its idealized and real lights. The bitterness against Irish reality and the disillusionment with the uses of English bounty now leave little space for pastoral solace. Although Ireland's pastoral potentiality finds full expression in the final lines of the poem, Colin sings Ireland's poetic praise long after we can believe it.[19]

The contrast between the historical Ireland and the English landscape which Hoffman proposes is false. An Ireland ravaged by Imperialism in which no one can be indifferent to its history, or where the British colonizer cannot be content with his exploitation, are

[14](Baltimore, 1977).
[15]"The Oaten Flute", *HLB*, 2 (1957), 147-84.
[16]"The Renaissance Perversion of Pastoral", *JHI*, 22 (1961), 254-61.
[17]Hoffman, p.ix.
[18]*Ibid.*, p.124.
[19]*Ibid.*, p.134.

twentieth century views. The poem presents a different reality. It exposes the dichotomy between two societies to endorse traditional pastoral values. The Irish shepherds, despite encirclement by hostility, survive through pastoral community values. Their English counterparts enriched by peace and satiated with prosperity, pervert traditional values for personal gain. Hoffman seems to forget that *otium* has always been independent of place and life's vicissitudes, and this makes it difficult for readers of pastoral to understand her belief in their importance.

The only book devoted exclusively to the eclogue is Sam Meyer's *An Interpretation of Edmund Spenser's Colin Clout.*[20] Because Meyer's study (1969) pre-dates the criticisms of the poem's reputed failure, he was untrammelled by them and free to concentrate his attention on rhetoric and diction. He believed such an emphasis would enable readers to understand the poem "according to the literary canons of its own age."[21] He discovered that Spenser composed "largely by schemes of rhetoric" but he avoided speculation on the reasons for the patterning. [22] Obviously there is a logical step from this to a numerological interpretation, which Burchmore may have seen. However, Meyer more than compensated for such oversight by his recognition of the poem's centripetal impulse in pastoral, and by his identification of its many pastoral forms:

> The incorporation of earlier genre conventions like the singing match, the love plaint, the assembly and dispersal of shepherds—sometimes termed 'pure pastoral'—makes the poem in its entirety a pastoral allegory. Together, the two content areas - pure and admixed pastoral — constitute the indispensable frame of reference for interpreting the individual images-descriptions, concretions, and figures, especially metaphors and similitudes. An important outcome of these interactions is to give a centripetal impulse to the poem.[23]

This awareness then led Meyer to the poem's unity, which he found in Colin's presentation of his love experiences. Unfortunately Meyer did not support his readings with detailed expositions.

The literature of the last forty-five years clearly demonstrates that critics realize the crux of the poem is Colin's philosophy of happiness, which they interpret either as failure or success. There is, however, insufficient attention given to the pastoral mode in which Colin seeks fulfilment, and there is inadequate discussion of pastoral sources. The question too of what constitutes a pastoral and *CCCHA's* claim to a position within the tradition needs exploration. This present study attempts to redress only some of these omissions.

[20](Cork, 1969).
[21]*Ibid.*, p.2.
[22]*Ibid.*, p.3.
[23]*Ibid.*, p.112.

COLIN CLOUTS COME HOME AGAINE AND THE PASTORAL TRADITION

In *The Ruines of Time* (1951), in the persona of Verlame, Spenser engages in self criticism:

> Ne doth his *Colin,* carelesse *Colin Cloute,*
> Care now his idle bagpipe up to raise,
> Ne tell his sorrow to the listning rout
> Of shepherd groomes, which wont his songs to praise:
> Praise who so list, yet I will him dispraise,
> Untill he quite him of this guiltie blame:
> Wake shepheards boy, at length awake for shame.
> (225-31)

This challenge, to which Colin seems to refer in *CCCHA*, when he commences his story with "Wake then my pipe, my sleepie *Muse* awake" (1. 48), is more than adequately answered in Spenser's new pastoral. The eclogue, one of the longest in English at that time, is also the most comprehensive written in the sixteenth century. Perhaps Spenser in resuming his pastoral pen, intended to demonstrate that many pastoral genres from the classical, medieval and Renaissance Neo-Latin and vernacular traditions could be combined to embody an English Experience.

Not a few of the adaptations that Spenser makes of pastoral forms in *CCCHA* have passed unnoticed by the critics. One of the most important and most neglected of Spenser's imitations is the Neo-Latin poets' practice of composing a new genre as a way of exploring the classical spirit of freedom. From the same tradition he also boldly revivifies many sub-genres such as the piscatory lament and *ecloga nautica* and gives them a new function in his eclogue.

From the Spenserian transformations of the older traditions, classical and medieval, only those pastoral features which have been by-passed by commentators will be discussed. In particular, some attention will be devoted to Spenser's radical reconstruction of the creation myth, which is crucial to the resolution of Love's dualities in the bower. Another deft enhancement of an older form is found in Colin's court satire, which is expanded to include not only his doctrine of love but also his vision of the Golden Age. It is because Spenser has based his shepherd-poet's assessment of society on experience that we can give credence to Colin's belief in the possibility of establishing a Golden Age, and his fulfilment in a pastoral community.

The opening lines of *CCCHA* show how artfully Spenser inter-laces pastoral traditions to announce his intention of creating a new art form. In this first scene the shepherds are gathered around their recently returned pastoral singer, Colin. They plead with him to

relate his adventures and while they enjoy his company and song, their herds graze without fear of danger. All the elements of the classical pastoral are present: man is at peace with nature; there is equality, mutual benefit, song and recreation. Clearly, Spenser is emphasizing the valúe of pastoral freedom, but it is also obvious from his elegant allusions to various traditions that his work is not a slavish imitation of classical pastoral.

Spenser pre-empts the very first line of the eclogue for a highly mannered reference to himself. He alludes to his pastoral name in the poem's title (and titles were not common), and he mentions his established position as a pastoral poet in the English vernacular tradition, "The shepheards boy (best knowne by that name)". Through this we are reminded that Marot before Spenser called himself Colin, rather than Tityrus, in order to identify himself as a native singer. This indirect reference to Marot also indicates that Renaissance vernacular traditions have influenced the poet. Only in the second line, "That after Tityrus first sung his lay," do we recall the great masters of the older traditions, Virgil and Chaucer. We cannot exlude the latter, for the reference to *The Shepheardes Calender* means that both masters were intended; and E.K. had glossed Tityrus as Chaucer ("June" 1.81).

This stylishness is in the manner of Neo-Latin classical writers. When these poets were of the first class, Leonard Grant explains, they did not attempt mirror images of Virgilian pastoral, but composed poems that were "independently valuable as creative genre art".[1] To distinguish these eclogues from the many forms used by Neo-Latin writers, Grant uses the terms "art eclogue" and "high art". Such terms will not be used here, because poets writing in the vernacular traditions were also writing poems that can be described as art eclogues. The most distinctive feature of these pastorals is not really the sophisticated style, but the authors' insistence that they are maintaining the classical spirit in new genres. This Spenser shares with them, but his method of innovation is different. He constructs his poem by transfiguring pastoral forms from all the major traditions, and he encases his art in the vernacular. If we are to appreciate Spenser's development of the classical concept of *otium*, we have to realize that the idea was never static. Even among classical poets there were differing views of pastoral freedom which reveal that the genre could accommodate many moral choices. According to Thomas Rosenmeyer these various presentations emphasize the timelessness of the concept:

> In reality, the freedom of the herdsman is incorruptible; sealed in the bower, the object of example rather than argument, it survives and flourishes, and is capable of assimilating a variety of moral and social choices.[2]

[1] *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral* (Durham, N.C. 1965) p.117.
[2] *The Green Cabinet: Theocritus and the European Pastoral Lyric* (Berkeley, 1969), p.109.

Thus it was not difficult for Christian poets to impose on pastoral their ideas of happiness through self-sacrifice. By the time of the Renaissance, however, most concepts of freedom were subsumed by Love's importance in pastoral poetry. Such an emphasis led many sixteenth-century poets to concentrate their efforts on the expression of its many moods in songs and laments; and as a result the classical concept of *otium* was often neglected. The harmony between men and nature *(Stimmung)* the essence of classical pastoral, even seemed at times to have become just one more pastoral trope. Its function was not to demonstrate the superiority of pastoral contentment but to heighten the loneliness of the unrequited lover. So when Spenser made his statement of pastoral peace in the manner of Neo-Latin writers of the classical eclogue, his contemporaries were probably aware that he intended to explore the function of love in *otium*.

To do this he had to demonstrate that even the unrequited lover *par excellence*, Colin Clout, could find a satisfying and lasting happiness in the bower. It is little wonder then that Spenser planned his exposition of love carefully, and like many teachers first presented his readers with an exemplum of the rejected lover at peace in his pastoral landscape. Throughout this scene the constant references to Colin's happiness, his influence on his companions, and his habitual roles of singer and inspirer of joy, remind us that Colin, who feeds his thoughts on the "sweet contenment" of his vision, lives in peace.

This early exemplum is subsequently unfolded into a narrative which demonstrates that Colin's happiness is the result of his experiences and philosophy. To impress the reader with the importance of Colin's doctrine and journeys, Spenser endows him with the traditional roles of the shepherd. His journey to court gives him the knowledge of a shepherd-courtier; and his analyses of love make him teacher and priest. With all these functions as well as his experiences, he acquires an air of wisdom and his statements become not just the remarks of an unrequited lover, but the voice of universal man in his quest for fulfilment.

One of Colin's most important experiences is his journey to court and the growth in his belief in the Golden Age. For it is his vision of the future and certainty in the positive values represented by Cynthia that fill his message with hope. At court Colin comes to the realization that Cynthia's plans for the Golden Age are thwarted by Government servants. He discovers that their idleness, pride, unmanliness and ambition spring from their refusal to honour the God of Love and obey his laws. Having learnt the cause for the failure of English society to establish peace, he is then in a position to explain to his shepherds the reasons for unhappiness in man. He argues that the shepherds are happy because for them Cupid is supreme, and they worship him devoutly and honour him with "chaste

heart" (1.888). The lesson has its personal application too, for Colin like the Theocritean lover before him, accepts self-blame for his failure in love. He states quite simply, "But to my selfe the blame that lookt so hie" (1.936). At no point does he transgress Cupid's laws: he honours him and loves Rosalind faithfully. So devout is his practice and understanding of love that the shepherds see him as Cupid's high priest.

Through these insights which have come from direct experience Colin is able to formulate a Cupidian doctrine of love, that not only explains the shepherds' contentment but also offers a way for finding pastoral joy. Unlike corrupt courtiers the shepherds do not allow inordinate desires to rule them. They therefore experience peace and mutual co-operation. After expounding the theory Spenser leaves us with an exemplum to convince us that the spirit of classical freedom continues in Colin's pastoral community. The eclogue ends as it began with the shepherds at one with their pastoral singer; and again there is co-operation between man and nature as the skies warn the shepherds to enfold their flocks:

> So having ended, he from ground did rise,
> And after him uprose eke all the rest:
> All loth to part, but that the glooming skies
> Warnd them to draw their bleating flocks to rest.
> (11. 952-55).

Just as Spenser's exposition of the importance of love as the essence of pastoral happiness was a major advance within the Renaissance understanding of pastoral freedom, so too was his original genre a valuable contribution to pastoral forms. Unlike those Neo-Latin writers who concentrated solely on newness, Spenser transformed many sub-genres from the major traditions to create an original eclogue. This variety, however, was not a meaningless display of decorativeness for each sub-genre has a function in the story. In this too Spenser differed from many of his contemporary poets who often used Neo-Latin type eclogues for "writing introspective poems of love -melancholy, for drawing irrelevant pictures of the bliss and contentment of the shepherd's life, or just as a means of practising their art".[3] In *CCCHA* many kinds of eclogue such as *hodoeporicon, ecloga nautica* and piscatory lament not only provide subtle nuances of meaning within certain key points of the narrative, but also contribute to the exposition of the theme of pastoral peace.

One of the most arresting transformations is the shepherd's journey to court. The *locus classicus* for this kind of pastoral in the Middle Ages was "Franc Gontier's detailed account of good country life" and its contrast with the evils of court.[4] By revivifying this type of

[3]Helen Cooper, *Pastoral: Medieval into Renaissance* (Ipswich, 1977), p.179.
[4]Cooper, p.72.

pastoral Spenser clearly shows its continuing vitality. The modification of eclogues from the Neo-Latin tradition add variety and entertainment to the traditional story. For instance, the *hodoeporicon*, a form for describing journeys into foreign lands, and the *ecloga naütica*, a sub-genre which sprang from it for recounting ocean voyages, are conflated and parodied to satirize romance writers, and to expose Colin's innocence in his reluctant role of adventurer.

When Virgil parodied formal and thematic features from Theocritus' works, he introduced a technique into pastoral that became a convention which Renaissance poets used to exhibit their powers for enhancing tropes and genres. It is not suprising then, to find Spenser interweaving into the *ecloga nautica* a parody of certain aspects of the piscatory eclogue. Having presented Colin as shepherd-sailor, Spenser through the modification of the piscatory eclogue is able to depict Raleigh as sailor-shepherd whose duties are to farm the ocean. There is no mystery, adventure or excitement for the Ocean-Shepherd: he is no longer Elizabeth's foremost adventurer, but a piscator. The parody has also a serious purpose: it reveals a friendship in which values diverge. For example, the Ocean Shepherd professes a recklessness in the pursuit of honour that Colin finds outrageous, and against which he warns his fellow shepherds in "Bold men presuming life for gaine to sell/ Dare tempt that gulf" (11. 209-210). Although the humour does not diminish the cordial intimacy between sailor and shepherd, it exposes the contrast between a relationship of this kind and that enjoyed in a shepherd community.

Different from these adaptations in tone and style is Spenser's elegant use of the Neo-Latin and Renaissance vernacular "myth of locality" eclogue. This kind of pastoral had been made fashionable by the Florentine and Neapolitan schools of writers, who had invented their own legends about familiar parts of the landscape and embodied them in this versatile genre. Grant explains its diversity:

> It may form an incidental part of an ordinary bucolic of the most Virgilian content, may by idyllic, may be mythological, may be highly Ovidian or may move as far away from conventional eclogue as any poem possibly could . . .[5]

For its roots we have to look earlier in Petrarch. He believed that allegory was inseparable from pastoral, and he incorporated into his myths comments on society. Unfortunately the allegory was so cryptic that it baffled his own generation. Boccaccio continued the tradition of cryptic allegorical myths, and introduced the myth of locality. His imitators extrapolated this innovation from his *Ninfale Fiesolano*, but ignored its sub-structure of cryptic allegory. Nevertheless, something of it remained in Renaissance

[5] *Ibid.*, p.257. See also R.B. Gottfried, "Spenser and the Italian Myth of Locality", *SP*, 34 (1937), 107-25.

poetry, if only in the analogy between man and nature. For example, in Mantuan's Second Eclogue, Amyntas's suicide is compared to the misrule nature causes with floods. That the Elizabethans were accustomed to this kind of comparison is seen in Turbervile's Mantuan translation where he comments pithily on nature's correspondence to man in "They play the part that men are wont". [6]

From this rich tradition Spenser was able to create a myth of locality that was artistically satisfying and functional in its contribution to Colin's search for happiness through unrewarded love. In outline the myth parallels Spenser's local Irish topography, and its cryptic allegory elegantly veils the Raleigh-Throckmorton love-affair. The myth of locality is integrated into the singing match where it is used to answer Raleigh's lamentable lay to Cynthia. Rather than sing of his love for Rosalind, Colin claims that he will sing of his Irish landscape and of its living legends in rivers. However, his transgression of pastoral conventions urge us to examine the story more closely. After all a myth of locality bears little relation to Raleigh's lamentation of lost love; and Colin's specious excuse for not singing of his unrequited love is a flagrant contradiction of the convention that shepherds lament their thankless devotions:

> Nor of my love, nor of my losse (quoth he)
> I then did sing, as then occasion fell:
> For love had me forlorne, forlorne of me,
> That made me in that desart chose to dwell.
> (1. 88-91).

In a similar way the conspicuous discrepancy between Bregog's love story and the rejected lovers' stances revealed in the poem, suggest that the myth is being used in the Petrarchian manner of cryptic allegory, and that we should examine the legend for the love story of one of the singers. When we do it is clear that Colin's myth uncovers Raleigh's true love for Elizabeth Throckmorton, which for reasons of policy he could not sing. So closely do the events of Bregog's love for Mulla parallel those in Raleigh's seduction of Elizabeth Throckmorton that little comment is needed to explain the analogy. The river Mulla, and Elizabeth Throckmorton loved secretly and eagerly, "Full faine she lov'd, and was belov'd full faine" (1. 116). Jealous authority figures, Mulla's father Mole, and Queen Elizabeth, caused the suitors, Bregog and Raleigh to behave deviously, "Him to deceive for all his watchful ward" (1. 136); the consummation of the rivers' love and of that of Raleigh and Elizabeth was concealed successfully for a time:[7]

[6] *The Eglogs of the poet B. Mantuan Carmelitan* (1567).

[7] A.L. Rowse, *Ralegh and the Throckmortons* (1962), p.161. Rowse quotes the following from Arthur Throckmorton's diary: 17 Nov., Arthur heard of his sister's marriage to Raleigh; 29 March 1592 Damerei Raleigh was born; 10 April, Damerei Raleigh was baptized.

He underground so closely did convey,
That of their passage doth appeare no token,
Till they into the *Mullaes* water slide.
So secretly did he his love enjoy.
(11. 142-45).

Nevertheless, Raleigh's marriage like Brerog's was finally revealed, "Yet not so secret, but it was descride/ And told her father by a shepheardes boy" (11. 146-47); the Queen like old father Mole, sought vengeance:[8]

Who wondrous wroth for that so foul despight,
In great avenge did roll downe from his hill
Hugh mightie stones, the which encomber might
His passage, and his water-courses spill.
(11. 148-51).

Raleigh and Elizabeth Throckmorton were sent to the tower and Raleigh suffered such a setback at court that he never regained his former power.

This dramatic episode in Raleigh's life is but one of the many exempla that Spenser offered for his consideration.[9] It is likely that some contemporary readers were unaware of its inflammatory content. Accustomed to the Renaissance vogue of art for art's sake, and aware that writers of the myth of locality sought to present exquisitely finished art forms, they may have appreciated the song merely for its fine topographical accuracy and its apparently decorative function. Perhaps even some readers, remembering Mantuan, saw it as an analogy for the folly of deceitful love. But there will have been many who understood the allusions to the Raleigh-Throckmorton scandal hidden so intelligently in topography and myth.

Just as complex in its artistry and skilful in its use of sources is Colin's creation myth. As a pastoral feature the myth began with Virgil's Sixth Eclogue. The medieval poets were so successful in Christianizing the form that Mantuan parodied it by including two versions of Genesis in his second Eclogue. Spenser, however, was not content to follow either the classical tradition of Virgil or the Christian tradition; therefore he ingeniously combined both. Not even this satisfied his creativity, for he replaced Jove by Cupid and gave him the power of the Logos. By endowing him with the attributes of the Christian God, he also demonstrated that as a God of Love, adherence to his laws was essential to *hasychia*.

It would be inappropriate here to analyse the various assimilations of myths that Spenser makes to present Cupid as a creator and God of Love.[10] However, to appreciate

[8] *Ibid.*, On 7 August, Arthur wrote, 'Ma soeur s'en alla à la tour, et Sir W. Ralegh.
[9] There was also the Timias-Belphoebe episode in the *FQ*; Calidore in Bk 6.10; and possibly the Timias-Serena episode in Bk 6.5 (first suggested by Upton).
[10] For sources see Commentary.

the compelling force of his doctrine, it is necessary to examine the bold structures that silently parallel Christian beliefs. The myth has three sections which emphasize different aspects of Cupid's superiority. From the first synoptic version we learn that Cupid was born of Vēnus and retained his Godhead in his incarnation; after a powerful display of strength he ascended into heaven and was re-deified by Jove. These lines (800-10) with their statements on incarnation, hypostatic union, ascension and enthronement at God's right hand, match in their doctrinal pithiness and energy articles of faith from a Christian *credo.* The creation story in the second section (839-70) recalls both John (1. 1-5) and Genesis (1. 1-31). Like John, Colin begins with a declaratory statement on God's transcendence (839-42; cf. John 1. 1-2). There is too, as in John 1:3-5, a comment on God's creativity (843-53). After this. . the proper of creation begins, and its order follows Genesis 1:1-31. The world emerges from chaos, and then heaven, earth, sun, creatures, and man appears. Having accounted for the earth and its creatures and the omnipotence of Cupid, Colin expounds the moral obligations that arise from his theogony. His system matches Christian theology in its definitions of man's nature and responsibilities. Because man is finite he must petition Cupid for a grace which is not earned but given gratuitously (871-81). Cupid also merits reverence and fidelity (888); for sinners there are only judgement and exile (889-94). Thus the two systems differ in details but not in doctrinal comprehensiveness. The subtle unstated comparisons with Christian theology mean that Colin's doctrines compel us to understand the power of the shepherds' religion and its indispensability for their pastoral happiness.

But this is not to forget that the myth is highly decorative and entertaining. Spenser's lively syncretism is not a power to which we give intellectual affirmation. We enjoy it, understand its fascination, but we realize it is the shepherds' simplicity, fidelity and intensity that bring them peace. It is not the nature of their beliefs that win our affirmation, but the results their devotion manifests.

When the shepherds deem Colin worthy to be high priest of love, they do so because he is a moral teacher worthy of trust. His denunciations of corrupt courtiers are enhanced by a strong tradition of pastoral satire which began with Virgil's warning that the city represented "a constant threat to Arcadian values".[11] The *bergerie* shifted the centre of immorality to court; and the allegorical tradition which made shepherds priests multiplied the sources for corruption by including irreligious clergy and scandalous church government. The next augmentation of numbers came from Neo-Latin and Renaissance writers who satirized public administrators. It is not suprising, then, that William Webb writing in

[11]Robert Coleman, *Vergil: Eclogues*, (Cambridge, 1977), p.32.

the 1580s, could assert that one of the principal uses of pastoral was satire. So it is not only Colin's experience that is heard in his condemnation but that of all shepherds who travelled to court and found degenerate courtiers.

Despite the comprehensiveness and high repute of pastoral for satire, some preferred the vigorous native English tradition for reproving vice, and it is this voice too that is heard in *CCCHA*. For instance, Barclay's adaptations of Mantuan's eclogues have sentiments and phrases that Colin echoes. Each poet describes the ruthless elimination of opponents:

> And while they ascende to thrust another downe (1002) [12]
> To thrust downe other into foule disgrace.(*CCCHA* 691)

Both condemn moral laxity:

> On eche side soundeth foule speche of ribawdry
> Vaunting and bosting of sinne and vilanny.
> (369-70)[13]
> For with lewd speeches and licentious deeds. (*CCCHA* 787)

In Barclay's Second Eclogue the sins against love are those perversions that Colin also attacks: lust, infidelity, vain-glory. For Barclay, Venus is the principal power; for Colin, Cupid. Colin's shepherds too, before he converted them, had the same delusion of court as a painted bliss that Barclay's shepherds have in Eclogue Five.

Of course Spenser had ridiculed the court before, but this account is the most memorable because it is intrinsic to Colin's testament on love. He condemns the courtiers, but praises the prince. From his court experiences he learns to define his religious doctrine, and he convinces his community of shepherds that their devotion to Cupid is the source of their happiness. His shepherds are superior to courtiers, not because they are shepherds, but because they obey the laws of love. They behave as their betters should. In these ways the differences between courtiers and shepherds are potentially levelled and the millenium is brought closer to mankind because its only barrier is the irreverence of lovers.

Throughout the court satire Colin's experiences add a note of authenticity to the stylized language and familiar pattern of corruption. Also his celebrations of the Queen, ladies and poets are more extravagant than his abuse is vitriolic. In this way he assures us that his satire is based on genuine concern, since he never allows the roles of lover, priest, and poet to be engulfed by the moralist's righteous anger.

Besides providing a base from which we can assess the immoral courtiers, panegyric in *CCCHA* can be enjoyed for its ability to compliment elegantly. Indeeed, Rosenmeyer claims that it is one of the few poems that contains effective pastoral encomia. If we

[12] *The Egloges of Alexander Barclay*, ed. J. Cawood, *EETS*(1928), p.36.
[13] *Ibid.*, p.65.

consider the tradition of pastoral panegyric we can appreciate the weight of Rosenmeyer's estimation, for the practice was not only ancient but extensive.[14] It began with Theocritus's Sixteenth Eclogue, but it was Virgil who magnified its possibilities when he announced the Golden Age in his Fourth Eclogue. By the Renaissance panegyric centred on Princes; and in England Elizabeth was associated with the "themes of time, eternity, and the seasons that the pastoral tradition had drawn in, with the ideas of peace and plenty, and less obvious but no less significant, with religious controversy".[15] By making her the Spring Queen in "Aprill" who heralds in the season of plenty, Spenser was the first to associate her with the Golden Age.

However, in *CCCHA* Elizabeth's role as the Messiah is severely curtailed by society. She is, as it were, the centre that is imprisoned by her own gaolers. Her land, artists, and handmaids are in readiness, but her courtiers frustrate her designs. For Colin The Golden Age has blossomed in England but not flourished. It has been his inspiration and he has sung its praises "lasting long" (1.49), but he has also accepted the reasons for its failures. We believe that his celebrations of Elizabeth and her true followers are justified through the integrity of his own pastoral life. At the same time we should be aware of the Elizabethan's custom of literary excess.[16]

Even this brief survey of pastoral genres in *CCCHA* indicates something of its comprehensiveness. In its "mingling of classical and contemporary, of antiquity and Renaissance, of artifice and realism" it resembles Neo-Latin Renaissance poetry generally.[17] Above all its artistry makes it unique, and is its most pleasing feature. We have only to recall the brilliant parody of such forms as the *ecloga nautica* and the piscatory eclogue, and the elegantly constructed myth of locality, to appreciate its power to please aesthetically. Above all, its insistence that *otium* remains the classical haven of freedom convinces us that its display of artistry has not been vainglorious.

[14]Rosenmeyer, pp.124-25.
[15]Cooper, p.193.
[16]See Introduction, "Curious Skill".
[17]Grant, p.212.

CURIOUS SKILL

Spenser combines various styles as brilliantly as he transforms and creates genres. When the narrator claims that the swains stood "astonisht at his curious skill" (1.7) he calls attention to the careful and artful way that the verse is constructed. Sententiae, romance conventions, stylized rhetoric; all are orchestrated with such mannered ease that we cannot fail to hear the note of sane laughter in the recreative style.

In "*CCCHA* and the Pastoral Tradition," we saw that the first fifteen lines skilfully created a sense of *otium*. Attentive attunement to the style within the same passage shows that controlled ambiguities, puns, and incongruous comparisons are the poet's manifestation of inconsistencies within the picture of peace and friendship. Although the herdsmen appear totally satisfied with the joys of pastoral friendship, the narrator reveals that they, like children, are "greedie" for the new and fanciful. They appreciate little of the true meaning of what they hear for they "stand astonisht," "like hartlesse deare, dismayd with thunders sound" (1.9). The simile is incongruous: no one can be appreciative to the extent that he becomes insensate. We are therefore led to the puns on "hartlesse" and "deare". Although the shepherds' enthusiasm discloses a corresponding lack of understanding, they remain "dear" to Colin. Stylistic devices of this kind alert the reader to the narrator's delight in his own creation and to his skill in pitching his narrative to the listening abilities of a diverse audience.

The poem's narrator has received no critical comment, yet he begins the story and introduces Colin and his companions with irony and detachment. His function as the controlling voice is artfully prepared by such lines as, "The shepheards boy (best knowne by that name)" (1.1), where the diminutive "boy" as well as the air of superior dismissiveness in "best knowne by that name" make us aware of his omniscience. By presenting Colin's story as an inset within the narrator's, Spenser stresses the differing viewpoints and time sequences. Colin's introduction "One day (quoth he) I sat, (as was my trade)" (1.56) echoes the narrator's "Sate (as his custome was) upon a day" (1.4), and the variations between the two alert us to Spenser's skilful separation of roles. The specificity of "one day" compared with the narrator's comprehensive "upon a day" and his authorial "quoth he", clearly direct us to areas beyond Colin's comprehension.

Often the narrator's voice sounds with Colin's in romance conventions, the stock-in-trade of tellers of fantastic tales. Stylistic techniques of this kind were used by Ariosto in *Orlando Furioso* to gain points of contact with his sophisticated audience, and to present differing views. Similar methods in *CCCHA* reveal not only Colin's impressionable

response to strange phenomena, but also the narrator's sophisticated and artful aside to the reader. In particular the seemingly innocuous comment, "it seems", functions as a reminder of the romance style of presentation. In the travelogue of sea horrors, for instance, an ambiguous "it seems", in, "And yet as ghastly dreadfull, as it seemes" (1.208), qualifies the terror for the reader. It is also the grammatical equivalent of "in spite of", and Colin uses it to emphasize the adventurer's lust for gold. On other occasions "seemes" warns us that the perceptions of a sea-struck Colin are unreliable. When he approaches land, for example, his responses are confused and he grows more conscious of the engulfing sea than of the land's solid form. Thus Cornwall's horn-like formation is temporarily lost in its sea-scape and Colin can only describe it as if it "seemed to be a goodly pleasant lea" (1.284).

Through vague and meaningless descriptions the narrator satirizes the romantic mode adopted unwittingly by Colin for the *hodoeporicon,* and at the same time entertains us with Colin's rusticity. Colin's wonderment and incoherence is genuine in, "Thereat I wondred much, till wondring more / And more, at length we land far off descryde" (11.264-65). It scarcely matters that the phrase "till wondring more / And more", is not connected by sequential logic with the next event, for Colin is but a shepherd. The wily narrator, however, takes advantage of Colin's stupefaction and with a pun on "wonder" (wondrien, to wander *MED),* nudges the story forward. His manipulative presence recalls those unscrupulous romance writers for whom an emphasis on the marvellous was an ostensible reason for a change in the story's direction. Such expositions proclaim the style's essence as "ernest unto game".

The description of Raleigh's habitat, "And said he came from the main-sea deepe" (1.67) is meant to impress the shepherds with Colin's extraordinary knowledge of a world unfamiliar to them. The deliberate imprecision also discloses the narrator's delight in using Colin's inexperience to mock the conventions of story-tellers who professed more than they knew. A similar technique is found in Colin's account of Raleigh's chance meeting with him. At first Colin says, "a straunge shepheard chaunst to find me out" (1.60); then two lines later he adds, "Or thither led by chaunce, I know not right" (1.63).

When Colin begins his myth of locality, he does so with a strong assertion of truth, "No leasing new, nor Grandams fable stale / But auncient truth confirm'd with credence old" (11.102-3). This conventional beginning recalls all those romance story-tellers who foisted the preposterous on the reader by similar guarantees of truth. Colin asks us to believe the story because it is an ancient truth and asserts that the old is worthy of belief. However, those familiar with Spenser's techniques have been deceived by similar methods in the

proem to Book Two of *The Faerie Queene*, where we were asked to believe in the existence of faery land because many things exist that we have not seen. Then in canto ten of the same book, we learn we can still see Caesar's sword, but the narrator carefully avoids mentioning where.

Once we are in tune with the "voice-over" technique we can enjoy the various subtleties of meaning that Spenser achieves through shepherd comedy. The convention of using the childishness and silliness of shepherds for humour was initiated by Theocritus, and poets soon became aware that it could be exploited for presenting complex ideas. Spenser's use of the convention only differs from his contemporaries' in variety and ingenuity. With it he parodies conventions; uncovers meanings beyond the shepherds' comprehension; and exposes Colin's limited perception.

Chief among the many methods for disclosing Colin's limited understanding is the comic irony which often concludes an event that Colin has described. For example, despite the fact that Colin's inexperience and ineptitude are discernible throughout his voyage, he patronizingly dismisses Cuddy's foolish question with the reply, "thou's a fon" (1.292). The Virgilian quip, unappreciated either by Colin or his audience, rebounds on Colin who manifested his own simple-mindedness when he mistook ships for monsters.[1] Comic irony also frames the salvation history. Colin so embellishes the shepherds' God, that Cuddy cannot believe that it is Cupid and the shepherds' devotion, that has been expounded with doctrinal earnestness, "But never wist I till this present day . . . That he was such a one" (1829-30). As well as unveiling the foolishness of Cuddy's reaction, the comment on the newness of the doctrine recalls for the reader Colin's words on his extempore mythologizing:

> But we poore shepheards whether rightly so,
> Or through our rudenesse into errour led:
> Do make religion how we rashly go.
> (11. 795-97).

With irony as barbed as this, it is clear that rustic theology is meant for shepherds.

More complex in artistry is the irony that not only uncovers the shepherds' limitations but also comments on the poet's literary methods. For instance, when Colin answers Hobbinol's circumlocutious flattery with the revelation that he has been anxious to recount his adventures, "*Hobbin* thou tempest me to that I covet" (1.37), he also promises to satisfy Hobbinol's desire with "praises lasting long" (1.49). The irony thus encompasses both; for Hobbinol's obsequiousness has been unnecessary, and the narrator directs us to

[1]See note 292.

Colin's penchant for panegyric. Perhaps Spenser even intends a reference to the length of the eclogue, at that time one of the longest in English.

Sometimes the irony is immediate, as Melissa's comment on Colin's exclusive praise of Rosalind, "But say, who else vouchsafed thee of grace?" (1.484). Occasionally, by being censorious, the shepherds provoke Colin into further justifications of his arguments. In particular, the interrogations of Thestylis seem to have the added function of uncovering Colin's refusal to answer a personal question. When Thestylis bluntly asks why Colin returned from court after he found so much favour there, he ends with a deliberate provocation, "Most wretched he, that is and cannot tell" (1.659). Colin's answer seems to beg the question yet again. He had stated earlier that he had found favour with Elizabeth, not for his skill "but for that shepheards sake" (1.455), and any comment of personal dissatisfaction is carefully avoided by what Saint Thomas More referred to as *ambitiosé*[2]. Nevertheless, Spenser also ably directs the reader to Colin's dissatisfaction and to his unstated loss through Thestylis' questions and Colin's equivocation.

Occasionally the shepherds' simple comments parody pastoral themes. Corylas, for instance, hears of the excesses of courtly lovers and Cupid's denial of them, but he is only impressed by the presence of Cupid at court:

> And is love then (said *Corylas*) once knowne
> In Court, and his sweet lore professed there,
> I weened sure he was our God alone:
> And only woond in fields and forests here.
> (11. 771-74).

In asserting his belief that Cupid is the sole prerogative of shepherds and that it is country doctrine, Corylas abrogates the established role of the courtier. For the topos that true love was only possible in the country originated with courtly writers of the *bergerie*. Here, through shepherd naivety, Spenser neatly inverts the custom and cleverly prepares for the shift from courtiers' to shepherds' philosophy that Colin later enunciates in detail.

Many shepherd comments often incorporate references to the convention of pastoral decorum. When Colin eulogizes princes and Gods, the shepherds, alarmed by his apparent vain-glory, censure him for overstepping his shepherd status. Thus Alexis' rebuke, "And her upraising, doest thy selfe upraise" (1.355), reveals not only his amazement at Colin's daring in praising Cynthia, but also alludes to the Elizabethan convention that the praise of princes was beyond the ability of common man. After Colin's second panegyric Cuddy too becomes concerned by his ambition:

[2]A rhetorical device by which a person is censured with such flattery that he is unable to take offence. See R.W. Chambers, *Thomas More* (1935), p.286. Chambers translates *ambitiosé* as "out swanking."

Colin (said *Cuddy* then) thou hast forgot
Thyselfe, me seemes, too much, to mount so hie:
Such loftie flight, base shepheard seemeth not,
From flocks and fields, to Angels and to skie.
(11. 616-19).

Cuddy's charges of transgressing the rules of decorum governing style and rank, are adroitly by-passed by Colin who invokes the privilege of divine inspiration to justify his eloquence and explain his altered state:

That being fild with furious insolence,
I feele my selfe like one yrapt in spright.
(11. 622-23).

When Colin begins yet another panegyric on Cynthia, the Shepherds no longer reprove him for lack of decorum; for they have learnt to accept his creativity and to respond to his attempts to eternize Cynthia:

Much was the whole assembly of those heards,
Moov'd at his speech, so feelingly he spake.
(11. 648-49).

By the time he praises the God of Love, they are so accustomed to the concept of divine inspiration that it is they, and not Colin, who use it to explain the extraordinary content of his panegyrics:

Shepheard it seemes that some celestial rage
Of love (quoth *Cuddy*) is breath'd into thy brest.
(11. 823-24).

And here too, as in the section on Cynthia, the response from the shepheards is one of appreciation for the divine gifts which have enabled Colin to define and celebrate love. Melissa concludes this section with a specific reference to his skill (style):

Colin, thou now full deeply hast divynd:
Of love and beautie and with wondrous skill,
Hast *Cupid* selfe depainted in his kynd.
(11. 896-98).

These sections point clearly to the practice of decorum in such a way that we are reminded it is a convention, and like any other convention may be transformed, parodied, or extended to include new ideas.

By grafting the concept of divine inspiration on to the rules governing art and decorum Spenser solved a problem that troubled many Renaissance writers of pastoral. Since

Theocritus first made a poet of his shepherd, artistry had been an essential feature of the eclogue. But in time it gathered the accretions of grammarians and it was forced to incorporate Servius's classifications of style to subject, and the dictum of medieval scholars that style must correspond to the class of the speaker. It is little wonder then that a tension between artistry and decorum developed which writers infrequently resolved. Even in the *Arcadia* Sidney failed to cut the nexus when he confined his "real" shepherds to the roles of rustics.[3] The only thing his art shepherds, Strephon and Klaius, have in common with them is the name "shepherd": in virtue, intellect and expression they are their superiors. Cooper explains Sidney's problem:

> Presumably Sidney felt increasingly that to confine his art-shepherds to the eclogue interludes was too rigid an attitude to decorum and cut out too much of the pastoral tradition, but by making Strephon and Klaius a true part of his pastoral world he did lay himself open to Jonson's criticism of his style as indecorous.[4]

Spenser however, was able to cut the yoke artfully and cleverly: Colin retains his naivety except when he is divinely inspired. Although simple, it accommodates the need for the extravagant praise of Prince and Cupid in this eclogue.

Often Renaissance poets parodied formal and thematic features of pastoral to display their virtuosity and to demonstrate their inventiveness. Many who exhibited technical proficiency were content with display alone, and in the sophisticated game of literary excess found satisfaction in eclipsing a *concetto* of a contemporary. This is scarcely true of Spenser who outrivalled many poets' literary tropes, and at the same time integrated them into his comprehensive design for the exposition of his pastoral philosophy. The instances of parody and *concetto* are so numerous in *CCCHA* that only two major sections where they are employed intensively will be discussed. Numerous other examples (e.g. in a line, comment, or trope) are noted in the commentary.

In Hobbinol's speech, both the elegy and the lover's lament, common forms of pastoral in the Renaissance, are transformed by parody. Each has classical origins; but it was the lover's lament that became a vogue and incurred the greatest changes and most injudicious uses. The fusion and abridgement of these two genres in the first section of *CCCHA* form an elegiac-type of lament that is unique in Elizabethan pastoral. Despite the brevity (it is only sixteen lines) it manages to incorporate many important conventions of the classical elegy. It shares in common with the latter a dramatic introduction, "*Colin* my liefe, my life,

[3]For a history of pastoral decorum and for a discussion of Sidney's failure, see Cooper, Ch. IV.
[4]*Ibid.*, p.138.

how great a losse / Had all the shepheards nation by thy lacke?" (11. 16-7); it also has a postlude, "That us late dead, has made again alive" (1.31). Even the trope of universal mourning introduced by Virgil (Ecl. 5. 1.27-8) is heard in Hobbinol's reference to the grief of the "shepheards nation" (1.17); and the trope of pathetic fallacy includes both the mortificatory and restorative aspects of nature (11. 22-8; 29-31 respectively). There is too the suggestion of *Gottmensch* (the divinization of man after death) in the god-like powers of resurrection attributed to Colin, "That us late dead, hast made againe alive" (1.31).[5] Yet despite these features of classical elegy, there is no death: Colin was merely absent.

At the same time Hobbinol's complaint deceptively echoes the lover's. His sympathy figure (first initiated by Virgil Ecl. 7) records nature's responses to the lover's moods, while the presence of the beloved heralds prosperity, "But now both woods and fields, and floods revive" (1.29). Absence produces desolation, "Whilest thou wast hence, all dead in dole did lie" (1.22). Hobbinol is, however, not the distressed lover of the Renaissance eclogue. He does not grieve alone, and he mourns not for the joys that the presence of the beloved could give, but for Colin's music that makes all the shepherds "so blessed and so blythe" (1. 21). This combination of forms, and the language of grief and of love exposes Hobbinol's excessive politeness and ludicrous devotion.

One of the most impressive stylistic features of Hobbinol's lament is the pathetic fallacy conceit. Sannazaro's *Arcadia,* where fish die in sorrow (Ecl. 12), set the vogue for hyperbolizing Nature's grief and poets vied with one another in embroidering the trope. Lodge, for instance, included lilies and roses and described them as "coy widowes" who shut in their buds and beauties for grief *(Phillis).* [6] In contrast to the more extravagant conceits Spenser's are finely wrought and conceptually more daring. Birds complain (lament, mourn *OED)* by not singing and fish grieve with "langour", a term usually applied to the lover's afflicted spirit. [7] The landscape with its faded (withered *OED)* flowers, sighing woods, weeping rivers, and silent birds combines grief and death. Having died through grief nature contines to mourn in sorrow, "all dead in dole did lie" (1.22). It is in the concise extravagance of the conceit that the poet makes us conscious of Hobbinol's inordinancy and that of his contemporaries. The brilliance of the conception also reminds us that Spenser had reached a new apogee for this *concetto.*

Other pastoral types that are boldly assimilated are the *ecloga nautica* and the piscatory eclogue. These are incorporated into Colin's court journey where they are so transformed

[5]Rosenmeyer, p.109; see also Virgil Ecl. 5.
[6]Thomas Lodge, *The Complete Works*, 4 vols. ed. Edmund W. Gosse (Glasgow, 1883), II, 30.
[7]See notes 24 and 28.

by parody that the journey takes on the tone of a mock-epic. Through parody the conventions associated with the occupations of the *berger* are turned into sea activities; and the themes of travel and maritime exploration are reduced to the mundane.

In this section of the poem (11. 193-231; 264-81), Colin's naivety is heightened by coupling it with the pastoral convention of the shepherd's awe of the sea. From the combination Spenser generates the many kinds of humour that occur in the passage, and he uses them to direct our attention to issues other than those with which Colin is preoccupied. When Colin for instance, is overcome by a sense of wonder, he frequently pauses in his narrative to relate what for him is exotic and wonderful. The sea, in particular, amazes him and he not only describes it, but also explains the concept:

> So to the sea we came; the sea? that is
> A world of waters heaped up on hie.
> (11. 196-97).

The technique of embellishing unusual phenomena was common to all romance writers who wished to impress their readers with the wonder of the new. While Colin adopts the style of tellers of tall tales to impress the shepherds, it is often his own reaction to the commonplace that causes the readers' wonderment. If the ordinary can cause such surprise, then those writers who falsified reality to gain an effect are indubitably being satirized.

A similar method of presentation is Colin's account of Lunday. The shepherd community need an explanation because new names mean new concepts, but for the reader it is an anti-climax. The name "Lunday" holds no mystery and there is nothing amazing about its island formation. With the same sense of wonder Colin describes Cornwall, and again we are aware that only shepherds could be impressed by such accounts.

These travel accounts highlight Colin's inexperience and his earnestness in trying to convey to his audience his own reaction to the new and unusual. This magnification of wonder effectively creates a time lapse between what we hear and what we understand. Momentarily the manner of presentation convinces us that what has been described is astounding, but when we reflect the "exotic" is really very common. England, for instance, appears at first unrecognizable:

> From thence another world of land we kend,
> Floting amid the sea in jeopardie,
> And round about with mightie white rocks hemd,
> Against the seas encroching crueltie.
> (11.272-75).

"Another world of land," is simply "another land" not "another world"; and it scarcely

floats in the sea like a ship in peril. The disjunction between what Colin regards as marvellous and what we know to be familiar recalls those travel writers who depicted the exotic by mingling fantasy with realism. Through Colin's descriptions we are made aware of Spenser's use of comic inversion and his entertaining satire on romance writers. The ordinary in the story actually becomes extraordinary, not through its previously undiscovered uniqueness or through Colin's outstanding powers of description, but through the sheer force of his wonderment. The comedy thus demonstrates that the exotic and incredible are only so in the eyes of the beholder; and it exposes those tellers of tall tales who depicted the new with little regard for realism.

These instances by no means exhaust the comedy. There is even a censure of over-ambitious adventurers in Colin's exemplum warning shepherds against profit-making through reckless sea-explorations. Despite our knowledge that Colin over-reacts to Elizabethan imperialistic expansion, the point is made; for the comic exaggeration does not destroy the practice, it merely mocks its misuse. The strong tradition of the moral rectitude of the shepherd-priest means that the exemplum of reckless adventurers seeking "waies unknowne, waies leading down to hell" (l. 211) survives Colin's own excessive fear of all sea expeditions.

In parodying sections of the classics that contain journeys Spenser reduces Colin's to a mock-epic. The mock-heroic style used in these descriptions recalls Ariosto who used the technique to satirize the high falutin' world of the humanists. Here, however, Spenser ridicules those romance writers who interweaved fantasy and realism to astonish their listeners with accounts of their discoveries.

Colin's reactions to apparent danger become humorous when they are placed against the events in the classics from which they are derived. For instance, Aeneas after his embarkation and departure from his motherland at the command of his ancestral god, faces palpable danger:

> *Vela damus vastumque cava trabe currimus aequor./"Postquam altum tenuere rates nec iam amplius ullae/apparent terrae, caelum undique et undique pontus,/ tum mihi caeruleus supra caput adstitit imber,/noctem hiememque ferens, et inhorruit unda tenebris."*
>
> [This home, too, we quit and, leaving some behind] spread our sails and speed in hollow keels over the waste sea.
>
> "After our ships gained the deep, and now no longer any land is seen, but sky on all sides and on all sides sea, then a murky rain-cloud loomed over-head, bringing night and tempest, while the wave shuddered darkling."
> (Bk 3. 191-95). [8]

[8] *Virgil*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (1960), pp.360-61.

Unlike the classical hero, Colin panics and looks for help from the Ocean Shepherd when he becomes surrounded by sea and leaves his homeland, "mother earth" (So farre that land our mother us did leave (1.226)). Yet he has never been in real danger; his fears have been aroused by ignorance and the Ocean Shepherd allays them by comforting him "with all that he might" (1.232).

Although Colin's description of the ship echoes the shepherd's account in *De Natura Deorum*, the methods of presentation are entirely different and the passage in *CCCHA* clearly demonstrates Spenser's technique of "ernest unto game." Accius's shepherd for example, is over-awed by the sheer bulk of the ship, its force, its majesty:

Utque ille apud Accium pastor qui navem numquam ante vidisset, ut procul divinum et novum vehiculum Argonautarum e monte conspexit, primo admirans et perterritus hoc modo loquitur:

tanta moles labitur
fremibunda ex alto ingenti sonitu et spiritu:
prae se undas volvit, vertices vi suscitat,
ruit prolapsa, pelagus respergit reflat;
ita dum interruptum credas nimbum volvier,
dum quod sublime ventis expulsum rapi
saxum aut procellis, vel globosos turbines
existere ictos undis concursantibus,
nisi quas terrestris pontus strages conciet,
aut forte Triton fuscina evertens specus
subter radices penitus undanti in freto
molem ex profundo saxeam ad caelum eruit.

Just as the shepherd in Accius who had never seen a ship before, on descrying in the distance from his mountain-top the strange vessel of the Argonauts, built by the gods, in his first amazement and alarm cries out:

so huge a bulk
Glides from the deep with the roar of a whistling wind:
Waves roll before, and eddies surge and swirl;
Hurtling headlong, it snorts and sprays the foam.
Now might one deem a bursting storm-cloud rolled,
Now that a rock flew skyward, flung aloft
By wind and storm, or whirling waterspout
Rose from the clash of wave with warring wave:
Save 'twere land-havoc wrought by ocean-flood,
Or Triton's trident, heaving up the roots
Of cavernous vaults beneath the billowy sea,
Hurled from the depth heaven-high a massy crag. [9]

[9]Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, trans. H. Rackman (1933), Bk 2, 34-5.

By comparison Colin's vessel is a benign monster. The lightness of tone in his representation comes from the mingling of the fantastical with realistic details. The sailing-ship dances upon the waves as if it were in supreme control; and the roar of dashing waters, that was so important in Cicero's description, is here just a backdrop. The qualifications, "As if it" (1.215), "Yet was it" (1.216), and "Yet had it" (1.218), echo Colin's excitement as he struggles to articulate his impressions. They disclose too the poet's lively enjoyment in reducing the grandeur and activity in the classical description, to that kind of confused rustic's response which conformed to the demands of decorum. It is all good fun, and even those with a pathological deafness to Spenser's humour cannot fail to hear the juxtaposition of Colin's tones of wonderment with Spenser's clever manipulation of fact and fancy in:

> Yet was it but a wooden frame and fraile,
> Glewed togither with some subtile matter,
> Yet had it armes and wings, and head and taile,
> And life to move it selfe upon the water.
> (11.216-19).

"Glewed togither with some subtile matter" recalls that kind of technique used by romance writers to create a sense of mystery in the minds of the unsophisticated. The line, "Yet had it armes and wings, and head and taile" with its regular iambic beat suggests not only Colin's simplicity in describing a ship as a monster, but also the narrator's delight in patterning the description so that it imitates Colin's overwhelming amazement.

Inset between the two parts of Colin's travel narrations are the Ocean Shepherd's reassurances to Colin and his account of his life and work as a servant of Cynthia. The descriptions of his activities and those of ocean shepherds are expressed in the terminology of shepherding, which are meant to allay Colin's fears. Colin's awe of the sea enables the Ocean Shepherd to behave nonchalantly and to impress his companion with *sprezzatura.* However, his descriptions of his tasks are fantastical, and through the playful transposition of the terms of shepherding into fish-herding we are made aware of the parody of the piscatory eclogue. Such exaggeration suggests that Spenser mocks the role of adventurers because it exposes the Ocean Shepherd's work as trivial and the dangers as more imagined than real.

In his piscatory eclogues Sannazaro concentrated his efforts into adapting details from shepherding into forms that were appropriate to a fisherman's activity.[9a] For example, in his Second Eclogue the rocks yield oysters as gifts for the fisherman's mistress, just as trees yield fruit for the shepherd's. The fisherman searches the seas for Tyrian dye for his

9a. See Grant's analysis, p. 213.

beloved, just as his counterpart looks for the best wool from his flock for his shepherdess to spin. Later, in Eclogue Five, Sannazaro tried to adapt all the details of the pastoral lament as they occur in Virgil's Eighth Eclogue in 11.76-121. Grant neatly summarizes Sannazaro's transformations:

> Here, naturally, Sannazaro's whole effort is devoted to adapting the details to a form appropriate to a fisherman's lament. In his refrain it is Triton to whom Thelgon appeals for aid; the spot which recalls Galatea to mind is not a meadow or an oak tree's shade but a craggy cliff from which the island of Capri is visible; in Thelgon's sorrow it is not the flocks and herds that go untended but his boats and nets; and when Thelgon urges his abilities they are the abilities of a fisherman, not a shepherd. [10]

The adaptation of these pastoral conventions is clearly distracting, but Sannazaro could not make any direct correlations of activity without toppling the form into comedy. It clearly invites parody, and Spenser by using fantasy was able to make those correspondences which the piscatory eclogue made tempting but could not tolerate.

Almost every task that became associated with the fictional shepherd from the *bergerie* tradition is given a marine equivalent in the Ocean Shepherd's speech. The transpositions are sometimes ludicrous. Triton's horn for instance, no longer recalls floods and streams, but summons fish. [11] Proteus too is included, not for his powers of prophecy, but for his association with seals. He is presented with Triton driving the herd out to pasture in the morning and home to the fold in the evening. The final activities, the metaphysical needs of the flock, are expressed in terms of washing, shearing and penning sheep. Much of the wit in the final description (11.256-59) comes from the interlacing of conventions from the *bergerie* allegorical tradition with those from the classical pastoral. In the latter, the Nymphs' role in the pastoral religion was the protection of shepherds. Here they bypass the shepherds to minister to the spiritual needs of the flock, which are beyond the capacities of the sea-shepherds. The spiritual metaphors from the *bergerie* allegorical tradition mean that the erstwhile fish can now be called sheep, and the words "shorn," "washing" and "fold" can convey the metaphysical concepts of "cleansing," "repentance" and the joyful return of the soul to heaven. "Wash" seems to have been chosen with particular care, because the idea of washing fish (even "spiritual cleansing") is ludicrous.

The word play throughout the Ocean Shepherd's speech is packed with puns. For instance, "relief" (pasture, see n.246) and "compelling" (driving a herd, see n.251) are technical terms from hunting which maintain the land-sea correlations; and there are many

[10]See Grant, p.213. He discusses this point in relation to the fisherman's lament in Ecl. 3.
[11]Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, trans. F.J. Miller (1916), Bk 1. 330-36.

words such as "wash" "wend" and "dewy" that are associated with similar land equivalents. "Porcpisces" which C. G. Osgood regarded as a learned Latinizing of the form to show the original meaning, is a deliberate pun on the etymology to stress the sea equivalent of pigs. [12] It is just one more light hearted thrust at the piscatory eclogue which earnestly avoided such correspondences.

Only the main parodies have been discussed here. There are other examples in a line or trope that cause us to marvel at Spenser's ingenuity, and which mark a new apogee in the Elizabethan's game of surpassing previous excesses. Consider for instance, Spenser's use of the convention of "marking the bark" (11.632-635): Cynthia's name grows as the trees grow; and they grow to such an extent that they spread over land and stones; as a consequence even the stones bear Cynthia's name. This kind of witty excess which also contributes to the poem's artistry is too ubiquitous to include in an Introduction.[13]Indeed, so dazzling is this mannerist composition that it is difficult to present even in small sections of the poem all Spenser's assimilations and adaptations of pastoral genres, figures and themes.

[12]See note 249.
[13]See commentary for specific examples.

TWELVE POETS

The identification of the ten pseudonymous poets in the panegyric to the twelve court poets (11.376-451) has generated a great deal of interest and not a little critical guesswork. The conjectures probably result from the critics' belief that positive recognition is too daunting a task to undertake. However, the problem is not as difficult as it first seems. Six personalities are clearly revealed: Alcyon, Arthur Gorges, and Amyntas, Lord Strange, are exposed by Spenser's unambiguous allusions to them; Alabaster and Daniel are named; the Shepherd of the Ocean, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Astrofell, Sir Philip Sidney, are well known. Two more, Thomas Churchyard and Thomas Lodge, we believe, uncover their identities in prefaces written in reaction to Spenser's assessments of them. Although Harpalus, Corydon, Aetion and Palin evade positive identification, there is reasonable proof that George Peele is Palin, and Michael Drayton, Aetion. George Turbervile's age, Harpalus' pseudonymity, and association with certain acquaintances of Spenser's, enhance his case for Harpalus. Therefore, it is only Corydon's identity that remains problematic. Many critics have entrenched him as Abraham Fraunce, despite his disappearance from public life in 1592/3.

Many nineteenth and early twentieth century critics adopted syllogistic reasoning to solve Spenser's pen-names. For instance, a poet only needed a reputation for a pleasing style to be proposed as Alcon. Dates, possibly because of their inaccessibility, were often ignored. In this way Anthony Munday at the ripe old age of thirty-five became the "now woxen aged" Harpalus. The same cavalier approach led to the enrolment of the dead among the living. Yet the poet's panegyric is organized by *distributio* and each is introduced by the *repetitio* "There is". When there is a divergence from the established pattern in the Amyntas encomium, the *apostrophe* "There also is (ah no, he is not now)" (1.432), clearly manifests that the inclusion of this deceased writer is the exception. Some of the identifications have had the force of tradition and many have accepted Abraham Fraunce for Corydon on faith. Practices of this kind can militate against the rightful claimant. Because devotees of Lodge thought that the lines on Alcon were too demeaning for him, they nominated minor poets and candidates proliferated. A little realism would have prevented such wasteful inventiveness as Lodge had realistically and publicly accepted Colin's rebuke. Throughout the discussions on the poets that follow, the more specious of these arguments will be analyzed in the hope that those poets culled from the list may not in future dissipate the energies of researchers.

The Elizabethans had a frank delight in "linguistic juggling" as Franklin B. Williams Jr, makes clear in: "Renaissance Names in Masquerade";[1] "Those Careless Elizabethans: Names Bewitched";[2] and "An Initiation into Initials".[3] Fortunately, in *CCCHA* the poet's attributions are often a key to their identities. Unlike the Bregog myth of locality which carefully conceals personal traits from us, the panegyric reveals distinctive characteristics. Only one of the twelve allusions is highly elusive, "And there is *a* Corydon".[4] Here, as with Amyntas, the "a" marks a conspicuous discrepancy in the formula and this indicates that the poet meant that Corydon should be difficult to identify. We can only presume that in this instance there was need for prudence. Perhaps the implied reference to the existence of many Corydons was a subterfuge to forestall Elizabeth's displeasure at the comment on Corydon's impecuniosity.

Spenser's assessment of some of his contemporaries can be more problematic than the pseudonyms. For instance, until Helen Sandison's edition of Georges's poems in 1953, there was no accessible source for examining Spenser's evaluation of his friend. Even since then there has been little attempt to review Spenser's appraisal of Gorges. Alabaster's *Elisaeis* too, remained unpublished until 1979, and then its editor Michael O'Connell blindly rejected the possibility of any Spenserian influence.

In the following discussions there will be an attempt to discover reasons for Spenser's enthusiastic commendations for poets neglected by the critics. Where Spenser's estimation of poets, such as Daniel and Drayton, concurs with the judgement of discerning modern critics, there will be no wasteful re-evaluations.

[1] *PMLA*, 69 (1954), 314-23.
[2] *BSA*, 54 (1960), 115-19.
[3] *SB*, 9 (1957), 163-78.
[4] My italics. The 1611 deleted the "a".

HARPALUS

There is good *Harpalus* now woxen aged,
In faithfull service of faire *Cynthia*
(11.380-81).

George Turbervile.

"Even so fare I poore Harpalus / whome Cupids pains devour" Turbervile laments,[1] but the complaint escaped all but John Hankins's attention[2]. The nomination is convincing, because Turbervile shared with Spenser a common patron, the Countess of Warwick, and probably a mutual friend Arthur Gorges, Spenser's Alcyon. Moreover, he was alive to receive the tribute, and he possibly wrote the well known poem "Harpalus's Complaint".[3]

Although sixteenth century dedicatory verses can be vacuous, the character that emerges from Turbervile's is of a highly individualistic man aware of his poetic limitations and devoted to delighting patrons and readers. These qualities may have earned him the attributes of "good and pleasing" (Harpalus, ἁρπαλεος, charming or pleasing). Certainly he deserved the latter, since his tireless attempts to please his readers give a consistent and distinctive note of charm to his prefaces. At the commencement of the *Heroycall Epistles,* for instance, he reveals that his whole *raison d'être* in writing is "to pleasure" others:

> Go (slender Muse) and make report to men
> That meer desire to pleasure them indeed
> Made me in hand to take the painefull pen.[4]

Similar expressions of painstaking commitment occur in the Dedication to the Reader in *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songes and Sonets:*

> I ende, alwayes readie to pleasure thee
> by my pains, wishing unto thee, that arte
> the pacient Reader, as to my self the
> Writer and thy verie Friend.[5]

Even on those occasions when Tubervile dedicates a particular work to a family member or patron, both dedicatee and reader are guaranteed of Turbervile's single interest. In *Tragical Tales* it is not only Tubervile's brother Nicholas who is assured that the book is for

[1]Because *The Poems of George Turbervile*, ed. A. Chalmers, in *The Works of English Poets* (1810), 11, has inaccuracies, all quotations have been checked against the British Library copy of *Epitaphs, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* (1570).
[2]*The Life and Works of George Turbervile* (Kansas, 1940), p.24.
[3]Hankins suggests d.o.d. 1597; *DNB* 1610?; see also H.E. Rollins, "New Facts about George Turbervile", *MP*, 15 (1918), 513-38.
[4]George Turbervile, *Heroycall Epistles*, ed. F. Boas (1929), p.vii.
[5]Chalmers, ed. p.583.

his "pleasure" and "leasure",[6] but also the reader is reminded, "For thee I tooke the woorke in hande/this booke is thine by right".[7]

The Book of Faulconrie demonstrates that such graciousness elicited a similar response from the Earl of Warwick:

> Truly of force then must I yeeld all my endevours and service to your Honour, and my good Ladie Warwike, (the duetie reserved to my great Lorde and Master) towardes the requitall of the least part of your Honourable goodnesse, whome I have ever found more prone to pleasure me, than I could yet at any time bee importunate, or greedy to ingrate.[8]

Again conscious of the reader he concludes, "it shall suffice if thou do not reprove/This slender worke, compilde for thy delight".

Some of the recipients of Turbervile's solicitude were also friends of Spenser's. In particular the Warwick-Turbervile-Spenser-Gorges connections are sufficiently well defined to allow the reasonable inference that Turbervile was personally known to Spenser. The most important figure in this group, the Countess of Warwick, had in 1565 rejected Turbervile's love for Ambrose Dudley's. However, Turbervile maintained his friendship with both Warwicks and won their patronage. Spenser also enjoyed the Countess's support and his dedications to her indicate more than a superficial association. His copious praise of her widowhood in *The Ruines of Time* (1591), gives place in *CCCHA* to constructive critical concern for her over commitment in that role. In the latter poem, lines 244-52 not only provide us with a celebration of her virtues, but also with an exquisitely delicate censure of her prolonged mourning for Warwick. The Dedication of the *Fowre Hymnes* (1596), reveals that the Countess and her sister Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, felt sufficiently confident in Spenser's devotion to them, to request his suppression of the secular hymns. Unable to "call in" these much circulated poems Spenser attempted to assuage the sisters' moral concern with the generous composition of two heavenly hymns. Thus it scarcely seems likely that the poets would have failed to meet when such an egregious figure as the Countess favoured them both.

It is also reasonably certain that Turbervile knew Arthur Gorges, Spenser's Alcyon, who was Raleigh's cousin, and the friend of the Warwicks. The latter had been present at the christening of Gorges's daughter, and the Earl of Warwick, Ambrose Dudley, gave her the name Ambrosia. Most critics are convinced that it was George Turbervile who assisted the sheriff in restraining Viscount Bindon from violence towards his wife and her brother at

[6](Edinburgh, 1837), p.4.
[7]*Ibid.*, p.19.
[8]sigs. Ar-Av.

the time of Douglas Howard's marriage to Arthur Gorges.[9] Certainly Turbervile knew the Howards, for his *Heroycall Epistles* (1567) is dedicated to Lord Thomas Howard, Douglas's grandfather, who supported her marriage to Gorges. Through Gorges's poetry too, which is replete with Turbervilian idioms, we can infer that there was in all probability a friendship between them.[10] After all it was an extremely unusual practice for Gorges who shows stylistic sophistication in all other areas, to affect passé diction in the eighties and nineties. Therefore we can at least postulate the friendship-theory to explain such idiosyncratic practice.

Though Turbervile was not receiving blazons of praise for his modernity in 1595, his position as first named in Colin's panegyric creates no problems of precedence. His bouncy idiomatic translation of Mantuan which merited six printings (1566, 1567, 1572, 1577, 1594, 1597) justifies some pastoral pre-eminence. Moreover, his contribution to English poetry was not ignored by later writers. For instance, Sir John Harrington in his epitaph on Turbervile succinctly encapsulated his contribution to life and literature:

> When times were yet but rude, thy pen endevored
> To pollish Barbarisme with purer stile:
> When times were grown most old, thy heart persevered
> Sincere and just, unstain'd with gift or guile.
> Now lives thy soule, though from thy corps dissevered,
> There high in blisse, here cleare in fame the while;
> To which I pay this debt of due thanksgiving,
> My pen doth praise thee dead, thine grac'd me living.[11]

Despite Nashe's lampooning of Turbervile more constructive assessments persisted into the eighties and nineties and are found in the treatises of Puttenham[12]and Meres.[13]

It is possible that Turbervile was the author of the well-known poem "Harpalus's Complaint"; but even this would not mean he was Spenser's Harpalus. It would, however, strengthen his case, and for this reason we have explored the possibility in some detail in Appendix A.

THE CRITICS' NOMINEES.

Lord Buckhurst

The critics' contenders for the role of Harpalus are numerous: Barnabe Googe, Thomas Churchyard, Thomas Sackville (Lord Buckhurst), George Puttenham, Anthony Munday

[9]See Hankins, p.40.
[10]Helen Sandison, ed., *The Poems of Arthur Gorges* (Oxford, 1953).See pp.xlv-xlvii, and Commentary.
[11]John Harrington, *Epigrams* (1634), p.62. In "New Facts about George Turbervile" *MP*, 15 (1918), 513-38, H.E. Rollins argues that the latest epigram refers to the execution of Essex 1601, and the others were written between 1596-1598.
[12]George Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, ed. G.D. Willcock & A. Walker (1936), p.61.
[13]Francis Meres, *Poetrie*, ed. Don Cameron Allen (Illinois, 1933), p.82.

and, as we have seen, George Turbervile. At least there has been one positive elimination: Thomas Churchyard identified himself as Palemon.

Many of the above are unlikely candidates, especially Lord Buckhurst who was nominated by John Collier.[15] Brinsley Nicholson first challenged this identification, arguing that Spenser would hardly have called Buckhurst, a highly valued ambassador of Elizabeth at fifty-five, "old pleasant".[16] If we were to give serious consideration to Buckhurst we would be confronted by the inexplicable disjunction in attitude revealed by the lines in *CCCHA* and those of Spenser's Eleventh Dedicatory Sonnet to him in *The Faerie Queene*. In the latter Buckhurst is too busy to write in the "loftie numbers and heroic stile" with which he was associated. Yet within three years, if we accept Collier's hypothesis, Spenser presents him ageing in his faithful service, and the sonnet's reverential tone of respect gives place here to familiarity and compassion.

If Buckhurst were Harpalus a number of discrepancies would arise in the poem that would be difficult to explain. As the Queen's ambassador and cousin, he would merit praise proportionate in space and intensity to that of his peers. Clearly, this is not the case: Lord Strange (Amyntas) is praised more copiously, and Spenser's cousin, Anne Spencer who married Buckhurst's son on 4 December 1592, is extravagantly celebrated as Charillis (ll 548-563).Such disproportionate praise especially for Spenser's cousin, Buckhurst's daughter-in-law, would be presumption of such magnitude, that it is difficult to tolerate it even as a theory.

The condescending comprehensiveness of the Harpalus lines would also mean that Spenser's tribute to Buckhurst was singular. And, he would scarcely have been recognized in them by other Elizabethan poets who chose to glorify him for his statesmanship and penchant for the heroic in verse.

Turbervile, for instance, writes of his "swelling vaine",[17] and in the year of Buckhurst's death, 1608, Josuah Sylvester praised him for his depiction of "The tragic Falls of our Ambitious Throng".[18] The case for Buckhurst therefore, should have rested with the claimant.

Barnabe Googe

A more promising candidate, suggested by Henry Todd, is Barnabe Googe. His social standing, age and public service at least offer some parallels with Harpalus's skeletal biography. Certainly his service to Cecil, and indirectly to the Queen could be interpreted

[15]J. Payne Collier, *History of Dramatic Poetry to the Time of Shakespeare*, 3 vols. (1831), II, 431n.
[16]Brinsley Nicholson, "Spenser's Harpalus", *N & Q* April (1874), 323-24.
[17]George Turbervile, *Tragical Tales and Other Poems* (Edinburgh, 1837).
[18]Josuah Sylvester, *Du Bartas, His Devine Weekes and Workes* (1608), p.211.

as "faithful". William Cecil had shown a paternalistic interest in Googe when the latter requested his assistance in his negotiations to marry Mary Darrell. Cecil acted firmly and decisively for Googe who not only won Mary Darrell but also, in the same year 1563, gained an appointment as gentleman pensioner.

This partisan act of kinship was followed in 1574, by Cecil's conscription of Googe to spy for him in Ireland. There, rewards such as Googe's appointment as Provost Marshal of the Presidency Court of Connaught (1582), were small compensation for the loneliness and long separation from his family. Finally, in 1585 after prolonged petitions to Cecil, the disconsolate Googe won his release. It is this long-term and arduous service to the crown as well as Googe's age, that partly satisfy the biographical demands of, "now woxen aged in faithful service of faire *Cynthia*". At the same time the lines imply that the service continues, and so could not refer to Googe, who having his farms augmented by his wife's inheritance, retired to his country estates. A second impediment is Googe's death in February 1593-4. Because it is unlikely that Spenser would have revised his panegyrics randomnly, with an elegiac change for Lord Strange (d.1593) and a congratulatory one for Anne Spencer (Charillis), we can assume that Harpalus, had he been Googe, would have merited an epitaph.

It is doubtful that Googe's poetic reputation in 1591 would have won him first place in Colin's panegyric. The latest contemporary reference to him seems to be Webb's 1586 comment that he was a "painefull furtherer of learning".[19] Googe's friend Turbervile praised him familiarly and affectionately, but never attempted to assess his poetic abilities.[20] An anonymous contributor of commendatory verses to Studley's *Agamemnon* considered Googe a superior translator to Phaer and Heywood, but noted the "payne" and "travayle" with which he composed.[21] Another contemporary, Jaspar Heywood, barbs his praise with a witty censure of Googe's translation of a book condemned by Rome, and cleverly hints in "a gratefull gaynes" that Cecil, the dedicatee, had been a generous patron:

> There Googe a gratefull gaynes hath gotte,
> reporte that runneth ryfe,
> Who crooked Compasse dothe describe,
> and Zodiake of lyfe.[22]

Such comments make too creaky a superstructure to support the poet who bears the first accolade.

[19]William Webb, *A Discourse of English Poetry*, ed. Edward Arber (1870), p.34.
[20]See Googe's sonnet to Turbervile urging him to accept full responsibility for his own distress in love: "Mayster Googe His Sonet", "Turbervile's Aunswere".
[21]Ed. E.M. Spearing (1913), p.17.
[22]Jaspar Heywood, *Thyestes*, ed. H. De Vocht (1913), p.103.

Frederick Fleay believed that Googe wrote the well known poem "Harpalus's Complaint". He argues that "the story of Harpalus fits well with Googe's life. Before he married Mary Darrell he was rejected by a Mrs. A., to whom he wrote on the occasion. This Mrs. A. is Phyllida if Googe be Harpalus".[23] Unfortunately the compositional date of the poem is unknown, but it was registered in 1564-5, some time after the Mrs. A. affair, because by 1563 Googe had courted and married Mary Darrell. A.H. Bullen doubts that Googe could have written "Harpalus's Complaint" as the latter is of "far higher merit than any of his authentic 'Eglogs'".[24] Such dubiety is well founded; for if we can judge by his *Eglogs* published in 1563, Googe did not possess that felicity of proverbial speech and expertise in dramatic soliloquy which characterize the Harpalus poet.

Anthony Munday

Another candidate proposed by Fleay is Anthony Munday. He notes that the poem "Harpalus" occurs in *Tottel's Miscellany* anonymously, but in *England's Helicon* it is followed by another "written in answer" on the same subject by Shepherd Tonie. Fleay states that these answers were usually written by the same persons as the original poems; and since Tonie has been identified with Anthony Munday, he concludes that he is the author. It is clear that Fleay was unaware that "Harpalus's Complaint" was frequently imitated in the sixteenth century, so the argument is not applicable here.[26] Fleay's choice could lead us to endless refutations, because it implies positive value judgements on Munday's character and literary ascendancy in the early nineties. Fortunately these are unnecessary; for in 1962 the editor of Munday's *Chruso-thriambos,* J.H. Pafford, announced the discovery of Munday's date and place of birth: St Gregory's by St Paul's, 13 October 1560.[27] This means Munday was four when "Harpalus's Complaint" was registered, and that makes him too precocious even for an Elizabethan.

George Puttenham

This protean Harpalus was given yet another rôle as George Puttenham in 1874 by Brinsley Nicholson.[28] Perhaps if Nicholson had known that Joseph Haslewood in 1811 had drawn attention to a nuncupative will of George Puttenham's dated 1 September 1590, we may have been spared this superfluous nomination[29]. For it is unlikely that Spenser would

[23]Frederick G. Fleay, *Guide to Chaucer and Spenser* (1877), p.119.
[24]*DNB*, p.152.
[25]Fleay, p.119.
[26]See *Tottel's Miscellany*, ed. H.E. Rollins (Cambridge, Mass., 1965), p.59 and notes to poem.
[27](1962), p.45. *DNB* gives d.o.b. as 1553.
[28]"Spenser's Harpalus", *ibid.*, pp.323-24.
[29]Joseph Haslewood, *Ancient Critical Essays upon English Poets and Poesy* 2 vols. (1811), I, vi, note.

celebrate Puttenham in the present tense in 1591 when he had made other careful revisions. Moreover, Harpalus's pen-portrait of charm and moral rectitude starkly misfits Puttenham's biography. As early as January 1568-9, the Bishop of Winchester wrote to Sir W. Cecil warning him that George Puttenham was a "notorious enemye to God's Truth". In 1570 Puttenham was accused and later exonerated for being implicated in the plot to kill Cecil. Then in 1578 he was imprisoned for a quarrel with his wife's family. According to A. L. Rowse, Puttenham with his solicitor Sir John Throckmorton, had managed "to convey away the manor of Heriad" from Lady Windsor, Puttenham's wife. Such collaborations for profit, Rowse provocatively argues with his usual bias against the Catholic branch of the Throckmortons, led to the "laudatory appearance Sir John makes in the *Art of English Poetry* which is otherwise unexpected and corroborates Puttenham's claim to the authorship".[30] There was, however, a time lapse of eleven years between this affair and the publication of *The Arte of English Poesie,* and Throckmorton was a shrewd assessor of Puttenham's opportunism:

> Notes by Puttenham addressed to Sir John Throckmorton on his state of affairs and the controversy with Lady Windsor: with Throckmorton's opinion of him, that when once his turn was served "he was careless of all men, ungrateful in prosperity and unthankful in adversity".[31]

A man who earned the public disapprobation of the Bishop of Winchester and of his partner in crime, Sir John Throckmorton, and who was dead a year before the dated Preface to the poem, is unlikely to be Spenser's pleasing and upright poet.

[30] A. L. Rowse, *Ralegh and the Throckmortons* p.74.
[31] *Calendar of State Papers*, vol. cxxvi, 1578.

CORYDON

> And there is a *Corydon* though meanly waged,
> Yet hablest wit of most I know this day.
> (ll 382-3).

Edward Dyer

Spenser's reference to Corydon seems to be deliberately elusive because the indefinite article in "a Corydon" implies that he was but one of many. Also the statement on Corydon's economic position is tantalizingly ambiguous: it could mean he was parsimoniously provided for, or that he was moderately (mean, between two extremes) well paid. Nevertheless, in each instance the payment is disproportionate to his superlative gifts. "A Corydon" who had a nebulous role in Elizabeth's court, and who suffered financial distress as a result, was that lover of anonymity, Edward Dyer. He was also celebrated by the Elizabethans for his literary gifts, learning, political sagacity and prudence.

Edward Dyer was first suggested for the role of Corydon by Fleay, because it was Dyer's self-chosen pastoral name. [1] In many poems Dyer enjoys exploiting the variations of word play that arise from linking his name Dyer with his pastoral pseudonym Corydon. In "Alas, My Heart" for example, the line "Die, Coridon, the spoile of Phillis eye/ She cannot love, and therefore thou must die" connects Coridon with Dyer. Coridon is "the spoile of Phillis eye" because "cor" is from the Greek κόρη (pupil of the eye) and "he must die" is the poet, Dyer (*OED* obs. form of Dier, one who dies). Similar teasing puns occur in the fourth last stanza of "Amarillis":

> Coridon, turned to an owl, fledd to the wilderness;
> And never flocks, but ledes lyf in solitariness.
>
> Not his eies can yet behould the dere light of the sone;
> But alooflie steales his flight, and in the darke doth conn.[2]

Ralph Sargent identifies Dyer with the Coridens of the old *Arcadia*.[3] He suggests the anagram "Cosn Dier" and claims that the lines in the Third Eclogue of the Arcadia "Till forced to part, with heart and eyes e'en sore/ To worthy Coredens he gave me o'er", refer to Hubert Languet's recommendation to Sidney to "take serious counsel with your estimable friend Master Dyer". [4] Ringler rejects the identification, arguing that the lines refer to

[1] Fleay, p.118.
[2] Ralph Sargent, *At the Court of Queen Elizabeth* (1935), pp.194-95.
[3] Sargent seems to follow for this identification, Friedrich W.D. Brie, P. Sidney's *Arcadia, Eine Studie zur englischen Renaissance* (Strassburg, 1918).
[4] *Ibid.*, p.72. Hubert Languet, Huguenot scholar and diplomat, was friend and mentor to Sidney when the latter was on the Continent. The letter was written after his visit to England in 1580.

Sidney's departure from the Continent with Edward Wotton. [5] Having weighed both arguments Jean Robertson maintains:

> Coredens combines features pointing to both Greville and Dyer; but the 'Ister Bank' poem (pp. 254ff.) points to someone who was not only older than Sidney (like Dyer), but also, like Wotton or Bryskett, was with him in Vienna and left the town with him. [6]

The "Ister Bank" poem as Robertson clearly notes does not undercut Dyer's case for Coridens. It is strange that both Robertson and Ringler have imposed spatial and temporal realities on a fiction, when Elizabethans did not adhere to conventions of naturalism. Sidney probably telescoped several events in his eclogue as freely as Spenser located Harvey (Hobbinol) in Ireland.

Dyer's link with Corydon is also supported by Spenser's friendship with him. During Spenser's employment by Leicester Dyer encouraged him in his literary career, and Spenser had intended to express his gratitude by dedicating *Slomber* and some pamphlets to him.[7] Harvey also shared in the friendship and through his customary extravagant wit, we learn of Dyer's close association with the Queen and of his poetic gifts:

> The sky-coloured Muse best commendeth her owne heavenly harmony: and who hath sufficiently praysed the hyacinthine and *azure die,* but itselfe? What colours of astonishing *Rhetorique,* or ravishing *Poetry,* more deeply engrained, then some of his amazing devises: the fine dittyes of an other *Petrarch,* or the sweet charmes of pure enchantment. What *Dia-margariton,* or *Dia-ambre,* so comfortative or coridall, as *Her Electuary of Gemmes* ... whom I do not expressly name, not because I do not honour *Her* with my hart, but because I would not dishonour *Her* with my pen, whom I admire, and cannot blason enough. [8]

The abstruse word play makes many of the references in the passage elusive, but possibly "the sky-coloured Muse" that "best commendeth her owne harmony" refers to Dyer's pastoral name Corydon *korudós* (crested lark). The allusions to colours are proleptic of the references to gems that follow; for "hyacinthine" and "azure die" were the names of blue gems (hyacinth *OED;* lapis lazuli *OED* $_2$). The pun on "engrained" links Dyer (engrain, to dye *OED*) with the "gemmes" (grain, internal substance *OED* $_{14}$) Dia-margariton, and dia-ambre, which like his poetry of "pure enchantment" provide restoratives. It is through this inter-lacing of terms that Harvey suggests that the Queen had a co-author for her *Electuary of Gemmes*—Edward Dyer.

[5] William A. Ringler, Jr., ed., *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford, 1962), pp.413-14.
[6] Jean Robertson, ed., *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (Oxford, 1973), pp.461-62.
[7] *The Works of Gabriel Harvey*, ed. A.B. Grosart, 3 vols (1884), 1, 7-8.
[8] *Ibid.*, 1, 266-67.

Although Elizabeth utilized Dyer's gifts she was tardy in her public recognition of him. However, his fellow Elizabethans showed that they recognized him as one of the "hablest wits" of their day (l. 383) and immortalized him with their praise. Within the early Spenserian circle of friends, Sidney's strong affection for Dyer and Greville is seen in the lines "Joyne hearts and hands, so let it be/ Make but one Minde in Bodies three".[9] Similar sentiments occur in "Disprayse of a Courtly Life":

> Only for my two loves' sake, Sir Ed.D and M.F.G.
> In whose love I pleasure take,
> Only two do me delight
> With their ever-pleasing sight,
> Of all men to thee retaining
> Grant me with those two remaining.[10]

Others too were as generous in their eulogies. Thomas Watson, for instance, in addressing his sonnets reminded them that even if they approached the works of a Sidney or Dyer they were to remember that they were fashioned by an unskilled hand:

> *Hic quoque seu subeas Sydnaei, sive Dyeri*
> *Scrinia, qua Musis area bina patet;*
> *Dic te Xeniolum non divitis esse clientis,*
> *Confectum Dryadis arte, rudique manu;*
> *Et tamen exhibitum Vero, qui magna meretur*
> *Virtute et vera nobilitate sua.*[11]

Whitney considered Dyer one of "Pallas peares", and prophesied immortality for verse and poet:

> Even so, your worthie workes, when you in peace shall sleepe,
> Shall make reporte of your desertes, and DIERS name shall keepe.
> Whome, I doe reverence still, as one of PALLAS peares:
> And praye the Lorde, with joyfull dayes for to prolonge your yeares.[12]

Dyer's reputation continued into the early years of James's reign, and even then he persevered in his self-effacing literary habits. John Davies, for instance, who made him a dedicatee of *Micro-cosmos* epitomized his conduct:

> Thou virgin *Knight* that dost thy selfe obscure
> From *World's* unequall eies, and fain wouldst *dy*
> Er' thy *name* should be knowne to *Worlds* impure,
> Now shew thy selfe, thou canst not hidden lie

[9]Ringler, ed. p.260.
[10]*Ibid.*, p.263.
[11]Thomas Watson, *Passionate Century of Love* (Manchester, 1869), pp.9-10.
[12]Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblems*, ed. John Horden (Menston, 1973), p.197.

From our new *World's desert* out-searching *Eie.*
Great *Sidneie's love* (true proofe of thy great *worth*)
Live now, for now thou maist not living die;
Vertue must use thee, then (*Dyer* Knight) come forth
To haile thy vertue's *Loadstarre* from the *North.* [13]

It is difficult to ascertain how the poetic renown of this retiring man spread, but one source was possibly poetic treatises. Puttenham, for example, demonstrates a familiarity with his verse citing it for rhetorical figures, and praising Dyer as elegist and love poet. [14] The latter role was still being attributed to him by Meres in 1593. [15] Fame also meant that many writers sought his patronage, and at least a dozen works of poetry, religion and travel were dedicated to him between 1577-1603. [16]

Dyer's fame included his political sagacity for he maintained his position at court with but one fall from grace in thirty-seven years. So respected was his counsel that even Christopher Hatton and the Earl of Essex sought it in crises. His diverse interests, such as the financing of explorations and the zealous pursuit for the secret of alchemy, indicate that he was not without imagination and enterprise. Unfortunately, Dyer possessed no hereditary wealth and for reasons which it is not possible to ascertain with any reasonable certainty, he seems to have been unsuccessful in finances. In 1580 he borrowed £3,000 from the crown which he was unable to repay, and at the time of his death his debts totalled £11,200.

Raleigh, as we have seen, was shocked by the disjunction between Spenser's gifts and his "lucklesse lot" (1.181); and perhaps Spenser, emboldened by Raleigh's protection, daringly attempted to improve Corydon's lot by reminding Cynthia, that some public recognition should be bestowed on Corydon. Elizabeth ignored the plea, and not until 1596 at Cecil's request did Dyer become Chancellor of the Order of the Garter. This uncommon position of esteem with its meagre £100 annual stipend was of little financial assistance to him. Of all instances of unacknowledged talent Dyer's is one of the most difficult to understand.

[13] *The Complete Works of John Davies of Hereford*, ed. A.B. Grosart, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1878) 1, 15.
[14] *The Arte of English Poesie* , ed. Willcock and Walker, pp61-3.
[15] Don Cameron Allen, ed. (New York, 1938), p.79.
[16] Franklin F.B. Williams, Jr., *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses* (1962).

Abraham Fraunce, the popular contender.

The most important question in Fraunce's candidature is his whereabouts in 1593: was he alive to receive an accolade from Spenser? Other salient issues are: the feasibility of a covert reference to an unacknowledged court poet, and the likelihood of such extravagant Spenserian praise for him.

Todd, [1] Malone, [2] and G.C. Smith [3] believed that Corydon was Abraham Fraunce. This identification is unlikely because Fraunce only used the name in his translation of Virgil's second eclogue "The Lamentation of Corydon for the love of Alexis," which was published in *The Lawiers Logike,* 1588, and again in *The Countesse of Pembrokes Ivychurch,* 1592. Fraunce was better known by *The Lamentations of Amyntas for the Death of Phillis,* 1587 and reprinted in 1588, 1589, 1596. According to Lodge this popular work, as well as Watson's *Amyntas* received no recognition in court circles:

> And tho the fore-bred brothers they have had,
> (Who in theyr Swan-like songes *Amintas* wept)
> For all their sweet-thought sighes had fortune bad,
> And twice obscur'd in *Cinthias* circle slept. [4]

Now the inference here is that Fraunce was unacclaimed and unrewarded by the state; whereas the Corydon accolade implies that the poet is well known but parsimoniously waged.

While a friendship between Fraunce and Spenser must remain conjectural, we would be over cautious if we neglected the possibility of their meeting either personally or through written introductions in the Sidney circle. Fraunce's emulation of Spenser is evident from his extensive quotations from *The Shepheardes Calender* in *The Lawiers Logike,* and from his introduction of *The Faerie Queen,* 2.4.35 to English readers in *The Arcadian Rhetorike,* 1588. This Spenserian adulation was scarcely unusual; and despite Spenser's own ironic comments on his susceptibility to flattery, we cannot believe that he would have regarded Fraunce as one of the ablest wits that he knew. Nothing is known of Spenser's relationship with Fraunce in the nineties, and from Lodge's account of the fate of *Amyntas* it is unlikely that Fraunce flourished among the court poets.

[1] *The Works of Edmund Spenser*, ed. Henry J. Todd (1845), I, xxxviii.
[2] *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare with the corrections and illustrations of various commentators; comprehending a life of the poet and an enlarged history of the stage by the late E. Malone.* ed. James Boswell, (1821), 1, 239-45.
[3] G.C.M. Smith, ed. "Victoria", in, *Materialien zur Kunde des alteren englischen Dramas*, ed. W. Bang (1906), pp. I-XL.
[4] *Phillis: Honoured with Pastorall Sonnets, Elegies, and amorous delights,* in *The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge*, ed. Gosse, II, 5.

The appearance of Fraunce and Gabriel Harvey in the same poem would raise the question of Spenser's sensitivity to Harvey's feelings. Fraunce had only recently in 1592 in the third part of the *Countesse of Pembroke s Ivychurch* caricatured the Harvey brothers as three pedantic gentlemen who travel to heaven to ascertain the accuracy of an astrological prophecy. [5] The satire is less trenchant that anything Harvey suffered from Nashe, but it insensitively, and one suspects rather gratuitously, attacks a vulnerable figure. While Spenser could not be responsible for Harvey's numerous and slightly irascible assertions of superiority, it seems unlikely that he would have eulogized Fraunce as the "hablest wit" in a poem where Harvey figures so conspicuously. This kind of indecorous tastelessness we believe is below the merits of Spenser's artistry and courtesy.

More important than these inferences is the absence of any comment on Fraunce after 1591. The last facts known about him occur in Henry Lord Pembroke's letters to Lord Burghley (25 August 1590; 11 September 1590; 28 April 1591) requesting him to appoint Fraunce, Queen's solicitor in the Court of the Marches. However, an archival search made by G.C. Smith revealed that Fraunce never gained the office.[6] At one time it was thought that Fraunce lived until 1633, as an epithalamium celebrating the marriage of Sir Gervase Cutler and Lady Magdalen Egerton was ascribed to him. Fortunately, V. Skretowicz in 1976, discovered that Hunter who had attributed the work to him had transcribed the name Abraham Fraunce instead of Abraham Darcie from the papers of Dr Nathaniel Johnston.[7] Rowse believes that the Herberts took him under their wing and he "found a haven in the Court of the Marches of Wales," but he offers no documentation for his claim.[8] At least this conjecture of Rowse's is founded on the knowledge of Pembroke's influence in the sphere of appointments in the Council. For instance, in 1590 Pembroke nominated twenty-six men for appointment and six were chosen to be members. Then in 1593 and 1594 twelve more were appointed to the Council, four of whom were recommended by Pembroke: Fulke Greville, Sir Henry Pole, Richard Atkins, and John Croke. [9] If Fraunce had been alive after 1593 he would surely have earned some Council office through Pembroke's influence. Probably Fraunce would also have had the support of Greville, Sidney's friend, who by 1593 had full possession of the major administrative offices which provided him with a lucrative annual income of £1,000. [10]

[5]For a detailed account of the incident see Virginia F. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey: His life, Marginalia and Library* (Oxford, 1979), pp.89-91.
[6]G.C. Smith, ed. p.xxxix.
[7]*The Library*, 31 (1976), 239-42.
[8]A.L. Rowse, *The England of Elizabeth* (1950), p.369.
[9]Penry Williams, *The Council in the Marches under Elizabeth* (Cardiff, 1958), pp.294-95.
[10]Ronald A. Rebholz, *The Life of Fulke Greville* (Oxford, 1971), p.90.

Thus the lack of any topical reference to Fraunce after 1591 suggests his demise sometime in the early nineties. There is a death recorded for an Abraham Fraunce, 14 July 1593, at St Mary's Shrewsbury, but at the moment there is no evidence to associate this man with the poet. An extensive search of probate records for the district of Elizabeth's Council of the Marches has produced nothing. The areas searched by local archivists are given in Appendix B.

ALCYON

And there is sad *Alcyon* bent to mourne,
Though fit to frame an everlasting dittie,
Whose gentle spright for *Daphnes* death doth tourn
Sweet layes of love to endlesse plaints of pittie.
Ah pensive boy pursue that brave conceipt,
In thy sweet Eglantine of *Meriflure,*
Lift up thy notes unto their wonted height,
That may thy *Muse* and mates to mirth allure.
(11.384-91).

Arthur Gorges.

There is no mistaking the grieving disconsolate Alcyon, Arthur Gorges, who was first introduced as the young widowed husband of Douglas Howard in *Daphnaida.* At that time a furore over the Howard fortune, which Gorges's daughter inherited at her mother's death, excited the imaginations of many Elizabethans. As early as *Daphnaida* Spenser had revealed his solidarity with the Gorges faction, by presenting the dying Daphne (Douglas Howard) leaving Ambrosia to Alcyon as a love pledge, and by stressing Gorges's descent from the Howards in the Dedication. Such references were powerful propaganda; for Ambrosia's great uncle, Thomas Howard, in order to gain her fortune swore she was a "changed childe".[1]

This commitment to the Gorges may have been fostered by Raleigh, when he returned with Spenser from Ireland. Gorges was Raleigh's cousin and loyal supporter. [2] The Marchioness of Northampton, Gorges's aunt, so inspired Spenser with her virtue that he dedicated *Daphnaida* to her, and boldly blazoned her court position and nobility in *CCCHA* with "Worthie next after *Cynthia* to tread / As she is next her in nobilitie" (11.514-15). The group's influence at court in 1590 became evident, when the Queen commanded that "extraordinary care be taken against frivolous practices prejudicial to her Majesty's ward (Ambrosia) and to the father (Gorges) who was held in attendance during the progress." [3] It is likely therefore, that this group's personalities moved Spenser to interest himself in their welfare.

By centring his care on Alcyon's suffering in *CCCHA*, Spenser reveals his profound awareness of Gorges's character and his belief in an organic unity between verse and man's

[1]Ambrosia was born in December 1588 and died in 1600. Present at the baptism were the Earl of Warwick, the Countess of Pembroke and Lady Elizabeth Carey. All were friends of Spenser.
[2]Winifred Budockside, Gorges's mother, was Raleigh's mother's sister. Helen Estabrook Sandison in "Arthur Gorges: Spenser's Alcyon", *PMLA*, 43 (1926), 654-81, draws attention to literary works such as *Islands Voyages*, which show Gorges's allegiance to Raleigh.
[3]*Ibid.*, p.651.

essential nature. In his plea to Gorges to cease grieving, Spenser reminds him that the jarring disorder that encompasses him has one cause : a gentle spright bent on the expression of its irreconcilable opposite. Then firmly but tactfully he urges Gorges to allow his notes to harmonize with his spirit :

> Ah pensive boy pursue that brave conceipt,
> In thy sweet Eglantine of *Meriflure*,
> Lift up thy notes unto their wonted height,
> That may thy *Muse* and mates to mirth allure.
> (11.388-91).

Not until Sandison's 1953 edition were critics given the opportunity to evaluate Gorges's poetry, and then they neglected Spenser's assessment of him in the role of Alcyon. In a way this is understandable; for commendatory statements indirectly support Spenser's encomiums, but do not explain the particularization of the "sweet" (melodious, pleasant sound, harmonious OED_4) in "sweet lays", and "sweet Eglantine of *Meriflure*". Anne Prescott, for instance, in her analysis of Gorges's adaptations from Du Bellay, Desportes and Ronsard, draws attention to his fascination with the architecture of verse, but makes no connection between it and his quest for harmony:

> In choosing which poems of this sort to translate Gorges was apparently guided not so much by a desire for striking pictorial effects as by an interest in enumeration, series, repetition, and anaphora—architecture that stiffens or clarifies verse otherwise limp with sentiment. [4]

Other forces than these also influenced Gorges: he realized that by restructuring the internal music in some translations an entirely new meaning could be released. In Du Bellay's Sonnet L11 From *Regrets* Gorges does not, as Prescott argues, sacrifice Du Bellay's bitter tone and witty ending in "*De jetter, comme on dit, l'huile sur le foyer/ Et perdre sans profit le repos et repas*". On the contrary his ending, "And I poore soule would give myne eyes theyr fill/ Iff with my teares my harmes myght so distill", is a natural conclusion to the vowel harmony which in the opening lines of the poem, created a nostalgic longing for order and peace in nature. [5] Thus, a confident and skilful use of rhythm and metre, a nearly faultless ear, as well as those figures of enumeration which Prescott describes as architecture that clarifies verse, are the positive forces that make Gorges a competent lyricist.

It is this same lyrical gift that enabled Gorges to attempt *Meriflure*. Only six stanzas are

[4] *English Poets and the French Renaissance* (New Haven, 1978). Du Bellay, pp.52-6; Desportes, pp.138-42; Ronsard, pp.108-9.
[5] Sandison, ed. No. 45, p.55.

extant but from them we can infer that he planned a flower motif similar to Spenser's in "Aprill". The fifth of these stanzas introduces an undertone of praise to Elizabeth, which Sandison thinks may have been Spenser's suggestion:

> Greate flora Sommers soveraygn queene
> to make hyr glory to us seene
> from Paradys dyd fetch this flowre
> It fyrst was planted in that place
> and after grafte in humane race
> Butt styll enspyrd with heavenly powre. [6]

Because this Garden of Adonis-like myth is incipient we cannot speculate on its purpose in the project or assess Spenser's evaluation of the work as a "brave conceipt" (excellent idea). However, the fragment reveals Spenser's influence and demonstrates once more Gorges's expertise in verse harmony.

Unfortunately not all of Gorges's poetry deserves to be called pleasing: he frequently demonstrates a lack of imagination, daring and inventiveness. Even his interest in enumeration led him at times to seek idioms in the poetry of George Turbervile who had a predisposition for these figures. Although these imitations may have been due to an admiration for Turbervile's idiomatic English, they indicate that Gorges willingly muffled emotions in proverbial expressions and classical exempla. The poem designated 40 in his *Vannetyes and Toyes,* illustrates this practice and recalls Turbervile's stereotyping of feelings:

> Iff unto me that holde yow deare
> yow shewe your selfe unkinde
> Butt graunt itt to be so
> they finde and thinke yow sure
> Yett will such fryndes lyke haggard hawkes
> att laste foresake the Lure
> And proofe doth daylye teache
> men for a tyme will toyle
> Butt after they have reapte the fruite
> they doo dysdayne the Soile
> Wherefore iff Craesside geve
> kinge *Priams* sonne the glyke
> She may meete with a *Dyomed*
> to quyte her with the lyke.
> (11. 35-48).

The touch of proverbial asperity in lines 42-4 and 39-40 *echoes* the sentiments of Harpalus in, "He Sorrowes Other to Have the Fruites of His Service".[7] The falconry term in

[6] *Ibid.*, p.125.
[7] Chalmers, ed. pp.626-27. See also Appendix A.

particular links the two poets, since Turbervilian expressions such as, "Like as fearefull Foule/ within the Fawcons foote", [8] and "No Fowler that had wylie witte/ but will forsee such hap" [9] are ubiquitous in his poetry. However, neither pointed maxims nor exempla enable Gorges to unravel the mood of the speaker; and the incongruous linking of hawks and heroes distracts the reader from the persona's plight.

The only poem where Gorges demonstrates any ability to sustain that kind of heroic theme to which Spenser encouraged him, is *The Olympian Catastrophe.* Although this soporific narrative was written twelve years after *CCCHA* the lines from it that recall Spenser's pastoral, demonstrate that Gorges knew the poem well. The examples given below were first identified by Sandison and her list is comprehensive:

> Then forth he comes, (like Phebus in the morne
> New gazinge from the windowes of the east).
> (*OC.* 337-38).
>
> Her lookes were like beames of the morning Sun,
> Forth looking through the windowes of the East.
> (*CCCHA* 604-5).
>
> Ravisht with sweet contentment of this place.
> (*OC* 236)
>
> Doth feed on sweet contentment of that sight
> (*CCCHA* 43) [10]

Gorges never achieved poetic fame; but Spenser's evaluation of him as a competent poet in, "Lift up thy notes unto their wonted height" is substantiated by those poems in *The Vannetyes and Toyes* that reveal his lyrical strengths.

[8] *Ibid.*, p.592.
[9] *Ibid.*, p.629.
[10] Sandison, ed. See notes to *The Olympian Catastrophe.*

There eke is *Palin* worthie of great praise,
Albe he envie at my rustic quill.
(11.392-93).

George Peele

Malone associated Colin's Palin with Peele because he used the name in *An Eclogue Gratulatory* and Spenser's shepherds and situations from *The Shepheardes Calender* in *The Araygnement of Paris.* [1] Fleay disagreed with Malone's identification because Piers, not Palinode, was Peele's name in the eclogue. [2] Fleay did, however, accept that Peele took the names from Spenser and assigned them to different characters.

The Greek Palin, πάλιν, may be significant in the identification of Palin; it can mean: back, backwards, (with verbs of motion); again, over again; in turn; and it expresses contradiction. Since Palin is associated with an imitator, "Albe he envie at my rustic quill", the likely application would be "again", "over again". The connection with Peele could be relevant, because his imitations of *The Shepheardes Calender* suggest that he did envy (here contend for mastery with) Spenser's rustic quill (the feigned simplicity of diction and the pastoral mode). Palin, like Aetion in lines 444-47, may possibly characterize the nature of Palin's verse. If this is Spenser's intention a reference to Peele's excessive fondness for figures of repetition may also be included in Palin (again). Possibly there is no association here with the Palinode of *The Shepheardes Calender* who is restricted to religious debate and is identified by critics as an ecclesiastic. Certainly Peele is not known to have made any public recantations, and research has not revealed a pastoral poet, recanter and imitator of Spenser.

The choice of Palin rather than Piers, need not puzzle us as it did Fleay. Peele did not always refer to Spenser as Colin. Indeed, the practice of referring to an author by a prominent character from his work was not uncommon. Watson, for example, in *An Eclogue upon the Death of Sir Francis Walsingham* revealed himself as Corydon, but Lodge alluded to him and to Fraunce by the name of their works *Amyntas.*[3] Likewise Peele in *The Honour of The Garter* (1593), addresses Spenser as Hobbinol in, "Where thether speede not Hobbin and his pheres?/ Great Hobbinall on whom our shepheards gaze".[4] The reference is unmistakable, because Hobbinol as senior shepherd is an apt metonymy for

[1]Boswell, ed. pp.248-50.
[2]Fleay, p.118.
[3]See Watson in "Alcon", and Fraunce in "Corydon".
[4]*The Dramatic Works of George Peele*, ed. Charles Tyler, 3 vols (New Haven, 1961-1970) 1, 246; pheres; feres, companions.

the *Calender*. Perhaps haste dictated the terms of reference. It is even possible that Peele is being playfully satiric in referring to Spenser by this Harvey allusion; for at this time, Harvey's vicarious Spenserian fame was the butt of critics such as Nashe. Maybe Spenser countered Peele's reference to him as Hobbinol, by calling him Palin. Since Peele's *Eclogue Gratulatory* (1589) was recent and plainly demonstrates his facile transformations of characters and themes from *The Shepheardes Calender*, the very mention of the name would have been sufficient to direct readers to work and author. Whatever the reasons the allusion is sufficiently clear to impale Peele as Palin.

While it is impossible to ascertain if Peele was mortified ("envie" 1.393) by Raleigh's court promotion of Spenser, his more flagrant Spenserian imitations suggest that his emulation at times became infected with envy. And it is likely that his plagiarisms provoked some critical reactions from his contemporaries. Such responses as Spenser's criticism of Palin were not uncommon. For instance, Thomas Watson rebuked Fraunce for the translation of his Latin *Amyntas* and he reminded readers that only an author should be bold with his own composition. [5]When it is clear that Peele expediently pillaged contemporary sources in order to produce work rapidly, it is difficult to understand those critics who argue that Peele's superior talent placed him above Spenserian criticism. Indubitably, those dramatizations of themes from *The Shepheardes Calender* deserved that kind of detached Spenserian disparagement of "Albe he envie at my rustic quill" (1.393). An example of Peele's uncommendable boldness with Spenser's characters and themes is his adaptation of the story of Colin's unrequited love in *The Araygnement of Paris*. There the shepherds Colin, Hobbinol, Diggon and Thenot are clearly recognizable as Spenser's. In an act that can only be described as venturesome meddling, Peele incorporates into the shepherd sub-plot Colin's suicide so that is parallels Amyntas's suicide in the main plot. Spenser's story like Watson's *Amyntas* was in danger of losing its identity by another "man's labour".[6]

Another work of Peele's that shows superficial adaptations is the *Eclogue Gratulatory* (1589). Here Peele takes the names of the speakers Palin and Piers from "Maye", and models the debate on "October". Peele's Palin, unlike Spenser's, is not a recanter (a Palinode), but only a *provocateur*, a feed to sustain an artlessly presented theme. Goaded by a boorish Palin, an ebullient Piers motivelessly introduces a panegyric to Essex:

[5]In Watson's Dedication to the reader in *An Eclogue*, a translation of *Meliboeus*, we find the following *apologia*: Gentlemen, if you suppose me vaine, for translating myne owne poems: or negligent for not doing it exactly to the latin originall, I thus desire to satisfie you. It is pardonable for a man to be bold with his owne: and I interpret myself, lest *Meliboeus* in speaking English by an other man's labour, should leese my name in his chaunge, as my *Amyntas* did.
[6]*loc. cit.*

> Of Armes to sing, I have not lust nor skill,
> Enough is me, to blazon my good will:
> To welcome home that long hath lacked beene,
> One of the jolliest Shepherds of our Greene.
> Io, Io Paean.
> (11.32-5).[7]

Through Piers's naivety Peele makes a convenient statement of his commitment and loyalty to the Earl. The eclogue clearly demonstrates Peele's rapid work and opportunism: he created an occasional poem for Essex by blatantly modifying Spenser's "October" eclogue, and he obviously intended to profit by such flattery. Perhaps too, Peele's excessive fondness for Spenserian diction caused Spenser some digust. Such imitations were often excessive, as Thorleif Larsen illustrates from *The Tale of Troy*:

> These are evident, not only in the archaisms used by Peele, all of which with perhaps one or two exceptions were used by Spenser in the *Shepherd's Calender,* but more specifically in the fact that he uses archaisms at all. It was Spenser who set the fashion in this matter; and his innovation was not by any means accepted all at once.[8]

The critical debate on the extent of these borrowings pursued by Mark Benbow and Larsen need not concern us here.[9] It is sufficient to note that in 1591 the practice was not common.

The name Palin (again, in turn) may even refer to Peele's fondness for figures of repetition. Frank S. Hook, the editor of *Edward I* and *The Old Wives Tale,* carefully records Peele's penchant for this kind of rhetoric.[10] Although these figures are common in Elizabethan literature, critics such as Patricia Binnie note that verbal repetitions are "especially strong in Peele" and seem to accept a high frequency rate as admissible evidence of Peele's authorship.[11] It could well be that Elizabethans such as Spenser, with a fine sense of decorum, found Peele's more elaborate patterns of rhetoric oppressive. [12]

There is no need to defend Spenser's estimation of Peele as "worthie of great praise" because there is enough good criticism to justify it. Too frequently Peele's imitations have been expediently rationalized; therefore, it has been necessary to stress his more artless adaptations to show that Spenser's rebuke was not too demeaning for him, especially when it came from one who could judiciously judge his strengths and weaknesses.

[7]Horne, ed. I, 225.
[8]"The Early Years of George Peele, Dramatist, 1558-1588", *TRSC*, Sec. ii (1928), 271-318, p. 265. The archaisms that Larsen lists are: whilom, mickle ne, wot, tho, beene (are) withouten, couth, wonne, crancklie, nill, hent, perdie, gan, gins (expletive), trim, mought, woode, wracke.
[9]Benbow, ed. 111, 19.
[10]Hook, ed. 11. 52-53; 111, 304-5.
[11]*The Old Wives Tale* (Manchester, 1980), p.4.
[12]See for instance *The Araygnement of Paris*, 1, 111, where Gods echo birds and birds echo Gods.

Other Nominees: Giles Fletcher, the elder, and Thomas Chaloner.

Giles Fletcher and Thomas Chaloner are unlikely Palins. Joseph Hunter thought "envie" the operative word in the accolade and suggested Giles Fletcher, the elder, because Fletcher mentioned that Amyntas's patronage went not to him but to Janus. Hunter's reasoning is slightly tortuous. Because there is an Amyntas in Phineas Fletcher's *Piscatory Eclogs* who rejects Phineas's father, Giles, for another poet, Hunter identifies this Amyntas with Colin's. Fletcher is then associated with Palin, because he would have envied Spenser's emolument from Amyntas.

However, in Phineas Fletcher's First Eclogue where the episode of rivalry from his father's life is related, there is no mention that Giles Fletcher envied Amyntas's new protégé's skill. He simply states that his father was bitterly disappointed by the lack of patronage promised by Amyntas.[2] Lloyd E. Berry by carefully analyzing the incidents in the eclogue shows that the friendship with Amyntas dates from Fletcher's residence in Scotland.[3] Berry draws attention to stanza thirteen where Fletcher refers to Scotland in "past the bounding Tweed", and presents Giles Fletcher as having "liv'd awhile with Caledonian swains".[4] James's arrival in England is alluded to in "When in fair Albion's fields he first arrived"; and it is quite clear that Amyntas's promise to Thelgon occurred on that occasion. Ethel Seaton also draws attention to the Preface of *Christ's Victorie and Triumph,* where Phineas Fletcher again refers to James I as Amyntas.[5] The name "Janus" (a two-faced figure) would also be an inappropriate appellation for Spenser who was not known to have dual loyalties.

Perhaps Hunter did not consider the unlikelihood of Phineas Fletcher's celebration of his father's rival, or he may simply have forgotten that both sons of Giles Fletcher emulated and admired Spenser. Phineas Fletcher placed him second in the lasting shrine of memory in *The Purple Island* (canto 6. 51-2); and in the dedicatory verse to the same volume, Francis Quarles calls Fletcher, "my deare friend, the Spenser of this age". Giles Fletcher, the younger, was equally enthusiastic about Spenser and declared in the Preface to *Christ's Victorie and Triumph* that he knew "no name more glorious".[6] There is then, small likelihood that Spenser's Palin had any association with Giles Fletcher.

[1]Chorus Vatum, BL. Add. MSS. 24487. fol. 116v.
[2]*The Purple Island or the Isle of Man: Together with Piscatorie Eclogs and other Poetical Miscellanies* (Cambridge, 1633), sig. K_3r.
[3]"Phineas Fletcher's Piscatorie Ecloge", *JEGP*, 60 (1961), 258-67.
[4]Giles Fletcher went as a commissioner to Scotland with Randolph Scott in 1586.
[5]Seaton, ed., *Venus & Anchises* (Oxford, 1926) p.113.
[6]*The Complete Poems of Giles Fletcher, the Younger*, ed. A. Grosart (1876), p.115.

Thomas Chaloner.

Spenser's reference to "rustic quill" in the Palin accolade became Tood's starting point for identification. [1] And, since Puttenham and Meres praised Thomas Chaloner for pastoral poetry, Todd presumed he was Spenser's Palin. The Chaloner in the poetic treatises is, however, Thomas Chaloner, the elder, 1521-1565. Thomas Chaloner, the younger, 1561-1615, published his father's poetry posthumously. There is no record of any poetry written by the son. It seems that Todd confused father and son, because the elder Chaloner was dead before Spenser's first pastoral was written, so he could scarcely have envied him.

[1]Todd, xxxviii-xxxix.

ALCON

> And there is pleasing *Alcon*, could he raise
> His tunes from laies to matter of more skill
> (11. 394-95)

Thomas Lodge

Critics with the exception of Malone, who found evidence for the identity of Alcon in Thomas Lodge's *A Fig for Momus* (1595), have rejected Lodge as Colin's fifth poet. Malone argued the new directions from romance to satire in Lodge's work were in answer to Spenser's rebuke "could he raise / His tunes from laies to matter of more skill" (11. 394-95).[1] The work is worthy of a little more detailed attention than Malone gave it, because in Eclogue One "To Reverend Colin" Lodge insists on his moral earnestness and his belief in the primacy of matter:

> Waigh not the words, but marke the worth,
> Great flouds doe often issue forth
> From humble waters, and deepe skill,
> May flow from an impolisht quill.
> Who waites for words, may get him hence,
> For shepheards onely sing for sence.[2]

While this obviously endorses Spenser's earnestness and suggests that Lodge intended to flatter him with imitation, it lacks bite. A more convincing *apologia* which readers have ignored and which manifests some impatience with criticism is found in the Preface to *The Devil Conjured.*[3] Less baldly than in the *Momus* Preface, Lodge here exposes his reasons for attempting hortatory pieces. By stressing the primacy of content above elegance in presentation he inadvertently manifests that lack of judgement for which Spenser censured him. He speciously argues that he has found a new pleasantness in the intellect, and he repudiates as "vain flourish" that pleasing style for which his contemporaries praised him, and which he acknowledged as his "pleasaunt vaine" in his Dedicatory Verse to *Don Simonides.*[4] The passage is quoted at some length because its obvious refutation of Spenser's criticism has been totally neglected:

> Here shall you find that which *Aristotle* requireth in every science, probabilitie in argument, and demonstration and truth in the end: here shal you find the stile varieng according to the matter, the matter sutable to the stile, and all of these aimed to profit: The reading hereof requireth, *Tota hominem, et non distractum,* for there is as much lost in slighting over, as won by perusing warelie; if the title

[1]Boswell, ed. p.251
[2]Gosse, ed. III, 19.
[3]Gosse, ed. III, 3.
[4]Gosse, ed. IV, 3 "Miscellaneous Pieces".

> make you suspect, compare it with the matter, it will answer you: if the matter, apply it with the censures of the learned, they will countenance the same; if the handling, I repent me not, for I had rather you should now condemn me for default in Rhetoricke, then as in times past, commend my stile, and lament my judgement: neither let it seeme displeasant, that herein I affect not vain flourish, for that I am experienced in this point of the law, that the mind is mightier then the words; beside, this is a certaine principle, *Ubi mens est certa, de verbis non curatur:* The Poet saw this, when he song thus: *Ornari res, ipsa negat contenta doceri* . . . The thought that is light, tempteth the mind and vanisheth, but those principles that hasten our experience, perfit our memories.[5]

At the same time this does not mean that there was any simple cause and effect reaction between Spenser's charge and Lodge's new earnestness. After all Lodge was so accustomed to criticism that he created his own Greek satirist Aristarchus to personify his contemporary critics; and he claims that he wrote *Momus* to answer the proud, unjust and unappreciative critics that beset him. Their disdainful attitude to his numerology is exemplified in Eclogue Three where Wagrin asks Golde (Lodge), "Whie sings not *Golde* as he whilome did / In sacred numbers, and diviner vaine". The reply demonstrates Lodge's literary frustrations:

> Why should I make mine industrie a slave,
> To day, and night? why should I dwell on thought
> When as some scoffing ideot shall deprave
> That which with travaile learning forth have brought:
> Proud *Aristarchus* will the credit have,
> And beare that palme, the happier muse hath bought,
> And though in furnace of true art I trie
> My labor'd lines, yet scape not obloquie.[6]

The inability to sustain a patron's interest was yet another insuperable burden for Lodge and this too may have necessitated new literary approaches. Again in Eclogue Three Lodge discloses with poignancy the complex problem, in which the parsimonious habits of patrons cause the poet's preoccupation with the quotidian struggle against poverty. This not only generates pedestrian work but also fosters unappreciative criticism from "coy" (disdainful OED$_3$) readers:

> Arts perish, wanting honour, and applause,
> And where imperious neede doth tyrannise,
> The holie heate, through wordly cares doth pause,
> The minde, (with-drawne to studie for supplies)
> Is soyld with earthlie thoughts, and downward drawes;

[5]Gosse, ed. III, 3-4.
[6]Gosse, ed. III, 23-4.

Hence come those dull conceits amongst the wise,
Which coy-eard readers censure to proceede,
From ignorance, whereas they grow by neede.[7]

Lodge's conversion to Catholicism, which Edmund Gosse believes took place in 1595-6, doubtlessly compounded his problems of patronage and probably contributed to the new note of moral earnestness in his writings. Such a work as *Prosopopeia* (1596) (The Teares of the Holy Blessed, and sanctified Marie, the Mother of God) which is in the tradition of Catholic devotional literature unveils these new religious sympathies.

There were then many influences in Lodge's life that probably converged inexplicably in this period to cause a crisis. All that we can safely assume is that Lodge's answer to Spenser co-incided with some kind of conversion, or that Spenser's reproof may have been a catalyst in a chain reaction.

Many critics believe that Spenser's disapprobation is below the merits of Lodge. But censure is counteracted by praise for Lodge's pleasing style, which Spenser suggests would be enhanced by serious content.[8] A hostile criticism of Lodge would, as many indicate, make a case for him difficult to support since he never blatantly imitated Spenser, and there is no recorded antagonism between them. Contributors to *Spenser Allusions* list a few unconvincing Spenserian echoes in Lodge's work.[9] For instance, Lodge's Sixth Sonnet in *Sundrie Sweet Sonnets* has been compared with Spenser's "January". In both poems the mortificatory trope and pathetic fallacy are dominant. Yet it is not the weeping shepherd and lamenting flock that recall "January", but Lodge's occasional use of such Spenserian diction as, "My bagpip's broke, my roundelaies are blent". A more impressive example is Lodge's depiction of the five vices that beset Scilla:

Rage, wan and pale upon a Tiger sat,
Knawing upon the bones of mangled men;
Naught can he view, but he repinde thereat:
His lockes were Snakes bred foorth in Stigian den.[10]

Although this kind of allegorization was common, Lodge's detailed presentation of Rage incorporates features of Spenser's Envy in, "and still did chaw / Betweene his cankred teeth a venemous tode", and "in his bosome secretly there lay / An hatefull Snake, the which his taile uptypes" (FQ 1. 4. 30. 1-2; 1. 4. 31. 3-4).

[7]*Ibid.*, 25-6.
[8]Contemporary celebrants of Lodge's pleasing style were: B. Rich, "If pleasant stile and method may suffice/ I thinke thy travaile merits thanks for paine"; J. Jones, "In briefe, I praise this booke for pretie stile". See *An Alarum for Usurers*, Gosse, ed. 1, 9-10.
[9]*SP*, 68 (1971), p.50.
[10]*Glaucus and Scilla*, Gosse, ed. 1, 27.

Lodge's admiration for Spenser must be considered, because Lucida declares that the poets included were those who honoured Spenser; and Lodge as we have already seen from *Momus* was anxious to gain Spenser's approbation. Indeed, his Introduction to *Phillis* shows an almost revential awe for him:

> If so you come where learned *Colin* feedes
> His lovely flocke, packe thence and quickly haste you;
> You are but mistes before so bright a sunne,
> Who hath the Palme for deepe invention wunne.[11]

The name Alcon, however, poses problems. An Alcon appears in *A Looking Glass for London and Englande* (1596) written by Lodge and Greene. The play was first performed in 1591 by Lord Stranges's company, and it would be an obvious source for Spenser's Alcon, if we could prove Lodge's authorship, or if we had some reason for associating him with the role.[12] His authorship has been questioned by Waldo McNeir, and though his argument is unconvincing conclusive proof for the defence cannot be advanced.[13] There is another possibility: in Calpurnius's Sixth Eclogue (11. 12-6) a shepherd boy Alcon is likened to Apollo in appearance but criticized for his imperfect singing. Probably this shepherd suited Spenser's purposes. Contributory evidence comes from Daniel who uses the pseudonym for Lodge in *The Queenes Arcadia* (1605), where he satirizes a Dr Alcon who speaks an exaggerated medical jargon and treats a young woman, Phillis. At that time Lodge was practising medicine, and as his first sonnet sequence was *Phillis* the allusions seem clear. It is even likely that Daniel deliberately conflated the pastoral name with that of the Roman doctor from Martial to ridicule Lodge's transformation from poet to physician.

Many references that are elliptical for us, may have been readily accessible to the Elizabethans. Churchyard, we know, unhesitatingly discloses himself as Palemon, but for us the name remains elusive. So too with Lodge: the pseudonym is baffling, but Lodge's unsubtle responses in the Preface to *The Devil Conjured* (1596) reveal an injured Alcon.

Pleasing Stylists:

Thomas Watson, Robert Gentilis, Nicholas Breton,
James VI, and Robert Greene.

A number of pleasing stylists have been conscripted to serve as Alcon. When Todd

[11] *Phillis*, Gosse, ed. 11, 6.
[12] The dates on which the play was performed were: 8 March 1591; 27 March 1591; 19 April 1591; 7 June 1592. See W.W. Greg, ed. *Henslowes Diary* 1, 13-5. Spenser may have seen a performance during his time in London.
[13] See Robert Greene in "Pleasing Stylists".

focused on "pleasing Alcon" he found Thomas Watson.[14] However, Watson reveals himself as a Corydon in *An Eclogue upon the Death of Sir Francis Walsingham:*

> A third fault (haply) will bee found, that my pastorall discourse to the unlearned may seeme obscure: which to prevent, I have thought good, here to advertise you, that I figure Englande in *Arcadia;* Her Maiestie in *Diana;* Sir Francis Walsingham in *Meliboeus,* and his Ladie in *Dryas;* Sir Phillipe Sidney in *Astrophill,* and his Ladie in Hyale; Master Thomas Walsingham in *Tyterus,* and my selfe in Corydon.[15]

With Watson's nomination dates are more relevant than the pastoral name Alcon. Assuming that Spenser would not be so insensitive to make but one elegiac revision, we must exclude Watson who died on 26 September 1592. Possibly Todd was unaware of Watson's date of death, because Collier (not always a reliable source, but in this instance accurate) seems to be the first who found it in the register of the parish of Saint Bartholomew, the Less.[16] Nevertheless, Todd would have been prudent to have considered the allusion to Watson's recent death in the Dedication to *Aminta Gaudia,* 1592, by C.M. (Christopher Marlowe?). There we learn that Watson's death necessitated Marlowe's dedication to the Countess of Pembroke on the late poet's behalf:

> *Dignare Posthumo huic Amyntae, ut tuo adoptivo*
> *Filio patrocinari: Eoque magis quod moribundus*
> *pater, illius tutelam humillime tibi legauerat.*[17]

Yet another contemporary allusion to the deceased Watson occurs in Peele's Prologue to *The Honour of the Garter,* 1593:

> To Watson, worthy many Epitaphes
> For his sweete Poësie, for Amintas teares
> And joyes so well set downe.[18]
> (11. 55-7).

Although Watson may have won Spenser's endorsement for his pleasing style, any encouragement to him to aspire to "matter of more skill" would have been misguided. He was a learned and serious scholar and his translations were esteemed by his contemporaries. It is scarcely likely that this antithetical address was meant for him.

Robert Gentilis.

Joseph Hunter claimed that Mr Bright spoke to him of a work entitled *Alcon, seu de*

[14]Todd, ed. I, xxxix.
[15]Thomas Watson (1590), sig. C4.
[16]*A Bibliographical and Critical Account of the Rarest Books in the English Language*, 2 vols (1865), II, 490.
[17]Edward Arber, ed., *Thomas Watson, Poems* (1870), pp.13-14. Trans.: Graciously welcome this late born Amyntas as your adopted child, the more readily because his father in his dying state has humbly given it into your charge. The work was registered in Stationers' Hall, 10 November 1592.
[18]Horne, ed. I, 246.

Natali Jesu Christi, 1581, by Robert Gentilis and dedicated to Sir Philip Sidney.[19] Because this eclogue has Alcon in its title, Hunter thought the author was Spenser's Alcon. Robert Gentilis is not the author of the eclogue: it was written by his uncle Scipione Gentilis (STC 11730) who spent most of his career on the continent of Europe. Scipione's brother, Alberico Gentilis (the father of Robert), was the well known professor of civil law at Oxford and the friend of Sir P. Sidney, Sir F. Walsingham, and the Earl of Leicester. In his brother's company, Scipione was probably introduced to the Sidney circle.

Nicholas Breton

Believing that Spenser's criticism was too demeaning for Lodge, Collier suggested "Nicholas Breton, or some even inferior versifier".[20] However, Lodge accepted charges of a similar nature; and if someone of his reputation recognized his limitations, it seems pointless to search for an inferior versifier on Collier's assumption that poets with the talent of Lodge are above reproach. It is difficult to make a case for Breton from Spenser's lines, and it is not easy to understand the reasons for Collier's choice. Breton's early works, *A Smale handfull of fragrant Flowers* (1575), *A Floorish Upon Fancie* (1577), *The workes of a young wyt* (1577), won him a place in Puttenham's treatise (1589); but the Gascoignian style in these works is scarcely "pleasing". When Breton recommenced writing in 1590 after some time abroad, he announced his newly acquired earnestness in the Preface to *The Historie of the life and fortune of Don Frederigo di terra Nuova:*

> I have taken a little paines in the best manner I can, rather in substance of matter, then in methode of speech, to deliver unto you the discourse of an unhappy man, whose pittifull estate . . . may move the honourable to the greater regarde of vertue, the learned to the love of honour, and both to the compassion of love.[21]

Unlike Lodge who rose to a challenge and announced his new bearings, Breton merely promotes a new work.

Immediately after this he published *Brettons Bowre of Delights,* 1591, which Nashe satirized for its "heavie-gated" style. Such a work may have earned Spenserian deprecation for insufficient substance, but not his approbation for pleasing style. There were occasions when Breton's poetry could have been described as pleasing, but these instances post date *CCCHA*. Moreover, in the early nineties Breton experienced serious problems of patronage; therefore it is unlikely that he was one of the flourishing court poets.[22] There is

[19]*Chorus Vatum*, B.L. Add. Mss 244 88, fol. 250.
[20]Collier, ed., V, 45.
[21]Quoted in *Poems . . . not hitherto reprinted* (Liverpool, 1952), p.XLIV. For a description of the book see Robertson pp.XLI-LII. It is now listed in the revised *STC*, 3658. 5.
[22]He temporarily lost the patronage of the Countess of Pembroke. For a documentation of his problems see A. Grosart, ed. *The Works and Prose of Nicholas Breton*, 2 vols (Edinburgh, 1879), I, ix-lxxiv; See also Robertson's biographical introduction.

no evidence that Breton emulated Spenser; it is true he wrote an epitaph for him but it scarcely "graced" him dead.[23]

James VI

James VI was Fleay's choice because Drayton used Olcon for James in his Eight Eclogue and in his letter to George Sandys. These works were, however, written several years after Spenser's death and there is no reason to believe that Drayton was dependent on a Spenserian source for Olcon. A more important issue is the likelihood of Spenser's including James in a panegyric when he was concurrently satirizing the Scottish Monarchy in *The Faerie Queene.* There is certainly no doubt of James's dislike of Spenser:

> Great offence conceived by the King against Edmund Spenser, for publishing in print, in the 2nd part of the Fairy Queen, chapter 9, some dishonourable effects, as the King deemeth, against himself and his mother deceased. He (Bowes) has satisfied the King about the "privilege" under which the book is published, yet he still desireth that Edmund Spenser, for this fault may be duly tried and punished. [24]

The perfunctoriness of the Alcon tribute would we believe, have fired James to further efforts of retaliation had he recognized himself in the lines.

Robert Greene

Waldo McNeir in 1956 added Robert Greene to the list of possible Alcons. McNeir reveals a certain wilfulness in his choice, because he knew Greene died in 1592. This meant he had to argue speciously about the tenses in the poem:

> The present tense used in lines 452-53, saying the aforementioned poets "do florish", despite the fact that two of them, Amyntas and Astrophel, are spoken of as dead, shows that he is referring, not to men who are necessarily still living, but to men whose work is still or currently in demand. ... It is evident that Spenser was giving an incomplete and impressionistic review of some English poets, not an account that can be considered literally consistent with existing conditions. [25]

The Amyntas-Astrophel sections to which McNeir refers, are indubitable elegies which conspicuously differentiate these poets from the living. McNeir simply ignores the Amyntas revision because he would have been confronted with the unsolvable question: why edit for Lord Strange and not for Greene?

Having accounted for tenses to his satisfaction, McNeir next makes a case for Greene's authorship for the part Alcon in *A Looking Glass for London.* It must be Greene's work, he argues, because Alcon is a pleasing comic character and no characters of Lodge are so

[23]Grosart, ed. "Melancholike Humours", I, 15-6.
[24]Robert Bowes: Letter to William Cecil, Lord Burghley, Edinburgh, Nov. 12 1596. *Cal. State Papers, Scotland*, 2. 1509-1603. pp.723-24.
[25]Waldo McNeir, "Spenser's 'Pleasing Alcon'", *EA*, 9 (1956), pp.138-139.

attractive. We are not convinced; and neither it would seem was Shakespeare who modelled many pleasing comic characters on those from Lodge's *Rosalynde.*

It is true that Greene has a pleasant style and that he lacks seriousness; but there is little evidence to associate him with Spenser. And there was little point in Spenser encouraging a dead poet to aspire to more serious thoughts.

PALEMON.

> And there is old *Palemon* free from spight,
> Whose carefull pipe may make the hearer rew:
> Yet he himselfe may rewed be more right,
> That sung so long untill quite hoarse he grew.
> (11.396-99).
>
> **Thomas Churchyard.**

By the mid nineties of the sixteenth century Churchyard's prolonged and uninspired contributions to literature were often the butt of criticism. His self-justificatory prefaces expose that lack of discernment which caused him to identify himself publicly as Palemon. In his Preface to *A Musicall Consort of Heavenly Harmonie* (1595) he first countered Spenser's charge against his uninspired and painstaking verse by asserting his intellectual honesty:

> If ought amisse, you finde good Reader heere,
> His fault it is, that sings ne sweete nor loud:
> When he caught cold, and voice could not be cleere,
> Because ech note, is cloked under cloud,
> He cravd no helpe, nor stole from no mans song.[1]

Then in 1596 in the Preface to *Churchyard's Cherrishing,* he again identified himself as Palemon in, "The platform where all Poets thrive / Save one whose voice is hoarse they say".[2]

Churchyard constantly exposed himself unwittingly to that kind of censure which Spenser made, by devitalizing his prefaces with pseudo-lamentations for his inadequacies and protracted literary career. For instance, in his Dedicatory Epistle to *The Mirror of Man* (1594), he complains that he has wearied his wits by "overmuch whetting", and he admits that the proliferation of his writings has brought him few friends. Despite this he continued writing and seemed unaware that it scarcely inspired the reader with confidence:

> I weary my muse, overlabor the spirits, and wast invention: which is no marvell, when youth is declined, and age hath left emptie all the vitall powers, that with fresh matter were wont to revive memorie: so that of necessitie old studies must be sought, and auncient writings of mine must be ransackt to peece up new verses, because the flowing phrase of speech is waxed dull and dry by the continuall use of pen, and weerying of the wits, whose edge is taken away by overmutch whetting.[3]

[1](1595), sig. A_4.
[2](1596), sig. B.
[3](1594). A_2.

Then in the same year he promised his readers that *A Musicall Consort* would be one of his last works:

> And for that now (by reason of great age) my wits and inventions are almost wearied with writing of bookes (this being one of the last).[4]

Probably no-one took Churchyard's farewells seriously for they extended over a quarter of a century and began in 1575 in *Churchyard's Chippes* with, "It may seem straunge... that I have chosen in the end of my daies to travaile, and make description of Countries".[5] More than ten years later in *The Worthiness of Wales* he made the first announcement of his exhausted wits:

> My muse I hope, shall be reviv'de againe,
> That now lyes dead, or rockt a sleepe with paine.
> For labour long, hath wearied so the wit,
> That studious head, a while in rest must sit.[6]

These phoenix-like publications from 1564 to 1602 advertise Churchyard's literary inadequacies in much the same manner as his attempts to elicit patronage from Sir Christopher Hatton, Sir Walter Raleigh, Sir R. Cecil and the Earl of Essex expose his inability in sustaining a patron's interest. His commendatory verses also uncover few important friends: R. Skelton, *Works* (1568); J. Jones, *Bathes of Bathes Ayde* (1572); T. Bedingfield, *Cardannes Comfort* (1576); B. Riche, *Alarme to Englande* (1578); P. Lowe, *Whole Course of Chirurgerie* (1597); G. Whetstone, *The Censure of a Loyal Subject* (1587); G. de Grassi, *His True Art of Defence* (1594).

Spenser was not the first to lampoon Churchyard's literary abilities: Harvey and Nashe both satirized him, but both recanted. Because their refutations could not possibly be based on an honest reappraisal of Churchyard's abilities as a writer, we can only assume that there were social and political reasons for their re-assessments. Harvey's denunciation was in reaction to Spenser's surreptitious publication of some of his works; he complained that the opprobrium associated with Churchyard and Elderton would damage him.[7] Yet, some time later Harvey castigated Nashe for quarrelling with Churchyard;[8] and Nashe stung by the untopicality of the attack reveals, perhaps inadvertently, that his friendship with Churchyard was influenced by the conviviality of the tavern:

> *M. Churchyard,* our old quarrel is renued, when nothing else can bee fastened on me; this Letter leapper upbraideth mee with *crying you mercie;* I cannot tell, but I

[4](1595), sigs. A_3-A_4.
[5]Sig. 3.
[6](1587), p.107.
[7]Grosart, ed. 1, 126.
[8]*Ibid*, 1, 199.

> think you will have a saying to him for it. Ther's no reason that such a one as he should presume to intermeddle in your matters, it cannot be done with any intent but to stirre mee up to write against you afresh, which nothing under heav'n shall draw mee to doe. I love you unfainedly, and admire your aged Muse, that may well be grand-mother to our grandeloquentest Poets at this present ... Onely as ever you would light upon a good cuppe of old sacke when you are most drie, pocket not up this slie abuse at a rakehell rampalions hands, one that, when an injurie is deepe buried in the grave of oblivion, shall seeke to digge it up againe, recall that into mens memories which was consumed and forgotten.[9]

Despite his lamentations of old age, weariness and lack of creativity, Churchyard outlived many foes and friends. Nevertheless, he failed to learn public decorum and from Philip Gawdy's description of Churchyard's antics at the court of James I, he persevered in his eccentric behaviour to his demise:

> Mr. Churchyarde the poett is lately deade, and not paste a fortnight before his death being in payre of loose gascougnes, being hard by the maydes of honor he shott of his peece, and all the powder rann downe uppon his stockings, dryve away the maydes and all the company and was faynt to be carried out.[10]

Arthur Golding, another Palemon.

Malone, at times amazingly astute, at times a little reckless, identified Palemon as Arthur Golding. He argued that Golding as a versifier of some thirty years standing in 1595, had received "little emolument from his labours". He even wrested Spenser's criticisms into commendations:

> He is, with sufficient propriety, described as having sung so long as to have become hoarse; and as an object of compassion in consequence of being but ill provided for in his old age, notwithstanding his unwearied and pious endeavours to benefit mankind by his moral and religious productions. He does not appear to have entered into controversy with any of his contemporaries; and the general object of the greater part of his writings being the promotion of virtue and piety, he may be presumed to have well deserved the promise here given by our moral poet, that of being "free from spight."[11]

Even if Golding's remunerations as translator were small he was not in need; for as he advanced in age his assets were augmented from the estates of his deceased brothers, Henry and George. His land dealings in Essex between 1576 and 1585 are well documented by J.F. Nims who refers to him in these years as a "great landed proprietor."[12]

Malone's claim that Spenser described "Golding" with "sufficient propriety" is a

[9]McKerrow, ed. I, 309.
[10]*Letters of Philip Gawdy*, ed. Isaac Herbert Jeayes (1906, pp.144-45).
[11]Boswell, ed. pp.257-58.
[12]J.F. Nims (ed.), *Metamorphoses* (New York, 1965), p.xxii.

deliberate misreading of the puns, since "rew" "rewed" (lament, feel pity or compassion) point clearly to Spenser's meaning.[13] Even sufficient propriety would be inadequate praise for Golding who was respected by his contemporaries as a great translator. Although a comprehensive list of accolades is too lengthy to include here, it is important to note that Golding's name occurs in a context of praise whenever translators are mentioned between 1566 and 1599. All the poetic commentators, Webb (1586), Puttenham (1589), Meres (1598), speak approvingly of him, and Nashe's comment in *Menaphon* gives us a balanced view of Golding's literary reputation: "And in this page of praise, I cannot omit aged Arthur Golding, for his industrious toile in Englishing *Ovids Metamorphosis* besides manie other exquisite editions of Divinitie, turned by him out of the French tongue into our own."[14]

From 1587 to 1595 Golding did not publish any new works so any allusion to his unremitting proliferation of material would have been untopical and pointless. Perhaps the poverty which Malone attributed to Golding came from Malone's reading of Golding's 1595 Dedication to Lord Cobham in which he complains of the difficulties he was then experiencing. [15] There is, however, no evidence to show that these troubles were financial.[16]

[13]See note 397.
[14]Robert Greene, *Menaphon* (1589), sig. **4v.
[15]In his dedication to Lord Cobham in his translation of Jacques Hurault's *Politicke, Moral and Martial Discourses*, he thanks Cobham for his comfort in his troubles.
[16]When George Turbervile, for example, spoke of his troubles to his brother Nicholas, in his Dedication to *Tragical Tales* he most likely refered to a charge of manslaughter which resulted from an unprovoked attack.

And there is *Alabaster* throughly taught,
In all this skill, though knowen yet to few,
Yet were he knowne to *Cynthia* as he ought,
His Eliseis would be redde anew.
Who lives that can match that heroick song,
Which he hath of that mightie Princesse made?
O dreaded Dread, do not thyselfe that wrong,
To let thy fame lie so in hidden shade:
But call it forth, O call him forth to thee,
To end thy glorie which he hath begun:
That when he finisht hath as it should be,
No braver Poeme can be under Sun.
Nor *Po* nor *Tyburs* swans so much renowned,
Nor all the brood of *Greece* so highly praised,
Can match that *Muse* when it with bayes is crowned,
And to the pitch of her perfection raised.
(11.400-15).

Spenser's urgent, impassioned, supplication to Elizabeth for Alabaster's poetry is an extraordinary encomium, since *Elisaeis* never again earned such extravagant appreciation. Possibly Spenser's love of patriotism, scholarship, heroic verse, and stylistic innovations impelled him to promote the young Cantabrigian who had glorified Elizabeth in a Virgilian manner. It is also likely that Spenser appreciated the younger poet's impressive adaptations of certain narrative structures and allegorical techniques, that he had learnt from an intelligent reading of the early books of *The Faerie Queene.*

The emphatic tribute "No braver Poeme can be under Sun" (1.411) directs us quite clearly to Spenser's enthusiasm for Alabaster's ambitious quest for excellence. Spenser had clearly articulated his own desire to imitate Virgil and surpass Ariosto in his Dedicatory Letter to Raleigh; and Alabaster in his Preface to *Elisaeis* reveals his quest for learning and unremitting scholarship. Evidence for his wish to write a Virgilian epic is seen in the title page to *Elisaeis* where twelve books are projected. [1] Further indications of his interest in scholarship occur in scrupulously written glosses, in what appears to be Alabaster's hand, in the sixteenth century manuscripts of the poem. These notes which record the classical sources from which Alabaster has drawn, indicate his extensive reading. [2]

[1] *Elisaeis*, ed. Michael O'Connell, *SP*, Texts and Studies Issue, 76 (1979), pp.18-9. All references and translations will be from this edition.
[2] O'Connell's edition includes these manuscript glosses. Although Virgilian echoes predominate Alabaster also indicates his imitations of Homer, Pindar, Ovid, Aeschylus, Hesiod, Horace, Macrobius, Seneca, Statius, and Varro.

While this display of scholarship doubtlessly impressed Spenser and partly accounts for the accolade, Alabaster's Spenserian manner with allegory was probably another cause for interest. In the *Elisaeis* the representations of evil, its incitements to sin as well as the narrative techniques for introducing it into the lives of the protagonists, all evoke Spenserian parallels. Both have masters in the art of evil, Archimago and Satan, who resemble each other in their protean restlessness and multifarious activities. Each possesses metaphysical powers that enable him to command the forces of sin. At Satan's bidding *Mille mali facies, scelerumque immania monstra / Prosiliunt*;[3] and Archimago too commands "out of deep darknesse dred / Legions of Sprights" (*FQ* 1.1. 38. 1-2).

As a Protestant propagandist at the time of the composition of *Elisaeis*, Alabaster learnt from Spenser certain allegorical techniques for presenting the Catholic Church as the tireless perpetrator of heresy. His methods are, however, never as dynamic or as complex as Spenser's. The allegorization of the Vatican's proliferation of doctrines, for instance, though reminiscent of Spenser, lacks the vulgar vitality of Errour whose "vomit full of bookes and papers was / With loathly frogs and toades, which eyes did lacke" (*FQ* 1.1.20. 1-2). The best Alabaster can offer us in this mode is a flat visual presentation of decretals that abort theological inquiry:

> *Undique Pontificum decretis ferrea pendet*
> *Compago laterum: et nexu solidantur alieno*
> *Consilium.*
> *(Elisaeis* 11. 162-164).[4]

There are occasions when Alabaster's intellectual aggressiveness against Rome causes him to sacrifice some of the subtleties of his Spenserian source. This is evident in his adaptation of Spenser's biblical imagery of darkness and light. Through the imagery of Red Cross Knight's "glistring armor" making "A litle glooming light, much like a shade" (*FQ* 1.1. 14. 4-5), Spenser suggests that grace in an atmosphere of total corruption can only create tonal variations. In Alabaster's image of Roman darkness, however, his deterministic ideas limit his scope for complexity, and grace is totally functionless. All light is artificial:

> *Intus splendor iners, atque horror opacus adumbrat,*
> *Nec luci permissus honor, sed caeria flamma*
> *Palpitat: et crassis partitur regna tenebris.*
> *(Elisaeis* 11. 203-205).[5]

[3]O'Connell, ed. l. 141, "A thousand shapes of evil and huge monsters of sin leapt forth".
[4]All around the iron fastenings of the sides of the building hung with decretals of the popes and with a strange knot they bind up all deliberation.
[5]Within was some weak gleaming light, which terrifying darkness overshadowed. Daylight was not permitted, but only the waxy flames of candlelight flickered and shared dominion with the heavy darkness.

Although the numerous allegorizations of Virgil's underworld are like a palimpset, Alabaster's imitation of Spenser's is clearly discernible.[6] His disreputable corps of monks at the Vatican gates vomits forth disputatious matter in a manner reminiscent of Errour (*FQ* 1.1. 20. 1-2).

Even in the depiction of vices Alabaster attempts Spenser's amplifying synonym, such as "rancorous Despight" (*FQ* 2.7.22.2), that shocks us to recognize the familiar in the grotesque. Alabaster's synonyms are, however, not so active. They often extend the concept theologically as *laesi periuria Coeli,* but they lack the power to reverberate with some of the energy of the vice they describe:

> *Hic etiam omnigenis undabant agmina monstris*
> *Larvatae fraudes, laesi periuria Coeli,*
> *Triste nefas, rigido damnataque praemia iuri,*
> *Pallentesque irae, falsisque calumnia telis.*
> *(Elisaeis* 11. 177-180).[7]

Spenserian techniques of parodic transformation are artfully mastered by Alabaster. Most noticeable is the winged chariot of Revelation which seems to have been filtered through his reading of Lucifera's procession, where Idlenesse, Gluttony, Lechery, Avarice, Envy, and Wrath are whipped along by Satan (*FQ* 1.4. 7-36). In a similar manner Alabaster yokes together Violence, Superstition, Deceit, and Greed for the Pope's chariot, and drives them on their course with the charioteer, Ambition:

> *Prodiga vis gladij, et divum veneratio fallax.*
> *Larvatusque dolus, nummique insana cupido,*
> *Alipedes domuere rotas. . . .*
> *Provocat ambitio cursum, stimulisque fatigat*
> *Pectora.*
> *ll. 284-86; 292-3.*[8]

Elisaeis is not ostensibly about the viciousness of Rome but the majesty and power of Elizabeth who can withstand that force. Nevertheless, the imaginative destructive energy spent on Catholicism is not redeemed by the first appearance of the princess. When Elizabeth appears girt for hunting she is compared to Hippolita and her shield (perhaps in imagery that was meant to be proleptic of later books) blazes forth light:

[6]See "Undermeanings in Virgil's *Aeneid*", by Don Cameron Allen in *Mysteriously Meant* (Baltimore, 1970), pp.135-162.
[7]Here too the ranks were swollen with monsters of all kinds, bewitching Deceit, heaven-offending Perjury, gloomy Crime, Bribery corrupting the rigor of the law, pale Wrath, and Slander with her false weapons.
[8]Unsparing Might of the Sword, False Veneration of the gods, Obsessive Fraud, and Insane Desire of Money were the steeds that set the winged wheels in motion.
Ambition drives her on her course and whips on her spirit with its lash.

Qualis Amazoniae ductrix fortissima gentis
Hippolite: quoties peltatae armata cohortis
Turbine, Sarmaticis populatrix intonat arvis.
Aureus, a tergo corytus pendet et auro
Thermodoontiacae radiant problemata peltae:
(Elisaeis 11. 539-43). [9]

Something of Spenser's Amazonian Belphoebe is echoed in this passage; but Alabaster's presentation lacks that witty earnestness that paradoxically, makes Belphoebe almost believable.

These many modifications of Spenserian techniques probably aroused not a little of the interest Spenser showed in Alabaster. And like Spenser, Alabaster was an innovator, particularly in style; and his creativity in this area alone would have been sufficient to win some encouragement from Spenser. Of particular interest is Alabaster's description of Gardiner's anxiety, where he uses landscape to re-enforce the idea of the restlessness of the divided mind:

nunc huc pedibus, nunc fluctuat illuc.
Nunc florum iuga, nunc herbae perplexa virecta
Deviat: et varios interplicat orbibus orbes.
(Elisaeis 11. 406-8). [10]

The psychological turmoil of the neurotic personality is also expressed tersely in one of those brilliant sentences (characteristic of Alabaster), in which ideas are telescoped together with great vividness, *"Veris miscentur somnia visis"* (1. 390). [11] Phrases too, such as *viduaeque coronae"* (widowed crown) attest to Alabaster's ability to present ideas with epigrammatic force. He is also capable of imaginative delicacy, but instances are not common. The most outstanding occurs in the incident where the Thames in an effort to save Elizabeth catches her boat with a fold of his cloak and temporarily strands her on a dry shoal:

Anguipedis retro sinuosa volumina tergi
Torsit ad Oceanum: et tenui vix veste receptum
Destituit sicco limbum.
(Elisaeis 11. 730-32). [12]

[9]She was like Hippolita, the formidable chieftain of the Amazon race, when accompanied by her throng of troops with their crescent shields, she thunders forth as an avenger on the Sarmatian fields, a golden quiver hangs from her back and the gold of her Thermodontian (*sic*) shield blazes forth.
[10]Now here, now there he paces restlessly.
Now he turns aside from the bank of flowers,
now from the twisting paths of grass, and he
weaves various circles within circles.
[11]Sleep and visions of reality were still thrown together.
[12]He turned back the twisting coils of his serpentine back toward the ocean, and having caught the boat with just a fold of his cloak, left it on a dry shoal.

Spenser, of course, could not foresee that Alabaster's temperament would make a stable political or literary career unlikely. Indeed, within a year of the publication of this accolade, Alabaster's conversion to Catholicism launched him into a course of volatile changes, that caused him constant conflict with Anglican and Roman authorities for the next twenty years. His only poetic output after 1597 seems to have been his religious sonnets, and these poems, I believe, confirm Spenser's assessment of his promise as a poet. There has been but one edition of Alabaster's Sonnets, and though the editors, G. M. Story and Helen Gardner, clearly identified Alabaster's strengths, they placed them in such a context of parsimonious praise, that they did little to encourage a judicious appreciation of a minor poet.

And there is a new shepheard late up sprong,
The which doth all afore him far surpasse:
Appearing well in that well tuned song,
Which late he sung unto a scornfull lasse.
Yet doth his trembling *Muse* but lowly flie,
As daring not too rashly mount on hight,
And doth her tender plumes as yet but trie,
In loves soft laies and looser thoughts delight.
Then rouze thy feathers quickly *Daniell,*
And to what course thou please thy selfe advance:
But most me seemes, thy accent will excell,
In Tragick plaints and passionate mischance.
(ll 416-27).

With praise almost as urgent as that used to promote Alabaster, Spenser celebrates Daniel and names him explicitly. That Spenser should esteem Daniel's poetry is scarcely amazing, but his encouragement to him to write drama is curious. At that time Daniel's published works *Delia* and *The Complaynt of Rosamonde,* 1592, reveal little dramatic ability. Because it is unlikely that Spenser's judgement would be so problematic as to find evidence for dramatic talent where others found none, we can only suggest that Spenser knew of the Countess of Pembroke's desire for Daniel to write drama, and of the poet's diffidence.

The first encomium is given to Daniel's sonnets, which Spenser seems to have appreciated for their intelligent construction ("appearing well") and careful modulation ("well tuned song"). These qualities together with Daniel's ability to present the lover's feelings with compression, energy, and immediacy are those that discerning modern critics also commend. Many of the sonnets present each aspect of the suffering lover's emotions, as if each had a separate part to play. An obvious example of this technique occurs in Sonnet 29, where the body-castle analogy proclaims the numerous sufferings of the lover through different parts of the body. Although this kind of psychological sub-division of rejection successfully exposes the nature of suffering, it never depicts it in a dramatic situation. There is no conflict between emotions: their cry is always a carefully orchestrated lament.

Thus there is no difficulty in understanding Spenser's enthusiasm for Daniel's sonnets, and his encouragement to him to aspire to heroic forms of poetry; but the last two lines (426-427) of apparently subjective prophecy are puzzling. Perhaps they can only be explained by an uncompassing web of social pressures. Influences of this kind are not easily discernible four hundred years later, but certain changes in alliances suggest new

friendships and patrons, and offer possible explanations for a sudden concurrence of opinion within a particular group.

Early in his career Daniel asserted his independence of the Spenserian mode in his first official edition of *Delia,* 1592:

> Let others sing of Knights and Palladines;
> In aged accents, and untimely words:
> Paint shadowes in imaginary lines,
> Which well the reach of their high wits records. [1]

Yet in 1594 in *Cleopatra* he prophecies that Spenser's sweet lines would eternally "enchaunt the world" with sweet delight. Somewhere then between the publication of *Delia* and *Cleopatra,* we can reasonably assume Daniel came within the circle in which Spenser moved.

Spenser's lines are an obvious addition to the poem, because the dramatic climax on Alabaster indicates an apogee in English poetry, and this would place any subsequent poet in an invidious position. The deviation from the formulaic "And there is", to, "And there is a new shepheard late up sprong", makes this change clear. It marks a new compositional beginning and implies that Daniel had but recently (that is after the dated Preface) been introduced to Spenser or re-established contact with him. This could mean that Spenser knew more of Daniel's incipient dramatic career, than for reasons of policy he cared to reveal publicly.

The similarity in sentiments between Spenser's lines and Daniel's address to the Countess of Pembroke in *Cleopatra* have passed unnoticed by the critics. [2] Such a rare concurrence of sentiments on a specific issue and at the same time is, however, too important to leave unexplored. When the relevant sections are examined together striking parallels emerge:

Cleopatra	*CCCHA*
Call'd up my spirits. (7)	Rouze thy feathers. (424)
Contented with an humble song. (9)	As daring not too rashly mount on hight (421)
Call'd up my spirits from out	trembling Muse but lowly flie.
their low repose. (7)	(420)
To sing of State, and tragicke	In Tragick plaints and passionate
notes to frame. (8)	mischance. (427)

[1] *The Works of Samuel Daniel*, ed. A. Grosart, 5 Vols (1885) I, 73.
[2] Grosart, ed. III, 23.

And onely told of *Delia*, and
her wrong. (11)
A text from whence my Muse had
not digrest. (13)
The starre of wonder my desires
first chose
To guide their travels in the
course I use. (3-4)

Which late he sung unto a scornfull
lasse. (419)
And doth her tender plumes as yet
but trie
In loves soft laies and looser
thoughts delight. (422-23)
And to what course thou please thy
selfe advance. (425)

These echoes are too close to be merely coincidental. They suggest that Spenser had either read Daniel's *Cleopatra* (it was registered at Stationers' Hall October 1593), or knew of the Countess's inducements to Daniel to write drama or indeed both. It could even indicate a partisan thrust for the Countess's scheme to establish English drama on neo-classic lines. She had made some earlier attempts with her translation of Garnier's *Marc-Antonie* and Daniel was commissioned to write *Cleopatra* not only as a counterpart for her play, but also to promote drama in England on neo-classical lines.

The revision or addition may mean that Spenser was aware of the difficulties that Daniel encountered after his composition of the *First Fowre Bookes of the Civile Wars,* which were entered in the Stationers' Registers, October 1594. After this there followed a dramatic five-year break in Daniel's career, which Joan Rees thinks may have been caused by Daniel's quarrel with the Herberts. For the Countess, she writes, "was forcing Daniel in directions where he did not want to go and thus precipitating a mood of doubt and depression in which he nearly threw up the whole business of writing". [3]

Daniel's poetic diffidence found various expressions throughout his career. Early acknowledgements of it in *A Defence of Ryme* were unambivalent:

> And though irresolution and a selfe distrust be the most apparent faults of my nature, and that the least checke or reprehension, if it savour of reason, will as easily shake my resolution as any mans living. [4]

Later in 1607 he complains in the Dedication to *Philotas,* that he has been "mistaken by the censuring stage", and sounds a querulous note in, "I would my lines late-born beyond the fate/Of her spent line, had never come to light". [5] Then in 1611 he questions and assesses his poetic career and emphasizes self-evaluation:

[3]*Samuel Daniel* (Liverpool, 1964) p.67. For a discussion of Garnier's influence and the aims of the Pembroke circle see Rees, ch. 3.
[4]*Samuel Daniel: Poems and a Defence of Ryme*, ed. Arthur Colby Sprague (1950), p.30.
[5]*The Tragedy of Philotas* (1607), sig. A_4.

For my part I have been oft constraind
To re-examine this my course herein
And question with my selfe what is containd
Or what solidity there was therein.
And then in casting it with that account
And recknings of the world, I therein found
It came farre short, and neither did amount
In valew with those hopes I did propound
Nor answer'd the expences of my time
Which made me distrust my selfe and ryme. [6]

Thus it seems from the evidence available, that Spenser's singular prophecy and fervent encouragement had its source in his knowledge of Daniel's insecurity, and in his affection for the Countess and Daniel. Nevertheless, it must also be remembered that Spenser had sufficient objectivity to remind Daniel of poetic integrity in, "And to what course thou please thy selfe advance" (1.425).

[6]The 1611 preface to *Musophilus* in which these lines occur is quoted by Rees, p.66.

The Shepheard of the Ocean

> And there that shepheard of the Ocean is,
> That spends his wit in loves consuming smart:
> Full sweetly tempred is that *Muse* of his
> That can empierce a Princes mightie hart.
> (428-31).

Sir Walter Raleigh

These lines epitomize Spenser's attitude to Raleigh; and, as the last specific reference in the poem to him, they offer a convenient place to examine the poets' relationship. Their friendship revealed in the agōnes, the voyage, and Colin's reintroduction into court circles discloses Spenser's complex but deeply appreciative response to one of the most fascinating characters in Elizabethan history.

Although Spenser had been associated in the seventies with those radical Protestants who clustered around Leicester, his return to court in 1590 with Raleigh, an enemy of the late Leicester, indicates that he was willing to tolerate very different views from those of his former friends. Amity with Raleigh also suggests that Spenser appreciated men for the authenticity of their lives, as there is little resemblance in Spenser and Raleigh's searches for self-fulfilment.

CCCHA demonstrates that Spenser prudently protected Raleigh in that area where he was most vulnerable—calumny. For instance, the dated Preface shields Raleigh from those detractors who, in 1595, could have read the Ocean Shepherd's lamentations as Raleigh's flamboyant and pitiful attempts at appeasement after the Throckmorton affair. Any public comment on an issue so sensitive to the Queen would have been to Raleigh's detriment. An earlier setting for them makes them propagandistic, as are Spenser's presentations of Raleigh's generosity, courtesy, learning, and patronage of artists. It is because Spenser's main emphasis on Raleigh is positive that he can present Raleigh's theatricality humorously, and thus remind him of its folly.

Some of the complexity that is revealed in Spenser's attitude to Raleigh was probably engendered by his loss of Elizabeth Throckmorton. Insights into this can be gleaned by comparing Colin's meeting with the Ocean Shepherd with that of Colin's with Sir Calidore.[1] Although critics have noticed the similarities, they have been reluctant to accept Raleigh as Calidore's prototype. However, Lady Raleigh was definite in her identification. Against *The Faerie Queene* 6.10.17, where Calidore is mentioned she has written "Sr WR."; and against lines 464-79 of *CCCHA* she has inscribed, "E. Throkemorton his

[1]See *Variorum*, Appendix II, Book 6, pp.349-64.

mistris".[2] Doubt then must now give place to speculation on the significance of the passages.

In both incidents the outsider finds Colin by chance, "There a straunge shepheard chaunst to find me out" (*CCCHA* 1.60), and "He chaunst to come, far from all peoples troad" (*FQ* 6.10.5.3). Spenser also suggests that Colin's piping may have led the stranger in each poem to him:

> Whether allured with my pipes delight,
> Whose pleasing sound yshrilled far about.
> (*CCCHA* 11. 61-2).

> Unto this place when as the Elfin Knight
> Approcht, him seemed that the merry sound
> Of a shrill pipe he playing heard on hight.
> (*FQ* 6. 10.10. 1-3).

The pleasant places are similar, despite the more copious description in Book Six. Both have a wood girded by a stream and flanked by a hill (*CCCHA* 11 57-60; *FQ* 6.10. 6-8). On each occasion there is a mutual sharing of ideas:

> In such discourses they together spent
> Long time, as fit occasion forth them led;
> With which the Knight him selfe did much content,
> And with delight his greedy fancy fed,
> Both of his words, which he with reason red;
> And also of the place . . .
> (*FQ* 6.10.30. 1-6).

> He sitting me beside in that same shade,
> Provoked me to plaie some pleasant fit,
> And when he heard the musicke which I made,
> He found himselfe full greatly pleased at it.
> (*CCCHA* 11. 69-72).

But it is in Book Six that Calidore reveals Spenser's pathetic plight as lover and friend:

> Now sure it yrketh mee,
> That to thy blisse I made this luckelesse breach,
> As now the author of thy bale to be,
> Thus to bereave thy loves deare sight from thee:
> But gentle Shepheard pardon thou my shame,
> Who rashly sought that, which I mote not see.
> (*FQ* 6.10.29. 2-6).

[2]Walter Oakeshott, "Carew Ralegh's Copy of Spenser", *The Library*, 26 (1971), 1-21. Oakeshott has identified the handwriting as Lady Elizabeth Raleigh's.

These lines suggest that Raleigh with considerable delicacy of feeling realized and regretted that in winning Elizabeth Throckmorton's love, he was the "author" of Spenser's "bale". It is scarcely surprising that Colin "for fell despight / Of that displeasure, broke his bag-pipe quight" (6.10.18. 4-5).

The Throckmorton identification could also account for Spenser's loyalty to Raleigh and his fascination with those episodes in Raleigh's life that deal with his ostentatious attachment to the Queen, and his seduction of Elizabeth Throckmorton. In *CCCHA* the Bregog-Mulla myth of locality is a poignant exemplum of the danger of love in power politics. Further hortatory pieces are seen by the critics in the Timias-Belphoebe episode in Book Three, and the Serena-Timias-Blatant Beast incidents in Book Six.[3]

At the same time there were lighter moments in the friendship, which we have seen portrayed with lively humour in the sea voyage. There Raleigh's role of adventurer is comically portrayed, but it is in his posturing as desperate lover that Spenser gently satirizes his magniloquence. By parodying the Sannazaro-like complaint Spenser exposes the latent comedy in Raleigh's lamentations. For instance, Raleigh accompanies his undersong with "singulfs rife" which echo Lycidas's cries in Sannazaro's First Eclogue. In transposing the Latin *singultibus* to "singulfs" Spenser humorously suggests that the yawning gulfs of despair from which Raleigh dredges his undersong, out-distance those from the dry throat of Lycidas:

Ne miserum, ne coge, Mycon; sat lumina sat jam
Exhaustae maduere genae; dolor (aspice) siccas
Obduxit fauces quatit et singultibus imum
Pectus anhelantemque animam vox aegra relinquit [4]

Spenser was not the only Elizabethan to exploit the comic potential in Raleigh's excessive dramatic stances. Even Raleigh's cousin (Spenser's Alcyon), Sir Arthur Gorges who had a penchant for mourning, has given us a comic portrait of Raleigh's Orlando-like love madness.[5] However, Spenser was also aware that Raleigh's lamentations, extravagances of emotion, and self-dramatizations, were a powerful force when they were tempered by the order and harmony of verse. His lines on Raleigh's poetry epitomize with compassion and penetrating discernment the dual nature of poet and verse. The juxtaposi-

[3]J.H. Adamson and H.F. Folland, *The Shepherd of the Ocean* (1969), pp.200-6; See Variorum Commentaries, Bk. 3, pp.377-80; Bk. 6, pp.205-6.
[4]Jacapo Sannazaro, *Arcadia and the Piscatorial Eclogues*, trans. Ralph Nash (Detroit, 1966), pp. 162-65.
Trans:
Do not, Mycon, do not urge a wretched man; enough my eyes, enough already my pallid cheeks have rained down; sorrow (behold) has stopped my dry throat and shakes with sighs my inmost breast, and my feeble voice abandons my gasping breath.
[5]This description is too well known to need citing. See MS Ashmole 1729, ff.77.

tion of the loss, "That spends his wit in loves consuming smart" (l. 429) with the gain, "that can empierce a Princes mightie hart" (l. 431) poignantly uncovers Raleigh's tragedy. To succeed he engaged in excessive self-dramatizations of his powers as lover; but so intensely was the role played that the potential seemed actual and produced results resembling real love, "Full sweetly tempred is that Muse of his / That can empierce a Princes mightie hart" (ll. 430-31). Nevertheless, love was not the most important issue for either the Ocean Shepherd or Cynthia; and Raleigh needed to be reminded of the danger of mistaking roles for reality.

There also is (ah no, he is not now)
But since I said he is, he quite is gone,
Amyntas quite is gone and lies full low,
Having his *Amaryllis* left to mone.
Helpe, O ye shepheards helpe ye all in this,
Helpe *Amaryllis* this her losse to mourne:
Her losse is yours, your losse *Amyntas* is,
Amyntas floure of *shepheards* pride forlorne:
He whilest he lived was the noblest swaine,
That ever piped in an oaten quill:
Both did he other, which could pipe, maintaine,
And eke could pipe himselfe with passing skill.
(11. 432-43).

Lord Strange.

Line 432, "There also is (ah no, he is not now)" signals authorial revision, but it could be a tactical manoeuvre; for it introduces Ferdinando Stanley by implying that he had already been celebrated, when news of his death necessitated an elegiac change. Stanley stands apart from the others by birth and wealth, and perhaps his inclusion here indicates Spenser's desire to make amends to his widowed cousin, Alice Stanley (Amaryllis), for the omission of this popular nobleman from the dedicatees to *The Faerie Queene.* When Nashe castigates Spenser in his Epilogue to *Pierce Penilesse his Supplication to the Divell* (1592) for his neglect of Stanley he refers to him not by name but with the blazon *"Jove's Eagle-borne Ganimed,* thrice noble *Amyntas."*[1] The reference to Stanley is clear, because his arms included the eagle's wings, and they were a familiar sight to Londoners who saw them paraded abroad by his company of players. The legendary account of Stanley's death, in which he piously called for his arms also substantiates Nashe's allusion:

> Yet knowing for a certainty that I must now die, I pray thee cease, for I am resolved presently to die, and to take away with me only one part of my arms, I mean the Eagle's Wings, so will I fly swiftly into the bosom of CHRIST, my only Saviour.[2]

So by choosing the name already used by Nashe for Stanley, and by referring to Amaryllis (identified explicitly in lines 564-71), Spenser made his allusion unambiguous and redeemed his debt of courtesy.

That Spenser included a tribute to Stanley's generosity, "Both did he other, which could

[1] *The Works of Thomas Nashe*, ed. R.B. McKerrow, 5 vols. (Oxford, 1958), I. 243-4.
[2] *Lancashire Funeral Records*, ed. F. Raines (Chetham Society, 1879), LXXV, 67. See also W. Camden, *The History of the Most Renowned and Victorius Princess Elizabeth* (1688, 4th edition) p.491.

pipe, maintaine" (1. 442), is not surprising, since Stanley was a generous patron of players and writers. We have already heard Nashe's effusive admiration, but others such as Robert Greene asserted their confidence in his "curteous acceptance" of literary works. It was prudent for Spenser to praise the Earl, if only elegiacally because the Derbys had a strong family tradition for supporting writers, and Spenser's cousin as the dowager Countess of Derby, was an important potential patron. It was a promise that she did not belie, for her generosity won the praises of Lok, Harrington, Davies, Marston, and Milton.

Many noblemen like Stanley "could pipe. . . with passing skill", but like Dyer refused to besmirch their names with print. Even when Stanley's name occurs among the contributors in *Belvedere, or the Garden of the Muses* (1610), not a single composition bears his name. So while we can accept the authenticity of "could pipe", the attribution of "passing skill" (surpassing, and perhaps even temporary. *OED*) must remain a mystery. Only one poem of dubious authenticity and of undisputed mediocrity of Stanley's remains, and it makes any discussion of his literary ability futile.[4]

[3] *Life and Works of Robert Greene*, ed. A.B. Grosart 12 vols (1881-83) VII, 101.
[4] The poem is printed in *The Antiquarian Repertory*, vol 3, and it is reproduced in Appendix C.

AETION

And there though last not least is *Aetion*
A gentler shepheard may no where be found:
Whose *Muse* full of high thoughts invention,
Doth like himselfe Heroically sound. (ll 444-47).

Michael Drayton

The epigrammatic lines, "Whose *Muse* full of high thoughts invention/ Doth like himselfe Heroically sound" direct us to search for a name that links poet and muse. Fortunately the clue is in Aetion, for a number of meanings cluster here. The first, ἀιτονcausa, was suggested by Malone[1] Then Fleay following Malone's lead discovered that one of its Elizabethan uses was "idea". and he applied it to Drayton's poems *Idea* (1593), and *Ideas Mirrour* (1594).[2] Next he suggested ἀετός eagle, and included Marlowe (Marlin, eaglet) for good measure.

For some time the line, "Doth like himselfe Heroically sound" diverted attention from Drayton to Shakespeare, whose name actually rings like a resounding challenge. But it has no connection with Aetion which is obviously meant to provide the key to the riddle. When we examine Drayton's early poems the demands of the epigram are soon elucidated. Both the eagle-like quality of rising ideas, and their association with a man of heroic aspiration can be found in *Idea* and *Idea's Mirrour*. The motif of aspiring thoughts that fly sunwards is established early in the First Eclogue of *Idea*.There Roland who is described as "one surprisde with sodaine lunacie", bids his "whirle-winde thoughts" fly "unto the heavens".[3] Later, in Eclogue Five, Motto encourages Rowland to sing Idea's praises with such commitment that his "Egle-soring muse" will fly to the "welked tower where Angels sing". Then he is urged to harbour his energies for his advent into heroic song:

Cease shephears cease, reserve thy Muses store,
Till after time shall teach thy Oaten reede.
Aloft in ayre with Egles wings to sore,
And sing in honor of some worthies deede,
To serve *Idea* in some better steede.[4]

Idea's Mirrour continues the motif of eagle-bird thoughts of love, and in Amour Three the poet sends them into the sun of his mistress's presence. Their flight is instinctive and

[1] J. Boswell, ed. pp.273-79.
[2] Fleay, pp.93-5.
[3] *The Works of Michael Drayton*, ed. J. William Hebel (vol. 5 ed. K. Tillotson & B. Newdigate) 5 vols (Oxford, 1931), I, 49.
[4] Hebel, ed. I, 67-9.

inevitable because they are indeed eagles, "Doe what I could my Eaglets would aspire/ Straight mounting up to thy celestiall eyes" (11-2)[5]

Just as Aetion discloses the allusions to eagle-thoughts so does it reveal the name of the poet's mistress and his Muse, the source of his ideas. The close association between the two earned the appreciation of contemporary readers; and one anonymous wit in his commendatory verse to *Idea's Mirrour* (1594) wrote:

> In this his myrror of *Ideas* praise,
> On whom his thoughts, and fortunes all attend,
> Tunes all his Ditties, and his Roundelaies,
> How love begun, how love shal never end.
> No wonder though his Muse then soare so hie,
> Whose subject is the Queene of Poesie.[6]

An even wittier treatment comes from Drayton:

> My Verse is the true image of my Mind,
> Ever in motion, still desiring change;
> And as thus to varietie inclin'd,
> So in all Humours sportively I range:
> My Muse is rightly of the English straine,
> That cannot long one fashion intertaine.[7]

In the first line "verse" refers both to the poet's mind as the source of his ideas and to his changing attitudes to his mistress. Although lines one to four are lighter in tone than Spenser's, they concord with his sentiments in "Whose Muse full of high thoughts invention/ Doth like himselfe Heroically sound"

In order to appreciate how neatly Spenser's tribute fits some Neoplatonic emphases in Drayton's poetry it is necessary to recall some aspects of Neoplatonism. Essential to this philosophy was the belief that the Divine Beauty fits the mind with a system of ideas which enables man to see and love God Himself. Of particular interest to us is Ficino's comment on "ideas" as the source of all knowledge, because it illuminates the manner in which Drayton uses the concept:

> Thus, we understand everything through the light of God, but the pure light itself and its source, we cannot see in this life. Clearly the whole richness of the soul consists in this, that in its inner recesses glows that eternal light of God, filled with the concepts and Ideas of all things. To this light the soul can turn whenever it wishes through purity of life and the greatest steadfastness of purpose, and once it is turned, it shines with the light of the *Ideas*.[8]

[5] *Ibid.*, I, 99.
[6] *Ibid.*, I, 97.
[7] *Poems* (1608), p.36.
[8] Marsilio Ficino, *Commentary on Plato's Symposium*, ed. S.R. Jayne (Columbia, 1944), p.207.

Ficino's explanation allows us to appreciate "ideas" as creativity and nobility of mind, and it is these concepts that are the foundation of "Whose *Muse* full of high thoughts invention/ Doth like himselfe Heroically sound" (11. 446-47). Perhaps Lodge had these sentiments in mind when he too encouraged Drayton to conduct his "muse unto that loftie pitch".[9]

The second line of the accolade, "A gentler shepheard may no where be found" suggests that Spenser knew Drayton personally for the encomium reveals that he attributed to Drayton gentle (noble, gracious, kind, generous) dispositions of character. This evaluation is supported by Drayton's generous acknowledgement of others poetic gifts. For instance, he praised Lodge for his formative influence on his poetry:

> And thou my *Goldey* which in Sommer dayes,
> Hast feasted us with merry roundelayes,
> And when my Muse scarce able was to flye,
> Didst imp her wings with thy sweete Poesie.
> (*Endimion and Phoebe* 11. 1001-4)[10]

His early attempts to win Spenser's approbation are marked by an almost reverential respect for the integrity of another's composition:

> Deare *Collin*, let my Muse excused be,
> Which rudely thus presumes to sing by thee,
> Although her straines be harsh untun'd and ill,
> Nor can attayne to thy divinest skill.[11]

When there were such open spirits asDrayton, there was little wonder that imitation such as Peele's proved distasteful to Spenser. In the same spirit of graciousness we find Drayton emulating not just the verse but the poet:

> And I to thee will be as kinde,
> As *Colin* was to *Rosalinde,*
> of curtesie the flower.
> (8th Eglog 11. 231-3).[12]

As late as 1612 Drayton shows in*Poly-Olbion* his comprehensive knowledge of Spenser's Poetry. Many of his points are substantiated by references to *The Faerie Queene,* and frequently they are accompanied by such adulatory phrases as: "by a most admired Muse of our Nation";[13] "our admired Spencer"[14] and "that ever famous Spenser".[15]

[9]Gosse ed., 111, 61. *A Fig For Momus.*
[10]Hebel, ed. 1, 155.
[11]*Ibid.*, 1, 155.
[12]*Ibid.*, 1, 90.
[13]*Ibid.*, 4, 154.
[14]*Ibid.*, 4, 85.
[15]*Ibid.*, 4, 323.

Because Spenser's lines on Drayton are not prophecy, but an immediate response to a specific period of Drayton's poetic career, any attempt to extend the encomium to encompass later achievements would be misguided. We must be content therefore, with Spenser's generous and intelligent assessment of Drayton's early success.

> Now after *Astrofell* is dead and gone:
> But while as *Astrofell* did live and raine,
> Amongst all these was none his Paragone.
> (11. 449-51).

Sir Philip Sidney

Elegiac tributes to Sidney were scarcely unusual, but the organization of the last section of Colin's panegyric suggests the Sidney eulogy was a new idea. For after Strange's obsequies comes the announcement that "though last not least in *Aetion*" (1. 444); then follow the lines to Astrofell. This rather protracted conclusion suggests not only a revision, but also an expedient interpolation to link *CCCHA* with the *Astrophel* volume of poems.

If our theory is correct the most important question that must be answered is the extent to which Spenser was responsible for *Astrophel*. R.E. Neil Dodge believes that Spenser was asked to write a general prologue for the work and that he had little else to do with it.[1] While he may have had little to do with its organization, we believe that the idea for the work was his and he delegated the selection for the pieces that follow "The Mourning Muse of Thestylis" to Ponsonby. Most likely Spenser realized that by including a tribute to Sidney he could with Ponsonby's assistance, and the composition of three introductory poems, honour his recent promise to the Sidneys in *The Ruines of Time* (11. 309-12), that he would spend his remaining days praising Sidney.

[1] *The Poems of Spenser* (Cambridge, Mass, 1936), p.699.

THE TEXT

Little over fifty years ago, Renwick first noticed that *CCCHA* exists in two states in the outer forme of sheet C. [1] This forme on which four pages were printed contains the following signature pages and lines: C1r, 11. 352-81; C2v, 11. 446-76; C3r, 477-506; C4v, 11. 567-96. Renwick thought that the revised version(Qb), differed from the unrevised version(Qa), in this outer forme of sheet C only.[2] In 1933 Johnson, who had checked thirty copies confirmed Renwick's theory and mentioned, but did not list a few minor errors in Renwick's table of variants.[3] E. Greenlaw, C. G. Osgood, F. M. Padelford, Ray Heffner, the editors of the *Variorum,* M.P. 1 noted there were forty-seven copies of which only seventeen contained the revised state of the outer forme C; and they silently emended Renwick's errors. Then in 1962 Sam Meyer collated the variants noted by Renwick, Johnson, and the Variorum editors. He discovered one variant on the outer forme of sheet B in the Newberry copy (there were actually two), but he did not pursue his studies in any detail. I have been able to examine forty-seven copies of the 1595 edition and have noted three more variants, one that escaped Meyer on the outer forme of sheet B in the Newberry copy, and two on the inner forme of sheet C (C3v, 11. 507-36), in the Nuffield copy. I have also discovered that the copy in King's College Cambridge, which the editors of *The English Experience* used for their facsimile, is damaged and has sixteen commas erased. In order to appreciate these findings a short recapitulation of the history of the text and the work of Meyer and Renwick is necessary.

CCCHA was never registered in the Hall Book of the Stationers' Company. However, earlier critics attached too much importance to this non-registration. Collier, for instance, argued that the court satire in the poem made registration dangerous. [4] But eulogy far outweighs criticism in the poem, and Spenser would never have engaged in such excessive flattery of Elizabeth, if there was no possibility of her reading it. Moreover, court satire was pervasive in pastoral. Modern critics give little importance to non-registration because research by W.W. Greg has shown that for the period 1576-1640, between thirty and forty percent of all the books published in London were not entered in the Stationers' Register. [5] An entry in the Stationers' Register may have given us a date for Spenser's stay in England.

[1] *Daphnaida and Other Poems*, ed. W.L. Renwick (1929).
[2] To prevent confusion, Q will designate 1595, and (Qb) and (Qa), revised and unrevised states, respectively, since these abbreviations have been used previously by the Variorum editors (M.P. 1, pp.708-11), and also by S. Meyer in, "Spenser's 'Colin Clout': The Poem and the Book", *PBS*, 56 (1962), 397-413.
[3] Francis R. Johnson, *A Critical Bibliography of the Works of Edmund Spenser Printed Before 1700* (Baltimore, 1933), pp.30-1.
[4] Collier, ed. I, cxxi-cxxii.
[5] "Entrance, Licence, and Publication," *Library*, 2nd. ser. xxv (1945), p7.

The *Amoretti* and the *Epithalamion* were both printed in 1595, but in Spenser's absence as Ponsonby clearly tells us in his dedication to these works. Spenser was, however, in London sometime in 1595-6 because his Dedication to *Fowre Hymnes* is written from "Greenwich this first of September 1596".[6] And if Spenser witnessed the betrothals he celebrated in *Porthalamion* he may have been in England a little earlier the same year. Renwick suggests *CCCHA* was published during this visit.[7] There is little evidence to support this conjecture. Because the corrections are routine we can infer they are those of a proof reader. It is also unlikely that Spenser, if he had been present, would have concentrated his efforts on one sheet only.

The *Daphnaida* preface is dated 1 January 1591 London, though it was not published until 1596. The preface of *CCCHA* ends with the words, "From my house of Kilcolman, the 27 of December. 1591", which suggests that Spenser was in Ireland in December, and then in London in January, if he was dating his letter according to the old style calendar.[8] Yet *CCCHA* contains passages (11. 384-91; 508-13), that suggest *Daphnaida* was written before *CCCHA*. The passages could easily be revisions for publication, but if they were, Spenser would surely have remembered that he dated *CCCHA* in December and *Daphnaida* five days later. It seems more likely that Spenser like Ponsonby, used the new style calendar, which means he wrote *Daphnaida* in January and *CCCHA* in December in the same year, 1591.

Renwick made the first collation of the outer forme of sheet C, and listed the following variants:

TABLE 1.

Revised Sig C. (Qb)	Unrevised (Qa)
359. enchanced,	enchanced:
367. the	that
369. selfe,	selfe
372. laesie,	laesie?
373. applie?	applie,
375. worthylie?	worthilie?
376. nor so:	nor so,
381. Cynthia;	Cynthia,

[6]A. Fowler, Conceitful Thought (Edinburgh, 1975), p.60.
[7]Renwick, ed. p.171.
[8]The old-style year began on March 25 and ended on March 24 the following year.

Sig C2v	Sig C2v
449. gone:	gone.
451. Paragone.	Paragone,
458. Cynthia:	Cynthia,
460. sayd;	sayd,
467. serve;	serve.
469. chastitie,	chastitie:
471. modestie:	modestie,
475. sacrifice:	sacrifice,
476. shee,	shee:
Sig C3	Sig C3
482. valleyes...	valleyes,...
made	made,
495. bright;	bright.
500. grace	grace,
502. worthie of place,	worthie she of place:
Sig. C4v	Sig. C4v
567. she	he
570. see,	see.
571. hart.	hart,
573. esteeme:	esteeme,
577. commended:	commended,
586. make,	make.
590. case	case,
593. bestowd,	bestowd;
day;	day,

The Variorum editors were the next to list the variants, but they offered little textual criticism. Meyer, however, summarized in Table form the variants that were noted by critics to 1962. He claims his source was Renwick's edition of *Daphnaida and Other Poems.* To check the accuracy of Renwick's collation for the unrevised sheet, Meyer relied on the variants listed in *Variorum,* M.P. I pp. 709-11. To verify Renwick's readings for the revised sheet Meyer consulted the Newberry copy of 1595 Quarto. He includes mak'st(Qb), makest(Qa), 1. 354, but does not mention that Renwick fails to include this variant. He does, however, draw attention to variants which he believed were Renwick's errors, and which I have confirmed.

TABLE 2.

(Qb)	(Qa)
C1r	makest Not noticed by Renwick.
354 mak'st	selfe, (Renwick)
369. selfe (Renwick)	selfe ((Qa) 30 copies).
selfe, ((Qb) 17 copies).	
381. Cynthia; (Renwick)	
Cynthia: ((Qb) 17 copies)	
C2v	sayd. (Renwick)
460.	sayd, ((Qa) 30 copies).

Meyer also noted in the Newberry copy (Qb) Sig. B3r 1.235, "Regient" whereas all the other (Qb) copies which I have checked have the corrected spelling "Regent". On the same page in the Newberry copy 1. 258 "sheep" has no comma, but all the other (Qb) copies read "sheep,". A similar situation in which there is one uncorrected spelling and one missing comma occurs in the unrevised copy in the Nuffield Library, at Stratford-upon-Avon. On C3v, 1. 522 is the variant "Coshman," and at 1.527 "desert,". I have included these readings in the variants which I have listed in the text and have designated the Newberry copy, (Qb) New., and the Nuffield copy, (Qa) Nuff.

There are little sixteenth or seventeenth century marginalia of any academic interest in the 1595 quartos that I have examined. Katherine Koller had in 1935, access to a copy at that time owned by Mr. G. Wells (N.Y.), and from it she lists the following seventeenth century marginalia: [9]

TABLE 3.

C2r	Text	Comment
419	scornfull lass	delia
434	Amyntas	Sir Philip Sidney
C3r		
487	Uriana	The Countess of Pembroke
492	Theana	The Countess of Warwick
505	Marian	The Countess of Huntingdon
C3v		
508	Mansilia	The Marchioness of Northampton
533	Stella	The Lady Riche

[9] "Identifications in Colin Clouts Come Home Againe," *MLN*, 50 (1935) 155-58.

C4r

Margin

The Countess of Derby

The Lady Compton and Montegle

The Lady Hunsdon

Discussion on the accuracy of these occurs in the commentary, with the exception of "Amyntas" which is obviously incorrect. Prior's copy of Spenser's Works (1679) is heavily annotated. An account of these marginalia occurs in *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 61 (1967), 52-5, but they provide us with no new information. Walter Oakeshott's discovery of the marginalia in Carew Raleigh's Copy of *Spenser's Works* 1617 gives us two annotations for *CCCHA*, which Oakeshott claims are in the handwriting of Lady Raleigh. [10] It appears that Lady Raleigh has identified herself as Rosalind, and Sir Walter, as the Shepherd of the Ocean. The identification of Rosalind is, of course, of great interest to Spenserian scholars and is discussed in the section on Raleigh in "Twelve Poets".

I have included a finding list of all the 1595 quartos that I have examined in Great Britain, and a list of the libraries in the USA which supplied me photo-copies or microfilms of the book. For the New York public library copies I had to rely on the work of a colleague who checked all the variants that I had noted, but he did not examine the whole text. My variants were verified against those in the Britwell copy by Mr G. William Stuart, Jr and against those in the Wellesley Library copy by Eleanor L. Nicholes.

A final warning must be given on the copy in King's College Library, from which a facsimile was made by the editors of *The English Experience* series. Close examination of the King's copy shows that several commas on D2r, D2v, D3r have been deliberately erased. These are not variants, and are therefore not listed. It would be unwise to use the facsimile of *The English Experience* for collation.

TABLE 5. LOCATIONS OF TEXTS IN GREAT BRITAIN.

Town	LIBRARY-OWNER.
London	British Library. 3 Copies. 2(Qb), G11540; G11536; 1(Qa), 686.g.22
	Senate House. 2 copies. (Qb), S.L.I; D-L.L.
	Victoria and Albert Museum. (Qa) Dyce 25.C.104.
	Dulwich Public School. (Qa), Wodehouse Library, English Literature.
	Dawson's Rare Book Shop. (Qa), Signet Library Copy.
	Christie's (Qa), Arthur Houghton Copy.

[10] *The Library*, 26 (1971), 1-21.

Oxford.	Bodleian. (Qb), Mal. 618
	Dr B. Juel-Jensen (Qa).
	Blackwell's Antiquarian Bookshop. (Qb).
Stratford-upon-Avon.	Nuffield Library. (Qa) Nuff, 95.2R
Cambridge.	King's College. (Qb), C.2.21.
	Trinity College. 2 copies. (Qa), 6.2.64. (Qb), Capell Q10.
Manchester.	John Ryland Library. (Qa), 10018
Glasgow.	University Library. (Qa), Co. 3.29.

TABLE 6

	USA.
Washington (DC)	Folger Shakespeare Library. 4 copies. 2 (Qb) *STC* 23077(1); *STC*23077(2);
	2 (Qa), *STC* 23077(3); *STC* 23077(4). m. [11]
	Library of Congress. (Qa), PR 2356 A11595. pc.
Berkeley	William Andrews Clark Library, University of California. (Qa), PR2356 Al. m.
Los Angeles.	Parke-Bernet Library, University of California. (Qa), PR2356. m.
San Marino.	The Huntington Library. (Qa), 69551. pc.
Worcester.	American Antiquary Society. (Qa), E.28 (Reserve). pc.
Baltimore.	The Johns Hopkins University Library. (Qb), PO 2356. pc.
New York.	The Pierpont Morgan Library (Qa), 6528. pc.
	Carl H. Pforzheimer Library. (Qa). m.
	Public Library. 2 copies. (Qb), 173101 B; 165022B. [12]
	Cornell Univeristy Library (Qa), Rare PR2356.Al. pc.
Bloomington.	Indiana University Library. (Qa), PR2356.Al. m.
Austin.	University of Texas Library. (Qa), Wg. Sp. 35. 595c. pc.
Princeton.	Princeton University Library. 3 copies. 2 (Qa), 325.C1; 325.C.2; (Qb),
	325. C.3. m.
Chicago.	Newberry Library. (Qb), New. Case Y185. S7705. pc.
Williamston.	Chapin Library (Qb), STC 23077. pc.
Cambridge.	Harvard University Library. 2 copies. (Qa) STC 23077; (Qb), HEW. 6.9.30. pc.
Boston.	Public Library. (Qb), XG.177.2. m.
New Haven.	Yale Univerity Library. 2 copies. (Qb), Beinecke Library, 1977; 2513. pc.
Wellesley.	Wellesley College Library. Rare Book Collection. (Qa). [13]
Welltown.	Ravenstree Rare Book Company. (Qb), Britwell copy. [14]

[11] I have used the following footnotes to indicate the form in which the copy was supplied to be: pc, photo-copy; m, microfilm.
[12] Checked by librarian, Eleanor L. Nicholes.
[13] Checked by Mr G. William Stuart, Jr.

The text is printed from the first Quarto, 1595 (Qb). The original spelling has been kept, but i, u, v, j have been normalized.

TO THE RIGHT

worthy and noble Knight

Sir Walter Raleigh, Captaine of her Majesties

Guard, Lord Wardein of the Stanneries,

and Lieutenant of the Countie of

Cornwall.

SIR, that you may see that I am not alwaies idle as yee thinke, though not greatly well occupied, nor altogither undutifull, though not precisely officious, I make you present of this simple pastorall, unworthie of your higher conceipt for the meanesse of the stile, but agreeing with the truth in circumstance and matter. The which I humbly beseech you to accept in part of paiment of the infinite debt in which I acknowledge my selfe bounden unto you, for your singular favours and sundrie good turnes shewed to me at my late being in England, and with your good countenance protect against the malice of evill mouthes, which are alwaies wide open to carpe at and misconstrue my simple meaning. I pray continually for your happinesse. From my house of Kilcolman, the 27. of December.

1591.

Yours ever humbly.

Ed.Sp.

COLIN CLOUTS
COME HOME AGAINE.

The shepheards boy (best knowne by that name)
That after *Tityrus* first sung his lay,
Laies of sweet love, without rebuke or blame,
Sate (as his custome was) upon a day,
Charming his oaten pipe unto his peres,
The shepheard swaines that did about him play:
Who all the while with greedie listfull eares,
Did stand astonisht at his curious skill,
Like hartless deare, dismayd with thunders sound.
At last when as he piped had his fill,
He rested him: and sitting then around,
One of those groomes (a jolly groome was he,
As ever piped on an oaten reed,
And lov'd this shepheard dearest in degree,
Hight *Hobbinol)* gan thus to him areed.
Colin my liefe, my life, how great a losse
Had all the shepheards nation by thy lacke?
And I poore swaine of many greatest crosse:
That sith thy *Muse* first since thy turning backe
Was heard to sound as she was wont on hye,
Hast made us all so blessed and so blythe.
Whilest thou wast hence, all dead in dole did lie:
The woods were heard to waile full many a sythe,
And all their birds with silence to complaine:
The fields with faded flowers did seem to mourne,
And all their flocks from feeding to refraine:
The running waters wept for thy returne,
And all their fish with languour did lament:
But now both woods and fields, and floods revive,
Sith thou art come, their cause of meriment,
That us late dead, hast made againe alive:
But were it not too painfull to repeat
The passed fortunes, which to thee befell

In thy late voyage, we thee would entreat,
Now at thy leisure them to us to tell.
To whom the shepheard gently answered thus,
Hobbin thou temptest me to that I covet:
For of good passed newly to discus,
By dubble usurie doth twise renew it.
And since I saw that Angels blessed eie,
Her worlds bright sun, her heavens fairest light,
My mind full of my thoughts satietie,
Doth feed on sweet contentment of that sight:
Since that same day in nought I take delight.
Ne feeling have in any earthly pleasure,
But in remembrance of that glorious bright,
My lifes sole blisse, my hearts eternall threasure.
Wake then my pipe, my sleepie *Muse* awake,
Till I have told her praises lasting long:
Hobbin desires, thou maist it not forsake,
Harke then ye jolly shepheards to my song.
With that they all gan throng about him neare,
With hungrie eares to heare his harmonie:
The whiles their flocks devoyd of dangers feare,
Did round about them feed at libertie.
One day (quoth he)I sat, (as was my trade)
Under the foote of *Mole* that mountaine hore,
Keeping my sheepe amongst the cooly shade,
Of the greene alders by the *Mullaes* shore:
There a straunge shepheard chaunst to find me out,
Whether allured with my pipes delight,
Whose pleasing sound yshrilled far about,
Or thither led by chaunce, I know not right:
Whom when I asked from what place he came,
And how he hight, himselfe he did ycleepe,
The shepheard of the Ocean by name,
And said he came far from the main-sea deepe.
He sitting me beside in that same shade,

Provoked me to plaie some pleasant fit,
And when he heard the musicke which I made,
He found himselfe full greatly pleasd at it:
Yet æmuling my pipe, he tooke in hond
My pipe before that æmuled of many,
And plaid theron; (for well that skill he cond)
Himselfe as skilfull in that art as any.
He pip'd, I sung; and when he sung, I piped,
By chaunge of turnes, each making other mery,
Neither envying other, ncr envied,
So piped we, until we both were weary.
There interrupting him, a bonie swaine,
That *Cuddy* hight, him thus atweene bespake:
And should it not thy readie course restraine,
I would request thee *Colin*, for my sake,
To tell what thou didst sing, when he did plàie.
For well I weene it worth recounting was,
Whether it were some hymne, or morall laie,
Or carol made to praise thy loved lasse.
Nor of my love, nor of my losse (quoth he)
I then did sing, as then occasion fell:
For love had me forlorne, forlorne of me,
That made me in that desart chose to dwell.
But of my river *Bregogs* love I soong,
Which to thy shiny *Mulla* he did beare,
And yet dcth beare, and ever will, so long
As water doth within his bancks appeare.
Of fellowship (said then that bony Boy)
Record to us that lovely lay againe:
The staie whereof, shall nought these eares annoy,
Who all that *Colin* makes, do covet faine.
Heare then (quoth he) the tenor of my tale,
In sort as I it to that shepheard told:
No leasing new, nor Grandams fable stale,
But auncient truth confirm'd with credence old.

Old father *Mole*, (*Mole* hight that mountain gray
That walls the Northside of *Armulla* dale)
He had a daughter fresh as floure of May,
Which gave that name unto that pleasant vale;
Mulla the daughter of old Mole, so hight
The Nimph, which of that water course has charge,
That springing out of *Mole*, doth run downe right
To *Buttevant*, where spreading forth at large,
It giveth name unto that auncient Cittie,
Which *Kilnemullah* cleped is of old:
Whose ragged ruines breed great ruth and pittie,
To travailers, which it from far behold.
Full faine she lov'd, and was belov'd full faine,
Of her owne brother river, *Bregog* hight,
So hight because of this deceitfull traine,
Which he with *Mulla* wrought to win delight.
But her old sire more carefull of her good,
And meaning her much better to preferre,
Did thinke to match her with the neighbour flood,
Which *Allo* hight, Broad water called farre:
And wrought so well with his continuall paine,
That he that river for his daughter wonne:
The dowre agreed, the day assigned plaine,
The place appointed where it should be doone.
Nath'lesse the Nymph her former liking held;
For love will not be drawne, but must be ledde,
And *Bregog* did so well her fancie weld,
That her good will he got her first to wedde.
But for her father sitting still on hie,
Did warily still watch which way she went,
And eke from far observ'd with jealous eie,
Which way his course the wanton *Bregog* bent,
Him to deceive for all his watchfull ward,
The wily lover did devise this slight:
First into many parts his streame he shar'd,

That whilest the one was watcht, the other might
Passe unespide to meete her by the way;
And then besides, those little streames so broken
He under ground so closely did convay,
That of their passage doth appeare no token,
Till they into the *Mullaes* water slide.
So secretly did he his love enjoy:
Yet not so secret, but it was descride,
And told her father by a shepheards boy.
Who wondrous wroth for that so foule despight,
In great avenge did roll downe from his hill
Huge mightie stones, the which encomber might
His passage, and his water-courses spill.
So of a River which he was of old,
He none was made, but scattred all to nought,
And lost emong those rocks into him rold,
Did lose his name: so deare his love he bought.
Which having said, him *Thestylis* bespake,
Now by my life this was a mery lay:
Worthie of *Colin* selfe, that did it make.
But read now eke of friendship I thee pray,
What dittie did that other shepheard sing?
For I do covet most the same to heare,
As men use most to covet forreine thing.
That shall I eke (quoth he) to you declare.
His song was all a lamentable lay,
Of great unkindnesse, and of usage hard,
Of *Cynthia* the Ladie of the sea,
Which from her presence faultlesse him debard.
And ever and anon with singulfs rife,
He cryed out, to make his undersong
Ah my loves queene, and goddesse of my life,
Who shall me pittie, when thou doest me wrong?
Then gan a gentle bonylasse to speake,
That *Marin* hight, Right well he sure did plaine:

That could great *Cynthiaes* sore displeasure breake ,
And move to take him to her grace againe.
But tell on further *Colin*, as befell
Twixt him and thee, that thee did hence dissuade.
When thus our pipes we both had wearied well,
(Quoth he) and each an end of singing made,
He gan to cast great lyking to my lore,
And great dislyking to my lucklesse lot:
That banisht had my selfe, like wight forlore,
Into that waste, where I was quite forgot.
The which to leave, thenceforth he counseld mee,
Unmeet for man, in whom was ought regardfull
And wend with him, his *Cynthia* to see:
Whose grace was great, and bounty most rewardfull.
Besides her peerlesse skill in making well
And all the ornaments of wondrous wit,
Such as all womankynd did far excell:
Such as the world admyr'd and praised it:
So what with hope of good, and hate of ill,
He me perswaded forth with him to fare,
Nought tooke I with me, but mine oaten quill:
Small needments else need shepheard to prepare.
So to the sea we came; the sea? that is
A world of waters heaped up on hie,
Rolling like mountaines in wide wildernesse,
Horrible, hideous, roaring with hoarse crie.
And is the sea (quoth *Coridon*) so fearfull?
Fearful much more (quoth he) then hart can fear:
Thousand wyld beasts with deep mouthes gaping direfull
Therein stil wait poore passengers to teare.
Who life doth loath, and longs death to behold,
Before he die, alreadie dead with feare,
And yet would live with heart halfe stonie cold,
Let him to sea, and he shall see it there.
And yet as ghastly dreadfull, as it seemes,

Bold men presuming life for gaine to sell,
Dare tempt that gulf, and in those wandring stremes
Seek waies unknowne, waies leading down to hell.
For as we stood there waiting on the strond,
Behold an huge great vessell to us came,
Dauncing upon the waters back to lond,
As if it scornd the daunger of the same;
Yet was it but a wooden frame and fraile,
Glewed togither with some subtile matter,
Yet had it armes and wings, and head and taile,
And life to move it selfe upon the water.
Strange thing, how bold and swift the monster was,
That neither car'd for wynd, nor haile, nor raine,
Nor swelling waves, but thorough them did passe
So proudly, that she made them roare againe.
The same aboord us gently did receave,
And without harme us farre away did beare,
So farre that land our mother us did leave,
And nought but sea and heaven to us appeare.
Then hartlesse quite and full of inward feare,
That shepheard I besought to me to tell,
Under what skie, or in what world we were,
In which I saw no living people dwell.
Who me recomforting all that he might,
Told me that that same was the Regiment
Of a great shepheardesse, that *Cynthia* hight,
His liege his Ladie, and his lifes Regent.
If then (quoth I) a shepheardesse she bee,
Where be the flockes and heards, which she doth keep?
And where may I the hills and pastures see,
On which she useth for to feed her sheepe?
These be the hills (quoth he) the surges hie,
On which faire *Cynthia* her heards doth feed:
Her heards be thousand fishes with their frie,

235 **Regent.** Regient. *Qb. Newb.*

Which in the bosome of the billowes breed.
Of them the shepheard which hath charge in chief,
Is *Triton* blowing loud his wreathed horne:
At sound whereof, they all for their relief
Wend too and fro at evening and at morne.
And *Proteus* eke with him does drive his heard
Of stinking Seales and Porcpisces together,
With hoary head and deawy dropping beard,
Compelling them which way he list, and whether.
And I among the rest of many least,
Have in the Ocean charge to me assignd:
Where I will live or die at her beheast,
And serve and honour her with faithfull mind.
Besides an hundred Nymphs all heavenly borne,
And of immortall race, doo still attend
To wash faire *Cynthiaes* sheep, when they be shorne,
And fold them up, when they have made an end.
Those be the shepheards which my *Cynthia* serve
At sea, beside a thousand moe at land:
For land and sea my *Cynthia* doth deserve
To have in her commandement at hand.
Thereat I wondred much, till wondring more
And more, at length we land far off descryde:
Which sight much gladed me; for much afore
I feard, least land we never should have eyde:
Thereto our ship her course directly bent,
As if the way she perfectly had knowne.
We *Lunday* passe; by that same name is ment
An Island, which the first to west was showne.
From thence another world of land we kend,
Floting amid the sea in jeopardie,
And round about with mightie white rocks hemd,
Against the seas encroching crueltie.
Those same the shepheard told me, were the fields

258 **sheep,** ⤻ *Qb. Newb.*

In which dame *Cynthia* her landheards fed,
Faire goodly fields, then which *Armulla* yields
None fairer, nor more fruitfull to be red.
The first to which we nigh approached, was
An high headland thrust far into the sea,
Like to an horne, whereof the name it has,
Yet seemed to be a goodly pleasant lea:
There did a loftie mount at first us greet,
Which did a stately heape of stones upreare,
That seemd amid the surges for to fleet,
Much greater then that frame, which us did beare:
There did our ship her fruitfull wombe unlade,
And put us all ashore on *Cynthias* land.
What land is that thou meanst (then *Cuddy* sayd)
And is there other, then whereon we stand?
Ah *Cuddy* (then quoth *Colin*) thous a fon,
That hast not seene least part of natures worke:
Much more there is unkend, then thou doest kon,
And much more that does from mens knowledge lurke.
For that same land much larger is then this,
And other men and beasts and birds doth feed:
There fruitfull corne, faire trees, fresh herbage is
And all things else that living creatures need.
Besides most goodly rivers there appeare,
No whit inferiour to thy *Funchins* praise,
Or unto *Allo* or to *Mulla* cleare:
Nought hast thou foolish boy seene in thy daies,
But if that land be there (quoth he) as here,
And is theyr heaven likewise there all one?
And if like heaven, be heavenly graces there,
like as in this same world where we do wone?
Both heaven and heavenly graces do much more
(Quoth he) abound in that same land, then this.
For there all happie peace and plenteous store
Conspire in one to make contented blisse:

No wayling there nor wretchednesse is heard,
No bloodie issues nor no leprosies,
No griesly famine, nor no raging sweard,
No nightly bodrags, nor no hue and cries;
The shepheards there abroad may safely lie,
On hills and downes, withouten dread or daunger:
No ravenous wolves the good mans hope destroy,
Nor outlawes fell affray the forest raunger.
There learned arts do florish in great honor,
And Poets wits are had in peerlesse price:
Religion hath lay powre to rest upon her,
Advancing vertue and suppressing vice.
For end, all good, all grace there freely growes,
Had people grace it gratefully to use:
For God his gifts there plenteously bestowes,
But gracelese men them greatly do abuse.
But say on further, then said *Corylas*,
The rest of thine adventures, that betyded.
Foorth on our voyage we by land did passe,
(Quoth he) as that same shepheard still us guyded,
Untill that we to *Cynthiaes* presence came:
Whose glorie greater then my simple thought,
I found much greater then the former fame;
Such greatnes I cannot compare to ought:
But if I her like ought on earth might read,
I would her lyken to a crowne of lillies,
Upon a virgin brydes adorned head,
With Roses dight and Goolds and Daffadillies;
Or like the circlet of a Turtle true,
In which all colours of the rainbow bee;
Or like faire *Phebes* garlond shining new,
In which all pure perfection one may see.
But vaine it is to thinke by paragone
Of earthly things, to judge of things divine:
Her power, her mercy, and her wisedome, none

Can deeme, but who the Godhead can define.
Why then do I base shepheard bold and blind,
Presume the things so sacred to prophane?
More fit it is t'adore with humble mind,
The image of the heavens in shape humane.
With that *Alexis* broke his tale asunder,
Saying, By wondring at thy *Cynthiaes* praise:
Colin, thy selfe thou mak'st us more to wonder,
And her upraising, doest they selfe upraise.
But let us heare what grace she shewed thee,
And how that shepheard strange, thy cause advanced?
The shepheard of the Ocean (quoth he)
Unto that Goddesse grace me first enhanced,
And to mine oaten pipe enclin'd her eare,
That she thenceforth therein gan take delight,
And it desir'd at timely houres to heare,
All were my notes but rude and roughly dight,
For not by measure of her owne great mynd,
And wondrous worth she mott my simple song,
But joyd that country shepheard ought could fynd
Worth harkening to, emongst the learned throng.
Why? (said *Alexis* then) what needeth shee
That is so great a shepheardesse her selfe,
And hath so many shepheards in her fee,
To heare thee sing, a simple silly Elfe?
Or be the shepheards which do serve her laesie,
That they list not their mery pipes applie?
Or be their pipes untunable and craesie,
That they cannot her honour worthylie?
Ah nay (said *Colin*) neither so, nor so:
For better shepheards be not under skie,
Nor better hable, when they list to blow,
Their pipes aloud, her name to glorifie.

359 **enhanced,** ⤻ : *Qa.* 367 **the** that *Qa.* 369 **selfe,** ⤻ *Qa.* 372 **laesie,** ⤻ ? *Qa.* 373 **applie?** ⤻ . *Qa.* 375 **worthylie?** worthilie? *Qa.* 376 **nor so:** ⤻ , *Qa.*

There is good *Harpalus* now woxen aged,
In faithfull service of faire *Cynthia*:
And there is a *Corydon* though meanly waged,
Yet hablest wit of most I know this day.
And there is sad *Alcyon* bent to mourne,
Though fit to frame an everlasting dittie,
Whose gentle spright for *Daphnes* death doth tourn
Sweet layes of love to endlesse plaints of pittie.
Ah pensive boy pursue that brave conceipt,
In thy sweet Eglantine of *Meriflure,*
Lift up thy notes unto their wonted height,
That may thy *Muse* and mates to mirth allure.
There eke is *Palin* worthie of great praise,
Albe he envie at my rustick quill:
And there is pleasing *Alcon*, could he raise
His tunes from laies to matter of more skill.
And there is old *Palemon* free from spight,
Whose carefull pipe may make the hearer rew:
Yet he himselfe may rewed be more right,
That sung so long untill quite hoarse he grew.
And there is *Alabaster* throughly taught,
In all this skill, though knowen yet to few,
Yet were he knowne to *Cynthia* as he ought,
His Eliseïs would be redde anew.
Who lives that can match that heroick song,
Which he hath of that mightie Princesse made?
O dreaded Dread, do not thy selfe that wrong,
To let thy fame lie so in hidden shade:
But call it forth, O call him forth to thee,
To end thy glorie which he hath begun:
That when he finisht hath as it should be,
No braver Poeme can be under Sun.
Nor *Po* nor *Tyburs* swans so much renowned,
Nor all the brood of *Greece* so highly praised,

381 **Cynthia**: ⤷ , *Qa.*

Can match that *Muse* when it with bayes is crowned,
And to the pitch of her perfection raised.
And there is a new shepheard late up sprong,
The which doth all afore him far surpasse:
Appearing well in that well tuned song,
Which late he sung unto a scornfull lasse.
Yet doth his trembling *Muse* but lowly flie,
As daring not too rashly mount on hight,
And doth her tender plumes as yet but trie,
In loves soft laies and looser thoughts delight.
Then rouse thy feathers quickly *Daniell*,
And to what course thou please thy selfe advance:
But most me seemes, thy accent will excell,
In Tragick plaints and passionate mischance.
And there that shepheard of the Ocean is,
That spends his wit in loves consuming smart:
Full sweetly tempred is that *Muse* of his
That can empierce a Princes mightie hart.
There also is (ah no, he is not now)
But since I said he is, he quite is gone,
Amyntas quite is gone and lies full low,
Having his *Amaryllis* left to mone.
Helpe, O ye shepheards helpe ye all in this,
Helpe *Amaryllis* this her losse to mourne:
Her losse is yours, your losse *Amyntas* is,
Amyntas floure of shepheards pride forlorne:
He whilest he lived was the noblest swaine,
That ever piped in an oaten quill:
Both did he other, which could pipe, maintaine,
And eke could pipe himselfe with passing skill.
And there though last not least is *Aetion*,
A gentler shepheard may no where be found:
Whose *Muse* full of high thoughts invention,
Doth like himselfe Heroically sound.
All these, and many others mo remaine,

Now after *Astrofell* is dead and gone:
But while as *Astrofell* did live and raine,
Amongst all these was none his Paragone.
All these do florish in their sundry kynd,
And do their *Cynthia* immortall make:
Yet found I lyking in her royall mynd,
Not for my skill, but for that shepheards sake.
Then spake a lovely lasse, hight *Lucida*,
Shepheard, enough of shepheards thou hast told,
Which favour thee, and honour *Cynthia*:
But of so many Nymphs which she doth hold
In her retinew, thou hast nothing sayd;
That seems, with none of them thou favor foundest,
Or art ingratefull to each gentle mayd,
That none of all their due deserts resoundest.
Ah far be it (quoth *Colin Clout*) fro me,
That I of gentle Mayds should ill deserve:
For that my selfe I do professe to be
Vassall to one, whom all my dayes I serve;
The beame of beautie sparkled from above,
The floure of vertue and pure chastitie,
The blossome of sweet joy and perfect love,
The pearle of peerlesse grace and modestie:
To her my thoughts I daily dedicate,
To her my heart I nightly martyrize:
To her my love I lowly do prostrate,
To her my life I wholly sacrifice:
My thought, my heart, my love, my life is shee,
And I hers ever onely, ever one:
One ever I all vowed hers to bee,
One ever I, and others never none.
Then thus *Melissa* said; Thrise happie Mayd,
Whom thou doest so enforce to deifie:

449 **gone:** ⤻ . *Qa.* 451 **Paragone.** ⤻ , *Qa.* 458 **Cynthia:** ⤻ , *Qa.* 460 **sayd;** ⤻ , *Qa.* 467 **serve;** ⤻ . *Qa.* 469 **chastitie,** ⤻ : *Qa.* 471 **modestie:** ⤻ , *Qa.* 475 **sacrifice:** ⤻ , *Qa.* 476 **shee,** ⤻ : *Qa.*

That woods and hills, and valleyes thou hast made
Her name to eccho unto heaven hie.
But say, who else vouchsafed thee of grace?
They all (quoth he) me graced goodly well,
That all I praise, but in the highest place,
Uriana, sister unto *Astrofell*,
In whose brave mynd as in a golden cofer,
All heavenly gifts and riches locked are:
More rich then pearles of *Ynde*, or gold of *Opher*,
And in her sex more wonderfull and rare.
Ne lesse praise worthie I *Theana* read,
Whose goodly beames though they be over dight
With mourning stole of carefull wydowhead,
Yet through that darksome vale do glister bright;
She is the well of bountie and brave mynd,
Excelling most in glorie and great light:
She is the ornament of womankind,
And Courts chief garlond with all vertues dight.
Therefore great *Cynthia* her in chiefest grace
Doth hold, and next unto her selfe advance,
Well worthie of so honourable place,
For her great worth and noble governance.
Ne lesse praise worthie is her sister deare,
Faire *Marian*, the *Muses* onely darling:
Whose beautie shyneth as the morning cleare,
With silver deaw upon the roses pearling.
Ne lesse praise worthie is *Mansilia*,
Best knowne by bearing up great *Cynthiaes* traine:
That same is she to whom *Daphnaida*
Upon her neeces death I did complaine.
She is the paterne of true womanhead,
And onely mirrhor of feminitie:
Worthie next after *Cynthia* to tread,
As she is next her in nobilitie.

482 **valleyes . . . made** ⤷ . . . . ⤷ , *Qa.* 495 **bright;** ⤷ . *Qa.* 500 **grace** ⤷ , *Qa.* 502 **worthie of** worthie she of *Qa.* n. Possibly Uriana (l.488) is a compositor's error for Urania. Some critics believe that Urania was Sidney's name for the Countess of Pembroke. See K. Duncan-Jones, *RES.* NS. 17(1966), 9-132.

Ne lesse praise worthie *Galathea* seemes,
Then best of all that honourable crew,
Faire *Galathea* with bright shining beames,
Inflaming feeble eyes that her do view.
She there then waited upon *Cynthia*,
Yet there is not her won, but here with us
About the borders of our rich *Coshma*,
Now made of *Maa* the Nymph delitious.

Ne lesse praiseworthie faire *Neæra* is,
Neæra ours, not theirs, though there she be,
For of the famous Shure, the Nymph she is,
For high desert, advaunst to that degree.
She is the blosome of grace and curtesie,
Adorned with all honourable parts:
She is the braunch of true nobilitie,
Belov'd of high and low with faithfull harts.
Ne lesse praisworthie *Stella* do I read,
Though nought my praises of her needed arre,
Whom verse of noblest shepheard lately dead
Hath prais'd and rais'd above each other starre.
Ne lesse praisworthie are the sisters three,
The honor of the noble familie:
Of which I meanest boast my selfe to be,
And most that unto them I am so nie.
Phyllis, Charillis, and sweet *Amaryllis* ,
Phyllis the faire, is eldest of the three:
The next to her, is bountifull *Charillis.*
But th'youngest is the highest in degree.
Phyllis the floure of rare perfection,
Faire spreading forth her leaves with fresh delight,
That with their beauties amorous reflexion,
Bereave of sence each rash beholders sight.
But sweet *Charillis* is the Paragone
Of peerlesse price, and ornament of praise,
Admyr'd of all, yet envied of none,
Through the myld temperance of her goodly raies.

522 **Coshma**, Coshman, *QaNuff.* 527 **desert,** ⤷ *QaNuff.*

Thrise happie do I hold thee noble swaine,
The which art of so rich a spoile possest,
And it embracing deare without disdaine,
Hast sole possession in so chaste a brest:
Of all the shepheards daughters which there bee,
And yet there be the fairest under skie,
Or that elsewhere I ever yet did see.
A fairer Nymph yet never saw mine eie:
She is the pride and primrose of the rest,
Made by the maker selfe to be admired:
And like a goodly beacon high addrest,
That is with sparks of heavenle beautie fired.
But *Amaryllis*, whether fortunate,
Or else unfortunate may I aread,
That freed is from *Cupids* yoke by fate,
Since which she doth new bands adventure dread.
Shepheard what ever thou hast heard to be
In this or that praysd diversly apart,
In her thou maist them all assembled see,
And seald up in the threasure of her hart.
Ne thee lesse worthie gentle *Flavia*,
For thy chaste life and vertue I esteeme:
Ne thee lesse worthie curteous *Candida*,
For thy true love and loyaltie I deeme.
Besides yet many mo that *Cynthia* serve,
Right noble Nymphs, and high to be commended:
But if I all should praise as they deserve,
This sun would faile me ere I halfe had ended.
Therefore in closure of a thankfull mynd,
I deeme it best to hold eternally,
Their bounteous deeds and noble favours shrynd,
Then by discourse them to indignifie.
So having said, *Aglaura* him bespake:
Colin, well worthie were those goodly favours
Bestowd on thee, that so of them doest make,
And them requitest with thy thankfull labours.

567 **she** he *Qa*. 570 **see,** ⸗, *Qa*. 571 **hart.** ⸗ , *Qa*. 573 **esteeme:** ⸗ , *Qa*. 577 **commended:** ⸗ , *Qa*. 586 **make,** ⸗ . *Qa*.

But of great *Cynthiaes* goodnesse and high grace,
Finish the storie which thou hast begunne.
More eath (quoth he) it is in such a case
How to begin, then know how to have donne.
For everie gift and everie goodly meed,
Which she on me bestowd, demaunds a day;
And everie day, in which she did a deed,
Demaunds a yeare it duly to display.
Her words were like a streame of honny fleeting,
The which doth softly trickle from the hive:
Hable to melt the hearers heart unweeting,
And eke to make the dead againe alive.
Her deeds were like great glusters of ripe grapes,
Which load the bunches of the fruitfull vine:
Offring to fall into each mouth that gapes,
And fill the same with store of timely wine.
Her lookes were like beames of the morning Sun,
Forth looking through the windowes of the East:
When first the fleecie cattell have begun
Upon the perled grasse to make their feast.
Her thoughts are like the fume of Franckincence,
Which from a golden Censer forth doth rise:
And throwing forth sweet odours mounts fro thence
In rolling globes up to the vauted skies.
There she beholds with high aspiring thought,
The cradle of her owne creation:
Emongst the seats of Angels heavenly wrought,
Much like an Angell in all forme and fashion.
Colin (said *Cuddy* then) thou hast forgot
Thy selfe, me seemes, too much, to mount so hie:
Such loftie flight, base shepheard seemeth not,
From flocks and fields, to Angels and to skie.
True (answered he) but her great excellence,
Lifts me above the measure of my might:

590 **case** ⤻ . *Qa.* 593 **bestowd, . . . day;** ⤻ : . . . *Qa.*

That being fild with furious insolence,
I feele my selfe like one yrapt in spright.
For when I thinke of her, as oft I ought,
Then want I words to speake it fitly forth:
And when I speake of her what I have thought,
I cannot thinke according to her worth.
Yet will I thinke of her, yet will I speake,
So long as life my limbs doth hold together,
And when as death these vitall bands shall breake,
Her name recorded I will leave for ever.
Her name in every tree I will endosse,
That as the trees do grow, her name may grow:
And in the ground each where will it engrosse,
And fill with stones, that all men may it know.
The speaking woods and murmuring waters fall,
Her name Ile teach in knowen termes to frame:
And eke my lambs when for their dams they call,
Ile teach to call for *Cynthia* by name.
And long while after I am dead and rotten:
Amongst the shepheards daughters dancing rownd,
My layes made of her shall not be forgotten.
But sung by them with flowry gyrlonds crownd.
And ye, who so ye be, that shall survive:
When as ye heare her memory renewed,
Be witnesse of her bountie here alive,
Which she to *Colin* her poore shepheard shewed.
Much was the whole assembly of those heards,
Moov'd at his speech, so feelingly he spake:
And stood awhile astonisht at his words,
Till *Thestylis* at last their silence brake,
Saying, Why *Colin*, since thou foundst such grace
With *Cynthia* and all her noble crew:
Why didst thou ever leave that happie place,
In which such wealth might unto thee accrew?
And back returnedst to this barrein soyle,

Where cold and care and penury do dwell:
Here to keep sheepe, with hunger and with toyle,
Most wretched he, that is and cannot tell.
Happie indeed (said *Colin*) I him hold,
That may that blessed presence still enjoy,
Of fortune and of envy uncomptrold,
Which still are wont most happie states t'annoy:
But I by that which little while I prooved:
Some part of these enormities did see,
The which in Court continually hooved,
And followd those which happie seemd to bee.
Therefore I silly man, whose former dayes
Had in rude fields bene altogether spent,
Darest not adventure such unknowen wayes,
Nor trust the guile of fortunes blandishment,
But rather chose back to my sheep to tourne,
Whose utmost hardnesse I before had tryde,
Then having learnd repentance late, to mourne
Emongst those wretches which I there descryde.
Shepheard (said *Thestylis*) it seemes of spight
Thou speakest thus gainst their felicitie,
Which thou enviest,rather then of right
That ought in them blameworthie thou doest spie.
Cause have I none (quoth he) of cancred will
To quite them ill, that me demeand so well:
But selfe-regard of private good or ill,
Moves me of each, so as I found, to tell
And eke to warne yong shepheards wandring wit,
Which through report of that lives painted blisse,
Abandon quiet home, to seeke for it,
And leave their lambes to losse misled amisse.
For sooth to say, it is no sort of life,
For shepheard fit to lead in that same place,
Where each one seeks with malice and with strife,
To thrust downe other into foule disgrace,

Himselfe to raise: and he doth soonest rise
That best can handle his deceitfull wit,
In subtil shifts, and finest sleights devise,
Either by slaundring his well deemed name,
Through leasings lewd, and fained forgerie:
Or else by breeding him some blot of blame,
By creeping close into his secrecie;
To which him needs, a guilefull hollow hart,
Masked with faire dissembling curtesie,
A filed toung furnisht with tearmes of art,
No art of schoole, but Courtiers schoolery.
For arts of schoole have there small countenance,
Counted but toyes to busie ydle braines,
And there professours find small maintenance,
But to be instruments of others gaines.
Ne is there place for any gentle wit,
Unlesse to please, it selfe it can applie:
But shouldred is, or out of doore quite shit,
As base, or blunt,unmeet for melodie.
For each mans worth is measured by his weed,
As harts by hornes, or asses by their eares:
Yet asses been not all whose eares exceed,
Nor yet all harts, that hornes the highest beares.
For highest lookes have not the highest mynd,
Nor haughtie words most full of highest thoughts:
But are like bladders blowen up with wynd,
That being prickt do vanish into noughts.
Even such is all their vaunted vanitie,
Nought else but smoke, that fumeth soone away,
Such is their glorie that in simple eie
Seeme greatest, when their garments are most gay.
So they themselves for praise of fooles do sell,
And all their wealth for painting on a wall;
With price whereof, they buy a golden bell,
And purchase highest rowmes in bowre and hall:

Whiles single Truth and simple honestie
Do wander up and downe despys'd of all;
Their plaine attire such glorious gallantry.
Disdaines so much, that none them in doth call.
Ah *Colin* (then said *Hobbinol*) the blame
Which thou imputest, is too generall,
As if not any gentle wit of name,
Nor honest mynd might there be found at all.
For well I wot, sith I my selfe was there,
To wait on *Lobbin (Lobbin* well thou knewest)
Full many worrhie ones then waiting were,
As ever else in Princes Court thou vewest.
Of which , among you many yet remaine,
Whose names I cannot readily now ghesse:
Those that poore Sutors papers do retaine,
And those that skill of medicine professe.
And those that do to *Cynthia* expound,
The ledden of straunge languages in charge:
For *Cynthia* doth in sciences abound,
And gives to their professors stipends large.
Therefore unjustly thou doest wyte them all,
For that which thou mislikedst in a few.
Blame is (quoth he) more blamelesse generall,
Then that which private errours doth pursew:
For well I wot, that there amongst them bee
Full many persons of right worthie parts,
Both for report of spotlesse honestie,
And for profession of all learned arts,
Whose praise hereby no whit impaired is,
Though blame do light on those that faultie bee,
For all the rest do most-what far amis,
And yet their owne misfaring will not see:
For either they be puffed up with pride,
Or fraught with envie that their galls do swell,
Or they their dayes to ydlenesse divide,

compositor's error for worrthie, obs OED

Or drownded lie in pleasures wastefull well,
In which like Moldwarps nousling still they lurke,
Unmyndfull of chiefe parts of manlinesse,.
And do themselves for want of other worke,
Vaine votaries of laesie love professe,
Whose service high so basely they ensew,
That *Cupid* selfe of them ashamed is,
And mustring all his men in *Venus* vew,
Denies them quite for servitors of his.
And is love then (said Corylas) once knowne
In Court, and his sweet lore professed there,
I weened sure he was our God alone:
And only woond in fields and forests here,
Not so (quoth he) love most aboundeth there.
For all the walls and windows there are writ,
All full of love, and love, and love my deare,
And all their talke and studie is of it.
Ne any there doth brave or valiant seeme,
Unless that some gay Mistresse badge he beares:
Ne any one himselfe doth ought esteeme,
Unless he swim in love up to the eares.
But they of love and of his sacred lere,
(As it should be) all otherwise devise,
Then we poore shepheards are accustomd here,
And him do sue and serve all otherwise.
For with lewd speeches and licentious deeds,
His mightie mysteries they do prophane,
And us his ydle name to other needs,
But as a complement for courting vaine.
So him they do not serve as they professe,
But make him serve to them for sordid uses,
Ah my dread Lord, that doest liege hearts possesse,
Avenge thy selfe on them for their abuses.
But we poore shepheards whether rightly so,
Or through our rudenesse into errour led:

Do make religion how we rashly go,
To serve that God, that is so greatly dred;
For him the greatest of the Gods we deeme,
Borne without Syre or couples of one kynd,
For *Venus* selfe doth soly couples seeme,
Both male and female through commixture joynd.
So pure and spotless *Cupid* forth she brought,
And in the gardens of *Adonis* nurst:
Where growing he, his owne perfection wrought,
And shortly was of all the Gods the first.

Then got he bow and shafts of gold and lead,
In which so fell and puissant he grew,
That *Jove* himselfe his powre began to dread,
And taking up to heaven, him godded new.
From thence he shootes his arrowes every where
Into the world, at random as he will,
On us fraile men, his wretched vassals here,
Like as himselfe us pleaseth,save or spill.
So we him worship, so we him adore
With humble hearts to heaven uplifted hie,
That to true loves he may us evermore
Preferre, and of their grace us dignifie:
Ne is there shepheard, ne yet shepheards swaine,
What ever feeds in forest or in field,
That dare with evil deed or leasing vaine
Blaspheme his powre, or termes unworthie yield.
Shepheard it seemes that some celestiall rage
Of love (quoth *Cuddy*) is breath'd into thy brest,
That powreth forth these oracles so sage,
Of that high powre, wherewith thou art possest.
But never wist I till this present day
Able of love I alwayes humbly deemed,
That he was such an one, as thou doest say,
And so religiously to be esteemed.
Well may it seeme by this thy deep insight,

That of that God the Priest thou shouldest bee:
So well thou wot'st the mysterie of his might,
As if his godhead thou didst present see.
Of loves perfection perfectly to speake,
Or of his nature rightly to define,
Indeed (said *Colin*) passeth reasons reach,
And needs his priest t'expresse his powre divine.
For long before the world he was y'bore
And bred above in *Venus* bosome deare:
For by his powre the world was made of yore,
And all that therein wondrous doth appeare.
For how should else things so far from attone
And so great enemies as of them bee,
Be ever drawne together into one,
And taught in such accordance to agree.
Through him the cold began to covet heat,
And water fire; the light to mount on hie,
And th'heavie downe to peize; the hungry t'eat
And voydnesse to seeke full satietie.
So being former foes, they wexed friends,
And gan by litle learne to love each other:
So being knit, they brought forth other kynds
Out of the fruitfull wombe of their great mother.
Then first gan heaven out of darknesse dread
For to appeare, and brought forth chearfull day:
Next gan the earth to shew her naked head,
Out of deep waters which her drownd alway.
And shortly after everie living wight,
Crept forth like wormes out of her slimie nature,
Soone as on them the Suns like giving light,
Had powred kindly heat and formall feature,
Thenceforth they gan each one his like to love,
And like himselfe desire for to beget,
The Lyon chose his mate, theTurtle Dove
Her deare, the Dolphin his owne Dolphinet,

But man that had the sparke of reasons might,
More then the rest to rule his passion:
Chose for his love the fairest in his sight,
Like as himselfe was fairest by creation.
For beautie is the bayt which with delight
Doth man allure, for to enlarge his kynd,
Beautie the burning lamp of heavens light,
Darting her beames into each feeble mynd:
Against whose powre, nor God nor man can fynd,
Defence, ne ward the daunger of the wound,
But being hurt, seeke to be medicynd
Of her that first did stir that mortall stownd.
Then do they cry and call to love apace,
With praiers lowd importuning the skie,
Whence he them heares, and when he list shew grace,
Does graunt them grace that otherwise would die.
So love is Lord of all the world by right,
And rules their creatures by his powrfull saw:
All being made the vassalls of his might,
Through secret sence which therto doth them draw.
Thus ought all lovers of their lord to deeme:
And with chaste heart to honor him alway:
But who so else doth otherwise esteeme,
Are outlawes, and his love do disobey.
For their desire is base, and doth not merit,
The name of love, but of disloyall lust:
Ne mongst true lovers they shall place inherit,
But as Exuls out of his court be thrust.

So having said, *Melissa* spake at will,
Colin, thou now full deeply hast divynd:
Of love and beautie and with wondrous skill,
Hast *Cupid* selfe depainted in his kynd.
To thee are all true lovers greatly bound,
That doest their cause so mightily defend:
But most, all wemen are thy debtors found,

That doest their bountie still so much commend.
That ill (said *Hobbinol*) they him requite,
For having loved ever one most deare:
He is repayd with scorne and foule despite,
That yrkes each gentle heart which it doth heare.
Indeed (said *Lucid*) I have often heard
Faire *Rosalind* of divers fowly blamed:
For being to that swaine too cruell hard,
That her bright glorie else hath much defamed.
But who can tell what cause had that faire Mayd
To use him so that used her so well:
Or who with blame can justly her upbrayd,
For loving not? for who can love compell.
And sooth to say, it is foolhardie thing,
Rashly to wyten creatures so divine,
For demigods they be and first did spring
From heaven, through graft in frailnesse feminine.
And well I wote, that oft I heard it spoken,
How one that fairest *Helene* did revile:
Through judgement of the Gods to been ywroken
Lost both his eyes and so remayned long while,
Till he recanted had his wicked rimes:
And make amends to her with treble praise,
Beware therefore, ye groomes, I read betimes,
How rashly blame of *Rosalind* ye raise.
Ah shepheards (then said *Colin*) ye ne weet
How great a guilt upon your heads ye draw:
To make so bold a doome with words unmeet,
Of thing celestiall which ye never saw.
For she is not like as the other crew
Of shepheards daughters which emongst you bee,
But of divine regard and heavenly hew,
Excelling all that ever ye did see.
Not then to her that scorned thing so base,
But to my selfe the blame that lookt so hie:

So hie her thoughts as she her selfe have place,
And loath each lowly thing with loftie eie.
Yet so much grace let her vouchsafe to grant
To simple swaine, sith her I may not love:
Yet that I may her honour paravant,
And praise her worth, though far my wit above.
Such grace shall be some guerdon for the griefe,
And long affliction which I have endured:
Such grace sometimes shall give me some reliefe,
And ease of paine which cannot be recured.
And ye my fellow shepheards which do see
And heare the languours of my too long dying,
Unto the world for ever witnesse bee,
That hers I die, nought to the world denying,
This simple trophe of her great conquest.
So having ended, he from ground did rise,
And after him uprose eke all the rest:
All loth to part, but that the glooming skies,
Warnd them to draw their bleating flocks to rest.

FINIS.

COMMENTARY.

All abbreviations of the classics are from the *Oxford Classical Dictionary*. All quotations from the classics are from the Leob editions; because they are so well known they are not included in the Bibliography. All abbreviations to the works of Spenser are those given in W. McNeir's Bibliographical *Index to Critical Works on Edmund Spenser*.

1 The shepheards boy: Virgil's eclogues (except 4, 6, 10) all have a shepherd's name in the first line. Spenser uses the convention for a highly mannered reference to the poet's name in the title and to his earlier pastoral the *SC* which began, "a Shepheards boye (no better doe him call)". Hoffman (p. 128) believes that the poet's voice echoes and transforms his earlier apologetic lines in the *SC*. Edwards reads the line as Spenser's "bitter fascination with the idea of the anonymous poet, Immerito . . . whose fame in the early 1590s was less than satisfying" (p. 57). The reference to the *SC* with the deliberate repetition and confident assertion of poetic history makes Edwards's reading unlikely (see n. 2).

2. Tityrus: the archetypal shepherd, is glossed in the *SC* ("June" 1.81) as Chaucer. Spenser's allusion to the earlier work indicates his intention to continue the double allegiance to Virgil and Chaucer. Colin Clout shows his desire to sing "in the tradition of Marot's most accomplished shepherd-poet", and in that of Skelton "who made it his persona as the moralist of church and society" (Cooper p. 152).

3 Laies. . .rebuke or blame: an assertion of impartiality was probably a precautionary measure in an eclogue which contained satire. Cf. Preface to Raleigh, l. 15.

4 custome: this Virgilian pose (*Ecl.* 1) became a *topos* often expressed metaphorically as shepherds' trade, e.g. A. Fleming's 1575 translation of Verg. *Ecl.* 1, "'tys poor shepheardes trade"; and Spenser, "as was my trade" (1.56).

5 Charming: from Virgil's time "pastoral poets had been able to charm the elements into rapt attention . . . What Colin is doing is playing Orpheus . . .'charming' a world into existence" (Comito, p.206).

oaten pipe: the *avena* of Virgil's First Eclogue is glossed by Servius as *stili genus humilis,* humble style (Serv. *Gramm. Ecl.* 1 No.2).

7 greedie listfull: shepherd naivety exposes the insatiable curiosity of Colin's companions. Spenser's only other use of "listfull" (attentive) exposes similar inordinateness in: "Thereto they both did franckly condiscend / And to his doome with listfull eares did both attend" (*FQ* 5.1.25. 8-9).

8 astonisht stunned, insensate (*MED* 1). Comito (p.206) and Hoffman (p.128) note that

Spenser gives us the etymological meaning of "astonisht" (*tonare*, to thunder) by linking it to "thunders sound" 1.9.

curious recondite, artistic. A witty comment by the poet on his own style with its unusual archaisms, dialect, and orthography.

9 The puns reveal that the shepherds though stunned by Colin's skill are without perception.

hartlesse without courage, and without compassion.

deare deer, and beloved.

dismayd mis-made Cf. *FQ* 1.12.24.8 : "Came running in much like a man dismayd".

15 Hight Hobbinol: Hobbinol is first introduced in the *SC* ("Jan." 1.59); he is glossed and identified by E.K. as Harvey ("Sept." 1.176). It is a pastoral convention to assume that we are familiar with the shepherds.

16 my liefe, my life: Hobbinol's address echoes the language of the courtly lover to his beloved (liefe).

22 dead in dole: this extraordinary conceit proclaims the poet's enjoyment in extending the mortificatory trope to new conceptual horizons. It also exposes Hobbinol's excessive devotion; for he claims shepherds die through grief, and that their deaths are the constant expression of sorrow.

29-31 In classical pastoral (Theoc. *Id.* 1 and Verg. *Ecl.* 5) the beloved's deification turns the shepherd's mourning into rejoicing; but Colin's return as a God raises the "dead" to life.

37 temptest . . . covet: the irony present in these verbs *mocks* Hobbinol's unnecessarily ornate petition and Colin's longing for panegyric.

40-9 Some see the eulogies as servile; yet "to celebrate any monarch as the bearer of a golden age was a commonplace of Renaissance flattery" (Cooper, p.205).

40 Angels blessed eie: Cuddy does not complain of Colin's lack of decorum here as he does in 11.616-19. Spenser gave Eliza divine parentage in the *SC* ("Aprill") and the idea of her as a goddess is present in "Astraea," a title often given to her.

41 Her worlds bright sun: Elizabeth's praise throughout the poem is presented with some ambivalence. The monarch as sun was a trope (Cf. *SC* "Nov." 1.67: "The sonne of all worlde is dimme and darke"). "Her worlds" suggests a self-regarding queen; for her eye is not only the sun of her subjects' world, but also of her own world, her body. Cf. n. 608-15; and see Spenser's ambivalent praise of Belphoebe (*FQ* 2.3).

46 bright: "The use of the adjective as noun is archaistic, and commoner in old Scots poetry than in English" (Renwick, ed. p.183).

54 devoyd of dangers feare: a harmonious relation between man and nature in pastoral *(Stimmungslandschaft)* is a convention.

56 The opening of Colin's tale parallels that of the narrator in 1.4. This repetition and Spenser's indirect allusion to his trade in the Preface (11. 2-4) should alert the reader to his ingenious use of pastoral conventions.

58-9 cooly shade . . .greene alders: The Virgilian convention, *sub tegmine fagi (Ecl.1)* is imaginatively transformed by green Irish alders.

60 straunge unusual and non-native. The emphasis on "straunge" is a jibe at Sir Walter Raleigh's occupation.

chaunst: the multiple meanings of "chaunced" here and in 1.63 suggest that Colin is unsure of the fortuitousness of the event. Cf. *FQ* 6.9.5 where Calidore approaches the shepherds.

62 yshrilled resounded.

66 shepheard of the Ocean: Queen Elizabeth nicknamed Raleigh "Water." Raleigh continues the play on his name in "The Ocean to Cynthia", and Spenser surpasses both by presenting Raleigh as a piscator.

67 main-sea deepe heightens the mystery of Raleigh's origin for the shepherds. For the reader the lack of specificity which adds nothing to our knowledge of Raleigh, gently mocks his persistent association with the sea.

68 in that same shade: cf. 1.58. By this creative repetition of pastoral tropes the narrator signals that another story set within his, has begun.

69 Provoked stimulated to action. In this scaled-down version of *agōnes* all that remains of the challenge is "provoked".

fit a narrative poem or song (*MED*).

70 when he heard the musicke which I made: the honour of beginning the singing match is always given to the most distinguished person.

72 aemuling imitating with the object of equalling or excelling.

74 cond had the power or capacity; also learnt or studied. A hint of Raleigh's rivalry is latent here.

80 bonie handsome.

81 Cuddy: Renwick (p.183) claims that 1.300 localizes Cuddy in Ireland and he suggests that Cuddy may have been William Hyde, a neighbour of Spenser's. Cuddy is prominent in the *SC* ("Feb.," "Aug.," "Oct.") and P. McLane associates him with Edward Dyer "Spenser's Cuddy," *JEGP*, 54 (1955), 230-40). Identification, perhaps with the exception of Cuddy, and certainly of Hobbinol who is glossed in the *SC*, is probably an unnecessary

task. Having initiated the use of English pastoral names Spenser probably continued with those familiar to readers. Peele's use of Spenserian pastoral names in *The Araygnement of Paris* suggests he chose them for their Englishness.

84 what thou didst sing: "Cuddy suggests the standard genres" (Hoffman, p.130).

86-7 hymne, or morall laie, Or carol: another emphasis on the nature of his poetry to forestall misinterpretation (cf. Preface to Raleigh 1.15; see n.3).

88 love . . .losse: Spenser "leads us into a tantalizing realm of unspoken personal pain and out again" (Hoffman p.130). But Spenser's unrequited love was explicitly stated; only the details were withheld.

89 then did sing, as then occasion fell: the emphasis on the inappropriateness of the time could suggest that Raleigh's presence made an explicit account imprudent. If Rosalind was Elizabeth Throckmorton any overt celebration then would have been tactless.

91 desart is read literally by Hoffman (p.130),but the figurative meaning, retreat for contemplation, is possibly intended.

92ff. Colin introduces his myth of locality (q.v. R.B. Gottfried, "Spenser and the Italian Myth of Locality", *SP*, 34 (1937), 107-25; Cooper, pp.103-4). For interpretations see Edwards, pp. 48-63; Hoffman, pp. 130-1; Introduction, "*CCCHA* and the Pastoral Tradition".

Bregogs comes from the Irish "Breg" meaning falsehood.

93 beare: the pun here and in line 94 stresses that as long as the river flows, so long will the river love.

94 And yet doth beare, and ever will: Edwards (pp. 48-63) finds several parallels with Colin's experiences, but the only definite correspondence with his story is this assertion of undying love.

96 bony Boy cf. 1.80. Cuddy is twice referred to in this manner and as these instances are the only occasions Spenser uses the word for a male, it could mean he had a particular Cuddy in mind.

98 staie duration. OED_6 cites this as the first example. A pun "cessation of progress" is intended, since Cuddy comments "And should it not thy readie course restraine" (1.82). Probably there is also an allusion to the poet's apparent digression.

99 faine: "The old pun of 'feign' and 'fain' is relevant here: to desire someone or something leads to pretending, inventing qualities in the other before they can be determined in fact, inventing a self who cherishes those qualities even though other people see through them, and finally inventing substitutes for the object . . .when it is lost . . . The point is that for both Spenser and Raleigh . . .art is a response to banishment and a way, through the

'feigned' re-creation of distant objects of desire" (Edwards, p.51). Hoffman while accepting the critical observation that failure can be the subject of art argues that the eclogue is "so wedded to longstanding fact that neither desire nor invention can transmute palpable failure into art" (p.129).

100 tenor general meaning; also quality, nature. The sorrowful tone also reflects Colin's state of mind.

102-3 Colin assures Raleigh that the myth of Mulla is not a poetic fiction (leasing new) but an "auncient truth". This assertion of veracity, a convention of romance narrators, distances the story and enables Spenser to protect himself from those who were ready to "misconstrue" his "simple meaning" (Preface 1.15). Some critics have read "credence old" and "auncient truth" literally, and have ransacked the *Metrical Dindsenchas* for a source. The story is Spenser's own composition. Cf. *FQ* 4.11.41. 8-9: "Strong *Allo* tombling from *Slewlogher* steep / And *Mulla* mine, whose waves I whilom taught to weepe"; and 7.6.40. 4-6: "Unto whose bed false *Bregog* whylome stole / That Shepheard *Colin* dearely did condole / And made her lucklesse loves well knowne to be".

104 Mole: a fictitious name for the mountain ranges, Galtys and Ballyhouras, that form the northern boundary of the valley.

105 Armulla: another fictitious name for the valley through which the Blackwater and its tributaries flow.

106 fresh as floure of May: a romance commonplace.

108-113 Mulla: the Awbeg follows the course described here. It "flows by Buttevant and Doneraile, passing through the district once held by Spenser . . . and after a gentle winding course of about twenty-five miles it joins the Blackwater between Mallow and Fermoy" (Joyce, *Wonders of Ireland,* p.107).

109 Nimph: in classical pastoral nymphs were the spirits of the landscape and were associated with the worship of Pan. Each locality had its own patrons who protected the herdsmen, who in turn honoured them.

Italian Renaissance poets invented their own stories about the countryside and the myth of locality genre developed. Spenser in his adaptation of this form excludes from his story any metamorphosis: the nymph and stream are one from beginning to end.

113 Kilnemullah: Cill-na-mullach, church of the hillocks or summits, is the ancient name for Buttevant.

114 ragged: cf. Turbervile, *Eglogs of Mantuan,* 4. p.37: "raggie rocks".

breed causes, induces (MED_7). Spenser clearly regretted the destruction of beauty in Ireland.

118 traine tarry, delay; also *poet.* applied to the current of a river (OED_6).

119 delight sensuous delight (MED_1).

121 more carefull of her good: Bregog's love is selfish, and this makes any parallels between Colin's failures and Bregog's, such as Edwards suggests, unlikely (p.57). Cf. 1.118 deceitfull; 1.135 wanton; 1.137 wily; 1.148 foule despight. The allegory does, however, suggest that Spenser is critical of Raleigh's conduct (see Introduction, "*CCCHA* and the Pastoral Tradition").

122 to preferre to settle in marriage (*MED*1).

123 Allo: the Blackwater. According to Joyce (p.83) the Blackwater was once called Allo.

129 for love will not be drawne, but must be ledde: cf.c.1450 Idley 136. 1733: "for love is free and will not be constreyned" B.J. Whiting, *Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases from English Writings mainly before 1500,* L.516.

138ff Spenser incorporates all the natural features of the river into his story: the division into parts, 1.138; the dry stony channels, 1.150; the course underground through limestone caverns, 1.142. Cf. Joyce's account:

> It rises in two deep glens on Corrinmore Hill, one of the Ballyhoura range, and flowing near Kilcolman Castle, it joins the Awbeg of Mulla at the town of Doneraile after a course of about five miles. After leaving the hills it traverses the plain before its junction with the Awbeg; and for some distance after emerging from its mountain home its channel is often very wide, and filled with heaps of gravel and stones brought down by the floods, so that the stream, which is generally very small and often nearly dry, is much scattered and interrupted . . . These are the stones rolled down by Old Father Mole in his "great revenge".
>
> In the lower part of its course, the river traverses a limestone plain, winding along a lovely little glen among rich meadows interspersed with groves and shrubberies and grey limestone rocks, sometimes rising high up on either bank . . . Two or three times, from "Streamhill" where the two principal feeders meet, down to "Old Court" a distance of about two miles, the river sinks out of sight and flows underground for a considerable distance through the caverns of the limestone rock under its bed, leaving its channel completely dry. It presents this appearance always except in wet weather or during a flood (pp. 110-11).

156 Thestylis: Renwick (p.184) suggests Lodowick Bryskett (fl. 1571-1611). He was in Ireland as early as 1577 and by 1606 "was reputed to hold large estates in Dublin, Cavan and Cork" (*DNB* p.168). Bryskett presents Spenser as an intimate friend in his *Discourse of Civill Life* (1606). The name links him with *The Mourning Muse of Thestylis* in *Astro.*

157 mery pleasing; of a tale or teaching: useful, edifying. Cf. Chaucer. C.T. *Pard* C 316: "But I heere anon a myrie tale, Myn herte is lost for pitee of this mayd" (MED_4).

159 read relate.

165-171 These lines raise many problems:

1. The reason for Raleigh's presence in Ireland in 1589: Collier quotes a letter from the Lambeth MSS written on 17 Aug. 1589, in which Frances Allen informs Bacon that, "My Lord of Essex hath chased Mr. Raleigh from the Court, and confined him into Ireland" (1, lix-ix).

Todd also cites a letter in the Carew MSS dated 27 Dec. 1589, in which Raleigh writes to Sir George Carew of the "niceness" of "her Majestye which still I injoy" (1,xciii-xcv).

2. The nature of the lay which Raleigh read to Spenser:

Todd argues that the disagreement between Raleigh and Essex could not be the subject of the lay; but if Raleigh had temporarily annoyed the queen because of his attitude to Essex he may have tried to assuage her anger with poetry.

Following the discovery of the fragments of the *Ocean to Cynthia* in the 1860s at Hatfield House, critics thought that they had found part of the poem to which Colin referred. However Oakeshott claims that the poem dates from 1592, and is associated with Raleigh's imprisonment in that year (*The Queen and the Poet*, p.136). The work to which Colin refers, he believes, is one of a series of occasional verses written to Elizabeth between 1587 and 1592 (p.140). Agnes Latham argues that the "lamentable lay" forms part of the cumulative poem *Ocean to Cynthia*, which was written over a long period (*Poems*, p.xli). Others who support her theory are Philip Edwards (*Sir Walter Ralegh*, pp.99ff.) and Pierre Lefranc (*Sir Walter Ralegh*, p.111). To assist Raleigh Spenser probably chose those lamentations which heightened Raleigh's plight as the devoted lover.

164 lamentable lay: this same phrase is used again in association with Ralegh in the *FQ* 4.8.4.3, where the dove, the instrument of reconciliation between Timias (Raleigh) and Belphoebe (Elizabeth) sings Timias a "lamentable lay".

Hoffman argues that "if Raleigh has been singing to Colin his 'The Ocean to Cynthia' as critics suggest, what Colin has heard is the death of meaning in Ralegh's world with death of Elizabeth's love" (p.131). She disagrees with Edwards's interpretation that there is a parallel between Bregog's love and that of Colin and the Ocean Shepherd, because there is a "radical change in tone from Bregog's tale to Ralegh's lamentable lay" (*ibid*).

167 Which from her presence faultlesse him debard: "The line . . . permits the reader to hear 'faultlesse' as ambiguous, modifying both 'her' and 'him' "(Hoffman p.131). There are many ambiguities of this kind in the poem, and they suggest that Spenser is making a very cautious criticism of the Queen's treatment of some loyal followers and poets (cf.n. 187; n. 382-83).

168 singulfs: from the Latin *singultus*, a sob. Most editors have changed the spelling to

singults, believing that the "f" is a misprint. *OED* claims that the misprint occurs in the first editions of *CCCHA* and the *TM* 1.232, but it also occurs in the first editions of the *FQ* in 3.11.12.1 and 5.6.13.9. James G. McManaway cites a manuscript poem by T.W. which has the same spelling, and also gives Smith's textual comments which agrees with Osgood's suggestion that Spenser delighted in the onomatopoeic sob-sound of "singulf". ("Critical Notes on the Text" *Variorum* 5, p.369). Probably Spenser had in mind the figurative use of "gulf" as yawning chasm of sorrow, which would mean that it is another transferred term to accommodate Raleigh's role as piscator. See Introduction, "*CCCHA* and the Pastoral Tradition".

169 undersong: classical pastoral often included a refrain in the singing match (cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 8.). Spenser uses an undersong in *Daph* "Weepe Shepheard weepe to make my undersong", (11.245,294,343,392,441,490). The accompaniment of sobs deflates Raleigh's posturing.

170-71 Raleigh had a penchant for rôle-playing. See Introduction "Twelve Poets"; for a more detailed presentation of Spenser's attitude to Raleigh's dramatization of his sorrow see the portrayal of Timias in *FQ* 3. Greenblatt analyzes Raleigh's self-dramatization in *Sir Walter Ralegh* (ch.2).

173 Right well be sure did plaine: "well" is ambiguous, as it refers to the nature and the duration of Raleigh's lamentations.

plaine lament.

180 lore narrative (*MED*$_{6}$).

181-83 Spenser cautiously blurs the reasons for Colin's banishment. "Wight forlore" and "lucklesse lot" suggest external causes; but "banisht had my selfe" indicates that Colin is Love's exile.

Hoffman (p.132) sees a parallel in the lives of Raleigh and Spenser.

187 bounty most rewardfull: ironic, since Spenser wrote after the journey and his reward was slow to eventuate (cf.n.167; n.360).

188 making well: Spenser also praises Elizabeth's skill as a poet in the *TM* 11.576-77. "Making" in the sense of bestowing honours, is also intended.

194-95 This pseudo-realistic technique is common in *Orl. Fur.* where Ariosto uses it for humour. Possibly there is also an allusion to the popular poem "I will become a hermit now"; and perhaps even to Raleigh's "Passionate Man's Pilgrimage". Cf. Desportes, *Oeuvres,* "Diane" Bk.2. No.8; "Je veux me rendre hermite et faire penitence".

196-231 Colin in his *hodoeporicon* imitates romance writers of travel literature (see Introduction, "Curious Skill").

198 mountaines: a common term for the sea, especially in classical literature.

wildernesse: a desolate region of any kind. (cf. *FQ* 1.3.32.4; 2.12.29.9.)

204-11 In this section proverbs, a pastoral convention for humour, underscore Colin's unnatural fear.

204 Who life doth loath: cf. Lucretius, *De Rerum Natura* III.1.79: "Often for fear of death men are seized by a hatred of life" (B. Stevenson, *Stevenson's Book of Proverbs, Maxims and Familiar Phrases, p.515)*

205 Before he die, alreadie dead with feare: cf. Aesop, *Fables*, (Stevenson, p.1417). "Alreadie" is possibly intended to rhyme with "die". (cf.n. 207).

206 And yet would live with heart halfe stonie cold: cf. Sophocles, *Antigone* 1.1167, "A living dead man"; A. Barclay, *The Castell of Labour* A6. 1503. "My heart was cold as any stone" (Stevenson, p.504).

207 sea . . .see: cf. Ariosto's similar use of comic puns(see C.P. Brand, Ariosto (Edin., 1974),).

208 ghastly dreadfull: stock-in-trade of storytellers. Cf. c1475 *Cath. Angl.* 39a: Dreadfull: *terribilis, terribulosus . . . stupendus . . . toruus* (MED_2).

209 presuming life for gaine to sell: cf. Cicero, Bk.1.ch.19.sec.93. *Homo vitae commodatus non donatus est:* "Man is only lent to life not given" (Stevenson, p.1406).

sell:the irony discloses the inane rapacity of adventurers.

211 Dare tempt that gulf: the inversion makes it clear that the adventurers lead themselves into temptation.

212-23 John Jortin (*Remarks on Spenser's Poems,* cites Cicero, *De Nat. Deor.* 2.35 (see Introduction, "Curious Skill"; also Apollonius Rhodius, *Argon,* Bk.4).

216 frame: cf. 1558: Phaer, *Aen.* 3. 653: "Make out with ores, in ships, in boates, in frames" (OED_3).

217 Glewed calked; also fastened, joined.

subtile not dense (of fluids); also ingenious. Cf. *FQ* 2.1.3.5: "Thereto his subtile engins he does bend".

225-27 Cf. *Aen.* Bk. 3. 191-195. See Introduction, "Curious Skill".

228 hartlesse: cf. use in l. 9.

232-263 Greenlaw compares this passage to *Argon.* ll. 570ff:

> It will be noted that Artemis is identified by Spenser with Cynthia (Elizabeth) and that the comparison between the ship followed by fishes and the shepherd with his sheep suggests not only Elizabeth's dominion over the sea but the poet's happy

> epithet for Raleigh as 'the Shepherd of the Ocean.' To this we may now add what may have been dimly present in the poet's consciousness, that his journey of Raleigh and Spenser was a new expedition of the Argonauts. In the mind of the other the conception, partially worked out in the manuscript which he bore with him, of the poem which was to celebrate this new imperial Britain.
> ("Two Notes on Spenser's Classical Sources," *MLN*, 41 (1926),323-4).

Spenser's amusing description of the sea and ship makes the idea of a new expedition of Argonauts unlikely.

233 Regiment domain, kingdom. "This is an early statement of the English claim to the seas; it is the answer to Spain, and perhaps an echo of Ralegh's talk" (Renwick, p.185). It may well be an echo of Raleigh's talk, but it also deflates his grandiloquence.

240-43 In this parody of Sannazaro's *Piscatory Eclogues* his correspondences between fishermen's activities and shepherds' tasks give place to actualities. "Surges" are hills where fish feed and breed, and where they are pastured by gods of the sea.

245 Renwick (p.185) cites *Met.* 11. 330-35:

> *nec maris ira manet, positoque tricuspide telo/mulcet aquas rector pelagi supraque profundum/extantem atque umeros innato murice tectum/caeruleum Tritona vocat conchaeque sonanti/inspirare iubet fluctusque et flumina signo/iam revocare dato.*
>
> He lifts his hollow shell, which twisting from the bottom of a spiral expands into a broad whorl —The shell which, when in mid-sea it has received the Triton's breath, fills with its notes the shores that lie beneath the rising and the setting sun.
> (Trans. F.J. Miller).

G.L. Craik *(Spenser and His Poetry,* III, 205) suggests that Triton is Lord Howard of Effingham.

246 relief: a term from hunting for the act of seeking pasture.

247 Wend: go one's way, journey; *fig.* and *transf.* flow.

248 Proteus: his shepherding of seals in recorded in Verg. *G.* 4. 391-95:

> *hunc et Nymphae veneramur et ipse/grandaevus Nereus; novit namque omnia vates,/quae sint, quae fuerint, quae mox ventura trahantur;/quippe ita Neptuno visum est, immania cuius/armenta et turpis pascit sub gurgite phocas.*
>
> To him we Nymphs do reverence, and aged Nereus himself; for the seer has knowledge of all things—what is, what hath been, what is in train ere long to happen—for so has it seemed good to Neptune, whose monstrous herds and unsightly seals he pastures beneath the wave.
> (Trans. H.R. Fairclough).

249 Porcpisces: "A learned Latinizing of the form to show the etymology" (C.G. Osgood, Variorum MP.1, p.461). Surely a pun is intended, since its companion phrase "stinking Seales" is scarcely erudite. Cf. 1565 Golding *Ovid's Met.* 1(1593)10: "The ugly seales and pork pisces now to and fro did flote" (*OED*).

251 Compelling: from the Latin, *compellere* to drive cattle. Cf. Verg. *Ecl.* 2. 11, 28-30:

> *O tantum libeat mecum tibi sordida rura atque humilis habitare casas et figere cervos haedorumque gregem viridicompellere hibisco.*
>
> O if you would but live with me in our rude fields and lowly cots, shooting the deer and driving the flocks of kids to the green mallows.
> (Trans. H.R. Fairclough).

254 beheast insincere promise (MED_1). Raleigh's ambition made him an extravagant flatterer. Cf. Spenser's ironic use in *MHT* 1.1308; also *FQ* 7.7.19.3.

259 fold receive joyfully in death; place in fold. In the medieval pastoral tradition princes were allegorized as good or bad shepherds, and their tasks likened to those of priests who were accountable for their flocks until the day of judgement. Spenser's transposition of these activities into piscatory allegory derides Raleigh's tasks.

264 wondred . . . wondring: a pun is obviously intended with wandrien, wondrien, to wander (Strathmann, *MED*).

265 descryde caught sight of.

267 eyde cf. "descryde." Another of Colin's puns cf. 1.207.

270 by that same name is ment: a romance convention for introducing the new and wonderful to an audience.

273 Floting amid the sea in jeopardie: Raleigh described the sea in land terminology and Colin now describes the land in maritime equivalents.

277 landheards: Raleigh as piscator banteringly refers to the flocks as "landheards", as though sea-herding was *the* usual pastime.

282 horne: Camden in *Britannia,* writes:

> Cornwall, called by modern Latin writers *Cornubia,* is the most western part of Britain, and inhabited by the remains of the Britons, whom Marianus the Scot calls the Western Britons, by whom it is named in the British language (for they have not totally lost the language of their ancestors) *Kernaw,* from its terminating in a horn, and running out into the sea in little promontories, as it were a number of horns. The Britons called a horn *Corn,* and in the plural *Kern.*

286 surges for to fleet: Colin maintains his description of the land in sea terms and comically describes the rocks floating in the sea.

287 beare carry; also bring forth in birth. Cf. "fruitfull wombe" l. 288.

290-91 What land is that: Cuddy "asks the classic eclogue question, with which the country-court contrast of the poem might be said properly to begin" (Hoffman, p.132).

292 thous a-fon: *Rusticus es Corydon,* Verg. *Ecl.* 2.56; cf. *SC* "Feb". 1.69: "Thou art a fon".

294-95 Cf. 1 Cor. 2. 9-10: "But as it is written, The things which eye hath not seene, neither eare hath heard, neither came into man's heart, are, which God hath prepared for them that love him".

295 lurke lie hidden.

297-99 The pastoral setting in England has all the fruitfulness of Eden.

301 Funchins: Molanna's love for the Funsheon is told in *FQ* 7.6.40-50.

306 And if like heaven, be heavenly graces there: through Cuddy's naive question the poet refers to the Neo-platonic theory that observation of natural beauty leads the mind from earthly to heavenly perfection. See *HHOB* and commentary in *Variorum* M.P.1.

307 wone: cf. *Promptorium Parvulorum,* Wonone, or Dwelle; maneo, habito; also lament, moan *(OED_2)*. Cf. "wayling" 1.312.

312-19 There is irony in this Protestant propaganda, since God's Providence in England is fruitless in the souls of its inhabitants (see n. 324-27).

313 bloodie issues: discharges due to disease (Lev. 13.7; Matt. 9.20); also sortie. Cf. 1577 Holinshed, *Chron.* 11.1195/1: "Dayly were issues made out of the Citie" (OED_1).

314 griesly famine: Spenser described the horrors of famine in his *View of the Present State of Ireland,* p.104:

> Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came creeping forth upon their hands, for their legs could not bear them. They looked anatomies of death, they spake like ghosts crying out of their graves, they did eat of the dead carrions, happy were they could find them, yea and one another soon after in so much as the very carcasses they spared not to scrape out of their graves, and if they found a plot of water cress or shamrocks, there they flocked as to a feast for the time, yet not able long to continue therewithal, that in short space there were none almost left and a most populous and plentiful country suddenly left void of man or beast.

griesly causing horror; horrible to behold.

raging sweard violent action. Cf. *Prom. Parv: Rabies, rabulatus,* ragyng. Spenser did not believe in the senseless destruction of people:

> For by the sword which I named I do not mean the cutting of all that nation with the sword, which far be it from me that ever I should think so desperately or wish so uncharitably, but by the sword I mean the royal power of the prince, which ought to stretch itself forth in her chief strength, to the redressing and cutting off of those evils which I before blamed, and not of the people which are evil; for evil peo-

> le by good ordinance and government may be made good, but the evil that is of itself evil will never become good.
> (*View* p.95).

315 bodrags: possibly a corruption of an Irish word for hostile incursions. Cf. 1586 J. Hooker, *Girald.* Irel. II. 172/2: "Nothing liking the outrages, bodrages, and villanies dailie practised by Barrie, Condon, and others" (OED_1). Spenser used bodragings for "hostile incursions" in *FQ* 2.10.63.4. See Illustration I for Derricke's depiction of these "bodrags".

318 ravenous wolves were a reality in sixteenth-century Ireland. Cf. F.S. Wilde, *Ancient Legends, Mystic Charms and Superstitions of Ireland,* p.35:

> At that time the wolves in Ireland had increased to such an extent, owing to the desolation of the country by constant wars, that a reward was offered and a high price paid for every wolf's skin brought into the court of the justiciary; and this was in the time of Queen Elizabeth, when the English troops made ceaseless war against the Irish people, and there were more wolves in Ireland than men; and the dead lay unburied in hundreds on the highways, for there were no hands to dig them graves.

The native Irish engaged in superstitious practices as protection against them. Cf. W. Camden, *Britannia,* IV,469:

> They consider wolves as relations, calling them *Chari Christ,* praying for them, and wishing them well; and so they think they shall not be hurt by them.

See Derricke's presentation of an Irishman lamenting his folly, Illustration II. For further accounts of the prevalence of wolves see R. Bagwell, *Ireland Under the Tudors,* p.445; R. Holinshed, *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland,* VI,20; F. Moryson, *An History of Ireland,* II,367. .

322 "The expression is rather contorted: he means religion has the support of lay power" (Renwick, p.186). It could also mean that in the English Church-State, Spenser is giving first importance to religion. In ll. 324-27 England has all the graces given by God to make it an earthly paradise, and it is likely that Spenser wished the Protestant Church to be considered as one of these gifts.

324-27 Spenser's emphasis on spiritual grace in this passage makes it clear that he believes it is only the inhabitants' ill-will which prevents their practising the Neo-platonic philosophy which would lead them to perfection (see n. 312-19).

327 gracelesse without spiritual grace.

332-51 Renwick justifies this passage on the following grounds: Elizabeth's avid desire for flattery; Spenser's personal need to show gratitude; the Elizabethan concept of the sacredness of the monarchy. He also argues that we would find "the daily manners of

A Here creepes out of Saint Filchers denne, a packe of prowling mates,
Most hurtfull to the English pale, and noysome to the states:
Which spare no more their country byth, then those of th'english race,
But yeld to each a lyke good turne, when as they come in place.

B They spoyle, and burne, and beare away, as fitte occasions serue,
And thinke the greater ill they doe, the greater prayse deserue:

1 They passe not for the poore mans cry, nor yet respect his teares,
But rather ioy to see the fire, to flash about his eares.
To see both flame, and smouldring smoke, to dusk the christall skyes,
Next to their pray, therein I say, their second glory lyes.

C And thus bereauing him of house, of cattell and of store:
They do returne backe to the wood, from whence they came before.

This rebell stoute, in traytrous sorte, that rose agaynst his Prince,
And sought by bloudy broyles of warre, her sceptre to convince:
So long as fortune did support, his deuilish enterprice.
So long ambition blinded quight, his Karnysh knauish eyes,
And moude him proudly to vsurpe, the title not his owne:
As one that might enioy the fruite, which other men had sowne.
But when his mistres did reuoke, her former good successe,

And left the rose in greuous bandes, of sinne and deepe distresse:
He then bewayled his former vyce, and penytent playde in vayne,
Repentyng that her highnes lawes, he had in such disdayne:
But all to late his folly sought, his grief for to recure,
when that agaynst his will, he must her heauy stroke endure:
For though at first he founde successe, (the sweet once past came so sore)
And ouerthrew his glorious state, in minute of an houre:

So as his raigne endurde not long, but tombled in the myre,
Because he sinde in that he mounde, our noble Queene to irke
O lamentable thyng to see, ambition clymes so high,
when superstitious pride shall fall, in twynckling of an eye
For such is euery rebelles state, and enermyes hath beene,
And let them neuer better speede, that ryse agaynst our Queene.

Elizabethan times uncomfortably florid" (p.186). Cooper maintains that "the panegyric of Cynthia in the whole poem has a double emphasis, on the lyrically compelling portrait of her as the Spring Queen, and on the idea of her as shepherdess of her people, ruling a land of peace and content". She also notes that such sentiments "express forcefully the ideal that the Elizabethans felt the Queen to embody: true poetry and true religion in an ambience of pastoral peace" (pp. 197-98).

336 But if I her like ought on earth might read: this clever inversion of Neo-platonic theory begins with Elizabeth's semi-divine excellence and then descends to images of earthly perfection.

337-39 "Cynthia is *like* a regal wreath, the colored band around a turtle dove's neck, or the ring around the moon. The *property* of the circlet, colors; of Phoebe's garland, light. There is also, of course, the play on crown with its suggestion of *adjuncts* power and glory" (Meyer, p.93).

337 crowne: not only power and glory, as Meyer suggests, but also "circle," an image of perfection. That Spenser had the latter in mind is clear from the circular imagery throughout the passage (11. 337-43).

lillies are symbolic of virgin purity.

339 With Roses dight: two images combine here: the commonplace Elizabethan description for a lady's skin (*Variorum* 5, p.189 gives numerous examples); and roses (white and red) symbolizing the union of the houses of York and Lancaster (see E.C. Wilson, *England's Eliza,* pp.134-5). As Summer's Queen Elizabeth is also crowned with the flowers of the field, marigolds and daffodils.

340 circlet of a Turtle true: "The dove's neck-ring, in the repertory of *amour courtois,* is a familiar motif of outward beauty towards which the soul is drawn in love" (Meyer, p.94).

342 Phebes garlond shining new: a circle around the new moon. In each image there is an object crowned or adorned by a circle, the symbol of perfection. Together they make a delicate compliment to the Queen, for they suggest that she embodies heavenly excellence and that all her majestic qualities lead men to seek a spiritual perfection.

347 but who the Godhead can define: no one can define the Godhead or Cynthia's perfection. This syllogism exposes "Spenser *ludens*".

348 base shepheard bold and blind: cf. 11.920-24 where Colin glosses this reference to Stesichorus who lost his sight for writing against Helen, and recanting, had it restored. See Plato, *Phdr.* 243. The allusion also includes an elegant apology for contravening the convention that the praise of princes was beyond the ability of common man (see Cooper, ch.6).

351 The image of the heavens in shape humane: the inversion of the usual sentence structure for a Neo-platonic statement (In human beings we see the image of the heavens) as well as the pun on "shape" ("image" OED_1) is obviously meant to surprise us into thinking of Elizabeth as a divine being.

353 By wondring at thy Cynthiaes praise: Colin is amazed by his own praise of Cynthia, and the recollection of her causes him astonishment (cf. 1.333). This ambiguity is one of the many deliberate stylistic techniques used by the poet to reveal his delight in his own creation, and to comment on his literary techniques.

354-55 The deliberate ambiguity in Alexis's rebuke, which is an adaptation of the proverb "A man commends himself in praising that which he loves" (cf. Publilius Syrus, *Sententiae* No. 608: *Quod quisque amat laudando commendat sibi.* Stevenson, p. 1467), encompasses the poet.

357 shepheard strange: Colin earlier called Raleigh a "straunge shepheard" (1.60) and Alexis's emphatic inversion is a reminder of the playful spirit that existed between the poets.

359 Goddesse grace: Spenser made Elizabeth the fourth Grace in the *SC* "Aprill" 11. 113-16.

enhanced exalted in dignity *(OED_2).*

360 enclin'd bent down to listen; turned favourably towards the poet; also caused to bow. The ambiguity uncovers Raleigh's influence on the Queen's response. Cf. 11. 454-55: "Yet found I lyking in her royall mynd / Not for my skill, but for that shepheards sake." See also 11. 173-75 and 11. 430-31.

364-67 The compliment to Elizabeth is extremely flattering, and it is also a magnanimous way of stating that the Queen enjoyed his presence but not his poetry.

365 mott estimated the greatness of. OED_4 cites this usage. Collier (V,44) echoing Todd (p.450) quotes T. Warton who was not sure of the meaning.

369 shepheardesse: Collier (V.44) assumes from this passage that in Spenser's time "shepheardesse" was equivalent to poetess but it is only applicable here because the Queen wrote poetry, and it was part of the ritual of praising her as "The Shepherd's Queen" (see Cooper, ch.6).

372 laesie slothful; also a sixteenth century literary term for a sluggish style. Through the shepherd's naivety Spenser entertains us with sophisticated literary comments on his contemporaries.

374 untunable discordant.

craesie frail, full of flaws; unable to sustain a worthwhile composition.

378-79 when they list to blow ... aloud: not only blow loudly, but boast noisily.

380-517 Renwick (p.189) and C.G. Osgood (*Variorum* M.P.1, p.436) both note that veiled allusions to contemporary persons was a favourite device of Spenser's, but the practice was common. See Franklin B. Williams Jr., "An Initiation into Initials", *SB*, 9(1957), 162-78; "Those Careless Elizabethans: Names Betwitched", *BSA*, 54(1960), 115-19; "Renaissance Names in Masquerade", *PMLA*, 69(1954), 314-23.

For the earliest record of the identification of the poets in marginalia see Katherine Koller, "Identifications in Colin Clouts Come Home Again", *MLN*, 50 (1935), 155-58. *Variorum* M.P.1 (pp. 463-474) cites most of the critics' attempts at identification. The reasons for their nominations are considered in the Introduction, "Twelve Poets", and a synopsis of my identifications are given in notes to ll. 380-455.

380-81 Harpalus: George Turbervile (1540?-1597?). Harpalus ἁρπαλέος, charming, pleasing. Turbervile's insistence in his prefaces on his desire to please others suggests he may have had a gracious disposition. He and Spenser had both a friend in common, Arthur Gorges (Alcyon), and a patron, the Countess of Warwick.

Harpalus was one of his pseudonyms and he may have written "Harpalus's Complaint" (see Appendix A). He entered Elizabeth's service as the secretary to Thomas Randolph, ambassador to Russia (1568-1569). Thomas Sackville, Barnabe Googe, George Puttenham, Anthony Munday have also been identified as Harpalus (see Introduction, "Harpalus").

382-83 a Corydon: Edward Dyer (1543-1607). "Corydon" was Dyer's pastoral name. He was a friend of Spenser ("Foure Letters", I, 7, 8, 9, 17, 36) and of Harvey (*ibid.*I, 246, 266; see also V. Stern, *Gabriel Harvey*, p. 55). He was held in esteem by Elizabeth; but she did not confer any official honour on him until 1596. He had no hereditary wealth and apparently lacked financial expertise; for at the time of his death his debts exceeded £11,000. The role is often given to Abraham Fraunce. (see Introduction, "Corydon").

382 meanly moderately well; stingily.

384-91 Alcyon: Arthur Gorges (1557-1625). Alcyon is used for Gorges in *Daph* where his excessive grief is described in detail. Gorges's poetry was first published by Helen Sandison in 1953, and contains a fragment of "Eglantine of Meriflure." Much of his work demonstrates his competence as a lyricist, but his *Olympian Catastrophe* (1612) shows he had little talent for the herioc mode.

385 frame express.

386 spright soul, spirit.

Daphnes death: Douglas Howard, Gorges's first wife, died 13 August 1590. For an account of the Howard-Gorges relationship see H. Sandison, "Arthur Gorges: Spenser's

Alcyon and Raleigh's Friend", *PMLA*, 43 (1928), 645-74; "The Vanytyes of Sir Arthur Gorges Youth," *PMLA*, 61 (1946), 109-13.

387 pittie pity-moving; a subject of condolence; a condition calling for pity. The ambiguity is probably deliberate.

392-93 Palin: George Peele (1556-1596). Palin πάλιν again, in turn. Peele's Spenserian imitations are sufficiently bold to allow us to suggest that he is Palin. His imitations of the *SC* in the *Araygnement of Paris* and the *Eclogue Gratulatory* show his fondness for Spenserian names and diction, and his facile transformation of Spenser's "October" for his *Ecl.Grat.* deserved a public rebuke. Giles Fletcher and Thomas Chaloner have also been identified as Palin (see Introduction, "Palin").

394-95 Alcon: Thomas Lodge (1557-1625). Alcon has no direct link with Lodge, although there is a character of this name in *A Looking Glass for London and Englande* by Lodge and Greene. Despite the elusiveness of the pseudonym Lodge's immediate public *apologia* for his pleasing style and paucity of content in *The Devil Conjured* (1596) directs us to him. (see the commendatory verses to *An Alarum Against Usurers* ed. Gosse, IV, 9 for contemporary references to Lodge's pleasing style). Other nominees are: Thomas Watson, Robert Gentilis, Nicholas Breton, James VI, Robert Greene (see Introduction, "Alcon").

395 matter the subject matter of a literary work (MED_5).

of more skill: in prepositional phrases, of skill, denotes that something is in accordance with what is reasonable or right. Here, the reference is to art (OED_6).

396-99 Palemon: Thomas Churchyard (1520?-1609). Palemon is a sea-god in *Aen.* 5. 823, and *Met.* 4. 542. Line 399 brought an unequivocal response from Churchyard in, "The platform where all poets thrive/ Save one whose voice is hoarse they say" (*Churchyard's Chemshing* (1596), sig. B). Churchyard's prefaces frequently refer to his protracted literary career and his ill-health (see the Prefaces to *Mirror of Man* (1594), *Worthiness of Wales* (1587), and *Churchyard's Chippes* (1575)). Only Malone believed that Arthur Golding was Palemon (see Introduction, "Palemon"). πάλαιος, old man, is a possible source.

397-98 The puns "carefull," "rew," "rewed" make it clear that a criticism of style and content is intended.

397 carefull mournful; painstaking.

rew lament; feel pity or compassion for.

400-15 Alabaster: William Alabaster (1567-1640). Alabaster's volatile temperament led him from literature to active religious proselytism; and his frequent denominational recantations marred his career between 1596 and 1613. He espoused Anglicanism permanently in 1613 and in 1617 became chaplain to James I. For a discussion of his

Elisaeis (first published in 1979) see Introduction, "William Alabaster".

406 O dreaded Dread: a rhetorical form of address for a royal person. Cf. 1420 *Rymer's Foedera* (1709) 9. 883 a: "Ryght Excellent, High, and Ryght Myghty Prince, and most Dredde Soverayne Lord" (MED_3).

do not thy selfe that wrong: the ambiguity discloses a daring plea to Elizabeth: she would diminish her fame, and expose herself as unbountiful if she failed to patronize Alabaster.

408 O call him forth to thee: this direct plea for patronage was never acceded to by Elizabeth; however, Essex appointed Alabaster chaplain in 1596.

410 That when he finisht hath: Alabaster had planned to write the whole history of Elizabeth's reign in *Elisaeis* but only completed one book.

416-27 Samuel Daniel (1562-1619). Daniel's Sonnets were first published in 1591. They show no latent dramatic talent, and this raises the question of Spenser's singular prophecy. If Spenser's lines (416-27) are compared with the Preface to *Cleopatra* some interesting parallels emerge, which indicate that Spenser possibly knew of the Countess of Pembroke's encouragement to Daniel to write drama (*see* J. Rees, *Samuel Daniel,* Ch.3; see also Introduction, "Samuel Daniel").

Koller ("Spenser and Ralegh" *ELH,* 1(1934), p.55 and Collier (I, xciv) agree that this section postdates the Preface to *CCCHA*. Renwick (p.187) believes that Spenser could have read the sonnets in manuscript.

428-31 shepheard of the Ocean: Sir Walter Raleigh (1552?-1618). This passage exposes Spenser's ambivalence to Raleigh: he notes his self-destructive conduct and he commends his power to sway the emotions of a monarch. See Introduction, "Sir W. Raleigh".

430 Full sweetly tempred: although the Muse is "tempred" the poet is not.

431 empierce transfix. This is an extremely bold comment on Elizabeth's emotional response to Raleigh's poetry.

432-33 Spenser states clearly that he had already discharged his debt of courtesy to Lord Strange for omitting him in the Dedicatory Sonnets to the *FQ* when news of his death forced him to turn the tribute into elegiac praise.

434-43 Amyntas: Ferdinando Stanley, Lord Strange, and subsequently the fifth Earl of Derby (1559-1594). As a generous patron of writers and players, Stanley won the respect of his contemporaries. Stories of his pious and untimely death show that he was also honoured for his noble dispositions (*see Lancashire Funeral Records* ed. F. Raines (Chetham Society, 1879, vol. LXXV), and the 1688 edition of Camden's *History of Princess Elizabeth* p. 491). Only one poem attributed to Stanley survives (see Appendix C).

437 Amaryllis: Alice Stanley (see 564-71).

444-47 Aetion: Michael Drayton (1563-1631). Aetion ἀετόν, cause, idea, ἀετός- eagle. In Drayton's Poems *Idea* (1593) and *Idea's Mirrour* (1594) there are numerous allusions to: Idea, the poet's mistress; "idea" poetic creativity, the eagle-like nature of thoughts ("eagle-birds". Hebel, ed. I,67); and poetry ("Egle-soring muse." *Ibid.*, I,99). Idea also incorporates the Neo-platonic doctrine in which the Divine Beauty of God fits the mind with a system of ideas that enables man to find God in the beauty of creation.

446 high aspiring; noble.

invention *rhet.*, the finding out or selection of topics to be treated.

447 Heroically in the manner of heroic poetry. *OED* cites this example.

449-51 Astrofell: Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586). Documentary references for Spenser's friendship and admiration for Sidney are: the Harvey-Spenser correspondence in *The Works of Gabriel Harvey*, ed. Grosart (I, 7, 8, 9, 17, 36); Ded. and Epistle to the *SC, RT,* Ded, ll.274-343; *MHT* ll 717-92; *Astro*; Ded. Son. 15 *FQ*; Commendatory Verse by W.L. *FQ*. For the possible relationship of this passage with *Astro* see "Introduction, Sir Philip Sidney.

451 was none his Paragone: some of the poets mentioned in the catalogue were not writing when Sidney lived; but even if they had been, Spenser generously implies, Sidney would have surpassed them.

454-55 See 187-89; 360; 364-67. "This verse seems closer to the truth. It frankly flatters Ralegh while raising the specter of a grudging Elizabeth who hears Spenser out to appease an angry suitor" (Hoffman p.136). See n. 364-67.

458 Which favour thee, and honour Cynthia: this ironic comment discloses Spenser's sane awareness of the forces governing his preferences.

463 due deserts: cf. Publilius Syrus 843: *Reddit, non perdit, qui suum quoique tribuit* ("He who gives to each one his due, does not lose but gives back" M.P. Tilley, *A Dictionary of Proverbs in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*, D.364).

464-67 Colin makes his justification his praises of Rosalind, which were known from the *SC.* For dissenting opinions see 466-79.

466-79 There are some obvious changes in the poem between its composition in 1591 and publication in 1595 (see 11. 432-43). These revisions and Spenser's marriage to Elizabeth Boyle, June 1594, have caused some critics to see this section as an insertion in honour of his wife. R. Jenkins ("*Rosalind in CCCHA*," MLN, 67(1952), 1-5), believes the lines are to Elizabeth Boyle and 11. 927-51 to the Rosalind of the *SC.* Burchmore *RES*, 18(1977), 393-406) in his numerological analysis of the poem sees the profession of Spenser's love for Elizabeth Boyle as the formal centre of the work.

Although the passage avoids specificity of locale, Melissa's ironic comment, "Who else vouchsafed thee of grace?" suggests the lady was not domiciled in Ireland. Most likely Rosalind was Elizabeth Throckmorton, because she wrote beside these lines "E. Throkemorton his mistres" (see *The Library*, 26(1971), 1-21; see also Introduction, "Twelve Poets: Sir W. Raleigh").

467 Vassall: "The two elements (among many) of chivalric love which are germane to this passage are the relation of vassal (lover) to lord (beloved), and the Platonic mode which connects beauty, love, virtue, and light" (Meyer, p.99).

473 martyrize afflict, torment. Although "martyrize" fits easily into the terminology of courtly love, its use in the transferred sense is unusual.

478 One ever I all vowed hers to bee: according to Burchmore the poet's vow answers his bride's in *Epith* 1.217. The lack of verbal similarities in the pledges makes any parallel unlikely. There is, however, an echo of this vow in Hobbinol's statement of Colin's devotion to Rosalind in, "For having loved ever one" (l.904).

481 enforce strive, attempt physically (OED_6). With comic irony Spenser comments on the renown of Colin's intemperate praise of Rosalind.

482-83 "This can only be a reference to the refrain of Epithalamion" (Burchmore, p.396). The figure is a pastoral convention and was first used by Spenser in the *SC* ("June" ll. 50-2). See also *FQ* 6. 10. 10. 3-5; 7.6.52. 8-9; *Proth* ll. 112-13; *TM* 1.21-2.

484 But say, who else vouchsafed thee of grace? cf. n.481.

487 Uriana: Mary Sidney, Countess of Pembroke (1561-1621), was a renowned patroness of poets (e.g. Nicholas Breton, Samuel Daniel, John Davies, Abraham Fraunce, and Thomas Watson). Spenser dedicated the *RT* to her, and praised her as a poetess. Renwick (p.236) attributes "The Doleful Lady of Clorinda" in *Astro* to her. Her scheme of fostering Daniel to help her establish English drama on Neo-classical principles was unsuccessful (see Introduction, "Samuel Daniel", and n. 416-27; also Urania n. p 109.

492 Theana: Anne Russell, Countess of Warwick (d. 1604). Spenser addressed her as a "Paragone of fame" (11. 244-245) in the *RT* and dedicated *4 Hymns* to her and her sister, Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland. Turbervile, Spenser's Harpalus, was another of her devotees (see Introduction, "George Turbervile").

493-94 With this delicate image of excessive grief Spenser sensitively reminds the Countess to moderate her mourning. Cf. his more direct plea to Gorges 11. 384-91.

493 dight adorned, ornamented.

494 carefull full of grief; also, painstaking. The Countess's devout Puritanism obviously contributed to the formal (painstaking) manner in which she expressed grief for her

husband, Ambrose Dudley who died in February 1589/90. In the corrupt court her virtuous life, Lok assures us, was a singular example (see *Poems of Lok*, ed. A. Grosart, p.373).

503 governance mode of living.

504-7 Marian: Margaret Russell, Theana's sister (n.492), married George Clifford, Earl of Cumberland in 1577. Daniel became tutor to her daughter Anne in 1595, and in 1603 dedicated epistles to both of them.

508 Mansilia: Helena, Marchioness of Northampton, arrived in England from Sweden in 1565. After the death of her first husband, William Parr, she married in 1571 an influential courtier, Sir Thomas Gorges, uncle of Arthur Gorges ("sad Alcyon" 1.384).

510-11 That same is she to whom Daphnaida ...I did complaine: Spenser in identifying her, deftly reminds the Marchioness of his devotion to her and his allegiance to the Gorges.

515 As she is next her in nobilitie: with some boldness Spenser implies that Helena Gorges's special right of precedence at court came through hereditary nobility as well as virtue. A more explicit statement of Spenser's partisanship is found in the Dedication to *Daph*:

> Besides so lineally are they descended from the Howards, as that the Lady Anne Howard, eldest daughter to John Duke of Norfolke, was wife to Sir Edmund, mother to Sir Edward, and grandmother to Sir William and Sir Thomas Gorges Knightes.

516-23 Galathea: Renwick (p.188) suggests Katherine Gifford wife of Sir Henry Wallop, who held land in the barony of Coshma. The Wallops were in England in 1589, but Lady Wallop returned to Ireland in 1593, two years before her husband. Pauline Henley (*TLS*, July 6 1933, p 464) believes Galathea is Frances Howard, wife of the 12th Earl of Kildare, daughter to the Lord High Admiral, and cousin to the Queen. Kildare's jointure "included Croom and Adare on the Maigue, from which the barony of Coshma takes its name" (p.475). When in 1594 the Queen heard of Kildare's unchivalrous conduct to his wife she insisted on Frances Howard's return to court; there she waited on the Queen and won her admiration and that of Sir Robert Cecil (see *The Earls of Kildare*, pp.299-300).

Frances Howard is the most convincing Galathea, for Spenser was unlikely to have described any but a blood relation of the Queen's as, "best of all that honourable crew". Moreover, Frances Howard could truly be said to "have there then waited upon Cynthia" for she was in England for most of 1591 (*ibid.*, pp.292-94).

524-31 Neæra: Spenser celebrated the Earl of Ormonde in the seventh Dedicatory Sonnet to the *FQ* and here his wife Elizabeth, daughter of Lord Sheffield, is copiously praised. Their home was in the Suir Valley, but both were in England from 1589 to 1595.

532-35 Stella: Penelope Devereux, Lady Rich (1562-1607). The seventeenth century annotator of the copy to which Koller had access wrote at l. 532, and at l. 36 and l. 55 in "*Astro*, "The Lady Riche". Koller writes, "this inaccuracy, for by Stella Spenser surely meant Lady Essex, shows the popularity of this tradition in the seventeenth century" (p.157). Spenser would surely not have mentioned Lady Essex because the Queen had banished her from the court in Nov. 1590, for her secret marriage to Essex.

536 the sisters three: Lady Elizabeth Carey, Lady Anne Compton and Mounteagle, and Lady Alice Strange, were the second, fifth, and sixth daughters of Sir John Spencer of Althorp (see *The Early History of the Spencer Family*, p.31-2).

538 meanest undistinguished in rank or station; also, intend. By means of the pun Colin is both assertive and humble. E. Stratham ("Lady Carey and Spenser" *ELH*, II(1935), p.46), cites the Dedications of *Muiop, TM, MHT,* and *Proth,* 11.131-32, where the poet also claims relationship with the Spencers of Althrop.

540 Phyllis, Charillis, ... Amaryllis: "Spenser describes the 3 Spencer sisters as if they were the Three Graces ... In their description Spenser combines the abstract triad of chastity, beauty, and love with the names of the Graces, usually rendered in Latin as *viriditas, splendor,* and *laetitia*" (Burchmore, p.404).

543 highest in degree: a revision or addition because Lady Alice Strange did not become Countess of Derby until September 1593.

544-47 Phyllis: Elizabeth Spencer (1557-1618), wife of George Carey, Baron Hunsdon. *Muiop* and the sixteenth Dedicatory Sonnet to the *FQ* were in her honour. P. Long ("Spenser and Lady Carey", *MLR,* 3 (1908), 2 56-67), argues that the *Amor* was written for her; Todd (I, lxxii-iv), J. Fletcher ("Spenser's Earliest Translations", *JEGP,* 13 (1914), 305-8), and O. Emerson ("Spenser, Lady Carey, and the Complaints Volume", *PMLA*, 32 (1917), 306-22), claim that the whole group of poems at the end of Complaints (*Muiop, VWV, VB, VP*), were intended for her.

545 Faire spreading forth her leaves: Burchmore (p.404) notes that Phyllis φυλλάς leaves, foliage or verdure, corresponds with the Grace Thalia or *viriditas.*

546-47 amorous reflexion...rash beholders sight: Neo-platonic thought provides a structural parallel for this imagery. Like God's perfection, Lady Elizabeth's is reflected in all she does, and her excellence like His, causes man wonderment.

rash: the moral warning implies that only the pure in heart can look on her beauty (cf. Matt. 5.8).

548-51 Charillis: χάρις , a Grace or loveliness in general (Burchmore p.404). Charillis, Anne Spencer, was first married to Sir William Stanley, Lord Mounteagle, and then to

Lord Henry Compton who died in 1589. Her third husband was Robert Sackville, Lord Buckhurst's eldest son.

552 noble swaine: Robert Sackville. Again an addition, for Sackville married Lady Anne Compton on the 4 December 1592.

562 addrest erected, raised.

562-63 a goodly beacon...with sparks of heavenle beautie fired; maritime imagery from Colin's recent voyage is ingeniously applied to Neoplatonic thought. Cf. 11.284-85.

564-71 Amaryllis: "Since she represents the amorous grace Euphrosyne or *laetitia* we might have expected some reference to her joy, but after Spenser wrote the first version of his poem her husband Amyntas had passed away, 'having his Amaryllis left to mone'" (Burchmore, p.404).

Spenser is perhaps being ironic in lines 564-67, because it seems that the Countess was determined in her widowhood. Sir John Harrington in his epigram on the occasion of her marriage to Sir John Egerton in 1600, lamented her prolonged mourning, "she lived - ah! too, too long in widow's state"; but he also praised her exemplary conduct, "And in that state, took such sweet state upon her / All eares, eyes, tongues, heard, saw, and spoke her honour" (*Epigrams,* 3.p.47). During her long life (1556?-1636-7) she patronized many writers and won their praises (e.g. Lok, Davies, Marston, Milton). See *Lancashire Funeral Certificates,* vol.75; *Earls of Derby and the Verse Writers,* vol. 29, Chetham Society.

574-75 Renwick judiciously concludes that "the other ladies, like the other shepherdesses, are too vaguely mentioned to be identified" (p.189).

579 This sun would faile me ere I halfe had ended: "From the first line of Colin's speech in praise of the 12 shepherds, or poets, to his last line in praise of the 12 nymphs or ladies at court, the whole passage (376-583) is precisely centred, consisting of 52 quatrains with 93 preceding it and 93 following it" (Burchmore, p.395).

583 Then by discourse them to indignifie: Rhet. *Paralipsis.* See n. 348, and, Cooper, ch.6. Spenser offers a solution to the problem of decorum in the concept of divine inspiration. See Introduction, "Curious Skill".

596-615 I. Baroway ("The Imagery of Spenser and the 'Song of Songs'" *JEGP,* 33(1934), 23-45), claims that Spenser's imagery in this passage is unique in his work, because he uses it in the Hebraic manner in which the analytic approach modifies the sensory effect. Meyer (pp.106-7) disagrees with Baroway's argument and asserts that Spenser's unsensuous and conceptual imagery is no different here from that in other sections of the poem, where it is derived from Neo-platonic thought.

What is new is not the intellectual quality of the imagery, but its use in the celebration of

a person. Protestants interpreted the Song as a dialogue between Christ and the Church or man (see G. Scheper, "Reformation Attitudes towards Allegory and the Song of Songs"; *PMLA*, 89 (1974), 551-62). While some Protestants may have regarded Elizabeth as the embodiment of the true religion, few would have celebtrated her in language once associated with Catholic Marian liturgy.

600-3 The concept of grapes as deeds recalls the pictorial presentation of Christ's redemptive act, and the ardent soul's acceptance of it in the communion wine. Because the meaning is usually metaphysical, it seems slightly incongruous when the deeds are linked to the physical actions of the Queen, and when the beholder, also the recipient, is actualized as the intoxicated devotee. To enjoy this kind of imagery one has to appreciate the witty intellectualization of the sources, and realize that a new apogee has been reached in the literary quest for superlatives in pastoral panegyrics.

600 glusters of ripe grapes: cf. Song 7.8-13. The disjunction between the concept and its sensuous actualization in this image stresses the lover's frenzied commitment.

glusters: obs. form of clusters *(OED).* This kind of alliteration is deliberate (cf. singulfs l.168; see n. 168).

602 gapes cf. Heywood 1546 (1867) 17: "He that gapeth till he be fed, Maie fortune to fast and famishe for honger" (OED_1). All Spenserian uses suggest excess, vulgarity, greed. Tubervile always uses "gape for gaine" with negative connotations, e.g. "I neither gape for gaine nor greedie fee" (*Heroycall Epistles,* p.vii).

608-15 This passage reveals a little of the poet's ambivalent attitude to a proud monarch. Rising incense from a swinging thurible signifies man's praise that momentarily transcends time and space and ascends as homage to God. However, the ambiguity, "high aspiring thought" which describes Cynthia's meditation implies that she contemplates her own angelic origin rather than her Creator.

608 the fume of Franckincence: cf. Song. 3.6; 4.6-14.

616-19 Cuddy's moral rebuke to Colin indirectly comments on the apparent transgressions against the rules of pastoral decorum. Hoffman (p.137) claims that Cuddy's response is actually a criticism of pastoral. Spenser's choice of the genre should preclude such interpretations.

620-27 Colin justifies his transgressions by the poetic gift of divine inspiration (see Introduction, "Curious Skill").

629 So long as life my limbs doth hold together: "life and lim", a common phrase for existence. Cf. 1475 Gregory *Chron.* 207: "Alle hadde grace and marcy bothe of lyffe and lym" (MED_1).

630 vitall bands: the bonds that united one to life-giving forces.

632-35 "To mark the bark", a pastoral trope initiated by Callimachus, *Aetia*73. Instances in classical literature are numerous (e.g. Theoc. *Id.* 18,47; Verg. *Ecls.* 5. 13-4; 10. 53; Calp. *Ecl.* 1. 34-5). Here Ariosto's conceit of marking stones with Angelica's name is surpassed by Spenser's image in which the trees cover the stones with Cynthia's name. Cf. George's pedestrian effort:

> Uppon the trees I will recorde
> and grave your worthy name
> And as those trees doo growe
> and spreade your name lykwise.
> (No.26*V* & *T*).

634 engrosse subsume, unite in one entity; engrave or decorate with sculpture (MED_4). Cf. *Orl.Fur.* 19.28 where Angelica and Medoro engrave their names on stones and trees and Orlando hews them out (23.104).

637 frame express, put into words.

638 when for their dams they call: with this hyperbole Spenser surpasses his trope in the *SC* "Ap." 1.95, "Soone as my younglings cryen for the dam/ To her will I offer a milkwhite Lamb".

640 dead and rotten: ignoring all the pastoral conceits and Spenser's humour Edwards solemnly argues that this sentiment shows the poet's "determination to go on thinking and speaking of her...to make Nature itself be the language of praise his own words can't become - has some heroic force, and we are persuaded of the strength of his Platonic devotion by seeing it survive a fully grasped image of physical corruption" (p.54).

rotten common tag. *Prom.Parv.* Rotyn or turnyn to corrupcione. Cf. Caxton C. 1489. *Sonnes of Amyon* 19. 439: "I am sory that ye be not deed rotyn wythin the pryson". (OED_1).

646 alive that is, in Colin's verse.

651-59 Thestylis's question emphasizes Colin's evasiveness. See n. 364; also n. 454-55.

655 such wealth might unto thee accrew: Spenser comments ironically on his own career. Hoffman argues that here the paradox of the poem, so long held at a distance by the poet, can no longer be denied. The poet has not been able to diminish the golden world except indirectly, so the naive questioners, those inside the poem, finally contradict the outsiders - "the critical readers and the disappointed poet, who have heard the intruding, unmasked voice" (p.139).

660-792 The shepherd who goes to court and rejects it was a common motif in the Middle

Ages, and its popularity continued into the Renaissance. See Cooper, pp.71-9. Hoffman (p.139) maintains that Spenser is unable to resolve the court-country conflict. For similar satire in Spenser, see *TM* 11.67-108; *MHT* 11.581-942.

662 uncomptrold unrestrained.

671 blandishment allurement.

674 having learnd repentance late: cf. 1546 Heywood D 37.86: "To late (quoth mine aunt) this repentance shewd is" (Whiting, R 86); Cf. *FQ* 2.5.13.9; *MHT* l.293.

675 Emongst those wretches; a biting indictment against courtiers, since "wretches" were reprehensible characters.

descryde described; often used for injurious revelation.

679 spie: Exploiting Colin's use of "descryde" Thestylis implies that Colin acquired his information surreptitiously and enviously.

680-730 According to Hoffman (p. 139), this fifty line harangue contains every conventional abuse ever listed. Cf. court satire in *TM* 11.67-108; *MHT* 11.581-942.

680 cancred will: "cancred" was used frequently with will, mind, and heart to suggest corruption of character. Cf. Turbervile, *Ecl.* 3. p.24: "For often under smothest skin/ Doth lurke a cankred minde."

681 demeand dealt with; also, judged adversely. The pun enables Spenser to make a covert reference to those who mistreated him.

684-87 Cf. the warning in *MHT* ll 909-14:

> Who ever leaves sweete home, where meane estate
> In safe assurance, without strife or hate,
> Findes all things needfull for contentment meeke;
> And will to Court for shadowes vaine to seeke,
> Or hope to gaine, himselfe will a daw trie:
> That curse God send unto mine enemie.

687 lambes to losse misled amisse: the pastoral tradition of shepherds as priests and teachers re-enforces Colin's admonition.

losse perdition.

amisse sin.

694 subtil shifts and finest sleights: frequently used in various combinations for cunning and deception. Cf. Turbervile, *Eglogs of Mantuan,* 4. p.35: "So sundry are hir shifts/ And subtile sleights hir craft to cloake"

696 fained forgerie: alliterations and synonyms of this kind convey the vehemence of Colin's contempt.

697 blot of blame incorporates the Christian concept of sin staining (blotting) and burdening the soul with guilt (blame). Cf. Chaucer *CT Pars.* l. 1010: "Lat no blotte be bihynde, lat no synne ben untoold" *(MED).*

701 filed toung: a common phrase for eloquent speech. Cf. 1570.

B. Googe *Pop.Kingd.* 11.22b: "Their eloquence and filed tongue" *(OED).*

702 No art of schoole: that is, of the university.

schoolery: that is, the courtiers perversion of learning. This is the only Spenserian use of the word.

704 ydle braines: a common expression. Cf. 1564 *Brief Exam* *****iiij "To beleve every fonde meanyng, as such ydle brayned Durandes do bryng" *(OED_8).*

712 asses by their eares: cf. Tilley, A 355: "An ass is known by his ears".

717-18 bladders blowen up with wynd: cf. Whiting, B. 377: "A bladder full of wind is laid low by a needle's point"

720 smoke that fumeth soone away: cf. Ps.68.2.

722 garments...gay: common for richly attired. Cf. C 1400 (c 1378) *PPI.B.* (Ld) 18.173: "Pees, in pacience yclothed, approched...in her gay garnementz" *(MED).* Spenser uses the phrase frequently: *FQ* 1.8.16.7; 1.10.39.2; 3.8.26.9. In *MHT* 11.645-92, the excesses of strange "accoustrements" are satirized in the Ape's dress and behaviour as Magnifico.

725 buy a golden bell: probably an allusion to the bell-like ornament attached to clothing; also the bell hung about the neck of a fool or jester. Cf. C 1450 (c1380) Chaucer *HF* 1841: "What art thow...That werest...on thy tipet such a belle?"; c 1450 *Pilgr. LM* 57: "Thou art a fool. It needeth thee not a belle at thi nekke" *(MED_4).*

735-36 sith I...was there, To wait on Lobbin: Harvey does indeed seem to be Hobbinol. Stern (p.46;68;176n) argues convincingly that he was Leicester's secretary for a short period in 1580.

736 Lobbin: Renwick (p.189) suggests the Earl of Leicester.

741 poore Sutors: Spenser's attitude to the plight of suitors' petitions is best exemplified by *MHT* 11.891-908:

> So pitifull a thing is Suters state.
> Most miserable man, whom wicked fate
> Hath brought to Court, to sue for had ywist,
> That few have found, and manie one hath mist;
> Full little knowest thou that hast not tride,
> What hell it is, in suing long to bide:
> To loose good dayes, that might be better spent;
> To wast long nights in pensive discontent;
> To speed to day, to be put back to morrow;

To feed on hope, to pine with feare and sorrow;
To have thy Princes grace, yet want her Peeres;
To have thy asking, yet waite manie yeeres;
To fret thy soule with crosses and with cares;
To eate thy heart through comfortlesse dispaires;
To fawne, to crowche, to waite, to ride, to ronne,
To spend, to give, to want, to be undonne.
Unhappie wight, borne to desastrous end,
That doth his life in so long tendance spend.

744 ledden: the language of a nation, people or race *(OED* $_2$*)*.

746 their professors stipends large: Cf. 1.705: "there professours find small maintenance." With the use of repetitions and puns, "their", "professors" (those who make a display of, or who feign learning), Spenser slyly comments on Elizabeth's peculiar rationale for dispensing grants.

749 more blameless generall: Spenser may have had in mind *MHT* where his contemporary allusions seemed to have earned him the enmity of such prominent figures as the Earl of Leicester and William Cecil.

760 galls do swell: cf. Whiting, G 13: "Have one's gall forburst" C1390 (a 1376) *PPl.A* (1) (Urn) 5.99: "Al my breste Bolleþ for bitter of my galle" *(MED* $_3$*)*.

761 divide: irony is intended, for the day is usually divided for a purpose. Idle court activities are described in *MHT* ll 800-5:

A thousand wayes he them could entertaine,
With all the thriftles games, that may be found,
With mumming and with masking all around,
With dice, with cards, with balliards farre unfit,
With shuttelcocks, misseming manlie wit,
With courtizans, and costly riotize.

763 This is a more active image of sensual courtly lovers as subterranean creatures associated with filth and laziness than "But like a moldwarpe in the earth doth lie" (*HL* l.182).

Moldwarps moles.

nousling digging with the nose.

764 manliness: the lack of manliness suggests the effeminate nature of the courtiers.

766-70 The religious terminology means that the courtiers' acts are profanations against love.

766 votaries those devoted passionately to a particular aim.

professe declare allegiance to.

767 ensew follow guidance or example.

768-70 The martial image, assembling of troops, inspection before Venus and condemnation echo Rev. 20. 11-15.

769 mustring assembling for verification.

770 denies renounces. Cf. Matt. 10.32: "I shall deny them before my Father in heaven"

servitors servants. Again, with the connotation of devout follower.

771-74 Spenser uses the naivety of Corylas to allude to the pastoral convention in which shepherds were the only true lovers.

775 aboundeth: of a virtue or emotion, exists in an intense degree.

776 writ painted. E.B. Fowler(*Spenser and the Courts of Love,* pp. 48-9). suggests that some modification of the Medieval convention of painting on walls was probably familiar to Spenser's own age.

778 And all their talke and studie is of it: a common poetic tag. Cf. Turbervile's description of townsmen's acquistiveness, "And this is their whole devise / their studie and their care" *(Eglogs of Mantuan,* 4.p.60).

779 brave or valiant seeme: a knight wore the insignia of his lady as a sign of his dedication, and willingness to fight for her honour. The "seeme" is ironic as it has already been made clear that the courtiers are without manly virtues (see n. 763, n. 764).

780 gay Mistresse in *ME* a term for an unchaste woman.

badge a mark of cognizance used to identify a lover's devotion to a particular lady. Cf. C 1460 *My fayr lady* p.203: "So longe a man may loke and gase, To telle what shuld hire baggys been" *(MED 5)*

782 swim in love up to the eares: a common expression. Cf. (1588) 1591. Lyly *Endym.* l. iii. l: "In love up to the eares"(*Oxford Book of Proverbs*, p.855).

783-794 The lovers' infidelities are sins against Cupid. Cf. "mysteries they do prophane" (1.788); do not "serve as they professe" (1.791); "their abuses" (1.794).

786 sue and serve: give suit and service. Cf.*FQ* 2.7.9.1; 3.5.47.2.

793 dread awe, fear of God *(MED 3)*

795-894 Renwick suggests for comparison *HL* ll 43-119. There are similarities but the overall emphasis is different. Ignoring the tradition of pastoral love Hoffman claims that the shepherds accept Colin's right to speak of love, because it is "the private human emotion" (p.140). Colin's stance as high-priest of love is justified by the pastoral tradition of the superiority of shepherd love over courtly love, and by the tradition of the shepherd as teacher.

795-97 Colin is serious, but Spenser is not. Colin claims that the extempore manner in which shepherds create their own theogony could lead through their lack of education ("rudenesse") into error, or they could blunder into truth. The ironic "rightly so" (1.795) cautions the reader against a too solemn acceptance of the amalgam of creation myths that follow.

800 Borne without Syre: many theogonies stress the hermaphroditic quality of deities. Raleigh(*History of the World* p.95) writes of the infinite and sole power of one God, Jove, and quotes from the Orphric tradition:

> The first of all is God, and the same last is he.
> God is the head and midst, yea from all things be.
> God is the Base of earth, and of the starred skie.
> He is male and female too, shall never die.

In Spenser's version Love inherits his hermaphroditic qualities from Venus whose double sexuality was traditional. Cf. Venus's hermaphroditic qualities in the *FQ* 4.10.41.6-9:

> But for, they say, she hath both kinds in one,
> Both male and female, both under one name:
> She syre and mother is her selfe alone,
> Begets and eke conceves, ne needeth other none.

Cf. Verg. *Aen.* 2.632-3:

> *descendo ac ducente deo flammam inter et hostis expedior; dant tela locum flammaeque recedut.*
>
> I descend and, guided by a god, make my way amid fire and foes. Weapons give place and flames retire.

Servius's gloss on *Aen.* 2. 632-33 in *Commentari* p. 78, states that possibly through not knowing the sex they are said to observe *numina*.

> *Ac Ducento Deo secundum eos qui dicunt, utriusque sexus participationem habere numina.*

Macrobius continued the tradition in *Sat.* 3. 8:

> As some read "I go away and with a goddess leading me"—this is perhaps a corruption since he wisely says *ducente deo,* not *dea,* for even *Apud Calvum* Acterianus affirms the reading as "the powerful god, Venus, not goddess" and says there is a figure in Cyprus with a bearded body but woman's clothing, with a sceptre and a manlike stature, and they say that the figure represents a male and female being. Aristophanes calls her Aphroditos.

cum ille doctissime dixerit: ducente Deo, non Dea; nam et apud Calvum Acterianus affirmat legendum: /Pollentemque Deum Venerem/ non Deam. Signum etiam ejus est Cypri barbatum corpore, sed veste muliebri, cum sceptro ac statura virili. Et putant eandem marem ac feminam esse. Aristophanes eam Ἀφρόδιτος *appellat.*

800-810: Colin's synoptic account of his mythology parallels the main tenets of Christian doctrine: transcendence, incarnation, hypostatic union, ascension into heaven and enthronement. See Introduction, ("*CCCHA* and the Pastoral Tradition").

803 pure and spotless Cupid forth she brought: the ambiguity, both remain pure and spotless, echoes the Virgin birth (see Is.7.14; Matt.1.22).

804 In the gardens of Adonis nurst: "Spenser substitutes his own garden of Adonis (*FQ.* 3.6.30-50) for the garden of Zeus" (Renwick, p.189). Plato's Love, the child of Resource and Poverty, is born in the garden of Zeus and is associated with Aphrodite because he is a lover bent on beauty (*Symp.* 202); but Colin's Cupid is the child of Venus.

805-10 Love, though born of Venus, has the attributes of the Demiurgus. The *Gottmenschenstum* which Love undergoes is unnecessary, because it adds nothing to his nature. Latent in Colin's syncretic theology is the Christian belief of Christ's resurrection and enthronement at God's right hand.

807-14 Ovid's story in *Met.* 1.466-74, is indiscriminately used by Colin as justification for Jove's fear of Cupid:

dixit et eliso percussis aere pennis/inpiger umbrosa Parnasi constitit arce/eque sagittifera prompsit duo tela pharetra/diversorum operum: fugat hoc, facit illud amorem;/quod facit, auratum est et cuspide fulget acuta,/quod fugat, obtusum est et habet sub harundine plumbum./hoc deus in nympha Peneide fixit, at illo/laesit Apollineas traiecta per ossa medullas;/protinus alter amat, fugit altera nomen amantis.....

So saying he shook his wings and, dashing upward through the air, quickly alighted on the shady peak of Parnasus. There he took from his quiver two darts of opposite effect: one puts to flight, the other kindles the flame of love. The one which kindles love is of gold and has a sharp, gleaming point; the other is blunt and tipped with lead. This last the god fixed in the heart of Peneus' daughter, but with the other he smote Apollo, piercing even unto the bones and marrow. Straightway he burned with love; but she fled the very name of love...

810 taking up to heaven, him godded new: Jove's power to re-deify Cupid seems to contradict Cupid's force as *Logos.* See ll.839-40.

811-14 Cf.*HL* 120-26:

> Which well perceiving, that imperious boy
> Doth therwith tip his sharp empoisned darts;
> Which glancing through the eyes with countenance coy,
> Rest not, till they have pierst the trembling harts,
> And kindled flame in all their inner parts.
> Which suckes the blood, and drinketh up the lyfe
> Of carefull wretches with consuming griefe.

815 So: therefore? Cupid in Colin's doctrine is supposed to be by nature, worthy of love and admiration. The "so" is the poet's ironic comment on Colin's pragmatism, because Colin has no difficulty in reconciling absolute power and capriciousness in a Creator and God of love.

823-26 some celestiall rage...thou art possest: Spenser seems to have equated some form of celestial rage with poetic inspiration. Cf. "Oct." *SC* where Piers claims that Love is the inspirer of lofty flights of poetry; See also *HHB*1.1. Spenser's use of "rage" (poetic inspiration) seems to be one of the earliest instances. OED_8 cites 1600 as the earliest example.

827-30 Cuddy's naivety incorporates an indirect allusion to the convention, incorporated into pastoral by court poets, that true love is only possible in the country.

835-38 Rhet. *Paralipsis.* While Colin seems to disclaim the possibility of his being Cupid's high-priest (1.823) he actually accepts the role; and despite his assertion that it is impossible to define the nature of the God of Love, he proceeds to do so for the next fifty-six lines (11. 839-94).

839-40 Renwick cites *HL* ll.50-63, but there are important differences. In *HHOL* (ll.71-3) Venus's role is more active: she provides Cupid with light to wing his way out of chaos. Colin's Venus has the function of a mediator (ll.801-6) and his Cupid precedes chaos (ll.839-42); by contrast Love in *HHOL* awakens from chaos (ll.57-63).

839-848 G. Landrum, ("Spenser's Use of the Bible and his Alleged Puritanism" *PMLA*, 41 (1926) 517-44), cites *John*1.3. Most critics ignore the Christian parallels in this passage, but their presence reveals the manner in which Spenser has structured his mythology (see Introduction, "*CCCHA* and the Pastoral Tradition").

843-851 In *HHOL* (ll.80-90) the warring opposites are subjugated by Love, and Strife precedes Love and exists independently from him. However, Colin's Strife is part of the dynamic process of Love's plan to reconcile opposites, and he is present from the beginning. Cf. Plato's description of Love's reconcilitation of opposites, *Symp.* 186-87:

Now the most contrary qualities are most hostile to each other—cold and hot, bitter and sweet, dry and moist, and the rest of them. It was by knowing how to foster love and unanimity in these that, as our two poets here relate, and as I myself believe, our forefathers Asclepius composed this science of ours. And so not merely is all medicine governed, as I propound it, through the influence of this god, but likewise athletics and agriculture. Music also, as is plain to any the least curious observer, is in the same sort of case: perhaps Heracleitus intends as much by those perplexing words, 'The One at variance with itself is drawn together, like harmony of bow or lyre.' Now it is perfectly absurd to speak of a harmony at variance, or as formed from things still varying. Perhaps he meant, however, that from the grave and acute which were varying before, but which afterwards came to agreement, the harmony was by musical art created.

ἔστι δὲ ἔχθιστα τὰ ἐναντιώτατα, ψυχρὸν θερμῷ, πικρὸν γλυκεῖ, ξηρὸν ὑγρῷ, πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα· τούτοις ἐπιστηθεὶς ἔρωτα ἐμποιῆσαι καὶ ὁμόνοιαν ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος Ἀσκληπιός, ὡς φασιν οἵδε οἱ ποιηταὶ καὶ ἐγὼ πείθομαι, συνέστησε τὴν ἡμετέραν τέχνην. ἥ τε οὖν ἰατρική, ὥσπερ λέγω, πᾶσα διὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτου κυβερνᾶται, ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ γυμναστικὴ καὶ γεωργία· μουσικὴ δὲ καὶ παντὶ καταδηλος τῷ καὶ σμικρὸν προσέχοντι τὸν νοῦν ὅτι κατὰ ταὐτὰ ἔχει τούτοις, ὥσπερ ἴσως καὶ Ἡράκλειτος βούλεται λέγειν, ἐπεὶ τοῖς γε ῥήμασιν οὐ καλῶς λέγει. τὸ ἓν γάρ φησι "διαφερόμενον αὐτὸ αὑτῷ συμφέρεσθαι, ὥσπερ ἁρμονίαν τόξου τε καὶ λύρας." ἔστι δὲ πολλὴ ἀλογία ἁρμονίαν φάναι διαφέρεσθαι ἢ ἐκ διαφερομένων ἔτι εἶναι. ἀλλ' ἴσως τόδε ἐβούλετο λέγειν, ὅτι ἐκ διαφερομένων πρότερον τοῦ ὀξέος καὶ βαρέος, ἔπειτα ὕστερον ὁμολογησάντων γέγονεν ὑπὸ τῆς μουσικῆς τέχνης.

Cf. Symp. 188:

Ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ τῶν ὡρῶν τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ σύστασις μεστή ἐστιν ἀμφοτέρων τούτων, καὶ ἐπειδὰν μὲν πρὸς ἄλληλα τοῦ κοσμίου τύχῃ ἔρωτος ἃ νῦν δὴ ἐγὼ ἔλεγον, τά τε θερμὰ καὶ τὰ ψυχρὰ καὶ ξηρὰ καὶ ὑγρά, καὶ ἁρμονίαν καὶ κρᾶσιν λάβῃ σώφρονα, ἥκει φέροντα εὐετηρίαν τε καὶ ὑγίειαν ἀνθρώποις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζῴοις τε καὶ φυτοῖς, καὶ οὐδὲν ἠδίκησεν·

Note how even the system of the yearly seasons is full of these two forces; how the qualities I mentioned just now, heat and cold, drought and moisture, when brought together by the orderly Love, and taking on a temperate harmony as they mingle, become bearers of ripe fertility and health to men and animals and plants, and are guilty of no wrong.

Cf. Ov. *Met.* 16-21: No form of things remained the same; all objects were
at odds, for within one body cold things strove with hot,
and moist with dry, soft things with hard, things having
weight with weightless things.
God—or kindlier Nature—composed this strife;

...nulli sua forma menebat,
obstabatque aliis aliud, quia corpore in uno
frigida pugnabant calidis, umentia siccis,
mollia cum duris, sine pondere, habentia pondus.
Hanc deus et melior litem natura diremit.

Cf. Boethius, *The Consolation of Philosophy,* 2.8.15-21; 2.9.10-12:

Love ruling heaven, and earth, and seas, them in this
course doth bind.
And if it once let loose their reins, their friendship
turns to war,
Tearing the world whose ordered form their quiet
motions bear.

Et caelo imperitans amor.
Hic si frena remiserit,
Quidquid nunc amat inuicem
Bellum continuo geret
Et quam nunc socia fide
Pulchris motibus incitant,
Certent soluere machinam.

Also:
Thou temp'rest elements, making cold mixed with flame
And dry things join with moist, lest fire away should fly,
Or earth, opprest with weight, buried too low should lie.

Tu numeris elementa ligas ut frigora flammis
Arida conueniant liquidis, ne purior ignis
Euolet aut mersas deducant pondera terras.

The dynamic function of strife is of primary importance in Heracleitus's *On the Universe,* 43-46:

Καὶ Ἡράκλειτος ἐπιτιμᾷ τῷ ποιήσαντι· ὡς ἔρις ἔκ τε θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλοιτο· οὐ γὰρ ἂν εἶναι ἁρμονίαν μὴ ὄντος ὀξέος καὶ βαρέος, οὐδὲ τὰ ζῷα ἄνευ θήλεος καὶ ἄρρενος, ἐναντίων ὄντων.[1]

Πόλεμος πάντων μὲν πατήρ ἐστι πάντων δὲ βασιλεύς, καὶ τοὺς μὲν θεοὺς ἔδειξε τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώπους, τοὺς μὲν δούλους ἐποίησε τοὺς δὲ ἐλευθέρους.

Οὐ ξυνίασι ὅκως διαφερόμενον ἑωυτῷ ὁμολογέει· παλίντονος ἁρμονίη ὅκωσπερ τόξου καὶ λύρης.

Καὶ περὶ αὐτῶν τούτων ἀνώτερον ἐπιζητοῦσι καὶ φυσικώτερον· Εὐριπίδης μὲν φάσκων ἐρᾶν μὲν ὄμβρου γαῖαν ξηραινθεῖσαν, ἐρᾶν δὲ σεμνὸν οὐρανὸν πλησθέντα πεσεῖν ἐς γαῖαν· καὶ Ἡράκλειτος τὸ ἀντίξουν συμφέρον, καὶ ἐκ τῶν διαφερόντων καλλίστην ἁρμονίαν, καὶ πάντα κατ' ἔριν γίνεσθαι.

XLIII. And Heracleitus rebukes the poet who says, "would that strife might perish from among gods and men. For there could be (he said) no attunement without the opposites high and low, and no animals without the opposites male and female.
XLIV. War is the father of all and the king of all; some he has marked out to be gods and some to be men, some he has made slaves and some free.
XLV. They understand not how that which is a variance with itself agrees with itself. There sit attunement of opposite tensions, like that of the bow and of the harp.
XLVI. In reference to these very things they look for deeper and more natural principles. Euripides says that "the parched earth is in love with rain," and that "high heaven, with rain fulfilled, loves to fall to earth." And Heracleitus says that "the opposite is beneficial," and that "from things that differ comes the fairest attunement," and that "all things are born through strife."

847 covet lust after (MED_2).

848-50 Cf. the order of creation in Ov. *Met.* 1. 26-30:

ignea convexi vis et sine pondere caeli
emicuit summaque locum sibi fecit in arce;
proximus est aer illi levitate locoque;
densior his tellus elementaque grandia traxit
et pressa est gravitate sua.

The fiery weightless element that forms heaven's vault leaped up and made place for itself upon the topmost height. Next came the air in lightness and in place. The earth was heavier than these, and, drawing with it the grosser elements, sank to the bottom by its own weight.

849 peize press downwards with its weight (*OED*$_4$).

853 knit joined in marriage. Its use was common in proverbs: "After the knot it helps not to bewail" (Whiting, K96).

855-70 Out of darknesse dread: Ralph Cudworth (*The True Intellectual System of the Universe*) explains that both the divine cosmogonists and the atheistic ones shared a belief that the world was created out of chaos. In the Greek tradition the theory was handed down from Orpheus, Linus, Hesiod and Homer and "acknowledged by Epicharmus, and embraced by Thales, Anaxagoras, Plato and other philosophers who were theists" (p. 248). The theists believe God created the world out of Chaos, but the atheistic materialists believed that Chaos and Night were the progenitors of all things. Colin follows the theists in making love the first principle in creation.

861-62 See *FQ* 3, 6, 7 for another Spenserian use of the generative power of the sun. Upton suggests as the source *De partu viginis,* 11.372, where Sannarazo compares the life-giving force of the sun on its object to that of light passing through a window:

Haud aliter, quam cum purum specularia Solem
Admittunt; lux ipsa quidem pertransit, et omnes
Irrumpens laxat tenebras, et discutit umbras:
Illa manent illaesa, haud ulli pervia vento,
Non hyemi, radiis sed tantum obnoxia Phoebi.

> Exactly as when the windows receive the pure sun: the light indeed passes through them and, rushing in, it quells the darkness and scatters shadows. The windows remain untouched, not yielding to any wind nor to winter weather but resisting only the moonlight.

871-74 Cf. *HHOL,*

> Therefore in choice of love, he doth desyre
> That seemes on earth most heavenly, to embrace,
> That same is Beautie, borne of heavenly race.

Probably Spenser's main source was Plato, *Symp.* 206,207:

> Ἀλλ' ἐγώ, ἦ δ' ἦ, σαφέστερον ἐρῶ. κυοῦσι γάρ, ἔφη, ὦ Σώκρατες, πάντες ἄνθρωποι καὶ κατὰ τὸ σῶμα καὶ κατὰ τὴν ψυχήν, καὶ ἐπειδὰν ἔν τινι ἡλικίᾳ γένωνται, τίκτειν ἐπιθυμεῖ ἡμῶν ἡ φύσις. τίκτειν δὲ ἐν μὲν αἰσχρῷ οὐ δύναται, ἐν δὲ τῷ καλῷ. ἡ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς καὶ γυναικὸς συνουσία τόκος

ἐστίν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο θεῖον τὸ πρᾶγμα, καὶ τοῦτο ἐν θνητῷ ὄντι τῷ ζῴῳ ἀθάνατον ἔνεστιν, ἡ κύησις καὶ ἡ γέννησις. τὰ δ' ἐν τῷ ἀναρμόστῳ ἀδύνατον γενέσθαι. ἀνάρμοστον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ αἰσχρὸν παντὶ τῷ θείῳ, τὸ δὲ καλὸν ἁρμόττον. Μοῖρα οὖν καὶ Εἰλείθυια ἡ Καλλονή ἐστι τῇ γενέσει. διὰ ταῦτα ὅταν μὲν καλῷ προσπελάζῃ τὸ κυοῦν, ἵλεών τε γίγνεται καὶ εὐφραινόμενον διαχεῖται καὶ τίκτει τε καὶ γεννᾷ· ὅταν δὲ αἰσχρῷ, σκυθρωπόν τε καὶ λυπούμενον συσπειρᾶται καὶ ἀποτρέπεται καὶ ἀνείλλεται καὶ οὐ γεννᾷ, ἀλλὰ ἴσχον τὸ κύημα χαλεπῶς φέρει. ὅθεν δὴ τῷ κυοῦντί τε καὶ ἤδη σπαργῶντι πολλὴ ἡ πτοίησις γέγονε περὶ τὸ καλὸν διὰ τὸ μεγάλης ὠδῖνος ἀπολύειν τὸν ἔχοντα. ἔστι γάρ, ὦ Σώκρατες, ἔφη, οὐ τοῦ καλοῦ ὁ ἔρως, ὡς σὺ οἴει.

Ἀλλὰ τί μήν;

Τῆς γεννήσεως καὶ τοῦ τόκου ἐν τῷ καλῷ.

"'Let me put it more clearly,' she said. 'All men are pregnant, Socrates, both in body and in soul: on reaching a certain age our nature yearns to beget. This it cannot do upon an ugly person, but only on the beautiful: the conjunction of man and woman is a begetting for both. It is a divine affair, this engendering and bringing to birth, an immortal element in the creature that is mortal; and it cannot occur in the discordant. The ugly is discordant with whatever is divine, whereas the beautiful is accordant. Thus Beauty presides over birth as Fate and Lady of Travail; and hence it is that when the pregnant approaches the beautiful it becomes not only gracious but so exhilarate, that it flows over with begetting and bringing forth; though when it meets the ugly it coils itself close in a sullen dismay: rebuffed and repressed, it brings not forth, but goes in labour with the burden of its young. Therefore when a person is big and teeming-ripe, he feels himself in a sore flutter for the beautiful, because its possessor can relieve him of his heavy pangs. For you are wrong, Socrates, in supposing that love is of the beautiful.'

"'What then is it?'

"'It is of engendering and begetting upon the beautiful.'

874-82 The sufferings of the lover are commonplace. Colin's emphasis on the positive sufferings of love suggests Plato's *Phdr* was latent in Spenser's thinking.

883-84 *Variorum* M.P.I.p.481, cites *HHOL* 1.176, "For love is Lord of truth and loialtie"; Lotspeich (p.49) quotes Hes, *Theog.* 116-122:

> Verily at the first Chaos came to be,
> but next wide-bosomed Earth, the ever-sure
> foundation of all the deathless ones who hold
> the peaks of snowy Olympus, and dim Tartarus

in the depth of the wide-pathed Earth, and
Eros (Love), fairest among the deathless gods,
who unnerves the limbs and overcomes the
mind and wise counsels of all gods and all men
within them.

Ἦ τοι μὲν πρώτιστα Χάος γένετ', αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα
Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος, πάντων ἕδος ἀσφαλὲς αἰεὶ
[ἀθανάτων, οἳ ἔχουσι κάρη νιφόεντος Ὀλύμπου,[3]]
Τάρταρά τ' ἠερόεντα μυχῷ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης,
ἠδ' Ἔρος, ὃς κάλλιστος ἐν ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι,
λυσιμελής, πάντων δὲ θεῶν πάντων τ' ἀνθρώπων
δάμναται ἐν στήθεσσι νόον καὶ ἐπίφρονα βουλήν.

Plato also writes of the power of Love; *Symp.* 186:

...and I have learnt how mighty and wonderful
and universal is the sway of this god over all affairs
both human and divine.

καθεωρακέναι
μοι δοκῶ ἐκ τῆς ἰατρικῆς, τῆς ἡμετέρας τέχνης
ὡς μέγας καὶ θαυμαστὸς καὶ ἐπὶ πᾶν ὁ θεὸς τείνει
καὶ κατ' ἀνθρώπινα καὶ κατὰ θεῖα πράγματα.

890-94 Plato describes the two kinds of love in *Symp.* 180:

True, if that goddess were one, then Love would
be one: but since there are two of her, there
must needs be two Loves also. Does anyone
doubt that she is double?

μιᾶς μὲν οὖν
οὔσης εἷς ἂν ἦν Ἔρως· ἐπεὶ δὲ δὴ δύο ἐστόν, δύο
ἀνάγκη καὶ Ἔρωτε εἶναι. πῶς δ' οὐ δύο τὼ θεά;

See *HOHL* 183-89; *HOH B* 11.169-180, for Spenserian criticisms against base love.

892 disloyall lust: In *HOHB* 1.170 "Disloiall lust" is the name associated with unchaste love, but here Colin refuses to acknowledge it even as a derivative of the name, "Love".

896 divynd explained. Possibly ironic in the sense of "rendered divine."

908 Critics who attribute ll. 464-79 to Elizabeth Boyle do not hesitate to identify this Rosalind as the Rosalind of the *SC*, (see n. 464-79). It seems unlikely, as Mohl argues, that Spenser would declare undying loyalty to two ladies in the same poem (*Studies in Spenser, Milton and the Theory of Monarchy*, pp.2-7).

916-26 Renwick cites the story of Stesichorus (*Phdr.* 243), and *Variorum* M.P.1.p.482,

draws attention to the same reference in the gloss to *SC* "Apr."1.26.

931-38 Renwick compares these lines with *Amoretti* 61:

> The glorious image of the makers beautie,
> My soverayne saynt, the Idoll of my thought,
> dare not henceforth above the bounds of dewtie,
> t'accuse of pride, or rashly blame for ought.
> (1-4).
>
> what reason is it then but she should scorne
> base things that to her love too bold aspire?
> Such heavenly formes ought rather worshipt be,
> then dare be lov'd by men of meane degree.
> (11-14).

The language and themes are similar and 1.937, "So hie her thoughts as she her selfe have place" reveals that Rosalind is superior in rank. In *SC* "Apr." 1.26 Rosalind is glossed as "a Gentle woman of no meane house."

941 paravant before all else.

942-46 Fowler, "The lover's sufferings cause him to complain continually of his lady's cruelty and to plead for mercy". He cites *Romance of the Rose* 2325-8.

950-51 Renwick cites *Amoretti* 69, Most critics interpret "trophe" as verse, but "trophe" also refers to Colin. It was common to write of one's acceptance of death as "nought to the grave denying," but for "grave" Colin substitutes "world." This change suggests that Colin has given Rosalind his greatest gift "life", that is, total commitment in love.

954 loth to part: originally the tune of a song (probably containing these words) expressive of regret for departure. Cf. 1584. Greene *Arbasto* (Grosart) III, 211: "With that she cast on me such a loving looke, as she seemed to play loth to depart" (OED_6).

954-55 This is a conventional ending. See Verg. *Ecls.* 1,2,6,10; Spenser's conclusions to "Jan.", "Feb.", "Mar.", "Apr.", "May.", "Jun.", "Aug." in the *SC;* cf. Turbervile's translation of Mantuan *Ecl.*3:

> Oh, dost thou see (frend Faustus) how
> the pitchy cloudes upon
> Mount *Baldus* to a cluster goe
> and joyne them selves in one?
> It hayles, for feare our cettell bee,
> dispersed, let's be gone.

APPENDIX A.

Perhaps the Spenserian lines in *CCCHA* are a witty allusion to the first stanza of "Harpalus's Complaint" where the premature dying of Harpalus is presented with superb directness:

> Therefore waxt he both pale and leane
> And drye as clot of clay:
> His flesh it was consumed cleane
> His colour gone away.

Could Spenser in the lines, "woxen aged / In faithfull service of faire Cynthia" be reminding his readers that the poet who once "waxt" "lean and pale" through excessive passion, now wastes away naturally through time and work? That Spenser was capable of such mannered allusions is seen in his reference to his own poetry in *CCCHA*.

When Harpalus's poem is compared with Turbervile's "He Sorrowes Other to Have the Fruites of His Service" some interesting parallels emerge. Both swains are called Harpalus, and both complain that others inherit the fruits of their labours. Their sentiments and expressions of loss are strikingly similar. Each sees his misfortunes as the result of Fate's capricious justice. The Harpalus poet claims his rival gains through his loss:

> Corin he liveth carelesse
> He leapes among the leaves:
> He eates the frutes of thy redresse
> Thou reapes, he takes the sheaves.
> (H.C. st. 6).

For Turbervile also Fate indiscriminately allocates good fortune:

> They shroud themselves in shade,
> I sit in open Sunne:
> They leape as Lambes in lustie Leaze,
> I lie as one undunne.
> (st. 11).

The poets share a penchant for the dramatic soliloquy in which each hightens his lover's suffering by presenting him as the victim of love and fortune. Turbervile calls his, "poor Harpalus",[1] "unhappie Wight",[3] and describes him as devoured by "Cupid's paines".[4] The

[1] Rollins, ed. Tottel's Miscellany,
2. st. 4.
3. st 3.
4. st 4.

Harpalus poet makes his persona the "Unhappiest under sunne", [4] and victim of "cruell love".[5]

Country maxims are used with ease by both poets. Turbervile shows a fondness for animal exempla in his descriptions of the futility of love:

> So Bees for Honnie toile
> in fleeing too and fro,
> And sillie wrethches take great paines
> for whome they little know (st. 17).

The Harpalus poet too makes a feast of *paroemion* and heightens the lover's loss by instancing many of Nature's comforting pairs:

> The Hart he fedeth by the Hynde
> The Buckehard by the Doo,
> The Turtle Dove is not unkinde
> To him that loves her so.
> (st. 18).

The cruel fair, a formidable character in these poems, turns her inexorable will against man with all the inevitability of nature's physical laws. The Harpalus lover believes it is easier "to convert / The frost into the flame" (st. 14) than change the nature of woman. Turbervile's speaker locks himself in the vice cf his own logic and resigns himself to his mistress's harvesting of his labours and "good will" (st. 19).

The obviously discordant pastoral activity of hawking, a passtime of the wealthy, is Corin's sport in "Harpalus's Complaint". The reference recalls for us Ambrose Dudley's love of hunting and hawking and Turbervile's dedication of *The Book of Faulconrie* (1575) to him. Maybe the Harpalus poet knew of Turbervile's rivalry with Dudley, or perhaps he was Turbervile.

The stock phrases of both poets cannot be easily distinguished from those used by poets of *Tottel's Miscellany*. Turbervile was something of a Miscellany scrounger, and according to the late Professor Rollins, Turbervile's poem "He Sorrowes Other to Have the Fruites of his Service," is a reworked version of "The Lover Lamenteth Other to Have the Fruits of his Service".[6] However, Turbervile's plagiarism is not as dramatic as Rollins would have us believe, and his imitation combines the strength of the Harpalus poet's soliloquies with his dramatic presentation of suffering.

[4]st. 12.
[5]st. 26.
[6]Rollins, ed. p.59. The theme was common.

When there was a common heritage of poetic idioms it may seem over optimistic to cite four examples of language that the poets shared in common, especially as we have but one poem from the Harpalus poet. However, "Harpalus's Complaint" is a short poem and it could be significant that the author exhibits in such a short piece a number of expressions that Turbervile used frequently. For convenience these are listed in table form:

And Phillida would twist and spin. (st. 2)	Then spinne I for a space and twist a thred or twaine. (Hero to Leander. *H.E.* p.270)
Who forst her not a pynne. (st. 3).	Twisting and spinning was a common phrase with Turbervile. He forst her not a rush. (Sappho to Phaon. *H.E.* p.230)
His face besprent with teares. (st. 9).	"Forst"is a pervasive in Turbervile's work Upon my face, besprent with teares she found. (*H.E.* p.151)
For thou wentest first by sute to seeke A tyger to make tame. (st. 13).	Again, numerous uses. Why shouldst thou seeke to make the Tiger tame? ("To His Friend T." *E.E.S & S.* p.76)

Both also use the technique of accentuating loss by instancing the mutual support in nature's pairs. This we saw in stanza eighteen of the Hapalus poem, and Turbervile echoes a similar pattern in "That all Things Have Release of Paine Save the Lover". Compare for instance, Turbervile's cunnie stanza with those of the same kind by the Harpalus poet:

Eche Cunnie hath a Cave,
eche little foule a neast
To shroud them in at needful times
to take their needful rest.
(st. 6)

None of these similarities prove that Turbervile wrote "Harpalus's Complaint" but it does demonstrate that it was not beyond his literary abilities. Even its date of composition 1564-65, could point to Turbervile who had then just begun to publish.

Of course Spenser's Harpalus may not be the author of the lament, but at the moment it

seems that if the poet was well known and living in 1595, it would be foolish not to explore the possibility. While there is no conclusive proof that the Harpalus poet and Turbervile were the same men, it is clear that Turbervile was capable of such a composition. And it should be remembered that he used the pseudonym Harpalus.

APPENDIX B.

LICHFIELD JOINT RECORD OFFICE.

CONSISTORY COURT. CALENDAR OF WILLS FROM EARLIEST TO 1650.

ALSO PARISHES OF:

TYRLEY.

BUILDWAS.

LONGDON-UPON-TERNE.

WOMBRIDGE.

SHREWSBURY.

ELLESMERE.

PREES.

BRIDGNORTH.

PUBLIC RECORD OFFICE, CHANCERY LANE, LONDON.

PREROGATIVE COURT OF CANTERBURY INDEXES OF WILLS 1591-1600

THE COUNTY COUNCIL OF HEREFORD AND WORCESTER.

PROBATE RECORDS FOR SOUTHERN SHROPSHIRE.

SALOP COUNTY COUNCIL.

ST MARY'S SHREWSBURY.

BURIALS ANO. DOM. 1593

July 14 Abraham France.

SHREWSBURY SCHOOL REGISTER, 1562-1635.

Anno Domini

1571

Catalogus Nominum Scholasticorum

qui a feriis Natalitiis 1571

inscribebantur, quando nova

huius scholoe statuta suum

sumpsere initium, una cum

nummis quos pro intro

itu, tam oppidani

quam exteri, de

integro solve

re.

	op	Rogerus henkes	iiijd
	ali	Edwardus Wollaston	xijd
	ali	Rogerus Wilbraham	xijd
	ali	Rogerus Harries	xijd
	op	Robertus Haunes	iiijd
A. f.	*ali*	Davidus Morries	xijd
	op	Richardus purcell	xijd
A. f.	*ali*	Charolus Scriven	xijd
	ali	Thomas Corbett	xijd
10 M. f. h.	*ali*	Richadus Keffin	xijd
Ar. f.	*ali*	franciscus newporte	iiijs
	ali	Richardus Leighton	iijs
	ali	Johes prese	xijd
	ali	Johes Mason	xijd
	ali	Guilihelmus Lawton	xvjd
	op	Robertus gardner	vjd
	ali	Johes newnes	xijd
Ba. f. h.	*ali*	Johes bannaster	xijd
B. f.	*op*	Thomas leyghe	xijd
20	*op*	Andreas Leyghe	xijd
	ali	Randulphus Crewe	xijd
	ali	Christoferus mynshawe	xijd
	ali	Henricus bressye	xijd
	ali	Rogerus Kente	xijd
	op	Abrahamus fraunce	iiijd
Ar. f.	*ali*	Humfridus Leaghe	xviijd
	ali	Guilihelmus Harries	xijd
	ali	Thomas Mainwaringe	xijd
	ali	Johes Maunsell	xijd

APPENDIX C.

A SONNETT BY FERDINANDO EARLE OF DERBY.

There was a sheppard that did live,
And held his thoughts as highe,
As were the mounts where on his sheepe
Did hourely feed him by.

He in his youth, his tender youth,
That was unapt to keepe,
Or hopes or feares, or loves or cares,
Or thoughts but of his sheepe,

Did with his dogg, as sheppards doe,
For shepheards fale in witt,
Devise him sports, though foolish sports,
Yett sport for shepheards fitt.

Who free from cares, his only care
Was where his flocke did goe,
And that was much to him that knewe
Noo other cares but soe.

This boye, which yet was but a boye,
And soe desires were hid,
Did growe a man, and men must love,
And love the shepheard did.

He loved much, none can to much
Love one soe high devine,
As but her selfe was never none
More fayre, more sweet, more fine.

One day, as young men have such dayes
When love the thought doth thrall,
Since wishes be but bare desires
Of things not gott withall;

And he had wished oft and still,
  And every wish in vayne,
And but to wish gave little ease,
  Nor never endeth paine;

He vowed by his shepheards weed,
  An oath which shepheards keepe,
That he would followe Phillis love
  Before a flocke of sheepe.

Soe from his sheepe, his gentle sheepe,
  Ungentlye he did goe,
Not caring whose cares might them keepe,
  Or car'd for aye or noe.

Leaving the playnes, the playnes whereon
  They playd and hourelye fed,
The plaines to them, they to the plaines,
  From plaines and them he fledd.

Yet fledd he not, but went awaye
  As one that had free scope,
Oft loath to leave and yet would leave
  His quiet for his hope.

But leave he did his snow white flocke,
  To seeke a nymphe as fayre
As is the dew be-sprinkled rose,
  Or brightness of the ayre.

And first he sought the rivers sweet,
  Whose runings every where,
In silent murmure did complaine
  That Phillis was not there.

And as he sawe the fishes leape
  Before him for the flye,
Soe did the shepheards harte for hope
  That Phillis should be nye.

But finding that his hopes were vaine
  And but as dreames to him,
He lean'd unto a tree that grew
  Fast by the river's brim.

And there he writt his fancyes thought,
  Love is a sweet intice,
'Gainst whom the wisest witts as yett
  Have never found devise.

And thus he left the streames to hide
  The kisses they did hold,
And went awaye as whoe should saye
  Love cannot be controul'd.

His thoughts were swifter then his feete,
  Yet they did slownes shunn,
But mens desires have wings to flye,
  Whose leggs can only runne.

Loe thus drawne on by spedy pace,
  Ledd forth with Phillis fame,
Unto a wood that grew thereby
  The gentle shepheard came.

Where hee approaching shady groves,
  Sweet groves for moone shine night,
Where as the sunne was bard his force,
  But not debar'd his light.

Whereas the birds, the pretty birds,
That or could chirp or singe,
In consort of well tuned noats
Did make the woods to ringe,

Even double pleased in the place
Soe long he there did staye,
As night grewe on which forced him
To tarrye for the daye.

When not a bird stir'd in a bush,
But still the shepheard demed,
The sweet comander of his thoughts
Was neerer than shee seemed.

Thus wearye with his former toyle
He could no further goe,
But rested there as they doe rest
Whome love possesseth soe.

Possest he was with thoughts of love
High thoughts for shepheards brest,
Were not there shepheards in their love
As well as monarchs blest.

Blessed he was but 'twas in thoughts,
And thoughts be blessings hidd,
And hidden blessings are noe blisse,
And then he slumber did;

Whome length of time and high desires
In suche a dumpe had cast,
As ravisht with his thoughts he slept,
As he had slept his last.

But as all quiets have their dead,
And every slepe his wake,
Now here to hope, now there to feare,
Now fancye, then forsake:

Soe had the shepheard restles dreames
Amyd his tyme or rest,
Which forced him to wake for feare,
And prove his dreames a jest.

And though that feare be nothing else
But as the fearefull deme,
Yet waking, every bush to him
A savage beast doth seeme.

Which made him start, as men doe start
Whose resolucions breed
A quicknes, yet a carelesnes
Of that which maye succeed.

Frighted he was but not afraide,
For love makes cowards men,
And soe the bushes seemed them selves
And were but bushes then.

Which his faint eyes did quickelye fynd,
Fill'd full with faithfull streams,
And soe he lay'd him by his dogg
That barkt not at his dreames.

And there he rested till the daye,
And only said thus much,
My dogg is happyer then my selfe,
Whom theis cares cannot touch.

[1]Reprinted from Antiquarian Repertory, Grose, ed. vol. 3, 1803.

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