

AN EDITION OF BL Harley MS 7392(2)

JESSICA EDMONDES

DOCTORAL THESIS

SCHOOL OF ENGLISH AT THE UNIVERSITY OF SHEFFIELD

JANUARY 2015

VOLUME 2

CONTENTS

COMMENTARIES	3
CONCLUSION	290
BIBLIOGRAPHY	
PRINTED WORKS CITED IN THIS EDITION BY AUTHOR-DATE SYSTEM	294
MANUSCRIPTS CITED IN THIS EDITION	310
<i>ODNB</i> ARTICLES CITED IN THIS EDITION	319
EARLY MODERN PRINTED WORKS CITED IN FULL IN THIS EDITION	320
 APPENDICES	
APPENDIX 1: <i>Overview table</i>	327
APPENDIX 2: <i>Family trees A-C</i>	328
APPENDIX 3: <i>The Coningsby monument</i>	331
APPENDIX 4: <i>Humfrey Coningsby's will: NA, PROB 11/129/796</i>	336

COMMENTARIES

i

Hand C has not been positively identified, but the name Edward Evans matches a gentleman from Shropshire who matriculated at Christ Church, Oxford on 1 August 1583 (aged 17), and obtained his B.A. from Jesus College, 28 March 1588.¹ Though Coningsby matriculated from Christ Church late in 1581, his time at Oxford probably overlapped with Evans who was the same age and a county neighbour. For a poem copied in the hand of an unidentified Charles Evans, see **104**.

Si ... diem ‘If you can, spend the day in constant labour’. This is similar to the motto ‘labor et constantia’ rendered by George Wither as ‘Good Hopes, we best accomplish may, / By lab’ring in a constant-Way’ (*A Collection of Emblemes*, 1635, sig. X1r). Implicit in this motto is the idea that time moves swiftly, and Kniveton’s quote from Ovid (squeezed into the space between **i** and **iii**) seems to have been prompted by the connection between these two ideas (‘Utendum est aetate’ [‘You must employ your time’] is left out in Kniveton’s version of the passage from Ovid below).

ii

Hand B has been identified as St Loe Kniveton (See **Introduction** p. 21).

Præterit ... cito ‘The wave that has gone by cannot be called back nor the hour. / They pass quickly by: they glide on with speed’. These lines are adapted from Ovid’s *Art of Love* 3.63-4: ‘Nec quae praeteriit, iterum revocabitur unda, / Nec quae praeteriit, hora redire potest. / Utendum est aetate: cito pede labitur aetas’ [‘the wave that has gone by cannot be called back, the hour that has gone by cannot return. You must employ your time: time glides on with speedy foot’].

¹ Woudhuysen (1996: 283) first made this suggestion.

iii

Coningsby added his own initials to the poem, a habit that is repeated throughout the manuscript and is not usually an acknowledgement of authorship (see **Introduction** pp. 68-70). A similar posy is found in Ha, f. 163r: 'That is desyred of manie, / Is hardly kept of anie'.² A variation on the same theme is also voiced in John Lyly's *Euphues* (1578, sig. C6r): 'she that hath been faythlesse to one, will neuer be faithfull to any'; and in a dialogue that was part of the royal entertainments of August 1592 at the house of Henry Lee, 'Inconstancy' asks: 'When you loue all alike, you dissemble with none' to which 'Constancy' replies 'But if I loue many, will any loue me?' (*The Phoenix Nest*, 1593, sig. D2r).

iv

Kniveton supplied this entry to which Coningsby added his own initials (for the habit of initialling entries in the collection, see **Introduction** pp. 68-70). The motto *Cavendo Tutus* ('safe through caution') was adopted by the Cavendish family and puns on the family name. Kniveton's aunt, Bess of Hardwick, had married William Cavendish on 20 August 1547; Cavendish's previous wife was Elizabeth Parys (Parris), widow, the daughter of Thomas Parker of Poslingford, Suffolk according to the *ODNB* entry for Cavendish, but other sources indicate that his second wife was the daughter of Thomas Coningsby of Hampton Court and Cecilia Salwey (see **Appendix 2: Family tree B**).³ Kniveton may have chosen this motto to remind Coningsby of a mutual family connection.

v

La ... ammore This faint line in Italian has not been traced.

²² Evans 1931: 94.

³ Durant cites William Cavendish's second wife as 'dau. of Sir Thomas Coningsby' (1999: 259); Lovell cites William's second wife as 'a widow, Elizabeth Parris (formerly Conningsby, née Parker)' (2005: 44).

This is the second extract contributed by Kniveton from Ovid's *Art of Love* (see ii). The lines, **Quis ... volet**, are taken verbatim from 1.663-6:

Who that is wise would not mingle kisses with coaxing words? Though she give them not, yet take the kisses she does not give. Perhaps she will struggle at first, and cry "You villain!" yet she will wish to be beaten in the struggle.

The proverbial, 'A women says nay and means aye' (Dent W660) was a popular sixteenth-century commonplace and frequently expressed in the literature of the period. Fulke Greville in *Caelica* 21, 'Sathan, no Woman, yet a wandring spirit', ends with the line: 'Feare Women that sweare, *Nay*; and know they lye' (*Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes*, 1633, sig. 2B3r), and John Lyly offers a paraphrase of the extract from Ovid in *Sapho and Phao* 2.4 (1584, sig. D1r):

womenne striue, because they would be overcome, force, they call it: but such a welcome force they account it, that continually, they study to be enforced. To fair words ioyne sweet kisses.

A similar sentiment is also expressed in 71.47-8: 'Have yow not hard it sayd full ofte, / A womans Nay, Doth stand for nought'.

This motto, contributed by Kniveton, can be translated as 'hear much and believe little'. The more usual Italian motto is 'Parla poco, ascolta assai' ['Hear much but speak little'] and was also a popular early modern English proverb (Dent M1277). Queen Elizabeth adopted the motto 'video et taceo' ['I see, and say nothing'].

Coningsby signed an abbreviated form of his own name to this entry (this habit is discussed in the **Introduction** pp. 68-70). The same pair of antonyms appears in John Lyly's *Loues Metamorphoses ... First Playd by the Children of Paules* (1601; but performed c. 1590) in an exchange between Ceres and Cupid:⁴

Cer. What is the substance of loue?

Cup. Constancie and secrecie.

Cer. What the signes?

Cup. Sighes and teares.

Cer. What the causes?

Cup. Wit and idlenesse.

Cer. What the meanes?

Cup. Oportunitie and Importunitie.

(sig. C2r)

- 2 **Importunty** i.e. the quality of being unseasonable or inopportune (*OED n.* 1; cites George Puttenham 'euery thing hath his season which is called Oportunitie, and the vnfitnesse or vndecency of the time is called Importunitie', *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, sig. 2G2r).

This couplet borrows consecutive lines from a poem by Edward Dyer copied later in the manuscript (see **127.35-36**). The first line shares a similar phrase: '*Carefull* thoughtes' has been altered to '*Repentaunt* thoughtes'; but the second line is taken verbatim. Coningsby probably devised the couplet, as he signed the entry with his personal posy ('R.D.T.F.O.F.') also found in conjunction with another entry that I have identified as self-authored (**92**; see **Introduction** pp. 68-70, for a discussion of the entries subscribed with the compiler's initials). The letters match a contemporary posy that could have been known to Coningsby, as it appears in Ha (f. 162v), a contemporary manuscript verse anthology with a number of poems in common with Hy: 'Rather Death Then

⁴ The lines were also copied without attribution in Rosenbach, MS 1083/15, f. 63r.

False Of Faith'.⁵ The same sentiment is expressed in the dialogue already mentioned (iii) where 'Constancy' asserts 'I see no way to helpe it, but by breach of faith, which I hold deerer then my life' (*The Phoenix Nest*, 1593, sig. D2r). Coningsby borrowed the fashionable idea of adopting a motto as 'a self-presentational code' from contemporary literature.⁶ For his interest in posies see the commentary to 76.

1 **overpassed** that has come to an end, past (*OED adj.*)

x

Coningsby added an abbreviated form of his own name to the poem (this habit is discussed in the **Introduction** pp. 68-70). The poem is unattributed in three more manuscript copies: Ra, f. 105v, Ma, f. 1v and Ha, f. 158r. An ironic poem in praise of women by Richard Edwards begins similarly: 'When women first Dame Nature wroughte, / "All good" quoth she, none shall be naughte'.⁷ The tradition of satiric verse against women is seen earlier in a popular fifteenth-century lyric ('When nettles in winter bring forth roses red') with the refrain: 'Than put in a woman your trust & confidence' (*DIMEV* 6384). Dyer expresses the same anti-feminist sentiment (capitalised in this manuscript for added emphasis): 'O FALSE VNCONSTANTE KYNDE, / FYRME IN FAYTHE TO NO MAN' (1.85-6); the idea also appears in 61.23, 'What shall I say, vnfaithfull, fond, & vayne', and 37.1-2, 'Yf women could be fayre, & yet not fond, / Or that their Love were firme, not fickle still'. The theme was still popular well into the seventeenth century as is seen from a poem that circulated widely in manuscript, and was printed in 1659 in John Wilson's *Select Ayres*:

On Womens Inconstancy

Catch me a Star that's falling from the Skie,
Cause an Immortal creature for to die;
Stop with thy hand the Current of the Seas,

⁵ This posy is also mentioned in the will of Jane Draper (1597)—on a gold ring bequeathed to her daughter Anne (East Sussex Record Office SAS-M/1/514)—and on another ring now in the British Museum but formerly part of the collection of Sir John Evans (see Evans 1931: 90).

⁶ For Latin mottoes used as personalised signatures in a literary context, see 91.18n. and the commentary to 80.

⁷ Edited in King 2001: 191 (no. 3); the poem is signed 'R. E.' in BL, Cotton MS Titus A. XXIV (temp. Queen Mary).

Peirce the earths Center to th'Antipodies;
 Cause Time return, and call back Yesterday,
 Cloath *January* like the moneth of *May*;
 Weigh me an ounce of Flame, blow back the wind;
 Then hast thou found Faith in a Womans mind.

(sig. D1r)

- 3 **busily** carefully, particularly, heedfully (*OED adv.* 1a)
- 4 **Faythe** faithfulness, fidelity, loyalty (*OED n.* 1a)
- 5 **fy** an expression of disgust or indignant reproach (*OED fie, int.* 1)

Collations: three texts collated: Ha, Ma and Ra.

- 1 <wroght> *corr. to* thought] wrought*
- 2 <knyt> *corr. to* lead] knytt*
- 3 Most] Full*; of all] and long*
- 4 set her] fetter*; head] witt*
- 5 Nay, fy] Nay, Nay*
- 6 rest] byde*
- 7 H. Con.] *om.* Ha, Finis Ma Ra

It is unusual to find three manuscripts agreeing so completely. In contrast Hy's text presents a number of corrupt readings: 'set her' for 'fetter' (l. 4) is an error (a mismatch with the following line where 'Faythe' is personified) and probably derived partly from a confusion between graphically similar minuscules 'f' and swash 's'. Hy's 'Nay, fy' (l. 5) is perhaps preferable to 'Nay, Nay', as it suits the poem's tone of mock seriousness, and better conveys Dame Nature's disgust with the request at hand. Other unique readings in Hy are sense substitutions, but Coningsby changed two readings in his own transcription, each time from a reading present in all three texts: in line 1, he altered 'wroght' to 'thought' and in the following line 'knyt' to 'lead'. Coningsby probably made the changes in an attempt to rectify a faulty end-rhyme caused by an error in line 4: 'head' for 'witt' (which repeats the end-rhyme word 'head' from line 6).

Largus ... luxuriosus. ‘Liberall, amorous, merry, smiling and ruddie coloured | Faithfull, corpulent, brave enough, extravagant’

These lines, supplied by Kniveton, are taken from the ‘Verses on the four complexions’ of the *Regimen Sanitatis Salerni*: a handbook of domestic medicine emanating from the famous School of Salerno that was founded in the seventh century.⁸ The treatise was probably written by the middle of the eleventh century and is of composite authorship, though ‘it is generally ascribed to one John of Milan, who is supposed to have been the head of the faculty of the School of Salerno at the time it was written’.⁹ The extract from the ‘Verses’ in Hy describes the main characteristics of the sanguine man according to medieval and later physiology. Coningsby evidently identified with the description, writing ‘My natiuytye’ (i.e. belonging to one by birth, natural to one; *OED* nativity, *n.* 3d) at the head of the couplet and adding his own initials. Thomas Paynell’s translation of the *Regimen* printed in 1528, contains the Latin lines on the sanguine ‘complexion’ with an explanation in English:

Largus amans / hylaris / ridens / rubeique coloris.

Cantans carnosus / satis audax, atque benignus.

This texte techeth vs to knowe sanguine folkes. ... Fyrste, a sanguine persone is free, nat couetous but liberall. Secondly he is amorous. Thyrdly, he hath a mery countenance. Fourthly, he is moste parte smyllynge: ... Fyftlye, he hath a ruddye colour ... Syxtly, he gladlye singethe and herethe syngge by reason of his mery mynde. Seuenthlye, he is fleshye ... The .viii. is, he is hardy, through the hete of the bloud, whiche is cause of boldnes. The .ix. is, the sanguine persone is benigne and gentyl, through the bounte of the sanguine humour. (sigs. 2C1v-2v)

Kniveton made two changes to the text substituting ‘Constans’ (faithful) for ‘Cantans’ (delighting in singing), perhaps suggesting that Coningsby was no singer (though the evidence from his will indicates that he was a lutenist), and ‘luxuriosus’ (extravagant)

⁸ Packard and Garrison 1920: 14.

⁹ *Ibid.*: 29-30.

for ‘benignus’ (kind and gentle), picking up once again on the sanguine man’s tendency to liberality.

xii

These lines in Latin are taken verbatim from Martial’s *Epigrams* 12.54 and not from Plautus as Kniveton suggests in the subscription: ‘Red-haired, black-faced, short-footed, boss-eyed, it’s a great achievement, Zoilus, if you’re a good fellow’. Zoilus was a Greek critic of 4th century B.C., famous for his severe criticism of Homer; but the name was later used more generally to refer to any censorious or envious critic and was often evoked in authors’ disclaimers in the preliminaries of printed works: ‘*Wher wyse men yet will deeme thy doings right, / What carst thou then for Zoilus cankerd spight*’ (‘The Author to his booke’, Barnabe Rich, *A Right Exelent and Pleasaunt Dialogue*, 1574).

Apart from the punning reference to the poet's name in line 147, Edward Dyer's authorship is confirmed by attributions in Ra, ff. 109r-12v (signed 'Miserum est fuisse: E. Dier'), and Bod., MS Tanner 306 (T), ff. 173r-v.¹⁰ John Harington also cited the poem as Dyer's (see below 79-80n.). Unattributed copies are found in the following contemporary verse collections: Dd, ff. 25r-v (headed 'Bewayling his exile he singeth thus'), Hn ff. 106v-7r, Ha ff. 158v-9r (headed 'A complaynt of one forsaken of his love'), Ma ff. 11v-14v (signed 'Miserum est fuisse') and Huntington Library, MS HM 198, part 2 (Hu), ff. 43r-5r. An incomplete copy (ll. 1-32, 49-65) was made on the fly-leaf of College of Arms, London, B.13 (C), f. 6r, and another copy is found in a volume of state papers and verse (c. 1620s-37), Bod., MS Ashmole 781 (As3), pp. 140-2.¹¹ A version in Scots by James Murray (c. 1612) is headed 'Inglish Dyare' in CUL, MS Kk.5.30, Item 2, f. 5r-v (followed, ff. 6r-7r, by 'Marrayis Dyare'). It was first published in 1660 in a garbled text, entitled 'A Sonnet', in *Poems Written by the Right Honorable William Earl of Pembroke* (P), sigs. C7r-D1r.

May notes that poem 1 'ranks among the most widely disseminated poems of the late Renaissance'.¹² Dyer's imitators clearly enjoyed the punning references to the poet's name in 'DYRY TRAGEDYES' (l. 132) and 'DY—ERE thow lette his name be knowne' (ll. 147). 'Marrayis Dyare' has already been mentioned, and further evidence of the poem's currency at the Scottish court is also indicated from an imitation penned by James VI entitled: 'A Dier at her Maiesties desyer'.¹³ Fulke Greville, in *Caelica* 83 ('For Greiv—Ill, paine, forlorne estate / doe best decipher me'; *Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes*, 1633, sig. 2K1r), and Ferdinando Stanley, lord Strange ('Tell him my lines *Strange* things may well suffice') incorporated punning references to their own names in poems that imitated Dyer's.¹⁴ John Davies also used the pun in his homage to Dyer:

Thou virgin *Knight* that dost thy selfe obscure
From *Worlds* vnequall *eies*, and faine wouldst *dy*

¹⁰ T is a composite but Dyer poems 1 and 2 are found in this order on two conjugate folio leaves (Beal dates the sheaf to the late sixteenth century; *CELM* DyE 17).

¹¹ C is copied on a leaf containing the inscription: 'Liber Officij Armorum Ex Dono Thomae Porey Armigeri Anno 1669'.

¹² 2002: 205.

¹³ Reproduced from BL, Add. MS 24195 in Westcott 1911: 7-9.

¹⁴ For Lord Strange's poem, see May 1991: 371.

Er' thy name should be knowne to *Worlds* impure
 ... Liue now, for now thou maist not living die;
 Vertue must vse thee, the (*Dyer Knight*) come forth'
 (*Microcosmos*, 1603, sig. E1r)

Among Dyer's immediate circle Greville has already been mentioned but Sidney also quoted lines from the poem in the *Old Arcadia* (see 85-88n. below). In addition, May cites Robert Southwell's parody, called 'Dyers phancy turned to a Sinners Complainte', and imitations by Arthur Gorges and Francis Drake.¹⁵ Further allusions to poem 1 in George Whetstone's *Rocke of Regard* (1576) and Melbancke's *Philotimus* (1582) are cited in the commentary (see 12n. and 65-66n. below); but the most sustained borrowing comes from Nicholas Breton in 1577, who confounds several lines from the poem (cf. ll. 3, 7, 9-11, 69) in a 'A pretty Discourse':

And of a man that pynes in payne,
 and lookes for no releefe.
 Whose hope of death seems sweete,
 & dread of lyfe seems sower,
 Who neuer bid one merry month,
 one weeke, one day, or hower.
 In such a tale, I say,
 if any doe delight,
 Let him come read this verse of myne
 that heer for troth I wright
 (*A Floorish vpon Fancie*, sig. L4r).

This places poem 1 along with 41 (written by 1575) as the earliest dateable poems in Dyer's canon.

title **Ferendo vinces** 'Win by forbearance'; the phrase is found in Cato's *Distich* 1.30, 'Quem superare potes, interdum vince ferendo; / maxima enim morum semper patientia virtus' ['When thou by force may'st conquer seeke / by sufferance to convince: Of mortall vertues, wise men hold / sweet patience soveraigne prince' (tr. from Walter Gosnold, *Marcus Ausonius his Foure*

¹⁵ 1991: 66-7.

Bookes, 1638, sig. D1r); William Gager incorporated this tag into Minerva's speech to the shipwrecked Ulysses, in a play performed at Christ Church, Oxford: 'Ferendo vinces; patere, vicisti procos' ['Be patient, and you have conquered the Suitors'] (*Vlyssess Redux*, 1592, sig. B2r). Dyer's poem 9 is headed with a similar Latin tag: 'Ferenda Natura' ['Nature must be endured'].

- 12 **lyghtninge** comforting, cheerful (from *OED* lighten, v.¹ 2a); Whetstone borrows this phrase in *The Rocke of Regard* (1576, sig. C1r): 'As I a yeare of dole would bide, to haue one lightning hower'.
- 15 **fare** state, welfare; prosperity, success (*OED* fare, n.¹ 7); **suger** figuratively, pleasure; looking back to the lack of 'sweete[ness]' in lines 9-10. But it is a misreading of 'succour' (the reading in all other texts), possibly spelt 'sucker'.
- 19-24 **better** ... **behinde** In the Neoplatonic theory of matter a spiritual being is imprisoned in a physical body which is regarded as the lower part of creation; cf. Sidney's 'in love his Cheefest part' 128.6.
- 29-30 **harte** ... **Sacrifice** Ringler (1962: 461) compares these lines to AS 5.5-7: '... Cupid's dart, / An image is, which for our selves we carve; / And, fooles, adore in temple of our hart'.
- 32 **suffice** satisfy (*OED* 1b)
- 39-40 **Carthage** an ancient city of north Africa, destroyed at the end of the Third Punic War in 146 BC; **bought & sowld** betrayed (*OED* buy, v. 6b); the story of how Sinon persuaded King Priam to admit the wooden horse into Troy is told in Virgil's *Aeneid* 2.
- 45 Sidney uses the same popular rhetorical device (epanorthosis) in AS 100.1: 'O teares, no teares, but raine'.
- 56 **reape the Hyacynte** this should be 'reade the Hyacynte', i.e. the exclamation of grief 'AI AI' which, in honour of Hyacinthus, Apollo caused to be permanently inscribed on the leaves of a flower (a purple lily: the Hyacinth) sprung from the blood of the mortally wounded youth; see Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 10.209-19. Cf. Sidney's OA 75.29 'O *Hiacinthe* let *Ai* be on thee still'.
- 62 **frames** state of mind, feelings (*OED* n. 20)
- 65-66 Whetstone has the same playful enumeration of the tenses in *The Rocke of Regard* (1576): 'My ioy in was, my woe in is, and so is like to bee' (sig. D7v),

and ‘My ioy with was, my woe is ioynd with is’ (sig. E8v). Melbancke also borrows this idea in *Philotimus*: ‘O let not (was) worke all delight, let (is) and (shall) haue part in pay’ (1583, sig. T1r).

79-80 **Common lyef** this should be ‘common *light*’ since Harington refers to the line in Book 8 of his *Orlando Furioso* (1591): ‘for the light of understanding and the shining of true worthines, or (as M. Dyer in an excellent verse of his termeth it) the light that shines in worthines’ (sig. F3r). Perhaps the source for this line comes from John 1.9: ‘the true light, which lighteth euerie man that cometh into the worlde’.

81-84 For the allusion to a refrain in Wyatt, see 12.1-2n.

85-88 Sidney has Geron echo these lines in the first eclogues of the *Old Arcadia* (OA 9.59-63): ‘A fickle Sex, and trew in trust to no man, / ... And to conclude thy mistresse is a woman’. The source for the lines is acknowledged in Histor’s response: ‘Those woordes dyd once the Loveliest shepard use / That erst I knewe, and with most plaine full muse’ (ll. 62-3)

88 **A WOMAN** the proverbial ‘woman is the woe of man’ (Tilley W656)

89-90 May notices an echo of these lines in Gorges’ poem 23 (see 23.23n).

91 **Ne** nor

107 **tickle** uncertain; unreliable (*OED adj.* 5)

117-18 Wyatt imagines a similar retreat for the melancholy lover in ‘I must go walk the woods so wild’:

My house shall be the green wood tree,

A tuft of brakes my bed.

...

The running streams shall be my drink,

Acorns shall be my food.

(Taken from the Blage MS in Rebholz 1997: 319-20.)

121 **HEBEN BLACKKE** i.e. the colour of ebony (*OED* ebon, *n.* and *adj.*)

122 **MEATE** food

132 **DYRY** full of dire; a pun on the poet’s name is probably intended

135 **SYCYPHO** ‘Sisyphus ... in hell he turneth a stone up to a great hyll toppe: but whan it is at the toppe, it falleth downe again, and reneweth his labour’ (Cooper); **PHEERES** companions (*OED* fere, *n.*¹ 1a)

142 **starve** die a lingering death (*OED* fere, *v.* 1)

143-4 Cf. Dyer's 'Ther is no grief, that may with mine compare' (41.24)

147 **DY—ERE** The capitalisation and punctuation draw attention to the pun on the poet's name

149 **Yit** it

Collations: Sargent (1968: 205-6) collates Ra, Ha, T against As3; Hughey (1960 2: 207) adds Hu and Hn, and May (1991: 292-3) Dd, Hy and Ma. My collation adds a fragmentary text: C; ll. 1-64.

title: Ferendo vinces] *om.*

2-3 is ... is] in ... in

5 hath] haue

7 by] with

8 morne] rewe

11 If] As

15 his suger] whoes succor

18 Which] that; ne ... ne] no ... nor

19 makinge] setting

22 grief] deathe

23 Which] that; paines] panges

24 leues] kepes

28 all helpe] succor

30 spirit the] spirigts to

32 sorrow can] sorrowes maye

33-48 *om.*

52 lyves] loste

55 shade] tree

56 reape] red

59 Come] Came; by] throughe

60 smarte may stinge] hurte might seeme

62 'for' *corr. to* to] for

63 TYME ... WORDES] wordes O lookes O tyme O place

65-152 *om.*

May concludes that Hy is related to Ra with conjunctive errors in lines 59 ('Come' for 'Came') and 139 ('playnte' for 'plight'); and also finds common ancestors for Hn and Ma, Ha, Hu and P, and As3 and T. Hy omits four lines present in all the other texts, and has at least six more certain errors: 'suger' for 'succor' (l. 15), 'reape' for 'read' (l. 56), 'force' for 'sawce' (l. 73), 'Cawse disdaynes' for 'chaste disdayne' (l. 77) and 'lyef' for 'light' (l. 79). C is a late, imperfect copy where the scribe mixed up the order of the lines: 1-24 is followed by 49-57, deleted line 57, 25-32 and 57-64. Although C is a partial text it is not related to Hy: it does not share the Hy-Ra error in lines 59 and avoids Hy's errors in lines 15 and 56.

2

The poem is attributed to Edward Dyer in a further two manuscript witnesses: Ra, ff. 98v-101v and Ma, ff. 15r-17r. In addition, Gabriel Harvey referred in his marginalia to Dyer's 'Amaryllis, & Sir Walter Raleighs Cynthia, how fine & sweet inuentions?'¹⁶ Another unattributed copy survives in Bod., MS Tanner 306 (T), ff. 174r-v. May notes that the metre points to a date post-1580 'when Sidney first began to experiment with trochaics'.¹⁷ The love triangle in Dyer's story of Amaryllis, Corydon and Charynell is mirrored in Sidney's story of Mira, Coredens and Phillisides in the *Old Arcadia*:

sweet and incomparable Mira (so like her which in that rather vision than dream of mine I [i.e. Phillisides] had seen), that I began to persuade myself in my nativity I was allotted unto her; to her, I say, whom even Coredens made the upshot of all his despairing desires, and so, alas, from all other exercises of my mind bent myself only to the pursuit of her favour.

- 1 **AMARYLLYS** The name of a shepherdess in Virgil (*Eclogues* 1, 31). Sargent (1968: 69) points out that Mira (in Sidney's comparable tale of friendly rivals in love) is an anagram of Mary and suggests Sidney's sister, Mary Herbert, countess of Pembroke, is figured in both Mira and Amaryllis. Robertson (1973: 475) notes that Thomas Moffet (the Herbert family tutor)

¹⁶ Smith 1913: 233.

¹⁷ May 1991: 305.

- referred to the Countess as Mira in the dedication to his *The Silkwormes and their Flies* (1599).
- 5 **DYANA** ‘for hir chaste lyfe was honored of the Paynims for a goddess’ (Cooper)
- 21 **CORYDON** Coridon is a stock pastoral name found in Theocritus (*Idylls* 4, 5) and Virgil (*Eclogues* 2, 7). Sidney refers to Coredens (*The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, 1593, has ‘Coridon’) in OA 66.39-40: ‘Till forste to parte, with harte and eyes even sore, / To worthy Coredens he gave me ore’. Duncan-Jones (1989: 350) suggests that the real person allegorically figured in this character is Dyer since the lines from OA 66, quoted above, suggest ‘a pupil-mentor relationship’. **CHARYNELL** ‘Charimell’ in the other texts; combines the Latin adjective *c[h]arus-a-um* (dear, precious, esteemed) with *mell*, *mellis* (honey; figuratively, sweetness or pleasantness of speech; darling). If Coredens (Coridon) figures Dyer in the paralld mythology of Coredens-Phillisides-Mira, then Charynell should be Sidney.
- 31 Archetypes of true friendship: ‘when Dyonise the tyranne of Syracuse, had condemned the one of them to death, and he had required certayne dayes respyte to go home ... the other became suretie for him on this condicion, that if his friende returned not, he would be consent to suffer death for him’ (Cooper). Richard Edwards’ comedy *Damon and Pithias* was performed at court and at Lincoln’s Inn during the Christmas season of 1564–5 (pr. 1571; *ODNB*: Edwards).
- 36 **band bond**
- 37 **blynded God** Cupid
- 49-56 Sargent (1968: 210) makes the connection with Geoffrey Whitney’s emblem addressed to Dyer: ‘De more, & amore: Iocosum’ (*A Choice of Emblemes*, 1586, sig. R2v) which refers to the story of how Cupid and Death confused their arrows.
- 53-4 George Turbervile describes Cupid’s shafts in similar terms:
- Thy shafts which by their diuers heads
their diuers kindes did show
(*Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, 1567, sig. G5v)
- 63 **the they**
- 65-66 proverbial, ‘Fire that’s closest kept burns most of all’ (Tilley F265)

- 81-2 **ASPIIS** Latin form, treated as English, for the asp (*OED* n.²); cf. Psalmes 58.4-5:
like the deaf adder that stoppeth his eare. Which heareth not the voyce of the
inchanter, thogh he be moste expert in charming.
- 98 proverbial (Tilley L9)
- 99 **meed** aid, assistance (*OED* n. 4)
- 100 **forweened** thought, surmised, supposed, believed (from ween *OED* v. 1)
- 102 **hoare** grey, greyish white (*OED* adj. 2)
- 111 **Corps** body
- 112 **ghost** spirit
- 118 Nor does thinking weave cloth (*OED* web, n. 1a); equivalent to the proverb
‘Saying and doing are two things’ (Dent S119)
- 138 **strayne** clasp tightly (*OED* v.¹ 2a)
- 142-4 **yellow flower** ... **HARTES EASE** i.e. wild pansy, native to fields and open
waste-ground in Europe, with yellow, purple or creamy flowers that bloom
throughout the year. The whole plant was formerly used as a tonic and a
remedy for fevers, and as a healing herb for wounds and ulcers. Dyer may
have borrowed the idea of Charynell’s metamorphosis from the account of the
death of Narcissus in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 3: ‘But as for bodie none
remaind: In stead thereof they found / A yellow floure with milke white
leaues new sprong vpon the ground’ (tr. by Arthur Golding, 1567, sig. F7v).
- 145-8 May (1991: 81) notes a similarity to Philisides’ address to the flowers in
Sidney’s OP 5.48-9: ‘Dresse bosome hers or hedd, / Or scattter on her bedd’.
- 154-8 This is reminiscent of the lover’s retreat in poem 1: ‘THE SOLITARY
WOODS, / MY CYTY SHALL BECOME, / THE DARKEST DENNE
SHALBE MY LODGE, / WHERE IS NO LYGHT OF SONNE’ (ll. 117-20)
- 165-168 These lines capitalised for added emphasis suggest that the poem is
shadowing some real-life situation.

Collations: Sargent (1968: 209) collates the variants in T and Ra; May (1991: 306-7)
adds the collations for Hy and Ma.

May posits two lost versions from Dyer’s own draft: Ra and Ma descend from
one version and Hy and T from the other collateral version. Hy lacks the final couplet
present in the other texts and adds at least five more errors: ‘word of’ for ‘worldes’ (l.
30), ‘ther was / His love that’ for ‘there were / that his darte’ (ll. 39-40), ‘And as’ for

‘As’ (l. 53), ‘forth all’ for ‘forth’ (l. 95), ‘They’ for ‘their’ (l. 96). Some of these errors may have something to do with the unfamiliar trochaic metre, since the alternative readings frequently add an extra syllable.

3

This poem can confidently be ascribed to the Earl of Oxford: additional attributions supporting Hy’s are attached to copies in Ra, f. 15v and *Brittons Bowre of Delights*, 1591 (B), sig. F2r. In addition, Puttenham quoted the first six lines as Oxford’s in *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589 (Pu), sig. Z4v.¹⁸ Three more unattributed copies survive: in Ha, f. 145r, Hn, ff. 144r-v and BL, Harl. MS 4286 (Kn), f. 57v rev. The latter is of particular interest because it is in the hand of St Loe Kniveton, a minor contributor to Hy (see **Introduction** pp. 46-7). However, the text is poor: it has two unique lines in place of lines 15-16 (‘what if thy spech unplesant be / then can I tacke no rest’) and omits a further eight lines (ll. 17-20, 25-28). Kniveton copied the poem into a pre-bound volume begun as a poetry collection: the first sixteen folios are devoted to verse (with one poem to each folio, written on one side only); the volume was subsequently used for genealogical writing and all the blank versos and remaining blank leaves were filled. According to Wagner half of the poems are lyrics that appeared in *Englands Helicon* (1600).¹⁹ A contemporary reader of *The Countess of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1593) copied the extract from Pu in the margin of Folger STC 22540, copy 1, sig. T4v, drawing a comparison with Sidney’s similar exposition of Love in OA 28.37-39: ‘Sight is his roote, in thought is his progression, / His childhood woonder, prenticeship attention, / His youth delight ... / Fancie his foode’.²⁰ A version with two additional stanzas (one preliminary and one closing) was printed with the title ‘A Communication betweene Fancie and Desire’ in Thomas Deloney’s *The Garland of Good Will*, 1628 (Del), sigs. G3r-v, and set to music in the ‘Wigthorpe Partbooks’, BL, Add. MSS 17786-91 (Wi), f. 7v.²¹

¹⁸ May (1980: 33-4) places 3 among the certain Oxford poems (no. 11).

¹⁹ 1938: 118.

²⁰ This copy even reproduces Puttenham’s orthography: ‘*emble* [sic] of loue’. May also notes a link between Oxford’s poem and Sidney’s early writing (‘A dialogue between two shepherds, uttered in a pastoral show at Wilton’): ‘Will’s interrogation of Dick resembles in both form and content the interrogation of Desire (or Love personified) in Oxford’s poem’ (1991: 69).

²¹ Although the earliest extant edition of *The Garland of Good Will* is for 1628, entries in the Stationers’ Register indicate that it first appeared in print sometime after March 1593. Deloney died in 1600 but his volume of popular poetry went through numerous editions during the

Oxford's poem is a free translation of an Italian sonnet by Panfilo Sassi ('Quando nascesti, Amor?') first published in Venice in 1501. Rollins notes that Phillipe Desportes had translated the Italian sonnet into French, 'Amour, quand fus-tu né?' (*Les Premieres Œuvres*, Sonnet 31, 1573, sig. B4v).²² A number of English versions modelled on Sassi's original or influenced by Desportes' version can be dated to the early 1580s; among these are Henry Chillester's 'O loue, when wast thou borne?' (*Youthes Witte*, 1581, sig. U3r) and Nicholas Breton's 'A Song betweene between Wit and Will' in his *Wil of Wit*.²³

Wit. What art thou will? W[ill]. A babe of natures broode,
 Wit. who was thy syre? W[ill]. sweet lust, as Louers say:
 Wit. Thy mother who? W[ill]. wydle lustie wanton blood.
 Wit when wert thou borne? W[ill]. In merrie month of May.
 (1597, sigs. C3r-4r)

Another English version by Thomas Watson, 'When werte thou borne sweet Loue?', was printed in 1582 in his *Hekatompathia* (sig. C3v), a volume of poems that Oxford had seen in manuscript ('perused it, being as yet but in written hand'; sig. A3r).²⁴ Though Watson ultimately refers to the same Italian sonnet, as Oxford's editor points out, a few similarities in the ordering of lines and phraseology not in the original source suggest 'some connection between Oxford's and Watson's translations'.²⁵ John Lyly (another client of Oxford's) had also seen Watson's work in manuscript and his 'What is desire?' (poem 6 in this edition) poses similar questions to the analogous poems by

seventeenth century. Four poems including 3 (and 50) may be later additions (Pratt 1954). May (1980: 74) prints the additional stanzas, pointing out that these witnesses are 'too corrupt to lend [them] any authenticity'.

²² 1933: 96-8.

²³ The earliest known edition of *The Wil of Wit* is dated 1597; but the volume was entered in the Stationers' Register in 1580 and must have been printed at that time since Richard Madox refers to the work in his diary for March 1582: 'Ther was 'Mr Brytten once of Oriell Colledge, which made wyts wyl' (Donno 1976: 96).

²⁴ The imprint in *The Hekatompathia* is undated but is generally thought to have appeared in the year of its entry into the Stationers' Register, on 27 March 1582 (Klein 1984: 1. 31). Watson mistakenly attributes the sonnet to Seraphino de' Aquilano Ciminelli: 'The substance of this passion is taken out of Seraphine sonetto 127'. The poem had appeared among Serafino's poems (*Opera*, Venice, 1544; Klein 2. 36).

²⁵ May 1980: 74.

Oxford and Watson, illustrating a chain of influence between these three poets who read each others' work in manuscript.²⁶

Further indication of the currency of Oxford's poem at the Inns of Court during the early 1580s is apparent from lines quoted by Brian Melbancke '*student in Graies Inne*' as Oxford translated them: 'Tenne thousand times a day desire doth liue and dye' (*Philotimus*, 1583, sig. S4v).²⁷

1-6 Puttenham quotes these lines to illustrate 'antipophora, or [the] figure of responce' (Pu, sig. Z4v) with the following introduction:

I name him the Responce, and is when we will seeme to aske a question to th'intent we will aunswere it our selues, and is a figure of argument and also of amplification ... Edward Earle of Oxford a most noble & learned Gentleman made in this figure of responce an emble of desire otherwise called Cupide which for his excellencie and wit, I set downe some part of the verses, for example.

3 Cf. Watson's 'Who was thy sire?' (*The Hekatompathia*, sig. C3v); and Lyly's 'What were his parentes, Godes or no' (6.6).

15-16 Cf. Watson's 'thy chiefe abiding place? / In Willing Hartes, which were of gentle race' (*The Hekatompathia*, sig. C3v) and Lyly's 'In gentle myndes his dwellinge is' (6.5); **gentle** well-born (*OED adj.* 1a).

27-8 Cf. Petrarch's *Rime* 164 'mille volte il dì moro et mille nasco' ['a thousand times a day I die and a thousand am born'].

Collations: May (1980: 118-9) B, Del, Ha, Hn, Kn, Pu, Ra and Wi against Hy.

As May concludes, the only texts that can be placed on a common line of descent are Wi and Del. These latter texts share a common ancestor which introduced two additional stanzas and at line 10 misread the 'f' of 'Vnfayned' for a swash 's', producing the reading 'unsavory' ('vnsavorde' in Wi). It is also worth noting that Pu's

²⁶ Lyly's comment in the commendatory epistle to *The Hekatompathia* ('to the Authour his friend') indicates that he, like Oxford, had seen a copy of Watson's work in manuscript: 'Seeing you have used mee so friendly, as to make me acquainted with your passions'.

²⁷ Oxford changed the lines in the original Italian sonnet from 'no chio rinasco mille volte el giorno' ['I am reborn a thousand times a day'] to 'Desyer, bothe lyves & dyes, / Ten thowsande tymes a day'. The text and translation are taken from Slim 1972: 450-451. Melbancke quoted lines from two more poems of Oxford's (May 1980: nos. 10 and 12; the latter is **90** in Hy); for an article on 'Further Borrowings from Poems in "*Philotimus* (1583)"', see Tilley 1930. For the actual date of printing of *Philotimus* during Dec 1582, see Maud 1956.

six lines have no substantive variants from Hy. B is also close to Hy and, apart from a tendency to modernise (removing ‘ste’ endings and substituting ‘your’ and ‘you’ for ‘thy’, ‘thou’ and ‘thee’), introduces one error, ‘men’ for ‘me’ (l. 14), and contains one unique variant: ‘sore’ for ‘Sad’ (l. 8). Ra introduces six unique variants and creates a metrically defective line in omitting ‘to be’ (l. 23). Ha shares the same tendency to modernise as B but is an inferior text that introduces eight unique variants and lacks lines 21-24. Hn is another partial text lacking lines 11-12 and introducing four more errors. As May points out, Kn is the most corrupt text, however the observation that Kn and Hy belong to the hand of the same scribe is wrong, as May believed that Kniveton’s was the dominant hand in Hy.

Head-note to **4, 28, 78, 86, 118** and **133**

Six of Hy’s poems (**4, 28, 78, 86, 118** and **133**) also appear in the first edition of *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*, printed in 1576 (P). All except **118** were included in subsequent editions. Rollins (1927) collates the variants in print editions from 1578 to 1606. The edition printed in 1577 survives only in William Herbert’s autograph copy: Bod., MS Douce e.16 (P77). May argues that William Hunnis was ‘personally concerned with the make-up and printing of the 1577 edition’, and that he corrected attributions and readings in his own poems as well as scrutinizing those of his predecessor as Master of the Children of the Chapel, Richard Edwards.²⁸ The changes in attributions to the 1577 edition (some of which are retained in subsequent editions) should therefore be considered as more accurate than the earlier edition. I will discuss the implications of this on a case-by-case basis in the commentary. Substantive variants in Herbert’s copy of the 1577 edition of *The Paradyse* are recorded in May (1975a). These variants together with those recorded in Rollins (1927) are discussed (where relevant) in the textual analysis, though none appear in the collations. One contemporary copyist, John Leche, transcribed five poems (including **4, 28** and **133**) into his poetical anthology (Folger, MS V.a.149) directly from print. Leche carefully copied the printed text and titles from an edition of *The Paradyse* printed after 1590. I have have not included these derivative texts in the collations.²⁹

²⁸ 1975b: 63.

²⁹ For example, Leche’s copy of **133** introduces only one unique variant from the print (‘with’ for ‘By’ l. 8) and shares two readings corrected in editions of *The Paradyse* from 1590 (ll. 9 and 20).

The poem was printed without attribution in *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*, 1576 (P), sigs. Elv-3r.³⁰ The signature ‘RO POO’ may refer to the enigmatic *Paradyse* author ‘Master Yloop’ (or Pooly). Two poems are attributed to Pooly in *The Paradyse* (Rollins 1927: nos. 3 and 99) but the presence of his name on the title-page means that he could be responsible for more items in the collection that remain unasccribed.³¹ Marotti suggests ‘Robert Pooley, the notorious double or triple agent who worked for Sir Francis Walsingham in the late 1580s’, and Nicholl identifies a Robert among the Poleys of Boxted, near Cavendish.³² Coningsby may have known members of the Poley (variant spellings of the name include: Pooley and Powley) family of Badley, Suffolk via a connection to the Blounts of Kidderminster in Worcestershire: Thomas Blount (d. 1568) had married Margery a daughter of William Poley of Badley, and his son Sir Christopher Blount (d. 1601) was a follower of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester in 1586.³³ It is also worth noting that Edmund Poley (1544-1613), of Badley, was a member of Gray’s Inn from 1563.³⁴

Pooly’s fondness for heavily alliterative lines seen in Rollins no. 99, ‘I Rage in restlesse ruthe, and ruins rule my daies’, is shared with the author of **4** (cf. ‘For lingringe lenghte of lothed lyfe’ and ‘While luckles lo I lyve, in losse of labors due’; ll. 87, 96), and both write verse in long-lined measures. Two more poems in the collection carry the same initials: **31** is signed ‘q[uo]d R. P.’ and **71** is tentatively signed ‘R P.’; and I suggest that poem **82**, which incorporates lines from **31**, is also Pooly’s.

The marginal annotation ‘ballet’ and subscription ‘Balle’ suggests a musical setting for the poem (see **Introduction** pp. 70-72).

title **Diligentes me diligo** ‘I love them that love me’ (Vulgate: Proverbs 8:17)

³⁰ The poem remains unattributed in all subsequent editions.

³¹ Rollins 1927: lxxv.

³² Marotti 2008: 88. Nicholl 1992: 492.

³³ See the entry for Thomas Blount in the *History of Parliament* online <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/blount-thomas-1568>> [accessed 17 March 2015]. For the compiler’s link to a different branch of this family (the Blounts of Sodington, Worcestershire), see **Introduction** p. 29 fn. 27.

³⁴ See the entry for Edmund Poley in the *History of Parliament* online <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/poley-edmund-1544-1613>> [accessed 17 March 2015].

- 1-3 echoes Surrey's 'If care do cause men cry' (see **79.1-4n.**)
- 1 **carefull** mournful, sorrowful (*OED adj.* 1)
- 2 **grypinge gryef** A formulaic alliterative phrase: 'This don, my griping griefs will som what swage' (George Turbervile, *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, 1567, sig. E5v). Also found in **86.1** and **147.16**. The phrase is often combined with **pinching payne** (l. 15): 'Such griping greefe, wyth pinching pangs' (Edmund Elviden, *The Most Excellent ... Historie of Pesistratus and Catanea*, 1570, sig. E3r); 'What griping greifs, what pinching pangues of payne' (Nicholas Breton, *A Floorish vpon Fancie*, 1577, sig. G3r).
- 21 **Gallens booke** medical writings of the celebrated physician of the 2nd century A.D.
- 31-32 **proverbe** 'There is a salve for every sore' (Dent S84)
- 40 **haunt of** resorting frequently to (*OED v.* 3)
- 41 **exilde** expelled (*OED v.* 3)
- 47 **on one**
- 53, 74 **Travell, travaile** (*OED travail, n.*¹) toil, labour
- 54-77 Echoes Surrey's 'If care do cause men cry':
- For all thinges hauing life sometime haue quiet rest.
The bearing Asse, the drawing Oxe, and euery other beast.
The peasant and the post that serues at all assayes,
The shipboy and the galley slaue haue time to take their rest
Saue I alas whom care of force doth so constraine.
- (*Songes and Sonettes*, 1557, sigs. D3r-v)
- 58 **hyre** reward, recompense, payment (*OED hire, n.* 2)
- 59 **moyles** toils (*OED moil, v.* 2)
- 67 **dinte** stroke (*OED* 1a)
- 71 **flaw** sudden blast or gust (*OED flaw, n.*² 1); **hazardise** risk
- 79 **caitiffe** miserable
- 91, 94 **Froward** unreasonable, perverse (*OED adj.* A1)

Collations: one text collated: P.

Title: Diligentes me diligo] Oppressed with sorowe, he wyseth death

4 is] are

6 ar] is

7 can noght] nought can
 17 bestowed] inspect
 21 booke] bookes
 29 heale] coole
 30 heale] healeth; skarres] scarre
 34 Plages that] plague which
 40 haunt] haute
 41 exilde] expeld
 42 inward griefes] greefes
 45 these] those
 47 so must I dy] and so must die
 56 flyeth] flies; 'rest' *corr. to nest*] rest
 59 moyles] drudges
 60 goes] goth
 71 hazardise] hazard is
 77 'I' *corr. to do or doth*] doth
 82 wailing] waylinges
 83 tormentes] torment
 84 thine] thy
Subscription: fynis RO POO. Balle] om.

Hy contains three certain errors: 'heale' (l. 29) picks up the same word in the line below, and should undoubtedly read 'coole', the repeat of 'inward' (l. 42) disrupts the metre, and 'exilde' should read 'expeld' (l. 41) to rhyme with 'repelde' (l. 43). Line eight is only present in P and P77 but omitted in all subsequent editions. A few unique variants that are not obvious errors and a reading ('nest' l. 56) that corrects an error in the print copy, that remained unchecked until the edition of 1600, indicates that Hy belongs to a distinct manuscript tradition of the poem. Another reading, 'moyles' (l. 59) is superior to P's 'drudges', which disrupts the metre, and may have been an editorial change of an archaic word to a more familiar one.

This is the final stanza of an eighteen-line poem by George Whetstone; the complete poem appears four leaves later in the manuscript (see the commentary to 14).

The subscription 'Ewph.' is probably an abbreviation of 'Euphues', a nickname given to John Lyly after the publication of his prose works *Euphues: the Anatomy of Wyt* and *Euphues and his England*.³⁵ Gabriel Harvey refers to Lyly as Euphues in *Pierces Supererogation*, 1593: 'surely Euphues was someway a pretty fellow: would God, Lilly had alwaies bene Euphues, and neuer Pap-hatchet' ('An Aduertisement', sig. I4r). Another copy is found in Ra, f. 15r, where it is placed in a cluster of poems attributed to Lyly's patron, the Earl of Oxford. The series of antithetical statements about the traits of Love (ll. 7-9, 11, 13-15, 20) is characteristic of Lyly's euphuistic style made fashionable after the publication of his prose works. The poem also rehearses the generic conventions found in the 'definition of love poems' so popular in the period.³⁶ Among these is Oxford's poem 3, which may have been known to Lyly. I have noted some verbal parallells between the two poems below; see also the commentary to 3.³⁷

- 4 **pining** causing wasting or languishing in others (*OED* pining *adj.*); **sweat** labour, toil (*OED* *n.* 9a *fig.*)
- 5 **gentle** well-born; for the same idea in Oxford's poem, see 3.15-16
- 6 For a similar question about Cupid's parentage, see 3.3.

³⁵ *Euphues: the Anatomy of Wyt* first appeared, with no date in the imprint, at the close of 1578, and *Euphues and his England* in 1580. Both titles enjoyed immediate success and were followed by a succession of further editions: the former reaching its fourth edition early in 1580 and the latter with two editions printed in the same year, and one in each of the two following years (Bond 1902: 1.20-21).

³⁶ In the treatise *Art Poétique François*, Thomas Sebbillet identified a genre called the Definition and used the example of a poem by Mellin de Saint-Gelais called 'Description d'Amour', first printed in 1534 (*Les Fleurs de Poésie Françoyse*); see Kermode 1956. Quaintance sums up the conventions of the definition of love 'sub-genre': 'the opening query, the tracing of love's birth, the hunting of paradoxes, the moralizing of Cupid's attributes ... and a misogyny more or less unrelieved' (1963: 295).

³⁷ During the early 1580s, Lyly was employed as Oxford's private secretary (*ODNB*). Lyly also dedicated his 1580 publication *Euphues and his England* to his patron ('To the Right Honourable my very good Lorde and Maister Edward de Vere, Earle of Oxenforde').

- 7-9 **Child ... beguild** Cf. ‘And therefore is love said to be a child / Because in choice he is so oft beguiled’ (*A Midsummer Night’s Dream* 1.1.238).
- 15 **bitter bale** a commonplace alliterative phrase; cf. ‘And so to breede his bitter bale / and hatch his deadly smart’ (George Turbervile, *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, 1567, sig. H2r).
- 16 **ho** how
- 27 **fruietes** rewards

Collations: one text collated: Ra.

2 love] harte

3 a] or

4 delightes] delyght

5 Ra places lines 6-10 between 25 and 26.

7 is] he is

11 a] *om.*

15 bale] ball

16 ho] how; play] paye

25 where] when

27 payne] paynes

29 remaine] remayns

Subscription: fynis Ewph.] Finis

Ra’s differing order of the lines, which places Hy’s second stanza in fifth position, reveals that the closing lines of each pair of tetrameter quatrains rhyme: ‘is’ ‘blysse’ (5, 15), ‘obayes’ ‘nay[es]’ (20, 25), and ‘Sier’ ‘desyer’ (10, 30). Both texts have the same error at line 25, where the plural noun is required to keep the rhyme; this could be independent variation rather than evidence of a common textual ancestor. Hy is in error at line 2 with ‘love’ which spoils the rhyme, and may be a mistake caused by eye-skip (picking up the same word from the line above).

7

Another Elizabethan copy in Ra, f. 1r, attributes the poem to the Queen (ascribed to ‘Elysabethe regina’), and contextualizes it as ‘Verses made by the queine when she was

supposed to be in loue with mountsyre'.³⁸ The negotiations for the match between Elizabeth and Francis, Duke of Anjou began in earnest in the summer of 1578 with personal visits from the Duke in August 1579, and a more protracted visit from November 1581 to the following February.³⁹ Elizabeth is credited with writing another lyric ('On Monsieur's Departure') after the longer second visit, and this seems the most likely period for the composition of poem 7: when Elizabeth was making a very public show of her affection for the Duke.⁴⁰ Another Elizabethan copy is unattributed: Dd, f. 38v.⁴¹ The only challenge to Elizabeth's authorship comes from the unlikely attribution to the Earl of Oxford (signed 'L: of oxforde') in Fo, p. 12.⁴² In the early seventeenth century, the first four lines were recast as a song with an anti-feminist bias, where in later years the speaker gets her due deserts when she woos unsuccessfully, Folger, MS V.a.262 (V26), p. 169.

The metre and rhyme are quite experimental: the lines rhyme as hexameter couplets but the refrain is a fourteener (aa⁶b⁶b⁸cc⁶b⁶b⁸dd⁶b⁶b⁸ee⁶b⁶b⁸); the b rhyme, which incorporates the refrain, also repeats four times (one of the rhyme words remains the same: 'more'; and one of the rhyme combinations: 'therfore: more' repeats twice).

- 4, 8, 12, 16 **importune** trouble, pester (*OED* 4)
 9 **brave** see 111.2n.; **Boy** Cupid
 10 **daynty** fastidious, particular (*OED* 5a)

Collations: four texts collated: Dd, Fo, Ra and V26.

Title: om.] Verses made by the queine when she was supposed to be in loue with mountsyre Ra, Another V26

1 then favour] & favour Dd Ra, then beauty V26

2 sought] woed V26; theyr] vnto there Dd; be] bee fa: la etc. V26

3 answerde] said to Dd V26

³⁸ Bradner (1964: 75-76) includes the poem (pr. from Hy) among 'Poems of Doubtful Authorship', Marcus, Mueller and Rose (2000: 303-4) as canonical, and May (2004b: 26-7) among works 'Possibly' by Elizabeth.

³⁹ Black 1959: 302, 307.

⁴⁰ Bradner 1964: 73.

⁴¹ Judging from the position in the manuscript May (1988: 329) estimates that Stanford copied the poem 'not long after 1589'.

⁴² May (1980: 84) places 7 in 'Poems Wrongly Attributed to Oxford', commenting that: 'neither the content of this poem with its clearly feminine viewpoint, nor the lone ascription in *Fo* can substantiate Lord Oxford's authorship'.

4 more] more fa: la: la: etc./ V26

inserted after l. 4 V26:

When riper yeares grew on & beauty gann to fade

To them I made my mone whome I before denyed fa la la etc.

But then they answered mee as I did them before

Goe goe etc.

And scorne your freinds noe more fa la la etc./

5-16 *om.* V26

5-8 *om.* Dd

5 in] with Ra

6 not] no Ra

7 But] Yet Ra; still thys spake] still thus spake Fo, awnswerde them Ra

9 Then spake] but there Dd; fayre Venus] brave venus Fo; that brave] that proude Ra

10 Saying ... Dame] said what thou scornfull dame Dd, And sayde: fyne Dame Ra; for]
sith Dd, since Ra; yow be] thou art Dd

11 *sub.* I will so wound thie hart, that thou shallt leaue therfore Dd; pull] plucke Ra;
yowr] *om.* Fo; as] that Ra

13 *sub.* but then I felt straightway a chaunge within my brest Dd; As ... sayd] When he
had spake these wordes Ra; chaunge] care Fo

14 *sub.* the day vnquiet was the night, I could not rest Dd; day] day since that Ra

15 Wherefore] For Dd, Than loe Ra; repent] sore repent Dd

Subscription: FINIS. ELY.] L: of oxforde Fo, Finis Elysabetha regina Ra

Hy is free of definitive error. Fo is close to Hy with only one genuine variant: ‘care’ for ‘chaunge’ (l. 13); the other two unique Fo variants are errors: the reading ‘*brave venus*’ (l. 9) means that the adjective is used twice in the same line, and the omission of ‘yowr’ (l. 11) creates a metrical anomaly. Ra introduces numerous unique variants, two of which disrupt the metre (ll. 10 and 14). Dd is a truncated copy lacking four lines (ll. 5-8) and containing many unique readings most of which are inferior. The version in V26 contains only four lines in common with the other copies; in these lines V26 shares a variant with Dd against all the other texts (‘said to’ for ‘answerde’ l. 3) which may indicate that it ultimately derived from a version similar to Dd. But two unique variants (‘beauty’ l. 1 and ‘woed’ l. 2) are probably purposeful revisions to suit the poem’s recasting as a song.

There are no other copies of this anonymous poem.

1-2 **afterclappes** unwelcome consequences or surprises (*OED n.*); proverbial
‘Beware an afterclap’ (Tilley A57).

7 **Sweete Boy** Cupid

8 echoes conventions of the courtly love genre, especially the statutes of Love’s Court; cf. ‘Unto my lady, stable, true, and sure, / Feithfull and kynde, sith first that she began / Me to accept in service as her man’ (*The Court of Love*, ll. 38-39; Forni 2005: 11)

This is the first of four poems signed ‘Dy’ (or ‘DY’) indicating the poet Edward Dyer.⁴³ Since the attribution appears adjacent to the heading ‘Lenvoy’, May suggests that it could refer to the two-line envoy and not the preceding poem. However the compiler invariably ascribes names at the end, not the head of entries. Another contemporary manuscript copy, Ra, ff. 43v-4r, retrospectively assigned the poem to ‘W. R.’ (probably indicating Walter Raleigh).⁴⁴ Another copy without attribution is found in Ha, ff. 154r-v. Hy’s envoy does not appear in conjunction with any of these surviving copies, but a close version of the lines is found in a separate poem that was printed in *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises* (1576): ‘Which sowre from sweete, might any meanes remoue. / What happe, what heauen, what lyfe, were lyke to loue’ (sig. A4v).⁴⁵ The change in word order in Hy’s version of the lines in the envoy (especially the reading ‘Sweete from Sowre’ for the more logical ‘sowre from sweete’) indicates that the lines may have

⁴³ May (1991: 313) places **9** among the possible Dyer poems (no. III).

⁴⁴ Latham places it among poems doubtfully ascribed to Raleigh (1951: 172).

⁴⁵ The poem entitled ‘No pleasure, without some payne’, was originally ascribed to ‘E. S.’, then to ‘W. R.’ and finally to William Hunnis (Rollins, 1927: 183). The author is unlikely to be Hunnis, who had the opportunity to correct the attribution when he acted as editor on the 1577 edition (see head-note to **4**); and the attribution to Raleigh could have been prompted by the knowledge of two Raleigh poems with a similar opening ‘Sweete ar the thoughtes’ and ‘Swete were the sauce’ (see **47**, fn. 112; Rudick rejects this poem from the Raleigh Canon (1999: 210).

been quoted from memory, either by the compiler or another copyist transmitting the poem.

May notes the borrowed opening line in Alfonso Ferrabosco's *Ayres* (1609, no. V: 'Faine I would but O I dare not'), and the poem's resemblance to Wyatt's 'Hate whome ye lyst':⁴⁶

Hate whome ye lyste, I care not;
Loue whome ye lyste and spare not;
Doo what ye lyst and fere not;
Sey what ye lyst and dred not;
For as for me, I am not
But euyn as on that rekyth not
Whether ye hate or hate not,
For in youre loue I dote not;
Wherefore I pray you forget not,
But loue whome ye lyst and spare not.

(Muir 1961: 78).

title **Ferenda Natura** 'Nature must be endured'. George Gascoigne used this tag in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (1573), as a subscription to three poems in the *Devises of Sundrie Gentlemen* (sigs. Q2r-3r), and as the sobriquet to Bartholmew's beloved in *Dan Bartholmew of Bathe*: 'But since I must a name to hir assigne, / Let call hir now *Ferenda Natura*' (sig. 2E4r). Dyer's poem 1 is headed with a similar Latin tag: 'Ferendo vinces' ['Win by forbearance'].

10 **speake ... speed** a play on the proverbial 'Spare to speak, spare to speed' (Tilley S709)

11 **recke** care, heed (*OED* reck *n.*)

34 **Sweete from Sowre** Dyer is fond of this combination: 'And then Compare my Sweetest with my Sowres'; 'Wyth Sowre to sawce the Daynties of delight' (127. 3, 14).

Collations: May (1991: 289) collates Ha and Hy against Ra.

⁴⁶ 1991: 315. Ferrabosco is edited in Doughtie 1970: 563.

As May concludes, apart from Ha's omission of the last eight lines (ll. 25-32), the texts are relatively error free. Although there is no agreement in error, where the texts diverge in their placement of the repetitive conjunctives '(and) yet', 'but', 'when as' and '(al)though', Ha and Ra agree six times against Hy, whereas Hy only pairs twice with Ha and Ra respectively. Hy is in error at line 13 with 'feelee', where the other witnesses read 'see', which fits in better with the play upon positive and negative values in the preceding lines: 'I dare not ... I dare'; 'you strike not ... I strike'; 'I speake not ... I speake'; 'you see ... you *see* not' (my italics). Coningsby silently changed 'Nor of ... not' to 'And for ... not' (l. 32) to avoid a double negative (for this habit, see **Introduction** p. 73-4), and the marginal correction in line 15, 'gentle' in place of 'Noble' (where Ha and Ra read 'Noble') may also be a sophistication.

10

This unique text is the second of four consecutive poems signed with the shorthand form of attribution for Edward Dyer.⁴⁷ Dyer's authorship is supported by George Puttenham's citation of two lines from the poem 'as that of maister Diars' in *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589 (Pu), sig. V1r.⁴⁸

- 4 **yet** still (*OED* yet, *adv.* 6a)
- 5 **only** mere (*OED* adj. 4a); the idea of a lover's metamorphosis is borrowed from Ovid: Echo was rejected by Narcissus and pined away until she became a disembodied voice. Ovidian myths of transformation were also used by Petrarch to express frustrated love: 'thus I remained a voice shaken from my former burden, calling Death and only her by name' (*Rime* 23.139-40).
- 7 Cf. 'his slaught, and gastly staring looke' (Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 4, tr. by Arthur Golding, 1567, sig. H2v).
- 9-10 Puttenham quoted these lines in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) to illustrate 'Parenthesis or the Insertour' with the following introduction:

when ye will seeme for larger information or some other purpose, to peece or graffe in the middest of your tale an vnecessary parcell of speech, which

⁴⁷ May (1991: 295) places **10** among the certain Dyer poems (no. 3).

⁴⁸ Wagner was the first to make the connection between the excerpt in Pu and the full text unique to Hy (1935: 467-8).

neuerthesse may be thence without any detriment to the rest ... as that of
maister Diars very aptly.

But now my Deere (for so my loue makes me to call you still)

That loue I say, that lucklesse loue, that works me all this ill.

(sig. V1r)

10 **luckles love** popular alliterative tag, perhaps coined by George Gascoigne:
‘My liking lust, my lucklesse loue which euer truly ment’ (*A Hundreth
Sundrie Flowres*, 1573, sig. N3r); cf. also Breton’s ‘no grief to luckles love’
(60.1)

18 **stayne** i.e. in a positive sense: Venus’s quality of surpassing or excelling other
women (*OED* stain, *n.* 3c)

19 **singed Flye** Cf. Sidney’s CS 21.11-12, ‘Even as the flye, which to the flame
doth goe, / Pleased with the light, that his small corse doth burne’; and
Greville’s *Caelica* 75, ‘Like poore Flies that to the fire, / Where they burne
themselves, aspire’ (*Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes*, 1633, sig. 2Hv).

36 **fatall** fated (*OED* adj. 1)

38-45 There is an echo of these lines in Whetstone’s *The Rocke of Regard* (1576):

And then for other heede, this sillie boune I craue,

That I vppon my timelesse tombe, this Epitaphe may haue.

The thing, that causde mee her to lie,

Was scorning loue at libertie. (sigs. G3r-v)

49 **on** one

May (1991: 296) notes an error in line 5 (‘the’ for ‘that’), probably caused by misreading a superscript abbreviation (‘y^t’ as ‘y^e’), and points out that line 20 is missing a foot since it rhymes with a preceding heptameter line. This is a metrical anomaly since Dyer’s poem switches between poulter’s measure (hexameter followed by heptameter), fourteeners (two heptameters) and hexameter couplets. Two marginal corrections (in lines 30 and 49) are typical of the compiler’s concern for the correct use of language in the texts that he transcribed (this habit of correcting and perfecting is discussed in the **Introduction** pp. 73-5). In the first instance the compiler corrects ‘in company *with* thee’ to ‘in company *of* thee’ (l. 30), and in the second ‘*nor* shead no Teare’ is changed to ‘& shead no Teare’ (l. 49; my italics) to avoid a double negative.

This is the third of four poems signed with the shorthand form of attribution for the poet Edward Dyer. Dyer's authorship is supported by the attribution 'Master Dier' in Ra, f. 7v.⁴⁹ Unattributed copies of the poem also survive in Fo, p. 17 and Ha, f. 173r. The poem was first printed without attribution in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593 (PN), sigs. L2r-v.

- 2 **byn** altered to 'been' in the margin, graphically indicating the rhyme with 'seene' in line 1.
- 5 **profe** experience (*OED* proof, *n.* 6); **know** altered to 'knoe' in the margin, graphically indicating the rhyme with 'woe' in line 6.
- 6-9 Cf. Sidney's OA 20.1, 8: 'Loved I am, and yet complaine of Love: / ... I waile for want, and yet am chokte with store'.
- 7 **at liste** at his pleasure or desire (*OED* list, *n.*⁴ 3)
- 11-12 This Narcissus-like enigma is summed up by Nicholas Breton: 'Some say ... they liue and lacke, they lack, and yet they haue, / And hauing yet, they lack the thing they craue' (*A Floorish vpon Fancie*, 1577, sig. F3r). For this sentiment, see also 30.11-12.

Collations: Sargent (1968: 208) collates PN against Ha and Ra; May (1991: 309) collates Fo with Hy.

As May concludes, Hy is 'free of definite errors' and like Fo and Ra preserves the 'alliterative' state of the poem in lines 7, 8 and 10. PN and Ha share an alternative and less alliterative version of these lines. Ha and Fo's agreement in error at line 5, 'fynd' (which fails to rhyme with 'woe' in the next line), could be a case of independent variation, with both scribes substituting the more familiar 'by prooffe I fynd' for 'by prooffe I know'. Fo makes a similar sense substitution at line 8, substituting 'lost' for 'miste', and in the process creates another faulty end-rhyme. Ha introduces one new variant, 'fitt' for 'for' (l. 4), and diverges from PN on two more occasions ('liued' l. 6, and 'and' l. 7). Ha and PN probably derive from a different tradition of the poem from Hy, Fo and Ra. Arguably the latter version is better: 'A harder hap' at the beginning of line 7 balances rhetorically with 'A stranger case' in line 5; and the PN-Ha replacement

⁴⁹ May (1991, 309) places 11 among the certain Dyer poems (no. 10) with Hy serving as copy-text.

line 8 repeats the sentiment expressed in line 12 and spoils the impact of the closing lines. PN and Ha also tidy up the double negative in line 2: ‘nor never’ to ‘nor ever’. Hy’s copy-text undoubtedly contained the reading ‘nor neuer’, which the compiler initially copied; the subsequent marginal correction to ‘ever’ is one of many examples throughout the manuscript where a double negative is removed (for this habit, see **Introduction** p. 73-4).

12

Dyer’s authorship is supported by two more manuscript attributions: signed ‘dyer’ in Fo, pp. 9-10, and ‘Master Dier’ in Ra, ff. 6r-v. Furthermore, John Harington quotes the closing lines as belonging to ‘Master Edward Dier a Somersetshire man’ in Book sixteen of *Orlando Furioso*, 1591 (Or), sig. L4v.⁵⁰ The poem also survives in unattributed copies in Ha, ff. 149v-50r and Dd, f. 43v. These last two related copies, introduce an additional six lines (in italics below from Ha), which split the final sixain as follows:

The greedy Grypes do gnaw & feede	60
<i>And yet noe wronge for loe we crave</i>	
<i>That which the Gods themselues would haue</i>	
<i>But let them mone and wayle their case</i>	
<i>That of vile choyse them selues may blame</i>	
<i>Let them lament their fates disgrace</i>	
<i>Whose base desyres do worke their shame</i> ⁵¹	
But he that vauntes	61
His harte [on] hye:	
Muste bee contente,	
To pyne and dye.	

The additional lines are introduced in two copies (Dd and Ha) that derive from a highly corrupt ancestor and it seems likely that they are a non-authorial scribal interpolation.⁵²

⁵⁰ May (1991, 299-301) places **12** among the certain Dyer poems (no. 6).

⁵¹ Dd has the following variants: 47 loe] whie; 48 That which the] the thing that; 52 the] their.

⁵² See May (1991: 301) for an alternative view, where Dd is chosen as the copy-text. Gottschalk (1974: 502) concludes that Dd and Ha ‘share a defective ancestor’ and that the additional lines are ‘very much inappropriate as they now appear’ (1974: 502).

Hy's layout splits the closing tetrameter couplet of each sixain (ababcc) to create four lines of dimeter. Two instances where the compiler deleted a word at the point in the text where the couplet was split (ll. 13, 29), indicates that the copy-text contained the more regular stanzaic pattern.

- 1-2 Dyer seems to be borrowing a refrain from Wyatt's 'Deem as ye list upon good cause': 'I would it were not as I think; / I would I thought it were not so' (*A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inuentions*, 1578, sig. D3v). See also 1.81-4. William Hunnis borrowed the same lines from Wyatt for a poem printed in *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*: 'I would it were not as I thinke, I would it were not so' (1576, sig. H2r).
- 3-4 **not amisse** ... **amis** not improper ... a misdeed, an error, a fault (*OED adj.* 2a, C. n.)
- 9-10 **meane** ... **meane** method ... happy medium (*OED mean*, n.³ 2a, 6a)
- 15 **Badge** mark, distinguishing sign (*OED n.* 1c)
- 16 **thrall** slave, prisoner (*OED n.*¹ 1)
- 20 **weene** believe (*OED ween*, v. 1)
- 22 **Vnhappy man** Cf. Dyer's 'But most vnhappy man' (2.150).
- 24 **Acquyet** soothe, pacify (*OED acquiet*, v. 2)
- 27 **Palme**...**beare** win the prize (*OED palm*, n.¹ 2b)
- 31 **yrus** 'A beggar, of whom Homere [in the *Odyssey*] maketh mention' (Cooper)
- 32 **yfrette** embroidered (*OED fret*, v.² 1a)
- 35 **clogge** As a punitive restraint, a block or heavy piece of wood was chained to the legs to impede movement (*OED clog*, n. 2a); for a similar idea, see 74.35.
- 37-40 Cf. Petrarch's *Rime* 134, 'et volo sopra 'l cielo et giaccio in terra' ['I fly above the heavens and lie on the ground'].
- 43-49 **youthe** ... **Icarus** 'Son of Daedalus, who hauing winges, with his father flew out of the yle of Crete: ... wherwith the feathers of his wynges were glewed, melted with the heate of the Sunne ... Icarus was constrained to fall into the sea' (Cooper)
- 57 **Pheere** See 1.135n.
- 58 **Prometheus** 'the paynyns supposed that he made men, and feigned that he wente into heaven, and there dyd steale fire to make his ymage haue lyfe

wherewith Jupiter being wrath, caused him to be bounden on the hill called Caucasus, and an Eagle standing by eatynge his herte' (Cooper); Dyer refers to this legend again in 15.1-2.

60 **Grypes** vultures (*OED gripe*, *n.*³ 2)

61-64 John Harington quotes these lines in the 'Moral' to Book sixteen of *Orlando Furioso*, 1591, sig. L4v:

The great aphorisme or maxime set downe in the two last verses of the second staffe of this booke [i.e. 'Yet so his heart and thoughts be highly placed, / He must not mourne, no though he die disgraced'; sig. L1v], was imitated by a Gentleman of our countrey [in left margin: 'Master Edward Dier a Somersetshire man'], in his younger dayes, though a man euer of great wit and worth: his verse was this,

He that hath plast his heart on hie,
Must not lament although he die.

Collations: Sargent (1968: 205) collates Ra against Fo; May (1991: 301) collates Ha and Hy against Dd.

Hy shows few signs of corruption with only two unique readings: 'helpe' should probably read 'hap' (l. 23) mirroring the 'Hope ... hap' dichotomy of line 20, and the omission of a word before 'hye' (l. 62), where three witnesses read 'on hye' and two 'to hye', is a certain error which creates a metrically defective line. May notes that Ra, Fo and Hy share three readings against Dd-Ha: 'such sweete' for 'these (those) sweet' (l. 12), 'win' ['weene' in Hy and Fo] for 'joyn' (l. 20) and 'hope' for 'hap' (l. 20). In line 12, another reading links these three texts: 'ioyes' for 'thoughts'. My analysis differs from May in concluding that Dd and Ha derive from a defective ancestor where some new but inferior readings had been introduced to Dyer's original text. I also dismiss Dd-Ha's six additional lines as spurious. The evidence is presented below.

Ha and Dd descend from a common ancestor which transmitted variant readings in fourteen lines of the poem, and contained an additional six lines. Many of these readings are inferior; for example, 'with golden fret' (l. 32) lacks the necessary verbal force of Hy-Fo-Ra's 'In Gould yfrette', which mirrors 'in wood were sette' in the previous line. Dd-Ha's 'my wing (wings) to *get at gate* doth (do) hast' is awkward and, though May proposes this phrase is 'equivalent to getting "at the gate" (*OED* to get near or close to) ... the poet aspires to rise up to the object of his desires', Hy-Fo-Ra's more

sonorous reading ‘to mounte / Alofte’ (l. 37-8) better articulates the opposition between ‘Desires ... wynges’ (l. 34) and ‘clogge’ bound feet (l. 35). It is also the counterpart to ‘dothe synke / Me downe’ in the following lines. Another awkward Dd-Ha reading also helps to illustrate the inadequacies of the copy from which these two manuscripts derived. In line 47, ‘he blames (blam’d) the sea’ for Hy-Fo-Ra’s ‘He drounde in Seas’ does not make sense in the context; why would ‘Icarus’ (l. 49) blame ‘the sea’ rather than the sun which caused the wax on his wings to melt? The former reading is also a *non sequitur*; Icarus serves as a paradigm for the commonplace sentiment expressed in Dyer’s line 42 (‘They ryse to fall, that clymbe to hye’) and his death (‘drounde’ l. 47) is the point of the moral lesson to ‘teache the wyse more low to flye’ (l. 44). Another inferior Dd-Ha reading is found in line 5, ‘wishe it were’ misses the effect of the repeated conditional ‘wold’, which links back to the same phrase in the opening line. In line 12, Dd-Ha’s ‘thoughts’ is perhaps more logical but the less obvious reading ‘Ioyes’ is arguably more characteristic of Dyer (cf. ‘It was a World of Ioyes’ 10.15). Line 19, ‘Thrise happy man’, is the emphatic development from ‘O happy man’ (l. 17) and Dd-Ha’s ‘for thie hartes desire’ is a weaker alternative. In line 20, Dd-Ha’s ‘ioyn’ is another more obvious reading than the archaic ‘weene’. Ra’s ‘winne’ is a misreading of ‘weene’ and another rationalisation of the more unusual locution. In line 27, Dd-Ha’s ‘hap’ is another evident error and leads to ‘hap’ bearing ‘the Palme’ to ‘hap’ in the following line. In line 51, Dd-Ha’s variant of Hy-Fo-Ra’s reading ‘poore man’ creates a strained syntax (‘then I who (that) lyue in (on) whom alas’), showing once again the corrupt nature of Dd-Ha’s textual ancestor.

Dd also introduces more than twenty unique variants, most of which are inferior readings; for example, ‘aquite yt’ (l. 24) is a mistranscription of ‘Acquyet’, a reading which Fo and Ha rationalised to ‘make (nor) quiet’; ‘sore’ for ‘foe’ (l. 26) does not make sense in the context of the line, ‘my sore presentes his face’ (the same word was also corrupt in Ha ‘my feare...’); and in line 57 ‘scarre & fellow’, for ‘Pheere and fellow’ in all the other texts, is another indication that Dd was working from a corrupt or illegible copy-text. Ha introduces fourteen more errors, some of which produce incoherent lines.

The citation of the closing couplet in *Orlando Furioso* introduces six unique variants. Harington was probably quoting the lines from memory but there is also purposeful revision in the second line to create a better fit with the ‘maxime’ in *Orlando Furioso* to which a comparison is being drawn.

The name assigned to this unique entry, ‘TY. S.’, must refer to the same unidentified individual (‘TY. SO.’), to whom was ascribed the following entry in the collection. George Whetstone is certainly the author of the latter poem (see the commentary to **14**) and the compiler subsequently replaced the subscription with ‘Incerti Authoris’. The initials may refer to a donor rather than the author of the text (see **Introduction** p. 67-8) and if so the scribe obtained the poems as a pair, from the same source. Both poems share the same stanzaic form (sixains) and the shift in **13** from tetrameter to pentameter in the final sestet exactly mirrors the verse form of the following poem, which keeps to pentameter throughout. There are also some verbal echoes between **13** and **14** that suggest a common author; Whetstone’s enumeration of body parts in vowing unswerving faith to his mistress is similar in both poems: ‘Sacrifice my blood, / And burne my Bones’ (**14.17**) and ‘My Body, Blud, my Lyfe, & sences all’ (**13.21**).

- 7 **bewrayes** betrays (*OED* v. 5); cf. **33.1-2**: ‘Myne eye Bewrayes, / My Harte Desires’
- 15 **lo I vow** Cf. **40.10** ‘And Lo my Vowe’.
- 19-21 **vowd** ... **all** This is reminiscent of Whetstone’s diction in his published work (see below **14.16-17n.**).
- 24 **In Pawn** as a security or pledge (*OED* n.³ 1a); cf. Whetstone’s ‘The absent louer in pawne of his constancie, sendeth his heart to his Ladie’, and ‘In lue whereof she friendly you exhorts / To take in worth what of good will is writ’ (*The Rocke of Regard*, 1576, sigs. F1v, R6r).

This poem is by George Whetstone and was first published in his collection of stories with passages of verse: *An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses*, 1582 (Hep), sigs. G3v-4r.

In the narrative context Bargetto presents the poem to his mistress during the masque on the second day.⁵³

BARGETTO, lighted by a Page, apparayled in his Mistresse colours, Greene, Carnation and Whyte, followed Ismarito, hauing the mouth of his Mask closed with a small Golden Lock, as a witnesse of the true execution of his Mistresse Commaundement: and vpon hys fist hee caried a Parrate to prattle to his Mistresse, vppon pausing betweene euery solemne Almayne, and couertlye vnder the Parrats winge, was hidden this passion.

Another poem from *An Heptameron* was copied by Coningsby later in the collection (see **81**) and is a tentative indication that both these poems circulated in manuscript before they were used by Whetstone as verse interludes in his prose narratives.⁵⁴ Another copy of the last six lines is found earlier in the manuscript (**5**), and there are no substantive variants in the shared lines between the two texts although the orthography differs significantly (**5** prefers ‘y’ (for ‘i’) and ‘w’ (for ‘u’). Both texts initially carry the signature ‘TY. SO.’ (‘Ti. So.’ in **5**), but in the full version of the poem the subscription is later crossed out and replaced by ‘Incerti Authoris’.

- 1-5 Whetstone adapts Petrarch’s *Rime* 153, ‘Ite, caldi sospiri al freddo core / rompete il ghiaccio che pietà contende’ [‘Go, hot sighs, to her cold heart, break the ice that fights against pity’].
- 6 **forbid to speake** In *An Heptameron* the introductory preamble to the poem explains that the mouth of Bargetto’s mask is ‘closed with a small Golden Lock’.
- 11 **Dropsy dry** proverbial ‘Like a man in a dropsy, the more he drinks the more he may’ (Tilley M211); cf. Whetstone’s *The Rocke of Regard* (1576, sig. A3r) ‘They say, who so with dropsie is aprayde, / The more hee drinkes, the more hee doth desire’.

⁵³ *An Heptameron* was entered in the Stationers’ Register on January 11, 1582; it was reissued in 1593 as *Aurelia. The Paragon of Pleasure and Princely Delights*; **14** appears on sig. G2 with no variants.

⁵⁴ Izard (1942: 35) suggests that an earlier publication of Whetstone’s (*The Rocke of Regard*, 1576): ‘was made up of occasional, unrelated compositions in verse and prose which the author has attempted without complete success to classify and arrange under appropriate headings’.

16-17 Whestone repeats this sentiment in *The Rocke of Regard* (1576): ‘With faithfull zeale I so my goddesse serv’d, / My life, my love, my living, all and some, / ... To worke amends, I sacrificde my blood’ (sig. F4v).

Collations: one text collated: Hep.

12 doth make] compels

15 but] nay; shall] may

18 burne] fyre

The texts present four substantive variants indicating that Hy did not copy directly from the printed edition. Hy may be in error with ‘doth make’ (l. 12), which repeats the same phrase from the previous line, but the other variants are difficult to choose between. Hy’s ‘but ... shall’ seems a better reading than Hep’s ‘nay ... may’ (l. 15). Hep’s ‘fyre’ for ‘burne’ (l. 18) is weaker and misses the alliterative effect of ‘blood, / ... burne ... Bones’.

Head-note to **15** and **16**

Entries **15** and **16** appear to have been released into manuscript circulation as a pair and were copied as such in most of the surviving manuscript witnesses. Edward Dyer (**15**) takes the legend of the satyr who kissed the fire brought down from heaven by Prometheus as a metaphor for his own burning passion, caused by the sight of his heavenly mistress. Sidney’s response (**16**; CS 16) mirrors the verse form of Dyer’s poem (Surreyan sonnet) but treats a different story of a satyr, subverting the usual iconography of Pan as the symbol of unexplained terror or panic, to make him cowardly flee the sound of his own horn. In the penultimate line Sidney addresses his friend in a direct reference to the earlier poem: ‘Better I lyke thy Satyre (Deerest Dyer) / That burnte his lyph, to kisse faire shyninge Fyer’.

Copies of the companion poems with the clear distinction of respective authorship are found in three more contemporary manuscript verse anthologies: Ra, f. 8r-8v, Fo, p. 21, 23, and Ot, f. 4r. The poems also appear in two *Old Arcadia* manuscript texts with the *Certain Sonnets* appended, Cl, f. 220 and Bo, ff. 237v-8r, and were first printed among the *Certain Sonnets* in *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, 1598 (98), sigs. 2R5r-v. They also appear with suitably pastoral titles (‘The

Sheepheards conceite of Prometheus’ and ‘Another of the same’) in the printed miscellany *Englands Helicon*, 1600 (EH), sig. Bb2v.⁵⁵ The invariable presence of Dyer’s poem before CS 16 in the manuscript and print collections of Sidney’s work indicates Sidney’s own wish to preserve the poems as a unit.⁵⁶ An unattributed copy of Dyer’s poem without the accompanying answer poem by Sidney is found in a grouping of poems by Dyer in Ha, f. 154v, and provides a tentative indication that **15** circulated independently before Sidney wrote the response. The first four lines of Sidney’s answer poem were set to music by John Ward as a song in four-parts: no. 7, in *The First Set of English Madrigals*, 1613 (W), sig. B4r. But there is no evidence that Sidney’s poem circulated independently in manuscript; it is reasonable to suggest that after Sidney wrote the response, the poems were fixed in circulation as a unit.

15

- 1-2 This legend is referred to in another poem by Dyer: see **12.58n**.
- 3-4 **Satyre ... kysse** The tale is found in sixteenth-century editions of Aesop (Ringler 1962: 429); cf. also Plutarch’s *De Capienda ex Inimicis Utilitate* translated by Thomas Elyot in 1531: ‘But Satyrus the fyrst tyme that he sawe fyre, whan he wolde haue taken it & kyssed it: ho, quod Pometheus, thou roughe knaue, if thou not hede, it wil make thy lyppes smert: for it Burneth, if it be touched’ (sig. B3r). Sidney refers to the legend in CS 25.15-17: ‘Like to the silly *Sylvan*, / Burn’d by the light he best liked, / When with a fire he first met’.
- 5 **outward ... powre** Dyer echoes lines from Petrarch’s *Rime* 19: ‘et altri, col desio folle che spera / gioir forse nel foco, perché splende, / provan l’altra vertù, quella che’ ncende’ [‘and others, with their mad desire that hope perhaps to enjoy the fire because it shines, experience the other power, the one that burns’]
- 6 **Wood** mad (*OED adj.* 1a)
- 9 **Silly** foolish, ignorant (*OED adj.* 5); **vnwonted** unaccustomed (*OED adj.* 2b)

⁵⁵ May points out that the texts were probably sourced from the 1598 *Arcadia* (1991: 302). For another example of EH’s manufactured titles see **87** entitled ‘A Sheepheards slumber’.

⁵⁶ For Sidney’s high estimation of Dyer’s literary reputation see Duncan-Jones 1991: 105.

- 13 **The difference** Sidney echoes this phrase in OA 72.38-40: ‘The diffrence is; all folkes those stormes forbeare, / But I cannot; who then my selfe should flie, / So close unto my selfe my wrackes doo lie’.

Collations: eight texts collated: Bo, Cl, EH, Fo, Ha, Ot, Ra and 98.

Title: *om.*] Edw: D. Cl, The Shepheards conceite of Prometheus EH, E. D. 98

1 Prometheus] Promotheus Ha; when] *om.* Bo

2 not seene] vnseene EH, none seene Ha

3 Delight] the Lighte Cl Ha

5 outward] other Bo Cl EH Ot 98, others Ha

6 Wood ... Smart] All full of griefe Ha; showtes & shrikinge] showtes and shrikinges Cl EH Ot, shoute & shriking Fo, complaints a skriching Ha

7 his] for Ha

9 Silly I] I unwares Ha

11 thympression] the impression Bo Cl Fo Ot 98

12 since] scarce Fo; rest & runne] runne and rest Bo Cl EH Ha Ot 98; as] where Ha

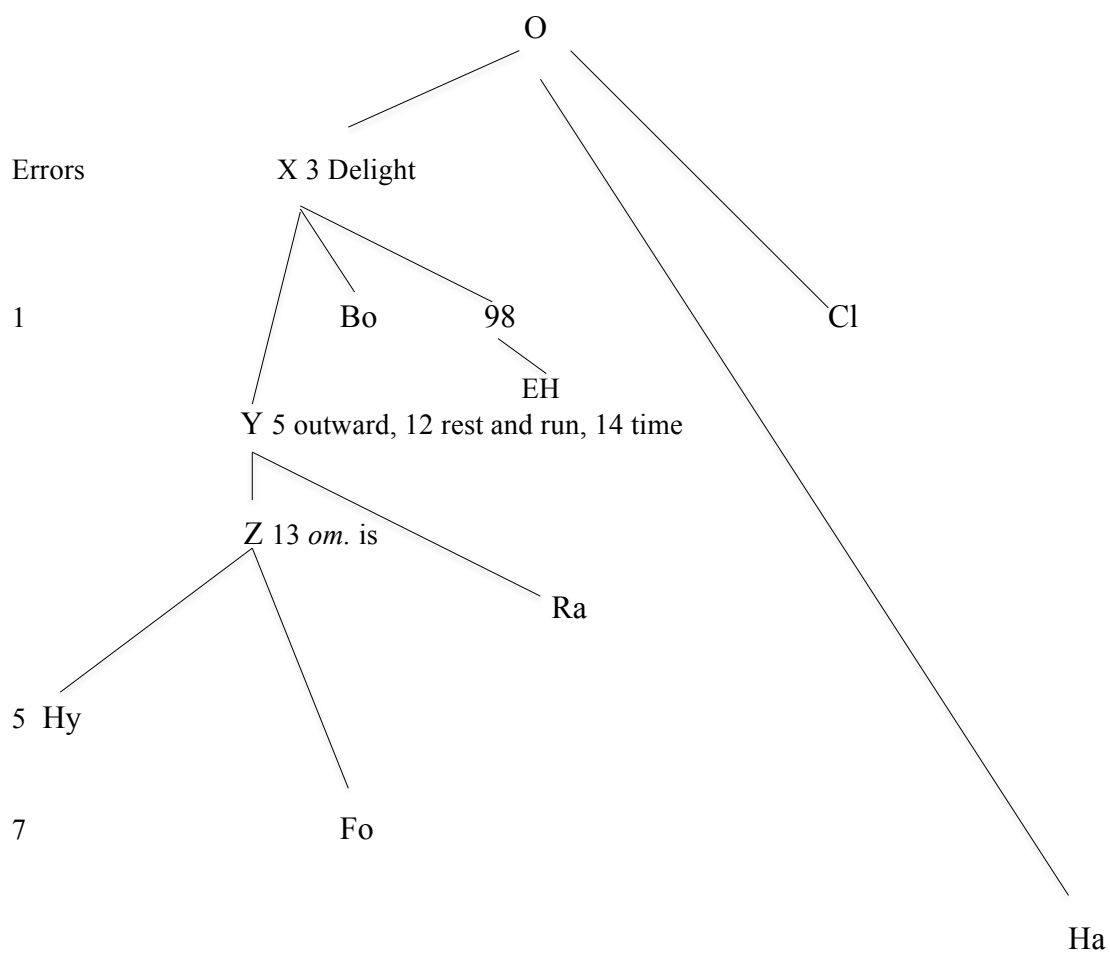
13 difference] difference is Bo Cl EH Ha Ot Ra 98

14 Time] while Bo Cl EH Ha Ot 98

Subscription: FYNIS Dy.] S.E.D. EH, E.D. Ot, Master Dier Ra, Dier Fo, *om.* Bo Cl Ha 98

A textual relationship can be determined between Hy, Fo and Ra on the basis of three shared readings, against all the other texts: ‘outward’ for ‘other’ (l. 5), ‘rest and run’ for ‘runne and rest’ (l. 12) and ‘Time’ for ‘while’ (l. 14). Hy and Fo also share another common ancestor, which transmitted the error ‘difference’ for ‘difference is’ (l. 13). Ringler (1990: 134) revised an important reading for the understanding of the relationship between the extant texts in his critical text of Dyer’s poem. The textual crux occurs in line 3 where six substantive texts (Hy, Bo, Fo, Ot, Ra and 98) read ‘fond of Delight’ and two texts (Ha and Cl) ‘fond of the Light’. Ringler points out that the majority reading ‘does not make much sense’ and that Sidney’s answer poem draws attention to the satyr’s attraction to the ‘*shininge* Fyer’ (16.14).

These textual relationships and the relative corruption of the surviving texts can be seen more clearly in the stemma below.



[See the head-note]

- 1-3 **Satyre ... blow** Ringler (1962: 429) suggests Sidney's source for this legend is Andrea Alciati's emblem CXXIII, 'In subitum terrorem' [On sudden terror] showing a satyr (Pan) holding a large horn, watching an army in panicked retreat; in the motto the satyr asks 'who is sounding my horn?' (*Emblematum libellus*, 1534).
- 13-14 Sidney warmly addresses his friend Edward Dyer in these lines, alluding to poem **15**, which illustrates a legend of a different satyr.

Collations: seven texts collated: Bo, Cl, EH, Fo, Ot, Ra and 98. Ringler (1962: 145) collates all the texts except Ot but only records the variants occurring in two or more substantive texts. My collations show all substantive variants.

Title: om.] Another of the same EH

2 Of] with Bo Cl EH Ot 98; 'which' *corr. to that*] which Bo Cl EH Fo Ot 98, that Ra
5 causes Feare] causeless feares Bo Cl EH Ot Ra 98, causes feares Fo; Cowardes]
cowardly Bo, coward EH 98

6 fly] flee Cl; faine] faynest Cl

7 which] who Bo Cl EH Ot 98, that Ra

8 Thinking] Seeking Ra

9 So] thus Bo Cl EH Ot 98; might] mought EH; doubtes] doubte Fo Ra

10 harte] wordes Bo Cl EH Ot 98; mine] my Bo Fo 98; hap] hope Ra; bewray] betray
Bo Cl EH Ot Ra 98

11 so] thus Bo Cl EH Ot 98

13 I lyke] like I Bo Cl EH Ot 98, be lyke Ra; thy] the Cl Fo; Satyre] Satyres Fo; Dyer]
dyre Fo

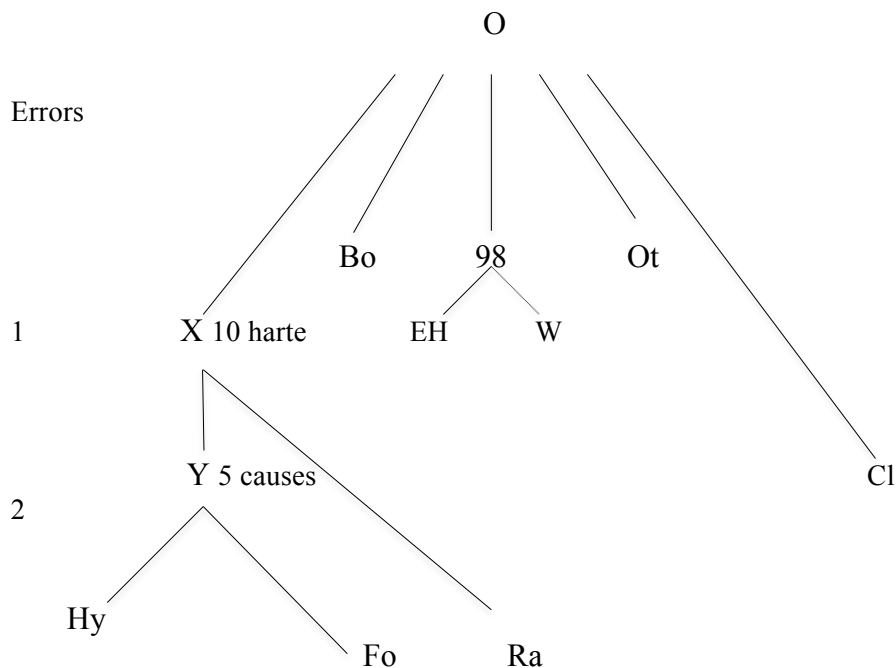
14 That] Who Bo Cl EH Ot 98

Subscription: FYNIS SY.] S. p. Sydney Fo, S. Phil. Sidney EH, P. S. Ot, S. P. S Ra, *om.*
Bo Cl 98

Since poem **16** circulated as a pair with **15** it is not surprising that the same textual relationships can be determined between Hy, Fo and Ra. These three texts share six

readings against all the other texts ('Of' for 'with' l. 2, 'So' and 'so' for 'thus' ll. 9, 11, 'harte' for 'wordes' l. 10, 'I (be) lyke' for 'lyke I' l. 13 and 'That' for 'Who' l. 14). Hy and Fo also derive from a common ancestor, which transmitted the error 'causes' for 'causeless' (l. 5). Ra introduces three unique variants: 'seekinge' (l. 8), 'hope' (l. 10) and 'be lyke' (l. 13). Fo's unique reading 'which' for 'when' (l. 5) is probably a scribal slip, and the rendering of line 13 as 'Better I like *the Satyres dearest dyre*' reveals that the (professional) scribe did not pick up on the reference to the poet Edward Dyer. Another peculiarity of Fo is that the companion poems do not follow on from each other as in all the other witnesses that have both texts (two poems intervene: the 8-line anonymous verse, 'Content about from god is sente' is copied on the right-hand side of the same page, and on the verso is a poem attributed to 'Dier', 'Wher one woulde be ther not to be'). Of the remaining texts, Bo presents one error, 'cowardly' (l. 5). Cl introduces three more variants: 'flee ... faynest' (l. 6) and independently made the same error as Fo in reading 'the' for 'thy' (l. 13). W's four lines contain no substantive variant from 98 and were probably taken from one of the folio editions.

These textual relationships and the relative corruption of the surviving texts can be seen more clearly in the stemma below.



& (God he knowes) my wisdom least of al' (*The Workes of a Young Wyt*, 1577, sig. B1v), he was familiar with this particular version of the legend of the Phoenix: 'And then calling to mind the golden showres of his Ladies fauours, bled inwardly in the hart ... Or like the phenix, liue in ashes, till he may get life by the vertue of his bright Sunne againe' (*Wits Trenchmour*, 1597, sigs. F3v-4r).

- 1 **Yf ... trew** Breton has a habit of beginning a poem by alluding to an old tale or proverb: 'A Prouerbe olde there is, which wise men count for true'; 'In fayned tales a man somtyme may finde' (*The Workes of a Young Wyt*, 1577, sigs. B1v and H2v); and 'Some men will say there is a kynde of Muse' (**151**);
- 2-18 'Phoenix ... A certine byrde, of whose kinde is neuer but one at ones. It liueth aboute 600 yeres, and then makynge hir nest in the toppe of an high mountayne with sweete spices, by the heate of the sunne, and in labour of hir wynges, kindleth fiar wherwith she is consumed: then of hir ashes riseth an other like birde' (Cooper).
- 5 **hugy** huge
- 8 **abroade** abroad: breeding young, hatching eggs (*OED adv.*); this spelling is not recorded in *OED*; the corresponding rhyme word at l. 10 'bloade' for 'blood' is also unusual.
- 9 **Sonny** solar (*OED adj.* 3a)
- 13 **But now** however, moreover, yet (*OED but, conj.* 25)
- 15 **sweate** exude, or to gather moisture (*OED sweat, v.*)
- 27 **Bewty ... Desyre** Rollins (1933: xviii) cites the pairing of abstractions as a notable feature of Breton's verse.

18

This poem is the second of three consecutive poems probably by Nicholas Breton (see the commentary to **17**). Three more copies without attribution are found in contemporary verse anthologies suggesting that the poem enjoyed some degree of popularity: Fo, pp. 31-2, Ra, f. 93r, and Bod., MS Rawl. poet. 172 (R72), f. 7r.

- 1-4 Some of the exact phrasing in these lines is found in another poem in this manuscript possibly by Breton, see **125.5-8n**.

- 2 **forsworne** i.e. the swearing to abandon love forever in line 1
- 3, 16 **prove** ... **prove** experience (*OED* v. 7)
- 4 **forborne** endured
- 5-6 Cf. Breton's 'Wit would call for Willes helpe, when Will cared not for Wits counsaile ... Wit would be carefull, and will carelesse' (*The Wil of Wit*, 1597, sig. C1v).
- 9 According to Renaissance humoral theory, in grief the heart became contracted and heavy; cf. Breton's 'And t'is a heauie sence in sorrowes rowle' (*The Vncasing of Machauils Instructions*, 1615, sig. E1r).
- 15 **motions** perturbations of the mind (*OED* n. 2)
- 19 **Fayre** woman, especially a beloved woman (*OED* n.² B2); **framde** created (*OED* v. 7)
- 22 Cf. Breton's 'Oh sweetest sweete of my soules purest sence' (*Diuine Considerations*, 1608, p. 3).

Collations: three texts collated: Fo, Ra and R72.

- 2 false] half R72
- 3 shame] synn Ra
- 4 they] faythe Fo; it] loue Ra
- 5 wretched] wicked Ra; wold] could Ra; an oathe] a thinge Fo
- 6 Comes] Yet Ra; Witt] will Fo; and calles] maye call Ra; him] it*; back] in Ra
- 7 that] which R72
- 8 his sight] it selfe Ra
- 10 to] and Ra
- 11 Godes] god*
- 13 looke] glance Ra; must not] cannot Fo, dare not Ra, may not R72
- 14 And] Then Ra; muste not] cannot Fo, dare not Ra, may not R72
- 15 And] Then Ra; what] that Ra
- 16 These] my Fo; that] which Ra; Do] doth R72; these] suche Fo
- 17 that] which Ra; each Secret] all secretts Ra
- 18 Say] sayes R72
- 19 Fayre] face Ra
- 20 perfectste] peerless Ra; shape] *om.* Fo
- 21 Harte enflamde] eye perceyved Fo

22 Sweete of Sweetes] sweetest sweet Ra R72; Sence] eye Fo, hir R72

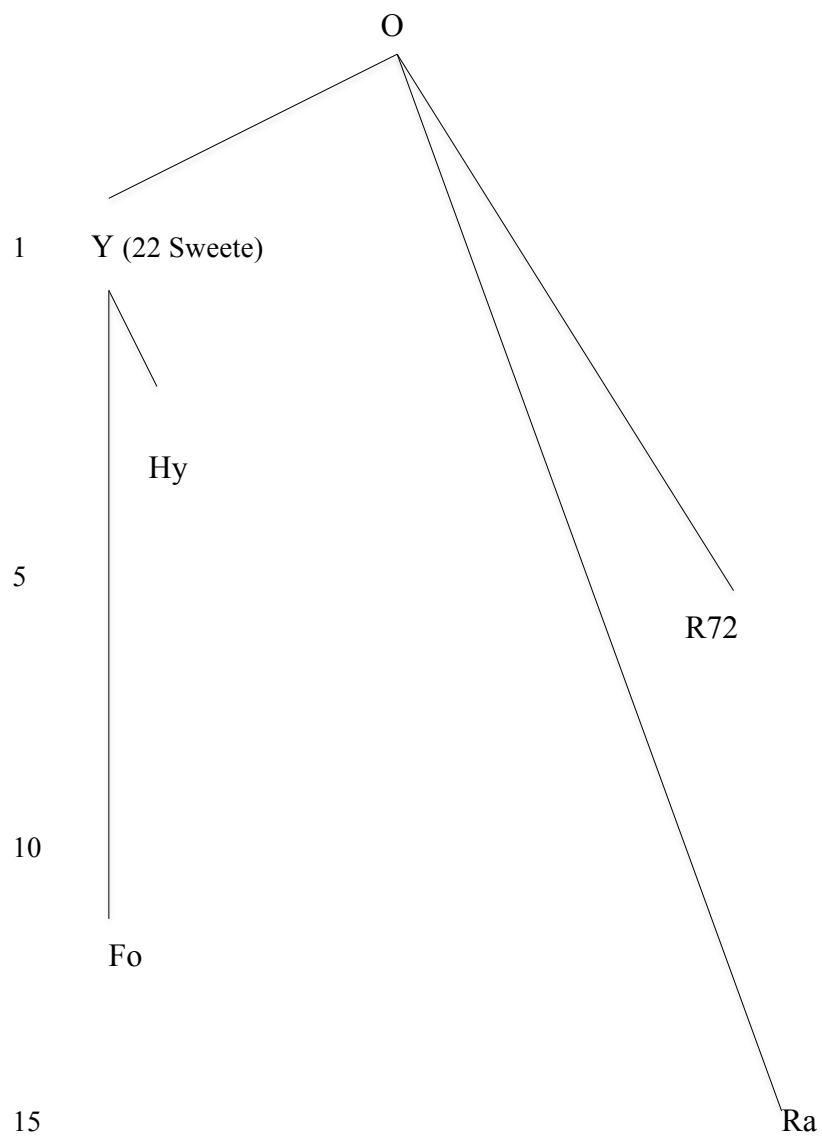
23 giftes] grafts Ra; in Vertues] one fortunes Ra

24 with] of Ra

Subscription: FYNYS quod N.S.] finis Fo Ra

Hy shares an error with Fo, indicating that these two texts are related: ‘Sweete of Sweetes’ (l. 22) for Ra-R72’s ‘sweetest sweet’. The latter reading follows the pattern of superlative adjectives of the previous three lines. Hy presents two further errors: ‘him’ for ‘it’ (l. 6) and ‘Godes’ (l. 11) for ‘god’. Fo also introduces a number of unique variants some of which derive from scribal carelessness in the transcription of that copy. For example, at line 21, Fo omits the word ‘shape’, spoiling the metre; and in the following line ‘eye perceyved’ repeats the end of the line above, and is evidently a case of eye-skip, as is the repetition of ‘will’ at line 6. Ra is the least accurate text with a number of erroneous readings that suggest a copy text that has deteriorated during its circulation over a longer time scale. Ra’s ‘fayrest face’ for ‘fayreste Fayre’ (l. 19) can be rejected on the grounds that this reading occurs in the least accurate copy, and ‘Fayre’ fits in better with the following series of abstractions: ‘shape’, ‘Fyer’ and ‘Sweetes’.

The textual relationships and the relative corruption of the surviving texts are show in the stemma below.



This unique poem is the third of three consecutive poems probably by Nicholas Breton (see the commentary to 17). A cross-reference following a poem transcribed later in the manuscript, directs the reader to poem 19 for the continuation (see the commentary to 80). In the penultimate line of 80 the speaker falls ‘into a slumber’ and 19 opens with a dream vision which may have prompted the compiler to make the connection between the two poems.

Breton is fond of dream poems, especially where the sleeper gains some moral instruction; see ‘I sodaynly fell into a most straunge dreame’ (*The Workes of a Young Wyt*, 1577, sig. E3v). In ‘The author’s dreame’, found in an early work of Breton’s (*The Wil of Wit*, 1597), the allegorical figure of Virtue appears to instruct the sleeping narrator and save his life: ‘Wel, yet have I (better late than never) being warned in sleep, taken care now awake, to devise which way to worke, and what to take in hand, to deserve my ladies favour’.⁵⁸ The Christian imagery (‘Saynt or Angell sent from Heaven’) and the staging of moralizing dialogues between opposing allegorical figures are also typical of Breton’s style. This is seen in the conversation between Virtue, Wisdom, Care and Reason in *The Wil of Wit*, and a dream poem in *The Workes of a Young Wyt* occurs in a full-blown allegorical tale in which the sleeping narrator travails through ‘the wildernes of woe’ to the ‘hil of hard happe’ (sig. E4r).

- title ‘I contemn the present in expectation of future joy’. This motto also heads 20 and is subscribed to 65. Cf. Romans 8.18: ‘For I counte that the afflictions of this present time are not worthie of the glorie, which shalbe shewed vnto vs’.
- 1-2 Cf. Breton’s ‘Straunge are the sights that some in sleepe shall see, / ... as I of late halfe in a slumber lay’ (*The Workes of a Young Wyt*, 1577, sig. E3v).
- 7 **Softe Snatche** this expression is not in *OED*; it might mean something like ‘peace, sleep’ but Breton uses it in *A Poste with a Packet of Madde Letters* (1606) where ‘snatch’ may have the sense of ‘a trap or snare’ (*OED* n. 2): ‘Soft snatch, Your trick is an ace out’ (sig. G2r); **no hast but good** Proverbial (Tilley H199). Cf. Breton’s ‘Soft (quoth I), no haste but good’ (*The Wil of Wit*, 1597, sig. C1r).

⁵⁸ For a note on an earlier (c. 1580) edition *The Wil of Wit*, see 3, fn. 23.

- 8 Cf. Breton's 'Although the heart a sleepe, the bones be all at rest / Yet man asleepe, his minde is ofte with many thoughts opprest' (*A Floorish vpon Fancie*, 1577, sig. O1r).
- 9 **linger** delay (*OED* v. 7a).
- 10 **Peace** ... (**quod she**) Cf. Breton's 'Come slave (quoth shee)' (*The Wil of Wit*, sig. C2v).
- 15 **presum^este** ... **place** Cf. Breton's 'Sirra (quoth she), how presume you into this place?' (*The Wil of Wit*, sig. B1r).
- 22 **Packe** go (*OED* v^l II a)

20

This verse dialogue in poulter's measure was printed by Richard Jones in 1597, entitled 'A dialogue betweene Caron and Amator' in *The Arbor of Amorous Deuises ... By N. B. Gent.* (A), sigs. D3r-v. Though Jones confessed in the address 'to the Gentlemen readers' that the volume contained 'many mens workes', like the other collection he published as Nicholas Breton's (*Brittons Bowre of Delights*), it contains a substantial sample of that poet's work. Rollins points out that McCloskey, in his 'Studies in the Works of Nicholas Breton', identifies at least twelve poems in *The Arbor* by Breton, including a poem of thirty-six sixain stanzas entitled 'Brittons Diuinitie' which shares sixteen of its stanzas with a poem in Breton's *The Pilgrimage to Paradise* (1592).⁵⁹ In Hy poem 20 follows directly after three poems probably by Breton and is headed with the same Latin motto as the last of these; with no other claimant to this poem it is entirely possible that Breton is the author. There are two similar verse dialogues ('betweene Wit and Will' and 'Miserie and Care') in Breton's early work *The Wil of Wit*.⁶⁰

The poem is freely translated from Olivier de Magny's 'Hola, Charon, Charon nautonnier infernal' (Sonet 44 in his *Souspirs*, Paris, 1557), which had been set to music by the celebrated composer Orlando di Lasso.⁶¹ There seems to have been a vogue for Charon dialogues in the seventeenth century, and Richard Lovelace's satirical treatment 'A mock Charon dialogue' beginning, 'Charon! Thou Slave! Thou Fool! Thou

⁵⁹ 1936: xv.

⁶⁰ For the probable printing of this volume in 1580, see the note 3, fn. 23.

⁶¹ Orlando Di Lasso's setting was printed in his *Livre de Chansons Nouvelles, avec 2 dialogues* (Paris, 1571).

Cavaleer!’ (*Lucasta Posthume*, 1659, sig. D4v) suggests that this motif had become rather over used by the mid-century.⁶²

The text also survives in a musical setting in New York Public Library, MSS Drexel 4180-5 (Me1), f. 53r (i-ii), f. 55r (iii), f. 51r (iv), f. 29r (v).⁶³

title **Futuris ... contemno** For this tag see the note to the title of **19**.

1 **Charon** ‘the boteman that caried soules ouer the three ryuers of hell’ (Cooper)

5 **happe** luck, fortune (*OED* hap, *n.*¹ 1)

23-30 draws on imagery from Petrarch’s much imitated ‘galley’ poem (*Rime* 189);
also echoed in **147.10-17** and **79.17-18**

29-30 See **40.2** for an instance where the compiler offers an alternative opening.

Collations: two texts collated: A and Me1.

Title: Futuris ... contemno] A dialogue betweene Caron and Amator A, *om.* Me1

4 Who] which A, That Me1

5 wantes] what Me1

6 What doth afflict] But what afflicts Me1

8 ‘is *come’ *corr. to* become] becomes Me1, become A

9 vovd] vows Me1

11 nought] not A, ‘no’ Me1; she promis] who promis’d ‘yes’ Me1

12 ‘what shee saythe’ *corr. to* of her trothe] what she saith*

13 Ah] O Me1

15 For] That*; woes] deaths A

16 fynall] speedy Me1

18 ‘do what is’ *corr. to* seeke els wher] doe what is A, seeke what is Me1

⁶² Cf. two dialogues between Charon and a Ghost (both with the opening: ‘Come Charon come. (Ch.) Who cals?’), in Alexander Craig’s *Amorose Songes* (1606, sigs. F3r-v), and the Song in Beaumont and Fletcher’s *The Mad Lover*, 4.1 (in *Comedies and Tragedies*, 1647): ‘Orpheus: ‘Charon o Charon / Thou wafter of the soules to blisse or bane. / Charon: Who calls the Fery man of Hell?’. Robert Herrick wrote two Charon dialogues (set to music in John Playford’s *Select Musicall Ayres*, 1652): ‘Upon the death of Henry Lord Hastings’, beginning ‘Charon O Charon draw thy boat’ (*Lachrymæ Musarum*, 1649); and ‘Charon! O gentle Charon!, a dialogue with Philomel’ (*Hesperides*, 1648).

⁶³ Me1 is a collection of songs and instrumental music compiled between 1600 and 1620 by John Merro, a singing man at Gloucester Cathedral. The music and text are printed as no. 31 in Brett 1967: 53-55. Copies of two more Hy poems (**89** and **144**) are found in another Merro collection: BL, Add. MSS 17792-6.

19 fond] faind A
 20 No ... may] May here no passage A, No passage here shall Me1
 21 Charon] Caron A; wretche] wight Me1
 24 in spighte] despite Me1
 25 so storde] that stand A
 26 to flowe] beflow Me1
 27 *sub.* This heart with sighs shall fill my sails Me1
 28 'make my boate' *corr. to* force my Barke] force my boate A, make my boate Me1
 29-30 *om.**
Subscription: FINIS] *om.* Me1

Me1 omits the designation of the speakers which Hy abbreviates as 'L' for 'Lover' and 'C' for 'Charon'; the printed text has 'A' for 'Amator' and 'C' for 'Caron'. Hy disagrees with the printed text about the speaker in four lines (ll. 13, 15-16 and 17); Hy gives the speaker as Charon for lines 15-16 but the printed text is correct in giving these lines to Amator (Lover in Hy) as a response to Charon's question in line 14. Hy also has the wrong speaker at line 17 where it should still be Charon addressing the 'man *for* [the] Ferye Boate'. Hy's marginal correction in line 8 is supported by both extant witnesses and is probably a correction the compiler made at the time of transcription. In line 12, the marginal reading 'of her trothe' is offered in place of the original reading (supported by the two other witnesses): 'what shee saythe'. In this instance the alternative reading results in a weaker rhyme 'Faythe' / 'trothe' (in place of 'Faythe' / 'saythe'). Hy's marginal annotation at line 18 corrects 'Go do what is assignd' (the reading supported by A) to 'Go seeke els wher assind' a reading similar to Me1's 'Go seek what is assign'd'. Another set of changes occurs in lines 27-30 where Hy provides both marginal corrections for the text as copied and a 'second' version for both lines in their entirety. At line 28, Hy initially contained the same version of the line as Me1 ('And make my boate to goe') but the marginal correction 'force my Barke' brings the reading closer to A's 'force my boate'. In Hy's alternative closing line (l. 29) the *hart* is made equivalent to the *sails* as the *hands* are to the *boat* and the *tears* to the *river* and this prevents the metaphor falling flat as it does in the other version (since the 'Sailes' have no representation). To sum up: the variant readings in Hy show the close attention paid to the text by the compiler after copying but the comparison with other witnesses

suggests that some of the marginal readings have authority in another textual tradition of the poem, perhaps one that, like Me1, was attached to a musical setting.

21

This poem is attributed to Queen Elizabeth in every one of the nine substantive manuscript copies: BL, Egerton MS 2642 (E), f. 237v and Add. MS 82370 (A70), f. 45v; Bod., MS Digby 138 (Di), f. 159r and MS Rawl. poet. 108 (R10), f. 44v; Folger, MS V.b.317 (V17), f. 20v; Hn, f. 164r; Inner Temple Library; Ot, f. 5v; Petyt 538.10 (Pt), f. 3v; and Reading University Library, MS 233 (RD).⁶⁴

George Puttenham printed the poem ('this ditty most sweet and sententious') in *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, (Pu), sig. 2E2v, to illustrate *exergasia* or 'the Gorgious', a rhetorical figure which functions to 'polish our speech & as it were attire it with copious & pleasant amplifications and much varietie of sentences all running vpon one point & to one intent'. Puttenham tells us that Elizabeth, 'perceiuing how by the Sc. Q. [Scots Queen: Mary Stuart] residence within this Realme ... bred secret factions among her people', wrote the poem to show that 'she was nothing ignorant of those secret practizes' and to warn 'all such aspiring minds the daunger of their ambition and disloyaltie' (sig. 2Er). The heading in the Egerton copy (headed 'Certen verses made by the Queenes most excellent Maⁱestie against the Rebells in the North partes of England and in Norfolke & other places of the Realme A^o domini 1569 et 1570') transcribed by Henry Sidney's chaplain Robert Commaundre (d. 1613) states more specifically that the poem was written in response to the Northern Rebellion of 1569/70. Commaundre also provided a descriptive heading for another poem inspired by a tumultuous period in European politics (see 108). As Alford points out, the uprising orchestrated by two Catholic noblemen, the Earl of Northumberland and the Earl of Westmorland, 'was the first major rebellion of Elizabeth's reign'.⁶⁵ In a letter dated 24 December 1569, Cecil commented that: 'The Queen's Majesty hath had a notable trial of her whole realm and subjects in this time'.⁶⁶ In the aftermath of the rebellion Cecil

⁶⁴ Bradner (1964: 4), Marcus, Mueller and Rose (2000: 133-4) and May (2004b: 7-9) print the poem as canonical. For a description of the contents of R10, see Bliss 1812. For a book-length study of A70 (a manuscript compiled by John Hanson of Rastrick, Yorkshire, from c. 1580 until his death 1599), see May & Marotti 2014.

⁶⁵ 2008: 160.

⁶⁶ Quoted in Alford 2008: 161.

justified the harsh treatment of rebels and their supporters in the following terms: ‘the vulgar people would be taught how this rebellion was pernicious to the realm, and against the honour of God’; the Queen’s verse similarly asserts her strength as a ruler and promises a swift and deadly response to any threat to a peaceful realm.

Another substantive copy of the poem deriving from the Harington family papers was printed in 1769 in *Nugæ Antiquæ* (NA), 1.58-59;⁶⁷ a prefatory letter, probably written by Sir John Harington, provides an anecdote about how the verse was first released into manuscript circulation:

My Lady Wiloughby did covertly get it on her Majesties tablet, and had much hazard in so doing; for the Queen did find out the thief, and chid for spreading evil bruit of her writing such toyes, whenother matters did so occupy her employment at this time.

- 1 **doubte** dread, fear (*OED n.*¹ 3a)
- 2 **annoy** discomfort, vexation; disturbance
- 4 **reason rulde** For this proverbial wisdom, see 71.3n.
- 5 **toyes** idle fancies; fantastic notions (*OED toy, n.* 4a)
- 7-8 These lines form an extended horticultural metaphor—**Top** ... **Roote** ...
fruitles ... **grafted**—picked up again at lines 11-12 with **Sowe** ... **reap** and in
the final line: **Powle their Toppes**
- 7 **Ruthe** repentance; remorse (*OED n.* 2)
- 11 **Daughter** Mary Stuart; **Debate** strife, contention, dissension (*OED debate,*
*n.*¹ 1a); **eake** too
- 12 **still** settled (*OED adj.* 5a)
- 14 **brookes** admits
- 16 **Powle** ... **Toppes** cut off the heads of trees: continuing the horticultural
metaphor (see above); and figuratively the heads of persons (*OED Poll, v.* 2b);
gape for longs for; is eager to have or obtain (*OED v.* 4a)

May (2004a: 8) collates ten substantive texts: A70, Di, E, Hn, NA, Ot, Pt, Pu, R10 and V17; May and Marotti (2014: 191-2) complete the textual apparatus, adding the variants from A70 and RD. As May notes, Hy is the second most accurate text and derives from an independent branch of the stemma along with Pt, with both texts sharing a common

⁶⁷ See Hughey 1960: 2.387-8; 1.18.

ancestor with Pu which transmitted four faulty readings ('toye(s)' for 'ioye(s)' l. 5, 'Ruthe' for 'rue' l. 7, 'eake' for 'aye' l. 11 and 'Owr' for 'my' l. 15); Hy and Pt share a common ancestor that transmitted one faulty reading 'of' for 'by' l. 10.

22

This is a copy of the first four lines of an eighteen-line poem by Arthur Gorges; the complete poem appears nine folios later in the manuscript where it is incorrectly attributed to Raleigh and placed among other poems assigned to that poet (see the commentary to 48).

23

The subscription 'GOR.' is an abbreviation for the name of the poet Arthur Gorges. This verse-epistle appears in Gorges' own manuscript copy of his work, 'The Vanytyes of Sir Arthur Gorges Youthe', BL, Egerton MS 3165 (V), ff. 19r-20r.⁶⁸ Wagner attributed the poem to Dyer, based on two extracts quoted as his in George Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589 (Pu), (ll. 5-7, 19-20).⁶⁹ Puttenham, however, seems to have been confused about the authorship of 23; in two more passages quoted from the poem (ll. 27-28, 29-30) he gives the author as 'Maister Gorge' and 'a louer'. The first line is given without attribution in a musical setting of the poem in William Barley's *A New Booke of Tabliture*, 1596 (By), Part III, sigs. D1v-2r.⁷⁰

- 1 Gorges rephrases this sentiment in Sandison no. 26: 'Although I never write againe / to geve this last adewe' (ll. 7-8).
- 2 **brackish tear** Gorges uses this phrase again in Sandison no. 18: 'No brackish teares my face doth overflowe' (l. 11).
- 3-8 Sandison points out that these lines are borrowed from Turbervile's verse epistle 'Dido to Æneas' (also a source for Gorges' 'Lyke as the swann snow white', Sandison no. 90).

⁶⁸ The title was written by Gorges on the first leaf of the manuscript; on the verso another title in the same hand reads 'Sir Arthur Gorges his Vannetyes and toyes of yowth'. For an edition of the manuscript, see Sandison 1953. Sandison considers that many of the poems, referred to by Gorges as the 'toyes of yowth' (f. 1v), belong 'to the years before 1584' (xxviii). Sandison presents the evidence for Gorges' birth 'in or near 1557' (xiii).

⁶⁹ 1935: 469.

⁷⁰ Edited in Doughtie 1970: 55.

Not for I thinke my wordes
 may ought preuaile, I write:
 For why I knowe the haughtie Gods,
 at this my purpose spite.
 But since my fame, my corps,
 and spotlesse minde are lost
 By cankred hap: to wast my wordes
 I reck it little cost.

(ll. 5-12; *The Heroycall Epistles*, 1567, sig. E8v)

- 5-7 Puttenham quotes these lines to illustrate ‘Sinathrismus or the Heaping figure’, with the introduction: ‘And thus by maister Edward Diar, vehement swift & passionatly’ (sig. 2D1v).
- 17 Sandison glosses this as a recurring theme in Gorges’ poems (cf. ‘I am nott now the man’, Sandison no. 37.5).
- 18 **swam in delightes** Cf. ‘swam in sweete delighte’ in the anonymous poem copied next into Hy (24.1).
- 19-20 Puttenham cites these lines as Dyer’s: ‘Maister Diar in this quarelling figure’ (sig. 2A2v).
- 23 Cf. Turbervile’s ‘Dido to Æneas’ (see above 3-8n.):
- Yet hate I not the man
 though he deserue dispight:
 (ll. 53-54; sig. F1v).
- May (1991: 105) draws a comparison to Dyer’s ‘Yet blame I not the faulte, / But even the faulty one’ (1.89-90).
- 26 **ay** ever, always (*OED adv.* 1a)
- 27-28 Puttenham cites these lines as Gorges’: ‘Maister Gorge in this figure, said very sweetly.’ The quoted lines illustrate a figure which Puttenham calls ‘the Impartener’, ‘because many times in pleading and perswading, we thinke it a very good pollicie to acquaint our iudge or hearer ... with some part of our Counsell and aduice, and to aske their opinion’ (sig. 2C1v). Sandison cites this as a favourite device of Gorges (cf. ‘Now bee yow judge off my desarte’, Sandison no. 41.23).
- 29-30 Puttenham quotes these lines ‘as this vused by a louer to his vnkind mistresse’, to illustrate ‘Apostrophe, or the turne tale’ (sig. 2Dr).
- 30 **RIGOR** Hardness-of-heart (obduracy)

Collations: two texts collated: Pu and V.

1-4 *om.* Pu

3 do] dyd V

4 well] why V

5 sith] if Pu, since V; faith ... hope] hope my fayth V; &] my Pu

6 my time ... all] and all my tyme V; is] be Pu

7 *sub.* In vaine, &c. Pu; Sith] Since V

8-18 *om.* Pu

8 the] theis; lynes] wordes V

10 I ... account] Then will I not esteme V

11 thinke I meane] deeme I seeke V

12 with] to V

13 You ... mystake] My meanyng yow mistake V

14 harmes] harme V

18 delightes] delighte V

19 now] not *changed from* 'now' V; force] power V; which ... it] on me which it ones
Pu, that once one me he V

20 favor] fauors Pu V

21-26 *om.* Pu

23 hate] cursse V

24 'never' *corr. to* ever] never V; her] the V

26 that ay] for whom V

27 All] And V; which] who Pu, that V

28 Gyve Iudgement] Iudge Pu; hard] good Pu; her] my Pu

29 yow fynde] ye finde Pu

30 KYLL] kills V

Subscription: FYNIS. GOR.] *om.* Pu V

Sandison (1953: 190) discusses the textual variants but does not give the collations. Hy shows few signs of corruption and offers some indeterminate variant readings which could be authorial. A few Hy readings are probable errors: 'force ... *of* me' (l. 19) for 'force ... *on* me' (my italics), the reading in V and Pu; the variant reading 'For *well* I know' (l. 4) could be, as Sandison suggests, a substitute of a more-to-be-expected

reading than V's 'For *why* I knowe' (especially since Gorges is borrowing a phrase from Turbervile; see 3-8n.). Another slight alteration in the copy-text is made at line 24 where Hy changed 'never' to 'ever', to avoid a double negative (for this habit, see **Introduction** p. 73-4). In the eight lines shared by all three texts, Hy and Pu stand alone against V five times: 'faith, my hope' for 'hope my fayth' (l. 5), 'my time, and all' for 'and all my tyme' (l. 6), 'hath now the force' for 'hath not the power' (l. 19), 'All yow' for 'And yow' (l. 27), and 'KYLL' for 'kills' (l. 30). Sandison prefers the Hy-Pu variants in lines 19 and 27: the first avoids a nearby repetition of 'power' in line 21; the second 'better marks the turn to rhetorical challenge', and is probably a copyist's error. The Hy-Pu variant in line 6 'my time, and all', is also arguably preferable to V's 'and all my time', and the inversion of the words may be another case of scribal carelessness. V's reading places the emphasis on 'my time' where Hy-Pu follows on more logically after the list, so that *all* is spent rather than just the speaker's *time*.

Hy contains seven more unique variants (in lines not found in Pu) which are just as good as those in V and could be authoritative: 'I never shall account' for V's 'Then will I not esteme' (l. 10), 'thinke I meane' for 'deeme I seeke' (l. 11), and 'You do my wordes mystake' for 'My meanyng yow mistake' (l. 13). In line 23, Hy's 'Yet hate I not the Wyghte' is closer to Turbervile's 'Yet hate I not the man' (see 23n.); V's 'Yett curse I nott the wight' was perhaps a later substitution. Gorges' holograph alterations to the poems in V attest to his habit of revising his poems, and it is likely that he made changes to the verse in his own autograph foul papers, which were incorporated by the scribe when the fair copy was transcribed sometime after 1586. The single line cited in the incipit of By introduces an error 'last *of* all' for 'last *and* all' (my italics).

24

These untraced lines may have been extracted from a longer poem: they were transcribed as the first in a series of three unattributed extracts that appear to have been copied at the same time.⁷¹ The author is unknown but the placing in the manuscript among the work of associated poets Gorges, Raleigh and Spenser is suggestive.

⁷¹ The ink is compatible for entry in one sitting; and each extract is identically subscribed 'finis finis finis'.

1-2 Cf. Gorges' 'My sprightes which then swam in delightes, ar now sunke in disgrace' (23.18).

25

This epigrammatic closing couplet from Raleigh's 'Farewell false Love' was copied in full later in the manuscript (see the commentary to 50).

26

This final entry in a trio of extracts comprises the first four lines of Edmund Spenser's *Amoretti* 8, first printed in 1595 in his *Amoretti and Epithalamion* (Am), sig. A5v. *Amoretti* 8 is the only sonnet from the published series for which there is evidence of sustained circulation in manuscript and is further distinguished from the rest of the sequence by its Surrey sonnet verse form. Complete copies of the sonnet are found in three collections of manuscript verse: assigned erroneously to 'Master Dier' in Ra, f. 7v, and unattributed in Dd, f. 37v, and BL, Sloane MS 1446 (S1), f. 43r.⁷² Fulke Greville had also seen a copy in manuscript and borrowed the opening lines in his *Caelica* 3:⁷³

More than most faire, full of that heauenly fire,
Kindled aboue to shew the Makers glory,
Beauties first-born, in whom all powers conspire.

(*Certain Learned and Elegant Workes*, 1633, sig. 2Av).

Bullough dates *Caelica* 3 to no later than 1586, and it is likely that *Amoretti* 8 was written sometime before Spenser's departure for Ireland in August 1580, at a time when he was associating with Greville and other members of Sidney's circle.⁷⁴ The enduring

⁷² May dates the copy in Dd to c. 1589 (1988: 322); Cummings dates the copy in Ra to between 1584 and 1588 (1964: 127); S1 was transcribed in the 1630s (see *CELM* SpE 5)

⁷³ Greville probably did the borrowing as the lines from *Caelica* 3 mirror Spenser's diction and reflect his preoccupation with Neoplatonic motifs and imagery elsewhere in the *Amoretti*; cf. 'that your bright beams of my weak eies admyred, / may kindle liuing fire within my brest' (sig. A5r); and 'Long-while I sought to what I might compare / those powrefull eies ... Then to the Maker selfe they likest be' (sig. A6r). For another imitation by Greville, this time a poem by Dyer, see 1.

⁷⁴ Bullough estimates that Greville wrote *Caelica* 1-27 before 1586 (1938: 1.41).

appeal of *Amoretti* 8 is apparent from the mid-seventeenth century musical setting by Henry Lawes preserved in BL, Add. MS 53723, f. 17r.⁷⁵

1-2 Neoplatonic conception of earthly beauty as a reflection of the supernatural: ‘borne of heauenly seed: / deriu’d from that fayre Spirit, from whom al true / and perfect beauty did at first proceed’ (*Amoretti* 89). Cf. Ficino’s description of the Angelic Mind, as God’s first creation: ‘illuminated by the glory of God Himself ... when its whole passion was kindled, it drew close to God, and in cleaving to Him, assumed form’ (Ficino 1985: 1.3).

3-4 Echoes Petrarch’s *Rime* 154:

Le stelle, il cielo, et gli elementi a prova
tutte lor arti et ogni estrema cura
poser nel vivo lume ... ch’ altrove par non trova.

[‘The stars and the heavens and the elements vied with all their arts and put every ultimate care into that living light ... which finds its equal nowhere else.’]

4 **not els** nought else

Collations: four texts collated: Am, Dd, Ra and S1.

1 More] More fayr Dd, O more Ra; the] that S1

2 vnto the maker] the highe creatour Dd Ra S1

3 Not] no Am Ra S1; wherwith] in which Am, with whom Dd Ra S1; the heavens] al powers Am S1, all <thoughtes> powers Dd, the fates Ra

4 to the] in this S1; not] nought Am Dd Ra, may S1

Subscription: finis . finis . finis] *om.* Dd S1, Finis Master Dier Ra

In the four shared lines, Hy is not definitively related in error to any of the other texts; the agreement in error with Dd ‘Not’ (l. 3) can be dismissed since it is likely that both scribes independently misread ‘noe’ as ‘not’. In line 2, where the texts diverge, Hy agrees with Am’s reading ‘vnto the maker’, where all the other texts read ‘the highe creatour’. Greville also echoes the Hy-Am version of this line with ‘Kindled aboue to shew the Makers glory’ (*Caelica* 3, l. 2). Cummings argues that this reading was a later authorial revision (1964: 132) but admits his theory for a series of authorial versions (starting with Ra then Dd, S1, Hy and ending with Am as the final authoritative version

⁷⁵ This copy is reproduced in Evans 1941: 67.

of the poem) is weakened by the overall similarity of Am and Hy's versions to *Caelica* 3. Though Cummings' argument of serial revision by Spenser fails to convince, the alternative reading in line 2 'the highe creatour' is reminiscent of Spenser's work elsewhere: 'Hauing affixt thine eyes on that most glorious throne, / Where full of maiestie *the high creator* reignes. / In whose-bright shining face thy ioyes are all complete' (my italics; *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*, 1595, sig. H1v). In line 3, Hy's unique variant 'the heavens' is similar to Ra's 'the fates' where all other texts (including *Caelica* 3) agree on the reading 'all powers', and suggests that variant copies (perhaps incorporating authorial revisions) were circulating in tandem.

27

This anonymous poem was never printed but enjoyed widespread circulation in manuscript, surviving in six more copies of differing length. Two more copies (like Hy) have forty lines: Ra, ff. 49v-50r and Ma, ff. 23r-3v. Ra's 'finis' and Ma's closing flourish suggest that both these scribes considered the poem complete. However Hy's omission of the habitual 'finis' at the end of transcription and the blank space left in the manuscript following this entry could be an indication that the compiler regarded the poem as incomplete. Perhaps the copy-text was of the forty-line version and the compiler knew of a longer version and hoped to find a copy at some later date; or there may have been an interruption in copying which explains the absence of marginal commentary in the last verse. A forty-eight line version, entitled 'A farwell to desire geuen by J. T.', containing an additional stanza (ll. 41-48 below), is found in a Stuart verse miscellany c. 1620s-30s: BL, Harl. MS 3910 (H), f. 24v; and three copies add a further two stanzas (ll. 41-64 below): Ha, ff. 165r-6r, Edward Pudsey's commonplace book, Bod., MS Eng. poet. d.3 (E), f. 2r, and Edward Hoby's manuscript, BL, Add. MS 38823 (A), ff. 57r-v.⁷⁶ The additional stanzas are given below from A:

⁷⁶ Pudsey (bap. 1573, d. 1612/13) compiled his notebook during the first decade of the seventeenth century (*ODNB*: Pudsey); for a modern edition, see Gowan, 1967. Further into the manuscript (f. 36r) Pudsey copied lines from 27 again to create a hybrid poem: he borrowed the first four lines from 27 and appended them to the first four lines of Sidney's CS 32 (a poem which he had also copied earlier in the manuscript on f. 1r). Hoby (1560-1617), politician and diplomat (*ODNB*: Hoby), appears to have entered this section of the manuscript serially: poem 27 appears just before he copied a letter 'concerning the examination of the Queene of Scottes', dated 18 October 1586, and is followed by 'A Commission of the States to Robert Earle of Leicester' dated January 1587.

Thus wearied, weake, and wasted with theise ioyes
 Bothe finding want, and feeling plentie by thee
 What blinde excuses, dogge sleepes, tales, and toyes
 must thou invent least still shee over plye thee:
 But when (though forcest) thie slowe and emptie proffers 45
 Make deade requight, to all her gentle offers
 Then loe what feares, what shames, what greifes torment thee
 Desire Dye, ells yeilde, att least repent thee.
 For now of force the parting blowe is next
 With staffe half chardged, and faultring in the rest 50
 Willing, and loathe, half pleased, and whole perplext
 Twixt love, and shame, with bothe extremes opprest
 What farewells then do passe with sighing kisses
 What fonde requests are made, what idle wishes,
 What deepe protests, what favors, given, and taken: 55
 Desire livest thou yet of all Delight forsaken.

Departing thus with often looking back
 Ons out of sight, and euer discontent
 for absence putts eache thought vppon the rack
 And stretcheth loue, to ialous intent 60
 Whereby the hart dispatched with th'oppression
 Of all that moues, twixt absence, and suspition
 Fyndes wearie lief, and worse then death or hell
 Desire curse thie self: I dye farewell, farewell.

Finis

The currency of the poem is also indicated from an imitation entitled 'A Counterloue', beginning 'Declare O minde, from fond desires excluded' printed in *The Phoenix Nest* (1593, sigs. L4v-M1r: analogous passages are noted in the line glosses below). Hy is the only text to include marginal commentary for lines 1-32, which may have been added by the compiler (see 32 for another poem in the collection with marginal annotation).

- title **procerninges** a nonce word; should perhaps read ‘concerninges’ or ‘proceedinges’
- 2 **fond** foolish
- 3 **fangled new** a novelty (*OED* fangle, *n.*¹ 1)
- 4-6 Cf. Roger Ascham’s critique of ‘courtly courtesies’ in *The Scholemaster* (1570):
- pleasant wordes ... smilyng and secret countenances, with such signs, tokens, wagers, purposed to be lost before they were purposed to be made, with bargaines of wearing colours, flouers, and herbes, to breed occasion of offer meeting of him and her, and bolder taking of this and that, etc.
- (sig. K1r)
- 6 Cf. ‘Sweete words, the wilie instrument of all’ (‘A Counterloue’, l. 4).
- 11 Cf. ‘Intreaties posts, faire promises are charmes’ (‘A Counterloue’, l. 5); **breakinge tuche** failing to keep a vow or promise (*OED* touch, *n.* 24a)
- 13 *marginal gloss*: **Execration** cursing
- 15 **Tokens** keepsakes; **Toyes** trifles
- 22 *marginal gloss*: **intretaunce** entreaty (*OED* *n.* 2); **offence** assault, attack (*OED* *n.* 5a)
- 28 **Cressid** beloved of Troilus and archetype of an unfaithful woman (the Troilus-Cressida story was transmitted via Henryson and Chaucer); **Helen** wife of Menelaus carried off to Troy by Paris (the cause of the Trojan war); archetype of the beautiful but faithless wife
- 29 Cf. ‘Wanton kisses are the keyes of sinne’ (Nicolas Breton, *Crossing of Prouerbs*, 1616, sig. A2v); ‘Kisses the keies, to sweete consuming sin’ (‘A Counterloue’, l. 19).
- 30 **bandes** bonds
- 36 For the same sentiment, see Sidney’s CS 31.5-6: ‘Desire, desire I have too dearely bought, / With price of mangled mind thy worthlesse ware’.

Collations: six texts collated: A, E, H, Ha, Ma and Ra.

Title: Himself ... Love] Defiance to desyer A, A farwell to desire geuen by J.T. H, *om.* Ma Ra

3 is] but H

4 servile purpose] base appointment A, bace apoyntmentes Ha

6 *om.* E; a frawd] afraid Ma; with perill fraught] of perill streit Ma
 7 that] which Ha
 9 failing] falling Ha
 10 tell] tells Ra
 11 Faith] troth Ma
 12 vayne] vile E; abiuring] provoking Ha
 13 who] who euer Ra; breakes ... curste] keeps or breaks is curst Ha; breakes them are
 accurst Ma
 14 *om.* E; ill ... worste] evel ment prove warse *written above:* good wordes but winde
 or Ma
 15 shapes] hope Ma
 16 Dy now Desire] Desire dye A E Ha, Dye fond desire H Ra; els ... ensue] theise
 tearmes my teares renewe A E Ha, els theise will worse ensue H, or worse wil the ensue
 Ma, else worse will the insue Ra
 17 Loves] loue H; vauntages] vantage is E Ha Ma Ra
 18 Skill] still Ha
 19 Tymes choyse] Tyme cann Ma; but chaunce] a chaung Ha
 20 mate] bande A, bawd E, bond Ha, maske Ra; bould intrusion] shameles motions A,
 shameles motion E Ha; fyttel] meete Ma
 21 desturbinge] destroying Ma
 22 Intretting] Intreatings Ha, Intreaty Ma; the] with E; pressure] prisoner H, warrant E
 Ma Ra; offence] defence Ma
 23 accurste] a curse A Ha
 24 Oh] Dy H
 25 *sub.* The hower and place appointed then and there A E, The tyme & place apoynted
 then & there Ha; the] of Ma; Hower] bower H Ra
 26 *sub.* The meanes and helpes suggesting all secure A E, The meanes to worke
 suggestion all secure Ha; yet] the H
 27 disclose] bewray Ha; how ... led] with whome, how, when, and where A, how
 lewdly thou art ledd H, how when and whear E, with whome how when, and where Ha
 28 *sub.* Thou entredst listes, base courage to procure A E Ha; Cressid] Hellen Ma;
 Queene] maide H Ma Ra; Helen] Cresseid Ma; Quene] wife H Ra, maide Ma
 29 opening] to ope Ma Ra; ventes] vent A H Ha, dore Ra

30 Imbrasinge] Imbearing A, ymbrasings H E Ha Ra; bandes] bonds H Ha Ra, baytes
 Ma; to bind] binding A, that bynd H E, to draw Ma, that byndes Ra; us] thee E Ma
 31 neerest] sweetest E
 32 Desier ... Dy] Desyre dy dy dy for E, Oh dye desyre dye dye Ra, Desire oh dy dy dy
 Ma
 33 the] & Ha
 34 evening] cunning A H E Ha Ma, subtylle Ra; craftes] craft E Ha Ma
 35 move] work H Ha Ma Ra
 36 Make ... wittes] weak making witt H, Weakynge the wytte Ra, make weake thy
 wittes Ma; empairing] impayre thy Ma
 37 nayle] nayles Ra
 38 Doth spoile] Which spoyles Ha, doth frett Ma; the sporte] the bone Ma; els] & Ma,
 or Ra
 39 they leave] we leaue A, thou leav'st H E Ha
 40 Fy, fy, Desire] Dy fond desire H, O fond desire Ma
Subscription: om.] Finis A Ha E Ra

Hy is not related to any of the other texts but is closest to Ma, Ra and H. Hy and Ma share the variant reading 'Dy now Desire' (l. 16) where Ra and H have 'Dy fond desire' and A, E and Ha 'Desire dye'; Hy Ma and H share the reading 'mate' (l. 20) where Ra has 'maske' and A, E and Ha 'bande' / 'bond' and 'bawd'. Ma shares two readings with Ra against the other texts ('warrant' l. 22, 'to ope' l. 29) and another reading with H and Ha ('work' l. 35). H and Ra agree on the combination 'maide ... wife' (l. 28). The three texts with the 48-line version (A, E and Ha) share two readings in common (ll. 16, 20) and the same replacement lines (ll. 25, 26, 28) against all the other texts; A and Ha agree on a further three variant readings (ll. 4, 22 and 23).

28

The attribution 'RN' has not been identified and could refer to the provider of the copy-text (see **Introduction** pp. 67-8). There is some conflicting evidence about authorship but William Hunnis has the best claim. The poem is subscribed 'D. S.' in the first edition of *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*, 1576 (P), sig. A1r.⁷⁷ The more

⁷⁷ Rollins (1927: 184) suggests the initials are 'an abbreviation for the mysterious D. Sand'.

authoritative attribution to William Hunnis is found in all subsequent editions of *The Paradyse* from 1577.⁷⁸ Hunnis, who succeeded Richard Edwards as Master of the Children of the Chapel in 1566, composed musical settings for some of his own poems such as ‘Alack, when I look back’ (Rollins 1927: no. 108) and several were set by other musicians.⁷⁹ Hy’s marginal annotation ‘ballet’ suggests that **28** had also been set to music (see **Introduction** pp. 70-72). A truncated copy of the poem (ll. 1-16) entitled ‘Verses of Mortallitie’ appears in a volume entitled ‘Collections out of seuerall authors by Marmaduke Raudon, Eboriencis, 1662’, BL, Add. MS 18044 (A8), f. 79r.

The first two syllables of each hexameter line create another poem (aa₈bb₈):

Behould The end Ere thou Begin
 Have mynde On Deathe And feare To Synne
 For Death Shall reape And [‘That’ P] Lyfe Hathe sowen
 And lyfe Shall springe Wher death Hath made [‘mowen’ P].

In P these words are italicised to direct the readers’ attention to this device. Hunnis also used this technique in ‘*If thou: delight, in quietnes of life*’ (Rollins 1927: no. 105). The acrostic poem had a separate life in manuscript and print and was probably not written by Hunnis, but merely used by him as a catalyst for his own composition. It may belong to Edward Dering (c. 1540-1576) as it was printed in a preliminary page, headed ‘Maister D. his counsell to all’, of his *Godly Priuate Prayer for Housholders to Meditate Upon* (1578):

Beholde the ende ere thou beginne,
 Haue mynde on death, and feare to sinne:
 For death shall reape that lyfe hath sowne,
 And lyfe shall spring where death hath mowne’

Lodowick Lloyd also borrowed a line for his epitaph on Edward Saunders (d. 12 November 1576): ‘For death shal reape what life hath sowen, by nature this we know’ (Rollins 1927: no. 103). And the whole verse appears on the tomb memorial of John Stace of Hollenden, dated 25 June 1591: ‘Remember thy end, erre thou begin / Have

⁷⁸ On the authority of the editorial changes made to the 1577 edition, see the head-note to **4**.

⁷⁹ ODNB: Hunnis.

mynd on death and feare to sinne / For death shall reape, that life hath sown / And life shall spinge where death hath mowen' (Belcher 1888: no. 131). Two more copies are found in manuscript collections: Folger MS V.a.307, p. 64 and Yale Osborn, fb.9, f. 30v; and the last two lines were copied in BL, Sloane MS 2497, f. 36v ('Death hath reapte, wher life hath sown, And lif hath sprong / wher Death hath Mowen').

9 **brittle life** proverbial (Dent L251.1)

15-32 Cf. Galatians 6.7-8:

whatsoeuer a man soweth, that shal he also reape. For he that soweth to his flesh, shal of flesh reape corruption; but he that soweth to the spirit, shal of the spirit reape life euerlasting.

17-18 proverbial, 'Death is the grand leveler' (Dent D143)

Collations: two texts collated: A8 and P.

Title: om.] Verses of Mortallitie A8, Our pleasures are vanities P

1 that] which P

2 blossomes] blosome A8

3 consumes] to naught A8

4 And ... nought] consumes them all A8, and comes, to nought P

5 be therfore] therefore be P

6 cannot] may not*

8 ill spent] mispent*

9 lyfe] earth A8

10 vayne] paine A8

11 lykewise bethinke] bethinke for here A8

12 How ... not] thou canst nott longe A8, how thou maist not P

13 the] thy*

14 Who] which P

15 inclyne] be bent*

16 &] to A8

17-32 *om.* A8

17 which] who P

18 mighty Kynges] kinges on earth P

19 lykewise] also P

20 and thy] life, and P

21 And] That P

24 As ... in] you ought to weede with P

28 paines] paine P

30 yow] ye P

31 made] mowen P

Subscription: FINIS RN] FINIS. D. S. P ['W. Hunis' in all subsequent edns]

Hy contains two readings that show up as errors in the acrostic verse: 'And' for 'That' (l. 21) disrupts the run-on from 'Shall reape', and 'made' for 'mowen' (l. 31) spoils the rhyme with 'sowen'. Hy does not draw attention to the acrostic and these two errors suggest that the compiler may not have noticed this device. Hy also has a number of unique variants that are not obvious errors, indicating that the text belongs to a distinct manuscript tradition of the poem. A8's copy of the first sixteen lines aligns more often with P, and is probably based (loosely) on a text taken from one of the printed editions.

29

Only the first two stanzas of this anonymous lullaby survive elsewhere; three of these witnesses have an Oxford University provenance. The first four lines are found with a musical setting in two songbooks compiled at Oxford University: the 'Dow Partbooks', Christ Church, Oxford, Mus. MS 984-988 (Dow), No. 109 and doubtfully attributed to William Byrd in the 'Wigthorpe Partbooks', BL, Add. MSS 17786-91 (Wi).⁸⁰ A third witness to the lullaby's circulation at Oxford University is a copy of the first two stanzas in a student notebook: BL, Sloane MS 1709 (S2), f. 271v.⁸¹ The first two

⁸⁰ For full details see Brett 1967: 181. On a possible setting of the poem by William Byrd, Bullen points out that 'my lyttle sweet darling' is 'not found in any of the composer's printed song-books' (1888: xv). Perhaps the Wigthorpe scribe had in mind Byrd's 'lullaby' which opens with the refrain 'Lulla, la lulla, lulla lullaby / my sweet little babie' (*Psalmes Sonets, & Songs*, 1588, Song 32); but the verse form (poulter's measure) and theme (the biblical story of the slaughter of the innocents) do not match poem 29. The anonymous 'my lyttle sweet darling' and Byrd's 'Lullabie' circulated in manuscript during the same period and are found together in the Dow partbooks (nos. 109 and 115) compiled between 1581 and 1588 by Robert Dow (c. 1554-1588), fellow of All Souls, Oxford.

⁸¹ This manuscript is a large folio volume in various hands, but 29 appears in a section described in the BL catalogue entry for leaves 213-285 as 'Theological and miscellaneous collections, interspersed with poetry, chiefly extracted from printed books, apparently by

stanzas also appear as a song in a school play entitled ‘A tragedy called Oedipus’ in Yale University, Elizabethan Club, Eliz 294 (O), ff. 5v-6r.⁸² In the play the lullaby beginning ‘My little swete babie’ is sung by the herdsman to comfort the abandoned infant Oedipus: ‘The song he singes danling [sic] the child with the musicke’:

be babie be, be, be, be be be burdie be be.
 My little swete babie my hart & joy: sing lullabie lullie,
 in bewtie surpassing duke Paris of Troy: sing lullie lully lully
 now peace child & cease child my pretie fine boy: sing lullabie, lullie,
 the godes guyde & save thee from cruell annoy sing lully lully lully
 swete honie, hony, hony, faire babie lullabie lullie

Thy parentes swete infant to me are vnknowne sing lullabie lully
 I wott not who left thee in woodes here alone: sing lully lully lully
 for thee little infant I make now great mone sing lullaby, lully
 whose bluddie plantes make me to sorrowe & grone sing lully lully lullie.
 swete hony daddes pigesnie, faire babie mammes come

The tune of the song given in the ‘Oedipus Manuscript’ corresponds to the melody of the consort song found in the Dow and Wigthorpe partbooks.⁸³ George Puttenham loosely quoted lines from the lullaby in *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589 (Pu), in a quatrain imitating the diction and verse form in anapaestic tetrameter, a rhythm that Puttenham dismisses as being ‘like a minstrels musicke’.⁸⁴

Thomas Chaffin, of Meere, co. Wilts, about year 1605’. According to Foster, a Thomas Chafin of Wiltshire, gent. matriculated at St. Alban Hall, Oxford University in 1599, aged 18.

⁸² The contemporary title (‘Oedipus with a Song’) inscribed on the original binding of the unique copy of this play, suggests that the lullaby was an important feature of the performance. For a recent article on the ‘Oedipus Manuscript’, see Wiggins 2011.

⁸³ Wiggins has shown that the author of the Oedipus play borrowed verbatim from contemporary works published c. 1581-1583 but suggests that the play was written after the publication of Book 5 of *The Faerie Queene* in 1596, since the description of the Sphinx is ‘one of the earliest appropriations of Spenser’. In fact the play’s description of the Sphinx is taken almost verbatim from Thomas Cooper’s *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae*, 1565. With this knowledge, the dating of the play should perhaps be revised to c. 1583 based on the evidence of internal references to printed works. Wiggins also notes the prayer to a regnant queen, and reference to the ‘new yeare’ and suggests that it was written to entertain local dignitaries as part of new years celebrations (14).

⁸⁴ Puttenham quotes lines in the following order: line 3 (almost exactly) followed by variant versions of line 4 (retaining only the end-rhyme word) and 2, and a fourth line radically different from any of the other texts.

Now sucke childe and sleepe childe, thy mothers owne ioy
 Her only sweete comfort, to drowne all annoy
 For beauty surpassing the azured skie
 I loue thee my darling, as ball of mine eye.
 (sig. K4r)

The mournful or narrative lullaby was a popular form of the genre in the sixteenth century. The ballad ‘Balloo my babe, lye still and sleepe’ in which the mother laments the faithlessness of her husband seems to have been a particular favourite: it was set to music in William Ballet’s Lutebook (TCD, MS 408, p. 111, no. 55), printed in 1599 in Thomas Morley’s *Consort Lessons*, p. 18, and referred to by Francis Beaumont in *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1613, sig. E4r): ‘You Musicians play Baloo’. Robert Greene incorporates a lullaby into his play *Menaphon* (1589): ‘Sephestia’s Song to her child’ (‘weep not my wanton’), and the printed verse miscellany *The Arbor of Amorous Deuises* (1597) includes ‘A sweet lullabie’ beginning ‘Come little babe, come silly soule’ (sig. K4r).

- 2 **Princes of Troy** the sons of Priam, the king of Troy
- 9 **Satyres** ‘Satyri were Gods of the wooddes; they were monsters having the head of a man, the body of a goate’ (Cooper).
- 11 **stent** cease (*OED* stint, v. 2)
- 14 **rocker** nurse to rock the cradle (*OED* n.¹ 1a)
- 17 **froward** See 4.91, 94n.
- 24 **misers** wretches (*OED* n.¹ 1)
- 25 **fear me** scare/deter me (*OED* fear, v. 2b)
- 26 **perte** alert, lively, cheerful (*OED* adj. 4)
- 29 **morning** mourning
- 30 **Romulus & Scyrus** Romulus is one of the twin mythical founders of Rome and Scyrus (i.e. Cyrus) is the founder of the Persian Empire. The legends of Cyrus’ and Romulus’ early life are related by Herodotus and belong to a genre (including the story of Oedipus) in which abandoned children of noble birth are brought up by shepherds but eventually return to claim their birthright.
- 32 **blessed** Cf. Ecclesiastes 11.28: ‘Judge none blessed before his death’.

Collations: ll. 1-8; five texts collated: Dow, O, Pu, S2 and Wi.

Title: om.] A lullaby song S2

Refrain om.] be babie be, be, be, be be / be burdie be be O

1 om. Pu; Darling] babie O; comfort] hart O

2 In] For Pu; excelling] surpassing Dow O Pu Wi; the ... Troy] duke Paris of Troy O,
the azured skie Pu

3 sucke ... sleep] peace child & cease O; thi mothers own] my pretie fine O, thy
mothers sweete Dow S2 Wi; boy] ioy Pu

4 om. Pu; blesse & kepe] guyde & save O

Refrain om.] swete Baby lully lully sweet baby Lullaby lully Dow Wi, swete honie,
hony, honie, faire babie lullabie lullie O, Sweete Baby lully lully sweete Baby lully lyly
S2

5-8 om. Dow Pu Wi

5 Father] parentes O; Little] swete O S2; from ... gone] to me are vnknowne O

6 sub. I wott not who left thee in woodes here alone O

7 To] for O; why ... make] I make now great O

8 sub. whose bluddie plantes make me to sorrowe & grone O

Refrain om.] swete honie daddes pigesnie, faire babie mammes come O, sweete Baby
lully by, sweete Babie lully lully S2

Hy contains two errors: 'Little' (l. 5) should probably read 'sweete' (to keep the metre) as in the other witnesses, and in line 6 the metre is defective and S2 has the missing word 'heere' which provides the extra beat needed to maintain the regular anapestic tetrameter. The four lines of text and refrain found in the Dow and Wigthorpe partbooks are identical. In line two, Hy and S2 share the variant 'excelling' where Dow, O, Wi and Pu have 'surpassing'. The additional line, variant refrains and other unique readings in O can be accounted for by the changes made to the song to suit the context of the play in which it was incorporated. Pu is a memorial reconstruction of a few lines from the poem in which Puttenham wished to illustrate a verse form that he disliked.

The attribution to this unique entry probably refers to a Coningsby who was lord of manors with place names beginning with the letters ‘E’ and ‘L’. One possibility is that the letters refer to Eyton and Leominster, both associated with Thomas (II) Coningsby of Hampton Wafer, Herefordshire, whose mother was Eleanor Hakluyt of Eyton and father Thomas (I) of Leominster, a servant to Humphrey Coningsby of Hampton Court. Thomas II was, like his namesake cousin of Hampton Court, a follower of the Earl of Essex in the 1590s.⁸⁵ For the close relationship between the compiler of Hy and his Hampton Court Coningsby relations, see the **Introduction** pp. 28-9. The poem overlabours the Petrarchan conceit in a series of paradoxical statements and rhetorical questions, some repeating the same idea: for example, the speaker states in line 7 ‘I only want that I possesses’, and in line 13 asks ‘How should I want that I possesse’. Some of the paradoxical statements descend into doggerel (ll. 5-6 and 11-12) and may be sending up the tradition (see the mock love poem **89**). In line 4, ‘tonge can shoe’ jars in terms of sense but the poet is more interested in providing a suitable end-rhyme for ‘woe’. The rhyme scheme is also irregular: in the fourth stanza the first four lines all have the same end-rhyme and in the fifth the final rhyming couplet fails to rhyme; the rhyme combination ‘Possesse’ ‘blisse’ (ll. 7, 9 and ll. 13, 15) also occurs twice in the poem.

- 1 Cf. Dyer’s ‘A man in Ioy; that lyveth still in woe’ (**11.6**).
- 23-24 Cf. Spenser’s *Amoretti* 30: ‘how comes it then that this her cold so great / is not dissolu’d through my so hot desyre’ (*Amoretti and Epithalamion*, 1595, sig. B8v); for the same sentiment, see also **152.20**. Renaissance humoral physiology posited that men were ‘hotter’ and ‘drier’ than women, whose bodies were relatively ‘cold’ and ‘moist’ (Bamborough 1952: 64).
- 27 **Bowes** boughs
- 35 **spill** slay, kill (*OED* v. 1a)

31

⁸⁵ See the entries in the *History of Parliament* online for ‘Thomas I, Coningsby of Leominster’ <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/coningsby-thomas-i>> [accessed 17 March 2015] and Thomas II, Coningsby of Hampton Wafer’ <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/coningsby-thomas-ii-1616>> [accessed 17 March 2015].

This entry is a composite containing lines from two independently occurring poems. The first six lines are shared with an anonymous eighteen-line lyric; the next twelve lines are a unique continuation; and a version of the last four lines is found in **82** (ll. 33, 36-40). The full text of the poem from which the first six lines derive is found in two witnesses: a manuscript copy in Dd, f. 26r, and a musical setting in Thomas Morley's *First Book of Ayres*, 1600 (Mor), Cantus XII.⁸⁶ According to Dd's editor 'the Carey household, with its important connections at court and reputation for artistic patronage' may have been the mutual source for both these copies.⁸⁷ Hy's attribution 'quod R. P.' probably refers to the author of the continuation who used the opening stanza of the anonymous lyric as a catalyst for his own composition. The opening six lines are confined to the description of sorrow and lend themselves particularly well to a continuation. This practice is also seen in poem **87**, where the earl of Oxford borrowed a substantial section from a poem by Thomas Churchyard for his own composition. Just as Oxford recast Churchyard's poem for a courtly audience, the author of **31** recasts the original poem (with its heavy moral sentiment), in a lighter vein, as a first-person love lament. To this end, line three in the original is also tweaked from 'That God and man and all the world may see' to 'That careles pleasure may conceave and see'. The original poem has a more extensive description of 'Sorrow' which reaches the gloomy conclusion: 'Thus let vs lyue, till heauens may rue to see, / The dolefull doome ordayned for thee and mee'.

The last four lines also seem to have been purloined from another poem, but this time the author may have been recycling his own work: where the analogous lines appear in **31** they are a misfit, creating a final stanza rhyming (abcc), whereas in **82** there is no such disruption. In the commentary to the latter poem, I argue (based on some striking parallels in phrasing to poem **4** which is attributed to 'RO[bert] POO[ly]'), that the poem should also be assigned to the same author. The identity of this poet whose work appeared in the *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*, first printed in 1576, is discussed in the commentary to poem **4**. Another poem in the collection bears the same initials: **71** is similarly signed 'R P'.

⁸⁶ According to May (1988: 276) the text in Dd was entered 'probably before 1585'. Doughtie (1970: 143-4) prints the text in Mor.

⁸⁷ May 1988: xix.

- 1-6 For a similar opening phrase, cf. Nicholas Breton's epitaph on Sidney printed in *Brittons Bowre of Delights*, 1591: 'Sorrow come sit thee downe' (sig. C3r). Shakespeare has sorrow sitting down twice in *Love's Labour's Lost*: 'and till then, sit thee down, sorrow'; 'well, set thee down, sorrow' (1.1.302; 4.3.4); and in *King John*: 'here I and sorrowes sit' (2.2.73). A poem in *Englands Helicon*, 1600, beginning, 'Sheepheard, saw you not my faire louely Phillis' has the line: 'Sorrow come and sit with me' (sig. Y3r). If these are allusions to the poem it must have been fairly popular (with the opening stanza being especially memorable) but personifications of Sorrow, such as found in Thomas Sackville's 'Induction' to *A Myrrour for Magistrates* (1563), also helped to establish the iconography of 'Sorrow', in a reposed position, sighing, wringing her hands and folding her arms: 'In woe and playnt reposed was her rest, / ... 'syghing sore her handes she wrong and fold' (ll. 82, 76).
- 2 **Balefull** unhappy, wretched miserable (*OED* 2b)
- 19-22 A close version of these lines is found in another poem in the collection: **82** (ll. 33, 36-40):

But sith my froward lucke, allowes no better Hap,
 ...
 Where secret Grief & Shame, all comfort shall expell.
 Till lyef of Loyall Love,
 Hath felt thextremest power,
 Or Love of hatefull Lyef
 Hath sene the latest hower.

- 22 **latest** last

Collations: (ll. 1-6); two texts collated: Dd and Mor.

- 2 Enclyne] hang down*; the Balefull] thie balefull*
 3 careles ... and] god & man & all the world may*
 4 How] our*; repose in little] doe lie at little Dd, doo liue in quiet Mor
 5 Vnfould] enfold*

The collation of the first six lines shows that Dd is closer to Mor than Hy. Hy introduces a number of unique variants and has a completely different third line; these changes may have been introduced in Hy to suit the poem's recasting as a love-lament.

At line four Mor is corrupt and the reading ‘quiet rest’ should undoubtedly read ‘little reste’ as in Hy and Dd.

The first four stanzas of this unique poem illustrate a contemporary love posy given in the marginal annotations: ‘myne Eye hath fownd thee. / My Harte hath chose thee. / To thee Love hath bound mee. / From the [i.e. thee] Death Shall loose mee’. A version of this posy is found later in the manuscript (see 76). The sentiment expressed in the ‘Lenvoy’ is also found in a ring posy in Ha: ‘Though a guift be smale, yet good will is all’.⁸⁸ The rhetorical structure of lines 17-24 may have been influenced by Wyatt’s ‘Disdaine me not without desert’:

Forsake me not, till I deserue:
Nor hate me not, till I offend.
Destroy me not, till that I swerue.
But sins ye know what I intend:
Disdaine me not that am your own:
Refuse me not that am so true:
Mistrust me not till all be known:
Forsake me not, now for no new.
(ll. 13-20; *Songes and Sonettes*, 1557, sig. H3v)

1 **curious Eyes** sharp eyes; for this phrase, see 74.32.

Another copy of this poem survives in Ra, f. 116v, where it is followed by the identical succeeding poem in Hy and assigned a single terminal ‘finis’ to the pair. The two poems evidently circulated together. Both poems display rhetorically balanced elements: 33 has two repeat lines (ll. 5, 9 and 7, 11) which duplicate the cross-rhymed combination ‘Lyve / gyve’; the words ‘Love’ and ‘Hope’ repeat three times apiece in different sense combinations. In 34 the first four lines and last two lines are similarly structured and begin identically. Coningsby originally placed his initials after 33 but this is probably not an acknowledgement of authorship (see **Introduction** pp. 68-70 for a discussion of this habitual practice).

⁸⁸ Evans 1931: 99.

1-2 Cf. 13.7: 'Myne eye bewrayes myne inward thought'; **Bewrayes** see 13.7n.

12 **Happe** good fortune, good luck (*OED* hap, *n.*¹ 1)

Collations: one text collated: Ra.

2 Harte] hartes

7 Hope] Loue

10 When] Where

Subscription: FINIS. <H C>] *om.*

The texts present only three variants. Hy is in error in l. 2 where Ra's possessive 'hartes' makes more sense and mirrors the pattern of run-on lines throughout the poem. The other variants are difficult to choose between. Hy's marginal correction (l. 4) brings the texts into alignment and may have been an error caused by eye-skip ('Lucke' appears as the second word in the line above) rectified at the time of transcription.

34

Two more copies of this anonymous poem are found in contemporary verse anthologies: Fo, p. 32 and Ra, f. 116v. In the latter copy it is presented as a companion piece to 33 (see note above).

1 For this proverb 'Let reason rule', see 71.3n.

2 **wantons** unrestrained, unruly persons

3 proverbial, 'try (try your friend) before you trust' (Tilley T595)

4 proverbial, 'Appearances are deceitful' (Dent A285)

6 **excepte yow wyll** unless you wish, desire, allow it

Collations: two texts collated: Fo and Ra.

3 *om.* Ra

5 in lacke of] wher wanteth Fo

Subscription: FINIS] *om.* Fo

The texts are very close; Ra lacks a whole line but in the only other reading where the texts diverge Hy agrees with Ra.

35

There are no other copies of this anonymous poem. The hexameter couplets scan with an unvarying mid-line caesura and contain no obvious corruptions in the rhyme or metre.

- 1 **Barke** ship (*OED* *n.*² 1b)
- 4 **feere** mate, companion (*OED* *n.*¹ 1a)
- 5 **race to runne** journey to take (at sea / through life) (*OED* *n.*¹ 4a, b)
- 6 **roumme** office; post, employment (*OED* *room*, *n.*¹ 10a)
- 6, 9 **e^r^st** ... **erst** formerly
- 8, 18 **Toyes** ... **toyes** frivolous (amorous) occupations (*OED* *n.* 5)
- 14 **shake my hand** wave (the hand) in farewell (*OED* *shake*, *v.* 6d)

36

This is another poem, like **32**, that illustrates English love posies such as those found in a contemporary collection, Ha (such as ‘Tyme tryeth truth, ‘No tyme altereth mee’ and ‘Stand fast in faith’) and, like many of the longer posies in Ha, rhyme as dimeter couplets (cf. ‘Be true till death / do take thy breath’ and ‘Let onely death / the knott preuent’).

- 1 **Fruycte** reward, benefit, enjoyment (*OED* *fruit* *n.* 7c); **assay** taste, try
- 2 **Graffe** shoot, bud (*OED* *graff* *n.*¹)
- 3 **try** ascertain the truth or right of (*OED* *try*, *v.* 5c); Proverbial, ‘Time tries all things’ (Dent T336*)

37

Coningsby originally signed his own initials to the poem, a habit that is repeated throughout the manuscript and is not usually an acknowledgement of authorship (see **Introduction** pp. 68-70). The over-written letters (‘R W’) may be an attempt to blot

You flee with wings of often chaunge
at random where you please.

(*Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* 1567, sig. C6v)

- 7 **marke** designate (*OED* v. 5a)
8 This contrast alludes to one of the legends of Midas (told in Ovid's
Metamorphoses 11), where in a music contest, Midas chooses (against all
others' judgement) the 'rude and homely' songs of Pan (the half-goat god of
shepherds) over those of Phoebus or Apollo (the god of poetry and music).
9 **Haggardes** wild female hawks (*OED* *n*² a); the falconry metaphor is extended
to line 12 and picked up again in line 15.
15 **lure** a bunch of feathers attached to a long cord, used in training by falconers,
to recall their hawks (*OED* lure, *n*.2 1a)
17 **trye** put to the test (*OED* v. 7a)
18 **doulte** stupid fellow (*OED* dolt *n*. 1)

Collations: May (1980: 122-3) collates B, Bd, Co, Dy, Hy, Pi and R72 against Ra. May points out the agreement in error between Hy and B 'their' for 'the' (l. 7) but this could be a case of independent variation: both scribes misreading a contracted form of the word. B, Dy and R72 also share the error 'firme' for 'fraile' (l. 5). Hy also originally contained the reading 'firme' but it was corrected to 'fraile' after transcription. The compiler's habit of careful proof reading means that he may have independently corrected an obvious error. If this happened then Hy's copy-text also derived from the same original copy as B, Dy and R72. Pi also shares a number of readings with this group against the other texts: 'wonder' (l. 3) where Co, Bd and Ra have 'marveile'; and in the final line (not present in Dy and R72), Hy, B and Pi are the only texts to read 'doulte' (where Bd and Ra read 'foole', and Co 'Asse'). Another textual crux occurs in line 16 (where Bd has a completely different line): Hy and Pi read 'our wills' (Hy correcting 'our' from 'their') and B 'their wits'; Co and Ra have 'their wiles'.

Hy's unique reading in line 17 may be an error: 'fynde' for 'say' (the reading in all other witnesses). Bd's variant first line, four completely new lines (2, 8, 10 and 16), and three more revised lines (ll. 9, 11, 15), suggest that this text was radically altered before being set to music by Byrd.

This posy appears in Edmund Elviden's narrative poem *The Most Excellent and Pleasant Metaphoricall History of Pesistratus and Catanea*, 1570 (PC), sig. I5r.⁹⁴ In this publication the couplet follows an inset poem of fifty-two lines in broken fourteeners: 'The letter of Catanea to his Louer'.⁹⁵ Elviden may have been imitating George Turbervile's 'Pyndaras aunswere to the Letter which Tymetes sent hir at the time of his departure' (also in fourteeners), which is followed by a similar lover's vow, the first two lines of which resemble Elviden's posy:

Thine owne in life, thine owne in death,
 Thine owne whilst lungs shall lende me breath:
 Thine owne whilst I on earth doe wonne
 Thine owne whilst eie shall see the Sonne
 (*Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, 1567, sig. C1r).

Evans records a few shorter similar ring posies: 'In love linkt fast / while life doth last', and 'My love shal last til life be past'.⁹⁶ For the compiler's interest in posies see the commentary to **76**. A later entry in the collection signed 'E. E.' may be another poem by Elviden (see **84**).

Collations: one text collated: PC.

1 Thine] Thy
 2 &] til; is] be

Hy's three variant readings from the print copy may be an indication that the compiler copied the couplet from memory, or from another source.

⁹⁴ The volume is dedicated the Earl of Oxford: 'To the right honorable Edward Deuiere, lord Boulbecke, Erle of Oxford, Lord great Chamberlaine of England, Edmund Eluiden wisheth long life with increase of honoure' (sig. A2r).

⁹⁵ *The Origins of Early Modern Literature* <<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/origins/>> [accessed 08 March 2013].

⁹⁶ 1931: 59, 80.

The first word of each line in this poem's two stanzas forms an acrostic exchange: the first sixain reveals the question, 'When Shall I Ly Wyth yow', for which the second provides the answer, 'When Tyme And Plase Shall Serve' (see **42** for another verse with the same acrostic question; and **28** for another acrostic verse). The internal dialogue in the poem is couched in the language of courtly love but this sentiment is undermined by the blunt secondary exchange hidden in the first word acrostic. Although there are no further copies of **39**, the poem is a variation of an earlier embedded question and answer acrostic pair of verses, which circulated more widely:⁹⁷

Questio

When shall your cruell stormez be past
 Shall not my truth your rigor slake
 I will no moir whyle lyfe doth last
 medell with love butt ytt forsake
with owt you answer & reherse
 The first word of euery verse

Respons

When stormez be past the calme is next
 Tyme temperyth all thinges in euerye place
 dothe nott the wysemanne teache hys texte
 Serue trulye therof comythe grace
 yow are no foole your wylle brayne
 Shall serue to fynde my answer playne.

(Trinity College, Cambridge, MS O.9.38, f. 86v).

Coningsby originally placed his initials after the text but this is probably not an acknowledgement of authorship since it is questionable whether he noticed the acrostic (for the habit of initialling entries in the collection, see **Introduction** pp. 68-70). In **42**,

⁹⁷ This copy is a later addition (c. 1560s) in a collection of Middle English verse (the complete manuscript is digitized in *Scriptorium: Medieval and Early Modern Manuscripts Online* <<http://scriptorium.english.cam.ac.uk>>). Other copies are found in BL, Harl. MS 78, f. 30r, TCD, MS 160 (Blage MS), f. 58r; and with the variant first line: 'When shall all cruel storms be past' in Bod., MS Rawl. poet. 104, f. 2v and 108, f. 11v.

a poem with the same acrostic question, the closing line ‘Yow shall a Secret Question finde’ prompts the reader to look for a hidden reading, and in the transcription a line is traced around the words forming the acrostic. The compiler’s tendency to foreground riddles within texts in the collection is also seen in the emphasis on the embedded name of the poet in 1.147. The compiler also fails to notice the acrostic in another poem in the collection (see 28).

There is one obvious error in the repetition of ‘could’ (l. 7), which creates a metrical anomaly in otherwise regular iambic pentameter lines.

- 1 **ioy** find joy
- 6 **perforce** by constraint of circumstances; of necessity (*OED adv.* 2); **thrall** slave, prisoner (*OED n.*¹ 1)
- 7-12 The first-word acrostic is proverbial ‘When time and place serve’ (Tilley T340.4): i.e. at the opportune, convenient, or favourable moment (*OED serve v.*¹ 25).
- 11 **faynt** weak, feeble (*OED adj.* 4a)
- 12 **Serve** ... **Sue** to court, to be a suitor to a woman in the courtly love sense that equates wooing with a feudal servant’s personal attendance on a lord (*OED sue v.* b ‘to serve and sue’)

40

Another copy of this poem, in a truncated form, survives in an early seventeenth-century verse miscellany, Bod., MS Rawl. poet. 172 (R72), f. 7r. Coningsby placed his initials after the text but this is not necessarily an acknowledgement of authorship (see the **Introduction** pp. 68-70 for a discussion of this habitual practice).

- 1 **Lo** Look! Behold! See! (*OED int.*¹ b)
- 2 an alternative opening line; see 20.29-30 for an instance where the compiler copied two versions of a closing line.
- 6, 8 **fancy** liking, inclination (*OED n.* 8a)
- 7 **els** if not, otherwise (*OED else, adv.* 4a); **styll** always (*OED adv.* 3)

10-13 Cf. ‘By seas, by land, by starry skye, lo here I make my vow’ (*The Three First Bookes of Ouid de Tristibus*, 1580, sig. B3v; tr. Thomas Churchyard). The same sentiment is also found in lines from a poem by Thomas Howell:

Yet tyll syr Phebus beames shall lose their light,
And Ocean Seas doe cease to ebbe and flowe:
Untill the day shall turne to perfite night,
And Natures course against her kinde shalt goe.
My fired fayth vnspotted shall remayne,
What would you more, I vowe I doe not fayne.

(*His Deuises*, 1581, sig. C3r)

12 **Kynde** nature i.e. established order or regular course of things (*OED* n. 4a)

13 **ere** before

16 **say content** say you consent, say you are willing (*OED* content, *adj.*² 3a)

Collations: one text collated: R72.

1 how] who

2 *om.*

4 that] what

10-16 *om.*

Subscription: FINIS H C] *om.*

The shared lines present very few variants. In the first line Hy could be in error with ‘how’ for ‘who’ (R72’s ‘who ... whom ... whose’ combination might be the intended effect). Hy’s alternative opening line is not present in R72 and could be an attempt by the scribe to improve a line where the syntax is rather strained. R72 also lacks the ‘Vowe’ (ll. 10-16).

41

Edward Dyer’s authorship is supported by the attribution ‘Master Dier’ in Ra, f. 7r.⁹⁸ Another unattributed copy survives in Ha, f. 169r. The poem was written for the royal entertainments held at Woodstock, 29 August to 3 September 1575, during the Queen’s

⁹⁸ May (1991: 288-9) places 41 among the certain Dyer poems (no. 1).

summer progress.⁹⁹ The account of this entertainment was printed in 1585 in *The Queenes Maiesties Entertainement at Woodstocke* (W).¹⁰⁰ In this publication the poem is dubbed ‘The songe in the Oke’ (sigs. C2v-3r) from its original context where it was performed, to musical accompaniment, in an accidental encounter with ‘a green man’ or wild man of the woods figure, as the Queen was on her way home:

The day thus spent, her Maiestie took her coach with ioy in remembring what had passed, recounting with her selfe and others how well she had spent the after noone, and as it fell of necessitie in her waye homewarde, closelie in an Oke she hearde the sound both of voice and instrument.

The author of the song is unnamed but the commentator alludes to the quality of its ‘invention’, which is ‘no more then the iust fame of the deviser doth both deserue and carrie’. Dyer had been granted Keepership of Woodstock in 1570 and, although he had passed the rights to Sir Henry Lee, he was certainly resident for the Queen’s visit in 1575 and remained there for at least a month afterwards.¹⁰¹ It is likely that Dyer collaborated with Lee more widely in devising and organizing the various components of the entertainments at Woodstock, and he may be figured in the Hermit in the ‘Tale of Hermes’, the centrepiece of the devices presented to the Queen.¹⁰² Poem 41 is Dyer’s earliest datable verse composition, though as May suggests he was probably writing poetry much earlier, during the 1560s.¹⁰³

⁹⁹ For a full account, see Nichols 2014: 2.359-476.

¹⁰⁰ The commentator of the printed pamphlet states that Elizabeth had asked for a copy of the entertainment in writing: ‘leauing earnest command that the whole in order as it fell, should be brought her in writing’ (sig. C3r). It is not clear why it took ten years for the full account of the entertainments, including ‘The songe in the Oke’, to appear in print. An account of ‘The Princelye Pleasures’ at Kenilworth, which took place two months before the entertainments at Woodstock, was published within a year of the time of performance in July 1576. No copy survives, but the text was reprinted in *The Whole Woorkes of George Gascoigne Esquire* (1587). Gascoigne was also quick to fulfill (in part) the Queen’s request to have the entertainment at Woodstock ‘brought her in writing’, presenting a manuscript of the ‘Tale of Hermes the Heremyte’ to the Queen as a New Year’s gift in 1576 (BL, Royal MS 18 A 68). Gascoigne was clear that the tale was not his own composition but he had noticed that Elizabeth especially enjoyed this piece, ‘wherwith I saw your lerned iudgement greatly pleased at Woodstock’.

¹⁰¹ Nichols 2014: 2.364.

¹⁰² Heaton 2010: 24-5.

¹⁰³ 1991: 54.

- 1 **whose ... conspire** There may be a hint of the proverbial, ‘A man is weal or woe as he thinks himself so’ (Dent M254).
- 2 **depaynte** depict (*OED* v. 1)
- 3 **man of woe** inversion of the proverbial ‘woeman’; cf. Dyer’s ‘MY MYSTRES YS A WOMAN’ 1.88; **matter** physical substance as distinct from spirit (*OED* matter, *n.*¹ 21). The substance / spirit dichotomy is picked up in line 5.
- 5 **desert** deserted, forsaken (*OED* desert, *adj.* 1)
- 16 **suffice** satisfy (*OED* 1b)
- 19 **tragicall complaynte** cf. Dyer’s ‘DYRY TRAGEDYES’ 1.132
- 20 **furies** the avenging deities (Tisiphone, Megæra, and Alecto); cf. ‘The Tragoedye of Cordila’: ‘arte thou some fury sente? / My woefull corps with paynes to more tormente?’ (John Higgins, *The First Part of the Mirour for Magistrates*, 1574, sig. G4v)
- 23 **Infortunes** misfortune’s (*OED* *n.* 1a); **fare** condition, state (*OED* *n.*¹ 7)
- 24 Cf. Dyer’s ‘Who feeles it most, may thinke it leaste, / Yf he compare wythe myne’ (1.143-4)

Collations: Sargent (1968: 207-8) collates the variants in W and Ha; May (1991: 289) adds the collation for Hy.

May concludes that the print copy descended from Dyer’s original (O) with 5 certain errors, and all the manuscript copies descend from a collateral version (X) which transmitted 5 errors: ‘moane’ (or ‘moans’) and ‘spyritte’ (l. 5), ‘ryse’, ‘from whence’ (l. 14) and ‘suffice’ (l. 16). However some of these conjunctive errors are not very secure: the first ‘moane’ probably derived from a mis-reading of the archaic word ‘wone’ i.e. dwell or live (*OED* v. 1) spelt ‘wonne’ as in W or ‘woone’ (another sixteenth-century spelling variant). W certainly has the intended reading but Hy and Ha could have made the same error independently reading minuscule ‘w’ as ‘m’ and substituting the more familiar word. In place of ‘wonne’ Ra has the synonym ‘lye’ (this also forces a change in the end-rhyme word in line 6 ‘flye’ for ‘shunn’). The second conjunctive reading (‘spyritte’ for ‘sprite’ l. 5) can be dismissed as a spelling variant: though the metre demands a monosyllabic word the evidence elsewhere indicates a degree of flexibility in the pronunciation of ‘spirit’, which can be read as as mono- or di-syllabic. (This is seen in 53.13 where six texts have the reading ‘spirit’ when the metre demands a monosyllabic word). The variants in line 14 and 16 create the rhyme combination

‘ryse’ ‘suffice’ found in all three manuscript witnesses where W has the more obvious rhyme combination ‘lye’ ‘supply’. Dyer rhymes ‘suffice’ with ‘eyes’ in **127.20, 22**, so this rhyme combination is not defective and may have been rationalized for the printed edition. Ha and Ra’s conjunctive error ‘mishapp’ for ‘Desire’ (l. 3), which creates a faulty end-rhyme, could be a case of independent variation where the scribe’s eye skipped to the same word in the previous line; these two texts share one other conjunctive error: ‘when’ for ‘which’ (l. 16). If these errors are not independent scribal variation then Ha and Ra ultimately derived from the same version taken from Dyer’s original. Hy presents three more errors: ‘which thus’ (l. 5), ‘ever’ (l. 7) for ‘neuer’, and ‘And’ for ‘An’ (l. 9). The first error results from a mis-understanding of ‘desert’; the other texts have the intended reading ‘which in [or ‘within’] this desert’ i.e. barren region (*OED* desert, *n.*² 1); cf. Sidney’s ‘made me in desertes grow a desert knight’ (AT Ot; Woudhuysen 1996: 415).

42

This anonymous acrostic verse was a popular addition to student miscellanies in the period and continued to be transmitted in hand-written copies well into the seventeenth century (see **39** for a verse with the same acrostic question, accompanied by an answering acrostic verse; and **28** for another acrostic poem). For emphasis, the scribe drew a line around the words forming the acrostic question: ‘When Shall I Lye With Yow’. The poem survives in a further nineteen manuscript copies.¹⁰⁴

3-4 the proverbial, ‘In the coldest flint there is hot fire’ (Dent F371)

Collations: six texts collated: HM8, Ly, R72, Ro2, Ro3 and V33.

1 of strife] of wyndes HM8, *om.* Ly R72 Ro2; be] are Ly Ro2 V33

2 quiet] plesant Ly R72 Ro3; rest] calmes HM8 R72 Ro2 Ro3, Ioyes Ly, raines V33

¹⁰⁴ Yale University, MSS Osborn: b52/2, p. 178, b132, b205, f. 3 and b227, p. 70; BL: Egerton MS 2421, f. 46r, Sloane 542, f. 36v, Sloane 1489, f. 47r; Bod.: MS Corpus Christi 328, f. 47r; MS Rawl. poet. 172 (R72), f. 3r, MS Lyell empt. 12 (Ly), f. 46r, MS Douce f.5, f.14v, MS Eng. poet. e.14, f. 13r; Folger: MS V.a.339 (V33), f. 272v, MS V.a.345, p. 27; Huntington Library: MS HM8 (HM8), O3v, ptd. bk. 34001, 2H3r; Rosenbach: MS 1083/15, f. 27v (Ro2), MS 1083/16, p. 190 (Ro3); V & A, MS Dyce 44, f. 117r.

3 *sub.* I fynde that in the ashes doth HM8, I feinde that heerein ashes doth Ly, In ashes often Doth <> R72, I often find in ashes do Ro2, I find in ashes yt there doth Ro3, I know that in the ashes oft V33

4 kindled coles of] hidden coles of R72, V33, coles of kindled Ro3

5 *sub.* within these lines my <> R72

6 a Secret Question] therein my meaninge HM8, a question strange heere Ly Ro2 V33, a question strangely Ro3

Subscription: finis] *om.**

Hy is not related in error to any of the other texts. Hy's version of line 3 is unique: all collated witnesses read 'ashes' for Hy's 'flintes' and relate to a different proverb with a similar meaning: 'Fire raked up in ashes keeps its heat a long time' (Tilley F264). Hy's unique reading 'rest' (l. 2) is another sense substitution where most witnesses read 'calmes', which balances nicely with the 'stormes' of the opening line. Some of the variants undoubtedly derived from the memorial transcription of this popular short acrostic verse.

43

This poem is attributed to the Earl of Oxford ('Made by the Earle of Oxeforde') in another contemporary manuscript text entitled 'Loue compared to a Tennis playe' in Ma, f. 20r.¹⁰⁵ An identically titled but unattributed copy survives in Ra, f. 106r. The poem was copied much later (c. 1620s) attributed to Dyer ('Sir: E: D:') in Pierpont Morgan Library, MS MA 1057 (Pm), p. 134, and without attribution in Huntington Library, MS HM 198, part 2 (Hu), f. 45r.¹⁰⁶ The poem's enduring appeal is seen from unattributed copies found in John Cotgrave's *Wits Interpreter*, 1655 (Co), sigs. O4r-v, and Robert Howlett's *School of Recreation*, 1684.¹⁰⁷ A transcript of the poem made in

¹⁰⁵ May (1980: 75-6) places no. 43 among the certain Oxford poems (no. 13).

¹⁰⁶ May dismisses Pm's attribution (attached to 'a corrupt and derivative' text) and suggests that it could have derived from a misreading of 'E. O.' ('Oxford's recognized signature in the printed anthologies') as 'E. D.' (ibid.: 76).

¹⁰⁷ This last copy is derivative and was probably taken from Co; it also reproduces Co's title 'The Tennis-Court'.

the nineteenth century by Joseph Haslewood, BL, Add. MS 19269 (Ad), ff. 202v-3r, may derive from an earlier manuscript source.¹⁰⁸

Two seventeenth-century poets allegorized life as a game of tennis: Francis Quarles with ‘Man is a Tennis-court: His Flesh, the Wall: / The Gamesters God, & Sathan. Th’heart’s the Ball’ (‘On a Tennis-Court’, *Divine Fancies*, 1633, sig. R4r); and George Wither in the emblem verse: ‘When we observe the Ball, how to and fro / The Gamesters force it; we may ponder thus: / That whil’st we live we shall be playd with so, / And that the World will make her Games of us’ (*A Collection of Emblemes*, 1635, sig. C4v).

- 2 **howse** i.e. the penthouse: ‘the slope-roofed structure lying around two sides of a tennis court’ (Cram, Forgeng & Johnston 2003: 301)
- 3 **Lyne** ‘a rope or line that goes crosse the middle of breadth, which is fastened on one side to the gallery ... about breast high, & on the other side to the wall at the same heighth ... are stringes that hang from the rope towards the ground. The use of them is to know whether a ball be struck underline’ (Cram, Forgeng & Johnston 2003: 104)
- 5 **gitty** spelling variant of ‘jetty’ (*OED n.* 1); referring here to the projecting part of the wall of the tennis court, ‘so contrived in order to make a variety in the stroke’ (*OED tambour n.* 5f); **sopper** i.e. stopper, a score-keeper: ‘The stopper, or he that marketh the chase’ (1595; quoted in *OED n.* e).
- 6 **Sir Argos** ‘The poets feigne, that he had an hundred eies, signifiyng therby his wisdom and circumspection’ (Cooper).
- 8 **chase** ‘Applied to the second impact on the floor (or in a gallery) of a ball which the opponent has failed or declined to return; the value of which is determined by the nearness of the spot of impact to the end wall’ (*OED chase, n.*¹ 7)
- 12 **A Bandy** cf. ‘to hit the ball over the line to the far wall of the court without attempting to score’ (Cram, Forgeng & Johnston 2003: 292); **How** Ho: from the expression ‘a bandy ho’; cf. Thomas Churchyard’s ‘Shorte syr Dreamer, a bandy ho, that baall muste nedes away’ (*The Contentation Betwyxte Churchyard and Camell*, 1560, sig. E3v).

¹⁰⁸ The bibliographer and antiquary Haslewood formerly owned Hu; but his text was not taken from this manuscript (see below).

- 14 **a Tennys** *OED* does not record ‘a tennis’ in the sense of ‘a tennis match’ (or ‘playe’; cf. ‘a Tennis playe’ in the heading attached to two manuscript witnesses) but Oxford probably used it as a shorthand form; May (1980: 76) comments that the noun was probably employed ‘for the sake of the pun on tennis net’. Another possible pun in this line (also noted by May) on ‘Love’ as ‘a score of zero’ in tennis, might have been intended, as this method of scoring was in use during the seventeenth century (see Cram, Forgeng & Johnston 2003: 300; *OED*’s earliest reference is 1742).

Collations: May (1980: 120) collates Ad, Co, Hu, Hy, Pm and Ra against Ma.

May concludes that Hy and Ra share a common ancestor that transmitted the errors: ‘play’ for ‘playes’ (l. 1) and ‘how’ for ‘ho’ (l. 12). The latter reading is also found in Ad but could be a case of independent scribal variation: if these scribes were unfamiliar with the tennis expression ‘a bandy ho’ it would have been an obvious substitution to make. Hu, Co and Pm are another group of related texts, posited by May, which share numerous variant readings many of which are certain errors. Ma and Ra share the same title, a variant reading ‘But’ for ‘And’ (l. 11), and a similar version of line 13: ‘Now *in the end* good lykyng proues *Content the game and gayne*’ (my italics); where the other texts, share a close version of the same line: ‘Now *at the lenght* good liking proves, *Content to be the* (their) *Gaine* (Game)’. Related texts Hu, Co and Pm substituted ‘their’ for ‘the’, and Ad misread graphically similar ‘Gaime’ as ‘Game’. Curiously Ma initially copied ‘Content to be the Game’ (underlined to indicate deletion) before copying the reading in Ra; Ma may have had both readings in the copy-text.

Hy has a corrupt opening line: ‘Art of Tennis play’ should read ‘harte at Tennis playes’; and the crossing out of ‘arte’ and rewriting as ‘Art’ suggests that the compiler was having difficulty reading or understanding the copy-text. Three more Hy readings are errors: ‘Desire’ for ‘desert’ (l. 3), ‘sopper’ for ‘stopper’ (l. 5) and ‘knyt thy love’ (l. 14) for ‘knyt I love’ (i.e. I knyt love).

44

This entry is Philip Sidney’s CS 30. Additional copies are found in two *Old Arcadia* manuscript texts with the *Certain Sonnets* appended: Cl, f. 226r and St, f. 242r; and it was first printed in 1598 in *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (98), sig. 2S5r. The

poem circulated widely among Sidney's contemporaries: Edward Bannister received a copy on 10 December 1584 which he endorsed 'a Dyttye mad by Sir phillpe sydneye gevene me Att pvtttenye In surrye', BL, Add. MS 28253 (Ba), f. 3r; and two more unattributed copies are found in Dd, f. 27r and Hn, f. 146r. In 1600 the poem was printed with the title 'Astrophels *Loue is dead*' in *Englands Helicon* (EH), sigs. B3v-4r.¹⁰⁹ Possible allusions to the poem occur in references to ringing bells in conjunction with the phrase 'love is dead': a song in Thomas Weelkes's *Madrigals* (1597), sigs. B1v-2v (reprinted in *The Passionate Pilgrim*, 1599, sigs C3v-4v and EH sigs. H1v-2r): 'My wether's bell rings doleful knell ... / All our loves are lost, for Love is dead'; and a later allusion in a poem entitled 'Loves Elegie' in Pathericke Jenkin's, *Amorea* (1661): 'Ring mournfull Bells, for ever Ring, Now Love is dead' (sig. B4r).

The poem's novel stanzaic patterning, the refrain and one of the lines are borrowed from Sidney's AT 21 (**51** in this edition) a poem written to be sung at an accession day tilt entertainment.¹¹⁰ Alexander suggests that Sidney had this tune in mind when he wrote CS 30 *contrafactum*. Furthermore Sidney's sister, Mary Herbert used the same poetic form in her translation of Psalm 143, suggesting that the tune was a familiar one to the Sidney family.¹¹¹

7-8 Cf. the refrain in **51**: 'From him that wold not thus, Good Lord Delyver vs'.

8 Jeffrey (1992: 206) points out that this line 'imitates the Litany in the *Book of Common Prayer*, and parallels the Latin Litany ("*Libera nos, Domine*") said over the grave of the deceased in the liturgical ceremonies of graveside burial'.

9 Cf. 'Singe neighbours singe, here yow not Say' (**51.1**).

11 **shrodinge sheet** A sheet in which a corpse is wrapped for burial (*OED* shrouding, *n.*¹).

17 **Trentalles** A set of thirty requiem masses.

Collations: six texts collated: Ba, Cl, Dd, Hn, 98 and St.

¹⁰⁹ EH is not collated as it is almost certainly reprinted from 98 (Rollins 1935: 2.83); two errors crept in during the printing process ('richly' for 'rightly' l. 17; 'And' for 'Sir' l. 19).

¹¹⁰ Compare the form of **44**: 10 a₁₀a₄b₇c₆b₇c₆dd₇ee₆ to that of **51**: 10 a₈a₄b₇c₆b₄c₆dd₆ee₆. In **44** Hy sets out the stanzas in the same way as Hn, compressing the bc bc section (a cross-rhymed quatrain) into two long lines.

¹¹¹ Alexander 2014: 135-6. Perhaps this tune was recognisable beyond the Sidney circle: it is worth recalling that Bannister also referred to CS 30 as 'a Dyttye'.

Ringler (1962: 159) collates all variants for Ba but for the rest only the variants occurring in two or more substantive texts. My collations show all substantive variants.

Title: om.] Ringe owte your bells lett mowreninge shewes be spredde for love ys dedd//
a dyttye mad by Sr phillpe sydneye gevene me att Pvttenye // In Surrye. Decembris x^o
ann^o 1584 Ba

1 forth] out*; tunes] shewes*

3 rage] plage*

4 *om.* Hn; is] as*; faire] fowle Ba

7 that] *om.* Hn

9 have ... hard] Do yow not here Cl Dd 98 St

11 Whose ... whose] His ... his*; shrodinge] wynding*; is] his Hn

12 Whose] His*; sole] soules Hn; executor] executors Ba

13] from etc Ba, From so vngratefull &c. Cl 98 St, from so vngr
Dd, from so Hn

14-16] *om.* Cl Dd Hn 98 St

20 Which] whose Ba, his Dd Hn; wer once] weare onn Hn; my] his*; Dart] deathe St

21] From etc Ba, From so vngratefull &c. Cl 98 St, from so vngrat
Dd, from so Hn

22-24] *om.* Cl Dd Hn 98 St

25 Rage] wronge Ba

28 his] is Hn

29 Wherfor] Therefore Cl Dd 98 St, then Hn

31 That] who Cl Dd 98 St, whom Hn

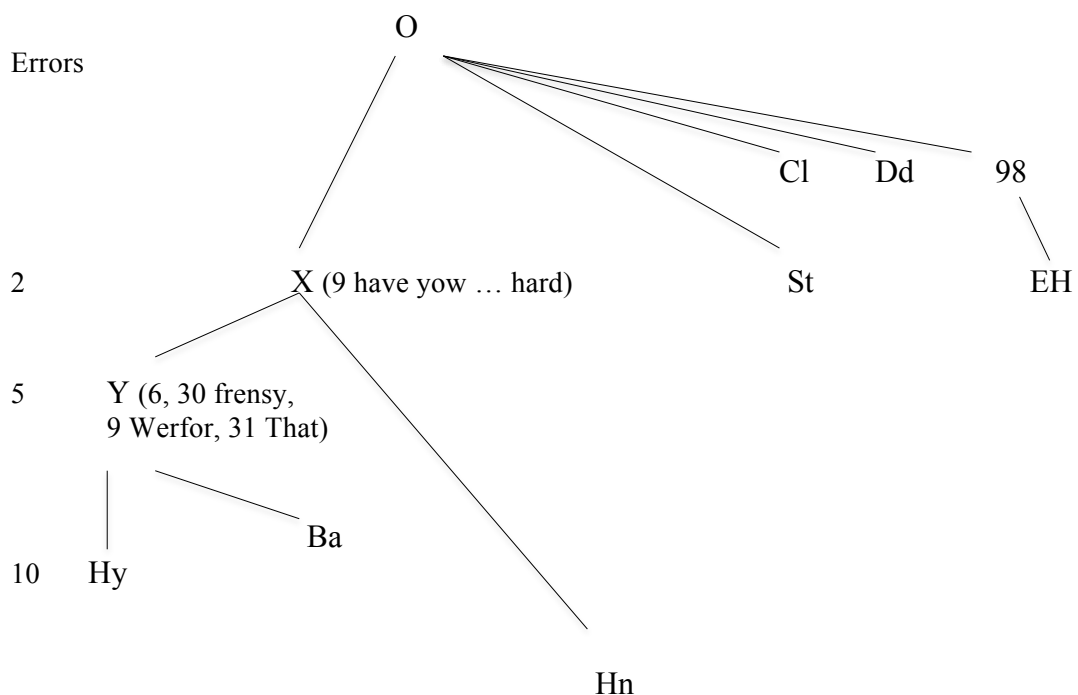
32 vs] thus St

Subscription: FINIS quod Sir Ph. Syd.] om. Cl Dd Hn 98 St

Hy has a number of unique readings, four of which are certain errors: ‘morninge tunes’ (l. 1) for ‘morninge shewes’, i.e. mourning black; ‘infected, with *rage*’ (l. 3) for ‘infected, with *plage*’ (my italics); ‘is’ for ‘as’ (l. 4); and ‘my’ for ‘his’ (l. 20). Hy’s substitutions of ‘Whose’ for ‘his’ (ll. 11, 12) are also probably erroneous but do not drastically change the sense of the lines. Two more Hy readings also substitute words of similar meaning: ‘forth’ (l. 1) for ‘out’ and ‘shrodinge’ for ‘wynding’ (l. 11). An indication of a relationship between the surviving texts comes in line nine where Hy, Ba

and Hn read: ‘*have yow not hard* it sayd’ and the remaining witnesses have the reading ‘*do you not heare* it said’ (my italics). Hy and Ba also agree on two variant readings, ‘Werfor’ for ‘Therefore’ (l. 29) and ‘That’ for ‘Who’ (l. 31), and a spelling variant: ‘frensy’ (‘frenzy’) for ‘franzzy’ (ll. 6, 30). The latter is Sidney’s preferred spelling (cf. ‘a certain fransical malady they called ‘love’; *The Lady of May*, Duncan-Jones 1989: 6, 335). Ba also introduces three errors: ‘fowle’ (l. 4), ‘executors’ (l. 12) and ‘wronge’ (l. 25). Hn misses out a line and carelessly omits ‘that’ (l. 7), writes ‘is’ for ‘his’ (l. 28) and introduces five unique variants (‘the’ l. 1, ‘his’ l. 11, ‘soules’ l. 12, ‘weare onn’ l. 20, and ‘then’ l. 29). St makes two slips (‘deathe’ l. 26 and ‘thus’ l. 40).

These textual relationship and the relative corruption of the surviving texts can be seen more clearly in the stemma below.



There are no other copies of this poem. Coningsby originally added his own name after the text ('H. Con:') but this is not necessarily an acknowledgement of authorship (see the **Introduction** pp. 68-70 for a discussion of this habitual practice). The hiatus in the text at line eighteen indicates either that there was a problem with the copy-text (which may have contained a similar lacuna), or if the poem is Coningsby's own composition, it was unfinished. However it seems unlikely that Coningsby would make a fair copy of his own composition if it was incomplete, and there are no other corrections that give the appearance of a work in progress. Lines 17 and 18 are reminiscent of Dyer's popular lyric about love as the great equalizer, 'The lowest trees have toppes' ['The flye her spleane ... & love is love in beggers as in kinges' (Hn, f. 144v, ll. 2, 6)]; but both these ideas are proverbial and Dyer's poem may not be the source. However, there are striking similarities to the known work of Whetstone (see 1n. and 5-9n. below) and this may point to his authorship or at least a direct influence.

- 1 Cf. 'Then Minde crown thou thy thoughtes above the Sky' (81.7).
 3 **to** too
 4 **lief** leave, permission (*OED* leave, *n.* 1a); **the** thee; **gate** way, path (*OED* gate, *n.*² 1); Cf. 'Goe but a lowly gate emongste the meaner sorte' (Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender*, 1579, sig. N4r).
 5-9 cf. George Whetstone, *The Rocke of Regard*, 1576, sig. M6r:
 The highest trees, doth keepe the under spray,
 From Phoebus gleames, from, sugred dewes that fall,
 So mounting mindes, aloft doth beare the sway,
 When meaner wittes, doth liue belowe in thrall.
 8 **Slippes** shoots (*OED* slip, *n.*² 1)
 11 **kinde** nature (*OED* *n.* 4a)
 12, 15 **on** one
 13 **Tantall** 'Tantalus ... is in hell tormented ... alwayes thursty and hungry, for as often as he stoupeth to drynke, or holdeth vp his handes to gather the appuls, both the water and the tree dooe withdrawe them so from hym, that he can not touche them' (Cooper).
 14 **another** ... **Stone** i.e. Sisyphus see 75.3n.

- 16 **Lazars** leper's (*OED* lazar, *n.* 1); **what** ... **fall** Proverbial (Dent W142).
 17 **Degree** rank, social position, estate (*OED* *n.* 4a); Proverbial, 'Love has no respect of persons' (Dent, L505)
 18 **Fly** ... **Spleane** Proverbial (Dent F393)
 21 **Pytte** predicament (*OED* pit, *n.*¹ 7)
 22 **after Wytte** in recognition of a mistake (*OED* after-wit, *n.* 1)

46

There are no other copies of this anonymous lyric. The long lines of the poulter's measure are split but the deletion at the end of the opening line suggests a different arrangement in the copy-text. Coningsby originally added his own initials after the text but this is not necessarily an acknowledgement of authorship (see the **Introduction** pp. 68-70 for a discussion of this habitual practice).

- 1 **fond** foolish (*OED* *adj.* 2).
 2 **thrall** slave, prisoner (*OED* *n.*¹ 1)
 3 **serve** ... **sue** See 39.12n.

47

This unique text is the first of four consecutive poems signed 'RA', the shorthand form of attribution for Walter Raleigh. An early Raleigh composition, 'Walter Rawley of the Middle Temple, in commendation of the Steele Glasse', has a similar opening: 'Swete were the sauce, would please ech kind of tast' (George Gascoigne, *The Steele Glas*, 1576, sig. A4r).¹¹² May argues that 47 also belongs to the period when Raleigh was a

¹¹² The editor of *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*, editions from 1577-80, thought that Raleigh had written a poem beginning 'Sweete were the ioyes, that both might like and last.' The poem was originally attributed to 'E. S' (1576 ed.); it was signed 'W. R.' in later editions printed in 1577 (preserved in Bod., MS Douce e.16), 1578 and 1580; but to William Hunnis in all subsequent editions. The structure of the first four lines of the poem also follows the same pattern as 47: 'Sweete were the ioyes ... Strange were the state ... Happy the Life ... Blessed the chaunce' mirrors 'Sweete ar the thoughtes ... Great ar the Joyes ... Dainty the lyfe ... Much is the ease' in 47. The last two lines of the *Paradyse* poem were appended to 9 as an envoy (see 9.34-35n.).

student at the Middle Temple, showing its similarity to the first stanza of a poem by another poet associated with the Inns of Court, George Whetstone:¹¹³

*The vnhappie man contemneth Fortune, and cleaueth to Hope, assured once to reach good hap
by vertuous Industrie, in the despite of Fortune*

Sweete is the thought, where hope persuadeth hap,
Although the mynd, be fed with faint desire,
The dunghill drone, would mount to honours lap,
If forward thoughts, to fortune could aspire,
The ventrous knight, whom Vallor doth aduance, 5
First cuts off dread, with hope of happie chaunce.

(The Rocke of Regard, 1576, sig. M3r)

The (almost) identical opening line and analogous passages (compare lines 5-6 above with 47.5-6: ‘... valure doth aduance, / And cutes of Dread, by Hope of happy chaunce’ and Whetstone’s title expresses the same idea as 47.7-9) suggest some connection between these two poems. As May puts it, these two poems could be ‘the result of a poetic contest or challenge e.g., “What kind of poem can you devise from this opening stanza?”’.¹¹⁴ Raleigh and Whetstone probably knew each other through mutual acquaintances at the Inns of Court (May suggests Gascoigne, or Raleigh’s half-brother Humphrey Gilbert). Whetstone’s commendatory poem for Timothy Kendall’s *Flowers of Epigrammes*, 1577, ‘Rare is the worke, that liketh euery mynde’, is also reminiscent of Raleigh’s verse, ‘Swete were the sauce, would please ech kind of tast’, written a year earlier for Gascoigne’s *Steele Glas* (see above). The same ideas (albeit fairly commonplace) are expressed in both pieces (Raleigh’s ‘Such stately steppes, as they cannot attaine’ is echoed in Whetstone’s ‘That checks a worke, which he can not amend’), but it illustrates the mutual influence between these two poets at time when they were associated with the Inns of Court.

¹¹³ Whetstone also resided near the Inns of Court, signing *The Rocke of Regard* ‘from my lodging in Holborne the 15 of October 1576’; the volume contains epitaphs on ‘the Death of Henry Cantrell, of Lincolnes Inne, Gent.’ and ‘on the death of his verie friend, John Note, of Grayes Inne, Gent.’. Izard (1942: 35) describes *The Rocke of Regard* as ‘made up of occasional, unrelated compositions in verse and prose which the author ... attempted ... to arrange under appropriate headings’.

¹¹⁴ 1983: 265. Whetstone was a member of Gilbert’s ill-fated voyage of 1578; he ‘travelled on the *Hope* under the command of Gilbert’s half-brother Carew Raleigh’ (*ODNB*: Whetstone). Bajetta (1996a) also views Raleigh’s poem as a product of his apprenticeship as a writer at the Inns of Court, where poets such as Whetstone influenced his early metrical habits.

- 1 **Happe** chance, circumstance. Whetstone's version of the line is quoted without attribution in John Bodenham's *Bel-vedère, or the Garden of the Muses*, 1600, sig. N5v. Robert Greene's *Farewell to Folly*, 1591, sig. F1v, includes a 'song' with the opening 'Sweet are the thoughts that sauour of content', but the next line, 'the quiet mind is richer then a crowne', takes up the theme of the mean estate. Another poem found in Bod., MS Rawl. poet. 172, f. 6v, entitled 'Doctor Edes his single life', begins 'Sweet is the life that hath no tast of loue'; and is perhaps a riposte to 'Swet is the lyfe that is the Sweet of love' (attributed to 'W. N.') in Ra, f. 105r.
- 3 **Fortunes lappe** proverbial, 'In the lap of Fortune' (Dent L67.12)
- 5 **valure** worthiness due to rank or personal qualities (*OED* valure, *n.* 1c)
- 6 **cutes of** removes (*OED* to cut off 2)
- 9 **in mauger of** despite.
- 10 **none** not (one) (*OED* none 3b).

48

This poem, the second in a group of four consecutive poems signed 'RA', is undoubtedly by Arthur Gorges and appears in his own manuscript collection of poems: 'The Vanytyes of Sir Arthur Gorges Youthe', BL Egerton MS 3165 (V), f. 43r.¹¹⁵ Another contemporary manuscript copy is found in Ra, f. 46r, and it was first printed without attribution in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593 (PN), sigs. L1r-v. Gorges adapted the poem from Ronsard's *Amours* xx, first printed in 1552. Rollins notes Thomas Lodge's independent version of the same Ronsard poem: Sonnet 34, in *Phillis*, 1593, sig. G4r.¹¹⁶ Gorges does not follow Ronsard nearly as closely as Lodge and the second sixain introduces original material, substituting Zeus' ravishment of Leda as a swan for that of Europa in the form of a bull.

A copy of the first four lines of the poem was transcribed much earlier in the manuscript (on f. 27v) just before another poem attributed to Gorges (see 22).

- 1 **chaungde** ... **Shower** This legend is told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 4: 'That Persey was the sonne of Ioue: or that he was conceyed / By Danae of golden

¹¹⁵ See 23, fn. 68.

¹¹⁶ 1931: 181.

shower through which shee was deceyued' (tr. by Arthur Golding 1567, sig. H4v).

- 7 **Swan** The reference is to Leda 'with whom (as poets dooe fable) Jupiter in the forme of a swanne dyd company' (Cooper).
- 9-10 **river ... bower** Sandison (1953: 201) considers that this line contains a personal reference 'to the home of Douglas near the Frome' (i.e. Douglas Howard, whom Gorges married on 14 October 1584).
- 13 **Narcissus** Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 3 tells the story of the youth who fell in love with his own reflection and pined to death.
- 17-18 **Sowle ... beste** Sandison describes Gorges' 'wishe for his soul's rest in love' as 'a characteristic climax' (1953: 201); cf. Gorges' 'And bring my Sowle to better Rest' (**110.42**).

Collations: three texts collated: PN, Ra and V.

3 the] that Ra, my V

4 Wher] when V

6 Would] Sholde V

7 Or] Els V

9 most] stylle Ra

10 her] the Ra

11 on] in PN

12 That] As Ra; should] would PN

13 Els] Or V; sweete] fayre Ra

14 the Fountayne, Cristall] the sacred fountaine PN, the fountayne lyuelye Ra

16 Drenched his limmes] Did drenche him self Ra

18 To] And Ra; loved] lyked Ra

Subscription: FINIS RA] *om.**

Sandison (1953: 201) discusses the textual variants but does not give the collations. Compared to V (Gorges' 'fair' copy of his own poems) Sandison concludes that Hy and PN 'offer versions almost equally good', and notes that Ra is less reliable. Ra contains many unique variants and at line 16, the scribe objected to the unnatural stress 'Drenchéd', substituting the reading: 'Did drenche'. Sandison also notes that both PN

and Ra derive from a text that was corrupt at line 14: in place of ‘the Fountayne, Cristall’ PN substituted ‘the sacred fountaine’, and Ra ‘the fountayne lyuelye’. Among V’s six unique readings, Sandison considers that ‘my’ (l. 3) is superior to ‘the’ or ‘that’ of the other texts; but the variants could also be revisions introduced by Gorges (the holograph alterations to the poems in V attest to his habit of revising) after the poem originally circulated in manuscript and before the fair copy of his poems was transcribed sometime after 1586.

49

Raleigh’s authorship is supported by attributions in Dd, f. 36r, Bod., MS Ashmole 781 (As3), p. 138, and BL, Stowe MS 962 (Sto) f. 85v. In addition, Puttenham quoted lines 17-18 as Raleigh’s (‘a most excellent dittie written by Sir Walter Raleigh’) in *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589 (Pu) sig. Z2v.¹¹⁷ Three more unattributed copies are found in Elizabethan manuscript collections: Fo, p. 19, Ha, f. 142v, and Ra, f. 104v. Another copy with a variant opening (‘Repentinge folly that myn eye had soe deceived me’) is found in BL, Add. MS 5956 (A56), f. 25r.¹¹⁸ The poem was first printed without attribution in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593 (PN), sig. K4v and much later appeared with the heading ‘By Sir Walter Raleigh’ in John Cotgrave’s *Wits Interpreter*, 1655 (Co), sigs. V2r-v. The number of surviving witnesses reflects the phenomenal popularity of 49 and according to Rudick it is ‘one of the few Elizabethan poems [by Raleigh] that circulated and remained attached to his name after his death’.¹¹⁹

May notes the similarity between 49 and Gorges’ ‘My harte I have oftymes bydd the beware’.¹²⁰ Gorges’ poem is also an exercise in self-disparagement, accusing his body parts (‘harte’, ‘Eyes’ ‘tongue’ and ‘hand’) of making him ‘Subjecte to cruell love’, just as Raleigh in 49 first blames his ‘ey’ and then his ‘Harte’ for his subjection to Love (‘to Love, his forte resynde’ l. 9). Raleigh imagines the kind of excuse his ‘Hart(e)’ would offer for such disloyalty: ‘That he was yours, & had forgon me cleane’ (l. 12), and a similar conceit is found in Gorges’ notion of the betrayal inflicted upon him by his ‘ryghte hand’, which ‘dyd ofte subscribe, more yours then myne owne’ (l.

¹¹⁷ Rudick (1970: 24) places no. 49 among the ‘Authentic poems’ (no. V).

¹¹⁸ A56 is printed and discussed in Bajetta 1996b. See *CELM* RaW 106-123.5 for sixteen more manuscript copies dating from the 1620s to mid-seventeenth century.

¹¹⁹ Rudick 1999: xxxvii.

¹²⁰ 1989: 29; for Gorges’ poem, see Sandison 1953: 7; no. 6.

18). Sandison suggests that the first and final stanzas of Gorges' poem were influenced by Phillipe Desportes' *Diane* 1.54.¹²¹ Raleigh also borrowed a line from Desportes' *Les Amours de Hippolyte* 20 (see 17-18n.), a poem with a similar opening ('Quand quelquesfois je pense' echoes Raleigh's 'Calling to mind'). Analogous passages can also be found in *Les Amours de Hippolyte* 55, a poem which has an equally self-divided speaker who berates his own eyes for deceiving him and imprisoning his heart: 'Vous n'estes point mes yeux ô trompeuse lumiere / Par qui le trait d'Amour dans mon coeur m'est venu: ... / Celle qui tient mon ame à son gré prisonniere' [You are not my eyes O deceitful lamps / Through which love's arrow entered into my heart ... / Whose will holds my soul prisoner].¹²²

- 1 **Callinge to minde** remembering that
- 2 **forsake** abandon (*OED* forsake v. 4)
- 4 **By whose devise** on whose account (*OED* device *n.* 3a will, desire)
- 6 **Forsoothe** In truth, truly (*OED* adv. 1a)
- 9 **forte resynde** Cf. Ovid's *Fasti* 2.235: 'Militat omnis amans & habet sua castra Cupido' ['Every lover is a soldier and even Cupid has his own camp'].
- 12 **forgon** gone from, forsaken (*OED* forgo, v. 4)
- 17-18 The lines are quoted by Puttenham to illustrate the rhetorical device of 'Ploche, or the Doubler': 'Yet haue ye one sorte of repetition, which we call the *doubler* ... a speedie iteration of one word, but with some little intermission by inserting one or two words betweene' (*The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, sig. Z2v). Rollins notes that line 18 borrows from Desportes' *Les Amours d'Hippolyte* 20: 'Je m'aime seulement pour ce que je vous aime' (Rollins 1931: 180).

Collations: nine texts collated: As78, A56, Co, Dd, Fo, Ha, PN, Ra and Sto.

Title: om.] By Sir Walter Raleigh Co

- 1 *sub.* Repentinge folly that myn eye had soe deceiud me A56; mine] my Co Ra; ey] eyes Co; went longe] longe went PN Ra
- 2 To cause] T'entice PN, To entyce Ra; my] myn A56; for to forsake] to seeke to leaue PN, to leue Ra; my breste] his breast Ha, my pensyue brest Ra

¹²¹ Ibid.: 185.

¹²² Schmidt 1953: 828.

3 *sub.* I askd my senc<es> soe <t>hat I might se A56; thought] sought Co; plucke] pull
Co Dd Fo Ha PN; it] him Ha, them Co; owt] out out Ra

4 devise] advise Co; livde] live Fo; such unreste] this vnrest Ra

5 it] they Co, he Dd Ha, that Fo; say ... regayne] answer to regaine A56, say againe to
win Co, say for to regaine Fo Ra, say againe to get Ha, say to purchase so PN

6 *sub.* myn ey replied it had seene my mistresse face A56; that ... seene] that they had
seene Co; my mystres face] his mistres face Dd

7 An other time] The eye excusd A56, And then agayne As3 Sto; I called vnto] my
heart I calld to Co, I cald vnto my Dd, I present calld to A56, I likewise call to PN, I
gann to call to Ra

8 It ... all] Thinking that he Co, My hart was he that all PN, it was my hart that all As3
Dd Sto; this ... wrought] this woe on me had brought Co, my woe had wrought Dd Fo
PN Ra

9 *sub.* For he my brest the fort of Loue resignde PN, For it loue my brest had first
resygnde Ra; Because that] for that Dd; he ... forte] he to love his force Co, to loue his
fort he had Dd

10 When on] When of Ra, Where of Co; warres] warre A56 Co

11 could he say] <said> m<y heart> A56, could it say PN; I ... slayne] I would him
have slaine A56 Co Fo PN Ra Sto

12 That] But PN; yours] hers Co; forgon me cleane] forgone my claime Co, forsaken
me cleane Fo

13 At lenghte] At last Co Dd Ra; when ... both], when bothe my Dd; Ey] eyes Co

14 Excuse] Excus'd Co Dd PN, To excuse Ra; my] myne As3 A56 Co Dd Ha PN Ra
Sto

15 the] was PN Ra; cause of all] causer of Ra

16 my self ... will] that I my selfe would kill Co

17 Yet] but Dd PN Ra; saw] found PN, say Sto

18 lovde] love As3; lovde yow] loves you As3, love you A56

Subscription: FINIS RA] Sr. Wa: Raleigh As3, W. R. Dd, Sir Walter Rawlyegh Sto

Hy is the best of the texts, deriving directly from the authorial holograph. Fo, Ha and A56 (a text which has undergone some creative revision in lines 1, 3, 5 and 6) are also unrelated copies deriving from separate lines of descent from the authorial holograph. Fo contains five errors ('live' for 'livd' l. 4, 'that' for 'it' l. 5, 'my' for 'this' l. 8, and

‘forsaken’ for ‘forgone’ l. 12). Fo’s reading ‘for to’ for ‘then’ (l. 5) is also found in Ra but this could be independent variation. Sto and As78 are seventeenth-century manuscript copies that show few signs of corruption; a shared reading in line 12 (‘And then agayne’ for ‘Another time’) suggests that these two texts ultimately derived from the same ancestor. Three more Elizabethan texts are related: Dd, Ra and PN derive from a copy which transmitted two errors (‘for’ l. 9; ‘But’ l. 17). PN and Ra are further connected by a common source with five shared errors (‘long went’ l. 1; ‘to (t’) entice ... to leaue’ l. 2; ‘my brest’ l. 9; of l. 10; ‘was’ l. 1); but PN is a more corrupt text containing numerous unique and clumsy readings (especially in lines 2, 5, 9, and 10).

50

This entry is the last of four consecutive poems signed ‘RA’. Raleigh’s authorship is supported by the attributions (attributed to ‘Master Rawleigh’ in a marginal annotation and subscribed ‘R’) attached to a copy of the first three stanzas in Harvard University, fMS Eng 1285 (Ho), f. 68v.¹²³ These attributions, like Hy’s ‘RA’, contain no designation of title, indicating that the copies were transcribed before Raleigh received his knighthood on 6 January 1585.¹²⁴ Raleigh’s poem in Ho was placed amongst unique poems by the courtier Sir Thomas Heneage, one of which responds directly to it (this answer-poem is discussed later in the commentary).¹²⁵ Additional unattributed copies of the 30-line poem are found in Ra, ff. 48r-v, Fo, pp. 10-11, Thomas Deloney’s *The Garland of Good Will*, 1628 (Del), sigs. H7v-8r, and Benjamin Rudyerd’s *Le Prince d’Amour*, 1660 (Pr), sigs. K1v-2r.¹²⁶ The latter copy appeared amongst poems augmenting Rudyerd’s account of the Christmas revels of the Middle Temple 1597/8. The editorial disclaimer, that the poems ‘were the off-spring of divers eminent Wits of the same age, and never yet appeared in publick’ (epistle dedicatory), suggests that Pr derived from a version that circulated at the Inns of Court during the late 1590s.

¹²³ Rudick (1970: 24) places **50** among the ‘Authentic poems’ (no. II).

¹²⁴ May (1983: 266) dates the composition of **50** to the early years of Raleigh’s prominence at court ‘from about 1582 to early 1585’. Bajetta (1998: 129-53) dates the poem slightly earlier to the late 1570s to early 1580s when Raleigh was associating with Inns of Court writers in the circle of the Earl of Oxford.

¹²⁵ These five poems in Ho (with one addition) comprise Heneage’s known canon; edited in May 1991: 339-343.

¹²⁶ For the probable date of publication of the first edition of *The Garland* in March 1593, see **3**, fn. 21. Pratt (1954) suggests that **50** may be a later addition.

A 24-line text, lacking the final sixain, was printed in 1588, set to music in William Byrd's, *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs* (Bd), sig. E4r. Two early seventeenth-century copies, similarly truncated and without attribution or heading, are virtually identical to Bd: the first is found in a collection of state papers, National Archives, London, SP 46/126 (SP), f. 123v, and the second copy, in a quarto booklet: NLW, MS Peniarth 473B (473), ff. 9v-10r.¹²⁷ Another 24-line text of the poem, partly in the hand of Sir John Harington, is headed 'A quip for Cupide' in Hn, f. 162v. Harington intended to write a retort to Raleigh's poem (on the opposite folio) but only managed the heading 'A replye in his defence' and opening line: 'Wellcome true love the lanterne of my lyghte'. Ho contains a different response poem, attributed to 'Sir Thomas Heneage', beginning 'Most welcome love, thou mortall foe to lies', which answers the first three stanzas of Raleigh's poem line by line.¹²⁸ The position of 'Most welcome love' prior to 'Farewell false Love' in Ho led to the view that Heneage's text was the earlier composition to which Raleigh had responded.¹²⁹ More recently Gibson has shown Raleigh's indebtedness to a poem by Philippe Desportes, 'Contr'amour', proving beyond doubt that **50** was written before 'Most welcome love'.¹³⁰

The question of how many lines Raleigh originally wrote remains an editorial crux. Lefranc proposes that Raleigh released copies of the poem in three states of differing length, over a period of time.¹³¹ Rudick argues that only Ho's 18-line text is authoritative and that the longer versions are sophisticated texts.¹³² More recently Rudick suggests that 'the question of how many lines he wrote remains'.¹³³ However there is a plausible explanation for the curtailment of Raleigh's poem in Ho: the scribe was only interested in those stanzas that Heneage most directly pastiched in his 18-line rebuttal; and the 24-line copy of the poem in Byrd's *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs* could

¹²⁷ For a discussion of the copy in the State Papers, see Lefranc, 1957: 25. May considers that 'the Byrd text was copied into the National Library of Wales MS' (1983: 267). Both texts replicate Bd's six errors ('the' l. 1, '&' l. 2, 'lend' l. 10, 'net' l. 11, 'Syren' l. 14 and 'raging' l. 16) and lack the final stanza.

¹²⁸ Printed from this manuscript in May 1991: 340. May notices an analogue to Raleigh's memorable closing: 'Dead is the rote, from whence such fancies grew' in Heneage's 'thow roote of life' (l. 2), suggesting that Heneage had read or possessed the full 30-line version of the poem that he was pastiching (1983: 265-271).

¹²⁹ For this view see Dobell 1902: 349 and Rudick 1970: 192.

¹³⁰ 'The analogue comes from ... *Premières Oeuvres* (first printed 1573) ... Raleigh used a text ... no later than 1579' (Gibson 1999: 156). Freeman first made the argument for the priority of Raleigh's text (125, fn. 10).

¹³¹ 1957: 2.

¹³² Rudick 1970: 193.

¹³³ Rudick 1999: xxxvii.

also have sprung from a decision to cut lines from a longer text, this time for the exigencies of a musical setting.¹³⁴

The five earliest and best copies confirm the poem's original and authoritative state as a 30-line text. The final sixain is not an incongruous addition to the poem. Raleigh habitually ends his verse with an epigrammatic couplet, bringing the poem to some concluding point, or statement (see 47 and 49). And there is no exception in the final stanza of 50 where Raleigh returns to the direct address established in the opening line and reiterates the valedictory to 'false love'.¹³⁵

16 **raunginge** ranging

25 **traynes** snares, tricks, lies (*OED* train, *n*¹ 1b)

27 **bewray** expose, reveal (*OED* v. 2)

28 **kinde** nature (*OED* n. 3a)

29-30 These two lines are copied earlier in the manuscript (see 25) with the variant reading 'ar the rootes' for 'is the rote'.

Collations: seven texts collated: Bd, Del, Fo, Ho, Hn, Pr and Ra.

Title: *om.*] A farewell to Loue Del, A quip for Cupide Hn, A Farewell to false Love Pr

1 thou] the Bd Del Hn

2 an] and Bd Ho Pr Ra; to] vntoe Hn

3 whence] whome Hn Ho Ra; all] great Del; aryse] do rise Pr

4 borne] vile Bd Del Ho, vyled Hn; with rage possesse] posses't with rage Pr

5 way of] way for Del Ra; Temple] tempest Del

6 *om.* Pr; effectes] respects Del; contrary vnto] a Contrarye to Ra

9 Sea] season Del; Sorrows] sorrow Del Ra, sobbes Hn; whence] from whence Bd Fo Hn Pr Ra; ar drawn] ran all Del

10 lendes] lend Bd, giues Del; grief] Graft Pr

11 Poole] schole Bd Del Ho Hn Ra, porte Fo; Neste] net Bd Hn Pr

12 guilded] golden Del Hn Ra; that] which Hn

13 fortresse foild] fortlesse field Del; which] whom Del Fo Ho Pr Ra

¹³⁴ Rudick makes this point: 'Whatever exemplar was used was entirely at the composer's disposal' (*ibid.*).

¹³⁵ Gibson has shown that 'all five of Raleigh's stanzas can be linked without difficulty to passages in "Contr'amour"' (1999: 156).

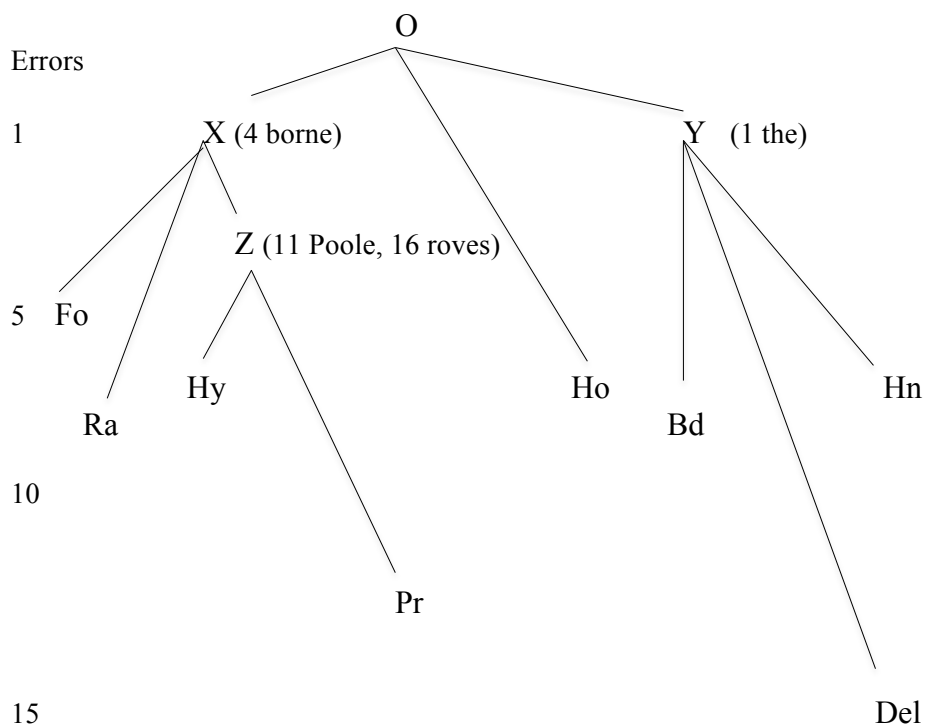
14 Syrens] Syren Bd Fo; Fever] feruor Del
 15 Affectiones] affection Bd Del Fo Ho Pr Ra; findes] find Hn
 16 raunginge] raging Bd Hn Ho Pr, raining Del; roves] runnes Bd Del Hn Ho, comes
 Fo, flees Ra
 19-30 *om.* Ho
 19 Nurse] rest Del, Maze Ra
 22 sleepes in] leyues on Hn
 24 And] A*; doubtfull] doubtless Ra
 25-30 *om.* Bd Hn
 25 Since then] And sith Del, Sithe then Fo Pr Ra; thy traynes] my reigne Del; betray]
 betraid*
 27 'hath' *corr. to* doth] hath*; thy] the Del, my Ra; wronges] wrong Del; bewray]
 bewraid*
 28 *sub.* Whose crooked cause hath not beene after kind Del; I ... vnto] was euer
 contrarye to Ra
 29 desire] go backe Del
 30 from whence such] whence all these Ra; fancies] fancy Fo Pr
Subscription: FINIS. / RA. /] Finis R. *in margin* Master Rawleigh Ho, Finis Ra, *om.* Fo

Hy's unique readings are all errors: 'And' for 'A' (l. 24) probably derived from a mis-reading of a majuscule 'A' as an ampersand; and 'betray ... bewray' (ll. 25, 27) should read 'betraid ... bewraid'. In line 27, Hy corrected 'hath' (a reading supported by all four texts which contain this line) and replaced it with 'doth'. This is typical of the compiler's close attention to the text after copying and his self-imposed role as editor (see **Introduction** pp. 73-75 for a discussion of this habit). In line 15, Hy's '*Affectiones ... findes*' (my italics) where the majority of the texts read the noun as singular, is another evident error.

In line 4, Hy shares a reading with Fo, Pr and Ra: 'borne', where Bd, Del and Ho read 'vile' and Hn 'vyled'. If 'borne' is an error then Hy, Fo, Pr and Ra share a common ancestor that contained this reading. Raleigh adapted the phrase 'bastard songe-malice' from Desportes 'Contr'amour'. The translation for 'songe-malice' in Randal Cotgrave's *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611) is given as: 'An imaginer of mischiefe, a continuall plotter of villanies'. The reading shared by Bd, Del, Ho and Hn: 'Bastard *vile (vyled)*' (my emphasis) is thus a closer approximation of

Desportes' phrase suggesting that those texts have the correct reading. Hy, Fo and Pr are further connected by an evident error in line 11: 'Poole', where five substantive copies have the reading 'Schoole'; and Heneage's answer to this line ('A skoole of witt') also supports this reading. Pr and Hy derive from a copy that misread secretary swash 's' with ligature 'c' as majuscule 'P' resulting in the reading 'Poole'. Fo also read the first letter as 'P' but substituted (or reproduced from a defective copy-text) the word 'porte'. Pr and Hy share another error, 'roves' (l. 16) for 'runs': the reading in the majority of texts. The nautical phrase 'runs before the wind' conveys the intended sense of a lack of direction and being propelled by uncontrollable forces. It is easy to see how 'runs' spelt 'runes' (perhaps with a macron over 'n') could have been mis-transcribed as 'roves'; Fo may have misread the same word, probably spelt 'runnes' as 'comes' (misreading secretary hand 'r' as 'c'). Ra makes a sense substitution, 'flees'.

The stemma below shows the relationship between the texts discussed above and their relative corruption.



Head-note to **51** and **83**

These two poems attributed to Sidney belong to the same Accession Day tilt entertainment. Both poems mention the celebration of an important saint's day ('roiall Saincte' **51.4**; 'For other Saintes, he knoweth not their daies' **83.22**) that has fallen on the 'Sabaothe' (**51.2, 3**; **83.9, 18**) and is accompanied by an outpouring of joy and love from the populace (**51.6**; **83.11-12**). In addition **51** refers to the 'day on which shee entred' i.e. the Queen's Accession Day—17 November—a date that 'from 1570 onwards, was kept with a solemn celebration', and **83** refers to a jousting tournament, an important component of the Accession Day festivities from early in Elizabeth's reign.¹³⁶ The references to the Sabbath are fairly insistent in the poems and this confines the date on which an actual entertainment took place to a year when the anniversary fell on a Sunday. The most likely year is 1577 when Sidney is recorded as taking part in the Accession Day tournament.¹³⁷

Hy is the only source to attribute the poems directly to Sidney.¹³⁸ The authority of the attributions is supported by their inclusion in an unbound sheaf of six folio leaves containing forty-eight poems, all but six by Sidney, compiled by a member of the Ottley family (possibly Arthur Ottley, d. 1586), an important Shropshire family with links to the Sidneys.¹³⁹ The copy of **83** in Ot (f. 4v) is followed by the following note,

This was to be said by one of the Plowmen
after that I had passed the Tilt with my

¹³⁶ Chambers 1923: 1.18. Wagner (1938: 119-120) was the first to suggest that **51** formed part of an actual entertainment 'cast in pastoral form to celebrate the seventeenth of November'. According to the herald William Segar, 'these annuall exercises in Armes, solemnized the 17. day of Nouember, were first begun and occasioned by ... Sir Henry Lea, Master of her Highnesses Armorie ... in the beginning of her happy reigne' (*Honor Military, and Ciuill*, 1602, sig. R3r).

¹³⁷ Young 1987: 215; Woudhuysen 1996: 275-6.

¹³⁸ Ringler originally placed **51** and **83** among 'Wrongly Attributed Poems' (1962: AT 21, 19), but later placed them in the category 'Poems Possibly by Sidney' (1990: 137). Duncan-Jones (1989: 333) prints both poems as fully canonical, describing them as Sidney's 'genuine early work'.

¹³⁹ Woudhuysen (1996: 266-7) cites a land transaction linking Arthur Ottley to the Earl of Leicester, and considers it 'likely that the Ottleys, a leading county family who educated their children at Shrewsbury, would have known the Sidneys'. See Woudhuysen (268-278) for a thoroughgoing discussion of the poems in relation to Sidney's accepted works, and for another lyric unique to the Ottley manuscript that evidently belonged to the same Accession Day entertainment: 'Waynd from the hope which made affection glad'. Ot is also discussed in Beal 1978.

rusticall musick & this freemans songe
that followeth.

The ‘freemans songe’ is Hy’s **51**. Beal argues that the first-person singular address in Ot’s linking sentence indicates that the copy was taken from (or written by) one of the participants in the entertainment.¹⁴⁰ Ot provides another note with the illuminating information that the Latin tag found at the head of **51** formed part of the *impresa* painted on an estucheon carried by the speaker of the poem: ‘The Imprese to this shuld have ben a harrowe & this word, *Nec habent occulta sepulchra*’. Entries **51** and **83** are a rare survival of the pageantry associated with an Accession Day tilt entertainment from the middle period of Elizabeth’s reign; one contemporary of Sidney’s, William Segar, lamented the loss of ‘Speeches, Emblems, Devices, Posies, and other Complements ... for want of observation, or rather lack of some sufficient man to have set them presently down’ (*Booke of Honor and Armes*, 1590).¹⁴¹ The textual evidence suggests that both Ot and Hy obtained their texts from sources close to the authorial holograph.

51

Sidney uses a similar verse form and refrain in CS 30 (see **44**).

title **Nec habent occulta sepulchrum** ‘Secrets have no tomb/grave/burial place’; the meaning is obscure; Ot records a slightly different version with ‘sepulchra’ for ‘sepulchrum’ which has been translated as ‘Graves have no secrets’ and ‘nor are their burial places hidden’ (Duncan-Jones 1989: 334). Ot describes the motto as part of an *impresa* accompanied by an illustration of a harrow; ‘occulta’ is etymologically linked to the Latin verb to harrow (*occo*, *occare*) and the illustration must relate in some way to the idea of covering up and disclosure hinted at in the motto. Crane (1993: 130, 132) describes the appeal of

¹⁴⁰ 1978: 289. Ot also contains a copy of Sidney’s ‘Nota’ (describing his rules for writing English verse in classical metres) in first-person singular, ‘indicating that the Ottley copyist was using a manuscript closer to Sidney’s draft [than the only other extant text found in the St. John’s copy of the *Old Arcadia*]’ (Robertson 1980: 203). Woudhuysen comments that it is possible that the ‘I’ in the linking sentence and the ‘Nota’ is Sidney himself (1996: 271).

¹⁴¹ Quoted in Strong 1977: 146.

impresa mottoes to the younger generation of courtiers as ‘self-presentational codes’ quite unlike the humanist aphoristic sayings that acted to efface identity ‘behind a screen of generality and learning’.

- 1 **Singe** ... **Say** Cf. 44.9: ‘Weepe neighbours wepe, have yow not hard it sayd’.
- 5 **confuted** brought to nought (*OED* 3)
- 8 Cf. *The Lady of May*, ‘Supplication’ to ‘her Majesty’: ‘To one whose state is raised over all’ (Duncan-Jones 1989: 5).
- 9-10 Cf. the refrain, 44.7-8: ‘From them that vse men thus, / Good Lord deliver vs’.
- 10 See 44.8n.
- 13 **Yeaven** even
- 15 **on** one
- 16 that would be required as a duty (moral or legal)
- 23-5 Duncan-Jones (1989: 334) points out that the Accession Day was referred to as her ‘entry day’; Elizabeth is credited with maintaining a peaceful realm during her reign, for example in a verse pronounced before the Queen at Bristol, 1574: ‘O England, joy with us, / And kis the steps whear she doth traed, that keepes her country thus / In Peace and rest, and perfait stay; whearfor the God of Peace, / In Peace, by Peace, our Peace presarve, and her long lief encrease’ (quoted in Wilson 1939: 76).
- 31 **no moe** no more; no longer (*OED* mo, *adv.* 1)

Collations: one text collated: Ot.

Title: Nec ... sepulchrum] *om.*

6 Love] loved

11 do yow not] do not you

13 Yeaven] Even

24 And w~~i~~th her entry] when with her entred

27 praysed] praised &c

28-30 *om.*

32 Sorrow] sorrowes

33 Sorrow] sorrowes

35 praised] prised

37 Saynte be praised] Saynt &c.

38-40 *om.*

Subscription: FINIS./ Sir P. Sy] The Imprese to this shuld have ben a harrowe & this word, Nec habent occulta sepulchra

The texts present very few variants; Hy contains two probable errors which may be scribal slips: 'Love' for 'loved' (l. 6) and 'praised' for 'prised' (l. 35). The other minor variants are difficult to choose between; Ot abbreviates the third and fourth repetition of the refrain which Hy copies in full. Ot, with its privileged Sidney texts, has some claim to authority and Hy's copy, relatively free of corruptions, must also derive from a text that was not many removes from Sidney's authorial draft.

52

Philip Sidney's authorship of this quatrain is suggested both from its position in the anthology, in a grouping of his verse, and its theme illustrating the Latin motto *Sic vos non vobis* ('So you, not for your selues'), which can be associated with Sidney elsewhere.¹⁴² In the *Old Arcadia* the words *Sic vos non vobis* are engraved on a jewell given to Mopsa from which Pamela understands that she is the real object of Dorus's affection, and *Sic nos non nobis* is the motto worn by Sidney's entourage when he performed in the 'Four Foster Children of Desire' tilt of 1581.¹⁴³

The Latin tag derived from an anecdote found in Donatus' *Life of Virgil* which appeared in sixteenth-century editions of Virgil's work.¹⁴⁴ Thomas Phaer's translation in the edition of 1573 renders the lines as follows:

So you not for your selues, poore birds, your nestes do build in trees
So you not for your selues, yee Sheep, do beare your tendre flees.
So you not for your selues, your honey gather, litle Bees.
So you not for your selues, your neckes, poore beastes, with harrowes squees.

(sig. C3v)

¹⁴² For the view that Sidney probably wrote 52, see Duncan-Jones 1985: 373 and Woudhuysen 1996: 284-5.

¹⁴³ Woudhuysen 1996: 285.

¹⁴⁴ George Puttenham quotes the story in full in *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, sigs. H2v-H3r.

Denkinger explores additional Elizabethan adaptations of the motto including Gabriel Harvey's pictorial mantelpiece (c. 1560) depicting the travails of oxen and bees alongside the family members' own altruistic occupations, as rope-maker and scholar.¹⁴⁵ Two more Elizabethan adaptations, not noted by Denkinger, are interesting for their association with Sidney and his family members: William Hunnis' *A Hyue full of Hunnye*, 1578, dedicated to Robert Dudley, has the prefatory verse:

The Hyue doth House the harmelesse Bee,
That Hony swete doth make:
Whose little Limmes wyth Laboures longe,
Still streyneth for our sake.

And a poet close to Sidney's circle, Thomas Howell, wrote a verse entitled 'He lykeneth his lotte to Virgils' (*His Deuises*, 1581, sig. C1v):

Like as the toying Oxe the Plow doth pull,
...
Euen much alike it fareth now with me,
That forst the ground, where others reape the fee.
I bred the Bees, thou wouldst the Honey haue,
I tylde the soyle, thou seekste by guyle the gaine.

1 **silly** simple; feeble

3 **Draw** i.e. the plough

Subscription **frustra** ... **sapit** 'He is wise in vaine, who is not wise to himselfe' (tr. by John Brinsley from the Latin of Leonhard Culmann, in *Sententiae Pueriles*, 1612, sig. D7v). This Latin proverb was popular among Elizabethan writers; it appears in Richard Edwards' *Damon and Pithias*: 'For in louyng or wisdom, proof doth this trie, / That Frustra sapit, qui non sapit sibi' (1571, sig. B1r); Thomas Nashe uses it in *Pierce Peniless*: 'I am a wise man, a braue man, Secreta mea mihi: Frustra sapit, qui sibi non sapit' (1592, sig. B2r), and Thomas Lodge quotes it twice in his *Rosalynde*: 'be wise for thy selfe. What,

¹⁴⁵ 1931: 156-162.

tis not so olde as true: *Non sapit, qui sibi non sapit*' (1592, sig. B3r; also at K2r).

53

Poem 53 is Philip Sidney's OA 51, and was first printed in 1593 in *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (93), sigs. 2G6r-v. In the prose romance the lines are sung by Musidorus to lull Pamela to sleep:

Pamela, hauing tasted of the fruits, and growing extreme sleepy, having been long kept from it with the perplexity of her dangerous attempt, laying her head in his lappe, was invited by him to sleep with these softly uttered verses.

Abraham Fraunce quoted the first four lines in *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, 1588 (Fr), sig. I5r, in a chapter 'On application of the voyce to seuerall affections', with a head-note explaining that 'In ioy, gladnes, or pleasure, [the voyce must be] tender, mild, sweetlie flowing'.¹⁴⁶ The poem survives in eight *Old Arcadia* manuscript texts: As, f. 93v, Bo, f. 115r, Cl, f. 98v, Da, f. 90v, Hm, f. 60v, Ph, f. 100r, Qu, ff. 71r-v, and St, f. 109r. It was originally found in another *Old Arcadia* manuscript (Je) at a point in the manuscript where there are now a few leaves missing. Another contemporary copy is found in Henry Lee's collection of poems from the *Old Arcadia*: Le, f. 21v. The poem also circulated widely outside of its context in the *Arcadia* and is found in three more contemporary private verse collections: attributed to 'S. P. S' in Ra, f. 9r, and unattributed in Dd, f. 26r and Hn, f. 145r. Musical settings for the poem appeared in 1619, in Thomas Vautour's *The First Set: Beeing Songs of Diuers Ayres and Natures* (Va), sigs. B4v-C1r, in a setting for 5 voices (where the first eight lines of the poem comprise no. 8 and the last six lines no. 9), and a setting for four voices in Martin Peerson's *Private Musicke. Or the First Booke of Ayres and Dialogues* (Pe), 1620, sig. D2v.

Sidney confines himself to two rhymes throughout; Ringler cites OA 39 as another verse with only two rhyme words.

¹⁴⁶ 'Ringler has demonstrated, and as an examination of the prose confirms, the numerous quotations from the *Arcadia* in Abraham Fraunce's *The Arcadian Rhetoric* (1588) were almost certainly taken from St' (Robertson 1973: xlv; Ringler 1962: 562).

- 2 Cf. Sidney's OA 76.1, 'Farewell ô Sunn, *Arcadia's* clearest light'; and *The Lady of May*, 'the only sight this age hath granted to the world' (Duncan-Jones 1989: 7).

Collations: sixteen texts collated: As, Bo, Cl, Da, Dd, Fr, Hm, Hn, Le, Pe, Ph, Qu, Ra, St, Va and 93.

Title om.] Sir Philip Sydney 3. Musidorus where Pamela slept Fr, Musidorus Le

1 Locke] Looke Cl Da As; fayre] sweete Dd; treasure] tresures Bo Cl Da Dd Fr Hn Le Ph St Va

2 Preserve] preserues Bo; ages] age his Dd

3 sweet ... ease] som ease (sweete sleap) Dd; imparte] inparte Ra

4 her] the Bo Hn Va

5-14 *om.* Fr

5 the] her*

6 Wher cunninge] her sight where As Bo Cl Da Dd Hm Hn Le Ph Qu Ra St Va 93, Her light where Pe; did] doth Va; finest] fairest*

7 partes] sence Ra

8 Dreames] dreame*

9 But] And Va; Dreame] drems Qu

10 In] from Va; rare] fair Dd Hn; from] of Va; thy] the 93; common] wonted Ra

11 such a] so sweet Ra

12 play ... parte] say vnto her spright Dd

13 sprighte] spirite Hm Qu Ra St 93

14 her] thes Ra; nighte] lighte Cl Le

Subscription: FINIS. / SYD.] *om.* Dd Bo Cl Da Hm Le Pe Ph Qu St Va 93, finis Hn, Finis S. P. S. Ra

Ringler (1962: 79) noted that Hy shares a variant in the opening line ('treasure') with Qu, Ra and 93; my collation adds another text with this variant (not available to Ringler): Hm. Hy has two unique readings, which are probably errors: a plural for a singular noun (l. 8) and a variant reading of ll. 5-6 ('the sight, / Wher cunnige ... finest' for 'her sight / her sight wher ... fairest'), which misses the repetition of 'her sight' at the end of line 5 and beginning of the following line (*anadiplosis*), a favourite rhetorical device of Sidney's. In line 13, Hy has 'sprighte' (in agreement with Bo, Cl,

Da, Dd, Hn, Le, Ph and Va) where Hm, Qu, Ra, St and 93 read ‘spirite’. The metre demands the reading ‘sprighte’; the Hn scribe was conscious of this and originally wrote ‘spirite’ but drew a line through the word and replaced it with ‘sprighte’. But the reading is not very useful in determining textual relationships since the evidence elsewhere suggests that scribes often did not distinguish between these two spelling variants and may have written a preferred form regardless of the reading in the copy-text (see the collation analysis for **41**).

Dd has two certain errors (ll. 2, 12): a unique variant in the opening line, and another shared with Hn, ‘fair’ for ‘rare’ (l. 10). Hn also shares a reading found in Bo and Va: ‘the’ for ‘her’ (l. 4). Ra introduces four errors (ll. 7, 10, 11 and 14). The *Arcadia* manuscript texts contain fairly accurate transcriptions: As, Cl and Da made the same graphical error in misreading secretary hand ‘c’ as ‘o’ resulting in ‘Looke’ for ‘Locke’ (l. 1). Cl and Le made the same error with ‘lighte’ for ‘nighte’ (l. 14). In the four lines quoted by Abraham Fraunce there is no divergence from St, his probable copy-text. Va contains two readings found in manuscript texts but not present in any of the printed editions (‘treasures’ l. 1; ‘the’ l. 4) and three unique variants (ll. 6, 9, 10), suggesting that the copy-text derived from a manuscript source. Pe introduces one error, ‘light’ for ‘sight’ (l. 6), but otherwise follows the printed text exactly. The reading ‘thy’ in line 10 (corrected from ‘the’ in the edition of 1598) indicates that the text was taken from an edition of the *Arcadia* printed after 1598.

54

Poem **54** is Philip Sidney’s CS 19. Sidney experimented with variations in the correlative verse form and was particularly fond of the disseminative-recapitulative type seen here and in **55**, where a succession of elements are set out and then recapitulated in the last line.¹⁴⁷ Additional copies are found in three *Old Arcadia* manuscript texts with the *Certain Sonnets* appended: Bo, f. 239r, Cl, ff. 221r-v and St, f. 241r; and it was first printed in 1598 in *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (98), sig. 2R6v. The poem circulated widely among Sidney’s contemporaries with copies surviving in a further

¹⁴⁷ For other examples from Sidney’s work, see OA 21, 43 and 46; CS 3 and 18; AS 43, 100; OP 5; PP 2. Sidney’s contemporaries also experimented with the device: Spenser in *Amoretti* 56 and *Faerie Queene* 2.4.35, Greville in *Caelica* 1, 8, 14, 21 and 54, and Breton in **124** and ‘Those eies that hold the hand of euery heart’ (*Brittons Bowre*, 1591, sigs. C1v-C2r).

four manuscript verse miscellanies: Ot, f. 2v, Ra, f. 11v, Ma, f. 19v, and V&A, MS Dyce 44 (Dy), f. 90v.

3 **rebell Sence** Cf. Musidorus' advice to Pyrocles in the first book of the *Old Arcadia*:

... if we will be men, the reasonable part of our soul is to have absolute commandment, against which if any sensual weakness arise, we are to yield all our sound forces to the overthrowing of so unnatural a rebellion (Robertson 1973: 19).

Collations: eight texts collated: Bo, Cl, Dy, Ma, Ot, Ra, St and 98.

2 an] good Bo Cl Ma Ot St 98

3 rebell] Rebels Cl

4 foyld] filde Bo St

5 thought] thoughtes*

7 you] she Dy; your] her Dy

8 would] did Bo Cl Ma Ot St 98; yowr] her Dy

9 soone] once*

10 Or] As Cl; some ... might] I might some Love Cl Ma St

12 your] her Dy

14 my] by Bo Cl Ma Ot St 98; sences] sence is Dy, forces Ot

15 Yow] She Dy

16 I lovinge] In loving Cl, showing Ra

17 payne] time St

18 *sub.* thinke me an () and so I doe remaine Dy; Though] Thought Bo Cl Ma Ot St 98

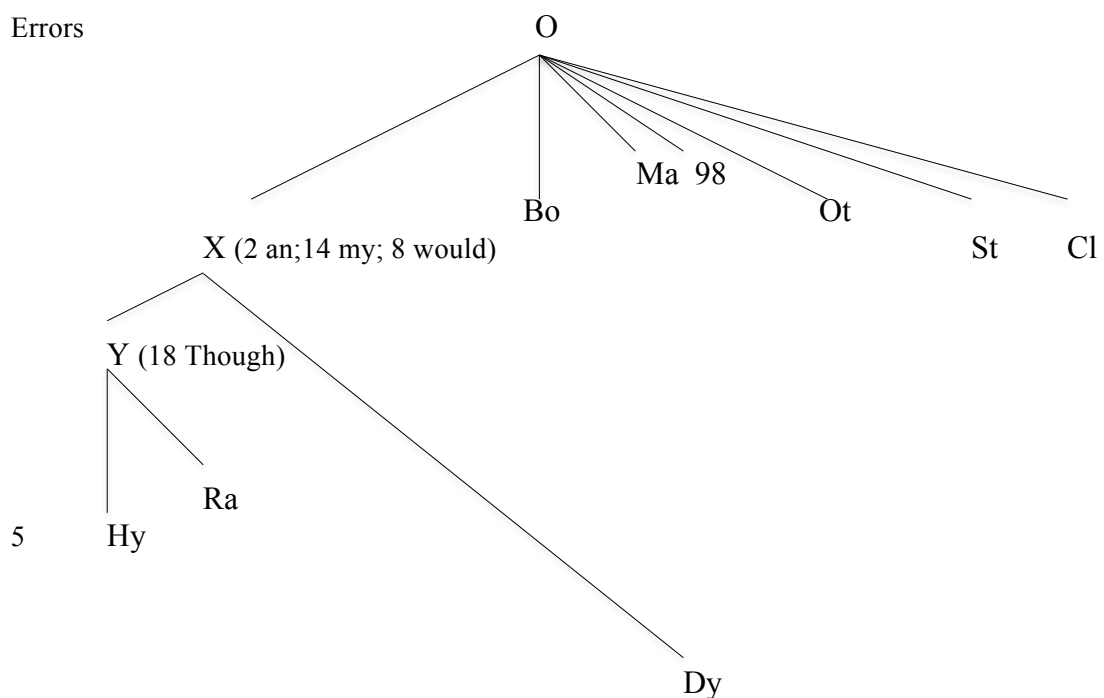
Subscription: FINIS ./ SYD ./] Finis Ma Ra, *om.* Bo Cl Ot St 98

Three of the copies found in manuscript verse collections are related. Ringler (1962: 147-8) noted the shared Hy-Ra readings at lines 2, 8, 14 and 18 but did not collate Dy, which shares some of these readings. Hy, Dy and Ra agree in error with 'an' for 'good' (l. 2) and 'my' for 'by' (l. 14); the same three texts share the variant reading 'would' for 'did' (l. 8). Hy and Ra share another certain error, 'Though' for 'thought' (l. 18), the reading demanded by the form where the elements set out in the poem are serially recapitulated in the last line. Dy's copy-text may also have contained the same error but

at this point the scribe substituted a different line probably of his own composition; Dy also changed all the second person pronouns to the third person feminine (ll. 7, 8, 12 and 15).

The texts on the whole reveal few additional signs of corruption: Hy's two unique variants, a singular for a plural noun (l. 5) and 'soone' for 'once' (l. 9) are probably scribal errors. Ra's 'showing' for 'I lovinge' (l. 16) is another evident faulty reading. Bo and St made the same error, 'foylde' as 'filde' (l. 4) and St introduced one more error (l. 17); Cl has three errors (ll. 3, 10 and 16); Dy's 'sence is' (l. 14) and Ot's 'forces' are both scribal misreadings of 'sences'. Bo, Ma and 98 have no unique readings.

These textual relationships and the relative corruption of the surviving texts can be seen more clearly in the stemma below.



This entry is Philip Sidney's CS 3, composed 'To the tune of non credo gia che piu infelice amante'.¹⁴⁸ The song was incorporated into the *New Arcadia* as 'an excellent consort ... of fiue Violles' sung to the imprisoned Philoclea (*The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, 1590 (90), sig. 2R3r). Additional copies are found in three *Old Arcadia* manuscript texts with the *Certain Sonnets* appended (Bo, f. 243v, Cl, f. 216v and St, f. 241v) and it was first printed among the *Certain Sonnets* in the 1598 edition of *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (98), sigs. 2R2r-v. The manuscript copy of the *New Arcadia* (Cm) contains only the incipit with the variant opening: 'The fire to see my woes' (f. 188r).

The poem circulated widely among Sidney's contemporaries with copies surviving in a further three manuscript verse miscellanies: Ra, f. 9v, Dd, f. 27r and Hn, f. 34r. In 1597 it appeared with the title 'A Louers complaint' in *The Arbor of Amorous Deuises*, 1597 (A), sigs. B3v-4r. Abraham Fraunce quoted the poem (alongside **115**) among examples of 'conceited kindes of verses' in *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, 1588 (Fr), sig. E1r.¹⁴⁹ Sidney experimented with variations of the correlative verse form and was particularly fond of the disseminative-recapitulative type seen here (see the commentary to **54**). A further indication of the currency of CS 3 is seen in an imitation probably by Nicholas Breton (see **124**).

1-4 Robertston suggests a critique of this idea in OA 9 (ll. 38-43):

Then each conceit that enters in by sight
Is made forsooth a jurat of his woes:
Earth, sea, air, fire, heav'n hell, and ghastly sprite
Then cries to senseless things which neither knows
What aileth thee, and if they knew thy mind
Would scorn in man (their king) such feeble shows.

5 **blazed** dazzled, blinded (*OED* blaze, v.¹ 7)

6-7 Cf. Greville's *Caelica* 7: 'Place is not bound to things within it placed, / The present time vpon time passed striketh' (*Workes*, 1633, sig. 2A2v).

¹⁴⁸ The music was discovered in a manuscript at Winchester College; see Fabry 1970.

¹⁴⁹ Fraunce probably copied the text from St, see **53**, fn. 147.

- 8 Dyer alludes to this line: 'But say as onc a shepperd sayd, / Their mone nightes have no morrows' (May 1991: 311).
- 16 **Earthe** ... **earthe** Cf. 'Terram terra tegat' (tr. as 'O earth take thou thy clod agayne' in Ot, f. 3v, where it appears among poems by Sidney).

Collations: eleven texts collated: A, Bo, Cl, Cm, Dd, Fr, Hn, Ra, St, 90 and 98.

Title: om.] A Louers complaint A, To the tune of non credo gia che piu infelice amante
Bo Cl St 98

1 wronges] wrong Dd, woes Cm Hn 90; for anger burnethe] *om.* Cm, for anger burnes
Dd

2-24 *om.* Cm

2 Rayne] teares Ra; my] mine A Ra; affliction] affection A; weepethe] weepes Dd

3 to ... grief] for woe to ebb Hn; turneth] turnes Dd

4 with] for Ra; dull] dullde Hn; the] his Cl St 90; Keepethe] kepes Dd, turneth 90

6 runnes] flyes Ra; for] with Fr

7 Place] Prayse Cl

8 nights] night Bo Cl Dd Fr Hn 90 98 St; Evill] euills Bo Cl Dd 98 St, ill Fr, ils 90,
woes Hn; which have] which hath Cl Dd St 90 98; that hath Fr Hn Ra

9 only She] alonely Bo Dd Hn Cl Fr Ra St 90, a louely 98; Takethe] takes Dd

10 know] see A Hn Ra; misery] miseries A Bo Cl Dd Fr Hn 98 St

11 her] for Bo; makethe] makes Dd

12 *sub.* yet of mye flames she ys the onely fuell Hn; give] giues A; their] the Cl Fr

13 quicke] quite Bo Cl Dd Fr Hn 98 Ra St; leve me] leaue Ra

14 no ... Breathe] my breath no more A Ra, thy breath no more 90, no more thy breath
Bo Dd Fr 98 St, noe more this brethe Hn

15 *om.* Dd; drownde ... thee] drowne me in thee A Ra, drownd in me Bo, drownde in
thee Cl Fr Hn 98 St

16 wherin] in which Dd; these] my Bo Cl Dd Fr Hn 98 St

18 Draw my dismall] hast my dying Bo Cl Dd Fr Hn 90 98 Ra St

19 see] loe Ra

20 ayre] *om.* Hn; fame] *om.* Dd; your] you your Dd

21 their] your Cl Ra; Helpes] help Cl 90 98 St

22 Hers I am] hers am I A Bo Cl Dd Fr 90 98 St, I am hers Hn

23 O] fie Bo Cl Dd Fr Hn 90 98 St

24 be] am Dd; she ... me] she settes by me Cl St 90; of me she makes Fr; Tresure] theasure Dd

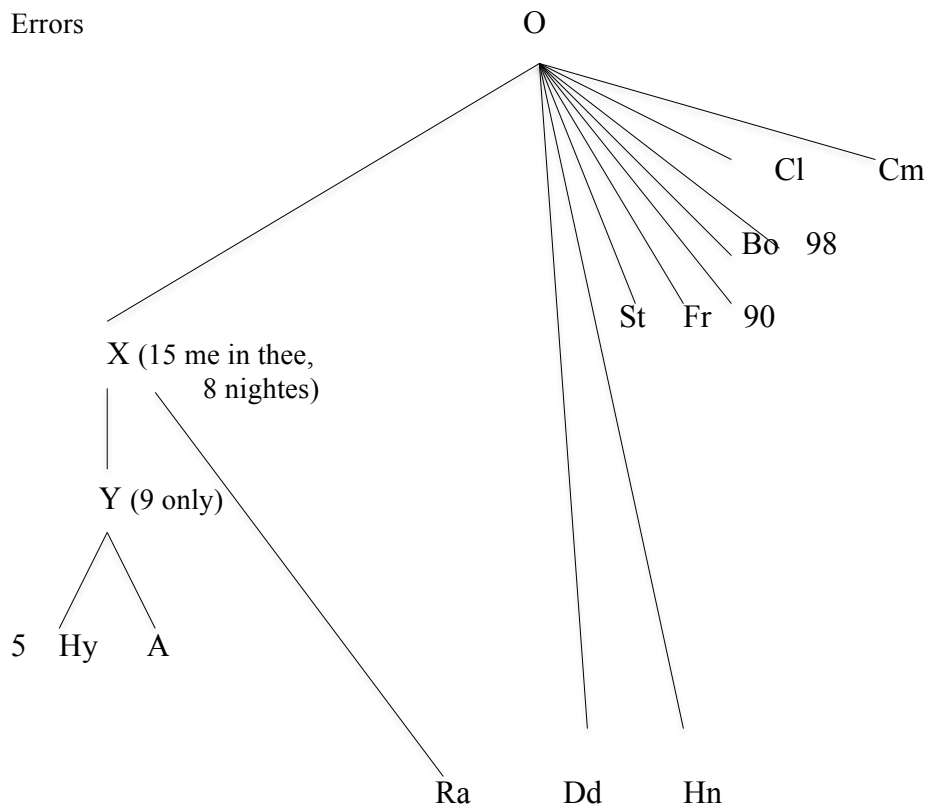
Subscription: FINIS./. Sir. P. Sy.] quod Ph. S. Hn, S.P.S. Ra, *om.* A Bo Cl Cm Dd Fr St 90 98

Ringler (1962: 136-7) noted three shared Hy-A-Ra readings: ‘my’ (l. 14), ‘me in thee’ (l. 15), ‘these’ (l. 16) and ‘O’ (l. 23) but missed the ‘es’ abbreviation in Hy ‘nightes’ (l. 8) another variant which links these three texts. Two of these readings are certain errors: Hy’s ‘drownde me in thee’ (l. 15) is closer to what must be the intended reading ‘drownde in thee’ (which keeps the metre regular and makes more sense); A and Ra changed the tense to ‘drown’ but share with Hy the erroneous addition ‘me’ which creates a metrical anomaly in the line. In line 8, Hy-A-Ra’s reading ‘nightes ... no morrow’ (l. 8), against all the other texts, which have ‘night ... no morrow’, is another evident error. Hy and A are further linked through error with the reading ‘only’ (l. 9), which creates a metrically defective line (all the other texts read ‘alonely’ or ‘all only’, the emphatic variant of ‘only’, except 98 which misprints it as ‘a louely’). Three more shared Hy-A readings link these two texts to a common ancestor: ‘Evill’ (l. 8) where five other texts have the plural noun (for the metre the word has to be unnaturally compressed and this may have led Fr and 90 to adjust the reading to a single syllable word, ‘ill (ils)’, Hn to ‘woes’ and Ra to ‘greife’), ‘quicke’ for ‘quite’ (l. 13) and ‘Draw my dismall’ for ‘haste my dying’ (l. 18). A introduces two more faulty readings: ‘affection’ for ‘affliction’ (l. 2) and ‘giues’ for ‘giue’ (l. 12), and a variant also in Hn and Ra: ‘see’ for ‘know’ (l. 10). Hy and Ra also agree against the other texts on a singular for a plural noun in line 10, and both transpose ‘hers I am’ to ‘hers am I’, but this could be a case of independent scribal variation. Ra introduces a few more probable errors: ‘teares’ (l. 2), ‘flyes’ (l. 6), *om.* ‘me’ (l. 13) and ‘loe’ (l. 19).

The other texts derived independently from the authorial holograph. As May (1988: 272) points out, Dd derives from a manuscript source similar to 98 but with some signs of corruption (ll. 1, 20, 24; omits l. 15, and in the adjustment of the ‘th’ endings to ‘es’ throughout the poem). Abraham Fraunce copied the numerous quotations from the *Arcadia* from St but the divergence in two substantive readings from St suggests that Fraunce did not copy CS 3 from this source: the Fr variant ‘ill’ (l. 8) is close to ‘ils’, the reading in 90 where St has the majority reading ‘euils’; another St variant (also in 90 and Cl) is not present in Fr: ‘settes by mee’ for ‘makes of me’ (l. 24).

Hn shares with Cm and 90 the variant opening ‘woes’, and with A and Ra ‘see’ for ‘know’ (l. 10); Hn also introduces an error in omitting ‘ayre’ (l. 20), and a few other variants (ll. 3, 4, 8, 14) together with a rewritten line (l. 12) suggest some interference with the text (perhaps by Harington). None of the witnesses reproduce the print error in 90: ‘turneth’ l. 4 (which repeats the same word at the end of the previous line).

These textual relationships and the relative corruption of the surviving texts are show in the stemma below.



There are no other copies of this tetrameter sixain. The lines illustrate the rhetorical figure of climax or *gradatio*. Puttenham calls this device the ‘*marching figure*’: ‘for after the first steppe all the rest proceede by double the space’ (*The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, sig. 2A1r).

title **omnia tempus** abbreviation of *omnia tempus habent* ‘All things haue their time’ from Ecclesiastes 3: 1-2:

To all things there is an appointed time, and a time to euerie purpose vnder the heauen. A time to be borne, & a time to dye: a time to plant, and a time to plucke vp that which is planted.

The printer Henry Bynneman (d. 1583) adopted *omnia tempus habent* for his ‘mermaid’ device.

5 ***to** i.e. in accordance with, according to, after (*OED to, prep.* 20a)

Another version of this anonymous poem was transcribed in an Elizabethan hand on the leaf of a fourteenth-century copy of ‘Liber Domini Marci Pauli’, BL, Harl. MS 5115 (H8), f. 150r. Coningsby rarely assigned descriptive titles and this one is reminiscent of those found in *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*: ‘Beyng in loue, he complaineth’, and for a female speaker ‘Requyryng the fauour of his loue: She aunswereth thus’ (1576, sigs. L2r, I2r).

1 **Fatall** fated (*OED adj.* 1)

2 **lively** life-giving (*OED adj.* 2a)

3 **approved** proven

4 **therat** because of that (*OED thereat, adv.* 2); **list** wish, desire (*OED list, v.*¹ 2b)

9 proverbial, ‘to find (seek) fire in frost’ (Dent F283.1)

10 **kinde** nature (*OED n.* 3a)

18 **blotte** a moral stain, a mark of disgrace (*OED n.*¹ 2a)

26 **Lazars** See 45.16n.

28 **clapper** ... **Dishe** wooden dish with a lid, carried by lepers, to give warning of their approach, and to receive alms (*OED* clap-dish, *n.*); Cf. ‘For if I be vntrue, her Lazares death I wishe, / And eke to thee if I be false, her clapper and her dishe’ (*The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*, 1576, sig. L2v).

Collations: one text collated: H8.

Title: an ... approved] *om.*

3 owne approved] most assuryde

7 *sub.* I haue my hart to the behight

inserted after l. 8: I am thy owne so sure / whom dread shall neuer dashe / as euer was eyvye to the oke / or woodbyne to the ashe

11 Before] ere that

12 ‘cause’ *corr.* to make] make

inserted after l. 12: Unhard then mought I craue / in tormentes mought I fyre / if I forsake as thou to haue / the prowfe of my desyre

17 *sub.* Then right I iustly beare

19 any have] haue

inserted after l. 20: least men do mee report / in plac whare as I passe

21-28 *om.*

Subscription: FINIS] *om.*

H8’s version of the poem reorders the first twenty lines as follows: ll. 1-8, 13-16, 9-12, 17-20). In addition H8 lacks the last eight lines and adds ten new lines. The ending in H8 is rather abrupt and the final hexameter is metrically a misfit with the rest of the poem (which is poulter’s measure; i.e. it should end with a heptameter). A few H8 variants are archaic words that appear to have been updated in Hy (‘behight’ for ‘bequethde’ l. 7 and ‘ere that’ for ‘Before’ l. 11).

58

This entry is an extract of the last twelve lines from a 28-line poem beginning ‘Though I seem strange, sweete friend, be thou not so’. Copies of the complete poem are found in Fo, pp. 8-9, Ha, f. 145r, Ra, f. 17r, Bod., MS Rawl. poet. 172 (R72), f. 5v, BL, Stowe MS 962 (Sto), f. 207r, Folger, MS V.a.399 (V39), f. 16r, and Huntington Library, MS

HM 31191 (Hu5), f. 22r.¹⁵⁰ Hy's subscription does not provide any information about the author. The compiler first signed his own initials ('H C') to the text (a habitual practice, see **Introduction** pp. 68-70) and later changed the second initial to a letter resembling 'W': probably to disguise the original ascription rather than a genuine attempt to attribute authorship (see **37**, fn. 89). Hy also marked the poem as a 'Ball[et]' (for this generic marker indicating that the poem had been set to music, see **Introduction** pp. 70-72); and a musical setting for the poem, identified only by the incipit, 'Though straunge I seeme', does, in fact, exist in the 'Brogyntyn Lute Book': NLW, MS Brogyntyn 27, p. 135.¹⁵¹ One contemporary manuscript witness, Fo, attributed the poem to Anne Vavasour, a maid of honour who came to court in 1580, and subsequently attained notoriety after her affair with the (married) Earl of Oxford and the birth of their illegitimate son.¹⁵² Ha attributes the poem to 'Lady B.' ('quod Lady B. to N.'), and Stevenson and Davidson argue that this may still refer to Vavasour since 'Anne Vavasour is referred to by at least one contemporary as Bavisier'.¹⁵³ Vavasour was associated with other poems in manuscript culture: Hy is not the only copy to attach her name to a poem probably by the Earl of Oxford (see **109**); and two copyists independently suggested that a different poem beginning 'Many desier but fewe or none deserue' was addressed to her.¹⁵⁴

If Vavasour did compose poem **58** she borrowed the conceit and some of the phraseology from George Whetstone's *The Rocke of Regard* printed in 1576. Whetstone returns to the theme of a love kept secret (already addressed in the first part of 'The Castle of Delight' in the romantic prose tale of Rinaldo and Giletta; see 4-8n. and 7n. below) with a female verse lament that has the same verse form (cross-rhymed quatrains in pentameter) and some very similar lines to those in **58**. The title of the 'lament' ('The Deuice of a Gentlewoman, to perswade her louer of her constancie, notwithstanding her show of hate, which shee onely vsed to quench the ielous suspicion

¹⁵⁰ Stevenson & Davidson (2001: 79-80) print the poem from Ra.

¹⁵¹ The 'Brogyntyn Lute Book' is edited in Spencer & Alexander 1978 (see no. 49), where it is dated c.1595: 'all the music has the appearance of having been copied within a short space of time, probably after 1595' (3).

¹⁵² May notes that the 'affair was public knowledge by late March, 1581' (1980: 79); see also Chambers 1936: 151-8.

¹⁵³ 2001: 541.

¹⁵⁴ The poem is subscribed 'written to Mistress A V.' in Ra, f. 116r, and headed 'To A. Vauas' in BL, Add. MS 22601, f. 71r.

of her friendes') also sums up the complex scenario described in **58**. In the following extract of Whetstone's poem the most striking parallels to **58** are shown.¹⁵⁵

Sith sullen thoughtes doth so our friends accoy,

[‘Do not accoy thy selfe with sullen will’ (Ra, l. 2)]

...

Our looks must hate, although at heart do loue,

[‘Nor by my looks lett not my loues appeere’ (Ra, l. 16)]

Yea farre from wish, our woordes must menace mone.

And yet this shew, of force must needes seeme straunge,

[‘Far from the show, that we are forst to make’ (**58**. 4)]

Unto vs both, tweene whome was neuer strife,

But let it helpe, I neuer meane to chaunge,

But keepe my vowe, vnfallsed as my life.

These simple shiftes, wee silly wenches worke,

[‘We silly Dames, that false Suspect do feare’ (**58**. 1)]

To quenche or coole, our ielous friends suspect.

Whose Lynxes eyes, in euery corner lurcke,

[‘Thou seest me liue amongst the Lynxes eyes’ (Ra, l. 5)]

To trie, and spoy [sic], what worketh our defect.

Thus farewell friend, I wilbe short with thee,

[‘Thus farewell frend I will continve straunge’ (**58**. 9)]

Thou knowest my loue, in darkest cloudes will shine.

And though in show, my woordes from woorkes agree,

Yet thinke I am, and euer wilbe thine.

(sigs. E4v-5r)

- 1 **silly** poor; helpless; simple (*OED adj.* 1a, b, 3a); **false Suspect** suspicion of wrong doing; cf. Francis Kinwelmersh's lines in *Jocasta* 1.4: 'For vulgar tongues are armed euermore / With slaunderous brute to bleamishe the

¹⁵⁵ Analogous lines that do not appear in Hy are taken from the complete version in Ra.

renoume / Of vertues dames ... You cannot be too curious of your name' (*A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, 1573, sig. M2v).

- 2 **Envies lake** Cf. 'To place where sily soules doo mourne, / In lothsom lake of Enuy fell' (Anthony Munday, *The Mirrour of Mutabilitie*, 1579, sig. B4r).
- 4, 8 Cf. 'so that of force, I am forst, to carrie a shew of hatred, where in heart I loue' (Whetstone's, *The Rocke of Regard*, 1576, sig. C7v).
- 5 **list** desire, like, wish (*OED* v.¹ 2); **vaunt** proclaim, make a show of (*OED* v. 4)
- 6 **move debate** provoke a quarrel (*OED* debate n.¹)
- 7 **On** one; **Glove** i.e. as a token of a pledge; cf. 'But of this assure thy selfe, althoughe Frizaldo (whose familiaritie woorketh thy feare) weareth both my gloue and Garter, yet Rinaldo hath, and shall haue my heart' (*The Rocke*, sig. C7v).
- 9 **straunge** distant, cold (*OED* adj. 11b)
- 10 **iudge** infer (*OED* v. 11a)

Collations: seven texts collated: Fo, Ha, Hu5, Ra, R72, Sto and V39.

Title: om.] Woemans affection R72, A Lady to her Louer Sto

1 Dames] wightes Hu5, dame Sto; that] whome R72 V39, who Sto; false] much Sto; do] doth R72 V39

2 dwell] lye Ha, liue Fo Hu5 Ra R72 Sto; mouthe] moughte Ra V39, bankes R72; Envies] euery Ha, enuious R72, V39; lake] lakes R72, lawes Sto

3 brestes] hartes*; a] & R72; meaninge] meaninges R72

4 show] reste Ra, showes Sto; that] which Ra, om. V39; 'we ar driven to make' *corr. to* we ar forst to make] outwardly we make Fo Ha Ra, outwardly appeare Sto, we arr dreven to make Hu5, we by force Doe make R72, we outwardely doe make V39

5 So] And Ha, om. Sto, Thus V39; I list not] I lust not Ha, best there least I Sto

6 Wher I desire] where I liue best R72, where best I loue Sto, & where I loue V39; I ... move] there must I fayne Ha Fo, there moste I fayne Ra, I alwayse finde R72, there finde I most Sto, I allwaies use V39, I alwayes move Hu5

7 On hath] Some haue Sto; an other hath] others haue Sto, another weares Hu5

8 But] & V39; whom ... seeme] hath whome I seeme Sto, whome I seeme moste Ra

9 will] must R72 Sto

10 Thou] They Ha; shalt] mayst Sto; iudge] fynd Ha Hu5, heere Fo Ra R72 Sto, knowe V39; word] wordes V39; ought] ofte R72 V39

11 this] it Fo Hu5 Ra R72; vow] minde Sto

12 And] as Fo Ha Ra Sto V39; it] them V39

inserted after l. 12 Hu5

my vowe is fast & I will kepe the same

till death shall trie the honor of my name

Subscription: <H W> Ball] quod Lady B. to N. Ha, Vavaser Fo, Finis Ra V39, *om.* Hu5
Sto

The only texts for which a common ancestor can be established are R72 and V39 which share three errors ('ofte' l. 10 which creates a faulty end-rhyme; 'doth' l. 1 which fails to agree with the subject 'We'; and 'enuious' l. 2 where the possessive form is needed). Hy is not related through error to any of the other texts but it shares some readings with Hu5, V39 and R72 against all the other texts. Hy pairs once with V39 ('dwell' for 'liue'/'lye' l. 2) and pairs twice with Hu5 with 'ar driven' (l. 4), where five texts agree on 'outwardly' (in the same line R72 has 'by force', which is similar to Hy's marginal correction 'ar forst'), and 'move debate' (l. 6) where Ha, Ra and Fo agree on 'fayne debate', R72 and Sto 'finde debate', and V39 'use debate'. Hy, Hu5 and R72 share another reading against the other texts 'And' (l. 12).

Hy also has three unique variants (ll. 3, 6 and 10). One of these substitutes a word of similar meaning: 'brestes' for 'hartes' (l. 3). The other two readings are arguably inferior: 'seeme to' (l. 6) for the more emphatic 'there must I' in the earliest copies (Ra Fo and Ha); and at line 10, '*iudge*, by word or writing' (l. 10) is perhaps an error since the majority reading '*hear* by word or writing' (my italics) makes more sense in the context. The remaining texts also link up on a number of other readings with no clear pattern of any relationship (Ha, Fo and Ra share the reading 'there must (moste) I fayne' (l. 6); Hu5 and Ha 'find' (l. 10) and Sto and R72 'must' (l. 9) and Ra Fo R72 and Hu5 'it' (l. 11).

59

Following directly on from a poem associated in manuscript culture with Anne Vavasour, it is tempting to read this ebullient verse, figuratively referring to a

philanderer, who is now held ‘fast in pounce’, as an oblique reference to the Oxford/Vavasour affair. The scribe’s careful marking of every instance of the masculine pronoun with an asterisk and corresponding feminine pronoun in the margin equates the male and female roles in the transgression for which both parties receive the punishment of being held ‘captive in a Cage’. As one contemporary newsletter reported: ‘The Earl of Oxford ... is in the Tower for forgetting himself with one of the Queen’s Maids of Honour, who is in the Tower likewise’.¹⁵⁶ (See 94 for a satire directed at the Earl of Oxford’s players.)

- 1 **Coulte** figuratively, a lascivious fellow, wanton (*OED n.*¹ 2c); Williams comments that ‘A colt is properly male, but the distinction is not strictly observed’ and cites a line from the Cambridge libel (93.73-4); **pipe** (also **pipng** l. 4) Williams cites ‘hornpipe’ as ‘allusive of cuckoldry or copulation’; **round** a short, simple song (*OED n.*¹ 19)
- 5 **pelting** violent, passionate (*OED adj.*² 1)

60

These six lines appear in a long narrative poem entitled ‘A straunge Dreame’ in Nicholas Breton’s *A Floorish vpon Fancie*, 1577 (F), sig. M2r.¹⁵⁷ In Breton’s poem the narrator finds himself in a ‘desart place’ where a ‘gallaunt Lady, all in white ... Holding a Citterne’ begins to sing a ‘sweete’ song: ‘There is no ioye, vnto content of minde’. The song (six lines in fourteeners), all that the narrator can remember (‘Lo, this was all I bare in minde, the rest I haue forgot’), matches the lines copied in 60. Two more manuscript copies of Breton’s song survive: Henry Wigley (‘quoth Wigley’) transcribed the first four lines, headed ‘Noe Ioye vnto contente of mynde’, on the fly-leaf of a copy of David Lindsay’s *A Dialogue Betweene Experience and a Courtier*, 1575, in Folger, ptd. bk. 15677 (W);¹⁵⁸ and Christopher Coniers copied all six lines, headed ‘There is no ioy vnto content of mind’, in his manuscript notebook, BL, Sloane MS 144 (S), f. 16r. This latter text can be dated quite precisely from the inscription on the previous page

¹⁵⁶ Fugger newsletter of 29 April 1581, quoted in Nelson 2003: 266.

¹⁵⁷ The poem appears in ‘The Toyes of an Idle Head’, a subsection (with its own title page) of *A Floorish*.

¹⁵⁸ The page in W is headed in the same contemporary secretary hand: ‘Henrie Wigley oweth this boke’.

(15v): ‘1585 Chr: Coniers Becham Reader’. A similar verse is attributed to Breton (‘Brittaine’) in BL, Sloane MS 2497, f. 36v:¹⁵⁹

No foe to fortune, No frind to faith No welthe
to witt this Brittain Saith, Pouertie wepethe
Charitie Slepeth, couitus taketh, Enuie wakethe.

Poem **60** is almost entirely comprised of proverbial wisdom; Breton frequently incorporated proverbs into his poems, recommending others to ‘Learne English Prouerbs, haue them wel by heart’ (*No Whipping*, 1601), and published his own idiosyncratic collection, *The Crossing of Prouerbs*, in 1616.

- 1 **plage** blow, wound (*OED* *n.* 1); **no** ... **want** proverbial (Tilley W594); **luckles love** a commonplace alliterative phrase: cf. Dyer’s ‘that luckles love’ (10.10). Breton was particularly fond of this tag: ‘Of Art of luckles loue’ and ‘The lodge of luckles loue’ (*A Floorish*, sigs. B1r, B4r); ‘Yea luckeles loue hath onely bred my bale’ (*The Workes of a Young Wyt*, 1577, sig. F4r).
- 2 **fo to fortune** proverbial, ‘fortune is (not) my foe’ (Whiting F529); **truth** ... **prove** proverbial, ‘try (try your friend) before you trust’ (Tilley T595)
- 3 **No Serpent** proverbial, ‘as bad as serpent’ (Whiting, S150); **corsey** grievance (*OED* *n.* 2). Cf. Breton’s ‘*Care* is both a Corsie & a comfort, all is in the vse of it’ (*The Wil of Wit*, 1597, sig. C4v).
- 4 **No** ... **liberty** There is a hint of the proverbial, ‘My mind to me a kingdom is’ (Tilley M972); cf. Breton’s ‘No misery to imprisonment’ (*Crossing of Prouerbs, The Second Part*, 1616, sig. B1r).
- 5 **phantasy** imagination (*OED* *fantasy*, *n.* 4a); cf. Breton’s ‘The feeble state of fickle fancies stay’ (*The Soules Immortall Crowne*, 1605, sig. B3v); **turnes** ... **winde** proverbial, ‘as wavering (changeable, fickle, inconstant) as the wind’ (Tilley W412).

Collations: three texts collated: F, S and W.

¹⁵⁹ This volume shares other poems with Hy and is mentioned in the commentaries for **144**, **112** and **28**.

Title: om.] There is no ioye, vnto content of minde F S, Noe Ioye vnto contente of mynde W

1 grief] Losse W

2 fo] frend W; frend] or frende S, foe W

3 a] *om.* F, vnto W

4 griefs] greif W

5-6 *om.* W

Subscription: FINIS] quoth Wigley W

There is only one substantive variant between Hy and F. In line 3, F's omission of 'a' is an error which Hy does not reproduce and is a tentative indication that Hy did not derive from the printed volume. S also has the correct reading in line 3, reinforcing the idea of a distinct manuscript tradition for the text; S also adds one error ('or' l. 2). W omits the last two lines and introduces five variants, three of which are certain errors; in this case the subscription 'quoth Wigley' suggests that the scribe altered the text to claim it as his own.

61

There are no other copies of this anonymous poem. The pentameter sixains contain no obvious corruptions.

2 **griefes** ... **grype** For this popular alliterative pairing, see 'grypinge gryef', 4.2; 'griping griefes', 86.1.

8 **poisoned baytes** Cf. Raleigh's 'A guilded hooke, that holdes a poisoned Bayte', 50.12.

10 **slayghtes** deceits, wily dealings (*OED* sleight, *n.*¹ 1); cf. for this view of women as deceitful, see 73. 41, 'ye wily wightes'

17-18 These lines are reminiscent of Dyer's 'For on the earthe may none but I, / This accent sownd aryghte' (1.151-2).

18 **set downe** put on paper, put down in writing (*OED* set, *v.*¹ 21a); **ground** extent (*OED* *n.* 1a)

19 For this oxymoron, cf. Dyer's 'A man in Ioy; that lyveth still in woe' (11.6).

- 23 **vnfaithfull** ... **vayne** for this anti-feminist sentiment, see the commentary to **x**; **fond** foolish, simple (*OED adj.* 2)
- 26 proverbial, ‘Fire that’s closest kept burns most of all’ (Tilley F265)
- 27-28 **ashes** ... **flaminge** proverbial, ‘Fire raked up in ashes keeps its heat a long time’ (Tilley F264)

62

There are no other copies of this anonymous poem. The poetic form is stanzaic (the lines rhyme as pentameter sixains) though the poem is copied without any marking of the stanzas. The first five lines have an irregular rhyme pattern (abcdd): the third line also appears to be a *non sequitur*, and this together with the defective form indicates a corruption in these lines.

- 6 **traunce** imagine (*OED* trance, *v.*¹ 2)
- 9 proverbial, ‘It is hard to strive against the stream’ (Dent S927)
- 10 proverbial, ‘a heart as hard as stone (steel)’ (Dent H310.1)
- 13 **Discharge** unload (*OED* discharge, *v.* 1)
- 14 **Discharge** probably a scribal slip: it repeats the word from l. 13 and creates a faulty end-rhyme (‘place / ... Discharge’); perhaps the intended reading is ‘Disgrace’.
- 15 **compased** ... **care** i.e. relief from a desire obtained, won (*OED* compass, *v.*¹ 11b) in exchange for grief or mental suffering
- 17 **Shewes** illusory appearances (*OED* show, *n.*¹ 6a)

Head-note to 63-65

These three couplets were copied at the same time and designated a single entry in the compiler’s numbering system (this can be seen more clearly in the *Overview table* in **Appendix 1**). The Latin tag ‘Futuris gaudeo presentia contemno’ is boxed off in the right-hand corner of the page (adjacent to the three couplets); the same motto is found attached to two lyrics copied earlier in the collection (see **19**).

This bawdy couplet was copied (c. 1559-1575) as a cross-rhymed quatrain into an anthology of Middle English verse and prose, BL, Add. MS 60577 (Win), f. 45v.¹⁶⁰ Another similarly dated copy is found in the miscellany belonging to Edward Gunter of Lincoln's Inn (admitted 24 January 1563), Bod., MS Rawl. poet. 108 (R10), f. 1v.¹⁶¹ Henry Stanford copied the couplet on a leaf chiefly devoted to bawdy riddles at the end of his verse anthology Dd, f. 63v.¹⁶² The enduring appeal of the lines is also seen from two copies transcribed in the seventeenth century: a copy written on a blank end-leaf in Thomas Overbury's *The First and Second part of The Remedy of Loue*, 1620, BL, ptd. bk. C.39.a.37 (Ov), f. 13r,¹⁶³ and a copy (c. 1630) placed amongst similarly bawdy pieces, in Folger, MS V.a.345 (V34), p. 280.

Collations: six texts collated: Dd, Gu, Ov, R10, V34 and Win.

1 As] Lyke as Win; to ... fyre] to set mens hartes on fire Dd Win, men to enflame R10
 2 Even ... have] so wemen haue Dd V34, So haue they Gu Win, So likewise they haue
 Ov; quenche] coole Ov; theyr desyre] ther hot desire Dd, the same R10, mens hote
 desyre Win

Hy aligns with the seventeenth-century texts, V34 and Ov. Dd, roughly contemporary with Hy, is closest to Win (the earlier text), sharing two variant readings: 'hartes' (l. 1) and 'hot desire' (l. 2). Gu is a more succinct version of the lines. The slight variation between the copies and Gu's variant version could indicate the transmission of this short piece through memorial transcription.

¹⁶⁰ For a facsimile edition of this manuscript, see Wilson 1981.

¹⁶¹ The couplet is written horizontally in the wide margins of this quarto volume; in the same hand on the opposite leaf is another couplet: 'Two teares commethe owt off a womans eye / the one is disceate the other is flatterye' (f. 5v). For a description of the contents of this manuscript, see Bliss 1812.

¹⁶² May 1988: xxxviii-xxxix.

¹⁶³ Fifteen blank leaves at the end of the book are filled with poems numbered to thirty-four; this poem is number 23.

This unique couplet placed between two bawdy, anti-feminist entries contains a fishing metaphor for sexual entrapment, where the ‘fyshers fraude’ and ‘Bayte’ allude to deceitful female allurements. It was a favorite metaphor of the period, for example in Barnabe Googe’s poem ‘To Alexander Neuell’ (beginning: ‘The lytell fysh, that in the streame doth fleet’):

Neuell to the,
that louest their wanton lookes,
feade on the bayte,
bvt yet beware the Hookes.

(*Eglogs Epytaphes, and Sonnettes*, 1563, sig. F3r)

- 1 **fletinge Fyshe** Cf. ‘whereby it is euidently seene that the fleetest fishe swalloweth the delicatest bayte ... and that the wittiest skonce is inuegled wyth the soddeyne viewe of alluringe vanities’ (John Lyly, *Euphues*, 1578, sig. B2r).
- 2 proverbial ‘The fish follow the hook (bait)’ (Tilley F306)

This unique bawdy couplet is the last in this trio of anti-feminist entries.

- 2 **boxes** figuratively, vaginas (Williams); **insatiable lether** for a similar idea, cf. John Davies’ epigram ‘In Katum’: ‘Content thee, Kate, although thy pleasure wasteth, / Thy pleasures place like a buff jerkin lasteth’ (*Epigrammes and Elegies*, 1599, sig. Br).

There are no other copies of this anonymous poem. The verse form is a Surrey sonnet. Coningsby originally added his own initials after the text but this is not necessarily an acknowledgement of authorship (see the **Introduction** pp. 68-70 for a discussion of this habitual practice).

- 1-3 These lines repeat the same idea, i.e. three different metaphors of ‘labour in vain’ (the rhetorical figure of *exergasia*); George Puttenham notes that this figure affords ‘copious & pleasant amplifications and much varieties of sentences all running vpon one point’ (*The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, sig. 2E2).
- 1 **till ... soyle** similar to the proverbial ‘To plow sand’ (Tilley S89)
- 2 **grapes ... thorn** proverbial, ‘One cannot gather grapes of thorns’ (Tilley G411)
- 4 **a scorn** a matter for scorn, something contemptible (*OED* scorn, *n.* 3)
- 6 **sues for service** See 39.12n.
- 7 **to gap** to make an opening (*OED* gap, *v.* c; earliest citation in this sense is from the nineteenth century); the line is metrically defective and this reading is probably corrupt. Perhaps the intended reading is ‘finds the gap’.
- 8 **I troth** truly, indeed (*OED* ‘in troth’ *n.* 4b)
- 10 proverbial, ‘Ready to dance to (run at) a (every) man’s pipe (whistle)’ (Dent M488)
- 12 **wantes** lacks (*OED* want *n.*² 2a); **bowes ... thistle** proverbial, ‘They have need of a blessing that kneel to a thistle’ (Dent N83)
- 14 **drosse** scum (thrown off from metals in the process of melting; *OED* dross, *n.* 1); ‘No Gold without dross’ is proverbial (Dent G289).

67

This poem was first printed in 1581 in Barnaby Rich’s collection of prose stories, *Riche his Farewell to Militarie Profession* (Ri).¹⁶⁴ In his address ‘To the noble Souldiours’ Rich describes the book as a ‘small volume of Histories, all treatyng ... of loue’ (sig. B1v). Poem 67 appears in the tale of ‘Nicander and Lucilla’. The ‘argument’ at the head of the tale sets out the basic story line: ‘Lucilla, a yong maiden, endued with singuler beautie, for want of a conuenient dowrie, was restrained from mariyng her beloued Nicander’ (sig. M1r). In the prose narrative, the poem is composed by Lucilla (signed: ‘Euer thyne Lucilla’) in response to a previous verse (‘The birde whiche long hath liued in pleasant feeld’), sent by her lover Nicander. Rich explains in his address ‘To the Readers in gererall’ that ‘The Histories (altogether) are eight in number’ and

¹⁶⁴ The volume must have been popular since it was reprinted in 1583 and 1594.

that the ‘third, the fourth, and the sixth: are Italian Histories, written ... by maister L. B.’ The tale of ‘Nicander and Lucilla’ is the ‘third Historie’ and thus falls in to the category of works by L. B. Cranfill suggests that these initials refer to Edmund Spenser’s close friend Lodowick Bryskett.¹⁶⁵

Coningsby originally signed his own initials to the poem (for this habitual practice, see **Introduction** pp. 68-70), and later changed the letters to ‘H W’ but this may be an attempt to disguise the original letters rather than a genuine alternative attribution (see **37**, fn. 89).

- 1-4 echoes Wyatt’s ‘Lyke as the birde within the cage enclosed, / The dore unsparred, her foe the Hawke without, / Twixt death and prison piteously oppressed’ (*Songes and Sonettes*, 1557, sig. L3r)
- 6 **Heste** bidding, command (*OED* hest, *n.* 1)
- 11 **H** ‘Humfrey’; the compiler’s use of amatory verse as ‘practical aids to courtship’ is discussed in the **Introduction** (pp. 62-3).
- 12 **Cressid** was unfaithfull to Troilus: see **75.2n**.
- 15 **as ... steele** proverbial (Dent S840)
- 21 **frame** dispose, incline (*OED* v. 5a)

Collations: one text collated: Ri.

I collate the text from the facsimile edition of 1581 sigs. M3r-v (reproduced in Cranfill 1959: 1-211).

4 Doth] doeth

5 doth] doeth

10 dearest *blank space*] deare Nicander

11 Hath] Haue; ‘wo’ *corr. to* H] wo

16 thy *blank space*] Lucilla

18 ever] neuer

19 she] wight

Subscription: FINIS H W] Euer thyne Lucilla

¹⁶⁵ 1959: xxii-xxxvi. Bryskett accompanied Philip Sidney on his grand tour of 1572-4 (*ODNB*: Bryskett): it is worth noting that the compiler’s cousin Thomas Coningsby was also a member of Sidney’s entourage during this European trip (see **Introduction** p. 30).

In Hy the names of the characters in the prose fiction ('Nicander' and 'Lucilla') are left blank and other slight adjustments to the text have been made to allow the insertion of two-syllable names ('dearest [blank space]' for 'deare Nicander' l. 10; and 'thy [blank space]' for Lucilla at l. 16). In line 11 the compiler initially copied 'Hath wrought to worke thy *wo* from thee' (concurring with the reading in the printed text) but subsequently deleted 'wo' and replaced it with his own initial 'H', so that the line would read: 'Hath wrought to worke thy *H* from thee' (my italics). At line 19, Hy's 'she' in place of 'wight' (in the printed text) changes the gender of the speaker (in the prose context of the printed volume the verse is spoken by Lucilla) but this jars with the (female) speaker's self-reference as a potential false 'Cressid' in line 12.

Another slight alteration in the copy-text is made at line 18, 'Nor ever', where Hy avoids a double negative (for this habit, see **Introduction** p. 73-4). A corruption introduced into the 1594 edition (*om.* 'true as' l. 15) is not reproduced in Hy; and Cranfill (1959: 217) records two variants in the 1606 edition which are, also, not present in Hy (7 forst] force ; 18 Nor Eyes] No eyes).

68

There are no other copies of this anonymous poem.

- 3 **trifling toyes** (i) amorous sport; (ii) foolish, trifling occupations (*OED* toy, *n.* 1, 5); for this phrase, see **91.14**
- 9 **lay** allay, put a stop to (*OED* v.¹ 3a); **misleeke** mislike
- 11 **Scope** desire, intent (*OED* *n.*² 2a)

69

This entry is an extract (ll. 17-20) from a longer poem ('Yf Ryght be rakt and over Roon') probably by John Harington the elder. Henry Sidney's chaplain Robert Commaundre copied the same four-line extract into his miscellany of prose and verse (compiled c. 1570-1602), BL, Egerton MS 2642 (E), f. 264v.¹⁶⁶ A copy of the complete poem in Harington's hand, signed with his distinctive monogram, is found in the

¹⁶⁶ This copy is followed directly by a short poem ('Hee that Spareth to Speake'; **96** in this edition) also attributed to Harington.

‘Blage’ manuscript TCD, MS 160 (Bl), f. 179r.¹⁶⁷ It also appears in the verse miscellany belonging to Harington (and later continued by his son Sir John), Hn, ff. 22r-v.¹⁶⁸ The poem was first printed in 1557 with the title ‘They of the meane estate are happiest’ in Tottel’s *Songes and Sonettes* (TM), sigs. N3r-v; and it was reprinted forty years later (with the variant opening ‘If right were rackt and ouer-runne’) entitled ‘A Poeme both pithie and pleasant’ in *The Arbor of Amorous Deuises*, 1597 (A), sigs. B2r-v.¹⁶⁹

The poem’s evident suitability for excerption is seen in two more copies of extracted stanzas: a copy of lines 9-12 in the autograph of Queen Elizabeth on the fly-leaf of a presentation copy of Coverdale’s version of *The New Testament* (1538?) presented to Anne Poyntz (subscribed: ‘Your louinge f<rend> maistres Elizabeth’), BL, ptd. bk. C.45.a.13, vii verso; and a copy of the first eight lines in Bod., MS Ashmole 45, pt. 1, f. 32r.¹⁷⁰ William Warner also seems to have been familiar with the same lines from the poem copied in Hy and E which he incorporated into his narrative poem *Albions England*: ‘Well wot I, sooth they say, that say: more quiet nights and daies / The Shepheard sleepes and wakes then he whose Cattell he doth graize’ (1586, sig. L3r).

1-4 proverbial, ‘the greatest wealth is contenment with a little’ (Dent W194)

4 **owde** owned (*OED* owe, v. 1a)

Collations: ll. 17-20; five texts collated: A, Bl, E, Hn and TM.

1 Heardman] Shepheard A E

¹⁶⁷ Ruth Hughey prints the poem from the Blage manuscript as ‘Poems accepted as Harington’s’ II A1 (1971: 85-6); the same monogram comprising the interwoven initials ‘I. H.’ (identified by Hughey as Harington’s monogram) appears again in the Blage manuscript at the head of another poem (96 in Hy) probably by Harington. Hughey suggests that Harington obtained access to the Blage manuscript after he succeeded George Blage (c. 1512-1551) as constable of Caernarvon Castle in 1551 (257). For the identification of John Mantell as the primary compiler, see Baron, 1989.

¹⁶⁸ Hughey suspects that the preceding poem in the collection is also by Harington, and a companion piece to ‘If right be rakt’ which it ‘resembles in style and form’ (1960: 2.21).

¹⁶⁹ Hughey (1960: 2.21) notes that in TM the poem follows Harington’s elegy on ‘master Deuerox’. Rollins (1936: xvi) comments that the copy printed in *The Arbor* was ‘lifted (and slightly changed) from Tottel’s *Miscellany* (1557-1587)’.

¹⁷⁰ The note at the head of the extract ‘becon in the Iuell of Ioye’ refers to the previous prose entry, which is taken from Thomas Becon’s *The Iewel of Ioye* (1550, sig. P7v).

2 *sub.* That quiet nights he had more sleepe A, that quyet nyghts he had moe slept Bl Hn
 TM, That hee more Quiet Sleepes had slept E
 3 more] moe Bl Hn TM; happy] merrie A Bl Hn TM
 4 that] whyche A Bl Hn, who E; owde] awght*; the ... kept] his Flock of sheepe A, the
 sheepe hee kept E

None of the copies are related in error but some grouping of the texts is possible. Hy and E are the only texts to contain the same extract from the poem; and both copies substitute 'happy' (l. 3) for 'merrie', the reading in all other witnesses. The oldest texts Bl, Hn and TM read 'moe' for 'More' (ll. 2, 3) a form which was replaced by the latter reading by the end of the seventeenth century (*OED* *mo*, *adv.*¹). A and E both contain the variant 'Shepherd' for 'Heardman' (l. 1) and substitute 'sheep' for 'Beastes' (l. 4), the reading in all other copies. Hy's unique reading 'owde' is a synonym for the more archaic 'awght' ('ought') and another indication that the text had been updated.

70

This poem is by Humphrey Gifford and was printed with the title 'A will or Testament' in his *Poesie of Gilloflowers*, 1580 (PG), sigs. K4v-L1r. Gifford may have been influenced by the medieval verse 'In four points my will is ere I hence depart', a 28-line poem which paraphrases the Latin funereal verse:

Terram terra tegat,
 Dæmon, peccata resumat
 Mundus res habeat,
 Spiritus alta petat.

[‘O earth take thou thy clod agayne / O hell take thou thy syn. / O worlde take thou thy
 goodes all wayne / O heaven receave me in’].¹⁷¹

¹⁷¹ The English translation is taken from Ot, f. 3v, where it appears among poems by Philip Sidney. *DIMEV* 2503 cites four manuscript witnesses for 'In four points my will is ere I hence depart' (three of which are prefaced by the Latin verse); the copy in BL, Lansdowne MS 762, f. 3r, is reproduced in Davies 1963: 287-8. For the tradition of the literary testament, see Boffey 1992.

- 1 The familiar iconography of Death: ‘But when I thought, longest to endure /
Death with his dart, arrest me sodainely’ (Stephen Hawes, *Pastime of
Plesure*, 1554, sig. 2B4v)
- 2 **Dinte** stroke, blow (*OED n.* 1a); **Corpes** body (*OED n.* 1)
- 4 **Testament** a formal declaration detailing the disposal of personal property after
death (formerly distinguished from a **will** relating to real (immovable) property)
- 16 **naughty** morally bad (*OED adj.* 2)
- 17 **eke** in addition (*OED adv.*)
- 22 **alway** always

Collations: one text collated: PG.

Title: om.] A will or Testament

1 his sharp] dint of

2 With Dedly Dinte] By fatall doome

3 lymmes] life

4 shall] thus

5 deare] faythfull; shall Executors] executors shall

9 The] Thy; wayes] shewes

10 ‘The’ *corr. to thy*] Thy

12 Take ... they] Doe take them, all doe

16 will] vile

17 thee ... fall] thy lot befall

18 take] take them

21 Love] lore

22 alway] alwayes

30 ‘She’ *corr. to I*] she

Subscription: FINIS om.

Hy has three certain errors: ‘will’ is probably a graphical error resulting from a misreading of ‘vile’ (l. 16), ‘them’ is omitted before ‘take’ (l. 18) leaving the line metrically defective, and ‘Love’ for ‘lore’ (l. 21) produces a faulty end-rhyme. This last error may have derived from a misreading of secretary hand ‘r’ as ‘v’. Line 17 also seems to be corrupt in Hy: ‘do to thee let them fall’ where PG has the more sensible reading ‘doe to thy lot befall’. Hy corrects ‘The’ to ‘thy’ (l. 10) concurring with PG;

and perhaps ‘The’ (l. 9) should also read ‘Thy’ as in PG. In the final line, Hy corrected another reading in the transcription from ‘She’ (concurring with PG) to ‘I’: this correction may have been prompted by the abrupt switch from the first-person address of the previous two lines, to the third person reference to the speaker’s female gendered ‘Sowle’ (l. 25). This change is typical of the compiler’s correction of perceived grammatical anomalies seen elsewhere in the manuscript (this is discussed in the **Introduction** pp. 73-5).

PG contains one obvious error: ‘lingering *life* shall from my *life* depart’ (l. 3) where Hy provides what must be the intended reading ‘lingringe *lyfe*, shall from my *lymmes* departe’ (my italics). Further textual variants (ll. 1, 2, 5 and 12) indicate that Hy was not derived from PG but from a transcribed source that represents separate, scribal circulation.

71

Coningsby originally added his own initials after the text but this is not usually an acknowledgement of authorship (see the **Introduction** pp. 68-70 for a discussion of this habitual practice); he later wrote over these initials with what appears to be the letters ‘R E’, and a final attribution ‘R P’, was added alongside the original subscription. Two more poems in the collection carry the same initials: **31** is signed ‘quod R. P.’ and **4** is assigned to ‘RO POO.’. Another sixteenth-century copy of the poem is found in Fo, pp. 25-6, and a copy of the last five stanzas entitled ‘Coyness discovered’ was transcribed early in the seventeenth century in Bod., MS Rawl. poet. 172 (R72), f. 2v.¹⁷² Two identically truncated versions beginning ‘The wiles and guiles which women work’ (l. 43), and entitled ‘vpon one that went a woeing’ are found in student verse miscellanies compiled during the 1620s: BL, Add. MS 30982 (A82), f. 52v, and BL, Sloane MS 1792 (S3), f. 11r. Another complete copy was transcribed c. 1640 in Folger, MS V.a.339 (V33), f. 185v.¹⁷³ The poem was printed in 1599 among ‘Sonnets To sundry notes of Musicke’ in *The Passionate Pilgrim* (PP), sigs. D1r-3r.¹⁷⁴

¹⁷² The text from Fo is discussed and printed in Marotti 2002: 75-6.

¹⁷³ The copy is attributed to ‘W.S.’ in a later hand (probably that of the literary editor and forger John Payne Collier); see Freeman and Freeman (QD4) 2.1158, 1163: 2004.

¹⁷⁴ An earlier edition probably printed in the same year only survives as a fragment; the poem also appears in the augmented edition of *The Passionate Pilgrim* printed in 1612 (with two variants: 4 (partyall might)] (party all might); 51 are] ere). Despite the title page attribution of

- 1 **When that** when; Ovid similarly advises the would-be-lover: ‘Principio, quod amare velis, reperire labora’ [‘First, strive to find an object for your love’] (*Art of Love* 1.35).
- 2 **stawld** brought to a standstill (*OED* v.¹ 10); **Deare** variant spelling of deer but punning on ‘deer’ / ‘dear’; for the classical tradition of hunting as a metaphor of sexual pursuit cf. Ovid’s ‘Scit bene venator, cervis ubi retia tendat’ [‘Well knows the hunter where to spread his nets for the stag’] (*Art of Love* 1.45).
- 3 **Reason rule** Proverbial (Dent R43); ‘Let reason rule’ was also a popular ring posy: ‘To his Loue that sent him a Ring wherein was graude *Let Reason rule*’ (George Turbervile, *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, 1567, sig. L6v); see also, Evans 1931: xx.
- 4 **parcyall lyke** that is partial (*OED* -like, *suffix* 2a); cf. ‘As we to Ours, Others to theirs, like parcial Fancie haue’ (William Warner, *Albions England*, 1597, sig. T3r).
- 8 **filed talke** rhetorically polished speech; Ovid likewise advises the lover to avoid ‘troublesome words’ (‘verba molesta’): ‘Sit tibi credibilis sermo consuetaque verba, / Blanda tamen’ [‘Your language should inspire trust and your words be familiar, yet coaxing too’] (*Art of Love* 1. 467-8).
- 9 **practise** stratagem (*OED* practice, *n.* 5b)
- 10 **halte** limp (*OED* *n.*²); proverbial, ‘It is hard (ill) halting before a cripple’ (Tilley H60)
- 13 Ovid gives similar advice to the would-be lover: ‘Quod dicet, dicas; quod negat illa, neges. Riserit, adride; si flebit, flere memento; Imponat leges vultibus illa tuis’ [‘Affirm what she affirms and deny what she denies. If she laughs, laugh with her; if she weeps, remember to weep; let her impose her laws upon your countenance’] (*Art of Love* 2. 200-202).

the volume to ‘W. Shakespeare’, ‘Only five of the poems are undoubtedly by Shakespeare’, and according to the poem’s recent editors ‘there is no reason, either stylistic or textual, to believe that this poem is really by Shakespeare’ (Duncan-Jones & H. R. Woudhuysen 2007: 83-85). The poem was printed again in 1640, with the title ‘Wholesome counsell’, in John Benson’s ‘inauthentic’ edition: *Poems: Written by Wil. Shake-speare*; this collection reprints the whole of *The Passionate Pilgrim*.

- 14 **spend** (i) spend words on praising; (ii) spend money on gifts; cf. ‘The thirteenth statute ... Some hert, or ryng, or lettre, or devise, / Or precious stone - but spare not for no price!’ (*The Court of Love*, ll. 393-9; Forni 2005: 19).
- 15 **sound prayse** i.e. the words of praise are constantly present to his mistress (‘ringing ... in her Eare’). This also extends the punning on ‘expenses’ as both verbal and monetary, with the added suggestion of jingling coins.
- 18 **Goulden Bullet** (1) eloquent persuasive speech; cf. ‘Loue them that plainly tels you true, / And banish golden speach’, Richard Robinson, *A Golden Mirroure*, 1589, sig. G2v; (2) financial inducement; cf. Ovid’s ‘auro conciliatur amor’ [‘by gold is affection gained’] (*Art of Love* 2. 277-8).
- 22 **Prese** endeavour, attempt (*OED* v.¹ 10)
- 23 **Doth serue** affords an opportunity (*OED* serve, v.¹ 25)
- 24 **profer** put yourself forward (*OED* 1a); **put it backe** refuse it (*OED* put, v. ‘to put back’ 3)
- 28 **Dissembled** hid, concealed. (*OED* dissemble v.¹ 1)
- 30 **put away** dismissed (*OED* put, v. 11b)
- 31 **try** show, demonstrate (*OED* 13)
- 32 **ban & brawle** curse and scold; **thee** thee
- 34 **Crafte** deceit, guile (*OED* 4a)
- 36 **Bythe Masse** by the mass, a common oath (*OED* mass, n.¹ 4a)
- 37 **match** mate, pair; Williams cites Buckley’s ‘Oxford Libell’: ‘shall madge our maide matche my good man’.
- 38 **to Saynte** as a saint (*OED* 5)
- 39 **Here** (1) on earth; (2) in women; cf. Dyer’s ‘NO WOMEN ANGELS BE ON EARTHE’ (1.87).
- 42 **On** one
- 45 **trickes & toyes** (1) ruses and whims; (2) artifice in appearance and frivolous adornments; **wurke** effect
- 46 **trede** **them** copulates with them (i.e. hens) (*OED* tread, v. 8a); cf. Chaucer’s *Nun’s Priest’s Tale*: ‘He fethered Pertelote twenty time, / And trad hire eke as ofte’ (3177-8).
- 48 proverbial, ‘A woman says nay and means aye’ (Dent W660); cf. Ovid’s ‘Pugnabit primo fortasis, et “improbe” dicet: / Pugnando vinci se tement illa volet’ [‘Perhaps she will struggle at first, and cry “You villain!” yet she will

wish to be beaten in the struggle’] (*Art of Love* 1.665-6; the Latin lines are quoted in **vi**); **nought** puns on the ‘nothing’ of female genitalia

51 **sticke** hesitate (*OED* v.¹ 15a)

54 **bewrayde** exposed (*OED* 2a)

Collations: Marotti (2002: 77-8) collates Hy, Fo, PP and V33; my collation adds two texts: A82 and R72; not collated: S3.

Title: *om.*] vpon one that went a woeing A82

1-24 *om.* A82, R72

25 frowning Browes] cloudie looks A82

26 cloudy Lookes] stourne browes A82; calm] cleare R72

27 *sub.* and then to late shee will repent A82

28 *om.* R72

30 That] him R72

31 What] that A82; try] shewe R72

36 Bythe Masse] good sooth A82, in faythe R72; he] you*

37-43 *om.* A82

38 And] to R72; ‘in’ *corr. to*] in R72

39 Here] there R72; be] by R72

40 them] thee R72

41 Kissing] kisses R72

43 wiles] smiles A82; Gibes] giles*; that ... lurke] which woemen worke A82

45 the ... wurke] that in them lurke A82

46 shall not] cannot A82

49-54 *om.* A82

49 Now (whoe)] Nowe hoe R72

53 Yet] *om.* R72

Subscription: FINIS <R E> R P] *om.**

Marotti (2002: 77-8) concludes that Hy is the best text with Fo as ‘a close second’. Marotti draws attention to V33’s high number of unique readings, most of which are inferior and probably derived from scribal carelessness, or from changes introduced to the text during a longer period in circulation (reflecting the later date of transcription for this copy). Marotti also notes a number of errors in the printed text (PP). My collation

adds R72, a new substantive witness for the final five stanzas, and A82, a text of stanzas six to eight which reorders the lines as follows: 43-48, 32-33, 31, 34-36, and 25-30. This last text is probably a careless copy of the printed version of the poem (PP) as it shares the same version of line 27, switches the ending of lines 43 and 45 as in PP, and shares another variant in line 34.

None of the substantive texts are related in error. Two Hy readings are probably errors: ‘he’ for ‘you’ (l. 36) and ‘wiles and *Gibes*’ (l. 43) for ‘wiles and *giles*’ (my italics). An interesting divergence in the texts (in lines 38-40) may have resulted from scribal sophistication and suggests that contemporary readers found the lines confusing. Hy’s version of lines 38-40 is close to R72 and V33 where Fo and PP diverge in their readings. Hy’s reading ‘*Here* is no Heven’ (i.e. *on earth* or *in women*) is followed by the imperative statement directed at the would-be-lover to ‘*be* holly’ when ‘Age shall *them* [i.e. women] attaynte’. This version is almost identical in R72 except that ‘*Here*’ is replaced by ‘*There*’ and the speaker is advised to ‘*by* [i.e. *be*] holy’ when age attains *him* (‘thee’). V33’s variant version of line 40 conveys the same sense as R72: ‘till time shall *thee* with age attaint’. Both these readings work but do not follow on very logically from the previous line where the focus is on women’s lustful appetites; Fo’s version of the lines, continuing the idea that there is nothing Saintly in women, presents the most satisfactory reading: ‘*they* [i.e. women] holy beginne when age dothe *them* attaynte’. But it is difficult to decide between the different versions of these lines, and it is unlikely that Fo’s version was transformed through scribal error into the roughly similar versions represented by Hy, R72 and V33. Fo’s clearer meaning in this line might be a case of scribal sophistication of the text. Fo’s variant line 38, ‘and not to live soe like a sainte’, similarly summarises the basic gist of the line found in the other texts but loses the rhetorically balanced phrases, ‘in (to) sinne ... to Sainte’, present in all the other versions.

A few Hy marginal corrections (where the original reading is supported in one or more witnesses) produce inferior readings and may have been introduced by the copyist (for this habit of correcting see **Introduction** pp. 73-75). In line 16, the compiler originally copied ‘*By* ringing’, a reading supported in two out of the three texts that contain this line (Fo and PP), but changed the reading to ‘*be* ringing’ (producing a less satisfactory reading which spoils the run-on from the previous two lines that began with the imperative ‘Spare’). In line 38, the compiler first copied ‘lyve *in* synne, and not *to* Saynte’ but changed the reading to ‘lyve *to* synne ... *to* Saynte’. Once again two

texts support Hy's original reading (R72 and V33); the remaining texts contain different versions of the line: PP retains the rhetorically balanced elements in 'To sinne and neuer for *to saint*', but Fo's version is a redaction of the line not supported by any other witness, 'and not to live soe like a sainte'.

72

There are no other copies of this anonymous sixain.

- 3 **Fortunes lap** proverbial, 'In the lap of Fortune' (Dent L67.12)
- 4 **blisse ... bale** formulaic alliterative phrase; cf. 'As earst I sayd, my blisse was turnd to bale' (William Baldwin, *The Last Part of the Mirour for Magistrates*, 1578, sig. 2A1v).
- 5 **flax ... fyre** proverbial, 'Put not fire to tow (flax)' (Dent F278)
- 6 **depe desire** popular alliterative tag; cf. 'drowned in depth of deepe desire' (*The Last Part of the Mirour*, sig. T1v); 'Yet deepe desire, to gayne a heauenly blisse' (George Gascoigne, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, 1573, sig. B2r).

73

There are no other copies of this poem. The subscription could refer to the author or an individual who had supplied the compiler with the poem (see the discussion of this in the **Introduction** pp. 67-68). The poem's wry treatment of courtship is shared with **71** (though with less humour), interpreting any female resistance as a deception ('wily wightes' l. 41) since at the slightest instigation she 'yeldes herself' (l. 23).

- title **Tempo indarno perso pyango** 'I weep for the time that was wasted in vain'; cf. Petrarch's *Rime* 365: 'I'vo piangendo i miei passati tempi' ['I go weeping for my past time'].
- 1 **Hap** good fortune, good luck (*OED* hap, *n.*¹ 1)
 - 3 **of** off
 - 7 **froward** See 4.91, 94n.; **houldes me owt** excludes me, keeps me out (*OED* hold, v. 5)
 - 9 **bootles** useless (*OED* 3 *adj.*¹); **bragges** for example, in 71.35-6 'Had women bin as strong as Men, / ... he had not had it then'.

- 10 Cf. 71.25 'What though her frowning Browes be bent'.
 23 For the same sentiment, cf. 71.33 'Her feeble force will yeld at lengthe'.
 26 **on** one
 32 **Bane** ruin (*OED n.*¹ 5)
 35 **devise** will, inclination (*OED device, n.* 3a); **draught** scheme, plan (*OED draught, n.* 33)
 36 **Stowte** unyielding, proud (*OED adj.* 4b)
 41 **wily wightes** i.e. women; cf. 71.43 'The wiles ... that in them lurke'.

74

There are no other copies of this poem. Coningsby originally added his own initials after the text but this is not usually an acknowledgement of authorship (see the **Introduction** pp. 68-70 for a discussion of this habitual practice). However the numerous echoes of lines from poems within the collection itself (see below) present a case for including 74 among the instances of the compiler's own verse compositions. One mitigating factor is the presence of a probable error that looks like a scribal slip: 'tho' for 'so' (l. 14).

- 1 **sorte** lottery (*OED sort n.*¹ 2a)
 5, 8 **blinded God assinde ... by Doome** cf. 'by Doome, / As Cupid hath assinde' (78.23-4).
 7 **belapt** (*OED belap v.*) entangled, wrapped up; **carefull** full of care (*OED* 1);
lyne (1) fishing-line; (2) strings or cords laid for snaring birds
 8 **Doome** fate (adverse), irrevocable destiny (*OED* 4a); **repyne** complain (*OED v.* 1)
 17 **worthy wight** For this phrase, see 47.7.
 20 **Suyte & Service** See 39.12n.; **pickes have past** i.e. pikes: a weapon consisting of a long wooden shaft with a pointed steel head; figuratively, to pass through difficulties or dangers (*OED pike, n.*⁴ 1; P1); cf. 130.19 where this idea is employed as a sexual double-entendre: 'We passe the pikes with payne'.
 22 **reptte** reaped
 23 **non** none
 26 **Dinte** stroke, blow (*OED n.* 1a)

- 28 **bale** release (*OED* bail, v.¹ 2b)
 30 **might and mayne** For this phrase, see 130.17.
 31 **feature fine** pleasing appearance
 32 **curious eyen** For this phrase, see 32.1.
 33 **froward** See 4.91, 94n.; **layes the Logge** places obstacles (*OED* log, n.¹ 1b)
 35 **clogge** See 12. 35n.
 36 echoes 12.13-15: 'Only my wishe ... A Badge whereby'
 37 **sooth** truth (*OED* 1a)
 38 proverbial (Tilley B247)
 39 **were** diminish (*OED* wear, v.¹ 11); **by want** i.e. for lack of (*OED* want, n.² 2c)
 39-40 **want** ... **scant** this rhyme is found at 34.1, 3

75

There are no other copies of this anonymous poem.

- 1 **Tantalus** 'in hell tormented ... alwayes thursty and hungry, for as often as he stoupeth to drynke, or holdeth vp his handes to gather the appuls, both the water and the tree dooe withdrawe them so from hym, that he can not touche them' (Cooper); **Etna** ... **burn** proverbial, 'to burn like Aetna' (Dent A47.11)
 2 **trauncing** swooning (*OED* v.¹ 1b); **Troilus** ... **love** proverbial, Troilus the true' (Dent T527.1); **Leander** 'was in love with Ero, a beautifull maide of the towne Sestus, on the other side of the sea ... This man when he had oftentimes used in the night to swimme ouer the water to his loue Ero, at the last ... he drowned. ... Ero perceyuing out of a turret did for sorrow cast hirsselfe into the sea' (Cooper); the story of Hero and Leander is told in Ovid's *Heroides* 18, 19.
 3 **Siciphus** See 1.135n.; **Alexion** 'Ixion...was driuen downe into hel, and there bounde to a wheele alwaies tournynge' (Cooper); **weare** wear away, waste (*OED* wear, v.¹ 13)
 4 **Eneas** 'Aeneas, son to Anchises and Venus, who after that Troye was destroyed, sayled into Italy' (Cooper)
 5 **Thystalus** probably Titius, another of the damned soules commonly evoked in love laments: 'Some one repeates, he rouses the restles stone / With SISIPHVS: an other Tantal payne / Doth beare: the third is rack'd with

IXION: / And others do like TITIVS complaine' (Robert Parry, *Sinetes Passions vppon his Fortunes*, 1597, sig. D2v). Cooper describes his punishment: 'Tityus ... lieth in hell, hauynge an eagle alway eatynge his lyuer'.

7 Echoes Surrey's 'If care do cause men cry':

For all thinges hauing life sometime haue quiet rest.

The bearing Asse, the drawing Oxe, and euery other beast.

(*Songes and Sonettes*, 1557, sig. D3r)

11 **condescend** yield, comply (*OED* v. 4)

14 **Dedalus** 'Son of Daedalus, who hauing winges, with his father flew out of the yle of Crete: ... wherwith the feathers of his wynges were glewed, melted with the heate of the Sunne' (Cooper)

16 **Helen** See 27.28n.

17 **Cressid** beloved of Troilus and archetype of an unfaithful woman (the Troilus-Cressida story was transmitted via Henryson and Chaucer); **Imphier** perhaps Iphigenia 'the daughter of kynge Agamemnon' (Cooper)

18-19 **Paris** ... **Iudge** The story of the Judgment of Paris (see 138.5n).

19 **magus son** probably a scribal misreading of 'Maia's (spelt 'Mayas') son' i.e. Mercury. Lucian's version of the Judgment of Paris has Mercury taking the golden apple to Paris because Zeus cannot resolve the quarrel; **Sisters iij** Juno, Pallas and Venus.

20 **Apelles** 'An excellent peinter in the tyme of great Alexander ... Whan he died, he left an Image of Venus ... which no man after hym durst enterpryse to finyshe, for the incomparbale beautie thereof' (Cooper)

21 **table bord** i.e. the board forming the top of a table (*OED* table-board, *n.* 2)

23 **Pigmalion** The tale of how Venus brought to life a statue made by Pygmalion is told in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 1.588.

A close version of this posy appears in Thomas Wythorne's manuscript autobiography (Bod., MS Eng. misc. c.330) written sometime between 1569 and 1577.¹⁷⁵ Wythorne introduces the rhyming posy as 'sumwhat altered' from 'the verses that I kawzed to be graven in her [his mistress's] ring':

De eie did fynd
de hart did chooz
and loov did bynd
til death shiuld looz.¹⁷⁶

(Bod., MS Eng. misc. c.330, f. 57r)

Wythorne probably borrowed the lines from an existing posy since it is found elsewhere: it appears in Edward Brooke's miscellany (c. 1605) in a list of rhymed posies: 'Eye doth find, heart doth chose / Faith doth bind death doth lose' (Lambeth Palace Library, Sion College Collection, MS English 65, f. 29r).¹⁷⁷ Evans also quotes a ring posy: 'Faith doth bind and death doth loose', from Arthur L. Humphreys' *A Collection of Posy Ring Mottoes*, 1902; and 'A Posie sent with a paire of Bracelets', 'Mine eye did see, my heart did choose, / True loue doth binde, till death doth loose', printed as no. 55 in *Loues Garland, or Posies for Rings, Hand-kerchers, and Gloues* (1624, sig. A2v).¹⁷⁸

George Puttenham acknowledged the literary tradition 'Of short Epigrammes called posies' in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) describing their contemporary use: 'we call them Posies, and do paint them now a dayes vpon back sides of fruite trenchers of wood, or vse them as deuises in rings and armes and about such courtly purposes' (sig. H4r). The compiler's interest in posies is also seen from the motto used as a personalised signature (see **ix**), other posies in the collection (**38** and **77**), and from the

¹⁷⁵ Osborn 1961: lxii.

¹⁷⁶ On the same page, Wythorne added his own response to the posy ('vnto the which verses I added thez fowr verses foloing'):

For reazon now
hath brok the band
sins to yowr vow
yee wold ot stand.

¹⁷⁷ Evans 1931: xviii.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*: 34.

bequest to his mother of a gold ring engraved with an unspecified posy: ‘I giue to Dame Anne Ketelbye my mother, a ringe of goulde with wordes whiche myne Executor knoweth’.¹⁷⁹

77

Evans records a few shorter, similar ring posies in Ha: ‘I like, I loue, I liue content, / I made my choyce not to repent’ (f. 163r) and ‘My choyes is made, I am content’ (f. 161r).¹⁸⁰

78

This poem is attributed to Richard Edwards in *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*, 1576 (P), sig. H1v; the attribution remains unchanged in all subsequent editions.¹⁸¹ The heading ‘ballet’ is a generic marker indicating that the poem had been set to music (see **Introduction** pp. 70-72). King points out that the surviving musical settings for Edward’s poems follow ‘the sense and rhythm of the words, not the metre’ displaying a ‘varied, lovely rhythm’, which goes some way to explaining the contemporary appeal of Edward’s lyric verse (invariably regular in metrical form, and usually in fourteeners couplets, or poulter’s measure with a mid-line caesura).¹⁸²

- 1-6 Cf. Alexander Neville’s translation of Seneca’s *Oedipus*, ‘For as the mountayns houe and hie, / the blustryng windes withstand, / And craggy Rocks, the belching fluds / do dash and beate from land’ (1563, sig. A1r).
- 2 **haughty** high (*OED* 3)
- 9 **stoute** brave, resolute (*OED* *adj.* 1)
- 12 **borne** i.e. displayed on a shield or worn on a suit of armour
- 18 **By ... Decay** proverbial, ‘Time devours (consumes, wears out) all things’ (Tilley T326)
- 23 **Doome** fate (adverse), irrevocable destiny (*OED* 4a)
- 26 **hest** bidding, command (*OED* 1)

¹⁷⁹ See **Appendix 4**.

¹⁸⁰ Evans 1931: 53. Ha ff. 160v-163v collects together over 400 ‘Poesyes’. Evans cites the list as ‘the most important literary source of our knowledge of the posies of the time’ (xvii).

¹⁸¹ On the print editions, see the head-note to **4**.

¹⁸² King 2001: 5 (**78** is printed as no. 15, 217). The fourteeners couplets are not split in P.

- 30 **Truth** faithfulness, constancy, fidelity (*OED* 1a)
 43 **shrine** enshrine (*OED* v. 4); cf. ‘But aye for to be shrinde in brest, / and borne in constant minde’ (Edmund Elviden, *The Most Excellent and Plesant Metaphoricall History of Pesistratus and Catanea*, 1570, sig. I5r).
 44 **crave** demand (*OED* 1a)

Collations: one text collated: P.

Title: ballet] He requesteth some frendly comfort affirmyng his constancie

1 toppe] topps

2 touch] mete

3 Seas] sea

6 ‘blowingē’ *corr. to* blustringe] blustryng

10 Declareth princely] declares a princlike

12 Knighte] kyngs

13-16 *order rev.* 15-16, 13-14

15 venomēd iawes] poisoned waies

16 ‘Doth’ *corr. to* Do] doeth; vp] out

23 thine own] as thine

25-32 *order rev.* 29-32, 25-28

25 as now] I vowe

26 ‘will’ *corr. to* hest] hests

30 Truth] trothe

31 Life ... Frendes] goods my frends, my life; ar] is

32 needes me] nede I

33 since] sith

35 Nor] Ne; ‘silvered’ *corr. to* silver] siluer

37 Therfore now leave] Wherefore leaue now

39 stray] straine; hand, & Pen] azured vaines

41 to ... deare] more deare to me

43 my mynde shall] I minde to

Subscription: FINIS] M. Edwards

Hy corrects three variants to readings that agree with P: ‘blowingē’ (l. 6) is corrected to ‘blustringe’ concurring with the reading in P; ‘will’ (l. 26) is corrected to ‘hest’, which

is close to the reading ‘hests’ in P, and the variant ‘silvered’ (l. 35) was corrected to ‘silver’ in agreement with P. The copyist made the corrections during the original transcription and was probably correcting from the same copy-text, on a second reading, carefully checking over his transcription. At the same time he also corrected a reading which concurred with P: ‘Do’ for ‘Doth’ (l. 16), the expected form to agree with the plural subject ‘iawes’; there are examples throughout the manuscript of the compiler’s close scrutiny of the text, correcting perceived grammatical errors with marginal annotations. Hy’s variant ‘*toppe*’ (l. 1) is also the expected form to agree with ‘Doth’ where P has ‘*topps* ... doeth’.

Hy contains two probable errors: ‘stray’ (l. 39) and ‘my mynde shall shrine’ (l. 43) should probably read ‘straine’ and ‘I minde (i.e. intend) to shrine’ as in P. P contains two readings which were corrected in subsequent editions: ‘waies’ (l. 15) was corrected in editions of *The Paradyse* from 1578 to ‘iawes’ in agreement with the reading in Hy; and ‘Therefore’ (l. 37) was changed to ‘Wherefore’ in editions printed from 1600 in agreement with Hy (Rollins, 1927: 158). P’s variant ‘*kyngs* in fight’ (l. 12) seems also inferior to Hy’s ‘*Knighte* in fighte’ with its playful use of assonance (also found at l. 6 with ‘blustringe blaste’). A few more unique variants from P (ll. 2, 10, 12, 15 and 23) and the differing order of lines 13-16, 25-32 indicate that Hy belongs to a distinct manuscript tradition of the poem.

79

There are no other copies of this unique poem. This is the first of three consecutive poems where Coningsby originally added his own initials after the text, but this is not usually an acknowledgement of authorship (see the **Introduction** pp. 68-70 for a discussion of this habitual practice).

1-4 These lines are modelled on a poem by Surrey (the same lines of Surrey’s are echoed in 4.1-3n.):

If care do cause men cry, why do not I complaine?

If eche man do bewaile his wo, why shew not I my paine?

Since that amongst them all I dare well say is none,

So farre from weale, so full of wo, or hath more cause to mone.

(*Songes and Sonettes*, 1557, sigs. D3r-v)

- 5-15 These lines are loosely based on Gorges' 'The gentle season of the yeare' **110**; some of Gorges' phraseology is also retained (see 7n. and 19n. below), but the author is not likely to have known Gorges' poem from the version represented in Hy (see 13-14n.).
- 7 **clad ... Greene** Cf. 'The Meades ar mantled all w^{ith} greene. / ... Leaves have clad the Treene' **110.7-8**
- 9, 10 **raine**, / ... **faire** the end words in this couplet fail to rhyme: perhaps 'faire' should read 'faine' i.e. glad
- 13-14 Echoes **110.3-5**, but in a different version from Hy's: since it mentions 'Savours' from the phrase 'savour with delight' (l. 4) where Hy has an alternative corrupt reading: 'glymmer w^{ith} the Light'; see the collation analysis to **110**.
- 16 **Netles ... overgrowne** Cf. Dyer's 'To Nettles now my Corne' **1.53**.
- 17-18 These lines echo Petrarch's much imitated 'galley' poem (*Rime* 189; also imitated in **20.23-30** and **147.10-17**).
- 18 **fraight** laden (*OED* freight, *adj.* 1)
- 19 **Dimme the Ayer** For the same phrase, see **110.38**.
- 23-24 **lyfe**, / ... **strife** For this rhyming pair, see **110.40-1**.
- 24 **sterve** starve (*OED* v. 7); **in strife** in a state of discord or contention (*OED* n. 2a *Phr.*)
- 32 **Racke ... wheele** instruments of torture or punishment

80

This is the second of three consecutive poems where Coningsby originally added his own initials after the text, but this is not usually an acknowledgement of authorship (see the **Introduction** pp. 68-70 for a discussion of this habitual practice). The note at line fifteen informs the reader that there is a continuation for this poem, beginning 'Twixte halfe asleepe and half awake', much earlier in the manuscript on 'folio pagina, 30'. This corresponds to folio 26v (poem **19**) in this edition, and the Arabic numeral 30, crossed out by a later hand, is visible in the left-hand corner of the manuscript. The note not only confirms that Coningsby was responsible for paginating the volume but also provides the clue to the authorship of **80**. Breton is probably responsible for the continuation and a correspondence between ideas and phrasing suggests that both

poems were written by the same author. The Latin motto heading the poem is another tacit indication that Breton may be the author, since his father-in-law George Gascoigne adopted a revised version of the proverb as a personal signature, to say that he had not learned from experience: ‘Haud ictus sapio’ [‘Struck, I am not wise’]. Gascoigne signed eight poems with this motto in *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, 1573.¹⁸³

- title **Ictus Sapio** ‘Once stung I am wise’; this motto derives from an Adage of Erasmus: ‘Piscator ictus sapiet’ [‘Once stung, the fisherman will be wiser’] and is equivalent to the English proverb ‘The fisher stricken will be wise’ (Dent F332).
- 1-2 Cf. Breton’s, ‘As I of late this other day, lay musing in my bed, / And thinking vpon sundry toyes, that then come in my hed’ (*A Floorish vpon Fancie*, 1577, sig. L3v); cf. also, ‘On loathed bed I lay, my lustlesse lims to rest’ (‘The Preamble to N. B. his Garden plot’ in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593, sig. D3r).
- 3 **pale and wan** formulaic phrase: pale and sickly (*OED* wan, *adj.* 4a)
- 4 **silly** poor; helpless; simple (*OED* *adj.* 1a, b, 3a)
- 7 **the** thee
- 8 **atoo** in two (*OED* a-two, *adv.*); cf. Breton’s ‘To cut atwo this lucklesse lyne of lyfe’ (*A Floorish vpon Fancie*, 1577, sig. G3r)
- 13 **fell** ... **slumber** the poem ends rather anticlimactically and the continuation (see 19) provides the ‘dream vision’ that might be expected after the speaker falls asleep.
- 14 **folio pagina** Latin for leaf ... page; for a note on Hand A’s pagination of the manuscript (see **Introduction** p. 14)

81

This is the third of three consecutive poems where Coningsby added his own initials after transcribing the text (see the **Introduction** pp. 68-70 for a discussion of this habitual practice). The poem is in fact by George Whetstone and appeared in his collection of stories, *An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses*, 1582 (Hep), sigs. P4r-v. In

¹⁸³ See Pigman 2000: 631.

the prose context the poem is sung at an after-dinner entertainment to the accompaniment of a lute.¹⁸⁴

Queene Aurelia sent for the chosen company, who placed in the drawing Chamber: the Eunuck knowing his charge, tuned his Lute, and songe this following Sonet.

Another substantive copy with the variant opening ‘Who fears for thorns to pluck the lovely rose’ was printed in 1655 in John Cotgrave’s *Wits Interpreter* (Co), sigs. P6v-7r.¹⁸⁵

- 1 proverbial, ‘No rose without a thorn (prickle)’ (Dent R182)
- 2 **to ... smell** smell a nettle (*OED* smell, v. 6a)
- 3 proverbial, ‘Faint heart ne’er won fair lady’ (Tilley H302)
- 4 **leade ... Hell** Cf. the proverbial, ‘Old maids lead apes in hell’ (Tilley M37).
- 5 proverbial, ‘One cannot gather grapes of thorns’ (Tilley G411)
- 7 Cf. ‘Work minde into the Skyes, thy Body taketh stand’ (45.1).
- 8 Whetstone repeats this sentiment: ‘Perryll maketh honor perfect: the styngyng of the Bee mendes the sweetenes of Honie: Roses best refresheth our Sences, when we prick our handes to reache them’ (*An Heptameron*, sig. Q1v).
- 9 **Icarus** ‘Son of Daedalus, who hauing winges, with his father flew out of the yle of Crete: ... wherwith the feathers of his wynges were glewed, melted with the heate of the Sunne’ (Cooper)
- 18 **Mistres ... brest** Castiglione explicates this notion of early modern psychology:
Therefore whan an amiable countenance of a beautiful woman commeth in his sight ...
assoone as he is a ware that his eyes snatch that image and carie it to the hart, and that
the soule beeginneth to beehoulde it with pleasure’ (*The Courtyer*, tr. Thomas Hoby,
1561, sigs. 2V2v-3r)

Collations: two texts collated: Co and Hep.

- 1 Who Prickles feares] Who fears for thorns Co
- 3 through] though Hep
- 4 Drudge] droyle Hep

¹⁸⁴ In *Aurelia* (the 1593 reissue: see 14, fn. 53) 81 appears on sigs. O2v-3r with two corrections: ‘though’ is corrected to ‘through’ (l. 3) and ‘fastined’ to ‘fastned’ (l. 10).

¹⁸⁵ Co’s copy appears directly before a poem by Oxford, also in Hy (see 37).

7 crown thou] a crown Co; thy] my Hep
 8 easly] easie*
 9 swifte with Icarus] with young Icarus Co; doth] shall Co
 10 fastned] fastined Hep
 11 'hope' *corr. to* hap] hope*
 12 Grace is obtaind] Small grace for me Co; my] thy Hep
 14 *sub.* That doth fulfill the greedy Lovers wish Co
 15 and light esteeme] my thoughts do's much Co, and light regard Hep
 16 *sub.* Though to despair of grace I cannot like Co
 17 Yet this with] For why this Hep; at] in Hep
Subscription: FINIS. <H C>] *om.**

Hy along with Co represents an independent scribal tradition for the poem indicating that Whetstone had circulated some of the poems included in *An Heptameron* prior to publication (for another poem in Hy from this publication, see **14**). Co shares four readings with Hy against the print copy ('Drudge' l. 4, 'thy' l. 7, 'my' l. 12 and 'at' l. 17). Co shows some signs of corruption (ll. 7, 9 and 12), and has two substitute lines (ll. 14 and 16), which introduce faulty rhymes and do not make much sense. This may be a reflection of a longer period in manuscript circulation for this copy. Hy's unique reading 'easly' for 'easie' (l. 8) may be a scribal error. In line 11, Hy probably changed 'hope' (the reading in Hep and Co) for 'hap' (for the compiler's habit of correcting his text see the **Introduction** pp. 73-5).

82

There are no other copies of this anonymous poem but six of its lines (ll. 33, 36-40) are reproduced in poem **31** which is assigned to 'R. P.' (*quod* R. P.). This latter poem also borrows its opening stanza, almost verbatim, from another (anonymous) verse that circulated in manuscript. The shared lines more properly belong to **82** and are a metrical misfit where they appear in the latter poem (see the commentary to **31**). The poetic form, the heavy alliteration and some of the phraseology bears a striking similarity to another poem (**4**) assigned to an individual with the same initials: 'RO[bert] POO[ley]'; and it is

entirely possible that the author of **82** is one and the same.¹⁸⁶ The identity of this poet whose work appeared in the *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*, first printed in 1576, is discussed in the commentary to poem **4**.

- 16 **carefull** mournful; troubled (*OED adj.* 1, 2)
 20 **toys** trifling amusements
 22 **hyre** reward, recompense (*OED hire, n.* 3)
 33 Cf. **31.19**: ‘But sithe my lucke, allowes, no better happe’; **froward** see **4.91**, 94n.
 36-40 Cf. **31.20-22**:
 Wher grief & feare <sh> all comfort shall expell
 Tyll lyef of love, hath felt thextremest power,
 And love of lyfe, hath seene the latest hower.
 40 **latest** last

83

See the head-note to **51**. Coningsby originally added his own initials after the text, but this is not usually an acknowledgement of authorship (see the **Introduction** pp. 68-70 for a discussion of this habitual practice), and at some point later he was able to assign authorship to Sidney.

- 1 **Philisides** Sidney’s own pastoral persona; from a contraction of the Latinized form ‘Phili[ppus] Sid[n]e[iu]s, but also punning on the Greek *philein* (to love) and Latin *sidus* (star), creating the sense ‘star-lover’ (Duncan-Jones 1989: 333). Sidney similarly creates the lover persona ‘Astrophil’ from *aster philein* (‘lover of a star’). Philisides appears in the *Old Arcadia* described as ‘a

¹⁸⁶ In the columns below I give examples of parallels in phrasing between poems **82** and **4**:

82	4
carefull Harte (16)	carefull hart (1)
pininge payne (17)	pinching payne (15)
<u>that</u> cureles me annoyes (18)	to kyll <u>that</u> me annoyes (44)
Presuming happy hyre (22)	yeldes him double hyre (58)
But sith my froward lucke (33)	Lo here my froward fate (94)
to live in Sorowes lap (35)	to lyve in sorowes lap (81)
Till lyef of Loyall Love (37)	lingringe lenghte of lothed lyfe (87)

young shepherd' and is identified as a speaker in several poems (OA: 9, 24, 31, 62, 66, 73 and 74), and also in a poem that was inserted in the third eclogues by the editor of the 1593 edition of *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (OP 5; Ringler 1962: 418).

- 2 **Menalchas** best known as a shepherd in Virgil's *Eclogues*; in the *Old Arcadia* Sidney gave this name to the Arcadian shepherd with whom Musidorus swapped clothes.
- 3 **Mirrhaes** Mira is Latin for wonder. Mira is the object of Philisides' affections in the *Old Arcadia* and the cause of his melancholy; Philisides relates the story of his love for Mira in a song ('But how love first took me, I did once, using the liberty of versifying, set down in a song') from the fourth eclogues (OA 73).
- 10 **Wake** a festival (*OED* *n.*¹ 4) i.e. to mark the anniversary of the Queen's Accession Day; **Samos Ile** probably shorthand for 'Samothea' the name for Ancient Britain identified in the *Old Arcadia* as the island country where Philisides was born (the significance of Samothea is explained in Duncan-Jones 1974 and Godshalk 1978 and 1980).
- 11-12 The Accession Day Tilts were not private Court occasions but public displays ('a public affirmation of loyalty') attended by the citizens of London and visiting foreigners (Wilson 1980: 31).
- 13-16 Wagner (1938: 122) cites Klaius's lines in OA 72:

I long doo plowe with plough of deepe *Desire*:

...

I harowe it with *Thoughts*, which all conspire

...

And now I faine would reape, I reape but this,

Hate fully growne, *Absence* new sprongen out.

(ll. 52, 54, 57-8)

- 19 **by course** in due course, duly (*OED* *course*, *n.* 34a)
- 20 **the beste** Queen Elizabeth
- 23 **Iuste** joust
- 24 **teeme** team
- 25 **betide** befall

- 28 **course** run at the tilt; **rewarded** ... **best** ‘the tilting on the 17th was solely in honour of the Queen and did not therefore conclude with the customary prize-giving but with Elizabeth thanking the tilters’ (Strong 1977: 146).
- 29 **Runners** participants in the tilt

Collations: one text collated: Ot.

2 Menalchas] menalcas

3 Mirrhaes] Miraes

5 Menalcha] Menalca

6 the] his

16 alwais] ever

19 amonge] amongst

23 his whip] the whippe

24 ‘till’ *corr. to* mill] till

28 best] reste

30 on] once

Subscription: Finis P. Sidney] *om.*

The texts present only a few variants. Coningsby probably changed one reading in the copy-text (‘till’ to ‘mill’ l. 24): he first wrote ‘till horse’, i.e. a plough horse (in agreement with Ot), and this seems appropriate to the story that Menalcha was setting forth with his horse to do some ploughing (l. 6), but on closer examination he may have objected to the unusual locution and substituted a more familiar term (for the compiler’s habit of revision, see **Introduction** pp. 73-5). Hy is probably in error at line 30, omitting terminal ‘c’ of ‘on’; but the remaining variants do not change the sense and are difficult to choose between. Ot, with its privileged Sidney texts, has some claim to authority and Hy, equally free of corruptions, must also derive from a text that was not many removes from Sidney’s authorial draft.

84

The initials assigned to this unique poem may refer to the poet Edmund Elviden (fl. 1569-70); a couplet printed in Elviden’s *Historie of Pesistratus and Catanea* (1570?) is

copied without attribution earlier in the manuscript (38). The classical references, diction, and verse form are also reminiscent of this obscure poet's work.

1-4 The story is told in Homer's *Illiad*, 24.

3 **stowt** proud, brave (*OED* stout, *adj.* 1)

5-8 **Cresus** ... **remorce** Croesus the king of Lydia, famous for his riches, took pity on Adrastus, his son's murderer (Herodotus' *The Histories* 1.45).

9-11 Statira, wife of Darius III, King of Persia was captured (and treated with mercy) along with other family members after her husband was defeated by Alexander, the King of Macedonia (**Phillips sonne**).

85

Coningsby originally signed his own initials to the poem (for this habitual practice see **Introduction** pp. 68-70), and later changed the subscription to 'Regina'.¹⁸⁷ A second attribution to Elizabeth I ('quod Elizabetha Regina') is found in BL, Add. MS 82370 (A70), f. 45r.¹⁸⁸ Four more unattributed copies survive in Hn, ff. 167r-v, Dd, f. 44v, Derbyshire Record Office, D156/M/A2 (D) ff. 2r-v, and BL, Add. MS 70516 (A16), f. 52r.¹⁸⁹ May and Marotti argue convincingly that Elizabeth did not write the poem, pointing out that the attributions are attached to two related texts 'on a highly unreliable line of the poem's transmission'.¹⁹⁰

A song that was printed in 1588 to be sung 'To the tune of: Now leaue and let me rest' indicates that the poem circulated more widely and had been set to music ('A song in dispraise of spight and enuie' in *The Countrie Mans Comfort*, 1637 [first ed. 1588], sig. C7r).

6 **profers** offers, temptations

¹⁸⁷ Bradner (1964: 76-77) includes the poem among 'Poems of Doubtful Authorship'; Marcus, Mueller and Rose (2000: 305) print the poem as canonical; and May (2004b: 28-9) among works 'possibly' by the Queen.

¹⁸⁸ A70 contains another poem by Elizabeth (see 21). For a note on A70 see also 21, fn. 64

¹⁸⁹ The copy in A16 was transcribed in the left-hand margin of a single illuminated vellum leaf; some of the words are illegible in the first few lines of the poem due to damage in the top left corner of the leaf. I am grateful to Steven W. May for providing the description and transcription of this text. May & Marotti (2014: 198) date the transcription of the poem in D to between 1574 and 1583.

¹⁹⁰ 2014: 199.

- 8 **asketh** calls for, requires; proverbial; ‘There is no pleasure without pain’ (Dent P420)
- 10 **try** strain the endurance or patience of, afflict (*OED* v. 10)
- 14 proverbial, ‘Soon ripe soon rotten’ (Dent R133)
- 20, 44 **wretchlesse** ... **wretchles** spelling variants of ‘reckless’
- 22 **Traynes** attractions, allurements (*OED* train, *n.*¹ 3)
- 41 **profes** experience

Collations:

May and Marotti (2014: 196-8) collates the six substantive texts, concluding that Hy shares a common ancestor with A70 and A16. This conclusion is based on corrupt readings in A70, which agree with those in Hy and A16 at lines 32 (‘com’) where a past tense construction is needed, and 45 where Hy-L70 read ‘wordes’ (A16 ‘woorkes’) in place of the more sensible reading ‘proof’. At line 15, Hy and A70 erroneously make ‘springs’ a noun, reading ‘all *the* pleasaunt Springes’ for ‘all *that* pleasaunt Springes’ (my italics).

All of Hy’s unique readings are errors: ‘youthfull’ (l. 13) for ‘earthly’, ‘youth requires’ (l. 18) for ‘lust desires’, ‘Desires’ for ‘requires’ (l. 20), ‘such Desire’ for ‘which delightes’ (l. 21), ‘follow’ for ‘folie’ (l. 22), ‘pleasure’ for ‘pleasures’ (l. 25), ‘place’ for ‘life’ (l. 27), ‘all’ for ‘yet’ (l. 30), ‘wilfull’ for ‘youthfull’ (l. 31), ‘These ... these’ for ‘The ... the’ (ll. 33, 37), ‘vaine’ for ‘fond’ (l. 38), ‘profes’ for ‘process’ (l. 41), ‘And’ for ‘am’ (l. 42), ‘ought to be’ for ‘might haue byn’ (l. 43) and ‘Which by’ for ‘by which’ (l. 45). Four of Hy’s marginal corrections bring the text in line with unanimous readings in the other witnesses (ll. 6, 17, 23 and 41): three of these also rectify defective end-rhymes (ll. 17, 23 and 41). In one instance a marginal correction replaces a reading found in all other texts with a synonym ‘age’ for ‘yeres’ (l. 35) and this could be sophistication. In line 13, Hy attempted to improve an erroneous reading changing ‘youthly’ (‘earthly’ in all other texts) to ‘youthfull’.

86

The subscription ‘balle’ is probably an abbreviation of ‘ballet’, a generic marker indicating that the poem had been set to music (see **Introduction** pp. 70-72). The poem is attributed to Richard Edwards in the first edition of *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*,

1576 (P), sig. G4r and in William Herbert's autograph copy of the lost 1577 edition; in all subsequent editions the poem is printed anonymously.¹⁹¹

Musical settings for the poem are preserved in two contemporary manuscripts identified only by an incipit: the so-called 'Mulliner Book', BL, Add. MS 30513, f. 108v, copied in the early 1560s, headed 'Where gripinge grieffe the hare[t] woulde', gives the melody with accompaniment setting for keyboard; and the 'Brogyntyn Lute Book', NLW, MS Brogyntyn 27, p. 126, has the rubric 'When grypinge griefes', with the accompaniment only, for solo lute.¹⁹² A copy of the poem in a collection of Tudor songs and ballads, BL, Cotton MS Vespasian A XXV (CV), f. 137r, also draws attention to a musical setting in the title 'A songe to the Lute of musicke'.¹⁹³ The scrivener Thomas Fella transcribed a copy entitled 'A ditty of music's praise' in his 'booke of diveirs devises and sortes of pictures', Folger, MS V.a.311 (Fo7), f. 3v.¹⁹⁴ Lines from the poem quoted in *Romeo and Juliet* (see 1-4n.) suggest that it was still a popular song in the early 1590s when the play was written.

1-4 The first three lines are quoted in *Romeo and Juliet* (1597) in a dialogue between Peter (one of the Capulet serving-men) and a group of musicians. In a second quarto edition printed in 1599, Peter (identified in the stage directions as played by 'Will Kemp') quotes lines one and three from the poem and after a few exchanges with the musicians he repeats line three, followed by the fourth line. (Taylor and Wells: 4.4.152-154, 167-168)

1 **griping griefes** For this commonplace alliterative phrase, see 4.2n.

2 **dumpes** melancholy, depression (*OED* n.¹ 2)

3 **silver sound** proverbial (Dent M1319.1)

4 **lend redresse** bring relief

15-18 The story of Arion and the dolphin is told by Ovid in *Fasti* 2.

¹⁹¹ On the authority of the attribution, see the head-note to 4.

¹⁹² The 'Mulliner Book' is edited in Caldwell 2011 (see no. 26); and the 'Brogyntyn Lute Book' in Spencer & Alexander 1978 (see no. 28). The latter is dated c.1595: see 58, fn. 152. For a detailed discussion of musical settings of the poem, see also Sternfeld 1963: 119-22.

¹⁹³ The editor of this manuscript gives 1576 as the 'approximate date for most of the songs and ballads in the manuscript' (Seng 1978: xviii); there is another lyric on f. 135r by Edwards from his 'Damon and Pithias' ('Awak ye wofull wights') entitled 'a balet' (26).

¹⁹⁴ For a facsimile edition of this manuscript 'compiled between 1592 and 1598', see Sanford & Blatchly 2012.

- 19 **rules the minde** alluding to the Neoplatonic theory that states of mind are governed by music (Hutton 1951: 12)
- 24 **desprove** disapprove (*OED* disprove, v. 3)

Collations: three texts collated: CV, Fo7 and P.

Title: *om.*] A songe to the Lute of musicke CV, A dittie of musicks prayse Fo7,

In commendation of Musick P

1 When] Where*; gries] grief P

2 the mynde] the P; oppresse] opreste Fo7

3 Then] ther*

4 With ... to] is wont with spede to P; lend] sende CV, giue Fo7 P

5 mindes] minde P

6 in store] therfore P

7 makes] make Fo7

8 wo] grief P; the] our*

9 Desturbed heades] be strawghted heades CV, the straughted man Fo7, The carefull head P; relief] release P; have] hath*

10 pleasant] pleasauntes CV

11 Sences] senses all CV Fo7; should] shall CV; I] we Fo7

12 all to] vnto CV P

13 have] hath P; praise] praie P

14 The Fishe] *om.* P; do] doth CV P

15 Poet] poetes*; sayes] saie P

16 when] whom CV P

18 Arion] Sir Arion Fo7; on] uppon Fo7

19 O] A P; which] that*; rules] torne Fo7, turnes P

20 Even] like P; doth] doe Fo7; turne] rule*

21 *sub.* sweet plesant tunes the gods dead finde Fo7; O] *om.* P, of CV

23 Seing] sence CV, seeth Fo7, Sith P; thou both] musick Fo7; dost] doth Fo7

24 Beast] sensles head Fo7, wiseman P; is he wold] will Fo7, ys he wyll CV, then wil P; desprove] reproue Fo7 P

Subscription: FINIS / <balle>] *om.* Fo7, Finis CV, Finis M Edwards P

Hy contains two errors: ‘the’ (l. 8) and ‘O’ (l. 21) should probably read ‘our’, and ‘of’. The variant reading in the first line ‘When’ is also found in the Mulliner Book’s ‘incipit’ and the lines quoted in *Romeo and Juliet*; the latter also shares Hy’s line three variant reading ‘Then’ (l. 3) and the otherwise unique Hy variant ‘lend’ (l. 4). None of the texts are related in error except for CV-Fo7’s erroneous ‘all’ (l. 11) which could be explained by independent variation with both scribes making the same mistake caused by eye-skip (picking up ‘all’ from the line below). Hy and CV share two readings against the other texts: ‘rules’ (l. 19) and ‘What Beast is he’ (l. 24). P contains nine certain errors; six of these are corrected to concur with Hy in subsequent editions: ‘the’ (l. 2), ‘minde’ (l. 5), ‘therfore’ (l. 6), ‘release’ (l. 9), ‘A’ (l. 19), *om.* ‘of’ (l. 21); and three are uncorrected: ‘grief’ (l. 1), ‘praie’ (l. 13), and *om.* ‘The Fishe’ (l. 14). Fo7 agrees with P in three readings against the other texts: ‘torne’ (‘turnes’) (l. 19), ‘reproue’ (l. 24) and ‘giue’ (l. 4); and shares a reading close to CV in line nine: ‘be strawghted’ / ‘the straughted’ for Hy’s ‘Desturbed’ and P’s ‘carefull’. The various musical settings and the poem’s oral transmission could account for the differences in the opening and other variants. However, the manuscript witnesses provide the most reliable texts, offering some improved readings to those printed in editions of the *Paradyse*.

87

The attribution to the Earl of Oxford can only refer to the last twelve lines, since the first sixteen lines come from a poem by Thomas Churchyard.¹⁹⁵ The full text of Churchyard’s sixty-two-line poem was first printed in 1580 in his collection of verse, *A Pleasaunte Laborinth Called Churchyardes Chance* (CC), sigs. D1r-2r. Churchyard’s poem seems to have been popular: a contemporary manuscript copy (unattributed and omitting lines 30-35) is found in Ra, ff. 51r-3r. A musical setting in Anthony Holborne’s *The Cittharn Schoole*, 1597 (Ho1), sig. C1v, has the rubric ‘In pescod time’, and it was printed in *Englands Helicon*, 1600 (EH), sigs. Z3r-4v, twenty years after first appearing in *Churchyardes Chance*.¹⁹⁶ Churchyard was undoubtedly responsible for

¹⁹⁵ Two of Oxford’s canonical poems (3 and 90) are signed similarly: ‘LO. OX.’ and ‘Lo. Ox.’ May (1980: 41-2) places 87 among the poems possibly by Oxford (no. IVa).

¹⁹⁶ The tune of ‘In Pescod Time’ (borrowed from an earlier tune formerly know as ‘The Hunt’s up’) was extremely popular towards the end of the sixteenth century (Chappell 1895: 1, 196-

the full text of the poem, but the unique continuation after line sixteen marks a shift in style.¹⁹⁷ As May points out, ‘the near disappearance ... of the internal rime which is used consistently in Churchyard’s version, [is] an indication that someone other than Churchyard wrote the continuation’.¹⁹⁸ May finds Hy’s attribution to Oxford plausible: since Churchyard was a longstanding client of Oxford’s there might have been ‘some sort of competition or collaboration between patron and protégé’ in the production of the poem.¹⁹⁹ The new version not only creates a more succinct poem that dispenses with Churchyard’s outmoded use of moralising personifications, but also reworks the poem in a radical way. In the original ‘honest Meanyng’, ‘good Sporte’ and ‘witte’ conspire ‘to murther women’, so that men can ‘treade on Cupides breast and marche on Venus face’. In the new version the narrator, preserving courtly love sentiments of service, ultimately declares himself ‘a Subiecte wight’.

The practice of using lines from an existing poem as the starting point for a new composition is also seen in **31**.

- 1 **Pescod time** ‘the season for peas’ i.e. in May; cf. ‘It is now May, and the sweetnesse of the Aire refresheth euery spirit ... and the Strawbery and the Pescod want no price in the market’ (Nicholas Breton, *Fantasticks Seruing for a Perpetuall Prognostication*, 1626, sig. C2r); **gives eare** listens attentively
- 2 **pipes of Corne** rustic musical instrument made of a stalk of corn (*OED* corn-pipe)

198). Churchyard probably had this tune in mind when composing the poem, which explains ‘the ease with which the words can be fitted to the notes’ (Ward 1979-1980: 3).

¹⁹⁷ EH’s subscription ‘Ignoto’ is puzzling since the editor almost certainly took his copy-text from Churchyard’s single-author collection CC. This can be explained however when the idiosyncratic practices of EH’s editor are taken into account. Rollins commented that ‘the editor had little respect’ for the integrity of the texts, which he ‘altered at will’ (Rollins 1935: 65). Rollins illustrates the relaxed editorial practices in EH with an example where two versions of a single poem (reprinted from *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593) are inserted by an ‘editorial lapse’. The editor ignored the copy-text (i.e. *The Phoenix Nest*) attribution to Thomas Lodge and assigned the first version of the poem to ‘S.E.D.’ (Sir Edward Dyer) and ‘Ignoto’ to the second. Both copies are also treated to differing textual revisions and titles (Rollins: 143). The cavalier treatment of texts taken from printed collections of verse explains the discrepancy of the apparent anonymity of a text reprinted from a single-author collection. Churchyard’s statement in the ‘Epistle Dedicatorie’ to CC clearly states his sole authorship of the volume: ‘I presente vnto your handes this newe yere, some of mine old labors & studies, Printed al bound in one newe volume, for sutch as pleases to buye them’.

¹⁹⁸ 1980: 82.

¹⁹⁹ Ibid.: 83. In a postscript to CC, Churchyard mentions his intention to dedicate a forthcoming volume called *Churchyardes Challenge* to ‘the noble Earle of Oxforde’.

- 7 **game** amusement, sport, fun; **revells** organized entertainments: a dance, masque or play; **all & summe** 'each and every one' (*OED* 'all', 12a).
 8 **fancy** imagination
 13 **bebathed** immersed (*OED* bebathe, v.)
 16 **lawnd** glade (*OED* laund, n.)
 20 **wanton toyes** amorous sport, lovemaking
 24 **armes** coat of arms; **expound** expose to view (*OED* 4); Cf. Turbervile's description of Cupid's ensign:

His Banner doth declare
 what harts haue beene subdude:
 Where they are all in Sabels set
 with blood and gore imbrude.
 (*Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, 1567, sig. B3v)

Collations: ll. 1-16; three texts collated: CC, EH and Ra.

Title: om.] A matter of fonde Cupid, and vain Venus CC, A Shepheards slumber EH, A dreame Ra

- 1 while] til CC EH; is] be*
 2 boyes] laddes*; sit] sat CC EH; beastes] sheepe Ra; in] a CC EH
 3 when] by CC EH, In Ra; wer] full*
 4 loe] so*; by] in CC EH
 5 That doune I laied me ... with bowes all ouer clad*
 6 found] meate*; yonge man] Shepheard EH
 7 saw] see Ra; both revells] eche reuell*
 8 each] euery*; thinge] sporte Ra; els ... cold] that I can*; might] maie CC EH; by] in*
 9 thing] sights CC EH, dream Ra; it] thei CC EH
 10 lacke] wante Ra
 11 scape] passe CC EH
 12 Sit feeding on] Did feede vpon CC EH, Do feed vpon Ra; whom] that CC EH; hath] had CC EH
 13 blinde] blynded Ra; sat] was*
 14 ther he stood] he stood CC EH
 15 more ... he] quod he more harts CC, (quoth he) more harts EH Ra
 16 dead] Dere*; overcrosse] runneth ore CC EH, runneth ouer Ra

Subscription: L ox:] Ignoto EH, om. Ra

Hy shares a certain error with Ra in the opening line: the hounds must stay attentive ‘till’ rather than ‘while’ the ‘Bucke is kild’; another shared reading (‘scape’ for ‘passe’ l. 11), whilst not an obvious error, is unlikely to have derived from independent scribal variation. The connection between Hy and Ra is further suggested in eight more indeterminate readings where these two texts agree against the printed version (‘sit’, ‘in’ l. 2, ‘by’ l. 4, ‘might’ l. 8, ‘it’ l. 9, ‘whom’, ‘hath’ l. 12 and ‘ther’ l. 14). Ra and Hy therefore confirm a distinct manuscript tradition for this poem. Hy presents a number of additional errors: ‘when’, ‘wer’ (l. 3), ‘loe’ (l. 4), ‘thing’ (l. 9), ‘Sit feeding on’ (l. 12), ‘sat’ (l. 13) and ‘dead’ (l. 16); and the whole of line five is defective. These errors together with the multiple substitutions for synonyms suggest that Hy’s copy of Churchyard’s lines derived from a memorial transcription (for example, ‘boyes’ for ‘laddes’ l. 2, ‘bankes’ for ‘bowes’ l. 5, ‘found’ for ‘meate’ l. 6, and ‘overcrosse’ for ‘runneth ore’ l. 16). The twelve unique lines scan uniformly as fourteeners and contain no obvious errors.

There are no substantive variants between CC and EH in the sixteen lines collated. EH’s unique variant ‘Sheepheard’ (l. 6), like the manufactured title ‘A Sheepheards slumber’, is typical of the editorial changes made to create a unifying pastoral theme to the collection (to this end, **15** is given the title: ‘The Sheepheards conceite of Prometheus’).

88

The attribution to Edward Dyer was added at a later date.²⁰⁰ Coningsby initially subscribed his own initials to the poem (for this habitual practice, see **Introduction** pp. 68-70), and made the change to ‘H O’ probably to disguise this subscription rather than a genuine alternative attribution (for this practice, see **37**, fn. 89). The poem also survives in an unattributed copy in Huntington Library, MS HM 198, part 2 (Hu), f. 45v. Two more manuscripts contain lines from the poem merged with one or more other texts. In Ha, f. 172v the first four lines of the poem are appended to a stanza from ‘Cease sorrowes now’, a lyric set to music in Thomas Weelkes’s *Madrigals*, 1597, sig.

²⁰⁰ May (1991: 312) places no. **88** among the ‘Poems possibly by Dyer’ (no. II), with Hy serving as the copy-text. Wagner (1935) first printed the poem as Dyer’s.

B3v (no. VI). The madrigal's closing line calls for a song of farewell, 'before I dye, Ile sing my faint farewell', which is duly supplied in Ha by the four line opening of **88**. Henry Colling transcribed a faulty copy of the first twelve lines in CUL, MS Mm.3.29 (Mm), f. 46v 'in a version that he seems to have confounded with at least one and possibly two quite distinct pieces'.²⁰¹

The poem was first printed in Henry Chillester's *Youthe's Witte*, 1581 (YW), sig. R1r, with an additional eighteen lines probably composed by Chillester.²⁰² The poem's appeal and eminent adaptability is also evident from borrowings in 'A Louer finding his loue unconstant maketh his last farewell' printed in *The Arbour of Amorous Deuises*, 1597:

Fancie farewell, which I haue loued so,
And farewell loue that makes me loath my life,
And life adue which bred me all my woe,
And farewell woe, the forger of all strife,
And spite adue, which breedeth all contempt,
Contempt adue, whose mischiefe I repent. (sig. E3r)

- 2-3 **desires, / Desires** Dyer employs *anadiplosis* in the first four lines, a rhetorical figure where 'the word by which you finish your verse, ye beginne the next verse with the same' (George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, sig. Z2r).
- 4 **lend redresse** For this phrase, see **86.4**: 'With speed is wont to lend redresse'.
- 7 **Sweet Hart** No two texts agree on the form of direct address to the speaker's mistress: 'Beauty', 'Falles dame' and 'Faire Dames' are the alternative readings offered in the surviving copies. Dyer uses 'faire Dame' in **10.1**.

²⁰¹ Colling made the same error in each stanza (probably caused by eye-skip), resulting in the omission of two half-lines; as Kelliher points out this 'suggests that he was working from a manuscript copy-text rather than from unaided memory' (1990: 177).

²⁰² Chillester probably added these lines to the poem's original three sixains which form a rhetorically balanced unit where the closing line 'farwell fancy' links back to the opening 'Fancy farwell' and reads distinctly like an ending. The continuation marks an abrupt change in style which fails to maintain the rhetorically balanced elements in the three previous sixains and over-labours the conceits; for example Dyer's 'death adue' (l. 5) is twice repeated in the continuation: 'and yet againe, I say adue to death'; 'yet once more to death agayne adue'. For Chillester's use of contemporary manuscript sources in YW, see May 2006.

Collations: May (1991: 309) collates Ha, Hu, Mm against Hy; my collation adds YW.

Title: *om.*] A farewell to Fancie

1 fed] wroughtst

2 the cause of] that wroughtst; desires] deepe distresse

3 Desires] Distresse; Dost me such] wroughtst my deepe

7 Sweet Hart] Faire Dames; farwell] adue

8 weried hast] wearyed hath

9 which ... so] with ... so

10 o] soe

13 lyvd] loued

14 makest] makes

16 Twixt ... all] twixt hope and feare, farewell all

18 first wrought] first wroughtst

Subscription: FINIS <H O> Dyer] *om.*

Hy is not related to any of the other witnesses and contains three certain errors: ‘desires, / Desires’ for ‘distresse, / Distresse’ (ll. 2-3) creates a defective end-rhyme in the first instance and in the second the identical word is needed to maintain the *anadiplosis* employed in the first four lines. The third error is ‘o’ for ‘so’ (l. 10). YW’s inflated copy is the next best text but shows signs of editorial emendation in the first three sixains (which comprise the poem in its original state). For example, the unimaginative repetition of ‘that wroughts my’ in the first three lines (ll. 2 and 3 repeating ‘that wroughtst my deepe’) is not present in any other text but perhaps appealed to Chillester. In line 13, ‘*loude* ... loathd’ should read ‘*lyud* ... loathd’ (my italics) to balance rhetorically with ‘loth my lyfe’ in the following line, and in line 9 ‘with’ is probably a misreading of the abbreviated form of ‘which’ (the reading in Hy). YW’s ‘feare’ for ‘Dread’ (l. 16) is an indeterminate (more alliterative) reading; and a few other unique variants do not change the sense: ‘adue’ for ‘farwell’ (l. 7), ‘hath’ for ‘hast’ (l. 8), ‘makes’ for ‘makest’ (l. 14) and ‘wroughtst’ for ‘wrought’ (l. 18).

Ha’s four lines contain three unique variants: ‘farewell’ for ‘adew’ and ‘causd’ (repeats ‘cause’ in the previous line) for the more alliterative reading ‘dost’ (l. 3). Ha’s variant ‘send Release’ for ‘lend redresse’ (l. 4) is a certain error which creates a faulty end-rhyme. Hu and Mm are the only texts to present conjunctive errors (‘Fansye’ l. 11 and ‘wittes’ l. 9) but these readings could have been derived independently and both

texts present a large number of variant readings none of which are conjunctive. Hu's text contains numerous errors, creating lines with clumsy inversion of word order, lack of coherent meaning, or faulty metre. The omission (with a blank space left mid-line) of part of line 12 also suggests that Hu's copy-text was corrupt or illegible. A few of Hu's unique variants increase the alliteration of the line (for example in ll. 7 and 11). Mm's partial copy of the first twelve lines of the poem conflates two lines in each sixain (in ll. 4-5 and 9-10 the first two metrical feet in the line are conflated with the last three feet of the following line). Kelliher (1990: 178) points out that the scribe evidently 'lacked the basic ability to count syllables ... and [was] untroubled by a defective rhyme-scheme'. Mm also contains further mistakes: 'whchede' (l. 8) anticipates 'bewitched' in line 9 (omitted in Mm), 'fedes' for 'fed' (l. 1), 'dideste' for 'Dost' (l. 3), 'allthoughe' for 'for though' (l. 5); and 'soe' for 'to' (l. 11; repeats 'so' in the previous line).

89

This mock love-poem is a humorous riposte to the kind of courtly love lyrics that comprise the most part of the collection, and anticipates the critique of this genre by the Inns of Court poets of the 1590s.²⁰³ Poem **89** was probably the model for an extremely popular mock poem with a similar rhetorical structure that circulated widely in manuscript ('Oh love whose power and might') and was first published with a similarly styled 'Answer' in *The Marrow of Complements*, 1654, sigs. H4r-v.²⁰⁴ The wider currency of **89** is also suggested from a musical setting, as a consort song, of eight lines from the poem (ll. 1-4, 37-40) in BL, Add. MSS 17792-6 (Me2).²⁰⁵ Two poems listed in the Folger *Union First Line Index* with the same opening line may be additional copies of this poem: Folger, MS V.b.199, p. 99, and Bod., MS Eng. hist.c.476, f. 138r.²⁰⁶

²⁰³ For example, Sir John Davies parodied many popular forms of Elizabethan amorous verse in his 'gulling sonnets' (see the commentary to **115**). See, also, Eckhardt 2009.

²⁰⁴ The poem is attributed to various authors among which John Hoskyns and (Robert) Polden are the most credible; Williams (2012: 282-3) points out the link to New College, Oxford, and cites twenty-two manuscript copies, and a further five appearances in print miscellanies. This poem is discussed in Smyth 2004: 79, 91-92, 95.

²⁰⁵ Printed as no. 35 in Brett 1967: 61-2. This manuscript in the hand of John Merro comprises five part-books; the lyric appears as follows: i, f. 60r, ii, f. 64r, iii, f. 67r, iv f. 30r, v. f. 60r. See **20** for another large musical collection in Merro's hand: Me1.

²⁰⁶ I have not been able to consult these manuscripts.

Hy's subscription to 'Russell' could refer to the author or the donor of the poem (for a note on attributions, see **Introduction** pp. 67-8). Humfrey Coningsby was distantly related to the Russells of Strensham, Worcestershire: the *Visitations* for 1569 record that Kinard Russell a third son of Robert Russell of Strensham had married Elizabeth a daughter of Thomas Coningsby and his second wife Anne Hagley. (See **Appendix 2**: Family tree B). The compiler's half-sister Joyce Jeffreys also mentions a cousin with this surname in her book of household accounts ('my cosin Mary Russels maid').²⁰⁷ One possible candidate is John Russell of Strensham (1551-93) since he is also associated with Gilbert Littleton who was married to Elizabeth, sister to the compiler's close cousin Sir Thomas Coningsby of Hampton Court (See **Appendix 2**: Family tree B).²⁰⁸

title **Nec ... altera** 'Neither one nor the other'

39-40 These lines are echoed in stanza 4 of the mock love-song 'Oh love whose power and might':

Teares overflow my eyes
With flouds of daily weeping,
That in the silent night,
I cannot rest for sleeping.
(*The Marrow of Complements*, sig. H4v)

44 proverbial (Dent D74)

Collations: ll. 1-4, 37-40; one text collated: Me2.

2 *sub.* My flesh consumeth fast

4 hast] no haste

37 sore] set

38 hart] heart's

40 he] they; sleepes] sleep

Hy contains one certain error in line 4: 'My Death requiers hast' where 'My Death requiers *no* hast' (my italics) is the intended reading and fits the pattern of bathetic

²⁰⁷ Spicksley 2012: 177.

²⁰⁸ See the entry for John (II) Russell in the *History of Parliament* online (<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1558-1603/member/russell-john-ii-1551-93> [accessed 17 March 2015]).

undercutting of the familiar tropes of the courtly love lyric. Me2's variant 'set' (l. 37) creates a defective end-rhyme. The substitute line (l. 2) conveys a similar meaning and either version works.

90

Hy is the only copy to identify the author as the Earl of Oxford.²⁰⁹ Two more unattributed copies survive in Ra, ff. 48v-9r and Rosenbach MS 1083/16 (Rb), ff. 261v-263r.²¹⁰ The poem must have been more widely known since Briane Melbancke 'student in Graies Inne' paraphrased the opening lines in his *Philotimus* ('my winged desire had not bene clogged with despaire' (1583, sig. 2E1v); and a musical setting survives in the 'Brogyntyn Lute Book' for a lyric identified as 'Wing'd with desire', NLW, MS Brogyntyn 27, p. 133.²¹¹

- title **Cuius ... est** 'of whose bidding it is wicked (sinful) to refuse'
- 2 **Clad** two witnesses read 'clogged' and Melbancke's allusion to the poem (quoted above) also confirms this reading; 'Clad' was probably derived from a misreading of 'clogged' spelt 'clogd' as in Rb.
- 4 **combers** troubles (*OED* n. 2a)
- 8 **fancy** like (*OED* v. 8a)
- 10 **cost** coast
- 11 **crased** insane, deranged (*OED* adj. 5)
- 12 **scope** object, purpose (*OED* n.² 2a)
- 23 **ceezd** seized; this reading does not make sense and the over-written letters in the transcription indicate that the compiler was having difficulty deciphering the word; Ra probably has the intended reading, 'soare'.
- 25 **secret ... lyfe** another nonsensical reading, perhaps the intended reading is secret *is* my lyfe (my italics). Ra has 'styll in secreat greefe' which as May

²⁰⁹ May (1980: 34-5) places no. 90 among the certain Oxford poems (no. 12).

²¹⁰ Rb was transcribed after 1630; Marotti (1995: 35) quotes the title of the Rosenbach manuscript: 'Miscellanies, or a Collection of Divers witty and pleasant Epigrams, Adages, poems, Epitaphes &c: for the recreation of the overtraveled Sences 1630'.

²¹¹ Melbancke quoted lines from two more poems by the Earl of Oxford (May 1980 nos. 10, 11; the latter is 3 in Hy). For the dating of *Philotimus* to Dec 1582, see 3, fn. 27. The 'Brogyntyn Lute Book' is edited in Spencer & Alexander 1978 (see no. 44) where it is dated c.1595: see 58, fn. 152.

(1980: 75) points out, could be an error caused by eye-skip (from a similar ending to line 16).

26 **lest** least; **lurke** hide away, withdraw (*OED* v. 1a)

31 **male content** malcontent (*OED* n.¹ 1); May (1980: 75) points out that Oxford is among the first to use the word in this sense (*OED* cites 1581 as the earliest example).

36 The paraphrase of this line in Rb clarifies the meaning: ‘As each of vs to other comfort bee’.

Collations: May (1980: 119-20) collates Hy and Rb against Ra.

As May concludes Hy and Rb share a common ancestor, based on three shared errors: ‘hoary’ for ‘wearye’ (l. 9), ‘male content’ for ‘mall-content’ (l. 31) and ‘this storm’ for ‘these stormes’ (l. 35). Hy introduces at least eight more errors: ‘Clad’ for ‘Clogde’ (l. 2), the omission of ‘to’ (l. 3), ‘crased *is* care’ for ‘crazed *with* care’ (my italics; l. 11), ‘a’ for ‘in’ (l. 13), ‘leave’ for ‘lend’ (l. 14), ‘ceezd’ for ‘soare’ (l. 23), ‘it’ (l. 25), and ‘*that* live in *Deadly grief*’ for ‘*and* live in *endles stryfe*’ (l. 27; my italics). Rb is significantly more corrupt than Hy; as well as the twelve missing lines, it introduces numerous unique readings.

Head-note to **91-92**

These two unique poems are subscribed with Coningsby’s initials (containing the distinctive curve ascending above the right bar of majuscule ‘H’ (see fig. 29, **Introduction** p. 70). The compiler’s initials are subscribed to many of the poems in the manuscript without necessarily indicating an authorial function (see **Introduction** pp. 68-70) but the personal subscriptions and decorative presentation of **91** and **92** (using an italic script with elaborate embellishments and tendrils added to the ascenders and descenders) creates the impression of a more personal connection to these two texts. The poems (comprised of three sixains of iambic pentameter) appear on facing pages, and both are assigned similarly descriptive titles and personalised subscriptions following a Latin motto. The somewhat clumsy diction and unimaginative use of alliteration is a stylistic feature of both texts but shows the compiler trying to incorporate some of the rhetorical devices he evidently enjoyed reading in the poems that he copied into his manuscript.

Coningsby subsequently marked both texts with a single-line cross, taking more effort to erase the personalised subscriptions.

91

The subscription is partly obliterated by letters and shapes written over the original hand but it is possible to decipher the first part of the subscription ‘H. C. of’. The title may have been inspired by similar titles attached to poems printed in *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises* (1576): ‘Beyng asked ... he aunswereth thus’, ‘Beyng in loue, he complaineth’, and ‘Beyng in trouble, he writeth thus’ (sigs. F2v, L2r-v).

- 7 **Gloze** semblance, outward show (*OED* gloze, *n.* 2b)
- 11-12 **Helen ... Hart** See 27.28n.; cf. ‘The reward of Whoredome by the fall of Helen’ (*A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inuentions*, 1578, sig. L1r).
- 14 **triflying toyes** (i) amorous sport; (ii) foolish, trifling occupations (*OED* toy, *n.* 1, 5); for this phrase, see 68.3
- 16 **Bables** child’s playthings or toys (*OED* bauble, *n.* 2)
- 18 The sentiment in this final line (i.e. ‘that true feelings and appearances do not necessarily correspond’) is the theme of the Latin tag copied beneath. **Formae nulla Fides** ‘you can’t trust appearances’ is a version of the popular Latin tag from Juvenal (*Satires* 2.8) ‘frontis nulla fides’; cf. ‘for Contenaunce is so great a deceiuer, as it brought foorth this Adage, Fronti nulla fides’ (George Whetstone, *The Honorable Reputation of a Souldier*, 1585, sig. E3r). The adage was evidently popular, and it furnished Geoffrey Whitney with a theme for one of his emblems: ‘But man is made, of such a seemelie shape, / That frende, or foe, is not discern’d by face’ (*A Choice of Emblemes*, 1586, sig. N2v).

Coningsby may have borrowed the version of the tag (substituting ‘formae’ for ‘frontis’) from the works of George Whetstone. ‘Formæ nulla fides’ was used by Whetstone as a signature during the 1570s and 80s: (i) it appears numerous times in *The Rocke of Regard*, 1576 (on the title-page and each of the sectional title-pages (sigs. D8r, G4r, K1r); subscribed to an epilogue (sig. D7v) and assigned to a poem ‘G. W. opinion of trades’ (sig. L8v)); (ii) it is attached to a commendatory verse for Timothy Kendall’s *Flowers of Epigrammes*, 1577 (sig. A6v); (iii) it appears on the title pages of Whetstone’s *A*

Remembraunce of ... George Gaskoigne (1577), *The Right Excellent and famous Historye, of Promos and Casandra* (1578), *An Heptameron* (1582), *A Remembraunce of ... Sir James Dier* (1582), and *A Remembraunce of ... Thomas late Earle of Sussex* (1583); and (iv) it is signed at the foot of a poem printed exclusively in the 1578 edition of *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises* (sig. K4v).

92

The subscription has been crossed out with a zigzagged line but originally read ‘H. C. to [blank space] R.D.T.F.O.F’; the initials ‘C. G.’ were inserted later in the gap left for the recipient of the poem. The cryptic set of letters ‘R.D.T.F.O.F’ (‘Rather Death Then False Of Faith’) are part of the compiler’s personal signature and also appear following the initials ‘H. C’, attached to a couplet on the cover verso (see **ix**).

- title **In Passione Melancholica** ‘a melancholy passion’; see the note at **152** on the title ‘A passion’
- 16 **Wynde** mere ‘breath’, vain or ineffectual speech (*OED n.*¹ 15a)
- 19 **Contra ... fatvvm** ‘it is foolish to strive against fortune’; cf. ‘I hold that mortal foolish who strives against the stress of necessity’ (Euripides, *Hercules Furens*, l. 281).

93

The ‘Cambridge Libell’ is the counterpart to Thomas Buckley’s libel of Oxford (c. 1564) and similarly catalogues the amorous exploits of prominent members of University and town.²¹² Whereas the numerous extant versions, excerpts, and adaptations from the libel of Oxford attest to its enduring popularity, only one more copy of the Cambridge libel has survived: Hn, ff. 132r-135v. One explanation for the low survival rate of the Cambridge libel is that the authorities may have been more efficient in curtailing its circulation at an early stage of transmission. May and Bryson have found evidence in the records of the Vice-Chancellor’s court at Cambridge of the indictment of those responsible for writing and distributing manuscript copies of the

²¹² For the Oxford libel, see the notes in Hughey 1960: 2.276-8.

libel.²¹³ But a reference in the University play *The Returne from Pernassus* (performed at St. John's College, Cambridge during the Christmas festivities of 1601/2) to the 'Chronicle of Cambridge Cuckolds' (1.3) suggests that the notoriety of the libel was long-lived, at least in Cambridge circles.²¹⁴

Hughey established the date of Harington's copy of the libel to c. 1568-73 from a name pun in stanza 22 ('Cresset light') given in the marginal key as 'Mr Cressey of Jesus Colledge'.²¹⁵ Hugh Cressy matriculated from Queens' College in 1568 but migrated at some point to Jesus College before entering Caius College on 18 August 1573. Hy's version of this line reads 'candlelight' (l. 132) for 'Cresset light' and there is no marginal annotation for Cressey, but a date of composition early in the 1570s fits the new evidence of proceedings against the libellers in the Vice-Chancellor's court during 1574. Both copies of the libel contain a closing quatrain (probably a later addition) claiming that the libel was 'Devised by vayne vallenger', but Hy's two variant closing lines (not present in Harington's version) give the additional information: 'But as it is reported of all / It was invented by Argall' (ll. 261-2).²¹⁶ May and Bryson have confirmed Argall's authorship of the libel from records of the University's Vice-Chancellor's court and established that the libel was co-authored by Owen Rowland, with both men being subsequently expelled from the University.²¹⁷ The authors include their own sexual exploits with 'Thatchers wife' in the verse libel (see ll. 149, 151 and marginal annotations to the stanzas in which these lines appear).

May and Bryson also find evidence in the Vice-Chancellor's court records of the prosecution of an individual responsible for disseminating the libel:

Where as I Ieromye Kyd of late vnderstanding of an infamouse ryme or libell to be made and keping the lewde companye of the authors therof dyd not onlie procure a cotype of it to my selfe/ & learnd the interpretacon & meanyng of every part / and so publyshed mowche of yt wth my owne mowth / but also did gyve owt certeyn copies wth the

²¹³ See May & Bryson: Poem 3 (forthcoming: 2015).

²¹⁴ May & Bryson were the first to point this out; **93** is termed the 'Cockalls callender' in line 259.

²¹⁵ Hughey 1960: 2.269.

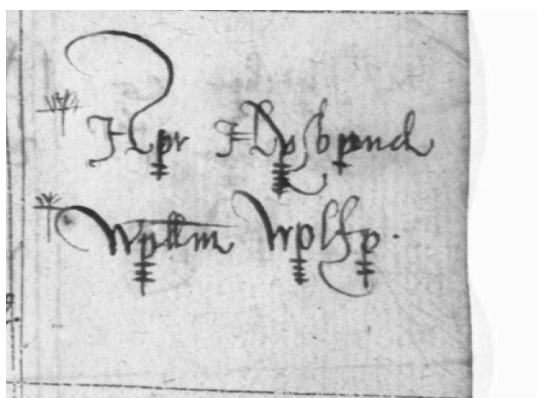
²¹⁶ May & Bryson suggest that these lines were added after 1582 in the wake of Vallenger's conviction for libel in prose and verse and point out that the final stanza is a misfit in terms of its form and metre.

²¹⁷ Gabriel Argall took his B.A. at Christ Church, Oxford in 1570 from whence he was admitted to Cambridge as a member of Trinity Hall, proceeding to M.A. in 1573; Owen Rowland took his B.A. from Christ's College, Cambridge, 1570/1.

interpretacon as I had learned before / wherbye it is now spreade further abroad amonges manye to the great slaundr of divers honest persones in this towne.²¹⁸

Jeremiah Kydd's confession provides the illuminating detail that copies of the libel had been prepared with the 'interpretacon' (i.e. the key to the identify of the individuals whose names are punningly referred to in the text) and may have been the source for some of Hy and Hn's marginal annotations.

With the evidence of the prosecution of those responsible for disseminating the libel it is not suprising that Coningsby employed a cypher to disguise the names in the marginal annotations.²¹⁹ The code is fairly basic: all the vowels have been written over with a letter resembling 'p' and the number of strokes added to the stem corresponds to the vowel intended: p + 1 stroke = 'a', p + 2 = 'e', p + 3 = 'i', p + 4 = 'o', and p + 5 = 'u'. The image below from f. 55 shows a marginal annotation with disguised letters e, u, a, i, o and e.

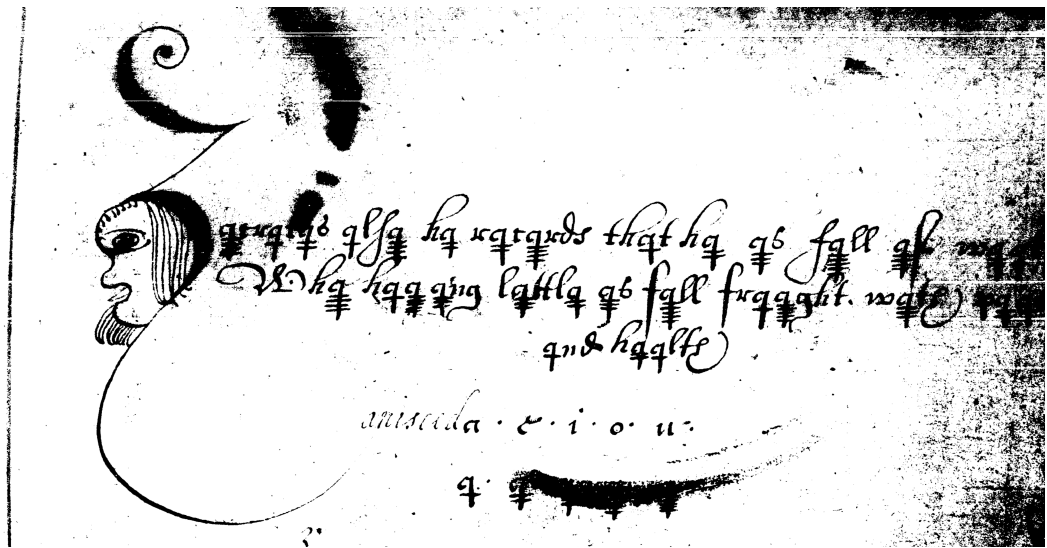


'Her Husband | William Wolfe'

The marginal annotations were first transcribed without bowdlerization and elements of the original letters are visible. The cypher must have been quite well known as it is found among some manuscript additions (following plate 31 on one of 28 unnumbered leaves) to the Cambridge University Library copy of John Davies of Hereford's *The Writing Schoolemaster* printed in 1636 (CUL, Syn.7.63.148). The key is given below but an ink-blot obscures most of it.

²¹⁸ Cambridge University Archives, Collect. Admin. 13, f. 199r; quoted in May & Bryson forthcoming: 2015.

²¹⁹ The familiar name for the libel 'Cockalls callender' cited at line 259 is also partly placed in cypher.



(‘Zocrates also he records that he is full of we<alth> | Who hauing little is full fraught with <peace?> | and health’).

For full commentary and collations for **93**, see May and Bryson (forthcoming: 2015).

94

The poem belongs to a niche genre of literary satire: the burlesque or mock coat of arms. This form of satire was employed in a libellous attack against Thomas Wolsey: ‘Of the prowde Cardinall this is the shelde / Borne vp betwene two angles off Sathan. / The sixe blouddy axes in a bare felde / Sheweth the cruelte of the red man’ (‘The descripcion of the armes’ in William Barlow’s *Rede me and be nott Wrothe*, 1528, sig. A1v), and in a lighter vein as a burlesque element to the royal entertainments at Kenilworth: in the ‘ridiculous deuice of an auncient minstrell’ whose escutcheon depicted the arms of Islington (a town famous for its fresh cheese and cream), ‘For Creast, vpon a wad of ote strawe for a wreath, a boll of furmenty ... and in the midst of it, stycking a doozen horn spoonz in a bunch’ (Robert Laneham, *A Letter*, 1575, sig. G2r); and there were the elaborate devices created for the Lord of Misrule who presided over the Inns of Court Christmas Revels. Spoof coats of arms mocking character types

(such as Puritans and Jesuits) or current vices (such as smoking) also enjoyed a brief vogue during the early seventeenth century.²²⁰

The target of this satirical verse is a troupe of players whose chief members are ‘the Duttons’. Brothers John and Laurence Dutton were well-established figures in the acting fraternity making regular appearances at court with an established company of players that enjoyed the protection of increasingly powerful noblemen.²²¹ In 1575 the Dutton brothers’ company gained the patronage of Ambrose Dudley, Earl of Warwick (brother of Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester). As the Earl of Warwick’s men they appeared regularly at Court from 1575-1579, and it is clear from a reference by Gabriel Harvey that they were an established London company by the summer of 1579.²²² In 1580 the switch in patronage memorialised in the heading of the manuscript libel took place: the Dutton brothers (and an unspecified number of their company) transferred their services to the Earl of Oxford. In the heading they are called ‘Camœlions’ and they have literally changed their colours (due to the practice of wearing the livery of the nobleman they were serving). The Duttons’ self-appointed title as the Earl of Oxford’s ‘Comœdians’ (an attempt to mark themselves out as serious actors) is thoroughly traduced in the libel by placing them amongst the lowest and most disreputable types of itinerant entertainers.²²³

²²⁰ William Segar expounds this method of satire in his *Blazon of Papistes* (1587): ‘so in this Sect of Papistry, their actions, gestures and natures compared with like tearmes are in some most properlie blazoned. viz. *A Papist Couchant, A Papist passant, A Papist passant gardant, A Papist Variant, A papist Volant, A papist Seminant, A papist Saliant, A papist Rampant, & a papist pendant*’ (‘To the Queenes most excellent Maiestie’). A manuscript copy entitled ‘The blazon of all sortes of papistes’ is found in a miscellany (c.1630) connected to the Inns of Court (Rosenbach, MS 1083/15, ff. 52v-53v).

²²¹ Chambers 1923 (2: 96-7) records Laurence Dutton’s name as the payee for performances at court during the Christmas of 1571-2 in the company of Sir Robert Lane’s Men. Subsequently, perhaps as a result of the statute of 1572 (see below 3n.), Laurence Dutton and his company sought the protection of the Earl of Lincoln and became ‘Lord Clinton’s Men’. For the Duttons, see also Chambers 1923 2.314, Eccles 1991: 47-49, Nungezar 1929: 124, Benbow 1981: 3-9, Mann 1991, and Kathman 2004: 24-25.

²²² Chambers 1923: 2.98.

²²³ In 1583 John Dutton was among those quality actors chosen to form the newly founded Queen’s Men and his brother Laurence joined some years later. In the light of the prestigious nature of the Duttons’ acting company, the libel’s equating them with rogue players and minstrels is highly insulting. Sharpe asserts that ‘few historians who have studied the social attitudes current in early modern England ... would not agree that considerations of honour, good name, and reputation were of central importance to that society’ and that the concern for reputation appears to run ‘from the top to very near the bottom of English society in this period’ (1980: i).

The verse description of the mock coat of arms created for the actors also ridicules their pretensions to gentility.²²⁴ The only other copy to survive was made by the clergyman, author and limner Stephen Batman and it is accompanied by an elaborate illustration of the coat of arms described in the poem, in Bod., MS Douce 363 (Bat), f. 140r. The heading has been cropped but can still be read as: ‘a scand[al] ... co[mpany] ... Gentilite. imagined Anno/1580/’.²²⁵

Much of the humour in the poem is achieved by the employment of perfectly correct heraldic terminology to describe the ridiculous and degrading emblems chosen to adorn the actors’ family coats of arms. The animals are lowly and smelly (‘A woodcocke’, ‘a Calfe’, ‘a Sheepe’, ‘a Dormouse’ and ‘A Vyper in stynche’ ll. 5-7), and there are depictions of degrading punishments: ear boring and nose slitting (l. 12), and men hanging from the gallows (l. 14). The wreath is adorned with the symbol of lechery, ‘the Horne of a Gote’ (l. 21), and their ancestral home is the notorious Southwark prison ‘the Clynke’ (l. 26). While the Duttons are named in the heading, there is an aura of secrecy attached to the epithet ‘certayne gentlemen’, a device which gives anonymity to the authors of the libel. In fact, the insulting verses were written by Inns of Court students, and formed part of an ongoing quarrel with the players; the evidence for this comes from two Privy Council minutes from April and May 1580:

[13 April]

Robert Leveson and Larrance Dutton, servantes unto the Erle of Oxford, were committed to the Mareshalsea for committing of disorders and frayes appon the gentlemen of the Innes of Courte.

²²⁴ Members of the Inns of Court had a highly developed sense of social distinction, being largely populated by the sons of the landed gentry, and according to Stone (1965: 690) more so than both the universities put together. John Ferne composed his *Blazon of Gentry* (1586) whilst resident at the Inner Temple and dedicated it ‘especiallly [to] those four nursing sisters to the common wealth ... to the honorable assemblies of the Innes of court’. On the title page Ferne carefully delineated the intended audience of his work: ‘for the instruction of all Gentlemen bearers of Armes, whom and none other this worke concerneth’.

²²⁵ Batman’s volume contains many interesting illustrations some of which were made for his copy of Cavendish’s *Life of Wolsey*. Batman could have obtained a copy from any number of his numerous connections and sources called upon in his antiquarian collecting. It is worth noting that by 1582 he was chaplain to Henry Carey, first Baron Hunsdon, a patron of the city theatre. *ODNB*: Batman (d. 1584).

[26 May]

A letter to the Lord Chiefe Justice, Master of the Rolles and Mr Justice Southcote, to examine a matter of a certaine fraye betwene the servauntes of th'erle of Oxforde and the gentlemen of the Innes of the Courtes.²²⁶

The confrontation between the Duttons and the Inns of Court students had also prompted a letter from the Lord Mayor of London, Sir Nicholas Woodrofe. Writing to the Lord Chancellor two days after the incident at the theatre (on 12 April 1580) Woodrofe betrays a tone of regret that the matter is in the hands of the Privy Council and his attempt to summon the players has been denied. In the letter Woodrofe takes the opportunity to promote his view that plays presented a 'great corruption of youthe with vnchast and wicked matters, occasion of much incontinence, practises of many ffrayes, querrells, and other disorders and inconueniences' and that 'the players of playes, which are vsed at the Theatre ... are a very superfluous sort or men'.²²⁷ The anti-theatrical lobby was extremely active at this period and the question of the legitimacy and morality of plays animated a broad cross-section of society from the city authorities and clergy, to university scholars who debated this topic. For example, disputations at Oxford in 1584 included: 'Whether stage plays are to be approved in a well governed state'. But there is nothing in the libel aimed at these hotly debated issues touching on the morality of plays, their disruptive effect, and their influence in drawing people away from the church. And as Finkelpearl points out, the students of the Inns of Court along with the apprentices of London were the two main groups mentioned most frequently in contemporary allusions to the public theatres.²²⁸ Chambers suggests that the involvement of the Inns of Court students had more to do with partisan allegiances than any moral objections to the performance of plays: the Earl of Oxford's Men 'had arranged, possibly during the absence of Leicester's men from town, to occupy the Theatre'.²²⁹

Rivalry between noble patrons and their followers was clearly at issue, and the elite social make-up of the Inns of Court meant that patronage loyalties were established

²²⁶ Chambers 1923: 4.280.

²²⁷ Ibid.: 4.279.

²²⁸ 1969: 27.

²²⁹ The Earl of Leicester's men, headed by James Burbage had built their own theatre in London in 1576, which they occupied (apart from provincial tours) until 1583 (Chambers 1923: 2.100). Gurr also cites 'rivalry between noble patrons at court' as a possible explanation for the frays between the law students and players (2004: 148).

according to long standing kinship and social ties. The Inns of Court men might have felt a more personal affront since Warwick's brother the Earl of Leicester was a patron of the Inns and had many contacts with them. In 1561, he had used his influence to prevent the Inner Temple from losing one of their Inns of Chancery (Lyons Inn), and in gratitude they made him Christmas Prince, set up the Dudley arms in the Hall, and vowed never to enter into any legal matter with Dudley or his heirs.²³⁰

- 1 **Fyeld** the background of a shield; **corded** tied with a cord
- 2 **flurty** a field or charge (a pictorial representation or geometrical shape in relief) scattered with fleurs-de-lis is called a fleuretty (Friar 2004: 265)
- 3 **lyther** wicked, base; lazy (*OED adj.* 1, 3a); **stampant** a play on the heraldic term 'rampant' (see 4n. below); **Roge** vagabond. The status of players was already precarious since an Act passed in 1572 'for the punishment of Vacabondes' specified:

Comon Players in Enterludes ... not belonging to any Baron of this Realme or towards any other honorable Personage of Greater Degree ... shall wander abroad and have not Lycense of two Justices of the Peace at the leaste ... shalbee taken adjudged and deemed Roges Vacaboundes and Sturdy Beggars (quoted in Chambers 1923: 4.268).
- 4 **rampant** a beast in an upright position with its left hind paw on the ground (Friar 2004: 272)
- 5 **displayed** with wings expanded
- 6 **splayed** spayed (*OED adj.*²) is a heraldic term synonymous with 'displayed' (above n. 5)
- 7 **stynche** stench; **la ... la** the part of the
- 7-8 **Drut**, / ... **backward** turd
- 8 **cracke** ... **Nut** work that out (*OED* 4)
- 9 **Party per** refers to the divisions of the shield into parts; replaces more usual terms for parted fields, 'per pale', 'per fess', 'per chevron', etc. (Fox-Davies 1969: 271); **pillery** act of pillage, extortion, or robbery (*OED*); **perced** a

²³⁰ Bland 1984: 12; Leicester's intimate association with the Inner Temple continued throughout his life but his patronage was not confined to any one of the Inns and included: George Gascoigne at Gray's Inns, Timothy Kendall at Staple Inn, Robert Peterson at Lincoln's Inn and William Blandie at the Middle Temple (Rosenberg 1955: 47, 179).

- heraldic term for ‘the circular hole in a charge [a device borne on a shield] through which the field shows’ (Woodcock and Robinson 1988: 205).
- 10 **lytherly** pliantly (from *OED* lithe, *adj.* 3)
- 11 **crospate** a cross where the ends were splayed or widened out was described as ‘cross paty’ (Hope 1913: 111)
- 12 **Eares perforate** a punishment stipulated in the 1572 statute (see 3n. above): ‘burnte through the gristle of the right Eare with a hot Yron of the compasse of an Ynche about, manifestinge his or her rogyshe kynde of Lyef’ (quoted in Chambers 1923: 4.270)
- 13 **Owles** In heradic symbolism ‘signifies a lazy man, cowardly in battle, who lives on plunder and rapine, in contrast to its usual role as a symbol of wisdom’ (Woodcock and Robinson 1988: 64).
- 14 **pendent** hanging; also a heraldic term to describe a shield suspended or hanging from a branch of a tree, or from a nail
- 16 **for a difference** the small devices introduced in a coat of arms to distinguish different members of a family and its cadet branches are described ‘for difference’ (Friar 2004: 207)
- 17 **wreathe** ‘the junction of the crest with the helm ... masked ... by a twisted wreath or torse of two or more differently coloured stuffs’ (Hope 1913: 56); **chaungearable** changing-coloured (*OED* 3a)
- 19 **Creste** a three-dimensional device affixed to a helmet (Friar 2004: 172); **Castrylle** kestrel
- 19-20 **Blew**, / ... **trew** subverts the usual colour symbolism (see 95 3-4n.)
- 20 **Fydlers** See also below 30n.; the verse coat of arms confounds the actors with the lowest status of professional musicians, described by one character-writer as ‘a Bastard of the Muses’ who ‘scrapes out a poore liuing’, and whose ear is most attuned to ‘the chinking of money’ (*Micrologia*, 1629, sig. C7v).
- 23 **indented** describes a type of line delineating the compartments of the shield (Friar 2004: 181)
- 24 **innebulated** Plays on the heraldic term nebulated i.e. clouded or bedimmed (*OED* *adj.*); cf. ‘Of Armes parted, cloudy or, nebulated’ (*The Gentlemans Academie*, 1595, sig. Y1r)
- 25 **Mantled** ‘the mantling ... is a protective cloth affixed to the helmet and, in a coat of arms, is depicted as flowing from beneath the crest’ (Friar 2004: 177)

- 26 **the Clynke** notorious Southwark prison
- 27 **Posy** the motto shown on a scroll beneath the shield (Woodcock and Robinson 1988: 112)
- 29 **Heraultes** heralds
- 30 **Fidlers** See above 20n.; but here, there may be a pun intended on another current meaning of *fiddle* for persons making aimless or frivolous movements (*OED* 3a); **beare** ... **Armes** show or exhibit armorial bearings; **Towelle** linen or hemp cloth for drying; but also used in the period for a table-napkin or other cloth used at meals (*OED* towel, *n.* 1a). The idea of displaying a coat of arms on such a lowly household item, is the parting shot of the libel, and thoroughly traduces the actors' pretensions to gentility.

Collations: one text collated: Bat.

6 splayed] spaied

7 Drut] durt

10 lytherly] lythorye

15 in them] is then

17 The] Three

18 To shew] in token

19 The] There

20 Fydlers] fidling knawes

The texts are very close. Most of Bat's variant readings are errors: 'durt' (l. 7) should be 'drut' (my italics), as in Hy, so that, '*backward*', it reads 'turd'; two variants create metrical irregularities (ll. 18, 20), and three more are obvious errors probably caused by scribal error (ll. 15, 17, 19). The lack of definitive error in Hy suggests that a fair copy of the libel (perhaps made by a professional scribe) had been produced for limited circulation at one of the Inns of Court.

95

There are no other copies of this anonymous poem. Colour-symbolism in the early modern period derived from classical literature, the colour associations in sacred

literature, and medieval colour-symbolism.²³¹ Linthicum cites some influential works devoted wholly to colour-symbolism, and points out that a potent source of colour-symbolism was heraldry.²³² Geoffrey Whitney's 'In colores' (*A Choice of Emblemes*, 1586, sig. R3v) incorporates a similar catalogue of contemporary colour-symbolism:

And some of them, here brieflie to recite,
 And to declare, with whome they best agree:
 For mourners, *blacke*, for the religious, *white*.
 Which is a signe, of conscience pure, and free.
 The *greene*, agrees with them in hope that liue:
 And eeke to youthe, this colour wee do giue.
 The *yelow*e next, vnto the couetous wighte.
 And vnto those, whome ielousie doth fret.
 The man refus'd, in *Taunye* doth delite.
 The collour *Redde*, let martiall captaines get.
 And little boies, whome shamefastnes did grace,
 The Romaines deck'd, in *Scarlet* like their face.
 The marriners, the *Blewe* becometh well.
 Bicause it showes the colour of the sea:
 And Prophettes, that of thinges deuine foretell,
 The men content, like *Violet* arraie.
 And laste, the poore and meaner sorte prouide,
 The *medley*, *graye*, and *russet*, neuer dy'de.

- 1 **Russet** also a coarse, woollen, russet-coloured cloth, commonly worn by country people and the poor (*OED* *n.* 1a); cf. 'Hir habite was of manyfolde coloures ... Feynt blacke for mournynge russet for trauayle' (*Iohn Bochas Descriuinge the Falle of Princis ... by Iohn Iudgate*, 1494, sig. T2v)

²³¹ For a detailed discussion of the sources of colour symbolism in early modern England, see Linthicum 1936: 13-52.

²³² *Le Blason des Couleurs* by the Herald to Alphonso V, King of Aragon was first printed in 1528 and translated by Richard Robinson in 1583 as *A Rare, True, and Proper Blazon of Coloures in Armoryes*. Gerard Legh's *Accedens of Armory*, 1562, and John Ferne's *Blazon of Gentry*, 1586, dealt in detail with colour-symbolism in the blazoning of arms. Two sixteenth-century Italian works on colour-symbolism also expressed the symbolism of colours in verse: Fulvio Pellegrino Morato's *Del Significato de' Colori* 1535, and Cornonato Occolti's *Trattato di Colori*, 1557 (Linthicum 1936: 17-23).

- 3-4 Cf. 'A deintie draught to lay her downe in blue, / The collour commonlie betokening true' (George Peele, *The Araygnement of Paris*, 1584, sig. A4r); Ben Jonson satirises the use of colour symbolism as a coded language between lovers in *Cynthias Revels* (5. 2):

As your *gentile dor*, in colours. For supposition, your mistress appears heere in *prize*, ribbanded with *greene*, and *yellow*; now it is the part of euery obsequious seruant, to be sure to haue daily about him copie, and varietie of colours, to be presently answerable to any hourelly, or half-hourelly change in his mistress resolution ... that the *greene* your mistress weares, is her reioycing or exultation in his seruice; the *yellow*, suspicion of his truth, (from her height of affection:) and that he (greenly credulous) shall withdraw thus, in priuate, and from the abundance of his pocket (to displace her jelous conceit) steale into his hat the colour, whose *bluenesse* doth expresse *truenesse*.

(*The Workes*, 1616, sig. V4v)

- 5-6 Cf. 'Simply ... [Purple] sheweth iurisdiction, a ruler of lawes, and in iustice, to be æqual with a prince' (Gerard Legh, *Accedens of Armory*, 1562, sig. C3v).
- 7-8 Cf. 'The colour of his coate is lustie greene' (*The Araygnement*, sig. C3v); **yunker** a fashionable young man (*OED* *yunker*, *n.* 2a).
- 9 Cf. Isaiah 1.18: 'thogh your sinnes were as crimsin, they shalbe made white as snowe'.
- 10 Cf. 'your orange spightfull' (William Cavendish, *The Country Captaine*, 1649, sigs. B2v-3r).
- 11 **Yellowe Ioyes** Cf.

Dev. ... your yellow is joy ...

Lad. Why yeallow Sir is jealous.

Dev. Noe it is your lemon colour, a pale kinde of yeallow is jealous;
your yeallow is perfect ioye.

(*The Country Captaine*, sig. B2v)

Sportes (1) recreation; (2) amorous play (*OED* *n.*¹ 1a, b).

- 15 **Murrey** a colour resembling that of the mulberry; a reddish purple or blood red (*OED* *n.*¹ 1)
- 16 **Secrete fed** perhaps this idea derives from the association of 'murrey' with 'murex' (*OED* *murrey*, *n.*¹ A2), a kind of shell-fish from which the crimson dye called Tyrian purple was obtained

- 17-20 Whetstone also clothes the ‘forsaken lover’ in tawnie: ‘In tawnie now I forced am to goe, / (Forsaken wretch!) my mystresse scorne to shoe’ (*The Rocke of Regard*, 1576, sig. F7v).
- 25-26 The closing (cancelled) couplet is marked out from the rest of the poem for its change in metre from fourteeners to pentameter. It acts like an envoy giving the author’s parting words. The idea that the poem was composed **by reason of constraynte** suggests some kind of coercion reminiscent of the poetic challenge, on set themes, that George Gascoigne underwent, before he was allowed to be re-admitted into Gray’s Inn (Pigman 2000: 58).

96

Hughey identifies the poem as John Harington’s. A copy headed with what appears to be Harington’s monogram is found in the ‘Blage’ manuscript, TCD, MS 160 (Bl), f. 176v.²³³ Hughey draws attention to similar sententious, riddle-like verses collected by Harington (headed ‘dyvers sentences’) in Hn (ff. 27v-30r).²³⁴ The poem circulated amongst a select group of individuals, with copies found in manuscript collections compiled by the courtier Edward Hoby, BL, Add. MS 38823 (Ho), f. 48r, Henry Sidney’s chaplain, Robert Commaundre, BL, Egerton MS 2642 (E), f. 256v, and Edward Gunter of Lincoln’s Inn, Bod., MS Rawl. poet. 108 (R10), f. 12v.²³⁵ It was also transcribed by Thomas Powell (d. 1588) of Whittington, Shropshire in NLW, MS 23202B, (232), f. 171v, and found in a composite folio volume c. 1600 BL, Harl. MS 2296 (H96), f. 138r.

²³³ Hughey (1971: 87) prints the poem from the Blage manuscript (inaccurately in line 2: ‘nott’ should read ‘well’) as ‘Poems accepted as Harington’s’ (II A2); interpreting the ‘H’ at the head of the poem as John Harington’s monogram (the same character appears at the foot of a poem Harington added in the Blage manuscript in his own hand, on f. 179r (‘Yf Ryght be rakt and over Roon’; for an extract from this poem, see 69). Hughey also assigns to Harington the six-line verse ‘degrese of lyghtnes lefte behynde’, which was copied in the same italic hand above ‘he that spares to speak’ (‘the monogram ‘I H’, which is written between the two poems, may designate authorship of both’, 257). Muir also prints the poem, and discusses the letter indexing-system in the Blage manuscript (1961: xiii, fn. 1). For the identification of John Mantell as the original compiler, see Baron 1989.

²³⁴ 1971: 257.

²³⁵ For a description of the contents of this manuscript see, Bliss 1812.

- 1 proverbial, ‘spare to speak, spare to speed’ (Tilley S709)
 4 the cheapness of words is proverbial (Tilley W808, W804)

Collations: four texts collated: Bl, E, Ho and 232; not collated: H96 and R10.

Title: *om.*] Of speache E, Incerti Authoris Ho

1 spareth] spares Bl; for to] to Bl E Ho; oft wanteth] hathe hardly Bl Ho, Shall not have E, long er he haue 232

2 & he] he Bl Ho, Yf hee E; speketh ... therby] speaks and speeds Bl, speaketh and spedeth Ho, speade when he speaketh E, spedeth when he speketh 232; labor] speaking Bl Ho, speache E 232

3 *sub.* Yf he speade not when hee speakethe What hathe hee Lost E, And if he spede not, when he speketh, what hathe he lost 232; spekes] speaketh Ho; spedeth] speeds Bl; labour] spekyng Bl Ho

4 *sub.* Hee that spent but his speache and small is his coste E, He spendeth but his speech, & small is his cost 232; So] and yet Bl, Yet Ho; slender] small Bl Ho

Hy is a variant version unrelated to the other witnesses collated. Bl is the oldest copy and has some claim to authority (based on its context in a collection associated with Harington); it is the only copy with no ‘eth’ third-person singular endings, and has a simple rhetorical structure, which became more convoluted as the poem circulated in manuscript. Ho is closest to Bl sharing six variant readings against all the other texts. E and 232 are also similar versions.

97

Another copy of this anonymous poem (lacking the two line envoy) survives in Ha, ff. 147r-v. A possible musical setting (identified by the incipit ‘Me thought of late’) doubtfully attributed to William Byrd, is found in an early seventeenth-century set of part-books BL, Add. MSS 17792-6 (Me2).²³⁶

3 **frame** workmanship (*OED* n. 17)

5 **frame** shape (*OED* v. 5); **set vnto** begin (*OED* set, v.¹ 4)

²³⁶ Printed as no. 35 in Brett 1967: 61-2. This manuscript comprises five part-books, and texts of the lyric appear as follows: i, f. 60r, ii, f. 64r, iii, f. 67r, iv f. 30r, v. f. 60r.

- 6 Alluding to Penelope's nightly unweaving of the web she wove to keep her suitors at bay (Homer's *Odyssey* 2).
- 7 **thred of Life** the course of life; in classical mythology represented as a thread which is spun and cut off by the Fates (*OED n.* 6a).
- 9 **ere** the scribe may have misread 'or' i.e. either (the reading in Ha) as 'er' and expanded; **bracke** a flaw in a cloth (*OED n.*¹ 3)
- 12 **favor** a gift given to a lover (*OED n.* 7a)
- 13 **knot of love** A complex ornamental knot considered to be a symbol of true love (*OED n.* 2); cf. John Marston's description of a lover's chamber in *The Metamorphoses of Pigmaliions Image*: 'His windowes strow'd with Sonnets, and the glasse / Drawne full of loue-knots' (1598, sig. D4v).
- 17 **Powderd** ornamented with scattered spots or flecks (*OED powder v.*¹ 6)
- 18 **passing** surpassing (*OED adj.* 2)
- 24 **Discried** discovered, espied (*OED descry, v.*¹ 6)

Collations: one text collated: Ha.

3 'singinge' *corr. to* sowinge] singinge; sate] set

5 set] sit

6 *om.*

7 thred] lyne

9 ere] or

10 most] must

11 every] either

13 middes] midst

16 skill] stille

17 advise] admissie

20 shall] might

21 may] might

22 my ... wished] this wished worke to

23 Wherwith] Therwith; aside] on mee

24 And] O

25-26 *om.*

Hy is the better text; but in line 3, Ha probably has the intended reading: ‘singing *set* a worke’ for Hy’s ‘singinge *sate*, a worke’ (my italics). The error derives from Hy’s reading of ‘sate’ (as sit) for Ha’s ‘set’ (*OED* set, v.¹ 4 to set to work, begin (upon something)). Hy probably noticed that the line creates a *non sequitur* and added the marginal substitution of ‘sowinge’ for ‘singinge’ (according to the poem the ‘Dame’ only begins to sew at line 19: ‘she did begin to sow’) in an attempt to rectify this. Gottschalk points out that Ha’s omission of line 6 (with a space left to fill in later) and the nonce-word ‘admissee’ (l. 17) indicate that the scribe ‘could not read his manuscript copy-text’ (1974: 485). Ha introduces eleven more variant readings many of which are certain errors (ll. 5, 7, 10-11, 16-17 and 20-24).

98

This unique bawdy verse was added in a space at the foot of the page after the scribe numbered the poems (this can be seen more clearly in the *Overview table* in **Appendix 1**).

- 1 **Pushe** Williams cites a line from Aretino’s *Sonetti Lussoriosi* 8 where the lover exhorts the woman to respond to his efforts: ‘Spingi, cor mio ancor rispingi e spingi’ (‘Push, my heart, yet again push and push’).
- 2 **Cheapen** i.e. from the spending of seed (Moulton 2000: 29)
- 4 **A Rushe for** an expression of contempt (*OED* rush, n.¹ P4)

99

The initials assigned to this unique poem are unidentified and could refer to the author or the donor of the poem (for a note on attributions, see **Introduction** pp. 67-8). The verse form is sonnet-like (minus the first cross-quaternion and the opening tetrameter).

- 2 **lewd** wicked, base (*OED* adj. 5)
- 4 **Fell out** happen; **overthwarte** contrarily (*OED* adv. 2)
- 7 **against the heare** against the hair, i.e. contrary to the natural set of a thing (*OED* hair, n. 8a.)

This unique poem in blank verse is a literal translation of a French satirical sonnet circulating in 1585 (see **108** for a different English version that circulated more widely). The numerous alternative readings in the margin, show that either the compiler had a copy of the original French poem and attempted to improve the translation, or, that it was a work in progress: an unpolished translation received directly from the author. Perhaps from the unidentified female source recorded in the subscription ‘*Mistres C N*’.

The translation closely follows the original French version as it appears in a contemporary English manuscript owned by Edward Hoby, headed ‘*A pasquill of Fraunce 1585*’, BL, Add. MS 38823, f. 30r:

Voyant de nostre temps l’inconstante maniere	
qui attend de heure, a aultre, vn changement nouueau	
l’on peult accomparer, la france a vn tableau	
ou quatre grands Ioueurs, Iouent a la premiere	
le roy, sur qui doit cheoir la perte toute entiere	5
dit, passe si ie puis, bien que son Jeu soit beau	
Je l’enuy, dict, Burbon en quittant son chapeau	
sans veoir ce que luy vient, a la carte derniere	
Je tiens (dict Espernon) y allast il de plus	
le Guysard (soubs espoir de quelque petit flus)	10
le enforce de son reste, et l’aultruy y hazard	
Mais le Roy catholique l’assistant tout debout	
en estant de moitie couuertement regard	
et luy fournist argent, pour en fin avoir tout.	

The French poem was printed (with a few variants) in Pierre Matthieu’s, *Histoire des Derniers Troubles de France ... Livre Premier ... jusque à l’Edict de Iuliet de l’an 1585* (1594, sigs. N4r-v).²³⁷ The poem describing the political turmoil of 1585 was in fact an updated version (with new names inserted) of an original piece written during an equally turbulent period in the government of France at the end of

²³⁷ Substantive variants (from Hoby’s text) in the 1594 print are as follows: 3 accomparer] bien comparer; 9 Je tiens (dict Espernon)] Le Nauarrois le tient; 12 le Roy catholique] le fin Espanol. The French version translated in **100** must have contained the print variant in line 9 ‘Le Nauarrois’ (‘Navar’ **100.10**) rather than ‘Espernon’ in Hoby’s version.

1577. In his dated manuscript journals Pierre de l'Estoile (1546-1611) copied both versions of the sonnet;²³⁸ he copied the original sonnet beginning 'Voiant de nostre Estat l'inconstant manière' as the first in a collection of twelve political poems circulating in Paris at the end of 1577 (including another verse similarly comparing the political situation in France to the card game Primero); and eight years later he transcribed the updated version introduced with the heading, 'Sur L'Estat de ce temps. Sonnet fait sur le jeu de la Prime 1585'. The two versions are identical except for the names of the players: 'Monsieur', 'La Roine', 'Le Prince', and 'le Roy de Navarre' are replaced by 'Bourbon', 'Esparnon', 'le Guysard', and 'Roy d'Hespagne' [sic] in the later version, reflecting the shift in power brought about by the death (10 June 1584) of the heir apparent, Francis, Duke of Anjou. The last two lines are revised in the later version, alluding to the financial support offered by Philip of Spain after the ratification of the Treaty of Joinville, 31 December 1584.²³⁹

3 **Table** gaming table (*OED* 9a)

4 **Prymero** a gambling card-game, popular 1530-c.1640 (see Strutt 1876: 433-4); McTear provides the following description of how the game was played:

Before play was commenced the amounts of the Stake and the Rest were settled, the latter being always the higher sum. At the beginning of the deal every player placed his Stake in the pool. The dealer gave out, unexposed, two cards to each player (himself included), by single cards, in two rounds. When the players had examined these cards, each in turn ... announced whether he played or not. Those who played put their Rest into the pool ... vying (or betting) ... The vye usually remained a fixed sum, and the player vying placed the amount in the pool. Any player in his turn could pass, vye, or revye (1913: 41).

5-6 **Kynge ...fall** Henry III, as reigning king of France, has everything to lose and though he has a good hand, in the first move of Primero opts not to play.

²³⁸ Lazard & Schrenck 1992: 214-215; Lazard & Schrenck 2001: 151, 167.

²³⁹ The last two lines of the earlier version read: 'Luy demande a moictie ce pendant qu'il reagarde / le jeu de trois premiers, pour l'avertir de tout' (Lazard & Schrenck 1992: 215). Lazard & Schrenck (2001: 167) cite another manuscript copy of the later version entitled 'Sonnet sur les troubles (1586)' in Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Dupuy 770, f. 224r. For a listing of further manuscript copies of both versions of the French poem (erroneously attributed to Pierre de Ronsard), see *La Bouquinade et Autres Gaillardises* (Paris: 1921).

- 7-9 **Burbon** The Cardinal of Bourbon (Navarre's uncle; see 10n.) was recognised as the rightful heir in the Treaty of Joinville (see 13-16n.); in the game of Primero, Bourbon, as 'puppet' of the Guise faction shows the appropriate level of disinterest being happy to **vye the game** i.e. to stake a bet on his cards (*OED* *vie*, *n.*³ 1a).
- 10 **Navar** Henry, King of Navarre, the Huguenot leader and the logical successor to the crown of France after the death of Francis, Duke of Anjou, 10 June 1584; in the game of Primero, Navarre opts to hold and wait for a better hand, before he is prepared to expose himself to risk ('hazard').
- 11 **Guise** Henry, Duke of Guise (see 7-9n. and 13-16n.); **silly** simple (*OED* *adj.* 3c); **flushe** four cards of the same suit, the highest hand in Primero, and would win the game
- 12 **Sets ... rests** bets all his reserve stakes (*OED* *rest*, *n.*³ 5)
- 13-16 Philip II, King of Spain is a bystander with a vested interest in Guise winning the game of Primero; these lines allude to the Treaty of Joinville (31 December 1584) in which Philip II made a pact with Guise and the Catholic League promising financial support (**Lendynge hym money**). The final line (following the French original) hints at the potential treachery of the Spanish King who intends to take all ('pour en fin avoir tout').

101

This couplet is accompanied by a crude drawing of two hearts pierced by an arrow. It does not appear in Evans's list of English posies but there are similar examples with pictorial representation, such as 'De nos [drawing of two hearts] le désir s'acomplise', 'Far apart yet nigh in [drawing of a heart]', and 'Two [drawing of two hearts overlapping] soe tide let none deuide'.²⁴⁰ Nicholas Breton also knew this posy and incorporated it into his poem, 'A strange description of a rare Garden plot':

The first, the knot of loue, drawne euen by true desier,
Like as it were two harts in one, and yet both would be nier.
(*The Phoenix Nest*, 1593, sig. D3v)

²⁴⁰ 1931: 31, 104, 35.

- 1 **Behold** gesturing to the drawing
- 2 **Nyer** closer (*OED* near, *adv.* 1 1a)

102

This entry is the final stanza of an anonymous poem that survives in a single copy in Ha, ff. 142v-3r. The first two sixains are given below:

When hap I sought by hope of future grace
 My hope I lost, to vnhappines it turned
 The more I care content for to embrace
 The more I see content doth me out runne
 Pursuing still a shadow of delight
 Leauing fayre day for pleasure of a night.

A false content & flattering face of hope
 A shadow neere but neuer ouertaken.
 Prison of hopes, that hampers mee from happs
 Girds of good will that cannot be forsaken
 Martire of mynde torture of flesh and spirite
 That payeth paynes for promised delight.

Coningsby originally signed his own initials to the extract, a habit that is repeated throughout the manuscript and is not usually an acknowledgement of authorship (see **Introduction** pp. 68-70).

- 1 **aduenture** risk, chance (*OED* v. 3); **strypes** strokes or lashes with a whip (*OED* n.² 2a)

Collations: one text collated: Ha.

- 1 borne] yong; aduenture] do venter
- 2 Men, blowes] Men venter blowes; for wealthe ... rule] for Rule, for wealth
- 3 to] get; glitteryng are] glitter gaye
- 4 lyves] deathes; when] where; seke their] thinke to
- 5 Like ... birdes] like birds, like men

Hy's single stanza presents a high number of variant readings some of which are certain errors: 'borne' (l. 1) is an inferior reading to 'yong'; the omission of 'venter' (l. 2) disturbs the otherwise regular iambic pentameter lines; 'glitteryng are' for 'glitter gaye' creates a defective end-rhyme (l. 3). But as Gottschalk points out in her edition of the manuscript, Ha is also defective: 'in the second stanza ... the rhymes simply fail ("hope" with "happs"), and in the first stanza also "turned" with "runne"' (1974: 55).

103-104

These two entries are not included in the sequence of poems numbered in Hand A and were probably copied into blank space left where the compiler had begun a new poem at the head of a following page (this can be seen more clearly in the *Overview table* in **Appendix 1**). Entry **103a-b** comprises a Latin distich followed by a four-line English translation in Hand B (St Loe Kniveton's hand also appears several times on the cover folio; see **Introduction** p. 21). Entry **104** is another English version of the same Latin distich in the hand of (an unidentified) 'Charles Evans' (Hand D see **Introduction** pp. 21-2). For a line copied in the hand of '<Ed: Evans>' see **i**.

The Latin distich is an epitaph on Virgil and appeared in sixteenth-century editions of Virgil's work in a section of the Virgilian appendix headed 'Epigrammata ... in Virgilivm Epitaphia'.²⁴¹ The conceit of Virgil's literary progress from pastoral (*Eclogues*) through bucolic (*Georgics*) to epic poetry (*Aeneid*) is found in four lines that were commonly prefaced to the *Aeneid* (based on the fatuous notion derived from Donatus' *Life of Virgil* that the lines 'were composed by the poet himself and then deleted by his editor Varius' (Loeb 1999: 261)):

Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus auena
Carmen, & egressus sylvis, vicina coegi
Vt quamvis avido parerent arva colono,
Gratum opus agricolis: at nunc horrentia Martis
Arma virumque cano ...

²⁴¹ Printed in Julius Caesar Scaliger's *Poetices libri septem* (1561); Hudson mentions that 'Scaliger had found it among the poems ascribed to Pentadius' (1947: 162). A seventeenth-century copy (L) is headed, 'In Virgilium. Pentadii' (Richard Lovelace, *Lucasta Posthume Poems*, 1659, sigs. G3v-G4r).

(Virgil, *Opera*, 1580, sig. 11v)

[I am he who once tuned my song on a slender reed,
then leaving the woodland, compelled the neighbouring
fields to serve the husbandman, however grasping
a work welcome to farmers: but now of Mars' bristling
Arms and the man I sing].²⁴²

The enduring appeal of the distich rests on its use of the literary device of correlation (for the popularity of correlative or reporting verse in the 1580s and 90s, see the commentary to **115**).²⁴³ Abraham Fraunce quoted the Latin distich among examples of 'conceited kindes of verses' in *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, 1588 (Fr), sig. E1v commenting that the lines were 'as well knowne, as their author is vnknowne'.²⁴⁴ It was a popular addition to student verse miscellanies of the 1580s and 90s whose compilers evidently enjoyed the challenge of trying to convert the lines into an equally successful example of correlative verse in English.

The following English versions (in varying metre) were copied with the Latin text in (i) Ma, f. 20r; (ii) Ra, f. 83v; (iii) Bod., MS Rawl. poet. 112 (R12), f. 73r rev.; and (iv) Bod., MS Rawl. poet. 213 (R13), f. 1r.²⁴⁵

²⁴² Cf. 'cecini pascua, rura, duces' ['I sang of pastures, fields, and princes'] from another distich printed among the epitaphs in the Virgilian appendix ('Mantua me genuit'). Cf. also the lines on Virgil in the October eclogue (ll. 56-59) of Spenser's *Shepherdes Calender* (1579):

Through his Meccenas left his Oaten reede,
Whereon he earst had taught his flocks to feede,
And laboured lands to yeild the timely eare,
And eft did sing of warres and deadly drede.

'E.K.' glosses: 'in these three verses are the three seuerall workes of Virgile intended. For in teaching his flocks to feede, is meant his Æglogues. In labouring of lands, is hys Georgiques. In singing of wars and deadly drede, is his diuine Æneis figured'.

²⁴³ The distich was also quoted by Scaliger in his *Poetices* (1561) in a section entitled, 'affetus dispositione' ['Effects resulting from order or arrangement']; Richard Willes' *Poematum Liber* (1573) includes the distich to exemplify 'Carmen Correlatiuum'.

²⁴⁴ The English translation copied beneath the Latin lines is 'probably Fraunce's own' (Seaton 1950: xxx-xxi): 'A goteheard, plowman, knight, my goates, my fields, my foes, / I fed, I tild, I kild, with bowes, with plowes, with blowes'; it is followed by two French versions (taken from Taborout's *les Bigarrures*, 1583).

²⁴⁵ R12's compiler Edmund Sheaf matriculated at King's college, Cambridge in 1580, aged 18, as a scholar from Eton (Venn). Sheaf copied the same English version eight times on one page (signed at the head and foot 'Edmunde Sheafe') with the Latin lines copied twelve times on the facing page (signed 'Sheafe' at the bottom). R13 is a miscellany compiled by Robert Fleming from 1670 when the compiler was aged nine until his twenty-fourth year in 1685 (this

(i)

A heard, a hind, a knight,
I fedd, I tild, I foyld
my flock, my feeld, my foes,
with bughes, with plows, with bloes.

(ii)

A Herd, a swayne, a martiall knyghte
I fillde, I tyllde, I putt to flyghte
My goates, my grounde, my foes in fyghte
with bowes, with plowes, with manly myghte.

(iii)

I shepheard I ploweman I horsman light
haue fed haue tilled haue put to flighte
My sheepe my grownde myne ennimyes bande
with boughe with ploughe with mightye hande.

(iv)

I Sheepheard, I plowman, I horsman light;
Have fed, have plowed, have put to flight;
My goats, my land, my enemies in field;
With boughs, with spade, with spear & shield.

Collations: seven Latin texts collated: Fr, Ma, Ra, R12, R13, S and V.

Title: om.] These two bee aswell knowne, as their author is vnknowne Fr, In Virgilium.
Pentadii L

2 capras] agros Ma

The Latin text is fairly stable with only one variant between seven texts (Ma's 'agros' (sheep) for 'capras' (goats)). The English version in R13 is almost identical to **103** and close to R12, and may have been more widely known. Perhaps it had appeared in a now lost printed school text.

information is provided by Fleming on f. 30v). Another copy beginning: 'A shepherd a plowman a horseman light' is found in Folger, MS V.a.276.2, f. 3v (a collection c. 1674-84).

This unique poem signed ‘yeven [given] H E’ is a rare instance where the compiler specifies that a set of initials beneath a transcription refer to the person who had supplied him with the poem.

Moulton cites two texts printed in *Wits Drollery*, 1661 (an anthology of early seventeenth-century manuscript poetry) that describe men’s erotic dreams of women, ‘But pox upon’t ’twas but a dream, / And so I lay without her’ (sig. E4v).²⁴⁶ Moulton also cites some seventeenth-century poems in which ‘a male narrator comes upon a naked woman in a pastoral setting’. Anthony Munday’s popular song ‘Beautie sate bathing by a Spring’ is an earlier example (from his *Famous and Renowned Historie of Primaleon of Greece*, 1619 [first edn. 1596], sig. O2v).

title **Somnum Affectionale** ‘an affectionate slumber’

2 **golden Dreame** alluding to Zeus’s rape of Danae in the form of a golden shower (see 48.1n.)

5 **Phebe** Phoebe: ‘The goddesse Diana, & is taken for the moone’ (Cooper)

8 **dyvers** diversely (*OED* 4 as *adv.*)

17 **Actæons chaunce** ‘Acteon ... whome Diana tourned into an hart, because he sawe hyr naked: and therby he was torne & slain by his own houndes’ (Cooper)

20 **Duty** due respect, reverence (*OED* 1a); **beseme me meete** befit, suit in appearance (*OED* 2a)

22 **Syndon** a fine thin fabric of linen; muslin (*OED* sindon, *n.* 1)

24 **hudwynkte** blindfolded

27-30 The polite form of address and archaisms parody the conventions of the courtly love genre (see 145 for a more sustained treatment); **yit** nevertheless (*OED* yet, 9a).

36 **Sheete** ... **shame** i.e. a wet dream; the confessional aside ‘(indeede)’ is directed at the all-male audience of university and the Inns of Court students in which the poem circulated.

²⁴⁶ 2000: 53. Moulton also notes that most poems in manuscript that describe erotic dreams attribute such dreams to women as did Ovid’s *Heroides* 15.

Another copy of this anonymous entry survives amongst the poems collected by John Harington the elder in Hn, f. 213r.²⁴⁷ Hughey notes analogous lines from a song in the play *Tom Tyler and his Wife* ... *As it was Printed and Acted about a Hundred Years ago*, 1661, sig. A3r:

The more that I please her, the worse she doth like me,
 The more that I forbear her, the more she doth strike me,
 The more that I get her, the more she doth glike [trick] me.

Francis Meres's *Palladis Tamia* (1598, sig. F8r) presents the same proverbial wisdom:

so some the more you desire them, the more inexorable they are, and the more you disswade them, the forwarder they are ... so some the more you intreate them, the colder they are: but if you neglect them, of their own accorde they will doe it.

- 2 **Mysse** fail to get, obtain (*OED* miss, v.¹ 4)
 5-8 proverbial, 'Follow love and it will flee, flee love and it will follow thee' (Dent L479); cf. 'Haue you not then found amongst your louers, that they would flie you, if you do but follow them, and follow you most, when you do most flie them?' ('An Excellent Dialogue Betweene Constancie and Inconstancie' in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593, sig. D1r).
 6 **plyethe** yields, inclines (*OED* ply, v.¹ 2)
 12 *margin*: **Pro est** 'like it is'

Collations: one text collated: Hn.

1-2 yow ... yow] ye ... ye

3 yow] ye

5-6] *placed after l. 8*

5 yow do shun] ye eschue

7 yow] ye

²⁴⁷ Hughey identifies the hand as 'Hand A': a scribe who copied poems collected by the elder Harington and must therefore have been added before 1582 when he died (1960: 2.447).

9 yow refuse] ye refrayne
 10 seke] vse
 11-12 yow ... yow] ye ... ye; *in margin*: Pro est] *om.*

The texts are very close with only two substantive variants and a difference in the ordering of lines five to eight. The two substantive variants are synonyms for more archaic words: ‘shun’ for ‘eschue’ (l. 5) and ‘refuse’ for ‘refrayne’ (l. 9) and could indicate that Hy is a later copy that had been updated.

107

These four lines rhyme as a fourteenner couplet; the playful alternation from verb to noun of the words ‘love’ and ‘life’ carries to excess a popular rhetorical device of morphological variation.²⁴⁸ Evans cites two ring posies ‘Liue in loue’, and ‘I liue to loue’ that express the same sentiment.²⁴⁹

2 **Decreed** determined, resolved, decided (*OED* decree, v. 4)

108

The hand is an unidentified secretary script not found elsewhere in the manuscript (Hand E; see **Introduction** pp. 21-2). A copy of this topical poem transcribed by Sir Henry Sidney’s chaplain Robert Commaundre (d. 1613) provides some contextual detail: ‘The State of Fraunce translated oute of frenche into Englishe Anno Domini. 1585’, BL, Egerton MS 2642 (E), f. 232v.²⁵⁰ The original French source was probably a satirical sonnet (circulating in manuscript in France in 1585) that similarly compared the current political situation to the popular card-game Primero. The manuscript evidence suggests that copies of the French poem had also reached England during the

²⁴⁸ Adamson 1999: 550.

²⁴⁹ 1931: 70, 54.

²⁵⁰ Commaundre transcribed another longer version of the poem into his miscellany (with unique additions that were probably his own) entitled ‘The Frenche Prymero, 1585’, ff. 324v-325r (May 1988: 291); see May 1971 for a fuller treatment of the historical context and textual transmission of **108**.

same period (for a literal translation of the French sonnet, and a note on an earlier version circulating in 1577, see the commentary to **100**).

Authorship of the poem is dubiously assigned to Walter Raleigh in the heading, ‘On the State of France under the Administration of the Guises by Sir Walter Rawleigh’, added sometime later from the poem’s original transcription in Pierpont Morgan Library, Rulers of England (Eliz. I), No. 48[c] (PM).²⁵¹ A further eleven unattributed copies survive. Untitled copies appear in four more contemporary manuscript miscellanies: Fo, p. 32-3, Ra, f. 104r, Ma, f. 22r and Dd, f. 29r. Two copies survive on single sheets, one folded and endorsed: ‘Primero of Fraunce’, NLW, Pitchford Hall (Ottley) English Literary MSS (uncatalogued), A4 (Ot1); and another untitled, Somerset Heritage Centre, DD/WO/56/9/14.2 (D).²⁵² Five more early seventeenth-century copies attest to the poem’s continued appeal: it is entitled ‘The French Primero’ in Stephen Powle’s collection, Bod., MS Tanner 169 (T), f. 70v; another copy on a single-sheet leaf is endorsed ‘Verses of the civill Vprores in Fraunc’ in University of Nottingham, Cl LM 19 (N), and a copy entitled ‘Tempore Hen: 3’ is found in Huntington Library EL 6893 (EL), f. 48v. Two more unheaded copies are found in BL, Harl. MS 3787 (H87), f. 214v and Yale University, Osborn MS fb 9 (Y), f. 38v.

- 2 **primero** See **100.4n.**; **fourre handes** ‘Any number of players that the pack would accommodate could play, but the most usual set was four’ (McTear 1913: 41); the four players in the game are: Henry III, King of France, Henry, Duke of Guise, Henry, King of Navarre and Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon.
- 3 **vye** See **100.7-9n.**
- 6 **flushe** ‘Hands belonged to three classes. The highest was a Flush, being the whole hand in suit’ (McTear 1913: 41-2).
- 7-8 **of nought** i.e. a bad hand. After the Treaty of Joinville (31 December 1584) the Duke of Guise backed Charles, Cardinal of Bourbon as heir apparent.
- 9 **Navar** See **100.10n.**

²⁵¹ Bühler dates this copy on a single folio sheet (‘extracted from some commonplace book’) to ‘the first decade of the seventeenth century’; the heading is in another hand ‘probably later than that of the original scribe’ (1948: 695, 706, 700). May (1988: 294) points out that ‘if Raleigh were connected with the poem, his name would almost certainly have been affixed to it in one of the other manuscripts, all of which appear to be earlier’.

²⁵² D survives only as a fragmentary leaf with the right half missing (first half of 24 lines).

- 11 **feyntly** alluding to Bourbon's weak claim to the throne
 13 **bedes** bids
 14 **busie** also in the negative sense of prying, inquisitive, officious (*OED adj.* 6)
 15 **restes were vp** See 100.12n.
 16 **wrought** in a negative sense: to contrive, plot (*OED work*, v. 22); see 100.13-16n.
 17 **Queene mother** Catherine de' Medici, queen mother: not mentioned in the original French sonnet but a key player in political machinations of 1585.
 18 **make the pack** arrange or shuffle the cards in such a way as to cheat or secure fraudulent advantage (*OED pack*, v.² 3)

Collations: May (1971: 103) collates nine texts: Dd, E, Fo, Hy, Ma, PM, Ra, H87 and T; my collation adds three more texts: EL Ot1 and Y.

Title: om.] Tempore Hen: 3 EL, Primero of Fraunce Ot1

4 the best] And the best Y; be] prove Ot1

7 *margin:* Duke of Guise Ot1; Gwyse] Guyes Y

9 *margin:* Kinge of Nauare Ot1

11 *margin:* Cardinall of Bourbon Ot1; feyntly] fynely EL; held his] houlds the EL Y

12 wacht] waytes Y; for to spye] to espye EL, how to spie Y

13 **bedes**] bids*

14 makes] make EL Ot1

16 *margin:* Philyp kinge of Spaine Ot1; Whye] which EL, whilst Y; that] the EL

17 *margin:* Queene mother of Fraunce Ot1

18 the] his EL Ot1

inserted after line 18 Ot1 EL

The king that all theire Cardes (games EL) did knowe

Said what goe lesse before wee (you EL) showe

Hee proffered dallyaunce for to make,

To saue himself, & Guyse his stake

19 we] I Y; them & their] all their fowle EL, them att the Y

20 awaye] my waye Y

The majority of texts (Dd, E, EL, Fo, Ma, Ot1, PM, Ra, and T) have four additional lines inserted after line 18, and this must be the form in which the poem was popularly

known. May notes that H87 is a text that, like Hy, lacks these lines. My collation shows that Y is another 20-line text, indicating that the poem circulated quite widely in this form. The additional lines allude to events of Spring 1586 when Catherine de' Medici was urging her son, Henry III, to negotiate with the Guises; the 'proffered dallyaunce' in the third line could refer to Henry's reluctance before 7 July 1586 when he revoked Navarre's right of succession by signing the Treaty of Nemours; it is possible that the four lines were a later addition to the poem to bring it up to date with current events.

109

The poem is attributed to the Earl of Oxford by Sir John Harington who signed his copy 'quod E. Veer. count d'Oxford', commenting in the heading that it was 'The best verse that ever th'author made', Hn, f. 130v.²⁵³ The subscription 'A Vauasoare' was added at a later time from the original transcription of the poem and may serve to identify the 'younge Lady' of the poem rather than its author.²⁵⁴ Anne Vavasour came to court in 1580 to serve as a maid of honour; her affair with Oxford and the birth of an illegitimate son became the subject of a high-profile court scandal (for another poem associated with Vavasour, see 58).²⁵⁵ Another copy is simply signed 'Vavaser', Fo, p. 13; and two more contemporary copies connect the composition of the poem with Oxford and Vavasour: a copy headed 'Verses made by the earle of Oxforde <and Mrs Ann Vauesor>', in Ra, f. 11r, and a copy headed 'Verses made of the Earle of Oxenforde, And Mrs Ann Vauesor', in Ma, f. 20v. These last two copies give the sub-heading after line ten: 'Ann Vauesors eccho'.

4 **in Colour of** in semblance of, under the appearance of (*OED n.*¹ 7)

5 **descry** get sight of (*OED descry*, v.¹ 6)

²⁵³ May (1980: 38-9) places 109 among the poems possibly by Oxford (no. 1). For the identification of the hand as Harington's, see Hughey 1960: 257. Harington may be punning on Oxford's name ('Vere') in the heading with 'ever', undermining the sincerity of the comment.

²⁵⁴ The name was added later in a darker ink from that of the original transcription. The object of the Lady's desire 'Vere' (a commonly used abbreviation for Oxford) is repeated four times in the echo song (ll. 11-14), and it may have been obvious to contemporary readers that Oxford was the author.

²⁵⁵ May notes that the 'affair was public knowledge by late March, 1581' (1980: 79); see also, Chambers 1936: 151-8.

11-20 The echo device is found in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 3.379-92; contemporary examples include Sidney's OA 31; Ringler cites examples from George Gascoigne, for the Kenilworth entertainment of 1575 and John Grange's *Golden Aphroditis*, 1577 (1962: 402).

19, 20 **ye** a variant of yes

Collations: May (1980: 121-2) collates Hn, Hy, Ma and Ra against Fo.

As May points out Hy, Fo and Hn agree in error in line 13 ('the'), 'while Ma and Ra seem to give the correct reading, "thy"' (80). Hy and Fo share another error in line 4: 'vow' ('vowe' Fo) where Ma-Ra's 'nunne' makes more sense in the context of the poem: where a lady is 'clad' under false pretences ('in Colour of'), in the habit of a nun (and 'Covered with a Vayle'). Both words contain the same number of graphically similar minims and it is easy to understand how 'nunn' (with or without a macron over the second 'n', and with or without a terminal 'e') became ('vow' or 'vowe'). In place of this reading, Hughey (1960: 258) points out that Harington took the opportunity to incorporate another pun on the author's name with 'Vaer'. Hughey glosses this reading as '*vair* ... a squirrel with gray and white fur' and notes the star added by Harington for emphasis.

Five of Hy's unique variants are probable errors: 'Seas' for 'sea' (l. 2), the omissions of 'full hard' before 'on her Lefte side' (l. 7) and 'sore' after 'so' (l. 8) which disrupt the metre, and 'ye' (ll. 19-20) echoes the ending of the last word and is a mere eye-rhyme where all other copies have the full rhyme: 'I'. Four more Hy unique variants are indeterminate readings: 'descry' for 'discerne' (l. 5), 'wrought' for 'bred' (l. 11), 'man' for 'firste' (l. 12), and 'trew' for 'truth' (l. 22). Hn contains two certain errors: the omission of '& calme' (l. 5) and 'yt ys' for 'how greate' (l. 21). A few more variants could be sophistications ('greefes' for 'teares' (l. 3), 'one her face' for 'Covered with' (l. 4), 'creuell Cupid' for 'Tyraunt Cupid' (l. 13), and 'yea' for 'ô' (l. 15). Ma and Ra are also related through error: 'when' for 'And' (l. 10) and 'fauour' for 'Bewty' (l. 19). Ma and Ra also assign the poem a similar title, and an identical sub-heading (after l. 10).

Despite the retrospective attribution to Philip Sidney, poem **110** is undoubtedly by Arthur Gorges.²⁵⁶ Wagner printed the poem from Hy as Sidney's before the discovery of 'The Vanytyes of Sir Arthur Gorges Youthe', the poet's own fair copy of his work, where the poem appears as the first entry: BL Egerton MS 3165 (V), ff. 2r-v. (See **23**, fn. 68). Two unattributed manuscript copies are found in Elizabethan verse miscellanies: Ra, ff. 17v-18r and Dd, f. 40v. The poem was first printed, without attribution in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593 (PN), sig. L4r. Gorges borrowed verses from two separate poems by Philippe Desportes: six stanzas from 'La terre, naguères glacée' (*Les Amours de Diane*, II), and one stanza from 'Quel feu par le vents animé' (*Les Amours' Hippolyte* 'Chanson': the source for Gorges' 'What fier encrease by rage of wynde', Sandison no. 32).²⁵⁷ Sandison considers that the poem 'is almost certainly for Daphne' (Douglas Howard) and composed by Gorges in the years before their marriage on 14 October 1584.²⁵⁸ Thomas Lodge's translation of the first four stanzas of 'La terre' begins 'The earth late choakt with showers', and was printed as Sonnet 7, in his *Scillaes Metamorphoses*, 1589, sig. F1v. Sandison notes contemporary allusions from Thomas Morley: 'Now is the gentle season freshly flowring' (*Madrigalls to Foure Voyces Newly Published*, 1594, sig. C3r), and John Lane: 'The gentle season of the ioyous Spring' (*An Elegie vpon the Death of ... our late Soueraigne Elizabeth*, 1603, sig. A2r).

- 3 **bewtified the Land** Gorges reproduces this phrase in another poem: 'the lustye springe / Doth yearely cloathe and bewtyfye the landes' (Sandison no. 57.5-6).
- 7 Gorges almost exactly reproduces this line in another poem, 'Nor in the meadowes mantlede all with greene' (Sandison, no. 74.5).
- 8 **Treene** trees
- 12 Sandison notices an echo in Spenser's *Daphnaïda*, 1591: 'She fell away in her first ages spring, / Whil'st yet her leafe was greene' (sig. B3r).

²⁵⁶ 1938: 123. Henry Stanford (the compiler of Dd) made the same error in endorsing Gorges' poem ('An Eglogue between a shepheard and a heardman') with Sidney's name: 'A verse of Sir Philip Sidney' (Berkeley Castle, Gen. Ser. Misc. Papers 31/6 (*CELM* GgA 19)).

²⁵⁷ Both poems were first printed in 1573 in *Les Premières Œuvres*. According to Sandison, Desportes was an inveterate reviser of his poems and Gorges used a text no earlier than 1577 (1953: xxxi). Desportes' source for 'La terre' is Petrarch's *Rime* 310, 'Zefiro torna e 'l bel tempo rimena' ['Zephyrus returns and leads back the fine weather'].

²⁵⁸ xxviii, 183.

- 16 **Apyll** ... **Age** proverbial (Tilley A310)
- 38 **Vapored Sighes** Cf. ‘the vapored sighes haunt not my pinede breste’ (Sandison no. 18.10).
- 40-42 Sandison notices an echo of a line from Wyatt, ‘To make an ende of all this strif’ (Muir 1949, no. 164.1). Gorges is fond of the rhyme combination ‘stryfe’ / ‘lyfe’; cf. ‘even then to ende all stryfe / ... to bydd farewell my lyfe’ (Sandison no. 26.10, 12; cf. also Sandison no. 15.5-6). Sandison also points out that the ending is ‘a favourite formula’ (see 48.17-18n.).

Collations: Wagner (1938: 123) collates Dd, PN and Ra against Hy. Sandison (1953: 183-4) discusses the textual variants. My collation adds V.

3 Land] landes
4 glymmer] savour; the Light] delight
7 Meades ar] meadowes
8 clad] clothed
9 silver notes] fethers new
12 the] his
13 And as yow] And as we
14 his sweet] this sweete; buddes] bud
16 the] this
17 Coloures Do] colour doth
20 abroad to] to raunge &
21 Amonges the buds] in every place; of Bewties springe] wher bewtie springes
23 Lyke to] even as; the] a
24 *sub.* & flutters but wth clipped winges
25 every man is] all men els are
29 his] her
31 I Do] do I
32 Ioyes my woes] woes my ioyes
35 Doth say] doth shew; is] but
41 hence trace from] haue truce with
Subscription: FYNYS S: P. Sidney.] *om.*

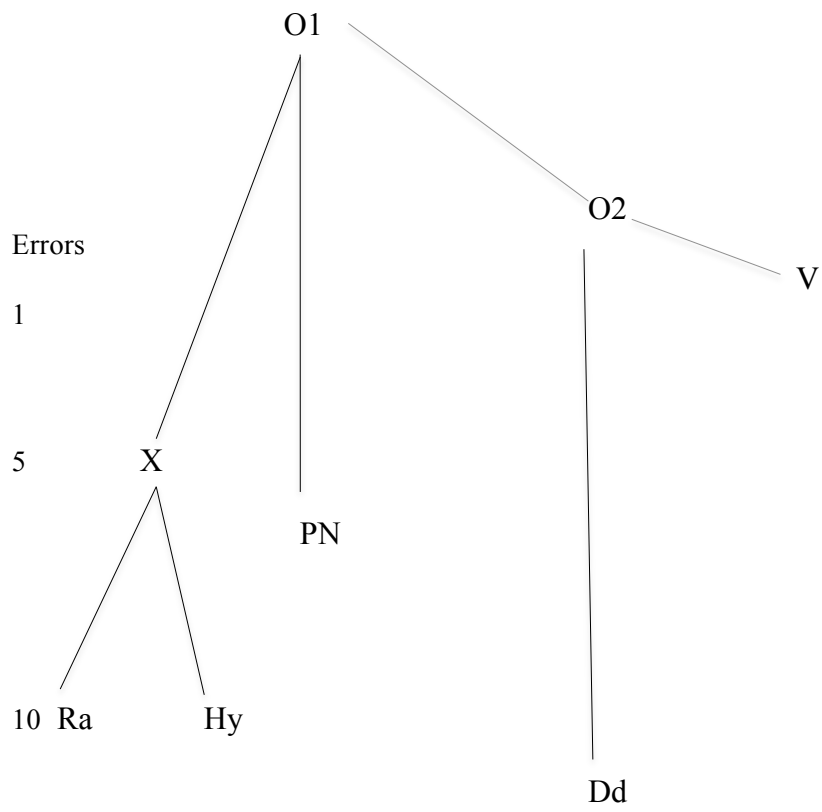
Sandison points out that V and Dd are related texts: ‘the differences being insignificant, chiefly careless’; and notes that PN ‘has the next-best version’. Hy and Ra are also related, deriving from a common ancestor that introduced errors in lines 4 and 41: ‘glymmer with the Light’ (l. 4) is a corruption of ‘savour with delight’ the reading in V-Dd-PN. The same confusion between graphically similar ‘the [y^e] light’ and ‘delight’ is also seen in the collations for **15** at line 3. Then the reading ‘glymmer’ could be guesswork (‘savour’ follows on better from the ‘flowers’ mentioned in line 3). Desportes’ ‘l’air est encore amoureux d’elle’ [‘the air is more in love than she’ i.e. the earth] conveys a sense of the ‘air’s’ emotional empathy or ‘delight’ in the surroundings. In line 41, Hy-Ra’s ‘hence trace from’ does not make sense and the majority reading ‘haue truce with’ is almost certainly the intended reading. Hy introduced four more errors: ‘silver notes’ (l. 9), ‘his’ (l. 29), ‘Ioyes my woes’ (l. 32), and ‘the’ (l. 12).

V-Dd stand alone in nine variant readings (ll. 3, 7, 14, 16, 17, 20, 25, 31 and 35) where Hy-Ra-PN agree on an alternative but not inferior reading. For example V-Dd substitutes: ‘Meadowes mantled’ (l. 7) for ‘Meades are mantled’, ‘to raunge and sore’ (l. 20) for ‘abroad to sore’, ‘When all men els are’ (l. 25; Dd carelessly misses out ‘els’) for ‘When every man’, and ‘doth shew ... but’ for ‘doth say ... is’ (l. 35). V is Gorges’ own copy of his collected poems, transcribed after 1586 (Sandison 1953: xxxiii) at least two years (and probably more) after poem **110** was originally composed and circulated in manuscript. Gorges’ habit of revising his poems can be seen from the numerous autograph alterations in his own scribal fair copy. The correspondences between V and Dd suggest that authorial revisions were incorporated into the fair copy made after 1586 and that Gorges allowed transcriptions to be taken from a revised version of the poem. Dd is Henry Stanford’s collection of poems, and **110** is found in a section of the manuscript dated 1590-1599 (May 1988: xl). May argues that Dd was unlikely to have derived from V: Stanford was a careful copyist and V is written in a clear italic script (317). But Stanford’s position in the Carey family meant that he had privileged access to texts by Gorges; of the six Gorges poems Stanford copied (the largest collection outside V) at least one was taken directly from V or an identical authorially sanctioned fair copy (May 1988: xlviii). Dd and V are closely related and both copies represent a version of the poem that had probably been revised by Gorges.

These textual relationships and the relative corruption of the surviving texts are show in the stemma below.

Key:

X 4 glymmer with the Light,
41 hence (thence) trace from



Another copy entitled ‘A pleasant Sonet’ was printed in the volume of poems associated with Nicholas Breton, *Brittons Bowre of Delights*, 1591 (B), sigs. F2r-3v. Although Breton protested, ‘it was donne altogether without my consent or knowledge, & many thinges of other mens mingled with few of mine’ (*The Pilgrimage To Paradise*, 1592, ‘To the Gentlemen studients and Scholers of Oxforde’) many poems in the collection are undoubtedly his.²⁵⁹ Rollins regards the ‘mechanical repetition’ in **111** as characteristic of Breton, citing the 154-line verse poem *I Would And Would Not*, printed in 1614, where nearly every stanza begins ‘I would’ or ‘And yet I would not’.²⁶⁰ The signature ‘I. Ed’ probably refers to the provider of the copy-text, since the same initials are attached to the following poem by Anthony Munday. (See **Introduction** p. 69 for seven more entries similarly subscribed.) The initials match a student (John Edmonds) who was registered at the Inns of Court at the same time as two other contributors to the manuscript. Edmonds entered Gray’s Inn on 5 July 1584, quitting Clement’s Inn four months before Robert Allott moved from the same Inn of Chancery to register at the Inner Temple, and St Loe Kniveton had been admitted to Gray’s Inn only five weeks before Edmonds (see the **Introduction** p. 33).

- 2 **brave** fine, excellent (*OED* *adj.* 3a)
- 4 The speaker praises his mistress’ ‘hue’ again in line 27.
- 5 Repeated at line 29.
- 6 **wynst** ... **Ball** i.e. in the story of the Judgment of Paris, see **138.5n**.
- 7-14 **forehead** ... **eyen** ... **Hew** ... **Chyn** ... **paps** uses the *topos* of the blazon for descriptive praise of a beautiful woman (see **146** for its ironic use)
- 7 **featly** aptly; neatly, elegantly (*OED* *adv.* 1a)
- 10 **nere** not at all (*OED* *ne’er* *adv.* 1a); this sentiment is repeated at line 25; cf. **119.12** ‘none her Peere’ and **142.7** ‘pereles pere’.
- 13 **dimpled Chyn** cf. ‘thy dimple in thy chin so braue’ (*The Arbor of Amorous Deuises*, 1597, sig. A3r)
- 14 **paps** breasts (*OED* *n.*¹ 1a)
- 19 **forgett** ... **abyde** This idea is repeated at line 39 ‘forgett ... dwell’.

²⁵⁹ See Rollins 1933: xviii; and Robertson 1952: lii.

²⁶⁰ 1933: 99.

- 24 **Cynthea** ‘one of the names of Diana’ (Cooper); see **145.4n**.
- 25 **not** ... **Pheare** without (peer or) fere (*OED* fere n.¹ 3a)
- 32 **wythered stalke** For this phrase, see **110.30**.
- 41-2 Breton devised similar idiosyncratic subscriptions to his series of letters, *Poste with a Packet of Madde Letters*, 1606: ‘Not yours, if mine owne’ (sig. F1v), ‘Yours, though not yours’ (sig. F2r), ‘Yours or not his owne’ (sig. D7r). See also **138.21n**.

Collations: one text collated: B.

Title: *om.*] A pleasant Sonet

8 eyen] eyes

11 vermylion] Uermelion

12 Queene but yow] Saint but thou

14-19] *om.*

20 present] seemely

25 features not] feature is

27 for hue none] that hue not

32 whence] when

34 or] to

Subscription] *om.*

Hy is unrelated to B, and preserves the text in its original state. One faulty reading in B was amended when the poem was reprinted in *The Bower* (1597, sigs. E3r-v): ‘when’ was corrected to ‘whence’ (l. 32). Two more mistakes in B were left uncorrected in the later printing: ‘feature is’ (l. 25) and ‘that hue not’ (l. 27) make little sense in the context of their respective lines. A few more variant readings found in B could be editorial changes introduced by the printer/editor Richard Jones (for Jones’ habit of ‘improving’ texts, see Rollins 1933: xiii). In line twelve, B’s substitution of ‘Saint’ for ‘Queene’ looks like purposeful revision. Perhaps the assertion that there is ‘no Queene but yow’ might have been considered offensive in print. In the same line the reading ‘thou’, as Rollins points out, is ungrammatical and spoils the rhyme (1933: 99). B also omits six lines of text (ll. 14-19 in Hy), and the resultant faulty metre indicates that the lines were present in B’s copy-text. The grafting of the first line of stanza three on to line one of stanza four with everything in between cut suggests that it was the content that was

problematic. If Jones had wanted to shorten the poem he could have missed out a whole verse without disturbing the rhyme scheme.

112

Another copy of this poem is found in a manuscript notebook dated to the 1590s, BL, Sloane MS 2497 (S4), f. 33r. The poem also appeared in print entitled, ‘Verses which the sayd Gentleman writ with his owne hand, an houre before he departed this life’, in a sub-section (‘Amorous Epistles’) of Anthony Munday’s *The Paine of Pleasure*, 1580 (PP), sig. H1v. In this volume Munday proposes an equal measure of pain for every pleasure experienced in the temporal life, and reaches a similar conclusion to **112**: that unmitigated pleasure is only to be found in the life hereafter. The closing lines of a poem attributed to Munday in *Englands Helicon* (1600) are reminiscent of **112**: ‘Then farewell fancie, loue, sleepe, paine, and sore: / And farewell weeping, I can waile no more’ (sig. I4r). The subscription ‘I Ed.’ is also attached to the previous entry and probably refers to the individual who provided the copy-text (see the commentary to **111**).

5-6 **Farwell ... Cares ... / ... wellcom Care** follows the pattern established in the previous two lines ‘Farewell ... world ... / welcom world’; **Care** is probably not an error but a slightly stretched usage of the word in the sense of to protect, take care of, or guide (*OED* care *n.*1 4).

8 **noyed** annoyed, vexed (*OED* noy, *v.* 1)

Collations: one text collated S4; not collated: PP.²⁶¹

5 crusht] crost

6 whence] that

8 noyed much] aye did vex

11 that] which

16 Ioy ... from] pleasur from

17 could] can

²⁶¹ The BL copy reproduced in EEBO is imperfect, and I have not seen the perfect copy in the Pepsyian Library in Cambridge.

18 that] the

Subscription: FINIS I Ed.] *om.*

Hy is free of definitive error and two S4 variants are probable errors: ‘crost’ (l. 5) is inferior to Hy’s ‘crusht’, and ‘welcom pleasur’ (l. 16) does not make sense in context. Thus these texts are unrelated.

113

A copy of the first sixtain, found in a miscellany dated to the second quarter of the seventeenth century, is headed: ‘A Poem put into my Lady Laitons Pocket by Sir W: Rawleigh’, Chetham’s Library, Mun. A.4.15 (Ch), f. 55v.²⁶² Lady Laiton is probably Elizabeth Leighton (née Knollys) who served as lady of the privy Chamber.²⁶³

- 1 **Sylence serve** Rudick notices a verbal parallel in Raleigh’s ‘last boke of the Ocean to Scinthia’, ‘who long in sylence served, and obayed’ (1999: 61); cf. Sidney’s OA 38.1: ‘Phæbus farewell, a sweeter Saint I serve’.
- 6 **spare to speed** proverbial, ‘spare to speak, spare to speed’ (Tilley S709)
- 11 **Consentt** Rudick emends the text to ‘Contentt’ (1999: 15) and this reading appears to make more sense, unless ‘Consentt’ means an agreement or a pact (*OED* consent, *n.* 3); cf. ‘Sweete PITHOS tongue, and DIANS chaste consent’ (George Whetstone, *An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses*, 1582, sig. A3r).

Collations: ll. 1-6 only; one text collated: Ch.

Title: *om.*] A Poem put into my Lady Laitons Pocket by Sir W: Rawleigh

3 might] mought; hope] wish

4 drop] dropps; wold quench] to slake; scorchyng] scalding

5 as] sith; Love vnknowne] live alone

6 So] Ile; doth often] that I may

²⁶² In his unpublished edition of Raleigh’s poems, Michael Rudick places **113** among the ‘Poems possibly by Raleigh’ (P2; 1970: 53).

²⁶³ May 1991: 117.

The six lines in Ch contain a high number of unique variant readings which are not obvious errors and could have resulted from a memorial transcription. Rudick suggests that the Ch variant readings in lines 5-6 ‘create the effect of finality’ to bring closure to this extract from a longer poem (1999: 145). If the Ch heading is correct then Raleigh either wrote a redaction of his own composition, or of a well-known poem circulating in manuscript, to suit the social occasion in which the poem was playfully presented to Lady Leighton.

114

The humour of this bawdy couplet relies on the sexual punning on ‘Watergap’ and ‘two stones & a Stake’ and the actual Parson (Roger Inkforbie was the Rector of Stanlake from 1581 until his death in 1599) is probably irrelevant. If the couplet circulated among students at Oxford University the name Stanlake (Standlake), a village seven miles west of Oxford, would have been familiar (and an obvious choice to rhyme with ‘Gods sake’).²⁶⁴ Another copy from the early eighteenth century entitled ‘A petition to the lords’ substitutes ‘Mortlacke’ for ‘Stanlake’:

the parson of Mortlacke
with two stones & a stake
stops up my water lake
Help Lords for Gods sake

(BL, Add. MS 70454, f. 26v)

An earlier version attributed to Skelton served as the punchline of an anecdote illustrating the faults of ‘too much breuitie’ in Angel Day’s *The English Secreterie*, 1586, sigs. B2r-v:

The Lady Prioress of Margate
Humbly complayneth to your high estate.
For that the Abbot of S. Albones did stoppe

²⁶⁴ Woudhuysen (1996: 283) draws attention to the connection between the Oxford place-name and Hy’s Oxford University provenance.

With two stones and a stake her water gappe.²⁶⁵

John Weever in *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631, sigs. 3D5r-v) records a copy in ‘a very ancient Manuscript in Sir Robert Cottons Library’ giving a nudge to the readers that the words contain another meaning, ‘the words are significant and modest, if you do not misinterpret’:

We thre pore Nuns of Mergate,
Pyteously compleyneth to yowr gud estate,
Of one Syr *Ionne* of Whipesnade,
Who hath stoppyd owr water gate,
Wyth too stons and a stake
Help vs Lorde for Cryst hys sake.

- 1 **Watergap** figuratively ‘gap’ is the vagina (Williams)
- 2 **two stones** a slang term for testicles (for another use of this pun, see **137**); **Stake** figuratively, the penis or an erection (Williams)

115

This entry is Philip Sidney’s OA 60, and was first printed in 1593 in *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (93), sig. 2I3v. In the third book of the prose romance *Philoclea*, alone in her room, sings the words to the accompaniment of the lute:

The song, having been accorded to a sweetly played-on lute, contained these verses which she had lately with some art curiously written to enwrap her secret and resolute woes.

Additional copies survive in nine *Old Arcadia* manuscript texts: As, f. 108v, Bo, f. 131v, Cl, f. 114v, Da, f. 104v, Hm, f. 71v, Je, p. 168, Ph, f. 113v, Qu, f. 81r, and St, f. 126v; and there is also a copy in Henry Lee’s collection of poems from the *Old Arcadia*,

²⁶⁵ The last two lines were expunged during the printing of the first edition (‘since the publishing heereof vpon farther consideration been thought meete for modesties sake to be left out’ sig. B2v), but survive in the Folger copy.

Le, f. 23r and the Sidneian collection, Ot, f. 2v. Abraham Fraunce quoted the poem (alongside **55**) among examples of ‘conceipted kindes of verses’ in *The Arcadian Rhetorike*, 1588 (Fr), sig. E1r and it was reprinted with the title ‘An excellent Sonnet of a Nymph’ in *Englands Helicon*, 1600 (EH), sig. 2Br.²⁶⁶

The poem is an example of correlative or reporting verse, a device that allows poets a highly compressed form of expression, and is the first of a group of three poems in this form, copied consecutively in the manuscript (see also **103-104**). The appearance of this device in English verse of the 1580s takes its cue from the continental vogue. Estienne Tabourot in *Les Bigarrures* (1583) devotes a chapter to ‘vers rapportez’, which he says has become ‘si frequente & commune, que la multitude en est plus ennuyeuse que plaisante’. Sidney may have been directly influenced by Du Bellay’s *L’Olive* X (1549):²⁶⁷

Et toutesfois j’ayme, j’adore et prise
Ce qui m’etraint, qui me brusle et entame
Pour briser donq’, pour eteindre et guerir
Ce dur lien, ceste ardeur, ceste playe
Je ne quier fer, liqueur ny medecine

[‘Yet doe I loue, adore, and praise the same, / That holds, that burnes, that wounds me in this sort, / And list not seeke to breake, to quench, to heale, / The bonde, the flame, the wound that festreth so / By knife, by liquor, or by salue to deale’; tr. by Samuel Daniel, *Delia*, XIII, 1592, sig. C3v].

English contemporaries also borrowed the French terminology: Francis Davison’s *Poetical Rapsody* (1602) calls **117** ‘A reporting sonnet’, and Randle Cotgrave in *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611) defines the form as: ‘Verses

²⁶⁶ Fraunce probably copied the text from St, see **53** fn. 147. Rollins identifies *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, printed in 1598 (98) as the copy-text for the Sidney poems in EH (1935: ii, 33). EH introduces one error (‘wrongs’ for ‘wrong’ l. 7) and manufactures the suitably pastoral title: ‘An excellent Sonnet of a Nymph’.

²⁶⁷ Cf. also the first verse of Ronsard’s:

Par un destin dedans mon cœur demeure,
L’oeil, & la main, & le crin delié,
Qui m’ont si fort, brulé, serré, lié...
(no. XVII; *Les Amours*, Paris, 1552, sig. C2r).

[As decreed by fate, in my heart resides, / The eye, and the hand, and the fine hair, / Which so strongly burnt, pressed, and bound me.]

whose words reportingly answer one another'. The corresponding words in OA 60 are numbered in some of the texts directing the reader to uncover multiple readings.²⁶⁸ The form was parodied by John Davies in the fifth of his 'Gullinge Sonnets' (composed c. 1594).²⁶⁹

9 **prooffe** experience (*OED* n. 6)

13 **Lose** variant spelling of 'loose' to set free, release (*OED* loose, v. 1b)

Collations: thirteen texts collated: As, Bo, Cl, Da, Fr, Hm, Je, Le, Ot, Ph, Qu, St and 93.

Title: om.] Sir Philip Sydney 3 Fr

1 bewty] bewtye and*

2 Eyes] eyes and As; wonder] wonders Fr

3 third] laste*; binde] blind Je Qu; enforce] eforce As; arme] charme Da

4 my] his*; sutes] Fruites Cl Hm Qu; grace...might] grace and woes might Hm, graue and woes mighte Qu, goodgrace, & spright Ot, good grace and spiritt Ph

5 honor] humor Hm Qu; fayre] farre As Bo Cl Da Le Ot Ph St 93, feare Hm Qu

6 prest] pearste As Bo Cl Da Fr Hm Le Ot Ph Qu St 93; Sence] mind Je

7 Contempt] attempte Hm Qu; Deceipt] conceipt Le

8 Bondes] Bande Hm Qu

9 Then] These Da; tought] sought Fr; thought Ph

12 Her, her] him, his*; her] his*

13 place] space Hm Qu

14 knotte] knitte Hm Qu

Hy shares two errors with Je (one of the surviving *Old Arcadia* manuscripts): 'fayre' (l. 5) is a misreading of *far* probably spelt *farre*; and 'prest' (l. 6) is a misreading of *pierced* probably spelt *perst*. In Ringler's stemma, Je presents the text of the *Old Arcadia* in its first state (T1): where Sidney had made revisions to his own transcript for the first time (1962: 380). The Hy-Je conjunctive error in line 5 also appears in Fr, but since this copy almost certainly derived from St, the mistake is probably coincidental:

²⁶⁸ Rollins (1931: 176-177) cites examples of correlative verse, including an anonymous poem, 'The lucke : the life : the loue' (Ra, f. 44v), Thomas Lodge's 'My words, my thoughts, my vows' (*A Margarite of America*, 1596, sigs. D2v-3r), William Goddard's 'Hir eyes, grace speach; hath fir'd, amaz'd, rauisht' (*A Satirycall Dialogue*, 1615, sig. B4v).

²⁶⁹ Krueger 1975: 165-6.

the result of scribes independently making the same transcription error. Fr introduces two more errors resulting from scribal carelessness or mistakes made by the type-setter when the copy was set for printing: ‘wonders’ for ‘wonder’ (l. 2) and ‘sought’ for ‘tought’ (l. 9). Hy’s omission of ‘and’ in the first line is another certain error, which disturbs the metre. Four more unique readings in Hy are not obvious errors, ‘third’ for ‘last’ (l. 3), and three readings affecting the gender in which the lines are spoken (ll. 4, 12). The prose context of the poem demands a female speaker (Philoclea), and the male voice preserved in Hy’s version could be an indication that OA 60 was an earlier poem that Sidney revised and inserted in the *Old Arcadia*. Robertson remarks that, ‘some of the poems included in the *Old Arcadia* may well have been written before the story took shape’ (1973: xvii). CS 3 is an example of a poem, unconnected with the *Arcadia*, which Sidney later incorporated in the *New Arcadia* (see the commentary to **55**).

A relationship can also be established between Ot and Ph on the basis of a shared reading against all the other texts: ‘good grace, & spright/spiritt’ for ‘grace, & vowes might’ (l. 4). Ph contains the text of the *Old Arcadia*, in its second state: T2 (where Sidney had made revisions to his own transcript for the second time). Since Ph was transcribed after 1586, Ringler proposed that it must derive from a lost transcript of T2, Y. Ringler and Robertson agree that Y was a ‘faulty’ copy but the Ph scribe was also ‘careless and inventive’ introducing numerous errors and substitutions. The shared variant reading in line 4 must be scribal. The Ph-Ot reading could have derived from Y, with Ph substituting a preferred spelling: ‘spiritt’ for ‘spright’.

116

This sonnet is attributed to Philip Sidney in Ra, f. 9r, where it is placed third in a group of four poems identically signed with the initials ‘S. P. S.’²⁷⁰ Ringler notes its similarity to OA 60 (**115**) and comments that Sidney was among the earliest to write correlative verse in English (for this popular device see the commentary to **115**).

- 1-2 The correlative structure demands the following correspondence: ‘The Dart ... doth passe through’, ‘the Beames ... [do] parche’, and ‘the String ... doth ... Tye’.

²⁷⁰ Ringler places **116** among the ‘Poems Possibly by Sidney’ PP 2 (1962: 517). The other poems in Ra are from the known Sidney canon: CS 16, OA 51, and CS 3.

- 1 **prove** experience; undergo, suffer (*OED* v. 7)
- 2 **cheef part** mind (or soul): implicit are notions of Platonic ascent from body to soul; cf. ‘she cared not what pain she put her body to, since the better parte (her minde) was laide vnder so much agonie’ (*The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, 1590, sig. 2C7r); cf. Sidney’s OA 35.12, ‘Chief band I saye, which tyes my chieffest parte’, and ‘in love his Cheeffest part’ (128.6)
- 3-4 **knott ... knytt** Cf. Sidney’s ‘if it were a bondage, it was a bondage onely knitte in loue-knots’ (*The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, 1590, sig. 2L7v); and ‘My owne, embraced, sought, knotte, Fyre, Dysease’ (115.14).
- 7 **forbare** endured the absence (or privation) of (*OED* forbear, v. 4a)
- 8 Cf. Sidney’s ‘For, nothings, Tyme, nor place, can Lose, quenche, ease’ (115.13); **booteth** was of use, availed (*OED* boot, v^l. 3); **Stryfe** striving; strong effort (*OED* strife, n. 4).
- 10 **fruyte** advantage, benefit, enjoyment (*OED* fruit, n. 7c)
- 11 **straunge** uncommon, rare, exceptional (*OED* 8); used ironically in OA 3 (no. 146.2) ‘Vertues straunge’

Collations: one text collated: Ra.

6 my mynd] mynde

8 loose] lose; booteth] booted

10 of] or

Subscription: FINIS] Finis S P S.

The two texts present only a few variants. Hy is in error at line 10 (‘of’ for ‘or’) where the correlative structure requires that ‘Greef’, ‘Ashes’ and ‘Thraldom’ (l. 9) correspond to ‘ease’, ‘fruyte’ and ‘free estate’ in the following line. Ra is in error with the omission of ‘my’ (l. 6) and ‘booted’ (l. 8). Ra’s reading ‘lose’ (l. 8) is probably a variant spelling of ‘loose’ (to release).

The attribution to ‘Raley’ (Walter Raleigh) was added at a date later than the original transcription. The poem is also attributed to Raleigh (signed ‘W. R.’) in *Le Prince d’Amour*, 1660 (Pr), sigs. K2r-v.²⁷¹ The case for Gorges’ authorship is made by Sandison, based on the inclusion of the poem in Gorges’s own scribally produced collection of poems entitled ‘The Vanytyes of Sir Arthur Gorges Youthe’: BL, Egerton MS 3165 (V), f. 61r.²⁷² A contemporary manuscript text of the poem in Dd, f. 36r, is copied immediately after an unattributed Gorges poem: ‘I saw of late a lady were [a] show’. The suggestion that the poem was a joint composition by cousins Raleigh and Gorges has also been made.²⁷³ The two men shared literary interests and influences and their writings ‘often circulated in conjunction’ making it difficult, even for contemporary readers, to distinguish between their work.²⁷⁴ The poem was first published in *Brittons Bowre of Delights*, 1591 (B), sigs. F4v-G1r. It continued to be popular with compilers of printed verse miscellanies, with copies appearing in: *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593 (PN), sig. K4r, Francis Davison’s *A Poetical Rapsody*, 1602 (Da), sig. L1r, *Wit’s Recreation*, 1641 (W), sig. Tlv, *The Card of Courtship*, 1653 (Ca), sig. H1v, and John Cotgrave’s *Wits Interpreter*, 1655 (Co), sigs. G7v-8r. The music publisher William Barley included the poem in an instruction book for the lute, *A New Booke of Tabliture*, 1596 (Ba), sig. A4v.²⁷⁵ The poem also continued to circulate in manuscript and is found in student miscellanies of the 1630s to mid century: BL, Add. MS 15227 (A27), ff. 84v-85r, BL, Add. MS 22118 (A18), f. 34r, Bod., MS Corpus

²⁷¹ In Pr 117 is the first of three consecutive poems attributed to Raleigh (see Rudick 1999: nos. 17, 18). Another poem by Raleigh (50 in this edition) is unattributed and precedes the attributed trio.

²⁷² 1953: xxxiv. Gorges’ holograph revision ‘yeald’ (l. 22) substituted for ‘bende’ (the reading in Ba and Co) could also be a tacit claim to authorship. According to Sandison the ‘toyces of yowth ... belong in large part, at least, to the decade preceding 1590, many of them almost certainly to the years before 1584’ (1953: xxviii).

²⁷³ See Latham (1951: 160) and Lefranc (1968: 95); even Sandison does not rule out the idea of dual authorship: ‘Perhaps the cousins devised the two-way pattern together in an ingenious hour’ (1953: xl).

²⁷⁴ Sandison (1953: xxxvi); Lefranc (1968: 95).

²⁷⁵ Edited in Doughtie (1970: 312-313).

Christi 328 (CC), f. 74v, John Rylands Library, English MS 410 (Ry), f. 21r, and copied twice in Rawl. poet. 117 (R17), ff. 161r, 168v rev.²⁷⁶

The evident appeal of ‘Her Face, her Tonge, her Wytte’ had much to do with its success as an illustration in correlative or reporting verse (for this fashionable device see the commentary to **115**). There are obvious parallels to Sidney’s ‘Vertue, bewty, speech’ (**115**) and perhaps Gorges (or Raleigh) had read Sidney’s poem, but either poet could have independently found inspiration from the French sonnets, in ‘vers rapportés’, of Ronsard, Marot, Du Bellay and Desportes.²⁷⁷

Collations: twelve texts collated: A27, B, Ba, Ca, Co, Da, Dd, Pr, R17, Ry, V and W; not collated: CC and A18.

Title: om.] Vnto his Loue A27, A Sonet B, Another [from a poet to his mistress], The Lovers Maze Pr, A Reporting Sonnet Da, These may be read two or three wayes W

1 Her ... her ... her] Your ... Your ... Your Ba Dd R17 W

2 sweete] smooth Co R17 Ry W

3 bent ... hytte] bent then drew, now hitte A27, bent Then drew So hite Ba, drew, then bent, last knit Ca, moud then drew then knit Dd R17, drew then mov'd then knit W, drew first cut first knit Ry

4 Myne ... mine ... my] Mine ... mine ... mine B Pr, My ... my ... my Co R17 Ry, my eyes myn eares myn Dd

5-24 *om.* Ca Ry

5 Myne ... mine ... myne] Mine ... mine ... my A27 Ba PN Da V W, myn eyes myne eares my, My ... my ... my Co R17

6 *sub.* thus moued thus drawn thus knitte Dd R17, thus drawne thus mov'd thus knit W

7 *sub.* Dwelles in hanges on yelldes to Dd, Affects: Hangs on: yeilds to R17 W; Your ... your ... your] Her ... her ... her A27 Pr PN Da V; Wyt] Heart Pr

8 *sub.* your ... wit Dd R17 W; Leade ... teache] lend ... teach A27, teach ... lead Co

9-16 *om.* Pr PN; 9-24 *om.* R17 W

9 Her ... her ... her] Your ... Your ... Your Ba Dd

²⁷⁶ A27 might have been copied from Da; it varies from this text on just two occasions (l. 8 ‘lend’ for ‘leade’; l. 10 ‘beauty’ for ‘beames’) and reproduces all Da’s errors: ‘now’ l. 3; ‘wring’ l. 19; ‘bind’ l. 22; and switches to second person address in the penultimate line.

²⁷⁷ ‘Myne Eye, mine Eare, my Hart’ (**117.4**) has its counterpart in Sidney’s ‘my Hart, Eyes, Eares’ (**115. 2**); ‘bent, then Drew, then hytte’ (**117.3**) mirrors ‘dyd, Stryke Wound charme’ (**115.1**); ‘binde enforce, and arme’ (**115. 3**) is similar to ‘bynde, doth Charme, doth Rule’ (**117. 11**).

10 Beames] beauty A27 B, light Dd

11 bynde] blind A27 Ba Co Dd Da V; Charme] chain Dd; Rule] wilte Dd knitt V

12 myne ... myne ... my] Mine. .. mine ... mine B, My ... my ... my Co; eye] eyes Dd

13-23 *sub.* Dd

myn eyes	myne eares	my hart
doth see	dothe hear	doth like
nought but	nought as	nought like
your face	your tongue	your wit
your face	your tongue	your wit
is face	is tongue	is wit
of graces 3	of muses 9	of Ioves own brayn
of graces 3	of muses 9	of Ioves own brayn
I looke	I harke	I hope
som grace	sweet wordes	trew loue
to haue	to hear	to gayne

13 Myne ... myne ... my] Mine ... my ... my Ba, Myne ... mine ... mine BBD, my ... my ... my Co

14 *sub.* doth see dothe hear doth like Dd

15 *sub.* nought but nought as nought like Dd; Your ... your ... your] Her ... her ... her A27 Da V

16 *sub.* your face our tongue your wit Dd

18 Checkes] checke PN

19 wronge] Wring A27 B Da; wound] moue B

20 myne ... myne ... my] Mine ... My ... My Ba, Mine ... mine ... mine Bd Pr, My ... my ... my Co

21 This ... this ... this] Mine ... Mine ... Mine Pr, Mine ... Mine ... My PN

22 *sub.* To learn, To know, To fear Pr PN; bynd] bend Ba Co, yeald *sub. for* bende V

23 Yowr ... yowr ... yowr] Her ... Her ... Her Pr PN V; Wytt] wittes Ba

24 *om.* Dd; *sub.* Doth lead, Doth fear, Doth swear Pr PN; Love] trust Ba Co V

Subscription: Raley] W.R. Pr

The six-stanza version of the poem in Gorges' own scribal copy of his poems has some claim to authority; even if the poem was written by his cousin Raleigh, he could have

obtained a copy from an authorial holograph. Apart from favouring ‘your’ for ‘her’ throughout, Ba is the closest text to V. Co is also close to V but introduces two errors (‘smooth’ for ‘sweet’ l. 2, ‘teach doth lead’ for ‘lead doth teach’ l. 8). The V-Ba-Co shared reading ‘trust’ for ‘Love’ (l. 24) cannot be explained as independent scribal variation and indicates a connection between these three texts. The reading is arguably superior: ‘to trust’ rather than ‘to Love’ ‘yowr Tongue’ of line 23, and perhaps Ba and Co are the only texts to have the correct reading. Hy shows few signs of corruption, but two agreements in error and the exact same pattern of switching from the 3rd person to the 2nd person address throughout the poem link it to B, the earliest printed text: ‘bynde’ for ‘blind’ in l. 11 (the ‘beames’ of l. 10 are probably meant to ‘blind’) and ‘bynd’ for ‘bend’ in l. 22 (V-Ba-Co reading where the ‘Eare’ of l. 21 *bends* or *yealds* is superior). B shows signs of further deterioration: ‘beame’ for ‘Beames’ l. 10, ‘Wring’ for ‘wronge’ (also found in Da), and ‘moue’ for ‘wound’ l. 19. Da is also close to Hy and B with two shared readings (‘bynd’ for ‘bend’ l. 22; ‘Love’ for ‘trust’ l. 24) but makes the same error as Ba, perhaps independently (‘wring’ for ‘wrong’ l. 19), and introduces one unique reading ‘now’ for ‘then’ l. 3.

Many of the remaining witnesses contain truncated versions of the poem. Pr (printed in an account by Benjamin Rudyerd of the Christmas revels of the Middle Temple 1597/8 augmented with poems) is closely related to PN (an Inns of Court collection printed in 1593). The editorial disclaimer in Pr that the poems ‘were the offspring of divers eminent Wits of the same age, and never yet appeared in publick’ (epistle dedicatory), suggests that this copy derived, like PN, from a version that circulated at the Inns of Court during the 1590s. Pr varies from PN only three times (apart from differing in the choice between ‘mine’ and ‘my’): ‘Heart’ for ‘wit’ (l. 7), ‘checks’ for ‘checke’ (l. 18) and ‘fear’ for ‘teach’ l. 24; both texts omit the same two stanzas (ll. 9-16) and share two unique replacement lines (ll. 22 and 24).

Dd, R17 and W share a common ancestor that underwent some creative revision (cf. the variant opening ‘your’ and replacement lines 3, 6-8). May doubts that Dd’s scribe Henry Stanford made the revisions: ‘I do not believe that Stanford would have transformed an entry for his “public” section ... to this extent’ (1988: 318).

This poem is attributed to the Earl of Oxford in the first edition of *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*, 1576 (P), sigs. I3r-v and in Ra, 14v.²⁷⁸ The poem was dropped from subsequent editions.²⁷⁹ Another unattributed copy survives in Ma, f. 28v. May points out that **118** is the only poem of Oxford's from the printed anthology which also survives in contemporary manuscript verse collections.²⁸⁰ The printed version includes a refrain at the end of every sixain stanza comprising non-lexical vocables ('Laradon tan tan, Tedriton teight') indicating that the poem was set to music.²⁸¹ The layout of the poem in Hy is unusual: after the first sixain stanza, the first four lines of the following three sixains are condensed into two long lines; this stanzaic layout is unique to Hy. All other texts copy the poem as twenty-four sixains in tetrameter.

- 1-4 An echo of these lines is found in Christopher Middleton's *The Famous Historie of Chinon of England* (1597, sig. C4r): 'when the liuely Larke a gladsome Herrald to the dawning day, gan with her siluer sounding note to discharge the melanchollie glooming night'.
- 6 **Dyscride** betrayed, bewrayed (*OED* descry, v.¹ 2c); **guylt** ... **Bedd** the conceit is that 'Aurora' (the dawn) rises out of 'Thetis Bedd' (a synonym for the ocean); in Greek mythology Thetis is one of the Nereids or sea-nymphs and the mother of Achilles.
- 8 **Carnation** For the colour symbolism, cf. 'which horses apperelled in White and carnation silk, beeing the colloures of Desire' (Henry Goldwell, *A Briefe Declaration of the Shews ... before the Queenes Maiestie*, 1581, sig. B8r).
- 13-14 Oxford stages a similar dialogue with 'Desyre' in poem **3**: 'Dothe Company dysplease? / ... Where wold Desire then chuse to be? / ... What feedethe most your syghte?' (ll. 17, 19, 21).

²⁷⁸ May (1980: 30-1) places **118** among the certain Oxford poems (no. 8).

²⁷⁹ Seven poems are attributed to Oxford in P; one more of these only appeared in P (see Rollins 1927: lviii). For the printed editions, see the head-note to **4**.

²⁸⁰ May 1980: 72.

²⁸¹ Another poem assigned to Oxford in P ('A Croune of Bayes shall that man weare'), following immediately after **118**, also retains evidence that it was sung: the text retains a musical direction 'bis' to repeat a phrase and one of the repeat refrains contains another non-lexical vocable: 'Ah a lalalantida my deare dame has thus tormented me' (Rollins 1927: 240).

Collations: May (1980: 118) collates Ma, P and Ra against Hy. As May concludes, none of the manuscript copies derived from P. P introduces two errors not present in the manuscript copies: ‘in’ for ‘of’ (l. 13) and ‘me’ for ‘than’ (l. 15); the latter reading creates a faulty rhyme word. Though no certain relationship based on error can be posited, Hy shares with Ra the variant opening ‘stretcht forth’ for ‘did stretch’ (l. 1) and two more readings against Ma and P: ‘this gentle’ for Ma’s ‘that seemlye’ or P’s ‘the youthfull’ (l. 8), and ‘Nor greater Ioy Can be’ for Ma’s ‘No ioy is greater to’ or P’s ‘No ioy no greater to’ (l. 17).

119

The subscription ‘Ioh Ed.’ probably refer to John Edmonds a student of Gray’s Inns who supplied the compiler with poems (see the commentary to **111**), some of which may have been his own compositions: **119** falls into the latter category along with two more poems signed with the same initials written ‘in praise of a mistress’ (**138** and **142**). Pigman describes examples of similar poems in Gascoigne’s work as ‘bragging poems’, and they were dubbed ‘vaunting verse’ by contemporaries (see below 1n.).²⁸² George Puttenham in *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589, sanctions a limited use of ‘Hiperbole’ in love poetry: ‘if we fall a praysing, specially of our mistresses vertue, bewtie, or other good parts, we be allowed now and then to ouer-reach a little by way of comparison’ (sig. Y2v).

- 1 **In** ... **vaunt** Cf. ‘Leave of you Lovers in your vauntinge verse’ (**140.11**);
‘Vaunting in verse what ioyes he did possesse’ (George Gascoigne, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, 1573, sig. F2r)
- 5 **meede** reward (*OED* n. 1a)
- 7 **Hellen** See 27.28n.
- 9 **out alas** an exclamation expressing indignant reproach (*OED* out, int.)
- 11 **brave** See **111.2n.**; **Cheere** disposition (*OED* cheer, n.¹ 3).
- 12 **none her Peere** cf. **111.10** ‘nere thy peere’ and **142.7** ‘pereles pere’

²⁸² Pigman (2000: 578) cites two examples from Tottel’s *Songes and sonettes*: Heywood’s ‘Give place you Ladies and be gon’ and Surrey’s ‘Geve place ye lovers, here before’. Elizabethan examples include ‘In the praise of his Mistresse’ (*The Arbor of Amorous Deuises*, 1597, sig. F4r), and many more, often incorporating the compliment motif of the Judgement of Paris: see **138** fn. 316.

A further three surviving manuscript texts of this anonymous lyric attest to its contemporary popularity. Copies are found in Ra, f. 45v, Bod., MS Rawl. poet. 148 (R48), ff. 67v-8r, and Hn, f. 144r.²⁸³ The poem was set to music in Thomas Bateson's *Second Set of Madrigales*, 1618 (Bat), sig. D1v, no. 18.

- 3 **Summe** the ultimate end or goal; the highest attainable point (*OED* sum *n.*¹ 13a)
- 5 **Conceipt** reason (*OED* *n.* 1); **Content** acquiescence, acceptance (*OED* *n.*² 2)
- 6 **Substance** ... **Shadow** This alludes to the Neoplatonic distinction between material forms (shadows) and real forms (substances): 'Only our soul, I say, is so captivated by the charms of corporeal beauty that it neglects its own beauty, and forgetting itself, runs after the beauty of the body, which is a mere shadow of its own beauty' (Ficino 1985: 140-141).
- 7 **narcyssus** See 48.13n.
- 8 **Shadow** reflection; cf. 'Narcissus ... admires the reflection ... in the water and tries to embrace that; that is, the soul admires in the body, which is unstable and in flux, like water, a beauty which is the shadow of the soul itself' (Ficino 1985: 140).
- 11 **glauncinge** darting (*OED* glance, *v.*¹ 2)
- 12 **somewhat** something (*OED* *n.* 1 b)
- 14 **perfect vew** The Neoplatonic view that humans are only imperfectly able to comprehend the substance of things.
- 15 **as it was** as it happens (*OED* *as*, P2b)
- 17 **whether** which of the two (*OED* *pron.* 1a)

Collations: four texts collated: Bat, Hn, Ra and R48.

1 voyce] noyse Bat Ra R48

²⁸³ Doughtie (1985:34) dates the poem in R48 (John Lilliat's collection) to early in 1597. Hughey identifies the hand in Hn 'the first seven lines are in Sir John Harington's hand' (Hughey 1960: 2.303).

2 aside] for life R48
 3 Summe] sonne Hn
 4 Which] It Bat; was ... mee] it went from me; away did flee Hn, did goe from me R48
 5 Yet hath] But yet Bat; my] mee Hn; Content] entent Bat
 6 the] this Ra
 8 not] *om.* Hn
 9 know] knew Bat; myne] my Bat
 11 spyde] saw Hn R48 Bat; glauncinge] passinge Hn Ra Bat
 12 glymse] glawnce Hn Bat Ra; of somewhat] at somewhat Ra, of somethinge R48 Bat;
 myne] my Bat
 13-16 *om.* Bat
 13 alas] as yeat Hn
 14 Bycause] For that Ra; indeed] of it R48; no] not Hn
 15 wishte] wishe*
 17 And] *om.* *; whether] whither R48
 18 Blessed] Blest Ra R48 Bat; thing] shape Hn; hether] thether Ra

Hy agrees with Hn in reading 'voyce' (l. 1) where the other two texts read 'noyse'; either noun fits the context of the line so it is impossible to determine which one is the intended reading (at some point in the poem's transmission a scribe mistook 'n' for 'v' or vice versa). Hy's 'wished' (l. 1) should perhaps read 'wishe' as all other texts; 'And' (l. 17) was possibly added by the scribe to create two matching hexameter lines. In this scenario the scribe counted the final line of the couplet as a twelve-syllable line (the metre demands the elision of 'Blessed' and 'hether') and failed to elide 'whether'; the additional word would at least make the closing couplet a metrical match. R48 shares two readings with Hy: 'glauncinge' (l. 11) and 'glymse' (l. 12) where Bat, Hn and Ra agree on 'passinge' and 'glawnce'. Ra shares one reading with Hy against the other texts: 'spyde' (l. 11) for 'saw', but either scribe could independently have substituted the more familiar word.

Hn also introduces two certain errors ('sonne' l. 3, and the omission of 'not' l. 8) and four unique variants that are not obvious errors (ll. 4, 5, 13 and 14). R48 contains three certain errors (ll. 2, 4 and 14); and Ra introduces two unique variants that do not change the sense (ll. 6 and 14).

A copy of this anonymous sonnet is also found in Ra, f. 18v.

- 3 **Carke** distress, anxiety (*OED n.* 3)
 5 **Darke renowne** little known (regarded) name (or fame) (*OED adj.* 6b)
 9 **Fond** foolish (*OED adj.* 2); **weale** welfare, well-being, happiness (*OED n.*¹
 2a)

Collations: one text collated: Ra.

- 3 Carke &] *om.*
 10 Lose] leaue
 11 Charme] harme
 12 &] but
 14 dolours] dolor

The texts present few variants, but Hy is a slightly better text with only one problematic reading. In line 3, Hy seems to be unsure of the correct reading: the boxing around the phrases ‘Carke &’ and ‘slacke &’ indicate the removal of one or the other to restore the metrical regularity. Ra omits ‘Carke &’ and this reading also restores the caesura to its otherwise fixed position after the fourth syllable. The reading ‘Carke’ is perhaps an instance of eye-skip, where the compiler picked up on the word ‘darke’ placed in a similar position two lines below. Ra’s ‘harme’ (l. 11) is another obvious error (repeating the end-rhyme from line 9) where Hy’s ‘Charme’ provides the superior reading; and Ra’s ‘*leaue my trothe*’ should probably read ‘*Lose my troathe*’ (l. 10).

Another unattributed copy of this poem is found in Ra, f. 13v. A poem in Hy that begins with the same question, ‘What Thyng is Love?’ (see **126**), is also found in Ra, in a cluster of poems defining Love. The question in the first line was a popular opening in verse of the period and further examples include a poem attributed to Raleigh, ‘Now what is Loue, I praie thee tell’ (*The Phoenix Nest*, 1593, sig. N2r); a song by the Earl of Essex, ‘Say, what is love? A foolishe toy I can well prove’ (Bod., MS

Douce 280, f. 67r); and Henry Chillester's 'What thing is loue? a God as Poets wright' (*Youthes Wit*, 1581, sig. F3r).

- 2-5 *anadiplosis* (also in ll. 6-8, 10-11 and 13-15, 16-18): a rhetorical figure where 'the word by which you finish your verse, ye beginne the next verse with the same' (George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie*, sig. Z2r); here it serves the dialogic format where the answer to each question echoes the previous statement.
- 2 **fond** foolish; **lusty** insolent, arrogant (*OED adj.* 6)
- 5 **tryvauntes** *OED* gives this unusual spelling as a dialect variant of 'truants': a lazy, idle person; figuratively, one who wanders from an appointed place or neglects his duty (*OED n.* A2).
- 9 **proove** experience, suffer (*OED v.* 7)
- 12-18 The lines are an example of the rhetorical figure of *gradatio* (Puttenham calls this device the 'Climbing Figure' in *The Arte of English Poesie*, sig. 2A1r); and there is a quasi-logical argumentation in this circular attempt to 'define' love. Tuve notes a link 'between what poets learned about defining and dividing in logic, and relearned in rhetoric, and what they did in their poems' (1961: 299).

Collations: one text collated: Ra.

11 Oh] Of; is] was

16 effecte] affecte

17 effecte] affecte; secret] *om.*

There are five substantive variants between the two texts. Ra's variant 'Of Fancy' (l. 11) picks up on the same two words at the end of the previous line and is perhaps the intended reading; but Ra's omission of 'secret' (l. 17) creates a metrically defective line.

123

Poem **123** is Philip Sidney's OA 45, first printed in 1593 in *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (93), sig. 2G3r. In the prose romance the lines are sung by the shepherdess Charita to Dametas, and serve to embellish the fabricated story that Dorus (Musidorus) is relating to Miso about her husband's infidelity:

In her lap there lay a shepherd, so wrapped up in that well liked place that I could discern no piece of his face; but as mine eyes were attent in that, her angelic voice strake mine ears with this song.

The song ends with the repetition of the opening line. Ringler identifies this poetic form as ‘serpentina carmina’, a device according to Abraham Fraunce so-called because the words (or lines) ‘turne and winde themselues *in orbem* like a snake, and their only grace proceedeth from a Rhetorical *Epanalepsis*’.²⁸⁴

The poem survives in nine *Old Arcadia* manuscript texts: As, f. 89r, Bo, f. 109r, Cl, f. 93r, Da, f. 86r, Hm, f. 57r, Je, p. 142, Ph, f. 95r, Qu, f. 68r, and St, f. 102r. Another contemporary copy is found in Henry Lee’s collection of *Old Arcadia* poems, Le, f. 19r. George Puttenham in *The Arte of English Poesie*, 1589 (Pu), sigs. 2B4v-2C1r quotes the first two quatrains of the poem and inserts the opening line as a refrain at the end of each stanza, to illustrate his concept of ‘*Epimone*...[or] *versus intercalaris*’, a kind of ‘linking verse’ termed by Puttenham ‘the Loue-burden’:

in one respect because that one verse alone beareth the whole burden of the song according to the originall: in another respect, for that it comes by large distances to be often repeated, as in this ditty made by the noble knight Sir *Philip Sidney* (sig. 2B4v).

Puttenham’s version with the repeat refrain may have derived from a musical source and thus indicate that the poem had been set to music before 1589 (Ringler, 1962: 407); but equally, it could be a case of Puttenham adding the refrain to create a more suitable exemplar of ‘*versus intercalaris*’ (inserted verse) and to avoid having to quote the whole poem (cf. Puttenham’s treatment of this figure in Book 2, sig. M3v).

²⁸⁴ ‘Epanalepsis’ is a figure by which the same word or clause is repeated after intervening matter (*OED*); Puttenham calls it the ‘slow returne ... when ye make one worde both beginne and end your verse’ (sig. 2Zr). Fraunce quotes a distich from Ovid’s *Fasti* 2.235 (also cited in Ringler 1962: 407): ‘*Militat omnis amans & habet sua castra Cupido, / Attice crede mihi, militat omnis amans*’ [‘Every lover is a soldier and even Cupid has his own camp / Atticus believe me, every lover is a soldier’]. Ringler cites two further examples of ‘serpentina carmina’: AS 24 which begins and ends with the same word, ‘rich’, and OA 72, an exchange between Strephon and Klaius, where the concluding line of each stanza is duplicated in the opening line of the next (*anadiplosis*), as the speakers alternate, and comes full circle at the end of the poem with each speaker revoicing the opening line (407).

Sidney's poem was set to music by John Ward as a song in three-parts, in *The First Set of English Madrigals* printed in 1613 (W), sigs. B1r-v, where the first eight lines of the poem comprise no. 1 and the last six lines no. 2.²⁸⁵ Another musical setting is found in an early seventeenth-century manuscript BL, Add. MS 15117 (A3), f. 18v.²⁸⁶

Collations: Ringler (1962: 75-6) records variants occurring in two or more substantive texts in As, Bo, Cl, Da, Je, Le, Ph, Pu, Qu, St, 93. My collation adds Hm and shows all substantive variants.

1 hart] harte in hold Le

2 another] the other As Bo Cl Da Hm Je Le 93, thother St

3 hold his] held it Da; myne] in me Da

5 His] My Pu; in ... in] in me kepes me and him in As Bo Cl Da Le Ph 93, in me keepe me and hym in St, keepes me and I and he are Hm Qu

6 thoughtes] thought Bo

8 it] he Hm Qu

9-13 *om.* Pu

9 wound] woundes Hm Qu; from] in Je

10 hart] hate Hm; with] from Je

11 For] so Da; on] in Hm Je Qu; hurte] hart Ph

12 me thought] my thought Je Ph; in ... hart] in me his hurt As Bo Cl Da Hm Le Qu St 93, his hurt in me Je

13 his] this *

Ringler notes that in line 2, Hy Pu and Qu share the reading 'another' for 'the other' in all the other texts; Hy links with Je and Pu in line 5 with 'him & me', where nine texts have 'me and him', and two texts (Hm and Qu) share a different version of the line. In line 12, Hy and Ph read 'hart' for 'hurt' against all the other texts. Hy's unique reading 'his' for 'this' (l. 13) is another scribal slip. These shared readings could be the result of independent variation but the presence of two Hy variants in Pu does hint at a common ancestor. Pu's truncated version contains another error ('My' for 'his' l. 5).

²⁸⁵ According to Ringler (1962: 567) the 'words are from one of the 98-13 folios [of *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*]'.

²⁸⁶ 'The words ... set as three quatrains with the final couplet used as a refrain after each quatrain) are from one of the 93-13 folios' (Ibid.: 566).

Three more unattributed copies of the poem are found in contemporary manuscript verse miscellanies: Ra, ff. 10r-v, Ha, ff. 148v-9r, and entitled 'Quatuor elementa' in BL, Add. MS 34064 (A34), f. 19v.²⁸⁷ Another copy was transcribed in the mid-seventeenth century, Folger, MS V.a.339 (V33), f. 186r. The poem was first printed in 1591, entitled 'Of the foure Elements', in the collection associated with Nicholas Breton: *Brittons Bowre of Delights* (B), sigs. G3r-4v. Although Breton tried to disassociate himself from this publication, many of the poems in the collection are his.²⁸⁸ Rollins comments that poem **124** 'bears every sign of Breton's authorship'.²⁸⁹ The poem may be a conscious variation of a sonnet on the same theme by Sidney 'The fire to see my wrongs for anger burneth' (see **55**).²⁹⁰

1-4 **Ayre ... earth ... Fire ... Water** i.e. the 'four elements'; Breton treats the four elements in a poem entitled 'The Covntesse of Penbrookes Love':

What is the Earth? the labour of our life,
what is the sea? a gulfe of griezy lakes:
what is the aire? a stuffe of filthy strife,
what is the fire? the spoile of what it takes:

(*The Pilgrimage to Paradise*, 1592, sig. K4r).

2-4 **heavy ... Drye** conventional traits of the lover's malady (Babb 1951: 135-37)

9 **Fyre ... frozen** The fires and chills of love are described by Breton in *The Workes of a Young Wyt*, 1577:

Howe holdes my grieffe? alas both hot, and colde:
hot with desire, and cold againe with feare:
Warne, when I doo thy beauties beames beholde,
and quake with cold, to be, and thou not there

(sigs. B2v-3r).

²⁸⁷ For a description of A34, see Buck 1907 and Ringler 1975.

²⁸⁸ See **Introduction** p. 55 fn. 114.

²⁸⁹ 1933: 107.

²⁹⁰ The Ra scribe makes the connection between Sidney's poem and **124**, which appear on adjacent pages in the manuscript. Ringler prints two poems wrongly attributed to Sidney (AT 5 and AT 14) that are 'probably by Breton or some other imitator of Sidney' (1962: 353).

29 **world ynclozed** This alludes to the commonplace belief that Man, like all created things, was a mixture of the four elements (Babb 1951: 22).

Collations: five texts collated: A34, B, Ha, Ra and V33.

Title: om.] Quatuor elementa A34, Of the foure Elements B

1 Doth] do A34 B

2 heavy] gazing Ha Ra

3 Dyinge] droopinge V33; Spright] spirit B RaV33, spritt A34

4 that] what V33; &] or Ra

7 I Do] sore I A34 B

8 Earthes] Earth A34 B Ha; fayre] her A34 B; Do] doth Ha

9 so hot] with heat Ha Ra; enflames...mynde] it doth inflame the minde A34 B

10 Heate] white*

12 all] nedes A34 B Ha Ra

13 yet] *om.* V33

15 ycould] a could*

17 Oh ... oh] or ... or A34 B

18 slay] slaine A34; ôh] one A34, once B, now Ha Ra; or Ayer] & aire V33

22 Ah] oh B V33; how] with Ra; panting] parting Ra, my panting B; hartes] heart A34 B

23 Earth] *om.* Ra; do] to A34

24 power] powres A34 Ha, healpe Ra

25 Ayre] the aire V33

26 groweth] grows Ra

27 Flame & Fury] cole and bauen A34 B

28 ebbes] ebth A34 B; floweth] flowes Ra

29 within] in A34 Ha B; world] worde B

30 Hartes have] heart hath A34 V33 B; rest] Ioyes Ha Ra

Hy's unique reading 'Heate' in line 10 should probably read 'white' (i.e. the frothy-white sputum from a dry mouth: *OED n.*¹ 15a), as in all other witnesses. Two more Hy variants are inferior readings ('oh' l. 18 and 'all' l. 12); the first is a certain error: the circumflex over the 'o' in 'ôh' (l. 18) in Hy's copy might have derived from misreading a tilde perhaps a contraction of 'once' spelt 'onc' (the reading in B which A34 misreads

as ‘one’). Both these Hy variants are present in V33 and indicate that these two texts ultimately derive from a common ancestor. V33 introduces four more errors (‘droopinge’ l. 3, *om.* ‘yet’ l. 13, ‘&’ l. 18, and ‘the’ l. 25). A further two V33 variants present in other texts could have been derived independently by the copyists (‘Oh’ for ‘Ah’ l. 22, ‘heart hath’ for ‘Hartes have’ l. 30).

Ha and Ra are also related, deriving from a common ancestor with the readings, ‘gazing’ (l. 2), ‘with heat’ (l. 9), ‘now’ (l. 18), and ‘Ioyes’ (l. 30). Ha introduces two more minor variants (‘doth’ for ‘do’ and ‘Earth’ for ‘Earthes’ l. 8); but Ra is a more corrupt text adding seven more variants most of which are certain errors (‘or’ l. 4, ‘with’, ‘parting’ l. 22, *om.* ‘Earth’ l. 23, ‘healpe’ l. 24, ‘grows’ l. 26, and ‘flowes’ l. 28).

A34 and B represent another branch of the texts circulating in manuscript that derive from a common ancestor which transmitted ten readings none of which appear to be obvious errors (‘do’ l. 1, ‘sore I’, ‘her’ l. 7, ‘Earth her’ l. 8, ‘it dothe inflame the minde’ l. 9, or...or l. 17, ‘once’ (misread as ‘one’) l. 18, ‘hart’ l. 22, ‘cole, and bauen’ l. 27, and ‘ebth’ l. 28). However the texts do vary and if A34 was copied directly from the 1591 print it corrected two errors (‘my’ l. 22 and ‘worde’ for ‘world’ l. 29), and did not reproduce another print variant (‘oh’ l. 22). A34 also introduces three unique variants of its own (‘slaine’ for ‘slaie’ l. 18, ‘to’ for ‘do’ l. 23, and ‘powres’ for ‘power’ l. 24). The variant title in A34, ‘Quatuor elementa’, also points to a source close to but different from the printed copy B; ultimately A34 and B derive from a common ancestor where some revisions had been introduced.

125

This unique poem is unattributed but it contains lines 1-4 of poem **18** in Hy that has been identified in this edition as belonging to Nicholas Breton. The first four lines are similar to Chidiok Tichborne’s verse entitled ‘To His Friend’: ‘Good sorrow cease, false hope be gone, misfortune once farewell; / Come, solemn muse, the sad discourse of our adventures tell’ (Edinburgh University Library, MS Laing II.69, f. 24v). Although transcribed in quatrains the poem rhymes as five fourteeners couplets.

3 **Solempne muse** For Breton’s fondness for this phrase, see **151.18n**.

- 18 This line echoes Dyer's 'Whose hurte his deathe must bee' (1.16); for Breton's borrowing from this poem elsewhere in his canonical work, see the commentary to 1.

126

This is a song from a lost pastoral poem, play or entertainment called *The Hunting of Cupid*, written by George Peele.²⁹¹ *The Hunting of Cupid* exists only in fragments; the longest (comprising all other extracts) was that made by William Drummond of Hawthornden in 1609, copied into his miscellany (National Library of Scotland, MS 2059 (Dm)) under the heading: 'The Hunting of Cupid by George Peele of oxford, Pastoral'.²⁹² Horne suggests that Peele wrote *The Hunting of Cupid* 'during his association with the poets and child players, 1581-85', aligning it with another mythological pastoral *The Arraignment of Paris* written 1581-1584.²⁹³

Drummond copied the song (on ff. 352r-3r) in Dm, amongst the extracts already mentioned, and almost certainly from a printed edition of Peele's play.²⁹⁴ Two more copies of the song are found in Elizabethan manuscript verse collections: one signed 'M[aster] G: Peelle' in Ra, f. 13r, and another entitled 'A Discription of loue' in Bod., MS Rawl. poet. 172 (R72), f. 2v. The first seven lines were also printed as a song in an anonymous play possibly by Peele, *The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll*, 1600 (DD), sig. A4v.²⁹⁵ Another similarly truncated version was set to music in John Bartlet's *A Book of Ayres*, 1606 (Bt), no. XIII.²⁹⁶

Analogous 'definition of love poems' are discussed in the commentary to 122.

²⁹¹ The following entry was made in the Stationers' Register on the 26 July 1591: 'a booke intituled The Huntunge of Cupid written by George Peele M[aste]r of Artes of Oxeford'. Greg assumes that the entry refers to a lost pastoral play (1962: 2.965). Cutts argues plausibly that it was not a play but a pastoral poem or entertainment (1958: 121-132). For Peele's role in the theatrical entertainments for Laski's visit to Oxford University in 1583, see **Introduction** p. 32; and for his involvement with civic pageants, see Nichols (2014: 3.234-40).

²⁹² Extracts attributed to Peele are also found in two miscellanies printed in 1600 *Englands Helicon* (sig. E3r) and *Englands Parnassus* (sig. N1r). All extracts are printed in Greg 1911: 307-14.

²⁹³ Horne also points out that the Stationers' register entry mentions copies 'before lycenced'; suggesting an older work (1952: 154).

²⁹⁴ William Drummond includes 'The Huntunge of Cupid' in a list of 'Bookes read anno 1609, by me' (Greg 1962: 965). Drummond's copy of 126 is also reproduced in Horne 1952: 204-5.

²⁹⁵ Cutts states the case for Peele's authorship, refuting the assumption that 'dramatists had no compunction about using other poets' songs in their plays' (1958: 127-129).

²⁹⁶ Edited in Doughtie 1970: 246-7.

- 1-6 The first six lines are full of bawdy puns: ‘Thynge’, ‘prycke’, ‘stynge’, ‘Fyre’ ‘Flame’ and ‘hole’; Williams cites Fennor’s *Cornucopiæ* (1612): ‘Oh peirce her (pretie *Cupid*) with thy sting, That I may pricke her with another thinge’.
- 1 Cf. Robert Greene’s ‘Ah what is loue it is a pretty thing’ (‘The Shepheards wiues song’ in *Greenes Mourning Garment* 1590, sig. C5r).
- 10 The affair between Mars and Venus is told in *The Odyssey* (8.266-366); **even & Od** a game of chance (*OED* even, *adj.*, 15d).

Collations: five texts collated: Bt, DD, Dm, Ra and R72.

Title: om.] The Song DD, A Discription of loue R72

1 for ... Thynge] I pray thee tel Bt, for sure I am it is a thing DD, for (wel I wot) love is a thing Dm

2 Love] it Bt DD Dm; prycke] prickle Bt; Love] it Bt DD Dm; stynge] thing DD; Love] it Bt DD Dm; prety] prety prety Bt DD Dm Ra

3 Love ... Love] it ... it Bt DD Dm

5 self] wits Bt DD, wit Dm; can] do DD, doth Dm; best Devyze] well aduise R72

6 His] loues Bt DD Dm; Dwellinge is] darling lies Bt

7-10 om. Bt DD

7 he shotes] do glaunce Dm; hys daynty] loves pearcing Dm, his painted R72

8 *sub.* that mak such holes into our harts Dm

inserted after l. 8 Dm

and al the world herin accord
love is a great and mightie lord
and when he list to mount so hie
with venus he in heven doth lie

9 hath ... Calld] more heth been Dm, since was callde Ra

10 Synce] That Ra; with Venus] and sche Dm

Subscription: FINIS] om. Dm R72, Finis M G: Peelle Ra

The six surviving texts fall into two distinct groups. Hy is the best text with only one error, omitting the repeated word ‘prety’ in line two, resulting in a metrically faulty line. R72 is very close to Hy sharing the same error in line two, but adding two more errors (‘well aduise’ l. 5 and ‘painted’ l. 7). Ra is another reliable text with only two errors

(‘since was’ l. 9 and ‘That’ l. 10). The remaining texts derive from a common ancestor, probably the lost printed copy of *The Hunting of Cupid* (pr. c. 1591), which transmitted five variant readings (‘it’ for ‘Love’ ll. 2, 3; ‘wit(s)’ l. 5; and ‘loues’ l. 6). DD’s and Bt’s seven-line versions probably originated from the lost printed text of *The Hunting of Cupid* but are otherwise unrelated. DD contains one obvious error (‘thing’ for ‘sting’ l. 2). Bt’s variant opening line, ‘What thing is loue, I pray thee tel’ echoes another poem set to music in an earlier printed collection of songs, ‘Now what is loue I pray thee tell’ (Robert Jones, *Second Book of Songs and Ayres*, 1601, song IX); two more unique variants could be errors or purposeful revisions by Bartlet (‘prickle’ l. 2 and ‘darling lies’ l. 6).

Dm is an eclectic text where two lines have been substantially rewritten (ll. 8 and 9), an additional verse inserted between lines eight and nine, and some minor changes introduced (‘more hath been’ l. 19 and ‘and sche’ l. 10), all of which could be Drummond’s own sophistications. The unique additional verse fits uncomfortably into the poem: love is called a ‘mightie lord’ whereas in the next line he is named as ‘a god’, and Venus reappears in the final stanza.

127

Dyer’s authorship is supported by the attribution to ‘Master Dier’ in Ra, ff. 40r-41r.²⁹⁷ The poem was printed anonymously in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593 (PN), sigs. M4r-N1v. May notes that Dyer limits the number of different rhymes used in the poem. The couplet rhyme in stanzas one and sixteen and the ‘b’ rhyme of stanza five all include the rhyme word ‘care’; the couplet rhymes in stanzas two, four, five and eleven and the ‘b’ rhymes in stanzas three, four and six share the same rhyme (and within these lines ‘delight’ occurs five times and ‘despight’ three times); and the ‘b’ rhyme in stanzas two and ten and the couplets of stanzas eight and nine contain identical rhyme words (in reverse order).

1 **Rate** estimate (*OED* rate, v.² 3b)

8, 37 **Touch** stroke, action, or influence (*OED* touch, *n.* 13)

²⁹⁷ May (1991: 297-299) places 127 among the certain Dyer poems (no. 5), with Hy serving as copy-text.

- 14 proverbial ‘after sweet the sour comes’ (Dent S1034.11), i.e. no pleasure without pain; for another use of this proverb, see 9.34-5n.
- 16 **quyght** redress (*OED* quit, v. 3c)
- 33 **The ... Age** Cf. ‘So is the lustie time of youth and adolescencie, tearmed by the name of the flower of age’ (Levinus Lemnius, *An Herbal for the Bible*, 1587, sig. T3r).
- 35-36 This couplet is copied with some slight changes on folio 11v; see the commentary to ix.
- 55 **Weande ... will** Cf. Sidney’s ‘Waynd from the hope which made affection glad’ (AT Ot; Woudhuysen 1996: 415).

Collations: Sargent (1968: 204) collated PN against Ra; May (1991: 299) recorded the variants for Hy.

May concludes that ‘all three versions are closely related, sharing the conjunctive error ‘Not’ for ‘Nor’ at line 23’. All three texts display a high level of accuracy (taking into account the length of the poem and the complexity of the language and ideas expressed). Hy’s nine unique readings are minor variants none of which significantly change the sense: ‘with’ for ‘to’ (l. 3), ‘With’ for ‘And’ and ‘Checke’ for ‘choake’ (l. 15), ‘I Blame &’ for ‘No blame to’ (l. 17), ‘mynde’ for ‘soule’ (l. 28), ‘Sleepe’ for ‘sweete’ (l. 31), ‘Consume’ for ‘Consumes’ (l. 36), ‘Do’ for ‘To’ (l. 38), ‘alas’ for ‘God knowes’ (l. 40) and ‘from’ for ‘of’ (l. 51). Hy may be in error in line 17, but the meaning of this line is rather obscure in both versions. The Ra-PN reading ‘sweete’ in line 31 could be correct since the stanza moves away specifically from the subject of sleep to more general ‘pleasure’. Though May (1991: 299) considers ‘sweete’ is an error; Rollins glosses the sense of the line: ‘Or whatever else (like sleep) seems to be sweet (yet isn’t sweet)’ (1931: 191).

128

Poem **128** is Philip Sidney’s CS 23. Additional copies are found in two *Old Arcadia* manuscript texts with the *Certain Sonnets* appended: Bo, f. 241r and Cl, f. 223r; and it was first printed in 1598 in *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (98), sigs. 2S2r-2v. The poem also circulated in manuscript among Sidney’s contemporaries with copies surviving in: Ot, f. 4v, Ra, f. 12r, Ha, f. 149r and Ma, f. 18r.

The words were written ‘To the tune of Wilhemus van Nassaw’ (93), the song of the house of Orange, which Sidney ‘may have heard during his visit to the Prince of Orange in 1577’.²⁹⁸ Hy is the only copy to transcribe the poem in eighteen long lines. Ringler points out that Sidney follows the syllabic and rhyme pattern of the Dutch song precisely, and the poem should comprise (as all other witnesses confirm) four eight-line stanzas, (stanza 1: a₆b₆a₆b₆c₇d₆c₇d₆; stanzas 2-4: a₇b₆a₇b₆c₇d₆c₇d₆), concluding with the near repetition of the first four lines.

- 2, 18 **Chiefest Light ... Chiefest light** cf. ‘That inward sunne in thine eyes shineth so’ (AS 71). The Neoplatonic view of earthly beauty as ‘the beawtie of the soule: the which as partner of the right and heauenlye beawtie, maketh sightlye and beawtifull what euer she toucheth ... and with her light ouercommeth the darkness of the bodye’ (Castiglione, *The Courtyer*, tr. Thomas Hoby, 1561, sig. 2T6v); see 26.1-2 n. for Spenser’s treatment of the same theme.
- 3 **discever** divide, disjoin (*OED* dissever, v. 1)
- 6 **Cheefest part** See 116.2 n.
- 13 Cf. ‘that soueraigne happinesse, that can not be comprehended of the senses’ (*The Courtyer*, sig. 2R3r).
- 15 Cf. ‘And therefore is the outwarde beawtie a true signe of the inwarde goodnes’ (*The Courtyer*, sig. 2T4v).

Collations: seven texts collated: Bo, Cl, Ha, Ma, Ot, Ra and 98.

Ringler (1962: 151-2) collates all the texts except Ot but only records the variants occurring in two or more substantive texts. My collations show all substantive variants.

Title: om.] To ye tune of Williclmus van Nassaw &c. Bo, To ... Willelmus ... Nassaw Cl, To ... Wylli~~l~~mus ... &c. Ma, To ... Wilhemus ... &c. 98

1 Who hath his] Whoso hath Ha; Sight] sightes Ha

2 Chiefest] sweetest *

3 Doth discever] dyeth neuer Ha; vnites] vnite*

4 the] that Ra

5 She] It Ra; but] that Ha

²⁹⁸ Ringler 1962: 431. For the genesis of this tune as the Dutch National Anthem, see Noske 1966.

6 ever] neuer Ha Ra; Dies] liues Ha; &] that Ha Bo Cl Ma Ot 98, but Ra
 7 her] the Ra; with] in Bo Cl Ma Ot 98
 8 his] her Ha; Death] fayth Ra; she] he Ra
 9 answer ... pleasure] the pleasure Doth answere *
 10 who] That Ra
 12 tell of] fitt for Ha Bo Cl Ma Ot 98; that] This Ha Bo Cl Ma Ot 98; do fynde] doth
 bynd Ha Bo Cl Ma 98, do bynde Ot
 13 this bewty] these beutyes Bo Cl Ot 98; nor] ne Ha; this] that Ha Bo Cl Ma Ot 98
 16 still be] liue full Ha Ma; liue still Bo Cl Ot Ra 98; that] which Ha Bo Cl Ma Ot 98;
 her] that Ha Bo Cl Ma Ot 98, the Ra
 17-18 *om.* Ot
 18 Chiefest] sweetest *

Hy's seven unique readings are probably all errors ('vnites' l. 3, '&' l. 6, 'Chiefest' l. 2, 18, 'answer doth the pleasure' l. 9, and 'still be', 'her' l. 16). There is also probable agreement in error with Ra ('tell of ... That ... do fynde' for 'fitt for ... This ... doth bynd' l. 12, 'that' for 'which' l. 16, and 'Fancy' for 'fancies' l. 17). Hy-Ra's corrupt version of line twelve is perhaps an indication that some copyists found the meaning (couched in Neoplatonic philosophy) difficult to comprehend. Ra introduces eight more unique variants most of which are certain errors ('that' l. 4, 'It' l. 5, 'neuer', 'but' l. 6, 'the' l. 7, 'fayth', 'he' l. 8, and 'that' l. 10).

Ha omits the last two lines and introduces seven variant readings, nearly all certain errors ('Whoso', *om.* 'his', 'sights' l. 1, 'dyeth neuer' l. 3, 'that' l. 5; 'neuer liues' l. 6, and 'her' l. 8). Ha's agreement in error with Ra in l. 6 ('neuer' for 'ever') is probably a case of independent variation; the shared reading with Ma 'liue full' for 'liue still' (l. 16) could also be coincidence, both scribes independently misreading an 'st' ligature as 'f' and substituting the familiar word. Ma is close to Bo, Cl, Ot, and 98, which contain no definitive errors.

129

The signature 'Ball' is probably a generic marker, an abbreviation for 'ballet' (see **Introduction** pp. 70-72). The poem is attributed to the Earl of Oxford (signed 'Earlle

of Oxenforde') in another contemporary manuscript copy, Ra, 16v.²⁹⁹ A version of the poem was printed as 'Sonet LX', the last in a series signed with the initials of an unidentified author, 'T. W.', in *The Tears of Fancie*, 1593 (T), sig. E2r.³⁰⁰ Scott enumerates T. W.'s wholesale borrowing, sometimes with slight alterations, from the published work of Gascoigne and Spenser.³⁰¹ May comments that T. W. 'adapted Oxford's lyric to the non-courtly atmosphere of his sonnet sequence'.³⁰² Another imitation printed in *The Phoenix Nest* (1593, sig. L1v) is a witty response to Oxford's poem, which borrows the structure but changes the content so that lines answer to 'Care' rather than 'Loue'.³⁰³ A later imitation (in tetrameter) by Nicholas Breton is introduced as a 'ditty' in *Choice, Chance, and Change*, 1606: 'the Boy taking his instrument, fell to play & sing this ditty ... Of all Conceites which is the best? Loue' (sig. I2r).

13-14 This closing couplet has the quality of a love posy and expresses the same sentiment as the compiler's personalised signature motto discussed in ix.

Collations: two texts collated: Ra and T. May (1980: 121) collates both these texts against Hy.

There is not much to distinguish between Hy and Ra. Hy is in error with 'print' for 'paint' (l. 5). Ra modernised 'thine' to 'your' (l. 3) and introduced two errors: 'freends' for 'frend' (l. 10) and 'choyse thou' for 'fayth doth' (l. 13); but 'honour' for Hy's 'vertue' (l. 8) is an equally credible reading. T's first six lines closely follow Hy (except correcting Hy at l. 5); and two unique variants 'sweethart' for 'my Harte' (l. 1) and 'to marshall' for 'the wofull' (l. 2) are undoubtedly part of the changes made to the poem more extensively in subsequent lines. After line six T diverges from Hy-Ra; apart

²⁹⁹ May (1980: 37) places **129** among the certain Oxford poems, with Hy serving as the copy-text (no. 15).

³⁰⁰ T was erroneously attributed to Thomas Watson, based on Collier's doctoring of the entry in the Stationers' Register (Ibid.: 78).

³⁰¹ 1926.

³⁰² 1980: 78.

³⁰³ There are enough verbal allusions to suggest knowledge of a version of **129** (l. 9 borrows from **129.1** 'Who taught thee first to'; and two sets of rhyme words are identically placed: 'hart / ... smart' (ll. 1, 3); and 'frend / ... end' (ll. 10, 12). *The Phoenix Nest* version was probably responding to the poem as it appeared in T: it retains the mechanical repetition of 'Who' into the third stanza, and echoes T's unique variants ('fancies' l. 8 and 'loue wantons' l. 11, echo 'fancie' l. 8 and 'wanton loue' l. 7 in T). T was entered in the Stationers' Register on 11 August 1593, and *The Phoenix Nest* on 8 October in the same year (Rollins 1931: x).

from lines 7-8 and 13-14, which are essentially rewrites, the rest of the poem is an approximation of the original poem. T borrows ‘Who made thee’ from l. 8 in the original poem and mechanically repeats this opening in lines 9-12.

130

Another copy signed ‘Mrs M: R.’ appears in Ra, f. 114r, and it is erroneously attributed to Philip Sidney in an early seventeenth-century copy entitled ‘A Womans Complaint’, Rosenbach MS 1083/15 (Ro), f. 114r.³⁰⁴ The military metaphor in love poetry took its cue from Ovid’s *Amores* and is found in contemporary works such as George Whetstone’s *Rocke of Regarde* (describing Mars’ seduction of Venus): ‘Hee shot againe, the bulwarkes fell, and all the walles were raisde. / The fort thus wonne, as hee did wish, hee trode on pricking thornes’ (sig. F7v). The relentless use of sexual innuendo and double-entendre in **130** would have appealed to the youthful university and Inns of Court male audience among which it circulated. The attribution in Ra is probably spurious but Moulton notes a few more examples of bawdy poems being ascribed to women authors in manuscript.³⁰⁵

- 1 figuratively, the loss of chastity or more generally sexual compliance (Williams)
- 2 **assayes** attacks, assaults (*OED* 14a)
- 5 **Oxe** a horned beast emblematic of cuckoldry
- 8 **Spoile** figuratively, the loss of virginity (Williams)
- 9 **practise** allusive of casual sex (Williams)
- 10 **streites** narrow confined place or space or way generally (*OED* strait *n.* 1a);
figuratively, the vagina (Williams)
- 12 **Cannot** i.e. Cannon (probably mis-reading a macron as minuscule ‘t’).
- 13 **sleyghtes** craft or cunning employed so as to deceive; artifice (*OED* sleight *n.*¹
1)
- 15 **Case** figuratively, the vagina (Williams)

³⁰⁴ Ringler rejects this poem from the Sidney canon (Wrongly Attributed Poems 12; 1962: 350). The Rosenbach scribe attributed another anti-feminist poem to Sidney copied just before **130** (Wrongly Attributed Poems 4, ‘Are women faire? yea wondrous faire to see too’; Ringler points out that the poem is anonymous in ten earlier seventeenth-century copies, 249). The Rosenbach manuscript is described in Tannenbaum 1930.

³⁰⁵ 2000: 55.

- 19 **passee the pikes** for this phrase see 74 n. 20; employed here as a sexual double-entendre
- 20 **Clappes** (i) a stroke, blow or sudden mishap (*OED* clap, n.¹ 6); (ii) gonorrhoea (*OED* clap, n.²); **blowes** figuratively, kisses (Williams)
- 22 **Charged staves** spear, lance or similar armed weapon in position for action; with obvious phallic connotations
- 23 **Wounded** Williams cites Whetstone's description of rape as a 'previe maime' (*Promos*, 1578, sig. C2r).
- 25 **stumble** figuratively, sex (Williams)
- 29 **the neare** nearer to one's end or purpose (*OED* near *adv.*¹ 5a)
- 30 Cf. 'Women were borne to beare and borne withall, / That burdens borne that they might beare another' (John Weever, *Faunus*, 1600, sig. E3v).

Collations: two texts collated: Ra and Ro.

Title: om.] A Womans Complaint

1 Forte] forts Ro; yeld] fall & yeild Ro

2 Whom] which Ro; &] of Ra; assallt] assaults Ro

3 wekened body] sorry weakned Ro

4 slacke] state*; tongues] longe*

5 Oxe] tree Ro; fall] deth Ra

6 sees] feeles*; knocke] stryke Ra, cutt Ro

7 'the' *corr. to* our] the Ra

8 such as] them that Ro

11-12 *order of lines reversed* Ro

11 They sacke] & scale Ro; & ... Cruell] in a most piteous Ro

12 raze] root Ro

14 secretes] counsayll Ra

18 by force] perforce Ra

21 yet we turne] we retorne Ra

24 before we flye] and neuer flye Ra

28 it to] it out to Ra, vnto Ro

29 'strive' *corr. to* strike] strive*; we thrust, &] & thrust but Ro

30 se are borne] thinke weare made Ro

Subscription: FINIS] finis: Mrs M: R: Ra, P: Sydney Ro

Hy contains three certain errors ('slacke', 'tongues' l. 4; and 'Cannot' l. 12). Ra contains five certain errors (ll. 2, 6, 18, 24 and 28). Ra's error in line six ('feeles' for 'sees') is shared with Ro, but could have derived from a transcription error (prompted by misreading graphically similar swash 's' for 'f') made independently by both scribes. Ra's other unique variants do not drastically affect the meaning (ll. 5, 6, 14 and 21). Ro is the latest and most corrupt copy with at least 9 errors (ll. 1, 2, 3, 5, 6, 8, 11 and 12).

131

The humour of this unique couplet with its Latinate diction would have appealed to the youthful university and Inns of Court student milieu in which it circulated.

- 1 **Busse** a kiss (*OED* buss, *n.*²); **Fetor** an offensive smell, a stench (*OED* fetor *n.*); **Bess** a female name; generic for wanton; Williams cites Bale, *King John* (1538) on the monks and canons pretence of virtue: 'While some talk with Besse, the residue keep silence'; **fetyt** foul-smelling, stinking (*OED* fetid | foetid *adj.* and *n.*)
- 2 **Buss** kiss (*OED* v.¹)

132

Another unattributed copy of this poem entitled 'A Louers complaint' appears in the collection of poems associated with Nicholas Breton, *Brittons Bowre of Delights*, 1591 (B), sigs. G1r-2r. Although Breton tried to disassociate himself from this publication many of the poems in the collection are probably his.³⁰⁶ The poem is a variation on the theme of amorous entrapment found in a poem by Breton's step-father George Gascoigne:

Of thee deare Dame, three lessons would I learne,
What reason first persuades the foolish Fly,
(As soone as shee a candle can discern)
To play with flame, till shee bee burnt therby?

³⁰⁶ See **Introduction** p. 55 fn. 114.

Or what may move the mouse to byte the bayte
 Which strykes the trappe, that stops hir hungry breth?
 What calles the Byrd, where snares of deepe deceit
 Are closely caught to draw hir to hir death?
 Consider well, what is the cause of this
 ('The Aduentures of Maister F.I.', *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*, 1573, sig. B2r).

1 Cf.

What grieve is that? That no man feeles the lyke?
 a secret sorrowe that cannot be showne.
 For hidden hurts, who can for comfort seeke?
 but he, to whom the cause of grieve is knowne:

(Nicholas Breton, *The Workes of a Young Wyt*, 1577, sig. B3r).

2 **Descry** perceive, observe (*OED* v.¹ 7a)

4 **poore wretch** A favourite expression of Breton frequently repeated in his published works:

... and thou poore wretch (alas)
 Mayst sit alone, and find no mery mate,
 (*The Workes*, sig. C4v).

Wherin for his abode (poor wretch)
 he keepes one only part.
 ... And being falne (poor wretch)

(*A Floorish*, 1582, sig. L4v).

13-15 i.e. who would climb that expects to fall

15 **makes account** reckons, expects (*OED* account, *n.* 10)

18 **Ætna** ... **fry** proverbial, 'to burn like Aetna' (Dent A47.11)

21 **Toyle** net (*OED* toil, *n.*² 1)

23 **take the Foyle** repulse, defeat (*OED* foil, *n.*² 2a)

29 **In fine** in the end, at last (*OED* 1b). Breton is fond of this phrase; cf. 'in fine, to tell you plaine' (*A Floorish*, 1577, sig. C1v), and *passim* in Breton's works.

30 **Limbo Lake** Cf. 'To fierie forkes and flames of hell, / in Limbo lake byloe' (Thomas Howell, *The Arbor of Amitie*, 1568, sig. C7r). Virgil refers to the Styx, the limbus 'border' of the underworld, as river, marsh, and lake.

Collations: one text collated: B.

Title: om.] A Louers complaint

6 That he be caught thereby

7 ys ... therof] If thereof he

10 and] If

13 Whois] Who's

14 Tower] Turrets

15 and] that

17 Whois] Who's

19 or who will] So deare to

20 save] but

23 will] would; the] such

24 save] but

25 or] and

29 In ... Do] And heare my plaints to

Subscription: FINIS] om.

Most of Hy's variants are errors: at line six, B provides the line missed out when Hand A's eye skipped to the same line in the stanza above and repeated line 2. The beginning of line 7 ('ys he therof') is also faulty in Hy and may have something to do with the mistake in the previous line. Hy has three more certain errors for which B provides the more sensible reading 'and' (l. 15), 'or who will' (l. 19) and 'or' (l. 25). A few variants in B merely substitute words of similar meaning: 'Turrets' for 'Tower' (l. 14), 'but' for 'save' (ll. 20, 24), and these along with the variant line 29, may be adjustments that Breton made to the text before printing.

133

This poem is attributed to 'M. T.' in the first edition (and all subsequent editions) of *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises*, 1576 (P), sigs. B4r-v.³⁰⁷ These initials probably refer to the 'M[aster] Thorn' whose signature is attached to another poem printed in *The Paradyse*, 'Who shall profoundly way or scan' (sig. G3v). This is almost certainly the

³⁰⁷ For a note on the printed editions, see the head-note to 4.

composer John Thorne (d. 1573) whose work also appears in BL, Add. MS 15233, with three poems signed ‘quod master Jhon Thorne’, one of which is a version of ‘Who shall profoundly’.³⁰⁸ The first two sixains of the poem were given a vocal setting for five parts in Richard Alison’s *An Howres Recreation in Musicke*, 1606, Song XV, sigs. C4r-v; the words were taken from an edition of *The Paradyse* printed in 1590 or later.³⁰⁹

- 1 **sturdy Rocke** proverbial, ‘As fixed (firm as a rock)’ (Tilley R151)
- 3-4 **marble ... Droppes** proverbial (Tilley D618)
- 5 **Oxe ... yoake** proverbial (Tilley T303)
- 6 **Steele abides** submits to (*OED* v. 6); cf. ‘As hard (stiff, strong, tough) as steel’ (Tilley S839)
- 8 **at ... sett** a hunting term: held at close quarters (*OED* bay n.⁴ 3a)
- 13 **Yea** indeed (*OED* adv. 3)
- 17 proverbial, see 78.9n.
- 18 **Consume** burn up (*OED* v.¹ 2a); cf. 2 Peter 3.10:
 But the day of the Lord wil come as a thief in the night, in the which the
 heauens shal passe away with a noyce, and the ele-ments shal melt with heate,
 and the earth with the workes, that are therein, shallbe burnt vp.
- 19 proverbial, ‘Only virtue (true fame) never dies’ (Tilley V74)
- 22 **vertues** virtuous
- 24 **slides** lapses morally (*OED* slide, v. 9)

Collations: one text collated: P.

Title: om.] Mans flitting life findes surest stay: Where sacred Vertue beareth sway

4 by] With

5 will] dooth

³⁰⁸ See Rollins 1927: lxii. For an edition of BL, Add. MS 15233, see Rayment 2011. According to Rayment the manuscript was compiled during the 1550s and represents the social and professional circle of John Redford of which the composer/poet John Thorne was a member. Rayment comments that the presence Richard Edwards’ ‘Fair words make fools fain’ in Add. 15233 ‘suggests a connection between the Thorne in the Redford circle and the Thorne of *The Paradyse*’ and that ‘Edwards (who probably arrived in London from Oxford in the early 1550s) was compiling work for what would eventually become *The Paradyse* at the same time as Add. MS 15233 was being compiled, and that this may well explain how Thorne’s work ended up in the collection’ (Email correspondence with Louise Rayment 21 August 2011).

³⁰⁹ The text introduces one unique variant, ‘with’ for ‘By’ (l. 8) but otherwise is identical to printed editions of *The Paradyse* from 1590 (i.e. it has the corrected reading in l. 9; see collation analysis).

6 abides] obeyeth; Hammers] hammer
 9 flies] flees
 11 smallest] greatest
 12 soonst] soone
 14 bound for] bounden
 15 With] For; worldly] worthy
 18 And] the; themselves] the earth
 20 Throane] Trone
 22 vertues] vertuous
Subscription: FINIS] Finis M. T.

Two errors in P were corrected in the edition of *The Paradyse* printed in 1590: ‘flees’ for ‘flies’ (l. 9) and ‘Trone’ for ‘Throane’ (l. 20). Hy has the correct readings at lines 9 and 20 and other variant readings confirm that this copy was not transcribed directly from print. But Hy also shows some signs of corruption: in line 6, Hy’s ‘abides’ (i.e. withstands, remains, continues or persists in some state) is a less satisfactory reading than P’s ‘obeyeth’ (‘to respond to or unto a thing’; *OED* obey v. 5a): the point of the example is that the ‘Steele’ must bend to the ‘Hammers stroake’. In line 11, Hy’s reading ‘smallest’ follows the logic that a small fish is harder to catch in a deep brook, but as an analogue to ‘swiftest bird’ (l. 9) the print reading ‘greatest fishe’ has the correct register (i.e. it is another exemplar of the inevitable destruction of the most impressive creatures and durable objects). Hy’s reading ‘soonst’ for ‘soone’ (l. 12) is a certain error (the point is that it is only a matter of ‘Time’ before all things perish).

134-136

These six lines of text (probably two lines of Latin followed by two couplets in English) were subsequently deleted by the compiler and are almost illegible; the lines were copied at the same time as **137** to fill a gap at the foot of the page. Most of the bawdy material in the manuscript was added after the compiler numbered the poems and served as gap-fillers on pages where the scribe had wanted to begin the next entry at the head of a new page. (This can be seen more clearly in the *Overview table* in **Appendix 1.**)

The amount of ink employed to obliterate this text indicates that the compiler subsequently regarded the lines with disapproval, probably on account of their bawdy content.

137

The humour of this bawdy couplet on the death of an unspecified ‘Andrew’ relies on the double entendre of ‘stoned’ (lapidavit) as meaning sexual intercourse (from ‘stones’ as a slang term for testicles; for another use of this pun see **114**). There is an implied pun on ‘stone’ since the reader would have understood that Andrew is in fact lying under ‘a grave stone’. A longer version is found in a late seventeenth-century student miscellany alongside numerous other bawdy epitaphs, Bod., MS Wood D.19 (2), f. 109v:

Heere lyeth Andrew Gray
Now clad in Clay
who yesterday, was freshe & gay
All the Nunns do him bemone
For he was wont them for to stone

Other examples of salacious mock epitaphs in the period which pun on stones, include, ‘On the death of Master Pricke... / For now the Pricke doth ly beneath the stones’ (cited in Moulton 2000: 46); and the unspecified bawdy couplet, ‘One stone contents her, low what death can doe / That in her life was not content with two’ (*Early Stuart Libels*).³¹⁰

138

The subscription ‘I. Ed.’ probably refer to John Edmonds a student of Gray’s Inns who supplied the compiler with poems (see the commentary to **111**), some of which may have been his own compositions: **138** falls into the latter category along with two more poems signed with the same initials written ‘in praise of a mistress’ (**119** and **142**). The descriptive heading identifies this unique entry as a New Year’s poem. It was common practice to present poems at New Year. A poem by Nicholas Breton begins, ‘This little

³¹⁰ B14 <http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/early_jacobean_section/B14.html> [accessed 17 March 2015].

Toye to thee, for wante of better shifte, / I here presume for to present, as a small Newyeares gifte'; and the descriptive heading explains 'being then in the Christmas tyme, [he] presented his new Mistresse, with a new yeares Gifte' (*A Floorish vpon Fancie*, 1577, sig. I4v). Thomas Howell composed 'A New yeares gyfte' in the form of an acrostic poem, which spells out 'Ladi K Pembroke' and is followed by three more to other gentlewomen (*His Deuises*, 1581, sigs. K1r-2r).³¹¹ The 'golden Ball' in the heading may have been a real gift but more likely it is used metonymically for the speaker's conceit of awarding the prize of beauty to his mistress.

The Judgment of Paris motif was a commonplace of renaissance flattery and frequently employed in literary compositions addressed to Queen Elizabeth.³¹² During the Queen's visits to the Universities of Cambridge in 1564 and Oxford in 1566, Latin verses were composed that incorporated the motif to suggest that the Queen possessed all the attributes associated with the three goddesses.³¹³ In Sidney's royal entertainment *The Lady of May*, Rombus went beyond the conventional praise to suggest that the Queen had the attributes of the three goddesses and even more: 'But to you, Juno, Venus, Pallas et profecto plus';³¹⁴ and George Peele turned an entire play, *The Araygnement of Paris*, into a compliment to Queen Elizabeth, 'So fayre Eliza, Venus doth resigne, / The honour of this honour to be thine' (1584, sig. E4v). As a

³¹¹ Henry Stanford collected four poems that he had presented with his New Year's gifts from 1595-98 to members of the Cary household (May 1988: 254); he also encouraged his pupils to write New Year poems for other members of the family. William Cecil wrote a New Year's poem to his daughter in 1567, 'To mistres Anne Cecill': 'As years do grow so cares increase' (BL, Lansdowne MS 104, f. 193r); James Yates presented verses to his patron Henry Reynolds, 'Verses which were presented vnto the Patron of this booke at newe yeares Time' (*The Castell of Courtesie*, 1578, sigs. C3r-4v); and Churchyard wrote 'A Newe yeres gift to the Earle of Ormonde, giuen at Kilkennie, when the Erle of Essex was in Irelande' (*A Pleasaunte Laborinth Called Churchyardes Chance*, 1580, sigs. G4v-H1r).

³¹² See Graves 1913: 48-49.

³¹³ *The First Book of the Preseruacion of King Henry the vij*, 1599, sigs. N4r-v, preserves 'Certain Latine verses, that were made long since by one Doctor [Henry] Buste a phisitian, in commendation of the Queenes Maiesty, when she came to Oxford ... Translated into English Hexameters, and Pentameters', beginning, 'Juno, Minerua, Venus in vales of wooded hil Ida'. BL, Add. MS 8915, f. 106v preserves a translation of a Latin verse by William James welcoming the Queen to Cambridge University in August 1564: 'In Trojan soil and pasture ground three goddesses did stray'. The 'Hampton Court Portrait' of Elizabeth (Hans Eworth, c. 1569) reinterprets the Judgment of Paris as the Queen's victory; she holds her prize (a golden orb) and her vanquished competitors flee the scene in various states of disarray and astonishment (Strong 1987: no. 53).

³¹⁴ Duncan-Jones 1989:13, 337.

compliment motif the Judgment of Paris theme constantly appeared in verse praising a mistress.³¹⁵

- 1 **Pallas** ‘The daughter of Jupiter, called goddesse of battayle, and also of
wisdomes’ (Cooper); **Ida** ‘A mountyne, which lieth nigh Troie’ (Cooper)
- 3 **golden Ball** a ‘golden apple’ in the story of the Judgment of Paris (see below)
- 5 **Paris was Iudge**

Wherefore poetes wryte of hym, that, when Juno, Pallas, and Venus, weare at
controuersie for the golden appull, that lady Discorde did caste among them to
be geuen to the fayrest, they weare appointed by Jupiter to vse the iudgement of
this Paris being then a sheepehearde in Ida. Juno to have the prayse, proffered
him a noble kingdom, Pallas promysed the gifte of wysedome, and Venus the
fayrest ladie, that then liued in the earth’ (Cooper).

The story of the Judgment of Paris is alluded to in Homer’s *Iliad* 24.25-30, and
versions are found in Ovid’s *Heroides* 5.3536, 16.65-71, Lucian’s *Dialogues of
the Gods* 20, and Apuleius’ *The Golden Ass* 10.

- 8 **reaked** desired, cared for, favoured (*OED* *reck*, v. 1a)
- 20 **meed** aid, assistance (*OED* *n.* 4); **Hellen** wife of Menelaus; she is the ‘fayrest
ladie, that then liued in the earth’ (5n. above): Paris’s reward from Venus for
selecting her in the Judgement story.
- 21 **Subiect** ... **yourself** this epistolary-style subscription, together with the title,
suggest that the poem was sent (or could be sent) to a mistress. See 111.41-2n.

³¹⁵ A poem printed in Tottel’s *Songes and Sonettes* (‘A praise of .m. M.’) includes the line,
‘That Paris would have Helene left and .M. beauty chose’ (Rollins 1965, no. 306). In the head-
note to ‘Sonnet’ XXXIII in *The Hekatompathia*, Watson glosses ‘the author is of opinion’ that if
his mistress ‘had bene borne, when Paris was to giue sentence vpon Ida for bestowing the
Golden Apple; she had ... bene preferred before Iuno, Pallas and Venus’ (1582, sig. Er).
Gorges’ verse boasts the pre-eminence of his mistress using the same motif, ‘and she but
present there, whose praise my pen doth sounde / Those heavenly Queenes I feare he woolde
dysdayne’ (Sandison 1953, no. 29). Whetstone praises a mistress in similar terms, ‘To whom
faire Venus yeelds her ball, her beautie so excels’ (*The Rocke of Regard*, 1576, sig. O8v); a
poem in Francis Castillion’s miscellany ends with the line, ‘This golden ball is yours, sweet
nymph, none else can have it’ (Yale University, Osborn fb69, p. 191); and two more entries in
Hy employ the judgement theme: 111 has the line ‘I wyll forgett thou wynst the golden Ball’ (l.
6) and 138 ‘Venus had fayld, & yow had gaynd the Ball’ (l. 13).

The initials ‘I E’ probably refer to the same donor of copy-texts (John Edmonds) identified in **111**. Edmonds may have provided the Latin epigram together with his own translation; he provided another Latin verse with English translation later in the collection (**143**). The Latin lines were written by Girolamo Amalteo (Jerome Amalteus), an Italian poet (1507-1574). The claim for Amalteo’s authorship is set forth by Hutton, who locates the poem’s earliest appearance in two separate works printed in 1563: Giovanni Paolo Ubaldini’s *Carmina Poetarum Nobilium*, printed in Milan, where it was ascribed to Basilio Zanchi of Bergamo (A), and Publio Francesco Spinula’s *Opera*, printed in Venice, where it is attributed to Amalteo in the heading, ‘De duobus geminis, Amalthei’ (B). Hutton dismisses the attribution to Zanchi Bergamo (it does not appear in Zanchi’s published work) and points out that Amalteo employs the same theme and fictional names ‘Acon’ and ‘Leonilla’ elsewhere in his work (see below).³¹⁶ A copy was included in a section headed ‘Hieronymi Amalthei’ in Toscanus’ *Carmina Illustrium Poetarum Italorum*, printed in Paris in 1576 (C), sig. C1r; and it appeared in a volume of the collected poems of Amalteo and his two brothers Giovanni Battista and Cornelio, *Trium Fratrum Amaltheorum Carmina*, Venice, 1627 (D), sig. D2v.

Amalteo’s Latin epigram was widely admired as exemplary of its form; Hutton traces its popularity from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century. The earliest appearance of the Latin epigram in print in England (identified by Hutton) was in Abraham Wright’s *Delitiae Delitiarum*, 1637 (E), sig. C6r; (entitled ‘De iisdem, fratre & sorore’ where it followed on from another epigram by Amalteo also figuring Acon and Leonilla (‘De Acone & Leonilla’).³¹⁷ The earliest English version to appear in print is found in *Witt’s Recreations* in 1641 with the title, ‘On a Mother and her son having but two eyes betwixt them, each one’:

A half blind-boy, born of a half blind mother,
Peerlesse for beauty, save compar’d to th’other;
Faire boy, give her thine eye and she will prove
The Queen of beauty, thou the God of love.

(sig. L1r)

³¹⁶ 1980: 134.

³¹⁷ *Ibid.*: 140.

This version was reprinted with minor revisions many times over in the next hundred years (Hutton lists some of these publications) and it was copied into numerous manuscript miscellanies of the mid-seventeenth century.

Amalteo's Latin epigram circulated in English manuscript collections many years before it appeared in print. Hy's version is unusual in having six lines (most of the later English translations, like the Latin original, are four lines long). Another copy of the Latin epigram followed by a different English translation is found in a student verse miscellany of the second decade of the seventeenth century, Bod., MS Rawl. poet. 117 (R17), f. 267v rev. A late seventeenth-century collection compiled by Sir Philip Wodehouse contains another unique English version copied beneath the original Latin lines, University of Leeds, Brotherton, MS Lt. 40 (Bro), f. 102v. Robert Vilvain probably composed the English version that he printed beneath a text of the Latin verse in *Enchiridium Epigrammatum Latino-Anglicum*, 1654 (V), f. 151v.

Collations: eight Latin texts collated: A, B, C, D, E, Bro, R17 and V.

Title: om.] De duobus geminis, Amalthei B, De iisdem C, De gemellis fratre, & sorore luscis D, De iisdem, fratre & sorore E, Frater & Soror Monoculi. Anonymus V

1 dextro, capta] dextro caruit Bro V, carent dextro R17; Leonella] Leonilla A B C D E Bro

2 Et ... forma] Et potis est forma A B C D E, Sed forma potuit V, et forma poterat Bro, Et potuit forma R17; vincere vterque Deos] utramque placere deo R17

3 Parve] Blande A B C D E; Lumen, quod habes] quod habes Lumen Bro; concede] redde V; Sorori] puellae B D

4 secus] caecus*; ille] illa *

Hy contains two errors that are not reproduced in the English translation below and are probable transcription errors: 'secus' and 'ille' (l. 4) should read 'caecus' (blind; cf. 'blinde' (l. 6) of the English version) and 'illa' (demonst. pron. agrees with Venus; cf. 'she' (l. 6) of the English version). In line 1, Hy's copy-text probably had the same error as R17: 'Leonella' should be 'Leonilla' (Englished as 'Leonell' in Hy and 'Leonella' in R17). In line 2, Hy's 'potens est' and R17's 'potuit' are variants of the original reading 'potis est' (can). Two more Hy-R17 variants are present in other texts and 'doubtless arise out of quotation from memory' (Hutton 1980: 134). In line 3,

‘Parve puer’ (young or little boy) is a corruption of ‘Blande puer’ (sweet boy) and is present in copies circulating in England in manuscript and print (R17, V). In the same line ‘Sorori’ (sister) is an early variant of ‘puellae’ (girl) found in one of the editions printed in 1563 (B). Hutton comments that ‘it is plain from Amalteo’s other epigram that he contemplates no blood-relationship between Acon and Leonilla’ (Hutton 1980: 134).

140

This unique poem could be an amateur student composition. The theme ‘in praise of a mistress’ is shared by three poems which I suggest may have been written by John Edmonds of Gray’s Inn (**119**, **138** and **142**), and seems to respond directly to the opening of one of these: ‘In verse to vaunt my Ladies Grace’ (**119**.1.) with the line, ‘Leave of you Lovers in your vauntinge verse’ (l. 11). The initials ‘E N’ match an Inns of Court student named Edward Norres of Speke who entered Gray’s Inn on 4 June 1583.

- 1 **painfull** painstaking, assiduous, diligent (*OED* 4b)
- 5 **Indude** possessed (*OED* endue | indue, v. 9a)
- 7 **Psiches** Psyche, the beautiful mortal with whom Cupid fell in love. The story is told in Apuleius’ *The Golden Ass* 4; **wend** travelled (*OED* v.¹ 13a)
- 9 **flag ... fame** Cf. ‘To other Trulls [girls, lasses] of tender yeares / resigne the flagge of Fame’ (George Turbervile, *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets*, 1567, sig. M2r).
- 10 **Eke** also, moreover (*OED* adv.)
- 14 **Darkest** dimmest (*OED* dark, *adj.* 1c)

141

The subscription ‘Ball.’ is probably a generic marker indicating that the poem could be sung to the lute or other musical accompaniment (see **Introduction** pp. 70-72). The music publisher William Barley included the poem in an instruction book for the lute, *A New Booke of Tabliture*, 1596 (Ba), sig. D4r.³¹⁸ The only other suggestion for

³¹⁸ See Doughtie 1970: 61.

authorship comes from the initials 'A. H.' signed at the end of a copy preserved in Ra, f. 50v.³¹⁹ Two more unattributed manuscript copies are found in Ha, ff. 148-8v, and Hn, f. 145v. The poem was first printed without attribution in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593 (PN), sigs. N2v-3r. The number of surviving contemporary copies indicates that the poem was popular and circulated widely.

3 **wrackes** injury (*OED* 2a)

8 **smokes** fumes, vapours (*OED* n. 3a)

10 **bod{-}** 'bould' in the other witnesses; Coningsby couldn't read this word in his copy and followed the 'd' with a half-formed letter.

Collations: five texts collated: Ba, Ha, Hn, PN and Ra.

2 my ... Darke] Darke are my Ioyes Ha; I se] is scene Ba Hn

3 In] My Ha PN; wrackes] wreaks Ra; through] by PN

4 hap] hope Ba

5 a] and*; Hart] soule Ba Hn

6 Laugheth] Ioyeth Ha; wepethe] weep the Hn

7 of] for Ba PN Ra

9 ar] be Hn; pathes] pathe Ba Ra; be] is Ba; right] light Ha

10 bod{-}] bould*; &] my Ba Ha Hn Ra

12 Care] rare*

13 dolefull Bell] dolefull clocke Ba Hn, restlesse clocke Ha, ceasles clock Ra; that] which Ba Hn

14 my end] myne ende Ra; happes be] hap is Ba

15 falles] fall Ha Ra; happes] hopes*

16 that] which Ba Hn; have] hath Ha PN

17 seke] trust Ba Ha Hn Ra; none] not*

18 *sub.* You are the starre that rules & guides my state Ha, You are the starr that guydes and rules my fate Ra; have] of Hn; fate] state PN

Subscription: FINIS. Ball.] finis Ha, finis A. H. Ra

³¹⁹ Crum (1969) guesses that the initials stand for Abraham Hartwell the younger (S 421); and Ra's editor Cummings, 'any number of persons at Cambridge, if he was there' (1960: 438).

Hy and PN stand together against the other texts in three markedly variant (but equally acceptable) readings: ‘&’ for ‘my’ (l. 10), ‘Bell’ for ‘clock’ (l. 13), and ‘seke’ for ‘trust’ (l. 17). Ha and Ra have an entirely different closing line (l. 18) that is not found in any other text which suggests that these two texts probably derive from a different tradition of the poem from Hy and PN. Hy has three more errors; the compiler could not decipher the word ‘bould’ (l. 10) in his copy-text and wrote ‘bod’ followed by an undefined character that could be a mark indicating an omission; ‘Care’ (l. 12) should undoubtedly read ‘rare’ (in this case minuscule secretary ‘r’ was read as a ‘c’), and ‘happes’ (l. 15) repeats the word from the previous line and the reading in all other texts ‘hopes’ makes more sense. In line 18, Hy, Ba and Hn read ‘Cesars *fate*’ where PN has the more sensible reading ‘Caesars *state*’; the error was probably derived independently by the respective scribes from a misreading of the ‘st’ ligature as ‘f’.

Ba and Hn are close to the Ha-Ra version of the text but do not have Ha-Ra’s variant line 18, and share four variant readings that suggest they are related texts: ‘is seene’ for ‘I se’ (l. 2), ‘soule’ for ‘Hart’ (l. 5), ‘dolefull clocke’ (l. 13) and ‘which’ for ‘that’ (l. 16).

142

The subscription ‘I. E.’ may refer to John Edmonds, a student of Gray’s Inns who provided the compiler of Hy with copy-texts (see the commentary to **111**) and possibly some of his own compositions: **142** falls into the latter category along with two more poems signed with the same initials written ‘in praise of a mistress’ (**119** and **138**). If Edmonds wrote this unique poem he may have borrowed the idea of dismissing goddesses from their usual abodes from a long narrative poem by Lodowick Lloyd dedicated to Queen Elizabeth and printed in 1573 as *The Pilgrimage of Princes*:

Yelde statly Iuno Samos vp, flee Delos Dian fro,
 Voide princely Pallas Athens now, from Paphos Venus goe.
 Beholde a branche from Brutus line, whose vertuous praise to paint,
 My slender skill, my simple muse to thinke thereof doe faint.

(sig. 3Kr)

Lloyd reworked these lines into a shorter poem of sixty-four lines, ‘Flee stately Juno’, which circulated in manuscript during the last two decades of the sixteenth century and was printed as a broadside ballad, with its own tune, in 1579.³²⁰

- 1 **Samos** See 83.10n.
- 2 **Troy** Venus is linked to Troy in mythic accounts of the Trojan War and the Judgment of Paris (see 138.5n.).
- 3 **Diana ... Delphes** As Cooper notes, Delphes is a ‘citie ... in Greece, where was the oracle of Apollo’; Diana is sister to Apollo but this goddess is more usually linked with Delos, the island of her birth, as in Lloyd’s poem above.
- 4 **Iudith** presumably the name of the speaker’s mistress
- 7 **Hellen to Paris** See 27.28n.; **pereles pere** cf. 111.10 ‘nere thy peere’ and 119.12 ‘none her Peere’
- 8 **Venus to mars** The affair between Mars and Venus is told in *The Odyssey* (8.266-366);
- 9 **Mynerva** ‘The goddess of wisdom and all good artes & sciences ... called also Pallas’ (Cooper)
- 10 **Medea ... Iasons** ‘Medea ... A notable sorceresse, daughter of Kynge Oeta by his wife Hypsea. She intertained the adventurous Jason commyng to Colchos to wyn the golden fleese’ (Cooper).

143a-b

The initials ‘I E’ may refer to the same donor of copy-texts (John Edmonds) identified in 111. Edmonds may have provided the Latin epigram together with his own translation; he provided another Latin verse with English translation earlier in the collection (139a-b). The Latin lines are by Walter Haddon (d. 1571) and were first printed in 1567 in *G. Haddon ... Lucubrationes* (the *Poemata* has separate title page),

³²⁰ See Harper 2005: 202. There are no surviving copies of the ballad but there is an entry in the Stationers’ Register on 13 August 1579 to ‘Richard Jones ... for printinge a ballat of brittishe Sidanen applied by a courtier to ye praise of ye Quene’. A manuscript copy with a similar title, ‘A Dittie to the Tune of welshe Sydanen, made to the Queenes maj. Eliz by Lodov. Lloyd’ provides one of the earliest contemporary manuscript texts of the ballad: ‘Flee stately Juno Samos fro, from Delos straight Diana go; / Minerva Athens must forsake, Sidanen Queen your seat must take’ (Folger, MS V.a.198, ff. 19v-20r).

entitled ‘In quendam nobilem foeminam’ [‘To a certain noble woman’] (H), sig. M1r.³²¹ Timothy Kendall translated the poem, entitled ‘A noble dame: *I hide her name*’, together with thirteen more of Haddon’s poems (‘Ovt of the poemes of M. Gvalter Haddon’), in the *Flowers of Epigrammes*, 1577, sig. M4v:

For visage thou art Venus right:
Pallas for flowing braine:
To finger fine the Harp or Lute
Apollo thou dost staine.
Mercurius rules thy filed speache,
thy manners Cynthia chaste:
O gallant goddesse: Iuno meet
with Ioue for to be plast.

The Latin poem was later included in Gabriel Harvey’s *Gratulationes Valdinenses*, 1578 (G), sig. A1v, a volume of Latin and Greek poems that Harvey had presented (in manuscript) to the Queen, during her visit to Audley End in Essex.³²² There is another copy of Haddon’s Latin verse followed by an English version, in a manuscript in the hand of William More of Loseley (d. 1600), CUL, MS Ff.5.14 (Ff), f. 1v. The prominent name in the signature to a Latin poem on the first page of the manuscript ‘tuus harbertus Westfalingus’ led a later owner to identify the volume as belonging to Herbert Westfaling (d. 1602), heading a manuscript index of the contents, ‘Westfalingus miscelany of sundry matters’. Another verse in the manuscript headed ‘Willmo Moro’ and subscribed ‘Tui studiosissimus Harbartus Westfalingus’ makes it clear that both poems by Westfaling were written for the owner of the manuscript. The initials and abbreviated form of name of William More appear numerous times in the manuscript (‘More’ f. 12v; ‘W.M.’ 2v, 4v; ‘W More’ f. 110r); and on folio 80r, a poem is headed ‘Mr Rogere Goad to Sir Wyllm More’. Roger Goad (Provost of King’s College Cambridge) had previously (in 1569) dedicated a manuscript ‘Treatise on the

³²¹ Lees (1967: 153) prints the poem from this edition; the poem was reprinted without variation in *Poematum Gualteri Haddoni ... Libri duo*, 1576, sig. G8v. In both editions it is preceded by a poem written to Princess Elizabeth when she was imprisoned in the Tower from March 18-May 19 1554 (‘Carmen consolatorium in rebus afflictis S. Principis Elisabethæ’); a following epigram is addressed to the same individual (‘In eandem’), and there is a possibility that both epigrams were addressed to the Queen.

³²² A number of epigrams added to the printed volume were not written specifically for the entertainments at Audley End (Stern 1979: 41).

Lord's Supper' to William More (Surrey History Centre, LM/1085/3). A connection can also be established between Westfaling and More from a letter dated 26 June 1570 from Westfaling, then Vice-Chancellor of the University of Oxford, to William More, at Loseley, assuring More that 'he will give every help to his son in Oxford' (Surrey History Centre, 6729/7/23). An English version in rhyming fourteeners couplets is copied directly beneath the Latin lines and could have been composed by More:

The goods of all the gods be of one mortall wyght posseste
 for here I se excell theym all in that they passe the reste
 For bewtye Venus, for wysdom Pallas may cum behynde
 And how to matche here fyngers feate Apollo cannot fynde
 For well and symelye framede spech, thow mercury, gyue place
 No greater prayse, thow chaste Diane, for chaste lyf dydest purchase
 O goddesse worthy of a god to be the onelye <god> make
 O Iuno meete of Iupiter to be for wyf itake./

- 4 **Dea ... Deo** This phrase is borrowed in the banderole to a portrait of Queen Elizabeth, added as frontispiece to *Regina Fortunata*, a manuscript Latin prose treatise written and dedicated to the Queen by Henry Howard, earl of Northampton (BL, Egerton MS 944, f. 1v). The manuscript is dated variously to c. 1576 and c. 1580 (see Di Matteo 1992: 68, fn. 60). The banderole also contains a line from Aeneas' speech to his mother, 'O quam te memorem viro'. Haddon probably found inspiration for his poem from the same passage in Virgil's *Aeneid* 1.327-8, 'o—quam te memorem, virgo? namque haud tibi vultus / mortalis, nec vox hominem sonat; o dea certe!' ['but by what name should I call you maiden? for your face is not mortal nor has your voice a human ring; O goddess surely!']; see also Thenot's and Hobbinol's 'Embleme' and E.K.'s gloss, in Spenser's 'Aprill' eclogue of *The Shepheardes Calender* for the same passage in the *Aeneid* directed towards the Queen.

Collations: three Latin texts collated: Ff, G and H.

Title om.] Gualteri Haddoni Epigramma G, In quendam nobilem foeminam H
 2 Presidet] praesidet*; digitis] digitos*; clarus] pulcher Ff

The signature ‘Ball.’ is probably a generic marker, an abbreviation for ‘ballet’ (see **Introduction** pp. 70-72). Two contemporary manuscript texts contain conflicting authorship attributions. The poem is attributed to Edward Dyer (signed ‘E Dier’) in Ra, ff. 19r-v, and it is tentatively given to the Earl of Oxford in a truncated copy (lacking stanzas six and eight), headed ‘A sonet said to bee fyrst written by the L Ver’, Harvard University, fMS Eng 1015 (Ho1), f. 14v.³²³ Additional unattributed copies are found in: Inner Temple, Petyt MS 538.10 (Pt), f. 3v (headed ‘In praise of a contented minde’), a manuscript notebook dated to the 1590s, BL, Sloane MS 2497 (S4), f. 27v; and three copies dated to the early seventeenth century: BL, Add. MS 15225 (A25), ff. 43r-v, Folger, MS V.a.399 (V39), f. 12r, and Texas Tech Univeristy, Lubbock, PR 1171 D14 (D1), ff. 9r-v.³²⁴

The poem was first published (lacking stanzas five and seven) in a musical setting in William Byrd’s *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs*, 1588 (Bd), sig. D2v.³²⁵ It also appeared much later with music (this time lacking stanzas three and six) in Thomas D’Urfey’s, *Wit and Mirth: or, Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 1719-20 (U), 4.88. Early in the seventeenth century the poem was merged with song xi ‘Ioy in no earthly blisse’ from Byrd’s *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs* and printed as a broadside ballad.³²⁶

Sargent notes a possible influence in Seneca’s *Thyestes*, ‘And poore estate the sweetenes feeles, / of rest and quyet lyfe. / Greate kyngdome is to be content, / without the same to lyue’ (tr. Jasper Heywood, 1560, sig. B8r).³²⁷ Poems commending the mean estate or golden mean have classical precedents in Martial (*Epigrammata* 10.47) and Horace (*Odes* 2.3, 2.10; *Epistles* 1.10); and contemporary analogues include

³²³ Sargent places **144** in Dyer’s canon (1968: 200-1); May places it among the ‘Poems possibly by Oxford’, no. II (1980: 39-40). The case for Oxford’s authorship is presented in May 1975a: 385-94. May dates the transcription of the Harvard copy to June 1581 (387).

³²⁴ Pt serves as copy-text in May 1980: 39-40.

³²⁵ The following manuscript songbooks from the early seventeenth century reproduce William Byrd’s setting of **144**: Christ Church, Oxford, MS Mus. 984, Song 118 (Songbook of Robert Dow); Christ Church, Oxford, MS Mus. 439, p. 102; BL, Egerton MS 2009, f. 55v-6r; Bod. MS Mus. Sch. e.423, p. 48; and BL, Add. MS 31992, f. 13v (incipit only with lute notation).

³²⁶ May points out that ‘there is no evidence for such a merger before the seventeenth century’ (1975: 390). Pepys Ballad 1.339 (c. 1624) is the earliest extant copy of the printed ballad (see Rollins 1929: 1.225-31).

³²⁷ Sargent 1968: 217-18.

Surrey's 'Martiall, the thinges that do attayn' and 'Of thy lyfe, Thomas, this compasse well mark' (Rollins 1965, nos. 27 and 28), Vaux's 'When all is doen and said' entitled in *The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises* 'Of a contented mynde' (1576, sig. K4v); and Nicholas Bacon's 'Agayste a mynde not contented' which begins, 'Nothings in earthe soe good I fynde / As in a mann a contented mynde'.³²⁸

The numerous imitations, adaptations and new musical settings attest to the extraordinary contemporary and enduring popularity of the poem.³²⁹

- 1 **My ... is** proverbial, 'A mind content is a kingdom (crown)' Dent C623. Cf. 'Mens regnum bona possidet' ['A good mind possesses a kingdom' (Seneca's *Thyestes* 2.380). Heywood (1560) translates this line as 'it is the mynde that onely makes a kyng' (sig. B5r).
- 2 **by kind** by nature, naturally (*OED* *n.* 4b)
- 3 **want** lack (*OED* *v.* 1a)
- 10 proverbial, 'The higher standing (up) the lower (greater) fall' (Dent S823)
- 13 **stay** support (*OED* *stay n.*² b)
- 18 **pore ... store** Cf. Edmund Elviden's 'Of the contented state' in *The Closet of Counsells*, 1569 (sigs. B4v-5r):

Some men are ryche whych nothyng haue
And some again are pore
Which haue great riches thus the least
haue moste, and moste, least store.
- 22 **on** one
- 23 **feare no foe** proverbial, 'They that have nothing need fear to lose nothing' (Dent N331)

Collations: nine texts collated: A25, Bd, D1, Ho1, Pt, Ra, S4, U and V39.

³²⁸ Daniel 1919: 9.

³²⁹ Apart from the setting by William Byrd two more unrelated musical settings survive in manuscripts dated to the early seventeenth century; BL, Add. MS 15118, f. 3v includes the first three lines of the poem; and BL, Add. MSS 17792-6 contains an imitation borrowing the opening line set as a consort song (the text is printed in the altus part-book: BL, Add. MS 17793, f. 66v; printed as no. 34 in Brett 1967: 59-60). Rollins (1929: 1.226-228) cites contemporary allusions by Thomas Deloney (1597), Robert Greene (1591), Nicholas Breton (1618), John Davies of Hereford, (c. 1610); and references to it as a song by Ben Jonson (1599) and John Taylor (1621). Josuah Sylvester wrote a parody of the poem, which was set to music in Orlando Gibbons' *First Set of Madrigals and Mottets* (1612, Songs 3-6).

May (1975: 390-394) discusses all these texts but does not show the collations.

Title: om.] A sonet said to bee fyrst written by the L Ver. Ho1, In praise of a contented minde Pt, True Content U

1 perfect] preasente Ra; Ioy] Ioyes Ho1 V39 U

2 excels] excedes A25 S4; which] that A25 D1 Ho1 Pt Ra S4 V39, The U; world ... kind] God or Nature hath assign'd Bd, euer fantsie found in kinde Ho1, nature yeildes or comes by kinde D1, worlde affordes or comes by kinde V39

3 which] that A25 Bd D1 Ho1 S4 V39 U; nothings] most men A25 Pt, most wolde Bd D1 Ho1 Ra S4 V39 U

4 to] me V39

5 pomp] port Bd; no] nor Bd; welthy] wealth noe A25, welthe I V39; the] a Bd D1 Ho1

6 wily] cunning U; witt] head D1, will Ho1; no] or V39; feed] winne Bd Ho1, please D1; a loving] eche gazinge Pt, a wanton D1 V39

7 these] those Ho1; I yeld as] am I in U

8 why?] still S4; doth serve for] despise them Bd, to me is U

9 how] that A25 Bd Ho1 S4 V39; surfetes] suffers Pt Ra, suffereth S4; &] howe Pt; soone do] sonest A25 Bd D1 Ho1

10 those] svche Bd Ho1; which] as Bd Ho1, that D1 Pt S4; ar] sitt D1 S4 V39

11 They get] these get Bd; they] & A25 Bd D1 V39

12 Cares] care V39; Could] can Bd Ho1, shall D1

13 Content ... stay] I doo no more then well I maye Bd Ho1; Content I Live, which is my stay A25 S4 V39, Content I Live, with this my stay U; Content & Live, with any stay D1; seke] wish A25 Bd Ho1 U

14 prease] seeke A25; hawty] loftie V39, mighty U; for] loke*; lack] want A25 Bd V39 U; supplies] supprise V39

15 Lo thus] thus do A25, so that Ho1, Loe how S4

16 *sub.* my mind content with any thing Bd, with minde content with any thinge Ho1; my] the V39

17-20 *om.* Bd

17 yet ... Crave] and yet do want U, yet still they craue V39; yet] and Pt Ra S4, but U; seke] wish U

18 though ... have] for much they want U

19 beg] aske Ho1

20 leave] lend V39

21-24 *om.* Ho1

21 I] nor Bd S4

22 waves] toyes A25, cares D1, wealth V39; my ... remayne] I brooke that is an others bane Bd D1 S4, I brooke not thats an others bane V39

23 I fawne no] I force noe A25 D1 V39, nor fawne on Bd S4, nor fawninge Pt

24 & ... no] nor ... noe A25, nor ... my Bd Pt Ra, nor ... not S4, no ... noe D1 V39

25-28 *om.* Bd

25 plesure] pleasures V39; wisdom] reason Ho1; rage] edge D1

26 *sub.* Such in there pleasur put there trvst and crabbed chraft they covupt their skill Ho1; cloaked] crooked U; store] School U; &] A Ra

27 pleasure] treasure D1; that I find] I can find U

28 Is ... a] is to content D1, is a contented V39, Is the Content of U

29-32 *om.* Ho1

29 welth is helth] health is welthe V39 U; perfect] quyett D1; my] a V39 U; cleare] clean U; chief] choyse Ra

30 neither] neuer Bd, do not U; nor] or V39; desert] desertes D1 V39, Deceit U; breed] giue Bd D1 S4 U, gaine V39

31 thus will I] thus would I A25, and hope to S4

32 so] see A25, *om.* U

Subscription: FINIS / BALL.] finis A25 Bd D1 Pt V39, Finis. E Dier Ra

Hy is not related to any other text; one unique reading ‘nothinge’ (l. 3) where seven texts read ‘most wolde’ and two have ‘most men’ is an evident error, since it reiterates the ‘want’ (i.e. lack) in the first half of the line. A similar but corrupted text served as copy-text for Ho1 and Bd. Ho1 shares a number of readings with Bd against all the other texts: ‘winne’ for ‘feed’ (l. 6), ‘svche’ for ‘those’, and ‘as’ for ‘which/that’ (l. 10), and ‘can’ for ‘Could’ (l. 12). Ho1 and Bd are the only texts to reverse the order of lines 13-14 and they share the same two replacement lines (ll. 13 and 16). In line 2, Ho1 and Bd contain different variant versions, and this suggests that both scribes were faced with an illegible or corrupted line. The conclusion that these variant lines derive from corruptions in the copy-text is supported by Ho1’s garbled version of line 26. Ho1 and Bd both have missing lines (but not the same ones), and this suggests that the common ancestor for these two texts (separated by some 7 years) contained all eight stanzas

The final two lines of this unique lyric are taken from the narrative poem *The Court of Love*, a parodic treatment of the medieval love allegory, first printed amongst the spurious additions made by John Stow to the 1561 edition of Chaucer's works.³³⁰ Poem **145** also incorporates a number of motifs from the medieval love allegory (the service to Venus (rejection of Diana), the month of May, a dream sequence and subsequent visit to Venus's or Love's Court), and is replete with archaisms ('Longe to' l. 2, 'for ay' l. 3, 'rowte' l. 6, 'erste' l. 11, 'featly' l. 27 and 'Curteous Leache' l. 31). But the wry treatment of the conventions of the courtly love genre serves primarily as a vehicle for sexual innuendo and double-entendre. The 'Cure' (l. 30) offered to the sexually frustrated female speaker, like the ever-popular bawdy poems on the 'green-sickness', are the erotic fantasies of their male authors. But as Moulton points out, erotic poetry circulating in manuscript played a role in shaping early modern attitudes towards sex and gender identity: 'in these texts, lustful desires are by no means confined to men'.³³¹

2 **Longe** belong (OED v.² 1a)

3 **for ay** for ever (OED ay, adv. 3)

4 **Dianaes** 'for hir chaste lyfe was honored of the Paynims for a goddess' (Cooper); **awe** power, influence (OED awe, n.¹ 5)

5 Cf. 'To Loves Courte ... As sone as Nature maketh you so sage' (*The Court of Love* ll. 179-180).

6 **rowte** retinue, train (OED rout, n.¹ 1d)

7 **by kynde** naturally (OED kind, n. 4b)

11-12 Cf. 'That goddes chaste I kepen in no wise / To serue; a figge for all her chastite / Her law is for Religiousite' (*The Court of Love* ll. 684-686).

11 **erste** formerly (OED, adv. B5a);

18 **wownd** Cf. 'It is a wound that nature gives / the cause few weomen chastly lives' (Rosenbach, MS 1083/15, f. 38r; cited in Moulton 2000: 49).

20 Cf. Nor any drugge of Phisickes Arte, / Can ease the grief, that gripes my harte (4.24-25).

³³⁰ For the evidence that the poem 'belongs to the sixteenth century', see Skeat 1897: lxxii. For a recent edition of *The Court of Love* see Forni 2005: 7-57 (references in the notes are from this edition).

³³¹ 2000: 60, 45.

- 22-23 **Venus ... Courte** The court of Venus or Love was a well-established motif of the love allegory of Western Europe.
- 25 **Leache man** a physician (*OED* leech, *n.*¹)
- 27 **featly** deftly, skilfully (*OED* *adv.* 2a)
- 29 **Trickled** Tickled? (*OED* tickle, *v.*¹ 1a)
- 32 **Tente** a probe; a roll of soft absorbent material ... used to search and cleanse a wound, or to keep it open (*OED* tent, *n.*³ 2); here with obvious bawdy connotations; cf. Nashe's 'Choice of Valentines' (c. 1592) describing a dildo: 'He is my Mistris page at euerie stound, / And soon will tent a deepe intrenched wound' (NAL, MS Dyce 44, f. 298r).
- 35 **amayne** exceedingly, greatly (*OED* amain, *adv.* 3)
- 45 **make** mate (*OED* *n.*¹)
- 47-48 **Beastes ... Man** Cf. 'By loues bond is knit all thing, iwis, / Best unto best, the erth to water wanne, / Birde unto bird, and woman unto man' (*The Court of Love* ll. 593-5).

146

This entry is Philip Sidney's OA 3. In the prose romance Mopsa is the daughter of Dametas (the loutish herdsman, chosen by Duke Basilius as the caretaker of his elder daughter Pamela), and 'unfit company for so excellent a creature'.³³² The ironic verse describing Mopsa's 'perfections' is introduced in the *Old Arcadia* as composed by 'Alethes, an honest man of that time', and in the *New Arcadia* as written by 'a pleasant fellow of my acquaintance'.³³³ Sidney uses the *topos* of the 'blason' for descriptive praise of a beautiful woman elsewhere (OA 62, AS 9) but the tradition of the 'contreblason' of ironic praise for the ugly woman was also a well-established trope.³³⁴ Francesco Berni's sonnet 'Chiome d'argento' seems to have been a model.³³⁵ Sidney copies Berni in attaching the right qualities to the wrong body parts; for example, in sincere encomia hair is compared to gold (cf. OA 62.3 'Her haire fine threeds of finest Gould') whereas Berni's beloved has 'a beautiful face of gold' and Mopsa has 'skin like

³³² Robertson 1973: 9.

³³³ Ibid.: 30; *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, 1590, sig. C4v.

³³⁴ Ringler (1962: 384, 410) cites examples; see also Betella 2005.

³³⁵ Lemmi 1927: 78-9.

burnisht gold’; the usual comparison of teeth to pearl (cf. OA 62.42 ‘Of pretious pearle the double rowe’) has its counterpart in Berni’s ‘Shimmering eyes of pearl’ and Sidney’s ‘Her twinkling eies bedeckt with pearle’.³³⁶

The poem survives in nine *Old Arcadia* manuscript texts: As, ff. 9v-10r, Bo, ff. 17r-v, Cl, f. 15r, Da, f. 14v, Hm, f. 11v, Je, p. 22, Ph, f. 15r-v, Qu, f. 9v and St, f. 17r; and there is a copy in Henry Lee’s collection of poems from the *Old Arcadia*, Le, f. 1r. It is also found in the only extant manuscript of the *New Arcadia*, Cm, f. 9r, and was first printed in 1590 in *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (90), sig. C4v. The poem was copied into manuscript verse collections during Sidney’s lifetime in: Ot, f. 3v, Dd, f. 37v and Ha, f. 145v. Three more copies contain derivative texts, but show the continued interest in the poem among compilers of verse miscellanies: headed ‘Mopsa’ in Bod., MS Rawl. poet. 142 (R42), f. 26v, with the title ‘The description of an handsome mayd’ in BL, Add. MS 22118 (A10), f. 3v, and headed ‘The Praises of Mopsa daughter to Dametas’ in Leeds University Library, Brotherton Collection, MS Lt. 2 (Bn), f. 7r rev. In 1600, Robert Allott printed the poem in his *Englands Parnassus* (EP), sig. 2E2r.³³⁷

Later allusions and imitations attest to the continued popularity of the poem well into the seventeenth century. Mopsa is a stock character in late seventeenth-century comedy and burlesque, becoming a byword for an ugly or uncouth female (‘an ugly Mopsa’ in John Harington, *A New Discourse of a Stale Subject*, 1596, sig. B4v; and ‘this Turkish Mopsa’ in *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, 1613, sig. 2A4v). A poem entitled ‘Description of three Beauties’ in John Mennes’ *Musarum Deliciae* (1655) takes the motif of the contreblason to comic excess:

Mopsa, even Mopsa, prety Mouse,
Best piece of Wainscot in the House;
Whose Saffron Teeth, and Lips of Leeks,

³³⁶ The English translation of Berni’s sonnet is taken from Betella 2005: 116. John Donne, in a poem ‘in praise of ugliness’ (‘The Anagram’), takes the conceit a step further: ‘Though all her parts be not in th’usuall place / She’hath yet an Anagram of a good face’ (ll. 15-16; Gardner 1965: 21, 138).

³³⁷ A10, Bn, R42 and EP share four variant readings (‘steales [‘has’ R42] god’ for ‘borowes’ l. 8, ‘like’ for ‘pure’ l. 11, and ‘her’ for ‘those’ l. 13) that are only present in the *New Arcadia* texts (Cm and 90)—whose numerous agreements together against the *Old Arcadia* manuscripts indicate a common original (Ringler, 371)—and were almost certainly copied from a printed edition of the *Arcadia*.

Whose Corall Nose, and Parchment Cheeks;
 Whose Past-board forehead, eyes of Ferret;
 Breast of brown Paper, Neck of Caret.

(sigs. B7r-C1r)

In *Wit Restor'd* (1658) Mennes returned to the same theme, this time acknowledging the borrowing from Sidney's poem, 'In imitation of Sir Philip Sydnie's Encomium of Mopsa' (sigs. F6v-7v).

- 1 **What length of Verse** In this heavily ironic opening line, Sidney claims the long-lined poulter's measure as a suitable vehicle to express Mopsa's 'qualities'. Ringler notes that Sidney considered the verse form 'awkward and old fashioned' (1962: 382); **brave** see 111.2n.; but used ironically here; **Mopsaes** Ringler suggests that the name Mopsa was 'probably from Mopsus, a shepherd in Virgil's *Eclogues*' (384). McPherson comments on 'the inappropriateness of Mopsa's character to the Virgilian pastoral world' and argues that Sidney 'is making a kind of pun' on the Dutch word 'mops' literally 'pug dog' and, by extension, 'country lout' (1968: 428, 420).
- 2 **straunge** uncommon, rare, exceptional (*OED* 8), here with heavily ironic undertones
- 3 **hardly** severely (*OED* 4)
- 5 **Saturne** is ugly, **Venus** is wanton.
- 6 **Pan** has horns in his forehead, a long beard and rough lower body (Cooper, 1565); **Iuno** is wrathful and **Iris**, the goddess associated with the rainbow, whose colours alternate, is not 'faste' (i.e. firm *OED* fast, *adj.* 1). 'Faste' is also a variant spelling of 'faced' (*adj.*¹ *OED*) and Ringler thought that 'Iris' must have been an error for 'Isis' who is 'faced' like a cow but as Robertson points out all witnesses read 'Iris' and 'faste' meaning 'steadfast' offers the appropriate level of irony (1973: 424).
- 7 **Cupid ... foresees** Cupid is blind; **goes ... pace** Vulcan is lame.
- 8 **Momus** 'The carpynge God of reprehension' (Cooper)
- 11 **Crapall stone** a precious stone formerly believed to be produced in the head of the toad (crapaud, *n.* 2 *OED*); 'described in the bestiaries, generally as tortoiseshell in colouring, occasionally green' (Robertson 1973: 424)

12 **silver Oare vntryde** Unsmelted silver ore is black.

13-14 Ringler (1962: 384) quotes the contemporary annotations made by W. Blount in his copy of *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia*, 1593 (now in the Folger Library), which link Sidney's couplet to a passage in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* (1.502) where Apollo is gazing upon Daphne: 'si qua latent meliora putat' ['If anything else lay hidden he thinks it better']. The same passage is rendered by Golding: 'And sure he thought such other parts as garments then did hide / Excelled greatly al the rest the which he had espied'. Cf. also Tasso's 'Sopra la bellezza' (Rime, no. xxxvii) 'the teeth of ebony and the eyes silvery; and may what appears and what is hidden correspond to these excellencies' (quoted in Gardner 1965: 138).

Collations: fifteen texts collated: As, Bo, Cl, Cm, Da, Dd, Ha, Hm, Je, Ph, Le, Ot, Qu, St and 90. Ringler (1962: 12) collates all the texts (except Hm, Ot) recording variants occurring in two or more substantive texts. My collations show all substantive variants.

1 may serve] can serve*; Mopsaes] Mopsus EP Je; grace] *above the line* Je; good Bo Cl Cm Da Dd Ha Hm Je Le Ot Ph, Qu, St, 90

2 Vertues] vertue Ha Je; vertue] beauties As Cl Cm Da Dd Hm Le Ot Ph Qu St 90, beuty Bo Ha Je; such] rare As Ha; as ... them] ar such as none may As, as no man them may Bo Cl Cm Da Hm Je Ot Ph Qu St 90

3 Thus] This Qu; hardly] shrewdly Bo Cl Cm Dd Ha hm Je Le Ot Ph Qu St 90, shrewned As, shrewly Da; burdned] burned Hm Qu

4 serve] helpe Ha

5-14 *om.* Je

5 Dame] faire*

6 as Iuno] a Iuno Dd St; milde, as] myld lyke As Bo Cl Cm Da Dd Ha Hm Le Ph Qu St 90; faste] gracst All

7 &] she As; God] good Qu

8 thes] those Ph; borowes] steales god Cm 90

9 Forehead Iacyncte like] Her haire like Ruby Redd Ph; lyppes] cheekes As Bo Cl Cm Da Dd Ha Hm Ot Qu St 90, cheek Le Ph

10 eyes] eye Da; of] as Cm Ph 90

11 Her ... stone] Her haire like crapall stone Cm 90, hir haire pure grappacsston As, Her heare of crapall stone Hm, her haire pure Caprall stone Ot, Her heare of trapall stone Qu, Her hair pure trappall stone Dd, her breathe of mightie strengthe Ph; oh] a As

12 handes ... vntryde] hand lyk sylver vre vntryed As Ph, hands like siluer vntried Bo Dd St

13 those] her Cm 90, theis As, Da, the Le; vnseene] vnknowne*

14 Happy are] Happy be As Bo Cl Cm Da Hm Qu St 90, Full well be Ha; they] those Dd; that] which As Bo Cl Cm Da Dd Hm Le Ph Qu St 90; will] well Cl Cm Da Hm Le Ph Qu 90, all Ha; beleve] beleuees Ha; see] seeke As Bo Cl Cm Da Dd Hm Le Qu St 90, sees Ha, seeks Ph

*Subscription: FINIS. Sir Phyll Sydney] om.**

Hy is not directly related to any of the other texts. The copy contains two errors; in line 2 'vertue' should probably read 'beauties' the reading in the majority of the witnesses (the remainder have 'beautie'); and in line 9 the reading 'lyppes' is a scribal error caused by eye-skip (the word occurs in a similar position in the following line) and should certainly read 'cheekes'. Hy also contains four unique readings that are not obvious errors (where all other texts agree on the same variant reading): 'may' for 'can' (l. 1), 'hardly' for 'shrewdly' (l. 3), 'Dame' for 'faire' (l. 5), and 'vnseene' for 'vnknowne' (l. 13). In line 1, Hy's variant 'grace' for 'good' is not an obvious error and the reading is also found in two *Old Arcadia* manuscripts: As and Je. In Je the scribe first copied 'good' and then inserted a caret and wrote 'grace' above but did not delete the original reading making it uncertain which reading is to be preferred. The reading 'grace' in the opening line, supported by three independent witnesses, could be authorial rather than a scribal error. Perhaps Sidney revised this reading to avoid the repetition of 'grace' in line 9. A similar argument could be made for Hy's unique reading 'may' (l. 1) where the alternative reading 'can' avoids repetition in the following line.

A few other Hy variants present in other texts could have been derived independently by the copyists and do not necessarily indicate a relationship between any of the texts ('may them' for 'them may' l. 2; and 'are' for 'be', 'will' for 'well' l. 14). An important collection of Sidney poems (Ot) was not known to Ringler and is collated here for the first time against the extant witnesses. Ot is free of definitive error (excepting 'caprall' for 'crapall' in l. 11); and in two readings stands with Hy against all

the other texts: ‘as’ for ‘lyke’ (l. 6) and ‘see’ for ‘seeke’ (l. 14; Ha reads ‘sees’; in line 14, where texts diverge in four separate readings, in each instance Ot follows Hy).

There is some agreement in error between the remaining texts; in line 3, Hm and Qu both have the reading ‘burned’ (Hm-Qu also agree on the variant reading ‘of’ l. 11); in line 6, Dd and St agree on ‘a Juno’; in line 12, Bo, Dd and St omit the word ‘ore’; and in line 13, As and Da both commit (perhaps independently) the same error, reading ‘these’ for ‘those’. In Ph lines 9 and 11 are partly rewritten and are probably the result of scribal interpolation; Ringler (1962: 527) and Robertson (1973: liii) agree that the numerous additions and substitutions found in Ph are the result ‘of scribal inventiveness’.

Head-note to **147-150**

Entries **147-150** comprise four separate poems by Thomas Watson (1555/6-1592) copied as one continuous piece, untitled and unsigned. All four poems were printed in Watson’s *The Hekatompathia or Passionate Centurie of Loue* in 1582 and come from the second part of the printed volume composed on the theme of ‘my love is paste’.³³⁸ The imprint in *The Hekatompathia* is undated but is generally thought to have appeared in the year of its entry into the Stationers’ Register, March 31, 1582.³³⁹ In the printed edition Watson introduces each poem with an explanatory head-note on a point of subject matter or technique, or citing his sources and influences.³⁴⁰ Watson refers to his eighteen-line poems as sonnets, and the absence of stanzaic delineation and the regular employment of a concluding couplet give them a ‘sonnet-like’ feel. They were an influential stage in the evolution of the English sonnet; and as the first amatory sequence in a set metrical form they are regarded as England’s first proto-sonnet cycle.³⁴¹

³³⁸ Watson explains this division of the work into two parts on the title page of the printed edition: ‘whereof, the first expresseth the Authours sufferance in Loue: the latter, his long farewell to Loue and all his tyrannie’.

³³⁹ The Register preserves an early title before Watson hit on the idea of a cycle of one hundred poems: ‘Watson’s passions manifestinge the true frenzy of love’.

³⁴⁰ Watson was following a continental vogue for annotating sonnets; Heninger (1964: ix-x) cites Dante’s *Vita Nuova*, Parabosco’s *Lettere Amoroze*, and George Gascoigne.

³⁴¹ Sutton 1996: 1.134. Anne Lok’s *A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner* (1560) was the first non-amatory English sonnet cycle.

The Hekatompathia was dedicated to the Earl of Oxford, who had seen the work in manuscript before publication ('had willinglie vouchsafed the acceptance of this worke, and at conuenient leisures fauourable perused it, being as yet but in written hand').³⁴² A partial copy of *The Hekatompathia* containing seventy-eight of the 'passions' exists in manuscript entitled: 'A Looking glase for Loouers' (BL, Harl. MS 3277). It probably antedates mid-summer 1581 since the printed edition refers to Watson's *Antigone* 'lately translated into Latine, and published in print' (registered on 31 July 1581) whereas the manuscript does not (cf. no. LXXIX). Ruled margins and careful execution identify 'A Looking glase for Loouers' as a presentation copy. It could have been one of the copies that Watson showed to his friends who subsequently encouraged him to publish ('published at the request of certaine Gentlemen his very frendes').³⁴³ The commendatory letter by John Lyly 'to the Authour his friend' and poems by George Buck, Thomas Acheley, Matthew Roydon and George Peele preserve a flavour of Watson's milieu of former acquaintances from Oxford University, members of the Inns of Court and London literati.³⁴⁴

³⁴² From the dedication, 'To the Right Honorable my very good Lord Edward de Vere, Earle of Oxenford'; Watson also mentions in the 'Protrepticon' to his book that he has shown the volume to Oxford: 'Et tamen exhibitum Vero' ('though shown to de Vere').

³⁴³ From the title page. Watson mentions circulating another work in manuscript entitled *De Remedio Amoris*: 'to the good likinge of many that haue seene and perused it' (*Hekatompathia*, sig. A1r).

³⁴⁴ Watson could have known Lyly at Oxford; Buck was at Thavies Inn; Matthew Roydon graduated at Oxford with an M.A. in 1580 and later enrolled at Thavies Inn. Thomas Nashe also linked Roydon and Acheley (Achlow) with Peele in his address 'to the Gentlemen Students of both Uniuersities' in Greene's *Menaphon* (1589): 'there are extant about London, many most able men, to reuiue Poetry ... as namely for example, Mathew Roydon, Thomas Achlow and George Peele' (sig. A2v).

Poem **147** is printed as no. LXXXV in Watson's *The Hekatompathia or Passionate Centurie of Loue*, 1582 (Hk), sig. L3r; the head-note to the poem states that it is 'borrowed out of certeine Latin verses of Strozza a noble man of Italy'. Sutton identifies Titus Vespasian Strozzi's poem 'ad Antonium [from] ... Book II of the *Eroticon* (p. 121 of the 1530 Paris edition)'.³⁴⁵

Another copy is found in BL, Harl. MS 3277 (LG), sig. L3r. Henry Chillester printed a copy entitled 'My love is past' and placed it directly after a line-by line riposte entitled 'My loue shall last' in *Youthe's Witte*, 1581 (YW), sig. S1r. Robert Allott quoted lines 7-17 as Watson's to illustrate the topic of 'Libertie' in the collection of extracts from English poetry *Englands Parnassus*, 1600 (EP), sigs. M3v-4r; and Francis Davison printed a copy with the title 'Aliegray of his Loue to a Ship' in a section headed 'Ten Sonnets by T.W.' appended to the 1608 edition of *A Poetical Rapsody* (Da), sig. D3v.

- 7 **Sweet Liberty** Cf. Petrarch's *Rime* 97 'Ahi bella libertà' ['Ah, sweet liberty']; the phrase is used again by Watson in **150.1**.
- 10-17 Watson is borrowing from Petrarch's *Rime* 189; also echoed in **20.23-30** and **79.17-18**. In the copy printed in *The Hekatompathia* these lines have adjacent quotation marks, drawing attention to the extended metaphor
- 16 **pitched** This usage is not found in *OED* and probably should read 'piked' (spiked) as in the other witnesses.

Collations: five texts collated: Da, EP, Hk, LG and YW.

Title: om.] My Love is past Hk LG YW, Aliegray of his Loue to a Ship Da

1-6 *om.* EP

3 Pylot ... gaine] ship to gayne the porte*

4 from Love Dischargde] discharg'd from Loue Da, to smile, now voide of loue YW

5 Land] loue YW

6 grevesome warres] wars Da, greeuesome warre YW; Toyles] toile YW; stormes] seas YW; betost] worne, tir'd, & tost Da

7 *sub.* But now the brunte is past, I joy to singe YW; now] to vs EP

³⁴⁵ Sutton 1996: 1.263.

8 *sub.* what kinde of sea, what slaues, what ship was there YW
 9 fatall] foolish*; lots] lotte YW
 10 a wave ech] each waue a*
 11 the] were EP Hk LG Da
 12 Oares] voves*; vn merry] a pensiu Da
 13 'was' *corr. to* the] as EP Hk LG, at YW; Hellm] firme All; Boate] Ship Da
 14 Inconstant] And constant Da; and fickle YW
 15 twisted] wished Da; all] rounde YW; about] with doubt*
 16 pitched] piked*
 17 but ... Last] *om.* EP
 18 *om.* EP; Am ... free] Haue gain'd the Port Da
Subscription: om.] W. Watson All, FINIS. T.W. Da

Most of Hy's six unique variant readings are errors: 'a wave ech' (l. 10), 'rowd with Oares' (l. 12), and 'about' (l. 15) should undoubtedly read, 'each waue a', 'rowd with voves', and 'with doubt'. In line 16, 'piked' (i.e. spiked) correctly describes the anchor whereas Hy's 'pitched' is not a usage found in *OED*; 'fatall' for 'foolish' (l. 9) is an indeterminate but more obvious reading; and Hy's 'Pylot porte to gaine' (l. 3) for 'ship to gayne the porte' more sensibly makes 'Pylot' the analogue to 'Souldiour', 'Pillgrim' and 'I' (the lover) rather than 'ship', but the syntax of Hy's version is clumsy and perhaps the line was revised.

EP's variant reading in line 7 (the first line in EP's truncated version) is probably an editorial revision made because the previous lines are missing. Robert Allott placed the poem at the head of a section entitled 'Libertie' and omitted the first stanza so that the extract opened with the line 'Sweete libertie'. Allott also cut the poem mid way through line 17. One other unique EP variant 'firme' for 'Hellm' (l. 13) is a certain error. On two occasions where the texts diverge EP agrees with Hk ('were' l. 11 and 'as' l. 13), suggesting that the 1581 print served as copy-text.

Most of the unique variants in YW are not obvious errors and are likely to be editorial interpolations. YW introduces four minor variants in (ll. 5, 6, 13, and 15) and three radically altered lines (ll. 4, 7 and 8). YW's title 'My loue is paste' indicates that the copy-text came from a manuscript prototype of *The Hekatompathia* (similar to LG) where the poem had been assigned its place in the section identically titled (see head-note to **147-150**). Da has two certain errors: 'And constant' for 'Inconstant' (l. 14) and

‘wished’ for ‘twisted’ l. 15; but variant readings in four more lines (ll. 4, 6, 12, and 13) and the title ‘Allegory of his Loue to a Ship’ are probably editorial interpolations. Da agrees with Hk’s reading ‘were’ in line 11, but in l. 13 diverges from Hk, agreeing with Hy’s reading ‘the’ for ‘as’, making it possible that Davison’s copy-text derived from a manuscript source.

148

Poem **148** is printed as no. LXXXVIII in the *Hekatompathia* (Hk), sig. L2v.

- 1 **Hyppolitus** Watson’s head-note gloss on the poem explains that ‘Hippolitus ... dyed by the false deceit of his Stepmother Phædra, for not yeelding ouer himselfe vnto her incestuous loue’; the story is told in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 15.
- 3 **the** thee
- 4 **Chace** hunting-ground (*OED* chase, *n.*¹ 3)
- 5 **myckle** much (*OED* adj. 1c)
- 9 **raynes** region of the kidneys (the seat of sexual desire) and hence in this context meaning ‘sexual impulses’ (*OED* reins, *n.*)
- 11 **Child** ... **fyre** proverbial (Tilley C297)
- 16 **Love** This should read ‘Ioue’ (the poetical equivalent of Jupiter) as in Hk.

Collations: one text collated: Hk.

- 4 bannyshe] driue blinde
- 8 virgines] virgine
- 9 Chastized] chastned
- 10 shall] can
- 14 about] along
- 16 Love] Ioue
- 18 That] What

The texts are fairly close. Hy makes one error: ‘Love’ should undoubtedly read ‘Ioue’ (l. 16). The few remaining Hy variants are not obvious errors and could be revisions introduced by Watson before the poem appeared in print.

Poem **149** is printed as no. LXXXVII in the *Hekatompathia* (Hk), sig. L4r. Another copy is found in BL, Harl. MS 3277 (LG), f. 39v.

- 1 **made Default** The legal terminology ‘to make default’ can also mean ‘to fail’ (*OED* default, *n.* 3a). Watson is fond of this term; cf. ‘What Diffrence is twixt Vertue & Default’ (**150.8**), and the introduction to Sonnet LXXI ‘...all happening through the default of Loue’ (*Hekatompathia*, sig. l4r)
- 2, 8 **fond** foolish, credulous (*OED* fond, adj. 2)
- 4 **Tyme ... Truthe** proverbial, see **36.3n.**; **boght** gained by a sacrifice (*OED* bought, *adj.* b); proverbial, ‘Bought wit is best’ (Dent W545)
- 7 **beare ... eye** Watson uses this exact expression in **148.13**.
- 9 **Descrye** perceive (*OED* v.¹ 7a)
- 15 **wildest ... sowne** proverbial (Tilley O6)
- 17 **troade awrye** fall into error, go wrong (*OED* awry, *adv.* 2b)
- 18 **belles** Watson is using a metaphor from falconry, alluding to the bells attached to a bird’s leg to aid retrieval.

Collations: two texts collated: Hk and LG.

- 1 Default] a fault Hk LG
- 2 And] Which Hk LG
- 5 although] that now LG
- 6 runnes to far] He runneth farr LG; that] which Hk
- 7 beare] haue Hk LG
- 8 Hid from] Ile scorene Hk LG
- 10 that] what Hk LG
- 13 to yow] all you Hk LG
- 17 since] sure LG

Hy’s six unique readings are not obvious errors and could be authorial. The three unique variants (ll. 5, 6 and 17) in LG (the earlier manuscript prototype of the printed edition) indicate that Watson did revise his poems after this fair copy was transcribed.

Poem **150** is printed as no. LXXXVI in the *Hekatompathia* (Hk), sig. L3v. In the head-note Watson explains where he derived the idea for the poem:

The sense of this Sonnet, for the most part taken out of a letter, which *Aeneas Syluius* wrote vnto his friend, to persuade him, that albeit he lately had published the wanton loue of *Lucretia* and *Euryalus*, yet hee liked nothing lesse then such *fond Loue*; and that he nowe repented him of his owne labour ouer idley bestowed in describing the same.

Sutton identifies this source as Epistle cccxcv.³⁴⁶ Two more manuscript copies are found in BL, Harl. MS 3277 (LG), f. 39r, and Ha, ff. 153v-4r.

- 1 **Sweet Liberty** This phrase is used again by Watson in **147.7**.
- 2 **sets in Vyew** represents, shows (set, v.¹ *OED* 18c)
- 4 **Cryew** crew
- 8 **Default** a fault, a misdeed
- 15, 17 **fond** ... **fonde** foolish, credulous (*OED* fond, adj. 2)
- 10 **Cumber** overthrow; harass, distress (*OED* v. 1a; 2a)
- 15 **Deface** extinguish
- 17 **prove** experience

Collations: three texts collated: Ha, Hk and LG.

- 2 Paynter sets in] painters set to*
- 4 mynd] myndes*
- 6 hyde] t'hyde Hk LG
- 8 'What' *corr. to* the] What*
- 9 Bow] Launce Ha
- 10 fierce] fresh Ha
- 12 a] through*

³⁴⁶ 1996: 1.264.

13 gave] giue*

14 wandringe] wavering Ha, wav'ring Hk LG

The texts are fairly close, and all copies derived from a similar copy-text. Hy introduces two probable errors (ll. 12 and 14) and four more unique readings are minor variants (changes in number of nouns or tense of verbs) that could be scribal error. Hy agrees with Ha in reading 'hyde' for 't'hyde' (l. 6). Ha's two unique readings are both inferior readings (ll. 9 and 10).

151

Two more unattributed copies of the poem are found in Ra, ff. 47r-v, and Ha, ff. 147v-148r. Another contemporary copy with an additional four stanzas is found in BL, Add. MS 34064 (A34), ff. 20v-21v.³⁴⁷ Six lines from the poem (ll. 31-36) were incorporated into a different poem entitled 'Of a wearie life' and printed in *Brittons Bowre of Delights*, 1591 (B), sig. D1r. All four of A34's additional stanzas also occur in 'Of a wearie life' (as stanzas 1, 3-5); and three of these are also to be found in 'A most excellent passion set downe by N. B. Gent.' (stanzas 3, 5-6) printed in *The Phoenix Nest*, 1593, sig. I4v. The wholesale transposing of stanzas between three separate poems, one of which carries an attribution to Nicholas Breton, together with some verbal parallels in Breton's recognized works (see commentary below) provide a strong case for his authorship of poem **151**.³⁴⁸

Lines from the poem are borrowed, without much alteration beyond the shortening of the lines necessitated by the change of verse form (from pentameter to tetrameter), for a poetic interlude in the prose narrative attributed to Christopher Middleton, *The First Part of the Nature of a Woman*, 1596, sigs. F1v-2r:

Some Poets say there is a hill,
Where sittes the Ladies of delight,
Composed of Musicks sacred skill,

³⁴⁷ One of the additional stanzas is placed between verses six and seven; and three appended after the final stanza. For two articles discussing this manuscript, see **124** fn. 282.

³⁴⁸ Robertson (1952: cxiii, fn. 1) notes another instance of Breton rehashing his own work: three stanzas from a poem dedicated to James I in 1605 are 'worked into *The Hate of Treason* without much change'.

And teaches euerie man t'indight.
 Thence doth my minde returne againe, [5]
 For she can find no solemne muse,
 Whose discontented tracet straine,
 Will fit the Antheme she must vse,
 They sing of ioy, and she of woe,
 They of delight, she of vnrest, [10]
 There let their merrie Muses goe.
 Whom fairer dayes haue better blest,
 A sad tuned hart's my instrument,
 Whose strings all out of tune I straine,
 Striking great dumps of discontent. [15]
 Till all be pluckt in two with paine,
 My Musicke is a sorrowes song,
 Where discords sound is smart delight,
 My dittie, life that lastes too long,
 To see desire crost with despite, [20]
 Vnpleasant harmonie God knowes,
 When out of tune is euerie string,
 Bad sounds that all of discord growes,
 And sad the Muse that so must sing
 ...

Middleton knew the poem from a version that circulated in manuscript, borrowing most heavily from stanzas five to seven.

The following seven entries in Hy are in the hand of Robert Allott and it is worth pointing out the connection between Middleton and Allott. Allott wrote a commendatory verse in Latin ('Ad Christopherum Middletonum') for Middleton's *The Legend of Humphrey Duke of Glocester*, 1600, sig. A3r, and John Weever linked their names in an epigram printed in 1599 (see commentary to **155**).

- 1-4 Cf. 'how all the Poets wryte / and how their Muzes, helpe them to endite' (Nicholas Breton, *The Workes of a Young Wyt*, 1577, sig. A4v). Breton is fond of the rhyme 'endyte ... wryte'; cf. 'Sometye I take my penne, and then I

- fall to wryte, / to learne to frame a letter fayre, sometime I doo indite' (*The Workes*, sig. B1r)
- 2 **endyte** compose (*OED* indite, v. 3a).
- 5 **on on** on one
- 8 **Pallas** See 138.1n.; **Parnassus** 'A mountayne in Greece, havyng twoo toppes, under the whiche the nyne muses did inhabite or dwell' (Cooper); cf. Breton's *The Workes*, 1577, sig. B1r:
- And Pallas, shee would send from Pernasse hill,
some learned muze, to helpe me to endite:
In writing to, who so myght guide my quill,
that I myght somewhat like a Poet wryte.
- 9 **forsooth** in truth, truly (*OED* adv. 1a)
- 10 **framde** made (*OED* framed, adj. 2)
- 12 **Pennes** ... **Phoenyx** Cf. 'Pleased it hath a Gentlewoman rare, / With Phenix quill in diamont hand of Art' (Gabriel Harvey, *A New Letter of Notable Contents*, 1593, sig. D3v).
- 18 **my Muse** Breton refers to his melancholic Muse elsewhere: 'Let me intreat that solemne muse that serues but Sorrowes turne, / In ceaselese sighes and endlesse sobs to helpe my soule to mourne' (*Melancholike Humours*, 1600, sig. C1v).
- 19 **Helycon** 'A mountayne in Boeotia, dedicate to the muses' (Cooper)
- 20 **hyght** ordered, commanded (*OED* hight v.¹ 1a)
- 27 **Dump** a mournful or plaintive song (*OED* n.¹ 3)
- 37 **in Some** in sum

Collations: four texts collated: A34, B, Ha and Ra.

1-30 *om.* B

3 of<te>] oft Ha Ra, many A34; these] *om.* A34

4 Only] There are*; at any tyme] that euer us'd*

5 thes] those Ha, hyt] gotten A34

6 tis] it is A34; have *om.* A34

7 Heavenly] certaine A34

8 it] that A34

9 There] where Ha

10 That] which Ha
 11 Devyne Conceytes do] do heavnly causes A34
 12 be of a] are of the Ha, are of a A34
 13 Beleeve me now] But as for me A34
 14 Vnles] Except A34
 15 faire] dame A34
 16 ever] neuer Ha Ra; the] her A34
 17 in hys] after Ha, in her Ra, in such A34
 19 oh no] no no*
 24 Hartes] mynd*
 25 not] and not a Ra
 26 waykened] weakned*
 28 in] a A34
 29 Lo then in] Then in a Ha Ra
 30 Lest] That*; yow] none A34; might] may*
inserted after l. 30 A34
 Who can delight in suche a wofull sounde
 or loues to here a lay of deepe lament
 What note is sweete, when greif is all the grounde
 Descordes can yeld but only discontent
 The wrest is wronge, that strains eche stringe to farre
 and stryfes the stoppes that giue eche stroake a larre
 31-42 *order of stanzas six and seven inverted**
 31 Vnpleasant is] Harsh is (alas) A34 B
 32 almost ... is] out of tune is allmost *
 33 Sorowes] sorrow*
 35 Yet] But A34 B; that els] that but A34, but that B; woe] shame A34 B
 36 I sweare] indede Ha
 37-42 *om. B*
 37 Musicke] musinge A34
 38 Discordes yeld] discord yeldes Ha Ra
 39 thys] is Ha Ra; to] so Ra
 40 thvs] so A34

In lines 3 and 4 the textual evidence suggests that Hy attempted to improve the reading in the copy-text: in line 3 the original reading ‘ofte’ (agreeing with two other witnesses) was altered to ‘of’, and at the start of the following line the scribe began to write a ‘T’ (all other witnesses begin the line with word ‘There’) but changed it to an ‘O’ (and wrote ‘Only’). Hy’s variant line 4 avoids the repetition of ‘vse’ (‘vs’d’). Another slight alteration in the copy-text is made at line 16 where Hy avoids a double negative (for this habit, see **Introduction** p. 73-4). Hy also introduces five errors: the repetition of ‘Hartes’ (l. 24); ‘wakened strynges’ (l. 26) should probably read ‘weakned strings’ (the reading in the other witnesses), having the sense of loose strings in need of tuning (since the instrument is ‘all out of tune’ l. 26); ‘oh no’ (l. 19), repeating ‘oh, no’ from line 18, should probably read ‘no no’ (as in all other texts); the word ‘almost’ (l. 32) is misplaced (‘almost out of tune’) and should read ‘out of tune is almost’ (the reading in all other texts) since the instrument is definitely ‘out of tune’ (l. 26); and ‘Sorowes’ (l. 33) should probably read ‘sorrow’. Finally Hy differs from the other texts (including Middleton’s version which borrows lines consecutively from the poem) in reversing the order of the last two stanzas.

A34’s augmented text contains a high number of variant readings that are not obvious errors (ll. 3, 5, 6-8, 11, 13-15, 17, 28, 30, 37 and 40). The single stanza (ll. 31-36) printed in *Brittons Bowre of Delights* (B) derives from a version of the poem similar to A34 in which some revisions had probably been introduced. B agrees in four readings with A34 against all the other texts: ‘Harsh is (alas)’ for ‘Vnpleasant is’ (l. 31); ‘But’ for ‘Yet’, ‘but’ for ‘els’, and ‘shame’ for ‘woe’ (l. 35). Middleton’s version of line 31 (l. 22 in *The First Part*) agrees with Hy, Ra and Ha reading ‘Vnpleasant’.

Ha and Ra are related texts that agree in error in line 30 (‘That you’ for Hy’s ‘Lest yow’; A34’s ‘that none’) creating a *non sequitur*; the previous line states that the instrument is shut in a case (‘Claps it vp in Case’ l. 29). Three more shared readings against the other texts indicate that Ha-Ra derived from a common original (‘Then in a’ for ‘Lo then in’ l. 29; ‘discord yeldes’ for ‘Discordes yeld’ l. 38; and ‘is’ for ‘thys’ l. 39). Ra introduces two more errors (‘and not a’ for ‘not’ l. 25; ‘so’ for ‘to’ l. 39). Ha introduces only one unique variant (‘indede’ for ‘I sweare’ l. 36).

Head-note to 152-7

These six poems are in the hand of Robert Allott (Hand F). Four of them are claimed by Allott: **152** and **155** are signed ‘R Allott’, **153** ‘RA.’, and **157** ‘Robert Allott’. Poem **154** is marked by Allott as ‘Incerti Authoris’; and a distich (**156**) is unsigned. (For Allott, see **Introduction** pp. 43-5.)

152

This unique poem by Robert Allot is in blank verse (one of only two poems in the manuscript in unrhymed verse; see **100**) except for the couplets closing each of the ten-line stanzas. Allott incorporates some popular rhetorical figures: correlative verse (disseminated members recapitulated in l. 9), *anadiplosis* (ll. 12-13; 14-15), *anaphora* (ll. 17-18), and alliteration (ll. 5, 8, 13-16).

- title **A passion** also conveys the sense of suffering or affliction (*OED* passion, *n.* 3). Thomas Watson refers to his poems as ‘lovepassions’ and ‘passions’ in the preliminaries and the head-note glosses of the *Hekatompathia*, 1582 (‘The Author in this Passion...’ sig. A1r; and *passim*); cf. an anonymous poem headed ‘A passion’ (Ra, ff. 92-92v), and no. **92** headed: ‘In Passione Melancholica’.
- 2 **ruth** pity (*OED* *n.* 1c)
- 4 **successive** successful (*OED* *adj.* 4)
- 6 **shrouded** shaded (*OED* shroud, *n.*¹ 5b); **hardest oaks** for the more usual metaphor, cf. ‘In time small wedges cleaue the hardest Oake’ (Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedie*, 1592, sig. C2v)
- 7 **ribbs of steele** Cf. ‘make way for love through ribs of steele’ (Thomas Campion, *The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres*, 1617, sig. C1v).
- 9 **rue** fall (*OED* rue, *v.* 2)
- 11 **spotted plumes** alluding to the proud demeanour of his mistress (*OED* plume, *n.* 2b.)
- 20 **cold ... heat** For this commonplace of renaissance humoral physiology, see **30.24n.**

There is no reason to doubt Robert Allott's authorship of this unique poem.

8 **holy ... whole** rhetorical figure of *antanaclasis*

This is an English version (of the first four lines) of a Latin poem originally written by Katherine Killigrew as a private communication to her sister Mildred Cecil:

Si michi quem cupio curas Mildreda remitti,
tu bona, tu melior, tu michi sola soror,
Sin male cessando retines, vel trans mare mittes,
tu mala, tu peior, tu mihi nulla soror,
Is si Cornubiam, tibi pax sit et omnia læta.
sin mare, Ciciliae nuncio bella vale./

CUL, MS Ff.5.14, f. 107r

In this intimate exchange, Katherine's threat 'to declare war on Cecil' ('Ciciliae nuncio bella') —William Cecil, later Lord Burghley— if her husband (the diplomat Henry Killigrew) is sent on any more overseas missions, is understood as a joke and reflects the close relationship between the sisters. This does not diminish from the very real and pressing nature of the petition whose success is linked to a favourable reception of the poem among important family members. Killigrew's display of poetic and linguistic competency was evidently admired since the poem disseminated to a wider audience (see below). Sir John Harington later commented that it was a poem 'which I doubt if Cambridge or Oxford can mend'.³⁴⁹

The original Latin lines survive in three Elizabethan manuscript collections. Francis Willoughby made a copy in his notebook, headed 'Mistres: Kelagrey', Somerset Heritage Centre, MS DD/W0/52/2 (DD), f. 1v rev.; an unattributed copy was included (amongst other Latin pieces) in Ma, f. 22v; and William More, of Loseley (d. 1600) copied the Latin lines into his manuscript notebook immediately followed by two

³⁴⁹ *Orlando Furioso*, 1591, sig. 2D4v.

different English versions, endorsed, ‘Theyse versys were wrytten by Mistres Kylligrew to my Lady Cycyll’, CUL, MS Ff.5.14 (Ff), f. 107r.³⁵⁰ Another slightly later copy survives in the hand of William Parkhurst (fl. 1604-67) in the Burley Manuscript (Leicestershire Record Office, DG. 7/Lit.2), ‘a folio volume of state letters, tracts, and verse’ (CELM DG.7/Lit. 2).³⁵¹

The Latin lines first appeared in print in 1591 when Sir John Harington quoted the poem in his commentary to the thirty-seventh book of *Orlando Furioso*. Where Ariosto boasts of one learned woman in Italy, Harington, ‘besides one aboue all comparison’ (i.e. Queen Elizabeth), can name four in one family (‘the ... daughters of Sir Anthonie Cooke’) of which ‘Mistres Killigrew’ is described as ‘the meanest of the foure’. Harington provides a marginal gloss on the poem: ‘She wrate to the Ladie Burlie to send a kinsman of hers into Cornwall, where she dwelt and to stop his going beyond sea’. The reference to ‘Lady Cycyll’ in William More’s copy (Ff) confines the date of composition of the original Latin verse to before 1571 when Mildred Cecil became ‘Lady Burghley’ but no earlier than November 1565 when Katherine married Henry Killigrew.³⁵²

Robert Allott’s English version of the first four lines of Killigrew’s poem copied into Hy reveals nothing about the original context of its composition. It is also clear that Allott did not know who wrote the poem inscribing, ‘*Incerti Authoris*’ in the margin next to the text. The mistake in the first line, ‘thy spouse’ which should read ‘my spouse’, means that in this version the speaker (confusingly) is asking for *her sister’s* husband to be returned to her rather than *her own* husband. The only name to appear in the extract is Mildred but as far as this reader of the poem was concerned that could have been *any* Mildred since the extract does not include the mention of Cecil that would help to make the correct identification. Allott’s response to the enigmatic meaning of this truncated and muddled text of Killigrew’s poem was to write his own pastiche (see 155).

³⁵⁰ See the commentary to 143 for the evidence of More’s ownership of this manuscript previously identified as belonging to Herbert Westfaling (1531/2-1602); printed from this manuscript in Stevenson & Davidson 2001: 63-64. Stevenson & Davidson (540) cite another copy in Corpus Christi College, Oxford, MS 316; and print from Stow’s *Survey of London* (1633) a four-line Latin epitaph that was written by Killigrew to be inscribed on her own tomb (64).

³⁵¹ For a recent study of this manuscript, see Redford 2010.

³⁵² Schleiner 1994: 45, 257.

There are some striking similarities between Allott's version and the second English version found in William More's miscellany (Ff) that suggest More may have been a conduit for the poem's wider dissemination (perhaps via Herbart Westfaling or More's son, both at Oxford and possible conduits for the poem's transmission) and that it was the ultimate source for poem **154**:

If Myldrede thowe retorne, my loye to me ageyne
 thowe shalt be good, and better to, my onely systr then
 but yf thowe hym deteyne, and to the sea assygne,
 thowe shalt be yll, and worse then yll, no sister then of myne
 To Cornewall yf he cum great pleyzure shall ensue, [5]
 but yf to sea, to Cycyll then I warre procleyme, adewe

Ff, f. 107r

More's version is six lines of poulter's measure; Allott's version similarly rhymes as two fourteeners and a poulter's couplet (broken over eight lines). Line two concludes identically in both texts with 'my only sister then' (l. 4 Hy); and the two rhymes in Allott's truncated version ('again ... then' ll. 2, 4; and 'assigne ... mine' 6, 8) match the rhyme words in the first two couplets of More's version above.³⁵³

155

This poem imitates the previous entry. The numerous deletions, revisions, and insertions could be an indication that the lines were composed extempore. The subscription 'R[obert] Allott' is a claim to authorship which there is no reason to doubt. Allott only manages one set of end-rhymes ('fre ... me') but does achieve a certain balance to the poem in the employment of end words that sum up the general gist of the poem: 'regard ... faire' (ll. 1 and 3); 'scorne ... foule' (ll. 5 and 7). The pastiche mimics the phrasal symmetry in Killigrew's original but Allott creates new content by

³⁵³ More's first version employs different rhyme words:

If Myldred thowe procure, my loyes retorne to be,
 thow shalt be good, and better to, a systre dere to me
 but tryflynge yf he staye, or passe the seas he shall,
 thow shalt be yll, and wors then yll no syster then atall
 To Cornwall yf he cum, in peace then shalt thou dwell
 but yf to Sea, to Cycyll then, I warre procleym, farewell.

directing the lines to his mistress whose good opinion he threatens to withdraw if she is not sympathetic to his suit (just as Katherine had jokingly threatened war on Cecil if her ‘petition’ was not considered). The social cachet of the original verse, derived from its connection to important individuals, meant that copyists continued to transmit a poem (in writing and by word of mouth) whose meaning had become obscure. Allott’s response was to provide a new context for the poem that would appeal to his student milieu, in the meantime taking the opportunity to display his own ability to improvise a poem on the spot, a reputation that was celebrated in an epigram (also addressed to Christopher Middleton) written by his friend John Weever:

Epi. 4 *Ad Ro: Allot, & Chr. Middleton*

Quicke are your wits, sharp your conceits,
Short, and more sweete your layes:
Quicke, but no wit, sharpe, no conceit,
Short, and lesse sweete, my praise.

(John Weever, *Epigrammes*, 1599, sig. D8v)

156

Allott does not claim authorship of this unique distich and it is perhaps ultimately derived from a Latin origin.

157

This unique poem is signed Robert Allott and there is no reason to doubt his authorship. The poet addresses his ‘Ode’ to Apollo and the Muses, ‘Ad Apollinem et musas’, asking for inspiration (‘new sourse’ l. 30) to whet his ‘dulled’ and ‘withered’ braine (ll. 3, 30). The verse form is rhyme royal.

- 1 **monarche** ... **traine** i.e. Apollo (the god of poetry and music) and the Muses (see 6n. below), to whom the poem is addressed
- 2 **Aonian springs** springs on Mount Parnassus sacred to Apollo and the muses
- 4 **fyery ground** with reference to the other role of Apollo (or Phoebus) as god of the sun

- 5, 17 **Phœbus ... vanquissht Python** ‘Apollo called also Phoebus ... when he came to age, he killed with his bowe the serpent Pytho’ (Cooper)
- 6 **faire ladies** i.e. the Muses: ‘maydens, whome poetes faygned to be the daughters of Jupiter and Memorie, and that they weare ladyes and gouvernours of poetrie and Musyke’ (Cooper)
- 7 **aslake** relieve (*OED* v. 4a)
- 15 **every deele** in every respect; entirely (*OED* everydeal, *n.* 2 as *adv.*)
- 18-19 The story of Apollo’s pursuit of Daphne and her transformation into a tree is told in Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* 1.
- 20 **but that** were it not that (*OED* but, *prep.* 9)
- 28 **my witty weale** for Allott’s reputation for mental sharpness, cf. Weever’s epigram *Ad Ro: Allot, & Chr. Middleton*: ‘Quicke are your wits ...’ (see the commentary to **155**).
- 35 **Castalia** a spring on Mount Parnassus, sacred to the Muses; used allusively to denote the source of poetic inspiration, cf. ‘You sad-musde sisters help me to indite, / And in your faire Castalia bathe my quill’ (Michael Drayton, *Peirs Gaueston*, 1594, sig. D2r).

Head-note to **158-159**

The last two entries in the collection comprise two short poems signed identically with the initials ‘I: I.’ in a clumsy italic hand not found elsewhere in the manuscript (Hand G). I have identified this hand as belonging to Joyce Jeffreys (c. 1570-1650), the half-sister of the compiler Humfrey Coningsby (see **Introduction** pp. 47-8). Joyce might have written the lines as a young girl since the lack of consistency in the formation of the italic letter forms could indicate an immature hand. She also seems uncertain about the ‘correct’ layout of the verse, and some of the lines are out of sync with metre and rhyme: in **158** ‘his happe’ belongs to the second line but is stranded on its own line, and in **159** the last word of the first line ‘Contente’ is dropped to the second line, even though there is space on the page for it in its place after ‘sweete’.

There are no other copies of this anonymous poem.

- 1 **ladye ... lappe** proverbial, ‘In the lap of Fortune’ (Dent L67.12); cf. ‘I deemde the greatest ioyes, in earthly hap: / I thought my pleasure euer would abide: / I seemede to sit, in Lady Fortunes lap’ (John Higgins, *The First Parte of the Mirour for Magistrates*, 1574, sig. H8v).

This sixain appears as the first stanza of an eighteen-line lyric probably written by Thomas Campion. The lyric was printed in 1591, as the fourth (‘Canto Quinto’) of five songs signed ‘CONTENT’, among ‘Poems and Sonets of sundrie other Noble men and Gentlemen’ appended to *Syr P.S. His Astrophel and Stella* (AS), sig. L4r.³⁵⁴ Davis puts the case for the identification of Campion as ‘CONTENT’, proposing that the songs were originally written for a masque.³⁵⁵ A verse that enjoyed phenomenal popularity with a similar opening is attributed to Campion by Alexander Gil: ‘What if a day or a month or a year / crown thy delights with a thousand sweet contentings, / can not a chance of a night or an howre / crosse thy desires with as many sad tormentings’ (*Logonomia Anglica*, 1619, sig. S2r).³⁵⁶

Another manuscript copy (lacking lines 3-4) is a derivative text: Ha, f. 156v,³⁵⁷ and a further copy of the first twelve lines, transcribed during the 1630s, is found in Folger, MS V.a.345 (V34), p. 290.

- 4 **Vnequalle** unjust; **arbytrymente** power to decide; absolute decision (*OED* n. 2)

³⁵⁴ The poem is reprinted without variation in the [1597?] edition (sig. K4r).

³⁵⁵ (1969: 3-4); ‘Canto Primo’ (‘Harke, all you Ladies’) is among the songs attributed to Campion set to music by Philip Rosseter in *A Booke of Ayres*, 1601, song xix; and ‘Canto tertio’ (‘My Love bound me with a kisse’) and ‘Canto quarto’ (‘Loue whets the dullest wittes’) appear in Latin versions as ‘In Melleam’ (sig. E3v) and ‘Ad Amorem’ (sig. F1v) in Campion’s *Poemata*, 1595.

³⁵⁶ First printed as no. xvii in Richard Alison’s *An Howres Recreation in Musicke* (1606), sig. D.

³⁵⁷ Gottschalk (1974: 405): Ha ‘undoubtedly’ copied from the printed edition, probably 1591; ‘the omission of two lines [3-4] is most obviously due to a careless error on the part of the scribe’.

- 5 **sorte** allot (by fate)
6 **As ... flowre** i.e. as fleeting an experience (as transitory)

Collations: two text collated: AS and V34.

Title: *om.*] Canto Quinto AS

2 better then] worth AS V34

4 fates] Gods AS V34

5 sorte vs] send me V34

7 Ioy] blisse AS V34

Subscription: I. I.] *om.* V34, CONTENT AS

The number of unique variants in Hy may be an indication that the lines were transcribed from memory; the unusual spelling of ‘Conshmed’ (l. 2) also suggests that the scribe was not copying from a transcript. The text contains one obvious error: ‘better than’ (l. 2) disturbs the regular pattern of iambic pentameter.

CONCLUSION

Collectors of manuscript verse obtained copy-texts from various sources; sometimes these were not many removes from the authorial holograph, but at other times copies had passed between any number of individuals unknown to the author. Similarly there are pockets in Hy where the sources provided not only information about authorship but also high-quality texts indicating that they were copied at a relatively early stage in their transmission. This is especially true of runs of poems attributed to Dyer (1-2, 9-12), Raleigh (47-50), and Sidney (51-55). At other points in the collection Coningsby could not identify the work of those same poets. I suggest in the Introduction that a group of poems illustrating a fashionable rhetorical device (115-117) may have derived from a booklet of linked poems in this genre, where the question of authorship was not important. Coningsby, however, *was* interested in identifying authors and revised or added attributions to the entries in his manuscript after their original transcription; when he returned to this genre grouping he identified Raleigh's poem but he left the two poems by Sidney unattributed. In another example, Sidney's CS 23 (128) follows directly after a poem by Dyer both initially copied without attribution; but at a later stage, when Coningsby was reviewing attributions, he was able to identify Dyer's poem but not Sidney's; another poem (110), this time by Gorges, was later assigned to Sidney; and in one final example a retrospective attribution of a poem to Sidney (83: AT 19) correctly identifies this poet's work. These examples show that the compiler of Hy wanted to assign authors to texts, and suggests that, often, he could not obtain this information from his source at the time of transcription.

Hobbs in her study of *Early Seventeenth-century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* comments 'how relatively small and interrelated were the contemporary circles in which manuscripts ... were copied and circulated'.³⁵⁸ Woudhuysen estimates that 'about 230 or so [verse miscellanies] date from before 1640 and contain poems by the writers Beal included in the *Index*: of these, about twenty-seven pre-date 1600'.³⁵⁹ With such a low survival rate for Elizabethan verse miscellanies, it is difficult to reconstruct, from textual analysis, a satisfactory profile of the scribal communities in which Hy's poems circulated. In the Introduction, I argue that the collection was to some extent a communal construct. This appears most notably from the inclusion of a verse libel that

³⁵⁸ 1992: 48.

³⁵⁹ 1996: 157.

directly answers the collective concerns of Inns of Court students, about maintaining social distinctions. And its mode of humour (parodying heraldic terminology) was specially suited to Inns of Court tastes. For many more entries in the collection this connection is not so explicit, but the inclusion of verse ‘in praise of a mistress’, and the sprinkling of ‘love posies’ also point to this same community of young men living in close proximity and sharing similar values and interests. The Inns of Court, during the period in which Hy was compiled, had a long-established reputation as a centre for collecting and copying poetry: writers were nurtured among its own students and they attracted the professional poets who helped to write their entertainments and sought patronage amongst their members. It is not surprising, thus, that Coningsby intercepted the work of the professional poets residing near the Inns of Court (‘the Holborn set’), during exactly the same period in which he was compiling his collection in the same locality. It is probably the case, as I suggest in the Introduction, that Coningsby could not always identify those poets’ work. Breton, Watson and Whetstone are all strongly represented in the manuscript, but there is no identifiable attribution to any of those poets, indicating that the copy-texts were rarely obtained directly from those authors. Those poets’ work derived, rather, through one or more intermediaries, via fellow poetry enthusiasts at the Inns of Court.

Though there is no evidence that Coningsby belonged to a literary ‘coterie’ circulating a body of texts that then appear in other manuscripts belonging to that group (such as those seen, in literary circles formed during the 1620s and 30s at Christ Church, Oxford), there is some evidence for ‘privileged’ access to texts. This is especially evident in the clusters of single poets’ work already mentioned. All five of Hy’s *Certain Sonnets* share a common ancestor with two or more external texts, confirming Ringler’s observation that these copies ultimately descend from a common ancestor: a sheaf or loose leaves of a dozen or more poems ‘which Sidney allowed to be copied by one of his friends who then further circulated them’.³⁶⁰ Based on the quality of the texts, Ringler estimated that these copies ‘descend through two or more intermediaries’ from that corrupt common ancestor. Research has indicated that where Sidney’s poems are found in manuscript collections compiled during the poet’s lifetime, it is often possible to establish a personal connection between a manuscript owner and members of his family or social circle. This is true of the collection of Sidney poems in

³⁶⁰ 1962: 425.

the Ottley manuscript which may well have been copied from the author's own papers (Beal 1978: 286); the compilers of two Elizabethan miscellanies connected with St John's College, Cambridge (Ra and Ma) may have received copy-texts from Abraham Fraunce a protégé of Sidney's (May 2001: 38), and Sir John Harington probably gained access to Sidney's poems through a personal connection with the Sidney family (Woudhuysen 1996: 345). The compiler's close cousin Thomas Coningsby, who knew Sidney personally, could have been the source for a number of poems by Sidney in the collection that received only limited circulation during the poet's lifetime. These include the songs composed for an Accession day tilt entertainment: an event which he may have attended. In the Introduction to this edition, I mention that Thomas Coningsby performed at tilt in 1571 and devised an 'impresa' device; his literary sensibilities are further suggested from his ability to provide an enigmatic phrase in Italian for an *album amicorum* on his continental tour with Sidney, and a later presentation copy of the *Orlando Furioso* (1591) from the author John Harington.³⁶¹ Four poems in common with a manuscript compiled by Robert Commaundre, Chaplain to Sir Henry Sidney and repeated textual relationships with a manuscript once owned by Anne Cornwallis (whose aunt Lady Kitson is referred to, in a letter by Sidney, as a longstanding acquaintance), also point to a source of transmission close to the Sidney circle for other poems in the collection.³⁶² In the Introduction, I set out the compiler's kinship ties with a number of West Midlands families with longstanding connections to the Dudleys.

In this edition, where more than one text of a poem survives, these have been collated against Hy (the control text). But the analysis of variants and the identification of 'error' does not serve as the basis for an edited text ('closest to the authorial version'); it is used, rather, to answer questions about the relative quality of the control text and its origins. The analysis of collations in this edition has shown that entries to which the compiler added his own initials were often poor quality texts, and from this I have been able to dismiss (in all but three entries) the idea that copyist and author are one and the same. Elsewhere, from the collation analysis, I have established the relative

³⁶¹ Library of Congress, Washington DC, Rosenwald Collection: PQ4582.E5. The volume later came into the Jeffreys' library at Ham Castle, Worcestershire: William Jeffreys signed his name twice on the title page ('William Jeffreyes booke'); and another member of the family wrote the following inscription (in a court hand), below Harington's dedication to Elizabeth I: 'Henricus Jeffreyes de Hom: Castle in Com: Wigorn Armiger'. For Thomas Coningsby's close connection to the compiler's half-sister Joyce Jeffreys, see the **Introduction** to this edition.

³⁶² Woudhuysen 1996: 258.

corruption of Hy's texts against surviving external copies, and have said something about the stage in the poem's transmission that they represent. What is also clear from the collation analysis is that Coningsby did not copy from printed books: where copies are found in books printed before the anthology was formed no textual relationship can be established. For example, the poems in Hy by Edwards, Thorne and Hunnis, also found in the *Paradyse of Daynty Devises* (1st edn. 1576), derive from a distinct manuscript tradition for these texts. Edwards' social circle included Thorne and Hunnis; and these poets' work is also found in tandem in an earlier manuscript anthology (compiled c.1555) BL, Add. MS 15233.³⁶³ The fact that Hy provides the only other substantive witness for the circulation of those *Paradyse* poems, reveals the high level of loss of manuscript verse miscellanies compiled during the period where there is evidence of their circulation in manuscript, i.e. in the interim period between 1555 (when Add. 15233 was compiled) and the mid-1580s when Hy was formed.

This edition has also explored Coningsby's 'unusual concern for the question of authorship among the poets of his own generation' in conjunction with the evidence of other scribal habits that indicate a more sustained concern for textual 'authority'.³⁶⁴ As I have argued in this edition, the marginal corrections throughout the manuscript indicate a habit of proof reading shortly after copying, and indicate that, in transcription, Coningsby followed his sources faithfully. There is also evidence of light editorial work, for example in the marginal alterations throughout the manuscript, which reveal a sustained concern for the correct use of language and close attention to points of grammar. Coningsby was also alert to the scribal medium's potential for textual corruption, and sometimes he improved his text where he considered a reading unreliable or suspect. This runs counter to some entrenched perceptions about the inherent 'looseness' of the scribal medium. For Coningsby, a concern for textual authority went hand in hand with an interest in the identity of those individual poets responsible for writing the verse that he so actively sought.

³⁶³ See Rayment 2011.

³⁶⁴ Woudhuysen 1996: 281.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

WORKS CITED IN THIS EDITION BY AUTHOR-DATE SYSTEM

Place of publication is London unless otherwise specified

- ABBOTT, E. A. 1884. *A Shakespearian Grammar* (Macmillan)
- ADAMS, SIMON. 2002. *Leicester and the Court: Essays on Elizabethan Politics* (Manchester: Manchester University Press)
- ADAMSON, SYLVIA. 1999. 'Literary Language', in *The Cambridge History of the English Language: Volume III 1476-1776*, ed. by Roger Lass (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 539-653
- ALEXANDER, GAVIN. 2010. *Writing after Sidney* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- 2014. 'On the Reuse of Poetic Form: The Ghost in the Shell', in *The Work of Form: Poetics and Materiality in Early Modern Culture*, ed. by Ben Burton and Elizabeth Scott-Baumann (Oxford: Oxford University Press), pp. 123-143
- ALFORD, STEPHEN. 2008. *Burghley: William Cecil at the Court of Elizabeth I* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press)
- ALTON, R. E. (ed.). 1960. 'The Academic Drama in Oxford: Extracts from the Records of four Colleges', in *Malone Society Collections 5* (Oxford: Oxford University Press), 29-95
- ANDERSON, RANDALL LOUIS. 2000. 'The Merit of a Manuscript Poem: The Case for Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poet. 85', in *Print, Manuscript & Performance*, ed. by Arthur F. Marotti and Michael D. Bristol (Columbus: Ohio State University Press), 127-171
- BABB, LAWRENCE. 1951. *The Elizabethan Malady* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press)
- BAJETTA, CARLO M. 1996a. 'Raleigh's Early Poetry and its Metrical Context', *Studies in Philology*, 93: 390-411
- 1996b. 'Unrecorded Extracts by Sir Walter Raleigh', *Notes & Queries*, 43: 138-42
- 1998. *Sir Walter Raleigh: Poeta di Corte Elisabettiano* (Milano: Mursia)
- BALD, R. C. 1935. 'A Manuscript Work by Sir George Buc', *The Modern Language Review*, 30.1, 1-12

- BAMBOROUGH, J. B. 1952. *The Little World of Man* (Longmans)
- THE BARONETAGE OF ENGLAND. 1720. 2 vols (printed for W. Taylor, R Gosling and J. Osborn)
- BARON, HELEN. 1989. 'The 'Blage' Manuscript: The Original Compiler Identified', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 1: 85-119
- BEAL, PETER. 1978. 'Poems by Sir Philip Sidney: The Ottley Manuscript', *Library*, 5/33: 284-95
- 1998. *In Praise of Scribes: Manuscripts and their Makers in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- BELCHER, W. D. 1888. *Kentish Brasses*, 2 vols (Sprague)
- BELL, GARY M. 1990. *A Handlist of British Diplomatic Representatives, 1509-1688* (Royal Historical Society)
- BENBOW, MARK R. 1981. 'Dutton and Goffe versus Broughton: a disputed contract for plays in the 1570s', *REED Newsletter*, 2: 3-9
- BENT, J. T. (ed.). 1893. *Early Voyages and Travels in the Levant* [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society; no. 87]
- BETELLA, PATRIZIA. 2005. *The Ugly Woman: Transgressive Aesthetic Models in Italian Poetry from the Middle Ages to the Baroque* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press)
- BLACK, J. B. 1959. *The Reign of Elizabeth, 1558-1603* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- BLACK, L. G. 1971. 'Studies in Some Related Manuscript Poetic Miscellanies of the 1580s', 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Oxford)
- BLAND, D. S. 1984. *Three Revels from the Inns of Court* (Amersham: Avebury)
- BLISS, PHILIP. 1812. 'Some account of a Manuscript in Dr. Rawlinson's Collection in the Bodleian Library: Mss. Rawl. Poet. 108', in *The British Bibliographer*, ed. by Egerton Brydges and Joseph Haslewood, 4 vols (R. Triphook: 1810-14), 2. 609-618
- BOAS, FREDERICK S. 1914. *University Drama in the Tudor Age* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- BOFFEY, JULIA. 1992. 'Lydgate, Henryson, and the Literary Testament', *Modern Language Quarterly*, 53: 41-56
- BOND, R. WARWICK. 1902. *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, 3 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press)

- BOND, WILLIAM H. 1948. 'The Cornwallis-Lysons Manuscript and the Poems of John Bentley', in *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, ed. by James G. McManaway, Giles E. Dawson and Edwin E. Willoughby (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library), 683-93
- BRADNER, LEICESTER. 1964. *The Poems of Queen Elizabeth I* (Providence, RI: Brown University Press)
- BRETT, PHILIP (ed.). 1967. 'Consort Songs', *Musica Britannica*, 22 (Stainer and Bell)
- BUCK, P. M. 1907. 'Add. MS 34064', *Modern Language Notes*, 22: 41-6
- BÜHLER, CURT. 1948. 'Four Elizabethan poems', in *Joseph Quincy Adams Memorial Studies*, ed. by James G. McManaway, Giles E. Dawson and Edwin E. Willoughby (Washington, DC: Folger Shakespeare Library), 695-706
- BULLEN, A. H. (ed.). 1888. *More Lyrics From the Song-Books of the Elizabethan Age* (John C. Nimmo)
- BULLOUGH, GEOFFREY. 1938. *The Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville*, 2 vols (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd)
- CALDWELL, JOHN (ed.). 2011. *The Mulliner Book* (Stainer and Bell for the Musica Britannica Trust)
- A CATALOGUE OF THE HARLEIAN MANUSCRIPTS IN THE BRITISH MUSEUM*. 1808-1812, 4 vols
- CELM (Catalogue of English Literary Manuscripts (1450-1700))*
<<http://www.celm-ms.org.uk>>
- CHAMBERS, E. K. 1936. *(Sir Henry Lee: An Elizabethan Portrait* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- 1923 (repr. 1961). *The Elizabethan Stage*, 4 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- CHAPPELL, WILLIAM. 1895 (repr. 1965). *The Ballad Literature and Popular Music of the Olden Time*, 2 vols (New York: Dover)
- COHEN, HELEN LOUISE. 1915. *The Ballade* (New York)
- CRAM, DAVID, & JEFFREY L. FORGENG & DOROTHY JOHNSTON (eds). 2003. *Francis Willughby's Book of Games: A Seventeenth-Century Treatise on Sports, Games and Pastimes* (Aldershot: Ashgate)
- CRANE, MARY. 1993. *Framing Authority: Sayings, Self and Society in Sixteenth-Century England* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press)
- CRANFILL, THOMAS MABRY. 1959. *Rich's Farewell to Military Profession, 1581* (Austin: University of Texas Press)

- CRUM, MARGARET (ed.). 1969. *First-line Index of English Poetry, 1500-1800: In Manuscripts of the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, 2 vols (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- CUMMINGS, LAURENCE. 1960. 'John Finet's Miscellany' (unpublished doctoral thesis, Washington University)
- 1964. 'Spenser's *Amoretti VIII*: New Manuscript Versions', *Studies in English Literature, 1500-1900*, 4: 125-35
- CUNCLIFFE, J. W. 1911. 'The Queenes Maiesties Entertainment at Woodstock', *PMLA* 26: 92-141
- CUTTS, JOHN P. 1958. 'Peele's Hunting of Cupid', *Studies in the Renaissance*, 5: 121-132
- DANIEL, REV. C. H. O. (ed.). 1919. *The Recreations of his Age* [by Nicholas Bacon] (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- DAVIES, REGINALD THORNE. 1963. *Medieval English Lyrics: A Critical Anthology* (Evanston, IL: Northwestern UP)
- DAVIS, WALTER, R. (ed.) 1969. *The Works of Thomas Campion: Complete Songs, Masques and Treatises, with a Selection of the Latin Verse* (Faber)
- DEAN, JOHN WARD. 1884. *The New England Historical and Genealogical Register: Vol. 38* (Berwyn Heights, MD: Heritage Books)
- DENHOLM-YOUNG, N. 1964. *Handwriting in England and Wales* (Cardiff: University of Wales Press)
- DENKINGER, EMMA MARSHALL. 1931. 'Some Renaissance References to *Sic Vos Non Vobis*', *Philological Quarterly* 10: 151-62
- DENT, R. W. 1984. *Proverbial Language in English Drama Exclusive of Shakespeare, 1495-1616: An Index* (Berkeley: University of California Press)
- DI MATTEO, ANTHONY. 1992. 'Spenser's Venus-Virgo: The Poetics and Interpretive History of a Dissembling Figure', *Spenser Studies*, 10: 37-70
- DIMEV* (Digital Edition of the Index of Middle English Verse) <www.dimev.net>, ed. by Linne R. Mooney, Daniel W. Mosser and Elizabeth Solopova
- DOBELL, BERTRAM. 1902. 'Poems by Sir Thomas Heneage and Sir Walter Raleigh', *The Athenaeum*, September 14: 349
- DONNO, ELIZABETH STORY. 1976. *An Elizabethan in 1582: the Diary of Richard Madox, Fellow of All Souls* [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society; 2nd ser., no. 147]

- DOUGHTIE, EDWARD (ed.). 1970. *Lyrics from English Airs 1596-1622* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)
- . 1985. *Liber Lilliat: Elizabethan Verse and Song (Bodleian MS Rawlinson Poetry 148)* (Newark NJ: University of Delaware Press)
- DOWDEN, EDWARD. 1898. 'An Elizabethan MS. Collection: Henry Constable', *Modern Quarterly of Language and Literature*, 1: 3-4
- DUNCAN-JONES, KATHERINE. 1974. 'Sidney in Samothea: A Forgotten National Myth', *The Review of English Studies*, n.s., 25, 174-177
- (ed.). 1985. *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- (ed.). 1989. *Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- (ed.). 1991. *Sir Philip Sidney Courtier Poet* (Hamish Hamilton)
- & H. R. WOODHUYSEN (eds.). 2007. *Shakespeare's Poems* (Arden Shakespeare)
- DURANT, DAVID N. 1999. *Bess of Hardwick: Portrait of an Elizabethan Dynast*, rev. edn (Peter Owen)
- DURLING, ROBERT. 1976. *Petrarch's Lyric Poems: The Rime Sparse and Other Lyrics* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)
- EARLY STUART LIBELS: AN EDITION OF POETRY FROM MANUSCRIPT SOURCES.
2005. ed. by Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae, *Early Modern Literary Studies Text Series I* <<http://purl.oclc.org/emls/texts/libels/>>
- ECCLES, MARK. 1982. 'Brief Lives: Tudor and Stuart Authors', *Studies in Philology: Texts and Studies* 79: 1-135
- . 1991. 'Elizabethan Actors I: A-D' *Notes & Queries*, 236: 38-49
- ECKHARDT, JOSHUA. 2009. *Manuscript Verse Collectors and the Politics of Anti-Courtly Love Poetry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- EVANS, JOAN. 1931. *English Posies and Posy Rings* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- EVANS, WILLA MCCLUNG. 1941. *Henry Lawes: Musician and Friend of Poets* (New York: Modern Language Association of America)
- FABRY, F. J. 1970. 'Sidney's Verse Adaptations to Two Italian Art-songs', *Philological Quarterly*, 23: 237-55
- FICINO, MARSILIO. 1985. *Commentary on Plato's Symposium on Love*, trans. by Sears Jayne (Dallas, TX: Spring Publications)

- FINKELPEARL, PHILIP J. 1969. *John Marston of the Middle Temple* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)
- FORNI, KATHLEEN (ed.). 2005. *The Chaucerian Apocrypha: A Selection* (Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute Publications)
- FOSTER, JOSEPH (ed.). 1891-2. *Alumni Oxonienses: The Members of the University of Oxford 1500-1714*, 4 vols (Oxford: Parker)
- FOSTER, WILLIAM (ed.). 1931. *The Travels of John Sanderson in the Levant 1584-1602* [Works issued by the Hakluyt Society; 2nd ser., no. 67]
- FOX-DAVIES, A. C. 1969. *A Complete Guide to Heraldry* (Nelson)
- FREEMAN, ARTHUR. 1971. 'The Argument of Meleager', *English Literary Renaissance*, 2: 122-131
- FREEMAN, ARTHUR & JANET ING FREEMAN. 2004. *John Payne Collier: Scholarship and Forgery in the Nineteenth Century*, 2 vols (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press)
- FRIAR, STEPHEN. 2004. *The Sutton Companion to Heraldry* (Stroud: Sutton)
- GARDNER, HELEN (ed.). 1965. John Donne. *The Elegies and the Songs and Sonnets* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- GIBSON, JONATHAN. 1999. 'French and Italian Sources for Raleigh's "'Farewell False Love"', *The Review of English Studies*, 50: 155-65
- GODSHALK, W. L. 1978. 'Correspondence', *The Review of English Studies*, n.s., 29, 325-6
- 1980. 'Correspondence', *The Review of English Studies*, n.s., 31, 192
- GÖMÖRI, GEORGE. 2004. 'Inscriptions by Philip and Robert Sidney in *alba amicorum*', *Notes & Queries*, 51: 240-242
- GOTTSCHALK, KATHERINE K. 1974. 'British Museum manuscript Harley 6910: An Edition' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Chicago)
- 1979. 'Discoveries Concerning British Library MS Harley 6910', *Modern Philology*, 77: 121-31
- GOWAN, JULIET MARY. 1967. 'An Edition of Edward Pudsey's Commonplace Book (c. 1600-1615)' (unpublished M. Phil., University of London)
- GRAVES, T. S. 1913. 'The Arraignment of Paris and Sixteenth Century Flattery', *Modern Language Notes*, 28: 48-49
- GREG, W. W. 1911. 'The Hunting of Cupid, a Lost Play by George Peele', *Malone Society Reprints* 29 (*Collections* 1): 307-14 (Oxford: Malone Society)

- 1962. *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama*, 2 vols (Bibliographical Society)
- GURR, ANDREW. 2004. *Playgoing in Shakespeare's London* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- HADFIELD, ANDREW. 2012. *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- HARPER, SALLY. 2005. "A Dittie to the tune of Welsh Sydannen": A Welsh image of Queen Elizabeth', *Renaissance Studies*, 19: 201-228
- HEATON, GABRIEL. 2010. *Writing and Reading Royal Entertainments: From George Gascoigne to Ben Jonson* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- HECTOR, L. C. 1966. *The Handwriting of English Documents* (Edward Arnold)
- HENINGER, S. K. 1964. *The Hekatompathia or Passionate Centurie of Love (1582). A Facsimile Reproduction, with an Introduction* (Gainesville, FL: Scholars' Facsimiles & Reprints)
- HISTORY OF PARLIAMENT ONLINE <<http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org>>
- HOBBS, MARY. 1992. *Early Seventeenth-century Verse Miscellany Manuscripts* (Aldershot: Scholar Press)
- HONIGMANN, E. A. J. 1987. *John Weever a Biography of a Literary Associate of Shakespeare and Jonson* (Manchester: Manchester University Press)
- HOPE, ST JOHN. 1913. *A Grammar of English Heraldry* (Cambridge: University Press)
- HORNE, DAVID H. 1952. *The Life and Minor Works of George Peele* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press)
- HUDSON, HOYT H. 1947. *The Epigram in the English Renaissance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press)
- HUGHEY, RUTH (ed.). 1960. *The Arundel Harington Manuscript of Tudor Poetry*, 2 vols (Columbus: Ohio State University Press)
- 1971. *John Harington of Stepney: Tudor Gentleman* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press)
- HUTTON, JAMES. 1951. 'Some English Poems in Praise of Music', *English Miscellany*, 2: 1-63
- 1980. *Essays on Renaissance Poetry* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press)
- IZARD, THOMAS. 1942. *George Whetstone: Mid-Elizabethan Gentleman of Letters* (New York: Columbia University Press)

- JEFFREY, DAVID L. 1992. *A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature* (Grand Rapids, MI: W.B. Eerdmans)
- KATHMAN, DAVID. 2004. 'Grocers, Goldsmiths, and Drapers: Freeman and Apprentices in the Elizabethan Theatre', *Shakespeare Quarterly* 55: 1-49
- KELLIHER, HILTON. 1990. 'Unrecorded Extracts from Shakespeare, Sidney and Dyer', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 2: 163-187
- KERMODE, FRANK. 1956. 'Definitions of Love', *The Review of English Studies*, 7: 183-5
- KING, ROS. 2001. *The Works of Richard Edwards: Politics, Poetry and Performance in Sixteenth-Century England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press)
- KLEIN, HOLGER M. (ed.). 1984. *English and Scottish Sonnet Sequences of the Renaissance*, 2 vols (Hildesheim: Olms)
- KRUEGER, ROBERT (ed.). 1975. *The Poems of Sir John Davies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- KUIN, ROGER (ed.). 2012. *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, 2 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- LATHAM, AGNES M. C. (ed.). 1951. *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh* (Routledge & Kegan Paul)
- LAZARD, M. and G. SCHRENCK (eds). 1992. *Pierre de l'Estoile: Registre-Journal du Regne de Henri III: Tome I (1574-1575)* (Librairie Droz: Genève)
- 2001. *Pierre de l'Estoile: Registre-Journal du Regne de Henri III: Tome V (1585-1587)* (Librairie Droz: Genève)
- LEES, CHARLES J. (ed.). 1967. *The Poetry of Walter Haddon* (Mouton: The Hague)
- LEFRANC, PIERRE. 1957. 'A Miscellany of Raleigh Material', *Notes & Queries*, 202: 24-6
- 1968. *Sir Walter Raleigh écrivain* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin)
- LEMMI, C. W. 1927. 'Italian Borrowings in Sidney', *Modern Language Notes*, 42:77-9
- LINTHICUM, M. CHANNING. 1936. *Costume in the Drama of Shakespeare and his Contemporaries* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- LOVE, HAROLD. 1993. *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- LOVELL, MARY S. 2005. *Bess of Hardwick: First Lady of Chatsworth, 1527-1608* (Little Brown)

- MCCONICA, JAMES (ed.). 1986. *The Collegiate University: The History of the University of Oxford volume III* (Clarendon Press: Oxford)
- MCPHERSON, DAVID C. 1968. 'A Possible Origin for Mopsa in Sidney's Arcadia', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 21: 420-428
- MCTEAR, J. S. 1913. 'Primer', *Notes & Queries*, 7: 41-2
- MANN, DAVID. 1991. 'Sir Oliver Owlet's Men: Fact or Fiction?', *Huntington Library Quarterly*, 54: 301-311
- MARCUS, LEAH S., and JANEL MUELLER, and MARY BETH ROSE (eds). 2000. *Elizabeth I: Collected Works* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)
- MAROTTI, ARTHUR F. 1986. *John Donne, Coterie Poet* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press)
- 1995. *Manuscript, Print, and the English Renaissance Lyric* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press)
- 2002. 'The Cultural and Textual Importance of Folger MS V.a.89', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 11: 70-92
- 2008. 'Humphrey Coningsby and the Personal Anthologizing of Verse in Elizabethan England', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts IV*, ed. by Michael Denbo (Tempe, AZ: Renaissance English Text Society), 71-102
- & STEVEN W. MAY. 2011. 'Two Lost Ballads of the Armada Thanksgiving Celebration', *English Literary Renaissance*, 41: 31-63
- MARTIN, GEORGE. 1972. 'Marsh's Library MS Z3.5.21: An Edition of the English Poems' (unpublished master's thesis, University of Waterloo)
- MAUD, RALPH. 1956. 'Bibliographical Notes: The Date of Brian Melbancke's *Philotimus*', *Library*, 11: 118-20
- MAY, STEVEN W. 1971. "'The French Primer': A Study in Renaissance Textual Transmission and Taste", *English Language Notes*, 9: 102-108
- 1975a. 'The Authorship of "My Mind to Me a Kingdom is"', *The Review of English Studies*, 26: 385-94
- 1975b. 'William Hunnis and the 1577 *Paradise of Dainty Devices*', *Studies in Bibliography*, 28: 63-80
- 1980 (ed.). 'The Poems of Edward De Vere, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford and of Robert Devereux, Second Earl of Essex', *Studies in Philology*, 77 (no. 5): 1-132
- 1983. 'Companion Poems in the Raleigh Canon', *English Literary Renaissance*, 13: 260-273

- 1988. *Henry Stanford's Anthology* (New York: Garland)
- 1989. *Sir Walter Raleigh* (Boston, MA: Twayne Publishers)
- 1991. *The Elizabethan Courtier Poets: The Poems and their Contexts* (Columbia, MO: University of Missouri Press)
- 2002. 'Renaissance Manuscript Anthologies: Editing the Social Editors', *English Manuscript Studies 1100-1700*, 11: 203-16
- 2004a. 'Queen Elizabeth's "Future Foes": Editing Manuscripts with the First-Line Index of Elizabethan Verse (a Future Friend)', in *New Ways of Looking at Old Texts III*, ed. by W. Speed Hill (Tempe, AZ: Renaissance English Text Society), 1-12
- (ed.) 2004b. *Queen Elizabeth I: Selected Works* (New York: Washington Square Press)
- & WILLIAM A. RINGLER, JR. 2004. *Elizabethan Poetry: A Bibliography and First-Line Index of English Verse, 1559-1603*, 3 vols (Thoemmes Continuum)
- 2006. 'Youthes Witte: An Unstudied Elizabethan Anthology of Printed Verse and Prose Fiction', in *Renaissance Papers 2006*, ed. by Christopher Cobb and M. Thomas Hester (Camden House), 1-12
- 2009. 'Popularizing Courtly Poetry: Tottel's Miscellany and its Progeny', in *The Oxford Handbook of Tudor Literature 1485-1603*, ed. by Mike Pincombe and Cathy Shrank (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- 2011. 'Marlowe, Spenser, Sidney and—Abraham Fraunce?', *The Review of English Studies*, 62: 30-63
- 2012. 'Samuel Watt's Anthology', in *In the Prayse of Writing: Essays in Honour of Peter Beal*, ed. by Cerasano, S. P. and Steven W. May (British Library), 176-196
- & ARTHUR F. MAROTTI. 2014. *Ink, Stink Bait, Revenge, and Queen Elizabeth: A Yorkshire Yeoman's Household Book* (Ithaca NY: Cornell University Press)
- & ALAN BRYSON. Forthcoming: 2015. *Elizabethan Verse Libel*
- MOULTON, IAN FREDERICK. 2000. *Before Pornography: Erotic Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- MUIR, KENNETH (ed.). 1949. *Collected Poems of Sir Thomas Wyatt* (Routledge & Kegan Paul)
- 1961. *Sir Thomas Wyatt and his Circle: Unpublished Poems Edited from the Blage Manuscript* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press)

- NELSON, ALAN H. 2003. *Monstrous Adversary: The Life of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press)
- NICHOLL, CHARLES. 1984. *A Cup of News: The Life of Thomas Nashe* (Routledge)
- 1992. *The Reckoning: The Murder of Christopher Marlowe* (Cape)
- NICHOLS, JOHN. 2014. *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. by Elizabeth Goldring, et al., 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- NICHOLS, JOHN GOUGH (ed.). 1847. 'Journal of the Siege of Rouen, 1591: by Sir Thomas Coningsby', *Camden Miscellany*, 1: 1-84
- NORTH, MARCY L. 2003. *The Anonymous Renaissance: Cultures of Discretion in Tudor-Stuart England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)
- NOSKE, F. 1966. 'Early sources of the Dutch National Anthem (1574-1626)', *Fontes Artis Musicae*, 13: 87-94
- NUNGEZAR, EDWIN. 1929. *A Dictionary of Actors* (New Haven: Yale UP)
- O'CALLAGHAN, M. 2006. *The English Wits: Literature and Sociability in Early Modern England* (Routledge)
- ORIGINS OF EARLY MODERN LITERATURE <<http://www.hrionline.ac.uk/origins>>
- OSBORN, JAMES M. (ed.). *The Autobiography of Thomas Wythorne* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1961)
- PACKARD, FRANCIS, R. & FIELDING H. GARRISON (eds). 1920. *The School of Salernum: Regimen Sanitatis Salernitanum: The English Version by Sir John Harington* (New York: Paul B. Hoeber)
- PIGMAN, G. W. III (ed.). 2000. *George Gascoigne: A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- PRATT, S. M. 1954. 'The Authorship of Four Poems in *The Garland of Good Will*', *Notes & Queries*, 199: 327-28
- QUAINTANCE, RICHARD, E. JR. 1963. 'The French Source of Robert Greene's "What Thing is Love"', *Notes & Queries*, 10: 295-296
- RAYMENT, LOUISE E. E. 2011. 'A Study in Sixteenth-century Performance and Artistic Networks: British Library, Additional Manuscript 15233' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Southampton, 2011)
- REBHOLZ, R. A. (ed.). 1997. *Sir Thomas Wyatt: The Complete Poems* (Penguin Books)

- REDFORD, PETER. 2010. “*Within this booke to pry*”: A Study of the Burley Manuscript’, 2 vols (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield)
- RINGLER, WILLIAM A. (ed.). 1962. *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- 1975. ‘Bishop Percy’s Quarto Manuscript’, *Philological Quarterly*, 54: 26-39
- 1990. ‘The Text of *The Poems of Sidney* Twenty-five Years After’, in *Sir Philip Sidney’s Achievements*, ed. by M. J. B. Allen et al. (New York: AMS Press), 129-44
- ROBERTSON, JEAN (ed.). 1952. *Poems by Nicholas Breton (not Hitherto Reprinted)* (Liverpool: University Press)
- 1973. *Sir Philip Sidney The Countess of Pembroke’s Arcadia (The Old Arcadia)* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- 1980. ‘A Note on “Poems by Sir Philip Sidney: The Ottley Manuscript”’, *Library*, 6: 202-5
- ROLLINS, HYDER EDWARD (ed.). 1924. *An Analytical Index to the Ballad-Entries, 1557-1709, in the Registers of the Company of Stationers of London*, (Chapel Hill: University of Carolina Press)
- 1927. *The Paradise of Dainty Devices (1576-1606)* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)
- 1929. *The Pepys Ballads*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)
- 1931. *The Phoenix Nest 1593* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)
- 1933. *Brittons Bowre of Delights, 1591* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)
- 1935. *England’s Helicon 1600, 1614*, 2 vols (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)
- 1936. *The Arbor of Amorous Devices 1597* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)
- 1965. *Tottel’s Miscellany (1557-1587)*, 2 vols, rev. edn (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)
- ROSENBERG, ELEANOR. 1955. *Leicester: Patron of Letters* (New York: Columbia University Press)
- RUDICK, MICHAEL. 1970. ‘The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh: An Edition’ (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Chicago)

- 1999. *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh: A Historical Edition* (Tempe, AZ: Renaissance English Text Society)
- SANDISON, HELEN ESTABROOK (ed.). 1953. *The Poems of Sir Arthur Gorges* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- SANFORD, MARTIN & JOHN BLATCHLY (eds). 2012. *Thomas Fella of Halesworth, Suffolk, Draper and Writing Master: His Booke of Divers Devices and Sorts of Pictures: Compiled Between 1592 and 1598* (Ipswich: J. M. Blatchly and M. N. Sanford)
- SARGENT, RALPH M. 1935 (repr. 1968: *At the Court of Queen Elizabeth*). *The Life and Lyrics of Sir Edward Dyer* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- SCHLEINER, LOUISE. 1994. *Tudor and Stuart Women Writers* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press)
- SCHMIDT, ALBERT-MARIE (ed.). 1953. *Poètes du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Éditions Gallimard)
- SCOTT, JANET. 1926. 'The Sources of Watson's *Tears of Fancie*', *Modern Language Review*, 21: 303-306
- SCRIPTORIUM: MEDIEVAL AND EARLY MODERN MANUSCRIPTS ONLINE
<<http://scriptorium.english.cam.ac.uk>>
- SEATON, MARY ETHEL (ed.). 1950. *The Arcadian Rhetorike by Abraham Fraunce: edited from the Edition of 1588* (Oxford: Published for the Luttrell Society by B. Blackwell)
- SENG, PETER, J. (ed.). 1978. *Tudor Songs and Ballads from MS Cotton Vespasian A-25* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)
- SHARPE, J. A. 1980. *Defamation and Sexual Slander in Early Modern England: The Church Courts at York* (York: Borthwick Institute of Historical Research)
- SISSON, C. J. (ed.). 1933. *Thomas Lodge and Other Elizabethans* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)
- SKEAT, WALTER W. 1897. *Chaucerian and Other Pieces* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- SLIM, H. C. (ed.). 1972. *A Gift of Madrigals and Motets*, 2 vols (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)
- SMITH, G. C. MOORE (ed.). 1913. *Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia* (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press)

- SMYTH, ADAM. 2004. *"Profit and Delight": Printed Miscellanies in England, 1640-1682* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press)
- SPENCER, ROBERT & JEFFREY ALEXANDER (eds). 1978. *The Brogyntyn Lute Book* (Kilkenny: Boethius Press)
- SPICKSLEY, JUDITH M. (ed.) 2012. *The Business and Household Accounts of Joyce Jeffreys Spinster of Hereford 1638-1648* (Oxford: for the British Academy by Oxford University Press)
- STERN, VIRGINIA F. 1979. *Gabriel Harvey: His Life, Marginalia, and Library* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- STERNFELD, F. W. 1963. *Music in Shakespearean Tragedy* (Routledge)
- STEVENS, JOHN E. 1961. *Music and Poetry in the Early Tudor Court* (Methuen)
- STEVENSON, JANE & PETER DAVIDSON. 2001. *Early Modern Women Poets (1520-1700): An Anthology* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- STONE, LAWRENCE. 1965. *The Crisis of the Aristocracy, 1558-1641* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- STOPEs, C. C. 1910. *William Hunnis and the Revels of the Chapel Royal* (Louvain: Bang's Materialen)
- STRONG, ROY. 1977. *The Cult of Elizabeth* (Pimlico)
- STRUTT, JOSEPH. 1876. *The Sports and Pastimes of the People of England* (Chatto & Windus)
- SUTTON, DANA F. (ed.). 1996. *The Complete Works of Thomas Watson (1556-1592)*, 2vols (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen Press)
- TANNENBAUM, SAMUEL A. 1930. 'Unfamiliar Versions of some Elizabethan Poems', *PMLA*, 45: 809-821
- TIGHE, W. J. 1989. 'Courtiers and Politics in Elizabethan Herefordshire: Sir James Croft, his Friends and his Foes', *Historical Journal*, 32: 257-279
- 1995. 'County into Court, Court into Country: John Scudamore of Holme Lacy (c.1542-1623) and his circles', in *Tudor Political Culture*, ed. by Dale Hoak (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), 157-178
- TILLEY, M. P. 1930. 'Further Borrowings from Poems in "Philotimus (1583)"', *Studies in Philology*, 27: 186-214
- 1950. *A Dictionary of the Proverbs in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press)

- TUVE, ROSEMOND. 1961. *Elizabethan and Metaphysical Imagery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)
- UNION FIRST LINE INDEX <<http://firstlines.folger.edu>> (Folger Shakespeare Library Washington, DC)
- WAGNER, BERNARD M. 1935. 'New Poems by Sir Edward Dyer', *The Review of English Studies*, 11: 466-471
- 1938. 'New Poems by Sir Philip Sidney', *PMLA*, 53: 118-124
- WARD, JOHN M. 1979-1980. 'The Hunt's up', *Proceedings of the Royal Musical Association*, 106: 1-25
- WEBB, J. 1857. 'Some Passages in the Life and Character of a Lady Resident in Herefordshire and Worcestershire during the Civil War', *Archaeologia*, 37: 189-223
- WELLS, STANLEY & GARY TAYLOR. 2005. *The Oxford Shakespeare: The Complete Works* 2nd edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- WESTCOTT, ALLAN F. (ed.). 1911. *New Poems by James I of England* (New York: Columbia University Press)
- WIGGINS, MARTIN. 2011. 'The schoolboys' Oedipus: A lost Sixteenth-Century aid to Public Speaking', *Times Literary Supplement*, 1 July, 14-15
- WILLIAMS, CLARIE BRYONY. 2012. 'An Edition of National Art Library (Great Britain) MS. Dyce 44' (unpublished doctoral thesis, University of Sheffield)
- WILLIAMS, FRANKLIN B., JR. 1937. 'Notes on Englands Parnassus', *Modern Language Notes*, 52: 402-405
- 1962. *Index of Dedications and Commendatory Verses in English Books before 1641* (Bibliographical Society)
- WILLIAMS, GORDON. 1994. *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature*, 3 vols (Athlone Press)
- WILSON, EDWARD. 1981. (ed.) *The Winchester Anthology: A Facsimile of British Library Additional Manuscript 60577* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer)
- WILSON, ELKIN CALHOUN. 1939. *England's Eliza* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press)
- WILSON, JEAN. 1980. *Entertainments for Elizabeth I* (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer)
- WOODCOCK, THOMAS & JOHN MARTIN ROBINSON. 1988. *The Oxford Guide to Heraldry* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

- WOOLFSON, JONATHAN. 1998. *Padua and the Tudors: English Students in Italy, 1485-1603* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press)
- WOUDHUYSEN, H. R. 1996. *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558-1640* (Oxford: Clarendon Press)
- WRIGHT, CYRIL ERNEST. 1972. *Fontes Harleiani: A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection* (British Museum)
- & RUTH C. WRIGHT (eds). 1966. *The Diary of Humfrey Wanley 1715-1726* (Bibliographical Society)
- YOUNG, ALAN R. 1987. *Tudor and Jacobean Tournaments* (George Philip)

MANUSCRIPTS CITED IN THIS EDITION

Berkeley Castle, Gloucester

Gen. Ser. Misc. Papers 31/6

Birmingham City Archives

MS 3420/Acc 1933-013

Bodleian Library, Oxford

Ashmole 45

Ashmole 781

Corpus Christi 328

Digby 138

Douce e.16

Douce f.5

Douce 170

Douce 280

Douce 363

è Museo 37

Eng. hist. c.476

Eng. misc. c.330

Eng. poet. d.3

Eng. poet. e.14

Lyell empt. 12

Mus. Sch. e. 423

Rawl. poet. 31

Rawl. poet. 84

Rawl. poet. 85

Rawl. poet. 104

Rawl. poet. 108

Rawl. poet. 112

Rawl. poet. 117

Rawl. poet. 142

Rawl. poet. 148

Rawl. poet. 153
Rawl. poet. 172
Rawl. poet. 213
Tanner 169
Tanner 306
Top.Lond. e.9
Wood D.19 (2)
ptd. bk. Mal. 333

British Library, London

Add. 5956
Add. 15020
Add. 15117
Add. 15118
Add. 15225
Add. 15233
Add. 15227
Add. 17480
Add. 17786-91
Add. 17792-6
Add. 18044
Add. 19269
Add. 22118
Add. 22583
Add. 24195
Add. 28253
Add. 30982
Add. 31992
Add. 34064
Add. 38823
Add. 38892
Add. 41204
Add. 41498
Add. 52585

Add. 53723
Add. 60577
Add. 61821
Add. 64875
Add. 70454
Add. 70516
Add. 82370
Add. 8915
Cotton Julius C. III
Cotton Nero B. XI
Cotton Titus A. XXIV
Cotton Vespasian A. XXV
Egerton 944
Egerton 2009
Egerton 2421
Egerton 2642
Egerton 3165
Harl. 78
Harl. 2296
Harl. 3277
Harl. 3787
Harl. 3910
Harl. 4064
Harl. 4286
Harl. 5115
Harl. 6910
Harl. 6933
Harl. 7392
Lansdowne 104
Lansdowne 762
Sloane 542
Sloane 1446
Sloane 1489
Sloane 1709

Sloane 1792
Sloane 2497
Stowe 962
ptd. bk. C.39.a.37
ptd. bk. C.45.a.13

Brotherton Library, University of Leeds

Lt. 2
Lt. 40

Cambridge University Library

Dd.5.75
Ff.5.14
Kk.1.5
Kk.5.30
Mm.3.29
William Byrd. 1a2.Mus.
ptd. bk., Syn.7.63.148

Chetham's Library, Manchester

Mun. A.4.15

Christ Church, Oxford

Mus. 439
Mus. 984-988

College of Arms, London

B.13

Library of Congress, Washington DC

ptd. bk., Rosenwald Collection: PQ4582.E5

Derbyshire Record Office, Matlock

D156/M/A2

East Sussex Record Office, Lewes

RAF/F/13/1

SAS-M/1/514

Edinburgh University Library

Laing II.69

Folger Shakespeare Library, Washington, DC

H.b.1

V.a.89

V.a.103

V.a.149

V.a.160

V.a.162

V.a.262

V.a.276

V.a.307

V.a. 311

V.a.339

V.a.345

V.a.345

V.a.399

V.b.199

V.b.317

ptd. bk. STC 15677

ptd. bk. STC 22540, copy 1

Harvard University, Cambridge, MA

fMS Eng 1015

fMS Eng 1285

Huntington Library, San Marino, California

EL 6893

HM 8
HM 162
HM 198, part 2
HM 31191
ptd. bk. 34001

Inner Temple Library, London
Petyt 538.10

Jesus College, Oxford
150

Lambeth Palace Library, London
Sion College Collection: English 65

Leicestershire Record Office, Leicester
DG. 7/Lit. 2

Marsh's Library, Dublin
Z 3.5.21

Univeristy of Minnesota, Minneapolis
690235

National Archives, London
NA WARD 7/11/2
PROB/11/47/85
PROB/11/78/224
PROB/11/131/26
PROB/11/129/796
PROB/11/148/391
PROB/11/148/392
SP 46/126

National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh

2059

National Library of Wales, Aberystwyth

Brogyntyn 27

Peniarth 346A

Peniarth 473B

Pitchford Hall (Ottley) English Literary MSS (uncatalogued), A4

Pitchford Hall (Ottley) English Literary MSS (uncatalogued), B1
23202B

New York Public Library

Arents Coll. 288

Drexel 4180-5

The Duke of Norfolk, Arundel Castle, West Sussex

(Special Press) 'Harrington MS. Temp. Eliz.'

University of Nottingham

C1 LM 19

Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

MA 1057

Rulers of England (Eliz. I), No. 48

Queen's College, Oxford

301

Rosenbach Museum and Library, Philadelphia

1083/15

1083/16

John Rylands Library, University of Manchester

English MS 410

St. John's College, Cambridge

1/7/James 308

Sheffield Archives

Bag C/1216

Somerset Heritage Centre, Taunton

DD/WO/56/9/14

DD/WO/52/2

Surrey History Centre, Woking

LM/1085/3

6729/7/23

Texas Tech University, Lubbock

PR 1171 D14

Trinity College, Cambridge

O.9.38/James 1450

Trinity College, Dublin

160

408

Victoria and Albert Museum, London

Dyce 44

Worcester Record Office

BA 13115 Ref. 899: 683

Yale University

Osborn b52/2

Osborn b132

Osborn b205

Osborn b227

Osborn fb9

Osborn fb69

Yale University, Elizabethan Club

Eliz 294

ODNB ARTICLES CITED IN THIS EDITION

Allott, Robert (fl. 1599-1600) (Arthur F. Marotti)
Arundell, Thomas (c.1560-1639) (Andrew J. Hopper)
Batman [Bateman], Stephan [Steven] (c. 1542-1584) (Rivkah Zim)
Bryskett, Lodowick [Lewis] (c. 1546-1609/12) (Richard A. McCabe)
Buck [Buc], Sir George (bap. 1560, d. 1622) (Arthur Kincaid)
Cavendish, Sir William (1508-1557) (Sybil M. Jack)
Coningsby, Humfrey (1567-1610/11) (H. R. Woudhuysen)
Coningsby, Sir Thomas (1550-1625) (Paul E. J. Hammer)
Dyer, Sir Edward (1543-1607) (Steven W. May)
Edwards, Richard (1525-1566) (John R. Elliott, jun.)
Hoby, Sir Edward (1560-1617) (Louis A. Knafla)
Hunnis, William (d. 1597) (Andrew Ashbee)
Jefferies, Joyce (c. 1570-1650) (Robert Tittler)
Lyly, John (1554-1601) (G. K. Hunter)
Middleton, Christopher (d. 1628) (Nicholas D. Smith)
Peele, George (bap. 1556, d. 1596) (Reid Barbour)
Pudsey, Edward (bap. 1573, d. 1612/13) (David Kathman)
Ralegh, Sir Walter (1554-1618) (Mark Nicholls and Penry Williams)
Roydon, Matthew (fl. 1583-1622) (B. J. Sokol)
Weever, John (1575/6-1632) (David Kathman)
Whetstone, George (bap. 1550, d. 1587) (Emma Smith)

EARLY MODERN WORKS CITED IN FULL IN THIS EDITION

Place of publication is London unless otherwise specified

Robert Allott, *Wits Theatre of the Little World* (1599)

——— *Englands Parnassus* (1600)

Girolamo Amalteo, Giovanni Battista Amalteo and Cornelio Amalteo, *Trium Fratrum Amaltheorum Carmina* (Venice: 1627)

Andrea Alciati, *Emblematum Libellus* (Paris: 1534)

Richard Alison, *An Howres Recreation in Musicke* (1606)

The Arbor of Amorous Deuises (1597)

Roger Ascham, *The Scholemaster* (1570)

Marcus Ausonius, *His Foure Bookes*, tr. by Walter Gosnold (1638)

William Baldwin, *A Myrrour for Magistrates* (1563)

——— *The Last Part of the Mirour for Magistrates* (1578)

William Barley, *A New Booke of Tabliture* (1596)

William Barlow, *Rede me and be nott Wrothe* (1528)

John Bartlet, *A Book of Ayres* (1606)

Thomas Bateson, *Second Set of Madrigales* (1618)

Beauchesne, Jean de, *A Booke Containing Divers Sortes of Hands* (1571)

Francis Beaumont, *The Knight of the Burning Pestle* (1613)

——— and John Fletcher, *Comedies and Tragedies* (1647)

Thomas Becon, *The Iewel of Ioye* (1550)

William Biddulph, *The Trauels of Certaine Englishmen* (1608)

Giovanni Boccaccio, *Descriuinge the Falle of Princis*, tr. by John Lydgate (1494)

John Bodenham, *Bel-vedere, or the Garden of the Muses* (1600)

Nicholas Breton, *A Smale Handfull of Fragrant Flowers* (1575)

——— *A Floorish vpon Fancie* (1577)

——— *The Workes of a Young Wyt* (1577)

——— *The Wil of Wit* (1597) [1st edn 1580?]

——— *The Pilgrimage to Paradise* (1592)

——— *Wits Trenchmour* (1597)

——— *Melancholike Humours* (1600)

——— *No Whipping* (1601)

——— *The Soules Immortall Crowne* (1605)
 ——— *Choice, Chance, and Change* (1606)
 ——— *A Poste with a Packet of Madde Letters* (1606)
 ——— *Diuine Considerations* (1608)
 ——— *The Vncasing of Machauls Instructions* (1615)
 ——— *Crossing of Prouerbs* (1616)
 ——— *Crossing of Prouerbs, The Second Part* (1616)
Brittons Bowre of Delights (1591)
 William Byrd, *Psalmes, Sonets & Songs* (1588)
 Thomas Campion, *Poemata* (1595)
 ——— *The Third and Fourth Booke of Ayres* (1617)
The Card of Courtship (1653)
 Baldassarre Castiglione, *The Courtyer*, tr. by Thomas Hoby (1561)
 William Cavendish, *The Country Captaine* (1649)
 Henry Chillester, *Youthes Witte* (1581)
 Thomas Churchyard, *The Contentation Betwyxte Churchyard and Camell* (1560)
 ——— *A Pleasaunte Laborinth Called Churchyardes Chance* (1580)
 Thomas Cooper, *Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae* (1565)
 John Cotgrave, *Wits Interpreter* (1655)
 Randal Cotgrave, *A Dictionarie of the French and English Tongues* (1611)
 Alexander Craig, *Amorose Songes* (1606)
 Leonhard Culmann, *Sententiae Pueriles* (1612)
 Samuel Daniel, *Delia* (1592)
 Francis Davidson, *A Poetical Rapsody* (1602)
 John Davies, *Epigrammes and Elegies* (1599)
 ——— *Microcosmos* (1603)
 ——— *The Scourge of Folly* (1611)
 John Davies of Hereford, *The Writing Schoolemaster* (1636)
 Angel Day, *The English Secretorie* (1586)
 Olivier de Magny, *Souspirs* (Paris: 1557)
 Thomas Deloney, *The Garland of Good Will* (1628)
 Edward Dering, *Godly Priuate Prayer for Housholders to Meditate Upon* (1578)
 Phillipe Desportes, *Les Premieres Œvvres* (Paris: 1573)
 Michael Drayton, *Peirs Gaueston* (1594)

Joachim Du Bellay, *L'Olive* (Paris: 1549)
 Thomas D'Urfey, *Wit and Mirth: or, Pills to Purge Melancholy*, 6 vols (1719-20)
 Richard Edwards, *Damon and Pithias* (1571)
 Edmund Elviden, *The Closet of Counsellis* (1569)
 ——— *The Most Excellent and Plesant Metaphoricall History of Pesistratus and Catanea*
 (1570)
Englands Helicon (1600)
 John Ferne, *Blazon of Gentry* (1586)
 Alfonso Ferrabosco, *Ayres* (1609)
The First Book of the Preseruacion of King Henry the VIII (1599)
 Abraham Fraunce, *The Arcadian Rhetorike* (1588)
 William Gager, *Vlyssess Redux* (1592)
The Gentlemans Academie (1595)
 George Gascoigne, *A Hundreth Sundrie Flowres* (1573)
 ——— *The Steele Glas* (1576)
 ——— *The Whole Woorkes* (1587)
 Orlando Gibbons, *First Set of Madrigals and Mottets* (1612)
 Humphrey Gifford, *Poesie of Gilloflowers* (1580)
 Alexander Gil, *Logonomia Anglica* (1619)
 William Goddard, *A Neaste of Waspes* (1615)
 Henry Goldwell, *A Briefe Declaration of the Shews* (1581)
 Barnabe Googe, *Eglogs Epytaphes, and Sonnettes* (1563)
A Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inuentions (1578)
 Walter Gosnold, *Marcus Ausonius his Foure Bookes* (1638)
 Robert Greene, *Menaphon* (1589)
 ——— *Greenes Mourning Garment* (1590)
 ——— *Farewell to Folly* (1591)
 Fulke Greville, *Certaine Learned and Elegant Workes* (1633)
 Walter Haddon, *Lucubrationes* (1567)
 John Harington, *Orlando Furioso* (1591)
 ——— *A New Discourse of a Stale Subject* (1596)
 Gabriel Harvey, *Gratulationes Valdinenses* (1578)
 ——— *A New Letter of Notable Contents* (1593)
 ——— *Pierces Supererogation* (1593)

Stephen Hawes, *Pastime of Plesure* (1554)
 Robert Herrick, *Hesperides* (1648)
 John Higgins, *The First Part of the Mirour for Magistrates* (1574)
 Thomas Howell, *The Arbor of Amitie* (1568)
 — *Newe Sonets and Pretie Pamphlets* (1575)
 — *His Deuises* (1581)
 Robert Howlett, *School of Recreation* (1684)
 William Hunnis, *A Hyue full of Hunnye* (1578)
 Robert Jones, *Second Book of Songs and Ayres* (1601)
 Ben Jonson, *The Comicall Satyre of Euery Man out of his Humor* (1599)
 — *Euery Man in his Humor* (1601)
 — *The Workes* (1616)
 Timothy Kendall, *Flowers of Epigrammes* (1577)
 Thomas Kyd, *The Spanish Tragedie* (1592)
Lachrymæ Musarum (1649)
 Robert Laneham, *A Letter* (1575)
 Adrian Le Roy, *A Briefe and Plaine Instruction* (1574)
 Gerard Legh, *Accedens of Armory* (1562)
 Levinus Lemnius, *An Herbal for the Bible* (1587)
 David Lindsay, *A Dialogue Betweene Experience and a Courtier* (1575)
 Nicholas Ling, *Politeuphuia, Wits Common Wealth* (1598)
Livre de Chansons Nouvelles, avec 2 Dialogues (Paris: 1571)
 Lodowick Lloyd, *The Pilgrimage of Princes* (1573)
 Thomas Lodge, *Scillaes Metamorphoses* (1589)
 — *Rosalynde* (1592)
 — *Phillis* (1593)
 — *A Margarite of America* (1596)
 Anne Lok, *A Meditation of a Penitent Sinner* (1560)
 Richard Lovelace, *Lucasta Posthume* (1659)
Loues Garland, or Posies for Rings, Hand-kerchers, and Gloues (1624)
 John Lyly, *Euphues: the Anatomy of Wyt* (1578)
 — *Euphues and his England* (1580)
 — *Sapho and Phao* (1584)
 — *Loues Metamorphoses ... First Playd by the Children of Paules* (1601)

Gervase Markham, *Devoreux. Vertues Teares* (1597)
The Marrow of Complements (1654)
 John Marston, *The Metamorphoses of Pigmaliions Image* (1598)
 ——— *Histrion-mastix or the Player Whipt* (1610)
 Pierre Matthieu, *Histoire des Derniers Troubles de France ... Livre Premier* (Lyon: 1594)
 Brian Melbancke, *Philotimus* (1583)
 John Mennes, *Musarum Deliciae* (1655)
 ——— *Wit Restor'd* (1658)
 Francis Meres, *Palladis Tamia* (1598)
Micrologia (1629)
 Christopher Middleton, *The First Part of the Nature of a Woman* (1596)
 ——— *The Famous Historie of Chinon of England* (1597)
 ——— *The Legend of Humphrey Duke of Glocester* (1600)
 Thomas Morley, *Consort Lessons* (1599)
 ——— *First Book of Ayres*, 1600
 Anthony Munday, *The Mirrour of Mutabilitie* (1579)
 ——— *The Paine of Pleasure* (1580)
 ——— *Famous and Renowned Historie of Primaleon of Greece* (1619)
 Thomas Nashe, *Pierce Peniless* (1592)
 Thomas Overbury, *The First and Second part of The Remedy of Loue* (1620)
 Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, tr. by Arthur Golding (1567)
 ——— *The Three First Bookes of ... Tristibus*, tr. by Thomas Churchyard (1580)
The Paradyse of Daynty Deuises (1576)
 Robert Parry, *Sinetes Passions vppon his Fortunes* (1597)
The Passionate Pilgrim (1599)
 George Peele, *The Araygnement of Paris* (1584)
 Martin Peerson, *Private Musicke. Or the First Booke of Ayres and Dialogues* (1620)
The Phoenix Nest (1593)
 Samuel Pick, *Festum Voluptatis* (1639)
 John Playford, *Select Musicall Ayres* (1652)
 Plutarch, *De Capienda ex Inimicis Utilitate* tr. by Thomas Elyot (1531)
Poems Written by the Right Honorable William Earl of Pembroke (1660)
 Samuel Purchas, *Purchas his Pilgrimage* (1613)

George Puttenham, *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589)

Francis Quarles, *Divine Fancies* (1633)

The Queenes Maiesties Entertainment at Woodstocke (1585)

Regimen Sanitatis Salerni tr. by Thomas Paynell (1538)

Barnabe Rich, *A Right Exelent and Pleasaunt Dialogue* (1574)

—— *Riche his Farewell to Militarie Profession* (1581)

Richard Robinson, *A Rare, True, and Proper Blazon of Coloures in Armoryes* (1583)

—— *A Golden Mirrour* (1589)

Pierre de Ronsard, *Les Amours* (Paris: 1552)

Philip Rosseter, *A Booke of Ayres* (1601)

Benjamin Rudyerd, *Le Prince d'Amour* (1660)

Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem* (1561)

William Segar, *Blazon of Papistes* (1587)

—— *Booke of Honor and Armes* (1590)

—— *Honor Military, and Ciuill* (1602)

Seneca, *Thyestes*, tr. by Jasper Heywood (1560)

—— *Oedipus*, tr. by Alexander Neville (1563)

Philip Sidney, *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1590)

—— *Syr P.S. His Astrophel and Stella* (1591)

—— *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1593)

—— *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1598)

Songes and Sonettes (1557)

The Speeches and Honorable Entertainment ... at Cowdrey (1591)

Edmund Spenser, *The Shepheardes Calender* (1579)

—— *Faerie Queene* (1590)

—— *Daphnaïda* (1591)

—— *Amoretti and Epithalamion* (1595)

Publio Francesco Spinula, *Opera* (Venice: 1563)

Estienne Tabourot, *Les Bigarrures* (Paris: 1583)

The Tears of Fancie (1593)

Giovanni Matteo Toscanus, *Carmina Illustrium Poetarum Italarum* (Paris: 1576)

Tom Tyler and his Wife (1661)

George Turbervile, *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonets* (1567)

—— *The Heroycall Epistles* (1567)

Giovanni Paolo Ubaldini, *Carmina Poetarum Nobilium* (Milan: 1563)

Thomas Vautor, *The First Set: Beeing Songs of Diuers Ayres and Natures* (1619)

Robert Vilvain, *Enchiridium Epigrammatum Latino-Anglicum* (1654)

Virgil, *The Whole .xii. Bookes of the Æneidos*, tr. by Thomas Phaer (1573)

—— *Opera* (1580)

John Ward, *The First Set of English Madrigals* (1613)

William Warner, *Albions England* (1586)

Thomas Watson, *The Hekatompathia or Passionate Centurie of Loue* (1582?)

John Weeever, *Epigrammes* (1599)

—— *Faunus* (1600)

—— *Ancient Funerall Monuments* (1631)

George Whetstone, *The Rocke of Regard* (1576)

—— *An Heptameron of Ciuill Discourses* (1582) [reissued as *Aurelia* in 1593]

—— *The Honorable Reputation of a Souldier* (1585)

Geoffrey Whitney, *A Choice of Emblemes* (1586)

John Wilson, *Select Ayres* (1659)

Thomas Wilson, *Arte of Rhetorique* (1560)

The Wisdom of Doctor Dodypoll (1600)

George Wither, *A Collection of Emblemes* (1635)

Wits Drollery (1661)

Witt's Recreations (1641)

Abraham Wright, *Delitiae Delitiarum* (1637)

James Yates, *The Castell of Courtesie* (1578)

APPENDICES

APPENDIX 1

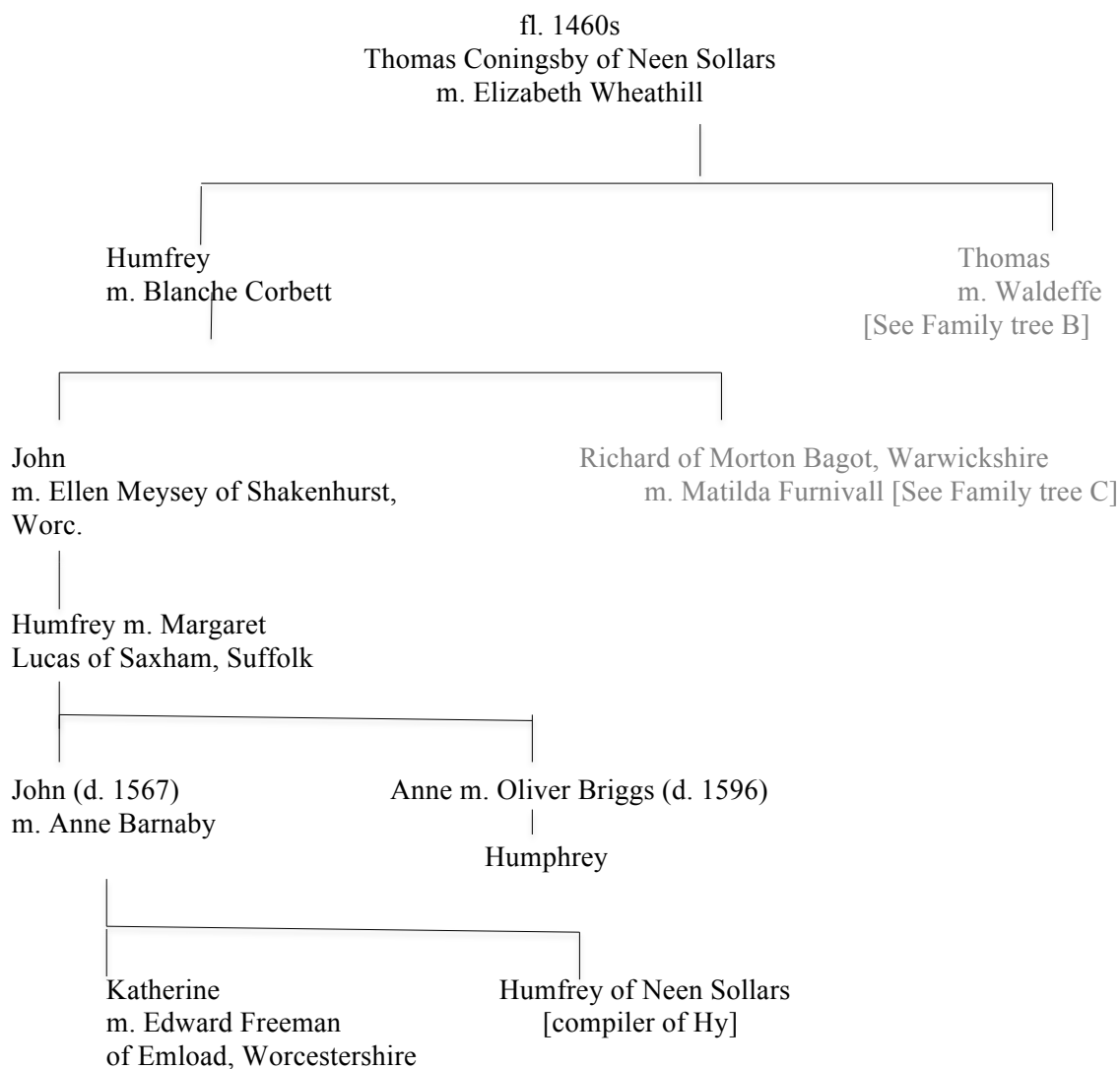
Overview table

Entry number in this edition	Entry number in Hand A's sequence: 1-127
1-5	1-5
6	5 [sic]
7-21	6-20
22	
23-25	21-23
26	23 [sic]
27-62	24-59
63-65	60
66-95	61-90
96	
97	91
98	
99-100	92-3
101	
102	94
103-104	
105-113	95-103
114	
115-125	104-114
126	
127-130	115-118
131	
132-133	119-120
134-137	
138	121
139	
140-145	122-127

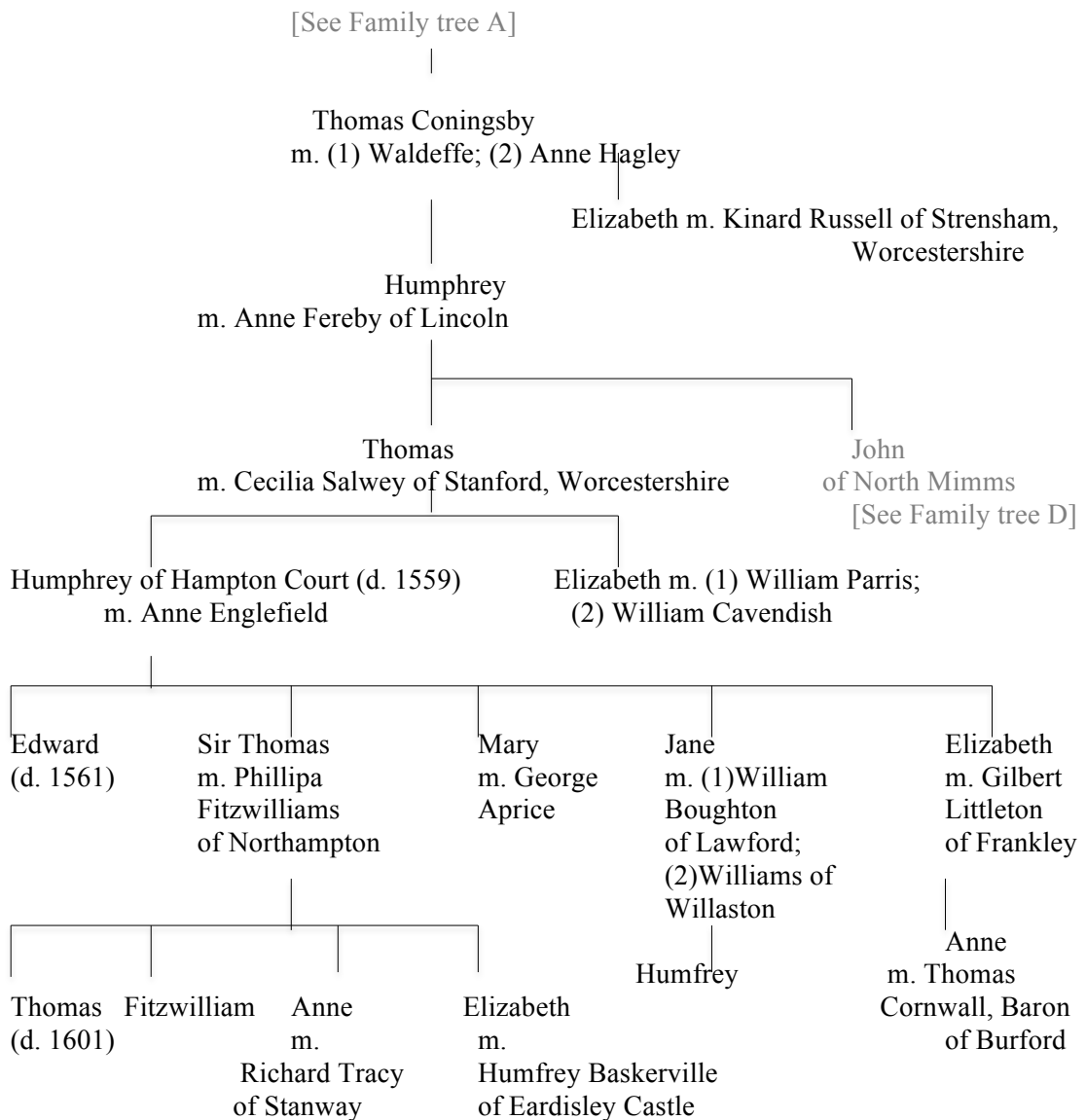
**Shaded areas show entries that fall outside Hand A's numbering sequence*

APPENDIX 2

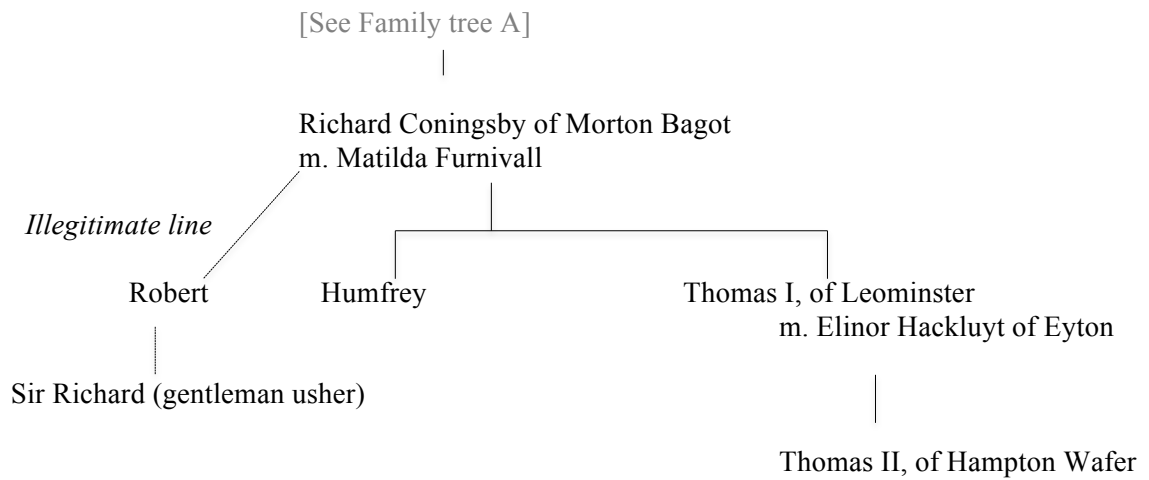
Family tree A: Humfrey Coningsby of Neen Sollars, Shropshire



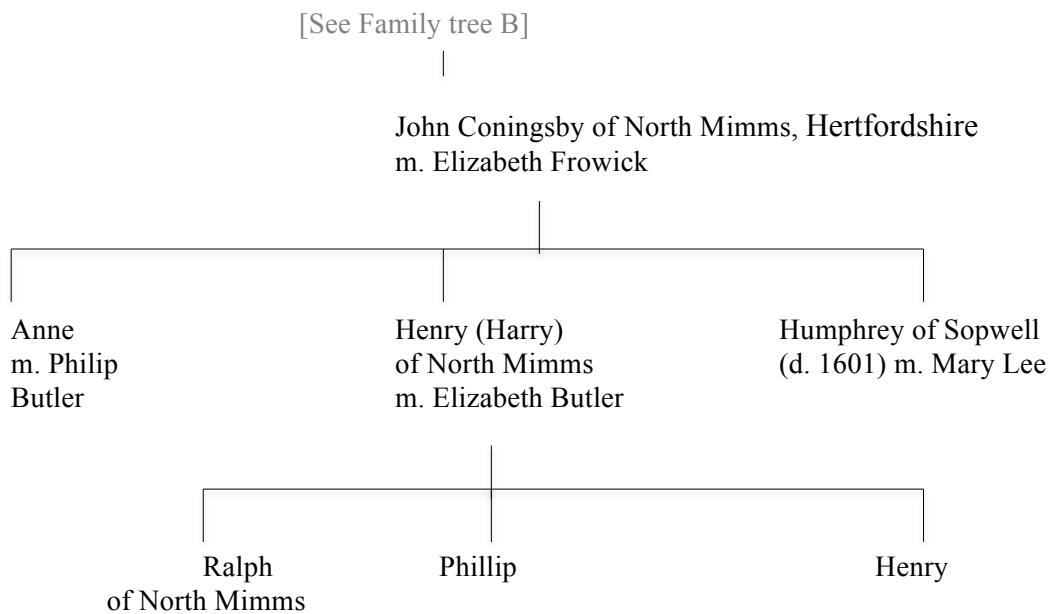
Family tree B: Sir Thomas Coningsby of Hampton Court, Herefordshire



Family tree C: Sir Richard Coningsby (gentleman usher)



Family tree D: Humphrey Coningsby of Sopwell, Hertfordshire (MP for St. Albans)

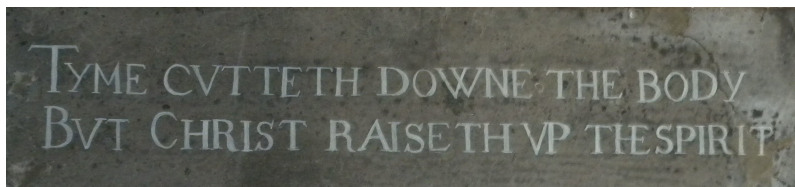


APPENDIX 3

The Coningsby monument in the Parish Church of Neen Sollars, Shropshire



A

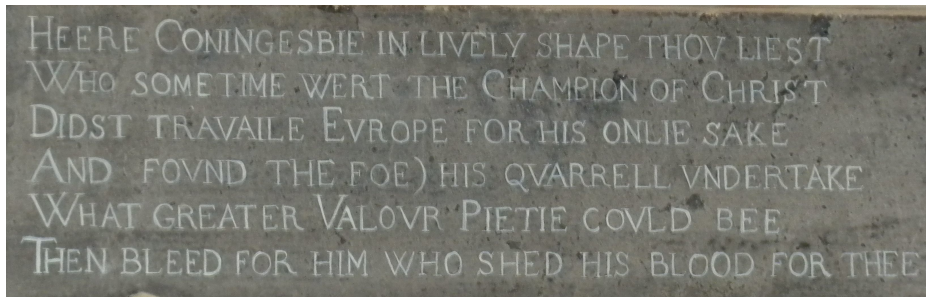


TYME CVTTETH DOWNE THE BODY

BVT CHRIST RAISETH VP THE SPIRIT

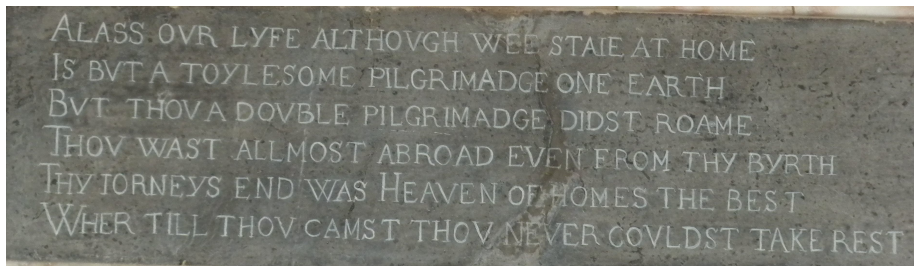
Webb transcribed the tomb inscriptions (with some inaccuracies) in his article on Humfrey's step-sister Joyce Jeffreys (1857: 190-3).

B



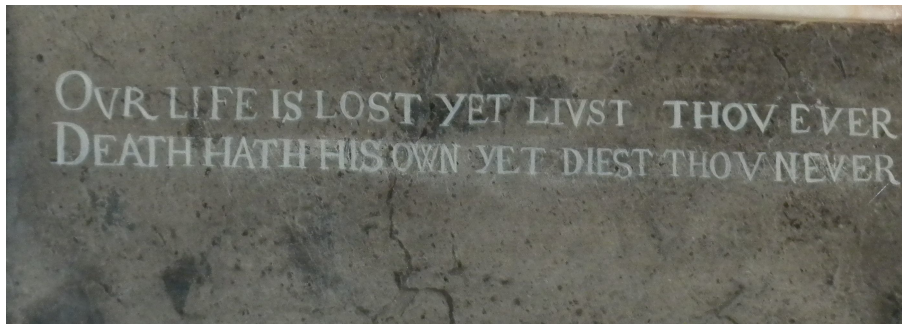
HEERE CONINGESBIE IN LIVELY SHAPE THOV LIEST
 WHO SOMETIME WERT THE CHAMPION OF CHRIST
 DIDST TRAVAILE EVROPE FOR H IS ONLIE SAKE
 AND (FOVND THE FOE) HIS QVARRELL VNDERTAKE
 WHAT GREATER VALOVR PIETIE COULD BEE
 THEN BLEED FOR HIM WHO SHED HIS BLOOD FOR THEE

C



ALASS OVR LYFE ALTHOVGH WEE STAIE AT HOME
 IS BVT A TOYLESOME PILGRIMADGE ONE EARTH
 BUT THOV A DOVBLE PILGRIMADGE DIDST ROAME
 THOV WAST ALLMOST ABROAD EVEN FROM THY BYRTH
 THY IORNEYS END WAS HEAVEN OF HOMES THE BEST
 WHER TILL THOV CAMST THOV NEVER COULDST TAKE REST

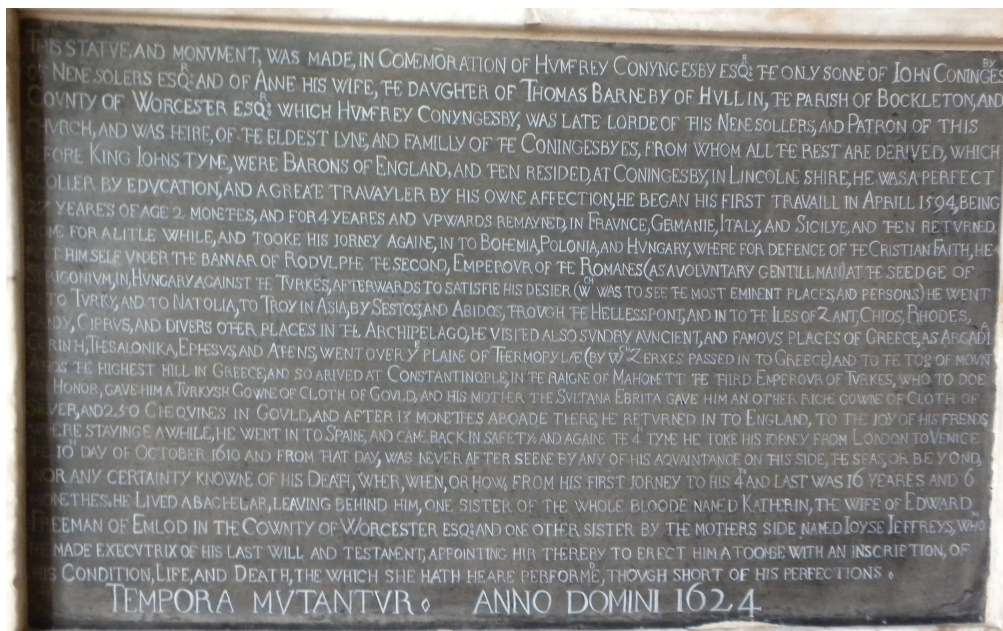
D



OVR LIFE IS LOST YET LIVST THOV EVER

DEATH HATH HIS OWN YET DIEST THOV NEVER

E



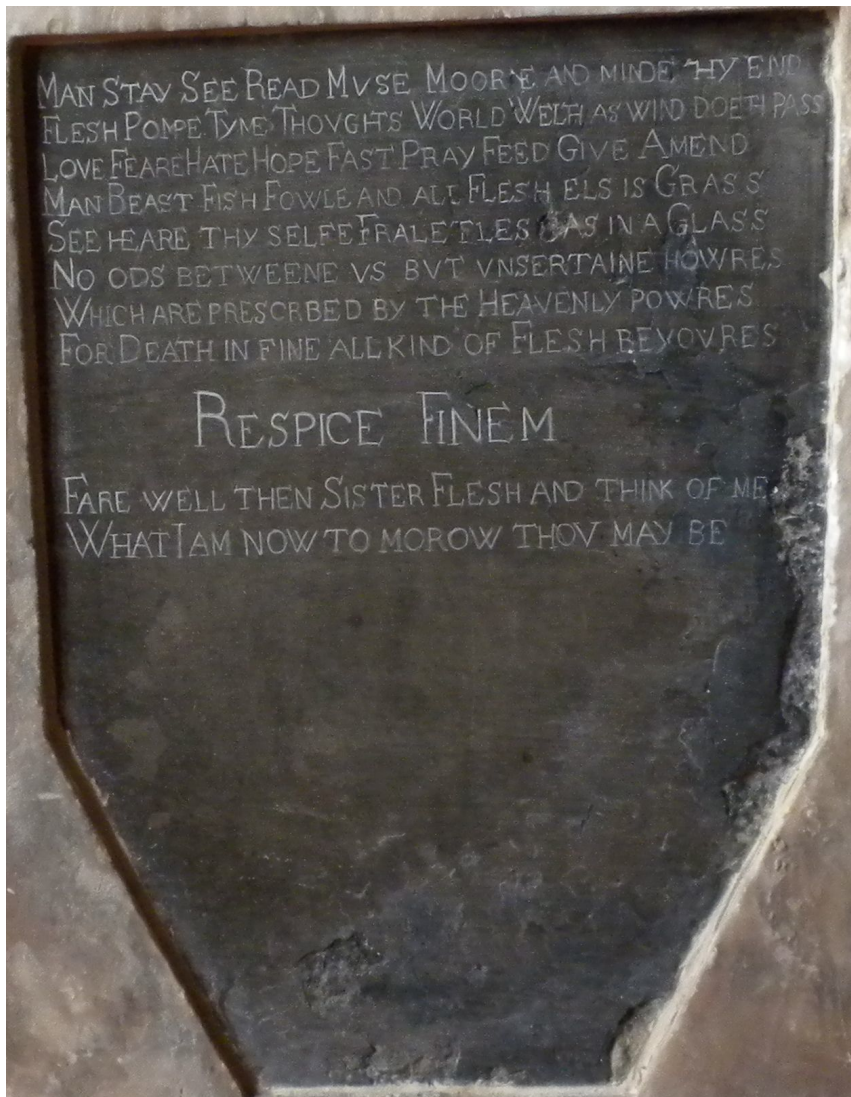
THIS STATVE, AND MONVMENT, WAS MADE, IN COMEMMORATION OF HVMFREY CONYNGESBY ESQUIRE THE ONLY SONNE OF IOHN CONINGESBY | OF NENE SOLERS ESQUIRE AND OF ANNE HIS WIFE, THE DAUGHTER OF THOMAS BARNEBY OF HULL, IN THE PARISH OF BOCKLETON, AND | COUNTY OF WORCESTER ESQUIRE WHICH HVMFREY CONYNGESBY, WAS LATE LORDE OF THIS NENE SOLLERS, AND PATRON OF THIS | CHURCH, AND WAS HEIRE, OF THE ELDEST LYNE, AND FAMILY OF THE CONYNGESBYES, FROM WHOM ALL THE REST ARE DERIVED, WHICH | BEFORE KING IHONS TYME, WERE BARONS OF ENGLAND, AND THEN RESIDED, AT CONINGESBY, IN LINCOLNESHIRE. HE WAS A PERFECT | SCOLLER BY EDVCATION, AND A GREATE TRAVAYLER BY HIS OWN AFFECTION. HE BEGAN HIS FIRST TRAVAILL IN APRIL 1594, BEING | 27 YEARES OF AGE

2 MONETHES, AND FOR 4 YEARES AND VPWARDS REMAYNED, IN FRAVNCE, GERMANIE, ITALY, AND SICILYE, AND THEN RETVRNED | HOME FOR A LITL WHILE, AND TOOKE HIS JORNEY AGAINE, INTO BOHEMIA, POLONIA, AND HVNGARY, WHERE FOR DEFENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN FAITH, HE | PUT HIMSELF VNDER THE BANNAR OF RODVLPHE, THE SECOND, EMPEROVR OF THE ROMANES (AS A VOLVNTARY GENTILLMAN) AT THE SEEDGE OF | STRIGONIVM, IN HUNGARY AGAINST THE TURKES, AFTERWARDS TO SATISFIE HIS DESIER (WHICH WAS TO SEE THE MOST EMINENT PLACES AND PERSONS) HE WENT | INTO TVRKY, AND TO NATOLIA, TO TROY IN ASIA, BY SESTOS, AND ABIDOS, THROVGH THE HELLESSPONT, AND INTO THE ILES OF ZANT, CHIOS, RHODES, | CANDY, CYPRUS, AND DIVERS OTHER PLACES IN THE ARCHIPELAGO. HE VISITED ALSO SVNDRY AVNCIENT, AND FAMOVS PLACES OF GREECE, AS ARCADIA, | CORINTH, THESALONIKA, EPHESVS, AND ATHENS, WENT OVER THE PLAINE OF THERMOPYLAE (BY WHICH ZERXES PASSED INTO GREECE) AND TO THE TOP OF MOVNT | ATHOS THE HIGHEST HILL IN GREECE, AND SO ARRIVED AT CONSTANTINOPLE, IN THE RAIGNE OF MAHOMETT THE THIRD EMPEROVR OF TURKES, WHO TO DOE | HIM HONOR, GAVE HIM A TURKYSH GOWNE OF CLOTH OF GOVLD, AND HIS MOTHER THE SVLTANA EBRITA GAVE HIM ANOTHER RICHE GOWNE OF CLOTH OF | SILVER, AND 250 CHEQUINS IN GOVLD. AND AFTER 13 MONETHES ABOADE THERE, HE RETURNED INTO ENGLAND, TO THE JOY OF HIS FRENDS, | WHERE STAYINGE AWHILE, HE WENT INTO SPAINE, AND CAME BACK IN SAFETY, AND AGAINE THE 4TH TYME HE TOKE HIS IORNEY FROM LONDON TO VENICE | THE 10TH DAY OF OCTOBER 1610 AND FROM THAT DAY, WAS NEVER AFTER SEENE BY ANY OF HIS AQUAINTANCE ON THIS SIDE, THE SEAS, OR BEYOND, | NOR ANY CERTAINTY KNOWNE OF HIS DEATH, WHER, WHEN, OR HOW. FROM HIS FIRST IORNEY TO HIS 4TH AND LAST WAS 16 YEARES AND 6 | MONETHES. HE LIVED A BACHELAR, LEAVING BEHIND HIM, ONE SISTER OF THE WHOLE BLOODE NAMED KATHERIN, THE WIFE OF EDWARD | FREEMAN OF EMLOD IN THE COWNTY OF WORCESTER ESQUIRE AND ONE OTHER SISTER BY THE MOTHERS SIDE NAMED IOYSE IEFFREYS, WHOM | HE MADE EXECVTRIX OF HIS LAST WILL AND TESTAMENT, APPOINTING HIR THEREBY TO ERECT HIM A TOOMBE WITH AN INSCRIPTION, OF | HIS CONDITION, LIFE, AND DEATH, THE WHICH SHE HATH HEARE PERFORMED, THOUGH SHORT OF HIS PERFECTIONS.

TEMPORA MVTANTVR

ANNO DOMINI 1624

F



MAN STAY SEE READ MVSE MOORNE AND MINDE THY END
 FLESH POMPE TYME THOUGHTS WORLD WELTH AS WIND DOETH PASS
 LOVE FEARE HATE HOPE FAST PRAY FEED GIVE AMEND
 MAN BEAST FISH FOWLE AND ALL FLESH ELS IS GRASS
 SEE HEARE THY SELFE FRALETIES AS IN A GLASS
 NO ODS BETWEENE VS BUT VNSERTAIN E HOWRES
 WHICH ARE PRESCRIBED BY THE HEAVELY POWRES
 FOR DEATH IN FINE ALL KIND OF FLESH DEVOURS

 RESPICE FINEM

 FAREWELL THEN SISTER FLESH AND THINK OF ME
 WHAT I AM NOW TOMOROW THOU MAY BE

APPENDIX 4

Humfrey Coningsby's will: NA, PROB 11/129/796

In the name of God, Amen. The Tenth day of November. 1608. And the Sixt yeare of Kinge James his raigne, over greate Brittain. I Humfrey Coningesby of Nene Solers in the Countie of Saloppe Esquier, sounde in Bodie and mynde doe make my will, as followeth: First I recommend me to Almighty god, and deade; will thatt all such debtes as I owe of right, or of conscience to any be trulie contented by myne Executor and paid without delay or contradiction. Further I will that Five hundred markes be bestowed vpon my funeralls and Tombe with an inscription of my condicion, lyfe & death which beinge done: I giue to Dame Anne Ketelbye my mother, a Ringe of goulde with wordes whiche myne Executor knoweth and a fayre Bible bounde in purple. The like bookes and rings, doe I giue to my two sisters Katherine Freeman, and Joyce Jefferies, and to my Aunte Williams, and my aunte Freeman. I giue to Sir Thomas Coningesbye of Hampton Courte in the Countye of Hereforde, Knighte, all my Bookes, and Armes, my best Cabinet, my biggest glasse, my fayrest lute, and Pictures, to remaine in the house at Nene when it shall be built, and inhabited, which I desire maie be some tyme by himself. To <the> his sonne <of> FitzWilliam, a sworde, and a dagger with girdle, and hangers, and a horse furnished of Fortye poundes. To my Cosen Elizabeth Baskervile his daughter a white hower glasse of Sea horse toothe fower in one ruinnge by quarters, and altogether. To Sir Richard Coningesbie Knighte: To Thomas Cornewaile Baron of Burford, And to Sir George Blount of Sodington Three greate Venetian lookinge glasses, theis fower last to be cased in purple velvet imbrodered with goulde. To Sir Thomas Cornewayle of Burforde my blacke Padouan late [i.e. lute] of Indian Cane: And to his Ladie my Cosen Anne, my second Cabinet. To Sir Frauncis Ketelbie, Sir Christopher Yelverton, Sir Henry Lello, Edward Freeman, Robin Bailie, and Hewet Stapers each of them a Ringe of goulde withe a Diamond of the value of Tenne poundes, prayinge them all to vouchsafe of these meane remembraunces. I bequeathe to the Reparacion of the South Chauncell at Nene Tenne poundes and to the poore there, Tenne poundes. And to the mendinge of the highe waies within that Lordeshippe Tenne poundes. And will that noe nowe inhabitinge Tennente of myne there be put out of there Tenement duringe their liues if they will there staie, and giue as others, And I remitt vnto them such heriotts as shalbe due at their deceases. I giue and bequeathe to my saide mother, the Ladye Kettelbie an Annuitie or Yearelie rent of one hundred marks duringe her lyfe, to be paide her out of those Lande <and> of Iointure heretofore made vnto her by my Father John Coningesbye deceased in the saide Mannor of Nene, And if those landes amounte not vnto that yearelie value, then the want to be suppllied out of myne other landes there. I giue to my said sister Ioyce Jefferies the like Annuitie of one hundred markes out of the saide Nene duringe her life. And alsoe vnto her

I bequeath ^{all} myne interest in leases of Howses, Stables, Gardaines, and other Comodities whatsoever in or within Fiue myles of London, and all my goodes moueable wheresoever I giue vnto her the saide Ioyce. I giue vnto Sir Richard Luce Clarke Parson of Nene Tenne poundes Annuitie; To Peter Moraine and Ferdinandoe Waste, remayninge my seruantes, at my decease: Twenty poundes apeece Annuities. To my three Godsonnes Humfrey Hardman, Humfrye Perry, and Humfrey Stockwell, and to Harry Meredeth once my boy, Forty shillinges apeece Annuities, out of the said Nene duringe their liues, Condicionally that they sell not away my giufte. And heere I will and desire my sayde sister Katherine Freeman, & whome soever els that shall or maye haue, or shall claime, or pretend to haue anie righte, tytle, or propertie in, or to the saide mannor of Neene Solers, and Cotson hereafter named, or any parte thereof, as in, and by her right and interests within one yeare after request vnto her and then made to giue passe, release, and convey by suche courses of lawe as by Counsaile learned shalbe advised her, and their, and either of their ^{whole} interestes and estates of in, and to the saide Mannor with thappertenances and euery parte thereof vnto suche, and their heires in Fee simple as I haue adopted myne heires by this my Will, and Testament, at the Charges in lawe of my saide heires The whiche, if my sayd sister Katherine, and thaforesaid Claymers shall performe then I bequeath vnto her my said sister, to Coningesby Freeman her sonne, my Godchilde, and to Edward Freeman her husband, the whole Mannor of Cotson in the County of Worcester, with all the profittes and commodities there vnto belonginge. To holde and enioye the saide Mannor with thappertenances and euery parte thereof, to the sayde Katherine Coningesbie; and Edward successiue as I name them, duringe their three liues, and the life of the longest liuer of them, yeildinge and payinge therefore yearely duringe the said terme at the Mannor howse of Nenesolers, one Lambe at the feaste of Crister, And at the nativity of St Iohn the Baptist, one Fleece of Wooll, both bred vpon Cotson soyle willinge my saide brother Freeman to dispenche herein with the Prerogatiue of an husband vpon whome our lawe casteth the right of his Wife; [&] that he will suffer my sister to dispose of Cotson, whollie at her owne will, duringe her tyme, for the assistance ^{of herself} & educacion of her Children ^{otherwise} duringe such time as my saide sister and brother shall both be liuinge: I giue to the saide Coningesbie Freeman, Twenty powndes annuitye and to every younge childe of his Tenne poundes Annuitye And the rest to herself, out of the said Cotson, The Hawthornes, and trees ^{there} must be preserved with ordinary cropping saue dead and wyndefallen ones, and noe spoile made by fallinge nor ploughinge: Prouided that yf my saide sister Katherine, and the aforesaid Claimers, or anie of them doe refuse to quite, claime, and to make suche estate as aforesaid, That then my said bequest of Cotson, and euery parte thereof vnto her, her sonne, husband and children to be vtterlie voyde And for the fuller accomplishment of my will, Cotson to be charged with soemuch as Nene shall want of the bequest and the Remnaunte to myne heires All my landes now beinge <in> Fee simple without intaile, Statute, or any manner of incumbrance havinge all

my life bene carefull of myne estate; and to conserue the inheritance discended vnto me from soemanie generacions, still yet, though I be a fruitles tree in the name of Coningesbie, as I received it, Therefore continewinge in the same resolucion, prayinge my sucessors to doe the like: I freely giue, and bequeath vnto Sir Thomas Coningesbie afore named, my whole Mannor of Nenesolers and Cotson aforesaid wth thappertenances togeather withall the proffites, privileges Commaundes and Commodities there vnto belonging, or <other> in any wise apperteyninge. And all my Mannors, Messuages, Landes, Tenementes, Rentes Reuertions, Remainders, Possessions, Advowsons, Rightes, Condictions, Titles, Claimes and Interestes: present and future within the realme of England and without, Soe that what is or maye be in me, my will is, that it shall be as fullie, whollie, & absolutelie in him. To haue, & to hould, the said mannors and all other the premisses with thappertenances my former bequestes reserved, as aforesaid, to the said Sir Thomas Coningesbye and to the heires males of his bodie lawfullie begotten forever. And soe default of suche to any the yssues females of the body of the said Sir Thomas lawfullie begotten, that with her Fathers consent shall be marryed to a Coningesbye by surname; of my bloud, soe that the saide Coningesbie by surname be not discended from the bodye of one Richarde Coningesbie once of Morton Bagott in the County of Warwicke gent deceased uncle to my late Grandfather Humfrey Coningesbye of Nene solers aforesaid and to the heires males of her bodie, and the bodie of the said Coningesbie lawfullie begotten And for defaulte of suche yssue to Sir Raphe Conningesbie of North Mymes in the County of Hartforde knight And to the heires males of his body lawfullie begotten. And for defaulte of suche yssue to Sir Phillippe Coningesbie knight, brother to the saide Sir Raphe, and to the heires males of his bodye lawfully begotten And for defaulte of suche yssue; to Henrye Coningesbie gent, brother to the sayd Sir Phillipe and Raphe and to the heires males of his bodye lawfullie begotten; And for defaulte of suche yssue to that Coningesbie by Surname which shalbe trulie founde to be next vnto me in kindred, and bloud lawfullie begotten, and not discended from the person of the foresaid Richard ther vncl, and to the heires males of the said Coningesbie lawfullie begotton And soe in this manner from one Coningesbie to another. My desire and intent finallie beinge to continue my landes and Patrimonie in my name And for defaulte of suche to the righte heires of me the said Humfrey Coningesbie forever. This my will and Testament is written with mine owne hand, and framed only by myselfe without the Counsaile, or correction of any lawyer and therefore if it be not soe formall, as it ought, not ^soe^ certeyne, but that there maye growe question therein I require my intent to be received reserruinge the interpretacion to myne Executor that best doth knowe my mynde whiche Executor I name and ordayne to be my sayde sister Ioyce Jefferies prayinge her to acomplishe the will of her deade brother of whose honest performance I rest assured havinge ever founde her lovinge to me and iust to all. And I utterlie revoke and adnull <all> all, & every other former Testamentes willes, legacies, Bequestes, Executors, and overseers by me in anywyse before this tyme, made, named,

willed, and bequeathed. In witnes whereof I haue hearevnto put my hande and seale the day and
yeare firste ab{o}ue written, in the presence of these whose names are subscribed: viz Ioyce
Jefferies, Henry Lello. Hum: Hard: William Iefferies. Ferdinando Waste. signum Rich:
Haworth. Hen: yelveton, Humf: Baskervile: Humfrey Boughton. Humfrey Coningesbie./