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A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILMENT  
OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

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APRIL 2014

VOLUME II: COMMENTARY



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**NOTE ON CONVENTIONS**

For all rhetorical terms used in the Commentary, see Glossary at the end of this volume. For all other abbreviations, see **Sources and Abbreviations** in Volume I.

This edition does not provide a commentary for [64], Edmund Campion's Latin poem *Sancta salutiferi nascentia semina verbi*. The Commentary therefore omits any entry for [64], and accordingly moves uninterrupted from [63] to [65].

## EDITORIAL COMMENTARIES

[1]

*HEROIDES* 17 BY SIR THOMAS CHALONER (c. 1521-1565)

Poem [1] is Sir Thomas Chaloner's translation of Ovid, *Heroides* 17, the epistle of Helen to Paris. The subscription by Hand F claims Chaloner's authorship, which Park accepted when he printed [1] from *P* in the 1804 edition of the *Nugæ Antiquæ* (NA3), II, pp. 372-389. Christopher Martin also included [1] as a Chaloner piece in his selection *Ovid in English* (1998). The poem is apparently unique to *P*, and constitutes the first full English translation of a poem from the *Heroides*. In 1567, George Turberville translated the whole of Ovid's collection as *The Heroycall Epistles of [...] Publius Ouidius Naso* (STC 18939.5). Certain similarities in phrasing suggest that he may have been acquainted with Chaloner's poem (see below).

Chaloner was a significant diplomat and writer who served under Henry VIII, Edward VI, Mary I, and Elizabeth I. He was most probably educated at St John's College, Cambridge, then a centre of humanist learning under the tutelage of Sir John Cheke and Sir Thomas Smith (see Venn and Venn, I, 1922: 315; à Wood, I, 1813: 346-347). Chaloner served under Thomas Cromwell in 1538, and undertook his earliest diplomatic role in 1540, when he attended the Imperial Diet at Regensburg as the secretary of the ambassador Sir Henry Knyvet, dedicatee of Chaloner's first printed publication, a translation of a Latin guide to servants by Gilbert Cousin, *Of The Office of Servavntes* (1543; STC 5879). Thereafter, Chaloner served as special ambassador to France under Edward VI in 1553; was sent on diplomatic missions to Mary, Queen of Scots (1556) by Mary I; and, under Elizabeth I, took prominent diplomatic roles in Germany and Flanders (1558-1559) before attaining his most prestigious appointment as ambassador to Spain (1561-1565). Chaloner was also clerk of the Privy Council (1545-1551) and was knighted on the battlefield by Edward Seymour, Protector Somerset, after the Battle of Pinkie in September, 1547. He died in 1565. For further biographical details, see *ODNB* ('Chaloner, Sir Thomas, the elder').

Chaloner's political and writing careers brought him in the ambit of several of the other poets in *P*. He translated Cheke's Latin homily of St John Chrysostom as *An Homilie of Saint Iohn Chrysostome* (1544; STC 14637), and also made the first English translation of Erasmus' *The praise of folie* (1549; STC 10500). Chaloner seems to have known both Thomas Phaer and Wyatt, and included epitaphs of both men in the posthumously-published *De Rep.*

*Anglorum* (1579; STC 4938), sigs Z2<sup>v</sup>-Z4<sup>f</sup>. Chaloner and Phaer may have known each other through their ties with the *Myrrour for Magistrates* circle of poets, though the extent of Phaer's involvement in this group, if any, is difficult to establish. Chaloner's contribution to the *Myrrour* was the tragedy of Richard II. This implies that he was composing English verse in at least the early 1550s. In *The Elizabethan Verse Libel* (forthcoming), Steven W. May and Alan Bryson have attributed a libel to Chaloner which he composed during his embassy to Spain in the early 1560s. It is possible that [1] dates from a similar period of the 1550s to early 1560s. The Latin subscription 'eques auratus' confirms that the poem was copied, if not translated, after 1547, the year of Chaloner's knighthood.

Chaloner's decision to translate an epistle from the *Heroides* coincided with a period when English writers were returning to Ovid, culminating in the publication of Arthur Golding's *The xv. Bookes of P. Ouidius Naso, entytuled Metamorphosis* (1567; STC 18956). *Heroides* 17 is one the six 'double epistles', featuring letters by classical male and female lovers, which were appended to the initial group of fifteen single *Heroides* written solely by the wronged female lovers back to their male paramours. As E. J. Kenney points out, Ovid's authorship of the double epistles is disputed (Kenney, 1996: 20-26). It is possible that Chaloner originally coupled [1] with Paris' preceding letter to Helen, *Heroides* 16, which has apparently not survived. *Heroides* 17 charts Helen's frame of mind as she ponders whether or not to go with Paris to Troy, a decision which catalyses the Trojan war. The epistle makes several proleptic references to this event: see in particular ll. 239-240, 246, and 255-256. Duncan F. Kennedy discusses the wider tendency of Ovid's heroines to anticipate future historical episodes (Kennedy, 2002: 226-229).

Chaloner's characterisation of Helen in [1] differs from Ovid's in two principal details. First, he amplifies her preoccupation both with her own ancestry (l. 52), and that of Paris (l. 136). Second, he adds numerical details to Helen's language (ll. 31, 72, and 131), who writes to Paris of both 'broking' (l. 113) and 'treating' (ll. 201, 263), and is attended by female 'Counsaylours' (l. 268) rather than maids. Taken together, these additions make Helen and Paris' prospective love match a process of negotiating and bargaining one's worth, of which Helen has a shrewd awareness. In his treatment of the politics and economics of love thus, Chaloner anticipates one of the central themes of Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*. With Chaucer's *Criseyde*, Chaloner's Helen shares a fear for her future reputation (see l. 34).

In general, Chaloner updates Ovid for a Tudor audience, writing not only of privy councillors but also of 'gentlenes' (l. 9) and 'knighthode' (l. 117) amid numerous other anachronistic details. This is likewise a feature of [2], [3], and [15] in *P*, Thomas Phaer's

translation of Books 1-3 of the *Aeneid*. Chaloner uses ME archaisms and turns of phrase to give the epistle, and Helen, a familiar resonance to his readership (e.g. l. 44: ‘lear’, l. 151: ‘mell’, and l. 178: ‘wot ner how’). One of his most consistent departures from the Latin is his almost uniform avoidance of *antonomasia*, through which Ovid describes people via epithet (e.g. Helen as ‘Tyndaridiis coniunx’, ‘Tyndareus’ daughter’). Chaloner prefers direct naming, a preference that he again shares with Phaer. This decision perhaps indicates the sparer attitude to rhetorical flair with is typical of mid-Tudor verse. Chaloner does, however, show an interest in the classical practice of patterning sounds chiasmically, as in l. 114. He translates Ovid’s proverbial phrases closely in ll. 139, 166, 190, and 263, and is not averse to giving some lines more of an aphoristic air than in the Latin, as in ll. 235-236.

In form, Chaloner composes [1] in long-line couplets. These are an unusual reversal of the poulter’s measure pattern, and alternate between, loosely, one fourteen- and one twelve- or thirteen-syllable line per couplet. Chaloner may have aimed to reproduce in rhymed form Ovid’s hexametric line; he certainly attempted as closely as possible to produce a line-for-line translation, and matches his source by composing a total of 268 lines. Although Chaloner tends to write accentual-syllabic lines, he does use weakly-stressed line-endings on occasion. See in particular ll. 5-6, 135, and 139-140. He also writes occasionally difficult or unmetrical lines, as in ll. 10, 18, 54, 166, and 245. Both Hand F and other later hands have elided or added words in order to improve the iambic pattern.<sup>1</sup>

The text of *Heroides* 17 cited in the glosses below is the Loeb text (1977: 224-243); the English translations, unless otherwise indicated, are by the Loeb editor Grant Showerman.

1        *thy pistle*] Helen’s letter (‘pistle’) is a response to Paris’ earlier missive (*Heroides* 16), in which he attempted to entice her to leave with him to Troy. During the exchange of letters, Paris is guest in the house of Helen’ husband Menelaus, who is absent from home.

*red*] read

*suffred stayn*] renders Ovid, ‘violarit’ (17.1: ‘profaned’), which Kenney notes has a connotation of rape (Kenney, 1996: 125)

2        *wyn*] gain, acquire (‘win’, v.<sup>1</sup>, 6a)

4        *hostes*] hostess

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<sup>1</sup> See the textual notes to [1] in Vol. I, pp. 63-72.

- 5-6 *Was that...hyther*] Helen's rhetorical question differs from Ovid, whose phrase is a statement: 'scilicet idcirco ventosa per aequora vectum | exceptit portu Taenaris ora suo' (17.5-6: 'Of course it was for this that the Taenarian shore received you into its haven when tossed on windy tides'). Chaloner omits Ovid's allusive reference to Sparta, 'portu Taenaris' ('Taenarian shore').
- 7-8 *Or herefore...land*] renders Ovid, 'nec tibi, diversa quamvis e gente venires, | oppositas habuit regia nostra fores' (17.7-8: 'and that, come though you were from a different land, our royal home did not present closed doors to you'). Chaloner reverses the clauses in Ovid to avoid inserting a parenthesis.
- 7 *herefore*] for this reason, therefore ('herefore', *adv.*), a favourite form of Chaloner's. Compare *Praise of folie*: 'Herefore haue I obtained the mercy of god' (sig. S2<sup>r</sup>).
- 9 *gentlenes*] kindness, but also 'nobility' ('gentleness', *n.*, 2a; 3), the second of which is not found in Ovid, 'officii' (17.9: 'kindness', 'dutifulness')
- 11 *symple*] guileless, slow-witted ('simple', *adj.*, 1; 7a; 9a); the adjective renders Ovid, 'rustica' (17.12: 'rustic'), which for Kenney implies a lack of amatory knowledge (Kenney, 1996: 11). Compare *Heroides*, 16.222.
- 12 *playn*] complain ('plain', *v.*, 1a)
- 13 *still*] always ('still', *adv.*, 3a)
- 14 *As long...blame*] condenses Ovid, 'dum non oblita pudoris, | dumque tenor vitae sit sine labe meae' (17.13-14: 'only so I forget not my honour, and the course of my life be free from fault')
- 15 *chere*] good spirits, with a probable pun on 'face' ('cheer', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 4; 1; 2a)
- 17 *vntouched*] unharmed, undefiled ('untouched', *adj.*, 2a; 2b)
- 18 *spousebreache*] adultery, unfaithfulness ('spouse-breach', *n.*,)  
*vouched*] cited, appealed to ('vouch', *v.*, 2b)
- 19 *I muse...hereto*] For the phrasing, compare Turberville, *Heroycall Epistles*: 'Which makes me muse the more | What should enbolde thee so' (sig. N2<sup>v</sup>).  
*impelleth*] drives, incites ('impel', *v.*, 1)
- 20 *mysdoo*] transgress ('misdo', *v.*, 1)
- 21 *If Theseus...me*] Theseus was king of Athens; he abducted Helen when she was very young, intending to wed her when she came of age. She was eventually recovered unviolated by her brothers, the Dioscuri (*OCD*, 'Theseus'). 'Theseus' renders Ovid's more allusive 'Neptunius [...] heros' (17.21: 'Neptunian hero')  
*Rape*] theft ('rape', *n.*<sup>3</sup>, 1)



- 24 *tane*] taken
- 25 *frute*] enjoyment, profit ('fruit', n., 7c); the noun picks up on Ovid, 'fructum' (17.25: 'fruitage').
- 26 *ayled nought*] not afflicted, harmed ('ail', v., 1)
- 27 *A sory...me*] renders Ovid, 'oscula luctanti tantummodo pauca protervus | abstulit' (17.27-28: 'Kisses only, and those a few, the wanton took despite my struggles'). Chaloner's syntax allows 'strugling' to refer to Theseus or Helen.
- twayn*] two
- 28 *Save that*] except ('save', conj., 1a)
- virgin pure*] translates Ovid, 'intactam' (17.31: 'untouched')
- 31 *A mayden...home*] Chaloner makes explicit that Ovid's description of Theseus' 'modestia' (17.31: 'moderation') concerns his sexual conduct.
- half*] The numerical detail is Chaloner's addition.
- cryme*] picks up on Ovid, 'crimen' (17.31: 'crime', 'sin')
- 33 *succede*] follow after, but also 'attain a desired end' ('succeed', v., 1a; 13a), the second of which is absent from Ovid's 'ut [...] succederet' (17.33: 'so that he could follow')
- 34 *That in...spreed*] The meaning differs from Ovid, 'ne quando nomen non sit in ore meum' (17.34: 'lest my name should sometime cease from the lips of men'), where Helen suggests that Paris' overtures will prevent her fame from disappearing rather than spreading. Compare Criseyde's fear of infamy in Chaucer, *T&C*, 5.1061: 'O rolled shall I ben on many a tongel!'
- 36 *In case*] i.e., 'In the event that'
- 38 *wyst*] know ('wist', v.)
- 41 *matrones*] married women ('matron', n., 1a)
- 42 *lettes*] prevents, forbids ('let', v.<sup>2</sup>, 1a)
- 43 *my mothers dede*] Helen's mother was Leda, wife of Tyndareus and mother of both Helen and Castor and Pollux, the Dioscuri (see [1].249) (*OCD*, 'Leda').
- 44 *president*] precedent
- lear*] learn ('lere', v., 3)
- 45-46 *Mystaking was...dyd*] In several classical sources, Leda is raped by Jupiter (Greek: Zeus) in the guise of a swan. Helen's exoneration of Leda here is stronger than in Ovid, 'matris in admisso falsa sub imagine lusae | error inest; pluma tectus adulter erat' (17.45-46: 'she fell through being deceived by a false outside; her lover was

- disguised by plumage'). Chaloner's avoids Ovid's *antonomasia* in naming Jupiter ('love') directly. Compare [1].22.
- 48 *for shadow...it*] i.e., 'to obscure it'; Chaloner is probably guided by Ovid's verb 'ombumbret' in 17.48 (Latin 'umbra': 'shadow').  
*auto'*] Compare Turberville, *Heroycall Epistles*: 'the Author made it lesse' (sig. [N3<sup>v</sup>]).
- 52 *As yf...fett*] i.e., 'as if our noble house were descended ('fetched') from ancestors of a lower pedigree' ('fet', v.) Helen's comparison of her and Paris' respective ancestries is Chaloner's addition.
- 53 *Pelops*] grandfather of Agamemnon and Menelaus, and son of Tantalus, king of Sipylos, whose own father, according to Hyginus, was Jupiter (*Fabulae*, 82.1). In childhood, Pelops was killed and cooked by Tantalus, who served Pelops' flesh to the gods to see if they could distinguish it from that of a beast. The gods then restored him. As an adult, he wooed Hippodameia, daughter of the incestuous Oenomaus of Pisa, who tried to pursue his daughter and cursed both Pelops and his line (*OCD*, 'Pelops').  
*Tyndarus*] Tyndareus was the husband of Leda and therefore the father, actual or supposed, of Helen (*OCD*, 'Tyndareos'). Hesiod writes that Tyndareus forgot to petition Venus (Greek: Aphrodite) when sacrificing to the Gods; in response, she made Tyndareus' daughters, including Helen, light and unfaithful (Hesiod, 1902: 93).  
*overpasse*] leave unmentioned ('overpass', v., 6a)
- 54 *husbandes syre*] Atreus, on account of whom both Menelaus and his brother, Agamemnon, were known as 'Atreidae' ('Sons of Atreus'). Atreus was a son of Pelops, and is best-known for the rivalrous relationship he had with his brother Thyestes. This culminated in Atreus serving up the flesh of his brother's children at a banquet, which caused the sun to turn back on its course (*OCD*, 'Atreus').
- 56 *semblaunt fauls*] false, deceptive appearance ('simple', *adj.*, 1; 7a; 9a); compare Chaucer's character Fals Semblaunt in *The Romaunt of the Rose*.
- 58 *Prian*] scribal error for Priam, king of Troy; he is killed in Book 2 of the *Aeneid*, as described in Phaer, [3].510-588.  
*Laomedon*] father of Priam and king of Troy before him. His grave was set over the Scaean Gate in Troy and was held to offer protection to the city provided it remained undisturbed (*OCD*, 'Laomedon').

- 59 *v'*] fifth
- 59-60 *Whom I...me*] i.e., 'I hold them [Priam and Laomedon] in high regard, but Jove, the glory of your ancestry, is separated from you by five generations, whereas he is only one generation apart from me'. Chaloner again avoids Ovid's *antonomasia*, who describes Jupiter as 'tibi gloria magna' (17.59: 'your great glory').
- 65 *golden lynes*] elaborates on Ovid's more prosaic 'epistula' (17.65: 'letter'), with the effect of making Paris' previous letter seem more alluring
- 69 *vnsported*] unblemished, devoid of moral stain ('unspotted', *adj.*, 2a)
- 71 *in store*] in abundance, or 'for future use' ('store', *n.*, 4a; 8b)
- 72 *twyse the more*] The numerical detail is Chaloner's addition. Compare [1].31.
- 74 *travayled*] wearied, with a probable pun on 'travelled' ('travailed', *adj.*, 1)  
*trustles*] Chaloner's addition
- 75 *fayn*] feign  
*mark*] note, observe ('mark', *v.*, III, 25)
- 76 *euery deal*] every respect of (your countenance) ('everydeal', *n.* and *adv.*, 2)
- 78 *brooke*] endure, tolerate ('brook', *v.*, 3a)
- 81-82 *How often...had*] Chaloner picks up on Ovid's use of *anaphora* in 17.81-82: 'a, quotiens digitis, quotiens quotiens ego tecta notavi | signa supercilio paene loquente dari' ('Oh, how often have I noted the covert signals you made with your fingers, how often those from your almost speaking brows!').
- 83 *hesp ye*] scribal error for 'espy'
- 86 *Is he...ashamed?*] As in [1].5-6, Chaloner frames Helen's words as a rhetorical question where Ovid does not: 'nil pudet hunc' (l. 86: 'He has no shame for anything!').  
*no whit*] not in the least ('no whit', *adv.*)
- 87 *eke*] also, moreover ('eke', *adv.*)  
*borde*] table ('board', *n.*, 6a)
- 88 *substribed*] scribal error for 'subscribed', i.e. 'written underneath' ('subscribe', *v.*, 1d)
- 89 *Whiche natheles...so*] renders Ovid, 'credere me tamen hoc oculo renuente negavi' (17.89: 'I could not believe you, none the less, and signified it with my eyes.').
- 92 *rediest traynes*] easiest strategems, tricks ('ready', *adj.* 5a; 'train', *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 1a), which substitutes for Ovid's metaphor of Helen's heart being imprisoned: 'his poterant

- pectora nostra capi' (17.92: 'by these [blandishments] my heart could be taken prisoner.)
- 93 *rare*] unusually fine ('rare', *adj.*, 5a)
- 95 *hap*] chance, fortune ('hap', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)  
*voyd of*] devoid of ('void', *adj.*, 6a)
- 96 *straungers*] renders Ovid, 'externo' (17.96: 'stranger's'), which Kenney notes can also mean 'adulterous' (Kenney, 1996: 132-133)  
*to lyme*] to foul, defile ('lime', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 4); compare Chaloner, *Praise of folie*: 'No witte maie be founde not lymed with some great vices' (sig. D1<sup>1</sup>).
- 97 *can*] know ('can', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1b)
- 98 *weal*] riches, prosperity ('weal', *n.*, 1a; 2a); the noun defines 'beaulties' in [1].97.
- 99 *That*] i.e., 'What'
- 102 *They know...sparest*] Chaloner's focus on Paris' amatory knowledge and shamelessness in comparison to his counterparts substitutes for Ovid's emphasis on his 'spirit' ('cordis') and excessive 'assurance' ('ora') in 17.102.
- 105 *A thousand...gayn*] 'If I had seen a thousand suitors, they would not have had your success [in wooing me].'
- 106 *playn*] entirely ('plain', *adv.*, 6)
- 108 *overslacke*] tardy, belated ('overslack', *adj.*); the *OED* cites the adjective as Chaloner's coinage.
- 109 *vnleef*] unvalued, disliked ('unlief', *adj.*); the adjective is Chaloner's addition.
- 110 *Menelay*] Menelaus was Helen's husband and the younger brother of Agamemnon; the two brothers' expedition to Troy to retrieve Helen from Paris initiated the Trojan war. In Homer's *Iliad*, Menelaus duels with Paris, but Venus prevents him from killing Paris (*Il.* 3.96, 4.86 ff.) (*OCD*, 'Menelaus').
- 111 *Do way*] cease ('to do way', phrasal verbs, 1)  
*to presse*] to urge, force ('press', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 13a); the verb translates Ovid, 'convellere' (17.111: 'to pluck'), which Kenney calls 'a word of unexampled violence to describe an attempt to take the heart of the beloved by storm' (Kenney, 1996: 134).
- 112 *brew*] cause, bring about ('brew', *v.*, 4a)
- 113 *broke*] negotiate, bargain with ('broke', *v.*, 1); the commercial detail is Chaloner's addition. The idea that a love match is something to be bargained and love a form of merchandise is a crucial element of Shakespeare, *Troilus and Cressida*, 3.2.185-190.

- 114 *spoyles*] acts of damage ('spoil', *n.*, 8a); Chaloner picks up on Ovid, 'spolium' (17.114: 'spoil').  
*shamefastnes*] propriety, decency ('shamefastness', *n.*, 1a); compare Chaloner, *Praise of folie*: 'I maie well take vpon me with a more shamefast grace' (sig. A2<sup>r</sup>).
- 115-124 *But Venus...forth*] Helen supplies a potted account of the Judgement of Paris. Mercury (Greek: Hermes) delivered the 'Three goddesses' Juno (Hera), Minerva (Athena), and Venus, to the Vales of Ida for Paris to judge which of them he deemed the most beautiful. Aphrodite proferred love and bribed Paris with the promise of Helen, which led him to choose her (*OCD*, 'Paris').
- 115 *behight*] promise, vow ('behight', *v.*, 1a)
- 116 *tryed*] put to the test ('try', *v.*, 6b; 7a)
- 117 *state*] high rank, importance ('state', *n.*, 15a)  
*knighthode*] probably 'chivalrousness'; the noun renders Ovid, 'belli [...] laudum' (17.117: 'glory in war').
- 118 *Heleyn*] renders Ovid's more allusive 'Tyndaridis coniunx' (17.118: 'the daughter of Tyndareus')
- 119 *I trow*] I suppose, imagine ('trow', *v.*, 4b)
- 121-122 *if they...pryse*] i.e., 'Even if they (the three goddesses) did accede to your judgement, it is your own trick that I am said to be the prize of your verdict ('device', *n.*, 6; 'award', *n.*, 1).
- 124 *set forth*] i.e., 'set aside'
- 125 *sely*] pitiable, insignificant ('silly', *adj.*, 1a; 2a); the adjective is Chaloner's addition.
- 126 *But vndre...trayn*] 'Excessive good fortune was thought of as likely to attract the jealousy of heaven' (Kenney, 1996: 136).  
*trayn*] trick, stratagem; compare [1].92 and n.
- 128 *to squaym*] probably 'to sicken', 'turn sick' ('squeam', *v.*), establishing a digestive metaphor on which 'thursted' elaborates. Compare Chaloner, *An homilie*: 'euer one kynde of meate, soone squaymysheth the stomak' (sig. A2<sup>v</sup>).  
*thursted*] longed for ('thirst', *v.*, Derivative, 'thursted'); the earliest date that the *OED* cites for this form of the verb is 1611.
- 130 *as is*] i.e., 'such as this one'  
*slacke*] slow, dull ('slack', *adj.*, 5a)
- 131 *dobled*] The numerical detail is Chaloner's addition; compare [1].31 and 72.
- 133 *profers*] offers, proposals ('proffer', *n.*, 1)

- hestes*] commands ('hest', *n.*, 1); the verb is Chaloner's addition.
- 135 *For my...havyour*] Chaloner's sense that Paris has relinquished rank and wealth for Helen differs from Ovid, 'ergo ego sum virtus, ego sum tibi nobile regnum' (17.135: 'So, then, I mean valour to you, I mean a far-famed throne!'), though Ovid's meaning is perhaps implicit.
- havyour*] wealth, property ('haviour', *n.*, 1)
- 136 *adamant*] a stone of impregnable hardness ('adamant', *n.*, 1); renders Ovid 'ferrea' (17.136: 'iron'). In Latin, the noun 'adamas' commonly referred to steel or hard iron.
- free*] noble ('free', *adj.*, 3a; 3b); as in [1].52, Chaloner adds a detail which emphasises Helen's preoccupation with ancestry and pedigree.
- 139 *I seke...replyeth*] renders 'quid bibulum curvo proscindere litus aratro' (17.139: 'Why should I essay with curved plough to furrow the watery shore?'); the phrase is proverbial (*ODEP*, 685; Tilley, S 89). Compare *Heroides* 5.16.
- replyeth*] smooths back again ('re-plies') ('reply', *v.*, 7)
- 141 *skill*] understand, have skill in ('skill', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 4a; 4b); compare Chaloner, *Praise of folie*: 'some be of suche vaingloriousnesse, as whan they can least skylle therof, yet will they flire, and nodde the head at it' (sig. A3<sup>v</sup>).
- love*] substituted for Ovid's more general 'di' (17.142: 'gods'). For the phrasing of the line, compare Wyatt, [4].20-30, 71.
- 145 *trade*] practice, business (of love), picking up on the language of [1].113 ('trade', *n.*, 5a).
- 146 *scape*] Chaloner's addition
- wythall*] besides, moreover ('withal', *adv.*, 1a)
- 147 *geaue place*] yield to the pressure ('give', XIV, 47a, 'give place'); for the phrasing, compare Harington, [63].13.
- 148 *As if...face*] based on Ovid, 'et omnes | in nostros oculos vultibus esse reor' (17.147-148: 'and [I] think that the eyes of all are on my face'); the use of a simile is Chaloner's addition.
- 149 *mysgeves*] doubts ('misgive', *v.*, 1b)
- 150 *My damsell...yesterday*] omits Ovid's description of the 'mala murmura vulgi' (17.149: 'evil murmurs of the crowd')
- damsell*] maid ('damsel', *n.*, 3)
- Ethra*] Aethra was the mother of Theseus (see [1].21); Homer mentions her as Helen's maid in the *Iliad*, 3.144. Aethra was allegedly carried off by the Helen's

- brothers, the Dioscuri (see [1].249), while Theseus was in Hades as retribution for his abduction of Helen. After Troy, she was rescued by her grandsons Demophon and Acamus and taken home (*OCD*, ‘Aethra’).
- backe*] probable scribal error; the meaning is obscure.
- 151 *to mell*] to concern or busy (oneself) with (‘mell’, v.<sup>2</sup>, II, 4)
- 153 *more libertie nat most*] For the phrasing, compare Turberville, *Heroycall Epistles*: ‘Now scope we haue, but not the most’ (sig. [N7<sup>v</sup>]).
- 155 *touch’<e>d hym nere*] concerned him closely (‘touch’, v., 20a; ‘near’, *adv.*, 2c)
- 156 *A great...cause*] Chaloner omits Ovid’s parenthetical aside, ‘aut mihi sic visum est’ (17.157: ‘or so it seemed to me’), which undercuts Menelaus.
- gate*] gait
- 157 *I where.. yet*] Ovid attributes the doubt to Menelaus: ‘cum dubitaret an iret’ (17.157: ‘when he was doubting whether to go’).
- 158 *with spede*] with haste, or ‘success’ (‘speed’, *n.*, 3a)
- 160 *loke well*], keep close watch over (‘look’, v., 4c)
- 163 *to Creteward*] Menelaus was travelling to the funeral of his grandfather, Catreus. For the construction, see Phaer, [3].312 and 317.
- 164 *conceit*] imagination, idea (‘conceit’, *n.*, 1a)
- bolded*] encouraged, emboldened (‘bold’, v., 2a)
- 165 *his spials...ar*] i.e., ‘his spies are present’ (‘spial’, *n.*, 2); the phrase sharpens the meaning of Ovid, ‘me custodiat’ (17.165: ‘he guards me’).
- 166 *The proverbe...farr*] renders ‘an nescis longas regibus esse manus’ (l. 166: ‘know you not that monarchs have far-reaching hands?’); the phrase is proverbial.
- 167 *combraunce*] trouble, burden (‘cumbrance’, *n.*, 2a; 3a)
- 169 *fourth*] forth
- 170 *Me lever...lacke*] substitutes for Helen’s desire to escape fame in Ovid, ‘melius famae verba dedisse fuit’ (17.170: ‘it were better I had cheated fame’)
- Me lever*] I had rather (‘lief’, *adj.*, 1c)
- 171 *durst*] dares to (‘dare’, v.<sup>1</sup>, 3)
- 172 *credit*] faith, credence (‘credit’, *n.*, 1)
- 173-174 *my lyfe...clear*] ‘My virtuous life is such that it can allay the fears that my beauty moves [in Menelaus]’.
- 176 *symplenes*] guilelessness, slow-wittedness (‘simpleness’, *n.*, 2; 3a); compare [1].11.
- vauntage*] advantage, benefit, profit (‘vantage’, *n.*, 1a)

- 177-178 *will my...disalow]* compresses Ovid, ‘nec adhuc exacta voluntas | est satis; in dubio pectora nostra labant’ (17.177-178: ‘So far my will is not determined; my heart is wavering in doubt’)
- 177 *wot ner how]* know not how (‘wot’, *v.*, 1; ‘ner’, *conj.*)
- 183 *And neuer...it]* renders ‘et peream, si non invitant omnia culpam’ (17.183: ‘May I perish if all things do not invite me to my fall’)
- 184 *elvish]* intractable, unmanageable (‘elfish’, *adj.*)
- 185 *pour]* power  
*that]* i.e., ‘that which’
- 186 *So lo...made]* paraphrases Ovid, ‘vi mea rusticitas executienda fuit’ (17.186: ‘You should have cast out by force the scruples of my rustic heart.’)
- 187 *bote]* advantage, profit (‘boot’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)  
*byd]* suffer, endure (‘bide’, *v.*, 9a)
- 190 *A fyer...ceaseth]* renders Ovid, ‘flamma recens parva sparsa resedit aqua’ (17.190: ‘A new-kindled flame dies down when sprinkled with but little water’); the phrase is proverbial.
- 191 *eft]* again, a second time (‘eft’, *adv.*, 1a)
- 193-194 *Hipsiphile...were]* Hypsipyle and Ariadne are two women who suffered as a result of amorous trysts, and foreshadow Helen’s own future plight. Hypsipyle’s letter to Jason is *Heroides* 6. When the Argonauts arrived at Lemnos, she and her ladies mated with them. Hypsipyle had two sons with Jason, who then left, after which she was captured by pirates and sold to king Lycurgus of Nimea (*OCD*, ‘Hypsipyle’). Ariadne’s letter to Theseus is *Heroides* 10. She fell in love with Theseus (see [1].21) at Crete and supported his trial in the labyrinth with the Minotaur by giving him a clue of thread which enabled him to escape after slaying the monster. Theseus fled Crete with Ariadne, but then forgot her, possibly through magical enchantment, and left her on Naxos (*OCD*, ‘Ariadne’).
- 193 *Ariadne]* renders Ovid’s more allusive ‘Minoia virgo’ (17.193: ‘the Minoan maid’)
- 195-197 *And thou...know]* Paris was purportedly in love with Oenone, a nymph of Mount Ida; her letter to Paris is *Heroides* 5. He left her for Helen, which caused her to refuse Paris aid when he had been wounded in the Trojan war. After relenting, Oenone arrived at Troy belatedly. Finding Paris dead, she killed herself (*OCD*, ‘Oenone’).
- 196 *mastres]* mistress
- 199 *pour]* power



- 200 *thy maryners*] renders Ovid's more allusive 'Phryges' (17.200: 'The Phrygians'), which Kenney notes is a possible allusion to Aeneas's preparations for abandoning Dido in *Aeneid*, 4.289-299 (Kenney, 1996: 141)
- loke for passage*] watch out for a safe time to embark ('passage', *n.*, 2b)
- 201 *treat*] negotiate, discuss ('treat', *v.*, 1a; 1b); compare [1].113 and 261. The possible commercial element is Chaloner's addition.
- hopt <...> hard*] Both the deletion and word supplied above are unclear; 'for' would make sense in context.
- 202 *trustles*] The adjective is Chaloner's addition. Compare [1].74 .
- 205 *reed*] advice, counsel ('rede', *n.*, 1)
- 206 *Laomedon*] Chaloner does not make explicit, as Ovid does, that Paris is Laomedon's grandson: 'pronurus [...] magni Laumedontis ero?' (17.206: 'grandchild of great Laomedon')
- 207 *brute*] tidings, rumour ('bruit', *n.*, 2a)
- 209 *Spart*] Sparta, the Greek city-state noted for its military pre-eminence which was situated on the banks of the river Eurotas (*OCD*, 'Sparta')
- 210 *stay*] cease, desist ('stay', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a)
- 211 *king Priams wyf*] Hecuba: see [1].237 and n.
- 212 *Thy brethern...wyves*] Besides Paris, Priam's other sons included Hector, Helenus, Polites, and Polydorus.
- 213 *byde*] remain, abide ('bide', *v.*, 2a)
- 214 *Nat rather...tryed*] a second allusion to Paris' tryst with Oenone after [1].195-197
- 215 *hauen*] harbour ('haven', *n.*, 1)
- 216 *aventure*] chance, hap, fortune ('adventure', *n.*, 1a)
- 217 *Iarr*] disagreement, discord ('jar', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 4); compare Harington, [63].20.
- 218 *Forgetting of...key*] i.e., your own transgression provides the opportunity ['key'] for any that I should commit' ('key', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 4a). The metaphor is Chaloner's addition.
- 219 *condemp*] condemn
- 220 *wede*] clothing ('weed', *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 2a)
- 223 *plyeng to the*] The phrase 'to the' ('to thee') is Chaloner's mistranslation of Ovid, 'mihi' (17.223: 'to me'). The sense should be 'plying to me', i.e., 'being used to influence ('ply') me', though the earliest date that the *OED* cites for this sense of the verb is 1602 ('ply', *v.*<sup>2</sup>, 5b).
- 226 *leef*] beloved, dear ('lief', *adj.*, 1a)

- wot nere how*] know not how; compare [1].177.
- 227 *Troy*] renders Ovid's more allusive 'Phrygiis' (l. 227: 'Phrygian shores') *whose succour...stead*] i.e., 'whose aid will serve to help me?' ('stead', v., 1a); the construction is somewhat pleonastic. For 'succour', Chaloner picks up on Ovid, 'succurret' (17.227: 'will help').
- 229-230 *Medea was...soo*] Medea was daughter of Aeëtes, King of the Colchians; her letter to Jason is *Heroides* 12. In several sources, she assists Jason (who has landed on Colchis) via magic in completing an impossible task which her father has assigned to him. After fleeing Colchis with Jason, she arrives at Iolcus, kingdom of Jason's father Aeson ['Esons house'], and renews the health of the King by boiling him with efficacious herbs (*OCD*, 'Medea'). Euripides drew on the myth, which Ovid apparently follows, in which Jason leaves Medea when Creon, King of Corinth, offers him his daughter Glauce. Medea exacted revenge by murdering her own children together with Creon and his daughter.
- 231 *But where...syster*] Chaloner is here less direct in naming than Ovid, who gives the full names of Medea's family: 'non erat Aeetes, ad quem despecta rediret, non Idyia parens Chalciopëve soror' (17.231-232: 'There was no Aeëtes to receive the scorned maid home, no mother Idyia or sister Chalciopëve')
- 234 *But often...betid*] i.e., 'when acts are based on good hope, misfortune often befalls as a result' ('betide', v., 1)
- 235-236 *A ship...low*] renders in a more aphoristic fashion Ovid, 'omnibus invenies, quae nunc iactantur in alto, | navibus a portu lene fuisse fretum' (17.236: 'For every ship tossed now upon the deep, you will find that the sea was gentle as it left the harbour')
- 237 *Hecuba*] renders Ovid's more allusive 'parens' (17.237: 'mother'); according to several lost Greek plays, Hecuba dreamed that she set Troy alight with a torch while she was carrying Paris (*OCD*, 'Hecuba'). Compare *Heroides* 16.43-50.
- 238 *mysdeme*] mistrust, doubt, suspect ('misdeem', v., 3a); the verb renders Ovid, 'me terret' (17. 237: 'starts my fears').
- 239 *the prophecy*] Ovid has 'vatum...monitus' (l. 239: 'the warnings of seers'); Chaloner's more elliptical phrase may be an allusion to Cassandra's prophecy, not yet made at the period in which [1] is set, that Troy will fall if the Trojans decide to bring the wooden horse inside the city. See Virgil, *Aeneid*, 2.246, and Phaer, [3].242.
- 240 *Ylion*] Ilium, i.e., 'Troy'; for Aeneas' account of Troy's destruction, see Virgil, *Aeneid*, Book 2, and Phaer, [3].

- grekysh fyre*] renders Ovid's more allusive 'igne Pelasgo' (17.239: 'Pelasgian fire')
- 241 *Venus*] renders Ovid, 'Cytherea' (17.241: 'Cytherea'/'Venus'); Chaloner again avoids Ovid's *antonomasia*. Cytherea was Venus' putative birthplace, and became a poetic synonym for the goddess (*OCD*, 'Cytherea').
- wan and welded*] i.e., 'won and wielded'
- 243 *vaunt*] boasting ('vaunt', *n.*, 1a); both this and the next line look back to the 'Judgement of Paris' episode described in [1].116-124.
- 244 *dome*] judgement ('doom', *n.*, 2)
- 246 *tryall of...sword*] i.e., 'by warfare'; the phrase looks ahead to the Trojan war.
- 247-248 *For ravysheed...fray*] At the wedding of Hippodamia and Pirothous, the Centaurs who had been invited as Hippodamia's kinsmen carried her off, though she was eventually returned (*OCD*, 'Pelops').
- 249 *my Brethern*] Castor and Pollux, who were collectively known as the Dioscuri, a name which translates as 'sons of Jupiter'. Castor was apparently the mortal son of Tyndareus and Pollux the divine son of Jupiter. Homer writes in the *Odyssey* (11.300 ff.) that the brothers shared Jupiter's immortality between them, living half their time below the earth and the remaining half in Olympus. The Dioscuri carried off Theseus' mother Aethra as a reponse to his abduction of Helen (compare [1].21 and n.) (*OCD*, 'Dioscuri').
- 251 *warly*] martial, warlike ('warly', *adj.*, 1a)
- 255 *Hector*] eldest son of Priam and Hecuba, famed for his bravery and martial exploits. He is killed by Achilles in single combat and is then dragged from the field while tied to Achilles' chariot (*OCD*, 'Hector'). Helen treats Hector as a foil for Paris, whom she believes is better suited to the combat of love.
- 256 *An other...skill*] i.e., 'your skill is suited to another kind of warfare'; for the conceit of love as campaigning, compare Ovid, *Amores*, 1.9.
- 257 *spryte*] spirit
- 261 *treat betwen...two*] i.e., 'bargain, negotiate between us'; for the idea that Helen's and Paris' match is a process of bargaining, compare [1].113 and 201. The commercial element is Chaloner's addition.
- 263 *thy corn...grene*] The idea is proverbial.
- 264 *taryng*] tarrying
- 266 *endytng*] writing, inscribing ('indite', *v.*, 3b)

- 267 *Clemenee and Ethra*] For Aethra, see [1].150 and n.; the *OCD* mentions over a dozen Clymenes, and this particular one is not specified (*OCD*, ‘Clymene’).
- 268 *pryvy*] private, confidential (‘privy’, *adj.*, 2a; 4); the adjective recalls the Privy Council, the Tudor political body of councillors closest to the monarch, and sharpens the meaning of Ovid, ‘*quae mihi sunt comites consiliumque duae*’ (17.268: ‘the two who attend and counsel me’). As Clerk of the Privy Council from December 1545, Chaloner had knowledge of the mechanisms of Tudor government (‘Chaloner, Sir Thomas, the elder, *ODNB*).
- Sub. *eques auratus*] golden knight, referring to Chaloner’s status as a knight bachelor from 1547. The ‘auratus’ signified Chaloner’s privilege of being allowed to gild his armour.

### Collations

*NA3* contains six substantive variants from *P*, four of which, in ll. 83, 91, 94, and 208, correct errors in the MS. In l. 218, Park has clearly miscopied ‘brey’ for ‘key’ in *P*.

Title     Helen to Paris *NA3 P*

- 83       hesp ye] help ye *NA3*  
 91       me] my *NA3*  
 94       More] Move *NA3*  
 97       thou] then *NA3*  
 208      eares] cares *NA3*  
 218      key] brey *NA3*

Subscription qd T. Chaloner eques auratus. etc *P*

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[2]-[3], [15]

BOOKS 1-3 OF THE *AENEID* BY THOMAS PHAER (1510?-1560)

Poems [2], [3], and [15] in *P* are Books 1-3 of Thomas Phaer's translation of the *Aeneid*. Phaer's place of birth is unknown, but his father, also Thomas, was brought up in Norwich, suggesting that Phaer may also have been raised there. In his professional career, he was something of a polymath. Phaer's initial training was in law, studying at Oxford and then Lincoln's Inn. At about the time he entered Lincoln's, Phaer joined the household of William Paulet, first marquess of Winchester (1474/5-1572). In 1549, he was granted a lease in the Forest of Cilgerran in Pembrokeshire, and remained in Wales for the remainder of his life ('Phaer, Thomas', *ODNB*). There he combined work in law alongside a range of other appointments. Phaer served as a solicitor to the council in the marches of Wales and represented the constitutences of Camarthen (1547) and Cardigan (1555, 1558, 1559) in parliament. He also served as customs officer in Milford Haven, during which he probably wrote his 'Report on his perambulation around Wales' (Robinson, 1970-1972: 485-490). From c. 1540, Phaer also practised medicine, eventually graduating MB from Oxford in 1559. He died, apparently of an infected hand wound, in 1560. George Ferrers (c. 1510-1579), the courtier who oversaw the Christmas festivities at Court in 1551-1552 and was an intimate member of William Baldwin's literary circle, selected the scriptural verses for Phaer's memorial in Cilgerran church (*ODNB*).

### Works

The texts Phaer published in his lifetime reflect his professional interests in law and medicine and his aspirations as a would-be polymath; several also indicate Phaer's literary activities and probable ties with Baldwin and the *Myrroure for Magistrates* circle. His legal publications include *Natura Brevium* (1529/1530?) and *A newe boke of Presidentes* (1543; STC 3327); his principal medical one was his translation of Johan Goeurot's *The Regiment of Lyfe* (STC 11967), to which he added three original works: *A Goodly Bryefe Treatise of the Pestylence*, *A Declaration of the Veynes*, and *The Boke of Chyl dren*. An enlarged volume appeared in 1553, and *The Regiment* underwent a further eight reprintings in the sixteenth century. As a result, Phaer enjoyed, and continues to enjoy, a high reputation in the field of pediatrics. In 1986, the *British Medical Journal* raised funds to erect a commemorative tablet to Phaer in Cilgerran, which replaced Ferrers' lost memorial at the church (*ODNB*).

With the exception of the *Aeneid*, Phaer's work as a poet and translator is not as well known. His first poem in print would appear to be a single rhyme-royal stanza which serves as a preface to Peter Betham's *Preceptes of Warre* (1544; STC 20116, n.p): He may have contributed the tragedy of Owen Glendower (Owain Glyn Dwr) to the *Myrrour*. The 1578 edition claims Phaer's authorship, but, as Scott Lucas notes, the other editions attribute the poem to Baldwin ('Contributors to the Mirror for Magistrates', *ODNB*). Phaer was perhaps the author of one of the unattributed poems in the *Myrrour*. One probable Phaer poem, 'Verses of Cupydo, by M. Fayre', received licence after his death from Thomas Purfoot in 1566. This has not survived (*ODNB*).

Phaer's crowning achievement in verse was his translation of the *Aeneid*. He undertook the translation between 1555 and 1560, leaving it incomplete with Books 1-9 in order and Book 10 part-finished. *The seuen first bookes of the Eneidos of Virgill* (STC 24799) were printed by John Kingston for Richard Jugge in 1558; Phaer's executor William Wightman then added Books 8 and 9 to produce the posthumous *The nyne fyrst bookes* (STC 24800) in 1562, printed by Roland Hall for Nicholas England. Wightman dedicated the volume to Sir Nicholas Bacon, lord keeper of the great seal, apparently on Phaer's instruction. The gift rolls show that Phaer apparently gave a copy of his translation (probably the 1558 edition) to Elizabeth as a New Years' gift. Phaer's friend Thomas Twyne (1543-1612) finally completed the translation in 1573 with *The whole .xii. Bookes of the Æneidos of Virgill* (STC 24801). In 1584 the work was reissued, with the addition of Twyne's translation of the 'thirteenth book' which Maffeo Vegio added to Virgil's twelve, as *The .xiii. Bookes of Æneidos* (STC 24802). Twyne, who took a keen interest in quantitative metrics (which was attuned to the length as well as the stress of vowel sounds), returned to Phaer's original Books to alter the vowel quantities. Before 1620, the Phaer-Twyne edition of thirteen Books was reprinted a further four times (1596, 1600, 1607, 1620).

Rick Bowers has described the high esteem that Phaer enjoyed with the London *literati* in the later Elizabethan period (Bowers, 1994: 33-35). Ben Jonson was one who drew on his translation, as Robert Cummings and Charles Martindale have demonstrated in their analysis of the *Poetaster*, Act V (Cummings and Martindale, 2007: 66-75). George Puttenham also commended Phaer in *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589; STC 25019.5) Lines from Phaer's *Aeneid* are excerpted in a host of other sixteenth-century printed texts (see *Index*, I.769; for those excerpts from Books 1-2, see Collations to [2] and [3]).

### Note on the *Aeneid* translations in *P*

Poems [2], [3], and [15] chart the arrival of Aeneas and his men in Dido's Carthage (Book 1), and Aeneas' retrospective narration of the events which led to their arrival there (Books 2 and 3). Phaer composes each of the poems in fourteeners, i.e., rhymed couplets of iambic heptameter, and his metre is consistently regular. In [3] and [15] in particular, Phaer varies the pattern through his inclusion of rhyming triplets. C. S. Lewis praised Phaer as a 'master of the metre' despite his general distaste for the fourteener, noting Phaer's sophisticated handling of elision which adds internal variation to the lines (Lewis, 1954: 249).

In general, Phaer's longer line allows him to translate Virgil closely, though he does not attempt to reproduce a Latinate syntax. Phaer therefore frequently alters the placement of Virgil's clauses and is not averse to filling out the line with additional material if it aids his sense. The following epic simile is typical:

Virgil	ac veluti magno in populo cum saepe coorta est seditio, saevitque animis ignobile volgus, iamque faces et saxa volant (furor arma ministrat), tum pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem conspexere, silent arrectisque auribus adstant	(1.148-152)
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[Rushton Fairclough, 1994: 'And as, when oft-times in a great nation tumult has risen, the base rabble rage angrily, and now brands and stones fly, madness lending arms; then, if haply they set eyes on a man honoured for noble character, they are silent and stand by with attentive ears[.]']

Phaer	and like as in a people stoute, when chaunceth to betide the multitude to make a fraie, of wit full often wide that stones and weapones flees a broade, and what comes first to hand some sad man comth, that for his right, is loved of all the land anon thei cease and silence make, and down thei lay their rage to hark at him	([2].136-140)
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Phaer's phrase 'of wit full often wide' ([2].137) appears to translate 'furor arma ministrat' (1.150: 'madness lending arms') in Virgil, but removes its martial tenor. Phaer also relocates it from the third line of the simile, where in Virgil it qualifies the projecting of the stones and weapons, to the second, where it defines the rebellious multitude. To pad out his third line, Phaer adds the phrase 'and what comes first to hand', unattested in Virgil.

At the end of each Book in the printed editions, Phaer added a note in Latin which gives the date range of composition: Books 1-3 were all translated between May and October in 1555, and were apparently the product of Phaer's periods of leisure, as he described to

Mary I in the dedication to the 1558 edition (sig. A2<sup>v</sup>). They were also composed in the forest of Cilgerran, a part of Wales where English was not widely spoken. Schwyzer points out the paradox of Phaer's situation in Wales for a work which so vociferously pushes the claim of English as a poetic language (*ODNB*). In the 1558 edition, Phaer declared that he made the translation 'for defence of my countrey language (which I have heard discommended of many, and estemyd of some to be more than barbarous)' (sig. X2<sup>f</sup>). Margaret Tudeau-Clayton places Phaer alongside his fellow Tudor translators of the *Aeneid* as men whose ambition in translating Virgil reveals their national pride (Tudeau-Clayton, 2009: 396).

Phaer's desire to advance the status of the English language manifests itself in his propensity to coin neologisms (expanding the vocabulary of his native tongue) and, like Chaloner in [1], to use ME archaisms (displaying the semantic variety it already holds). A number of ME words are shared across his Books 1-3 (e.g. 'hight', 'hent', 'dight'). Alongside these linguistic traits, Phaer dresses his translation in a distinctly Tudor garb. For instance, he transforms Virgil's water nymph Cymothoë into 'mermaydes' ([2].133), and often prefixes prominent Trojans and Greeks with the title of 'duke'.<sup>2</sup> Lewis commented favourably on Phaer's 'medievalisation' of Virgil (Lewis, 1954: 249). Colin Burrow, on the other hand, describes Phaer's translation as an anachronism which, even in 1558, was 'out of time and out of place' (Burrow, 1997: 24). One possible mid-Tudor feature of Phaer's translation is his handling of certain of Virgil's rhetorical figures. Much like Chaloner's treatment of Ovid in [1], Phaer tends to shun Virgil's *antonomasia*, through which Virgil describes mortals and Gods obliquely via epithet. In general, Phaer prefers to translate names directly (e.g. 'Trojans' as 'Troyans' rather than 'Teucrians'). This preference for straightforward naming perhaps indicates a sparer attitude to rhetorical flair which is typical of mid-Tudor poetic style.

## Sources

Phaer's principal source was an edition of Virgil's *Aeneid* complete with the commentary by the fourth-century scholar Servius. Servius' glosses occasionally steer the interpretations of both Gavin Douglas and Surrey, Phaer's forerunners in translating the *Aeneid*. Douglas completed his translation in Scots of the thirteen Books in *c.* 1513, though the printed text did not emerge until 1553 as *The xiii. Bukes of Eneados* (STC 24797). Surrey's translation of

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<sup>2</sup> Examples include Phaer describing Aeneas as a 'Troian duke' ([2].469), 'duke Migdones sone' ([3].337), 'duke Pyrrhus' ([3].471), 'Idomeneus duke' ([15].130) and 'duke Melybee' ([15].421).



Book 4 was first printed by John Day in 1554 (STC 24810a.5); Tottel printed Books 2 and 4 in 1557 (STC 24798). Stephen Lally notes the influence of Surrey in particular on certain lines of Phaer's Book 2 (Lally, 1987: xxiv-xxvi). The notes in this edition are restricted to Phaer's treatment of Virgil in his Books 1-3.

### **Relationship between *P* and Printed Texts**

This edition collates Books 1-3 in *P* with those in the first four printed editions, the sigla for which match their date of publication: 58, 62, 73, and 84. The individual Collations for [2], [3], and [15] describe the substantive variants between the texts in greater detail, though overall trends are clear. The texts in *P* represent an earlier, and perhaps the earliest, stage of Phaer's Books in comparison with the printed copies. The manuscript texts are the most corrupt, with numerous errors and independent variants. Books 1-3 were then revised successively, first by Phaer and then others, for 58, 62, and 73. Each edition is based on the previous one, leading to the transmission of some errors throughout all four printed texts.

58 agrees with *P* in several variants where 62, 73, and 84 do not. It therefore seems to represent a first stage of revision, with 62 a second. Phaer perhaps orchestrated both of these undertakings, with the first taking place between 1555 and 1558 and the second between 1558 and his death in 1560, possibly with the aid of John Kingston (1558) and William Wightman (1562) respectively. The third and fourth editions, 73 and 84, are the products of a third process of revision by Thomas Twyne and perhaps the printer, William How, who possibly used MS copies of Phaer not now extant or introduced their own emendations. Books 1-3 in both 73 and 84 show Twyne's interest in quantitative metre, as he tends to double vowels to increase their quantity and so bring Phaer's fourteener line closer to Virgil's dactylic hexameter in movement and effect. 84 reproduces 73 with few variants apart from obvious misprints.

The errors and other substantive variants in [2], [3], and [15] fall into three principal categories, most of which are corrected in 58-84. The first is awkward phrasing, the second archaicisms which are inferior to the readings in the printed editions, and the third erroneously-translated place names. The examples below compare *P* with 62 (62 readings also in 58, 73, and 84):

(i) *phrasing*

Book 3, l. 597

*P* A haven ther is whome force of wynd, o<sup>r</sup> storme can nothing move

62 A haven right large ther is, whom force of wind can neuer moue

62 removes the superfluous doublet in *P*, ‘of wynd, o<sup>r</sup> storme’, and fills out the line with the description of the haven being ‘right large’.

Book 1, l. 91

*P* O blessed men whose fortune was before there parentes sight

62 O ten tymes blessed men that in their parentes sight

62 here attempts to translate, albeit inaccurately, ‘O terque quaterque beati’ (1, l. 94: ‘O thrice and four times blessed’) in Virgil; *P* omits the numerical aspect altogether.

(ii) *archaicism*

Book 1, l. 194

*P* whan meate was don and honger past, and trenchers vp ytake

62 Whan meate was done & honger past, and trenchers vp were take

62’s ‘were take’ substitutes for the more archaic unmarked participle ‘ytake’ in *P*.

Book 2, l. 146

*P* wherefore? religion sake? or is yt some ginne of war ybent

62 Wherefore? religion sake? or for the warres some engyn bent?

62’s second half of the line is more intelligible than *P*, where the lack of a preposition makes the more archaic ‘ybent’ difficult to construe.

(iii) *place names*

Book 3, l. 285

*P* Dulichin & Samey landes & craggas of Nerit hye

62 Dulichium and Samey londes, and craggas of Nerite hye

The place name in Virgil is ‘Dulichiumque’, i.e., ‘and Dulichium’

The text of Virgil's *Aeneid* Books 1-3 cited in the glosses below is the Loeb text (1994: 241-395); the English translations, unless otherwise indicated, are by the Loeb editor H. Rushton Fairclough.

## [2]

Poem [2] is Phaer's translation of Book 1 of the *Aeneid*. The Book charts the final part of Aeneas' and the Trojans' wanderings, in which they survive Juno's attempts to destroy them before landing on the Lybian coast at Carthage, newly-established kingdom of Queen Dido and the Phoenicians. The scene in which Aeneas and his companion Achates gaze on a series of tablets outside Dido's temple which depict scenes from the Trojan war was pastiched by Chaucer in *The House of Fame*, 1.140-467, where the eponymous narrator views panels of the war and weighs competing interpretations of Dido in Virgil and Ovid.

According to Phaer's own note at the end of Book 1 in 58, sig. C3<sup>r</sup>, he composed [2] in six days between 9 and 15 May 1555. The note is retained in 62-84. Triple rhymes are not as prominent a feature of [2] as as they are of [3] and [15].

In addition to *P* and 58-84, excerpts of the poem survive in three other copies. First, Raphael Holinshed printed ll. 396-410 in *The Firste volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (1577; STC 13568), Pt 4, sig. B5<sup>v</sup> (*Ch1*), and the second 1577 edition (STC 13568.5), sig. B5<sup>v</sup> (*Ch2*). It is retained in the 1587 edition (STC 13569), sig. C1<sup>r</sup> (*Ch3*), which Abraham Fleming edited after Holinshed's death. Second, Anthonie Marten excerpted ll. 136-138 in his translated collection of Pietro Matire Vermigli's *The Common Places of the most famous and renowned Diuine Doctour Peter Martyr* (1583; STC 24669), sig. K2<sup>r</sup> (*CP*). Third, William Webbe took ll. 1 and 174-186 for *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586; STC 25172, sigs F4<sup>v</sup> and E2<sup>v</sup> (*EP*). Webbe cited the first line as an exemplar of the 'old Iambicke stroake'.

1-4 *I that...mars]* Rushton Fairclough notes that these are probably Virgil's words at an early stage of composition, which his executors omitted after his death. The lines in Latin are:

Ille ego, qui quondam gracili modulatus avena  
carmen, et egressus silvis vicina coegi  
ut quamvis avido parerent arva colono,  
gratum opus agricolis; at nunc horrentia Martis

[Rushton Fairclough, 1947: 'I am he who once tuned my song on a slender reed, then, leaving the woodland, constrained the neighbouring fields to serve the husbandmen, however grasping—a work welcome to farmers: but now of Mars' bristling']

- 2 *next to*] after ('next', *adj.*, 5a)
- 4 *Lve*] *Lo*
- 4-5 *I sing...Troie*] Phaer here renders 'arma virumque cano' ('I sing of the arms and the man'), the lines which Virgil's executors took as the opening declaration of Book 1.
- 5 *fatal*] i.e., decreed by fate ('fatal', *adj.*, 1)
- 6 *Lavine land*] Lavinium, now *Practica di Mare*, where Aeneas landed in Latium
- hight*] called, named ('hight', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 4)
- 8 *and all...loste*] translates Virgil, 'saevae memorem Iunois ob iram' (1.4: 'through cruel Juno's unforgiving wrath')
- that wrought...loste*] i.e., 'that contrived to have them killed' ('work', *v.*, 11a)
- 9 *bode*] withstood, sustained ('abide', *v.*, 5); this is the past tense of 'abide', aphetic to aid the scansion.
- 10 *Romaine name*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'Albanique patres' (1.7: 'lords of Alba'); Alba Longa was a settlement which Ascanius, Aeneas' son, established in Italy: see [2].251-253.
- 13 *noble prynce*] elaborates on Virgil's more prosaic 'virum' (1.10: 'man')
- 15 *Carthago*] Carthage was a Phoenician settlement founded from Tyre; it was situated on the Tunisian coast in north west Africa, and therefore far off ['loof'] from the Italian coast ('aloof', *adv.*, 2a) (*OCD*, 'Carthage').
- 16 *Tyberes mouthe*] Tiber's mouth; the Tiber is central Italy's greatest river, and formed the northern boundary of Latium (*OCD*, 'Tiber').
- 17 *Tire*] Tyre was an important city on the Phoenician coast, situated in Lebanon; it is the settlement from which Dido and her ancestors derived.
- 19 *Samos Ile*] a Greek island and powerful city-state in the eastern Aegean sea, off western Asia Minor (*OCD*, 'Samos')
- 20 *cheare*] face ('cheer', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- let*] hinder, prevent, obstruct ('let', *v.*<sup>2</sup>, 1a; 1b)
- 23 *Lyby lande*] Libya was in Homer (*Od.* IV.85-89) a narrow stretch of land west of Egypt; it later became the Greek name for the modern continent of Africa. For Phaer, it apparently refers to Carthage (*OCD*, 'Libya').

- 24 *eft*] again (‘eft’, *adv.*, 1a)
- 25 *she*] renders Virgil’s more allusive ‘Saturnia’ (1, l. 23: ‘daughter of Saturn’)
- 28 *heres esteemed...naught*] i.e., ‘hers valued at nothing’
- 29 *shabhorres*] she abhors, elided to aid the scansion  
*the stocke*] Juno hated the Trojans on account of their descent from Dardanus, the son that her rival Electra bore Jupiter (Greek: ‘Zeus’).  
*Ganimede*] Ganymedes was the son of Tros and a young man renowned for his beauty. He is usually depicted being carried off by Jupiter (Greek: Zeus) in the guise of an eagle to serve as his cup-bearer (*OCD*, ‘Ganymedes’).  
*raught*] seized, carried off (‘reach’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 5b)
- 31 *selie*] helpless, pitiful (‘seely’, *adj.*, 6b; ‘silly’, *adj.*, 1a)  
*laide so lowe*] i.e., ‘overthrown in battle’ (‘lay’, *v.*, III, 17a, ‘lay low’)
- 33 *Italie*] translates Virgil, ‘Latio’ (1.31: ‘Latium’)
- 34 *sondry pine*] many forests, or perhaps ‘many types of forest’
- 35 *ligne*] dynasty (‘line’, *n.*<sup>2</sup>, IV, 24a)
- 36 *Scicile Ile*] Sicily
- 40 *qd*] quod, said  
*this Troian king*] Aeneas, described through the rhetorical figure *antonomasia*
- 42 *I trowe*] i.e., ‘I believe’ (‘trow’, *v.*, 4b)  
*Pallas*] Pallas Athena, regarded in several classical sources (including *Il.* 17.938) as a war goddess (*OCD*, ‘Athena’)
- 44 *onne mannes sinne*] Ajax the Lesser (Greek: ‘Aias’), distinguished from Ajax, son of Telamon, the famous Greek warrior and companion of Odysseus.. Like Virgil, Phaer does not elaborate on the nature of Ajax’s sin. He possibly raped the Trojan seer Cassandra while she prayed in the temple of Athena. Athena reacted by soliciting Jupiter to destroy the Greek fleet. Ajax himself survived the Gods’ attempts to kill him by clinging to a rock, which Athena (or in some accounts, Neptune) cleaved in two, causing him to drown (*OCD*, ‘Aias’, (2)).
- 49 *this pore stocke*] the Trojans.
- 52 *Aeolia*] floating island which Aeolous (see 53n. below) inhabited with his six sons and daughters.  
*hide*] hied
- 54 *King Eolus*] ruler of the wind. A minor god in classical sources, this passage in the *Aeneid* supplies the major account of Aeolous (*OCD*, ‘Aeolus’).

- 57 *aswage*] assuage
- 63 *the greate god*] i.e., Jupiter; the phrase translates Virgil, ‘divum pater’ (1.65: ‘Father of gods’).  
*be take*] betook, entrusted (‘betake’, v., 1b; ‘beteach’, v., 3); Phaer makes the verb part of a doublet with ‘geven the leave’ in [2].65.
- 65 *Tyrrhen sea*] Tyrrhenian sea, which is part of the modern Mediterranean sea; it is bounded by Corsica and Sardinia to the west and Sicily to the south.
- 68 *whelme*] submerge, drown (‘whelm’, v., 4a); the *OED* cites Phaer as the first user of this sense of the verb.  
*w<sup>t</sup> deepe*] i.e., in the deep
- 69 *seaven and seaven*] fourteen
- 70 *Dyopeye*] Deiopea, a nymph of Cerene; this passage in the *Aeneid* supplies the major account of her.
- 71 *my mynde*] i.e., ‘this is my mind’
- 73 *what nedes...desire?*] i.e., ‘why do you need to express your desire to me?’ Aeolous’ implication is that Juno’s prerogative, as queen of the gods, is to sate her desires.
- 75 *on hight*] on high; the spelling creates a suitable end-rhyme with ‘of right’ in [2].74.
- 77 *straine*] confine, restrain (‘strain’, v.<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 79 *thronges*] crowds (‘throng’, n., II, 2)
- 82 *againne*] against  
*clives*] cliffs
- 83 *crake*] crack
- 84 *anon*] at once (‘anon’, adv., 4a; 5)
- 86 *full oft...side*] translates Virgil, ‘poli’ (1.90: ‘from pole to pole’)
- 89 *gan*] began (‘gin’, v.<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- 92 *D<o>^i^omede*] renders Virgil’s more allusive ‘Tydide’ (1.97: ‘son of Tydeus’); Diomedes was a prominent Greek warrior at Troy and engaged in single combat with Aeneas before the war. In the second half of Homer’s *Iliad*, he acquires a reputation as the author of wise and bold counsels. With Ulysses (Greek: Odysseus), he surprises the Trojan comrade Rhesus’ camp, which is recounted in [2].444-445 (*OCD*, ‘Diomedes’).
- 95 *King Sarpedon*] commander of the Lycian contingent of the Trojan allies in the war (*OCD*, ‘Sarpedon’).  
*chaunce*] fortune, lot (‘chance’, n., 3a)

- 96 *Symois]* river on the Trojan plain
- 99 *helme]* the helmsman
- 101 *gaping]* i.e., ‘widely stretched’; the earliest date that the *OED* cites for this adjective is 1594.
- 102 *three]* i.e., three ships
- 105 *shoules]* shoals, shallows (‘shoal’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, a)
- 106 *Lycya lande]* Lycia was a nation in the south west of Asia Minor. During the Trojan war, the Lycians fought as allies of Priam, the king of Troy (*OCD*, ‘Lycia’).  
*Orontes]* a Lycian warrior
- 107 *pupp]* poop, stern (‘poop’, *n.*, 1a)
- 108 *master]* helmsman, pilot
- 112-113 *Ilionee...Aleches]* The men are all faithful companions of Aeneas who fought in the Trojan war; none has a high profile outside of the *Aeneid*.
- 117 *noble]* renders Virgil, ‘placidum’ (1.127: ‘serene’); the implication is that Neptune, despite his anger, is outwardly calm.
- 119 *over hed]* translates Virgil, ‘caelique ruina’ (1.129: ‘the falling heavens’)
- 120 *craft]* guile, cunning (‘craft’, *n.*, 4a)
- 124 *quyte]* repaid (‘quit’, *v.*, 3a; 3b)  
*set in staie]* make calm
- 129 *list]* wish, please (‘list’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a; 2b)
- 132 *the mermaydes]* translates Virgil, ‘Cymothoe’ (1.144: ‘Cymothoë’); she was a Nereid (sea nymph).
- 133 *softlie]* carefully (‘softly’, *adv.*, 1)
- 136-141 *and like...asswage]* This is Phaer’s rendition of Virgil’s epic simile, developed over 1.148-156, which compares Neptune’s calming of the waves to an impressive orator’s calming of a boisterous crowd.
- 137 *wit full...wide]* renders Virgil, ‘furor arma ministrat’ (1.150: ‘madness lending arms’); the phrase appears to mean ‘often far from wit’ (‘wide’, *adj.*, 9b).
- 144 *men of Troie]* renders Virgil’s more allusive ‘Aeneadae’ (1.157; ‘sons of Aeneas’)
- 145 *affrica]* translates Virgil, ‘Libyae’ (1.158: ‘Libya’)  
*lyght]* alighted
- 147 <*goeth*> *goth]* Hand A’s emendation aids the scansion.
- 148 *roches]* reaches, i.e., the portions of a river or channel which lie behind two bends (‘reach’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)

- 153 *gables*] cables, ropes ('gable', *n.*<sup>2</sup>, a)
- 155 *seaven*] i.e., seven ships
- 157-158 *and firste...a boute*] As Rushton Fairclough notes, Virgil here describes the primitive process of making fire, which had a tripartite process. First, a spark was struck from flint; second, the tinder was ignited; and third, the ignited fuel was waved in the air until the smouldering fire burst into flame (Rushton Fairclough, 1994: 252).
- 158 *matter meete*] i.e., 'fitting material (for building the fire)'
- 159 *vitalles*] victuals  
*ymarde*] reduced in motion, calmed ('mar', *v.*, 1)
- 160 *corne*] wheat; the noun renders Virgil's more allusive 'Cererem' (1.177: 'corn of Ceres'). Ceres was an Roman corn goddess (*OCD*, 'Ceres').
- 163 *Caicus...Capis*] followers of Aeneas
- 164 *arowe*] in a row, in line ('a-row', *adv.*, 1)
- 166 *boltes*] arrows ('bolt', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)  
*that Achates...spedd*] 'with which Achates immediately equipped him' ('speed', *v.*, 7d)
- 167 *kest*] cast; the *OED* cites 'kest' as a northern dialectical variant of 'cast', and gives Spenser, in *The Fairie queene*, I.11, as its earliest user (sig. F3<sup>r</sup>). The numerous appearances in this form in Phaer's translation, in both end-rhyme and medial positions, suggests that it is perhaps his preferred spelling. Compare [2].204 and [3].726.
- 172 *departed*] distributed, shared ('depart', *v.*, 2a)  
*eke*] also, moreover ('eke', *adv.*)
- 172-173 *and pipes...went*] translates 1.195-196 in Virgil: 'vina bonus quae deinde cadis onerarat Acestes | litore Trinacrio dederatque abeuntibus heros | dividit' ('Next he shares the wine, which good Acestes had stowed in jars on the Trinacrian shore')
- 172 *pipes*] containers, possibly 'jugs' ('pipe', *n.*<sup>2</sup>)
- 173 *Cicile*] Sicily
- 175 *bidden*] withstood
- 177 *Scilla*] a sea monster who lived on a rock opposite the whirlpool Charybdis; later Greek tradition situated Scylla in the Straits of Messina between Sicily and the Italian mainland. The phrase 'between Scylla and Charybdis' has been proverbial since at least 1180 (*ODEP*, 707; Tilley, S 169).  
*wote*] know ('wot', *v.*, 1)



- 178 *Ciclops shore*] Aeneas and his men visit the island of the Cyclops Polyphemus in Book 3 of the *Aeneid*. In the *Odyssey*, Book 9, Odysseus visits the Cyclops' island, which is distant and not geographically specified. Theocritus (*Idyll* 11) situates Polyphemus' island in Sicily (*OCD*, 'Cyclopes').
- 180 *to thinke...daye*] i.e., 'to think on our trials may at some time in the future be a pleasure to you'
- 182 *t'italia*] renders Virgil, 'in Latium' (1.205: 'towards Latium')
- 183 *eft*] again
- 185 *tho*] then ('tho', *adv.*)
- 186 *dissimmling*] dissembling, dissimulating
- 187 *praye*] prey
- 189 *broches*] skewers ('broach', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- 190 *Cawdreus*] cauldrons
- 193 *trenchers*] renders Virgil, 'mensae' (1.216: 'tables'); trenchers were flat pieces of wood, either square or circular, on which meat was served and carved ('trencher', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, II, 2a).
- 198-200 *Amicus...Cloanthus*] With the addition of Orontes (see [2].107), these are all Trojan soldiers who fought in the war.
- 198 *hent*] seized, taken ('hent', *v.*, 1; 2a)
- 202 *faile*] probable scribal error for 'saile'
- 205 *carefull*] full of care ('careful', *adj.*, 3)
- 211 *simple*] harmless, free from guile ('simple', *adj.*, 1)
- 212 *of*] off, away
- 216 *to dresse*] to set ('dress', *v.*, 3a)
- 217 *yewis*] iwis, certainly, indeed ('iwis', *adv.*, B)
- 219 *yet*] henceforth, still ('yet', *adv.*, II, 5c)
- 221 *Anteno*'] Trojan counsellor of some repute; according to Homer, both the Trojans and Greeks trusted his sense of justice (*Il.*, 3.207, 262; 7.347) (*OCD*, 'Antenor').
- 221-226 *the myddes...beare*] The passage supplies a potted account of Antenor's exploits after the Trojan war. He alighted first in 'Lyburnus' ([2].223), the kingdom of the Illyrian Liburni on the east coast of the Adriatic, and then, according to Sophocles, settled in Patavium (modern Padua) (*OCD*, 'Liburni', 'Patavium').

- 223 *Tymavus*] river which rises in the Julian Alps, after flowing for eighteen miles underground, and reappears in several springs; its course ends at the Adriatic (Rushton Fairclough, 1935: 259).
- 229-230 *the cruell...alone*] i.e., Juno, as recounted in [2].11-52 above
- 230 *spoiled*] despoiled, stripped ('spoil' *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 232 *is this...finde?*] renders Virgil, 'hic pietatis honos' (1.253: 'Is this virtue's guerdon?')
- 236-272 *feare not...vailes*] Jupiter's vision of the future sets out three stages of growth and dynastic succession through which Aeneas' kingdom will pass down to Julius Caesar. This begins with Aeneas' establishment of Lavinium ([2].245-257); after thirty years, Ascanius will then transfer the kingdom to Alba Longa ([2].251-253), which holds for three-hundred years until Ilia bears Mars' children Romulus and Remus. This leads to the foundation of Rome ([2].254-263), which Caesar inherits ([2].264-273).
- 237 *thy kingdom*] i.e., Lavinium  
*behight*] promise, vow ('behight', *v.*, 1a)
- 241 *discourse*] onward course, succession ('discourse', *n.*, 1a)
- 244-246 *Citie builde...subdue*] i.e., Aeneas will reign for three summers in Latium, but must wait three winters after conquering the Rutulians before founding Lavinium.
- 246 *Rutilles*] Rutulians, a nation of Italian people whose king is Turnus. From Book 7 of the *Aeneid*, the Rutulians are the Trojans' principal antagonists, with whom they war over Aeneas' and Turnus' separate claims to Lavinia, the daughter of King Latium.
- 247 *Askanius, yulus*] Ascanius is Aeneas' son; his alternate Latin name was Iulus.
- 251 *Alba long*] Alba Longa
- 253-272 *til Ilia...vailes*] Virgil's account of Roman dominion pointedly includes Romulus' and Julius Caesar's descent from Iulus ([2].264-266), and a period of prosperous peace for Rome ([2].269-273).
- 253 *twoo twinnes*] Romulus and Remus, the children of Mars
- 254 *volves*] probable scribal error for 'wolves'
- 255 *valles*] probable scribal error for 'walles'
- 257 *estate*] exalted place ('estate', *n.*, 3a)
- 259 *turmoiles*] agitates, disturbs ('turmoil', *v.*, 1a)
- 260 *sad*] solemn, grave ('sad', *adj.*, 3c)
- 261 *people clad...gowne*] renders Virgil, 'gentumque togatam' (1.282: 'nation of the toga')

- 262 *and set...renowne]* Phaer compresses Virgil's account of the passage of time between the establishment of Rome and Caesar, omitting the Roman territorial expansion in Phthia, Mycenae, and Argos (Greece), which Virgil has in 1.195-196.
- 266 *him laden...achivd]* Caesar triumphed in the wars he waged in the east at Pharsalus (48 BCE), Egypt (47 BCE), and Zela (47 BCE).
- 269 *Romaine goddes...hand]* As in [2].263, Phaer condenses Virgil's catalogue of gods in 1.292-293, which includes Faith and Vesta, and the reconciled Romulus (Quirinus) and Remus: 'cana Fides at Vesta, Remo cum fratre Quirinus | iura dabunt' ('hoary Faith and Vesta, Quirinus with his brother Remus, shall give laws.').
- 271 *Battlerage]* here an abstraction, such as those found sitting in the mouth of the Underworld in Sackville's 'Induction' (*Myrrour*, 1563; STC 1248, sigs Q2<sup>v</sup>-R3<sup>v</sup>).
- 273 *sonne of Maie]* Mercury, the son of Maia and Jupiter
- 275 *Troians]* renders Virgil's more allusive 'Teucris' (1.299: 'Teucrians')
- aland]* ashore, on land ('aland', *adv.*, 2; 3)
- 278 *and did...mynde]* i.e., 'and executed his father's wishes'
- 279 *mores]* Moors, the name given from the fourteenth century to a native or inhabitant of ancient Mauretania (Morocco and Algeria); the noun renders Virgil, 'Poeni' (1.302: 'Phoenicians').
- 284 *salvage]* savage
- tild]* teld, dwelling ('teld', *n.*, a)
- 286 *there whilest]* therewhiles, i.e., while ('therewhile', *adv.*, a)
- 292-293 *harpabice the...behinde]* scribal error for Harpalyce; she was raised as a warrior by her father Harpalyce, king of the Amymonoi in Thrace. After his death, Harpalyce became a brigand; she was eventually caught and killed (*OCD*, 'Harpalyce'). The tale recounted here is that in which Harpalyce, riding her horses, outstrips the river god Hebrus ('heber streame').
- 295 *tuckd]* girded up, shortened with tucks ('tucked', *adj.*, 1)
- 299 *fomy]* foamy-mouthed
- 300 *venus sonne]* Aeneas
- 301 *hard]* heard
- 302 *what shall...the?]* i.e., 'how shall I regard you?'
- 304 *Phebus bright]* Phoebus Apollo, Greek sun god; he was also an ideal of youthful beauty (*OCD*, 'Apollo').
- 306 *vow^t^chaf to]* deign to, condescend to ('vouchsafe', *v.*, 2d)

- 313 *weede*] clothing, dress ('weed', *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 2a)
- 314 *realme of Affrick*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'Punica regna' (1.338: 'the Punic realm')
- Tirus*] Tyre
- 315 *Ageno*<sup>r</sup>] famous king of Tyre and father of Europa (*OCD*, 'Agenor')
- 317 *her brother fled*] Pygmalion, Dido's brother and, like Agenor, a famous king of Tyre; he is not the mythological Pygmalion who falls in love with a statue in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Book 10. The passage below, [2].318-342, describes Pygmalion's murder of Dido's husband Sycheus in the hope of obtaining his fortune, and Dido's subsequent escape from Tyre and establishment of Carthage (*OCD*, 'Pygmalion').
- leare*] learn ('lere', *v.*, 3)
- 392 *tho*] then
- 319-320 *the riche ... / coast*] i.e., 'the richest landowner among the Phoenicians'
- 321 *vntwight*] untouched, intact; the *OED* cites Phaer as the sole user of this adjective. Compare [3].84.
- 329 *pere*] appear, aphetic to aid the scansion ('pear', *v.*)
- 330 *wonders hewes*] wondrous colours
- deadly*] death-like ('deadly', *adj.*, 7a)
- cheere*] face
- 337-338 *than suche...gates*] i.e., 'then such people as hate the wicked tyrant [Pygmalion], on account of his wicked life or because they were afraid of him, leave the city gates'
- 342 *howgee*] hugy, i.e., 'huge' ('hugy', *adj.*)
- 344 *as muche...within*] In legend, the Phoenician settlers struck a bargain with the neighbouring Libyans that they would take as much ground as could be covered by a bull's hide. To profit on this arrangement, the Phoenicians dissected the hide into narrow strips, ensuring that it enclosed a substantial tract of land. The myth is probably attributable to linguistic confusion: Phoenician 'bosra' ('citadel') bears a close resemblance with Greek 'βύρσα' ('bull's-hide').
- 347 *fet*] fetched ('fet', *v.*)
- 349 *luste*] desire, choose, wish ('lust', *v.*, 3a)
- 350 *dischardge*] discharge himself of his duty (i.e., set)
- 354 *Eneas*] renders Virgil, 'pius Aeneas' (1.378: 'Aeneas the good')
- cleaped*] called ('clepe', *v.*, 3a)

- countrie goddes*] the Trojan household gods; known in Latin as *Di Penates*. These were portable effigies whose function was originally domestic but became public and ceremonial (*OCD*, ‘Penates, Di’).
- 356 *Loves offspring*] As Venus’ son, Aeneas descends from Jupiter.
- 368 *to skill*] to understand, comprehend (‘skill’, *v.*, 4a)
- 369 *six and sixe*] twelve
- cheerlie*] cheerily (‘cheerly’, *adv.*, B 1a)
- 374 *nye*] nigh
- 378 *kirtell*] skirt or outer petticoat (‘kirtle’, *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 2a; 2b)
- 379 *wist*] knew, recognised (‘wist’, *v.*)
- 380 *list*] listen (‘list’, *v.*<sup>2</sup>, 2)
- 385 *the*] they
- 386 *axe*] ask
- 387 *Paphos*] city in Cyprus (*OCD*, ‘Paphos’)
- yedes*] goes, proceeds (‘yede’, *v.*); the *OED* cites Thomas Sackville as the earliest user of this verb in his ‘Induction’: ‘Here entred we, and yeding forth, anone | An horrible lothly lake we might discerne’ (*Myrrour*, 1563, sig. Q2<sup>v</sup>).
- 393 *where some...fed*] Phaer’s pastoral scene elaborates on Virgil, ‘magalia quondam’ (1.421: ‘mere huts once’)
- 395 *mores*] translates ‘Tyrii’ (1.423: ‘Tyrians’)
- 400 *statlye place*] theatre
- 406 *vnlade*] unload, discharge (‘unlade’, *v.*, 3a)
- 409 *tyme*] thyme
- 417 *compound*] probably ‘devised’, ‘schemed’ (‘compound’, *v.*, 4c); the meaning differs from Virgil, ‘monstrat’ (1.444: ‘pointed out’).
- 421 *coast*] cost
- 422 *brasen grees*] brass-made steps (‘brasen’, *adj.*, 1a; ‘gree’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 423 *vawtes*] vaults
- 430 *amonges*] probable scribal error for ‘among’
- Iestes*] gests, records of notable deeds, here of the Trojans (‘gest’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 431 *wares*] wars
- 432 *King Priam*] Priam is king of the Trojans during the Trojan war; Paris and Hector are two of his sons. Priam dies at the hands of Achilles’ son Neoptolemus, which is recounted in Book 2 of the *Aeneid* (*OCD*, ‘Priam’). See [3].510-558.

- Atridas twaine*] Agamemnon, king of Mycenae, and his brother Menelaus, so named because of their descent from Atreus, famous king of Mycenae. ‘Atridas’ means ‘son of Atreus’. Compare [3].99. The effort of Agamemnon and Menelaus to retrieve Helen caused the Trojan war.
- Achill*] Achilles, most famous of the Greek warriors in the Trojan war
- 434 *voyde*] empty (of the stories of the Trojans’ misfortunes)
- 436 *sample*] story, example (‘sample’, *n.*, 1; 5)
- 439 *sight*] sigh (‘sight’, *n.*<sup>2</sup>); compare Surrey, [37].9.
- 440-468 *for there...trie*] The passage focuses on the various scenes from the Trojan war that Aeneas and Achates see depicted on the panels of Dido’s temple.
- 440 *Troie*] renders Virgil’s more allusive ‘Pergama’ (1.466: ‘Pergamus’)
- 441 *them p<sup>r</sup>sued...route*] i.e., ‘the Trojan youths pursued them’
- route*] troop (‘rout’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 442 *chare*] chariot (‘chair’, *n.*<sup>2</sup>)
- 443 *not far aloof*] not far away
- Ryses*] Rhesus, a comrade of Priam and the Trojans from Thrace; the frieze Aeneas and Achates behold depicts an episode the night before the Trojan war commenced, in which Odysseus and Diomedes surprise Rhesus’ camp, kill him and twelve of his men, and take his horses (*OCD*, ‘Rhesus’).
- 445 *Tytydes*] Diomedes; as with ‘Atridas’, ‘Tytydes’ means ‘son of Tydeus’
- 447 *in water*] renders Virgil; ‘Xanthumque’ (1.473: ‘Xanthus’); Xanthus was the main river in Troy.
- 448-453 *Troilus seene...sent*] Like Paris and Hector, Troilus was a son of Priam; his name is associated most famously with his doomed love affair with Cressida, though this is a medieval fiction, used most famously by Chaucer and Shakespeare, which has no basis in classical sources. Proclus (2<sup>nd</sup> Century CE?) includes the account of Achilles ambushing and killing Troilus in his prose commentary on the ancient Greek epic *Cypria*, from where Virgil perhaps derived it (*OCD*, ‘Troilus’).
- 457 *she <turnd> turnes*] i.e., from the supplicants, ignoring their petitions
- 458-459 *three tymes...rounde*] Achilles killed Hector in one of the major duels of the Trojan war, and dragged him three times around the walls of Troy tied to the back of his chariot (*OCD*, ‘Hector’).
- 461 *his <fr<sup>e</sup>nde> frind*] Hector

- 464 *Memmons*] Memnon was the king of Ethiopia; he offered aid to his uncle Priam in the Trojan war (*OCD*, ‘Memnon’).
- 465 *tergates*] light shields, targes (‘target’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- 466 *Penthafile*] scribal error; Penthesilea was Queen of the Amazons. She came to Troy’s aid following the death of Hector, and was eventually killed by Achilles (*OCD*, ‘Penthesilea’).
- 467 *pap*] breast (‘pap’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 471 *so faire...hew*] The phrase is Chaucerian. Compare *CT*, *CIT*.377: ‘But nathelees, this mayde bright of hewe’.
- 472 *lustie yonkers*] joyful young men (‘lusty’, *adj.*, 1a; ‘younker’, *n.*, 1)
- 473 *Diana*] goddess of hunting (Greek: Artemis)
- 474 *Evrotas bankes*] The Evrotas (or Eurotas) is the main river of Laconia and one of the major rivers in both classical and modern Greece.
- copps*] copse
- Cynthus hill*] mountain on the island of Delos, which forms part of the Greek Cyclades
- 475 *ladie nymphes*] Oreads, mountain nymphs
- 476 *overshines*] shines more brightly, outshines (‘overshine’, *v.*, 2)
- 477 *tickling*] gratifying, amusing (‘tickling’, *adj.*); the *OED* cites Phaer as the first user of the adjective.
- 478 *prease*] crowd, throng (‘press’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, II, 5a)
- 481 *amydes her gard*] compresses Virgil, ‘saep̄ta armis solioque alte subnixa’ (1.506: ‘girt with arms and high enthroned’)
- 485 *Anteas...Cloanthus*] faithful Trojans; Aeneas feared Cloanthus dead in [2].201.
- 488 *astoyned*] amazed, stunned (‘astony’, *v.*, 1)
- 492 *yculd*] ‘y-culled’, i.e., ‘picked out’, ‘selected from’ (‘cull’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1; 2)
- 495 *S<sup>r</sup> <E> Ilionee*] Ilioneus is another high-ranking Trojan warrior; his following speech distinguishes him as a capable orator.
- 499 *selye*] helpless, defenceless (‘silly’, *adj.*, 1a; 1b)
- 504-506 *Hysperia, Oenotria*] These are both names associated with Italy, as [2].508 qualifies for Oenotria. Hesperia applied to the Iberian peninsula.
- 509 *a winde...wood*] renders Virgil’s more allusive ‘nimbosus Orion’ (1.535: ‘stormy Orion’)
- 517 *a iuster*] a juster king

- 523 *dyuerse Iles*] renders ‘Siculis regionibus’ (1.549: ‘Sicilian regions’); as Book 3 of the *Aeneid* relates, the Trojans come to Carthage from Sicily.
- 524 *Acestes*] a Trojan of noble blood who founded Egesta (Segesta) in Sicily and hospitably received Aeneas (*OCD*, ‘Acestes’)
- 527 *mo*] more
- 529 *mightie father*] Aeneas; the phrase translates Virgil, ‘pater optime Teucrum’ (1.555: ‘good father of the Trojan people’).
- 533 *rest of Trojans*] renders Virgil’s more allusive ‘Dardinidae’ (1.560: ‘sons of Dardanus’); Dardanus was a legendary ancestor of the Trojans, as described in [2].592
- 536 *Trojans*] renders Virgil’s more allusive ‘Teucri’ (1.562: ‘Teucrians’)
- 537 *raw estate*] newly-formed, immature estate (‘raw’, *adj.*, 3a); alongside ‘kingdom new’, the phrase is pleonastic.
- 541 *mores*] As in [2].280, renders Virgil’s more allusive ‘pectora Punic’ (1.567: ‘Punic hearts’)
- 542 *sonne his...wynde*] alludes to Apollo’s sun chariot, horse-pulled, which moved across the skies on its diurnal course.
- 543 *old Saturnus feldes*] Saturn resided in Italy in the Golden Age.
- 547 *set up*] i.e., draw up onto the shore
- anon*] at once
- 548 *a Troian...one*] i.e., ‘I shall treat Trojans and Moors/Phoenicians as one, without distinction.’
- 558 *we misse...one*] Orontes
- 565 *roset*] rose-coloured, roseate (‘roset’, *adj.*, 2)
- 566 *everie*] ivory
- 573 *pild*] pilled, wretched (‘pilled’, *adj.*, 1b)
- 579 *meede*] reward (‘meed’, *n.*, 1a)
- 580 *the*] thee
- 587 *the queene*] renders Virgil, ‘Sidonia Dido’ (1.613: ‘Sidonian Dido’)
- 588 *wayd<d> the chaunce*] considered the misfortune
- dight*] said (‘dight’, *v.*, 1)
- 590 *force*] violence (‘force’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a)



- 591 *Dardanus the king*] Dardanus was the reputed son of Jupiter and Electra; he founded Dardania on Mount Ida, and is an ancestor of the Trojans. Priam is a direct descendant of Dardanus' line (*OCD*, 'Dardanus').
- 593-594 *Tevcer...Sydon*] Teucer was a cousin of Paris and Hector, but also a half-brother of the great Greek warrior Ajax; he fights for the Greeks in the Trojan war.. After returning from the war without Ajax, Teucer was exiled from Salamis, and fled to the Phoenician settlement of Sidon. Teucer then founded Salamis in Cyprus. This is the episode to which Dido refers in this passage (*OCD*, 'Teucer').
- 594 *faine*] glad ('fain', *adj.*, 1a)
- 595 *warde*] warred
- Belus*] father of Dido and king of Tyre before Pygmalion (*OCD*, 'Belus')
- 596 *Ciperes*] Cyprus'
- 600 *knowe*] known
- 602 *toast*] tossed; like the Trojans, the Phoenicians were tossed on the African shore. It is possible that the meaning is an unusual past-tense form of 'taste', i.e., 'experienced', unattested in the *OED* ('taste', *v.*, 3a).
- 604 *rew*] rue
- 607 *tyde*] time ('tide', *n.*, 1a)
- 608 *brawnes*] boars, swine ('brawn', *n.*, 3)
- 610 *giftes of god*] Rushton Fairclough chose the phrase as 'laetitiaque dii', i.e., 'for the day's merriment'. However, he offers 'laetitiaque dei', 'for the God's merriment', as an alternative reading (Rushton Fairclough, 1947: 285). The god here is Bacchus, god of wine (Greek: Dionysius).
- 613 *coning*] cunning, skill, expertise ('cunning', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 3a)
- 621 *bad*] bade
- yfet*] y-fetched
- 625 *Ledas*] Leda is wife of Tyndareus and mother of Helen in some classical sources, which state that Helen was conceived after Jupiter raped Leda in the guise of a swan. There is some uncertainty about which of Leda's four children was divinely descended (*OCD*, 'Leda').
- 626 *Ilioney, king...dowghter*] Iliona, eldest daughter of Priam and Hecuba (*OCD*, 'Iliona')

- 630 *Venus*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'Cytherea' (1.657; 'the Cytheran'); Greek tradition assigned Cytherea as Venus' birthplace, as described in [2].653 (*OCD*, 'Cytherea')..
- 633 *farvent*] fervent
- 636 *her sonne, Cupide*] renders Virgil's compressed 'Amorem' (1.663: 'Love')
- 642 *feare*] possibly a variant spelling of 'fair', which is the reading in 58-84
- 643 *Iynnes*] tricks, stratagems ('gin', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- 645 *wherfore opreventing...mischauunce*] i.e., 'for the purpose of preventing all misfortune (as Juno has wrought)', with 'opreventing' a probable scribal error for 'preventing'
- 648 *some deale*] somewhat, to some degree ('someddeal', *adv.*, B 1)
- 653 *Cytheere*] Cytherea, island off Cape Malea (Peloponnesus) and putative birthplace of Venus
- 654 *yda mount*] renders 'Idalium' (1.681: 'Ida') in Virgil; this is not the Mount Ida in Crete but the one in the ancient Troad region of Anatolia (modern Turkey). It was on Ida that Venus seduced Aeneas' father Anchises.
- 657 *beguyld*] probable scribal error for 'beguyle'
- 659 *ryall*] royal
- Bacchus blisse*] Phaer's allusion to Baccus renders Virgil, 'laticemque Lyaeum' (1.686: 'wine of Lyaeus'). Lyaeus was a surname and common sobriquet of Baccus.
- 661 *enspire*] inspire, lit. to breathe or blow into ('inspire', *v.*, 1a; 2a)
- 663 *like the same*] i.e., 'in the manner of the same'
- 666 *beddes of*] A word is clearly missing after 'of'; the omission is common to both *P* and 58-84.
- maioram*] marjoram
- 669 *bed*] bade
- 679 *deyntye bourdes*] i.e., 'tables of delicacies' ('dainty', *adj.*, 1; 'board', *n.*, II, 6)
- 680 *dyve*] probable scribal error for 'dyne'
- 681 *fyve*] probable scribal error for 'fyne'
- 682 *yule*] Iulus
- 684 *queene*] Phaer eschews Virgil's allusive reference to Dido, 'infelix [...] Phoenissa' (1.712-714: 'the unhappy Phoenician'), which anticipates Dido's suicide in Book 4.
- 685 *pall*] fine cloth ('pall', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, I, 1)
- 689 *fayned*] pretended, sham ('feigned', *adj.*, 4a), though it is possible that the adjective here compresses the sense of Aeneas being deluded or gulled

- wyle] trick, stratagem ('wile', *n.*, 1a)
- 692 *dyd]* Dido
- 694 *by smale...smale]* renders Virgil, 'paulatim' (1.720: 'little by little')
- 701 *taps]* tapers, which translate Virgil, 'lychni' (1.726: 'lamps')
- 706 *and gestes...small]* Phaer's addition  
*gestes]* deeds
- 714 *Bycias]* Bitias in Virgil  
*raught]* extended  
*w<sup>l</sup> chardge]* with a challenge; the phrase renders Virgil, 'increpitans' (1.738: 'chiding', 'challenging').
- 717 *yopas]* Iopas, a bard whose song, described in [2].718-725, covers the movement of the sun, moon, and stars  
*carp]* sing, recite (as a bard) ('carp', *v.<sup>l</sup>.*, 3)
- 720-722 *how mankind...lowres]* This is Phaer's sole rhyming triplet in [2].
- 720 *wherhence]* whence, i.e., 'from where'
- 722 *the wayne...seven]* the Wain star (named after 'Charles' Wagon'), the Plough, and the Pleiades, named the 'Seven Sisters'. Compare the same catalogue in [15].542.
- 728 *auroras sone]* Memnon, Aurora's son with Tithonus. According to Hesiod, *Theogony*, l. 984, Achilles killed him in the Trojan war.
- 730 *bibbes]* drinks ('bib', *v.*, a)
- 733 *these seven yere]* the interval between the the end of the Trojan war and Aeneas' landing at Carthage

### Collations

*P* is the earliest and by far the most corrupt of the four surviving full copies, with several awkward readings (as in ll. 90 and 92) and a total of seventy-nine errors.<sup>3</sup> The text of Book 1 was then revised successively for 58, 62, and 73. Each edition, however, was demonstrably based on the previous one, meaning some corruptions were replicated. Thus, *P* and 58 share four substantive variants in ll. 347, 456, 507, and 528, alongside an error in l. 481 ('set'); these are corrected in 62. 58 does, however, share three errors with 62 in ll. 234 ('couldes'),

<sup>3</sup> The seventy-nine total errors in *P* are in ll. 60, 78, 79, 80, 82, 86, 90, 92, 96, 104, 110, 117, 134, 146, 163, 188, 193, 196, 202, 203, 204 ('Affrike'), 212, 229, 236, 244, 254, 256, 280, 290, 292, 319, 320, 322, 342, 364, 366, 375, 382, 389, 394, 430, 439 (the hypermetrical 'and many a sight', 439 ('lardge'), 443, 446, 460, 464, 481, 490, 499, 502, 518, 523, 526, 530, 531, 533, 542, 546, 578, 586, 613, 615, 626, 642, 645, 646, 652 ('flame'), 652 ('weare savd...thinges'), 657, 669, 670, 679 ('besides, the deyntye bourdes'), 689, 692, 698, 701, 707, and 762.

371 (*om.* of ‘on’), and 599 (‘enmye’). 73 replicates one error from 62 in l. 533, which 84 corrects independently; nevertheless, five errors in ll. 84, 347, 393, 456, and 572 are transmitted from 62 to 84 unchecked. From 73, 84 picks up the additional misreading ‘beaste’ in l. 720. A total of eighteen corruptions are common to each of the printed copies.<sup>4</sup> Most of these, such as ‘more’ in l. 628, distort the sense. One unusual conjunctive error in Book 1 stands out. This corruption, ‘tooke nothing on’ in l. 490, is transmitted through 58 and 62 to 73; it is only 84, with ‘They looked on’, which corrects the fault to produce an intelligible line.

Alongside its shared errors, *P* commits a total of seventy-seven independent misreadings. Chief among these are the nonsensical ‘feldes that out of Inde were fet’ in l. 464, against ‘Armies out of Inde there came’, and the scribal infelicities ‘dyve’ and ‘fyve’ in ll. 680 and 681 against ‘dyne’ and ‘fyne’. *P* also omits two words in l. 707. 58 is the second most corrupt, with thirteen independent errors alongside its conjunctive ones; these give it thirty-five in total.<sup>5</sup> Foremost among them are the hypermetrical reading ‘to appere’ in l. 329, singular reading ‘wing’ in l. 277, and present tense form ‘shyne’ in l. 562. 62 is next with four independent errors in ll. 136, 200, 450, and 560, to add to a total of thirty-one. Chief among these are ‘chaungeth’ in l. 137, an apparent misprint of ‘chaunceth’, and ‘ouerchast’ in l. 451, a distortion of ‘ouercast’. 73 has the independent misprint ‘Af’ in l. 522, which adds to a total of twenty-six misreadings; and 84 contains the single independent error ‘Aurotas’ in l. 728 to add to a total of twenty-five corruptions.

Of the excerpted witnesses, Holinshed clearly used one of the printed editions as his source for *Ch1-3*. He replicates their readings in ll. 397 and 405 and adds the single substantive variant ‘outlade’ for ‘vnlade’ in l. 406. Webbe too most probably derived his passages in *EP* from a printed edition, though he has the variant ‘By’ for ‘with’ in l. 181 and ‘harts’ for ‘selfes’ in l. 184. These are probably his own readings, but may have been taken from another substantive text of Book 1 not now extant. Marten’s excerpt in ll. 136-138 is markedly variant from *P* and 58-84, giving a much-changed l. 138 with a different end-rhyme. These are probably the result of free-handedness with Phaer’s text, though, as with Webbe, they may point to his use of a substantive source which has not survived.

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<sup>4</sup> The eighteen errors common to 58-84 are ll. 7, 8, 12, 51, 130, 138, 250, 284, 287, 313, 387, 554, 627, 721, 722, 723, 724, and 726.

<sup>5</sup> The thirteen independent errors in 58 are in ll. 277, 323, 329, 397, 439, 471, 481, 533, 562, 572, 595, 629, and 668.

- 1 I that some time my slender flute] I that my slender Oten Pype 58 62 73 84  
6 from thence arived] Did thens arrive 58 62 73 84  
7 landes] land 58 62 73 84  
8 goddesse Iunos wrathe] Iunos endles wrath 58 62 73 84  
haue] haue had 58 62 73 84  
12 this] the 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, 15 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*  
29 shabhorres] She abhorres 58 62 73 84  
33 destny] destnies 58 62 73 84  
34 through] in 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 37 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*  
43 all did ouertourne?] did all ouertourne 58  
51 on] vpon 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 53 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*  
53 do bide] abide 58 62 73 84  
55 stormes] *type broken on minuscule 'm' in 73*  
60 hath close<e>d] did close 58 62 73 84  
69 precious] goodly 62 73 84; do I] I do 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 73 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*  
73 (o queene:)] O queene: 58 62 73 84  
74 <i>t is] it is 58 62 73 84  
78 hilles] hil 58 62 73 84  
79 and all at ones withe thronges thereat] And at that gap w<sup>t</sup> thronges atones 58 62 73  
84  
80 landes] land 62 73 84  
82 drives] dryue 62 73 84  
83 crake] crak 58 62 73 84  
84 take] taken 62 73 84; Troian] Troyans 58 62 73 84  
86 lightninges] lightning 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 90 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*  
90 O blessed men whose fortune was before] O ten tymes treble blessed men that in 58  
62 73 84  
91 before the walles of Troie to die, and lose] Before the loftely walles of Troy, dyd lose  
58 62 73 84

- 92 O D<sup>o</sup>^i^omede thow valiant Lorde] O Diomedes, valiaunt Lord 58 62 73 84; so] most 58 62 73 84
- 95 blissfull] blis-full 84
- 96 waters] water 58
- 104 that pitie it was to thinke] (that pitie it is to thinke) 58 62 73 84
- 110 there mought] Then might 58 62 73 84; arme<sup>f</sup>s] armour 58 62 73 84
- 117 water] waters 58 62 73 84
- 119 folke] folkes 58 62 73 84
- 130 worde] thought 58 62 73 84
- 134 perilous] perlous 58 62 73 84
- 136 chaunceth to betide] chaungeth to 62, oft it dooth *CP*
- 137 multitude] common sort *CP*, full often] which are full *CP*
- 138 that stones and weapons flees a broade, and what comes first to hand] That stones & wepons flies abroad, & what come first to hande 58 62 73 84, Now flyes the stones, and fierie flames, and furie feedes the sight *CP*
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 146 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 146 For] Far 58 62 73 84
- 148 roches] reaches 73 84
- 153 gables] Cables 73, cables 84
- 161 There whiles] Therewhilest 58 62, There whilest 73, Ther whilest 84
- 162 mought] might 58 62 73 84
- 163 sailes] sayle 58 62 73 84
- 166 boltes and bowe] bowe and bolts 58 62 73 84
- 181 withe] By *EP*
- 182 t'italia] to Italia 58 62 73 84, to Italy *EP*
- 184 selfes] harts *EP*
- 186 disimling] Dissembling 84 *EP*; laie] was 58 62 73 84 *EP*
- 188 plucke] pluct 58 62 73 84
- 191 cheare] cheers 58
- 193 ytake] were take 58 62 73 84
- 196 them] they hem 58 62 73, they them 84
- 197 good] *type broken on minuscule 'd' in 62*
- 200 mourned] mourd 62

*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 201 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*

- 202 faile] saile 58 62 73 84
- 203 heaven] heuens 58 62 73 84
- 204 and loked] to loke 58 62; Affrike] Affrike land 58 62 73 84
- 209 lightniges] lightning 58 lighting 62 73 84
- 212 so] to 58 62 73 84
- 213 yow] ye 58 62 73 84; whan yeres were come a boute] (whan yeres wer comen about)  
58 62 73 84
- 215 nere] nye 58 62 73 84
- 223 the mides and head therof,] the middes therof, and head 58 62 73 84
- 229 or] Our 58 62 73 84
- 234 cloudes] couldes 58 62
- 235 kisd] kost 58 62 73 84
- 236 fortunes] fortune 58 62 73 84
- 244 leve] lyue 58 62 73 84
- 249 xxx<sup>tie</sup>] thirtie 58 62 73 84
- 250 seat] state 58 62 73 84
- 252 hundreth] hundred 58 62 73 84
- 253 of] by 58 62 73 84
- 254 volves] wolves 58 62 73 84
- 255 valles] walles 58 62 73 84
- 256 them] then 58 62 73 84
- 257 space] place 58 62 73 84
- 260 advice] auise 58 62 73 84
- 263 thempro<sup>r</sup>] the emproure 58 62 73 84
- 272 hundreth] hundred 58 62 73 84
- 273 Maie] May 62 73 84
- 277 flees] flies 58 62; winges] wing 58
- 280 lo] to 58 62 73 84
- 284 holdes] hold 62 73 84
- 287 rockes] rocke 58 62 73 84
- 290 he] they 58 62 73 84
- 292 harpabice] Harpalicee 58 62 73 84
- 293 as] that 58 62 73 84; leavth] leaues 58 62 73 84
- 303 nor] ne 58 62 73 84

- 305 comst] comest 58 62 73 84
- 307 wee be] be we 58 62 73 84
- 311 (qd she) tho] (qþ she tho) 58 62 73 84
- 313 fast ybounde] lyght onbound 58 62 73 84
- 316 wearth] weres 58 62 73 84
- 319 riche] richest 58 62 73 84
- 320 the] that 58 62 73 84
- 322 vnto] to 58 62 73 84
- 323 wicked] synfull 58 62 73 84; that] *om.* 58
- 329 to pere] to appere 58, tappere 62 73, t'appere 84
- 331 set ope, he] disclosyng 58 62 73 84
- 336 her] furth 58 62 73 84
- 340 and] They 58 62 73 84
- 342 on] so 62 73 84
- 345 youe] ye 58 62 73 84
- 347 his heavye tale] heauy his tale 62 73 84
- 349 luste] lyst 58 62 73 84
- 351 if ever...past] (if euer...past) 58 62 73 84
- 354 (t'advauce)] (to auauance) 58
- 362 <his tale> brake his tale] brake his tale 58 62 73 84
- 364 hath loued] Doth loue 58 62 73 84
- 366 thei] thy 58 62 73 84
- 367 be] are 58 62 73 84
- 371 on] *om.* 58 62
- 374 nye] nere 58 62 73 84
- 375 kepe on a pace] hold on thy pace 58 62 73 84
- 382 and one another heere?] & ioyntly speake and heare? 58 62 73 84
- 385 the] them 58 62 73 84
- 386 ne] nor 58 62 73 84; axe] aske 62 72 84; ne] nor 58 62 73 84
- 387 yedes] yede 58 62 73 84
- 388 hundreth] hundred 58 62 73 84
- 389 all bespred] alway spred 58 62 73 84
- 392 be] ben 58 62 84, been 73
- 393 was] were 62 73 84



- 394 streete] stretes 58 62 73 84
- 397 the place] aplace 58, a place 62 73 84 *Ch1-3*
- 405 eke] close 58 62 73 84 *Ch1-3*
- 406 vnlade] outlade *Ch1-3*  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 411 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 410 chaunce it is] fortune is 58 62 73 84
- 421 richesse] riches 58 62 73 84
- 429 that] y<sup>e</sup> 58 62, the 73 84
- 430 amonges] among 58 62 73 84; Achates myne] (Achates myne) 58 62 73 84
- 436 men] man 58 62 73 84
- 438 plaine] vayne 58 62 73 84
- 439 and many a sight] With many a sigh 58, With many sigh 62 73 84; lardge] largy 58  
62 73 84; from oute] out from 58 62 73 84
- 443 while] white 58 62 73 84
- 446 the] their 58 62 73 84
- 447 pastur] pastures 58 62 73 84
- 450 over cast] ouerchast 62
- 454 there whiles] Therwhyles 58 62 73 84
- 456 breastes] brest 62 73 84
- 458 agrounde] on ground 58 62 73 84
- 460 howge] hougy 58 62 73 84
- 464 felde that out of Inde were fet] armies out of Inde there came 58 62 73 84
- 465 tergates] targettes 58 62 73 84
- 466 Penthfile] Penthasile 58 62 73 84
- 467 and laced with] with lace of 58 62 73 84
- 471 the] this 58
- 476 arme] armes 58 62 73 84
- 481 set] sat 62 73 84
- 485 S<sup>r</sup>gestus] Serestus 58 62 73 84
- 488 astoynd] Astoynd 58 62 73 84
- 490 tooke nothing on] They looked on 84
- 498 wyndes ytossed] tempests tossid 58 62 73 84
- 499 fiers] fier 58 62 73 84
- 502 or] nor 58 62 73 84

- 507 seithe] say 62 73 84
- 518 warres] war 58 62 73 84; <n>oone] one 58 62 73 84
- 523 armo<sup>rs</sup>] armour 58 62 73 84
- 524 Troyan] Troians 58 62 73 84
- 526 a waye] our way 58 62 73 84
- 528 maye we go] we may goo 62 73 84
- 530 Iulus] Askanius 58 62 73 84
- 531 last] least 58 62 73 84
- 533 of Troyans] of the Troians 62 73
- 542 horse] steedes 58 62 73 84
- 546 be yow contented so?] can you content you so? 58 62 73 84
- 552 if] Af 73
- 554 to] it 58 62 73 84
- 556 meane<st>] meanst 58 62 73 84
- 557 thinges] thyng 58 62 73 84
- 560 spake] spoke 58 62 73 84; w<sup>d</sup>drew] it w<sup>d</sup>drew 62
- 562 shinde] shyne 58
- 566 everie] yuery 58, Iuery 62 73, Iuerie 84
- 570 drownd] lost 58 62 73 84
- 572 t'an] an 58, to an 62 73 84
- 573 tried] tyerd 58 62 73 84
- 574 people] peoples 58 62 73 84
- 577 thalmightie] The almyghty 58 62 73 84
- 578 wight] whyt 62 73 84
- 586 among] in throng 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 587 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 594 exiled] Expulsed 58 62 73 84
- 595 t'optaine] to opteyne 58, topteyne 62 73 84
- 599 enmyes] enmye 58 62
- 603 for to] thus to 58 62 73 84
- 608 hundreth] hundred 58 62 73 84
- 609 hundreth] hundred 58 62 73 84
- 611 ryches] richesse 58
- 613 clothe] clothes 58 62 73

- 615 wherin] Whereon 58 62 73 84
- 626 Priamus] Priams 58 62 73 84
- 627 eke] more 58 62 73 84
- 629 navie] nauys 58
- 638 Ioue settest] hye Ioue settst 58 62 73 84
- 642 feare] fayer 58 62 73 84
- 645 opreventing] preventyng 58 62 73 84
- 646 for] now 58 62 73 84
- 652 flame] flames 58 62 73 84; weare savd an other thinges] was kept as worthy things  
58 62 73 84
- 655 therin to] herin do 58 62 73 84
- 657 beguyld] begyle 58 62 73 84
- 661 thy] the 62 73 84
- 668 is Cupide] Cupido is 58
- 669 bed] bydde 58 62 73 84
- 670 hert] her 58 62 73 84
- 674 water] waters 58 62 73 84
- 675 in] on 58 62 73 84
- 678 hundreth] hundred 58 62 75 84
- 679 hundreth] hundred 58 62 73 84; besides, the deynty bourdes] the bourdes with  
deynty fare 58 62 73 84
- 680 dyve] dyne 58 62 73 84
- 681 fyve] fyne 58 62 73 84
- 688 child] boye 58 62 73 84
- 689 fayned father had, deceaved with a wyle] father fals with loue and kissyng did begile  
58 62 73 84
- 692 dyd] Dido 58 62 73 84
- 698 was] wer 58 62 73 84
- 699 wine] wynes 58 62 73 84
- 701 taps] tapers 58 62 73 84
- 702 they drowne the darke at ones] the darke of dryue atones 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 706 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 707 geve grace] giue grace I pray 58 62 73 84
- 714 Bycias] Bytias 58 62 73 84

- 720     beastes] beaste 73 84  
 721     arise, and fall] arisen & fallen 58 62 73 84  
 722     ploughe star] plough starres 58 62 73 84  
 723     sea] seas 58 62 73 84  
 724     somer] somers 58 62 73 84  
 726     the queene of them] of them the quene 58 62 73 84  
 728     auroras] Aurotas 84  
 730     alas] (alas) 58 62 73 84

## [3]

Poem [3] is Phaer's translation of Book 2 of the *Aeneid*. The Book comprises Aeneas' retrospective narration of the events of the Trojan war and the destruction of Troy. Phaer records in the note at the end of Book 2 in 58, sig. F2<sup>v</sup>, that he composed the Book in July 1555, with the translation taking fifteen days to complete. The note is retained in 62-84. Triple rhymes and half-lines which do not rhyme (see ll. 469 and 643) are a more prominent feature of [3] than [2]; these tend to coincide with the end of verse paragraphs, which are not demarcated in *P*, but are so in 58-84.

In addition to *P* and 58-84, excerpts of the poem survive in three other copies. First, Anthonie Marten printed ll. 767, 769-770, and ll. 800-802 in *CP*, sigs 4Z3<sup>f</sup> and K2<sup>v</sup>. Second, Lambert Daneau excerpted ll. 545-546 in *A Frvitfvll commentarie vpon the twelue Small Prophets* (1594; STC 6227), sig. 2X4<sup>v</sup>. Finally, John Ramsey reproduced a passage from the Book for his anthology Bodleian Douce MS 280, fol. 144<sup>v</sup> (*Do*). The excerpt is there appended with the title 'the tale of the distruction of Troy', and, like many of its verse snippets by other poets, is a transcription from of one of the printed texts (see Marotti, 1995: 21-22; Crum, I, 1969: 480). *Do* is not here collated.

- 1       *intentif*] intenteive, attentive ('intenteive', *adj.*, 1)  
 5       *apart*] a part  
 6       *no smale therof*] i.e., 'I had no small part of the war there'  
 12      *shrinke*] recoil ('shrink', *v.*, 8a)  
 14      *lordes of Greekes*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'ductores Danaum' (2.14: 'Danaan chiefs')

- 16 *vowe*] votive offering  
*blow the fame*] spread the rumour ('fame', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 17 *Tenedos*] island off Turkey in the northern part of the Aegean sea  
*hight*] is called ('hight', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 4)
- 19 *herbo*'] harbour  
*bad*] renders Virgil, 'male'(2.23); the Latin can also mean 'unsafe'.  
*at rode*] i.e., 'on the course' (back to Troy)
- 24 *long of...kept*] i.e., 'long occupied by soldiers'
- 25 *dolop land*] translates Virgil, 'Dolopum manus' (2.29: 'Dolopian bands'); Dolopia is a mountainous region of Greece located to the north of Aetolia.
- 26 *trye*] test (each other's) strength ('try', *v.*, 7a)
- 27 *straungee gifte...stoode*] renders Virgil, 'donum extiale Minervae et molum mirantur equi' (2.31-32: 'Minerva's gift of death'); Minerva is the Roman equivalent of Athena/Pallas.  
*straungee*] strangy, i.e., strange ('straungy', *n.*); the *OED* cites the adjective as Phaer's coinage. Compare Phaer, Book 5: 'All nakyd on some strangy sand onbured lye thou must' (58, sig. P1<sup>r</sup>).
- 29 *Timetes*] Thymoetes, a brother of Priam (*OCD*, 'Thymoetes')  
*straight wold*] wanted to go immediately ('straight', *adv.*, C, 2a)
- 30 *god wot*] God knows; the earliest date that the *OED* cites for this phrase is 1569 ('God', *n.*, 10b, 'God wot').
- 31 *Capis*] Capys, a Trojan warrior mentioned in [2].164  
*skill*] reason, counsel ('skill', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 34 *yhid*] hidden
- 35 *comones*] commons, i.e., the crowd of common people; the noun translates Virgil, 'volgus' (2.39: 'crowd').  
*sundry wittes*] diverse minds, with the sense of opposing factions ('sundry', *adj.*, 4a)
- 36 *Lacoon*] Laocoön, a Trojan prince and brother of Aeneas' father Anchises; Hyginus (*Fabulae*, 135.1) claims that Laocoön's fate, described in [3].198-227, was brought about for having married in spite of his priesthood.  
*as he...woode*] as if he were out of his mind ('wood', *adj.*, A, 1a); the phrase is Chaucerian. Compare *CT*, *GP*.636: 'Thanne wolde he speke and crie as he were woode.'
- 37 *gan*] began ('gin', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)

- 41 *for my lif]* i.e., ‘I wager my life’; the phrase is Phaer’s addition.
- 42 *engin]* trick, strategem, snare (‘engine’, *n.*, 2)
- 47 *clives]* cleaves; the *OED* gives ‘clive’ as an alternative spelling of ‘cleave’, especially in end-rhyme positions (‘cleave’, Forms, ‘clive’). Phaer uses the form, again as part of a collocation with ‘driues’, in Book 5: ‘And furst from sounding string along by heauen his arow driues | Hippocon lusty lad, and swift therwith the skies he cliues’ (58, sig. N3<sup>v</sup>).
- 49 *vawtes]* vaults
- 51 *craft]* trick, guile (‘craft’, *n.*, 4a)
- 53 *a yong man]* Sinon, a pretended deserter from the Greek forces who convinces the Trojans to bring the horse within the city walls, as described in [3].65-140.
- ycought]* caught; the *OED* cites ‘cought’ as an alternative past-tense spelling of ‘catch’ (‘catch’, Forms, ‘cought’).
- 54 *pyniond]* bound together, shackled (‘pinion’, *v.*, 1a)
- 55 *for the nones]* for the purpose (‘nonce’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, I, 1a)
- 56 *compasse]* accomplish (‘compass’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 11a)
- 58 *wine]* win
- of]* probable scribal error for ‘or’
- 62 *coniecture]* conclude, infer the character of (‘conjecture’, *v.*, 2a)
- 66 *Caytif]* prisoner, wretch (‘caitiff’, *n.*, A, 1; 2)
- conceave]* imagine (‘conceive’, *v.*, 8a)
- 67 *bide]* abide
- 70 *what man...was]* i.e., ‘from what line he was descended’; the phrase renders Virgil, ‘quo sanguine creptus’ (2.76: ‘from what blood he is sprung’).
- 77 *Palamed]* Palamedes, who was a rival of Ulysses (Greek: Odysseus). As Sinon recounts in [3].79-81, Ulysses contrived his death. Proclus (see [2].449-454n.) writes in his prose commentary on the *Cypria* that Ulysses forged a letter from Priam to Palamedes, arranging for him to betray the Greeks, and left a sum of money in his tent. On this evidence Palamedes was killed by the Greek forces (*OCD*, ‘Palamedes’).
- 80 *for he...drawe]* i.e., ‘because he did withdraw from the war’
- 82 *squier]* attendant; the somewhat anachronistic noun translates Virgil, ‘comitum’ (2.86: ‘in his company’).
- 84 *vntwight]* untouched, intact; compare [2].322.

- 86 *don hym die*] contrived his death
- 91 *be quite*] to repay, here in reference to Sinon's injury ('quit', v., 3a)  
*crake*] utter harshly ('crake', v.<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- 94 *as one...infecte*] Phaer's addition
- 95 *calcas*] Greek seer allied closely with Ulysses; he foretold the plague on the Greek camp as well as the duration of the Trojan war (*OCD*, 'Calchas').
- 97 *in one aray*] in one dress, i.e., 'the same' ('array', n., 11a)  
*wist*] know, understand ('wist', v.,)
- 99 *Atridas twayne*] Agamemnon and Menelaus; for the phrase, see [2].433n. The phrase renders Virgil, 'Atridae' (2.104: 'sons of Atreus')
- 109 *Euripilus*] Thessalian king and Greek warrior who was once a suitor to Helen; he led a contingent to Troy (*OCD*, 'Eurypylus').
- 110 *blasd*] blazed
- 111 *virgine slayne*] Iphigenia, Agamemnon's daughter, whom he was perhaps obliged to kill because he had vowed to sacrifice the fairest thing to be born in her birth year (*OCD*, 'Iphigenia')
- 114 *yblowe*] blown
- 117 *hys tyme*] his occasion
- 120 *privelie*] secretly, craftily ('privily', adv., 1)
- 125 *covenunte*] covenant, agreement
- 130 *knowledge*] acknowledge, aphetic to aid the scansion ('knowledge', v., 1a)
- 131 *woase*] ooze, mud, slime ('ooze', n.<sup>1</sup>, Forms, 'woase'); the noun translates Virgil, 'ulva' (2.135: 'sedge', 'mere').
- 133 *natif*] native
- 137 *the*] thee
- 138 *by*] probable scribal error for 'but', which is the reading in 58-84
- 140 *kindlie*] naturally, by natural disposition ('kindly', adv., 1a)
- 142 *tunbind*] to unbind, elided to aid the scansion
- 145 *monster*] huge creature ('monster', n., 2; 5a);. Compare Douglas, whom the *OED* cites as the first user of this sense of the noun: 'This fatal monstoure clam over the wallis then' (*Eneados*, 1553, sig. F3<sup>v</sup>).
- 146 *ginne*] engine, machine ('gin', n.<sup>1</sup>, 2a; 3a; 6)
- 147 *grekische wyles*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'instructus et arte Pelasga' (2.152: 'schooled in Pelasgian guile and craft')

- yfreight*] freighted, loaded ('freighted', *adj.*, b)
- 148 *lowsed*] loosed
- 149 *wight*] person ('wight', *n.*, 2a)
- 152 *that like...daye*] The simile is Phaer's addition.  
*abeast*] probable scribal error for 'a beast'
- 161 *Ti<d>tides*] Diomedes; 'Titides' means 'son of Tydeus'. For the description, compare Phaer, [2].446 and n.
- 162-174 *by treason...feared*] The passage recounts Odysseus' and Diomedes' theft of the shrine from the Palladium ('pallas temple'), and Athena's resultant show of disfavour to the Greeks.
- 168 *ypight*] set up, pitched ('pight', *v.*)
- 173 *teard*] teared, razed, torn asunder ('tear', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 174 *the*] they  
*fetche*] i.e., the removal of Athena's image from the Palladium
- 176 *wyle*] trick, strategem ('wile', *n.*, 1a)  
*wyn*] gain ('win', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 6a)  
*cast*] cast anchor
- 180 *this image here*] the wooden horse
- 189-190 *all Greece...abyde*] Phaer's addition
- 193 *Titides force*] i.e., Diomedes' forces
- 197 *apreest to...newe*] Laocoön was a priest of Neptune (*OCD*, 'Laocoön').  
*apreest*] scribal error for 'a priest'
- 200 *foldinges great*] Virgil describes the serpents' coils as 'immensis' (2.204), which in the Latin can suggest both their greatness in mass and infinitude.
- 201 *in dragons wise*] in the manner of dragons; the image is Phaer's addition.
- 202 *fireread*] fire-red  
*y^e^*] they
- 203 *shoven*] shove, push ('shove', *v.*, Forms, 'shoven').
- 206 *glistring*] sparkling ('glister', *v.*, a)
- 209 *twayne*] two
- 216 *t'vntwyne*] to untwine, untwist ('untwine', *v.*, 1a); the elision aids the scansion.
- 225 *dewe*] due
- 227 *plaag*] plague



- 230 *we breake...walles*] part or divide the walls; the phrase renders Virgil, ‘dividimus muros’ (2.234: ‘we part the walls’).
- 231 *fals*] falls
- 232 *thwart*] across, about (‘thwart’, *adv.*, B, 1a)  
*his*] its
- 233 *bynde*] i.e., ‘to bind’
- 234 *the skull*] Phaer’s addition
- 237 *ylion*] Ilium, a common poetic synonym for Troy (*OCD*, ‘Ilium’)
- 238 *doughtie*] brave, valiant (‘doughty’, *adj.*, 1)  
*a ground*] aground, on the ground (‘aground’, *adv.*, 1)
- 239 *the wombe*] i.e., the paunch  
*harneise*] armour; the noun translates Virgil, ‘arma’ (2.243: ‘arms’).
- 240 *let*] abandon (‘let’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 5)
- 241 *Pallas*] Athena
- 244 *never daye...byde*] i.e., ‘would never lived beyond that day’
- 245 *dyde*] probable scribal error for ‘tide’, ‘time’ (‘tide’, *n.*, 1)
- 247 *ov’hides*] covers over; the *OED* does not record the verb.
- 253 *admyrall ship*] translates Virgil, ‘regia puppis’ (2.256: ‘royal galley’)  
*waring*] scribal error for ‘warning’
- 255 *laideth owt*] put out, unloaded (‘lade’, *v.*, 1a)
- 256-260 *Thersander, Stelenus...Epeus*] The nine figures named are all Greek warriors. Three of them are high-profile Greeks who have a prominent role in the war: Ulysses (‘vlysses’), the prime mover of Sinon’s planned sacrifice, is a chief companion of Achilles and Ajax; Menelaus (‘menelae’) is Helen’s husband and, as Agamenon’s brother, one of the Atreidae; Neoptolemus (‘Neptolemus’) is Achilles’ son who comes to Troy after his father’s death and proves himself a formidable warrior (*OCD*, ‘Neoptolemus’).
- 259 *mo*] more (‘mo’, *adj.*<sup>2</sup>, A)  
*the*] they
- 266 *cheere*] face (‘cheer’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- 268-269 *w<sup>t</sup> horses...thrust*] This refers to Hector’s death in a duel with Achilles, after which was tied to the back of Achilles’ chariot and dragged around the walls of Troy (*OCD*, ‘Hector’).
- 268 *haled*] hauled

- 269 *thongs*] leather straps ('thong', *n.*, a)
- 271 *Achilles spoiles...before*] i.e., donning the spoils of Achilles
- 273 *bedabd*] covered, soiled (bedaubed, *adj.*, in 'bedaub', *v.*, Derivatives)  
*clong*] clung
- 277 *Troye*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'lux Dardaniae' (2.281: 'light of the Dardanians')
- 280 *the*] thee
- 281 *chaunce*] fortune ('chance', *n.*, 1a)
- 282 *wonds*] wounds
- 289 *and now...betake*] i.e., 'and now Troy entrusts ['betake'] its holy relics ['religiones'] and gods to you' ('betake', *v.*, 1a; 1b); the line renders Virgil, 'sacra suosque tibi commendat Troia Penates' (2.293: 'Troy commits to thee her holy things and household gods').
- 300 *boistowes*] rough, violent ('boisterous', *adj.* 8)
- 307-308 *Deiphebus, vcalegon*] Deiphoebus and Ucalegon, who are neighbours
- 308 *shores & strondes*] i.e., 'shores and strands'; the doublet allows Phaer to fill out the syllable count of the line, and renders Virgil's more allusive 'Sigea [...] freta' (2.312: 'Sigean straits').
- 309 *shriking*] shrieking
- 310 *wust*] wist, knew
- 312 *castellward*] i.e., toward the castle; the construction, which is unattested in the *OED*, complements 'shoreward' in [3].317. Compare also Chaloner, [1].63.  
*hied*] hastened ('hie', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a)  
*nye*] close at hand ('nie', *adj.*, B, 1a)
- 315 *panthus*] Panthous, a priest of Apollo ('Phebus')
- 316 *relikes*] relics
- 317 *nevew smale*] small grandson; the *OED* cites 'grandson' as a rare and now northern meaning of 'nephew' ('nephew', *n.*, 2a). Here, the phrase renders Virgil, 'parvum [...] nepotem' (2.316: 'little [...] grandchild'). Compare Douglas, Book 2: 'Harling him eftir, his litill neuo' (*Eneados*, 1553, sig. [F6<sup>r</sup>]).
- 318 *shift*] strategem; the questions which Aeneas asks here (what he and his companions should do, or where they should be doing it) differ slightly from Virgil, 'quo res summa loco, Panthu? quam prendimus arcem?' (2.322: 'Where is the crisis, Panthus? What stronghold are we to seize?')

- 320 *vt<sup>r</sup>*] utter, final ('utter', *adj.*, 7); the *OED* cites Phaer as the sole user of this sense of the verb ('utter', *v.*, 7).  
*fell*] cruel, dreadful, terrible ('fell', *adj.*, 1)
- 321 *we have...naught*] Virgil uses *zeugma* to construct a negative list of what the Trojans have lost: 'fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium, et ingens | gloria Teucrorum' (2.325-326: 'we Trojans are not, Ilium is not, and the great glory of the Teucrians'). Phaer rephrases his line to make the point that the Trojans survived while Ilium stood.  
*Troes*] Trojans; Phaer appears to have copied Virgil's form *litteratim* into his translation.
- 322 *to torne*] torn apart ('tear', *v.*, 1a)
- 324 *his*] its
- 328 *pight*] pitched
- 331 *hard*] heard  
*mightie most...lawnce*] renders Virgil, 'maxima armis' (2.339: 'mighty in arms')
- 334-336 *Ripheus...Iphitus...hipanys...dymas*] all Trojan warriors
- 337 *Choreb*] Coroebus, whose father, Mygdon, was a former military ally of Priam (*OCD*, 'Mygdon'). Coroebus was intensely in love with Cassandra ('wood w<sup>t</sup> desyer') and came to Troy to win her hand.
- 340 *hym raving...trawnce*] The seer Cassandra prophesised the downfall of Troy in a trance; it was her curse that no one, including Coroebus here, believed her.  
*spowse*] Phaer transforms Cassandra into Coroebus' spouse despite the detail in [3].337 that he has but lately arrived in Troy.
- 343 *valiant harts...stout*] i.e., 'valiant and stout hearts'; the placement of a second adjective after the noun it is modifying is a classical rhetorical figure. Compare Surrey, [44].7.
- 346 *the temples...forsake*] forms a *zeugma* in which 'the godds' in [3].347 is the subject of the three items in the catalogue ('temples', 'seates', 'alters')
- 354 *mawes*] mouths ('maw', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 3a)
- 355 *flang*] flung
- 370 *burning Towne*] renders Virgil, 'incensa [...] Pergama' (2.375: 'burning Pergamus')
- 373 *hym self betrapt*] Phaer's addition  
*kew*] probable scribal error for 'knew'; the spelling is unattested in the *OED*. Compare [3].380.

- 374-378 *and foote...flight*] This simile became a poetic commonplace. In *P*, compare Wyatt, [10].1-2.
- 374 *he stanke therw<sup>t</sup>*] i.e., ‘he shrank therewith’, with ‘stanke’ a scribal error for ‘shrank’  
*stopt hys tale*] ceased talking
- 377 *teene*] wrath, spite (‘teen’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a)  
*blew*] probably renders Virgil, ‘caerula’ (2.381: ‘purple’, ‘blue’), though it is possible that ‘blew’ translates ‘tumentum’ (‘swollen’, ‘puffed up’).
- 379 *thick w<sup>t</sup> armes*] translates Virgil, ‘densis [...] armis’ (2.383: ‘with serried arms’)
- 383 *matche*] probable scribal error for ‘mates’, which is the reading in 58-84
- 386 *what skilles...slay*] i.e., ‘what does it matter [‘skilles it’] if force or falshehood leads to our enemies’ death?’ (‘skill’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 2b)
- 393 *gon*] go
- 396 *shipburd*] shipboard, i.e., on to the ships (‘shipboard’, *n.*, 1a)
- 398 *pauche*] paunch
- 400 *hald*] hauled
- 403 *yrones*] fetters (‘iron’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 7a)
- 406 *sude*] pursued (‘sue’, *v.*, 1a)
- 408 *whelme*] submerge, ruin (‘whelm’, *v.*, 4a)  
*shawghter*] probable scribal error for ‘slaughter’
- 410 *Greekes*] renders Virgil’s more allusive ‘Danai’ (2.413: ‘Danaans’)  
*whan from...yre*] i.e., ‘the Greeks, who were filled with ire that the virgin [Cassandra] had been rescued [‘from them take’]’
- 411 *wild as fyer*] The simile is Phaer’s addition.
- 413 *Dolop*] Greek  
*rowte*] company (‘rout’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 414 *brast*] burst; the *OED* gives ‘brast’ as a northern form of the verb. Compare ‘kest’ in [2].168 and n., and ‘neview’ in [3].317 and n.
- 416 *craking*] probably ‘cracking’
- 417 *Neptunes*] renders Virgil, ‘Nereus’ (2.419)  
*botemes*] sea bottoms, beds
- 419 *w<sup>t</sup> coradg glad*] Phaer’s addition  
*coradg*] courage
- 420 *escried*] discovered (‘escry’, *v.*, 3a); the earliest date that the *OED* cites for this sense of the verb is 1581.

- 421 *marking by...tonges*] i.e., ‘discerning by our speech and distinct [‘seuerall’] language’ (‘several’, *adj.*, 1a; 1c)
- 423 *Peneleus*] Greek warrior who was formerly one of Helen’s possible suitors
- 427 *tyde*] time (‘tide’, *n.*, 1)
- 429 *Phebus crowne*] renders Virgil, ‘Apollinis infula’ (2.430: ‘Apollo’s fillet’)
- 430 *yet by...dust*] Phaer omits the beginning of Aeneas’ exclamation in Virgil: ‘Iliaci cineres et flamma extrema meorum’ (2.431: ‘O ashes of Ilium! O funeral flames of my skin!’).
- 432 *shond*] shunned
- swarvd*] swerved
- 434 *Pelias*] Trojan warrior
- 436 *Priames co<sup>r</sup>te*] renders Virgil, ‘sedes Priami’ (2.437: ‘Priam’s house, seat’)
- 437 *vp*] in a state of frenzy (‘up’, *adv.*, II, 10a)
- 438 *towe*] probable scribal error for ‘town’
- 440 *beset that...flee*] surrounded so that none should escape
- 441 *wales*] walls
- sculpes*] stoops, posts (‘stoop’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- 442 *dartes*] spears, javelins, arrows (‘dart’, *n.*, 1a)
- 443 *bartilmentes*] battlements
- 445 *reeve*] pluck, pull up (‘reave’, *v.*<sup>2</sup>)
- 446 *toles for...extreame*] i.e., ‘tools for work/effort, even at the point of death’ (‘shift’, *n.*, 6a)
- fend*] defend, protect (‘fend’, *v.*, 1a)
- 447 *golden beames*] renders Virgil, ‘auratasque trabes’ (2.448: ‘gilded rafters’)
- 448 *alowe*] downward, forming something of a tautology with ‘downe’ earlier in the line (‘alow’, *adv.*, 1)
- 449 *ward*] guard (‘ward’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 452 *posterne yate*] back or side entrance (‘postern’, *n.*, 1a)
- 453 *blind*] Phaer’s addition
- 455 *Andromache*] wife of Hector; Achilles killed both her father and her brothers, and her son Astyanax ([3].457) was put to death by the Greeks after the war. She was taken by Neptolemus, and, after his death, married Hector’s brother Helenus. Aeneas meets Helenus and Andromache in Book 3. See Phaer, [15].310-365.
- 458 *scoope*] scope, leap (‘scope’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)

- 459 *selie Trojans*] helpless, defenceless Trojans ('seely', *adj.*, 6a); the phrase renders Virgil, 'inrita Teucri' (2.459: 'hapless Teucrians').
- 463 *men wanted...barres*] Phaer's addition
- 465 *at ones*] at once  
*lose*] loose
- 466 *shogd*] shook, jolted ('shog', *v.*, 1a; 2a)  
*heft*] weight, heaviness ('heft', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a); the *OED* cites Phaer as the first user of this noun. Compare Book 7: 'All sodenly did close, and on the top with heft they hung' (58, sig. S3<sup>r</sup>).
- 467 *the Greekes*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'Danaum [...] agmina' (2.466: 'Danaan ranks')
- 470 *porche*] entrance court ('porch', *n.*, 1a)
- 471 *Pyrrhus*] alternate name for Achilles' son Neoptolemus (see [3].256-258), so called because Achilles assumed the name 'Pyrrha' when his mother disguised him as a woman at the court of Lycomedes, king of Syrcos, to prevent him from going to the Trojan war.  
*brand*] sword ('brand', *n.*, 8b); this is Phaer's addition.
- 472 *fil'd*] filled with food, fed
- 473 *hild*] stripped, sloughed (of skin) ('hild', *v.*, b)
- 474 *his*] probably 'its'
- 475 *walowing*] rolling ('wallow', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a)
- 477-478 *squyer*] renders Virgil, 'armiger' (2.477: 'armour-bearer')
- 478 *Automedon*] Achilles' charioteer, whose name became a commonplace for charioteers in general (*OCD*, 'Automedon').  
*chase*] drive ('chase', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 10)
- 479 *stirie land*] Syria
- 481 *him self*] Pyrrhus  
*twyble*] twibill, a double-edged axe ('twibill', *n.*, 1)
- 482 *dintes*] blows, strokes ('dint', *n.*, 1a)
- 483 *clyve*] cleave ('cleave', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 484 *ioystes*] timbers which support a platform or other structure ('joist', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- 487 *parlowres*] parlours, inner chambers  
*dight*] permits two interpretations in context: (i) constructed, or (ii) furnished ('dight', *v.*, 7a; 9a).

- 489 *thiner*] the inner, elided to aid the scansion
- 490 *bounsinges*] thumpings, bangings (‘bouncing’, *n.*, 1); the earliest date that the *OED* cites for the noun is 1582 (Richard Stanyhurst, *Aeneis*).
- lar<o>umes*] noise, commotion, clamouring (‘larum’, *n.*, 2a)
- 493 *clip*] cling fast (‘clip’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- postes*] door posts
- 494 *preaceth*] presses
- 499 *rampier*] rampart (‘rampire’, *n.*, 1a)
- 501 *waltring*] tumbling (‘walter’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 504 *swage*] assuage (‘swage’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, a)
- 505 *Hecuba*] The chief wife of Priam and mother of Hector, Helenus, Paris, and Polites; Homer treats her as a stately and pathetic figure, and may have influenced Virgil (*OCD*, ‘Hecuba’).
- 506 *reare*] erect (‘rear’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- 507 *and fiftie...told*] translates Virgil, ‘quingenta illi thalami, spes tanta nepotum’ (2.503: ‘The famous fifty chambers, the rich promise of offspring’)
- 514 *to purpose smale*] i.e., to little effect; the phrase renders Virgil, ‘inutile’ (2.510: ‘vainly’)
- 517 *sise*] size
- 518 *laurer*] laurel
- 520 *thawt*] the altar, elided to aid the scansion
- 522 *clipping fast*] embracing fast; compare [3].493.
- 525 *dight*] dressed (‘dight’, *v.*, 8)
- 526 *vse*] probably ‘us’
- 529 *weld*] direct, control the body of (‘wield’, *v.*, 4a)
- 534 *w<sup>t</sup> burninge eyes*] Phaer’s addition
- 536 *feld*] felled
- 538 *that tyme...dead*] renders Virgil, ‘quamquam in media iam morte tenetur’ (2.533: ‘though now in death’s closest grasp’)
- 544 *file*] defile, pollute (‘file’, *v.*<sup>2</sup>, 1a)
- 546 *deald*] dealed
- 547-548 *whan Hecto<sup>rs</sup>...again*] Achilles returned Hector’s corpse to Priam in exchange for gold.

- 548 *half*] probable scribal error for ‘salf’, i.e., ‘safe’, which is the reading in 58-84 and follows Virgil, 2.547-548, where Achilles grants Priam safe passage to return to the city.
- 549 *darte*] spear (‘dart’, *n.*, 1a)
- 550 *hoarce*] deeply, harshly (‘hoarse’, *adj.*, 1)
- 551 *dyntles*] dintless, unable to produce an impression (‘dintless’, *adj.*, 1); the *OED* cites Phaer as the first user of this adjective.
- hing*] hangs
- 553 *dolefull*] distressful (‘doleful’, *adj.*, 1)
- 554 *not I*] Phaer’s addition
- 560 *rent*] torn apart, razed (‘rent’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 563 *nomore of name*] i.e., nameless
- 567 *my wief*] Phaer’s addition
- 568 *my child*] Ascanius
- 572 *vestas temple*] Vesta (Greek: Hestia), the Roman hearth-goddess
- 574 *dame helen*] Phaer eschews Virgil’s *antonomasia*, through which Helen is described as ‘Tyndarida’ (2.569: ‘the daughter of Tyndareus’). Compare Chaloner, [1].118.
- 576 *wreake*] avenge (‘wreak’, *v.*, 5a)
- 578 *countray monster...vntame*] translates ‘Troiae et patriae communis Erinys’ (2, l. 573: ‘common Fury of Troy and the motherland’)
- 582 *Sparthe &...Mycene*] Sparta and Mycenae, both regions of Greece
- 583 *saulf*] safe
- 585 *w<sup>t</sup> troyan...lordes*] renders Virgil’s more allusive ‘Iliadum turba et Phrygiis comitata ministris?’ (2.580: ‘attended by a throng of Ilian maids and Phrygian pages?’)
- 590 *dight*] bring about (‘dight’, *v.*, 5c)
- 591 *outright*] completely, entirely (‘outright’, *adv.*, 1)
- 592 *boanes*] bones
- quyte*] repay (‘quit’, *v.*, 3a)
- 594 *brime*] brilliant, bright (‘breme’, *adj.*, 2)
- 599 *vpsteares*] stirs up (‘upsteer’, *v.*); the *OED* cites Phaer as the first user of the verb. Compare Book 6: ‘What slaughters wyld shall they vpsteere?’ (58, sig. S1<sup>r</sup>).
- 601-602 *whome feble...forsake*] expands on ‘fessum’ (2.596: ‘weak’) in Virgil
- 604 & *w<h>ere...doubte*] i.e., ‘were it not that my help [‘relief’] was certain’



- 606 *helens face*] As in [3].574, Phaer eschews Virgil's *antonomasia*, through which Helen is described as 'Tyndaridis...Lacaenae' (2.601: 'the Laconian woman, daughter of Tyndareus').
- 608 *vntwinde*] undone, destroyed ('untwine', v., 1b)
- 611 *heest*] hest, i.e., 'bidding', 'command' ('hest', v., 1)
- 612 *yonder place*] expands on Virgil, 'hic' (2.608: 'here')
- stones from stones*] i.e., 'stones torn from stones'
- swey*] sway
- 613 *rekinges*] fumes ('reeking' n.<sup>1</sup>)
- 614 *wondrous wise*] i.e., 'a wonderful way'
- 615 *threetynd*] three-tined, three-forked
- 621 *gorgon eyes*] Gorgo was a terrible monster in Greek legend, who possessed snakes instead of hair, a belt of the teeth of a boar, and, as Virgil describes her, eyes capable of transforming people into stone (*OCD*, 'Gorgo').
- lowres*] frowns, scowls ('lour', v., 1a)
- 622 *father god*] Jupiter
- nightes*] scribal error for 'mightes'
- 623 *Troyan blood*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'Dardana [...] arma' (2.618: 'Dardan arms')
- 624 *betake the*] commit yourself ('betake', v., 4a)
- 625 *the*] thee
- 626 *shaad*] shade
- 627 *dyght*] killed ('dight', v., 5b)
- 630 *Troy*] Phaer omits Virgil's reference to Troy as Neptune's kingdom: 'Neptuna Troia' (2.625: 'Neptune's Troy').
- brinke*] edge
- 633 *it*] looks back to the 'auncyaunt oke' in [3].631
- 635 *craking*] cracking, or perhaps 'creaking'
- 642 *owlaw*] exile ('outlaw', n., 1c)
- 649 *optayne*] common eModE spelling of 'obtain' ('obtain', v., 'Forms', 'optayne')
- 657 *nold*] ne would, i.e., 'would not'
- 660 *death most...call*] i.e., 'call for death most in miserable fashion' ('miser', *adj.*, 2); the phrase renders Virgil, 'mortemque miserrimus opto' (2.655: 'in utter misery long for death').

- 667 *from Priames blood*] from murdering Priam, steeped in Priam's blood
- 669 *billes*] halberds, which were most often concave blades on a long wooden handle ('bill', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a); the noun renders Virgil, 'tela' (2.664: 'sword').
- 670 *flowres*] floors
- 671 *folkes w<sup>i</sup>n...doors*] Phaer's addition
- 672 *fathe*] probable scribal error for 'father'
- 673 *embrud*] stained ('imbrue', *v.*, 1)
- 679 *thentrie*] the entry, elided to aid the scansion  
*gate*] differs from Virgil, 'limine' (2.673: 'threshold')
- 681 *chaunces*] fortunes ('chance', *n.*, 1a)
- 686 *sodaylie*] probable scribal error for 'sodaynlie', i.e., 'suddenly'  
*monster*] portent, marvel ('monster', *n.*, 2)
- 691 *sheed*] shed; the spelling creates a suitable end-rhyme with 'dreed' and 'feed' in [3].689 and 690.
- 694 *of*] probable scribal error for 'if', which is the reading in 58-84
- 699 *glade*] clear or bright space in the sky ('glade', *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 2); the *OED* cites Phaer as the first user of this sense of the verb.
- 700 *brim*] brilliant, bright; compare [3].593 and *n.*
- 702 *straking*] streaking
- 704 *weeldes*] wields, controls, directs himself; the word renders Virgil, 'tollit' (2.699: 'rising erect').
- 706 *let*] be a hindrance ('let', *v.*<sup>2</sup>, 1a)
- 707 *nevewe*] grandson; compare [3].316-317 and *n.*
- 708 *token*] omen ('token', *n.*, 5)  
*regard*] care, protection ('regard', *n.*, 5)
- 713 *deare*] hurt, injure ('dere', *v.*)
- 716 *yule*] Iulus  
*aloof*] far behind ('aloof', *adv.*, 2a)
- 719 *Ceres*] Roman corn goddess (*OCD*, 'Ceres')  
*long vnvsed there*] renders Virgil, 'desertae' (2.714: 'forlorn'), which modifies Ceres rather than the temple.
- 723 *countrey goddes*] Trojan household gods
- 725 *dewe*] probably 'dew', but the spelling permits 'due', i.e., 'necessary', 'fitting' ('due', *adj.*, 6a; 7)

- 727 *kest*] cast
- 728 *full red*] appears to render ‘fulvique’ (2.722: ‘tawny’) in Virgil
- 731 *crookes*] nooks (‘crook’, *n.*, 6)
- 733 *cold*] could
- 735 *bowrdens*] burdens
- 741 *not*] ne wot, i.e., ‘know not’; the word renders Virgil, ‘incertum’ (2.740: ‘I know not’)
- some chaunce...myne*] expands on Virgil, ‘male numen’ (2.735: ‘unfriendly power’)
- freed*] probable scribal error for ‘freend’
- 742 *amasyd*] stunned, confounded (‘amazed’, *adj.*, 1; 2)
- 743 *thaccustomed*] the accustomed, elided to aid the scansion
- 750 *beguyle*] disappoint (due to her absence) (‘beguile’, *v.*, 3)
- 755 *yeedd*] go (‘yede’, *v.*)
- 756 *chaunces*] fortunes
- 760 *& fyres...abowt*] Phaer’s addition
- 762 *happlie*] perhaps (‘haply’, *adv.*)
- hild*] probably ‘held’ (‘hold’, *v.*, 7d)
- 763 *the Greekes*] renders Virgil’s more allusive ‘Danai’ (2.757: ‘the Danai’)
- 770 *praye*] spoil, plunder (‘prey’, *n.*, 3a)
- 771 *raught*] seized (‘reach’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 5a)
- 772 *basones*] basins
- 773 *and robes...state*] expands on Virgil, ‘vestis’ (2.765: ‘raiment’)
- 776 *glimsing*] shining faintly or intermittently (‘glimpse’, *v.*, 1a)
- 777 *yshright*] shrieked
- 780 *spright and...ghoast*] The doublet allows Phaer to fill out the syllable count of the line.
- 781 *wonted*] i.e., ‘was formerly’, ‘ordinarily was’
- 782 *stonyed*] stupified (‘stony’, *v.*)
- 787 *that heavn...gyde*] Jupiter; the phrase renders Virgil, ‘superi regnator Olympi’ (2.779: ‘lord of High Olympus’).
- 789 *hespia*] Hesperia, Italy
- 790 *Tiber*] the greatest river of central Italy, which descends from the Apennines (*OCD*, ‘Tiber’)
- 796 *mightie mother...goddess*] Cybele, the mother-goddess of Anatolia (*OCD*, ‘Cybele’)

- 799 *as thinn...smoke*] Phaer's addition  
 806 *comones*] group of people ('commons', *n.*, 1a)  
 809 *mountayne, toppes*] Ida, mentioned in [3].701 above

### Collations

#### Not Collated: *Do*

*P* is by far the most corrupt of the four copies, with several awkward readings (as in ll. 146 and 497) and a total of ninety-two errors.<sup>6</sup> As with [2], the transmission of errors between the printed texts demonstrates that each was based on the previous edition, with 58 replicating four corruptions from *P* in ll. 38 ('madnes'), 411 ('invades'), 493, and 782 ('vpstart'). *P* also transmitted two errors to both 58 and 62 in ll. 192 ('caught') and 318 ('now Panthus'); these are emended in 73 and 84 to 'taught' and 'Panthus'. 73 and 84 do, however, retain the three errors committed by 62 in ll. 196, 276, and 549; 84 picks up three additional corruptions from 73 in ll. 184, 395, and 561. A total of thirteen errors are common to each of the printed copies.<sup>7</sup> Most of these, such as 'foule' in l. 397, distort the sense. Line 493 is the main instance a line being improved in the successive editions. *P* and 58 here have the conjunctive error 'them kissing hold they fast', which disrupts the rhyme with 'affright' in l. 492. The text of 62 has '& kissyng with myght', which supplies a rhyme but omits 'hold' and is therefore defective in sense and metre. The text of 73 has the best line 'and kissyng hold with might', which is replicated in 84.

Alongside its shared corruptions, *P* commits a total of eighty-six independent errors. Chief among these are omitted words in ll. 13, 499, and 669, the twice-made misreading of 'might' for 'night' in ll. 356 and 595, and the opposite error 'nightes' for 'mightes' in l. 622. Hand A also struggled with place names, as in 'scyrie' for 'Styria' in l. 476 and 'hespia' for 'Hesperia' in l. 778. The text of 58 is the second most corrupt with eight independent errors alongside its conjunctive ones in ll. 28, 103, 196, 276, 290, 371, 545, and 548. The reading 'outwight' in l. 84 is possibly the result of broken type, and so is not here considered erroneous. Overall, 58 commits twenty-seven errors. 62, 73, and 84 all have twenty errors in total. 62 contains the independent errors 'gound' in l. 30 and '& kissyng with myght' in l.

<sup>6</sup> The ninety-one total errors in *P* are in ll. 2, 5, 10, 13, 23, 26, 30, 38, 58, 69, 79, 114, 116, 139, 152, 156, 174, 185, 192, 205, 207, 211, 218, 231, 245, 251, 253 ('Admyrall'), 253 ('waring'), 255, 264 ('might'), 264 ('sleeps'), 270, 309, 318, 322, 325, 352, 356, 361, 373, 374, 380, 393, 397, 406, 407, 408, 411 ('invades'), 411 ('vs'), 412, 438, 441, 452, 469, 471, 479, 487, 493, 497, 499, 508, 516, 526, 546, 548, 570, 587, 588, 589, 592, 621, 622, 623, 654, 657, 669, 672, 675, 695, 698, 699, 702, 719, 736, 738, 741, 768, 775, 777, 782, 789, and 808.

<sup>7</sup> The thirteen errors common to 58-84 are ll. 23, 48, 108, 216, 228 ('cried'), 283, 397 ('foul'), 400, 426, 600, 758, 761, and 788.

493; 73 and 84 contain one independent misreading apiece: 73 has the misprint 'Greeskih' in l. 23, and 84 reads 'gruond' in l. 65.

Of the excerpted witnesses, Marten and Daneau manifestly took their respective passages from one of the printed editions, and reproduce its readings with no substantive variants. In l. 546, Daneau's variant 'deale' agrees with 58-84 over *P*, which here gives 'deald'.

- 1 All held their peace] They whusted all 58 62 73 84  
to] did 58 62 73 84
- 2 there] where 58 62 73 84
- 5 apart] a part 58 62 73 84
- 9 do] doth 58 62 73 84
- 10 so] soch 58 62 73 84
- 11 later] latter 58 62 73 84
- 12 sorow makes] sorows make 58 62 73 84
- 13 tyrd warres] tyerd with warres 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 17 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 20 self] close 58 62 73 84
- 22 of labo<sup>rs</sup> long, relived,] for ease of labours long 58 62 73 84
- 23 set ope the gates] With open gates 58 62 73 84; grekishe] Greeskih 73
- 24 ben] be 58 62 73 84
- 26 the] their 62 73 84
- 28 at] of 58
- 30 w<sup>h</sup>ether] whither 58 62 73 84
- 31 in] of 58 62 73 84
- 33 sea] seas 58 62 73 84
- 36 Lacon came from the Towne] from the town Lacon came 58 63 73 84
- 38 madnes] rage 62 73 84
- 39 yow gone] ye gone 58 62 73 84
- 41 for my lif] (for my lyfe) 58 62 73 84
- 42 climbe] skale 58 62 73 84
- 44 yow] ye 58 62 73 84
- 46 this] He 58 62 73 84
- 47 the] his 62 73 84; hyt] hitted 58 62 73 84

- 48 it shooke therew<sup>l</sup>] It shakes aloft 58 62 73 84
- 49 all the] croked 58 62 73 84; againe resound] did all rebound 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 53 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 53 yong man] yongman 58 62 73 84
- 58 of] or 58 62 73 84
- 65 ground] gruond 84
- 69 mynd] minds 58 62 73 84
- 79 &] in 58 62 73 84
- 84 while] whiles 58 62 73 84; vntwight] outwight 58
- 94 infecte] enfect 58
- 95 he] not 62 73 84
- 97 aray] estate 58 62 73 84
- 103 forsake] forsaken 58, haue left 62 73 84
- 107 a ground] on ground 58 62 73 84
- 108 skie] skies 58 62 73 84
- 111 yow pleasd] ye wan 58 62 73 84
- 114 throwgh] to 58 62 73 84
- 116 shall] shuld 58 62 73 84
- 119 he] so 58 62 73 84
- 126 had feard] dyd feare 58 62 73 84
- 127 one] on 58 62 73 84
- 130 bandes] bonds 58 62 73 84
- 135 maye chaunce] perhaps 58 62 73 84; my] myn 62 73 84
- 138 if...where] (if...where) 58 62 73 84
- 139 of my] on my 58, on myn 62 73 84
- 142 tunbind] to vnbynd 58 62 73 84
- 146 or is yt some ginne of war ybent] or for the wars some engyn bent? 58 62 73 84
- 148 heaven] heauens 58
- 152 abeast] a beast 58 62 73 84
- 156 secretes] mystries 58 62 73 84
- 157 which I <perce> preserve] (which I preserue) 58 62 73 84
- 159 greece] Grekes 58 62 73 84
- 166 & quite, the goddesse them refuse] the goddesse quite doth them refuse 58 62 73 84
- 169 fleing] flyng 58 62 73 84; oute stert] vpstert 58 62 73 84

- 174 lest] least 58 62 73 84; the] they 58 62 73 84
- 178 vnawares] onaware 58 62 73 84
- 179 greved] vext 58 62 73 84
- 183 yow] ye 58 62 73 84
- 184 it] yet 73 84
- 185 yow] ye 58 62 73 84; her] hers 58 62 73 84
- 186 that] the 73 84
- 189 Greece] Greekes 73 84
- 192 caught] taught 73 84
- 196 confusd] confounds 58 62 73 84; vnwise] wise 58, so wise 62 73 84
- 198 thoffring alters] the offryng altar 58 62 73 84
- 205 vp riseth] vpsprings 58 62 73 84
- 207 w<sup>t</sup>] wher 58 62 73 84; lick] lickt 58 62 73 84
- 208 flie] flee 58 62 73 84
- 211 wetches] wretches 58 62 73 84
- 215 scale bright] skalebright 58 62 73 84
- 216 t'vntwyne] to ontwyne 58 62 73 84
- 218 cast] castes 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 224 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 226 the] that 58 62 73 84
- 228 cried] crye 58 62 73 84; t'appease] to appeas 58 62 73 84
- 231 fals] falle 58 62 73 84
- 245 dyde] tide 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 246 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 251 showe] shone 58 62 73 84
- 253 admyrall] Amral 58 62 73 84; waring] warning 58 62 73 84; showd] shewed 58 62 73 84
- 255 laideth] layth 58 62 73 84
- 258 w<sup>t</sup>] of 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 264 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 264 of night] *om.* 58 62 73 84; sleeps] sleepe 58 62 73 84
- 270 hym] how 58 62 73 84
- 276 thought to speake] though I spake 58, thought I spake 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 277 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*

- 283 therto] herto 58 62 73 84
- 285 alas] (alas) 58, (alas 62
- 290 them] the 58  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 294 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 301 the] a 58 62 73 84
- 308 blasing] blasings 58 62 73 84
- 309 riseth] rise 58 62 73 84
- 318 now] *om.* 73 84
- 319 thus owt he brake] this voice out brake 58 62 73  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 320 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 320 come] comen 58 62 73 84; have vs caught] death hath brought 58 62 73 84
- 322 all to torne] ouerturnd 58 62 73 84
- 325 through] throweth 58 62 73 84
- 326 people] peoples 58 62 73 84
- 345 yow] ye 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 351 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 352 the] their 58 62 73 84
- 356 might] night 58 62 73 84
- 361 of] in 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 366 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 371 slowthe] sleuth 58
- 373 kew] knewe 58 62 72 84
- 374 stanke] shrank 58 62 73 84
- 380 & nothing kew the ground] (and nothing knew the gound) 62
- 383 matche] mates 58 62 73 84
- 387 selves] selfes 58 62 73 84
- 393 there] Than 58 62 73 84
- 395 Greeke] Greeks 73 84
- 397 full] foul 58 62 73 84; to] do 58 62 73 84
- 398 lurking] harbrow 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 400 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 400 of] and 58 62 73 84
- 403 yrones] boltes 58 62 73 84
- 406 thrust] thurst 58 62 73 84



- 407 troians] Troian 58 62
- 408 shawghter] slaughter 58 62 73 84
- 411 invades] inuade 62 73 84; vs] as 58 62 73 84
- 413 armies] battayles 58 62 73 84
- 416 craking] cracking 58 62 73 84
- 426 had other wise than disposed, and] did otherwyse than dispose: and 58 62 73 84; and  
beside] and them besyde 58 62 73 84
- 428 Panthu] Panthus 73 84
- 429 vertue] vertues 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 434 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 438 towe] towne 58 62 73 84
- 441 sculpes] stulps 58 62 73 84
- 447 their golden] The golden 58 62 72 84
- 449 doth stand] they stand 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 450 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 452 a] by 58 62 73 84
- 456 mother law] mother in law 73 84
- 461 roofe] rofes 58 62 73 84
- 463 the] that 58 62 73 84
- 467 falles] light 58 62 73 84
- 469 ther one] thereon 73 84
- In 62, 73 and 84, l. 470 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 471 w<sup>t</sup> his] in his 58 62 73 84
- 476 brest heigh] bresthigh 58 62 73 84
- 479 stirie] Scyrye 58 62 73 84
- 482 therw<sup>t</sup>all] therwith al 62
- 485 and] an 62 73 84
- 487 kinges Priams] king Priams 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 489 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 489 thiner] the inner 58 62 73 84
- 491 their] & 58 62, and 73 84; do] doth 58
- 493 them kissing hold they fast] & kissyng with myght 62, and kissyng hold with might  
73 84
- 496 and] of 58 62 73 84

*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 497 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*

497 than forcing furth & through they shove, they pushe] Thā forcyng forth thei shoue,  
& through thei push 58 62 73 84

499 rampier torne] rampier banks are torne 58 62 73 84

502 w<sup>t</sup> all] withall 58 62 73 84

505 hundreth] hundred 58 62 73 84

507 children] childrens 58 62 73 84

508 of] & 58 62 73 84

*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 510 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*

512 enmies] foes to 58 62 73 84

516 skies right] court right 58 62 73 84

518 laurer] Laurell 58 62 73 84; did shed] was shed 58 62 73 84

520 thawt<sup>r</sup>] the altar 58 62 73 84

525 yow] ye 58 62 73 84

526 vse] vs 58 62 73 84; aske] axe 58 62 73 84

*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 531 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*

537 right owt] outright 58 62 73 84

543 kild] slayn 58 62 73 84

545 falslye] fasly 58

546 deald] deale 58 62 73 84

548 half] safe 58 62 73 84

549 spake he] spake 62 73 84

550 but] Whiche 58 62 73 84

555 thalter] the altar 58 62 73 84

558 yt] to 58 62 73 84

561 people] peoples 58 62 73 84; raigned] reingd 73 84

562 Thempro<sup>r</sup>] the emprour 58 62 73 84

*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 564 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*

565 of] on 58 62 73 84

570 bodye] bodies 58 62 73 84

571 selves] selfs 58 62 73 84

572 but I was left alone] alone was left but I 58 62 73 84

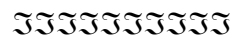
574 mought] myght 58 62 73 84

577 did she] she did 58 62 73 84

- 579 thaltares] the altars 58 62 73 84
- 587 often] oft 62 73 84
- 588 womans] woman 58 62 73 84
- 589 nor hono<sup>r</sup>] And honour 58 62 73 84; herein] in this 58 62 73 84
- 592 thus] This 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 593 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 593 sight] face 58 62 73 84
- 595 appeerd &] Appering 58 62 73 84; might] night 58 62 73 84
- 597 by right hand tooke] (by right hand take) 58 62 73 84
- 598 spooke] spake 58 62 73 84
- 599 vpsteares] vp steres 62
- 600 why fretest thou? or where of vs, thy cares exilde appeares] Why fretst thou? or  
where away thy care frō vs w<sup>t</sup>drawne aperes 58 62 73 84
- 608 overturnd] ouerthrown 58 62 73 84
- 612 hye do] huge to 58 62 73 84
- 616 this] the 58 62 73 84
- 621 gorgon] Gorgons 58 62 73 84; inclosde full grym] inclosyd grim 58 62 73 84
- 622 nightes] mightes 58 62 73 84
- 623 armo<sup>rs</sup>] armour 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 629 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 635 craking] cracking 73 84
- In 58 and 63, l. 637 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 639 vnto] into 58 62 73 84
- 647 burnt] brent 58 62 73 84; <have> ^do^] do 58 62 73 84
- 653 be blasted] Beblasted 58 62 73 84;
- 654 in purpose] in his purpose 58 62 73 84
- 655 there ageinst] therageinst 58 62 73 84
- 657 no] nor 58 62 73 84
- 658 of all outright] Outright of all 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 659 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 668 chyld afore the fathers syght] childern in their fathers sight 58 62 73 84; thaltar] the  
altar 58 62 73 84
- 669 fyres foes] fiers and foes 58 62 73 84
- 670 savd] kept 58 62 73 84

- 672 fathe old] father olde 58 62 73 84
- 675 ne] me 58 62 73 84; Battaile] battaills 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 676 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 677 ageine w<sup>t</sup> sword] with sword again 58 62 73 84
- 681 towardes] toward 58 62 73 84
- 688 vpryseth] arisyth 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 692 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 694 of mans...regarde] (if mans...regard) 58 62 73 84
- 695 cauce] ones 58 62 73 84
- 698 begines] Begin 58 62 73 84
- 699 maketh] makes 58 62 73 84
- 702 waies] waye 58 62 73 84
- 703 dothe smoke] it smokes 58 62 73 84
- 706 yow] ye 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 717 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 719 besydes] besyde 58 62 73 84; yow] ye 58 62 73 84
- 723 o<sup>r</sup>] your 58 62 73 84
- 727 one] on 58 62 73 84
- 732 or] nor 58 62 73 84
- 736 daungers] daunger 58 62 73 84
- 738 stand] skand 58 62 73 84
- 741 freed] frend 58 62 73 84
- 743 thaccustomed] the accustomd 58 62 73 84
- 744 good Crewse beloved best] Creusa belouyd best 58 62 73 84
- 758 turnd] turne 58 62 73 84
- 761 saw] see 58 62 73 84
- 768 keeps] kepers 58 62 73 84
- 771 one] on 58 62 73 84; the] all 58 62 73 84
- 774 wives] wifes 58 62 73 84
- 775 aboute] about and and wept 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 776 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 777 yshright] I shright 58 62 73 84
- 779 &] long 58 62 73 84; paines] pain 58 62 73 84
- 782 vpstart] vpstood 62 73 84

- 783 from] fro 58 62 73 84  
 787 he willes, it not that heavn doth gyde] he doth resyst that heauens doth gyde 58 62  
 73 84  
 788 feeldes] felde 58 62 73 84  
 789 hespia] Hesperia 58 62 73 84  
 795 of Venus] of goddesse Venus 58 62 73 84  
 798 moe] more 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 803 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*  
 808 to] om. 58 62 73 84



[4]-[10]

POEMS BY SIR THOMAS WYATT (1503-1542)

Poems [4]-[10] constitute the grouping of poems by Sir Thomas Wyatt in *P*, with [11] and [12] probable Wyatt pieces (see Headnote to [11]-[12]). For Wyatt's biography, see Muir (1963) and Brigden (2012). The first item in the grouping, [4], is Wyatt's epistolary satire 'Mine owne I. P.', a copy of which survives also in *AH*. The remaining six poems are all shorter lyrics: [5] is a sonnet, and [6]-[10] are epigrams. Henry Harington printed copies of these shorter poems in *NAI*, I, pp. 192 and 195-197, and *NA2*, III, pp. 249 and 253-255. He included [5] as 'Sonnet V', and [6]-[10], in reverse order from the sequence in *P*, as Sonnets 'X' to 'XIV'.

Hughey (I.22-23) conjectures that the *NA* witnesses to [5]-[10] derive from lost originals in *AH*, with [5] once situated on one of the missing fols 61-62, and [6]-[10] on one of the missing fols 69-74. She printed all six poems from *NAI* as Appendix II in her edition of *AH* (I.380, 382-383). *AH* is one potential source for the *NA* copies, but it is also possible that they came from a now-lost MS of Wyatt poems, probably made by or for the elder Harington, which was the basis of the Wyatt entries in *P* and *AH* too.<sup>8</sup> This conjectural ancestor may have served as an intermediary between Wyatt's autograph MS *E* (and other sources) and the Harington miscellanies, and would account for the text of [4] in *P* and *AH* as

<sup>8</sup> This is a hypothesis entertained by Dr Jason Powell, and is discussed at greater length in Vol. I, p. 37.

well as [5]-[10] in *P* and *NAI-2*, all of which are substantive. *E* is therefore not a direct or certain source of these Harington poems. The apparent aim of the hypothetical source was to attempt slight modernisation of Wyatt's poems in metre and diction: *P* and *NAI-2* consistently share variants of both types, and they are also a defining characteristic of the Wyatt poems in *AH*. In this regard, the ancestor made the same kinds of emendation to Wyatt as Tottel or his editor introduced in the *Songes and sonettes* (*TI-2*), each of which attests to the textual massaging that Wyatt's poems underwent in the mid-sixteenth century.

Wyatt's major twentieth-century editors, Foxwell (1913), M&T (1969), Daalder (1975), and Rebholz (1978), invariably used *E* as their copy-text for the Wyatt poems it preserves. Thus, *E* furnished their texts of [5], [6], [7], and [10]; for [4], the fragment in *E* necessitated choosing another text for ll. 1-51 of that poem (see below). For [9], they all chose the copy in Trinity College Dublin, MS 160 as their text, and preferred *P* to *TI-2* for their text of [8]. Appendix 1 in this Volume tabulates the respective rates of error over the course of the five shorter Wyatt poems that *P* has in common with *E*, *D*, *NAI-2*, and *TI-2*. The results suggest that, despite the privileged position of *E* as Wyatt's MS, *P* is the best of the surviving witnesses, committing an average of 0.218 errors per line in comparison to *E* at 0.281 errors per line. The rates of error in [4], the *P* copy of which is much more corrupt than its shorter Wyatt poems, are calculated in the Collations to that poem.

In its Collations for [4]-[10], this edition has not considered metrical irregularities such as catalectic or hypermetrical lines to be errors in Wyatt's verse, with occasional exceptions. This is because commentators do not have a firm or unanimous understanding of the metrical principles with which Wyatt was working. George T. Wright offered perhaps the most thorough analysis of Wyatt's prosody, arguing that he composed a basically decasyllabic line, but with much room for variation (Wright, 1985: 129-156). Of the editions of Tottel, only *TI-2* are here collated for the seven poems they share with *P* in [4]-[10]. *TI-2* are treated as one witness when discussing survival numbers of these Wyatt poems in the individual Headnotes, but two discrete witnesses in the Collations.<sup>9</sup> Rollins (I) lists the variants and misprints in [4]-[10] between *TI* all editions of Tottel thereafter.<sup>10</sup>

<sup>9</sup> This distinction is made because *T2* is nominally a reprint of *TI* rather than an entirely separate witness, as discrete MS copies would be.

<sup>10</sup> For [4], see Rollins, I, 283-4; [5], 272-273; [6], 314; [7], 277; [8], 279; [9], 279; and [10], 273.

[4]

In addition to *P*, poem [4] survives in six other copies, five of which suggest Wyatt's authorship. Commentators have considered [4] to be one of Wyatt's three extant epistolary satires. This form has a long heritage, with classical antecedents. Horace was a notable exponent: his *Satire* 2.6 is one of Wyatt's probable sources in 'My mothers maydes'. Wyatt also knew the form from a more immediate source in the works of Luigi Alamanni (1495-1556), the Florentine poet forced into exile in Provence after joining conspirators against Giulio de Medici, the future Pope Clement VII. Alamanni's *Opere Toscane* (*Tuscan Works*), published in Lyons in 1532, contain several examples of epistolary satires in *terza rima*, a tercet-based form which rhymes *aba bcb cdc* and so on. These satires are set in Provence, the place of Alamanni's exile. Nott (II.562) identified the source of [4] as Alamanni's *Satire* 10, 'À Thomasso Sertini':

Io ui dirò poi che d' udir ui cale  
 Thomasso mio gentil, perch' amo, & colo  
 Piu di tutti altri il lito Prouenzale.  
 Et perche qui cosi pouero & solo,  
 Piu tosto che 'l seguir Signiori & Regi [5]  
 Viuo temprando 'l mio infinito duolo.  
 Ne cio mi uien perch' io tra me dispregi  
 Quei, ch' han dalla Fortuna in mano il freno  
 Di noi, per sangue, & per ricchezze egregi. [10]  
 Ma ben è uer ch' assai gli estimo meno  
 Che 'l uulgo, & quei ch' à cio ch' appar di fuore  
 Guardan, senza ueder che chiugga il seno.  
 Non dico gia che non mi scaldi amore  
 Talhor di gloria, ch' io non uo mentire  
 Con chi biasmando honor, sol cerca honore. [15]  
 Ma con qual pie potrei color seguire  
 Che 'l monde pregia; ch' io non so quell' arte  
 Di chi le scale altrui conuien salire.  
 Io non saprei Sertin porre in disparte  
 La uerità, colui lodando ogni hora [20]  
 Che con piu danno altrui dal ben si parte.  
 Non saprei reuerir chi soli adora  
 Venere & Bacco, ne tacer saprei  
 Di quei che 'l uulgo falsamente honora.  
 Non saprei piu ch' à gli immortali Dei [25]  
 Rendere honor con le ginocchia inchine  
 À piu ingiusti che sian, fallaci, & rei.  
 Non saprei nel parlar courir le spine  
 Con simulati fior, nell' opre hauendo  
 Mele al principio, & tristo assentio al fine. [30]  
 Non saprei no, doue 'l contrario intendo  
 I maluagi consigli usar per buoni,  
 Dauanti al uero honor l' util ponendo.  
 Non trouare ad ogni hor false cagioni

Per abbassare i giusti, alzando i prauì [35]  
 D'auaritia, & di' nuidia hauendo sproni.  
 Non saprei dar de miei pensier le chiaui  
 All' ambition, che mi portasse in alto  
 Alla fucina delle colpe graui.  
 Non saprei 'l core hauer di freddo sinalto [40]  
 Contro à pieta, talhor nocendo à tale,  
 Ch' io piu di tutti nella mente esalto,  
 Non di loda honorar chiara immortale  
 Cesare & Sylla, condannando à torto  
 Bruto, & la schiera che piu d' altra uale. [45]  
 Non saprei camminar nel sentier corto  
 Dell' impia iniquità, lasciando quello  
 Che reca pace al uiuo, & gloria al morto.  
 Io non saprei chiamar cortese & bello  
 Chi sia Thersite, ne figliuol d' Anchise [50]  
 Chi sia di senno & di pietà rubello  
 Non saprei chi piu 'l cor nell' oro mise  
 Dirgli Alessandro, e 'l pauroso & uile  
 Chiamarlo il forte, ch' i Centauri ancise.  
 Dir non saprei Poeta alto, & gentile [55]  
 Meuio, giurando poi che tal non uide  
 Smirna, Manto, & Fiorenza ornato stile.  
 Non saprei dentro all' alte soglie infide  
 Per piu mostrar' amor, contri' à mia uoglia  
 Imitar sempre altrui si piange, o ride. [60]  
 Non saprei indiunar quel ch' altri uoglia,  
 Ne conoscer saprei quel che piu piace  
 Tacendo il uer che le piu uolte addoglia.  
 L' amico lusinghier, doppio, & fallace  
 Dir non saprei gentil, ne aperto & uero [65]  
 Chi sempre parli quel che piu dispiace:  
 Non saprei l' huom crudel chiamar seuro,  
 Ne chi lascia peccar chiamarlo pio,  
 Ne che 'l tyranneggiar sia giusto impero.  
 Io non saprei ingannar gli huomini & Dio, [70]  
 Con giuramenti & con promesse false,  
 Ne far saprei qual ch' è d' un' altro mio.  
 Questo è cagion che non mi cal, ne calse  
 Anchor gia mai, di seguitar coloro  
 Ne quai Fortuna piu che 'l senno ualse. [75]  
 Questo fa che 'l mio regnio, e 'l mio thesoro  
 Son gli n' chiostri & le carte, & piu ch' altroue  
 Hoggi in Prouenza uolentier dimoro.  
 Qui non ho alcun, che mi domandi doue  
 Mi stia, ne uada, & non mi sforza alcuno [80]  
 À gir pe'l mondo quando agghiaccia & pioue.  
 Quando e' gli è 'l ciel seren, quando e' gli è bruno  
 Son quel medesimo, & non mi prendo affano,  
 Colmo di pace, & di timor digiuno.  
 Non sono in Francia à sentir beffe & danno [85]  
 S' io non conosco i uin, s' io non so bene  
 Qual uiuanda è miglior di tutto l' anno.  
 Non nella Hispagnia oue studiar conuiene  
 Piu che nell' esser poi nel ben parere,  
 Oue frode, & menzogna il seggio tiene, [90]  
 Non in Germania oue 'l mangiare e' 'l bere



M' habbia à tor l' intelletto, & darlo in preda  
 Al senso, in guisa di seluagge fere.  
 Non sono in Roma, oue chi 'n Christo creda,  
 Et non sappia falsar, ne far ueneni [95]  
 Conuien ch' a casa sospirando rieda.  
 Sono in Prouenza, oue quantunque pieni  
 Di maluagio uoler ci sian gli 'ngegni,  
 L' ignoranza e 'l timor pon loro i freni.  
 Che benche sian di' nuidia & d' odio pregni [100]  
 Sempre contro i miglior per ueder poco  
 Son nel mezza troncati il lor disegni.  
 Hor qui dunque mi sto, prendendo in gioco  
 Il lor breue sauer, le lunghe uoglie  
 Con le mie Muse in solitario loco. [105]  
 Non le gran Corti homai, non l' alte soglie  
 Mi uedran gir co i lor seguaci à schiera,  
 Ne di me hauran troppo honorate spoglie  
 Auaritia, & liuor, ma pace uera.

(*Opere*, 400-404)

[‘My dear Thommaso, since you wish to hear, I shall tell you why I love and cherish Provence more than all other places, and why I live so poor and solitary rather than follow lords and kings, tempering my endless grief. I have not come to this because I scorn those who, by Fortune, have control over us, because of lineage or immense riches, but it is true that I have always esteemed them less than the common sort do, and those who judge things from the outward appearance without seeing what’s hidden in the breast.

I’m not saying that sometimes love of glory doesn’t stir me with those who, besmirching honour, seek only acclaim: I don’t want to lie. But how could I follow those whom the world praises? I don’t have the skill of those who climb; I would not know, Sertini, to how to set aside the truth, continually praising he who – most damagingly – alienates himself from good. I would not know how to honour those who only worship Venus and Bacchus, nor how to stay silent with those who wrongly honour the common sort. I would not know how, with knees bent, to worship more than the immortal gods those who are most unjust, deceitful, and kings. I would not know how, when talking, to cover thorns with with fake flowers, tasting of honey in the beginning, and bitter wormwood at the end. I do not know how to use evil counsel for profit, putting utility before true honour where I mean the contrary, nor how continually to find false reasons to suppress the just, raising those depraved by greed and yoked with envy. I would not know how to give over my thoughts to ambition that would raise me up high, where damaging blows are inflicted. I would not know how to be cold-hearted to virtue, sometimes harmful to someone whom above all others I revere. I would not know how to praise Caesar and Sulla, condemning Brutus as wrong, and value the multitude above all else. I would not know how to walk the short path of iniquity, abandoning that which brings peace in life and glory in death. I would not know how to call Thersites ‘courteous’ and ‘fine’, or ‘Anchises’ son’ the man who sets himself against sense and piety. I would not now how to call him ‘Alexander’ who covets gold, and call the fearful and cowardly man ‘brave Hercules’. I would not know how to call Maevius a great and noble poet, swearing that Smyrna, Mantua and Florence have not seen such a polished style. At Court I would not know how, against my wish, to imitate another continually, whether he cries or laughs, in order to show more love for him. I would not know how to guess what another wants, nor to recognise what pleases him most, silencing the truth, since it often offends. I would not know how to call ‘gentle’ the flattering, two-faced, deceitful friend, nor ‘open’ and ‘true’ he who always says what displeases most. I would not know how to call the cruel man ‘stern’, nor how to call him ‘pious’ who gives up sinning, nor tyranny ‘just rule’. I would not know how to deceive God and men with false oaths and promises, nor how to do that which is other to me.

This is the reason that I do not wish, nor never have, to follow those who value Fortune more than sense. This is what makes my domain the cloisters and my treasure, papers, and why

today I gladly live in Provence rather than elsewhere. Here, there is no one who asks me where I am, or where I go, and no one who forces me to gad about when it's cold or raining. When the sky is calm, and when it's overcast, it's all the same. I am not in France to be mocked and slandered if I don't know the wines or which food is the best that year. I am not in Spain where it's customary to study to seem good rather than to be good, where fraud and lies hold sway. I am not in Germany where my wits are befuddled by eating and drinking, and made prey to the senses, like a wild beast's. I am not in Rome, where he who believes in Christ and does not know how to dissemble no how to make poisons, should return home, sighing.

I am in Provence, where – although there may be minds full of ill-wishing – ignorance and fear curb them; although there may be those always full of envy and hate against their betters, their plans are disrupted. Therefore I now I stay here with my Muses, in a solitary place, treating as a joke their long wishes and their brief triumph. The great courts and lofty palaces, with their crowds of followers, shall not now see me going roundabout, nor shall greed and spite triumph over me, but true peace.’<sup>11</sup>

Wyatt probably derived his own use of *terza rima*, both in [4] and for his other poems in the form, from Alamanni.<sup>12</sup> However, he handles the form differently from his source. Whereas Alamanni tends to coincide the end of a tercet with the end of a unit of thought or grammar, Wyatt often allows his sense to enjamb from tercet to tercet. In terms of content, Wyatt's treatment of Alamanni varies across [4]. He follows Alamanni in several places, adapts him in some, and omits and adds material in others. Instances of where Wyatt remains close to Alamanni include the long passage on the Court and its wordliness, and Alamanni's attack on vices in foreign lands (ll. 84-94), both of which Wyatt follows with little substantive variation. In each instance, Wyatt also imitates Alamanni's rhetorical structure: the 'Non saprei' series (10.2 ff.) suggests Wyatt's series of clauses beginning 'I cannot' (ll. 20-30), and the 'Non sono' series (10.85 ff.) supplies Wyatt's 'I am not' clauses (ll. 84-94).

Wyatt's changes to Alamanni generally concern names and references. He adapts, among other details, 'I. P' ('John Poyntz') for Alamanni's Tomasso Sertini (l. 1), and introduces an allusion to Chaucer in place of Alamanni's reference to the poetaster Maeuius (ll. 45-46). In terms of additions, Wyatt introduces the passage on vices and virtues (ll. 53-58) and adds the local frame of reference that his speaker is in Kent (l. 95). He omits Alamanni, 10.37-39, 98-104, and 106-109. Taken together, Wyatt's changes moderate and render more concrete Alamanni's language. Certain of the central passages of [4] do, however, move closer to Alamanni's loftier style: (e.g. ll. 60-71).

Foxwell (II.100-101), Rollins (II.218), M&T (349), and Rebholz (439) favoured the later part of 1536 as the date of Wyatt's composition of [4]. Nott (II.563) preferred 1541,

<sup>11</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Cathy Shrank for supplying this translation.

<sup>12</sup> These poems include Wyatt's two other epistolary satires (M&T: CVI, CVII) together with his paraphrase of the seven penitential psalms (M&T: CVIII).

following Wyatt's second imprisonment in the Tower, but is a lone voice. After Wyatt's release from the Tower in 1536, when he was swept up in the fall of Anne Boleyn and her 'lovers', he was instructed to return to Allington Castle, Kent, and 'adres hym better' under his father Sir Henry's supervision (Muir, 1963: 35). It seems probable that Wyatt composed [4] during his forced exile in Kent, which is supported by two pieces of internal evidence. First is Wyatt's reference to the dangerous 'will and lust' of Court in l. 6, and second is his mention of the 'clogge' in l. 81, a marker of his status as a released prisoner. Both are Wyatt's additions. Thomson (M&T: 349) notes that in ll. 1-6, the speaker intimates that his relocation to the country is voluntary; she suggests that Wyatt's departure from the facts here may be based on 'both natural pride and inclination.'

- 1 *I. P.] 'John Poyntz', whom Wyatt substitutes for Alamanni, 'Thomasso mio gentil' (10.2: 'my gentle Thomas'). Poyntz (c. 1485-1544) was a courtier and landowner who was returned to parliament as MP for Marlborough, Wiltshire, in 1529. This borough belonged to Queen Katherine of Aragon. Poyntz also fought in the campaign of 1544 which saw the English forces capture Boulogne. He either died in service or a short period after his return to England ('John Poyntz', in 'Poyntz, Sir Robert', *ODNB*). The specific details of Poyntz's association with Wyatt are unknown, though both men participated in the Christmas entertainments of 1524-5, in which they defended an allegorical Castle of Loyalty ('Wyatt, Sir Thomas, the elder', *ODNB*).*  
*sins] since*
- 3 *prese] crowd, throng ('press', n.<sup>1</sup>, 5a)*  
*wherso they goe] Wyatt's addition; Nott (II.562) considered it a reference to the progresses of Court, when the monarch and the Court at large would temporarily move location.*
- 4-6 *Rather than...lowe] based on Alamanni, 10.4-6*
- 4 *thralle] in servitude ('thrall', n.<sup>1</sup>, 2)*  
*awe] dread, dreadful power ('awe', n., 1)*
- 5 *wrapped w<sup>t</sup>in...cloke] elaborates on Alamanni, 'solo' (10.4: 'solitary'); Nott (II.562) suggests Horace's 'wrapped in my virtue' (*Odes*, 3.29.54-55) as a possible source for the idea. Rebholz (439), however, points out that in [4].6, the speaker is still learning virtue.*
- 6 *will and lust] substitutes for Alamanni, 'infinito duolo' (10.6: 'endless grief')*

- 7-9 *It is...stroke*] renders loosely Alamanni, 10.7-9
- 7 *scorne or mocke*] The doublet renders Alamanni, ‘dispregi’ (10.7: ‘scorn’).
- 9 *of right... stroke*] i.e., ‘with the legitimate power or right to punish us’; the phrase substitutes for Alamanni’s metaphor of the rein (10.8).
- 11-13 *lesse to...resorte*] i.e., ‘It is true that I have always tried to esteem the great less than the common people, for their judgement tends towards outward appearances, and does not regard what lies beneath the surface [‘what doth inward resorte’].’
- 15 *melist*] I desire (‘list, v., 1a)
- 15-16 *not...desier*] renders Alamanni, ‘Con chi biasmando honor, sol cerca honore’ (10.15: ‘with those who, besmirching honour, seek only acclaim’).
- 18-19 *to cloke...retaine*] Rebholz (440) suggests ‘to conceal the truth in order to praise, without their deserving praise, those who desire to keep all vices’
- 19 *w<sup>t</sup> out desart*] substitutes for Alamanni’s ‘ogni hora’ (10.20: ‘continually’)
- 20 *settes their part*] allies themselves with (‘part’, n.<sup>1</sup>, 17b); the phrase departs from Alamanni’s more reverential ‘adora’ (10.22: ‘worships’).
- 21 *Backus*] Baccus, the Roman the god of wine, revelry, and mischief-making, and therefore a byword for excess and decadence
- all their...long*] expands on Alamanni, ‘soli’ (10.22: ‘only’)
- 22 *nor hold...smarte*] i.e., ‘nor hold in my condemnation of them, when I am offended’; the line substitutes for Alamanni, ‘ne tacer saprei | Di quei che ’l uulgo falsamente honora’ (10.23-24: ‘nor how to stay silent with those who wrongly honour the common sort’).
- 24 *god on earth*] renders Alamanni, ‘immortali Dei’ (10. 25: ‘immortal Gods’).
- 25 *wolues theise...lambes*] The bestial metaphor renders more concrete Alamanni, 10.27.
- sillie*] helpless, defenceless (‘silly’, *adj.*, 1a)
- 27 *wiles for wit*] Rebholz (441) suggests ‘substitute an amoral cleverness for morally-guided intelligence.’
- 28 *call craft, counsaile*] i.e., ‘call devious scheming skill or prudence in devising plans’; Thomson (M&T: 352) notes that the two nouns suggest Alamanni, ‘maluagi consigli’ (10.32: ‘evil counsel’).
- profitte still...paint*] ‘to deceive for the purposes of self-gain’
- 29 *I cannot*] Wyatt’s addition, which extends the ‘no saprei’ series in Alamanni

- fill the coffer*] expands on and renders more concrete Alamanni, ‘auaritia’ (10.36: ‘greed’)
- 30 *with innocent...fat*] The line picks up the idea of bestial callousness in [4].25.
- 32-37 *I am...applie*] renders Alamanni, 10.43-45, but substitutes Cato the Younger for Alamanni’s reference to Brutus. Rebholz (442) conjectures that in choosing a figure who passively resisted Caesar rather than assassinated him, Wyatt was perhaps safeguarding his own position. It was dangerous to write explicitly of the assassination of monarchs.
- 32 *allowe the state*] i.e., ‘commend the rule’ (‘allow’, *v.*, 1)
- 33 *Cesar*] Julius Caesar (100 BCE-44 BCE)  
*dampne*] damn  
*Cato*] Marcus Portius Cato Uticensis (95 BCE-46 BCE), more commonly known as Cato the Younger, sided with Pompey and against Caesar at the Battle of Pharsalus in 48 BCE. He continued resistance after Pompey’s death but committed suicide when Caesar won the Battle of Thapsus in 46 BCE (*OCD*, Cato [5] Uticensis).
- 34 *scape*] escape, aphetic to aid the scansion (‘scape’, *v.*, 1a)
- 34-35 *out of...lie*] According to Livy (*History*, CXIV), Cato committed suicide in order to avoid falling into the hands of Caesar.
- 37 *hart...applie*] i.e., ‘so did he [Cato] devote his heart on behalf of the common good’ (‘apply’, *v.*, 5, 9; ‘weal’, *n.*, 3a)
- 39-41 *to make...can*] substitutes for Alamanni, 10.49-51, giving English analogues to Alamanni’s triumvirate of Homer’s cowardly soldier ‘Thersites’ for a brave man; Virgil’s ‘Aeneas’ for a disloyal man; and ‘Hercules’ for a fawning man.
- 41 *that cannot...can*] Wyatt’s satire ‘My mothers maydes’, also addressed to Poyntz, departs from his sources to make the cat catch the mouse.
- 43 *Alexander*] Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE), which, according to Edward Phillips’ *The New World of English Words*, ‘signifies in Greek helper of men’ (1658; Wing / P2068, sig. B2<sup>r</sup>).
- 43-44 *Pan...musicke*] Wyatt’s addition; Pan was a pastoral god who, in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 11, challenges Apollo to a music contest.
- 45-46 *praise Sir...told*] substitutes for Alamanni, 10.55-57, in which Wyatt gives Chaucerian examples for Alamanni’s contrast between Maevius, the poetaster described in Virgil’s third eclogue and Horace’s tenth epode, and Homer, Virgil, and

- Dante (described respectively through place of birth: ‘Smyrna’, ‘Mantua’, ‘Florence’).
- 45 *Sir Topias*] Sir Thopas, the eponymous subject of the absurd mock-romance which Chaucer the pilgrim tells in *CT* (*ThT*.691-935).
- 46 *story that..told*] The Knight’s Tale is the first poem proper in the *CT*, and, unlike *Sir Thopas’ Tale*, is a serious romance which elicits praise from the Host (*CT*, *KnT*, ll. 859-3108).
- 47-49 *praise him...pale*] renders Alamanni, 10.58-60
- 47 *counsaile*] prudence, soberness of judgement (‘counsel’, *n.*, 3)
- 48 *grynne when...sway*] renders Alamanni, ‘Imitar sempre altrui se [...] ride’ (10.60: ‘imitate another continually, whether he cries or laughs’)
- 49 *pale*] ill
- 50 *on others...night*] adapts Alamanni, 10.61; the other copies of the poem read ‘night and day’. *P*’s reversal disrupts the end-rhyme.
- lustes*] desires, pleasure(s) (‘lust’, *n.*, 1a)
- 51 *points*] possible pun on ‘Poyntz’
- 52 *my wit...way*] adapts Alamanni, 10.62
- to way*] i.e., ‘to weigh’; the reading is particular to *P* and *AH*. The other witnesses give ‘the way’.
- 53 *and mutch...bee*] i.e., ‘and much the less (can I learn to weigh) things which are greater’
- 54 *colours to devise*] i.e., ‘(that request the aid of) false appearances in order to scheme or plot’ (‘devise’, *v.*, 7a). The reference to ‘colours’ perhaps looks back to the ‘paint’ in [4].28. Apart from *AH* and *TI*-2, the other copies of [4] read ‘device’ as a noun (‘colours of device’, i.e., ‘contrived or false appearances’).
- 55-58 *to ioyne...rise*] Wyatt’s addition; Rebholz (433) points out that the passage is based on the Aristotelian idea that the virtuous action is the one poised between the extremes of deficiency and excessiveness.
- 57 *and as...fall*] Thomson (M&T: 353) gives ‘And likewise as it shall be opportune.’
- 59-70 *as dronkennes...raigne*] adapts Alamanni, 10.64-75, though Wyatt adds references to drunkenness ([4].59) and lechery ([4].69); he omits Alamanni’s allusion to stealing.
- 59 *as dronkennes...call*] Wyatt’s addition
- 60-62 *the frendly...grace*] renders Alamanni, 10.64-66

- 60 *frendly foe*] For the phrase, compare Wyatt, ‘Ryght true it is’: ‘For none is wourse then is a frendly ffoo’ (M&T: XLIX.3). Compare also Surrey, [59].22.
- 61 *gentle*] renders Alamanni, ‘gentil’ (10.65), but with an ironic connotation of nobility not present in the Italian (‘gentle’, *adj.*, 1a)  
*curteis*] courteous  
*therw<sup>t</sup>all*] in addition (‘therewithal’, *adv.*, 1)
- 62 *fauell*] Wyatt’s addition. Favel was a common ME personification of fraud and cunning. In English, it was associated with a ‘fallow’ (pale brown) horse, which, perhaps due to its indeterminate hue, became synonymous with deception. In ME, to ‘curry favel’ meant to ‘groom the fallow horse’, and became a stock metaphor for soliciting favour (Brewer, 2001: 307).
- 63-64 *crueltie to...justice*] ‘to call cruelty in executing the law the zealous pursuit of justice’
- 64 *chaung in...place*] i.e., ‘to defend cruelty on the grounds that the time and place of the offence are different from the time and place in which the law was formulated.’ The line is Wyatt’s addition.
- 65-66 *and he...pitifull*] renders Alamanni, 10.68. Rebholz (442) points out that ‘pitifull’ here can mean both ‘compassionate’ and ‘contemptible’ (‘pitiful’, *adj.*, 1; 4). As he notes, however, the earliest date that the *OED* cites for ‘pitifull’ as ‘contemptible’ is 1582.
- 66-67 *and him...shame*] renders Alamanni, ‘ne aperto...dispiace’ (10.65-66: ‘nor open and true who always says what displeases most’)
- 67 *rayleth reckles*] rants, abuses recklessly (‘rail’, *v.*<sup>5</sup>, 1a; 1b)
- 68 *say he...faine*] the solitary reference in [4].59-70 to a virtue being branded a vice. The line probably draws on Alamanni, 10.70-71.
- 69-70 *and tirannye...raigne*] renders Alamanni, 10.69
- 69 *letcher a louer*] probably Wyatt’s addition, though Thomson (M&T: 353) suggests Alamanni, 10.72, as a possible influence
- 71 *I cannot...be*] Wyatt’s addition, which concludes the ‘I cannot’ series
- 73 *hang...sleues*] Wyatt’s addition
- 73-74 *that way...witt*] i.e., ‘that weigh a chip of fortune more than an ounce of wisdom’; the phrase gives a more proverbial colouring to Alamanni, 10.75. The phrase appears to be a forerunner of the expression ‘An ounce of discretion is worth a pound of wit’ (*ODEP*, 601; Tilley, O 85). The *ODEP* cites Thomas Whythorne as

the earliest user of the form in [4], who copied out Wyatt poems for Thomas Heywood. He therefore probably culled the line from Wyatt's satire (Whythorne, 1961: 14).

*way*] weigh

75-83 *This maketh...well*] renders Alamanni, 10.76-84, adding details which seem to be particular to Wyatt's circumstances in Kent

77 *stalke*] pursue game ('stalk', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 3a)

78-79 *no man...walke*] renders loosely Alamanni, 'Qui non ho [...] uada' (10.79-80: 'I have no one who asks me where I stay or go').

78 *marke*] observe ('mark', *v.*, III, 25a)

79 *lustie leases*] delightful leas or meadow-land ('lusty', *adj.*, 2c; 'lease', *n.*<sup>1</sup>); the disyllabic form is particular to *P* and *AH*. Kenneth Bleeth notes a probable allusion to *T&C*, 2.750-752 (Bleeth, 1971: 214):

I am myn owene womman, wel at ese,  
I thank it God, as after myn estat,  
Right yong, and stonde unteyd in lusty leese.

80 *and of...woo*] i.e., 'and due to these novelties I feel neither uncommonly well or excessively ill'

*newes*] novelties ('news', *n.*, 1)

*nother well...woo*] more ambivalent than Alamanni, '& non [...] digiuno' (10.83-84: 'I am not worried; I am completely at peace and devoid of fear')

81-83 *saue that...well*] Wyatt's addition

81 *saue that*] except that ('save', *conj.*, 1a)

*clogge*] a block or heavy piece of wood attached to the leg to impede motion ('clog', *n.*, 2a); Rollins (II.219) notes that the line is proverbial.

*yet*] still ('yet', *adv.*, 2a)

82 *noforce*] no matter

83 *diche*] ditch

84-85 *I am...fele*] renders Alamanni, 10.85-87, though Wyatt omits Alamanni's reference to French jibes being aimed at those whose knowledge of food and wine is deficient (10.85), and adds the detail of 'sauerie sauce'. Foxwell (II.103) suggests a personal reference, as Wyatt obtained a licence to import wine as High Marshal of Calais in 1529.



- 85 *fele*] taste, perceive ('feel', *v.*, 7)
- 86-88 *nor yet...fine*] renders Alamanni 10.88-90, though Wyatt moderates Alamanni's open condemnation of fraud ('frode') and falsehood ('menzognia').
- 88 *fine*] subtle or clever, here with ironic overtones ('fine', *adj.*, 11)
- 89-91 *nor flaunders...esteame*] renders Alamanni, 10.91-93, with 'flaunders' substituted for 'Germania'
- 89-90 *chere letts...away*] i.e., 'The good cheer of Flanders does not prevent me from distinguishing between black and white, nor does it deprive me of my wits.'
- 89 *dime*] deem; the spelling in *P* allows for an orthographical pun on 'dim'/'deem', perhaps picking up on the references to sight in the line.
- 91 *w<sup>t</sup> beastlynes...esteame*] The implication is apparently that men in Flanders approve of beastly behaviour, being little more than beasts themselves.
- 92 *wher Christ...pray*] i.e., 'where Christ is given as prey'; Wyatt follows Alamanni, 'darlo in preda' (10.92: 'give it as prey'), though it refers in the Italian to the men of 'Germania' (Rome is described in Alamanni, 10.94-96).
- 93 *for monye...Rome*] renders Alamanni, 10.94-95, though Wyatt substitutes 'treason' for Alamanni's reference to deception ('falsar'), and adds the charge of avarice
- 94 *place*] The reading is particular to *P* and is probably a scribal error. However, Rome here could be a 'common' place in the sense of 'prostituted' ('common', *adj.* 6a; 6b), or even a 'commonplace', or byword, for corruption ('commonplace', *n.*, II, 5a).
- 95 *Kent, and Christendome*] The phrase wittily inverts the proverb 'in Kent or Christendom' (*ODEP*, 420; Tilley, K 16), so coined because Kent remained unconverted during the reign of King Ethelbert and was therefore considered outside of the realm of Christendom.

### Collations

- AH* Arundel Harington MS, fols 64<sup>r</sup>-65<sup>r</sup>
- CC* Corpus Christi College, Cambridge MS 168, fol. 200<sup>v</sup>
- D* BL, Add. MS 17492 (Devonshire MS), fols 85<sup>v</sup>-87<sup>r</sup>
- E* BL, Egerton MS 2711, fols 49<sup>r</sup>-50<sup>r</sup>
- M* Cambridge University Library, MS Ff.5.14, fols 5<sup>v</sup>-7<sup>r</sup>
- P* BL, Add. MS 36529, fols 30<sup>r</sup>-31<sup>r</sup>
- T1* *Songes and sonettes* (Q1), sigs L3<sup>r</sup>-L4<sup>r</sup>
- T2* *Songes and sonettes* (Q2), sigs M2<sup>v</sup>-M3<sup>v</sup>

Alongside *P*, there are six other known copies of [4], five of which are in MS and one in print. Of the MS sources, *AH* includes the poem in its Wyatt grouping. The witness in *E* is a fragment which omits the first 51 lines, and is not autograph but copied by Wyatt's principal amanuensis. *D*, the Devonshire Manuscript, is a verse miscellany of Henrician court poetry compiled by, among others, Anne Boleyn's female courtiers Margaret Douglas and Mary Shelton. *CC* is the anthology of Richard Cox, Bishop of Ely, which he probably compiled between *c.* 1558-1578 and contains entries in both Latin and English. *M* is a miscellany compiled between *c.* 1566-1572 which the *Index* attributed to Herbert Westfaling or Westphaling (1532?-1602), Bishop of Hereford (1586) and vice chancellor of the University of Oxford (1576). However, Jessica Edmondson has recently demonstrated that *M* is compiled in the hand of Sir William More of Loseley (1520-1600), a prominent landowner and administrator who numbered William Cecil, Lord Burghley, and Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, among his associates.<sup>13</sup> F. D. Hoeniger was the first to collate *M* with *D* (ll. 1-52) and *E* (l. 53 ff.); he noted that its copy of [4] was run together with a truncated, seven-line text of [6] (Hoeniger, 1957: 103-104). The sole print copies are *T1-2*.

The surviving copies have differing numbers of lines; the accuracy of each text is therefore calculated by dividing the number of errors with the number of lines. Apart from the fragment in *E*, *P* and *AH* are the shortest copies with 98 lines; *D*, in contrast, has 100 lines; and *CC*, *M*, and *T1-2* have 103 lines. *P* and *AH* probably descend from the same ancestor; neither is copied from the other. This line of descent probably includes *T1* and *T2*. However, the copies in Tottel are contaminated and conflate errors from more than one source. *E* appears to descend independently of the other surviving copies, and was demonstrably not the Haringtons' source for *AH* or *P*. The remaining copies, *CC*, *D*, and *M*, belong on a separate line of descent. The stemma thus posited contradicts Rebholz (438), who saw *D*, *AH*, and *P* as related on one side, and *CC* and *M* on the other. He erroneously chose *CC* as his copy-text and assembled ll. 1-51 eclectically out of *CC* and *M*. From l. 52 ff., he used *E*. Harrier (169) also suggested that *CC* is the best text for ll. 1-51. Foxwell and M&T (88) both chose *D* as their copy-text for ll. 1-51, and supplemented its omitted lines from *T1*, with *E* as their source of l. 52 ff.

The common ancestor of *P*, *AH*, and *T1-2* (*X*), transmitted a conjunctive error in l. 54, 'to devise', against 'of deuce' in *CC*, *D*, *E*, and *M*. This converts a noun into an infinitive

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<sup>13</sup> See Jessica Edmondson, *An Edition of BL, Harley MS 7392(2)* (Unpublished PhD Thesis, forthcoming).

verb, and therefore affects the sense. The texts of *P* and *AH* then have an additional ancestor not common to Tottel (*A*), which transmitted thirteen shared errors and renders them both relatively corrupt. The most striking two corruptions are the omitted lines in *P* and *AH* after ll. 17 and 26; the remaining eleven are in ll. 6, 23, 31, 45, 52, 54 ('aske'), 62, 79, 84, 85, and 90. Chief among these is 'to way' in l. 52, which, like 'to deuse', substitutes a verbal infinitive for a noun. In l. 23, 'my selfe' distorts the sense compared to 'most helpe' in the other copies, a reading which also balances and alliterates with 'most hurt' earlier in the line. *AH* contains eight independent errors which *P* does not replicate in ll. 8, 10, 29, 36, 81, 89, 94 ('plague'), and 96; it therefore commits twenty-two errors overall at a rate of 0.224 per line, making it the second worst copy overall. That in l. 36 accords with Hand B's original reading in *P*, which a later hand has corrected. *P* has four unique errors in ll. 40, 50, 89, and 94 ('place'); this gives it eighteen errors in total at a rate of 0.19 per line, making it the fourth best copy overall. That in l. 50, 'day and night', disrupts the rhyme, and accords with the main scribal hand's original reading in *AH*, which another hand has corrected. It is possible that the error in l. 89, 'dime', is a spelling variant of 'deme', i.e., 'deem'. This too corresponds with the main scribal hand's original reading in *AH*. The two errors in l. 94 perhaps have a common source in 'plage', which in *P* mutated into 'place'.

*P* and *AH* share with *D* the errors 'to do so greate' in l. 23, 'Topias'/'thopias' in l. 45, and 'what' in l. 85; with *M* they share 'lowe'/'loo' in l. 6. These are all probably the result of independent variation given that *D* and *M* descend from a different source. *CC*, *D*, and *M* have a common ancestor (*Y*) which transmitted two conjunctive errors: 'him Cæsar' in l. 33, and 'in the' in l. 76. *D* does not have the second error, which suggests that its scribe may have corrected the line independently. While *CC* descends directly from *Y*, a hypothetical intermediary (*β*) is ancestral to *D* and *M*, which transmitted the conjunctive omission of 'do' in l. 2 and the error 'tune' in the second of the inserted lines after l. 17 in *P* and *AH*. *CC* is the only surviving witness to have the correct reading 'tonge' in this inserted line. With *D* and *M*, *T1-2* share the error 'tune', indicating that Tottel or his editor consulted MS witnesses descended from both *X* (in l. 54) and *β*. Wyatt's autograph copy, *E*, appears to descend independently of both lines of transmission, though this is conjectural given its fragmented state. *E* has a possible error in l. 75 with '& to hawke'. It also shares the error 'they bestes do so' in l. 91 with *D*, though the scribes of every witness struggled here to copy an accurate line. The corruption may have been present from the archetype or an early copy. With two errors in its surviving lines, *E* is the best copy at an error rate of 0.03 per line.

Of the copies descending from *Y*, *D* is the least corrupt. This witness contains fourteen errors overall at rate of 0.14 per line, making it superior to *AH* and *P* and the third best copy.<sup>14</sup> Chief among these are the omitted line after l. 26 in *P*, and ‘neuer’ in l. 51. *CC* is next with twenty-three errors overall, at rate of 0.223 per line, making it the fifth best copy, slightly above *AH*.<sup>15</sup> Chief among these are ‘not repent’ in l. 15, ‘vse’ in l. 27, ‘many a fold’ in l. 44, and ‘dispende’ in l. 98, all of which corrupt the sense. It shares those errors in ll. 51, 72, and 76 with *M*, which is by far the most corrupt text. This witness contains thirty-eight errors overall at a rate of 0.33 per line.<sup>16</sup> Chief among these are ‘woo’ in l. 4, ‘pleysure’ in l. 16, ‘steppe’ in l. 34, and ‘men most theym’ in l. 86, all of which distort the sense.

Because they contain errors from both the hypothetical *X* and  $\beta$ , *T1-2* are difficult difficult to place in the stemma; either corruption may be the result of independent variation. The two copies have five conjunctive errors overall in ll. 8, the second added line after l. 17 31, 54 and 97. *T1* commits the independent error ‘nice’ in l. 19, and *T2* the unique error ‘not that’ in l. 7. *T2* is otherwise based on *T1*. This gives both a total of six errors at a rate of 0.05 errors per line, making them jointly the best full text, and second after *E*. As several Wyatt editors have noted, *T1-2*’s peculiar variants in ll. 92 and 93, with ‘truth’ for ‘Christ’ and ‘of some’ for ‘at Rome’, are bowdlerised readings so made to escape Mary I’s censors in the summer of 1557.

The fact that *P*, *AH*, *CC*, and *M* are the four most corrupt texts of [4] probably points to their mid-Tudor or Elizabethan dates of compilation, which put them at a further remove from the archetype and allowed for the transmission of a greater number of errors in MS. Tottel or his editor evidently took pains to obtain more accurate copies.

Title      Of the Courtiers life written to Ihon Pains. *T1-2*

- 1            Myne owne] My nowne *D*  
               I.P.] Ihon poyntz *CC*, Iohn poyntz *D*, Iohn poyns *M*, Iohn Poyns *T1*, Ihon Pains *T2*;  
               you] ye *CC D T1 T2*; delite] lyst *M*
- 2            cawse] cawses *CC, T1, T2*; that] *om. M*; do] *om. CC D M T1-2*

<sup>14</sup> The errors in *D* are in in ll. 2, 7, 15, the second inserted line after 17 in *P*, 27, 33, 45, 47, 51, 80 (‘theire’), 80 (‘no’), 85, 87, 91, and 96.

<sup>15</sup> The errors in *CC* are in in ll. 3, 15, 29, 23, 27, the third inserted line after 26 in *P*, 33, 34, 39 (‘marke’), 39 (‘the singinge crowe’) 42, 44, 51, 57, 61, 72, 76, 81 (‘of’), 81 (‘that yet doth hang’) 89, 92, 96, and 98.

<sup>16</sup> The errors in *M* are in ll. 1, 2, 4, 6, 15, 16, 17, the second inserted line after 17 in *P*, 23 (x2), 25 (x2), 34, 40, 46, 50, 53 (x2), 51, 54, 55, 57, 58 (x2), 70, 72, 76, 78, 79, 80 (x2), 82, 86, 92 (x2), 95, and 98.

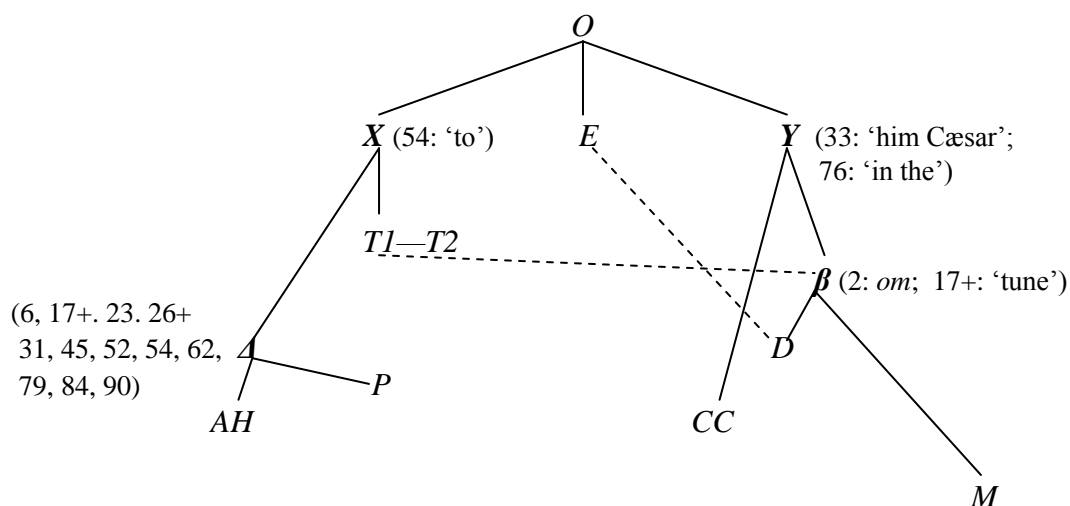
- 3 flee] flye *AH M*; they] I *CC*
- 4 the awe] woo *M*
- 6 lowe] lawe *CC D T1-2*, loo *M*
- 7 not] not for *D*, not that *T2*
- 8 fortune hath] powre hath *AH*, fortune here hath *T1-2*
- 9 to strike the stroke] to stroke to strike, *corrected in margin*: to strik y<sup>e</sup> stroke *CC*
- 10 allwaies] ever *AH*
- 13 what doth inwarde] that dothe inwarde *CC*, what inward doth *T1-2*
- 14 sumtime] sumtymes *M*; that of glory] of glory that *T1-2*
- 15 touch] twyche *D*; melist] me lust *CC*, my lyst *D* my luste *M*; not to reporte] not  
repent *CC*
- 16 blame] pleysure *M*
- 17 I now this honour] I this honour now *CC D T1-2*, he now this honor *M*  
*After 17 two lines are added in CC, D, M, and T1-2:*  
that cannot dye the colour of blak a lyer  
My poyntz I cannot frame my tonge to fayne *CC*  
y<sup>t</sup> cannot . dy the coloure blake a lyer  
My poyntz I cannot from me tune to fayne *D*  
that cannot dye the Cullor blak a lyare  
My poyns I cannot frame theyre tune to fayne *M*  
That can not dye the colour blacke a lier.  
My Poyns, I can not frame my tune to fayn: *T1-2*
- 19 list] lust *CC M*; uice] vices *CC*, nice *T1*; for] *om.* *CC*
- 20 them] them them *CC*; settes] sett *CC M T1-2*
- 22 though that] althoughe *CC D M T1 T2*
- 23 nor] and *M*; to do so great] nor do suche *CC*, to such *T1-2*, to do so myche *M*; a] *om.*  
*CC M*
- 24 lyke] as *AH*
- 25 that ar as wolues] that are like wolfes *CC*, they that are wolfes *M*; theise] the *M*
- 26 I cannot w<sup>t</sup> wourdes complaine and mone] I cannot w<sup>th</sup> my worde complayne and  
mone *CC, om. D*, I cannot w<sup>t</sup> my wordes complayne and mone *M T1-2*  
*After 26, two lines are added in CC, M, T1, and T2:*  
and suffer nought nor smart wythout complaynt  
Nor torne the worde that from my mouthe is gone *CC*

- and suffre nawte nor smarte w<sup>t</sup> owt complaynte  
nor turne the worde that from my mowth is gone *M*  
And suffer nought: nor smarte without complaynt:  
Nor turne the word that from my mouth is gone, *T1-2*  
*One line is then added in C, D, M, and T1-2:*  
I cannot speake w<sup>t</sup> loke ryght as a saynt *CC*  
I cannot speke and loke lyke a saynct *D*  
I cannot speke and loke lyke a sancte *M*  
I can not speake and loke like as a saint: *T1-2*
- 27 wiles] willes *D*; make] vse *CC*  
28 and] *om.* *T1-2*; proffitte] lucre *T1-2*  
31 my selfe] moste helpe *CC D M*, that most helpe *T1-2*  
33 high Cesar] him Cæsar *CC D M*; dampne Cato to die] <Catho deme to dye>, *in margin*: deme Cato to dy *CC*  
34 with] by *CC*; his] is *D*; scape] escape *CC*, steppe *M*  
35 handes] hand *CC*; Liuie] lyve *D*; doth not] do not *AH*, did not *CC*, donnot *D*  
36 <will> ^would^ [correction not in main copying hand] will *AH*  
37 his] is *D*; weale] welthe *CC M T1-2*  
39 make] marke *CC*; the crowe singyng] the singinge crowe *CC*, the crow in singyng *T1-2*  
40 nor] or *M*; lion] lyond *D*; <of> coward ^of^ bestes] of Coward bestes *AH CC T1-2*, of cowardes bestes *D*  
the] *om.* *M*
- 41 take a] catche the *M*  
42 the] *om.* *CC*  
44 manyfold] many a fold *CC*  
45 Topias] Topas *AH T1-2*, thopas *CC*, Thopas *M*  
46 the] that *M*  
47 dronke] drounkin [dronnkin?] *D*  
48 laughes] laugheth *CC E*, law<g>gthe *M*; beareth] beres *CC*; the] all the *D E M T1-2*  
49 frouneth] frownes *D T1 T2*; he is] he *E*  
50 on] vpon *M*; lustes] lust *CC D E M T1-2*  
day and night] night and daye <day and> night and day *AH* [correction not in main copying hand], night and daye *CC D E M T1-2*

- 51 will] wold *CC D E M T1-2*; ever] neu<sup>f</sup> *D*; in] wyth *CC M*  
 52 to] the *CC D E T1 T2 M*  
 53 the] *om. M*  
 greater] greate *M*  
 54 aske] asken *CC D E T1-2*, aske the *M*; to] off *CC*, of *D E M*; deuse] deryce *M*  
 55 each] *om. M*  
 56 the] *om. T1-2*; to cloke alway] ay to cloke *T1-2*  
 57 And as] As *M*; it shall] may *CC*  
 58 presse] <op>presse *E* oppresse *M*; vertue] vertu <to cloke> *CC*; rise] assyse *M*  
*Lines 57 and 58 are repeated in T1.*  
 60 his] is *D*; his dowble] his faire double *T1-2*  
 61 he] this *CC*  
 62 and that] and say that *CC D E M*, Affirme that *T1-2*  
 67 to euery] vnto ech *T1-2*  
 70 a princes raigne] Prynces Realmes *M*  
 71 no nor yet] nor it *AH*, no no it *CC D E M T1-2*  
 72 that] *om. CC M*; wold] could *CC E M T1-2*  
 73 as thou mayst see] as thow may se *D*, (as thou mayst se) *T1-2*  
 75 and hauke] & to hawke *E*  
 76 in] in the *CC M*; to] I *M*  
 77 w<sup>t</sup> my bowe to stalke] <at my book to Sitt> w<sup>t</sup> my bowe to stalke *CC*; to] I *M*  
 78 where that] wher to *CC*, whereso *D*, where soe *E T1-2*, where *M*  
 79 leases] lees *CC D E T1-2*, leet *M*  
 80 and] and so *M*; these] their *D*; newes] *om. M*; nother] nor *CC E M T1-2*, no *D*; well]  
 weale *AH T1-2* wele *D E*; nor] ne *CC*  
 81 that] of *CC*; doth hang yet] doth hang yet still *AH*, that yet doth hang *CC*  
 82 is] was *M*  
 83 dicke] dike *E T1-2*  
 84 not in] not now in *CC D E M T1-2*  
 85 what] Wyth *CC E T1-2*, w<sup>t</sup> *M*; sauerie] saffry *E*; sauce] sawces *CC*; theise] the *E*,  
 those *T1-2*  
 86 one] men most theym *M*  
 87 outwardly] vtterlye *D*

- 89 nor] No *D*, ne *M*; letts] letteth *CC E M*; my] me *D*; sight] wittes *AH*, wyt *CC*; dime]  
 <dymme> ^deeme^ *AH* [correction not in main copying hand], deme *CC D E M T1-*  
 2
- 90 nor] and *CC D E M T1-2*; takes] taketh *E M*  
 wittes] wyt *D E*
- 91 the beastes do so] those beastes do *CC*, they bestes do *D*, they beestes do so *E*, those  
 beastes do so *M*, such do those beastes *T1-2*
- 92 Nor I am not] Nor am I *CC*, Neyther am I *M*; Christ] truth *T1-2*; is] was *M*  
 93 at Rome] of some *T1-2*
- 94 place] plague *AH*, practise *CC D E M T1-2*
- 95 here I am] I am *M*, I am here *T1-2*; and] and in *M*
- 96 among] Amonges *D*; muses] <musues> muses *CC*  
 I read] I do rede *CC*; and rime] in Ryme *AH*
- 97 list] lust *CC*; my] myne owne *T1-2*; I.P.] Poyntz *CC*, poynz *D E*, poyns *M*, Iohn  
 Poyns *T1*, Ihon Poyns *T2*; for] *om. T1-2*
- 98 ^do^ spende] dispende *CC*, spende *M*

Subscription t.w. *CC*, T Wyet *M*





[5]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 134:

Pace non trovo et non ò da far guerra,  
 e temo e spero, et ardo e son un ghiaccio,  
 et volo sopra 'l cielo et giaccio in terra,  
 et nulla stringo et tutto 'l mondo abbraccio.

Tal m'à in pregion che non m'apre né serra, [5]  
 né per suo mi riten né scioglie il laccio,  
 et non m'ancide Amor et non mi sferra,  
 né mi vuol vivo né mi trae d'impaccio.

Veggio senza occhi, et non ò lingua et grido, [10]  
 et bramo di perir et cheggio aita,  
 et ò in odio me stesso et amo altrui.

Pascomi di dolor, piangendo rido,  
 egualmente mi spiace morte e vita.  
 In questo stato son, Donna, per vui.

[‘Peace I do not find, and I have no wish to make war; and I fear and hope, and burn and am of ice; and I fly above the heavens and lie on the ground; and I grasp nothing and embrace all the world.

One has me in prison who neither opens nor locks, neither keeps me for his own nor unties the bonds; and Love does not kill and does not unchain me, he neither wishes me alive nor frees me from the tangle.

I see without eyes, and I have no tongue and yet I cry out; and I wish to perish and I ask for health; and I hate myself and love another.

I feed on pain, weeping I laugh; equally displeasing to me are death and life. In this state am I, Lady, on account of you.’]

In addition to *P* and *NAI-2*, poem [5] survives in three other full copies, all of which suggest Wyatt’s authorship. That in *E*, fol. 20<sup>v</sup>, contains the ascription ‘Wyat’ in a hand which Jason Powell argues could be that of Sir George Blage; a later hand has also supplied the heading ‘petrarke’ (Powell, 2009: 17). The copy in *D*, fol. 82<sup>r-v</sup>, occurs in what Harrier (52-53) described as a Wyatt grouping of lyrics. In Tottel, the poem is printed in the Wyatt section of *T1*, sig. E3<sup>r-v</sup>, *T2*, sigs F1<sup>v</sup>-F2<sup>r</sup>, and each edition thereafter. George Puttenham also printed an excerpt of ll. 1-2 in *The Arte of English Poesie*, sig. P1<sup>v</sup>(A), as an example of sure-footed iambic verse.

Nott (II.540) identified the source of [5]. The sonnet is an example of the ‘contraries of love’ theme common to the love lament. Berdan described *Rima* 134 as one of Petrarch’s

most conceited and imitable sonnets, doubtless because of its reliance on the figure of antithesis, which became a keynote of English Petrarchanism (Berdan, 1920: 474). In [5], Wyatt's use of this figure makes the poem one of his more straightforward *Rime* translations. He does, however, introduce several alterations to bring into sharper relief the structural importance of devoting each individual line to an antithesis. See in particular ll. 7, 10 and 14. Both Greene and Heale discuss Wyatt's treatment of the Petrarchan antithesis across the broader range of his sonnet translations (Greene, 1982: 242-263; Heale, 1998: 97-104). The fact that [5] is the sole Wyatt sonnet in *P* and the heads the section of shorter Wyatt poems perhaps suggests that the Haringtons considered it an exemplar in terms of style and content.

- 1        *all my...done*] Unlike in Petrarch, Wyatt's speaker is a sufferer of love's war rather than one disinclined to wage it.
- 4        *season*] seize upon, derived from the French *assaysonne* ('season', v., 5); the verb renders Petrarch, 'abbraccio' (134.4: 'embrace').
- 5        *that*] i.e., 'that which', rendering Petrarch, 'Tal' (134.5: 'One'), which refers either to Laura or Love (Cupid). Wyatt's characteristically oblique pronoun shows he is probably following the second interpretation.
- 6        *no wise*] in no way ('wise', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 7        *nor letes...device*] The line conflates individual half-lines in Petrarch, ll. 7-8, to place the life-death antithesis on a single line: 'e non m'ancide Amor' (134.7: 'and love does not kill me') and 'né mi vuol vivo' (134.8: 'he neither wishes me alive').  
*nor letes*] looks back to 'that' in l. 5  
*device*] desire, inclination ('device', *n.*, 3a)
- 9        *playn*] complain ('plain', v., 1a)
- 11       *I love...self*] renders Petrarch, 'et ò in odio me stesso et amo altrui' (134.11: 'and I hate myself and love another'), reversing the order of the antithesis. The reading 'have' is a probable scribal error for 'hate'.
- 14       *gryef*] sharpens the sense of Petrarch, 'stato' (134.14: 'state')

### Collations

- A        George Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, sig. P1<sup>v</sup>
- D        BL, Add. MS 17492, fol. 82<sup>r-v</sup>
- E        BL, Egerton MS 2711, fol.20<sup>v</sup>
- NAI     *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1769-1775), p. 192

- NA2 *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1779), p. 249  
 P BL, Add. MS 36529, fol. 32<sup>r</sup>  
 T1 Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes* (Q1), sig. E3<sup>r-v</sup>  
 T2 Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes* (Q2), sigs F1<sup>r</sup>-F2<sup>v</sup>

*P* and *NAI-2* descend independently from the archetype, via a common ancestor (*X*) which transmitted three errors to them: ‘none’ in l. 8, ‘eye’ in l. 9, and ‘pleaseth’ in l. 13. The last of these does not follow Petrarch’s ‘mi spiace’ and is a certain corruption. The error in l. 9 is shared with *TI-2*, though this is probably the result of independent variation given that Tottel’s text agrees with *E* and *D* against *P* and *NAI-2* in ll. 8 and 12. *P* contains one independent error in l. 11 with ‘have’, a probable scribal corruption which gives the improbable sense the sense that the speaker is committed to self-reliance rather than self-hatred. *NAI-2* also have one independent additional error with ‘looseth, nor lacketh’ in l. 5: the *OED* does not cite ‘lack’ as an attested spelling of ‘lock’. This gives *P* and *NAI-2* each four errors overall. It is possible that the source of *P* and *NAI-2* is a now-missing witness from *AH*, though it could also be an ‘edited’ MS of Wyatt poems, as argued above in [4]-[10] Headnote. Line 3 in *P* and *NAI-2* has been emended metrically compared to the other copies; l. 5 modernises the verb endings to maintain regular accentual-syllabic scansion, but ‘escape’ in l. 8 makes the line hypermetrical. This is possibly corrupt, but not demonstrably so.

*E*, *D*, and *TI-2* all derive from a second hypothetical ancestor (*Y*), which transmitted two conjunctive errors: ‘can I not’ in l. 3, and ‘thus’ in l. 11. *T2*, which is otherwise based on *TI*, independently corrected the second of these errors; it is the best copy, with three errors in total. As Rollins (I.273) notes, *T2*’s correction was retained in later editions of Tottel. The ‘I’ of the error in l. 3 is redundant; it also disrupts the metre in *E* and *D*, though it is metrically necessary in *TI-2*, which omits ‘the wynde’ in the first half of the line. In l. 11, ‘thus’, implies that self-hatred is an inevitable consequence of loving another, and disrupts the pattern established in ll. 3, 6, 8, and 10 of using ‘yet’ to establish the antithesis. *E* and *TI-2* share the additional corruption ‘arise’ in l. 3, which does not agree with ‘above’ (*E*) or ‘aloft’ (*TI-2*) in the first half of their respective lines: both adverbs connote that the speaker has already arisen. Tottel’s variant ‘aloft’ may itself constitute a further error as it is an unusual use of the adverb (compare the examples in ‘aloft’, *adv.*, 1a). Added to the shared error with *P* and *NAI-2* in l. 9, this gives *TI* four errors in total. *E* has one independent error with ‘laught’ in l. 10, which adds to a total of four overall. *D* is the most corrupt witness with five errors in total, having also three independent corruptions in ‘aboute’ and ‘the heaven’ (both l. 3), and ‘leson’ in l. 4.

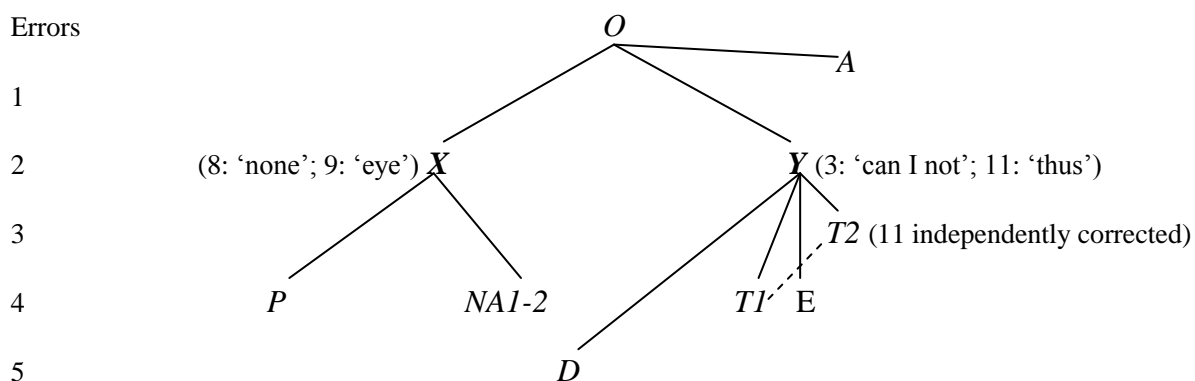
In A, Puttenham's substantive variants 'yet' for 'and' in l. 1, and 'and' for 'I' in l. 2, indicate either that he used a different witness of the sonnet which has not survived, or that he misremembered or revised the lines himself.

Title Description of the contrarious passions of a louer *T1-2*

- 1 and] yet *A*  
 2 I] and *A*  
 3 above] aboute *D*, aloft *T1 T2*; the wynde] the heaven *D*, *om.* *T1-2*; yet can not] yet  
 can I not *D E T1-2*; ryse] a ryse *D*, arrise *E T1-2*  
 4 yet] and *D E T1-2*; world] worold *E*; season] leson *D*  
 5 loosethe nor locketh] looseth, nor lacketh *NAI-2*, lockes nor loseth *T1-2*; holdes]  
 holdithe *D E T1-2*  
 6 holdes] holdithe *D E*; escape] scape *D E T1-2*  
 7 live] leeve *NAI-2*; letes] lettithe *D E*  
 8 none] me *D E T1-2*  
 9 eye] yes *D*, Iyen *E*  
 10 yet] and yet *D E*; aske I helth] I aske helthe *D E*, I aske for helth *T1-2*  
 11 and yet I have myself] and thus I hate my self *D E*, and yet I hate myself *NAI-2*, and  
 I hate my selfe *T2*  
 12 feed in] fede me in *D E T1-2*  
 13 likewise] Lo, thus *T1-2*; pleaseth] displesithe *D E T1-2*  
 14 my gryef] this strif *D E T1-2*

Subscription Wyat *E*

Errors



## [6]-[10]

Poems [6]-[10] are epigrams, of which [6] and [7] are translations of two poems by the fifteenth-century Italian court-poet and musician Serafino de' Ciminelli dall'Aquila (1466-1500): 'Ogni pungente & uenenosa spina' and 'Sio son caduto in terra inon son morto'. The remaining poems in the sequence, [8]-[10], have no known sources and are apparently original with Wyatt. The poems may be in an order of a kind, with [6]-[8] moral epigrams and [9]-[10] more amatory pieces, though such an arrangement would be unusual. The opposite *cursus*, progressing from amatory to moral poems, is more typical in the period.<sup>17</sup>

The rhyme scheme of [6]-[10] is uniformly three sets of alternating *ab* distichs with a terminal couplet, which produces a rhyme scheme of *abababcc*. Thomson considered this form to be an example of *ottava toscana*, and termed Wyatt's epigram form, like Serafino's, as the *strambotto* (Thomson, 1964: 212). Although *strambotti* have an identical rhyme scheme to poems in *ottava rima*, Thomson distinguished the two on the basis that *strambotti* tend to be concentrated, single-stanza pieces and *ottava rima* poems more narrative in thrust (e.g. Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*). However, there is no evidence that Wyatt understood his epigrams as *strambotti*, and the *Index* (III.2156) catalogues a number of poems in *ottava rima* used for lyrical as well as narrative purposes.

The definition of Wyatt's epigrams as *strambotti* has persisted in the work of Heale who describes their effect as being that of a condensed sonnet (Heale, 1998: 83). Like Serafino, the eight lines afford Wyatt space for the elaboration of a single conceit or idea, and the terminal couplet has a similar range of functions to that in Wyatt's sonnets. In [6] and [7], it agrees with or summarises the content of the preceding six lines; in [10], on the other hand, it introduces a witty turn of thought that delivers an appropriate 'styng'.

## [6]

Source: Serafino, *Opere* (1516), fol. 117<sup>r</sup>:

Ogni pungente & uenenosa spina  
 Sue uede à qual che tempo esser fiorita,  
 Crudel ueneno posto in medicina,  
 Più uolte torna l'hom da morte uita,

<sup>17</sup> An example in *P* is the sequence of Petrarchan sonnets ([19]-[25], [27]-[31]).

El foco che ogni cosa arde & ruina,  
 Spesso risana una mortal ferita,  
 Così spero em mio mal me fia salute,  
 Chogni cosa che noce há pur uirtute.

[5]

[‘Each sharp and venomous thorn sometimes sees itself bear flower; cruel poison put in medicine often returns man from death to life; fire, which burns and destroys everything, often heals a mortal wound; and so I hope my harm may be my health, since everything that hurts also has its virtue.’]<sup>18</sup>

In addition to *P* and *NAI-2*, poem [6] survives in five other copies, all of which suggest Wyatt’s authorship. That in *E*, fol. 20<sup>v</sup>, contains the ascription ‘Tho.’, a recurrent signature in the MS which may either be Wyatt’s own or that of his son, Sir Thomas the Younger, who signed eleven poems there (Powell, 2009: 17). The copy in *D*, fol. 82<sup>r</sup>, occurs in what Harrier (52-53) described as a Wyatt grouping of lyrics. The text in BL, Harley MS 78 (*Hy78*), fol. 27<sup>r</sup>, assigns the poem to ‘S<sup>r</sup> T. W.’ In *M*, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>, it carries the subscription ‘t.w’, by virtue of being run together with [4]. In Tottel, it was first printed in the addendum entitled ‘Other songes and sonettes written by Sir Thomas wiat the elder’ in *T1*, sig. 2D<sup>r</sup>, before being relocated to the Wyatt section proper in *T2*, sig. L2<sup>v</sup>, and each edition thereafter.

Nott (II.558) identified the source of [6]. The poem is moral in character, and develops the central conceit that those things which cause harm are often also remedial. Wyatt cites three proverbial instances of harm-health phenomena in its first three distichs (thorns, poison, fire) before turning the theme to the situation of the speaker in the couplet. As Berdan notes, this structure produces an almost line-for-line translation of Serafino, though Wyatt introduces minor additions in ll. 2, 3, and 6 (Berdan, 1920: 475-476). The sustained use of alliteration in ll. 6-8 contributes to the sense that harm and wellbeing are opposite sides or effects of the same thing.

E. M. Rutson noted that a French rondeau based on Serafino’s *strambotto*, ‘A Quelque temps la venimeuse espine’ (Rondeau No. 40), was printed in Jean Marot’s *Recueil des Oeuvres* (Lyons, 1537) (Rutson, 1966: 26-28). There is no evidence that Wyatt alludes to or borrows from this version of the poem. Its existence does, however, attest to Serafino’s impact on French verse in the same period.

1-2 *Venem<sup>o</sup>us thorns...flowers*] The idea that flowers can emerge from unbecoming thorns alludes to the proverb ‘Every rose grows from prickles’ (Tilley, R 179).

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<sup>18</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Cathy Shrank for supplying this translation.

- 1 *sharpe and kene*] renders Serafino, ‘pungente’ (l. 1: ‘sharp’); the doublet probably helped Wyatt to fill out the decasyllabic line.
- 2 *fayre and...hew*] Wyatt’s addition
- 3-4 *poyson ofte...helth*] The distich alludes to the proverb ‘One poison drives out another’ (*ODEP*, 597; Tilley, P 457). The earliest date that the *ODEP* cites for the proverb is 1558.
- 3 *poyson ofte...medycine*] The idea is well-known: Rollins (II.315) cites an example from Thomas Norton’s verses prefixed to William Turner’s *A perseruatiue or triacle, agaynst the poyson of Pelagius* (1551; STC 24368):

And euen as lerned leches do oftentymes  
 (Triall techeth dayly tofore our eyes)  
 Put in poyson, to make for medicines:  
 So make their bale thy boote.

(sig. A7<sup>r</sup>)

- ofte*] Wyatt omits ‘Crudel’ (l. 3: ‘Cruel’) in Serafino, and substitutes the adverb ‘Piú uolte’ (l. 4 ‘more times’) from l. 4.
- 4 *and cawseth...renew*] expands on Serafino, ‘torna lhom da morte uita’ (l. 4: ‘and returns a man from life to death’)
- 5-6 *fier eke...hurt*] The distich alludes to the proverb ‘Fire is as hurtful and healthful’ (*ODEP*, 260; Tilley, F 258).
- 5 *consumeth*] renders Serafino, ‘arde & ruina’ (l. 5: ‘burns and ruins’)  
*cleene*] completely (‘clean’, *adv.*); the adverb is Wyatt’s addition.
- 6 *help*] Rebholz (366) suggests that fire helps by cauterising a wound. The other copies of the poem all give ‘hele’.  
*and yf...betrew*] expands upon Serafino, ‘Cosi’ (l. 6: ‘so’)
- 8 *syns every...welth*] The idea alludes to the proverb ‘No weal without woe’ (*ODEP*, 873; Tilley, W 188). Hallet Smith argues that ‘wealth’, signifying ‘a general state of well-being’ and often counterpointed (as here) with ‘woe’, is an important abstract word in Wyatt’s verse (Smith, 1946: 353).

### Collations

- D* BL, Add. MS 17492, fol. 72<sup>v</sup>
- E* BL, Egerton MS 2711, fol. 50<sup>r</sup>
- Hy78* BL, Harley MS 78, fol. 27<sup>r</sup>

- M* CUL, MS Ff.5.14, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>  
*NA1* *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1769-1775), p. 197  
*NA2* *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1779), p. 255  
*P* BL, Add. MS 36529, fol. 32<sup>r</sup>  
*T1* Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes* (Q1), sig. 2D2<sup>r</sup>  
*T2* Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes* (Q2), sig. L2<sup>v</sup>

The sources of all other copies of [6] except *Hy78* are described in the notes to [4] and [5]. *Hy78* is a composite volume of papers dating from both the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which the antiquary John Stow (1524/5-1605) collected and compiled, probably before *c.* 1558. In addition to historical notes and the sole copy of Wyatt's 'Defence', the MS contains a sequence of poems of Wyatt and his contemporaries between fols 15<sup>r</sup> and 30<sup>v</sup>. The witness in *M* is missing l. 4 and is run together with a witness of [4], which immediately follows it.

*P* and *NA1-NA2* descend independently from the archetype, via a common ancestor (*X*) which transmitted two conjunctive errors: 'both' in l. 1, shared with *M*, and 'help' in l. 6. The agreement with *M* is probably the result of independent variation, given the closeness of that witness otherwise to *E* and *Hy78*. The first error implies that 'sharpe' and 'keene' are two different qualities whereas they seem to have identical meanings. The second conveys less effectively than 'hele' the apparent meaning that fire cures a wound by cauterising it. It is again possible that the common source of *P* and *NA1-2* was a now-missing witness from *AH* or another 'edited' MS of Wyatt poems. Lines 2 and 3 in *P* and *NA1-2* have been emended metrically, and have a noticeably more regular iambic scansion here than the other copies.

*T1-2* and *D* also descend independently from the archetype. *T1* is possibly the best text of the surviving witnesses, with the single minor error 'is also' in l. 3. This removes the allusion, made in the other copies, that adding poison to medicine is a common practice. *T2* is demonstrably based on *T1*, sharing the error in l. 3, but has the additional misprint 'thrones', for 'thornes' in l. 1. *D* contains two independent errors: 'in' in l. 4, which distorts the sense, and 'so clene' in l. 5, which has a redundant adverb.

*E*, *Hy78*, and *M* all descend from a hypothetical ancestor (*Y*) which transmitted the line-length error in l. 5. This skews the balance of ll. 5-6 in its suggestion that fire purges all unclean things, an unequivocally positive action that does not complement the following phrase 'may hele and hurt' in l. 6. In contrast, the reading in *P* and *NA1-2*, given also with some substantive variation in *D* and *T1-2*, makes the more neutral statement that fire consumes all things completely: this is an action that can be both harmful and curative (see 5n

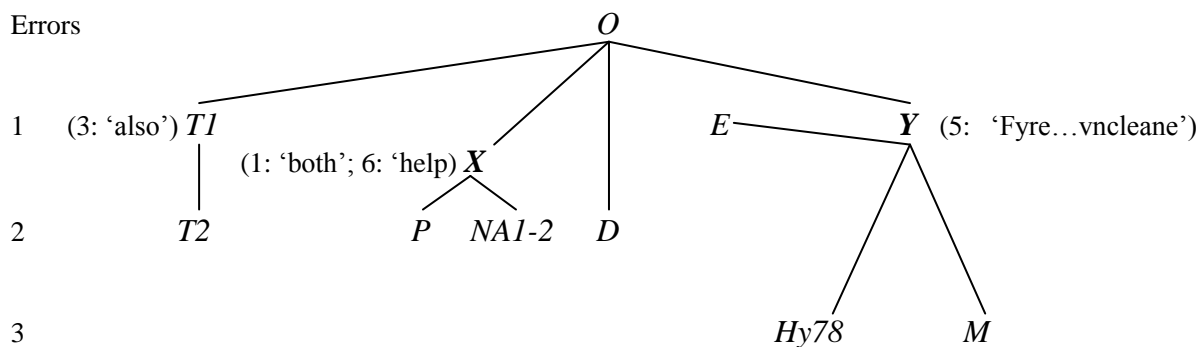


above). *Hy78* contains an additional two independent errors in its omission of ‘sometyme’ in l. 7 and ‘to’ in l. 8, giving it three in total. *M* also has three errors, with its omission of l. 4 adding to those in ll. 1 and 5.

Title That pleasure is mixed with euery paine. *T1-2*

- 1 thorns] thrones *T2*; that] w<sup>ch</sup> *M*; be] are *D E Hy78 M T1-2*; both] so *D E Hy78 T1-2*  
 2 beare somtymes flowers] some tyme bere floures *D E Hy78 M*, Beare flowers we se  
*T1 T2*; fayre and fresh] full fresh and faire *T1-2*  
 3 and poyson ofte] peyson oft tymes *D*, poyson offtyme *E*, poyson oftayne *Hy78*,  
 poyson oftymes *M*, Poison is also *T1-2*  
 4 and cawseth helth] and in his health *D*, w<sup>ch</sup> cawsethe healthe *Hy78*, *om. M*, And vnto  
 man *T1-2*; in man for to] doth make the man *D*, *om. M*, his helth doth oft *T1-2*  
 5 the fier eke that all consumeth cleene] fyre that all thing consumith so clene *D*, Fyre  
 y<sup>t</sup> purgeth allthing y<sup>t</sup> is vncleane *E*, fyre that purge<se> all thyng y<sup>t</sup> is vncleane  
*Hy78*, fyre that purgythe all thyng that is vncleane *M*, The fier that all thinges eke  
 consumeth cleane *T1-2*  
 6 help and hurt] heale & hurte *D E Hy78 M*, hurt and heale *T1-2*; and yf] then if *T1-2*;  
 that] *om. D E Hy78*; this] thes *E*; betrew] bene true *E*, be true *D Hy78 M T1-2*  
 7 somtyme] *om. Hy78*; may be] to be *Hy78*  
 8 w<sup>t</sup>] to *Hy78*

Subscription Tho [in left margin] *E*, S<sup>t</sup> T.W [in centre above poem] *Hy78*, T Wyet *M*



[7]

Source: Serafino, *Opere* (1516), fol. 120<sup>r</sup>:

Sio son caduto interra inon son morto,  
 Ritorna el Sol benche talhor si cele,  
 Spero mi dará el ciel qualche conforto,  
 Poi che fortuna hará sfocato el fele,  
 Chi hó uisto naue ritornarsi in porto, [5]  
 Dapoi che rotta há in mar tutte soe uele  
 El salce anchora el uento abasso & piega  
 Poi si ridriza, & glialtri legni lega.

[‘If I fall to the ground, I am not dead; the sun returns although it’s sometimes hid; I hope heaven will give me some comfort when Fortune has disgorged her bile, for I have seen the ship return to the port after it has had all its sails ripped at sea, and the willow – now stooped and bowed by the wind – then recover itself and bind to other wood.’]<sup>19</sup>

In addition to *P* and *NAI-2*, poem [7] survives in three other full copies, all of which suggest Wyatt’s authorship. That in *E*, fol. 40<sup>r</sup>, contains the ascription ‘Tho.’, apparently in Wyatt’s or his son’s hand. The copy in *D*, fol. 74<sup>r</sup>, occurs in what Harrier (52-53) described as a Wyatt grouping of lyrics. In Tottel, the poem is printed in the Wyatt section of *T1*, sig. G2<sup>v</sup>, *T2*, sig. H1<sup>r</sup>, and each edition thereafter. Puttenham also printed an excerpt of ll. 3-6 in *A*, sig. 2C2<sup>r</sup>, as an example of the rhetorical figure ‘*Etiologia*, or the Reason render’.

Nott (II.558) identified the source of [7]. The poem is moral in character, and develops the central conceit that the speaker can emerge stronger from his difficulties. As in [6], each distich with the exception of ll. 3-4 presents a different proverbial expression of this idea, here lifted from nature (sun, ship, willow). Wyatt again remains close to Serafino, producing a line-for-line translation; he does, however, invert ll. 3-4 of his source, perhaps to aid the rhyme scheme. Wyatt’s other slight changes serve to render more concrete or intense Serafino’s images: see in particular ll. 2, 6, and 8.

Nott (II.558) dated [7] to 1541, when Wyatt was imprisoned on the charges that he compassed Henry VIII’s death by words and conducted treasonous dealings with Cardinal Pole. Foxwell (II.65) however, favoured the date of Wyatt’s first imprisonment in the Fleet in 1534, which Rollins (II.184) followed. Yet Wyatt takes both the theme of the poem and the first-person perspective from Serafino, and there are weaker grounds for considering the poem to be occasional than Wyatt’s epigrams ‘Off Cartage he’, ‘Tagus farewell’ and ‘Syghes ar my foode’ (M&T: LXXXI, XCIX, CCXLIV). The title appended to [7] poem in *T1-2*, ‘The

<sup>19</sup> I am grateful to Prof. Cathy Shrank for supplying this translation.

louer hopeth of better chance’, classifies [7] as a love poem and removes any occasional implication.

- 1 *I am...fall*] The line perhaps alludes to the proverb ‘He who falls today may rise tomorrow’ (*ODEP*, 242; Tilley, F 38). The earliest date that the *ODEP* cites for the proverb is 1620.
- 2 *the sonn...clowde*] The sense is proverbial (see Tilley, C 442); the line perhaps alludes also to the proverb ‘To be under a cloud’ (*ODEP*, 128; Tilley C 441), i.e., to be out of favour.  
*clowde*] renders Serafino, ‘cele’ (l. 2: ‘sky’, ‘heavens’).
- 4 *I trust...allowde*] Thomson (M&T: 312) points out that the line modifies the phrasing, though not the fundamental sense, of Serafino, ‘spero mi darà el ciel qualche conforto’ (l. 3: ‘I trust the sky will give me some comfort’).
- 5-6 *shipp...when storme*] The distich alludes to the proverb ‘As broken a ship has come to land’ (*ODEP*, 723; Tilley, S 344).
- 5 *into the...fall*] reach the port (‘haven’, *n.*, 1)
- 6 *storme*] renders Serafino, ‘in mar’ (l. 6: ‘in the sea’)  
*both mast...shrowde*] elaborates on Serafino, ‘soe uele’ (l. 6: ‘sails’)  
*shrowde*] a set of ropes, leading from the head of the mast, which formed part of the standard rigging of a ship (‘shroud’, *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 1)
- 7-8 *the willow...bynde*] The couplet alludes to the proverb ‘Willows are weak, yet they bind other wood’ (*ODEP*, 891; Tilley, W 404).
- 7 *stowpith*] stoopeth
- 8 *greater*] As Thomson notes (M&T: 312), Wyatt’s comparative substitutes for Serafino, ‘altri’ (l. 8: ‘other’).

### Collations

- A George Puttenham, *Arte of English Poesie*, sig. 2C2<sup>r</sup>
- D BL, Add. MS 17492, fol. 74<sup>r</sup>
- E BL, Egerton MS 2711, fol. 40<sup>r</sup>
- NA1 *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1769-1775), p. 196
- NA2 *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1779), pp. 254-255
- P BL, Add. MS 36529, fol. 32<sup>r</sup>
- T1 Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes* (Q1), sig. G2<sup>v</sup>

*T2* Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes* (Q2), sig. H1<sup>r</sup>

*P* and *NAI-2* descend independently from the archetype, via a common ancestor (*X*) which demonstrably pre-dates Wyatt's revised copy in *E*. They contain no manifest errors; '& also' in l. 6 reads as slightly redundant, but helps to fill out the decasyllabic line. The first line of *E* converts the first-person perspective, which follows Serafino, into a third-person one. Harrier (152) argued that both this emendation and that in l. 2 of *E* are in Wyatt's own hand. It is improbable, based on the evidence of the other Wyatt poems in *P*, that the Haringtons took their poem directly from *E* but used the uncorrected first line. Their source again was possibly a now-missing witness from *AH* or another 'edited' MS of Wyatt's poems. Lines 2 and 6 in *P* and *NAI-2* have been emended metrically, though the revised version of l. 2 in *TI-2* better accomplishes the move to iambic scansion.

*D* also derives from a witness which was copied before the altered version in *E*, featuring, like *P* and *NAI-2*, a first-person version of l. 1. It otherwise contains no substantive variants from *E*, with the exception of *E*'s error 'stoppeth' in l. 7, which the *OED* does not cite as a spelling variant of 'stoop'. *TI*, on which *T2* is based, contains the third-person l. 1. This suggests that its source may have been a copy descended from *E* (indicated by the dashed line in the stemma below), though it is always possible that Tottel's editor arrived at this reading independently: the third-person l. 1 is clearly more amenable to the general readership at which the printed miscellany was targeted. *TI-2* have three conjunctive errors, rendering them therefore the most corrupt witnesses. These are: 'had' in l. 1 for 'hath', which suggests that the speaker's fall is unrepeatable; 'in' in l. 5 for 'into', which makes the line iambic but implies that the ship may have broken down in the harbour rather than come in for solace; and 'that' in l. 6.

Puttenham's excerpt of ll. 3-6 in *A* shares one variant with *TI-2*: 'in' in l. 5. Puttenham may have taken his text from Tottel, but 'the' in l. 6 is an apparently unique reading found in no other surviving text. Puttenham therefore seems either to have used a different witness to the sonnet which has not survived, misremembered the lines, or revised them himself.

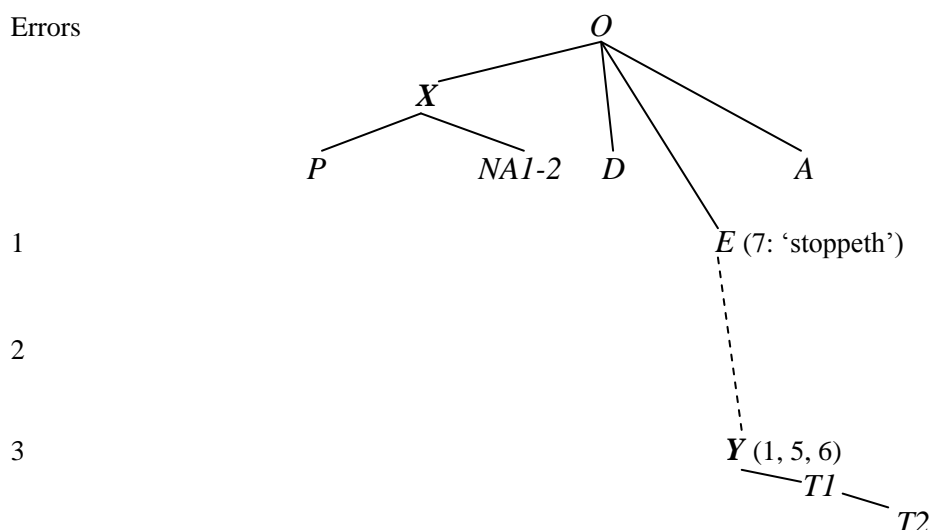
Title The louer hopeth of better chance *TI-2*

1 I am not dead] <I Ame> ^He is^ not ded *E*, He is not dead *TI-2*  
 although I had] <all though I had> ^y<sup>t</sup> sometye hath^ *E*, that sometime had *TI-2*

- 2 returns] retournth *E*; that was hid vnder clowde] that was under the clowde *D E*, that  
 hid was vnder clowd *T1-2*
- 3 her] hr *D*
- 4 shalbe to me] to me shalbe *D E*, to me shall be *T1-2*
- 5 into] in *T1 T2*; the] *om. D E T1-2*
- 6 when storme] after the storme *D E*, After that storme *T1-2*; also] *om. D E T1-2*
- 7 and eke the willow] The willow eke *T1-2*; stowpith] stoppeth *E*

Subscription Tho [in left margin] *E*

Errors



[8]

In addition to *P* and *NAI-NA2*, poem [8] survives in Tottel, where it is printed in the Wyatt section of *T1*, sig. I1<sup>v</sup>, *T2*, sig. I3<sup>v</sup>, and each edition thereafter.

Poem [8] is an epigram on friendship, the central conceit of which contrasts the speaker's erstwhile friends, who have abandoned him during a period of misfortune, and his falcon and its companions, who remain faithful to him. The theme of friendship was a popular one with Tudor writers, including [16] in *P*, the elder Harington's *ottava rima* stanza on Thomas Seymour. Falconry and hawking were common pastimes for gentlemen, and had a strong literary presence. Wyatt himself mentions hawking in [4].75, and printed treatises on rearing and maintaining birds were popular. Both Juliana Berners' *The manere of hawkyngge [and] huntyngge* (1496; STC 3309) and George Turberville's *The Booke of Faulconrie or*

*Hauking* (1575; STC 24324) were reprinted multiple times in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Bates and Mason both explore the wider presence of hunting and falconry in sixteenth-century literature (Bates, 2013: 145-173; Mason, 1977: 281-296).

The poem has no known source and is one of Wyatt's more experimental epigrams in *P*, particularly in his adaptation of the distichs. In ll. 1-6, Wyatt counterpoints the syntactical division of the stanza and its formal division. The sense runs thus: ll 1-3 describes the falcons and ll. 4-5 the speaker's friends; l. 6 is his sardonic observation on the friends' betrayal. The resulting 3+2+1 division of the lines contrasts with the 2+2+2 division suggested by the rhyme scheme, which Wyatt follows in [6] and [7]. Thomson praises [8] as one of Wyatt's more inventive efforts in the form (Thomson, 1964: 235).

Commentators have dated [8] to in or around 1540-1541. Thomson (M&T: 431) suggests that Wyatt most probably composed it in his final imprisonment in 1541. Rollins (II.193) adds that [8] is perhaps Wyatt's response to the fall of his patron, Thomas Cromwell, who was executed on 28 July 1540. Daalder (217) suggests the possibility that Wyatt composed [8] during his imprisonment in 1536 alongside Anne Boleyn and her 'lovers'. He notes that Anne was presented in her Coronation pageants as a white ('faire') falcon.

- 1 *Lukes*] possible pun on 'Lucks'/'Lux' (light)
- 2 *how well...libertie*] i.e., 'how pleasant it would be for you to be free', though Daalder (217) also gives the alternative 'How I would enjoy your liberty'.
- 5 *like lyse...crall*] Mason cites a line from Erasmus' translation of Plutarch's *Moralia* as a possible parallel or source for Wyatt's image: 'Nam pediculi discedunt a morientibus & corpora reliquunt' ('for lice depart from people when they are dying and leave their corpses') (Mason, 1977: 292). Sir Thomas Elyot translated parts of the *Moralia* in *The Educacion or bringinge vp of children*, printed in both 1530 (STC 20056.7) and 1532 (STC 20057), which attest to the interest Plutarch garnered in the early 1530s.
- 6 *profe in...adversytie*] i.e., 'what a test of friendship in merely light adversity' ('proof', *n.*, 6). Mason notes a parallel line in Elyot's *The Bankette of Sapience*: 'The potters wheele is tryed in the fourneysse, and good men be proued in tyme of aduersitie' (1539; STC 7630, sig. B1<sup>r</sup>).
- 7 *belles*] Falcons often had bells attached to each leg by means of a leather strap or buckle.

Collations

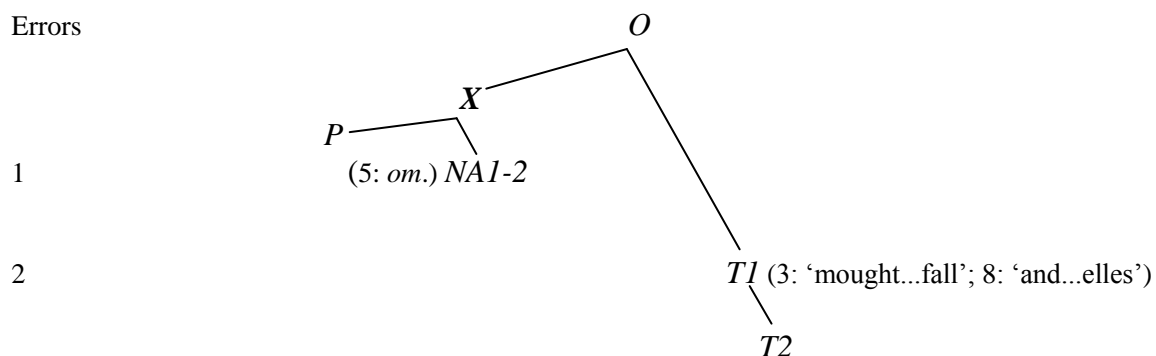
- NA1* *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1769-1775), p. 196  
*NA2* *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1779), p. 254  
*P* BL, Add. MS 36529, fol. 32<sup>v</sup>  
*T1* Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes* (Q1), sig. I1<sup>v</sup>  
*T2* Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes* (Q2), sig. I3<sup>v</sup>

*P* and *NA1-2* descend independently of *T1-2*. *P* is the best text of the surviving witnesses, with no manifest errors. In addition to their common ancestor with *P*, *NA1-2* possibly pass down from from a further intermediary (indicated by the dashed line in the stemma below), which transmitted one possible error, ‘Luck’ in l. 1, and one certain one, the omission of ‘thei’ in l. 5. In the first of these, the spelling elides the potential pun on ‘Lux’; in the second, the omission deprives the line of a syllable. *T1-2* have two conjunctive errors: ‘fall’ in l. 3, unless it is an aphetic form of ‘befall’; and the phrase ‘and very... else’ in l. 8, which makes that line catalectic.

Title Of such as had forsaken him. *T1-2*

- 1 Luckes] Lux *T1-2*, Luck *NA1-2*  
yo<sup>r</sup>] thy *T1-2*  
3 might ye befall] mought you fall *T1-2*  
5 thei] *om.* *NA1-2*  
8 and so be but few elles] and very few elles *T1-2*

Errors



## [9]

In addition to *P* and *NAI-2*, poem [9] survives in two other copies: Trinity College, Dublin MS 160, fol. 72<sup>r</sup> (*B*); and Tottel, where it is printed in the Wyatt section of *TI*, sig. II<sup>v</sup>, *T2*, sig. I3<sup>v</sup>, and each edition thereafter. *B* is the Blage manuscript, a miscellany of Henrician verse for which Helen Baron identified John Mantell as the principal scribe (Baron, 1989: 85-119). Mantell apparently entered a series of poems between *c.* 1534 and 1541, before the MS was taken up by George Blage, an associate of both Wyatt and Surrey, who compiled a further section of poems between *c.* 1545 and his death in 1551/2.<sup>20</sup> In M&T, Muir considered *B* the second most important Wyatt MS behind *E*, and accepted many anonymous poems from *B* as Wyatt's (M&T: xii-xiii). Subsequent commentators, such as Daalder (1975) have revised many of these attributions.

Poem [9] is the first of two Wyatt epigrams on love in *P*, and marks a shift from the moral tone of [6]-[8]. The poem describes the speaker's ideal beloved in ll. 1-5 before the *volta* of the couplet reveals that his goal is to 'knyt agayn' the knot of a relationship, perhaps with a reference to marriage. Foxwell (II.76) notes that the epigram constitutes one of Wyatt's only descriptions of a woman. The poem has no known source and, like [8], is one of Wyatt's more experimental epigrams in his adaptation of the distichs. Thomson comments that Wyatt fragments the 2+2+2 division through varying the length of his phrases, as in ll. 6 and 7 (Thomson: 1964, 236-237). He also introduces enjambment to cross the distich break in ll. 4 and 5. The elder Harington appears to mimic [9]. in his sonnet 'A boy that should content me wondrous well', which survives in *AH*, fol. 130<sup>v</sup> (Hughey, 1971: A II).

E. K. Chambers suggested that [9] is a portrait of Elizabeth Darrell, Wyatt's long-time mistress and one-time maid to Katherine of Aragon, for whom Wyatt left his wife Elizabeth Brooke, daughter of Lord Cobham (Chambers, 1965: 141). This would date the poem before Wyatt's release from imprisonment in 1541 for, according to the Emperor's Ambassador Eustace Chapuys, a condition of his pardon was that he return to his wife, 'from whom he had been separated for upwards of fifteen years' ('Wyatt, Sir Thomas, the elder', *ODNB*).

1        *wonders*] wonderful

2        *louelie*] Rebholz (381) suggests that the adjective designates a homelier kind of beauty from the woman who is 'faire'.

<sup>20</sup> For Blage's relationship with Surrey, see Headnote to [55], [57].



- 3 *cheare*] appearance, disposition, with a probable pun on ‘face’ (‘cheer’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1; 2a; 3a)
- 4 *sober*] moderate, dignified (‘sober’, *adj.*, 1c; 5a)  
*wold*] desire, intend (‘will’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, II, 22; 23)
- 6 *crisped*] curled (‘crisped’, *adj.*, 1)
- 7 *witt*] wisdom, and perhaps also ‘liveliness’ (‘wit’, *n.*, 5a; 7)  
*might chaunce...tyde*] i.e., ‘it might happen that I might be tied...’.
- 8 *and knyht...slide*] The line perhaps alludes to an earlier version of the proverb ‘Where the knot is loose the string slips’ (*ODEP*, 433; Tilley, K 169). The earliest date the *ODEP* cites for the proverb is 1620. Rebholz (381) notes that the knot is a recurring image in Wyatt’s canon.

### Collations

- B* Trinity College, Dublin, MS 160, fol. 72<sup>r</sup>
- NA1* *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1769-1775), pp. 195-196
- NA2* *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1779), pp. 253-254
- P* BL, Add. MS 36529, fol. 32<sup>v</sup>
- T1* Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes* (Q1), sig. I1<sup>v</sup>
- T2* Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes* (Q2), sig. I3<sup>v</sup>

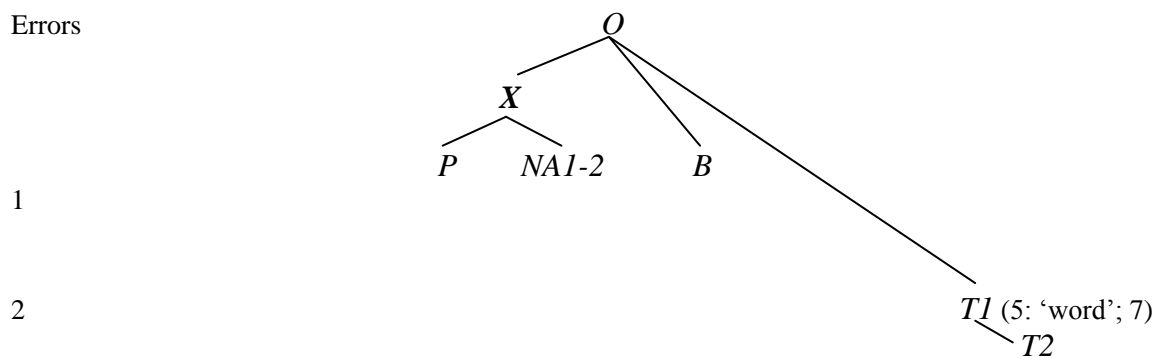
*P* and *NA1-2* descend independently from the archetype. Alongside *B*, they contain no manifest errors, but arguably have a superior reading to *B* in l. 7, where ‘thus might chance’ completes a stronger transition into the couplet than *B*’s ‘these myght chance’. Mason argued that both readings are erroneous, and posited instead the emended reading ‘may chance I to be tied’ (Mason, 1972: 135-136). Rebholz (381), however, suggested that Mason overlooks ‘the gain in tentativeness from the impersonal construction’.

*T2* is clearly based on *T1*, with which it shares two errors: ‘word’ in l. 5 for ‘words’, and ‘tride’ in l. 7 for ‘tyde’, the second a possible misprint which introduces a legal meaning into the line, or at least a sense that the speaker is being tested. As Rollins (I.279) notes, it was retained in later editions of Tottel.

Title A description of such a one as he would loue. *T1-2*

- 1 wonders] wond'rous *NA1 NA2*, wonderous *T1-2*  
 2 louelie] cumley *B*  
 3 w<sup>t</sup> gladsome cheare] Wyth gladsum loke *B*, Of lively loke *T1-2*; expell] repell *T1-2*  
 4 w<sup>t</sup> sober lookes] With sober chere *B*, With right good grace *T1-2*  
 5 wordes] word *T1-2*  
 6 the] Her *T2*  
 7 thus might chaunce] these myght chance *B*, these perchance *T1-2*; tyde] tryde *T1-2*  
 8 the] with *T1-2*

Errors



[10]

In addition to *P* and *NA1-2*, poem [10] survives in three other copies, all of which suggest Wyatt's authorship. That in *E*, fol. 32<sup>r</sup>; contains the ascription 'Tho.', apparently in Wyatt's or his son's hand. The copy in *D*, fol. 35<sup>v</sup>, occurs in what Harrier (46-47) described as a Wyatt grouping of poems and is subscribed 'w' by the scribal hand. In Tottel, the poem is printed in the Wyatt section of *T1*, sigs E4<sup>v</sup>-F1<sup>r</sup>, *T2*, sig. F3<sup>r-v</sup>, and each edition thereafter.

Poem [10] is the second of two epigrams on love. The central conceit establishes a comparison between a man who starts back at the sight of an adder and 'gelosy's' reaction to the sight of the speaker and his beloved. Wyatt's separation of the couplet from the distichs give it a summative force typical of some of his lighter epigrams. Compare 'Alas madame for stelynge of a kysse' and 'What nedeth thes thretning wordes and wasted wynde' (M&T: XLIV, XLVIII).

Although [10] in general has no known source, the image of the man encountering an adder has a long classical heritage. In Homer's *Iliad*, Alexander recoils from Menelaus as if from a snake (3.33-36), as does the Greek soldier Androgeos from a Trojan band of warriors in Book 2 of Virgil's *Aeneid*, (2.378-382). The precise source of Wyatt's image is unknown. Thomson (M&T: 304) suggested that Wyatt perhaps took it from Virgil. Koepfel proposes, with caution, Ariosto's *Orlando Furioso*, 1.11, (Koepfel, 1889: 77-78).

Foxwell (II.61) accepted the Ariosto suggestion, as did Rollins (II.172). Berdan and Thomson both reject it, yet there are plausible grounds for Koepfel's hypothesis (Berdan, 1920: 456-457; Thomson, 1964: 280). Ariosto enjoyed a high reputation in Wyatt's lifetime, and Wyatt was a known reader, using Ariosto's *I sette Salmi* for his paraphrase of the penitential psalms. This in itself, however, does not shed light on Wyatt's sources in [10]. Although *Orlando Furioso* is in *ottava rima*, it is more probable that Wyatt's formal inspiration, as elsewhere in his epigrams, is Serafino.

1 *gadling*] wanderer, vagabond ('gadling', *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 3); the *OED* cites this sense of the noun as Wyatt's coinage.

2 *the adder...foote*] Surrey alludes to these lines in his translation of the Androgeos episode in Book 2 of the *Aeneis* (1557; STC 24798):

Like him that, wandring in the bushes thicke  
Tredes on the adder with his rechlesse foote,  
Rered for wrath, swelling his specked neck,  
Dismayed, geves back al sodenly for fere:  
Androgeus so, feard of that sight, stept back.

(sigs B3<sup>v</sup>-B4<sup>r</sup>)

*retchles*] reckless

4 *gelosy*] jealousy; the reading is peculiar to *P* and *NAI*-2.

*boote*] profit, advantage ('boot', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 3)

6 *cropp and roote*] The 'cropp' is the topmost part of a plant and the 'root' the remainder, with the implication that the beloved is vital to the whole of the speaker's wellbeing. Compare Chaucer, *T&C*, 2.348-50:

And ye, that ben of beaute crop and roote,  
If therwithal in yow ther be no routhe,  
Than is it harm ye lyven, by my trouthe!

7 *a grace*] a fate, fortune ('grace', *n.*, 10)

8        *wight*] man ('wight', *n.*, 2a)

### Collations

- D*        BL, Add. MS 17492, fol. 35<sup>v</sup>  
*E*        BL, Egerton MS 2711, fol. 32<sup>r</sup>  
*NA1*     *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1769-1775), p. 195  
*NA2*     *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1779), p. 253  
*P*        BL, Add. MS 36529, fol. 32<sup>v</sup>  
*T1*       Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes* (Q1), sigs E4<sup>v</sup>-F1<sup>r</sup>  
*T2*       Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes* (Q2), sig. F3<sup>r-v</sup>

*P* and *NA1-2* descend independently from the archetype, via a common ancestor (*X*) which transmitted one conjunctive error: 'me to have' in l. 7 against 'me then to have' in *E*, *D*, and *T1-2*. The additional 'then' in the other copies complements 'when' in l. 5, and adds a syllable which is missing from *P* and *NA1-2*. In addition to their common ancestor with *P*, *NA1-2* possibly pass down from from a further intermediary (indicated by the dashed line in the stemma below), which transmitted the error 'restlesse' in l. 2 for 'rechlesse'; this is a probable scribal corruption. It is again possible that *X* is a now-missing witness from *AH* or another 'edited' MS of Wyatt poems. Lines 4 and 8 in *P* and *NA1-2* have been emended metrically in an effort to bring these lines closer to iambic scansion.

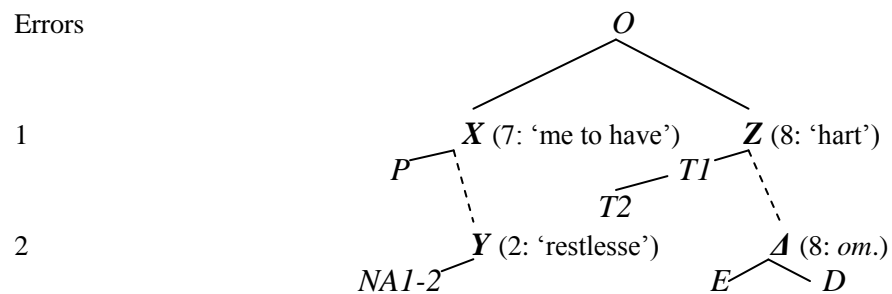
*E*, *D*, and *T1-2* all derive from a hypothetical ancestor on a separate line of descent (*Z*) which transmitted at least one error in l. 8. This is 'hart', for which 'wight' in *P* and *NA1-2* is arguably a superior reading. The second conjunctive error which this source may have passed down is the omission of 'had' in l. 8 of *E* and *D*. Neither *T1* nor *T2*, which are clearly related, contain this misreading, which suggests one of two possibilities. First, *T1* may have corrected the error independently, or *E* and *D* descend from an additional ancestor (*A*) which was not common to *T1-2* (this is indicated by a second dashed line in the stemma below). Overall, the Tottel copies are jointly the best of the surviving witnesses alongside *P*. Harrier argued that the correction in l. 1 of *E* is in Wyatt's own hand (Harrier, 1975: 140). *D* contains one probable error independent of the other surviving copies with 'I Alous' instead of 'Ialous' in l. 4. However, the spelling does not necessarily connote that the *D* scribe regarded 'I' and 'Alous' as discrete words.

Title Of the Ielous man that loued the same woman and espied this other sitting with her.  
*T1-2*

1 gadling] <galdyng> ^gadlyng^ *E*  
 2 retchles] restlesse *NAI-2*  
 4 as did gelosy] as I Alous dyspyte Dyd *D*, as Ialous dispite did *E T1-2*  
 7 me to have] me then to have *D E T1-2*  
 8 the] that *D E*; wight] hart *D E T1-2*; had] *om. D E*

Subscription w *D*, Tho [in left margin] *E*

Errors



## [11]-[12]

## POEMS PROBABLY BY SIR THOMAS WYATT

Poems [11] and [12] are love laments for which Wyatt is the probable author. Like [5]-[10], Henry Harington printed copies of them as Sonnets ‘VIII’ and ‘IX’ in *NAI*, I, pp. 194 and 195, and *NA2*, III, pp. 252 and 252-253. Here they appeared alongside copies of [13] and [14] in *P*, entitled Sonnets ‘VI’ and ‘VII’. This means that these four poems in *NAI-2* are in reverse order to their arrangement in *P*, and are sandwiched between the copies of [5] and [6]-[10]. As with those shorter Wyatt poems, Hughey (I.23) conjectured that the *NA* copies of [11]-[12], and [13]-[14], descend from lost originals in *AH*, perhaps from the Wyatt grouping. She printed the poems, from *NAI*, in Appendix II of her edition of *AH* (I: 381-382).

Hughey (I.23) described [11]-[12] as ‘of unknown authorship, but of the Tottel school’. However, the evidence for Wyatt’s authorship of them is compelling, if not incontrovertible. Hand A appears to have copied the two poems during the same sitting that he completed [9]-[10], and they have been bound next to the sequence of Wyatt lyrics. Given the Haringtons apparently author-centred arrangement of groupings in *P*, it is probable that they either knew that [11]-[12] were Wyatt compositions or were prepared to attribute them to him. Both M&T and Rebholz accept [11] and [12] as doubtful Wyatt poems (M&T: CCXLII, CCXLIII; Rebholz: CLXIII, CLXXIII).

In both content and style, [11] and [12] are reminiscent of Wyatt. Poem [11] is a loose rendering of Petrarch’s *Rima* 84, a sonnet in which the speaker stages a dialogue with his eyes over leading his heart to peril. The poet removes these metaphysical trappings and sharpens the tone of blame; both such manoeuvres are typical of Wyatt’s translations from Petrarch. For [12], which has no known source, the evidence for Wyatt’s authorship is linguistic. [12].6 contains a clash of pronouns which reads ‘that my self my self dispyse’. This stylistic quirk is also in l. 6 of Wyatt’s sonnet ‘The piller pearisht is whearto I lent’: ‘And I my self my self alwayes to hate’ (M&T: CCXXXVI). If [12] is not the work of Wyatt, it is possible that the poet had this sonnet in mind.

The principal argument against Wyatt’s authorship of [11] and [12] is formal. Both poems are composed in forms which Wyatt is not known to have used. Poem [11] comprises twelve lines which are organised into a rhyme scheme of *abba abcc bcdd*. This is an unusual form for which the *Index* does not cite another user. The terminal couplet gives [11] the feel of a condensed sonnet. Although the couplet was Wyatt’s introduction to the sonnet, it is a common enough feature of more established metres in English (such as rhyme royal), to

mean it cannot be diagnostic of his authorship. The abrupt transition in rhymes in ll. 5-8 are more suggestive of those in both [13]-[14] and [19]-[31] than Wyatt's rhyme schemes. Like [11], these are all also translations of Petrarch particular to Harington MSS, and have a probable Harington provenance.<sup>21</sup>

Poem [12] is a shorter poem of eight lines, and is an octosyllabic version of *ottava rima*. This too is an unusual but not unattested form: The *Index* cites four later examples between 1555 and 1603: 'Suche grene to me as you have sent', in *T1*, sig. *Z2<sup>f</sup>*, and *T2*, sig. *U3<sup>f</sup>*; a poem from Henry Wotton's *A Courtlie controuersie of Cupids Cautels* (1578; STC 5647), sig. *S3<sup>f</sup>*; a poem from the Countess of Pembroke's paraphrase of the Psalter, which survives in four MS copies;<sup>22</sup> and a Thomas Watson poem for which William Byrd wrote music in *The first sett, of Italian Madrigalls Englished* (1590; STC 25119), sigs *B4<sup>v</sup>-C1<sup>r</sup>*.<sup>23</sup> It is more probable that Wyatt would have experimented with the form of [12] than with [11], given his widespread use of decasyllabic *ottava rima* (e.g. in [6]-[10]). Wyatt also composed octosyllabic versions of forms which tended otherwise to be decasyllabic. Compare 'What wourde is that that chaungeth not' and 'Dryven by Desire I Dyd this Dede', both in octosyllabic rhyme royal (M&T: L, CXXVIII). Despite the unusual forms of [11] and [12], their closeness in other respects to Wyatt's verse indicate that the poems are either his work or that of a poet imitating his style.

## [11]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 84

"Occhi, piangete, accompagnate il core  
che di vostro fallir morte sostiene."—  
"Così sempre facciamo, et ne convene  
lamentar più l'altrui che 'l nostro errore."—

"Già prima ebbe per voi l'entrata Amore  
là onde ancor come in suo albergo vene."— [5]

<sup>21</sup> The authorship of poems [13]-[14] and [19]-[31], and their possible Harington authorship, are discussed in the [13]-[14] Headnote and [19]-[31] Headnote respectively.

<sup>22</sup> The four MS copies are as follows: BL, Add. MS 12047, fols 94<sup>v</sup>-95<sup>f</sup>; BL, Add. MS 46372, fol. 103<sup>f</sup>; BL, Harley MS 2127, fol. 66<sup>f</sup>; and the Tixall MS, fols. 127<sup>v</sup>-128<sup>f</sup>.

<sup>23</sup> Wotton's *strambotto/ottava rima* poem is 'Conceiued sith Dame Venus was'; The Countess of Pembroke's poem is 'Night seated where the river flows' (modern spelling); and the poem possibly by Watson is 'This sweet & merry [merry] month of May'. The & catalogue numbers in the *Index* are, respectively, EV 4921, EV 15797, and EV 25713.

“Noi gli apriamo la via per quella spene  
che mosse dentro da colui che more.”—

“Non son, come a voi par, le ragion pari,  
ché pur voi foste ne la prima vista  
del vostro et del suo mal contanto avari.”— [10]

“Or questo è quel che più ch’ altro n’ atrista:  
che’ perfetti giudicii son sì rari,  
et d’ altrui colpa altrui biasmo s’ acquista.”

[“Eyes, weep; accompany the heart, which suffers death through your fault.”—“Thus we always do, and we must lament another’s error more than our own.”—

“Love through you first had entrance and still comes as if to his dwelling.”—“We opened the way to him because of the hope that stirred within him who is now dying.”—

“The claims are not, as they seem to you, equal, for you were still most greedy, in that first sight, for your harm and his.”—

“Now this is what saddens us more than anything: that perfect judgements are so rare, and is one is blamed for another’s fault.”]

Poem [11] is a loose imitation of *Rima* 84. Whereas ll. 1-3 offer a close translation of Petrarch, the remaining nine lines expand on the speaker’s attempt to blame his eyes for his plight and to pardon the heart. The poet of [11] omits the metaphysical dialogue the speaker holds with his eyes in Petrarch, giving the eyes’ counter-accusation no voice. Instead, the speaker intensifies the accusation he levels against his eyes, and adds two prophecies of suffering, ll. 6-8 and 11-12, which are absent from Petrarch. The abandonment of the dialogic form and addition of blame both suggest Wyatt’s authorship.

- 1 *Playn]* weep, lament (‘plain’, *v.*, 2a); the verb renders Petrarch, ‘piangete’ (84.1: ‘weep’).  
*my neyes]* mine eyes
- 3 *ye brought...band]* condenses Petrarch, 84.5-6, but does not fully elaborate on Petrarch’s familiar argument that love enters through the eyes  
*him]* the heart  
*band]* bondage, imprisonment (‘band’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a; 1b)
- 4 *harme]* perhaps ‘charme’; there is a character before ‘h’, but it is partially written over. Hand A may have begun to write a ‘c’ before abandoning it.
- 9 *brand]* burning, torch (‘brand’, *n.*, 1; 2)
- 10 *withe such...might]* The syntax is elliptical; Rebholz (498) notes that two interpretations of the line are possible: ‘with a desire of such intensity that it afflicts



(‘strains’) the heart beyond the power of the eyes alone to afflict the heart; *or* with a desire of such power that it raises the fire in the heart to an intensity beyond that which the eyes alone could produce.’

11-12 *his...his*] its...its

### Collations

*P* has three minor orthographical variants from *NA1-2*. In addition, *NA2* commits the single error ‘mystic’ for ‘mistie’ in l. 8, which is almost certainly a misprint.

1        my neyes] myne eyes *NA1-2*  
 6        ye be] you be *NA1-2*  
 8        mistie] mystic *NA2*  
 12       ye] you *NA1-2*

### [12]

Poem [12] is a love lament structured around the phrase ‘I see’/‘I se’. The poet repeats the phrase in ll. 1, 3, 5, and 8. Throughout the poem, ‘see’ doubles to mean both the act of seeing and the more figurative act of apprehending, or acknowledging (‘see’, *v.*, 1a; 3a). The hard-bitten tone of [12] suggests Wyatt’s authorship.

1-2     *I see...eyes*] The syntax is elliptical; the lines mean: ‘I see my plaint is heard, alas, with open ears and laughing eyes’  
 2        *hard*] heard  
 3-4     *I see...devyse*] The syntax permits two interpretations: (i) ‘I see that scorn behold my tears and all the harms devised by fortune’; (ii) ‘I see that scorn and hap, with all the harms it can devise, beholds my tears’  
 4        hap] chance, fortune (‘hap’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)  
 7        *and most...stryve*] i.e., ‘the thing wherewith I strive the most’

### Collations

There are no substantive variants between *P* and *NA1-2*.

## [13]-[14]

## POEMS POSSIBLY BY JOHN HARINGTON OF STEPNEY (1517x20-1582)

Poems [13] and [14] possibly constitute the first of four groupings by John Harington of Stepney in *P* alongside [16]-[18], [19]-[31], and [60]-[63].<sup>24</sup> They are eighteen-line translations of Petrarch's *Rima* 136, 'Fiamma dal ciel', and *Rima* 138, 'Fontana di dolore'. With *Rima* 137, 'L'avara Babilonia', *Rime* 136 and 138 are traditionally classified as Petrarch's 'Babylon' sonnets, so named because the poems reflect his bitter relationship with the papal Curia at Avignon, which Petrarch depicts, via allusions to the vengeful words of the biblical prophets, as a hotbed of vice and the site of a new Babylon. The papal Curia relocated from Rome between 1309 to 1376 on account of a dispute between the Papacy and the French crown. No earlier known sixteenth-century English translations of *Rime* 136 and 138 survive, though Surrey excerpts lines from them in [34], his satire on London. Thomas Howell rendered *Rima* 136 into English as a longer poem in sixains in *H. His Deuices* (1581; STC 13875), sig. M4<sup>r-v</sup>; George Gilpin translated *Rima* 138 in the anti-Catholic tract *The Bee hiue of the Romishe Church* (1579; STC 17445), sig. 2T5<sup>r-v</sup>, and each edition thereafter.

Poems [13] and [14] are apparently unique to *P* among sixteenth-century MS and printed sources. They thus compare with [19]-[25] and [27]-[31], the other sonnet translations from Petrarch in *P*. The separation of [13] and [14] from this sequence indicates possibly that the two poems have a different translator from their counterparts. In *P*, [13] and [14] are situated after the possible Wyatt poems [11] and [12]; Hand A copied each of these poems, with two blank leaves separating them. The copies of [13] and [14] in *NAI*, I, pp. 192-193 and 193-194, and *NA2*, pp. 249-250 and 250-251, are also grouped together with the doubtful Wyatt pieces [11] and [12]. However, for reasons presented below, Wyatt is almost certainly not the author of [13] and [14]. Hughey (I.380-381) printed the two translations, from *NAI*, in Appendix I of her edition of *AH*

### Source

*Rime* 136 and 138 were both included in Petrarch's vernacular MSS Chigi L.V.176 and Vat. Lat. 3195, but their significance and meaning altered in the sixteenth century due to their

<sup>24</sup> For a discussion of [13]-[14] as a possible Harington grouping, see Vol. I, p. 29.

relocation in Alessandro Vellutello's edition of Petrarch, *Il Petrarca* (1525). As Andrew W. Taylor notes, this appears to have been the main edition available to English readers, and Vellutello's influence on [13] and [14] is almost certain (Taylor, 2006b: 446-453). Vellutello rearranged the 'Babylon' sonnets: he retained *Rime* 136 and 138 but removed *Rima* 137, substituting in its place *Rima* 114 ([25] in *P*). Vellutello also printed his configuration of the 'Babylon' sonnets alongside letters from Petrarch's *Epistolæ sine Nomine* ('Letters without Name'). This little-known collection of letters to anonymous recipients also contained excoriating attacks on the papal Curia at Avignon. Vellutello's changes emphasised the anti-Curial content of the 'Babylon' sonnets and prompted Protestant reinterpretations of them, for which Mason notes the pamphlet *Stanze del Berna con tre sonetti del Petrarca* (1554), which has been assigned to Pier Paulo Vergerio ('Hilario') (Mason, 1959: 243). Although Vellutello is the most probable influence on [13]-[14], it is unknown whether his influence filtered to the translator through intermediaries such as the *Stanze del Berna*.

### **Note on the Poems in *P*: Dating and Authorship**

Both the content of [13] and [14] and their rhetorical and stylistic qualities suggest a mid-Tudor provenance, with a date range range of composition spanning *c.* 1550s-1560s. The two poems were composed late enough to contribute to the Protestant vogue for reworking the 'Babylon' sonnets. In both, Petrarch's anti-Curialism and call for moral reform of the Catholic church are redirected into strong anti-Catholic polemic. The pieces may therefore be approximately contemporary with the *Stanze del Berna*. Internal evidence in the translations may also support this speculation. In [13], ll. 14-15 allude possibly to the dissolution of the monasteries being 'but late', though this could be a scribal error. In [14], l. 17 predicts that Constantine's heirs will 'teare' the 'seat' of Catholicism in language suggestive of the iconoclasm which John N. King has discussed in Edward VI's reign (King, 1982: 144-160).

Kenneth Muir and Anthony Mortimer both assigned [13] and [14] to John Harington of Stepney on the basis of their presence in *P* (Muir, 1950: 464-471; Mortimer, 2002: 17). There are reasonable grounds for the attribution. In addition to the fact each of the 'Harington' groupings in *P* survive in family miscellanies alone, there are also similarities in theme, metre and form between their constituent poems. With [17] and [18], [13] and [14] share a polemical thrust, the first pair being of the same general type as Thomas Churchyard's *Dauy Dycars Dreame* (1552?; STC 5225). With [19]-[31] and [60] in particular, [13] and [14] share the combination of generally regular accentual-syllabic scansion and experimental verse

forms. This combination is a distinguishing feature of the surviving poems of both the elder Harington and Sir John. Hughey assigns two sonnets to the the elder Harington with adventurous rhyme schemes: his sonnet on Sir Thomas Semyour, ‘Of person Rare, Stronge Lymbes, and manly shapp’ (*abab ccdd bcdb ee*), and ‘Marvaylous be thie matcheles gyftes of mynde’ (*abab cbcd eded ff*).<sup>25</sup> Poems [13] and [14] have similarly complex schemes. The first, [13], has a scheme of *abba babb aabc bcbc dd*; [14] has a scheme of *abba baba bbac acca dd*.

The *Index* cites no other users of these two rhyme schemes in the sixteenth century. Wyatt is almost certainly discounted as the translator: none of his known translations from Petrarch are eighteen lines in length, and [13] and [14] would be atypical of both his style and subject matter. It may be possible to consider [13] and [14] as extended sonnets given the mid-Tudor latitude in the definition of the form (see Shrank, 2008b: 45-62). Thomas Watson experimented with an eighteen-line sonnet form in his sequence *The hekatompathia or Passionate centurie of loue* (1582; STC 25118a). However, his version, which rhymes *ababcc dedeff ghghii*, amounts to three combined sixains and is thus far less experimental than those of [13] and [14].

There are two principal arguments against the elder Harington’s authorship of [13] and [14]. First, his known verse contains no similarly anti-Catholic vitriol, though his friendship with several important Protestant humanists was well established. Harington’s antipathy towards Stephen Gardiner, the subject of [62] in *P*, appears to have been personal rather than specifically doctrinal in origin. Second, there is a marked parallel between the terminal couplet in [14] and ll. 4-5 in the first stanza of Sir Thomas Chaloner’s tragedy of Richard II in the 1559 edition of the *Myrroure* (STC 1247) and all editions thereafter. The two couplets are as follows:

Chaloner	For who so renteth ryght and law a sunder On him at length, loe, all the world shall wunder.	(1559, sig. E2 <sup>v</sup> )
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Translator	for thy great pride shall teare thy seat a sonder and scourge the so that all the world shall wonder	([14].17-18)
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An EEBO search indicates that the collocation ‘a sonder’/‘wonder’ was not common, and the parallel phrasing in the second line of both couplets is marked. However, the shared rhyme does not point necessarily to Chaloner’s authorship of [13] and [14], though the inclusion of

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<sup>25</sup> For transcriptions of these two sonnets, see Appendices 3 and 4 in this Vol.

[1] in *P* indicates that Harington had access to at least some of his poems. It is possible that both poets took the rhyme from a common source and refashioned it, or that the translator of [14] used Chaloner as a source. Harington's authorship of [13] and [14] poems is not as probable as it is for [17]-[18] and [19]-[31], though he remains the chief candidate. This edition treats [13] and [14] as anonymous in the absence of a more conclusive attribution.

## [13]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 136:

Fiamma dal Ciel su le tue treccie piova,  
malvagia che dal fiume et da le ghiande  
per l'altrui impoverir se' ricca et grande,  
poi che di mal oprar tanto ti giova,

nido di tradimenti in cui si cova [5]  
quanto mal per lo mondo oggi si spande,  
de vin serva, di letti, et di vivande,  
in cui lussuria fa l'ultima prova!

Per le camere tue fanciulle et vecchi [10]  
vanno trespando, et Belzebùb in mezzo  
co' mantici et col foco et co li specchi.

Già non fostu nudrita in piume al rezzo,  
ma nuda al vento et sclaza fra gli stecchi;  
or vivi sì ch' a Dio ne venga il lezzo.

['May fire from Heaven rain down on your tresses, wicked one, since doing ill pleases you so, who after eating achorns and drinking from the river have become rich and great by making others poor,

nest of treachery, where is hatched whatever evil is spread through the world today, slave of wine, bed and food, in whom intemperance shows its utmost power!

Through your chambers young girls and old men go frisking, and Beelzebub in the midst with the bellows and fire and mirrors.

And you were not brought up amid pillows in the shade, but naked to the wind and barefoot among the thorns; now you live in such a way—may the stink of it reach God!']

Poem [13] sharpens Petrarch's condemnation of the papal Curia at Avignon into strong anti-Catholic polemic. The translation retains Petrarch's general call for retribution, but the translator adds lines in ll. 6-7, 10, and 14-15 which make further charges against the Catholic Church. That in ll. 14-15 possibly alludes to the dissolution of the monasteries, which Henry

VIII sponsored, and Thomas Cromwell principally oversaw, between 1536 and 1541 ('Cromwell, Thomas', *ODNB*). This programme requisitioned the land and buildings of monastic sites and appropriated their gold, to which 'pore thow...golde' may make reference. *NAI-2* have a different and perhaps more authoritative version of this line, however, which deprives it of this connotation. In l. 16, the translator also adds the charge of 'pride', and places 'plenty' alongside Beelzebub as a ruling figure of the corrupt clergymen in l. 12. As an abstraction, this figure recalls the personifications common in secular as well as ecclesiastical court satire. Compare those in John Skelton's *Magnyfycence* (c. 1520).

- 1-2 *hoore...of Babylon*] renders more concrete Petrarch, 'malvagia' (136.2: 'wicked one'). The whore of Babylon features in Revelation 17 and 18; her name is given in 17:5: 'And in her forhed was a name written, a mistery: greate Babilon the mother of whordome, and abhominacions of the earth' (*Bible*, sig. 2T3<sup>v</sup>).
- 2 *fold*] enclosure, hence 'flock' ('fold', *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 1b)
- 3 *achorns and...cold*] Durling notes that this was the traditional fare of the Golden Age, the first epoch in the Ages of Man, after which has been the Silver, Bronze, Heroic, and (present) Iron age (1976: 280). Here, it characterises the poverty of the primitive Church.
- 5 *tresons*] probably 'treachery's' ('treason', *n.*, 1a)
- 8 *that chastety...sold*] i.e., 'that hath sold chastity'; the subject, as in [13].6-13 as a whole, is the Church ('tresons nest') in [13].5.
- 11 *pallays*] palace
- 13 *rayne*] reign
- 16 *on*] one
- 17 *a brode*] abroad, over a wide area, in public ('abroad', *adv.*, 1a; 3a; 2)

### Collations

*NAI-2* have one conjunctive error in their omission of 'on' in l. 10, which deprives the line of a syllable. The variant version of l. 15 in *P*, which reads 'art' against 'weart' in *NAI-2* is a probable error. Whereas in *P*, the present tense of the verb apparently alludes to the dissolution of the monasteries, who are now 'pore' without 'land or golde', in *NAI/NA2* the past tense refers to the poverty of the primitive Church. The second reading is closer to Petrarch, and the *P* reading creates a *non sequitur* with l. 16, which describes the continued

wealth of the Church. It is possible that the scribe, Hand A, introduced this reading deliberately with the aim of recalling, and indulging in, the ruinous impact of the dissolutions.

4 are] Art *NAI NA2*  
 10 on] *om. NA2*  
 15 art] *wear* *NAI NA2*

[14]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 138:

Fontana di dolore, albergo d'ira,  
 scola d'errori et templo d'eresia,  
 già Roma or Babilonia falsa et ria,  
 per cui tanto si piange et si sospira,

o fucina d'inganni, o pregon dira [5]  
 ove 'l ben more e 'l mal si nutre et cria,  
 di vivi inferno: un gran miracol fia  
 se Cristo teco alfine non s'adira.

Fondata in casta et umil povertate, [10]  
 contra' tuoi fondatori alzi le corna,  
 putta sfacciata! Et dove ài posto spene?

Negli adulteri tuoi, ne le mal nate  
 ricchezze tante? or Constantin non torna.  
 Ma tolga il mondo tristo che 'l sostene!

[‘Fountain of sorrow, dwelling of wrath, school of errors, and temple of heresy, once Rome, now false wicked Babylon, for whom there is so much weeping and sighing: O foundry of deceits, cruel prison where good dies and evil is created and nourished, a hell for the living: it will be a great miracle if Christ does not finally show his anger against you.

Founded in chaste and humble poverty, against your founders you lift your horns, you shameless whore! And where have you placed your hopes?

In your adulterers, in your ill-gotten riches that are so great? Constantine will not come back now. But since Hell shelters him, may it carry you off, too!']

As in [13], the translator of [14] redirects Petrarch's specifically-targetted anti-Curialism into fervent anti-Catholic polemic. The translation retains Petrarch's catalogue of descriptions in ll. 1-2, though changes his referent Babylon (Avignon) to the 'Pope', as figurehead of the corrupt Church. The translator also adds the charges of 'hipocrasy' (l. 3) and 'Idolatrie' (l. 7),

the second of which scores a doctrinal point. Protestants condemned the Catholic practice of using religious icons and other images as objects of worship. Lines 9 and 17-18, also the translator's insertions, give the poem a more prophetic tone than in Petrarch, appropriating a voice comparable to the biblical prophets Isaiah, Jeremiah, or Ezekiel. The terminal couplet is also original, and replaces Petrarch's difficult final line. For the shared collocation between this couplet and one in Sir Thomas Chaloner's tragedy on Richard II in the *Myrrour*, see the Headnote to [13]-[14].

- 4        *vnsasiat*] insatiate (unsatiate, *adj.*); compare Wyatt, 'My hert I gave the not to do it payn': 'Vnsaciat of my woo and thy desire' (M&T: XIV.9).
- 10       *thy first...poverty*] The primitive Church was founded on the idea of poverty rather than material wealth; here, 'poverty' is perhaps an abstraction.
- 13       *attyre*] renders Petrarch, 'ricchezza' (138.13: riches')
- 14       *constantyne*] first Christian Roman Emperor; his *Donation*, which granted popes temporal sovereignty in the West, was revealed by the fifteenth-century Italian humanist Lorenzo Valla as a forgery.
- 16       *the hier*] thee higher

### Collations

There are no substantive variants between *P* and *NA1-2*.

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## [15]

Poem [15] is Thomas Phaer's translation of Book 3 of the *Aeneid*. The Book completes Aeneas' retrospective narration of the events after the Trojan war. Phaer records in the note at the end of Book 3 in 58, sig. H4<sup>r</sup>, that he composed the Book in October 1555, with the translation taking fifteen days to complete. The note is retained in 62-84. As in Book 2, triple rhymes are a feature of [15].

- 1 *Asia state...ov'throwne*] The Greeks' destruction of Troy, recounted in Book 2, represents the overthrow of the entire power of Asia.
- 3 *Ilyon*] Ilium
- 6 *tokens of...goddess*] renders Virgil, 'agimur divum' (3.5: 'heaven's auguries')
- 7 *Antander hille*] Antandros was a Greek settlement which Strabo located in the Troad region of Anatolia on the southern flank of Mount Ida.
- 7-8 *mountes of...land*] i.e., the Phrygian Mount Ida situated in the Troad region of Anatolia
- 8 *navie great...frame*] i.e., 'we built a great fleet of ships'
- 9 *list vs guyde*] pleases to guide us ('list', v.<sup>l</sup>, 1)
- 10 *soomer*] summer
- 11 *the wyndes*] In Virgil, Anchises bids the Trojans to spread sails with 'Fate' (3.9: 'fatis').
- 12 *havens*] harbours, ports ('haven', n., 1)
- 13 *owlaw*] exile ('outlaw', n., 1c); compare Phaer, [3].642.
- 15 *countrey goddess*] renders Virgil, 'Penatibus' (3.12: 'Penates'); the Penates were household gods. Compare [2].355 and n.
- 16 *farr loof*] far off, distant ('aloof', adv., 2a)
- mars*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'Mavortia' (3.13: 'war-god', 'God of War')
- 17 *lardgee*] large; the *OED* does not cite this form of the noun, which Phaer probably uses to aid the scansion and syllable count of the line.
- men Thracis...eare*] i.e., 'men called Thracians do plow' ('ear', v.<sup>l</sup>, 1); Thrace was a historical and geographical area in south-eastern Europe (*OCD*, 'Thrace')
- 18 *Lycurgus*] Lycurgus, king of Thrace, was the son of Dryas; he attacked Dionysus, driving the god into refuge in the sea. In response, Dionysus deprived Lycurgus of his wits. Mistaking his son for a trunk of ivy, Lycurgus chopped off his limbs;

- Virgil's commentator Servius (3.14), however, relates an alternative tale in which Lycurgus mistakenly severed his own foot (*OCD*, 'Lycurgus', (I)).
- 19 *staye*] support ('stay', *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 1b)
- 22 *shope*] shaped
- 23 *mother of goddes*] Virgil alludes clearly to Venus here, though the title was also reserved for Juno. Romans were apt to call Venus the 'Mother Goddess' on account of their mythical descent from her son Aeneas.
- 26 *horne of hew*] probably translates Virgil, 'cornea' (3.22: 'cornel wood')
- 30 *monstre*] omen, marvel ('monster', *n.*, 2)
- 32 *trylles*] flows, streams ('trill', *v.*<sup>2</sup>, 1a)
- 37 *beraye*] defile, befoul ('be'ray', *v.*, 1a)
- 38 *ado^re^*] worship, venerate ('adore', *v.*, 1a)
- 39 *mars*] translates the more allusive 'Gradivus' (3.35) in Virgil, which was a common sobriquet for Mars. Phaer likewise substitutes the doublet 'land and shore' for Virgil's 'Geticis [...] arvis' (3.35: 'the Getic fields'). The Getae were a group of Thracian tribes who inhabited south-eastern Europe.
- 45 *miser*] wretch ('miser', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, B, 1)
- 46 *fyle*] defile ('file', *v.*<sup>2</sup>, 1a)
- gentill*] tender, but also 'noble' ('gentle', *adj.*, 5; 1a); the adjective renders Virgil, 'pias' (3.42: 'pure').
- 47 *the*] thee
- staunger*] probable scribal error for 'straunger'
- speed*] fare ('speed', *v.*, 7a; 7b)
- 48 *ywis*] certainly ('iwis', *adv.*, B)
- 50 *polidore*] the youngest son of Priam and Hecuba; as [15].55-61 describe, Priam sent Polydorus to the Thracian king Polymestor, who murdered him for gold after learning of the Trojan defeat in the war (*OCD*, 'Polydorus', (2)).
- 51 *dartes*] arrows ('dart', *n.*, 1a)
- 53 *I stonyed...fast*] Compare the same phrase in [3].781.
- stonyed*] stupified, astonished ('stony', *v.*, 1)
- 55 *hys father*] Phaer's addition
- 56 *gan*] began ('gin', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- 60 *of*] off
- 62 *constayne*] probable scribal error for 'constrayne'

- 65 *monsters*] omens, tokens
- 67 *hostrye*] hostelry (‘hostrye’, *n.*)  
*betake*] commit themselves (‘betake’, *v.*, 2)
- 68 *herce*] bier, sepulchre; the earliest date that the *OED* cites for this sense of the noun is 1610.
- 71 *vnfold*] unbound  
*guyse*] custom (‘guise’, *n.*, 2)
- 74 *shright*] shrieked, cried out; the verb forms a doublet with ‘great cries owt we call’.
- 75 *pypling*] gentle blowing (‘pipling’, *adj.*, A)
- 78 *fall*] i.e., ‘fall from our sight’
- 79 *land in...set*] This is Delos, the island which was the purported birthplace of Apollo and Diana (*OCD*, ‘Delos’).
- 80 *mermaydes*] renders Virgil, ‘Nereidum’ (3.74: ‘Nereids’)  
*hove*] resort, tarry (‘hove’, *v.*<sup>2</sup>, 2a)
- 81 *Phebus*] Apollo, who anchored Delos to the neighbouring islands of Gyaros and Mycanos to arrest its movement, as described in [15].82-83.
- 83 *w<sup>t</sup> Gyarus...Myconey*] the indirect objects of ‘bynd. [...] | & fixt it fast’ in [15].81-82
- 86 *prest*] priest
- 87 *labelles*] fillets, strips of ribbon and cloth (‘label’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)  
*lawrer*] laurel
- 91 *O Phebus bright*] renders Virgil’s more allusive ‘Thymbraee’ (3.85: ‘god of Thymbra’)
- 94 *abietes*] outcasts (‘abject’, *n.*, B, 1)
- 96 *token*] omen (‘token’, *n.*, 5)
- 97 *w<sup>t</sup> sodeyne...shove*] i.e., ‘with a sudden appearance of having been propelled by the wind’ (‘shove’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 2d)
- 100 *avoice*] probable scribal error for ‘a voice’
- 101 *Troyans tough*] renders Virgil’s more allusive ‘Dardanidae duri’ (3.94: ‘long-suffering sons of Dardanus’)
- 110 *leare*] learn (‘lere’, *v.*, 3)
- 111 *Candye*] Candia, an old name for Crete; Virgil tends to use the second, more modern name.
- 112 *Ida mount*] Mount Ida in Crete

- 114-115 *graundsier great...Teucrus*] Teucer was an ancestor of the Trojan kings; in [15].115-125, Anchises relates the tale of Teucer's purported arrival on the Rhoetean shores ('Rheta') as a sign that the Trojans should establish a settlement there. This is proved erroneous in [15].190-199.
- 114 *skill*] understand, have knowledge of ('skill', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 4a; 4b)
- 119 *beat there brasse*] i.e., 'beat their cymbals' ('brass', *n.*, 2d)  
*the moone...cure*] 'to make eclipses of the moon depart' ('clips(e)', *n.*); the phrase is Phaer's addition.
- 122 *of*] off
- 123 *Candye kingdomes*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'Gnosia regna' (3.115: 'realm of Gnosus'). Gnosus was the capital of Crete.
- 128 *flawes*] squalls, bursts of wind ('flaw', *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 1a)
- 129 *fame*] rumour ('fame', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)  
*quyt*] quite
- 129-130 *forsake, take*] unmarked past participles, i.e., 'forsaken...taken'
- 132 *void of*] devoid of
- 134-136 *Donyssse, Naxon, Olearon, aparon, Ciclades*] Donysa, Naxos, Olearos and Paros are all part of, or are close to, the Cyclades, a group of islands encircling Delos. Of those which Virgil catalogues, Naxos is the largest and most fertile, made famous for its wine and worship of Baccus (*OCD*, 'Naxos', (I)); Paros is the second largest, made famous on account of its marble (*OCD*, 'Paros').
- 137 *bold*] encourage, embolden ('bold', *v.*, 2a)
- 140 *Candye coastes*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'antiquis Curetum [...] oris' (3.131: 'ancient shores of the Curetes'). The Curetes were an ancient Greek tribe.
- 142 *pergam*] Pergamum, taken from Homer's name for the Trojan citadel in the *Iliad*
- 143 *courage*] encourage, a common aphetic form in eModE ('courage', *v.*)
- 144 *heeld*] held, occupied ('hold', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 7d)
- 145 *tilladge*] agriculture, husbandry ('tillage', *n.*, 1a)
- 147 *plaage*] plague  
*murreyne*] pestilence ('murrain', *n.*, 2a)
- 149 *lymes*] limbs  
*deares*] harms, injures ('dere', *v.*, 1a)
- 151 *the dog star*] Sirius
- 158 *goddess of...land*] the Trojan gods; see [15].15.

- 166 *the]* thee
- 167 *the]* thee
- 168 *starres, thy...pryde]* i.e., ‘shall exalt your descendents to the heavens’
- 176 *now Italie...name]* Hesperia has been renamed Italy after an Oenotrian leader.
- 177 *Dardan]* Dardanus was a Trojan king from whom Priam was directly descended. He was the son of Zeus and Electra, Juno’s rival, and founded Dardania on the Phrygian Mount Ida (*OCD*, ‘Dardanus’). See [2].592 and n.
- 178 *Iasius the prince]* Dardanus’ brother (*OCD*, ‘Iasus, Iasius’)
- 180 *once]* probable scribal error for ‘oute’ which is the reading in 58-84
- Corit coast]* condenses Virgil, ‘Corythum terrasque requirat | Ausonias’ (3.170-171: ‘Corythus and the lands of Ausonia’). Corythus was an Italian king who ruled in Ausonia, the lower part of Italy, though his name was frequently was taken to refer to the country as a whole.
- 184 *folded heare]* filleted hair, i.e., that bound with a ribbons
- 188 *dome]* probable scribal error for ‘done’, which is the reading in 58-84
- 189 *asserteyne]* inform (‘ascertain’, v., 1)
- 190 *dubtfull]* doubtful
- 190-191 *lygne he...mystake]* i.e., Anchises has confused Teucer, who alighted on the Rhoetian shores, and Dardanus, who, as the Penates suggest in [15].173-178, descended from Hesperia/Italy.
- 194 *chaunces of...stocke]* fortunes of our race (‘chance’, n., 1a)
- 198 *of prophecyes...past]* i.e., ‘who at that time would have followed one of mad Cassandra’s prophecies’; Cassandra’s curse meant that no one believed her prophecies, as Book 2 elucidates when the Trojans bring the horse inside the city walls despite her warnings.
- 202 *beames]* oars, or perhaps ‘ships’ (‘beam’, n.<sup>l</sup>, 14)
- howgee]* hugy
- 209 *heaven]* sky (‘heaven’, n., 1a)
- 210 *steaven]* voice (‘steven’, n.<sup>l</sup>, 1a),
- 212 *o<sup>r</sup> master]* Palinurus, the pilot of the ship, whom Phaer terms ‘palynure’ in [15].213
- 215 *w<sup>t</sup>outen soonne]* translates Virgil, ‘caligine’ (3.203: ‘misty gloom’)
- 221 *strophades]* The Strofades are two islands in the Ionian sea.
- 222 *hight]* called (‘hight’, v.<sup>l</sup>, 4)
- 223 *salt sea great]* the Ionian sea

- 224-225 *Celeno fowle...fare*] Celaeno is the chief Harpy (see [15].265); as [15].226-230 describe, the Harpies are supernatural winged beings, female and bird-like in appearance, who move like winds and spread dirt and pestilence (*OCD*, ‘Harpies’). They formerly plagued Phineus, a Thracian king, defiling his food and bringing him to near-starvation (*OCD*, ‘Phineus’).
- 227 *pitt of hell*] renders Virgil’s more allusive ‘Stygiis [...] undis’ (3.215: ‘Stygian [...] waves’)  
*wreake*] wrath, vengeance (‘wreak’, *n.*, 1a)
- 228 *panches*] paunches, possibly spelled ‘pauches’
- 229 *garbage*] filth (‘garbage’, *n.*, 2)  
*pawews*] probable scribal error for ‘paws’, which is the reading in 58-84
- 233 *keeper ^none^...view*] expands on Virgil, ‘nullo custode’ (3.222: ‘untended’)
- 235 *parte*] divide, share (‘part’, *v.*, 8a)
- 236 *praye*] prey
- 238 *shrygh^t^*] shrieked; in Virgil, it is the wings of the Harpies which emit the noise: ‘et magnis quatiunt clangoribus alas’ (3.226: ‘and with loud clanging shake their wings’).
- 240 *and sent...vyle*] i.e., ‘and scent of a vile odour’ (‘savour’, *n.*, 1a); the phrase is part of a *zeugma*, with ‘cast’ governing both this and ‘fearfull cries’ earlier in the line.
- 241 *prevye*] secret, hidden (‘privy’, *adj.*, 5)
- 243 *tynd*] ignited (‘tind’, *v.*, 1)
- 244 *lurkinges*] presumably ‘lair’s’; the *OED* does not cite this sense of the noun.  
*blind*] secret, hidden (‘blind’, *adj.*, 8a)
- 245 *prease*] throng (‘press’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 5a)
- 250 *clyves*] cliffs (‘cliff’, *n.*, Forms)
- 259 *vnhappye tale...tell*] ‘unhappy story to disclose, prophesy’ (‘tell’, *v.*, 5a); Phaer apparently picks up on Virgil’s description of Celaeno as ‘infelix vates’ (3.246: ‘ill-boding seer’).
- 260 *Troyans*] renders Virgil’s more allusive ‘Laomedontiadae’ (3.248: ‘sons of Laomedon’)
- 264 *that god...fynd*] i.e., ‘that Jupiter related to Apollo, and I discovered from Apollo’
- 269 *heer*] i.e., ‘on our island’
- 272 *shrinckes*] probable scribal error for ‘shrink’
- 276 *boistous*] violent (‘boisterous’, *adj.*, 9a)

- 281 *hoyse*] hoist ('hoist', *n.*,1)  
*halser*] hawser, a rope or small cable used for mooring ('hawser', *n.*, a)
- 282 *northerne wind*] Virgil has 'Noti' (3.268: 'South winds').
- 283 *maister*] Palinurus
- 284-285 *Zacynthos...Nerit*] Zakynthos, Dulichium, Same, and Neritus are all islands on the Ionian Sea.
- 286 *Ithaca*] famous Greek island situated on the eastern entrance of the Hellespont, of which Laërtes, Ulysses' father, was king (*OCD*, 'Ithaca')
- 287 *false vlisses nurse*] i.e., Ithaca bred Ulysses ('nurse', *v.*, 1a)
- 289 *Lewcate*] Leucas is another island on the Ionian Sea, opposite the coast of Acarnania. It featured high peaks and derived its name from the white limestone cliffs on its west coast (*OCD*, 'Leucas').
- 290 *Appollo poynte*] renders Virgil, 'cacumina [...] Apollo' (3.275-276: 'Apollo's shrine')
- 296 *disport*] recreation, entertainment ('disport', *n.*, 1)
- 297 *maystries*] masteries, feats of arms ('maistrice', *n.*)
- 301 *Albas*] a Trojan warrior
- 305 *skoome*] scum, skimmed ('scum', *v.*, 3a); Compare Douglas, Book 4: 'Lyke till ane foull, that endlang the coist syde | About the strandis, of fysche plenteous and wyde | Fleis by the wattir, scummand the fludis law' (*Eneados*, 1553, sig. M3<sup>v</sup>).
- 306 *Pheaca Towres*] Phaeacia, or Scheria, was a region near Ithaca; Homer makes it Odysseus' (Ulysses') final destination in the *Odyssey*.
- 307 *Epyrus*] a geographical area in between Greece and Albania
- 308 *Chaon*] Chaon was a Trojan hero; Helenus gave his name to Chaonia, a district in Epirus, as described in [15].351-353.  
*Butrot*] Buthrotum was a settlement founded traditionally by Helenus after being given permission by Neoptolemus (see [15].310-311). It served as a port of call on the coasting route along Epirus (*OCD*, 'Buthrotum').
- 310-311 *Helenus king...keeps*] Helenus was king Priam's son and the twin brother of Cassandra; for this reason he has the power of a seer, as demonstrated in [15].390-485. Neoptolemus captured Helenus at the end of the Trojan war and made him a vassal, but eventually gave him licence to establish Buthrotum. When Neoptolemus died and his kingdom was partitioned, Helenus became king of Buthrotum, renaming it Chaon (see [15].351), and married Andromache ('P<h>yrrhus wief').

- 312 *Andromache eftsones...sleeps*] i.e., ‘Andromache again sleeps with a Trojan husband’ (‘eft’soons’, *adv.*, 1a); Andromache was wife of Helenus’ brother Hector (see [3].455) before Neoptolemus; she has therefore had two Trojan husbands (*OCD*, ‘Andromache’).
- 316 *great sacrifice*] the object of ‘did provide’ in [15].319
- 317 *Symoiois*] Phaer neglects to mention, as Virgil does, that this is not Simois itself but an imitation: ‘falsi Simoentis’ (3.302: ‘a mimic Simois’). The mock Simois is consistent with the general aesthetic of Chaon, whose citadel is modelled on Pergamum and river on the famous Trojan river Xanthus, as Aeneas notices in [15].366-368.
- 318 *dust*] ashes (‘dust’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 3a)
- 319 *deynteas*] delicacies (‘dainty’, *n.*, 6)
- 323 *straught*] distraught (‘straught’, *adj.*)
- monsters*] omens
- 329 *brast*] burst (‘brast’, *v.*)
- 330 *pall*] render weak (‘pall’, *v.*, 1a)
- 332 *in dred*] probable scribal error for ‘indeed’
- 334 *husband slayne*] Hector
- 338 *king Priams dawghter*] Polyxena; Proclus notes in his prose commentary of the *Cypria* that she was sacrificed to the ghost of Achilles. Thus, Hyginus (*Fabulae*, 110) suggests that Achilles in life was in love with Polyxena.
- 339 *was don...outright*] was put to death openly (‘outright’, *adv.*, A, 1)
- 340-341 *before her...fast*] The subject is ‘king Priams dawghter’ in [15].388.
- 341 M<sup>rs</sup>] Master’s
- 342 *brent*] burnt
- 343 *Achilles ympe*] Achilles’ child, scion (‘imp’, *n.*, 3a), i.e. Neoptolemus
- yonglinges*] probably a possessive which defines Neoptolemus
- 345 *helens (dawght’)...wed*] Hermione, whom Neoptolemus desired after Andromache as she was Greek rather than Trojan
- 348-349 *Orestes full...lyf*] Orestes was the son of Agamemnon and Clytemnestra. He had been betrothed to Andromache before the Trojan war, and to further his aims killed Neoptolemus on his father Achilles’ tomb (*OCD*, ‘Orestes’).
- 351 *this parte...befell*] i.e., this part of Neoptolemus’ kingdom
- 353 *pergam*] Pergamum



- ylion*] Ilium: see [15].3 and n.
- 357 *whome tymelye...thee*] Virgil, 3.340, is likewise incomplete.
- 368 *xanthus*] river in Troy  
*gates well...knewe*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'Scaeaque [...] portae' (3.351: portals of the Scaean gate')
- 369 *easment*] relief ('easement', *n.*, 1a)
- 377 *Phebus token...starrs*] translates Virgil, 'numina Phoebi, | qui tripodas, Clarii laurus, qui sidera sentis' (3.359-260: 'the will of Phoebus, the tripods, the laurel of the Clarian, the stars')
- skye*] probable scribal error for 'scrie', i.e., 'exclaim', 'invoke' ('e'scry', *v.*, 1; 2a), which is the reading in 58-84
- 378 *chirminges*] probable scribal error for 'chirring', i.e., 'warbling' ('chirm', *v.*, 'chirring', Derivatives), which is the reading in 58-84
- 385 *she*] scribal error, as Helenus is the subject
- 386 *this*] scribal error for 'his'
- 393 *the whele*] the Wheel of Fortune
- 401 *Cicill streame*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'Trinacria [...] unda' (3.384: 'Trinacrian wave'); Trinacria was a Latin name for Sicily.
- 402 *salt sea fome*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'salis Ausonii' (3.385: 'Ausonian main')
- 403 *Cyrces yle*] the magical island of Aenea, later identified, in Italy, with the promontory of Circeii in Latium. Circe is a powerful magician whom Odysseus (Ulysses) visits in *Od.*, 10.210 ff.; she transforms his men into pigs (*OCD*, 'Circe').
- 404 *mast*] scribal error for 'mayst', which is the reading in 58-84  
*saulf*] safe
- 406 *shaltes*] probable scribal error for 'shalt'
- 407 *syse*] size
- 408 *sucklinges*] young mammals, here pigs ('suckling', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1b)
- 409 *brattes*] young, children, not here pejorative ('brat', *n.*<sup>2</sup>, a)  
*dugges*] teats, nipples ('dug', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, a)
- 412-413 *Phebus bright...acquite*] Phaer expands on Virgil, 'aderitque vocatus Apollo' (3.395: 'and Apollo be present at thy call')
- 412 *invent*] find, discover ('invent', *v.*, 1)
- 414 *next*] i.e., the nearest border ('next', *adj.*, 1a)

- 415 *wyse*] way
- 417 *men of Locrus*] a region of ancient Greece which was divided into three parts by Doris and Locris. It gives its name to the Calabrian city of Locris in modern Italy, the founding period of which Virgil mentions here.
- 418 *salet feeldes*] translates Virgil, ‘Sallentinos’ (3.400: ‘Sallentine plains’)
- 419 *Idomeneus duke*] a Greek soldier who led the Cretan contingent in the Trojan war; he was one of Helen’s suitors (*OCD*, ‘Idomeneus’ (I)).
- 420 *Petilia small...round*] a settlement on the coast of Bruttium on the Italian peninsula; Petelia was held to have been founded by Philoctetes, a Greek who led the ships to Troy from Methone but was left behind in Lemnos suffering from a snake-bite. According to the *Little Iliad*, Ulysses solicited information from Helenus, then his prisoner, that Troy would not fall unless Philoctetes were present (*OCD*, ‘Philoctetes’).
- 421 *duke Melybee*] Phaer errs here in making Meliboeus a separate figure; in Virgil, ‘ducis Meliboei’ (3.401: ‘the Meliboean captain’) describes Philoctetes.
- 422 *saulyfty*] safety
- 428 *trayne*] retinue, body of attendants (‘train’, *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 8a)
- 430 *the furth*] thee forth
- 431 *Pelorus*] the north-eastern promontory of Sicily
- 432 *compasse*] circuit (‘circuit’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 5a)
- alee*] on the sheltered side, protected from the wind (‘alee’, *adv.*)
- 433 *fetch owt aloof*] i.e., ‘bring out the ships far’
- 435 *sometyme doth...eate?*] i.e., ‘time alters things, and everything is destroyed by time’
- sometyme*] probable scribal error for ‘so time’
- 440-441 *vnmyld...syttis*] elaborates on Virgil, ‘implacata’ (3.420: ‘insatiable’)
- 446 *man*] human (‘man’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- 446 *amayden*] probable scribal error for ‘a mayden’
- 447 *whale*] Phaer’s addition
- 450 *Pacchinus*] renders Virgil’s more allusive ‘Trinacrii [...] Pachyni’ (3.429: ‘Trinactrian Pachynus’). Pachynus was a promontory which forms the entire south-eastern point of Sicily.
- 451 *leyso’*] leisure, freedom, opportunity (‘leisure’, *n.*, 1a)
- 452 *oanes*] once
- 454 *cooning*] cunning, knowledge, skill (‘cunning’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 3a)

- 461 *Sycill*] Sicily; the word renders Virgil, ‘Trinacria’ (3.440: ‘Trinacria’).
- 462 *Cumas*] Italy’s earliest Greek colony, situated near modern Naples; it was established by Chalcis in *c.* 750 BCE (*OCD*, ‘Cumae’).
- 463 *Averna*] the deep lake near Cumae and Puteoli; its reputed immense depth and placement amid dark woods inspired the belief it led to the underworld. Virgil makes this connection in *Aeneid*, 6.237 ff., from where it inspired Tudor poets. Compare. Sackville, ‘Induction’: ‘An horrible lothly lake we might discern | As blacke as pitche, that cleped is Auerne’ (*Myrrour*, 1563, sig. Q2<sup>v</sup>).
- 464 *frantike prophet...behold*] the Sibyl of Cumae, a famous classical prophetess, who was known for the ecstatic character of her prophecies (*OCD*, ‘Sibylla’).
- 466-468 *in leavs...lines*] leaves were the earliest writing material
- 466 *singes*] scribal error for ‘signes’, which is the reading in 58-84 and rhymes with ‘lines’ in [15].467
- 472 *then*] scribal error for ‘them’, which is the reading in 58-84
- 474 *misteres*] mistress; the *OED* cites ‘mysters’ and ‘misteris’ as attested variant spellings.
- 475 *there let...late*] The elliptical syntax and compressed nature of the line make interpretation difficult; the sense appears to be: ‘do not regard time spent [at the Sibyl’s house] as lost, even if you think yourself late’.
- 487 *Iueryr*] ivory
- 488 *rowmes*] rooms
- 494-495 *supplie | o<sup>r</sup>...ores*] Phaer’s addition
- 507 *troian mantell*] possibly a loose, sleeveless cloak (‘mantle’, *n.*, 1a); the words translate Virgil, ‘Phrygiam [...] chlamydem’ (3.484: ‘Phrygian scarf’).
- 512 *Oh figure...deere*] Astyanax was Andromache’s son with Hector; he was flung from the walls of Troy by Neoptolemus.
- 518 *no feeld...eare*] Phaer adopts the agrarian metaphor of Virgil, ‘neque Ausoniae semper cedentia retro | quaerenda’ (3.496-497: ‘no ever-retreating Ausonian fields need ye seek’).
- eare*] plough (‘eare’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 520 *facion*] fashion
- 524 *flood*] river (‘flood’, *n.*, 2)
- 525 *whereof I...dispayre*] Phaer’s addition

- 530 *in wynd...prepare*] '[W]ynd' is a probable scribal error for 'mynd'. Taken as a whole, the phrase appears to be Phaer's rendering of Virgil, 'Troiam animis' (3.505: 'Troy in spirit').
- 531 *and to...care*] Possibly Virgil's reference to Caesar Augustus' founding of Nicopolis in Epirus (Rushton Fairclough, 1994: 383, 1n.)
- 532 *Ceramica*] Ceraunia was an island near the Italian coast. Hand A's spelling is erroneous: he perhaps intended to write 'Ceraunica', but lost track of the minims.
- 535 *gladsome*] pleasant ('gladsome', *adj.*, 1)
- 536 *oon corneres all*] i.e., 'on all corners'; the spelling 'oon' is a probable scribal error, as the *OED* does note cite it as an attested variant of 'on'.
- 539 *palinurus*] the master/pilot of the Trojan ship: see [15].266.
- 542 *wayne...plough starr...sevn*] the Wain star (named after 'Charles' Wagon'), the Plough, and the Pleiades. Compare the same catalogue in Phaer, [1].722.
- 543 *Orion*] prominent constellation  
*grimie*] probable scribal error for 'grimme'  
*fawchon*] falchion, a broad sword ('falchion', *n.*, 1a).
- 545 *shyburd*] the side of the ship ('shipboard', *n.*, 1a); compare Phaer, [3].396.
- 546 *hove*] raise, lift ('hove', *v.*<sup>2</sup>: 1)
- 547 *morning redd...rise*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'rubescebat [...] Aurora' (3.521: 'Dawn was blushing')
- 557 *pallas temple*] translates Virgil, 'Arce Minervae' (3.531: 'Minerva's Height'), which is perhaps a reference to Castrum Minervae, near the Portus Veneris in Calabria.
- 559 *abowe*] probable scribal error for 'a bow'
- 561 *howgye*] hugy, i.e., 'huge' ('hugy', *adj.*)
- 563 *a lucke*] an omen ('luck', *n.*, 4)
- 572 *charg*] importance, and perhaps 'order' ('charge', *n.*, 9a; 15a)
- 577 *Tarentum*] Tarentum (modern 'Taranto') is in the 'instep' of the boot-shaped coastline of south Italy; it was founded by Spartans. Hercules (Greek: 'Heracles') was reputed to have lived there (*OCD*, 'Tarentum').
- 579 *Latynia goddesse...towres*] There was a temple of Juno on the Lacinian headland.  
*Cawlon*] Caulonia is a town in Bruttii, on the south-eastern Italian coast; it is situated approximately on the 'sole' of the 'boot', near *Punto di Stilo* (*OCD*, 'Caulonia').
- 580 *Silla*] sea monster who lived opposite the whirlpool Charibdis; see [2].178 and n.

- wrackfull*] wreckful ('wrackful', *adj.*<sup>3</sup>); the *OED* cites this form of the adjective as Phaer's coinage.
- 581 *Etna*] the active volcano on the eastern Sicilian coast
- 586 *told*] revealed ('tell', *v.*, 5a)
- 589 *tackle*] rigging ('tackle', *n.*, 2a)
- 596 *cycloppes coast*] In the *Odyssey*, Odysseus (Ulysses) and his men visit the isle of the Cyclopes, which is distant and not geographically specified. Theocritus situated Polymphemus and the Cyclopes on Sicily, which apparently influenced Virgil.
- 598 *brasting*] bursting ('brast', *v.*)
- 599 *blowstring*] blustering
- bleake*] probable scribal error for 'breake', which is the reading in 58-84
- 603 *bolkeith*] vomits, ejects ('bolke', *v.*, 5); compare Douglas, Book 3: 'Furth bok the bowellis, or entrellis of the hill' (*Eneados*, 1553, sig. K4<sup>r</sup>).
- 604 *lompes*] lumps
- 605 *Enceladus*] one of the Gigantes (Giants) in Greek mythology; like the other Gigantes, he possessed serpentine lower limbs. Athena slew Enceladus during the battle between the Gigantes and the Olympian gods, after which he was reputedly buried under Etna, as described in [15].606-609.
- haulf brent*] half-burnt
- 607 *broken chimneyse*] translates Virgil, 'ruptis flammam' (3.580: 'burst furnaces')
- 609 *Scycill land*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'Trinacriam' (3.582: 'Trinacria')
- 610 *straw^n^gie*] strangy, i.e., 'strange' ('strangy', *adj.*)
- 612 *welkyn*] heavens ('welkin', *n.*, 2a)
- 613 *mone*] moon
- 615 *drowping*] drooping
- 617 *pituouse*] piteous
- 618 *abroad*] widely spread, outspread ('abroad', *adv.*, A, 1c)
- 619 *fowle araid*] foully dressed ('arrayed', *adj.*)
- 622 *Troyan ensignes owt*] probably 'Trojan banners spread out' ('ensign', *n.*, 5a)
- 628 *recke*] care ('reck', *v.*, 1a)
- a Greeke*] renders Virgil's more allusive 'me Denais e classibus' (3.602: 'I am one from the Danaan ships')
- 630 *wreake*] wrong, injury ('wreak', *n.*, 1a)
- 633 *woase*] ooze, wet mud, slime ('ooze', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a); compare Phaer, [3].131.

- 639 *Ithaca*] See [15].286 and n.
- 640 *late*] lately ('late', *adv.*, 4a)
- 645 *shop*] workshop ('shop', *n.*, 3a)  
*deinties*] delicacies, here carrying the stronger sense of a 'feast' ('dainty', *n.*, 6)
- 647 *retchethe*] reacheth  
*plaage*] plague
- 651 *groveling*] lying prostrate ('grovel', *v.*, 1a)
- 655 *but paid...was*] 'but he was punished' ('paid', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 12b)
- 659 *gubbes*] lumps, clots ('gob', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1b)
- 660 *galped*] vomited ('galp', *v.*, 2)
- 663 *heeld*] held
- 664 *son*] sun; renders Virgil's allusive 'Phoebae lampadis' (3.637: 'lamp of Phoebus')
- 666 *blrake*] scribal error for 'break'
- 667 *yors*] scribal error scribal for 'yor'/'your'
- 668 *Poliphemus*] giant one-eyed son of Poseidon (Neptune) and Thoosa and the most famous Cyclops. Polyphemos has a prominent role in the *Odyssey*, 9 and 10, the chief details of which are recounted in Achaemenides' tale here.
- 669 *closeth*] encloses, keeps in a pen ('close', *v.*, 3a)
- 670 *fell*] fierce, savage, cruel ('fell', *adj.*, 1)
- 672 *thrise her...exild*] Phaer's addition
- 674 *holdes*] probably 'holes'; compare Hand A's spelling of 'shoals' in [2].106 ('shouldes') and [15].738 ('sholdes').
- 676-677 *for hung'...grownd*] renders Virgil, 'victum infelicem, bacas lapidosaque corna / dant rami, et volsis pascunt radicibus herbae' (3.649-650: 'A sorry living, berries and stony cornels, the boughs supply; and plants feed me with their upturned roots'. As with the stars [15].5542, Phaer Anglicises the items in [15].676: 'sloes' are the small, plum-like, fruits of the blackthorn ('sloe', *n.*, 1a); 'mast' is the fruit of the oak, beech, or chestnut tree ('mast', *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 1a).
- 679 *bequethe*] commit, devote (myself) ('bequeath', *v.*, 7); the *OED* cites this reflexive form of the verb as Phaer's coinage.
- 685 *oneide*] one-eyed; the adjective is Phaer's addition.
- 688 *abowt hys...ease*] Phaer's addition, which perhaps elaborates on Virgil's description of Polyphemos as 'pastorem' (3.657: 'the shepherd')
- 695 *soft*] quietly, silently ('soft', *adv.*, 1a)

- 709 *dyanas wood*] i.e., ‘Diana’s wood’; Diana was the goddess of hunting. Phaer omits Virgil’s adjoining reference to ‘*silva alta Iovis*’ (3.681: ‘a high forest of Jove’).
- 717 *pantagia*] river in Sicily  
*incontinent*] incontinently, at once, immediately (‘incontinently’, *adv.*<sup>2</sup>)
- 718 *Megaros, tapsus*] cities in Sicily
- 723-724 *Plemyrium of...call*] Phaer confuses Virgil here, who distinguishes Plemyrium and Ortygia: ‘*Sicano praetenta sinu iacet insula contra | Plemyrium undosum; nomen dixere priores | Ortygiam*’ (3.692-694: ‘Stretched in front of the a Sicanian bay lies an island, over against wave-beaten Pleymrium; men of old called it Ortygia.’). Ortygia is an island in the city of Syracuse, Sicily.
- 724-727 *the fame...fleetes*] Alpheus, the famous Peloponnesian river in Greece, forced a secret course beneath the sea and sprang up as the Sicilian fountain Arethusa. In myth, Arethusa was a nereid nymph who bathed in Alpheus. The god of that river fell in love with her, though his love was unreturned: seeking protection from Diana, Arethusa was transformed into a cloud. Alpheus continued his advances, which forced Arethusa to perspire; she eventually became a stream which ran underground to Ortygia. Alpheus flowed through the sea to reach her and mingle with her waves.
- 724 *fame*] rumour, report, tale (‘fame’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 729 *Elorus*] Helorus, an ancient Sicilian city no longer extant
- 732-738 *Camerina, Gelas, Agragas, Selynys, Lylybeas, drepanus*] towns in Sicily
- 734 *oloof*] aloof, i.e., ‘far out’, but possibly ‘windward’ (‘aloof’, *adv.*, 1; 2a)
- 735 *force*] scribal error for ‘fearce’, which is the reading in 58-84
- 737 *sholdes*] shoals, shallows (‘shoal’, *n.*, 1a)
- 738 *vngladsome*] unpleasant (‘ungladsome’, *adj.*); the *OED* cites Phaer as the sole known user of this adjective, which renders Virgil, ‘*inlaetabilis*’ (3.707: ‘joyless’).
- 748 *intentif...behold*] The phrase reproduces *litteratim* that in Phaer, [3].1.  
*intentif*] intentive, i.e. attentive (‘intentive’, *adj.*, 1)
- 749 *corses*] courses, wanderings
- 750 *stayed*] ceased (‘stay’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 3a), which forms a doublet with ‘make an end’ in the second half of the line.

### Collations

*P* is by far the most corrupt of the four copies, with a total of ninety errors.<sup>26</sup> As with [2] and [3], the transmission of errors between the printed texts demonstrates that each was based on the previous edition, with 58 replicating two corruptions from *P* in ll. 254 ('feather') and 361 ('weepinges'). *P* also transmitted two errors to both 58 and 62 in ll. 418 ('feeldes') and 569 ('fast'), the second of which 73 and 84 emended to 'last'. 58 and 62 share two misreadings in ll. 610 ('straunge sightes') and 664 ('armyn'). 73 and 84 retain a possible error committed by 62 in l. 685 with 'vneeied', which, if not a spelling variant of 'one-eyed', would inaccurately describe Polyphemus. It is not considered an error below. 84 picks up three additional corruptions from 73 in ll. 17 ('Thracia'), 232 ('beast'), and 714 ('an'). A total of six errors are common to each of the printed copies in ll. 22, 102, 394, 469, 508, and 631. Most of these, such as 'grandame' in l. 102, distort the sense of Virgil's Latin. Line 386 is the main instance of a line being improved in the successive editions. *P* here has the corrupt 'prayeth this godes' to describe Helenus' petition; 58 makes a partial correction by emending the phrase to 'praied his Gods', which is still defective in number. The text of 62 then completed the revision with 'praied his god', which is retained in 73 and 84.

Alongside its shared corruptions, *P* commits a total of eighty-six independent errors. Chief among these are 'singes' in l. 44, and the twice-made misreading 'force' for 'ferce' in ll. 18 and 735. Hand A also struggled with place names, as in ll. 135, 195, 197, 285, 289, 418, 532, and 724; and gives plurals when singular forms are better suited, as in ll. 125, 283, 361, 370, 395, 406, 42, 429, and 562. 58 is the second most corrupt text, with two independent ones in ll. 251 (trompet setts)'and 'praied his Gods' to give a total of fourteen errors. 73 is next, with three misprints in ll. 17 ('me'), 565 ('contrey qb land'), and 600 ('smokin') to add to a total of twelve errors. 62 has the single unique misprint 'mlikith' for 'milketh' in l. 669 to add to its conjunctive errors, giving it eleven overall. 84 is accordingly the best of the surviving witnesses, with no independent errors and a corresponding total of nine.

- 1 Priamus] Priams 58 62 73 84
- 3 Ilyon glorious] Gloryose Ilion 58 62 73 84
- 4 from] on 58 62 73 84

<sup>26</sup> The eighty-seven errors in *P* are in ll. 1, 4, 18, 49, 62, 98, 114, 122, 125, 135, 139, 140, 145, 156, 158, 179, 180, 188, 195, 197, 221, 229, 241, 254, 255, 267, 272, 283 ('wyndes'), 283 ('calls'), 285, 289, 290, 303, 304, 326 ('I see'), 336, 337, 338 ('one'), 338 ('right'), 338 ('one'), 344, 361, 372, 377, 378, 385 ('as custom is'), 385 ('she'), 386, 395, 401, 404 ('the'), 404 ('mast'), 406, 418, 424, 426, 429, 435 ('sometyme'), 435 ('it is'), 463, 466, 468, 472 ('then'), 472 ('the cave'), 509, 517, 519, 530, 532, 536, 543, 559, 562, 564, 569, 574 ('thing'), 574 ('we'), 597, 599, 607, 610, 622, 623, 657, 665, 667, 673, 735, 739, and 746.



- 9       destenye list vs] destnies vs doth 58 62 73 84
- 15       &] my 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 16 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 17       men] me 73; Thracis] Thracia 73 84
- 18       force] fearce 58 62 73 84
- 22       Eneades] Eneads 58 62 73 84
- 28       bushe] brush 58 62 73 84
- 42       ageine] against 58 62 73 84
- 43       holde my peace?] silence keepe? 58 62 73 84
- 49       cursed] gredy 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 52 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 52       from] fro 58 62 73 84
- 62       constayne] constrayn 58 62 73 84
- 66       doth] do 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 79 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 87       lawrer] laurel 58 62 73 84
- 98       to] do 58 62 73 84
- 102      mother] grandame 58 62 73 84
- 104      childrens] childerns 58 62 73 84
- 113      hundreth] hundred 58 62 73 84
- 114      trueth] true 58 62 73 84
- 122      of] on 58 62 73 84
- 125      shores] shore 58 62 73 84
- 126      the] his 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 129 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 129      kingdom] kingdoms 58 62 73 84
- 135      aparon] and Paron 58 62 73 84
- 136      yles] landes 58 62 73 84
- 139      behynd] of wynde 58 62 73 84; pursues] pursueth 58 62 73 84
- 140      coastes] coast 58 62 73 84
- 144      heeld] hylde 58 62 73 84
- 145      wedding] weddyngs 58 62 73 84; selfes] selues 58 62 73 84
- 152      the] That 58 62 73 84
- 156      hence] thens 58 62 73 84

- 158 do] dyd 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 164 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 169 An] And 58 62 73 84
- 179 to go] go to 58 62 73 84
- 180 once] oute 58 62 73 84
- 184 well] sure 58 62 73 84
- 191 groundsyers] graunsyrs 58 62 73 84
- 195 hespia] Hesperia 58 62 73 84
- 197 hespia] Hesperia 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 203 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 221 seas] streames 58 62 73 84
- 228 pauches] paunches 58 62 73 84
- 229 pawews] pawes 58 62 73 84
- 232 beastes] beast 73 84
- 234 all] thick 58 62 73 84
- 241 the] a 58 62 73 84
- 251 trompe settes owt] trompet setts 58, trompet fets 62 73 84
- 252 felt, the] feld they 58
- 253 doth] do 62 73 84
- 254 feather] fethers 62 73 84
- 255 whing] wings 58 62 73 84
- 256 flee] flye 58 62 73 84
- 267 to] In 58 62 73 84
- 272 shrinckes] shrynke 58 62 73 84
- 283 wyndes] wind 58 62 73 84; call] calls 58 62 73 84
- 285 Dulichin] Dulichium 58 62 73 84
- 289 Lewcate] Leucates 58 62 73 84
- 290 Appollo] Appollos 58 62 73 84  
*In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 293 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 295 to] in 58 62 73 84
- 303 of] from 58 62 73 84
- 304 self] selfes 58 62 73 84
- 326 I see] see I 58 62 73 84; bringst] brings 62 73 84
- 328 q<sup>d</sup>] quoth 84

- 331 softlye spake] answerd thus 58 62 73 84
- 332 life] breath 58 62 73 84
- 336 hecto<sup>rs</sup>] Hector 58 62 73 84
- 337 to] on 58 62 73 84
- 338 one] most 58 62 73 84; right] bright 58 62 73 84
- 341 M<sup>rs</sup>] masters 58 62 73 84
- 344 travaile] trauailes 58 62 73 84
- 361 weepinges] weping 62 73 84
- 372 halles] hall 58 62 73 84
- 373 twayne] two 58 62 73 84
- 377 skye] skrie 58 62 73 84
- 378 chirminges] chirming 58 62 73 84
- 385 as custome is] (as custome was) 58 62 73 84; she] he 58 62 73 84
- 386 prayeth this godes] praied his Gods 58, praied his god 62 73 84
- 394 nomb<sup>r</sup>] numbers 58 62 73 84
- 395 po<e>^r^tes] port 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 398 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 401 embathe &] embathing 58 62 73 84
- 404 the] thy 58 62 73 84; mast] maist 58 62 73 84
- 406 shaltes] shalt 58 62 73 84
- 417 have] hath 58 62 73 84
- 418 salet] Salent 58 62 73 84; feeldes] field 73 84
- 424 self] selfs 58 62 73 84
- 426 hono<sup>rs</sup>] honour 58 62 73 84
- 429 offspringes] offspring 58 62 73 84
- 435 sometyme] So time 58 62 73 84; it is] is it 58 62 73 84
- 446 lookes] semes 58 62 73 84; amayden] a mayden 58 62 73 84
- 452 oanes] ones 58 62 73 84
- 453 doth] do 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 454 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 463 in] and 58 62 73 84
- 466 singes] signes 58 62 73 84
- 468 ord<sup>r</sup>] raunges 58 62 73 84
- 469 byde] lye 58 62 73 84; ord<sup>r</sup>] orders 58 62 73 84

- 472 then] them 58 62 73 84; the cave] their caues 58 62 73 84
- 474 misteres] mastresse 58 62 73 84
- 481 must] mayst 58 62 73 84
- 487 Iuery] yuery 58 62 73 84; treasures] treasor 58 62 73 84
- 500 sayles] sayle 58 62 73 84
- 508 woven] weauing 58 62 73 84
- 509 have them] hath it 58 62 73 84
- 515 I spake to them] to them I spake 58 62 73 84
- 517 now] New 58 62 73 84; be] ben 58 62 73 84
- 519 have no] nede not 58 62 73 84
- 522 yo<sup>r</sup> self, the frames therof] the frames thereof your selues 58 62 73 84
- 523 the Greekes shall need] shall nede the Grekes 58 62 73 84
- 527 betwene] betwinne 58 62 73 84
- 530 wynd] mind 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 532 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 532 Ceramica] Ceraunia 58 62 73 84
- 536 oon] on 58 62 73 84
- 538 owt] quyte 58 62 73 84
- 540 wyndes] wind 58 62 73 84
- 543 grimie] grym 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 547 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 553 advauncing] Auauncing 73 84
- 559 abowe] a bowe 58 62 73 84
- 562 temples] temple 58 62 73 84
- 564 the] theyr 58 62 73 84
- 565 (oh cuntry land) qþ he] (O contrey qþ land he) 73,
- 569 fast] last 73 84
- 574 thing] things 58 62 73 84; we] with 58 62 73 84
- 579 Latynia] Lacynia 58 62 73 84
- 588 as he] doo his 62 73 84
- 596 vnawares] onaware 62 73 84
- 597 A haven ther is whome force of wynd, o<sup>f</sup> storme can nothing move] A hauen right  
large ther is, whome force of wynd can neuer moue 58 62 73 84
- 598 w<sup>t</sup>] and 58 62 73 84

- 599 bleake] breke 58 62 73 84
- 600 smoking] smokin 73
- 607 broken] furneis 58 62 73 84
- In 58 and 62, l. 610 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 610 straw<sup>n</sup>^gie sight] straunge sightes 58 62, straungy sightes 73 84
- 611 &] or 58 62 73 84
- 622 Troyans] Troian 58 62 73 84
- 623 awhile] a while 58 62 73 84
- 631 water] waters 58 62 73 84
- 645 slawg<sup>h</sup>^ter] slaughters 58 62 73 84
- 657 drinkinges] drinking 62 73 84
- 661 at ones] atones 58 62 73 84
- 664 armye] armyn 58 62, arming 73 84
- 665 lif] liues 58 62 73 84
- 667 yors] Your 58 62 73 84
- 669 mylketh] mlikith 62
- 670 hundreth] hundred 58 62 73 84
- 673 maysters] monsters 58 62 73 84
- 674 holdes] holes 58 62 73 84
- 683 boysteous] boystrous 84
- 685 oneide] vneeied 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 711 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 714 &] an 73 84
- 719 Megaros] Megarus 58 62 73 84
- In 58, 62, 73, and 84, l. 723 marks the start of a new verse paragraph.*
- 735 oloof] aloof 58 62 73 84
- 735 force] ferce 58 62 73 84
- 739 all] great 58 62 73 84
- 746 labo<sup>rs</sup>] labour 58 62 73 84
- 748 intentif] ententife 58 62 73 84

SSSSSSSSSSSS

## [16]-[18]

## POEMS POSSIBLY BY JOHN HARINGTON OF STEPNEY

Poems [16]-[18] possibly constitute the second of four groupings by John Harington of Stepney in *P* alongside [13]-[14], [19]-[31], and [60]-[63].<sup>27</sup> The grouping is clearly defined, with one blank leaf separating it from the preceding poem [15], and six leaves separating it from the succeeding poem [19]. Both [17] and [18] are anonymous, though their placement with [16], a poem which Sir John assigns to his father in *Orlando Furioso* (see below), makes the elder Harington the principal candidate for their authorship. The scribal evidence also points to it being a Harington grouping. Hand B copies [16]-[18]; this hand is also principally responsible for entering the other Harington groupings, with the exception of [13] and [14]. Despite the likelihood that [19]-[25] and [27]-[31] are Harington pieces, this edition treats them as anonymous in the absence of a more conclusive attribution.

## [16]

Source: Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, Canto 19, stanza 1:

Alcun non può saper da chi sia amato,  
 quando felice in su la ruota siede;  
 però c'ha i veri e i finti amici a lato  
 che mostran tutti una medesima fede.  
 Se poi si cangia in tristo il lieto stato, [5]  
 volta la turba adulatrice il piede;  
 e quel che di cor ama riman forte,  
 et ama il suo signor dopo la morte.

[‘A man riding high on Fortune’s wheel cannot tell who really loves him, for his true and his spurious friends stand side by side and show him equal devotion. But should he fall on hard times, his crowd of flatterers will slip away. Only the friend who loves from his heart will stand by his lord and love him when he is dead.’]

Poem [16] is a stanza on friendship which the elder Harington translated from Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*. In addition to *P*, the poem survives in three other MSS: *AH*, fol. 16<sup>r</sup>; *BL*, Add. MS 18920, fol. 46<sup>r</sup> (*Adl*); and Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 125, p. 402 (*Bod*). The last two are copies of Sir John Harington’s whole translation of *Orlando Furioso*, where he placed it, with some emendations, at the head of Canto 19. The poem was printed in Sir John’s

<sup>27</sup> For a discussion of [16]-[18] as a possible Harington grouping, see Vol. I, p. 30.

published edition *Orlando Furioso In English Heroical Verse* (1591; STC 746), sig. N2<sup>v</sup> (*OF*), in which he appends a Note which assigns the poem to his father:

In the first staffe of this canto is an excellent morall of the prooffe of frends, which my father many years since did translate, almost word for word as I have set it downe, applying it to his master, the worthie Lord Admirall *Seymor*: and because the verse was my fathers, I count I may without vsurpation claim it, by inheritance. He applied it to that noble peere (very aptly) diuerse ways: both for his life, and for his death, but specially (which I count worth the noting) for his seruants, who loued him so dearely, that euen in remembrance of his honorable kindnesse, they loued one another exceedingly: and my father I remember, but a weeke before he died, which was in the yeare 1582, wrate with his owne hand the names of those who were then living of the old Admiraltie (so he called them that had bene my Lords men) and there were then xxxiiij of them liuing, of which many were knights and men of more reueneue than himselfe, and some were but meane men, as armorers, artificers, keepers, and farmers; and yet the memorie of his seruice, was such a bond among them all of kindnesse, as the best of them disdained not the poorest, and the meaner had recourse to the greatest, for their countenance and ayd in their honest causes, and many of them are euen now liuing, and yet it was little of fortie yeares since that noble man was put to death. His picture my father gaue after to the Queenes Maiestie that now is, with a pretie verse written on it, and it now hangs in the gallerie at Somerset House.

(sig. N5<sup>r</sup>)

Sir John records that the poem evidences his father's friendship with Sir Thomas Seymour, whose client he was from around the mid-1540s. Sir Edward Seymour refers to Harington as his 'brothers servaunt' in a letter sent to Henry VIII from the field of Boulogne, and suggests that Harington accompanied Seymour on the French campaign (Hughey, 1971: 19). Harington acted as Seymour's client until his master's execution for treason on March 20, 1549. One of the major charges he undertook was to intercede between Seymour and Henry Grey, then Marquis of Dorset (1517-1554), in order to persuade Dorset to allow his daughter, Lady Jane Grey, to join Seymour's household at Hatfield. Seymour seems to have intended to effect a marriage between Lady Jane and Edward VI. Differing accounts of these negotiations, and Harington's prominent role therein, survive in Dorset's and Harington's depositions taken at Seymour's trial (Haynes, 1740-1759: 75-77, 82-84, 93-95). Harington was examined on 25 January and, in greater detail, on 2, 3, and 4 February 1548/9. His explanation of an exchange with one Mr Rouse, who had charge of Seymour's household, is also preserved in his own secretary hand in the Cecil Papers 150, fol. 75<sup>r</sup>. This emphasises his role in 'moving' Dorset, a detail which demonstrates his devotion to Seymour. Such loyalty led Secretary William Petre to note, in a section 'Toching Harington', that he 'labor[ed] to have byn in the Towre with the Lord Admyrall' (Haynes, I: 84-85). Harington was imprisoned in February 1548/9 and was released by the following spring (Hughey, 1971: 30). During his imprisonment, Harington translated Cicero's *de Amicitia* from a prior

French translation, as the *Booke of freendship*. This text attests, like [16], to the value and political necessity of friendship.

The date at which Harington composed [16] is unknown. It is possible that he produced it as early as 1549; May, however, proposes an early Elizabethan date (May, 1991: 46, 326), and this seems probable due to the poem's apparent occasional purpose. A copy of [16], together with the elder Harington's sonnet on Seymour, 'Of person Rare', is inscribed on Seymour's portrait at Longleat House, which appears to have been a New Year's gift to Elizabeth I. In *NA1*, I, p. 86, and *NA2*, II, pp. 259-260. Henry Harington appended a note to his copy of 'Of person Rare' which suggests that both it and [16] were written onto the portrait 'from [John Harington's] own hand, dated 1567'. Sir John's Note above does not corroborate this date, but Harington's frequent participation in the New Years' exchange of gifts from the 1560s through to the late 1570s lends it credence (see Nichols, I, 1823: 116-117, 125-126, 381; II, 1823: 2, 77, 88, 261, 271).

- 3     *prest*] at hand, eager ('prest', *adj.*, 1a, 2a)  
 4     *one effect*] i.e., 'the same', 'of like appearance' ('effect', *n.*, 4a)  
 6     *as never...gest*] i.e., 'the former friend departs as if he were a stranger'; 'gest' here denotes both one entertained and a stranger ('guest', *n.*, 1a; 2a). The domestic colouring departs from the more public sense of Ariosto, 'turba adlatrice' (l. 6: 'crowd of flatterers').

### Collations

- Adl*     BL, Add. MS 18920, fol. 46<sup>r</sup>  
*AH*     Harrington MS Temp. Eliz., fol. 16<sup>r</sup>  
*Bod*     Bodleian MS Rawl. poet. 125, p. 402  
*OF*     Sir John Harington, *Orlando Furioso* (1591), sig. N2<sup>v</sup>  
*P*     BL, Add. MS 36529, fol. 44<sup>r</sup>

Hughey (II.6-7) chose *AH* as her copy-text; it is the earliest of the surviving witnesses, and presumably the closest to the elder Harington's original poem. As she argues, *AH*, *P*, and *OF* seem to be successive stages in the genesis of the poem, with *OF* being Sir John's adoption of it for his translation of the whole *Orlando Furioso*. Within this schema, *P* represents a medial stage. In l. 2, *P* is close to *AH* in its original but defective reading 'do rule and raln', which is apparently based on 'do Rule, and Raigne' in *AH*; it also shares the line-length readings with



*AH* in ll. 5 and 7, and carries over the inverted third couplet in ll. 5-6, which prevents the stanza in each case from being a strict *ottava rima*. In *OF*, Sir John remodels the poem to meet the requirements of *ottava rima*. The *OF* stanza, which contains no substantive variants in *Adl* and *Bod*, is as follows:

None can deem right who faithful friends do rest  
 While they beare sway & rule in great degree,  
 For then both fast and fained friends are prest,  
 Whose faithes seem both of one effect to be:  
 But then reuolts the faint and fained guest,  
 When welth vnwindes, and Fortune seems to flee  
 But he that loves indeed remaineth fast,  
 And loues and serues when life and all is past.

There are two revisions in ll. 2 and 8 in *P* which bring it closer to *OF* than *AH*. These may be the work of either the elder Harington or Sir John. First, Hand B's corrected reading 'beare sway or rule' is reproduced almost *litteratim* in 'beare sway & rule' in *OF*. Likewise, the revised reading 'when lif and all' in l. 8 of *P*, corrected from 'when hope and all', is adopted in *OF*. In contrast, *AH* has 'even after deathe'. This last substantive revision was perhaps made for metrical reasons: 'when lif and all' achieves more regular accentual-syllabic scansion than 'even after deathe', which depends upon elision of the first word in order to scan as an iamb.

- 2 <do rule and raln> ^beare sway or riese^] doe Rule, and Raigne *AH*, beare sway & rule *OF Adl Bod*
- 5 but if that welth vnwind and fortune flee] When welth vnwindes and Fortune seems to flee *OF Adl Bod* [as l. 6]
- 6 as never knowne reuolt's the'unfaithfull gest] But then reuolts the faint and fained gest *OF Adl Bod* [as l. 5]
- 7 but he whose hart] But he that loues *OF Adl Bod*  
 once vertue linked fast] in life once faithe linckt faste *AH*, indeed remaineth fast *OF Adl Bod*
- 8 will loue and sarue] And loues and serues *OF Adl Bod*  
 when <hope of> ^lif and^ all is past] euen after death is paste *AH*, when life and all is past *OF Adl Bod*

## [17], [18]

Poems [17] and [18] are apparently unique to *P*. Both are vituperative pieces against the evils of government and the abuse of the state. The stylistic features of the pieces point to a probable mid-Tudor provenance, with a date of composition of *c.* 1550s-1560s. Chief among these is the poet's fondness for alliteration and, in [17], balancing antitheses on either side of the caesura: see in particular ll. 3, 5, and 20. Both poems also make use of stock phrases which were common to printed mid-Tudor polemical verse such as Thomas Churchyard's *Dauy Dycars Dreame* ([1552?]; STC 5225.5). This was a satirical dream vision in the *Piers Plowman* tradition which was later one of the separates printed in the collection of broadsides, *The Contention betwyxte Churchyard and Camell* (1560?; STC 5225). It is possible that [17] and [18] drew directly on Churchyard's poem, which may incorporate an attack on the Privy Council amid its more conventional focus on social and economic ills.

## [17]

Poem [17] is a second-person address to the legislators of the realm, most probably the members of the Privy Council but possibly the judges of England. The Privy Council was the body of councillors closest to the monarch, and was the vehicle through which the monarch acted. A. F. Pollard described its official formation in 1540, after which it became a fixture of Tudor government (Pollard, 1923: 42-60). The poet of [17] levels several charges against his addressees, foremost among them their unabashed avarice (l. 8), perverted sense of justice (ll. 8-10), and craven deference to the will of their ruler (ll. 14-18). The content of the poem is too general to indicate a definite date of composition. If the 'he' of l. 15 is a monarch, it could refer to Henry VIII or, less probably Edward VI; the figure mentioned, however, might just as easily be an important individual in the Council or even a non-specific figure of a prominent councillor.

In form, the poet of [17] uses cross-rhymes divided into four units with a terminal couplet. The first runs for six lines (ll. 1-6), and the succeeding three for four each; the result is a rhyme scheme of *ababab cdcd efef ghgh ii*. The couplet serves both to force home the stark warning made to the poem's addressees and gives it the feel of an expanded Surrey sonnet.

- 2 *bownd by othe*] Privy Councillors swore an oath before the rest of the Council.  
 3 *frend*] For the verb, compare Harington, [63].12.  
 6 *betimes*] i.e., ‘while there is still time’ (‘betimes’, *adv.*, 3)  
 8 *crewell will...place*] For the phrase, compare Surrey, [52].45-46.  
 9 *wynding raks*] a common instrument of torture, which entailed the wrists and ankles  
 of the victim being attached to the corners of a wooden frame. By turning two rollers  
 at each end of the frame, the victim’s limbs would be stretched (‘rack’, *n.*<sup>3</sup>, 2b).  
 10 *eke*] also, moreover (‘eke’, *adv.*)  
 15 *that yf..fyght*] The idea that councillors are little more than vehicles of the monarch’s  
 will was a sixteenth-century commonplace. Compare Wyatt, [4].39-51, and Surrey,  
 [58].15-16.  
 16 *or*] ere, i.e., ‘before’  
 18 *leaue of*] leave off, cease, desist (‘leave’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>; 10a)  
 19 *mend*] i.e., amend, aphetic to aid the scansion; the spiritual sense is perhaps  
 applicable in context (‘amend’, *v.*, 1a).

## [18]

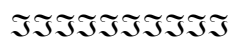
Unlike the specific and targetted content of [17], poem [18] carries a more hypothetical and general message. Each line catalogues a different abuse, with the sonnet as a whole covering the financial (l. 7), legal (l. 8), governmental (ll. 4, 9) and spiritual (ll. 12-13) maladministrations which define a corrupt state. In l. 13, the poet’s line about ‘costum’ prevailing over ‘trouthe’ perhaps has an anti-Catholic implication, with each term respectively a designation of the Catholic and Protestant faiths. Mid-Tudor Protestant humanists such as Roger Ascham, Sir Thomas Smith, and Thomas Wilson attacked ‘custom’ as a Catholic desire to retain outmoded religious practices. Compare Wilson, *The Art of Rhetorique* (1553; STC 25806):

[W]e turnyng natures light, into blynde custome, without Goddes will, haue vsed at lengthe to beleue, that he was really with vs here in yearthe, and worshipped hym not in spirite, but in Copes, in Candlestickes, in Belles, in Tapers, and in Censers, in Crosses, in Banners, in shauen Crounes and long gounes, and many good morowes els, deuised onely by the phantasie of manne, without the expresse will of God.

(sig. E2<sup>v</sup>)

In form, the poet of [18] combines regular accentual-syllabic metre with an unusual rhyme scheme of three cross-rhymed *abab* quatrains and a terminal couplet. The *Index* cites four other usages of this scheme in the sixteenth century: one is a Wyatt sonnet and two are Surrey sonnets, any of which are possible influences; the other is a Sidney sonnet from the *Old Arcadia*.<sup>28</sup> *Anaphora* and alliteration structure the poem, with eleven of the fourteen lines beginning ‘whear’. This rhetorical strategy is probably prompted by that used in *Dauy Dycars Dreame*, where alternate lines start with ‘When’.

- 4      *wants*] is lacking (‘want’, *v.*, 1a).  
          *rule the roste*] have full power (‘roast’, *n.*, Phrases, 2a); the phrase is proverbial  
          (*ODEP*, 687; Tilley, R 144). Compare Churchyard, *Dauy Dycars Dreame*: ‘And Rex  
          doth raigne and rule the rost’ (sig. A1<sup>r</sup>).
- 5      *crewelltie doth...beast*] For the phrase, compare [17].8 and Surrey, [52].45-46.
- 8      *rakt*] pulled or torn apart (‘rack’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1c), with an echo of [17].9
- 9      *plaines pines...feast*] i.e., ‘plain speaking suffers and flattery prevails greedily’
- 10     *cost*] country, realm (‘coast’, *n.*, 6)
- 11     *files...nest*] a perversion of the proverb ‘The bird loves her nest’ (*ODEP*, 60; Tilley,  
          B 385); compare John Bale, *The laboryouse Journey...of Johan Leylande* (1549; STC  
          15445): ‘The byrdes that flye abroade, do loue their owne nestes’ (sig. B6<sup>r</sup>).
- 12     *guid the gost*] direct the spirit, usurp spiritual discipline (‘ghost’, *n.*, 1)
- 14     *piteous*] pitiful (‘piteous’, *adj.*, 1)  
          *wofull cace*] For the phrase, compare [26a].1 and [28].11, both poems for which the  
          elder Harington is the probable author.



<sup>28</sup> The Wyatt sonnet is ‘Such is the course that nature’s kind hath wrought’; the two Surrey sonnets are ‘Alas, so all things now do hold their peace’, and ‘Brittle beauty that nature made so frail’. The Sidney sonnet from the *Old Arcadia* is ‘Aurora, now thou showest thy blushing light’. The catalogue numbers in the *Index* are, respectively, EV 21088, EV 1415, EV3999, and EV 3213.

[19]-[25], [27]-[31]

## POEMS POSSIBLY BY JOHN HARINGTON OF STEPNEY

Poems [19]-[25] and [27]-[31] are translations of sonnets lifted from Petrarch's *Rime sparse*; the sixain, [26a], punctuates the otherwise broken sequence. Taken together, these translations possibly constitute the third of four groupings by John Harington of Stepney in *P* alongside [13]-[14], [16]-[18], and [60]-[63].<sup>29</sup> The reasons for assigning the sonnets thus are stylistic, formal, and textual. The twelve translations in the sequence are apparently unique to *P*, and there has been little scholarship on them. Kenneth Muir transcribed and commented on the pieces, asserting that they represent the largest single body of Petrarchan translations extant between Surrey and Sidney (Muir, 1950: 464-471). On the basis of the possible reference to 'Sands' (Edwin Sandys) in [30], Muir suggested 1553 or 1562 as dates for their composition, with 1553 the more probable. Anthony Mortimer has also discussed them alongside [13]-[14]. Unlike those two Petrarchan translations, he does not assign [19]-[25] and [27]-[31] to Harington (Mortimer, 2002: 17-18). Mortimer criticises the sequence for its unoriginal choices from Petrarch and 'pedestrian' mode of paraphrase, suggesting too that the translations contain no obvious echoes of earlier English translations, by Wyatt in the case of [21]-[23] and [27]-[28], and Chaucer in the case of [20]. However, the textual relations between these poems and their English precedents are frequently manifest.

**Order**

The sequence is arranged as a *Rime sparse* in miniature: [19] is a translation of Petrarch's first sonnet, *Rima* 1, and [31] renders Petrarch's final sonnet, *Rima* 365. The internal rationale for the order of the poems is less clear, however, and does not follow Petrarch's arrangement as it survives in his MSS or sixteenth-century printed editions. For example, poem [22], which invokes Hannibal as a type of the dissembling ruler, is a translation of *Rima* 102; poem [27], which alludes to Hannibal's failure to profit from his victories, is a translation of *Rima* 103. These two sonnets, folio-mates in Petrarch, are entered into *P* by different hands and are separated by four poems. The involvement of three different hands in the composition of the sequence suggest that it may have had a piecemeal development. Nevertheless, there is evidence that the Haringtons had an overarching design in mind when they arranged the

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<sup>29</sup> For a discussion of [19]-[25] and [27]-[31] as a possible Harington grouping, see Vol. I, pp. 28-29.

leaves for binding. Poems [19]-[24] are amatory in character; poems [25]-[28] and [30] are sententious and perhaps occasional; and poems [29] and [31], which are facing-page translations of the same sonnet, are spiritual. The sequence therefore follows a *cursus* of a kind, moving from love through serious moral matters poems to a kind of spiritual retraction in [29] and [31]. The table below pairs the poems in *P* with their counterparts in the *Rime sparse*:

| Poem No. | <i>Rima</i> No. |
|----------|-----------------|
| [19]     | 1               |
| [20]     | 132             |
| [21]     | 19              |
| [22]     | 102             |
| [23]     | 224             |
| [24]     | 61              |
| [25]     | 114             |
| [27]     | 103             |
| [28]     | 269             |
| [29]     | 365             |
| [30]     | 7               |
| [31]     | 365             |

### Hands

Three hands are responsible for transcribing the poems of the *Rime* sequence. It is uncertain when these hands copied their share of poems, and how far apart in time each hand undertook the task of transcription. Hand B assumed the bulk of the copying work, transcribing nine of the poems ([19]-[25], [30]-[31]); the differing thickness of ink and pen across these poems, on fol. 46<sup>r</sup> in particular, suggest that they were copied over a series of sittings rather than in one stint. Hand D took on the task of copying [27] and [28], which appear on a single page (fol. 47<sup>r</sup>). Hand I was responsible for entering the single item [29] into *P*, a translation of *Rima* 365 of which [31] is another version. This hand appears later in character than B or D; there is also evidence that it entered [29] into *P* some time after the completion of the original sequence,

given that its location on the page next to [31] suggests deliberation and even emulation on the part of its scribe, rivalrous or otherwise.<sup>30</sup>

The textual condition of the poems in the sequence is largely uniform. Poems [19]-[20], [23]-[25], and [27]-[31] are predominantly free of interlinear corrections. This raises the possibility that the sonnets were fair copies of pieces which had been composed and reworked prior to being anthologised in *P*. However, [21] and [22] are strong exceptions to this pattern. There are two different hands in [21] apart from Hand B, and two different hands in [22] independent of those in [21]. The table below provides an overview of the changes the four hands introduce into [21] and [22]:

| Poem | Line  | Original Reading<br>(Hand B) | Revision<br>(Correcting Hands)                                      |
|------|-------|------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------|
| [21] | l. 2  | glistring                    | <b>1st [brown ink]</b><br>shining                                   |
|      | l. 5  | be                           | by                                                                  |
|      |       | shining                      | flaming                                                             |
|      | l. 9  | lightning                    | ^<glistring>^                                                       |
|      | l. 9  |                              | <b>2nd [dark brown ink]</b><br><too bright> two faire <eyes> starrs |
| [22] | l. 2  | by                           | <b>3rd [black ink]</b><br>from                                      |
|      | l. 3  | whole world saw              | world might see                                                     |
|      | l. 13 | It is                        | It <is> ('is' is struck through)                                    |
|      | l. 13 | Therefore                    | <b>4th [brown ink]</b><br>Wherfore ['W' written over 'T']           |
|      | l. 14 | It is                        | Thinke it[?] [written over 'It is']                                 |

<sup>30</sup> For a discussion of the scribal and stylistic evidence for [29] being a later work than [31], see the Headnote to [29].

Stylistic and personal preference apparently influenced each hand's changes. In the case of the third hand's input in l. 13 of [22], the deletion of 'is' renders the line nonsensical. The fourth hand's input has not been marked on the transcript (except in the textual notes) because it does not appear plausibly contemporary with Hand B. It is uncertain when the other three correcting hands made their separate revisions to [21] and [22]. If they were introduced at approximately the same time that Hand B copied the main text of the two poems, the tinkering may indicate that [21] and [22] at least were works in progress rather than fair copies. Poem [21], l. 6, demonstrates Hand B itself continually reworking the line, a fact which may again point to the status of [21] and [22], if not the sequence in sum, as working copies. Nevertheless, it remains possible that the correcting hands introduced their revisions at a later date, and that [21] and [22], like their counterparts, were compiled in *P* as finished pieces.<sup>31</sup>

### **Note on the Poems in *P*: Dating and Authorship**

The presence of the correcting hands in [21] and [22] suggests that more than one composer may have been involved in the translation of both these poems and perhaps their counterparts in the sequence. Overall, the evidence suggests that the sonnets are mid-Tudor pieces composed between *c.* 1550s-1560s. This date range fits with the known material in *P*, as well as the earlier portions of *AH*, several poems from which were composed before 1557 and survive also in *TI-2* (see Hughey, I.27-36). As seen, [21]-[23] and [27]-[28] are translations for which Wyatt composed earlier versions. *Contra Mortimer*, these poems all show the influence of Wyatt's anterior translations, as well as Surrey, in both form and choice of phrasing. It is probable that such direct engagement with Wyatt and Surrey took place in the mid-Tudor decades, given that the textual influence of both declined in the work of later Elizabethan poets.

The elder probably originated the collection, though it is uncertain whether he composed each of the sonnets in the sequence; poem [29] is almost certainly not his work. As well as surviving in *P* alone, [19]-[25] and [27]-[31] have similarities in style and form with the other possible and assigned Harington pieces in *P*. With [17] and [18], they share consistent use of alliteration and of balancing antitheses in the line. With [13]-[14] and [60] in particular, the sonnets share the combination of regular accentual-syllabic scansion and

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<sup>31</sup> For an image of [21] and [22] on fol. 45<sup>v</sup> of *P*, See Vol. I, Appendix 2.



experimental verse forms that is a Harington hallmark (see Headnote to [13]-[14]). The translator(s) has composed each of the of the twelve sonnets in a different rhyme scheme, as summarised in the table below:

| Poem | Rhyme Scheme              |
|------|---------------------------|
| [19] | <i>abba cdcd efef gg</i>  |
| [20] | <i>abab abbc dcde de</i>  |
| [21] | <i>abab abac aacd cd</i>  |
| [22] | <i>abba abba cdcd cd</i>  |
| [23] | <i>abba abaa cbc b dd</i> |
| [24] | <i>abab baab cdcd cd</i>  |
| [25] | <i>abba cddc efef ff</i>  |
| [27] | <i>abba bacc dede ff</i>  |
| [28] | <i>abba caca dede de</i>  |
| [29] | <i>abab cdcd efef gg</i>  |
| [30] | <i>abba abab cdcd ee</i>  |
| [31] | <i>abba abba cdcd ee</i>  |

These rhyme schemes differ in their level of ambition. Seven of the pieces utilise a terminal couplet ([19], [23], [25], [27], and [29]-[31]). These are the poems for which the *Index* cites other sixteenth-century users. First, the rhyme scheme in [29], the probable later addition to the sequence, is a straightforwardly Surreyian one. Joshua Sylvester used the rhyme scheme of [19] twice in *The Miracle of the Peace in Fravnce* (1599; STC 7353.5), sigs. B5<sup>r</sup>, and B6<sup>v</sup>.<sup>32</sup> Likewise, Barnabe Barnes used the rhyme scheme of [30] once in *Parthenophil and Parthenophe* (1593; STC 1469), sigs I2<sup>v</sup>I3<sup>r</sup>; and once in *A Divine Centvrie Of Spirituall Sonnets* (1595; STC 1467), sig. D3<sup>r</sup>.<sup>33</sup> In both cases, the translator(s) of [19] and [30] switch between a Petrarchan and Surreyian quatrain in the poems' octaves. However, it is improbable that either Sylvester or Barnes knew of the *Rime* sequence in *P*, discounting suggestions of its direct influence on them. Of the remaining sonnets in the sequence with a terminal couplet, the *Index* describes [31] and [22] as variations on the typical Petrarchan sonnet, though the

<sup>32</sup> The poems are, respectively, 'Bold *Martialists*, braue Impes of noble birth' (sig. B5<sup>r</sup>), and 'You graue assembly of sage Senators' (sig. B6<sup>v</sup>). The catalogue numbers in the *Index* are EV 3882 and EV 32299.

<sup>33</sup> The poems are, respectively, 'Wayne gallantes, whose much longing spirites tickle' (sigs I2<sup>v</sup>-I3<sup>r</sup>), and 'O what great comfort is it to giue praise' (sig. D3<sup>r</sup>). The catalogue numbers in the *Index* are EV 17711 and EV 27980.

second does not have a terminal couplet.<sup>34</sup> The rhymes schemes of [25] and [27] have no other known users in the period.

Together with [22], four other sonnets in the *Rime* sequence feature no terminal couplet ([20], [21], [24], [28]). These translations tend to have the most experimental rhyme schemes. For instance, [21] boasts a second quatrain which rhymes *abac* and a third quatrain which rhymes *accd*; [24] has a second quatrain which rhymes *baab*. The *Index* cites no other known sixteenth-century users for any of these five sonnets. Given the evidence of experimentation in the elder Harington's corpus of verse, it is probable that he at least began the *Rime* sequence in *P*; any additional or later figures involved in composing or assembling the sequence (also probably Haringtons) apparently followed the experimental pattern thus initiated.

The third note of interest in [19]-[25] and [27]-[31] is their strong allusiveness. Several of the sonnets draw on known examples of the form by Wyatt and Surrey; poem [20] alludes to Chaucer, the first translator of a Petrarch sonnet when he turned *Rima* 132 into rhyme royal for *T&C*. The sustained references to Wyatt and Surrey suggest that the translator(s) of the sequence had access to MS copies of the verse of the two poets, especially given the fact that some lines (as in [21].9) could not have descended from *TI*-2. The sonnets show an inclination to rival Wyatt's earlier translations ([21]) as well as borrow phrases and rhymes from them ([22], [23], and [28]). Surrey's sonnet rhymes are also recycled, alongside phrases which have been culled from the broad range of his poems and not merely sonnets. As *E*, *AH*, and *P* attest, Harington was a keen collector of both poets. Both he and Sir John were therefore well placed to access a good deal of the surviving verse of both Henrician poets and rework their phrases and rhymes into new compositions. As a whole, the sequence makes an important contribution to the mid-Tudor experimentation with, and development of, the sonnet form.

Despite the likelihood that [19]-[25] and [27]-[31] are Harington pieces, this edition treats them as anonymous in the absence of a more conclusive attribution.

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<sup>34</sup> The criterion May and Ringler use to categorise a Petrarchan sonnet in the *Index* (III.2169) is an *abba abba* octave, plus a sestet with *c*, *d*, and *e* rhymes in any combination.

[19]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 1:

Voi ch' ascoltate in rime sparse il suono  
 di quei sospiri ond' io nudriva 'l core  
 in sul mio primo giovanile errore,  
 quand' era in parte altr' uom da quel ch' i' sono:

del vario stile in ch' io piango et ragiono [5]  
 fra le vane speranze e 'l van dolore,  
 ove sia chi per prova intenda amore  
 spero trovar pietà, non che perdono.

Ma ben veggio or sì come al popol tutto [10]  
 favola fui gran tempo, onde sovente  
 di me medesimo meco mi vergogno;

et del mio vaneggiar vergogna è 'l frutto,  
 e 'l pentersi, e 'l conoscer chiaramente  
 che quanto piace al mondo è breve sogno.

[‘You who hear in scattered rhymes the sound of those sighs with which I nourished my heart during my first youthful error, when I was in part another man from what I am now:

for the varied style in which I weep and speak between vain hopes and vain sorrow, where there is anyone who understands love through experience, I hope to find pity, not only pardon.

But now I see well how for a long time I was the talk of the crowd, for which often I was ashamed of myself within;

and of my raving, shame is the fruit, and repentance, and the clear knowledge that whatever pleases in the world is a brief dream.']

Poem [19], much like its counterpart in Petrarch's vernacular MSS Chigi L.V.176 and Vat. Lat. 3195, has two principal functions: it serves as an *apologia* for the poems to come, which are the consequence of the speaker's succumbing to love, and directs the reader's attention in self-reflexive fashion to the action of reading and writing verse. This second purpose became a standard feature of opening sonnets in Elizabethan sequences: compare Sidney, *Astrophil and Stella*, 1. The translator appears in two instances to make allusions to Surrey poems, both of which survive in *P*. The first allusion, in l. 11, is almost certainly taken from 'Suche waywarde wais hath love' ([35]); the second, in ll. 13-14, borrows from the couplet of Surrey's sonnet 'The greate Macedon' ([44]).

In form, the translator uses a rhyme scheme which combines features of the Petrarchan (ll. 1-4) and Surrey sonnets (ll. 5-14). Tottel printed another translation of *Rima* 1 with the title 'The loue asketh pardon of his passed follie in loue' in *T2* and each edition thereafter:

You that in play peruse my plaint, and reade in rime the smart,  
 Which in my youth with sighes full cold I harbourd in my hart.  
 Know ye that loue in that fraile age, draue me to that distresse,  
 When I was halfe an other man, then I am now to gesse.  
 Then for this worke of wauering words where I now rage now rew [5]  
 Tost in the toyes of troublous loue, as care of comfort grew.  
 I trust with you that loues affaires by prooffe haue put in vre:  
 Not onely pardon in my plait, but pitie to procure.  
 For now I wot that in the world a wonder haue I be,  
 And where to long loue made me blinde, to late shame makes me se. [10]  
 Thus of my fault shame is the fruite, and for my youth thus past,  
 Repentance is my recompence, and this I learne at last.  
 Looke what the world hath most in price, as sure it is to kepe,  
 As is the dreame which fancie driues, while sence and reason slepe.  
 (T2, sig. II<sup>v</sup>)

- 2 *wonted*] accustomed (‘wonted’, *adj.*)  
*whylome*] at one time; formerly (‘whilom’, *adv.*, 2a)
- 3 *greene yeares*] inexperienced, immature years (‘green’, *adj.*, 8c); the translator appears to pick up on ‘primo’ in Petrarch, which invokes English ‘prime’, i.e., ‘spring’.
- 4 *strayd farr*] Although the translator renders Petrarch ‘errore’ (1.3: ‘error’) in [19].3, the word perhaps supplies the phrase here (Latin ‘errare’: ‘to wander’).
- 5 *sere*] withered (‘sere’, *adj.*<sup>1</sup>, 1b); the adjective is the translator’s addition, and possibly refers to the speaker’s posture or the well-worn nature of the complaints through over-use.
- 7 *youth did...raine*] contrasts with Petrarch’s emphasis on those who understand love through experience  
*raine*] reign
- 8 *troustr*] trust
- 9 *howbi’t*] howbeit  
*brewts*] rumours (‘bruit’, *n.*, 2a)
- 10 *abrode*] i.e., in public (‘abroad’, *adv.*, 2)  
*seeld*] seld, i.e., seldom (‘seld’, *adv.*, a); the doubling of the vowel creates a suitable end-rhyme with ‘yeeld’ in [19].12.
- 11 *shame staynes...red*] For the phrase, compare Surrey [35].21-22.
- 12 *frewts*] fruits
- 13-14 *repentance eke...sleepe*] For the phrasing and rhymes, compare Surrey, [44].13-14.
- 13 *eke*] also, moreover (‘eke’, *adv.*)  
*printed*] imprinted

[20]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 132:

S' amor non è, che dunque è quel ch' io sento?  
 ma s' egli è amor, per Dio, che cosa et quale?  
 se bona, ond' è l'effetto aspro mortale?  
 se ria, ond' è sì dolce ogni tormento?

S' a mia voglia ardo, ond' è 'l pianto e lamento? [5]  
 s' a mal mio grado, il lamentar che vale?  
 O viva morte, o diletto male,  
 come puoi tanto in me s' io nol consento?

Et s' io 'l consento, a gran torto mi doglio. [10]  
 Fra sì contrari venti in frale barca  
 mi trovo in alto mar senza governo,

sì lieve di saver, d'error sì carica  
 ch' i' medesimo non so quel ch' io mi voglio,  
 e tremo a mezza state, ardendo il verno.

[‘If it is not love, what then is it that I feel? But if it is love, before God, what kind of thing is it? If it is good, whence comes this bitter mortal effect? If it is evil, why is each torment so sweet?

If by my own will I burn, whence comes the weeping and lament? If against my will, what does lamenting avail? O living death, I delightful harm, how can you have such power over me if I do not consent to it?

And if I do consent to it, it is wrong of me to complain. Amid such contrary winds I find myself at sea in a frail bark, without a tiller,

so light of wisdom, so laden with error, that I myself do not know what I want; and I shiver in midsummer, burn in winter.’]

Poem [20] appears to be the first translation in sonnet form of *Rima* 132 in English, though Chaucer was the first vernacular translator, converting it into three rhyme-royal stanzas as the ‘Canticus Troili’ (‘Song of Troilus’) in *T&C*, 1.400-420:

If no love is, O God, what fele I so?  
 And if love is, what thing and which is he?  
 If love be good, from whennes cometh my woo?  
 If it be wikke, a wonder thynketh me,  
 When every torment and adversite  
 That cometh of hym may to me savory thinke, [405]  
 For ay thurst I, the more that ich it drynke.

And if that at myn owen lust I brenne,  
 From whennes cometh my waillynge and my pleynte?  
 If harm agree me, wherto pleyne I thenne?  
 I noot, ne whi unwery that I feynte. [410]

O quike deth, O swete harm so queynte,  
 How may of the in me swich quantite,  
 But if that I consente that it be?

And if that I consente, I wrongfully  
 Compleyne, iwis. Thus passed to and fro, [415]  
 Al stereeles withinne a boot am I  
 Amydde the see, bitwixen windes two,  
 That in contrarie stonden evere mo.  
 Allas, what is this wondre maladie?  
 For hote of cold, for cold of hote, I dye. [420]

Thomson (1959: 313-328) analyses Chaucer's translation. The translator of [20] almost certainly knew and used Chaucer's translation, whose influence extends to phrasing, word choice, and perhaps form. In l. 2 Chaucer's equivalent line is taken over almost *litteratim*. In a more indirect fashion, [20] contains three ME words which in the mid-sixteenth century were becoming archaic: 'boots' (l. 6), 'dole' (l. 9), and 'ne' (l. 13). It is possible that the translator, having cited Chaucer in ll. 1-2, deliberately worked Chaucerianisms into his diction.

The octave of [20], which the translator rhymes *abab abbc*, perhaps shows the formal influence of Chaucer's rhyme royal. Within this scheme, ll. 3-8, which run *ababbc*, appear to mimic the first six lines of the rhyme-royal stanza (*ababbcc*). Any such influence, however, may be indirect or accidental, and ll. 3-8 do not form a discrete grammatical unit in the manner of a self-contained stanza. The use of elision in ll. 10 and 13 demonstrate that the translator, or Hand B, was aware of accentual-syllabic metre and tried to maintain a decasyllabic line.

- 1 *throwse*] throes  
 6 *what boots*] i.e., what does it avail or profit me ('boot', *v.*, 3a)  
 7 *staid*] fixed, unchanging ('staid', *adj.*, 1a)  
 8 *but*] unless  
 9 *if I...driue*] i.e., 'if I do consent to experience love, I err ['arre'] in falling into sorrow about it'  
*dole*] sorrow, grief ('dole', *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 1)  
 10 *tikl'imbarkt*] uncertainly or precariously embarked ('tickle', *adj.*, 5; 6b); the elided form of 'tickle' here is otherwise unattested in sixteenth-century verse. For the adjective, compare [69].21-22.  
 11 *steereles*] Compare Surrey, [52].1.  
*to*] two

- 12 *skill*] reason, wisdom ('skill', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1; 2c)  
 13 *ne*] does not ('ne', *conj.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)

[21]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 19:

Son animali al mondo de sì altera  
 vista che 'ncontra 'l sol pur si difende;  
 altri, però che 'l gran lume gli offende,  
 non escon fuor se non verso la sera;

et altri, col desio folle che spera [5]  
 gioir forse nel foco, perché splende,  
 provan l'altra virtù, quella che 'ncende,  
 lasso, e 'l mio loco è 'n questa ultima schera.

Ch' i' non son forte ad aspettar la luce [10]  
 di questa donna, et non so fare schermi  
 di luoghi tenebrosi o d'ore tarde;

però con gli occhi lagrimosi e 'nfermi  
 mio destino a vederla mi conduce,  
 et so ben ch' i' vo dietro a quel che m'arde.

[‘There are animals in the world of sight so audacious that it withstands even the sun; others, because the great light harms them, do not come out except toward evening;

and others, with their mad desire that hopes perhaps to enjoy the fire because it shines, experience the other power, the one that burns; alas, and my place is in this last band.

For I am not strong enough to look on the light of this lady, and I do not know how to make a shield of shadowy places and late hours;

therefore my destiny meads me, with tearful and weak eyes, to see her: and I know well I am pursuing what burns me.’]

Wyatt first translated *Rima* 19 into English; his sonnet survives in *E*, fol. 19<sup>v</sup>, and the Wyatt section of Tottel, *T1*, sigs E2<sup>v</sup>-E3<sup>r</sup>, *T2*, sig. F1<sup>r-v</sup>, and each edition thereafter. M&T printed the sonnet from *E*:

Som fowles there be that have so perfaict sight,  
 Agayn the Sonne their Iyes for to defend,  
 And som, bicause the light doeth theim offend,  
 Do never pere but in the darke or nyght. [5]  
 Other reioyse that se the fyer bright  
 And wene to play in it as they do pretend,  
 And fynd the contrary of it that they intend.

Alas, of that sort I may be by right,  
 For to withstond her loke I am not able;  
 And yet can I not hide me in no darke place, [10]  
 Remembraunce so foloweth me of that face,  
 So that with tery yen swolne and vnstable,  
 My destyne to behold her doeth me lede;  
 Yet do I know I runne into the glede.

(M&amp;T: XXVIII)

The Haringtons also copied the poem, *inter alia*, into *AH*, fol. 66<sup>f</sup>. Unlike [20], where the influence of Chaucer is apparent, the translator does not follow Wyatt closely in any line of [21]. Thus, the translation does not follow Wyatt's departure from Petrarch in l. 10, in which the speaker seeks to hide himself from the light, and in l. 14 elaborates on both Petrarch's and Wyatt's image of pursuing something that burns. In l. 12, the translator introduces a reading unattested altogether in Wyatt. It is probable that the translation was made in large part to rival Wyatt's version of *Rima* 19 rather than imitate it. The unprecedented rhyme scheme of poem [21] privileges the *a*-rhyme, which features in six out of the fourteen lines in ll. 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, and 10.

The textual state of the poem, with its considerable interlinear revisions in the script of both Hand B, the main copying hand, and another three hands, is summarised in the Headnote to [19]-[25], and [27]-[31]. The corrections serve as a reminder of the plural and social nature of MS verse composition.

- 1     *persing*] piercing
- 2     *so hie*] the translator's addition, which creates a suitable end-rhyme with 'nie' in [21].4.
- 4     *abrode*] outside, outdoors ('abroad', *adv.*, 3a)  
       *nie*] near ('nigh', *adv.*)
- 6     <sup>^</sup>*lust*<sup>^</sup>] delight, desire, here without the sexual overtones ('lust', *n.*, 1a; 2a)  
       <sup>^</sup>*of sport*<sup>^</sup>] for entertainment
- 7-8   *and tast's...Rate*] The translator follows Petrarch, as does Wyatt, in placing an unusual line break in l. 7. In all three versions of the sonnet, l. 8 is transitional, concluding the rhyme scheme of the octave and establishing the argument of ll. 9-14.
- 7     *tast's by...burning*] i.e., 'experiences ['tast's?], due to their playing, the sober effect of burning' ('taste', *v.*, 1a, 3a; 'earnest', *n.*<sup>l</sup>, 2a): the syntax sets 'by play' and 'in earnest' in counterpoint. The line alludes to the proverb 'The fly that plays too long



in the candle sings his wings at last' (*ODEP*, 271; Tilley, D 652). Compare Surrey, [36].9-12.

- 8 *Rate*] kind, type ('rate', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 12a)
- 9 *^two faire <eyes> starrs^*] elaborates on Petrarch, 'luce' (19.9: 'light')  
*want*] lack ('want, *v.*, 1a)
- 12 *Wherfore I...blame*] the translator's addition
- 14 *All thoughte...flame*] The metaphor elaborates on Petrarch and Wyatt. As in 7n., compare [36].9-12.

[22]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 102:

Cesare, poi che 'l traditor d'Egitto  
 li fece il don de l'onorata testa,  
 celando l'aggrezza manifesta  
 pianse per gli occhi fuor, sì come è scritto;

et Anibàl, quando a l'imperio afflitto  
 vide farsi Fortuna sì molesta, [5]  
 rise fra gente lagrimosa et mesta  
 per isfogare il suo acerbo dispitto;

et così aven che l'animo ciascuna  
 sua passion sotto 'l contrario manto [10]  
 ricopre co la vista or chiara or bruna.

Però s' alcuna volta io rido o canto,  
 facciol perch' i' non ò se non quest'una  
 via da celare il mio angoscioso pianto.

['Caesar, when the Egyptian traitor made him a present of that honoured head, hiding his indubitable joy wept with his eyes, externally, as it is written;

and Hannibal, when he saw Fortune become so cruel to the afflicted empire, laughed among his tearful sad people, to vent his bitter chagrin;

and thus it happens that each soul covers its passion over with the contrary mantle, with a face now clear, now dark.

Therefore if at any time I laugh or sing, I do it because I have no way except this one to hide my anguished weeping.']

Wyatt first translated *Rima* 102 into English; his sonnet survives in *E*, fol. 4<sup>v</sup>, and the Wyatt section of Tottel, *T1*, sig. E2<sup>v</sup>, *T2*, sig. F1<sup>r</sup>, and each edition thereafter. M&T printed the sonnet from *E*:

Caesar, when that the traytour of Egipt  
 With th'onourable had did him present,  
 Covering his gladness did represent  
 Playnt with his teres owtward, as it is writt:  
 And Hannyball eke, when fortune him shitt [5]  
 Clene from his reign and from all his intent,  
 Laught to his folke whome sorrowe did torment,  
 His cruell dispite for to disgorge and qwit.  
 So chaunceth it oft that every passion  
 The mynde hideth by colour contrary [10]  
 With fayned visage, now sad, now mery:  
 Whereby, if I laught, any tyme, or season  
 It is for bicause I have nother way  
 To cloke my care but vnder spoort and play.

(M&T: III)

Unlike [21], where the translator largely eschews Wyatt as an exemplar, there are two indisputable examples of borrowing from his earlier translation in poem [22]. The first is in l. 9, where the translator's 'So chancith it' copies 'So chaunceth it' (l. 9) in Wyatt. *T1-2* are here discounted as an influence given that their reading 'So chaunceth me' is unrelated. The second example is the translator's clear adaptation in l. 13 of Wyatt's equivalent line. The form of [22], with its Petrarchan octave (*abba abba*), also brings it closer to Wyatt, although the sestet utilises just two (*c-* and *d-*) rhymes rather than the three (*c*, *d*, and *e*) which are typical of Wyatt. The placement of poem [22] amid the love laments in the *Rime* sequence suggests that the Haringtons may have considered the sonnet to have an amatory cast.

There are four revisions to Hand B's original text of the poem in ll. 2, 3, 12, and 13. Each is discussed in the Headnote to [19]-[25], and [27]-[31].

1-4 *Cesare what...bred*] According to the accounts in Plutarch's *Lives* and Lucan's *Pharsalia*, Caesar wept bogus tears upon receiving the decapitated head of his son-in-law Pompey, with whom he had been at war at Pharsalus. Lucan describes the episode thus in 9.1037-1039: 'Utque fidem vidit sceleris tutumque putavit | Iam bonus esse socer, lacrimas non sponte cadentes | Effudit gemitusque expressit pectore laeto' (Lucan, 1928: 'Then, when he saw the proof of the crime, and thought it safe at last to be the loving kinsman, he shed crocodile tears and forced out groans while his heart

- rejoiced.’). Compare Surrey, [49].4. Rollins (II.165) cites several other sixteenth-century allusions to the episode.
- 2 *traitors hand*] probably Ptolemy’s hand, described through *antonomasia*, though Plutarch cites Theodotus instead
- 5-8 *Haniball eke...fed*] The Carthaginian commander Hannibal reputedly cloaked his sorrow in front of his people after he was defeated by the Roman Empire. Hannibal’s earlier fortune is described in *Rima* 103. Compare [27].1.
- 5 *eke*] also, moreover (‘eke’, *adv.*)
- 9 *assay*] try, put to the test (‘assay’, *v.*, 1a)
- 12 *if I...smile*] i.e., ‘if I happen to sing or smile’ (‘chance’, *v.*, 1c)
- 13 *can*] know (‘can’, *v.*, 1b)
- 14 *still*] continually, always (‘still’, *adv.*, 3a)

[23]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 224:

S’ una fede amorosa, un cor non finto,  
 un languir dolce, un desiar cortese,  
 s’ oneste voglie in gentil foco accese,  
 un lungo error in cieco laberinto,

se ne la fronte ogni penser depinto, [5]  
 od in voci interrotte a pena intese  
 or da paura or da vergogna offese,  
 s’ un pallor di viola et d’amor tinto,

s’ aver altrui più caro che se stesso, [10]  
 se sospirare et lagrimar mai sempre  
 pascendosi di duol d’ira et d’affanno,

s’ arder da lunge et agghiacciar da presso,  
 son le cagion ch’ amando i’ mi distempre:  
 vostro, Donna, ’l peccato et mio fia ’l danno.

[‘If faithfulness in love, an unfeigning heart, a sweet yearning, a courteous desire—if chaste desires kindled in a noble fire, a long wandering in a blind labyrinth—

if to have all my thoughts written on my brow, or barely understood in broken words, or cut off by fear or shame—if a pallor like the violet’s, tinted with love—

if to love another more than oneself—if to be always sighing and weeping, feeding on sorrow and anger and trouble—

if to burn from afar and freeze close by—if these are the causes that I untune myself with love,  
yours will be the blame, Lady, mine the loss.’]

Wyatt first translated *Rima* 224 into English; his sonnet survives in, *E*, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>, and the Wyatt section of Tottel, *T1*, sig. I2<sup>v</sup>, *T2*, sigs I4<sup>v</sup>-K1<sup>r</sup>, and each edition thereafter. M&T printed the sonnet from *E*:

Yf amours faith, and hert vnfayned,  
A swete languor, a great lovely desire,  
Yf honest will kyndelled in gentill fiere,  
Yf long error in a blynde maze chayned,  
Yf in my visage eche thought depaynted, [5]  
Or else in my sperklyng voyse lower or higher,  
Which nowe fere, nowe shame, wofully doth tyer,  
Yf a pale colour which love hath stayned,  
Yf to have an othre then my selfe more dere,  
Yf wailing or sighting continually [10]  
With sorrowful anger feding bissely,  
Yf burning a farre of and fresing nere  
Ar cause that by love my self I distroye,  
Yours is the fault and myn the great annoye.

(M&T: XII)

The Haringtons also copied the poem into *AH*, fol. 65<sup>r</sup>. As in [22], the translator of [23] appears to have used Wyatt as an exemplar, with two examples of borrowing. The first is in l. 9, which adopts Wyatt’s ‘then my selfe more dere’; the second is in l. 14, which takes over Wyatt’s ‘Yours is the fault’. The translator’s choice of the rhyming collocation ‘deere’/‘neere’ in ll. 9 and 11 also shows the influence of Wyatt, who uses it in his ll. 9 and 12. In beginning twelve of the fourteen lines with *If* / ‘if’, the translator elaborates on both Petrarch, who opens six lines with ‘se’ / ‘s’ (224.1, 3, 5, and 8), and Wyatt, who opens eight with ‘Yf’ (ll. 1, 3-5, 8-10, and 12). As in [21], the octave of [23] emphasises *a*-rhymes, with five of the eight lines utilising this rhyme (ll. 1, 3, 5, 7, 8).

Alongside the borrowings from Wyatt, the translator makes several additions to his sources. These are line-length in ll. 3, 8, and 10, but are also found on a smaller scale in ll. 4 and 14. Their cumulative effect is to sharpen the speaker’s failure and sense of grievance at his beloved.

2 *sportles*] devoid of success, pleasure (‘sportless’, *adj.*); the earliest date that the *OED* cites for the adjective is 1598.

3 *if constant...retier*] the translator’s addition  
*retier*] retreat, withdrawal, here possibly with martial overtones (‘retire’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a; 3a)

- 4 *restles foote...vaine*] The translator adds ‘restles’ and the adverbial phrase ‘in vaine’.  
*treades*] The verb may pick up on Petrarch, ‘error’ (224.4: ‘wandering’).
- 6 *wantes*] lacks (‘want’, v., 2a)  
*to require*] to beseech, petition (‘require’, v., 1)
- 8 *if frawdles...gaine*] the translator’s addition, which substitutes for l. 8 in Petrarch and Wyatt
- 10 *wageles craueth hier*] The speaker asks metaphorically for payment on account of his service to his mistress (‘hire’, *n.<sup>l</sup>*, 3). The line is the translator’s addition, and substitutes for l. 8 in Petrarch and Wyatt.
- 12 *boorn*] burn
- 14 *giltles*] the translator’s addition

[24]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 61:

Benedetto sia ’l giorno e ’l mese et l’anno  
 e la stagione e ’l tempo et l’ora e ’l punto  
 e ’l bel paese e ’l loco ov’ io fui giunto  
 da’ duo begli occhi che legato m’anno;

et benedetto il primo dolce affanno [5]  
 ch’ i’ ebbi ad esser con Amor congiunto,  
 et l’arco e le saette ond’ i’ fui punto,  
 et le piaghe che ’nfin al cor mi vanno.

Benedette le voci tante ch’io [10]  
 chiamando il nome de mia donna ò sparte,  
 e i sospiri et le lagrime e ’l desio;

et benedette sian tutte le carte  
 ov’ io fama l’acquisto, e ’l pensier mio,  
 ch’ è sol di lei sì ch’ altra non v’ à parte.

[‘Blessed be the day and the month and the year and the season and the hour and the instant and the beautiful countryside and the place where I was struck by the two lovely eyes that have bound me;

and blessed be the first sweet trouble I felt on being made one with Love, and the bow and arrows that pierced me, and the wounds that reached my heart!

Blessed be the many words I have scattered calling the name of my lady, and the sighs and the tears and the desire;

and blessed be all the pages where I gain fame for her, and my thoughts, which are only of her, so that no other has part in them!']

Poem [24] is the final amatory sonnet in the *Rime* sequence of poems. Unlike [19]-[23], there are apparently no known earlier or contemporaneous translations in English. The translator in general remains close to Petrarch, using *anaphora* in ll. 1, 5, 9, 11, and 13, and *emumeratio* in ll. 1, 2 and 12, to build a catalogue of accumulated joys. The form of the sonnet switches between Surreyan (*abab*) and Petrarchan rhyme schemes in the octave (*baab*); the sestet uses just two alternating rhymes (*cdcdcd*).

In l. 8, the translator appears to borrow a line from Surrey's moralising sixain to 'Ratclif' (possibly Thomas Radcliffe, third Earl of Sussex (1526/7-1583), or Henry, fourth Earl of Sussex (1533-1593)), which is itself modelled on Wyatt's epigram 'Syghes ar my food', addressed to Sir Francis Bryan. Compare Surrey: 'But Wiat said true, the skarre doth aye endure' (Jones, 1964: [36].6); and Wyatt: 'But yet, alas, the scarre shall styll remayne' (M&T: CCXLIV.8). Neither poem survives in *P* or *AH*, though the translator perhaps had access to MS copies of them. Tottel printed Surrey's sixain in *T1*, sigs. D3<sup>v</sup>-D4<sup>r</sup>, *T2*, sig. E2<sup>v</sup>, and each edition thereafter, as he did with Wyatt's epigram in *T1*, sig. K3<sup>v</sup>, *T2*, sig. L4<sup>r</sup>, and each edition thereafter.

2 *iust*] appropriate, suitable ('just', *adj.*, 7)

3 *a pere*] appear

4 *sober looke...uertue*] Both words substitute for Petrarch's reference to Laura's 'two fair eyes' (61.4: 'duo begli occhi').

6 *pressing*] oppressing

7 *deare*] harm, injure ('dere', *v.*, 1a)

8 *aye*] ever, continually ('aye', *adv.*, 1a)

11 *the*] they

14 *that bound...free*] the translator's addition

*doth mynd...wight*] The phrase permits four interpretations, which depend on the interpretation of 'mynd': (i) 'doth call to mind no other person' ('mind', *v.*, 2a), (ii) 'doth turn my attention to no other person' (4a), (iii) 'doth heed no other person' (10a), and (iv) 'doth notice no other person' (11; 12a).

*wight*] person ('wight', *n.*, 2a)

[25]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 114:

De l'empia Babilonia ond' è fuggita  
ogni vergogna, ond' ogni bene è forì,  
albergo di dolor, madre d'errori,  
son fuggito io per allungar la vita.

Qui mi sto solo, et come Amor m'invita [5]  
or rime et versi, or colgo erbette et fiori,  
seco parlando et a tempi migliori  
sempre pensando, et questo sol m'aita.

Né del vulgo mi cal, né di Fortuna, [10]  
né di me molto, né di cosa vile,  
né dentro sento né di fuor gran caldo;

sol due persone cheggio, et vorrei l'una  
col cor ver me pacificato umile,  
l'altro col pie', sì come mai fu, saldo.

[‘From wicked Babylon, deserted of all shame, whence all good has flown, the dwelling of sorrow, the mother of errors, I have fled in order to prolong my life.

Here I am alone, and, as Love leads me on, I gather now rhymes and verses, now herbs and flowers, always speaking with him and always thinking of better days; and only this sustains me.

Nor do I care about the mob or about Fortune, nor much about myself or any base thing, nor do I feel within or without much heat;

I ask for only two persons, and I would wish that the one had her heart pacified and kindly toward me, the other his foot as whole as it ever was.’]

Poem [25] is a translation of *Rima* 114, a sonnet whose significance changed in the sixteenth century due to its editorial relocation in the *Rime sparse*. Alessandro Vellutello substituted the poem for *Rima* 137, ‘L’avara Babilonia’, in his 1525 edition *Il Petrarca*, so that it was placed between *Rime* 136 and 138 as one of Petrarch’s ‘Babylon’ sonnets. Vellutello’s appears to have been the main edition available to English readers (Taylor, 2006b: 446-453). The ‘Babylon’ sonnets are bitter poems which Petrarch addressed to the Papal Curia at Avignon during the removal of the Papacy there from 1309 to 1376. Vellutello apparently relocated *Rima* 114 because it records Petrarch’s flight from Babylon to his house in Vaucluse. Translations of Vellutello’s other two ‘Babylon’ sonnets, *Rime* 136 and 138, are [13] and [14] in *P*. These both show the influence of Vellutello, as well as a Protestant vogue for sharpening

Petrarch's anti-Curial criticisms into strong anti-Catholic polemic; the elder Harington is a possible author. See Headnote to [13]-[14].

In general, the translator of [25] remains closer to Petrarch than do [13] and [14], though one detail has possible Protestant overtones. In l. 3, the translator renders Petrarch's plural 'errori' (114.3: 'errors') as the singular 'errowre'. Protestant reformers often used this noun to describe the corrupt doctrine and misguided faith of Catholic adherents. Compare John Bale, *An Admonishion to the Bishoppes of Winchester, London and others &c* (1553; STC 11593):

God wil withdraw his hand from you, if you repugne against his word, if you seeke to deface his truth, to cast aside Christes supper, to condempne mariage, to set vp againe idolatrie, superstition and errour, to bring in againe that sodomitical fained chastetie, that drew infinite vnto eternal dampnation.

(sig. A5<sup>v</sup>)

The translator of [25] makes two further changes to Petrarch. In l. 5, 'humors' substitutes for 'Amor', and in ll. 13-14, the translator removes Petrarch's two addressees Laura and Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, whose problems with gout explain Petrarch's reference to his foot. The second revision may be due to the specific nature of Petrarch's allusions, though it is possible that the [25] is addressed to particular individuals who are unnamed. The poem therefore heads a sequence of four sonnets including [27], [28], and [30] which are possibly occasional and written for specific addressees.

- 1        *babells*] Babylon's; Babel was the Hebrew name for Babylon.
- 4        *eke*] also, moreover ('eke', *adv.*)
- 5        *humors*] In medieval and EM physiology, the four bodily humours (blood, phlegm, choler, and melancholy) determined a human's mood and temperament ('humour', *n.*, 5a; 4a).
- 7        *minde*] think about ('mind', *v.*, 4a)  
        *torne*] turn
- 8        *proue*] find by experience ('prove', *v.*, 7)
- 9        *rowts*] crowds ('rout', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)  
        *cure*] care ('cure', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 11       *dure*] endure, bear ('dure', *v.*, 4)
- 12       *wightes*] persons ('wight', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a)
- 13       *hape*] chance, fortune ('hap', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- 14       *or*] 'ere', i.e., 'before'



## [26a]

Poem [26a] is a sixain; it decries the wayward will, which is apt to invert the natural order of matters, leading it to error and repentance. The poem punctuates the sequence of sonnet translations from Petrarch in *P*, and is copied in a later Tudor secretary hand, Hand J, which does not occur elsewhere in sequence, and which shows marked similarities to that of Sir John Harington. If the hand does belong to Sir John, it is the single instance of his scribal input in the MS. The poem is situated below what appears to be another sixain, perhaps a version of the same one, which has been scribbled over in black ink and rendered unintelligible. On fol. 16<sup>v</sup> of *AH*, there is a version of [26a], copied in a Tudor secretary hand, which has been struck through but remains readable under the erasure. Hughey numbers this poem [4a]. Underneath [4a] in *AH* is an alternative version, numbered [4] by Hughey, which is not crossed out. Both [4a] and [4] are collated below.

Poem [26a] is almost certainly by either the elder Harington or Sir John. On the basis of the placement of [4] in *AH* within a broadly John Harington of Stepney grouping, Hughey (II.8) argued that it was probably his; Harington's authorship of [26a] can probably be claimed by extension. The placement of [26a] amid sonnets which are possibly also Harington translations supports this speculation.

Hughey (II.8) cites two possible sources for [4] in *AH*, which doubtless inform [26a] too. The first is an observation in Seneca's dialogue *Ad Serenum*, 1.3-11, which the Haringtons may have seen fit to render into verse: 'petita relinquimus, relicta repetimus, alternae inter cupiditatem nostram et paenitentiam vices sunt' ('we abandon that which we desire, we return to that which is left behind, our desires and penitence alternate one after the other.')

The second is a stanza from John Skelton's *Magnyfycence* (c. 1520):

Nowe well, nowe wo, nowe hy, nowe lawe degre;  
 Nowe ryche, nowe pore, nowe hole, nowe in dysease;  
 Nowe pleasure at large, nowe in captyvyte;  
 Nowe leve, nowe lothe, nowe please, nowe dysplease;  
 Now ebbe, now flowe, nowe increase, now dyscrease:  
 So in this worlde there is no sykernesse,  
 But fallyble flatery enmyxyd with bytternesse.

(Scattergood, 1983: XVI.2517-2523)

The stanza in Skelton exploits the some rhetorical figure of *enumeratio* to build its catalogue of successive clauses beginning 'Nowe'/'now'. Whatever its source, [26a] belongs clearly to a

tradition of sententious verse of which poems [60] and [61], both almost certainly John Harington of Stepney poems, are a part.

- 1        *wofull cace*] For the phrase, compare [18].14 and [28].11, both of which are probable Harington poems.
- 2        *in nature frayle*] i.e., ‘frail in kind’ (‘nature’, *n.*, 8a)
- 3        *In steed...t’embrace*] i.e., ‘we embrace bad for better instead of good’
- 6        *erre*] looks back to ‘wandringe willes’ in [26a].2 (Latin ‘errare’: ‘to wander’)
- repentaunce vayne*] The reason for repentance being in vain is uncertain. It is possibly because repenting fails to prevent one from committing the same errors in the future.

### Collations

*P* and the deleted poem [4a] in *AH* have no substantive variants. Poem [4] is identical to them in ll. 1-4, but has a differing version of the couplet with the alternative *c*-rhyme ‘cleare’/‘deere’. This couplet is arguably inferior to that in *P* and [4a]: the reading ‘stain’d for cleare’ in l. 5 of [4] does not fit the other antitheses of the poem as well as *P*’s ‘ioy for payne’. In l. 6, the sense is somewhat strained: ‘by’ is most probably a spelling variant of ‘buy’, unless ‘deere’ is ‘dere’, i.e., ‘harm’ or ‘injure’, though the use of the verb in this intransitive sense is improbable in context.

The deleted poem above [26a] in *P* makes it possible that, whereas [4a] is erased and [4] retained in *AH*, the reverse situation applies in this MS (i.e., the deleted [26] is another witness of [4]).

- 5-6        So taking sweet for sowre and ioy for payne | We erre in chaunge and reape  
          repentaunce vayne] So taking sowre for sweete and stain’d for cleare | we <ar> err in  
          change and by repentance deere *AH*

[27]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 103:

Vinse Anibàl, et non seppe usar poi  
ben la vittoriosa sua ventura;  
però, Signor mio caro, aggate cura  
che similmente non avegna a voi.

L'orsa, rabbiosa prt gli orsacchi suoi [5]  
che trovaron di maggio aspra pastura,  
rode sé dentro, e i denti et l'unghie endura  
per vendicar suoi danni sopra noi.

Mentre 'l novo dolor dunque l'accora [10]  
non riponete l'onorata spada,  
anzi seguite là dove vi chiama

vostra fortuna, dritto per la strada  
che vi può dar dopo la morte ancora  
mille et mille anni al mondo onor et fama.

[‘Hannibal was victorious, but he did not know later how to make good use of his victorious fortune; therefore, dear my Lord, take care that the same does not happen to you.

The she-bear, raging for her cubs who found in May a bitter harvest, gnaws herself within and hardens her teeth and claws, to avenge her harms on us.

As long as her recent sorrow burns, therefore, do not put up your honourable sword; rather follow where

your fortune calls, straight along the path that can give you, even after death, for a thousand and a thousand years, honor and fame in the world.’]

Wyatt first translated this sonnet as an occasional and looser epigram, which internal evidence dates to the period of his embassy at the Imperial Court of Charles V (M&T: 321). John Foxe also printed a separate translation in the *Actes and Monuments* (1563; STC 11222), sig. 2F3<sup>v</sup>, and subsequent editions. Wyatt’s poem survives in *E*, fol. 54<sup>v</sup>, and the Wyatt section of Tottel, *T1*, sig. L1<sup>r</sup>, *T2*, sig. L4<sup>v</sup>, and each edition thereafter. M&T printed the epigram from *E*:

Off Cartage he that wothie warrier  
Could ouercome, but cowlid not vse his chaunce,  
And I like wise off all my long indeuor  
The sherpe conquest tho fortune did avaunce [5]  
Cowlid not it vse: the hold that is gyvin ouer  
I vnpossest. So hangith in balaunce  
Off warr, my pees, reward of all my payne;  
At Mountzon thus I restles rest in Spayne.

(M&amp;T: LXXXI)

The translator of [27] does not follow Wyatt's free adaptation, though the rhyme scheme of the octave, which concludes with two *c*-rhymes, possibly shows the formal influence of Wyatt's *ottava rima* stanza. In general, the translator remains close to Petrarch, and takes over his occasional reference in l. 5 to Stefano Colonna the Younger being killed on 22 May 1333 by two members of the rival Orsini family, here figured by 'L'orsa' ('the she-bear'). It is possible that the 'Beare' in [27] has its own particular referent; the Dudley coat of arms, for example, was a bear with the ragged staff, though any such attempt to identify them with the potential addressees of the sonnet is conjectural. Poem [27] follows [25] in possibly being occasional.

The italic Hand D copies both [27] and [28] onto fol. 47<sup>r</sup>, which distinguishes them from the Hand B-copied [19]-[25] and [30]-[31]. For a discussion of the hands in the *Rime* sequence in *P*, see Headnote to [19]-[25], and [27]-[31]. With their experimental rhyme schemes, both [27] and [28] appear to belong to the original sequence of sonnets; [27] in particular has an unusual second quatrain which combines a cross-rhyme with a couplet.

1-2 *Haniball woon...fell*] Hannibal, the Carthaginian general who battled the Roman Republic throughout the Second Punic War, failed to profit from his victories over the Roman armies. The most famous instance was the battle of Cannae (216 B.C.E), in which Hannibal refused to march on Rome despite his crushing triumph there. Compare the treatment of Hannibal's reaction to defeat in [22].5-8.

1 *sew*] follow up, profit on ('sue', *v.*, 9)

2 *victrus*] victor's

*happly*] by chance, fortune ('haply', *adv.*)

5 *whelps*] cubs, the young of an animal ('whelp', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a)

*owt of shell*] i.e., 'emerging into life'; compare Thomas Wilson, *The rule of Reason*: 'In this worlde a child shal be scant out of his shell, but he shalbe suer to one or other' (1551; STC 25809, sig. O7<sup>r-v</sup>).

6 *Whiche finds...mai*] i.e., after emerging from hibernation in spring

10 *bronnde*] sword ('brand', *n.*, 8b)

11 *preasse to*] endeavour to, undertake ('press', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 8a; 10)

12 *tane*] taken; the monosyllabic form aids the scansion ('take', *v.*, Forms, 'tane').

14] *mo*] more ('mo', *adj.*, 1)

[28]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 269:

Rotta è l'alta colonna e 'l verde lauro  
che facean ombra al mio stanco pensiero;  
perduto ò quel che ritrovar non spero  
dal borea a l'austro o dal mar indo al mauro.

Tolto m'ài, Morte, il mio doppio tesoro [5]  
che mi fea viver lieto et gire altero,  
et ristorar nol po terra né impero,  
né gemma oriental né forza d'auro.

Ma se consentimento è di destino, [10]  
che posso io più se no aver l'alma trista,  
umidi gli occhi sempre, e'l viso chino?

O nostra vita ch' è sì bella in vista,  
com' perde agevolmente in un matino  
quel che 'n molti anni a gran pena s'acquista.

[‘Broken are the high Column and the green Laurel that gave shade to my weary cares; I have lost what I do not hope to find again, from Boreas to Auster or from the Indian to the Moorish sea.

You have taken from me, O Death, my double treasure that made me live glad and walk proudly; neither land nor empire can restore it, nor orient gem, nor the power of gold.

But, since this is the intent of destiny, what can I do except have my soul sad, my eyes always wet, and my face bent down?

Oh our life that is so beautiful to see, how easily it loses in one morning what has been acquired with great difficulty over many years!']

Wyatt first translated *Rima* 269 into English; his sonnet survives in *AH*, fol. 60<sup>v</sup>, and the Wyatt section of Tottel, *T1*, sigs I3<sup>v</sup>-I4<sup>r</sup>, *T2*, sigs K1<sup>v</sup>-K2<sup>r</sup>, and each edition thereafter, with the amatory title ‘The louer lamentes the death of his loue’. M&T printed the sonnet from *AH*:

The pillar pearisht is whearto I Lent  
The strongest staye of myne vnquyet mynde;  
The lyke of it no man agayne can fynde  
From East to west still seking though he went. [5]  
To myne vnhappe, for happe away hath rent  
Of all my ioye the very bark and rynde;  
And I (alas) by chaunce am thus assynde  
Dearlye to moorne till death do it relent.  
But syns that thus it is by destenye  
What can I more but have a wofull hart, [10]  
My penne in playnt, my voyce in wofull crye,  
My mynde in woe, my bodye full of smart,

And I my self my self alwayes to hate  
Till dreadfull death do ease my dolefull state?

(M&T: CCXXXVI)

Petrarch's sonnet was apparently occasional, and alludes in its first line to the deaths of his patron Cardinal Giovanni Colonna, figured in the pun 'l'alta colonna' ('the high column'), and Laura, figured in the pun 'lauro' ('laurel'). Wyatt's relatively free translation suppresses the reference to Laura but retains the 'pillar', which commentators since Nott (II.544) have speculated is a reference to his patron, Thomas Cromwell, who was executed in 1540. In also omitting the allusion to Laura, the translator of [28] may merely be following Wyatt's example, whose influence is indisputable in the first quatrain. The translation uses four of Wyatt's rhymes in ll. 1-4 ('rent', 'mind', 'find', and 'went'), with 'rent' taken from Wyatt's l. 5, and adapts Wyatt's version of l. 3. Nevertheless, it is possible that [28] is occasional, and that the 'pillar' in l. 1 alludes to a specific, unnamed individual. The poem therefore follows [25] and [27] as a poem which may be tied to a specific context.

From the second half of the octave, the translator is much closer to Petrarch than Wyatt, who makes sustained departures in his ll. 5-8 and ll. 10-12. As Thomson (M&T: 430) conjectures, Wyatt's alterations may be references to his imprisonment in the Tower in 1541.

Like [27], Hand D copies [28] onto fol. 47<sup>r</sup>. For a discussion of the hands in the *Rime* sequence in *P*, see Headnote to [19]-[25], and [27]-[31].

- 2 *co<sup>u</sup>^<sup>n</sup>tnanste*] graced ('countenance', v., 4); the phrase is the translator's addition.
- 3 *no age*] The translator follows Wyatt (l. 3) in broadening the personal loss in Petrarch into a temporal one.
- 4 *wolrds*] scribal error for 'world's'; the global frame of reference, both here and in 'worlds cheef glory' ([28].5), is not in Petrarch.
- 8 *is*] i.e., 'which is'
- 9 *th'uper place*] renders Petrarch, 'destino' (269.9: 'destiny'), designating the Christian heaven
- 11 *wofull case*] For the phrase, compare [18].14 and [26a].1, both of which are probable Harington poems.
- 12 *britell*] the translator's addition

[29]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 365:

I' vo piangendo i miei passati tempi  
 i quai posi in amar cosa mortale  
 senza levarmi a volo, abbiendi' io l'ale  
 per dar forse di me non bassi esempi.

Tu che vedi i miei mali indegni et empi, [5]  
 Re de Cielo, invisibile, immortale:  
 soccorri a l'alma disviata et frale  
 e 'l suo defetto di tua grazia adempi,

sì che, s' io vissi in guerra et in tempesta, [10]  
 mora in pace et in porto; et se la stanza  
 fu vana, almen sia la partita onesta.

A quel poco di viver che m'avanza  
 et al morir degni esser tua man presta:  
 tu sai ben che 'n altrui non ò speranza.

['I go weeping for my past time, which I spent in loving a mortal thing without lifting myself in flight, though I had wings to make of myself perhaps not a base example.

You who see all my unworthy and wicked sufferings, invisible, immortal King of Heaven:  
 help my strayed frail soul and fill out with your grace all that she lacks,

so that, though I have lived in war and in storm, I may die in peace and in port, and if my  
 sojourn has been vain, my departure at least may be virtuous.

To what little life remains to me and to my dying deign to be present: You know well that I  
 have no hope in anyone else.']

Poem [29], much like its counterpart in Petrarch's MSS, serves as a kind of retraction for the speaker's life, and, in the original, Petrarch's verse on Laura. Petrarch's 'cosa mortale', which the translator renders as 'mortal thing' in l. 2, is the deceased Laura. The sonnet features several Petrarchan commonplaces, such as war and troublesome seas ([29].9-11), and ends with the speaker's petition for God's succour made but not granted. The translator adds details in ll. 7 and 13; he also omits Petrarch's l. 11 to allow space to render Petrarch's second tercet in full.

Hand I copied [29] onto the lower half of fol. 47<sup>v</sup>, adjacent to poem [31] on the lower half of fol. 48<sup>r</sup>, which is also a translation of *Rima* 365. The transcription of [29] on an otherwise blank page suggests that the Haringtons possibly left spaces for poems to supplement the *Rime* sequence. Poem [29] was almost certainly not a planned addition. The stylistic and formal evidence suggests a different, later translator from that (or those)

responsible for the rest of the sonnets. Poem [29] contains fewer archaicisms and elliptical phrases than these poems; in its regular Surrey rhyme scheme, moreover, it is far less experimental than them.

There are also scribal reasons which suggest that [29] was added later than the other poems in the *Rime* sequence. Hand I is an italic hand later in style than Hands B and D; and has several characteristics which these hands do not share. For a discussion of the hands in the *Rime* sequence in *P*, see Headnote to [19]-[25], and [27]-[31]. Hand I's spelling is noticeably regular; in addition, it introduces punctuation marks at the end of each quatrain and within lines, as in l. 14. Its use of majuscule forms both at the beginning of lines and to emphasise words of religious significance is also of note (e.g. 'Sowle' and 'Mercy' in l. 9). Together with the stylistic traits of [29], these scribal features indicate that it was interpolated later into the sequence, very probably to serve as a facing-page rival to poem [31].

- 1        *stepps I...awry*] expands on Petrarch, 365.1, whose 'passati' ('past') possibly suggested the Italian 'passo' ('step') to the translator
- 2        *vaynely*] the translator's addition
- 3        *s<'>or'de*] soared
- aloe*] alow, low down ('alow', *adv.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- 4        *moued*] prompted, influenced ('move', *v.*, 26a)
- 7        *that Mercy cryes*] the translator's addition
- 8        *wantes*] i.e., defects, faults; the noun renders Petrarch, 'suo defetto' (365.8: 'all that she lacks').
- more*] greater
- 9        *an*] and ('an', *conj.*, 1)
- 11       *grant me reach*] i.e., 'grant me permission to reach'
- 13       *I shall...dust*] elaborates on Petrarch, 'a morir' (3.65: 'for my dying'); for the phrase, compare Genesis, 3:19.
- 14       *Help Lord*] The imperative condenses Petrarch, 'degni esser tua man presta' (365.13: 'deign to be present').



[30]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 7:

La gola e 'l sonno et l' oziose piume  
 ànno del mondo ogni virtù sbandita,  
 ond' è dal corso suo quasi smarrita  
 nostra natura vinta dal costume;

et è sì spento ogni benigno lume [5]  
 del ciel per cui s'informa umana vita,  
 che per cosa mirabile s'addita  
 chi vol far d'Elicona nascer fiume.

Qual vaghezza di lauro, qual di mirto?  
 "Povera et nuda vai, Filosofia," [10]  
 dice la turba al vil guadagno intesa.

Pochi compagni avrai per l'altra via:  
 tanto ti prego più, gentile spirto,  
 non lassar la magnanima tua impresa.

[‘Gluttony and sleep and the pillows of idleness have banished from the world all virtue, and our nature, conquered by custom, has almost ceased to function;

and so spent is every benign light of heaven by which human life should be shaped, that whoever wishes to make a river flow from Helicon is pointed at as a strange thing.

What desire for the laurel is there? or for the myrtle? “Philosophy, you go poor and naked!” says the mob, bent on low gain.

You will have few companions on the other way: so much the more I beg you, noble spirit, do not abandon your magnanimous undertaking.’]

Poem [30] is another sonnet on serious moral matters, alongside [25] and [27]-[28]. The translator remains close to Petrarch’s castigation of idleness and praise of intellectual endeavour; however, [30] despairs at the disparagement of those who pursue ‘wisdom [...] | or other lore (ll. 7-8) rather than Petrarch’s more poetical individuals, who desire the laurel (‘lauro’). Overall, [30] has a more sober tone than its source; the aphoristic qualities of ll. 12-14 compares with [60] and [61] in *P*, both probable Harington poems.

On the basis of the elliptical couplet, which departs altogether from Petrarch, Muir considered [30] to be occasional, with ‘sands’ an address to Edwin Sandys (1519?-1588), Elizabeth’s Archbishop of York from 1571 (Muir, 1950: 464-471). In the MS, The final letters of this noun are written over a word which has apparently been scrubbed out; this could have been another name. Muir dated the poem, with its exhortatory ending, to either 1553 or 1562, the first presumably because of the death of Edward VI and accession of his Catholic

sister Mary I, a period of ferment which required Protestants to be steadfast. The possible anti-Catholic connotation of ‘custom’ in l. 4 (see below) would fit a poem addressed to a Protestant clergyman, but Sandys can only be a conjectural addressee. If the elder Harington did compose [30], there is no evidence that he knew Sandys. It is also possible to read ‘the rather sands’ as a metaphor, with two potential meanings: (i) ‘the better sands’, or (ii) ‘the early sands’ (‘rathe’, *adj.*<sup>1</sup>, 3; 2a). These would make the couplet either ‘while you shall run your course of life, do not abandon your attempt to run on the better sands’; or ‘while you shall run your course of life, do not disregard the impressions [‘leave not th’attempt’] you made earlier in the sand’. The meaning of the couplet is ultimately uncertain.

In form, [30] has one of the more standard rhyme schemes of the sonnets in the *Rime* sequence of *P*. Like [28], it switches between Petrarchan and Surrey schemes in the octave but has a Surrey quatrain and couplet in the sestet. The translator, however, counterpoints the syntactical and formal division of the sonnet, so that the sense leads the octave to end in l. 9 rather than 8.

- 1 *belye cheere*] renders more colloquial Petrarch, ‘gola’ (l. 1: ‘gluttony’)  
*unchast bed*] the translator’s addition
- 4 *Costome*] habitual manner(s) of acting (‘custom’, *n.*, 1a); although the noun translates Petrarch, ‘costome’, it possibly expresses an anti-Catholic sentiment. For mid-Tudor Protestants, ‘custom’ referred to outmoded and corrupt Catholic practices. Compare [18].13.
- 5 *t’heauinlie skill*] probably ‘the divinely-appointed reason, knowledge’ (‘skill’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 6a)  
*skarslie*] scarcely
- 9 *a finger...uain*] The finger of the disapproving onlooker points and considers the person who desires knowledge vain. The line renders Petrarch, ‘per cosa mirabile s’addita’ (7.7: ‘pointed at as a strange thing’).
- 11 *the nomb<sup>r</sup>*] renders Petrarch, ‘turba’ (7.11: ‘mob’)  
*assotted*] i.e., ‘infatuated’, here metaphorical (‘assot’, *v.*, 3)
- 12 *small thrust*] small group of people (‘thrust’, *n.*, 2); the phrase translates Petrarch, ‘Pochi compagni’ (7.12: ‘few companions’). The earliest date the *OED* cites for this sense of the noun is 1565.  
*to presse...best*] i.e., ‘to strive after the best course’

## [31]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 365<sup>35</sup>

Poem [31] is a translation of Petrarch's 'retraction' sonnet *Rima* 365, as is [29]. Of the two, [31] is clearly the original member of the *Rime* sequence. Hand B copied [31] below [30] using the same ink; the poem was therefore intended to conclude the sequence proper, whereas [29] almost certainly post-dates it. See [29] Headnote.

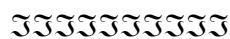
The translator of poem [31] follows Petrarch more closely than the poet of [29], offering a line-for-translation of of *Rima* 365. There are minor additions and changes to Petrarch's sense in ll. 3-4 in [31], though these amount to fewer departures than in [29], whose translator makes additions to Petrarch's ll. 7 and 13, and omits his l. 11.

- 1        *passed*] past, though the word here is perhaps a compressed form of 'which have passed'
- 2        *consum'd*] wasted, squandered ('consume', *v.*<sup>l</sup>, 8)  
*things all vain*] the translator's addition, which substitutes for Petrarch's apparent reference to Laura as a 'cosa mortale' (365.2: 'a mortal thing')
- 3-4      *w<sup>ch</sup> ill...praise*] The translator shuns the metaphor of flight in Petrarch 7.3-4, but retains the general implication of the lines.
- 3        *w<sup>ch</sup>*] looks back, alongside 'well imployd' in [31].4, to 'passed days'
- 4        *and well...praise*] i.e., 'if I had used my time well I would perhaps have left something worthy of praise.' The meaning is similar, though not identical, to Petrarch's equivalent line.  
*chaunce*] perchance, perhaps ('chance', *adv.*)
- 5        *displaise*] displeasure; the spelling creates a suitable end-rhyme with 'bewrais' in [31].8.
- 6        *termles*] termless, without end ('termless', *adj.*, 1); the earliest date that the *OED* cites for the adjective is *c.* 1595.  
*rain*] reign

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<sup>35</sup> See Headnote to [29] for Petrarch's original and Durling's translation.

- 7 *fraylye*] frailly, in a frail manner ('frail', *adj.*, Derivatives, 'frailly', *adv.*); the translator picks up on Petrarch, 'frale' (365.7), though uses it as an adverb rather than adjective.  
*train*] retinue, host ('train', *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 8a)
- 8 *store*] renders Petrarch, 'adempi' (365.8: 'fill out')  
*want*] defect, fault ('want', *v.*<sup>2</sup>, 6a); the earliest date that the *OED* cites for the adjective is 1592.  
*it self bewraies*] reveals itself, discloses itself ('bewray', *v.*, 4)
- 9 *troublous*] tempestuous, violent ('troublous', *adj.*, 2c)
- 10 *quiet land*] expands on Petrarch, 'porto' (365.10: 'port')
- 11 *th'abode*] sojourn (on earth) ('abode', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a)  
*the parting*] i.e., the speaker's death
- 13 *eke*] also, moreover ('eke', *adv.*)
- 14 *trust*] renders Petrarch 'altrui' (365.14), which the translator in [29].14 gives as 'hope'



[32]-[59]

POEMS BY HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY (1516x17-1547)

Poems [32]-[59] constitute the grouping of poems by Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey, in *P*. For Surrey's biography, see Sessions (2006). With twenty-eight discrete items, the grouping is the largest in the MS. Henry Harington printed copies of [33], [36], and [37] in *NAI*, I, pp. 183-185 and 189, and *NA2*, III, pp. 240-242 and 246. He included [33] as 'Sonnet IV' and [36] and [37] as Sonnets 'I' and 'II'. None of these three poems is taken from *P*, but their ancestor(s) are related to the texts in this MS. They may derive from lost originals in *AH*, from the missing fols 38-48 at the start of the Surrey grouping in that MS, or possibly a different source like the conjectural MS of Wyatt poems for [4]-[10]. Park omitted the copies of [33], [36], and [37] in *NA3*, II, but added [34], [47], and [50]-[59], directly from *P*, on pp. 336 and 339-371.

Surrey's two major twentieth-century editors used *P* as their copy-text for [32]-[59]. F. M. Padelford (1920; 1966) printed all twenty-eight of *P*'s poems; Jones (1964) took twenty-six, but omitted [36] and [37] from his edition. Both editors emended the *P* texts where they are incomplete. Thus, they supplied the two lines probably missing after [32], l. 17 in *P* from *TI*, the two lines wanting after [35], l. 30 from *TI*, and the line wanting after [41], l. 9 from *TI*, presenting eclectic texts in these cases. Both editors also misread 'clooke' in [42], l. 7 as 'looke', which McGaw (230) corrected both in his edition and an earlier article (McGaw, 1987: 82-88).

Of the editions of Tottel, only *TI-2* are here collated for the sixteen poems they share with *P* in [32]-[33], [35]-[46] and [48]-[49]. *TI-2* are treated as as one copy when discussing survival numbers of these Surrey poems in the individual Headnotes, but two discrete copies in the Collations.<sup>36</sup> Paul A. Marquis lists the substantive variants between the copies of the sixteen poems in *TI* and *T2* (Marquis, 2007: 253-256). Rollins (I.264-271) lists the variants and misprints from later editions of the miscellany.<sup>37</sup> Marquis lists *P* as a possible MS source of *T2*, but the consistent substantive variation between these copies discounts this hypothesis (2007: 239). Appendix 2 in this volume tabulates the respective rates of error for *P* and *TI-2* over the course of their sixteen shared poems. The results broadly support Edwards' claim for the superiority of *TI* over *P*: *TI* commits an average of 0.117 errors per line compared to *P* with 0.127; *T2* is third with 0.144.<sup>38</sup> However, some poems in *P*, such as [39], [43], [44], and [45], are noticeably superior to Tottel's versions of these pieces.

## [32]

In addition to *P*, where the subscription of [32] to 'H. S.' claims Surrey's authorship, the poem survives in Tottel, where it is printed in the Surrey section of *TI*, sig. A2<sup>r-v</sup>, *T2*, sig. A2<sup>r-v</sup>, and each edition thereafter. A fragment of [32], comprising the final six lines, is preserved in *AH*, fol. 49<sup>r</sup>, where it heads the Surrey grouping of poems.

Alongside [34], the poem is one of two extant Surrey poems composed in *terza rima*. Whereas Wyatt experiments with this form in his longer poems, such as the epistolary satires

<sup>36</sup> Like [4]-[10], this distinction is made because *T2* is nominally a reprint of *TI* rather than an entirely separate witness, as discrete MS copies would be.

<sup>37</sup> For [32], see Rollins, I.264; [33], 267; [35], 264-265; [36], 269; [37], 264; [38], 270; [39], 266; [40], 266; [41], 266-267; [42], 266; [43], 266; [44], 270; [45], 313; [46], 271; [48], 264; and [49], 270.

<sup>38</sup> For a summary of Edwards' argument, see Vol. I, pp. 34-35.

and biblical paraphrases, Surrey tends to prefer poulter's measure for his longer love laments (see [35] in *P*). Surrey's use of the form is similar to that of Wyatt in [4]. He does not tend to bracket a discrete unit of thought within a tercet of *terza rima*; enjambment is a common feature. This resemblance is perhaps coincidental, though [44], as well as phrases in [33], [40], [43], and his own biblical paraphrases, indicate that Surrey was acquainted with Wyatt's psalms.

Poem [32] is less an original love lament than an enumeration of different commonplaces associated with the genre. Surrey translates most of these from Petrarch's *Rime*, lifting passages from a number of sonnets in [32] (ll. 19-28, 30-32, 32-35, and 39-42) as well as possibly a sestina (ll. 39-42). The poem therefore anticipates [35]-[37] as non-sonnet Surrey pieces in *P* which are based in large part on Petrarch.

- 1-6 *The sonne...helthfulnes*] The passage, which uses the trope of the lover measuring the duration of his pains according to the seasonal cycle, adapts Chaucer, *T&C*, 5.8-14:

The gold-tressed Phebus heighe on lofte  
Thrise hadde alle with his bemes cleene  
The snowes molte, and Zepherus as ofte  
Ibrought ayeyn the tendre leves grene,  
Syn that the sone of Ecuba the queene  
Bigan to love hire first from whom his sorwe  
Was al, that she departe sholde a-morwe.

- 2 *livelye*] life-giving ('lively', *adj.*, 2a)  
*lustynes*] pleasantness, delight ('lustiness', *n.*, 1)
- 3 *dispoyled*] undressed, or perhaps 'plundered' ('dispoil', *v.*, 3b; 1a); compare Gower, *Confessio* 3.371: 'Despuiled is the somer fare'.  
*clene*] completely, wholly ('clean', *adv.*, 5a).
- 7 *recovers*] regains, with a possible a pun on 're-covers' ('re-cover', *v.*<sup>2</sup>)
- 8 *perched*] parched
- 9 *disarme*] render powerless ('disarm' *v.*, 5).
- 10 *my inflame*] The meaning is unclear; the phrase is a probable scribal error, though it could be 'my inflamed state'. The *OED* does not cite 'inflame' as a noun.
- 14 *reduceth*] brings back ('reduce', *v.*, 5)
- 16 *cure*] care, though the sense 'restoration to health' may also be present ('cure', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a; 6a)

18 *at hand...bourne*] The phrase fails to complete the expected oxymoron, i.e., the flame should freeze. Koeppel suggests the emendation ‘At hand to freeze’ (Koeppel, 1889: 80), a Petrarchan commonplace found in *Rima* 224.12. Compare also [23].12.

19-28 *eche thing...haat*] adapts Petrarch, *Rima* 22.1-6:

A qualunque animale alberga in terra,  
se non se alquanti ch' ànno in odio il sole,  
tempo da travagliare è quanto è 'l giorno;  
ma poi che 'l ciel accende le sue stelle  
qual torna a casa et qual s'annida in selva  
per aver posa al meno in fino a l'alba.

[‘For whatever animals dwell on earth, except the few that hate the sun, the time to labor is while it is day; but when the sky lights up its stars some return home and some make a nest in the wood to have rest at least until the dawn.’]

20 *cloke of might*] probable scribal error for ‘cloke of night’

21 *travaile*] hardship, toil (‘travail’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1), with a probable pun on ‘travel’, i.e., ‘journey’ (‘travel’, *n.*, 2a). Compare [32].27 and 36 below.

22 *vse*] habit, custom (‘use’, *n.*, 7c)

28 *hath the...haat*] renders *Rima* 22.2, as cited in 19-28n.

29, 31 *to playne*] ‘to complain’; the rhyme is duplicated in [32].31, but the meaning there is adverbial. i.e., ‘too plain, evident’.

30-31 *and me...paas*] adapts Petrarch, *Rima* 35.1-4:

Solo et pensoso i più deserti campi  
vo mesurando a passi tardi et lenti,  
et gli occhi porto per fuggire intenti  
ove vestigio uman la rena stampi.

[‘Alone and filled with care, I go measuring the most deserted fields with steps delaying and slow, and I keep my eyes alert so as to flee from where any human footprint marks the sand.’]

30 *and me...place*] renders *Rima* 35.4 as cited in 30-32n., but Surrey substitutes the metaphor of the footprint in Petrarch with that of a populous place

*haunted*] frequented (‘haunt’, *v.*, 3)

31 *chere*] face, countenance (‘cheer’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1; 2a)

*chaunce*] fortune (‘chance’ *n.*, 3a)

*pere*] appear (‘pear’, *v.*)

32-35 *and w<sup>t</sup>...most*] adapts Petrarch, *Rima* 175.1-4:

Quando mi vene inanzi il tempo e 'l loco  
 ov' i' perdei me stesso, e 'l caro nodo  
 ond' Amor di sua man m'avinse in modo  
 che l'amar mi fe' dolce e 'l pianger gioco

[‘When I remember the time and place where I lost myself, and the dear knot which Love with his own sweet hand bound me (he so made bitterness sweet and weeping, pleasure[.]’]

- 34 *that laase*] a possible translation of ‘caro nodo’ (dear knot’) in *Rima* 175.2, though Jones (111) notes that ‘lace’ is a common term of ME love poetry in general, rendering ‘las’ in French and ‘laccio’ in Italian
- 35 *that knytteth...most*] i.e., ‘that ever binds the tightest’.
- 36-37 *never yet...bost*] i.e., ‘my disordered thoughts have never yet been able to boast of attaining a better state [‘improving’]’.
- 38 *that*] i.e., ‘that which’
- 39-40 *those starres...nought*] alludes to *Rima* 189.12-14:

Celansi i duo mei dolci usati segni,  
 morta fra l' onde è la ragion et l'arte  
 tal ch' 'ncomincio a desperar del porto.

[‘My two usual sweet stars are hidden; dead among the waves are reason and skill; so that I begin to despair of the port.’]

- 40 *right nought*] i.e., ‘not at all’
- 42 *atgaas*] at gaze
- sucke*] Nott (L239) accepted this reading as legitimate, and cites *Rima* 256.5 as a Petrarchan analogue: ‘Cosi li affitti et stanchi spiriti mei | a poco a poco consumando sugge’ (‘Thus little by little she consumes and saps my afflicted, tired spirits’). Padelford (212) preferred the *T1-2* reading ‘sinke’, which he links to [32].39-40 above.
- 45-47 *and yf...fill*] adapts *Rima* 209.9-11:

Et qual cervo ferito di saetta  
 col ferro avelenato dentr' al fianco  
 fugge et più duolsi quanto più s'affretta

[‘As a hart struck by an arrow, with the poisoned steel within its side, flees and feels more pain the faster it runs.’]

- 48 *carefull*] sorrowful, plaintive (‘careful’, *adj.*, 1)



- 49 *parcell of...will*] i.e., ‘some part of my desires’; Nott (I.240) noted the same phrase in Sir Thomas More’s poem ‘To Them that Seke Fortune’ (c. 1510s): ‘From every manne some parcell of his will’. An additional sense here may be ‘package’ or ‘present’ (‘parcel’, *n.* 10a), as in Tottel’s preface to the reader, which Rollins (I.2) printed from *T1*: ‘That to haue wel written in verse, yea and in small parcelles, derserueth great praise.’
- 51 *grene*] new, fresh (‘green’, *adj.*, 10a)
- 52 *rue or...lief*] probable scribal error for ‘rue on my life’
- 53 *appeare*] appear, with a possible pun on ‘appair’, i.e., ‘destroy’, ‘ruin’ (‘appair’, *v.*). For the second, compare Surrey, [58].6.

### Collations

*P* descends independently from the archetype, and is a more corrupt text than *T1-2*, including its omission of two lines after l. 18. *P* is possibly related to *AH*, but the evidence is too piecemeal to suggest firm conclusions. Of the six lines that *P* and *AH* share in ll. 48-53, each copy has one error apiece: in l. 52, *P*’s ‘or’, against ‘on’, is a clear error, as is ‘good’ in *AH*.

In addition to its missing lines and corruption in l. 52, *P* commits a further six errors in ll. 10, 20, 21, 23 (‘sturres’, ‘torment’), and 32. Factoring in the differing number of lines due to *P*’s apparently incomplete state (unless the added lines in *T1-2* are editorial interpolations), this gives *P* an error rate of 0.145 per line, compared to 0.06 in *T1-2*. The printed copies have superior readings for each of the first five lines above. In l. 20, ‘night’ in *P* seems a clear error against ‘might’ in *T1-2*. In l. 32, *P*’s ‘w<sup>t</sup>’ is inferior to ‘in’, the reading of *T1-2*, for describing the mental itinerary of the speaker. *T1-2*s share just two errors: ‘In time’ in l. 15 against *P*’s ‘but tyme’, which fails to complete the contrast established in ll. 13-16 between the curative and harmful effects of time; and ‘tene’ in l. 49 against ‘will’, which disrupts the *terza rima*. Both *P* and *T1-2* struggle with l. 10, which suggests that a corruption here was transmitted down each line of descent. Neither the reading ‘my inflame’ in *P*, which Nott (I.234) claimed was a version of the past participle ‘inflamed’, nor Tottel’s ‘mine in flame’, seem legitimate.

The two independent variants in *T2*, ‘twice’ in l. 2, and ‘ones’ in l. 4, do not correct errors in *T1*, but are preferable insofar as they set up a balance with ll. 1 and 3 in turn. *T1*’s reading in l. 3, ‘new’, may be an additional error in that text, though the *OED* cites it as a variant spelling of ‘now’. Tottel or his editor may have consulted an additional text of [32] for *T2*, though it is possible that the substantives in ll. 2 and 4 are editorial. As Rollins (II.264) notes, both readings are retained in later editions of Tottel.

- Title    Descripcion of the restlesse state of a louer, with sute to his ladie, to rue on his diyng hart *T1-2*
- 1        the] his *T1-2*
- 2        and] twice *T2*; yerthe] earth *T1-2*
- 4        now] new *T1*, ones *T2*
- 10       my inflame] mine in flame *T1-2*
- 11       hable] able *T1-2*
- 13       to] hath *T1-2*
- 14       somtyme] in time *T1-2*
- 15       yet tyme] In time *T1-2*
- 17       kynd] kindes *T1-2*
- After 18 two lines are printed in T1-2:*
- And like as time list my cure to aply,
- So doth eche place my comfort cleane refuse
- 19       eche] All *T1-2*; sees] seeth *T1-2*; heaven] heauens *T1-2*
- 20       might] night *T1-2*
- 21       him self] it self *T1-2*
- 23       sturres] stirre *T1-2*; torment] tormentes *T1-2*
- 24       to] And *T1-2*
- 25       represt] opprest *T1-2*
- 27       travaile] trauailes *T1 T2*; my] mine *T1-2*
- 31       in] by *T1 T2*; should pere] appere *T1-2*
- 32       w<sup>t</sup>] in *T1-2*
- 33       that] the *T1-2*
- 34       that] the *T1-2*
- 38       fynde] found *T1-2*
- 42       atgaas] agazed *T1-2*; sucke] sinke *T1-2*
- 45       flye] flee *T1-2*
- 48       oneles] vnlesse *AH T1-2*
- 49       my will] good will *AH*, my tene *T1-2*
- 52       or] on *AH T1-2*; me] my *AH T1-2*

Subscription Finis *H.S P*

## [33]

In addition to *P*, where the subscription of [33] to ‘H S’ claims Surrey’s authorship, the poem survives in *NA1-2* and Tottel, where it is printed in the Surrey section of *T1*, sig. B2<sup>v</sup>, *T2*, sig. B2<sup>v</sup>, and each edition thereafter. Michael Drayton printed excerpts from nine lines of the poem (ll. 3-4, 6-8, 9-10, 25, and 21) in the notes to his fictitious epistle from Surrey to Geraldine in *Englands Heroicall Epistles*. These notes appeared first in the second, 1598 edition (STC 7194) sig. N4<sup>r</sup> (*Dr1*), and thereafter in the 1599 edition (STC 7195), sig. N6<sup>r</sup> (*Dr2*); the 1600 edition (STC 7196), sig. N3<sup>v</sup> (*Dr3*); and the 1602 edition (STC 7197), sig. N3<sup>v</sup> (*Dr4*). The same excerpts were reproduced in the copy of the *Heroicall Epistles* incorporated into Drayton’s *The Barrons Wars* (1603; STC 7189), sig. N3<sup>v</sup> (*BW*).

The poem probably dates from late 1537, and has the same biographical origin as [40]. In July or August of that year, Surrey was penalised for fighting a now-unknown accuser within the precincts of Court. The accusation may have touched on the sympathies that Surrey and his father, Thomas Howard, third Earl of Norfolk (1473-1555), were rumoured to have held with the rebel cause when they suppressed the Pilgrimage of Grace in 1536. This was a popular Catholic rising in Yorkshire and Lincolnshire against Henry VIII’s religious policy (‘Howard, Henry, earl of Surrey’, *ODNB*). The usual punishment for striking a courtier was the loss of a hand. Due perhaps to his profession as a soldier and perhaps to the preeminence of the Howards as a noble family, Surrey was instead sent to live confined in Windsor Castle. He probably composed [33] during this imprisonment.

The poem juxtaposes two Windsors: the ‘crewell prison’ of the speaker’s present imprisonment and the ‘prowde wyndsour’ of the period he spent there in 1529-1532 with Henry VIII’s illegitimate son Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond (1519-1536), with whom Surrey had been raised after Richmond came into Norfolk’s care in 1529. The two boys received a noble upbringing at Windsor, and were trained in jousting and hunting among other disciplines. Their close association continued into 1533, when they stayed in France at the Court of King François I; Richmond married Surrey’s sister, Mary (1519-1558), in the same year. Richmond died unexpectedly of a probable pulmonary infection on 23 July 1536; his loss affected Surrey keenly. (‘Fitzroy, Henry, Duke of Richmond and Somerset’, *ODNB*).

Surrey’s poem is both an elegy on his childhood at Windsor with Richmond (ll. 1-41) and a complaint at his imprisonment there (ll. 42-54). The cross-rhymed quatrain form is the same one that Surrey adopted for his epitaph on Wyatt, ‘Wyat resteth here’. The poem is retrospective in subject and, to an extent, in style. It emphasises the chivalric aspects of the

boys' childhood (ll. 17-22) and contains possible Chaucerian echoes to both *T&C* (ll. 45-48) and, more indirectly, *KnT*, where Surrey and Richmond provide an ironic contrast to Palamon and Arcite. C. W. Jentoft argues that the structure of [33] follows the order of the biographical elegy, in which Surrey discusses Richmond's noble heritage in [33].1-5 before, in 6-41, dedicating each quatrain to a mnemonic catalogue of the 'places' of Richmond's life. The poem as a whole is organised through Surrey's sustained use of *anaphora* and *enumeratio*. Jones (121) notes that Surrey's use of these rhetorical figures is reminiscent of fifteenth-century elegy, and cites analogues from Lydgate, *Testament*, stanzas 6 and 7, and James I of Scotland's *Kingis Quair*, stanza 121.

Recent critics, including Jonathan Crewe and Stephen Guy-Bray, have used the insights of Queer Theory to posit that [33] describes a potentially erotic relationship between Surrey and Richmond (Crewe, 1990: 48-78; Guy-Bray, 2002: 103-117). However, such language as that in ll. 41-44 was appropriate for the bounds of male-male friendship in the sixteenth century. Candace Lines recommends a politically sensitive reading of the relationship between Surrey and Richmond, which notes the parallels between the boys' bed chamber and the king's Privy Chamber (Lines, 2006: 1-26).

- 1        *betyde*] befall, happen ('betide', *v.*, 1a)
- 3        *childishe*] youthful ('childish', *adj.*, 5). As a noun, 'child' can designate a young man of noble birth preparing for knighthood, but no adjectival forms are attested ('child', *n.*, 5).
- 4        *feast*] festivity, rejoicing ('feast', *n.*, 5)  
*Priams sonnes...Troye*] Priam was the king of Troy at the time of the Trojan war. The fact that several of his sons, including Polites and Polydorus, suffered unfortunate deaths makes their comparison with Richmond a poignant one.
- 6        *courtes*] court-yards ('court', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)  
*hove*] linger ('hove', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a)
- 7        *maydens towre*] Nott (I.348) suggests that the 'maydens towre' designates the 'part of the castle in which the ladies had their apartments'.
- 8        *easye sighes*] The phrase probably alludes to Chaucer, *T&C*, 3.1363: 'But esy sykes, swiche as ben to like'.
- 9        *sales*] halls, chambers ('sale', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)  
*Ladyes bright...hew*] The phrase is Chaucerian. Compare Chaucer, *CT*, *CIT*.1108: 'But natheles this mayde bright of hew'.

- 11 *Tygers could...rew]* The line indulges in the rhetorical excess of the love lament. Tigers were types of unthinking pitilessness and are therefore improbable empathisers.
- 13 *palme playe]* This was a game which was in part tennis and in part handball; a player would strike the ball with the palm of the hand instead of a racket. It was long known in France as *jeu de paume*. As Jones (122) comments, Erasmus commended the game in his colloquy *De Lusu (Of Games)*, first printed in 1522: ‘Nulla res melius exercet omnes corporis partes, quam pila palmaria, sed aptior hiemi quam aestati’ (‘Nothing exercises every part of the body better than palm play, although it is more suited to winter than summer’).
- dispoyled]* undressed (‘despoil’, v., 3b); players would tend to compete at palm play in their shirts
- 16 *bayte]* probably ‘lure’, ‘attract’ (‘bait’, v., 11); the earliest date that the *OED* cites for this sense of the verb is 1600.
- leddes]* the strips of lead which protected the roof where the ladies stood (‘lead’, n.<sup>1</sup>, 7a); the earliest date that the *OED* cites for this sense of the verb is 1578-1579.
- 17 *the graveld ground]* The space enclosed within the lists of a jousting arena was usually strewn with gravel for the tilting.
- w<sup>t</sup> sleeves...helme]* Nott (I.350) refers to the practice of knights of ‘tying to their helmets a sleeve, or glove, or any favour received from their mistresses, which they wore not only in tilts or tournaments, but also in battle’.
- 21 *w<sup>t</sup> silver...rewthe]* The elliptical syntax makes interpretation difficult; the most probable sense is: ‘with silver drops the meadows were still spread out of pity’. Holton and MacFaul, ‘“Ruth in Surrey’s Windsor Elegy”, *N&Q*, 56.1 (2009): 29-33, discuss the line both in *P* and in its variant forms in *TI-2* and *NAI-2*.
- 23 *trayled]* probably ‘followed’ or ‘tracked’ (‘train’, v.<sup>1</sup>, 4b); the earliest date that the *OED* cites for this sense of the verb is 1590.
- 26 *prayes]* praise
- 28 *spede]* success (‘speed’, n., 3a).
- 29 *forest, holtes]* probably designate different types of woodland. In common usage, holts were smaller patches of woodland or copses (‘holt’, n.<sup>1</sup>, 2a).
- 30 *raynes]* reigns
- avald]* dropped down, slackened (‘a’vare’, v., 3a).

- 32 *chace the...force*] Nott (I.352) suggested that Surrey renders the French ‘chasse à forcer’. This was a type of hunting which involved running down the game and was therefore distinct from ‘chasse à tirer’, in which the game would be shot.
- 33 *voyd*] empty (‘void’, *adj.* 3a; 4a)
- 35 *accord*] probable bilingual pun on French ‘cor’ (‘heart’). Compare Surrey’s puns in [34].66 and [35].2.
- 38 *wanton*] jovial (‘wanton’, *adj.*, 3a)
- 44 *vpsupped*] i.e., ‘supped up’, to fuel the renewal of the speaker’s tears. The *OED* cites the form ‘up’sup’ as Surrey’s coinage (‘up-’, ‘up’sup’). Jones (122), however, notes Wyatt’s uses of the phrase in the fourth prologue of the penitential psalms: ‘Off wych some part, when he vp suppyd hade’ (M&T: Prol. 4 (CVIII).419).
- 45-48 *O place...dere*] a probable allusion to Chaucer, *T&C*, 5.547-550:

O paleis, whilom crowne of houses alle  
 Enlumyned with sonne of alle blisse!  
 O ryng, fro which the ruby is out falle  
 O cause of wo, that cause hast ben of lisse!

For the phrase ‘renewer of my woos’ in [33].45, compare Nicholas Grimald’s revision of Wyatt in *E*: ‘O restfull place, renewer of my smart’ (fol. 7<sup>v</sup>).

- 46 *accompt*] account, answer (‘account’, *n.*, 6b)
- fere*] companion, comrade (‘fere’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a). Compare [59].23 in *P*.
- 48 *lief*] beloved, dear (‘lief’, *adj.*, 1a)
- 51 *fredome*] both ‘nobility’ and ‘liberty’ (‘freedom’, *n.*, 2a)
- 52 *the greater grief*] i.e., Surrey’s loss of Richmond, which serves to ‘bannishe’ the less intense grief of his imprisonment.

### Collations

- BW* Michael Drayton, *The Barrons Wars* (STC 7189), sig. N3<sup>v</sup>
- Dr1* Michael Drayton, *Englands Heroicall Epistles* (STC 7194), sig. N4<sup>f</sup>
- Dr2* Michael Drayton, *Englands Heroicall Epistles* (STC 7195), sig. N6<sup>f</sup>
- Dr3* Michael Drayton, *Englands Heroicall Epistles* (STC 7196), sig. N3<sup>v</sup>
- Dr4* Michael Drayton, *Englands Heroicall Epistles* (STC 7197), sig. N3<sup>v</sup>
- NA1* *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1769), I, pp 189-191
- NA2* *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1779), III, pp. 246-248
- P* BL, Add. MS 36529, fol. 51<sup>r</sup>

*T1* Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes* (Q1), sigs B2<sup>v</sup>-B3<sup>v</sup>

*T2* Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes* (Q2), sigs B2<sup>v</sup>-B3<sup>v</sup>

*P* is the best text of the surviving witnesses, with three errors in ll. 19, 27, and 49. It shares those in ll. 19 and 27 with *NA1-2*, which suggests their descent from a common ancestor (*X*). In l. 32, *NA1-2* share the reading ‘of force’ with *T1-2*, meaning either ‘vigorously’ or ‘violently’ (‘force’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, ‘of force’). *P*, on the other hand, has ‘aforce’. This reading is perhaps erroneous, but could be a legitimate variant on the basis of 32n. above: the boys are chasing the hart ‘à forcer’, i.e., running down the animal. *NA1-2* commit an additional four shared errors in ll. 7, 21, 23, and 54. Chief among these is ‘maydes’ in l. 21, which suggests that is the ladies rather than the meadows which weep out of ‘rewthe’. *NA2* commits five further errors in ll. 5, 6, 7, 13, and 29; all but l. 13, ‘disposed’, are misprints. That in l. 6, ‘hove’, is shared with Drayton’s excerpt in *BW* and *Dr1-4*, but this is almost certainly coincidental. It is improbable that Henry Harington consulted Drayton or any additional source when reprinting the poem. *NA1* therefore has a total of six errors and *NA2* eleven.

*T1-2* have eight patent errors in ll. 7, 9, 17, 19, 23, 33, 41, and 49. Chief among these is ‘wide vales’ in l. 33 against ‘voyd walles’, which switches round the initial sounds of each word and is a manifest corruption in a quatrain which shifts the focus from the external parts of Windsor to the bed chamber. Like *P*, *T1-2* struggled with l. 49; the error ‘Eccho (alas)’ may be an effort to correct by guesswork a corruption common to the ancestor of *P* and *T1-2*. *T2*, which is clearly based on *T1*, commits the two additional errors ‘feastes’ in l. 4 and ‘frenship’ in l. 39. This gives it ten in total.

Drayton’s excerpts of [33] in *BW* and *Dr1-4* are apparently not taken from *T1-2*, as there is no overlap in error. His versions, moreover, conflate the readings of different copies. In l. 9, ‘seats’ agrees with *T1-2*, but in l. 21, ‘meads’ agrees with *P*. In some lines, Drayton seems to have introduced his own revisions unless he used a now-lost witness which was unrelated to those extant. In ll. 3, 4, 8, and 25, *BW* and *Dr1-4* have the unique substantives ‘I pass’d’, ‘sonne’, ‘men’, and ‘we haue’ for ‘did passe’, ‘sonnes’, ‘folke’, and ‘oft we’. These may well be adaptations to suit the excerpted form of the lines. That in l. 3, for instance, would disrupt the rhyme with l. 1 in a full text of the poem.

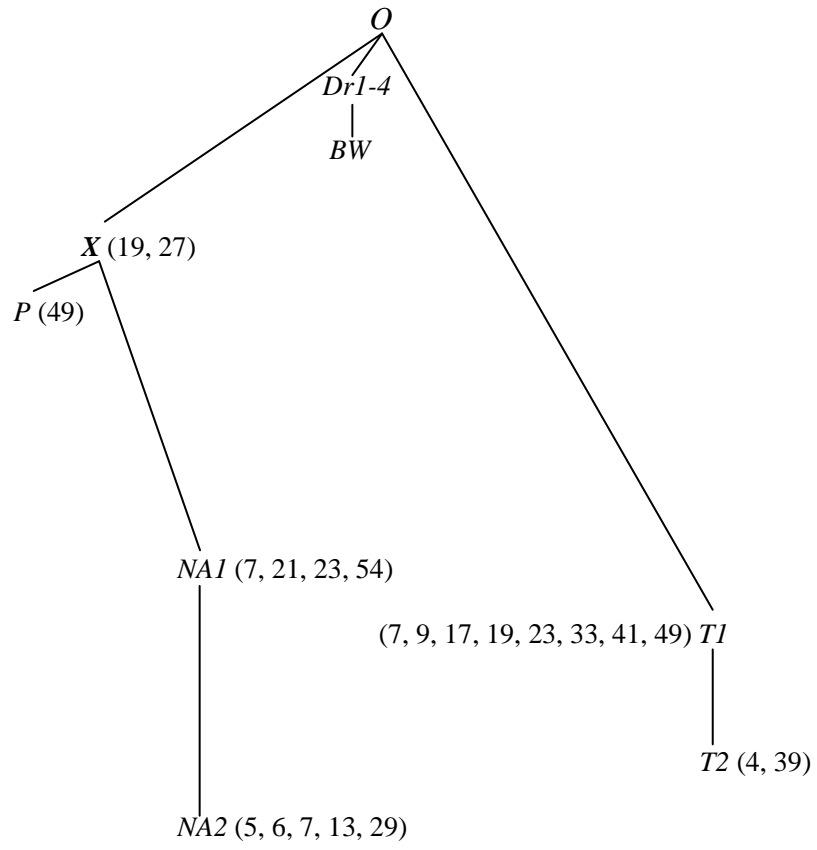
|       |                                                                                              |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Title | Prisoned in windsor, he recounteth his pleasure there passed <i>T1-2</i>                     |
| 3     | did passe] I pass'd <i>BW Dr1-4</i>                                                          |
| 4     | feast] feastes <i>T2</i> ; sonnes] sonne <i>BW Dr1-4</i>                                     |
| 5     | retournes] retournds <i>NA2</i>                                                              |
| 6     | the] Those <i>BW Dr1-4</i> ; hove] rove <i>BW Dr1-4 NA2</i>                                  |
| 7     | vnto] into <i>T1-2</i> ; maydens] maiden <i>NA1-2</i>                                        |
| 8     | folke] men <i>BW Dr-4</i>                                                                    |
| 9     | sales] seates <i>BW Dr1-4 T1-2</i>                                                           |
| 10    | great] sweet <i>BW Dr1-4</i>                                                                 |
| 13    | dispoyled] disposed <i>NA2</i>                                                               |
| 14    | dased] dazled <i>NA1-2</i>                                                                   |
| 17    | graveld] grauell <i>T1 T2</i>                                                                |
| 19    | as thoughe the one should overwhelme] as though one should another overwhelme<br><i>T1-2</i> |
| 21    | meades] meade <i>T1-2</i> , maydes <i>NA1-2</i>                                              |
| 23    | trayled by] trayned by <i>NA1-2</i> , trayned with <i>T1-2</i>                               |
| 25    | oft we] we haue <i>BW Dr1-4</i>                                                              |
| 27    | soft] ofte <i>T1-2</i>                                                                       |
| 29    | holtes] bolts <i>NA2</i>                                                                     |
| 32    | a force] of force <i>NA1-2 T1-2</i>                                                          |
| 33    | voyd walles] wide vales <i>T1-2</i>                                                          |
| 34    | revive within] reuiueth <i>T1-2</i>                                                          |
| 39    | frendshipp] frenship <i>T2</i>                                                               |
| 40    | nightes] night <i>T1-2</i>                                                                   |
| 41    | my] the <i>T1-2</i>                                                                          |
| 47    | didest] didst <i>NA1-2</i> , doest <i>T1-2</i>                                               |
| 49    | eache alas] Eccho (alas) <i>T1-2</i> , Each wall, alas! <i>NA1-2</i>                         |
| 54    | the lesse] thence <i>NA1-2</i>                                                               |

Subscription Finis. *H. S P*



Errors

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7
- 8
- 9
- 10
- 11
- 12



## [34]

In addition to *P*, where the subscription of [34] to 'H S' claims Surrey's authorship, the poem survives in two further copies: *NA3*, II, pp. 336-338, printed from *P*, and *AH*, fol. 49<sup>r-v</sup>, which includes the poem in its Surrey grouping.

The poem is, alongside [32] in *P*, one of two extant Surrey compositions in *terza rima*. The lines are octosyllabic rather than decasyllabic; ll. 29-40 are in couplets and depart from this scheme. The poem most probably dates from the spring of 1543, and serves as a poetic rejoinder to Surrey's pre-Lenten escapade in that year, which led to his imprisonment in the Fleet. On around 19 January 1543 and just before Candlemas (2 February), a traditional time for misrule, Surrey took to the streets of London at night with his companions Thomas Clere, William Pickering, and Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger. The men were armed with stonebows, and their rampage through the streets of London saw them smash the windows of some city churches together with several well-appointed houses (*ODNB*). Following examination of other witnesses, Surrey was brought before the Council on 1 April to answer the dual charges of eating meat during lent and rioting through the streets of London breaking windows. The Privy Council record of Surrey's examination summarises his responses to both charges:

Th'erle of Surrey, being sent for t'appere before the Counsell, was charged by the sayde presence, as well of eating off fleshe, as of a lewde and unsemely manner of walking in the night abowght the stretes and breaking wyth stone bowes off certayne wyndowes. And touching the eating of flesshe he alleged a licence, albeitt he hadde nott so secretly used the same as apperteyned. And towching the stone bows, he cowlde nott denye butt he hadde verye evyll done therein, submitting himselff therefore to soche ponishment as sholde to them be thought good. Whereapon he was committed to the Fleet.

(*APC*, I, 1892: 104-105)

The date of Surrey's release is not given, though Hughey (II.89) mentions that his companions were released on or around 3 May. Sessions gives a fuller account of the episode (Sessions, 2006: 231-234).

Poem [34] serves as a defence, in the voice of Surrey's poetic persona, of his actions in attacking London. He characterises London as a modern Babylon in need of correction, and himself as a prophet whose actions God sponsors. The poem is densely allusive. Hughey (II.90) points out Surrey's references to the biblical prophets Jeremiah 50:9, 14, and 29 (ll.18-20, 56-8, 60-64), Isaiah, 47:11 (l. 21), and Ezekiel, 7:12 (ll. 53-55), each of whom called for the destruction of Babylon. Surrey makes additional allusions to passages from Petrarch's

‘Babylon’ sonnets in ll. 53-55, 59, and 60-64. Jentoft described [34] as a defence or judicial oration, comprising an *exordium* or opening statement in ll. 3-8; a *narratio* or description of the event in ll. 9-23; a *confirmatio* or proof for the action in in ll. 28-41; a *refutatio* or rejection of the case for the prosecution in ll. 42-49; and a *peroratio*, or summation, in ll. 50-68 (Jentoft, 1973: 250-262).

The tone and purpose of [34] have proved difficult for commentators; most consider the poem a satire or invective, though with varying degrees of seriousness. Jentoft described the poem as ‘mock-heroic’ in intention (1973: 262), following Padelford’s view (221) that it was a ‘waggish satire’. Nott (I.365), however, read [34] as an authentic expression of Surrey’s Protestant sympathies and his outrage at the Catholic corruptions of London, which Mason took up in his analysis of Surrey’s allusions to the ‘Babylon’ sonnets (Mason, 1959: 243). Brigden’s and Ryrie’s historical accounts relate [34] to the Catholic persecution of Protestants in the 1540s, both at Court and in London (Brigden, 1989: 40-42; Ryrie, 2003). Henry Brinkelow’s scathing attack on London in *The Lamentacion of a Christian, against the Citie of London* (1542; STC 3764) offers one example contemporaneous with [34] of Protestant polemic against the sins of London.

Taylor most recently argues that Surrey’s use of the ‘Babylon’ sonnets in [34] does not necessarily signal a Protestant agenda. He suggests rather that Surrey’s motivation may rather be moral and political, and target those, like Sir Richard Gresham who profited from the monastic dissolutions to acquire land and social status (Taylor, 2006b: 436-446). Critics have reached no definitive position on the poem.

4        *so fervent hotte*] The statement could qualify either ‘brest’ in [34].3 or the ‘dissolute life’ of London in [34].4. Elliptical syntax is a feature of the poem: compare [34].35 and 49.

7        *convert*] i.e., ‘turn’, ‘transform’ (‘convert’, *v.*, 10a-c); the implication is that the speaker’s hatred for the sins of London transformed itself into action in order to express itself (the actions are described in [34].9-17). Compare the intransitive use of the verb in John Rastell, *A new boke of purgatory*: ‘and many of them do neuer conuerte from those vyves’ (1530; STC 20719, sig. B4<sup>r</sup>).

8        *that terro<sup>r</sup>...represe*] i.e., ‘that terror of incurring a punishment could not repress my rage’

- 9-12 *by wordes...expresse]* ‘Since preachers know what little hope lies in words as a means of redressing sins, I preferred to pursue a novel method of expressing my protest.’
- 9 *the which]* looks back to ‘the synnes’ in [34].5
- 20 *thy]* i.e., London’s  
*behest]* command, injunction (‘behest’, *n.*, 2)
- 22 *sceptures]* scribal error for ‘scriptures’, such as the Books of Jeremiah and Isaiah cited in [34].18-20 and 21
- 24 *by soddayne flame]* i.e., ‘by means of a flash of lightning’, described through *antonomasia*
- 26 *the]* thee
- 27 *the]* thee
- 28-41 *that pryde...fynd]* The passage recalls the idea of the *contrapasso* (‘suffer the opposite) in Dante’s *Inferno*, by which the Seven Deadly Sins are punished by a process either resembling or contrasting with the sin itself (for the second, see ‘slouthe’).
- 32 *of eche]* i.e., ‘for each’
- 33 *iust shapp hyer]* i.e., ‘the justly appointed reward’; ‘shapp’ is a past participle of the verb ‘shape’ (‘shape’, *v.*, 23; ‘hyer’, *n.*, 3)
- 34 *wrought]* worked
- 42 *wight]* human (‘wight’, *n.*, 2a)
- 44 *thy]* i.e., London’s
- 49 *hast]* Jones (128) suggests emending the reading to ‘hearst’, though without textual authority.
- 50 *endured]* hardened, callous (‘endured’, *adj.*, 1); compare Surrey, [56].23.
- 51 *Oh shameles...gon?]* adapts Petrarch, *Rima* 138.11: ‘putta sfacciata! Et dove ài posto spene?’ (‘you shameless whore! And where have you placed your hopes?’).
- 52 *by suche...weale]* i.e., ‘by those foes who appeared to be acting for your well-being’ (‘weale’, *n.*, 2a)
- 53-54 *Oh membre...ire]* The lines adapt Petrarch, *Rima* 138.3, 5-8:

già Roma or Babilonia falsa et ria  
[...]  
o fucina d’inganni, o pregon dira  
ove ’l ben more e ’l mal si nutre et cria,  
di vivi inferno: un gran miracol fia

se Cristo teco alfine non s'adira.

[‘once Rome, now falsed wicked Babylon [...] O foundry of deceits, cruel prison where good dies and evil is created and nourished, a hell for the living: it will be a great miracle if Christ does not finally show his anger against you.’]

- 55 *dome*] judgement (‘doom’, *n.*, 2; 6)
- 56-58 *thy martyres...desyre*] a possible allusion to Revelation 18:24: ‘and in her was founde the bloude of the prophetes, and of the sayntes, and of all that were slayne vpon the earth’ (*Bible*, sig. 2T4<sup>r</sup>).
- 59 *the flame...fall*] adapts Petrarch, *Rima* 136.1-2: ‘Fiamma dal Ciel su le tue treccie piova, | malvagia’ (Durling, 1976: ‘May fire from Heaven rain down on your tresses, wicked one’).
- 60-64 *w<sup>t</sup> famyne...iniquitie*] The passage features a number of scriptural allusions, in particular Ezekiel 5:12-17, 6:11-14, and Jeremiah 50:15. It also adapts Petrarch, *Rima* 137.9-11:

Gl'idoli suoi sarranno in terra sparsi  
et le torre superbe al ciel nemiche,  
e i suoi torrer di for come dentro arsi.

[‘Her idols shall be scattered on the ground and her proud towers, enemies of Heaven; and her tower-keepers shall be burned from the outside as from within.’]

- 60 *pest*] pestilence (‘pest’, *n.*, 1a)
- 61 *they*] probable scribal error for ‘thy’; Jones (128) emends the reading thus.
- 68 *accord*] probable bilingual pun on French ‘cor’ (‘heart’). Compare Surrey’s puns in [33].35 and [35].2.

### Collations

*P* and *AH* appear to have a common source; both copies commit one just independent error apiece, each of which is probably scribal. In l. 60, *AH* has the reading ‘lamentable’ against ‘lamentable’ in *P* and *NA3*, which distorts the sense of the line and affects the rhyme. In l. 61, *P* and *NA3* have ‘they’, which is inferior to ‘thy’ in *AH* in a passage which generally invokes London through second-person address. Although Park reprinted *NA3* from *P*, he committed two independent errors, with ‘as’ in l. 17 against ‘are’ in *P* and *AH*, and ‘you’ in l. 51 against ‘gon’ in *P* and *AH*.

Title An Exhortation to the Citizens of London. By Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. *NA3*

17 are] as *NA3*

22 sceptor] scryptures *AH*, scriptures *NA3*

51 gon] you

60 lamentable] lamentable *AH*

61 they] thie *AH*

66 rightwise] righteous *AH*

Subscription Fynis *H S P*

[35]

Source: Petrarch, *Trionfo d'Amore*, 3.151-187 (for ll. 15-48):

Or so come da sé 'l cor si disguinge  
e come sa far pace, guerra e tregua,  
e coprir suo dolor, quand'altri il punge;

e so come in un punto si dilegua  
e poi si sparge per le guance il sangue,  
se paura o vergogna avven che 'l segua;

[155]

so come sta tra' fiori ascoso l'angue,  
come sempre tra due si vegghia e dorme,  
come senza languir si more e langue;

so de la mia nemica cerca l'orme  
e temer di trovarla, e so in qual guisa  
l'amante ne l'amato si transforme;

[160]

so fra lunghi sospiri e brevi risa  
stato, voglia, color cangiare spesso,  
viver stando dal cor l'alma divisa;

[165]

so mille volte il dì ingannar me stesso,  
so, seguendo 'l mio foco ovunque e' fugge,  
arder da lunge ed aghiacciar da presso.

so com'Amor sovra la mente rugge  
e com'ogni ragione indi discaccia;  
e so in quante maniere il cor si strugge;

[170]

so di che poco canape s'allacia  
un'anima gentil quand'ella è sola

e non v'è chi per lei difesa faccia;

se com'Amor saetta e come vola [175]  
e so com'or minaccia ed or percote,  
come ruba per forza e come invola,

e come sono instabili sue rote,  
le mani armate, e gli occhi avvolti in fasce,  
sue promesse di fé come son vote, [180]

come nell'ossa il suo foco si pasce,  
e ne le vene vive occulta piaga,  
onde morte e palese incendio nesce.

In somma so che cosa è l'alma vaga,  
rotto parlar con subito silenzio, [185]  
ché poco dolce molto amaro appaga,  
di che s'ha il mel temprato con l'assenzio.

[Wilkins, 1962: 'Now know I how the heart is rent in twain,  
And how it can make peace or war or truce,  
And how it may conceal its malady,  
And how my blood retreats, and leaves me pale  
When I am filled with fear, or rushes red  
Into my cheeks, when I am stirred by shame.  
I know the serpent hiding in the grass,  
And how uncertainty may banish sleep,  
How without illness one may faint and die.  
I know the seeking of my lady's ways,  
And fear of finding her; and I know how  
I am transformèd into her I love.  
I know the changing of my mood and will  
And color, 'mid long sighs and brief delight,  
My very soul divided from my heart.  
I can deceive myself a thousand times  
Within a day; and following her, I freeze  
When I am near her, burning when afar.  
I know how Love can roar through the mind,  
Expelling thought; and in how many ways  
The heart may suffer till it faint and fail.  
I know how little hemp it takes to bind  
A gentle soul, when it is all alone  
And there is none to help in its defense.  
I know how Love may fly and bend its bow,  
How now he threatens, and how now he strikes,  
And how he steals and bears his theft away.  
I know how mutable his actions are,  
How arm'd his hands, how blinded are his eyes,  
His promises how empty of all faith,  
And how his fire feeds still upon my frame  
And lives, a hidden passion, in my veins,  
Burning me evermore, and threatening death:  
A little sweetness ends in bitterness.']

In addition to *P*, where the ascription of [35] to 'H S' claims Surrey's authorship, the poem survives in two other MSS: *AH*, fols 50<sup>r</sup>-51<sup>r</sup>, which includes it in its Surrey grouping, and *B*,

fol. 178<sup>r-v</sup>, where it is copied by a secretary hand which Hughey attributes to John Harington of Stepney (Hughey, 1971: 256). In Tottel, the poem is printed in the Surrey section of *TI*, sigs A3<sup>r</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup>, T2, sigs A3<sup>r</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup>, and each edition thereafter.

Nott identified the main source of ll. 15-48 as the *Trionfo*; he also noted that ll. 1-14 adapt the first stanza of Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, Canto 2 (Nott, I, 1965: 297-298). Ariosto is also a possible source of [43] in *P*. To these sources, Surrey adds possible allusions to Petrarch sonnets in ll. 5-6 and 35, as well as a passage from Book 4 of the *Trionfo* in ll. 47-48, though his source for the first of these may be Ovid. The poem focuses on the strictures and maladies of love, which include several Petrarchan commonplaces: see in particular ll. 27 and 39-40. In general, Surrey remains close to Petrarch's catalogue of maladies in ll. 15-36 and ll. 39-42, though he adds material in ll. 37-38 and does not translate Petrarch's ll. 175-187. Surrey also picks up Petrarch's use of *anaphora* as a rhetorical and structural device, substituting 'I know' for 'So' at the head of several couplets.

Surrey's largest departure from Petrarch is in form. He substitutes poulter's measure for Petrarch's *terza rima*, even though [32] and [34] indicate that he was able to compose in that metre. Henry Parker, Lord Morley (1480x1481-1556), also eschewed *terza rima* when he translated the *Trionfo d'Amore* as part of his whole *Trionfi* in couplets, printed as *The tryumphes of Fraunces Petrarcke* (c. 1555; STC 19811). However, Carnicelli argued that Morley's translation is Henrician, and was probably underway in germinal form from 1536 or 1537 (Morley, 1971: 11). It therefore pre-dates [35], but there is no evidence that Surrey borrowed from Morley's poem. The likelihood that he saw or consulted a copy is unknown.

1-14 *Suche waywarde...begune*] adapts Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, Canto 2, stanza 1:

Ingiustissimo Amor, perché sí raro  
Correspondenti fai nostri desiri,  
Onde perfido avvien che t'è sí caro  
Il discorde voler ch'in duo cor miri?  
Gir non me lasci al facil guado e chiaro, [5]  
E nel piú cieco e maggior fondo tiri:  
Da chi disia il mio amor tu mi richiami,  
E chi m'ha in odio vuoi ch'adori et ami.

['Love, what makes you unjust? Why can you never take heed of your own desires? Whence comes it, treacherous Love, that you so enjoy the sight of two lovers ill-assorted? Not for me the crossing where the water is quiet and limpid: you must needs draw me in where it is deep and murky. You call me away from any who would crave my love, while she who hates me, she it is whom you would have me give my heart.']

1 *discorde*] There is a probable bilingual pun on French 'cor' ('heart').



- 2 *wherby*] i.e., ‘where’; the disyllabic word here aids the scansion.  
*accorde*] see 1n. above: here, the failure of ‘hartes’ to ‘accorde’ lends the pun an  
 ironic tone. Compare Surrey’s puns in [33].35 and [34].66.
- 4 *symple*] open, free from guile (‘simple’, *adj.*, 1a)  
*froward*] unreasonable (‘froward’, *adj.*, 1)  
*dyvers*] cruel (‘divers’, *adj.*, 2)
- 5-6 *he cawseth...harte*] The idea that golden arrows instil desire and leaden arrows  
 aversion derives from Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 1.468-71.
- 6 *alaye*] repress, assuage (‘allay’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 8)
- 7 *easye*] slight, insignificant, and therefore counterpointed with the ‘hot gleames’  
 (‘easy’, *adj.* 15)
- 8 *vnegall*] unequal  
*pondereth*] considers, weighs (‘ponder’, *v.*, 2b; 3a)  
*by ame*] by conjecture, with a possible pun on ‘ame’ as ‘the act of aiming’, given the  
 allusion to Cupid (‘aim’, *n.*, 1; 3a)
- 9 *easye fourde*] renders Ariosto, ‘facil guado e chiaro’ (l. 5: ‘easy and clear ford’)
- 11 *where I...place*] i.e., ‘where I am offered position’ (in the favours of the beloved)  
 (‘place’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 15a)
- 12 *wooll that still*] wills that still  
*beseche of grace*] i.e., ‘seek for grace’
- 13 *lettes*] forbids (‘let’, *v.*<sup>2</sup>, 1a)
- 14 *or*] ere, i.e., ‘before’ (‘ere’, *adv.*, 4a)  
*sute*] courtship (‘suit’, *n.*, 12)
- 16 *returne*] i.e., ‘turn back’ (‘re-turn’, *v.*<sup>2</sup>, 1a)
- 17 *convert my...lust*] The meaning is unclear; Nott (I.300) has ‘I know how to form my  
 will to the wishes of others’.  
*lust*] desires, wishes (‘lust’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a)
- 19 *chere*] countenance (‘chere’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a)
- 20 *paynted*] deceptive, feigned (‘painted’, *adj.*, 1b)
- 23 *vnder the...lurckes*] The phrase alludes to the proverb ‘Snake in the grass’ (*ODEP*,  
 748, Tilley, S 585). Serpents were types of treachery.
- 24 *hamer of...forge*] The metaphor of the mind as a forge is common one in sixteenth-  
 century verse. Compare Surrey, ‘Wyatt resteth here’: ‘Whose hammers bet styll in  
 that lively brayn | As on a stithe’ (Jones, 1964: [28].7-8).

- 25 *can be roote*] know by rote ('can', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1b)
- 28 *complayne*] possibly 'sing'; a complaint was a type of courtly song. Compare Chaucer, *CT*, *FranT*.947-948: 'Of swich matere made he many layes, | Songes, compleintes, roundels, virelayes'.
- 29 *sickles for to consume*] i.e., 'without sickness to waste away' ('consume', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 3b); the *OED* cites 'sickless' as Surrey's coinage.
- 30 *resolving all...fume*] i.e., 'resolving all in a fit of anger' ('fume', *n.*, 7a). Jones (141) alters the reading. He retains the struck-through 'his' in *P* rather than the correction 'in', and supplies the gloss 'for allaying his anguish'.
- 32 *that*] what
- 34 *w<sup>t</sup> spryte...removed*] The line perhaps alludes to Petrarch, *Rima* 15.9-12:

Talor m'assale in mezzo a' tristi pianti  
un dubbio: com posson queste membra  
de lo spirito lo viver lontane?

['At times in the midst of my sad laments a doubt assails me: How can these members  
live far from their spirit?']

- 35 *hartye*] heartfelt ('hearty', *adj.*, 4a)
- splene*] both the seat of mirth and the seat of melancholy in EM humoural theory
- 38 *how the...whelp*] The line alludes to the proverb 'Beat the dog before the lion' (*ODEP*, 36; Tilley, D 443); the practice was meant to tame the lion. Compare Chaucer, *CT*, *SqT*.491, and Edward's Topsell's *The Historie of Fovre-Footed Beastes*: 'the best way to tame Lyons is to bring vp with them a little dogge, and oftentimes to beate the same dogge in their presence, by which discipline, the lion is made more tractable to the will of his keeper' (1607; STC 24123, p. 480).
- 39-40 *In standing...lese*] For the commonplace, compare Surrey, [32].18.
- 40 *of*] off
- lese*] lose ('leese', *v.*)
- 41 *yeldon*] surrendered, yielded, submissive ('yolden', *adj.*); this is the past participle of 'yield'. Compare Surrey, [53].54.
- 42 *mashe*] i.e., 'mesh', 'to catch in a net' (*OED*: 'mesh', *v.*); the *OED* cites the verb as Surrey's coinage.
- gentle*] noble, courteous, and possibly 'tender' ('gentle', *adj.*, 2a; 3a; 8)
- 43 *which*] probably looks back to 'hart'; Jones (112) adopts the *TI*-2 reading 'with'.

*seldome tasted...gall*] i.e., ‘seldom tasted sweet compared to all the gall it had tasted’; for the phrase, compare Surrey, [54].64. Jones (112) prefers the variant in *T1-2*, ‘to season heaps of gall’.

44 *glyns*] variant spelling of ‘glimpse’ (*OED*, ‘glimpse’, Forms, ‘glinse’)

45 *traynes*] strategems, tricks (‘train’, *n.*, 1b; 2)

47 *slipper*] slippery (‘slipper’, *adj.*, 1a); Jones (115) compares Petrarch, *Trionfo* 4, ‘lubrico sperar’ (4.139: ‘slippery hopes).

48 *doutfull hope...woo*] As above, Jones (115) compares Petrarch, *Trionfo*, 4.148, ‘d’allegrezze incerte’ (Wilkins, 1962: ‘certain sorrows and uncertain joys’).

*dispaire of helthe*] i.e., ‘hopelessness of attaining health’

### Collations

*AH* Arundel Harington MS, fols 50<sup>r</sup>-51<sup>r</sup>

*B* Trinity College, Dublin, MS 160, fol. 178<sup>r-v</sup>

*P* BL, Add. MS 36529, fol. 53<sup>r</sup>

*T1* Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes* (Q1), sigs A3<sup>r</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup>

*T2* Tottel, *Songes and Sonettes* (Q2), sigs A3<sup>r</sup>-A4<sup>r</sup>

*P* is the best text of the surviving witnesses, with two errors: ‘wooll that still’ in l. 12, which is inferior in sense to ‘And willes me that’ in *T1-2*, and the two omitted lines after l. 30. Factoring in the differing number of lines due to *P*’s incomplete state, this gives *P* an error rate of 0.041 per line, compared to 0.1 in *AH*, 0.12 in *B*, and 0.16 in *T1-2*, all of which are full copies of the poem. Both *AH* and *B* share slightly variant but otherwise similar versions of *P*’s l. 12, and the MSS are in general closer to each other than *T1-2*. This is unsurprising given that they all appear to have links to the elder Harington, particularly if he is the scribe of *B*. However, each of the extant copies of [35] apparently descends independently from the archetype, with the exception of *T2*, which is clearly based on *T1*. Edwards avers that in l. 10 of *P* and *AH* (to which *B* is here added), ‘the darke diep well’ is a certain conjunctive error compared to ‘a depe dark hell’ in *T1-2*, with its repetition of the rhyme-word ‘well’ in l. 9 caused by catching (Edwards, 2012: 34). However, this reading in *P*, *AH*, and *B* translates more closely Ariosto’s description of the difficult crossing (‘deep and murky’). Surrey also uses a duplicate rhyme, with no apparent corruption, in [32].29 and 31 (‘playne’/‘playne’). The reading common to the MSS therefore appears legitimate.

*AH* is next after *P* with four independent errors added to that in l. 12, giving it five overall. These are ‘and’ in l. 5 against ‘he’, ‘dead’ in l. 21 against ‘dredd’, ‘the Lover’ in l. 33 against ‘that lovers’, and ‘the fyre’ in l. 39 against ‘my fyer’. *B* has six errors in total in ll. 12, 32 (x2), 33, 38, and the first added line after l. 28 in *P* (‘dothe’ for ‘doth not’ in *AH* and *T1-2*). *T1-2* are the most corrupt witnesses with eight shared errors in ll. 4, 14, 15, 17, 24, 37, 41 (‘yelding’) and the first added line (‘grace’ for ‘face’ in *AH* and *B*). The error in l. 24, ‘wote’ against ‘know’, disrupts the pattern of *anaphora* established in that part of the poem.

Title Description of the fickle affections panges and sleightes of loue [Description in *T2*]  
*T1-2*

- 2 do] doth *AH B*  
 4 w<sup>ch</sup>] whom *T1-2*  
 5 he] and *AH*; cawseth hertes] makes the one *T1*, causeth thone *T2*  
 6 the tothers] the others *B*, the other *T1-2*  
 7 hot] Whote *T1-2*  
 10 the dark diep well] a depe dark hell *T1-2*  
 12 and wooll that still] and will that still *AH*, and wylethe that styll *B*, And willes me that *T1-2*  
 13 he] and *AH*; well nere] welnere *T1-2*  
 14 spilt] lost *T1-2*  
 15 lo] Law *B*, So *T1-2*; these rules] this meanes *T1-2*; can] may *T1-2*  
 17 convert my will] content my self *T1-2*  
 19 harme] harmes *T1-2*; dissembled] dyssymyled *B*, dissembling *T1-2*  
 21 dredd] dead *AH*  
 24 know] wote *T1-2*  
 25 be] by *B T1-2*; roote] Rot *B*  
 28 can] doth *T1-2*  
 30 <hys> ^in^] in *AH B T1-2*

*After 30, two lines are added in AH, B, and T1-2:*

And thoughe he lyke to see / his ladies face full sore

Suche pleasure as delightes his eye / doth not his health restore *AH*

and thoghe he lyke to se his ladyes face full sore

suche plesuer as delytes his ey dothe his helthe Restore *B*

- And though he list to se his ladies grace full sore  
 Such pleasures as delight the eye doe not his health restore *T1-2*  
 32 and] yet *B*; this I know] I do know *B*  
 33 that lovers] the Lover *AH*, these lovers *B*  
 34 alas (who colde believe)] (alas who would beleue?) *T1-2*  
 35 hartye] harte *B*  
 37 withouten] with others *T1-2*  
 38 chastysed] chastned *B*; by] with *B*  
 39 my fyer] the fyre *AH*  
 40 to] I *T1-2*; to] I *T1-2*; to] I *T1-2*  
 41 the] a *AH T1 T2*, an *B*; yeldon] yelding *T1-2*  
 42 a] an *AH B*  
 43 which seldome tasted swete] that seldome tasted sweet *B*, Or els with seldome swete  
*T1-2*; seasoned] season *T1-2*  
 44 glyns] glyntt *AH B*, glimse *T1-2*  
 46 may] will *T1-2*; will] may *T1-2*  
 47 that] the *B T1-2*; those] and *B*, the *T1-2*  
 48 that] the *T1-2*; that] the *T1-2*

Subscription H S *B*

## [36]

In addition to to *P*, where the subscription of [36] to ‘H S’ claims Surrey’s authorship, the poem survives in truncated form in Tottel, where it was printed in the Surrey section of *TI*, sig. C4<sup>r</sup>, *T2*, sig. C4<sup>r</sup>, and each edition thereafter.

The poem is a love lament composed in cross-rhyming iambic tetrameter, and has formal and thematic links with the subsequent poem, [37], in *P*. It is structured as several linking stanzas of amatory commonplaces with little narrative development between them; several contain allusions to Petrarch sonnets. The second, third, and eighth stanzas, for instance, each adapt a simile from a Petrarch original. Certain passages in the poem are lifted from *Rime* 19, 224, and 173, which Wyatt translated into English: see ll. 9-10, 31, and 32. The first and third of these *Rime* are translated as [21] and [23] in *P*. As a lament assembled out of various Petrarchan sources, [36] shares much with [32] and [35].

A similar poem appears in BL, Harley MS 78 (*Hy78*). Five stanzas are practically identical to ones in [36]:

Lyke as the wynde w<sup>th</sup> raginge blaste  
Dothe cawse eche tree to bowe and bende  
Even so do I spende my tyme in wast  
My lyff consuminge vnto an ende /

ffor as the flame by force dothe quenche the fier  
And runnyng streames consume the raine  
Even so do I my self desyer  
To augment my greff and deadly payne /

Whear as I fynde y<sup>t</sup> whot is whott  
and colde is colde by course of kynde  
So shall I knet an endles knott  
suche fruite in love alas I fynde /

When I forsaue those Christall streames  
whose bewtie doth cawse my mortall wounde  
I lyttyll thought w<sup>th</sup>in those beames  
So swete a venim for to haev founde /

I fele and se my owne decaye  
As on that beareth the flame in his brest  
forgetfull thought to put away  
the thyng that breadethe my vnrest /

Lyke as the flye doth seke the flame  
and after warde doth playethe in the fyer  
who fyndethe her woe and sekethe her game  
whose greffe dothe growe of her her owne desyer /

Lyke as the spider dothe drawe her lyne  
 as labor lost so is my sute  
 The gayne is hers the lose is myne  
 Of euell sowne seade such is the frute /

(fol. 27<sup>v</sup>)

The second stanza of the *Hy78* poem matches the second in *P*, the fourth the fourth, the sixth the third, the fifth the seventh, and the sixth the third. The poem is ascribed ‘T Wyatt of Love’, which makes the attribution to Surrey in *P* and *T1-2* more doubtful. Nott (I.251) suggested that *Hy78* and [36] were contemporaneous translations from a common original by Wyatt and Surrey respectively. Foxwell (II.175-176) and Rebholz (517) both assigned *Hy78* to Wyatt and considered it the earlier copy, with [36] and *T1-2* witnesses to Surrey’s later development of the poem. In this stemma, Tottel’s is an intermediate copy, and evidences Surrey’s initial reworking of *Hy78*. Padelford (213) alone considered *Hy78* later than [36]. He suggested that *Hy78* may be a defective memorial reconstruction of [36] due to its occasionally harder readings, though this would not preclude it being the earlier of the two.

Rollins (II.149) noted that a sonnet in Clement Robinson’s poetic miscellany *A handefull of pleasant delites* (1584, STC 21105), sig. E2<sup>v</sup>, imitates [36]. Robinson’s sonnet is entitled ‘A proper Sonet, of an vnkinde Damsell’.

3        *ner*] nearer (‘near’, *adv.*<sup>1</sup>, 3)

5-8      *As flame...payne*] The stanza adapts Petrarch, *Rima* 48.1-4:

Se mai foco per foco non si spense  
 né fiume gu giamai secco per pioggia,  
 ma sempre l’un per l’altro simil poggia  
 et spesso l’un contrario l’altro accense

[‘If fire was never put out by fire, nor river ever made dry by rain, but always like is made to grow by like, and sometimes opposite has kindled opposite.’]

The phrases affirm the exact opposite of their meaning, i.e., fire does not quench flame, rain does evaporate running streams, and the speaker’s beloved does not appease his grief.

6        *consumes*] evaporates (‘consume’, *v.*, 1)

8        *apeace*] variant of ‘appease’ (‘apeace’, *v.*).

9-10    *Like as...fier*] adapts Petrarch, *Rima* 19.5-7:

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 hopes perhaps to enjoy the fire because it shines, experience the other power, the one that burns.’]

Compare [21].5-7.

11 *that sowght...game*] alludes to the proverb ‘The fly that plays too long in the candle singes his wings at last’ (*ODEP*, 271; Tilley, D 652).

*game*] amusement, diversion (‘game’, *n.*, 1).

14 *whose bewtie...wounde*] The line perhaps adapts Petrarch, *Rima* 133.5: ‘Dagli occhi vostri uscio ’l colpo mortale’ (Durling, 1976: ‘From your eyes the mortal blow came forth’).

17 *Wherein is...bytt*] adapts Petrarch, *Rima* 147.1-4:

Quando ’l voler, che con due sproni ardenti  
et con un duro fren mi mena et regge,  
trapassa ad or ad or l’usata legge  
per far in parte in miei spirti contenti

[‘When my desire, which turns and rules me with two burning spurs and a hard bit, transgresses from time to time our usual law, in order to make my spirits partly contented.’]

*bytt*] mouthpiece (‘bit’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 8a)

18 *repulse*] check (‘repulse’, *n.*, 3a); the earliest date that the *OED* cites for this sense of the noun is 1578.

19 *spoore*] spur

20 *list*] desire (‘list’, *n.*<sup>4</sup>, 1)

21 *prick*] urge forward (‘prick’, *v.*, 9a); the sexual sense punning on ‘prick’/‘penis’ may be present.

23 *force ... worthe*] i.e., ‘[Cupid’s] power obliged me to be content with my grief’

25-28 *I fall...vnrest*] adapts Petrarch, *Rima* 236.1-4:

Amor, io fallo et veggio il mio fallire,  
ma fo sì com’ uom ch’ arde e ’l foco à ’n seno;  
ché ’l duol pur cresce, at la ragion ven meno,  
et è già quasi vinta dal martire.

[‘Love, I transgress and I see my transgression, but I act like a man who burns with fire in his breast; for the pain still grows, and my reason fails and is almost overcome by my sufferings.’]

25 *my none*] i.e., ‘mine own’.



- 27 *for payne*] i.e., ‘because of the pain’
- 30 *frame*] devise, fashion (‘frame’, v., 6a)
- 31 *the fault...myne*] adapts Petrarch, *Rima* 224.14: ‘vostro, Donna, ’l peccato et mio fia ’l danno’ (Durling, 1976: ‘yours will be the blame, Lady, mine the loss.’). Compare [23].14.
- 32 *of yll...frewte*] adapts the proverb ‘of evil grain no good seed can come’ (*ODEP*, 233; Tilley, G 405). Compare Petrarch, *Rima* 173.14: ‘tal frutto nasce di cotal radice’ (‘such fruit is born from such a root.’).

### Collations

The witnesses in *P* and *TI-2* appear, as noted above, to be different versions from a common original and perhaps different stages of development of the same poem. The third and fifth stanzas in *P* are not in *TI-2*; the fifth stanza in *TI-2* is absent from *P*. *NAI-2* have three substantive variants from *P* in ll. 13, 15, and 19; none is erroneous, suggesting that they probably derive from a source related to *P*, but not an immediate one.

Of the stanzas common to each witness of [36], *P* is the inferior text. In l. 6, it shares the error ‘consumes’ with *NAI-2* against ‘consume’ in *TI-2*. *P* also commits two independent errors with its demonstrative pronouns in ll. 13 and 15, giving it three overall. Rebholz (572) considers the pronouns in ll. 26 and 28 of *P* (and *NAI-2*) to be convolutions of the *TI-2* readings, though these are not demonstrable errors. In contrast, the clearly-related *TI-2* share one error in l. 22, where the reading ‘And blind Cupide did’ disrupts the scansion of the line. *TI* commits a further independent error with ‘on’ in l. 22; the *OED* does not cite this as a variant spelling of ‘one’.

Title The louer describes his restlesse state. *TI-2*

- 6 consumes] consume *TI-2*
- 8 apeace] appease *NAI-2 TI-2*
- 9-12 Like as...desire] *om. TI-2*
- 13 When first] First when *TI-2* [as l. 9]  
theise] those *NAI-2 TI-2* [as l. 9 in *TI-2*]
- 14 this] my *TI-2* [as l. 10]
- 15 these] those *NAI-2*, her *TI-2* [as l. 11 in *TI-2*]
- 17-20 Wherein is...list] *om. TI-2*

- 19 strayn<e>'th] straynes *NA1-2*  
 22 blynd cupide dyd me] And blind Cupide did *T1-2* [as l. 14]

*T1-2 add the following stanza as 17-20:*

As cruell waues full oft be found  
 Against the rockes to rore and cry:  
 So doth my hart full oft rebound  
 Ageinst my brest full bitterly.

- 26 he] on *T1*, one *T2* [as l. 22]  
 27 for payne to cast] in paine to put *T1-2* [as l. 23]  
 28 his] mine *T1-2* [as l. 24]  
 29-32 And as...frewte] *om. T1-2*

Subscription H S P

[37]

In addition to *P*, where the subscription of [37] to 'H S' claims Surrey's authorship, the poem survives in Tottel, where it is printed in the Surrey section of *T1*, sig. A3<sup>r</sup>, *T2*, sig. A3<sup>r</sup>, and each edition thereafter.

Like [36], the piece is a love lament written in cross-rhyming lines of iambic tetrameter. There is little narrative development. The poem contains several amatory commonplaces, such as love as a flame (ll. 9-12) and the beloved as the object of the hunt (ll. 17-20). As in [36], most derive from Petrarch sonnets, though without quite the same level of direct borrowing. The stanzas are linked via *anaphora*, with the second, fourth, and fifth beginning 'And', before l. 25 introduces a turn with 'But'. Unlike [36], similes are not a structural feature. As a lament assembled out of various Petrarchan sources, [36] shares much with [32] and [35].

Rollins (II.132) mentions that a poem with the title 'the complaynte of the Restles lover &c.' was registered at Stationer's Hall in 1564-1565. *T1-2* give the poem the similar title 'Descripcion of the restlesse state of a louer', which leads Rollins to conjecture that [36] was the poem registered.

- 3 *mete*] find, encounter ('meet', *v.*, 1; 2)

- 6 *let*] prevented, obstructed ('let', v.<sup>2</sup>,1).
- 7 *to*] too
- hire*] reward ('hire', n., 3)
- 8 *praye*] prey
- 9 *sightes*] sigh ('sight', n.<sup>2</sup>); compare Phaer, [2].439.
- 10 *clooke*] cloak, conceal ('cloak', v., 2b)
- game*] amusement, diversion ('game', n., 3)
- 11 *bewraye*] reveal, disclose ('bewray', v., 4)
- 13 *bayne my brest*] drench my breast ('bain', v., 1b); for the phrase, compare Surrey, [53].4 and [56].16.
- 14 *traynes*] tricks, traps ('train', n., 1b; 2)
- sowne*] planted, spread ('sow', v.<sup>1</sup>, 6)
- 15 *the brewt...opprest*] i.e., 'the rumours of which crushed my gain ['frewt']' ('fruit', n., 7a)
- 16 *or*] ere, i.e., 'before' ('ere', adv.<sup>1</sup>, 4a)
- sprunge*] grown ('spring', v.<sup>1</sup>, 8a).
- blowne*] bloomed ('blow', v.<sup>2</sup>, 1a)
- 18 *chace*] prey ('chase', n.<sup>1</sup>, 4a)
- their quest*] their object ('quest', n.<sup>1</sup>, 5a; 6)
- 21-22 *cheekes...redd*] For the phrase, compare Surrey, [35].22.
- 24 *the woo...fedd*] possible adaptation of Petrarch, *Rima* 342.1-2:
- Del cibo onde 'l signor mio sempre abonda,  
lagrime et doglia, il cor lasso nudrisco
- ['With the food of which my lord is always generous—tears and grief—I feed my weary heart, and I often tremble and often grow pale thinking of its cruel deep wound.']
- 25 *learneth*] teaches ('learn', v., 4a)
- 27 *elles*] else
- 28 *sparskled*] probable scribal error for 'sparkled', i.e., 'speckled' or 'spread' ('sparkle', v.<sup>2</sup>, 5). Compare Surrey's translation of Book 2 of the *Aeneis*: 'Lefull be it to sparcle in the ayre | Their secretes all' (1557; STC 24798, sig. A1<sup>v</sup>)
- 32 *blasing*] blazing

Collations

Edwards has argued persuasively for the superiority of *T1* over *P* as the best of the surviving witnesses (Edwards, 2012: 32-33). *P* and *NAI-2* descend independently from the archetype. *P* commits the error ‘sparskled’ in l. 28, and, despite the slight substantive variation from *NAI-2* in l. 6, has a conjunctive error with them in this line (*P*: ‘ill gydyng’, *NAI-2*: ‘gyding ill’), as well as a further five shared corruptions in ll. 7, 11, 13, 14, 15, 30, and 31. These give *P* a total of nine errors overall and *NAI-2* eight. Foremost among them is ‘whose eyes’ in l. 7, which lacks a clear referent and fails to parallel ‘my desire’ in l. 5 as does ‘Mine eyen’ in *T1-2*. For the verbs in ll. 14, 30, and 31, Edwards prefers ‘hath’, ‘worshipt’, and ‘norished’ in *T1-2* as they support what he regards as a distinction between present and past states of emotion in the first and second halves of [37] respectively. It is possible Surrey circulated more than one version of the poem, of which *T1-2* are later drafts.

*T1* has only one patent error, which *T2* reproduces, in l. 15. Like *P* and *NAI-2*, their reading appears corrupt, and suggests that this line may have been defective from an early stage. *T2* commits a further two independent errors which Edwards does not mention, both of which are severe distortions of sense. These are in ll. 18 and 24; as Rollins (I.) notes, they are retained in later editions of Tottel. The phrase ‘of their request’ in l. 18 omits the hunting metaphor present in the *P*, *NAI-2*, and *T1*. The line-length ‘To her for woe my heart was fled’ in l. 24 does not fit syntactically with the preceding line. Tottel or his editor may have taken these readings from another substantive source, here a demonstrably corrupt one, though they could be editorial.

| Title | Description of the restlesse state of a louer. <i>T1-2</i>                                   |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2     | did make] me causde <i>T1</i> , had made <i>T2</i>                                           |
| 6     | by ill gydyng had let] by gyding ill had lett <i>NAI-2</i> Misguiding me had led <i>T1-2</i> |
| 7     | whose eyes] Mine eyen <i>T1-2</i>                                                            |
| 8     | lost me manye a noble praye] made me lose a better pray <i>T1-2</i>                          |
| 9     | in sightes] in sight <i>NAI-2</i> , in sighes <i>T1-2</i>                                    |
| 10    | by] with <i>T1-2</i>                                                                         |
| 11    | their] The <i>T1-2</i>                                                                       |
| 12    | fervent rage] persaunt heate <i>T1-2</i>                                                     |
| 13    | did] doe <i>T1</i>                                                                           |
| 14    | had] hath <i>T1-2</i>                                                                        |

- 15 the brewt therof the frewt] Her bewty hath the fruites *T1-2*  
 16 bloomes] buds *T1-2*  
 17 where] when *T1-2*  
 18 that was their quest] of their request *T2*  
 22 flaming] glowing *T1-2*  
 24 the woo wherew<sup>t</sup> my hart was fedd] The woe wherin my hart was fed *T1*, To her for  
 woe my hart was fled *T2*  
 28 sparskled] speckled *T1-2*  
 30 worships] worshipt *T1-2*  
 31 nourysheth] norished *T1-2*

Subscription Finis HS *P*

[38]

Source: Martial, *Epigrams*, 10, No. 47:

Vitam quae faciunt beatoriem,  
 iucundissime Martialis, haec sunt:  
 res non parta labore sed relicta;  
 non ingratus ager, focus perennis;  
 lis numquam, toga rara, mens quieta  
 vires ingenuae, salubre corpus;  
 prudens simplicitas, pares amici,  
 convictus facilis, sine arte mensa;  
 nox non ebria sed soluta curis,  
 non tristis torus et tamen pudicus;  
 somnus qui faciat breves tenebras:  
 quod sis esse velis nihilque malis;  
 summum nec metuas diem nec optes.

[Ker, 1920: 'The things that make life happier, most genial Martial, are these: means not acquired by labour, but bequeathed; fields not unkindly, an ever blazing hearth; no lawsuit, the toga seldom worn, a quiet mind; a free man's strength, a healthy body; frankness with tact, congenial friends, good-natured guests, a board plainly spread; nights not spent in wine, but freed from cares, a wife not prudish and yet pure; sleep such as makes the darkness brief: be content with what you are, and wish no change; nor dread your last day, nor long for it.']

In addition to *P*, where the subscription of [38] to 'H S.' claims Surrey's authorship, the poem survives in nine other full-length copies (see below). This includes Tottel, where it is printed in the Surrey section of *T1*, sig. D1<sup>v</sup>, *T2*, sigs D3<sup>v</sup>-D4<sup>r</sup>, and each edition thereafter.

The pursuit of the quiet life and *via media* was a commonplace of the period, for which Martial was a classical exemplar. Rollins (II.151-152) cites a number of other translations of Epigram 10.47 in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Surrey's translation is in four cross-rhyming and octosyllabic *abab* quatrains. His use of the eight-syllable line allows for concision in adapting Martial's line-by-line catalogue of the qualities that promote the 'happy life'. Sessions notes that Surrey tends to place a caesura after the fourth syllable, and that he structures his lines, like Martial, through *asyndeton* (Sessions, 1986: 77). The poem is in general close to its source in content, though Surrey adds details in ll. 6, 8, and 13, reorders Martial's catalogue in l. 10, and renders more concrete the substance of ll. 4 and 9. The elder Harington appears to have borrowed two phrases from the *P* text of the epigram for [63].

Edwards conjectures that the three different addressees contained in the surviving witnesses to the poem ('Martial', 'my friend/s', 'Warner') suggest that Surrey circulated more than one version of it (Edwards, 2005: 74-83). One of these, 'Warner', appears to be identifiable and suggests an occasional context. This is almost certainly Sir Edward Warner (1511-1565), a member of the minor Norfolk gentry and soldier who was Surrey's cousin. Surrey could plausibly have addressed the poem to him as a gift. Warner served with Surrey in the military campaign in Bolougne (1544-1545), though desposed against him during Surrey's trial in December 1546 and January 1546/7 (*ODNB*, 'Warner, Sir Edward'). The lives of both men attest to the elusiveness of the happy life in a period of active service.

- 3 *left*] i.e., left behind; the verb renders 'relicta' (l. 3: 'bequeathed') in Martial. Inherited riches were often considered superior to earnings (H&M, 381)  
*payne*] probably 'labour' or 'exertion' ('pain', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 5a), translating Martial, 'labore' (l. 3: 'by labour')
- 4 *the frutfull grownd*] renders more concrete Martial, 'non ingratus ager' (l. 4: 'fields not unkindly')
- 5 *equall freend*] H&M (381) note the sixteenth-century commonplace, derived primarily from Cicero, that suggested only social equals could be true friends.  
*no grudge nor stryfe*] 'nor' is peculiar to Harington copies of the poem. Compare the elder Harington's use of the phrase in [63].25.
- 6 *no charge...governance*] Surrey's addition  
*charge*] burden ('charge', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 8a, 8b)
- 7 *w<sup>t</sup>out disease...life*] adapts Martial, 'vires ingenuae, salubre corpus' (l. 6: 'a free man's strength, a healthy body')

- 8 *contynvance*] of long duration ('continuance', *n.*, 4, 6, 7); the idea is Surrey's addition.
- 9 *the meane...fare*] expands on and renders more concrete Martial, 'sine arte mensa' (l. 8: 'the table without skill')
- delicate*] dainty ('delicate', *adj.*, 1b)
- 10 *wisdom ioyn'd...simplicitye*] The line relocates Martial, 'prudens simplicitas' (l. 7: 'frankness with tact')
- 13 *chast wise wyfe*] The addition of 'wise' is peculiar to *P*. As in l. 5, compare Harington, [63].8.
- w<sup>t</sup>out debate*] Surrey's addition
- 14 *begyle*] pass pleasantly ('beguile', *v.*, 5)
- 15 *estate*] position ('estate', *n.*, 3a)

### Collations

- Ba* William Baldwin, *A treatise of Morall Phylosophie* ([1547/8]), sig. Q1<sup>v</sup>
- CT* BL, Cotton Titus MS A XXIV, fol. 80<sup>r</sup>
- Eg* BL, Egerton MS 2642, fol. 246<sup>r</sup>
- H1* BL, Add. MS 12049, fol. 96<sup>v</sup> (p. 150)
- H2* Folger, MS V.a.249, fol. 206<sup>v</sup> (pp. 200-201)
- K* Timothy Kendall, *Flowers of Epigrammes* (1577), sig. C2<sup>v</sup>
- P* BL, Add. MS 36529, fol. 54<sup>v</sup>
- RP* BL, MSS Supplement R.P. 1845
- T1* Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* (Q1), sig. D1<sup>v</sup>
- T2* Tottel's *Songes and Sonettes* (Q2), sig. D3<sup>v</sup>
- W1* Trinity College, Cambridge, Capel W.1, fol. 120<sup>v</sup> [sig. 2G4<sup>v</sup>]

In total, there are seven full copies of [38] in MS, including *P*, and three in print; it was therefore evidently popular. The first line, with incipit alone, beginning 'My frendes', occurs in the MS music book of Thomas Mulliner, BL, Add. MS 30513, fol. 65<sup>v</sup>, in addition to a part-book, TNA, PRO SP 1/246, fol. 22<sup>v</sup>. This gives some indication of the varied textual environments in which the poem circulated. Of the printed copies, *Ba* was an enormously successful compendium of philosophers' lives and sayings which underwent twenty-two reprintings between 1547 and 1651. Its text of [38], probably the earliest, is in four discrete quatrain stanzas. W. F. Trench identified the poem as Surrey's, and noted that *Ba* does not assign its text to him (Trench, 1899: 261). The one exception is John Wayland's 1556 edition

of the *Treatise*, which supplies the extended title ‘The Things that cause a quiet life, written by Marciall, and Englished by lord Henry Erle of Surrey’ (STC 1256, sig. M4<sup>v</sup>). *K* is Timothy Kendall’s collection of epigrams in verse, published in 1577. Kendall based his text of [38] on those in *TI-2*, though has recourse to an additional source (see below). Hoyt H. Hudson pointed out the shared readings between *Ba* and *TI/T2*, and recorded the existence of the derivative *K* (Hudson, 1923: 481-483).

Of the six MS copies, three join *P*, *Ba*, and Tottel in being of probable mid-Tudor provenance (*CT*, *RP*, and *WI*). The remaining three are of late Elizabethan or early Jacobean origin (*Eg*, *H1*, *H2*), two of which are Harington copies. *CT* is a miscellaneous collection of papers from the fifteenth to seventeenth centuries; its copy of [38], organised into discrete quatrain stanzas, is the only Surrey poem in the MS, and is unique in reversing ll. 5-8 and 9-12. *RP* is a copy entered in a mid-Tudor secretary hand on the flyleaf of a copy of an edition of Martial’s *Epigrammata* (Venice, 1501), possibly once owned by one Robert Pember (d. 1560). It is now preserved as a photographic reproduction; Edwards notes that the original is in private ownership after being sold at Sotheby’s in 1979 (Edwards, 2005: 75-76). *WI* is a copy in discrete quatrains on the last leaf of a copy of the third quarto of Tottel’s *Songes and sonettes*. Of the later MSS, *Eg* is the miscellany of Robert Commaundre, parson of Torporley and chaplain to Sir Henry Sidney, and was compiled over a period ranging from c. 1570-1602. *H1* and *H2* are BL, Add. MS 12049 and Folger MS V.a.249. These are alternate MS copies, substantively very similar, of Sir John Harington’s *Epigrams*. The copy of [38] in both appears in the fourth book of epigrams.

Previous textual scholarship has not provided a full analysis of all the copies. J. M. Evans limited his analysis to *P*, *Ba*, and *TI-2*, suggesting that *TI-2* was derived from *Ba* and arguing that *Ba* was the best text (Evans, 1983: 409-411). W. D. McGaw rebutted Evans, but only analysed the same copies. He drew on the five readings in which *TI-2* agrees with *P* against *Ba* in ll. 1, 9, and 15 (x2), and claimed *P* as the superior text (McGaw, 1985: 456-458). Edwards provided a fuller discussion of the MS and print copies which considers all surviving full texts with the exception of *Eg* and *K*. He was the first to print *RP*, and considered it the best text, despite its numerous independent readings. In his recent edition of Surrey, McGaw (320) takes *RP*’s ‘Warner’ to constitute an authoritative addressee and makes *RP* his copy-text on this basis. In organising the stemma, Edwards discerned two main lines of transmission, the first of which incorporates *RP*, *H1*, and *H2*, and the second *Ba*, *CT*, and *WI* (to which *Eg* is added below). He saw *P* as an eclectic text closer to *RP*, *H1*, and *H2*, but which borrows from both lines of descent. He added that the different readings in the



surviving copies may not be errors so much as variant, and equally acceptable, renderings of the Latin (Edwards, 2005: 81).

The textual evidence supports Edwards' organisation of the stemma, though not his argument about the eclectic nature of *P* nor claims about the superiority of *RP*. The substantive variants between the surviving copies suggest the existence of two archetypes, which give rise to two distinct lines of transmission. Alongside *H1*, *H2*, and *RP*, *P* derives from a hypothetical ancestor (*X*) descended from the first archetype. While *P* descends directly from *X*, a hypothetical intermediary (*Y*) is ancestral to *H1*, *H2*, and *RP*, which transmitted the addressee 'Warner' to them. *T1-2* and *K* also descend from *X* via a separate intermediary (*Z*). These three printed copies, however, are contaminated and borrow readings from the second archetype. This second archetype is the common source of *Ba*, *CT*, *Eg*, and *W1*, all of which descend independently from it. It is probable that, as Edwards speculates, the two archetypes represent two different versions of the epigram which Surrey circulated, with the descendants of *X* and *Z* producing yet further variations. However, given the presence of Baldwin's *Treatise* (*Ba*) in the second line of transmission, it is possible that the archetype was his and not Surrey's draft of the epigram. Baldwin had an interest in Surrey's verse, reflected in the fact that his Surrey sonnet 'Who so desryeth health got, to preserue', included as a commendation to Christopher Langton's *A uery brefe treatise, ordrely declaring the princ<sup>ipal</sup> partes of phisick* (STC 15205) in 1547 (n.p.), was the first in that form to reach print. He could plausibly have adapted [38] for *Ba* himself, with this text the basis for *CT*, *Eg*, and *W1*.

*X* transmitted the single error 'delicate' to *P*, *H1*, *H2*, and *RP* in l. 9, which makes the line hypermetrical. All four copies share the line-length readings in ll. 1, 10 and 12, which affect the rhyme. They all have similar readings in l. 13, but *RP*'s 'chaste wyf' is clearly erroneous as it deprives the line of a syllable. *P* thus contains one error in total. *H1* and *H2* share two independent errors: 'field' in l. 4 against 'grownd', a possible editorial revision to make the noun alliterate with 'fruitfull'; and 'sleepe' against 'slepes' in l. 14. These give them three apiece overall. In l. 9, *H1* has the dual reading 'daintie' and 'delicat'. The first is an interlinear addition and the second underlined, which apparently suggests its status as the preferred reading. The crux indicates that Sir John had access to more than one version of the epigram, and that *H1* is possibly contaminated if 'daintie' is the preferred reading, given that it could not have been taken from *X* or *Y*.

*RP* is the most corrupt text of the surviving copies with four errors in addition to that in l.9: 'for to obtayne' in l. 1, 'from grudge and stryf' in l. 5, 'wytt cloked' in l. 10 and the

aforementioned ‘chast wyf’ in l. 13. The verb ‘cloked’ in l. 10 is a manifest error given the emphasis of the epigram on honesty and openness. *RP*’s corruptions contradict Edwards’ argument that it is the best text on the basis of its harder and possibly authorial readings. *RP* shares the reading ‘nor dread his might’ with *CT* in l. 16, though this is probably the result of independent variation given the descent of these two copies from the different archetypes.

*T2* and *K* are clearly based on *T1*. To these three copies, *Z* transmitted the error ‘Trew’ in l. 10, which is redundant when used to describe ‘wisdome’, even if it may aid the scansion of the line. This gives them two errors each overall. The contaminated state of *T1* is reflected by the fact that it agrees with the copies in the second archetype in four readings: ll. 1 (‘that do attayne’), 5, 10 and 12. Given that Richard Tottel printed *Ba* in 1557 (the date of *T1-2*), it is possible he took these substantives from the *Treatyse*. *K* is manifestly based on Tottel and reproduces its text *litteratim* with the exception of l. 15. Kendall here introduced an additional conflation, adopting the variant from the second archetype (‘Content thy self with thyne estate’), rather than the first.

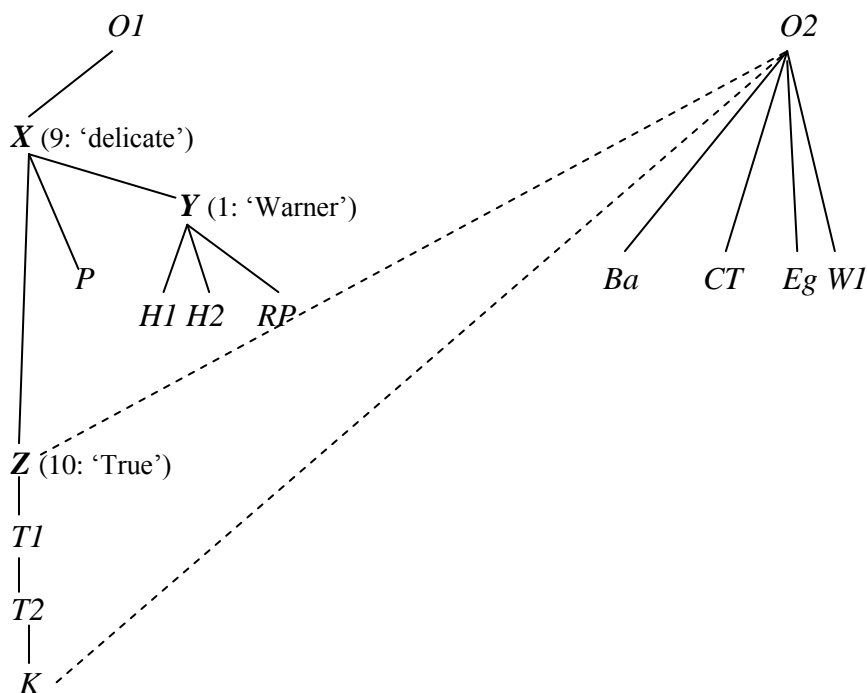
The second archetype, from which *Ba*, *CT*, *Eg*, and *WI* descend, is less complicated given that the four witnesses to it are all substantive. Each has the generalised addressee in l. 1: *Ba*, *CT*, and *Eg* have ‘My frende’; *WI* gives the slight variation ‘frindes’. In addition to the addressee, the copies share substantives in a further seven instances: ll. 1 (‘that do attayne’), 5 (‘no’), 7 (‘healthye’), 9 (‘dayntyē’), and the line-length variants in ll. 10, 12, and 15. Of the four texts, *Ba* is the best, with no obvious errors; *WI* contains one in l. 16 with ‘nethe wyshe for deathe’. *CT* is the joint most corrupt text with *Eg*, having three independent errors: ‘life’ in l. 6 (as l. 10), ‘riches yoyned’ in l. 10 (as l. 6), and ‘not wishinge deathe’ in l. 16. The three independent errors in *Eg* are ‘not gotten with payne’ in l. 3, ‘deceace’ in l. 7, and ‘wytt doeth not oppresse’ in 12, the third of which deprives the line of a syllable.

Title The thinges that cause a quiet lyfe, written by Marciall. *Ba*, Martialis lib. 9 [in upper right margin] *CT*, The Noble Table of a Quiet Lieff written & made by Martiall the poet woorthy to bee set furthe in golden verses in euery mans howse *Eg*, A translation of the Earl of Surreys out of Martiall directed by him to one Maister Warner *H1 H2*, To hymselfe *K*, The meanes to attain happy life *T1-2*

- 1 Marshall] My frende *Ba CT Eg*, my frindes *WI*, Warner *RP H1 H2*, Martial *K T1-2*  
for to attayne] that do attayne *Ba CT Eg T1-2 WI*, for to obtayne *RP*
- 2 be] ar *CT H1 H2*

- 3 riches] rychesse *Ba T1-2*; not got w<sup>t</sup> payne] not gotten with payne *Eg*, got w<sup>t</sup> no  
payne *RP*
- 4 grownd] field *H1 H2*
- 5-8 *CT here has the quatrain which is ll. 9-12 in all other copies.*
- 5 equall] egall *CT* [as l. 9] *H1 H2 K RP T1-2*; freend] friends *H1 H2 RP*; no] from *RP*;  
nor] no *Ba Eg K T1-2 W1*, & *RP*, ne *CT*
- 6 rule] life *CT* [as l. 10]; nor] or *H1 H2 W1*, no *CT* [as l. 10]
- 7 disease] deceace *Eg*; helthfull] healthye *Ba CT* [as l. 11] *Eg W1*
- 9-12 *CT here has the quatrain which is ll. 5-8 in all other copies.*
- 9 delicate] dayntyte *Ba CT Eg* [as l. 5] *W1*, ^daintie^delicat *H1*
- 10 wisdom ioynd] riches yoyned *CT* [as l. 6], wytt cloked *RP*, True wisdom ioynd *K*  
*T1-2*; simplicyte] simplenes *Ba CT* [as l. 6] *Eg K W1 T1-2*
- 12 may beare no <soventy> soveranty] the wyt maye not oppresse *Ba K T1-2 W1*, the  
witt dothe not oppresse *CT* [as l. 8], wytte doeth not oppresse *Eg*,
- 13 chast wise wyfe] faythfull wyfe *Ba CT Eg K T1-2 W1*, chast wyf *RP*, chast plain wife  
*H1 H2*
- 14 sleapes] sleepe *H1 H2*
- 15 contented w<sup>t</sup>] Content thy self *Ba CT Eg K W1*; thyne owne estate] with thyne estate  
*Ba CT Eg K W1*
- 16 neyther wisshe death] not wishinge deathe *CT*, wyshe not for death *RP*, Ne wishe for  
death *K T1-2*, nethe wyshe for deathe *W1*; nor fear his might] nor dread his myghte  
*CT RP*, ne feare his might *T1-2*

Subscription finis. Surre; *CT*, H S. *P*, H.S/. *RP*,



[39]

In addition to *P*, where the subscription of [39] to ‘H S’ claims Surrey’s authorship, the poem survives in two further full copies. In Tottel, the sonnet is printed in the Surrey section of *T1*, sig. B1<sup>r</sup>, *T2*, sig. B1<sup>r</sup>, and each edition thereafter. Holinshed included the sonnet as part of ‘The Historie of Ireland’ section in the *Chronicles* (*Ch1*), Pt 4, sig. C3<sup>v</sup>. It was reprinted with no variants in *Ch2*, Pt 4, sig. C3<sup>v</sup>; and *Ch3*, Pt 4, sig. C5<sup>r</sup>. This ‘Historie’ was written by Edmund Campion, although Richard Stanyhurst (1547-1618) also had a hand in its compilation. Campion’s ‘Historie’ survives, with only ll. 1-4 of [39] excerpted, in four MS copies: Cambridge University Library, I.i.4.33, fol. 64<sup>v</sup> (*Ca1*); Cambridge University Library, K.k.I.3, Pt. 4, fol. 4<sup>r</sup> (*Ca2*); Trinity College, Cambridge, Wren Library R.7.18, fol. 9<sup>r</sup> (*Ca3*); and BL, Cotton Vitellius, F.IX., fol. 76<sup>v</sup> (*Ca4*). Drayton also excerpted seven lines from [39] (ll. 1-4, 9, and 11-12) in *Dr1*, sigs N3<sup>r-v</sup> and N4<sup>r</sup>; *Dr2*, sigs N5<sup>r-v</sup> and N6<sup>r</sup>; *Dr3*, sigs N2<sup>v</sup> and N3<sup>r-v</sup>; *Dr4*, sigs N2<sup>v</sup> and N3<sup>r-v</sup>; and *BW*, sigs N2<sup>v</sup> and N3<sup>r-v</sup>.

The subject of [39] is ‘Geraldine’, Lady Elizabeth Fitzgerald (*c.* 1528-1589), whose childhood Surrey maps out in the first quatrain of the octave (ll. 1-4); in the second and third quatrains, he catalogues her presence in several residences of the royal household. Elizabeth was born in Ireland in or about 1528 to Gerald Fitzgerald, ninth Earl of Kildare (1487-1534),

and Elizabeth Grey, daughter of Thomas Grey, second marquess of Dorset (*fl.* 1514-1548).<sup>39</sup> She was also the great-granddaughter of Edward IV's queen Elizabeth Woodville, which made Elizabeth a first cousin of Henry VIII, and therefore 'of princes blood' (l. 6). She arrived in England in 1533, as the Kildares responded to a royal summons; in 1534, the family estates were confiscated ('Clinton, Elizabeth Fiennes de', *ODNB*). Elizabeth joined the household of her royal cousins, the princesses Mary and Elizabeth, in the late 1530s, and had entered the particular service of Princess Elizabeth in or before June 1539. In the 1540s, she served a Queen Katherine, possibly Katherine Howard, though Hughey (II.81) suggests Catherine Parr. Lady Elizabeth married Sir Anthony Browne, Henry VIII's Master of the Horse, in 1542; he died in 1548.

The posthumous reputation of Lady Elizabeth, however, rests in large part on her fictitious status as 'Geraldine', the purported object of Surrey's passion. This tradition has its origins in poem [39], but was reinvoked for an Elizabethan audience, first by Thomas Nashe in *The Vnfortunate Traveller* (1594; STC 18380), and then by Drayton in *Dr1-4*. Nott was the final exponent of the tradition, arranging Surrey's amatory poems to fit a narrative of his courtship with 'Geraldine'. Edmund Bapst debunked this narrative in *Deux gentilhommes-poètes de la cour de Henry VIII* (1891: 365-370), as did W. J. Courthope in *The History of English Poetry* (1895: 78-79). Both critics dated [39] to Surrey's imprisonment at Windsor in 1537, which would make Lady Elizabeth a child of about nine at the time of its composition. As part of the entourage of the princesses, Elizabeth would have travelled to the households at Hunsdon ([39].9), Hampton Court ([39].11), and Windsor ([39].12). Surrey would have also been a visitor to these households, both in 1537 and thereafter.

Later commentators have disagreed over the date of [39]. Padelford (219) followed Bapst and Courthope in favouring 1537 and considered the sonnet humorous in motivation, given Elizabeth's young age. Hughey (II.82), on the other hand, made a case for 1541, and saw [39] as sincerely amatory. In 1541, Lady Elizabeth would have been thirteen or fourteen and therefore a more suitable subject of such an address. Members of the Tudor nobility were often betrothed, if not actually married, at this age. Jones (109) accepted Hughey's suggestion but left the question of date open on account of the fact that Surrey makes no mention of Lady Elizabeth's service to either Katherine Howard or Catherine Parr, a detail he may reasonably have included if [39] dates to 1541. More recently, Sessions has proposed 1541 as the most probable date of composition, but argues that [39] is not a love poem so much an

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<sup>39</sup> The connection between Dorset's son Henry and the elder Harington is discussed in the Headnote to [62].

advertisement to fellow courtiers of Elizabeth's merits as a prospective wife (2003: 194-195). Surrey's motives for writing such a poem are unclear, but his father, Norfolk, knew Elizabeth's father Kildare well after serving as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland from 20 March 1520 to late 1521; these ties continued into the 1530s (Ellis, 1985: 113-122). However, no one position has been definitive; and the exact date and purpose of [39] remain unknown.

- 1 *Tuscan*] Tuscany; The Fitzgeralds, as *Ch1*, 4, sig. C3<sup>v</sup> mentions, claimed an Italian rather than English or Irish lineage, tracing their descent from the Geraldi family of Florence, in Tuscany.
- 2 *her*] Nott (I.241) suggested that 'her' is the ME form of the third-person plural pronoun 'their', through which it would refer to the Fitzgeralds in general. However, there are no other attested uses of this form in Surrey's canon.
- 3 *westorne Ile*] Ireland  
*showre*] probable scribal error for 'shore'
- 4 *Chambares*] Cambria's; Cambria was the Latin name for Wales.
- 5 *Fostred she...brest*] The practice of employing wetnurses was common for noble families; Elizabeth would presumably have had an Irish one. Wetnurses were not viewed unproblematically: Thomas Elyot's *The Boke of the Governour*, 1.4, argues that wet nurses should be 'of no seruile condition, or vice notable', for fear she should transmit her badness to the child she suckled (1531; STC 7635, sig. [B8<sup>v</sup>]). Spenser has a particular anxiety with English children having Irish wet nurses in *A View of the State of Ireland* (1633; STC 25067a, pp. 47-48).  
*lyvely heate*] i.e., it is where Elizabeth was born
- 8 *kinges child*] possibly Princess Mary, but Hughey (II.81) argues that Princess Elizabeth is the subject, meaning the sonnet must post-date 1539 (see above).  
*gostly foode*] Sessions suggests that the phrase is a reference to 'the Eucharist or Holy Communion acting as *synecdoche* for religious instruction and proof of [Elizabeth's] careful education' (Sessions, 2006: 192).
- 9 *honsdon*] Hunsdon, a noble house in Hertfordshire. Sir William Oldhall built the house in the reign of Henry VI; the Howards, including the young Surrey, used it as their winter residence in the 1520s ('Howard, Henry, earl of Surrey', *ODNB*). Hunsdon became the residence of Princess Mary in about 1536.
- 10 *bryght ys...hew*] For the Chaucerian phrase, compare Surrey, [33].9.

- 13-14 *bewty ^of^...love]* Rollins (II.137) cites this line as an influence on the sonnet entitled ‘The louer in prayse of his beloued and comparison of her beauty’ in *The Gorgious Gallery of gallant Inuentions*: ‘For Beauties sake, sent downe from *Ioue* aboue, | Thrise happy is hee, that can attayne her loue’ (1578; STC 20402, sig. F4<sup>r</sup>).
- 13 *^of kind^]* The phrase permits two interpretations: (i) ‘of (or from) nature’, just as her vritues come from Heaven (‘from above’); or (ii) ‘of her kind’, i.e., as befits her noble ancestry (‘kind’, *n.*, 2a; 4a).

### Collations

*P* is the best text of the surviving witnesses, with the single scribal error ‘showre’ in l. 3, for ‘shore’ in *T1-2*. It descends from the archetype independently of *T1*, on which *T2* is clearly based. The two Tottel copies share the error ‘Her beauty of kinde’ in l. 13, which sets up a parallel phrase with ‘Her vertues from above’, but renders the line hypermetrical. Each commits one additional independent error, giving them both two in total. In *T1*, ‘costly’ in l. 8, against ‘ghostly’ in *P* and *T2*, is a possible misprint which divests the line of its metaphor of spiritual nourishment and replaces it with a more secular equivalent. *T2*’s error is unrelated to *T1*’s but occurs in the same line: ‘who tasteth’ lacks a clear referent and is therefore demonstrably inferior to ‘where she tastes’ in *P* and ‘where she tasteth’ in *T1*. Tottel or his editor may have interpolated this corrupt reading in *T2* from an additional source not common to *T1*, or it could be editorial.

Campion’s excerpt of ll. 1-4, identical across *Cal-4*, contains no substantive variants from *P* or *T1*. His source was perhaps a MS copy related to *P* or *T1*, but was more probably one of the later editions of Tottel. *T2* is discounted as the direct source given its unique reading ‘furst gave’ in l. 4, which, as Rollins (I.266) notes, is dropped by the subsequent editions. The same applies for Holinshed’s full text in *C1-3*, which in l. 8 replicates the error ‘costly’ in in *T1*. *T2* does not contain this error, but the subsequent editions do. As in [33], Drayton’s use of the poem and possible sources resist ready analysis. His excerpts of ll 2-4, 9, and 11 contain no substantive variants from *P* or *T1-2*, but l. 1 has the orthographic variant ‘Thuscan’; l. 12 has both orthographic and substantive variants, with the spelling ‘Winsor’ and omission of ‘and’ at the beginning of the line, which improves the scansion in making the line decasyllabic. These emendations may be taken from a now-lost substantive witness, but are more probably Drayton’s own revisions.

|       |                                                                                                          |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Title | Description and praise of his loue Geraldine. <i>T1-2</i>                                                |
| 1     | Tuscan] Thuscan <i>BW Dr1-4</i>                                                                          |
| 3     | showre] shore <i>BW Cal-4 Dr1-4 T1-2</i>                                                                 |
| 4     | did geve] furst gaue <i>T2</i>                                                                           |
| 7     | she doth] did she <i>T2</i>                                                                              |
| 8     | where she tastes] where she tasteth <i>T1</i> , who tasteth <i>T2</i><br>ghostly] costly <i>T1 Ch1-3</i> |
| 12    | and Wind'sor] Winsor <i>BW Dr1-4</i>                                                                     |
| 13    | bewty <her mad>^of kind^e] Her beauty of kinde <i>T1-2</i>                                               |
| 14    | may] can <i>T21-2</i>                                                                                    |

Subscription H S *P*

[40]

In addition to *P*, where the subscription of [40] to 'H S' claims Surrey's authorship, the poem survives in Tottel, where it is printed in the Surrey section of *T1*, sigs B1<sup>v</sup>-B2<sup>r</sup>, *T2*, sigs B1<sup>v</sup>-B2<sup>r</sup>, and each edition thereafter. Drayton printed an excerpt of ll. 1-2 in *D1*, sig. N4<sup>r</sup>; *Dr2*, sig. N6<sup>r</sup>; *Dr3*, sig. N3<sup>v</sup>; *Dr4*, sig. N3<sup>v</sup>; and *BW*, sig. N3<sup>v</sup>.

The poem is an elegiac sonnet which most probably dates from 1537, when Surrey was imprisoned at Windsor Castle, the former seat of his childhood with Henry Fitzroy, Duke of Richmond. It therefore seems to have the same biographical origin as [33] (see Headnote to [33]). The two Windsor poems have thematic and stylistic similarities. In both, Surrey counterpoints the speaker's remembrance of youthful pastimes spent at Windsor with his present state of imprisonment; they also draw on a similar range of familiar ME poetic terms, particularly those which bear the influence of Chaucer. Martine Braekman discusses Surrey's Chaucerism across the broad range of his love laments and elegiac verse (Braekman, 1995: 675-687).

Despite the likelihood that [40] is a prison poem, *T1-2* append the amatory title 'How eche thing saue the louer in spring reuiueth to pleasure'. In *Dr1*, sig. N3<sup>v</sup>, Drayton took up the amatory implication by inserting ll. 1-2 as part of the Geraldine narrative, with 'windesor' one



of the places that Surrey beheld her (see [39], ll. 11-12). Given that [40] in *P* follows [39], the sonnet on Geraldine, it is possible that the Haringtons too considered the poem a love lament.

1-2 *sustain'd my...hedd]* This is a *zeugma* in which the verb governs the relationship between wall and arm, and hand and chin. The image of the arm and head requiring support is a commonplace melancholic pose. Jones (120-121) cites an example from George Chapman's contribution to *Hero and Leander* (1598; STC 17414):

Her right hand leand on her hart-bowing knee,  
Wrapt in vnshapefull foulds: twas death to see  
Her knee stayd that, and that her falling face  
Each limme helpt other to put on disgrace.

(sig. G3<sup>r</sup>)

3 *revested]* clothed again ('revest', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1b)

*w<sup>t</sup> warm]* i.e., 'with warmth'

4 *^with lustie^ veare]* i.e., 'with delightful Spring' ('lusty', *adj.*, 2c; 'ver', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, a); 'Ver' is a common abstraction for Spring in ME verse. Compare Gower, *Confessio*, 3.18: 'When Ver his Seson hath begonne'.

5 *meades]* meadows ('mead', *n.*<sup>2</sup>, a); compare Surrey, [33].21.

*weddyd birds]* Birds were supposed to choose their mates on the occasion of St Valentine's Day. Chaucer recalls the ritual in *The Parliament of Fowls*, ll. 308-11:

To take hire dom and yeve hire audyence.  
For this was on Seynt Valentynes day,  
Whan every foul cometh there to chese his make,  
Of every kynde that men thinketh may.

Compare Surrey's poem 'When sommer toke in hand': 'And eke the new betrothed birdes ycoupled how they went' (Jones: [15].20)

6 *to mynd resort]* i.e., 'come to my recollection' ('resort', *v.*, 3a); compare Surrey's translation of Book 4 of the *Aeneis*: 'and to hir mind | Gan eke resort the prowesse of the man' (sig. D3<sup>r</sup>).

7 *Io<sup>^i</sup>^ly woes]* jolly woes; 'ioily' is a common spelling in the sixteenth century ('jolly', *adj.* and *adv.*, Forms, 'joily'). The oxymoronic phrase is modelled on the commonplace Italian phrase 'dolce guai'. Compare Chaucer, *T&C*, 2.1098-1099: 'I may naught slepe nevere a Mayes morwe | I have a joly wo, a lusty sorwe'.

*hateles shorte debate]* Nott (I.356) glossed the phrase as 'friendly emulation in warlike sports and excercises'. Padelford (220), in contrast, gives the phrase as 'the

- sweet quarrels of lovers'. The *OED* cites both verbal and physical disputation as acceptable readings of 'debate' ('debate', *n.*, 1a; 1b).
- 8 *rakhell*] dissolute ('rakehell', *adj.*, 1)  
*disporte*] recreation ('disport', *n.*, 1)
- 9-10 *myne hevvy...forth*] Compare Surrey's poem 'Good ladies': 'Wheare with the heavie cares, that heapt are in my brest | Breake forth, and me dischardgeth cleane of all my great unrest' (Jones: [24].29-30).
- 9 *charge*] burden ('charge', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 11 *smoky sighs*] a possible allusion to Petrarch, *Rima* 288.1: 'I' ò pien di sospir quest'aere tutto' ('I have filled all this air with sighs'). Jones (121) notes the parallels with Chaucer's 'smoky reyn' in *T&C*, 3.628, which Wyatt worked into the fifth prologue of his paraphrase of the penitential psalms: 'A lewk warme wynd brought forth a smoky rayne' (M&T: CVIII.412). Yet this correspondence is not exact. More persuasive is the influence of Surrey's phrase on Sackville. Nott (I.357) compared his tragedy of Buckingham: 'Now stil as calme, now storming forth a breath | Of smoakie sighes, as breath and al were gone' (*Myrroure*, 1563, sig. X2<sup>r</sup>). Sackville's borrowings in [44] and [49] too suggest that he knew Surrey's canon well.
- 12 *vapored eyes*] Compare Wyatt's second prologue, 'With vapord iyes he lokyth here and there' (M&T: CVIII.209); and Surrey, [49].13. Rollins (II.139) cites two Elizabethan usages of the phrase.
- 13 *quicken*] i.e., 'bring to 'life' ('quicken', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a; 1b)
- 14 *w<sup>t</sup>all*] as well ('withal', *adv.* 1a)

### Collations

*P* is the best text of the surviving witnesses alongside *TI*, both of which contain three errors apiece. None of these are shared, and it is clear that *P* descends from the archetype independently of *TI*-2. Two apparent initial readings in *P*, 'with lively veare' and 'have bent', have been corrected by the scribal Hand A to accord with the readings in *TI*-2. Both suggest that he may have had two or more copies of [40] to hand, including *TI*/2 or a MS witness related to them, unless these original readings were Hand A's own.

*P*'s errors are the redundant 'myne' in l. 9 against 'the' in *TI*-2, 'brake' in l.10 against 'breakes', and 'and' in l. 11 against 'In'. The second is erroneous on the basis that the octave of [40] appears to be in the past tense and the sestet the present. The third, in l. 11, affects the meaning of the sestet. *P*'s conjunction 'and' makes ll. 11 and 12 part of the same syntactical

unit and conveys the sense that the speaker's 'smoky sighs' distill into 'teares' ('distil', *v.*, 2a; 4a). In *T1-2*, the preposition 'in' links l. 11 back to l. 10 and has the sense that it is the speaker's 'charge of care' that is released as 'smoky sighes'. Line 12 thus conjoins with the couplet. The Tottel construction gives the sestet a 3+3 division, and manages a better transition from the third quatrain to the couplet.

*T1* and *T2*, clearly related, both struggled with with the verb tenses of the octave, which account for two of their three conjunctive errors. The readings 'discouer' and 'and to my' in l. 6 seem inferior to *P*'s past tense 'discouerd' and 'and did to'. The third shared error between *T1-2* is 'whiche' in l. 12. *T2* commits an additional two errors independent of *T1*, with 'Sets' and 'plot' in l. 3, which give it five corruptions in total.

Drayton's excerpt of ll. 1-2 has no substantive variants from either *P* or *T1-2* with the slight orthographical one 'Winsor' for 'Windsor' in *Dr2-4* and *BW*. He most probably took his lines from an edition of Tottel, though a now-lost MS witness related to either of *P* or *T1-2* is possible; the evidence is too piecemeal to suggest firmer conclusions.

Title How eche thing saue the loue in spring reuiueth to pleasure. *T1-2*

- 1 windesor] Winsor *BW Dr2-4*  
 3 ech] The *T1*, Set *T2*; plot] plots *T2*  
 4 <which lively> ^with lustie^ veare yspred] with lusty Ver yspred *T1-2*  
 6 discouerd] discouer *T1-2*; than did to] and to my *T1-2*  
 9 myne] the *T1-2*  
 10 brake] breakes *T1-2*  
 11 and] In *T1-2*  
 13 to] whiche *T1-2*  
 14 hav^I^f bent] halfebent *T1-2*

Subscription H S *P*

[41]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 11:

Lassare il velo per sole o per ombra,  
 Donna, non vi vid' io  
 poi che in me conosceste il gran desio  
 ch' ogni altra voglia d'entr' al cor mi sgombra.

Mentr' io portava i be' pensier celati [5]  
 ch' anno la mente desiando morta,  
 vidivi di pietate ornare il volto;  
 ma poi ch' Amor di me vi fece accorta,  
 fuor i biondi capelli allor velati  
 et l' amoroso sguardo in sé raccolto. [10]

Quel ch' i' più desiava in voi m'è tolto,  
 sì me governa il velo  
 che per mia morte et al caldo et al gielo  
 de' be' vostr' occhi il dolce lume adombra.

[‘Lady, I have never seen you put aside your veil for sun or for shadow since you knew the great desire in me that lightens my heart of all other wishes. While I carried my lovely thoughts hidden (with desire they are bringing death into my heart) I saw you adorn your face with pity; but since love has made you aware of me, your blond hair has been veiled and your lovely gaze kept to itself. What I most desired in you has been taken from me; thus the veil controls me and to cause my death shades the sweet light of your lovely eyes in both warm and icy weather.’]

In addition to *P*, where the subscription of [41] to ‘H S’ claims Surrey’s authorship, the poem survives in Tottel, where it is printed in the Surrey section of *T1*, sig. B2<sup>r-v</sup>, *T2*, sig. B2<sup>r-v</sup>, and each edition thereafter.

Nott (I.271) identified the source of [41]. The sonnet is not typical of Surrey’s other poems in this form. First, its source, *Rima* 11, is a fourteen-line *ballata*, whereas Surrey’s other sonnet translations from the *Rime sparse*, including ‘The soote season’ and [42] and [48] in *P*, all render Petrarch sonnets. Second, in terms of structure, Surrey counterpoints the synactical and formal division of the octave, which ends in l. 7 rather than l. 8 and produces a octave/sestet pattern in *P* of 7 + 6, given its omitted line. Most notably, Surrey abandons the three cross-rhymed quatrains and couplet sonnet form that he coined and which is otherwise his standard with the exception of ‘The soote season’. He prefers instead the three arch-rhymed quatrains and couplet form which Wyatt brought into English. Surrey’s use of two different sets of rhyme in the octave (*abba cddc*) does not correspond to Wyatt’s general practice, who tends to use just one (*abba*). Wyatt does, however, utilise two in his double sonnet ‘The flaming Sighes that boile within my brest’ (M&T: CCXXXVIII). Surrey may

have lifted his rhyme scheme from this double sonnet, though a different source is possible; he perhaps formulated it himself independently of Wyatt.

Sessions suggests that the sonnet may be occasional, and discusses its evocation of a ‘dramatized social occasion’ (Sessions, 1986: 51). Heale comments that Surrey’s description of the beloved’s ‘cornet’ in l. 2 possibly alludes to a fifteenth-century poetic tradition of both fearing and censuring courtly women for their horned headgear. Such apparel was both fashionable and, in its potential phallic symbolism, powerful (Heale, 1998: 93). E. P. Hammond printed an example from Lydgate, ‘Of god and kinde | procedith all bewte’:

arche wives egre in their violence  
ffers as Tigre for to make affray  
They have despit / and agein  
conscience  
List nat of pride / ther hornes cast away.

(Hammond, 1927: 112)

The beloved is not generally a threatening figure in Surrey’s known love laments. However, Heale compares her construction in [41] with that of the wolf (possibly an allusion to Anne Stanhope, wife of Sir Edward Seymour) in Surrey’s beast fable ‘Eche beast can chuse his fere’.

- 2 *cornet*] renders Petrarch, ‘velo’ (11.1: ‘veil’); Heale defines it as ‘a long, pointed hood, usually made of black material, which, in women’s fashions of the Henrician period, hung down behind a frame of cloth around the face. It would hide the hair and, looped up onto the frame, might shade the face, but it was not a veil and not worn across the face’ (Heale, 1998: 93). The *OED* cites this sense of the noun as Surrey’s coinage.
- 3 *sythe*] since (‘sith’, *adv.*, 3)
- 4 *fances*] fancies
- 6 *vnware*] unwary (‘un’ware’, *adj.*, 1a)
- 11 *governe*] direct, but also ‘bridle’ or ‘curb’ (‘govern’, *v.*, 2a; 9); the verb renders Petrarch, ‘governa’ (11.12: ‘govern’). Jones (106) points out that the Italian has the idiomatic connotation ‘ill-treat’.
- a lacke*] alack

Collations

Edwards argues that the large-scale variation between *P*, *T1*, and *T2* indicates that, like [38], Surrey probably circulated more than one version of the poem and perhaps adapted it for different audiences. *P*'s addresses to the beloved in the second person is closer to Petrarch, and is more intimate than the generalised third-person pronouns of *T1-2*, which are clearly congenial to a printed miscellany and its broader readership. It is, however, possible that these changes in Tottel are editorial.

Neither *T1* nor *T2* descends from *P*: both include l. 10 of the sonnet, which Hand A omitted in *P*. It is also probable that for *T2*, Tottel or his editor used a source additional to *T1*, creating a contaminated text with three substantive variants and four errors from the first edition. These make *T2* the most corrupt text against *P* and *T1*, which contain two independent errors apiece. Factoring in the differing line numbers due to *P*'s omitted tenth line (one of its errors), *P* is marginally inferior to *T1*, with an error rate of 0.15 per line against 0.14 in *T1*. *P*'s second error is 'winter' in l. 12, against 'winters' in *T1-2*, which disrupts the balance with 'sommeres' in the first half of the line. The two errors in *T1* are 'thus' in its version of the added l. 10, and 'a' in l. 12, both of which distort the sense. Each of the substantive variants in *T2*, and all four of its corruptions, come after l. 6. Two errors ('corner' and 'my' in l. 12) are apparent misprints, the second of which obliges the reader to understand the rhyme-word 'alack' with the sense 'lack'. The remaining two are 'Sins' in l. 8, which removes the necessary conjunction to make a clear transition from octave to sestet, and the singular form 'tresse' in l. 9. As Rollins (I.267) notes, each of *T2*'s substantive variants were dropped in later editions of Tottel.

Title Complaint that his ladie after she knew of his loue kept her face alway hidden from him. *T1-2*

1 youe madam] my Ladie *T1-2*  
 2 your] Her *T1-2*  
 3 ye] she *T1-2*; of my desire] my griefe was growen *T1-2*  
 4 fances] fansies *T1-2*; chac'd cleane] driueth *T1-2*  
 5 whiles] That *T1-2*; did] do *T1-2*  
 6 that so vnware] The which vnwares *T1-2*  
 7 pytie I saw w<sup>t</sup>in your hart dyd rest] But on her face mine eyes mought never rest *T1*,  
 For on her face mine eyes mought neuer rest *T2*

8 but since ye knew] Yet, sins she knew *T1*, Sins that she knew *T2*; youe] her *T1-2*  
 9 your golden treese was] Her golden tresses *T1*, Her golden tresse is *T2*; in] with *T2*  
*After 9 one line is added in T1-2:*  
 Her smilyng lokes that hid thus euermore *T1*  
 Her smiling lokes to hide thus euermore *T2*  
 10 all that w<sup>t</sup>drawne] And that restraines *T1-2*; that] whiche *T1-2*; did crave] desire *T1-2*  
 11 cornet] corner *T1-2*; me] my *T1-2*; a lacke] alacke *T1-2*  
 12 som~~me~~res sonne] somer, sunne *T1-2*; winter] winters *T1-2* ; of] a *T1*  
 13 of your faire eies whereby the light is lost] Wherby the light of her faire lokes I lost  
*T1-2*

Subscription H S P

[42]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 140:

Amor, che nel penser mio vive et regna  
 e 'l suo seggio maggior nel mio cor tene,  
 talor armato ne la fronte vene;  
 ivi si loca et ivi pon sua insegna.

Quella ch' amare et sofferir ne 'nsegna [5]  
 e vol che 'l gran desio, l'accesa spene  
 ragion, vergogna, et reverenza affrene,  
 di nostro ardir fra se stessa si sdegna.

Onde Amor paventoso fugge al core, [10]  
 lasciando ogni sua impresa, et piange et trema;  
 ivi s'asconde et non appar più fore.

Che poss' io far, temendo il mio signore,  
 se non star seco infin a l'ora estrema?  
 ché bel fin fa chi ben amando more.

[‘Love, who lives and reigns in my thought and keeps his principal seat in my heart, sometimes comes forth all in armor into my forehead, there camps, and there sets up his banner.

She who teaches love and to be patient, and wishes my great desire, my kindled hope, to be reined in by reason, shame, and reverence, at our boldness is angry with herself.

Wherefore Love flees terrified to my heart, abandoning his every enterprise, and weeps and trembles; there he hides and no more appears outside.

What can I do, when my lord is afraid, except stay with him until the last hour? For he makes a good end who dies loving well.’]

In addition to *P*, where the subscription of [42] to ‘H S’ claims Surrey’s authorship, the poem survives in Tottel, where it is printed in the Surrey section of *T1*, sig. A4<sup>v</sup>, *T2*, sig. A4<sup>v</sup>, and each edition thereafter. Wyatt first translated *Rima* 140 into English; his sonnet survives in, *E*, fol. 12<sup>v</sup>, and the Wyatt section of Tottel, *T1*, sig. D4<sup>v</sup>, *T2*, sig. E3<sup>v</sup>, and each edition thereafter. M&T printed the sonnet from *E*:

The longe love, that in my thought doeth harbar  
 And in my hert doeth kepe his residence  
 Into my face preseth with bold pretence,  
 And therin campeth, spreding his baner.  
 She that me learneth to love and suffre [5]  
 And will that my trust and lustes negligence  
 Be rayned by reason, shame, and reverence  
 With his hardines taketh displeasure.  
 Wherwithall, vnto the hertes forrest he fleith,  
 Leving his enterprise with payne and cry [10]  
 And there him hideth and not appereth.  
 What may I do when my maister fereth,  
 But, in the felde, with him to lyve and dye?  
 For goode is the liff, ending faithfully.

(M&T: IV)

Nott (I.274) identified the source of [42]. In general, the sonnet is close to Petrarch in structure, though differs in several details of content. Surrey reproduces the balance of the octave and sestet in Petrarch, which begin in ll. 1 and 9 with Love’s occupation of the speaker’s face and abdication to his heart; the second quatrain of the octave, ll. 5-8, focuses on the competing power of the beloved. Like Wyatt, Surrey also reproduces Petrarch’s basic syntactical arrangement of the sonnet, which necessitates his division of the third quatrain and couplet into the equivalent of two tercets to create a pattern of 4+4+3+3. In content, Surrey makes two chief departures from Petrarch. The first is his intensification of the martial context of the poem, both in the first quatrain and l. 13; the second is his alteration to the moral considerations posed in the second quatrain.

Much of the criticism on [42] has juxtaposed it with Wyatt’s translation. The preference of commentators for one over the other has changed with the critical currents. Nott (II.537) considered Wyatt’s ‘versification less harmonious’ than Surrey’s and the overall translation ‘much inferior’, whereas Hallet Smith in the mid-twentieth century argued that Wyatt’s was the more energetic translation (Smith, 1946: 332-337). Thomson criticised Surrey’s changes to the second quatrain as reductive, particularly his substitution of the ‘shamfast clooke’



(which Thomson read as ‘looke’) for the ‘big moral issues’ in l. 7 of Petrarch (Thomson, 1964: 173). Greene too regards Wyatt’s translation as more morally complex, particularly in his more hard-bitten and less decorous sestet (Greene, 1982: 253). William O. Harris, however, praises Surrey’s changes to Petrarch, and notes in particular his suggestion of an implied history to the drama of the sonnet through his use of past tense verbs and adverbs in the first quatrain (Harris, 1969L 298-305). Heale argues that both Wyatt’s and Surrey’s translations are skilful poems, and notes that Surrey transforms an ‘account of frustrated sexuality into one of tragic nobility’ (Heale, 1998: 96).

The most recent critical accounts of [42] have entertained a potentially political reading. H&M (364) suggest that if ‘read historically, [the poem] might well seem like a rebuke to Henry VIII accompanied by honourable professions of loyalty’. Louis B. Maraj makes a similar argument, and points out that Surrey’s intensification of the martial context may recall the fact that the Howards owed their status in large part to military success and a reputation for loyalty. Surrey’s grandfather Thomas Howard, the second Duke of Norfolk, earned great plaudits for defeating James IV of Scotland at Flodden in 1513. Surrey probably refers to the victory of his grandfather in l. 30 of ‘Eche beast can chuse his fere’. Maraj argues that Surrey could have used these resonances in [42] to make ‘a figurative plea to Henry VIII to show the poet and his family as doggedly devoted to the crown’ (Maraj, 2012: 498).

- 1 *raine*] reign
- 2 *captyve*] Surrey’s addition
- 3 *wherein w<sup>t</sup>...fowght*] The sense of warfare in the line elaborates on Love’s occupation of the speaker’s face in both Petrarch and Wyatt.
- 4 *oft*] intensifies Petrarch’s ‘talor’ (140.4: ‘sometimes’)
- 5 *she that...payne*] Compare the phrasing of l. 5 in Wyatt.
- 6 *doubtfull hope...desire*] The two Petrarchan commonplaces elaborate on ‘l’accesa spene’ (140.6: ‘kindled hope’) and ‘gran desio’ (‘great desire’).
- 7 *with shamfast clooke*] i.e., ‘with a bashful (or perhaps ‘shameful’) cloak (‘shamefast’, *adj.*, 1a; 2); the phrase looks back to ‘She that me tawght’ in [42].5, making it the instructional method through which the speaker learns. It picks up on Petrarch’s ‘vergogna’ (140.7: ‘shame’), though Surrey omits the two other moral considerations ‘ragion’ (‘reason’) and ‘reverenza’ (‘reverence’).

- to shadoo...refrayne*] The object of the two infinitive verbs is ‘hope’ and ‘desire’ in [40].6. The first is Surrey’s addition, and means here ‘to cover, obscure’ (‘shadow’, v., 1a). The second, ‘refrayne’, picks up on Petrarch, ‘affrene’ (140.7: ‘reined’).
- 9 *cowarde*] Surrey’s addition
- 10 *lorke*] lurk; the verb is Surrey’s addition, and substitutes for Petrarch, ‘trema’ (140.10: ‘trembles’).
- 11 *his purpose lost*] renders Petrarch, ‘lasciando ogni sua impresa’ (140.9: ‘abandoning his every enterprise’)
- 12 *fawtles*] Surrey’s addition
- payine*] pain
- 13 *yet from...remove*] Jones (105) notes a potential allusion to Virgil’s *Aeneid*, 2.864-866, which Surrey renders as follows in the *Aeneis*:

Father, thoughtst thou that I may ones remove  
 (Quod I), a foote, and leaue thee here behinde?  
 May such a wrong passe from a fathers mouth?

(sig. C4<sup>v</sup>)

### Collations

*P* descends independently from *TI-2*, and is the most corrupt surviving witness, with six errors compared to none in Tottel. These tend to be inaccurate renderings of Petrarch which weaken the sense, and it is possible that *P* is an early draft of the sonnet, with *TI-2* witnesses to Surrey’s later revisions. In l. 1, *P*’s phrase ‘doth raine, and liue’ is not as close to Petrarch, nor as satisfactory, as ‘liueth and reigneth’ in *TI-2*, the order of which makes better sense. In l. 5, *P* introduces an adversative ‘but’ absent from Petrarch, and is therefore forced to suppress an infinitive verb (‘taught me love’) to maintain a decasyllabic line. The reading in *TI-2* is again superior, with ‘but’ omitted and the infinitive (‘me taught to love’) retained. *P*’s third and fourth errors are related: the singular verbs in ‘where he doth lorke and playne’ are not as accurate as those in *TI-2*, ‘whereas he lurkes and plaines’, which offers a readier translation of Petrarch, ‘piange e trema’. *P*’s rhyme ‘playne’ then obliges ‘payine’ in l. 12 to be singular, for which ‘paynes’ in *TI-2* is again closer to the Italian. Finally, in l. 14, *P* has the more abstract readings ‘the death’ and ‘taketh end’, the first of which makes death the subject of the clause. The variants in *TI-2* ‘his death’ and ‘takes his end’, are superior.

*T2* is clearly based on *TI*, but contains one substantive variant with ‘restraine’ in l. 7. This may point to Tottel or his editor’s use of an additional source here, unless the reading is

editorial. Although ‘restraine’ supplies the same meaning and rhyme as ‘refrayne’ in *P* and *T1*, it possibly describes more evocatively the straitening action of the speaker’s ‘clooke’.

Title Complaint of a louer rebuked. *T1-2*

1 doth raine, and liue] liueth, and reigneth *T1-2*  
 2 and] That *T1-2*  
 5 but] *om.* *T1-2*  
 taught me love] me taught to loue *T1-2*  
 7 refrayne] restraine *T2*  
 10 where he doth lorke and playne] whereas he lurkes, and plaines *T1-2*  
 12 payine] paynes *T1-2*  
 14 the] his *T1-2*

Subscription H S *P*

[43]

In addition to *P*, where the subscription of [43] to ‘H S’ claims Surrey’s authorship, the poem survives in Tottel, where it is printed in the Surrey section of *T1*, sig. B1<sup>r</sup>, *T2*, sig. B1<sup>r</sup>, and each edition thereafter.

The sonnet is structured around the idea of the two springs, one of which is hot and the other cold. Nott (I.280) noted a possible source in a passage from Ariosto, *Orlando Furioso*, Canto 1, stanza 78:

E questo hanno causato due fontane  
 Che di diverso effetto hanno liquore  
 Ambe in Ardenna, e non sono lontane:  
 D’amoroso desio l’una empie il core;  
 Chi bee de l’altra, senza amor rimane, [5]  
 E volge tutto in ghiaccio il primo adore.  
 Rinaldo gustò d’una, e amor lo strugge;  
 Angelica de l’altra, e l’odia e fugge.

[‘And the cause was to be found in two springs in the Ardennes, not far apart, whose waters produce diverging effects: the one inclines the heart to love, whereas love loses place in the heart of whoever drinks from the other; what first is fire turns to ice. Rinaldo had tasted the one, and love held him in thrall: Angelica the other, and she hated and shunned him.’]

Surrey also adapts Ariosto's *OF* in [35]. The idea of the two springs has a long tradition. Ariosto apparently culled it from the *Orlando Innamorata* of Matteo Maria Boiardo (1440x1441-1494), 1.3, though it is probable that the idea has roots stretching back to classical mythological and folkloric sources. Nott (I.280) cited a number of classical exemplars, among which are accounts of the rivers Selemnus and Cilicia, both of which could reputedly cure those who drank of them of love's maladies. The association of Venus and Cyprus with this tradition, to which Surrey alludes in ll. 1-2 of [43], is not otherwise known.

Surrey uses the sonnet form in [43] to subdivide his treatment of the two springs into three sections. The octave describes the hot spring and its effect on the lover and the third quatrain the cold. The qualities of the springs depend on a number of Petrarchan conceits which were commonplaces of the sixteenth-century love lament. These include stone thawing like ice (l. 3). breasts burning with flame (l. 4), and love as a poison (l. 5, ll. 10-11). Spenser relies on the same set of images to describe the 'states' of love in *Amoretto* 30. Mason notes that the octave of [43] alludes in ll. 4-6 to the first prologue of Wyatt's paraphrase of the penitential psalms, the subject of which is King David's love for Bathsheba (*TLS*, 6 March 1953). Wyatt's psalms are the subject of [44], the subsequent Surrey poem in *P*.

1-2 *In Cipres...hote]* i.e., 'In Cyprus, where Dame Venus dwelled, springs a well so hot...'

*wheras dame...dwelt]* Cyprus was one of the sites which claimed to be the place of Venus' birth (*OCD*, 'Aphrodite').

4-6 *and kindled...fier]* For the phrases 'kindled fynd his breast' (l. 5), 'moist poison' (l. 5), and 'crepyng fier' (l. 6), compare the first prologue of Wyatt's paraphrase of the penitential psalms:

With venemd breth as sofftly as he myght  
Towchd his sensis and ouer ronnis his bonis  
With crepyng fyre, sparplid for the nonis.

And when he saw that kendlid was the flame,  
The moyst poyson in his hert he launcyd,  
So that his sowle did tremble with the same[.]

(M&T: Prol. 1 (CVIII).6-11)

6 *oprest]* subdued, overwhelmed ('oppress', *v.*, 2a; 2b)

8 *thraldom]* servitude, bondage ('thraldom', *n.*)

- imprest*] imprinted ('impress', *v.*, 3)  
 9 *one*] i.e., 'one well', 'the other well', which looks back to [43].2  
 12 *and w<sup>t</sup>...mynd*] Compare Surrey's sonnet 'The golden gift': 'Nor change of mindes let not thy minde infect' (Jones, 1964: [8].12). Nott (I.169) also compares Surrey's letter to the Privy Council in BL, Harley MS 283:

Neither am I so wed to mine own will, than I had rather with favourable surmises  
 obstinately to stand to the defence of my folly, than humbly to confess the same,  
 infected with any such spot[.]

- spote*] i.e., stain, blemish, here moral in application and referring to the beloved's change of heart after drinking from the cold spring ('spot', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a). The *OED* also cites 'spot of' with the meaning 'stigma of'; the earliest date it gives for the phrase is 1548 ('spot', 1c).  
*change*] fickleness ('change', *n.*, 4b); the earliest date that the *OED* cites for this sense of the noun is 1608. Compare Wyatt's ballad 'They flee from me': 'And nowe they raunge | Besely seking with a continuell chaunge' (M&T: XXXVII.6-7). The fickleness of women was a common complaint of the love lament.  
 13 *where of*] of which, which looks back to the cold spring in [43].9 ('whereof', *adv.*, 2a)  
 14 *service*] devotion, suit ('service', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 10)

### Collations

*P* descends independently from *T1-2*, and is the best of the surviving witnesses, with no manifest errors. *T1* contains one probable corruption, shared with *T2*: 'fired' in l. 13 against 'secret' in *P*. This sounds somewhat tautologous next to 'flame', and is possibly less suited to the typical language of the love lament than 'secret'. *T2* commits an additional seven independent errors in ll. 2, 5, 6 ('With', 'ar'), 7, and 14; all but l. 14, which deprives the couplet of some of its summative force, introduce severe distortions of sense. Chief among them is 'hotte is' in l. 2, which makes the line hypermetrical and affects the meaning of l. 1, forcing 'springes' to convert from a verb to a noun. *T2*'s rhyme-word 'hart' in l. 5, against 'hate' in *P* and *T1*, creates an unpalatable and almost certainly erroneous image of a heart dissolving. The many substantive variants in *T2* suggest that Tottel or his editor used a source additional to *T1* for their text of [43], here a demonstrably corrupt one, unless these readings

are editorial. As Rollins (I.266) notes, all of *T2*'s substantive variants, except 'hart' in Q4, were dropped in later editions of Tottel.

|       |                                                                      |
|-------|----------------------------------------------------------------------|
| Title | Complaint of the louer disdained <i>T1-2</i>                         |
| 2     | hote] hotte is <i>T2</i>                                             |
| 4     | secret] fired <i>T1-2</i>                                            |
| 5     | hate] hart <i>T2</i>                                                 |
| 6     | this] With <i>T2</i> ; so] ar <i>T2</i> ; oprest] supprest <i>T2</i> |
| 7     | that in] Feeleth <i>T2</i> ; late] smart <i>T2</i>                   |
| 9     | <sonne> ^snow^] yse <i>T1-2</i>                                      |
| 14    | my service thus is growne] Wherby my seruice grows <i>T2</i>         |

Subscription H S P

[44]

In addition to *P*, where the subscription 'HS' claims Surrey's authorship, poem [44] survives in two other full copies. In *E*, fol. 85<sup>v</sup>, the full sonnet introduces Wyatt's paraphrase of the penitential psalms and has the monogram 'HS' alongside the subscription 'IH'. Edwards contends that that the second of these designates John Harington of Stepney as the scribe, but the hand does not match his known script, taken from his deposition at Sir Thomas Seymour's trial in 1549 (Edwards, 2004: 286). In Tottel, the sonnet is printed in the Surrey section of *T1*, sig. D2<sup>r</sup>, *T2*, sig. D4<sup>v</sup>, and each edition thereafter. Puttenham excerpted l. 5 from [44] in *A*, sigs P1<sup>v</sup>-P2<sup>r</sup>, where he works through a revision of that line. Drayton printed an excerpt from ll. 5-6 in *Dr1*, sig. N3<sup>v</sup>; *Dr2*, sig. N5<sup>v</sup>; *Dr3*, sig. N3<sup>r</sup>; *Dr4*, sig. N3<sup>r</sup>; and *BW*, sig. N3<sup>r</sup>.<sup>40</sup>

Surrey wrote the sonnet in commendation of Wyatt's paraphrase of the seven penitential psalms, as its placement in *E* attests. Given that Wyatt commentators have dated his paraphrase to one of his two imprisonments in 1536 and 1541, Surrey may well have composed [44] in this date range, although it is possible that the sonnet post-dates Wyatt's death in October 1542. Surrey wrote several poems in praise of Wyatt, which include 'Wyat

<sup>40</sup> See Collations to [33] for a full description of *D1-D4* and *BW*.

resteth here', printed in *c.* 1545 (STC 26054), and [45] and [49] in *P*. Surrey appears to have had close access to a MS text of Wyatt's paraphrase, given the numerous borrowings he makes from the text both in his secular poems and biblical paraphrases.<sup>41</sup> The printed version of Wyatt's paraphrase, *Certayne psalmes chosen out of the psalter of Dauid* (STC 2726), was printed in 1549, two years after Surrey's execution.

The central argument which Surrey makes in [44] is that Alexander's custom of treasuring Homer's pagan verse in a coffer serves as a chastening precedent for Christians, who should preserve Wyatt's paraphrase likewise. The need to give due honour to Wyatt's life as well as work is the subject of [45] and [49]. Surrey devotes the first quatrain of the octave alone to Alexander and the remainder of the sonnet to elaborating on the qualities and didactic value of Wyatt's paraphrase. There is no clear syntactical division between octave and sestet, which is not typical of Surrey's practice; instead, the sense of the octave runs to the beginning of l. 10. Building on his general address to Christians in ll. 5-9, Surrey specifies rulers prone to 'concupiscence' (l. 11) in the sestet. Padelford (224) suggests that Henry VIII may be the special target of this warning, which Jones (126) follows. For other Surrey poems in *P* which may target the king, compare [46], [52], and [58].

The practice of paraphrasing the psalms increasingly became a mark of Protestant beliefs. Surrey's commendation of the 'lively faith' (l. 7) of Wyatt's paraphrase may denote his understanding of the text as a Protestant-sympathetic one: justification by faith alone was one of the central Protestant articles of belief (compare Surrey, [53].54). Wyatt's doctrinal position is difficult to define, though he observes in his *Defence*, composed in prison in 1541, that 'I thynke I shulde have more adoe with a great sorte in Inglande to purge my selffe of suspecte of a Lutherane than of a Papyst' (Muir, 1963: 195-196). H&M (383) note that Surrey's relative concealment of Wyatt's name, both here and in [49], serves an expedient purpose in the *T1-2*, as Marian publications. Wyatt's son led the Protestant rebellion against Mary I in Kent in 1554, an act which led to his execution.

1 *greate Macedon*] Alexander the Great, King of Macedonia, described through *antonomasia*; 'Darius' in l. 2 receives blunter and less rhetorical treatment. Compare Sackville's 'Induction': 'Whom great Macedo vanquisht there in sight' (*Myrrour*, 1563, sig. R2<sup>r</sup>). Sackville's borrowings in [40] and [49] too suggest that he knew Surrey's canon well.

<sup>41</sup> Examples of Surrey's secular poems which allude to Wyatt's penitential psalms are [40] and [43] in *P*; Surrey's biblical paraphrases are [50]-[54], and [56], [58], and [59] in *P*.

*persy]* Persia

- 2 *Darius]* Darius III, king of Persia. The incident recounted in the poem occurred in 333 BCE, where Alexander defeated Darius at the Battle of Issus. Nott (I.335) recommends that ‘Darius’ be scanned as an anapaest, but Jones (126) argues for a disyllabic reading.
- 3 *riche arke...placed]* Plutarch records Alexander’s preservation of Homer’s verse in his *Lives*. The dedication to Henry VIII in Thomas Berthelet’s edition of Gower’s *Confessio Amantis* (1532; STC 12143) cites Plutarch as a source:

Plutarke writeth / Whan Alexander hath discomfyte Darius the kynge of Perse / among  
other iewels of the sayde kinges there was founde a curyous lyttell cheste of great value  
/ whiche the noble kynge Alexander beholdynge, sayde: this same shall serue for  
Homere.

(sig. 2A2<sup>f</sup>)

Rollins (II.153) cites a number of other sixteenth-century references to the legend.

- 4 *fayned gestes]* invented deeds (‘feigned’, *adj.*, 2a; ‘gest’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 5 *sepulture]* i.e., place of burial (‘sepulture’, *n.*, 2a)
- 7 *lively fayth and pure]* The syntax, in which the second adjective (‘pure’) follows the noun it is modifying (‘fayth’), is Latinate. Nott (I.336) points out a parallel from Milton, *Paradise Lost*:

And chiefly Thou O Spirit, that dost prefer  
Before all Temples th’ upright heart and pure,  
Instruct me, for thou know’st[.]

(1.17-19)

- 9 *Iust David...penitence]* King David was the putative author of the Psalter; the group designated the penitential psalms were considered his penance for sending Uriah, Bathsheba’s husband, to death in battle. The narrative is recounted in Samuel 2:11.
- 10 *myrroure]* The mirror was a common metaphor for the act of making rulers or officials see their indiscretions and so improve their conduct. Compare the series of tragedies which make up the *Myrroure of Magistrates* (1559, 1563).
- 11 *concupicence]* sexual appetite, lust (‘concupiscence’, *n.*, 2).
- 12 *Iurye]* Jewry, i.e., King David, whom Surrey names via a reference to his people, as with Alexander in [44].1.
- bowght...full deere]* a possible allusion to the idea of the ‘wages of sin’ in Romans 6:23.



*vryas*] Uriah

- 14 *mowght*] The verb is related to both ‘may’ and ‘mote’, and can articulate one or all of possibility, ability, and obligation. The context permits two interpretations: (i) one of ability, i.e., God’s scourge ‘can’ awake prince’s hearts out of their sinful sleep; or (ii) one of obligation, i.e., God’s scourge ‘must’ or ‘ought to’ awake prince’s hearts out of their sinful sleep.

### Collations

*P* descends independently of *E* and *T1-2*, and has one probable error. The *OED* cites its unusual spelling ‘spalmes’ in l. 6 as a spelling variant of ‘psalm’, though it is more plausibly a scribal corruption. The separate descents of *P* and *E* come in spite of their shared Harington provenance, and suggest that the Haringtons had access to more than one version of the sonnet. Line 13 of *P* also supports this speculation. Here, Hand A appears initially to have written ‘inprinted’, which is close to the reading ‘imprinted’ in *T1-2*, and replaced it with ‘yprinted’, the reading in *E*. The scribe possibly checked his text with *E* in this line and corrected it accordingly.

*E* has the variant reading ‘of’ in l. 4 which, like ‘dan’ in *T1-2*, is an error. *P* is alone in being correct here, and indicates that a corruption may have been present in the poem from an early stage of its circulation. The rhetorical relationship established between the first and second quatrain requires the conditional ‘yf’ to complement ‘then’ in l. 5, i.e., *if* Alexander preserved Homer’s verse, *then* Christians must preserve Wyatt’s psalms likewise. While it is possible to see the *E* reading as scribal error for ‘yf’; that in *T1-2* is unrelated, and disrupts the balance of the clauses altogether to confer upon Homer a title of reverence. In l. 14, *T1-2* commit additional conjunctive error ‘Ought’ which illustrates that *T2* is based on *T1*. This reading omits the delicate double meaning of ‘perhaps’ and ‘can’ which *P* has in ‘mowght’ and *E* in ‘myght’. The second implication is absent from Tottel, which gives its verb here less subtlety.

Of the excerpted copies, Puttenham’s version of l. 5 is unique, and suggests that he either used a substantive text unrelated to those extant or revised the line himself. The same can be said of Drayton’s excerpt of l. 6, which has the substantive variant ‘purchase than’. This would disrupt the rhyme with l. 8 in a full version of the poem, and, like several of those in [33] and [40], is probably Drayton’s own adaptation to suit the excerpted form of the line.

Title Praise of certaine psalmes of Dauid, by sir T.w. the elder *T1-2*

Heading HS [‘S’ written over ‘H’ as a monogram] *E*

2 range] rong *T1-2*

3 yf] of *E*, dan *T1-2*

4 sange] song *T1-2*

5 what holie grave, what worthye sepulture] What holy graue (alas) what holy sepulcher [*emended to* What holie graue alas what fit sepulcher] *A*

6 spalmes] Psalmes *T1-2*; than purchace] purchase than *BW Dr1-4*

10 perfect] parfite *E*, perfite *T1-2*

13 <in>yprinted] yprinted *E*, imprinted *T1-2*

14 mowght] Myght *E*, Ought *T1-2*

Subscription *I H E, H S P*

[45]

In addition to *P*, where the subscription of [45] to ‘H S’ claims Surrey’s authorship, the poem survives in Tottel. It was first printed in the addendum entitled ‘Other Songes and Sonettes written by the earle of Surrey’ in *T1*, sigs 2C3<sup>v</sup>-2C4<sup>f</sup> before being relocated to the Surrey section proper in *T2*, sig. E1<sup>r-v</sup>, and each edition thereafter.

Poem [45] is, alongside poem [49], a sonnet epitaph on Wyatt, who died of a fever contracted on embassy in October 1542. The starting point of both epitaphs is the lack of due appreciation for Wyatt as a model Christian. In attacking Wyatt’s enemies as well as praising his life, Jentoft comments that [45] departs from the conventions of sixteenth-century poetic epitaph, terming the sonnet a ‘satiric elegy’ for this reason (Jentoft, 1976: 27). These conventions were, however, still at a formative stage in the early 1540s. Padelford (227) argues that the enemies to which Surrey alludes are Edmund Bonner, future Bishop of London, and Simon Heynes. Both men were sent to monitor Wyatt in 1538 and purportedly wrought his arrest in 1541 by accusing him of treasonous dealings with Cardinal Pole and compassing Henry VIII’s death in words (‘Wyatt, Sir Thomas, the elder’, *ODNB*).

The sonnet has posed the stiffest challenge to Surrey's editors and critics. It is one of Surrey's most ambitiously classical in its style, but the extreme compression of its argument and its convoluted syntax have created difficulties of sense and interpretation. Nott (I.342) suggested that [45] either did not receive Surrey's final corrections or has otherwise descended in an unpolished or imperfect state. Both Padelford (227) and Rollins (II.311) paraphrase the sonnet, but do not explain its more difficult features. Jones (125) describes [45] as a 'tangle' which is perhaps in need of emendation, though does not offer any such correction of the text of *P*.

The fuller modern understanding of [45] owes much to the work of C. W. Jentoft, Anthony Low, and A. C. Spearing. Jentoft argued that the sonnet takes shape as one periodic *interrogatio* or rhetorical question subdivided into sections. These sections focus on three ages. The octave, consisting of two dependent 'if' clauses, form the first section: the first 'if' clause focuses on praise and the the reward of virtue in pagan times (ll. 1-4) before extending the scope into a more universal consideration of past ages in the second (ll. 5-8). Taken as a whole, the octave establishes the didactic value of praise. The sestet then introduces a clause which focuses on the present Christian age, post-Wyatt.

Jentoft, however, struggled with ll. 5-6, which he glossed as 'men have in all Christless times often failed to broadcast enduring praise of the great' (Jentoft, 1976: 29). In his rejoinder, Anthony Low proposed the emendation 'If, in no ungrateful time, [has] virtue yet failed to the broadcast the endless fame of [at least some]'. (Low, 1976: 914-915). Edgar F. Daniels rejected Jentoft's and Low's readings of ll. 5-6, and argued that both misread virtue as the instrument of praise rather than its recipient (Daniels, 1978: 15). In his more recent analysis of [45], Spearing follows Daniels' interpretation and offers perhaps the most lucid description of the relationship between the sonnet's sections. Spearing argues that the periodic question of [45] is dependent on the three parallel conditional clauses in ll. 1, 5, and 9, with the couplet an attack on Wyatt's enemies (Spearing, 1985: 325). Spearing's paraphrase of the poem as a whole is as follows:

If, in the uncultivated age, when true knowledge was less widespread than now, Jove in Crete, and other teachers in the places where they taught doctrines that would recall men to gain true profit of their lives, succeeded in attracting followers to temples after their deaths;

If indeed virtue in any age, however thankless, never lacked some men to broadcast its undying fame — an excellent means both of deterring people from evil actions and of encouraging our descendants to follow in virtue's footsteps;

If then, in these days of true knowledge, Wyatt's friends pay the only debt that the dead may claim of the living, by lamenting that fine intelligence that was worn out for our advantage in the world where Christianity is taught, do they deserve to be blamed for it?

You who so blame us, how his living face must have tormented your hearts, when his ashes still consume you with envy!

(Spearing, 1985: 325)

- 1 *Scyence*] knowledge ('science', *n.*, 1a)
- 2 *Love in crete*] Jupiter (Greek: Zeus) was born in Crete.  
*other where*] possibly a compressed version of 'other teachers, where', with ll. 2-4 holding Jove in parallel alongside these other teachers. Jones (125) considers the two words to be 'otherwhere', i.e., 'elsewhere' ('otherwhere', *adv.*, 1), though this would make 'they' the sole reference to the other teachers.
- 3 *reverte*] recall, restore ('revert', *v.*, 4a)
- 4 *wan*] won, i.e., 'contrived', 'succeeded' ('win', *v.*, 3a)
- 5 *If vertue...tyme*] i.e., 'if there was no time so unthankful that virtue...'
- 6 *fayled of*] lacked ('fail', *v.*, 6b)
- 7 *goodlie*] well-suited, proper ('goodly', *adj.*, 3a)
- 8 *sequell*] The Latin root of the noun, 'sequi' ('to follow') permits two interpretations: (i) our offspring, (ii) our following steps ('sequel', *n.*, 2a; 6a).
- 9 *dayes of treuthe*] i.e., Christian times, which the phrase 'where Christ is taught' [45]. 12) qualifies
- 10 *the onelye...clayme*] i.e., 'the only debt that the dead can claim of the living'; the line perhaps alludes to Henry VIII's decrees on bidding prayers in 1534 and 1536, which rendered invalid the Catholic custom of prayers for the dead.
- 11 *That rare...spent*] a probable allusion to Wyatt's paraphrase of the seven penitential psalms
- 12 *Christe*] Christianity, the teachings of Christ  
*Momus*] Greek god of carping and satire; Padelford (121) and Jones (35) both read 'Momus' as 'Monnis', i.e., 'men's'. However, the mark above the minims which form the 'u' in *P* appears to be a dark spot in the paper rather than a dot. The spelling 'Monnis' would also be unusual for Hand A. This edition accordingly follows Jentoft and Low in preferring 'Momus' (Jentoft, 1976: 28; Low, 1976: 914-915).
- 13 *freate*] fret, i.e., gnaw at, erode ('fret', *n.*, 2); the earliest date that the *OED* cites for the noun is 1545.

14 *whose Cynders...eate]* i.e. ‘whose cinders continue to corrode you with envy’

### Collations

*P* descends independently of *T1-2*, and is the best of the surviving witnesses, with no manifest errors. *T1-2* are clearly related, and share three manifest errors in ll. 3, 5, 12, and, all of which distort the sense. In particular, ‘we led to vertues traine’ in l. 12, against ‘deserve they Momus blame’ in *P*, substitutes a statement for a question. This reading removes the final part of the periodic question around which ll. 1-12 are structured. It is perhaps Tottel’s or his editor’s attempted emendation of a corruption in their source. The *P* text, with ‘Momus’/‘Monnis’, also contains a crux here.

Title A praise of sir Thomas Wyat for his excellent learning. *T1*, Of the same. *T2* [refers to [44]]

- 1 Scyence] knowledge *T1-2*; not <so> rife] not rife *T1-2*  
 2 where they] were that *T1-2*  
 3 reverte] conuert *T1-2*  
 4 wan] Wend *T1-2*  
 5 in no] no voide *T1-2*  
 12 deserve they Momus blame] we led to vertues traine *T1-2*  
 13 brest] brestes *T1-2*  
 14 doo the] they do *T1-2*

Subscription H S *P*

[46]

In addition to *P*, where the subscription of [46] to ‘H S’ claims Surrey’s authorship, the poem survives in Tottel, where it is printed in the Surrey section of *T1*, sig. D3<sup>r</sup>, *T2*, sig. E1<sup>v</sup>, and each edition thereafter.

The subject of the sonnet is the martial failure and suicide of Sardanapalus (seventh century BCE), the fabled last Assyrian king, whose life was chronicled in two principal sources: the Greek writer Ctesias of Cnidus’ now-lost *Persica*, and the Latin historian

Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca historica*. Diodorus figures Sardanapalus as a type of the decadent monarch, whose indolence and excess consumed his kingdom. The Medes, Persians, and Babylonians rebelled against him. After an initial triumph against these forces, Sardanapalus held a feast, during which he was attacked and forced back to his capital at Nineveh. After capitulating to a long siege, he burned down his palace, killing both himself and his wives.

In general, Surrey's characterisation of Sardanapalus follows the tradition of Diodorus, which was well established. Sardanapalus' excess is the subject of the second quatrain (ll. 5-8) and his 'womanishe' behaviour the sestet. The lack of a strong syntactical break between the octave and sestet is not typical of Surrey's practice. To the Diodorus narrative, Surrey adds the suicide motive of martial disgrace in ll. 1-4 and 13-14. H&M (387) note that this idea perhaps held a personal resonance for Surrey, whose forces experienced a crushing defeat in the Spring of 1545/6 while he attempted to defend the English fortifications at Boulogne. This would date [46] to Surrey's final months after his return from France, though cannot be authoritative.

Heale considers Henry VIII as the possible target of the sonnet, for which compare [44], [52], and [58] (Heale, 1998: 141). Both Gower in the *Confessio* (7.4313-4319, 4335-4340), and Lydgate in *The Fall of Princes* (2.2311-2324), are precedents which use Sardanapalus as a negative exemplar of a monarch. Lydgate's account of Sardanapalus is as follows:

And for his herte frowardli gan faile,  
 Nat lik a knyht, but lik a losengour,  
 His riche perre, his roial apparaile,  
 His gold, his ieweles, uesseles & tresour  
 Was brought aforn hym doun [out] of a tour,  
 Mid off his paleis, & gaff his men in charge  
 Off cole and fagot to make a fir ful large.

In which he caste his tresour and ieweles,  
 Mor bestial than lik a manli man;  
 And mid his riche stonys and uesseles,  
 Into the fir furiosli he ran.  
 This tryumphe Sardanapallus wan,  
 With fir consumyd for his fynall mede,  
 Brent al to ashes among the coles rede.

(2.2311-2324)

It is possible that Surrey knew *The Fall*, or at least this excerpt from the poem, and that [46] engages with its treatment of Sardanapalus. As Jones (127) comments, Surrey retains the chivalric element in Lydgate but reverses his point in the couplet, rendering Sardanapalus'

suicide as his sole ‘manfull dede’. Rollins (II.157) cites a number of references to Sardanapalus in later sixteenth-century texts.

- 1 *Thassyryans king*] Sardanapalus, described through *antonomasia*. Compare Surrey’s treatment of Alexander and David in [44].1 and 11.
- 4 *vaynquyshd*] the subject is ‘Thassyryans king’ in l. 1  
*want*] lack (‘want’, *v.*, 2a)
- 5 *straunge*] alien, far removed (from his decadent lifestyle) (‘strange’, *adj.*, 6)
- 6 *targe*] light shield, buckler (‘targe’, *n.*, 1a)
- 7 *glotton*] i.e., ‘gluttonous’ (‘glutton’, *n.* and *adj.*, B); compare Surrey, [58].14
- 8 *garlandes charge*] i.e., weight (‘charge’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 10 *sprete*] spirit
- 13 *Prowde tyme...drede*] The two half-lines probably parallel each other, i.e., ‘proud in time of wealth, in misfortune enfeebled [‘stormes appawld’] with dread’ (‘appal’/‘appall’ *v.*, 2).

### Collations

*P* descends independently of *T1-2*, and is the best text, with no manifest errors. The two Tottel copies, which are clearly related, share the corruption ‘Thassirian’ in l. 1. In this reading, the adjective relates to Sardanapalus’ nationality rather than his rulership of a body of people (‘Thassyryans’), which deprives the construction of some of its ironic force.

Title Of Sardinapalus dishonorable life, and miserable death *T1*, Of Sardanapalus dishonorable life, and miserable death *T2*

- 1 Thassyryans] Thassirian *T1-2*
- 3 a fyre] on fire *T1-2*
- 4 vaynquyshd did yeld] Did yeld, vanquishd *T1-2*
- 11 vnpacyent] inpacient *T1-2*
- 14 murdred] Murthered *T1-2*

Subscription H S *P*

[47]

Poem [47] survives in *P* alone, where the subscription ‘H S’ claims Surrey’s authorship. Alongside [55], it is one of Surrey’s two epigrams in *ottava rima*, a lyric form he probably took from Wyatt, who was a keen exponent (see [6]-[10]). The poem compares the Greek painter Apelles of Cos’ artistic reproduction of Venus (Aphrodite) with a father’s of his daughter. The couplet asserts the difference that the human beloved can kindle and well as quench desire, where the painting cannot. Nott (L.cclxvii-cclxviii) argued that Surrey’s source was the French poet Clément Marot’s rondeau ‘Au temps passé’:

Au temps passé, Apelles, Painctre sage,  
 Feit seullement de Venus le visage,  
 Par fiction, mais (pour plus hault attaindre,)
 Ton Pere a faict de Venus (sans rien faindre)  
 Entierement la face & le corsage. [5]

Car il est Painctre & tu es son ouvrage,  
 Mieulx ressemblant Venus de forme & d’aage  
 Que le Tableau qu’Apelles voulut paindre  
 Au temps passé.

Vray est qu’il fait si belle son ymage  
 Qu’elle eschauffoit en Amour maint courage; [10]  
 Mais celle là que ton Pere a sceu taindre  
 I met le feu & a dequoy l’estaindre  
 L’aoltre n’eut pas ung si gros advantage  
 Au temps passé.

[Taylor, 2006a: ‘In times past, Apelles, the learned painter, represented only Venus’ face through art, but (to achieve yet higher), your father made Venus (without feigning anything) from head to toe. For he is a painter and you are his work, better resembling Venus in shape and age than the painting Apelles wished to paint in times past. True it is that he made his image so beautiful that she enflamed with love many a heart; but the former which your Father knew how to colour there sets the fire and has something to quench it. The other had no such advantage in times past.’]

It is probable that Surrey knew of Marot’s verse and possible that he met him. Nott made his speculation on these biographical grounds. Both Surrey and Richmond travelled to France in 1532 in the entourage of Henry VIII and Anne Boleyn. Henry signed a treaty with the French King François I, after which Surrey and Richmond remained behind as pledges. During their sojourn in France, they stayed in spring 1533 at Fontainebleau, the cultural hub of the French Court. Marot was *valet de chambre* to François during this period, but he was also a published poet. His collection *L’Adolescence clémentine* (*The Adolescence of Clementine*), which includes ‘Au temps passé’, was printed in 1532. Subsequent commentators took up the



idea that Marot was the source of [47]. Anne Lake Prescott commended its epigrammatic tone and concise treatment of the French (Prescott, 1971: 179). More recently, Sessions argues that [47] distils Surrey's whole encounter with the French Court with its 'formal brilliance, visual art, and fluid sexuality' (Sessions, 2006: 96).

Andrew W. Taylor's research has changed the picture of Surrey's source for [47] (Taylor, 2006a: 1-21). He demonstrates that the poem imitates not Marot's rondeau but a neo-Latin epigram by Marot's friend, Nicolas Bourbon (1503?-1549/50), which was printed in Bourbon's *Nicolai Borbonii Vandoperani Nugæ* (1533) and then again in *Nugarum Libri Octo* (1538):

Olim qui Veneris vultum depinxit Apelles,  
 Maximus, & premis fertur in arte sua.  
 Ecce tamen genitor tuus est praestantior illo,  
 Cuius peniculo facta puella Dea es.  
 Illa quidem multos urebat Apellis imago, [5]  
 Atque aliquot iuuenes cepit amore sui.  
 Non habuit tamen unde suos restingueret ignes:  
 Tu simul inflammas, & medicamen habes.

[Taylor, 2006a: 'Until now, Apelles, who painted the face of Venus, was forever held to be the greatest and foremost in his art. Yet, behold, your father is more outstanding than him, through whose brush you, a girl, have been made a Goddess. Indeed that image of Apelles set many aflame, and seized some young men with desire of itself. Yet it held not the wherewithal to quench their fires: but you both kindle and hold the cure.']

Bourbon was in England until 1535, staying with the family of Anne Boleyn, who recruited him to teach the children of her circle ('Bourbon, Nicholas', *ODNB*). He was a friend of the antiquarian and fellow neo-Latin poet John Leland (1503?-1552), both of whom celebrated Hans Holbein in verse. Leland composed a poem on Bourbon ('Vandoperanus') in his posthumous *Principium* (1589; STC 15447), sig. G2<sup>r</sup>. Bourbon was thus acquainted with prominent English intellectuals and men at Court who held interest in art and poetry, and the convergence of the two. Poem [47] may be Surrey's deliberate contribution to this tradition. The five extant portraits and sketches of Surrey, more than any other Henrician courtier, attest to his own interest in portraiture ('Howard, Henry, earl of Surrey', *ODNB*).

Surrey probably knew Bourbon's verse from his residence in France. Taylor notes that the publication of Bourbon's *Nugæ* coincided with this period, and conjectures that Surrey perhaps obtained a copy before he left for England (Taylor, 2006a: 12). 'Olim qui Veneris' is almost certainly the source of [47]. As eight-line epigrams, the two poems have a common form, and Bourbon's paintbrush/penis metaphor 'peniculo'(l. 4) is a much more probable source than Marot for Surrey's equivalent 'pensell'. The flagrant sexuality is not typical of

Surrey, but the metaphor was popular in the art-themed epigrams of the Greek *Anthologia Palatina*, which appear to have been Bourbon's exemplars (Taylor, 2006a: 8-11). Surrey's elliptical syntax in [47], particularly in ll. 1-4, may also suggest the influence of Bourbon's neo-Latin word order.

As the most famous classical painter, Apelles was a favourite subject of neo-Latin and humanist poets. More alluded to Apelles in his Latin poem 'Venus in tabulam duplicem', printed in his 1518 *Epigrammata* (More, 1984: no. 286). Leland likewise referenced Apelles in a roundel on Holbein's depiction of Wyatt in his epitaph *Naeniae* (1542; STC 15442), sig. A1<sup>v</sup>. Sir John Cheke's epitaph on a deceased poet, [65] in *P*, also uses Apelles as a term of comparison. Surrey is the most probable subject of this poem, which suggests that Cheke may have known [47] and worked the comparison into his commemoration (see Headnote to [65]).

- 1-3 *Yf...then*] The conditional relationship between the two clauses ('Yf'/'then') differs from the temporal one established in Bourbon ('Olim'/'Ecce' ('Until now'/'Yet')).
- 1 *Yf he...drewe*] The subject is Apelles, described through *antonomasia*. Whereas Bourbon names Apelles, Surrey perhaps expected his readership to make the identification unaided.
- erst*] first, formerly ('erst', *adv.*, 1, 5a); the adverb renders Bourbon, 'Olim' (l. 1).
- lively*] lifelike, ('lively', *adj.*, 4a)
- 3 *Thy father*] i.e., 'To thy father'
- 5 *that figure*] Aphrodite
- made some rewe*] i.e., 'caused some sorrow' (in her viewers) ('rue', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- 7 *that*] i.e., 'that which'

[48]

Source: Petrarch, *Rima* 145:

Ponmi ove 'l sole occide i fiori et l'erba,  
o dove vince lui il ghiaccio et la neve;  
ponmi ov' è il carro suo temprato et leve,  
et ov' è chi cel rende o chi cel serba;

ponmi in umil fortuna od in superba,  
al dolce aere sereno, al fiasco et greve;  
ponmi a la notte, al dì lungo ed al breve,

[5]

a la matura etate od a l'acerba;

ponmi in cielo in terra od in abisso,  
in alto poggio, in valle ima et palustre, [10]  
libero spirto od a' suoi membri affisso;

ponmi con fama oscura o con illustre:  
sarò qual fui, vivrò com' io son visso,  
continuando il moi sospir trilustre.

[‘Place me where the sun kills the flowers and the grass, or where the ice and the snow overcome him; place me where his chariot is temperate and light, or where those dwell who yield him to us or those who take him away; place me in lowly or proud fortune, in sweet clear air or dark and heavy; place me in the night, in day long or short, in ripe maturity or early youth;

place me in Heaven or on earth or in the abyss, on a high mountain, in a deep and swampy valley; make me a free spirit or one fixed in his members;

place me in obscurity or in illustrious fame: still I shall be what I have been, shall live as I have lived, continuing my trilustral sighing.’]

In addition to *P*, where the subscription of [48] to ‘H S’ claims Surrey’s authorship, the poem survives in one other MS: BL, Egerton MS 2230 (*G*). This is a miscellany which was compiled by the London pharmacist Richard Glover in c. 1630, as attested by his signature on the first leaf of the manuscript (Marotti, 1995: 43). *G* is therefore a unique witness to a Surrey sonnet which was still circulating in the seventeenth century. In Tottel, the sonnet is printed in the Surrey section of *T1*, sig. B2<sup>r</sup>, *T2*, sig. B2<sup>r</sup>, and each edition thereafter. Puttenham included a full text of [48] in *A*, sig. 2B3<sup>v</sup>, based on the text in Tottel. He condensed the main theme of [48] in a posy of his own creation (‘Set me wheresouer you will, | I am and wilbe yours still’), and attributed the sonnet, without additional corroboration, to ‘Sir *Thomas Wyat*’. The balance of evidence makes Surrey the probable author.

Nott (I.268) identified the source of [48]. Petrarch’s *Rima* 145 is itself allusive, and draws on several Latin sources. Rollins (II.140) cites Propertius, *Elegies*, 2.15.36 and also the general influence of Horace, *Odes*, I.22.17-24:

pone me pigris ubi nulla campis  
arbor aestiva recreatur aura,  
quod latus mundi nebulae malusque  
Iuppiter urget;  
pone sub curru nimium propinqui  
solis in terra domibus negata:  
dulce ridentem Lalagen amabo,  
dulce loquentem.

[Bennett, 1968: ‘Place me on the lifeless plain where no tree revives under the summer breeze, a region of the world o’er which brood mists and a gloomy sky; set me beneath the chariot of

the sun where it draws too near the earth, in land denied for dwellings! I will love my sweetly laughing, sweetly prattling Lalage.’]

Horace has in common with both Petrarch and Surrey the theme of devotion. In general, Surrey remains close to Petrarch in both structure and content. He picks up on Petrarch’s use of *anaphora*, substituting ‘Set me’ for ‘Ponmi’ at the head of each quatrain in ll. 1, 5, and 9. The ‘Ponmi’ in l. 12 of Petrarch, where it begins the second tercet, is not suitable to the structure of the English sonnet, and Surrey also introduces variation in ll. 3 and 7 with the substitution of ‘in’. For the most part, Surrey reproduces Petrarch’s catalogue of places where the speaker declares his willingness to be placed, though ll. 4 and the first half of l. 12 are his own additions. He also reverses and adds details in ll. 6-7, and gives l. 10 a domestic colouring. Heale notes that Surrey’s use of antithesis in the sonnet is unusual, as it is used to express constancy rather than vacillation (Heale, 1998: 90).

Sessions speculates that [48] is a marriage poem, and may have drawn on the vows that Surrey made when he married Frances de Vere in 1532 (Sessions, 2006: 201). It is possible that [48] had this function, but its status as such cannot be proved. *Rima* 145 clearly enjoyed a popular and more general appeal in the period beyond any obvious use as a marriage poem. Rollins (II.140) notes that translations survive in both Spanish and French as well as English collections. Of the English versions, the most notable survives in the later Elizabethan printed miscellany *The Phoenix Nest* (1593, STC 21516) sig. M1<sup>v</sup>.

- 1        *wheras*] i.e., ‘where’ (‘whereas’, *conj.*, I, 1); the disyllabic word aids the scansion.  
*perche*] parch
- 3        *wheare he...sene*] Surrey’s addition; Nott (I.268) suggested that the phrase ‘felt and sene’ is pleonastic, and compared Turberville’s *Epitaphes, Epigrams, Songs and Sonnets*: ‘Let hir a God both feele and see’ (1567; STC 24327, sig. P2<sup>r</sup>).
- 4        *w<sup>t</sup> prowde...wyse*] Surrey’s addition; the version here is unique to *P*. One possible meaning is ‘among proud people, or in the presence of venerable and wise people’, with ‘sad’ and ‘wise’ serving as synonyms (‘sad’, *adj.*, 3b; 3d).
- 8        *loste*] Surrey’s addition; the version here is unique to *P*, and is a probable scribal error for ‘lusty’ in the other copies, which helps to make the line decasyllabic (see below). Heale, however, defends the *P* reading: ‘[it] gives us the lover’s own perspective in which youth is looked at nostalgically; it is past, it is no longer an alternative’ (Heale, 1998: 90).

- 9 *hell*] renders more concrete Petrarch, ‘in abisso’ (145.9: ‘in the abyss’)
- 10 *flooded*] river, stream (‘flood’, *n.*, 2); together with the rest of the line, the noun serves to anglicise Petrarch’s antithesis between high mountain and low-lying valley.
- 11 *Thrawle, or...large*] i.e., ‘imprisoned or at liberty’ (‘thrall’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, II, 2; ‘large’, *adj.*, Phrases, II. 5); Heale conjectures that Surrey is perhaps referring to one of his own imprisonments in 1537, at Windsor, in 1542, for fighting one John à Leigh, and/or 1543, for the misguided Lenten rampage which preceded [34] (Heale, 1998: 90).
- whersoo*] wherever (‘whereso’, *conj.*, 1)
- 14 *hape*] chance, fortune (‘hap’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)

### Collations

*P* descends independently from the archetype, as does *TI*, on which *T2* and Puttenham’s text in *A* are clearly based. *G* is not fully related to either of *P* or *TI*, and perpetuates errors from both. It may have been concocted from an edition of Tottel and a now-lost MS (indicated by the dashed line to *TI* on the stemma below), though could equally be an entirely independent text of the poem. As a copy dating from *c.* 1630, it suggests that versions of [48] were still circulating well into the seventeenth century. The sonnet may have held an enduring appeal as a devotional and perhaps marriage-themed sonnet.

Edwards argues persuasively that the sustained variation between *P* and *TI-2*, in which only ll. 1, 3, and 11 are invariant, suggests that they represent different drafts of the same poem which Surrey circulated (Edwards, 2012: 37; he does not consider *A* or *G*). *P* would seem to be the earlier and more corrupt witness, as it commits eight errors overall in ll. 6, 7, 8, 9 (x2), 10, and 14, compared to three in ll. 9 (x2) and 14 in *A* and *TI-2*. *P* shares one of its errors, in l. 6, with *G*, as it does substantive variants in ll. 5, 7, 12 (‘yll’/‘ill’), 13 (‘yours’), and 14 (‘hape’/‘hope’). Edwards regards l. 4 in *P*, ‘w<sup>l</sup> prowde people, in presence sad and wise’ as a manifest corruption, as its conjunction is ‘not readily intelligible’ (Edwards, 2012: 37). However, as 4n. above explains, this could be an antithesis which contrasts the proud with the grave/wise, who are described in via the doublet ‘sad and wise’. This reading may therefore have equal legitimacy as ‘In presence prest of people mad or wise’ in *A* and *TI-2*, and is not demonstrably in error. The related version of *G* is also not corrupt here, though the conjunction ‘or’ (‘presence sad or wyse’) does not work as well as ‘in’ in *P*.

The conjunctive error between *P* and *G* in l. 6, both of which give ‘in the long night’, is inferior to ‘in longest night’ in *A* and *TI-2*, which maintains the scansion and supplies a superlative to balance ‘shortest’ in the second half of the line. The lack of a superlative form

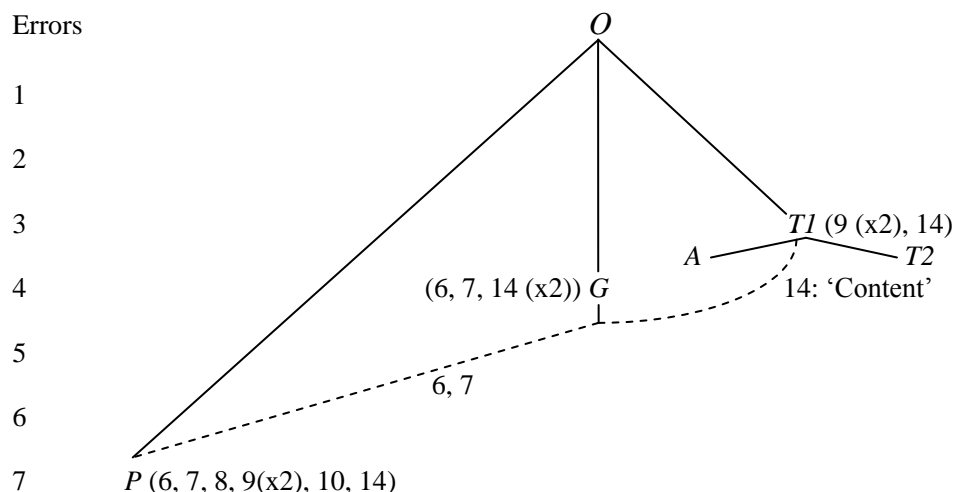
also makes *P*'s 'in clere weather' in l. 7 erroneous, as it does *G*'s 'in fayre weather'. In l. 14, *P* commits the error 'when that', to which *G* is close with 'when all'. Both readings suggest that the speaker's misfortune is occasional, whereas *A*'s and *TI-2*'s variant 'although' stresses its chronic nature. This second reading is arguably preferable in strengthening the antithesis of the couplet between happiness and misfortune.

*A* and *TI-2* share a probable error with *G* in the reading 'Content' in l. 14, which is inferior to 'comfort' in *P*. *G* therefore has four errors overall (ll. 6, 7, and 14 ('content', 'when all')). The three printed texts are twice in error in l. 9 with 'in heauen' and 'els', as is *P* with 'in earthe' and 'yet'. In this line, *G*'s prepositional phrase 'on earthe' is superior, and its suppression of an adverb makes the line decasyllabic instead of hypermetrical.

Title Vow to loue faithfullie howsoever he be rewarded. *TI-2*

- 1 dothe] do *T2*  
 2 or] & *G*; beames] heat *G*; may] do *A TI-2*  
 3 and] or *G*  
 4 w<sup>t</sup> prowde people, in presence sad and wyse] In presence prest of people mad or wise  
*A TI T2*, With people, proude in presence, sad or wise *G*; in presence sad or wise] of  
 people mad or wise *A TI-2*  
 5 base] hye *A TI-2*; highe] low *A TI-2*  
 6 in the long night] In longest night *A TI-2*, In the longest night *G*  
 7 in clere weather] In clearest skie *A TI-2*, In fayre weather *G*; mysts] cloudes *A TI-2*  
 8 loste] lustie *A TI-2 G*; be] are *A TI-2*, grow *G*  
 9 in earthe] in heauen *A TI-2*, on earthe *G*; heauen] earth *A TI-2*; yet] els *A TI-2*, *om.*  
*G*  
 10 in dale] or dale *A G TI-2*  
 12 yll] euill *A TI-2*; or in] or *A TI-2*  
 13 yours] Hers *A TI-2*; and w<sup>t</sup> that onely thought] and onely with this thought *A TI-2*,  
 and in that onely thought *G*  
 14 comfort] Content *A G TI-2*; when that] although *A TI-2*, when all *G*; hape] chaunce  
*A TI-2*, hope *G*; is] be *A TI-2*

Subscription H S *P*



[49]

In addition to *P*, where the subscription of [49] to ‘H S’ claims Surrey’s authorship, the poem survives in Tottel, where it is printed in the Surrey section of *T1*, sig. D2<sup>r</sup>, *T2*, sig. D4<sup>v</sup>, and each edition thereafter. Puttenham printed ll. 2 and 4 of [49], with some variants, in his section on the dactyl in *A*, sig. P3<sup>r</sup>. Drayton printed excerpts from ll. 10-12 in *Dr1*, sig. N3<sup>v</sup>; *Dr2*, sig. N5<sup>v</sup>; *Dr3*, sig. N3<sup>r</sup>; *Dr4*, sig. N3<sup>r</sup>; and *BW*, sig. N3<sup>r</sup>.

Like poem [45], [49] is a sonnet epitaph which both commemorates Wyatt and dispraises his enemies. Jentoft therefore describes it as another ‘satiric elegy’ (Jentoft, 1976: 27). Rollins (II.134) and Jones (124) identify Edmund Bonner and Simon Heynes as the object of Surrey’s attack in l. 3 (see [45] Headnote). Jentoft notes the compact rhetorical structure of [49], in particular its dependence on the rhetorical figure of *partitio* or *merismus*, which distributes the sonnet’s argument into parts (1976: 28). The first line serves as a *propositio* which summarises its theme. The remainder of the sonnet has a tripartite structure in which the octave is in effect split into two quatrains which differentiate types of false mourner for Wyatt (in ll. 1-4 and 5-8). In the sestet, Surrey contrasts his own (or his speaker’s) authentic grief which is based on his privileged access to Wyatt’s thoughts.

Surrey’s makes his characterisation of the the false mourners for Wyatt via two classical allusions. The first, in l. 4, draws on Plutarch’s *Lives* and Lucan’s *Pharsalia* to give the the account of Caesar weeping bogus tears over his rival Pompey’s severed head (compare [22].1-4 and n.). Jentoft describes the logical relationship between the false mourners associated with Caesar and the bloodthirsty mourners of ll. 5-8, who are comparable to the assassins of Caesar

(Jentoft, 1976: 28). Surrey's second allusion is to the Pyramus and Thisbe narrative in Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, 4.5, through he warps the chronology of the episode to identify himself as Pyramus and Wyatt as the female Thisbe. Crewe, among others, discusses the fact that the allusion transforms Wyatt metaphorically into a female lover (Crewe, 1990: 147).

1 *Dyvers...bemone*] Compare Chaucer, *CT*, *RvT*.3858: 'Diverse folk diversely they seyde'.

*livelye hedd*] probably 'vigorous mind' ('lively', *adj.*, 3a; 1c). Surrey praises Wyatt's intelligence in 'Wyat resteth here':

A hed where widsom misteries did frame;  
Whose hammers bet styl in that lively brayn  
As on a stithe, where that some work of fame  
Was dayly wrought to turne to Britaines gayn.

(Jones, 1964: [28].5-8)

4 *yeld Cesars...hedd*] Compare Sackville's 'Induction': 'With conquerours hands forbathe in their owne blood | And Cesar weeping over Pompeyes head' (*Myrrour*, 1563, sig. R2<sup>v</sup>). Sackville's borrowings in [40] and [44] too suggest that he knew Surrey's canon well.

5 *murdrers*] murderer's; the disyllabic form of the word makes the line octo- rather than decasyllabic.

*murdrers knyfe*] Compare Sackville's tragedy of Buckingham: 'Loe Bessus he that armde with murderers knyfe' (*Myrrour*, 1563, sig. S3<sup>f</sup>).

6 *drynke the...blood*] For the image, compare Surrey, [52].46, and Sackville's tragedy of Buckingham: 'Yet we that were so drowned in the depth | Of diepe desyre to drinke the gyltles blud' (*Myrrour*, 1563, sig. S4<sup>f</sup>).

7 *practyse*] underhand tricks ('practice', *n.*, 5a)

*happye*] fortuitous ('happy', *adj.*, 2a; 5a), so considered because it forestalled the murderous scheming of Wyatt's enemies

10-12 *what vertues...rest*] Walker points out that Surrey's imagery here, as in ll. 37-38 of 'Wyat resteth here', draws on the language of late medieval affective (Catholic) piety.

12 *and kysse...rest*] The line adapts Chaucer, *T&C*, 5.1791-1792: 'And kis the steppes where as thow seest pace | Virgile, Ovid, Omer, Lucan, and Stace.' Surrey here perhaps offers a double homage, praising Wyatt's commendable life and, via the allusion to Chaucer, his verse.



- 13      *vaporde eyes*] For the phrase, compare Surrey, [40].12.  
*avayle*] For the phrase, compare Surrey, [33].30.

### Collations

*P* descends independently of *T1-2*, which are clearly related, and is marginally the inferior witness, with two errors compared to one in Tottel. The sestet in each of these copies is invariant, which suggests that the sonnet may have been transmitted in a relatively stable form. *P*'s errors are 'sowne' in l. 3, against 'swolne' in *T1-2*, the second of which offers a better metaphor for the increase of the enemies' envy; and 'the' in l. 6 against 'thy' in *T1-2*. The single error in Tottel is 'With' in l. 8 against 'weape', which deprives the line of its main verb.

Of the excerpted witnesses, Puttenham's version of ll. 2 and 4 do not match any of the full copies, and suggest that he either used a substantive text unrelated to those extant or free-handedly revised the lines himself to illustrate his observations on the working of the dactyl. The same pertains to Drayton's excerpt of ll. 10-12, which contains the three substantive variants 'thy' (l. 10), 'that England' (l. 11), and 'did' (l. 12). Like several of those in [33], [39], and [44], these are most probably Drayton's own emendations to suit the excerpted form of the line. The second in particular expresses a national pride in Wyatt's verse which is absent from *P* and *T1-2*. This is a sentiment which may be latent in Surrey's line, the full expression of which Drayton could only make from the vantage point of the 1590s, when English verse had a wider range of poetic achievements to its name.

Title      Of the same sir T.w. *T1-2* [title refers back to [44]]

- 2      some] full manie *A*; that] thy *T1-2*; livelye hedd] liuelyhed *T1-2*  
3      sowne] swolne *T1-2*  
4      yeld] Shed *A*  
5      murders] murdrers *T1-2*  
6      the] thy *T1-2*  
8      weape] With *T1-2*  
10     that] thy *BW Dr1-4*  
11     the place that] that England *BW Dr1-4*  
12     doth] did *BW Dr1-4*

Subscription H S *P*

[50]-[59]

## BIBLICAL PARAPHRASES BY HENRY HOWARD, EARL OF SURREY

Poems [50]-[59] in *P* comprise all but one of Surrey's known biblical paraphrases: [50]-[54] are his versions of Ecclesiastes 1-5; and [55]-[59] his versions of Psalms 88, 73, and 55, together with two prologues addressed respectively to Sir Anthony Denny ([55]) and Sir George Blage ([57]). The single omission is Surrey's paraphrase of Ps. 8, which survives alone in *AH*, fol. 52<sup>r</sup>. Charles Huttar also assigned paraphrases of Pss 31 and 51 to Surrey (Huttar, 1965: 9-18). These were printed in the miscellany of moralistic verse formerly assigned to Thomas Sternhold, *Certayne Chapters of the prouerbes of Salamon* (1549/50; STC 2760), sigs F2<sup>v</sup>-F7<sup>v</sup> (*S*), and Francis Seager's collection *Certayne Psalmes select out of the Psalter of Dauid* (1553; STC 2728), sigs A6<sup>v</sup>-B6<sup>r</sup> (*SC*). Despite Huttar citing internal evidence which possibly suggests Surrey's authorship of these paraphrases, only McGaw (75, 78) has accepted them authoritatively as his. *P* and *AH* are the only known sixteenth-century witnesses to [53]-[55] and [57]-[59]; neither MS carries subscriptions to Surrey, but both place the paraphrases in their respective Surrey groupings. Copies of [50]-[52], run together as one poem, survive in *S*, sigs E1<sup>r</sup>-F2<sup>v</sup>, alongside a separate and substantive copy of [56], sigs F1<sup>r</sup>-F2<sup>v</sup>. Seager also included a version of [56], taken from *S*, in *SC*, sigs A3<sup>r</sup>-A6<sup>r</sup>, which he expanded free-handedly into fourteeners to create a musical setting. Neither *S* nor *SC* ascribe their copies to Surrey.

John Bale, Archbishop Matthew Parker, and Puttenham independently assigned [50] to Surrey in the sixteenth century. Bale did so in the MS version of his *Illustrium Maioris Britanniae Scriptorum* (1548):

Henricus Howard, comes de Surrey, vir ingenioissimus carminibus Anglicus elucidauit.  
Ecclesiastien, li. I. 'Ego Salomon filius Dauidus regis'  
Quosdam psalmos, li. I.

[‘Henry Howard, count of Surrey, the most ingenious man who enlightened English poems.  
Ecclesiastes, li. i. “I Solomon, King David’s son”  
Certain psalms, li. I.’]

(Bale, 1990: 161-162)<sup>42</sup>

Parker excerpted ll. 43-44 of [50] in *The Whole Psalter translated into English Metre* (1567; STC 2729), and appended the title ‘Henrie Haward Earle of Surrie | in his Ecclesiastices’ (sig.

<sup>42</sup> The translation is my own.

G2<sup>v</sup>). In the *Arte*, Puttenham printed a garbled version of [50].1, from ‘the earl of Surrey translating the book of the preacher’, which he cites as an example of the alexandrine (sig. K4<sup>v</sup>). He then proceeds to improve upon it in order to illustrate the workings of that line (see Collations to [50]). All three ascriptions provide strong evidence that [50] is a Surrey poem. Bale’s reference in the *Illustrium* to ‘Quosdam psalmos’ may claim Surrey’s authorship of the other biblical paraphrases in *P* and *AH*, which share the same sources, and frequently draw on the same fund of phrases. The four surviving witnesses of [50]-[52] and [56], coupled with the range of excerpts and allusions to [50], suggests that Surrey’s biblical paraphrases enjoyed some circulation in manuscript.

Park printed [50]-[59] from *P* in *NA3*, II, pp. 339-371, where he accepted their attribution to Surrey, as did Nott (I.66-86) in his edition of Surrey. The paraphrases have since been discussed in the editions of Padelford (1966), Hughey (1960), Jones (1964), and McGaw (2012); and as part of studies by, *inter alia*, Bapst (1891), Berdan (1920), Casady (1938), Mason (1959), Sessions (1986; 1996; 2003), Zim (1987), Heale (1998), Hamlin (2004), Walker (2005), and Simpson (2002; 2007).

## Date

The strong consensus since Nott is that Surrey wrote both sets of paraphrases in 1546 and possibly January 1546/7: this was the final year of Surrey’s life before his execution on charges on treason on 19 January 1546/7, and one of ferment in which the words of the Bible perhaps held an especially powerful resonance for him. On 19 February 1545/6, Surrey was stripped of his position of Lieutenant-General of Land and Sea in Boulogne, and summoned back to Court. He returned with both his own standing and that of the Howards imperilled by the manoeuvrings of political rivals, especially influential Protestant reformers who occupied prominent posts in the Privy Council and Chamber (‘Howard, Henry, earl of Surrey, *ODNB*). Among the high-profile reformers at Court were Denny, the dedicatee of Surrey’s paraphrase of Ps. 88; and Blage, the dedicatee of Ps. 73 (see Headnote to [55], [57]). As a family associated with Catholicism, the Howards’ place in a future protectorate was a chief concern of the reformers. Surrey’s decision to dedicate Ps. 88 to Denny and Ps. 73 to Blage raises questions about his motives and religious stance in the paraphrases, both of which have proved difficult to define.

Surrey’s return to Court and the enforced leisure it provided is one period during which he may have turned to paraphrase. The themes of Eccles. 1-5 in particular, which focus

on the vanities of wordly ambition and the transience of earthly dynasties, fit this context. The second period in which Surrey had time and motive to undertake the paraphrases was his final imprisonment between 12 December 1546 and his execution on 19 January 1546/7. Prior to his committal to the Tower, Surrey apparently advised his sister Mary to become Henry VIII's mistress and advance both her family and friends to positions of power. Then on December 2 1546, Surrey's associate Richard Southwell brought forth evidence against Surrey (*ODNB*). None of his charges were brought forward in Surrey's trial on 31 December; instead, he was indicted of treason on the sole charge that he had displayed in his own heraldry the royal arms and insignia, with three labels silver (*ODNB*). This was despite the fact that Surrey and his family had hitherto claimed the right to bear these arms unchallenged on account of their own descent from royalty. Numerous friends and relatives deposed at Surrey's trial, including his sister, Sir Edward Warner (the possible subject of [38]), Sir Gawain Carew, and Edward Rogers.<sup>43</sup> Surrey's execution was the final one in Henry VIII's reign.

Commentators have disagreed on the date of Surrey's paraphrases of Eccles. 1-5. Bapst argued that Surrey composed them during his final imprisonment (Bapst, 1891: 360-361). Padelford (42) supported this claim, as did Casady, who conjectured that Surrey wrote the Eccles. paraphrases after the psalms (1938: 209). On the other hand, Nott (I.377) and Hughey (II.101) suggested that Surrey undertook them in the spring of summer of 1546, shortly after his return from Boulogne. More recently, Heale and Sessions have echoed the second position; Heale speculates that paraphrasing Eccles. 1-5 perhaps gave Surrey the opportunity to discipline his mind in the wake of his return to Court (Heale, 1998: 173; Sessions, 2006: 354-357). The spring or early summer of 1546 seems almost certain given the likelihood, which Mason first noted, that a passage in Surrey's version of Eccles. 3 influenced a ballad by the Protestant martyr Anne Askew, who was burned in July 1546 (Mason, 1959: 244; see Headnote to [52]).

Critics have uniformly dated Surrey's paraphrases of Pss 88, 73, and 55 to his imprisonment. Hughey (II.108) voiced the consensus that the order of the paraphrases as they are preserved in *P* and *AH* (Pss 88, 73, 55), which as a sequence moves from repentance to bitter remonstrations against the betrayal of enemies, represents the order in which Surrey composed them. As Zim has argued, psalm paraphrase was a common undertaking in prison: the roll call of high-profile figures who undertook paraphrase while in the Tower include Sir

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<sup>43</sup> These depositions are all contained in NA, PRO SP1/227.

Thomas More and Wyatt (Zim, 1987: 80-112). The paraphrases by the Dudley brothers John and Robert are preserved in *AH*, fol. 209<sup>r-v</sup>, as are those by Sir Thomas Smith, fol. 225<sup>r</sup>. It is probable that Surrey's psalm paraphrases belong to this tradition.

### Sources

Surrey used five principal sources in [50]-[59]. The first is the fourth-century Latin Vulgate Bible (hereafter Vulgate). In general, Surrey's paraphrases follow the Vulgate texts closely, though supplement them with his own additions or through recourse to his other sources. Surrey's second and third sources are English Bible translations: the Coverdale Bible, published in 1535 (STC 2063), and its successor, the state-sponsored Great Bible of 1539 (STC 2068; STC 2069). Both the Coverdale Bible and Great Bible occasionally guide Surrey with regard to sense or phrasing, particularly in [50] and [59].

Surrey's fourth source is perhaps the most influential on his paraphrases, and was first identified by Mason (Mason, 1959: 241-248). Surrey alludes consistently and at length to the Latin paraphrases of Eccles. and the Psalter by the Lutheran cleric and Hebrew scholar Jan van Campen (Joannes Campensis, hereafter Campensis), who was a follower of the famous Hebraist Johann Reuchlin. Campensis' paraphrases were first published in 1532 under the title *Enchiridion Psalmorum*, though it is more probable that Surrey consulted the 1534 edition *Psalmorum omnium*, to which is added later in the title: *paraphrasis in Concionem Salomonis Ecclesiaste succinctissima* (STC 2354, hereafter 'PO'). Surrey's use of Campensis suggests two conclusions. First, Wyatt's penitential psalms also draw on Campensis, and it is possible that Surrey followed Wyatt's example. Second, Surrey's decision to borrow from the paraphrases of an avowedly Lutheran scholar perhaps bespeaks his own religious convictions, even if Campensis' paraphrase in general avoids explicit references to Protestant ideas. In those passages of [50]-[59] where Surrey departs from the Vulgate, Campensis tends to be his model. Surrey's final principal source is Coverdale's translation of Campensis, which was printed in 1539 as *A Paraphrasis vpon all the Psalmes of Dauid, made by Iohannes Campensis, reader of the Hebrue lecture in the vniuersite of Louane, and translated out of Latine into Englysshe* (STC 2372.6, hereafter 'PD'). Because Coverdale does not render Campensis' version of Eccles., Surrey only consulted his paraphrases of Pss. 88, 73, and 55. As with the Coverdale Bible and Great Bible, the influence of Coverdale's translation is primarily at the level of sense and phrasing.

### Note on the Paraphrases in *P*

Each of poems [50]-[54], [56], and [58] are composed in poulter's measure. The dedication to Denny ([55]) is an *ottava rima* stanza, and that to Blage a cross-rhyming twelve-line poem with a terminal couplet. Surrey composed [59] in an unrhymed iambic hexameter for which Ringler's *Bibliography* (Ringler, 1992: 271) and the *Index* (III.2118) cite no earlier users.

Recent critical treatment of Surrey's biblical paraphrases has focused on the extent to which Surrey co-opts the voices of Kings Solomon and David in these poems, together with the balance the paraphrases strike between spiritual and political aims. There is no evidence that the paraphrases of Eccles. 1-5 were addressed to Surrey's friends or potential political allies. They may have had a personal application, allowing Surrey to turn the lessons of Solomon to his own situation and that of the Howards in the changing political climate of 1546. See, for instance, the possible reference to his own grand architectural project, Surrey House, in [51], ll. 11-17. However, Simpson argues that Surrey's motivation in [50]-[54] is also political. He draws a parallel between [44] and the Eccles. paraphrases to suggest that both target Henry VIII as a sovereign in need of a Solomon-like reformation (Simpson, 2007: 157). Passages like those in [52], ll. 43-48, which envision 'wronge' on the throne, may suggest something of the anti-monarchical thrust of [50]-[54].

The paraphrases of Pss 88, 73, and 55 appear more personal than those of Eccles 1-5. Surrey chose psalms that emphasise the psalmist's isolation, moving from repentance and sorrow at his abandonment by former friends in [56] to his corruscating exclamations against duplicitous enemies and a treacherous world in [58]-[59]. As much as these paraphrases may seem to speak to Surrey alone, however, the dedication of [56] to Denny, and [58] to Blage, shows that Surrey intended them for other readers beside himself. Much of the recent critical work on [56] and [58]-[59] has focused on their seemingly multiple aims and tensions. As Mason first noted, the paraphrases are laden with words with Protestant associations, as Surrey claims communion with God's 'elect' ([56].24, [58].21), 'chosen' ([58].34), and 'iust' ([58].21) (1959: 241-244).<sup>44</sup> Simpson cites these recurrent terms as evidence of Surrey's private and strongly-held Protestant beliefs (2007: 160). Heale, however, has argued that they may be strategic, and have a more immediate and secular purpose: first, of moving Denny and Blage, as powerful men in the Privy Chamber, to intercede for Surrey and secure his release from the Tower, and, second, of convincing them

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<sup>44</sup> In his paraphrase of *Eccles.* 4, Surrey also adds details which apparently allude to Protestant articles of belief. See Headnote to [53].

that, as a like-minded Protestant, he was not a political threat (Heale, 1998: 177-184). Yet these outward-reaching aspirations sit uneasily with Surrey's disparagement of all earthly relationships in [56] and [58]-[59], which adduce God as the sole source of trust and succour. The uncertain tone and purpose of the psalm paraphrases is one of their keynotes.

### Relationship between *P* and *AH*

The arrangement of [50]-[59] in *P* and *AH* is different. Whereas in *P*, Surrey's paraphrases of Eccles. 1-5 precede Pss 88, 73, and 55, in *AH* they are in the reverse order, headed by the unique text of Ps. 8, and with the Psalm (fols 52<sup>v</sup>-54<sup>r</sup>) and Eccles. (fols 55<sup>r</sup>-59<sup>r</sup>) paraphrases punctuated by Surrey's poem 'Good ladies'. The textual evidence suggests that the two MSS had a common source but also, as Hughey (I.41) demonstrates, that the *P* texts of [50]-[59] were checked consistently against the copies in *AH* and corrected to bring them in line with that MS. These corrections are made primarily by the main scribal hands in the sequence, Hand B (for [50]-[54]) and Hand C (for [55]-[59]), perhaps under the direction of the elder Harington or Sir John. This measure prevents the poems in *P* from being much less corrupt than they otherwise would have been. The example below is typical:

[52].55

*AH*      The perfect forme that god / thath [sic] geven to either man  
*P*         The perfitt forme that god, hathe <ether> geuen to ^ether^ man

Hughey (I.41) took examples from [52].10 and [53].13. All the corrected readings in [50]-[59] made in accordance with *AH* are noted in the individual Collations below.

The relationship between the copies of [56] in *P* and *AH* has an additional consideration which does not affect the paraphrases. Certain of the readings in the *P* text of this poem match original readings in *AH* which the main scribe has then revised. Hughey (I.42) cited the examples of [56].4 and 24:

[56].4

*AH*      so pearce thyne eares as in thie sight/ some favour it may fynde  
*P*         so perce thyne eares that in thy sight som fauour it may fynde  
 (*AH*: 'as' written over 'that')

[56].24

*AH*      nor suche setforth thie praise as dwell/ in the land of dispaire  
*P*         nor suche sett forth thy faith as dwell in the land of dispaire  
 (*AH*: 'praise' written over 'faith')

She noted (II.103) that the *AH* scribe may either have consulted another MS copy of [56] and [58]-[59] to which Hand C in *P* did not have access, or that the revisions were introduced by the scribe himself or at the behest of another reviser. On the basis that *S* shares these variants also, the Collations below suggest that *AH*'s source was one related to *S*. This indicates that *S* is a substantive witness, and that [56] at least circulated widely enough to develop different lines of textual descent.

In *NA3*, II, Park adopted the order of [50]-[59] in *P* and transcribed the paraphrases with little substantive variation from the *P* texts.<sup>45</sup> Variant readings are noted in the individual Collations below. All English translations of Campensis' Eccles. 1-5 are my own. The translations in [56] and [58]-[59] are taken from Coverdale's translation (*PD*).

## [50]

Poem [50] is Surrey's paraphrase of Eccles. 1. In general, Surrey remains close to the Vulgate, and there are fewer apparent departures or additions in the poem, particularly those with a personal application, than are made in [51]-[53], the paraphrases of Eccles. 2-4. When not following the Vulgate, Surrey's model is usually Campensis. Jones (154) prints Campensis' version of Eccles. 1:1-10, on which Surrey's ll. 10 and possibly 24 are based, to illustrate how closely Surrey followed this source in this poem.

- 2        *Chossen by...them*] Surrey's addition; Jones (155) notes that the line constitutes a gloss of the single word 'Ecclesiastes', i.e., 'the preacher'.
- 5        *Adams Childeren*] i.e., humankind, described through *antonomasia*; for the phrase, compare Surrey, [52].37-38.
- 6        *sweate of browes*] For the phrase, compare Surrey, [53].12.  
*trauill*] labour, toil ('travail', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1); the noun is Surrey's addition.
- 9        *remoue*] i.e., 'change place' ('remove', *v.*, 1d); compare Isaiah 54:10: 'The mountaynes shall remoue, & the the hilles shal fall downe' (*Bible*, sig. 3D1<sup>r</sup>).
- 10       *sarues*] serves

<sup>45</sup> The page references for each paraphrase in *NA3*, II, are as follows: Eccles. 1, pp. 339-342; Eccles. 2, pp. 343-348; Eccles. 3, pp. 348-352; Eccles. 4, pp. 352-356; Eccles. 5, pp. 356-360; Dedication to Denny, p. 360; Ps. 88, pp. 361-363; Dedication to Blage, p. 364.; Ps. 73, pp. 364-368; Ps. 55, pp. 368-372.



- too play...vppon]* adapts Campensis, 1:3: ‘veluti theatrum, in quo haec fabula peragitur’ (‘just like a theatre, in which this story is played out’)
- 11-12 *when that...begonne]* a possible allusion to Wyatt, ‘So feble is the threde’:
- Westward the sonne from owt th’est skant doth shew his lyght,  
When in the west he hydys hym straitte within the darke of nyght;  
And coms as fast where he began his path a wrye  
From est to west, from west to thest so doth his jornei ly.  
(M&T: XCVIII.17-29)
- 13 *h<sup>o</sup>^orrey boreas]* Greek god of the north wind and winter
- 14 *Zephirus w<sup>t</sup>...breathe]* Compare Chaucer, *CT*, *GP*.5: ‘Whan Zephirus eek with his sweete breeth’. Zephyrus was the god of the west wind and spring. Both this allusion and that to ‘boreas’ are Surrey’s additions.
- 15 *broks]* brooks
- rage]* violence, but with a possible pun on ‘flood’ (‘rage’, *n.*, 1a, 2d)
- 16 *w<sup>ch</sup> them...again]* The seas at first repel the current of the river, which has swelled up with small brooks and rain, before then swallowing it. Surrey is referring here to the currents one finds in estuaries, where the water can seem to be flowing backward at times.
- 18 *skace]* scarcely
- byde]* abide (‘bide’, *v.*, 2a)
- so littell space]* i.e., ‘such a short period of time’ (‘space’, *n.*, 1a)
- 20 *what new...suer]* i.e., ‘what new human creation is grounded so certainly[...]?’ (‘device’, *n.*, 7a)
- 23 *brute]* fame (‘bruit’, *n.*, 3)
- 24 *dey]* die
- as now...call]* Jones (155) notes the allusion to Campensis, 1:10: ‘quae nunc stulti miramur’ (‘which now the foolish marvel at’).
- simple]* ordinary people, people of little learning (‘simple’, *adj.*, 5; 9a)
- 28 *suerty]* certainty (‘surety’, *n.*, 4a; 4b); compare Surrey, [52].31.
- 29-30 *this kyndled...hier]* i.e., ‘God has implanted [‘graft’] in our greedy hearts this excited [‘kyndled’] will to knowledge, to desires things yet unknown [‘straunge’]; for our payment [‘hier’], therefore, he has given us a torment’ (‘graft’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1b; ‘strange’, *adj.*, 7; ‘hire’, *n.*, 1; 2). The passage renders Campensis, 1:13:

13: Hoc molestum cognoscendi studium, immisit deus in animos hominum vt eo se torqueant.

(*PO*, sigs 2C1<sup>v</sup>-2C2<sup>f</sup>)

[13: ‘God has inserted this tiresome knowledge in the hearts of men so that it may torment them.’]

34 *Whiche*] looks back to ‘defaults’

35 *vaunting*] boasting, bragging; compare Surrey, [58].16.

*gan*] began (‘gin’, *v.*<sup>l</sup>, 1)

37 *contraries*] i.e., those of ‘wysdom’ ([50].36) and ‘follies’ ([50].38)

41 *doth applie...mynd*] a possible rendering of Coverdale’s version of Eccles. 1:13: ‘Yee my hert had greate experience of wisdome & knowlege, for there vnto I applied my mynde’ (*Bible*, sig. 2H5<sup>f</sup>).

43-44 *And such...assure*] renders Campensis, 1:18:

18: Qui enim conatur supra modum sapiens fieri, plurime valde ingrata: & quae ad priorem eruditionem aliquid addere volet, id sine magna molestia non perficiet.’

(*PO*, sig. 2C2<sup>f</sup>)

[18: ‘for the person who endeavours to become wise above his custom, has an exceeding and most thankless task: & he who desires to add something to his previous learning, may not accomplish it without great troubles.’]

43 *in ure*] into use (‘ure’, *n.*<sup>l</sup>, 1a); compare Surrey, ‘When ragyng love’: ‘The pleasant spring straight draweth in ure’ (Jones: [1].28).

### Collations

*P* and *AH* (fol. 55<sup>r-v</sup>) descend independently of the copy in *S* (sigs E1<sup>r</sup>-E2<sup>v</sup>), which, like its versions of [51], [52], and [56], divides the poulter’s measure into four-line units of six, six, eight, and six syllables, to resemble ballad metre. *S* has five independent errors in ll. 6 (‘the trauell’, ‘the mynde’), 10 (the ammetrical ‘partes’), 24 (‘y<sup>e</sup>’/‘y<sup>t</sup>’), 32 (‘it’), and 35 (‘wyl’). Neither *P* nor *AH* contain any manifest errors. The major substantive variant between them in l. 24, where *P* has ‘Euen so’ and *AH* ‘even’, is probably not corrupt in either case. In *AH*, the variant begins the line with a substitute trochaic foot, which is relatively common in Surrey’s prosody (compare ‘Chossen’ in [50].2). *P*’s additional syllable could make the line hypermetrical, but ‘Euen’ may well be scanned as a monosyllable. Surrey twice utilises a monosyllabic ‘euen’ in his paraphrase of Eccles. 2 ([51].3 and 55), which lends support to

this speculation. The corrected readings in ll. 22, 24, 26, 27, 32, 35, and 37 all indicate that *P* was checked against *AH* and revised accordingly.

As cited above, Puttenham printed l. 1 as an alexandrine in *A* (sig. K4<sup>v</sup>), but omitted the first syllable ('I') and criticised the metre for beginning on a trisyllable ('Solomon') rather than two monosyllables or a disyllable. The missing 'I' may have been transmitted from his source, but it is possible that Puttenham manipulated the line to better illustrate his theme and introduce his own version: 'Robohom Dauids sonne king of Ierusalem'.

Title Cap 1. Eccles.:] Eccles: Cap. 1. *AH*, CAP. I *NA3*, In this chapter doth Salomon, proue all thinges uaine to be: Whiche raineth vnderneath the sonne, saue onely gods trueth and ueritie *S*

- 1 I] *om. A*  
 4 man he] that man *S*  
 6 and trauill] the trauell *S*; their mynde] the mynde *S*  
 10 tragedes] partes *S*  
 12 hasts] hyes *S*  
 13 boreas] Bore as *S*  
 22 A<...>s] As *AH*, Hath *S*  
 24 Euen so] even *AH*; as] y<sup>e</sup> [or y<sup>t</sup>] *S*  
 26 ^my^ uoyce] my voyce *AH*  
 27 <straunge> ^all^] all *AH*  
 32 them] it *S*; ^uaine^ mixed] vayne mixed *AH*  
 33 wo^r^ke] workes *S*  
 34 floods] floude *S*  
 35 witte] wyl *S*; <gall> ^gan^] gan *AH*  
 37 <that elders> and] And *AH*

## [51]

Poem [51] is Surrey's paraphrase of Eccles. 2. The piece is freer than [50], though even its major departures from the Vulgate and Campensis retain their influence. Lines 11-17, as an expansion of the Vulgate, Eccles. 2:4-6, are illustrative:

Vulgate 4. magnificavi opera mea aedificavi mihi domos plantavi vineas.

5. feci hortos et pomeria et consevi ea cuncti generis arboribus.

6. extruxi mihi piscinas aquarum ut inrigarem silvam lignorum germinantium.

Bible 4. I made gorgious fayre workes. I buylded me houses, and planted vynyardes.

5. I made me orchardes and gardens of pleasure, and planted trees in them of all maner frutes.

6. I made poles of water, to water y<sup>e</sup> grene and frutefull trees withall.

(sig. 2H5<sup>v</sup>)

Surrey follows the general sense of his source, but adds l. 12 and may give the passage a personal resonance through an allusion to his own large-scale building project, Surrey House. This was a palatial building constructed atop St Leonard's Hill (Mount Surrey), which commanded a strategically powerful view over Norwich. Nothing now survives of the House, which was seized after Surrey's execution, though Sessions dicusses several documents which make reference to the building (Sessions, 2006: 145-173). A more external reference may also be present in ll. 11-17. The lines possibly dray an analogy between Solomon's ambitious architectural ventures and those that Henry VIII made in his reign, most notably in the construction of Nonsuch palace in *c.* 1538.

1 *pensif fanzies*] pensive fancies

*gan*] began ('gin', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)

*reuoke*] call back ('revoke', *v.*, 1a)

5 *then sought...wine*] renders Campensis, Eccles. 2:3: 'Statui itaque apud animum meum, longis conviviis & multo vino corpus meum mollitere curare' (2:3: 'And so I decided in my mind to enfeeble my body through long parties and to provide for it with much wine')

- 6 *rare delights...fine*] For the rhetorical construction, which places a second adjective after the noun it is modifying, compare Surrey, [44].7.
- 7 *too purchace*] to gain
- 9 *soddaine stormes*] For the phrase, compare Surrey, [57].1.
- 10 *compasse*] accomplish (‘compass’, *v.*, 11a)
- 11 *cure*] care
- 12 *still*] always (‘still’, *adv.*, 3a)
- 14 *grafte*] Grafting was the horticultural process of inserting shoots from one tree into another tree, most often from the same species (‘graft’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a).
- 15 *condits*] conduits, channels
- 18 *Bondmen*] slaves, servants (‘bond man’, *n.*, 2)  
*saru’d*] served
- 19-20 *greate heapes...haue*] renders Campensis, 2:8: ‘Congregauī mihi argentums & aurum, & ea quae proprie pertinent ad reges & prouinciarum dominos’
- 23 *lemans*] concubines (‘leman’, *n.*, 2)
- 25 *erste*] at first, at an earlier time (‘erst’, *adv.*, 3; 4a)
- 27-30 *from my...gaine*] adapts Campensis, 2:10:

10. Quicquid ex his oculis putauī fore gratum, illis obtuli, nihil ab eis abscondens: nec auocauī cor meum ab ullo laetitiae: quin potius animus explet se quantum potest oblectatione harum rerum, quae tanto studio conquisitae sunt.

(*PO*, sig. 2C3<sup>r</sup>)

- 31 *compte*] account, aphetic to aid the scansion (‘account’, *n.*, 1)
- 33 *that abused fier*] Surrey’s addition. The meaning is unclear; Jones (156) suggests ‘feelings of pride or vainglory’.
- 35-40 *but freshe...aboue*] expands on Campensis, 2:12:

12. Iterum me conuertī ad ea, ut saltem viderem quanta sapientia usus essem in omnibus illis: & deprehendi in vino insaniam multam, & in reliquis manifestam stultitiam: Quid enim est homo, vt imitation regis dei, aliquid magni conetur, cum nullam quantumuis paruam ex omnibus rebus quas ille innumeras fecit, aequare posset?

(*PO*, sigs 2C3<sup>r-v</sup>)

- 38 *licor of...grape*] i.e., wine; Nott (I.381) pointed out a parallel phrase in Wyatt, ‘My mothers maydes’ ‘And when she list the licor of the grape | doeth glad her hert’ (M&T: CVI.29).

- 41 *craft*] skill, workmanship ('craft', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a)
- 43 *lighsome*] probable scribal error for 'lightsome', i.e., 'light-giving' ('lightsome', *adj.*<sup>2</sup>, 1a)
- 45 *mots*] motes, particles of dust ('mote', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a); compare Matthew 7:3: 'Why seist thou a moate in thy brothers eye, and perceauest not the beame y<sup>t</sup> is yn thine awne eye?' (*Bible*, 2A4<sup>r</sup>).
- 51 *to sha<sup>r</sup>pe*] to sharpen
- 53 *brute*] fame ('bruit', *n.*, 3)
- 54 *be time*] early ('betime', *adv.*, 1)
- rgarde*] probable scribal error for 'regarde'
- 55 *eun*] probable scribal error for 'euen', though it could be an indication of the pronunciation required to keep the metre
- 58 *fattal thred*] The trope of life as a thread was a sixteenth-century commonplace. Compare Surrey, [56].9, and [69].21-22.
- 66 *charged*] burdened, loaded ('charge', *v.*, 1a)
- 71 *gladsome*] pleasant ('gladsome', *adj.*, 1); for the adjective, compare Surrey, [54].7.
- 76, 78 *sumptius, Liberally*] picks up on 'sumptuosior' ('more sumptuous') and 'liberalior' ('more liberally') in Campensis, 2:25
- 77-82 *sewerly it...frute*] expands on Campensis, 2:26:

26. Certe homini cui bene volet dues, dabit eam prudentiam, & eam sapientiam, vt audeat vti rebus suis: peccatori autem immittet sollicitudinem augendi, et coaceruandi in vsus illius quem dues illa accipere volet: quare neque hoc insigni caret vanitate.  
(*PO*, sig. 2C4<sup>v</sup>)

- 77 *sewerly*] surely
- 81-82 *but I...frute*] The syntax is elliptical; the lines apparently mean: 'But I, whose riches are famous, know by proof that secure wealth, and wealth that has been hoarded, may be wasted.'

### Collations

*P* and *AH* (fols 55<sup>v</sup>-56<sup>v</sup>) descend independently of *S* (sigs E2<sup>v</sup>-E6<sup>r</sup>), which is a corrupt text with fourteen errors.<sup>46</sup> Chief among these are the misprint 'wordely' in l. 47 for 'worldly' in *AH* and *P*, and the ametrical 'semeth' in l. 65 against 'then seamd'. *P* and *AH* have one conjunctive error: 'sitts' against 'fitts' in *S*. *P* then commits four independent errors to two in

<sup>46</sup> The fourteen errors in *S* are in ll. 4, 22, 27, 31, 33, 38, 47, 49, 53, 56, 59, 62, 65, and 70.

*AH*. The first in *P* is ‘times’ in l. 22, against ‘tewnes’ in *AH* (*S* has the misprint ‘tumes’), for which the Vulgate, Eccles. 2:8, agrees with *AH*: ‘feci mihi cantores et cantrices’ (‘I made me singing men and singing women’). Second, *P*’s ‘my’ in l. 82 is inferior to *AH*’s modal auxiliary ‘may’ as part of a closing statement which affirms the uncertainty of wealth. The remaining two are probable scribal errors: ‘lighsome’ in l. 43 and ‘rgarde’ in l. 54, to which ‘euen’ may be added unless it stands as a guide to pronunciation. The two corruptions in *AH* are ‘I mynde’ in l. 9 for *P*’s ‘of mynde’, and ‘or with’ in l. 74 for ‘o<sup>r</sup> payne’ in *P*. In the second case, *P*’s reading is demonstrably superior given that it parallels ‘O<sup>r</sup> quiet herts’ at the start of the line and brings ‘frute’ fully into the phrase in the second half of the line. The corrected reading in l. 51 of *P* suggests that it was checked against *AH* and revised accordingly.

Title Cap. 2. Eccles.] Eccles: Cap. 2. *AH*, CAP. II *NA3*,

- 1 my] myne *S*  
 4 <When they most l> Allwayes] always *AH*; w<sup>t</sup>] a *S*  
 9 of mynde] I mynd *AH*  
 10 W<sup>t</sup>] What *S*  
 11 my howses] me houses *S*  
 14 fruts] fruite *S*; my] the *S*  
 15 condits by liuely springs] Lyuely sprynges by conduites *S*  
 16 gardynes] garden *S*  
 18 I] & *S*; and] who *S*  
 20 W<sup>t</sup> things of price so furnyshed] Furnished w<sup>t</sup> suche thyng of pryce *S*; sitts] fitts *S*  
 22 times] tewnes *AH NA3*, tumes *S*  
 26 to] so *AH*  
 27 hyd] hadde *S*  
 30 eyes] eien *S*  
 31 compte] counte *S*  
 33 streken] stroken *S*  
 35 myne] my *AH*  
 36 callings] callynge *S*  
 38 fancis] frensies *S*  
 39 then] that *S*

- 42 hand] man *S*  
 46 eyes] eyen *S*; w<sup>ch</sup>] who *S*  
 47 consume] consumes *S*; worldly] wordely *S*  
 49 thy] then *S*  
 50 wayfull] woful *S*  
 51 sha<sup>r</sup>^pe] sharpe *AH*  
 52 Now finde I well] Now well I finde *S*  
 53 iust] iuge *S*  
 54 Is] Are *S*  
 56 their glories] the glory *S*; doo] doth *S*  
 59 in] on *S*  
 61 this a vaile] thus I spent *S*  
 62 I in sede] hym the sede *S*  
 64 I must my goods] my goodes I shall *S*  
 65 then seamd] semeth *S*  
 70 o<sup>r</sup>] your *S*  
 71 serche] seke *S*  
 72 w<sup>t</sup>] the *AH*, by *S*  
 74 of o<sup>r</sup>] or with *AH*  
 79 tressurs] treasure *S*  
 81 beres] beare *S*  
 82 my] may *AH NA3*, or] and *S*

## [52]

Poem [52] is Surrey's paraphrase of Eccles. 3. Hughey (II.116) described the poem as 'so free that it is better described as a poem developed from the original', but she was unaware of the intermediary influence of Campensis. Those passages in [52] which with no basis in the Vulgate tend to draw on Campensis, as in ll. 3-20. Surrey does, however, make clear additions to both sources in ll. 33 and 61-62.

Commentators such as Mason and Heale suggest that in ll. 43-48, Surrey follows the trope of using the Old Testament to mount a coded attack on Henry VIII (Mason, 1959: 244; Heale, 1998: 179). For other Surrey poems which may target Henry, compare [44], [46], and



[58]. Surrey's passage adapts the Vulgate's and Campensis' respective versions of Eccles. 3:16-17:

Vulgate 16. Vidi sub sole in loco iudicii impietatem et in loco iustitiae iniquitatem.

17. Et dixi in corde meo iustum et impium iudicabit Deus et tempus omni rei tunc erit.

Bible 16. Morouer, I sawe under y<sup>e</sup> Sonne, vngodlynnesse in the steade of judgment, and iniquite in stead of rightuousnesse.

17. Then though I in my mynde: God shall separate the rightuous from the vngodly, and then shal be the tyme and iudgment of all counceles & worckes.

(sig. 2H6<sup>r</sup>)

Camp. 16. Vt tamquam non esset malorum ex hac in constantia satis, vidi locum sub sole equitati destinatum, in quo dominatur impietas: et locum iniustitie in quo regnat impius.

17. Dixi apud me admirans, et iustum et impium iudicabit dominus: ad eum enim referuntur iudicanda quequaque aut cogitantur nunc aut fiunt.

(PO, sig. 2C5<sup>v</sup>)

Hughey (II.117) observed that Surrey intensifies his sources through imagery reminiscent of medieval allegory. The Protestant Anne Askew, martyred in July 1546 for her Sacrementarian beliefs, almost certainly read and reused these lines in three stanzas of the ballad she composed, putatively in Newgate prison. John Bale collected and printed this ballad as part of *The first examinacion of Anne Askewe* (1546/1547; STC 851):

I sawe a ryall trone  
Where Iustyce shuld haue sytte  
But in her stede was one  
Of modye cruell wytte.  
Absorpt was ryghtwysnesse  
As of the ragyng floude  
Sathan in hys excesse  
Sucte vp the gyltlesse bloude.  
Then though I, Iesus lorde  
Whan thou shalte iudge vs all  
Harde it is to recorde  
On these men what wyl fall.

(sig. O4<sup>v</sup>)

Askew's lines are very probably directed at Henry VIII. If she did use a copy of [52] as her source, it adds further evidence that Surrey's paraphrases circulated in MS, and demonstrates the readiness with which contemporary readers could receive Surrey's Eccles. paraphrases as Protestant-sympathetic pieces.

1-2      *Like to...finde*] Surrey's addition

- 1 *stereles ^boote^*] steerless boat
- 2 *the slipper topp*] i.e., ‘the slippery, unstable, top’ (‘slipper’, *adj.*, 5). For the phrase, compare both Wyatt, ‘Stand who so list upon the slipper topp’ (M&T: CCXL.1); and Surrey, [58].4.
- 3-20 *Skace hathe...debate*] As Jones (156) notes, Surrey abandons the rhetorical structure of the Vulgate, Eccles. 3:1-8, which is built on the rhetorical figure *epanados* and takes ‘tempus’ as the governing word for 2-8 (‘tempus nascendi et tempus moriendi, tempus plantandi et tempus evellendi quod plantatum est...tempus dilectionis et tempus odii tempus belli et tempus pacis’). His model is Campensis, 3:2-8:
2. Qui nunc gignuntur, aliquando moriuntur: quae nunc plantantur, alio tempore euellentur.
3. Nunc amputamus quae olim vt adolescerent, curauimus: nunc destruimus quae olim extruximus.
4. Interdum flemus, interdum ridemus, interdum mesti lugemus, interdum pro letitia subsilimus.
5. Nunc diruimus uetera aedificia, nunc ex eisdem lapidibus extruimus noua: nunc opera damus amplexibus, nunc ad amplexus nauseamus.
6. Nonnunquam magno studio querimus, quod paulo post perdamus: nonnunquam comparcimus quod postea dilapidemus.
7. Quandoque discerpimus, quod olim consumimus; quandoque uelut muti tacemus, quandoque inepti garrimus.
8. Interdum amamus, & iterum odio prosequimur amatum: interdum inimicitias exercemus, quas iterum deponimus alio tempore, & pacem amplectimur.  
(*PO*, sigs. 2C4<sup>v</sup>-2C5<sup>r</sup>)
- [2. ‘Who now is born, at length will die: the things that now are planted, at another time will be uprooted.
3. Those things which formerly we cared for to help them grow we now rip up: those things which formerly we raised up we now eradicate.
4. Sometimes we cry, sometimes we laugh, sometimes we mourn, sometimes we leap up with happiness.
5. Ancient buildings we now raze to the ground, we now raise new structures from the same stones.
6. Sometimes we search for things which later we waste: sometimes we save up for things which afterwards we squander.
7. At one time we knit together what formerly we tore apart: just as at one time we are silent as if mute, just as sometimes we chatter as if foolish.
8. Sometimes we love, & at another time we pursue those we loved with hate: sometimes we cultivate hostility towards those who again at another time we forgive, & embrace peace.’]
- 3 *Skace*] scarcely
- 5 *The grafted...payn*] i.e., ‘the plants which we grafted with pain’; the phrase is an example of *hyperbaton*.
- 6 *porsute*] pursuit
- 7 *erst*] at first, at an earlier time (‘erst’, *adv.*, 3; 4a)

- rered vpp*] helped to grow ('rear', v., 12c)
- 8 *spraies*] shoots, twigs ('spray', n.<sup>l</sup>, 2a)
- 9 *frowarde*] ill-disposed, threatening ('froward', adj., 1)
- playne*] complain ('plain', v., 1a)
- 11 *race*] raze, demolish ('raze', v., 6a)
- guyse*] manner, style ('guise', n., 1a)
- 12 *deuyse*] structure ('device', n., 8)
- 13 *fanzes*] fancies
- vaade*] fade, disappear ('vade', v.<sup>l</sup>, 3a)
- returning moo*] The meaning is uncertain; in context, it is most probably 'returning in a greater degree [than before]' ('mo', adv., 1). Nott (I.383) emended 'mo' to 'tho', i.e., 'then', though without authority, given that *AH* also reads 'mo'. If the reading in the MSS is corrupt, it apparently descended from the common source of *P* and *AH*.
- 14 *practyse to optaine*] attempt to obtain ('practise', v., 5b)
- that*] i.e., 'that which'
- 18 *vnbrydled touns*] Compare Surrey, [59].13.
- 19 *in folded armes*] i.e., 'in an embracing motion'
- 20 *reconsill*] reconcile
- 24 *frauteth*] load ('fraught', v., 1b)
- 33-34 *Who liueth...gifte*] renders Campensis, 3:13:
13. Si homini contigerit animus vt comedat ac bibat et fruatur suis, inter tam varias miserias, donum dei manifestum esse putet.
- (*PO*, sig. 2C5<sup>v</sup>)
- [13: 'If it is the will of men to squander and drink and carouse, among such various miseries, it may be thought a manifest gift of God.']
- 33 *gredy thryfte*] The oxymoron is Surrey's addition. Compare the treatment of hoarding wealth in [52].63-64 and [51].81-82.
- 37 *Adams chyldren*] For the phrase, compare Surrey, [50].5.
- 39 *gresly*] grisly
- wearse*] wears
- 41 *carfull skourge*] i.e., 'sorrowful whip' ('careful', adj., 1)
- 42 *repaire*] return, come back ('repair', v.<sup>l</sup>, 3b)
- 44 *rioall*] royal
- 47 *dome*] judgement ('doom', n., 2)

- 48 *spotted*] morally stained, sinful ('spotted', *adj.*, 2b); the line alludes to Genesis, 30:32: I wyll go thorow all thy flockes to daye, and separate thou from amonge them all the shepe that be spotted and partye coloured, and all blacke shepe amonge the lambes' (*Bible*, sig. C1<sup>r</sup>).
- 51 *His*] looks back to 'eache agreuid mynde' in [52].49
- 55-56 *The perfitt...beast*] 'the perfect form which God has given, whether to man or beast'
- 61-62 *A meane...fourth*] Surrey's addition, which emphasises the importance of the *via media* or golden mean
- 64 *whourded*] hoarded  
*a massed*] amassed
- 66 *their gotton...stryef*] i.e., 'their goods obtained with strife'; as in [52].5, the phrase is an example of *hyperbaton*.

### Collations

*P* and *AH* (fols 56<sup>v</sup>-57<sup>v</sup>) descend independently of *S* (sigs E6<sup>r</sup>-F1<sup>r</sup>), which is a corrupt text with nineteen independent errors.<sup>47</sup> Chief among these are 'that sayles' in l. 1 against 'that swerues' in *P* and *AH*, the odd 'trayne of hir' in l. 10 against 'show', and 'largest' in l. 62 against 'larges eke'. *S*'s reading 'reioyce' in l. 10 matches the original one in *P*, which was corrected to agree with 'revyves' in *AH*. Unless this variant in *AH* is editorial, it may have been interpolated from another witness apparently unrelated to those extant. *P* is the best text, the single error of which, 'lyke the brute beasts that swell in rage', is shared with *AH* and makes the line hypermetrical. *AH* commits a further three independent errors with 'surelye' in l. 31 against 'suertey', 'This' in l. 51 against 'His' and 'me' in l. 65 against 'may', where a modal auxiliary is clearly required.

In addition to l. 10, the six other corrected readings in ll. 1, 16, 30, 44, 55, and 66 of *P* suggests that it was checked against *AH* and revised accordingly. That in l. 44 was introduced by a different hand from Hand B, showing that [52] was edited, at least in part, by another scribal agent.

Title Capitulo. 3. Eccles.] Eccles. Capitulo:- 3. *AH*, CAP. III NA3

1 to] as *S*; stereles ^boote^] stearlesse boate *AH*; that swerues] that sayles *S*

<sup>47</sup> The nineteen errors in *S* are in ll. 1, 5, 7, 10, 16, 21, 24, 30 ('losse'), 32, 35, 36, 39, 43, 46, 49, 52, 56, and 62.

- 3 Skace] Scant *S*
- 5 grafted] graffed *S*
- 6 w<sup>t</sup>] which *S*
- 7 That erst... againe] om. *S*
- 8 some tyme] *om. S*
- 10 showe] trayne of hir; re<ioyce>^uiues^] reuyves *AH*, reioyce *S*
- 13 spring] springes *AH*
- 14 optaine] attaine *S*
- 15 afterward] afterwardes *S*
- 16 trauelid sore] trauayle for *S*; un<c>lose] vnlose *AH*
- 21 frute] sede *S*
- 24 full] styll *S*
- 26 the] his *S*
- 29 arte] acte *S*
- 30 se<sup>r</sup><sup>che</sup>] searche *AH*, grounde] course *S*; loste] losse *S*
- 31 suertey] surelye *AH*
- 32 no] in *S*
- 35 it] he *S*
- 36 advaunce nor yet defende] appayre ne yet amende *S*
- 37 thing] thinges *AH*
- 38 how] for *S*
- 39 tyme wearse] now are *S*
- 41 his] this *S*
- 43 sore] fro *S*
- 44 I saw a rioall throne ^eke^ wher<as, that> ^as^] I saw a Royall throne eke wheare / as  
*AH*, Beholde I saw a royall throne | where as *S*
- 46 blody] cruel *S*, that drounke] and dranke *S*
- 47 one] the *S*
- 49 be] by *S*
- 50 lyke the brute beasts that swell in rage] Lyke brute beasts that in their rage *S*
- 52 then with pacience] with suffraunce *S*
- 51 His] This *AH*
- 53 the] that *AH*
- 55 <ether> geuen to ^ether^ man] geuen to either man *AH*, hath geuen either to man *S*

- 56 it] he *S*  
 60 that] the *S*  
 62 larges eke] largest *S*  
 65 may] me *AH*  
 66 to <sup>^fore^</sup> know] to fore know *AH*; reioyce] enioye *S*; good] goodes *S*

## [53]

Poem [53] is Surrey's paraphrase of Eccles. 4. In general, the first half of the poem, ll. 1-36, remains close to the Vulgate and Campensis, Eccles. 4:1-13. The second half, ll. 37-58, is a much more liberal rendering of his sources, though Surrey does pick up on Campensis, 4:15-16 in ll. 43-50 which grounds the passage on succession in a specifically regal context. Given the doubts in 1546 about who would control the protectorate after Henry VIII's death, the topic of regal succession had both a topical and personal relevance to Surrey (see Headnote to [50]-[59]). One of his two principal departures from the Vulgate and Campensis is in ll. 37-42, which expands on their respective versions of 4:14:

Vulgate 14. Quod et de carcere catenisque interdum quis egrediatur ad regnum et alius natus in regno inopia consumatur.

Bible 14. Some one commeth out of preson, & is made a kynge: & another which is borne in the kingdome, commeth vnto pouerte.  
 (sig. 2H6<sup>r</sup>)

Camp. 14. Emergit nonnunquam e carcere quis, quid vinctus ibi fuerat, et regno preficitur: cum econtrario patre rege natus ad inopiam redigatur.  
 (PO, sig. 2C7<sup>v</sup>)

As Hughey (II.118) points out, Surrey adds a number of details: that of the prisoner never before tasting freedom, that of the king's progeny being thrust from staate' ([53].41), and that of the king and his progeny being hated by 'agreuyd people ([53].42). She speculates that Surrey's 'wofull wight' is an allusion to Edward Courtenay, first Earl of Devon (1526-1556). Courtenay was a descendent of Edward IV, and was imprisoned in the Tower at the age of twelve along with his father, Henry, Marquess of Exeter, who was executed in 1538 on the charge that he aspired to the throne. Courtenay himself remained in prison until the accession of Mary in 1553, and would have been a fellow inmate of Surrey's in 1546 (*ODNB*). Taken

thus, Surrey's passage may inveigh against the unwarranted treatment of Courtenay by Henry VIII, and allude to rumoured conspiracies which sought to install Courtenay on the throne at the expense of the Tudors. In addition, Hughey adds that [53].41 may refer to the execution of Surrey's cousin Katherine Howard, which barred any potential children she may have had from future rule. Both of Hughey's arguments, however, remain speculation.

The second departure Surrey makes from the Vulgate and Campensis is in ll. 51-58. Surrey's principal source for this passage is the Vulgate, 4:17, which he conflates with 5:1:

Vulgate 17. Custodi pedem tuum ingrediens domum Dei multo enim melior est oboedientia quam stultorum victimae qui nesciunt quid faciant mali.

1. Ne temere quid loquaris neque cor tuum sit velox ad proferendum sermonem coram Deo Deus enim in caelo et tu super terram idcirco sint pauci sermones tui.

Bible 17. Whan thou comest in to the house of God, kepe thy foote, and drawe nye, that thou mayest heare: that is better then the offeringes of fooles, for they knowe not what euell they do.

1. Be not hastie with thy mouth, & let not thine hert speake eny thig [sic] rashly before God. For God is in heauen, & thou vpon earth, therefore let thy wordes be fewe.

(sig. 2H6<sup>r</sup>)

To the Latin, Surrey adds phrases with Protestant overtones, particularly 'simple fayth' (l. 54) and his reference to God's distaste for 'owtwarde workes (l. 57). The idea that Christians were justified by their faith alone rather than good works was a central Protestant article of belief. Surrey's invocation of these concepts may point to his own religious affiliations, or target Protestant readers like Askew; they may also have been politically expedient for Surrey to include. Compare [44] and [45] for Surrey's possible identification with Protestant readers in his sonnets.

1 *be thought*] called to mind, recollected ('bethink', v., 1a)

*soon*] sun

2 *foolke of power*] Surrey's addition

*unchastyced*] unpunished

3 *heard*] herd

4 *bayned*] drenched ('bain', v., 1b)

6 *rigor*] severity, cruelty ('rigour', n., 1a)

9 *neuer did conceue*] was never fertilised ('conceive', v., 2)

12 *swete of browes*] For the phrase, compare Surrey, [50].6.

- gan*] began ('gin', v.<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- 13 *carles*] careless
- so fatt...feade*] For the image, compare Surrey, [58].14.
- 14 *seeade*] offspring ('seed', n., 5)
- 16 *kyndomes*] kingdoms
- disceace*] disease
- 20 *eyne*] eyes
- 22 *the*] probable scribal error for 'they' (see Collations below)
- 26 *in commone*] i.e., 'for the common good', or perhaps 'in like manner'
- 29 *armes embraced faste*] i.e., 'clasped in an embrace'; for the image, compare Surrey, [52].19.
- 32 *twaine*] two ('twain', n., B 1)
- 34 *swer*] sure
- 35-36 *In better...aduice*] Jones (157) notes that the passage renders the Vulgate, Eccles. 4:13: 'Melior est puer pauper et sapiens rege sene et stulto qui nescit providere in posterum. (*Bible*: 'A poore childe beyng wyse, is better than an olde kinge, that doteth, and cannot bewarre in tyme to come' (sig. 2H6<sup>f</sup>)). As in [52].43-48, Surrey may use the biblical passage to voice a coded critique of Henry VIII.
- 37 *or*] ere, i.e., 'before'
- 39 *W<sup>t</sup> such...mete*] i.e., 'Unexpected good fortune ['unhoped happ'] has fallen to those who were in the deepest despair' ('hap', n.<sup>1</sup>, 1)
- 40 *guiues*] gyves, shackles, in particular those worn on the leg ('gyve', n., a)
- 41 *coniures*] conspiracies ('conjunction', n., 1); Hughey (II.118) notes the strangeness of the noun, for which the *OED* cites Surrey as the sole known user.
- 42 *ofteymes*] frequently ('oft-times', adv.)
- 43-50 *Other w<sup>t</sup> out...end*] expands on Campensis, 4:15-16:

15. Uidi maximo numero sequi adolescentem illum, qui seni in regno successurus est.

16. Non minor fuit numerus, eorum qui senem hunc olim sequebantur, cum regno proficeretur, quam nunc est qui nouum hunc ambiunt: et sicut grauis illis superioribus visa est potestas regia illius contemnitur: ita et huius qui nunc tantopere placet grauis videbitur: quare & ambitus ille suam habet vanitatem, et animitedia.

(*PO*, sig. 2C7<sup>v</sup>)

- 43-44 *w<sup>t</sup> feat...groom*] Padelford (230) gives the gloss 'I have seen others, friends or foes indifferently, wear their feet bare in pursuing those on whom fortune smiles.'



- 43 *Other w<sup>t</sup>out respect*] i.e., ‘others without discrimination’
- 45 *strange*] probably adverbial, i.e., ‘strangely’, ‘diversely’ (‘strange’, *adj.*, 6)
- 46 *w<sup>ch</sup> faine...discharg*] i.e., ‘which, glad [‘fain’] to relieve itself [‘discharg’] of the burden [‘yoke’] of being ruled’ (‘fain’, *adj.*, A 1a; ‘discharge’, *v.*, 1a; ‘yoke’, *n.*<sup>l</sup>, III 8a)
- 49 *like great*] i.e., ‘equally great’
- 51 *spritte*] spirit
- 53 *dect*] decked, clothed
- hote desyre*] i.e., zealous desire; compare the phrase in Surrey, [40].6, and the similar one in [54].23.
- 54 *yolden goost*] Both Padelford (106) and Jones (95) read ‘goost’ as ‘hoost’, for which Jones (158) gives the gloss ‘the sacrificial victim that is completely submissive’. However, Hand B has written ‘g’ over ‘h’, giving ‘goost’, i.e., ‘spirit’. The verb ‘yolden’ is the past participle of ‘yield’; thus, the phrase means ‘the submissive spirit’. Compare Surrey, [35].41.
- marcy*] mercy
- 55 *for aye*] for ever (‘aye’, *adv.*, 1a)
- 57 *boost*] boast
- 58 *unsauere<sup>re</sup>th in*] i.e., ‘are unsavoury in’, ‘are not agreeable to’ (‘unsavour’, *v.*); the *OED* cites this verb as Surrey’s coinage, and [52] as its sole witness.

### Collations

*P* and *AH* (fols 57<sup>v</sup>-58<sup>r</sup>) have three independent errors apiece. Of *P*’s corruptions, ‘the’ in l. 22 appears to be Hand B’s miscopying of ‘they’, as the spelling is not common for that hand; ‘groo’ in l. 44, against ‘goe’ in *AH*, is clearly inferior in describing those who slavishly pursue honours; and ‘eare’ in l. 56, against ‘care’, appears the result of further mistranscription, the scribe having confused ‘e’ and ‘c’. Park emended ‘the’ to ‘they’ in l. 22 of *NA3*. *AH*’s errors are ‘terroures’ in l. 5, the plural form of which is inferior to ‘terroure’ in *P*; the reading ‘and’ in l. 13, an inferior substitute for *P*’s ‘in’; and ‘golden’ in l. 54, an apparent scribal error for ‘yolden’. The four corrected readings in ll. 13 (‘ease’), 34, 45, and 58 of *P* suggests that it was checked against *AH* and revised accordingly.

Title Capitulo. 4. Eccles] Eccles: Capitulo. 4: *AH*, CAP. IV *NA3*

- 5        *terroure*] *terroures AH*  
 13        *of*] *and AH*  
           *<each> ^ease^*] *ease AH*  
 22        *the*] *they AH*  
 34        *brayded ^thre fould^ may*] *brayded three folde may AH*  
 44        *groo*] *goe AH*  
 45        *<change> ^deth^*] *death AH*  
 54        *yolden*] *golden AH*  
 56        *eare*] *care AH*  
 58        *unsaue^re^th*] *vnsavereth AH*

## [54]

Poem [54] is Surrey's paraphrase of Eccles. 5. In general, the poem is closer to the Vulgate and Campensis than [51]-[53] are of their respective sources. Nevertheless, Surrey adds details in ll. 1-8, on the need for a contrite and prayer to receive God's mercy; in ll. 14-20, on the severity of sinful words and broken promises; and in ll. 33-44, on the ruin of avaricious people. Hughey (II.120) points out the prophetic irony of ll. 45-46, based on the Vulgate, Eccles. 5:13, which present the image of a grand house being sacked, its owner shamed, and his heirs left in want. This misfortune befell Surrey House after Surrey's execution. His personal effects were divided among prominent men at Court and his children were dispossessed. During the Norfolk rebellion against the commons in 1549, Surrey House was used as the camp for Robert Kett and his rebels ('Howard, Henry, earl of Surrey', *ODNB*).

- 2        *charged*] *burdened* ('charged', *adj.*, 1a)  
           *amending will*] i.e., 'a will to amend faults'  
 3        *assaile*] *overcome* ('assail', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 8)  
 4        *fayth*] probable scribal error for 'sayth', mistaking 'f' for long 's'  
 6        *Importune*] *grievous, persistent* ('importune', *adj.*, 2; 4)  
 7        *contrit*] *contrite*  
           *gladsome*] *pleasing, pleasant*; for the adjective, compare Surrey, [51].71.  
 10        *lippis*] *lips*  
 11        *wast of wynde*] *defines 'vowe'*

- rede*] advise, counsel ('rede', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, III, 6a)
- 12 *accord*] probable bilingual pun on French 'cor' ('heart')
- 13 *smoks*] smokes, here figurative ('smoke', *v.*, 1b)
- 14-20 *but bold...sight*] expands on the Vulgate, Eccles. 5:5. Surrey's model for the longer passage is possibly Campensis, 5:5:
5. Quare caue ne lingue futilitas, totum te petom inuoluat: neque putes angelum, que tua obseruat, rem tam estimatur um leuem, que tu existimabas, qui pre multitudine vborum vix sciebas quum permitteres, aut diceres, quod tu tam leue putas, deum sic offendit : vt non solum orationem tuam, sed propter eam, et alia opera tua sit execratur.  
(*PO*, sig. 2C8<sup>r</sup>)
- 14 *behests*] vows, promises ('behest', *n.*, 1)
- lusts*] probably 'sinful desires' ('lust', *n.*, 3; 4)
- 15 *bett<er>*] aphetic to aid the scansion (as indicated by Hand B's deletion of the final 'er')
- 16 *perfitnes*] perfectness
- 18 *returns*] turns back
- thy nown*] i.e., 'thine own'
- 19 *perswad such...light*] i.e., 'urges one to believe one's errors are menial'
- 20 *therby yet...sight*] As in [53].57, Surrey's disparagement of outward works possibly suggests his alignment with the Protestant tenet, whether earnestly or for political expediency, of faith alone being the precondition for a Christian's justification by God.
- dampned*] damned
- 23 *hotte effect*] a possible allusion to Wyatt's third prologue to his paraphrase of Ps. 38: 'He then Inflamd with farr more hote affect' (M&T: CVIII.317). Compare the similar phrase in Surrey, [53].53.
- 24 *uoyd desart*] empty, worthless desert, i.e., 'of no deserving' ('void', *adj.*, 6a, 6b; 'desert', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 25 *Thoughe wronge...oppresse*] an example of *zeugma*, in which 'oppresse' governs 'wronge' and 'wealthe', i.e., 'though wrong and wealth at times inevitably oppress right...'
- 32 *^tillers^*] those who till the soil to cultivate a field ('tiller', *n.*<sup>1</sup>)
- 33-44 *But suche...bayne*] expands on both the Vulgate, 5:12, and Campensis, 5:12:

12. Inuenitur aliud tristissimi mali genus: vidi sub sole diuitias magna diligentia conseruatas, in perniciem possidentum eas .

(*PO*, sig. 2C8<sup>v</sup>)

[12. ‘Another most sorrowful kind of wickedness is come upon: I saw under the sun those who, having taken care to protect great riches, held them to their destruction’]

- 34 *rauen*] ravening, pillaging (‘ravin’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1b)  
*asslake*] abate, lessen (‘aslake’, *v.*, 4a)
- 35 *gapes for good*] i.e., ‘gapes at the sight of riches [‘good’]’  
*hurdeh*] hoards
- 37 *wight*] person (‘wight’, *n.*, 2)
- 39-40 *The sweet...excesse*] For both the content and phrasing of the passage, compare Surrey, [38].9.
- 41-42 *But wakerly...dygest*] The couplet is a *zeugma* in which ‘dygest’ makes ‘lyuely heat’/‘bulks’ and ‘rest’/ change of meats’ syntactically parallel, i.e., ‘the riche cannot disperse [‘dygest’] their lively heat with rest, their full bodies cannot digest their meat with a change of diet’ (‘digest’, *v.*, 1b). The phrasing is similar to that in [54].25.
- 41 *wakerly*] aroused for pleasure or revelry (‘wake’, *v.*, 1d)  
*lyuely heat*] Compare the identical phrase in Surrey, [39].4.
- 42 *charged boolkes*] burdened, full bodies (‘charged’, *adj.*, 1a; ‘bulk’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a)  
*meats*] meats, food (‘meat’, *n.*, 1a; 4a)
- 44 *bayne*] ruin, harm, woe (‘bane’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 5)
- 46 *sparkelid*] scattered, dispersed (‘sparkled’, *adj.*<sup>2</sup>); for the adjective, compare Surrey, [37].28; and Surrey’s translation of Book 2 of the *Aeneis*: ‘Cassandra [...] From Pallas chirch was drawn with sparkled tresse’ (sig. B1<sup>v</sup>).
- 47-52 *From welthe...alwaies*] renders the Vulgate, 5:14-16
- 50 *that*] i.e., ‘that which’  
*what bote*] i.e., ‘what advantage/profit is there...’ (‘boot’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 3)  
*uexe*] vex
- 51 *testeye*] headstrong or ‘short-tempered’ (‘testy’, *adj.*, 1; 2a)
- 52 *frees*] frets, i.e., ‘agitations’, ‘irritations’ (‘fret’, *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 3)  
*sum*] some

- 53-64 *Then gan...digest*] adapts the Vulgate, 5:17-18, though Surrey adds the detail on the importance of pursuing the *via media*, or golden mean. For the idea, compare Surrey, [52].61-62.
- 53 *gan*] began ('gin', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1)  
*prayce*] praise
- 56 *powres*] pours
- 57 *That*] i.e., 'The man who...'  
*thrall*] servitude, bondage ('thrall', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 2)
- 58 *clings*] withers, shrivels ('cling', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 2a)  
*niggishe*] niggardly, mean, miserly ('niggish', *adj.*)
- 59 *of kynde*] i.e., 'fitting his station'  
*wynne*] wine
- 60 *slacks*] neglects, forgets to attend to ('slack', *v.*, 1a; 2a)  
*pynne*] pine
- 64 *gaul*] gall, bile, known for its bitterness ('gall', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a); for the phrase 'bitter gaul...swet', compare Surrey, [35].43.  
*swet*] sweet

### Collations

*P* and *AH* (fols 58<sup>r</sup>-59<sup>r</sup>) commit one independent error apiece. *P*'s corruption 'fayth' in l. 4, against 'sayth', is a result of Hand B miscopying 'f' for 's'. The error in *AH* is 'Armes in l. 48, which is patently inferior to 'clothes' in *P* in the context of a rich man being reduced to the ravages of poverty. The *AH* scribe may have been working from memory, or possibly transcribed the word that occurred to him as he copied, rather than that in front of him (a kind of mental 'catching'). The phrase 'clad in the arms' comes from Surrey's sonnet 'Love that doth raine', from where the *AH* scribe seems inadvertently to have transposed it (compare [42].3). The eleven corrected readings in ll. 4, 15, 17, 27, 29, 32, 36, 40, 43, 51, and 61 of *P* suggest that it was checked against *AH* and revised accordingly.

Title Capitulo 5. Eccles./] Eccles. Capitulo:- 5. *AH*, CAP. V NA3

- 4 fayth] sayth *AH*; no<t>^ne^] none *AH*
- 15 bett<er>] bett *AH*
- 17 wor<ds>^ks^] workes *AH*

- 27 w<sup>1</sup>out<sup>en</sup>] withouten *AH*  
 29 <the> <sup>to</sup>] to *AH*  
 32 <toiling> <sup>tillers</sup>] tillers *AH*  
 36 trau<sup>e</sup>lls] travailes *AH*  
 40 thyn<sup>n</sup>e] thynne *AH*  
 43 <gredy> <sup>righteous</sup>] righteous *AH*  
 48 clothes] Armes *AH*  
 51 men <sup>then</sup> that <that <sup>then</sup>>] men then that *AH*  
 61 <Ne> <sup>No</sup>] No *AH*

## [55], [57]

Poems [55] and [57] are prologues to Pss 88 and 73, addressed respectively to Sir Anthony Denny (1501-1549) and Sir George Blage (1512-1551). Surrey's precise motivation for dedicating these paraphrases to Denny and Blage is unknown. As the Headnote to [50]-[59] speculates, a political imperative may have underlain Surrey's choice of addressees: both men were important Protestant reformers at Court during later 1546, and may plausibly have been able to intercede with the king on Surrey's behalf. No other record survives of Denny's relationship with Surrey. Bapst indentified him as the addressee of [55] (Bapst, 1891: 361); Nott (I.391) erroneously suggested Sir Walter Denny. Denny was educated at St John's College, Cambridge, and served at Court as, first, Keeper of the Privy Purse and eventually, in October 1546, Chief Gentleman of the Privy Chamber ('Denny, Sir Anthony', *ODNB*). In this role, Denny controlled the dry stamp of Henry VIII's signature, which gave him executive power to make decisions in the royal name. Hughey (II.102) suggested that Denny may have abused this privilege to indict Surrey, and that in [55], Surrey forgives Denny and recognises his own error. Heale, on the other hand, has argued that [55], like the paraphrase of Ps. 88 proper, is dedicated to Denny precisely because he controlled the dry stamp, and could have potentially commuted Surrey's sentence (Heale, 1998: 177).

Denny's importance both at Court and in furthering the cause of Protestant reform are attested in the tributes which Cheke and Roger Ascham paid to him. Two anonymous epitaphs on Denny also survive in MS and print. The first is in BL, Lansdowne MS 98, fol. 206<sup>v</sup>, and was printed in Tottel, *T1*, sig. Z1<sup>v</sup>, *T2*, sig. U2<sup>v</sup>; and each edition thereafter. John Weever reproduced the poem in his *Ancient Fvnerall Monvments* (1631; STC 25233, p. 852),

though assigned it to Surrey, most probably because he conflated it with [55]. The second MS poem on Denny, entitled ‘The Epitaphe of S<sup>r</sup> A. Dennie’, survives in *Hy*78, fol. 25<sup>v</sup>.

The record of Surrey’s relationship with Blage is fuller than with Denny. The friendship of the two men reached back to the early 1540s, and possibly earlier. Blage rebuked Surrey for the circumstances which led to his composition of [34], but also served with him at the Siege of Landrecy in 1543. Significantly in the context of [57] and [58], Blage was a recent survivor of near-execution himself. In the summer of 1546, he was sent to burn at Smithfield with Anne Askew and John Lascelles (‘Blage, Sir George’, *ODNB*). Blage apparently composed a poem during his imprisonment, ‘A voyce i haue’, which castigates his enemies; it survives only in *B*, fol. 101<sup>v</sup> (Muir, 1963: Appendix C). He was pardoned at the eleventh hour by Henry VIII, who referred to Blage as his ‘Pig’ and held him in favour. In both [57] and [58], Surrey may have sought to strike a chord with Blage’s staunch commitment to Protestant reform, and appealed to Blage’s own clemency.

Nevertheless, Blage remains a somewhat perplexing dedicatee due to the fact that his friendship with Surrey appears to have soured over the course of 1545 and 1546. Like many other Protestants, Blage voiced fears that Surrey and his father intended to seize control of the protectorate after Henry VIII’s death. In his deposition at Surrey’s trial, Edward Rogers recounted the following quarrel between Surrey and Blage:

[Surrey] held that his father was meetest [for the protectorate], both for good services done and for estate. Blage replied that then the Prince [Edward] should be but evil taught; and, in multiplying words, said “Rather it should come to pass that the Prince should be under the government of your father or you, I would bide the adventure to thrust the dagger in you. The Earl said that he was very hasty, and that God sent a shrewd cow short horns. ‘Yea, my lord’ (quod Blage), and I trust your horns also shall be kept so short as ye shall not be able to do any hurt with them.’ Afterwards the Earl, who at the time had no weapon, took sword and dagger and went to Blage’s house ‘and said unto him, that of late he had been very hasty with him.’

(*LP*, Vol. XXII, 284-285, No. 555 [4])

Casady dated this dispute to the spring of 1546, as does Sessions (Casady, 1938: 185-187; Sessions, 2006: 379-381). Peter Moore suggested that it could not have been before the summer of 1545 (Moore, 2003: 386-390). As Hughey (II.105) speculates, Surrey may have sent [57] and [58] to Blage in part to exonerate him from contributing to Surrey’s arrest. In this case, l. 11 of [57] would represent Surrey’s imputation of the ‘error’ in their dispute to himself rather than Blage.

Blage, or someone associated with him, may have been Harington’s source for Surrey’s biblical paraphrases. The two men apparently exchanged poems. Muir printed two pieces

from *B*, the MS that Blage partially compiled ('Yf Ryght be rakt and over Ron' and Surrey's 'Suche wayward waye hath loue'), which also survive in *AH* (Muir, 1961: 368-370). Hughey contends that Harington himself entered these pieces into *B* (Hughey, 1971: 256). In *AH*, fol. 211<sup>r</sup>, Harington likewise preserved a satirical poem on the death of Thomas Wriothesley, First Earl of Southampton, in 1550, which is subscribed 'G. Blage of Lorde Wrythesley'. Given this evidence, it is possible that Blage supplied Harington with his copies of [50]-[59], though this is only one suggestion about Harington's route to the poems. The use to which Blage's fellow prisoner Askew put [52] indicates that Surrey's paraphrases achieved some degree of circulation, and interest, among a Protestant readership.

## [55]

Poem [55] condenses one of the main themes of Ps. 88: the speaker's repentance. Here Surrey places it in the context of youthful misdemeanours. As he makes explicit in ll. 7-8, King David, the original author of Ps. 88, guided him in this impulse.

As an epigrammatic poem in *ottava rima*, [55] is one of Surrey's two excursions into this form, alongside [47]. His general model was Wyatt, but, in the case of [55], there is possibly a more specific Wyatt connection in his choice of *ottava rima* as a dedication to Denny. A paraphrase of Ps. 37 survives in the Wyatt grouping of *AH*, fols 118<sup>v</sup>-119<sup>f</sup>, after which is a dedication to an 'Earle' on fol. 119<sup>v</sup> in *ottava rima*. Hughey (II.243, 245) assigned both poems to Wyatt, as does Heale (Heale, 1998: 177). Both follow Nott (II.580), who speculated that Wyatt composed the dedication in prison in 1541 and chose Surrey (the 'Earle') as its dedicatee. Wyatt's poem may plausibly have had a direct influence on [55]. The two poems adopt the same general structure of outlining a fault in the first six lines before indicating the source of the correction in its couplet. Hughey (I.208-209) printed the *ottava rima* poem in *AH* as [169]:

|                |                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                                             |     |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|
| The'argument./ | Somtyme the pryde of mye assured trothe,<br>Contemned all helpp of God and eke of man<br>but when I saw man blyndlye how he goithe<br>in demying hartes which none but god ther can<br>And his domes hyd wheareby mans Malyce growth<br>Myne, Earle, this doute my hart did humble than<br>For errour so might murder innocentes<br>Then sang I thus in god my Confydence./ | [5] |
|----------------|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|-----|



- 1-4 *wher recheles...equitie*] The syntax is elliptical; ‘the recheles’ youthe is the subject of the passage, who, via Surrey’s use of *zeugma*, ‘opprest’ both ‘pacyens’ and ‘iustice’, i.e., ‘where reckless youth ...oppressed patience ... as well as justice’.
- 4 *equitie*] This is an important word in the dedication, particularly if the purpose of [55] was to solicit Denny to intervene on Surrey’s behalf. The legal concept of ‘equity’ invokes the spirit of the law to mitigate the letter of the law. As someone who faced the capital charge of treason, Surrey’s invocation of this concept reminds his dedicatee that princes, and presumably high-ranking officials at Court, have the power to use their own discretion and lessen the severity of sentences.
- 5 *deny*] ‘Denny’ in *AH*, on which commentators have based their identification of Denny as the dedicatee. There is a probable pun on ‘Denny’/‘deny’, i.e., ‘denial’. Compare Wyatt’s possible pun on his addressee John Poyntz in [4].51.
- 7-8 *had not...sought*] The couplet alludes to the spiritual lessons contained in the Psalter.

### Collations

There are no substantive variants between *P* and *AH* (fol. 52<sup>v</sup>). Park made one transcription error, giving ‘devy’ in l. 5 for ‘deny’. This led him to make far-reaching and almost certainly misguided conclusions about the date and meaning of the poem. In the footnote he includes on ‘devy’, i.e., ‘deviation’, Park wrote ‘As these Psalms follow Lord Surrey’s version of Ecclesiastes in the same MS. [*P*] they are presumed [...] to have been the production of his lordship, probably during his imprisonment in Windsor-Castle, when his *devy* or deviation from the king’s religious injunctions, ‘began to work despair of liberty.’ No other commentator has assigned Surrey’s biblical paraphrases to Surrey’s imprisonment at Windsor in 1537.

- 5 deny] devy NA3

## [56]

Poem [56] is Surrey's paraphrase of Ps. 88 (Vulgate, Ps. 87). It precedes his versions of Pss 73 and 55 in both *P* and *AH*, and was probably composed before them. Hughey (II.103) comments that the repentant tone and note of lamentation in the poem differ from [58] and [59]; she assigns these changes to Surrey's vacillating mindset: 'It is reasonable to believe that Surrey brought himself to a feeling of resignation shortly after his conviction [in [56]], but as he brooded over his wrongs his prison, became more bitter towards his enemies [i.e., in [58] and [59]] when he realized he was actually to die on unjust charges'.

In general, Surrey remains closer to the Vulgate and Campensis in [56] than he does in [58] and [59]. He does, however, remove God as the reason for the departure of the psalmist's companions in ll. 13-14 and 43-44, which render the Vulgate, 87:5, and Campensis, 88:6; and expands in ll. 19-31 on the Vulgate, 87:11-13, and Campensis, 88:10-12. Notable in l. 24 is Surrey's description of God's 'elect', a word which Simpson notes had a clear Protestant association in this period (Simpson, 2007: 160). Surrey's immediate purpose in [56].19-31 was possibly to persuade Denny that he could become a champion of the Protestant cause if spared.

- 1 *Oh lorde...welfare*] a probable allusion to Coverdale's translation of Campensis, 88:1: 'O lorde God of whom my welfare dependeth' (*PD*, sig. M5<sup>v</sup>)
- 2 *to call...spare*] i.e., 'day or night I do not spare to call on your holy name'  
*hollye*] holy
- 5 *fraughted*] burdened ('fraught', *v.*, 1b)
- 6 *consume*] waste away ('consume', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 3b)
- 7 *fatall threde*] For the image, compare Surrey, [51].58, and Cheke, [69].21-22.
- 8 *brewte*] fame, renown ('bruit', *n.*, 3)
- 9-10 *oh lorde...wooe*] Neither the Vulgate, 87:5, nor Campensis, 88:6, make God the subject. In Campensis, the action is passive: 'Affecerunt me malis tam multis aduersarii mei, vt visus sim ipse mihi precipitatur in puteum, aut incarcerationem obscurissimum et profundissimum retrusus.' (*PO*, sig. N1<sup>t</sup>). Coverdale translates this passage thus: 'Myne enemyes haue done me so greate harme, that me thought I was cast downe into the pit or shut into a maruelous darck and depe prysone' (*PD*, sig. M6<sup>t</sup>).

- 9 *hedling*] headlong; compare Coverdale's translation of Campensis, Ps. 73:18: 'but thou hast caste them down headlynges, and they shall fall into extreme myseryes' (*PD*, sig. K3<sup>v</sup>).
- to please...fooe*] Surrey's addition
- 13 *the faithfull...sight*] Both the Vulgate, 87:9; and Campensis, 88:9, attribute the defection of the psalmist's friends to God:
- Vulgate 9. longe fecisti notos meos a me posuisti me abominationem eis clausum et non prodeuntem.
- Bible 9. Thou hast put away my acquaintance farre fro me, & made me to be abhorred of them.  
(sig. 2E3<sup>f</sup>)
- Camp. 8. Alienasti a me familiarissime notos mihi, et abominabilem fecisti me illis: conclusus sum, nec video quo pacto explicem me.  
(*PO*, sig. N1<sup>f</sup>)
- Cov. 8. Thou hast taken fro me, the men that were of my best acquaintance, and hast made them to abhorre me, I am kepte fast in, nether do I se how to get my selfe out agayne.  
(*PD*, sig. M6<sup>f</sup>)
- 14 *sett my...light*] i.e., 'treated my friendship lightly'
- 15 *duraunce*] confinement, imprisonment ('durance', *n.*, 5)
- 16 *bayne*] bathe, drench ('bain', *v.*)
- appaire*] deteriorate, worsen, make weak ('appair', *v.*, 2)
- 19 *forbeare*] forebar, obstruct ('forbar', *v.*)
- 20 *to shewe...tokens*] a possible allusion to Coverdale's translation of Campensis, 88:10: 'Shalt thou shewe any token of thy godheade that are deed?'
- Adams lyne*] i.e., 'humankind'
- 21-22 *wherby eche...spredd*] Surrey's addition
- 25-26 *in blind...same*] Surrey's addition
- 25 *endured*] indurated, hardened ('endured', *adj.*)
- lively*] living ('lively', *adj.*, 1a)
- 28 *shitt*] shut
- 29 *the liuelye...myght*] Surrey's addition
- 35 *bourdneyd*] burdened
- 43 *myschaunce*] misfortune, calamity ('mischance', *n.*, 1)

44 *ar forced...hyde*] As in [56].13 above, both the Vulgate, 87:19, and Campensis, 88:18, attribute the defection of the psalmist's friends to God:

Vulgate 19. longe fecisti a me amicum et sodalem notos meos abstulisti.

Bible 19. My louers and frendes hast thou put away fro me, and turned away myne acquantaunce.

(sig. 2E3<sup>r</sup>)

Camp. 18. Procul a me abire fecisti, si quis forte reliquus fuit amans mei, aut vicinus beneuolus: quin et familiariter notos abscondisti, et veluti in tenebris, ne videri possint a me, collaristi.

(PO, sig. N1<sup>v</sup>)

Cov. 18. If any louer or frendly neyghboure of myne happened to be left, thou causedest hym to go farre fro me, yee thou hast hydd them awaye, that were of my most acquantaunce, and set them as it were darckneste, that I shulde not se hym.

(PD, sigs M6<sup>v</sup>-M7<sup>r</sup>)

### Collations

Michael J. Rudick offered the best analysis of the variants between the surviving witnesses (Rudick, 1975: 291-294). He argued persuasively that *AH*'s (fols 52<sup>v</sup>-53<sup>r</sup>) agreement with *S* (sigs F1-F2<sup>v</sup>) in its corrected readings in ll. 9 ('me cast'), ll. 26 (*AH*: 'nor', *S*: 'ne') and 44 ('to') indicates that it was checked against a text related to *S*, possibly its immediate ancestor. *S* itself is discounted as *AH*'s source on the basis of the substantive variants between them in ll. 27, 38, and 42, all of which are errors in *S*. The fact that Francis Seager's text in *SC* (sigs A3<sup>r</sup>-A6<sup>r</sup>) shares these corruptions makes its descent from *S* almost certain. Seager's other revisions in *SC* are without substantive authority. Most are two-syllable additions he made to each twelve-syllable line of Surrey's poulter measure (the ones in the odd numbered lines 1, 3, 5, etc.) to convert it them into fourteeners.

On account of *S*'s errors, *AH* is overall the best text, with two misreadings in ll. 30 and 44 ('to'). *P* contains five errors. Two of these, 'do' in l. 17 against 'do' in *AH*, and 'faith' in l. 24 against *AH*'s 'praise', are shared with *S* and *SC*; a further two, 'blasted' in l. 27 against *AH*'s 'blazed', and 'mouth' in l. 27 against *AH*'s 'mouthes' (complementing 'they' in l. 28) are shared with *S* alone, which give *S* seven errors in total. The conjunction of *P* and *S* in these readings do not point to a common source; it is more probable that the *AH* scribe or another reviser made independent corrections to these readings. The corruption in l. 27, 'blasted', is inferior to 'blazed' due to its potential pejorative association of 'blighted' ('blast', *v.*, II, 7). Jones (99) accepted the *P* reading here, but Padelford (112) adopted *AH*.

*P*'s relation to *AH* is demonstrated through their probable conjunctive error 'must be' in l. 30. As Rudick points out, 'Nor be/by' in *S* and *SC* radically changes the meaning of ll. 27-30 and seems superior. In *P* and *AH*, this passage must be read as two sentences, with 'diclose' in l. 28 lacking a referent. Its general sense is that the dead cannot support the righteous on earth. In *S* and *SC*, 'Nor be' converts the passage into one longer sentence, with 'the liuely uoyce' as the object of 'disclose'. This alternative passage indicates that the dead cannot condemn the ungodly on earth, but also gives them two additional incapacities: that they cannot reveal worldly sinners or trumpet forth God's glory.

Title Domine deus salutis. Psal÷ 98, *margin*: 88] Domine deus salutis. Psal: 98: *AH*, Domine Deus salutis, Psal. lxxxviii *NA3*, Domine deus salutis meae. *S*, Psalme lxxxviii. Domine deus salutis mee. *SC*

1 will] holy will *SC*  
 2 hollye] blessed *SC*  
 3 iust] iust & ryght *SC*; this] my *SC*  
 4 that] as *AH*  
 5 sowle] soule (o Lorde *SC*  
 7 them] vnto those *SC*  
 8 further] farther *S SC*; which] But *SC*  
 9 oh lorde] Lorde in thy wrath; cast me hedling] me cast / headlong *AH S*, hast me cast  
*SC*; to please my foe] Into the pyt of payne *SC*  
 10 into a pitt all botomeles whear as I playne my wooe] Wherin I mourne, and playne  
 my wo | That I byde and sustayne *SC*  
 11 wrath] wrath and yre; it] *om. SC*; sore] so sore *SC*  
 13 ar] are from me *SC*  
 15 doth] doth, now styll *SC*  
 16 bayne my brest] payne my harte *SC*  
 17 did] do *AH* [written over 'do']; cease] cease nor slake *SC*  
 18 thy] thyne *AH S*  
 19 thow] thou, o Lorde *SC*  
 21 feble] faynte, and feble *SC*  
 22 thy] thyne *S SC*

- 23 fleshe] fleshe in earth *SC*  
 24 faith] praise *AH* [written over ‘faith’]  
 25-26 in blind...same] om. *SC*  
 26 as] nor *AH*, ne *S*  
 27 nor blasted...those] Nor blazed...those *AH* [‘blazed’ written over ‘blasted’], Thy  
 name no prayse, can haue at all, | Euen *SC*; mouth] mouthes *AH*  
 29 of them] euen of them *SC*; thy word] thys worlde *S SC*  
 30 must be] Nor be *S*, Nor by *SC*  
 31 cease] cease at all *SC*  
 32 weryd lymes] wery bones *SC*  
 33 morning eke] morne, early betyme *SC*  
 35 carefull mynd] mynde, so full of care *SC*; care] payne *SC*  
 36 not appere o lord] lord appaese *S*, lord appease the thing *SC*; his] my *SC*  
 37 beholde] beholde and see *SC*  
 38 of one from youth afflicted still] Cast not from the thafflicted styll *S*, Cast not from  
 thee, thaflycted styll *SC*  
 39 dread loo] feare so greate, lo *SC*  
 41 to] as *S SC*; waues] waues of seas *SC*  
 42 swallow] folow *S SC*  
 43 no myschaunce] no, kynde of myschaunce *SC*  
 44 for] to *AH* [written over ‘for’] *S SC*

## [57]

Poem [57] condenses one of the main tensions of Surrey’s paraphrase of [58]: the attempt to reconcile self-justification with patience. In [57], these ideas are explored through the metaphor of the ship of faith which, initially frustrated on its ‘noble voyage’ (l. 3) by a lack of sustaining wind, finds a ‘goodlye light’ (l. 12) in the shape of David’s psalms.

In form, the ten cross-rhyming *ab* lines and terminal couplet have the feel of a truncated sonnet. Precedents for sonnets with this spare rhyme scheme survive. Surrey’s sonnet ‘The soote season’ utilises just two *ab* rhymes before the couplet, as does [18] in *P*, for which the elder Harington is the probable author.

- 1        *sondden*] scribal error for ‘soudden’  
 2        *welneare*] very nearly, almost entirely (‘well-nigh’, *adv.*)  
 4        *succhor*] succour  
           *falshed*] falsehood  
 6        *gaile*] gale  
 11       *gan*] began (‘gin’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)

### Collations

*P* and *AH* (fol. 53<sup>r</sup>) have one error apiece. *P*’s error is ‘sondden’ in l. 1, a clear scribal mistake for ‘soudden’ caused by the scribe’s careless copying of minims. The error in *AH* is ‘will’ in l. 11 for ‘well’ in *P*, which substitutes a modal auxiliary for an adverb and makes the speaker’s declaration about seeing his error a future event. The context of the poem, which focuses on the speaker’s reform of his conduct, almost certainly discounts the *AH* reading as corrupt. The scribe may have introduced it by miscopying *i*’ for ‘e’.

- 1        sondden] soudden *AH*  
 11       well] will *AH*

### [58]

Poem [58] is Surrey’s paraphrase of Ps. 73 (Vulgate, Ps. 72). The Vulgate draws a general contrast in the psalm between the righteous and the sinful, but Surrey uses both Campensis and his own additions to intensify the antithesis, aligning the psalmist firmly in the vanguard of the godly. In particular, ll. 5-10 and 14-20 are based on Campensis, Ps. 73:4 and 7-8, which present the sinful in a specifically regal context. For a similar borrowing, compare Surrey, [53], ll. 43-50. Heale suggests that the image of the bloated ruler in [58], ll. 13-14 may be targetted at Henry VIII (Heale, 1998: 178-179). The closing passage in ll. 63-66 expresses a confidence in the psalmist’s prior election which has no basis in Surrey’s sources.

As Sessions notes, in his characterisation of the righteous, Surrey uses several terms with Protestant associations, such as the ‘symple’ (l. 20), ‘iust’ (l. 21), ‘elect’ (l. 24), and ‘chosen’ (l. 34) (Sessions, 2006: 283). Like [52], l. 48, his addition in ll. 47-48 draws on Genesis 30:32 to describe God’s enemies as spotted sheep who have disguised their marks with golden fleece. These features may have a personal application, but could also appeal to

Blage, whose own poem written from prison, ‘A voyce i haue’ (see [57] Headnote), depicts his enemies in equally strident and biblical terms through recourse to Matthew 7:15: ‘for on our bakkes our skynnes these woulpfes do wer | and for our flyece foul ofte wold haue us ded’ (Muir, 1963: 275).

1 *plentuous*] plenteous

4 *slipper*] slippery (‘slipper’, *adj.*, 1a; 5)

5-10 *whiles I...dread*] adapts Campensis, 73:4; the regal detail is not in the Vulgate:

Camp. 4. Tota enim vita non solum fortunata illis omnia fuerunt: sed et in morte illis accidere solet, vt etate defecti sine longo cruciatu extinguantur, et palatia relinquunt regia heredibus suis.

(*PO*, sig. K5<sup>r</sup>)

Cov. 4. For euery thyng prospereth wyth them not only all theyr lyfe, but they dyed also of soch a fashyon that when theyr strength fayled them for age, they departed wythout any long payne, and left theyr kyngly palaces vnto theyr heyers.

(*PD*, sig. K2<sup>v</sup>)

6 *whose lothsom...wolde*] i.e., ‘whose lothsome pride rejoices in wealth secretly, as is their custom [‘as they wolde’]’; the line is Surrey’s addition.

7 *appere*] deteriorate, worsen, make weak (‘appair’, *v.*, 2)

9 *longe*] belong

*Adams sede*] i.e., righteous people

14 *glutten cheks*] renders Campensis, 73:7:

Camp. 7. Vix apparent pinguedine oculi eorum: supra quam sperauerant omnia illis prospere eueniunt.

(*PO*, sig. K5<sup>v</sup>)

Cov. 7. Theyr eyes can scarce be sene for fatnesse, all thynges prospere wyth them more than they can desyre

(*PD*, sig. K2<sup>v</sup>)

15-16 *vnto whose...rayne*] The regal detail is not in the Vulgate, 72:7. Campensis, 73:8, is Surrey’s model:

Camp. 8. Terrori sunt obuiis omnibus propter potentiam illorum, que eo excreunt, vt scelera sua et vim, qua oppriunt miseros, latere non cupiant, sed palam loquantur, & sese ob huismodi iacent

(*PO*, sig. K5<sup>v</sup>)



- Cov. 7. Euery man that meteth them, is afrayde of them by reason of theyr power, whych is waxen so greate, that they gyue no force whether theyr wyckednesse and vyolence (wherby they oppresse the poore) be knowne or no, but speake openly of soche[.]  
(*PD*, sig. K2<sup>v</sup>)
- 15 *fayne*] glad ('fain', *adj.*, 1a)  
18 *w<sup>t</sup> out...blame*] i.e., 'without considering blame'  
20 *symple*] Surrey's addition  
21-22 *suche proofes...sauer*] adapts Campensis, 73:10, and possibly borrows Coverdale's phrasing:
- Camp. 10. Propter huismodi fluctuabit populum dei, nunc hoc nunc illud in animoversans: et hec veluti aque amarissime pleno calice obrudentur illis vt bibant.  
(*PO*, sig. K5<sup>v</sup>)
- Cov. 10. Soche thynges shall cause y<sup>e</sup> people of God to wauer, reuoluinge in theyr mynde now one thing nowe another & these thynges lyke bytter waters in a full cuppe, shalbe set before them to dryncke.  
(*PD*, sig. K3<sup>f</sup>)
- 22 *sauer*] smell, or perhaps 'flavour' ('savour', *n.*, 2a; 3a)  
26 *Foled be...is*] 'The deceived ['abused'] person who believes that God allows the righteous to suffer is like one fooled with trifling fables'. The line is Surrey's addition.  
27 *in terro<sup>r</sup>...iust*] i.e., 'to the terror of the just'  
30 *distayne*] disdain  
32 *and from...begoon*] a probable allusion to Coverdale's translation: 'and by tymes in the mornynge hath my chastysynge begonne' (*PD*, sig. K3<sup>f</sup>). However, Surrey literalises the early life/morning metaphor.  
34 *gan*] began ('gin', *v.<sup>l</sup>*, 1a)  
36 *hollye*] holy  
*domes*] judgements ('doom', *n.*, 2)  
37 *dought*] doubt  
*distrust*] distrusted  
43 *charged harts...care*] i.e., 'hearts burdened with troubles' ('charge', *adj.*, 1a)  
49-50 *and till...dispayre*] adapts Campensis, 73:21:

- Camp. 21. Interum veluti acore quodam macerabit se cor meum, et torquebo me cogitationibus meis.  
(*PO*, sig. K6<sup>v</sup>)
- Cov. 21. In the meane tyme my harte shall vexe me euen as wyth bytternesse, and I shall payne my selfe wyth myne owne thoughtes.  
(*PD*, sig. K3<sup>v</sup>)
- 50 *bitwne*] scribal error for ‘between’
- 53 *alas how...decaye*] Surrey’s addition, possibly with a personal application  
*framed*] contrived, plotted (‘frame’, v., 6a)
- 54 *drenche*] drown (‘drench’, v., 2)  
*stay*] support, sustain (‘stay’, v.<sup>2</sup>, 1a)
- 55 *and in...voyage*] picks up on ‘itineris’ (Coverdale: ‘iourney’) in Campensis, 73:24
- 60 *behight*] promise (‘behight’, n.)
- 63-66 *where I...race*] Hughey (II.107) notes that the psalmist’s claim that faith guarantees his prior election is much more forthright than the Vulgate, 72:28, and Campensis, 73:27, who both merely state that is beneficial to be in God’s favour:
- Vulgate 28. Mihi autem adherere Deo bonum est ponere in Domino Deo spem meam ut adnuntiem omnes praedicationes tuas in portis filiae Sion.
- Bible* 28. But it is good for me, to holde me fast by God, to put my trust in the LORDE God, and to speake of all thy workes.  
(sig. 2D6<sup>r</sup>)
- Camp. 27. Quare ego quum mihi persuasissem vtilissimum fore, amicitiam cum deo vero inire, collocaui in domino deo omnem fiduciam meam, futurum sperans: vt ille mihi facultatem det conscribendi varia illa & summo artificio absoluta opera, que facit assidue.  
(*PO*, sig. K7<sup>r</sup>)
- Cov. 27. Wherefore when I had persuaded my selfe that it shulde be very profytable for me to come in fauore wyth the true GOD I set all my confidence in the lorde God, trustynge that in tyme to come he wolde gyue me lycence to wrytte those dyuerse and most perfyte workes whyche he hath contynually in hande.  
(*PD*, sig. K4<sup>r</sup>)

### Collations

*P* is the best text, with one error compared to four in *AH* (fol. 53<sup>r-v</sup>). *P*’s error is ‘iniquitye’ in l. 27, a clear scribal miscopying of ‘iniquitye’ which adds a syllable and renders the line hypermetrical. In *NA3*, Park emended the error. Three of the corruptions in *AH* are all of the same type: ‘powres’ in l. 42, ‘dreames’ in l. 43, and ‘others succours’ in l. 59 are all plurals which are inferior to the singular readings ‘power’, ‘dreme’, and ‘other succo<sup>r</sup>’ in *P*. The

remaining misreading is ‘with’ in l. 22. The four corrected readings in ll. 13, 18, 47, and 49 of *P* suggest that it was checked against *AH* and revised accordingly.

Title **Qm bonus Israel Deus. Ps: Lxxiiij** Qm bonus Israel Deus Ps. Lxxiiij *AH*, Quam bonus Israel, Deus Ps. lxxiii. *NA3*

- 13      glutten] gluttyd *AH*  
 18      skourge<s>] skourdge *AH*  
 22      lyke] with *AH*  
 27      iniquitye] iniquitie *AH*  
 35      as] whan *AH*  
 42      power] powres *AH*  
 43      dreme] dreames *AH*  
 47      <fleshe> ^fleace^] fleece *AH*  
 49      <rare> ^care^] care *AH*  
 59      other succo<sup>r</sup>] others succours *AH*

## [59]

Poem [59] is Surrey’s paraphrase of Ps. 55 (Vulgate, Ps. 54). Its status as Surrey’s final paraphrase is probable for several reasons. First, the bitter tone of the psalm chosen, with its frequent expostulations against enemies and emphasis on betrayal, give the paraphrase a sharper tenor than its counterparts, and possibly intimates Surrey’s increasing isolation and anger as he awaited execution. From ll. 42-47, Surrey abandons the Vulgate and Campensis altogether to mount an apparently personal attack on his enemies. Second, [59] is unfinished in both *P* and *AH*. Both include the first part of verse 23 in Latin, but abandon its remaining section and the concluding verse 24. It is possible that Surrey did not have time to complete the poem. Third, as Sessions points out, the difficult syntax of [59] and its occasionally rough phrases perhaps suggest that Surrey was unable to revise or refine its lines (Sessions, 2006: 376). These characteristics, however, may be due in part to Surrey’s use of an unrhymed iambic hexameter rather than poulter’s measure for the poem which, like his blank verse experiment in the *Aeneid*, gave him greater syntactical freedom. Cheke adopted this form for [65]-[67] in *P*, and may have followed Surrey’s example (see Headnote to [65]-[68]).

In general, ll. 1-41 remain close to the Vulgate, 54:1-22, and Campensis, 54:1-22, but commentators have been keen to locate historical figures in Surrey's lines. Both Bapst and Casady identified Richard Southwell, who helped to secure Surrey's arrest, as the 'friendly foo' in l. 22; this renders the Vulgate, 54:13: 'inimicus' ('enemy') (Bapst, 1891: 346-355; Casady, 1938: 190-195). Brigden discusses several men at Court to whom Surrey may obliquely refer in his invocation of 'the coniured league' (l. 13), including those who testified against him such as Gawain Carew, Edmund Knyvet, Edward Rogers, and Edward Warner, the possible addressee of [38] (1994: 507-537). She suggests that the 'friowr' in l. 42 is possibly one Dr John Fryer, a Protestant with whom Surrey may have discussed religion; he seems to have converted to Catholicism and may then have betrayed Surrey (Brigden, 1994: 535-536). If the phrase 'friendly foo' does have a personal application, it is possible that Fryer, rather than Southwell, is Surrey's intended target.

Surrey's paraphrase of Ps. 55 may well have influenced John Dudley, Earl of Warwick (1527?-1554) during his own imprisonment after his father, the Duke of Northumberland's, fell in 1553 for attempting to install Lady Jane Grey on the throne. Warwick chose the same psalm, but composed it in poulter's measure. This poem survives in *AH*, fol. 209<sup>r</sup>.

- 1        *suit*] petition, supplication ('suit', v., 11a)  
           *fromward*] from this place ('fromward', *adv.*, B., 1)
- 2        *herking*] harking; given the imperative tone here, it is a probable scribal error for  
           'harken', the reading in *AH*.
- 3        *bray*] cry harshly ('bray', v.<sup>1</sup>, 1a)  
           *eke*] also, moreover ('eke', *adv.*)  
           *threpe on*] press on ('threpe', v., 4c)
- 4        *buckeled*] prepared, armed; possibly with a metaphorical sense of fastening armour  
           ('buckle', v., 2a)  
           *scathe*] hurt, harm, damage ('scathe', *n.*, 2a)
- 5        *entrayles*] inner parts, insides ('entail', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a; 5a)  
           *traueyleth*] troubles ('travail', v., 1a)  
           *spryte*] spirit
- 6        *enuyroneth*] surrounds, encircles ('environ', v., 1b)
- 12       *skape*] escape, aphetic to aid the scansion ('scape', v., 1)
- 13       *rayne*] reign

- coniured league*] band of schemers, traitors ('conjured', *adj.*, 1); the phrase is Surrey's addition. Compare Surrey's translation of Book 2 of the *Aeneis*: 'They ioyne them selues with the coniured bandes' (sig. B2<sup>r</sup>).
- 14 *for I...stryfe*] i.e., 'for I have deciphered the strife amid our town'
- 16 *market stede*] marketplace
- 19 *by harme...lesse*] The meaning is unclear. The phrase means either (i) 'by harm so expected that I esteem it half as much (as if it were unexpected)' or (ii) 'by harm so clearly intended by my foes that I value it half as much (as if it were a surprise)'
- 20 *happ*] fortune
- 22 *shadow*] pretence ('shadow', *n.*, 6h)
- 23 *ferē*] companion, comrade; for the phrase, compare Surrey, [33].46, and 'Eche beast can chuse his fere' (Hughey, I: 1960: [75].11)
- 24 *cure of...care*] i.e., 'the care of all my troubles' ('cure', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a); the construction is somewhat pleonastic.
- 25 *secreat zeale*] Simpson suggests that the phrase is a reference to Surrey's possible Protestant affiliations (Simpson, 2007: 160).
- 26 *such soden...deuoure*] renders the Vulgate, Ps. 54:16: 'veniat mors super illos et descendant in infernum viventes', and Coverdale, 54:16: 'Let death come hastely vpon them, and let them go downe quick into hell' (*Bible*, sig. 2D3<sup>r</sup>). Commentators have acknowledged the difficulties of the elliptical syntax and heavy corrections in *P*'s line, which make the final reading unclear (see below). *AH* is in error in this line. Nott (I.83) emended *P*'s 'them' to 'him', which gives 'With such sudden surprise, quick may him hell devour'; Hughey (II.110) did likewise: 'May death him sudden surprise; quick may him hell devour'.
- 28 *that*] i.e., 'the point that...'
- disscends*] descends
- 29 *<h>aulture*] height, zenith ('alture', *n.*)
- wynn*] gain
- and hyde...see*] Surrey's addition; the meaning is obscure.
- 30 *hott effect*] For the phrase, compare Surrey, [54].23.
- 32 *compactts*] plots, conspiracies ('compact', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1c); the earliest date the *OED* cites for this sense of the noun is 1616.
- 32-33 *It was...myne*] Surrey's addition, which substitutes for the Vulgate, 54:19.

- 33 *prelooked*] looked beforehand ('prelook', *v.*); the *OED* cites the verb as Surrey's coinage. For Surrey's sense of enemies waiting in anticipation, compare Coverdale, Ps. 54:4: 'It is he that delyuereth my soule in peace, from them that laye waite for me' (*Bible*, sig. 2D3<sup>r</sup>)
- 35-36 *whome by...hand*] Nott (I: 397) suggests '[t]hose whom he could not divert from sin by any remonstrances of conscience, however dread, he smites with heavy hand.'
- 37 *force*] strength, fortitude ('force', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 6)
- 38-39 *butter fales...smothe*] Surrey's probable model is Coverdale, *Great Bible*, Ps. 54:21: 'The wordes of hys mouth were softer then butter, hauynge warres in his hert: hys wordes were smother then oyle, and yet be they uery sweardes' (1540; STC 2069, sig. 2B3<sup>r</sup>).
- 40 *suffraunce*] endurance, forbearance ('sufferance', *n.*, 1)
- 41 *fyle*] i.e., 'be filed'
- 42 *harm and tounge*] The doublet is unusual; Nott (I.397) emended 'harm' for 'heart', though without authority.
- presents*] represents, embodies ('present', *v.*, 3a)
- 43 *false woolves..hyde*] alludes to the proverb 'Wolf in sheep's clothing' (*ODEP*, 907; Tilley, W 614), derived from Matthew 7:15. Compare Blage's lines in [58] Headnote.
- ravin*] rapacity, greed ('ravin', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 3)
- 45 *who*] looks back to either 'friowr' ([59].42) or 'woolves'([59].43)
- though force...lyfe*] i.e. 'though their power injured my reputation, they did not threaten my life'
- 46 *patching*] deceitful, villainous, foolish ('patching', *adj.*<sup>1</sup>); the earliest date that the *OED* cites for the adjective is 1555.
- 47 *thother phalme...David*] Surrey's allusion is unclear; Padelford (232) suggests that he 'meant not another Psalm, but the untranslated verse [23] of the present Psalm'.
- 48 *Iacta curam...te'enuriet*] 'Cast your care upon the lord and he will nourish you', the first words of the Vulgate, Ps. 54:23

### Collations

*P* and *AH* (fols 53<sup>v</sup>-54<sup>r</sup>) have two errors apiece, and a crux in l. 26, for which no surviving source has an entirely clear version. In the absence of further witnesses, it is difficult to gain an accurate sense of Surrey's line. *P*'s clear errors are 'herking' in l. 2 for 'herken' in *AH* (see

2n. above) and the redundant ‘the thother’ in l. 47 against ‘the other’ in *AH*. Park emended ‘herking’ to ‘sinking’, but clearly misunderstood that the line here requires an imperative form. *P* appears to share *AH*’s first error with the ametrical l. 15, though ‘do’ has not been deleted clearly. If restored, it would give *P*’s line the correct twelve syllables. The second error in *AH* is ‘Coales’ in l. 43. Hughey (II.108) suggests that *AH* may have taken its reading in l. 43 from another, unrelated MS witness due to a crux in *P* and *AH*’s source. However, *P*’s reading ‘cootes’ is not certain, as the character is obscured by the loop of a ‘g’ in the line above. It is possible, therefore, that *P* also has ‘cooles’, here presumably with the sense ‘embers’ or ‘ashes’ (‘coal, *n.*, 1a; 1c). Perhaps ‘cootes’ is the correct reading, but a corruption was present in the common source of *P* and *AH*, who both replicated it. Park gives ‘cooles’ in in *NA3*, so apparently understood it to be the reading in *P*. With those readings in ll. 15 and 43 considered corrupt, *P* would commit four errors in total.

Hughey (II.108) discusses the textual crux in l. 26 of *P* and *AH*, and speculates that either reading may have been interpolated from another copy of the poem. *AH* gives ‘hym self’, which initially appears erroneous on two counts when juxtaposed with the Vulgate, 54:16, and Coverdale, 54:16 (see 26n. above). It substitutes ‘self’ for hell and makes singular the plural invocation in the biblical texts. In context, however, the reading ‘hym’ may not be as corrupt as it seems, given that it appears to refer specifically to the psalmist’s ‘frendly foo’. *P*’s ‘them hell’ is closer to the Vulgate, but may not fit the context of [59] as well as *AH*. This line is also the product of considerable tinkering by the scribal Hand C.<sup>48</sup> The original reading appears to have been ‘hym hele’, after which Hand C has written ‘e’ over the ‘y’ of ‘hym’ and added an initial ‘t’, which may or may not show the marks of an attempted deletion. Hand C also converted the second ‘e’ in ‘hele’ to an ‘l’, but the first ‘e’ has been retraced, possibly to convert it into ‘o’. This would produce the (unwarranted) reading ‘holl’, i.e., ‘whole’. Park gave the reading ‘hym hell’ in *NA3*. Both *AH* and *P* may be in error in this knotted line, with Surrey’s original version irrecoverable.

Like [52].43, *P* was evidently edited by a scribal agent other than Hand C. This correcting hand made emendations in ll. 7, 15, 16, 18, and 20 which agree with the readings in *AH*, and suggest that *P* was checked against it and then revised accordingly. The fact that l. 26 was not brought into line with *AH* may indicate that the check was only partial.

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<sup>48</sup> See the textual notes in the transcript of [59] in Vol. I, pp. 224-225.

Title **Exaudi Deus orationem meam: PS:55'** Exaudi Deus orationem meam: Ps:- 55' *AH*,  
Exaudi, Deus, orationem meam. Ps. lv. *NA3*

2 herking] herken *AH*, sinking *NA3*

7 ^of dred^ clene] of dread cleane *AH*

15 wrong <^do^> kep<^e^ <the> walles] wronge kepe walles *AH*

16 myscheif ^ioyn'd^ <ek>] myschief ioyn'de *AH*

18 <then> ^ne^] ne *AH*

20 <not> ^for^] for *AH*

26 them hell] hym self *AH*, hym hell *NA3*

30 moueth] moves *AH*

43 cootes] Coales *AH*, cooles *NA3*

47 the thother] the other *AH*; phalme] psalme *AH*

*After 47, AH adds:*

id est

cast thie care vpon the Lord and he shal norishe thee

~~~~~

[60]-[63]

POEMS PROBABLY BY JOHN HARINGTON OF STEPNEY

Poems [60]-[63] almost certainly constitute a fourth grouping by John Harington of Stepney in *P* alongside [13]-[14], [16]-[18], and [19]-[31].<sup>49</sup> Sir John attributed both [60] and [63] to his father in *OF*, and [62] to him in the *Catalogue of Bishops* (see below). The placement of [61], a two-line posy, in the grouping also makes Harington a chief candidate for its authorship. This posy is of the same general type and form as those in the section of 'divers sentences' that the Haringtons compiled in *AH*, fols 27<sup>v</sup>-30<sup>f</sup>. Mary Thomas Crane suggests that the desire to compile posies and maxims in general stemmed from the humanist model of education, which recommended gathering and recycling such material in the interest of

<sup>49</sup> For a discussion of [60]-[63] as a probable Harington grouping, see Vol. I, p. 30.



attaining knowledge (Crane, 1993: 166). Though the elder Harington probably did not receive such an education, he was acquainted with Cheke and, on the evidence of [63], Walter Haddon. Harington probably knew Roger Ascham through his period serving Thomas Seymour and Catherine Parr at Hatfield and Chelsea in 1547-8, where Ascham was Princess Elizabeth's tutor. Like poem [16], [60] is occasional, which May discerns as a general feature of Harington's known early Elizabethan verse (May, 1991: 56). Poem [62] in the grouping also has an occasional basis, but is Marian in date.

The scribal evidence supports the argument that [60]-[63] form a discrete Harington grouping. The scribe of [60]-[62] is Hand B; [63] is the work of Hand G. Hand B is also principally responsible for entering the other Harington groupings, with the exception of [13] and [14].

## [60]

Poem [60] is apparently unique to *P* in its full form, though Sir John prints a variant version of the sestet in a Note in Book 8 of *OF*, where he attributes it to his father:

for as soone is a temperat and moderat mynde discourered in prosperitie as in aduersitie, and (as Tully saith) a wise man is neither *Aduersis rebus oppressus nec elatus secundis*: to which effect I remember a verse of my fathers, written to an Earle may yeares since.

Such one is ware by what degrees he clymes,  
 Rather pleasant then proud in high estate,  
 Rather bold then abashit in lowring times,  
 And can in both so well vphold his state,  
 As many would but few can do or none,  
 Of which few sort, I wish your Lordship one.

(sig. F3<sup>r</sup>)

Hughey comments that Sir John's lines were probably excerpted from a longer poem, though she does not recognise this poem as an alternate text of [60] (Hughey, 1971: 259). The date of the elder Harington's composition of [60] is unknown; May suggests, based on Sir John's excerpt, that it is probably early Elizabethan (May, 1991: 326). The poem is apparently tied to a specific occasion, and offers advice to an unknown earl. It accordingly takes shape as a *bricolage* of moral soundbites, most of which have a humanist character. Harington offers his addressee counsel on the value of foresight (ll. 1-2), learning from precedents (ll. 3-4), and the need to conquer desires and embrace the *via media* in life. As in [61], with which [60] has

clear connections, Harington may have taken his influence in these details from associates such as Cheke.

In form, Harington combines regular accentual-syllabic scansion with an experimental rhyme scheme of *abba acbc dede ff*, in which each quatrain has a different pattern of rhyme. The dedication to formal experimentation is also a keynote of [19]-[25] and [27]-[31]. Here, Harington perhaps intended his form to impress the unknown earl as much as the gravity of the words contained therein.

- 1-2 *Who so...woon*] ‘The man who can consider the (potential) consequences of his actions seldom pursues things which it is better not to have.’
- 3 *shoon*] shun
- 9 *ware*] aware, aphetic to aid the scansion (‘ware’, v.<sup>l</sup>, 1a; 3a)
- 12 *eyther chance...rate*] i.e., ‘can make use of either kind of fortune (good or ill) to such good effect’
- 14 *L<sup>o</sup>*] abbreviation for ‘Lordship’

### Collations

The version of the sestet of [60] in *OF* is wanting in BL, Add. MS 18920 (*AdI*) and Bod. MS Rawlinson Poet. 125 (*Bod*), the MS copies of Sir John’s translation of *Orlando Furioso*. The substantive variants in the *OF* fragment may come from an different stage in the elder Harington’s reworking of the sonnet, though it is possible that they are Sir John’s own alterations. In l. 14, ‘small’ in *P* against ‘few’ in *OF* is superior insofar as it alliterates with ‘sort’. Line 4 in the *OF* fragment is wholly variant to l. 12 in [60]. Both fit the context, though the version in *OF* is arguably more decorous in phrasing.

- 10 great] high *OF* [as l. 2]
- 11 sowrist] lowring *OF* [as l. 3]
- 12 and eyther chance can vse in so good rate] And can in both so well vphold his state *OF* [as l. 4]
- 14 small] few *OF* [as l. 6]

[61]

1 *wind]* go, turn ('wind', v.<sup>1</sup>, 2a; 7a)

[62]

Poem [62] is the elder Harington's poetic complaint to Stephen Gardiner (1495x8-1555), Mary I's Lord Chancellor and Bishop of Winchester, almost certainly written from prison in early 1554/5. In addition to *P*, the poem survives in four other MSS and four printed texts, including *NA1-3* (see below). Each of these poems has a Harington provenance; all but two come from versions of Sir John's *Catalogue of Bishops*, who includes the poem in his section on 'Winchester' and assigns it to his father:

[S<sup>r</sup> Matthew Arundell] would say that my father was worthie to haue layn a yeare longer in prison for the sawcie Sonnet he wrat to [Gardiner] from out of the tower, which sonnet both bycause it was written in defence of Queene Elizabeth, and because (if I be not partiall) it is no ill vearse, for those vnrefyned tymes, and toucheth the matter I enforce, I do here sett downe . Presupposing that in the Eleven months before, hee had sent him many letters and petitions full of reason (that could not prevaile) for his liberty. the distressed Prisoner wryteth this Ryme.

(BL, Royal MS 17 B XXII (*Ro*), fol. 334<sup>v</sup>)

Harington was detained in early 1553/4 by Gardiner, who suspected his involvement in the rebellion which Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, planned in reaction to Mary I's proposed marriage to Philip II of Spain. Harington appears to have entered the service of Suffolk in 1552, renewing an acquaintance which was begun in 1547/8 (see Headnote to [16]). Suffolk's rebellion in Leicestershire complemented that which Sir Thomas Wyatt the Younger organised in Kent. Hughey gives a full account of the circumstances which led to Harington's apprehension (Hughey, 1971: 41-46). Gardiner's incriminating evidence was a letter, now lost, that he found in Suffolk's former property of the Minories in London, which had been leased to Harington and George Medley in 1553 (Tomlinson, 1907: 112-113):

Master secretary [Petre], after my most hartly commendations: In the mornyng I thought good to serch the Mynoresse and Medles lodging there for letters, and, among other, founde a letter lately wrytten by Harington, which Harington cam to me this night, and, after examination. I have taken him tardy by occasion of that letter and kepe him with me as prisoner this night, entending in the morning to send him to the Towre[.]

(Muller, 1933: 456)

Harington's committal to the Tower may have been delayed, as he seems to have entered its precincts on 8 February 1553/4 (Hughey, 1971: 233, 247n.). Writing to Gardiner during his imprisonment, Harington informed the Lord Chancellor that the letter which indicted him was to be delivered as a 'special good will to the Ladie Elizabeth', being 'sente from one that had such ryghte to gyve mee his commande, and to one that had such ryghte to all myne hartie sarvyce' (*NA1*, I, pp. 63-64). The first figure that Harington identifies is perhaps Suffolk. In total, Harington spent over eleven months in the Tower, a fact to which ll. 10 and 11 draw bitter attention. This would date the poem to in or about January 1554/5, shortly before Harington's release. His name appears among other discharged prisoners in an item listed in John Stow and Edmond Howe's *Annales* (STC 23338) which is dated 'the 18. of Ianuarie' (p. 626), having paid a fine of £100 to obtain his freedom (*APC*, V, 1892: 90-91). This represented one final payment in a costly release-seeking enterprise which Sir John estimates at £1000 in the *Catalogue* (*NA2*, I, p. 52; *NA3*, II, 1804: 67).

In form, Harington adopts an unusual nine-line stanza with a rhyme scheme of *ababccddd*. Hughey notes that he apparently modelled this stanza on a possible Wyatt poem preserved in *D*, fol. 4<sup>r</sup>, and *B*, fol. 67<sup>r</sup> (Hughey, II, 1960: 28). M&T print the poem from *B* with the first stanza as follows:

At last withdraw youre crueltye,  
Or let me dy at ons;  
Hit ys to mych extremety  
Devysid for the nons,  
To hold me styll alyve  
In paynes still for to stryve.  
Whatt maye I more susteigne?  
Alas! that dy wold fayne,  
and cannot dy for payne.

(M&T: CXIV)

Harington also takes ll. 1 and 3 of [62] *litteratim* from this poem, though presses it into the service of a political rather than love complaint. Hughey notes several stylistic and rhetorical features which are common to Harington's known verse in [62] (Hughey, 1971: 262). Chief among these is alliteration ([62].13-15) and balancing antitheses on either side of the caesura ([62].8-9, 18), the second of which is also a feature of [17]. Amid its general invective, the poem contains libellous lines which refer to Gardiner's previous and less powerful appointment as secretary to Wolsey and Henry VIII (l. 24), and which characterise him and his fellow Catholics as 'hownds in hell' (l. 35). The tenor of these lines is similar to those in

Harington's libellous epitaph on Gardiner, 'Heer lye the bones of busy Gardiner dead' (Hughey, 1971: II A 8).

- 1        *lest*] least
- 5        *voyd of*] devoid of ('void', *adj.* 12a)
- 11       *driftes*] schemes, plots ('drift', *n.*, 5)
- 13       *shiftes*] strategems ('shift', *n.*, 3a).
- 13-15   *and...gile*] Gardiner had a long-standing reputation among his usually Protestant enemies enemies for craftiness. J. A. Muller notes that Gardiner was popularly nicknamed 'Wily Winchester' (Muller, 1926: 303). This was perhaps the coinage of John Foxe, who refers in the *Actes and Monumentes* to 'wily Winchester with his crafty fetches' (1583; STC 11223, p. 1296) when describing Gardiner's part in facilitating the Act of Six Articles in 1539. These restricted the progress of Protestant reform.
- 15       *in any...gile*] i.e., 'for any transgression, by any means necessary'
- 19-20   *Yo' chance...will*] Gardiner was imprisoned for most of Edward VI's reign from 30 June 1548 until Mary I released him on 3 August 1553, during which time he was deprived of his see of Winchester ('Gardiner, Stephen', *ODNB*). Gardiner was therefore a fellow prisoner of Harington's in 1549.
- 20       *hold*] confinement, imprisonment ('hold', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 4)
- 22       *swarue*] swerve, deviate (from the right course) ('swerve', *v.*, 3a)
- 23       *his*] its
- 24       *the priste...was*] Prior to taking over the see of Winchester in 1531, Gardiner was secretary to Cardinal Wolsey (1524-1529) and Henry VIII (1530-1531) (*ODNB*). He therefore lacked the power he wielded in 1554. In recalling these appointments, Harington lands an additional blow by emphasising that Gardiner was once a mere scrivener.
- 27       *skill*] cause, reason ('skill', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 3a)
- 28       *plain*] complain
- 30-33   *whan cawse...tuche*] a probable allusion to the persecution of Protestants in Mary I's reign. Gardiner had a chief role both in determining and enforcing policy in this area. In February, 1554/5, shortly after the probable date of [62], Gardiner helped to reintroduce the heresy laws of Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V, repealed in Edward VI's reign (Hughey, 1971: 263n.). In the the summer of 1555, he oversaw

the Privy Council decision to approve the execution of heretics ('Gardiner, Stephen', *ODNB*).

- 33 *can no...tuche*] probably 'can in no way accuse, censure', on account of their innocence ('touch', *v.*, 19a)
- 35 *shrin'd*] enclosed, like a relic or saint ('shrine', *v.*, 1a; 3a); the usage here is ironic as part of a wish that Gardiner and his 'kind' be committed to hell.
- 36 *then...mynd*] i.e., 'than you should be given free rein to realise your wishes'
- 39 *fetche*] trick, stratagem ('fetch', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 2)
- 40 *torn*] turn
- noy*] i.e., annoy, harm, injure ('noy', *v.*, 1a)

### Collations

- Ad4* BL, Add. MS 46370, fols 7<sup>v</sup>-8<sup>r</sup>
- AH* Harrington MS Temp. Eliz. (Arundel Harrington MS), fol. 24<sup>r-v</sup>
- Ch* John Chetwind, *A Briefe View of the State of the Church* (London, 1653), pp. 47-48
- NA1* *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1769-1775), I, pp. 103-104
- NA2* *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1779), I, pp. 54-56
- NA3* *Nugæ Antiquæ* (1804), II, pp. 70-72
- P* BL, Add. MS 36529, fols. 67<sup>v</sup>-68<sup>r</sup>
- Ro* BL, Royal MS 17B XXII, folS 334<sup>r</sup>-335<sup>r</sup>
- Y* York Minster MS XVI.L.6, p. 32

Alongside *P* and *AH*, the three Harrington MSS which preserve a full text of [62] are MS copies of Sir John Harrington's *The Catalogue of Bishops*. *Ad4* is the earlier, autograph MS of the *Catalogue*; *Ro* is the fair copy, dated 1608, which Harrington made for Prince Henry. It was formerly considered autograph, but Croft persuasively showed that the italic scribal hand is not Sir John's but that of a household scribe (Croft, 1983: 39-75). *Y* is Sir John's autograph MS copy of his *Tract on the Succession to the Crown*, wherein he excerpts the third stanza of the poem (ll. 19-27). The four printed texts are also associated with the Harringtons. *Ch* is Sir John's grandson John Chetwind's *A Briefe View of the State of the Church of England* (1653; Wing / H770), which reprints the *Catalogue*. The second, third, and fourth printed copies are *NA1-3*. Henry Harrington printed the poem as a stand-alone piece separate from the *Catalogue* in *NA1*, I, pp. 103-104. In *NA2*, I, pp. 53-54, the poem is printed as part of a full text of the *Catalogue*, as it is in Thomas Park's edition, *NA3*, II, pp. 70-71.

Hughey chose *AH* as her copy-text, which, alongside *P*, is probably the earliest extant witness to the poem (Hughey, 1971: II A 7). On account of their conjunctive error ‘cannot’ in l. 9, which makes their respective lines ammetrical, *P* and *AH* descend from a hypothetical ancestor (*X*) which pre-dated Sir John’s emendations to the text for the *Catalogue*. *P* commits three further errors with ‘forgat’ in l. 24, and ‘life’ and ‘euyll’ in l. 43. It also uniquely switches round the pronouns ‘I’ and ‘you’ in ll. 21 and 22, though these are not clear misreadings. Of these errors, the past tense form of ‘forgat’ complements ‘cried’ in l. 25, but omits the immediacy of Harington’s sardonic remark to Gardiner in this line. The corruptions in l. 43, ‘life’ and ‘euyll’, distort the sense; the second also contrives to give the line a redundant syllable. *AH* also has a total of four errors, adding the two in ll. 21-22, which switch round ‘sware’ and ‘swarue’ to distort the sense, as well as ‘Wrestes’ in l. 27. In l. 10 of *AH*, a later reviser has emended the reading ‘full’ to ‘past’, thus bringing it into line with the later copies.

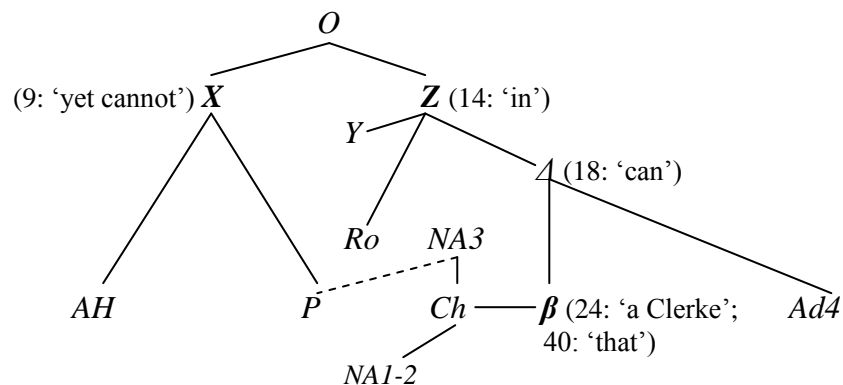
These later copies are all related; they almost certainly bear witness to Sir John’s successive reworkings of the poem, which lead to a complicated textual genealogy. *Ad4*, *Ro*, *Ch* and *NAI-3* (and probably *Y*) all appear to derive from a common ancestor (*Z*), which corrected the ammetrical reading in *P*’s and *AH*’s l. 9, but transmitted the error ‘in’ in l. 14. *Ro* has the two independent errors ‘and you ^then^’ against ‘and you that then’ in l. 25, and ‘<th>’hurlers’ in l. 38. These give it three errors overall, and therefore some claim to being the best text. Whereas *Ro*, and possibly *Y*, descend directly from *Z*, a further intermediary (*A*) is ancestral to *Ad4*, *Ch*, and *NAI-3*, which contained the error ‘can’ in l. 18. To this, *Ad4* adds the independent errors ‘against’ in l. 38 and ‘when<as>’ in l. 40, producing four in total.

From *A*, *Ch* and *NAI-3* pass through another intermediary (*β*), which retained the corruptions in ll. 14 and 18 and committed a further two: ‘a Clerke’ in l. 24, and ‘that’ in l. 40. *NAI-2* indisputably take their text from Chetwind; Park, however, made two independent corrections to *NA3* in ll. 18 and 24, and attempted to add a third so in l. 40, only to replace ‘that’ with the misprint ‘i’. The source of Park’s corrections is most probably *P*, given his ownership of the MS at the time of his work on *NA3*. Additional evidence is supplied through his revision of ‘bounds back’ in l. 38 to ‘rebounds’, in line with *P*. *Ro*, however, is also a possible source as it contains the reading ‘rebounds’ and shares the error ‘twere’ with *NA3* in l. 34, though the second may be coincidental. On balance, *P* is Park’s likelier source. In total, *Ch* has four errors (ll. 14, 18, 24, and 40), and *NAI-2* five, the first of which adds the misprint ‘hetter’ in l. 34, and the second the error ‘add’ in l. 36. *NA3* has three errors (ll. 14, 34, 40).

Title	John Harington, from the Tower, to Gardener, Bishop of Winchester, 1554. <i>NA1</i>
5	fault] fawt <i>AH</i>
7	vse] doe <i>Ad4 Ro Ch NA1-3</i>
8	offer] proffer <i>Ad4 Ro Ch NA1-3</i>
9	yet <u>can</u> ] Yet can not <i>AH</i> , nor can <i>Ad4 Ro Ch NA1-3</i>
10	full] <full> ^past^ <i>AH</i> , past <i>Ad4 Ro Ch NA1-3</i>
11	indur'd] endured <i>AH</i> , abid <i>Ad4 Ro Ch NA1-3</i>
12	whil'st] while <i>Ad4 Ro Ch NA1-3</i>
14	w <sup>l</sup> ] in <i>Ad4 Ro Ch NA1-3</i>
15	in] with <i>Ad4</i> , With <i>R Ch NA1-3</i>
16	it] that <i>Ch NA1-2</i>
18	ought] can <i>Ad4 Ch NA1-2</i>
21	sware] swarve <i>AH</i> ; I] you <i>AH Ad4 Ro Ch NA1-3 Y</i>
22	you swarue] I sware, <i>AH</i> , I swerve <i>Ad4 Ro Ch NA1-3 Y</i>
23	world] would <i>Ad4</i>
24	forgat] forgeates <i>AH</i> , forgets <i>Ad4 Ro Ch NA1-3 Y</i> ; that clarke] a Clerke <i>Ch NA1-2</i>
25	and you that then] and you ^then^ cryed <i>Ro</i>
27	wrest] Wrestes <i>AH</i>
29	thoghe] if <i>Ch NA1-2</i>
31	as England through] <when cause doth> ^as^ England through <i>Ad</i>
33	as] when <as> <i>Ad4</i> , Whom <i>Ch NA1-2</i>
34	better] hetter <i>NA1</i> ; wer] twere <i>Ro</i> , 'twere <i>NA3</i>
36	had] add <i>NA2</i>
38	some time] somtimes <i>Ro</i> ; rebounds] bownds back <i>AH Ad4 Ch NA1-2</i> ; on] against <i>Ad4</i> ; th'urlers] <th'> hurlers <i>Ro</i>
40	<bost> ^brest^] brest <i>AH Ad4 Ro Ch NA1-3</i> ; it] that <i>Ch NA1 NA2</i> , i <i>NA3</i>
43	euill] yll <i>AH</i> , ill <i>Ad4 Ro Ch NA1-3</i> ; life] yf <i>AH Ad4</i> , if <i>Ro Ch NA1-3</i>



Errors

1  
2  
3  
4  
5

[63]

Source: Walter Haddon, 'Praecepta coniugii mariti postulata':

Uxor, si cupias mihi placere,  
 Semper prima dei, secunda nostri,  
 Tum sit tertia cura liberorum.  
 Aedes fac sine sordibus nitere.  
 Mensae propisce, provide puellis. [5]  
 Vultu sis hilari, tamen modesto.  
 Mores sint faciles, tamen pudici.  
 Vestis sobria sit, vacetque labe.  
 Cum laetus fuero, dolore noli,  
 Nec cum tristis ero, decet iocari. [10]  
 Et quemcunque vides mihi placere,  
 Fac hunc esse tibi putes amicum.  
 Quicquid dixero, ne palam refelle.  
 Clam, quod displicet, admonere debes.  
 Arcanum tibi si revelo, caela. [15]  
 Nec te suspicio sinistra vexet.  
 Si te laesero, vulnus indicabis.  
 Me si commoveas, fatere crimen.  
 In lectum veniat nihil querelae.  
 Somnus sit modicus. Precare mane. [20]  
 Cum surrexeris, occupata vive.  
 Non credes nimium, parum loquere.  
 Nec coram tibi disputare fas est.  
 Responsare cave, caveque murmur.  
 Te coniuge bonis, malos relinque. [25]  
 Sit vitae probitas, fidesque linguae.  
 Morum denique sit pudor magister.  
 Haec si feceris, in sinu iacebis.

(Lees, 1967: No. 37)

['If you desire to please me, wife,  
 First God esteem, then ourselves;  
 Let the third concern be of children.

Make the house clean, and free of filthiness.  
 Look to the table, make provision for the maids. [5]  
 Let your countenance be cheerful but modest.  
 Let your habits be courteous, but virtuous.  
 Let your dress be sober, and free of gaudiness.  
 When I am joyful, be not sad,  
 Nor be jovial when I am unhappy. [10]  
 And whosoever you see, be satisfactory to me,  
 And make my friend to be a friend to you.  
 Do not rebut whatever I say in the presence of others  
 Whatever displeases you, you ought to address in private.  
 If I disclose a secret to you, keep it close, [15]  
 Nor let undue suspicion vex you.  
 If I offend you, make known the hurt.  
 Allow no complaints to come between our sheets.  
 Let sleep be moderate. Pray early in the morning.  
 When you rise, lead a busy life. [20]  
 Do not give credence too lightly, speak little,  
 Nor be prone to dispute in my presence.  
 Beware of answering back, beware of gossip.  
 Relinquish evils to be a good spouse.  
 Live an honest life, and have a faithful tongue. [25]  
 Finally, let decency of habit be mistress.  
 If you do all this, you will lie in my bosom.’]<sup>50</sup>

Poem [63] is the elder Harington’s translation of Walter Haddon’s poem on wifely duty. Haddon (1514x5-1571) was a well-respected Protestant and humanist educated at Eton and King’s College, Cambridge, who was an associate of Cheke and became Elizabeth I’s Master of Requests in 1558 (‘Haddon, Walter’, *ODNB*). In addition to *P*, [63] survives in three later copies: Henry Harington printed the poem in *NA1*, II, p. 259, and *NA2*, III, pp. 294-295, as did Thomas Park in *NA3*, II, pp. 395-396. Harington’s authorship of [63] and its date of composition rest on the title given in *NA1-3*: ‘John Harington to his Wife, 1564’. Although there is no contemporary source to corroborate this detail, both Hughey (II.31-32) and May believe the poem to be early Elizabethan (May, 1991: 326).

It is uncertain whether [63] was an exercise in translation, or an occasional piece addressed to Harington’s wife. In the second case, the addressee is almost certainly Isabell, the daughter of Sir John Markham, whom Harington married in *c.* 1559 after the death of his first wife Ethelreda, or Audrey (‘Harington, John’, *ODNB*). Several poems in Harington’s probable canon appear to date from the period of his courtship of Isabell, which may have begun as early as 1549.<sup>51</sup>

<sup>50</sup> The English translation is my own.

<sup>51</sup> See the poems ‘Whence comes my love, O hearte, disclose’ (Hughey, 1971: II A 12), ‘Alas! I love yow overwell (II A 13), ‘Lyke as the rage of rayne’ (II A 14), and ‘The great Dyana, chaste’ (II A 15).

If Harington did compose [63] in 1564, he must have had recourse to a copy of Haddon in MS, for, as Hughey (II.31) notes, the Latin poem was first printed in Haddon's 1567 *Poemata* (STC 12596), sigs K1<sup>v</sup>-K3<sup>f</sup>. It is possible that Harington could have become acquainted with Haddon at court, or through a mutual Protestant associate such as Cheke or even Katherine Willoughby, Duchess of Suffolk (Hughey, II.31).<sup>52</sup> His poem is in general close to the Latin, taking over such commonplaces as the wife regarding her husband as next to God (l. 3), being chaste and sober ([63].8-9), and ordering a frugal household (ll. 5-6). Several of the letters copied in the second Harington prose manuscript, from Cheke to his wife Mary, echo such sentiments (e.g. Add. MS 46367, fol. 10<sup>f</sup>). However, Harington does introduce some alterations to Haddon's catalogue. He adds ll. 12 and 19 and omits l. 27 in Haddon. Harington's ll. 9-12 are an abridged version of ll. 8-12 in Haddon, and l. 20 a compression of Haddon's l. 24.

Alongside the husband's poem, Haddon's *Poemata* also contains a companion poem written in the voice of the wife. An English translation of this poem survives in *AH*, fol. 26<sup>f</sup>, where it was probably coupled with a copy of [63] on fol. 25, which is now wanting. This may also be a Harington poem, and attests, like [63], to his wider interest in the regulation of the household. Harington is known to have drafted 'Orders for Household Servantes' in c. 1566 (Hughey, 1971: 64-65; Appendix IV 5). He also appears in [63] to allude to two lines in [38], the *P* text of Surrey's Martial epigram, which are peculiar to Harington copies of that poem. Both are germane to the domestic matter of [63].

Timothy Kendall printed both the husband and wife poems, with the titles 'The husbands requests' and 'The wifes answer', in his 1577 compendium *Flowers of Epigrammes*, sigs M2<sup>v</sup>-M4<sup>f</sup>. The poems are the second and third contributions to a section entitled 'Out of the Poemes of M. Gvalter Haddon'.

- 2     *trade*] manner of life ('trade', *n.*, 3a)  
 6     *fare*] food, produce ('fare', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 8)  
       *kepe short*] keep under strict discipline ('short', *adv.* 6b)  
 7     *thy mirth...be*] i.e., 'ensure your humour is kept moderate'; Kendall translates the line as 'Be merry, but with modestie' (*Flowers*, sig. M2<sup>v</sup>).  
 8     *curtese partes*] courteous qualities, accomplishments ('part', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 5)  
       *chast wyse*] For the phrase, compare the *P* text of Surrey's Martial epigram, [38].13.

<sup>52</sup> For Harington's friendship with Katherine Willoughby, see Vol. I, p. 23.

- 9 *sober weede*] modest dress ('weed', *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 2a)
- 11 *grype*] The spelling permits 'grip' or 'gripe'; both have the sense of 'seize' ('grip', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a; 'gripe', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 3a).
- 12 *frendes*] befriends ('friend', *v.*, 1); for the verb, compare [17].3.
- 13 *in preasse*] in larger company ('press', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 5)  
*give place*] yield, defer ('give', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 47a)
- 15 *bewray*] divulge, disclose ('bewray', *v.*, 4)
- 16 *humor*] disposition, temperament ('humour', *n.*, 4a)
- 19 *seke straunge soyles*] i.e., 'seek unfamiliar places', or possibly 'new' ones, with the implication of abandoning the household ('strange', *adj.*, 7)
- 20 *Iarrs*] disagreements ('jar', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 4)
- 23 *credytt...spende*] i.e., 'do not let go of your reputation or speech lightly' ('credit', *n.*, 5; 'light', *adv.*). For 'credytt', Harington appears to pick up on Haddon, 'credes' (l. 22).
- 25 *thwartes*] checks, frustrations ('thwart', *n.*<sup>1</sup>); the earliest date that the *OED* cites for the noun is 1611.  
*no grudge nor stryf*] As with [63].8 above, compare Surrey, [38].5.

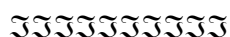
### Collations

Hughey chose *P* as her copy-text; it is the best text of the surviving witnesses (Hughey, 1971: II A 16). The copies in *NAI-3* have three conjunctive errors: 'peace' in l. 13 against 'preasse' in *P*, 'toyles' in l. 19 against 'soyles', and 'no cawse' in l. 24 for '<no> cause no', the third of which was the initial reading in *P* until Hand G corrected it. *P* and *NAI-3* are therefore not immediately related, though they may share a common ancestor from which the scribe of *NAI-3*'s source produced a somewhat garbled transcription. All three corruptions are plausible scribal errors, or misprints that were possibly introduced when *NAI* was printed.

In l. 25, the *P* text has the reading 'nor' for 'no' in *NAI-3*. The word forms part of the phrase, 'no grudge nor stryf', which the elder Harington appears to have lifted from the *P* text of Surrey's Martial epigram. This reading is peculiar to Harington copies of Surrey's epigram. See Collations to [38]. The variant 'no' in *NAI-3* matches that in the texts of the epigram which descend independently of *P*, but may well be editorial. The four consecutive appearances of 'no' gives the line a parallelism that *P* lacks here.

Title John Harington to his Wife, 1564 *NAI-3*

- 4 thy chirdrene] Our chyldren *NAI-3*  
 13 preasse] peace *NAI-3*  
 17 gryef] greifes *NAI-3*  
 19 soyles] toyles *NAI-3*  
 21 tymely] early *NAI-3*  
 24 <no> cause no] no cawse *NAI-3*  
 25 no<sup>r</sup>] no *NAI-3*



[65]-[68]

POEMS BY SIR JOHN CHEKE (1514-1557)

Poems [65]-[68] constitute the grouping of poems by Sir John Cheke in *P*. One of the most prominent humanists in Tudor England, Cheke entered St John's College, Cambridge, in 1526, proceeding BA in 1529 and commencing MA in 1533 (see Venn and Venn, I, 1922: 328). At Cambridge, he excelled in Latin and Greek, and was appointed first regius professor of Greek (1540-1551). During his period at Cambridge, Cheke developed his affiliation to Protestantism. By the 1530s he sat with his colleague Thomas Smith (1513-1577) at the centre of a distinctly Protestant circle at St John's which included men such as Roger Ascham (1514x5-1568); William Cecil, later Lord Burghley (1520x1-1598); Thomas Chaloner; and Thomas Wilson (1523x4-1581).

From July 1544, Cheke was royal tutor to Prince Edward, and can be credited, at least in part, for informing the explicit and advanced Protestantism which Edward espoused when he acceded to the throne in 1547. Cheke was responsible for teaching Edward Latin and Greek with the aid of Ascham and William Grindal; the latter is the subject of poem [68]. As a consequence of his closeness to the king, Cheke became an important courtier. In 1553, he was appointed Principal Secretary, and had a hand in drafting the unsuccessful legislation that sought to alter the succession and place Lady Jane Grey, rather than Mary Tudor, on the throne after Edward VI's death. Upon Mary's accession, Cheke was imprisoned but secured his release in 1554. He went into exile on the continent, and his apparent involvement in Protestant opposition to the Marian regime led to his apprehension and forced return to

England in 1556. After choosing to recant rather than be burned, Cheke gave a humiliating address before the Court in October of that year. He died, probably of influenza, in September 1557 ('Cheke, Sir John', *ODNB*).

### **Publications and Orthography**

The texts Cheke published during his lifetime reflect his international profile as a humanist and Protestant, but also bespeak his political value to the regimes of both Henry VIII and Edward VI. He printed a Latin life of St John Chrysostom (1543; STC 14634), a Latin obituary on the reformer Martin Bucer (STC 5108), and a Latin translation of Thomas Cranmer's tract on the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ (STC 6004), intended for an international Protestant audience. Cheke's most influential publication was his tract on behalf of the Somerset Procectorate, *The hurt of sedicion* (1549; STC 5109), which inveighed against the rebels during the 1549 rebellion of the commons. This text was printed again at periods of national ferment in 1560, 1576, and 1641. Bale catalogues other Cheke writings in his *Index Britanniae Scriptorum* (Bale, 1990: 189-192). This includes Latin epitaphs arranged under the heading 'Epitaphorium li. i', but neither [65] nor [68], as English representatives of this genre, are specified. Strype makes no mention of [65]-[68] in his conspectus of Cheke's works (Strype, 1705: 216-224).

The autograph text of Cheke's unfinished attempt to translate the New Testament, which survives in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, MS 104, pp. 145-194, demonstrates his ideas on language and spelling reform. James Goodwin printed this text as *The Gospel According to Saint Matthew and Part of the First Chapter of the Gospel According to Saint Mark* (1843). Cheke favoured Germanic diction over Latin and French loan words, and wanted to align spelling with pronunciation. John Strype's *The Life of the Learned John Cheke* (1705) summarises Cheke's ideas. He doubled vowels to represent long vowel sounds (e.g., long 'a' as 'aa'), used 'i' uniformly instead of 'y', and sought to rid English of terminal 'e'. In *P*, [66] retains Cheke's original spellings, though [65], [67], and [68] do not.

### **Note on the Poems in *P***

Poems [65]-[68] survive in both *P* and *AH*, fols 206<sup>v</sup>-207<sup>f</sup>. The poems are arranged in the same order in both MSS. No other copy of [66]-[68] survives in MS or print; Ringler recorded the survival of a copy of [65] in *B*, fol. 186<sup>f</sup> (Ringler, 1992: 241). This indicates that Cheke's English poems did achieve some wider circulation. Each of [65]-[68] is subscribed to Cheke

in *AH* in a hand almost certainly contemporary with the compilation of the MS. Hughey (II.428) speculated that it may be the elder Harington's script, though this is conjectural. The Haringtons' interest in preserving Cheke's English verse is symptomatic of their wider interest in his writings: the second Harington prose manuscript preserves a number of Cheke letters, later reproduced in *NAI-3*. The elder Harington perhaps obtained copies of all of these documents from a source close to Cheke, or even Cheke himself. The close correspondence between the copies of [65]-[68] in *P* and *AH* indicates that they descend from a common ancestor. The *P* texts, however, cannot have been copied from *AH* as [66] in particular retains Cheke's spelling idiosyncrasies, whereas the version in *AH* does not.

The poems share a number of characteristics. First, with the probable exception of the more lyrical [67], each is occasional: [65] and [68] are epitaphs, and probably date from 1547 and 1548 respectively, whereas [66] is an epithalamium, a marriage prayer. The latter may constitute the earliest known example of this genre in Tudor verse. Second, the poems feature a common stock of words in 'hap' and its related adjectives (such as 'happy' and 'haples'). Cheke's interest in these terms may have a contextual and personal relevance, given that he lived through a period of fluctuating fortunes for Protestants between the successive reigns of Henry VIII, Edward VI, and Mary I. 'Hap' and its counterparts may suggest something of the precarious balance between good and bad fortune.

Each of the poems is also a product of Cheke's humanist learning and reflects his interest in classical form and style. Poems [65]-[67] are composed in an unrhymed iambic hexameter; [68] is the sole exception, and is written in cross-rhymed iambic hexameter. Surrey used the first of these forms in [59], from where Cheke perhaps borrowed it, though his disinclination to use rhyme is common among humanists. Ascham's *The Scholemaster* recalls that Cheke stimulated an interest in more classical metres among his students (1570; STC 832, sig. R4<sup>f</sup>). The rhetorical and syntactical features of Cheke's poems noticeably draw on classical verse. He is especially fond of *antonomasia* and *hyperbaton*; his elliptical syntax often seems awkward, but perhaps betrays the influence of Latin or Greek order. Cheke may have initially composed [65]-[68] in one of these classical languages and then undertaken his own English translation of them. As Ascham noted, this double process of translation was Cheke's favoured teaching method, and it encouraged the user's adoption of classical idioms (sigs L1<sup>r</sup>-L3<sup>v</sup>).

## [65]

Poem [65] is an epitaph on a deceased and unnamed poet, whose accomplishment Cheke compares both to Chaucer (l. 10) and the famed classical painter Apelles of Kos (ll. 12-19). Cheke's decision to withhold the name may be a mark of decorum or an indication that the subject was sufficiently known to his intended readership. Hughey (II.430) suggests either Wyatt or Surrey as the subject, given Cheke's focus on poetic merit; she favours Surrey due to Cheke's presentation of both the good and bad qualities of the person. This may be supported by external evidence. Cheke was closely involved with both Protector Somerset and his brother Thomas Seymour: Surrey appears to have been antagonistic to both men before his execution. Surrey's rumoured designs on the Protectorate in the event of Henry VIII's death (see Headnote to [50]-[59]) may also inform Cheke's criticism in [65], given his strong belief in deference to the Crown. This is reflected in *The hurt of sedicion*. The date of [65] is uncertain, though, if Surrey is the addressee, Cheke most probably composed it in the wake of his death in 1547. The presence of the fragment in *B* indicates that he cannot have composed the poem after *c.* 1551/2, when Blage died and left *B* in its present state.

Three additional pieces of evidence suggest Surrey as the most plausible subject of [65]. First, Cheke's choice of unrhymed iambic hexameter for the poem may be a homage to Surrey's use of this form in [59], though his main inspiration could have been classical. Second, Cheke appears to draw on Surrey's own epitaph on Wyatt, 'Wyat resteth here', as Turberville did for his later poem on Surrey (*Epitaphes*, sigs B4<sup>v</sup>-C1<sup>r</sup>). In particular, Cheke adopts on a smaller scale Surrey's trope of enumerating the body parts and attributes which contributed to his subject's greatness (ll. 10, 22). Third, Cheke's comparison of the poet's artistry to Apelles' painting of Aphrodite Anadyomene may allude to [47]. This is Surrey's *ottava rima* poem which similarly uses Apelles' depiction of Aphrodite as an item of comparison, though there in an amatory context.

- 1        *wightes corps*] i.e., 'person's body' ('wight', *n.*, 2a; 'corpse', *n.*, 1)
- 2        *w<sup>t</sup> owt...meane*] 'without a middle ground or equilibrium', i.e., the person had great virtues and vices. Cheke draws here on the idea of the *via media*, or golden mean.
- 4        *paint*] represent ('paint', *v.*, 1a)
- device*] ingenuity, contrivance ('device', *n.*, 1a)
- 5        *discrye*] reveal, disclose ('descry', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 2b; 2c)
- 6        *ege*] egg or, possibly, 'edge'



- 7 *Ageyne*] i.e., ‘Against’ (‘again’, *prep.*, B 6a)  
*discharged*] paid, relieved (‘discharged’, *v.*, 2a)
- 8 *Dame natures*] The *topos* of personifying Nature is a staple of medieval dream vision and allegorical verse. For Dame Nature, see Alain de Lille, *De Planctu Naturæ*.  
*hevy dett*] i.e., the debt of death; for Cheke’s use of the metaphor, compare [66].12-13.
- 9 *y<sup>e</sup>*] thee  
*wittye*] learned, skilful, and perhaps ‘cleverly amusing’ (‘witty’, *adj.*, 2a; 5a; 8).
- 10 *chawcers mate*] It was a commonplace for Tudor poets to adduce Chaucer as a model against which fellow poets were measured. Compare, Surrey, ‘Wyat resteth here’, ll. 9-12.
- 11 *paynter good*] Apelles (fl. Fourth Century B.C.E), the famous classical painter, introduced both here, and in ‘natures match’, through *antonomasia*  
*pensell*] pencil, paintbrush  
*lusting goddes*] Aphrodite
- 13 *portered*] depicted, or perhaps ‘fashioned’ (‘porture’, *v.*, 1; 2)  
*beawtis*] beauty’s
- 14 *lively*] in a lifelike manner, vividly (‘lively’, *adv.*, 2a)
- 16 *the boddy...vnmade*] Apelles’ painting of Aphrodite Anadyomene depicted the goddess rising from the sea, meaning the lower part of her body was concealed by the foam. However, Apelles was reputedly working on another painting of Aphrodite which he left unfinished at his death (*OCD*, ‘Apelles’). Cheke perhaps alludes to this second painting.
- 16-17 *no connyng...reste*] i.e., ‘no ingenious hand in its labour (the skill of the art well proved) dares to fashion the rest of the body’
- 18 *sightlye*] fair, beautiful (‘sightly’, *adj.*, 2a); the earliest date that the *OED* cites for the adjective is 1562.
- 19 *pece*] item of artistic composition (‘piece’, *n.*, 1c)  
*paintures scoole*] i.e., ‘painter’s school’
- 20 *fyne*] consummate, skilled (‘fine’, *adj.*, 5)  
*sevte*] design, style of workmanship (‘suit’, *n.*, 14)
- 21 *shiffed*] probably ‘arranged’, converted from the verbal form (‘shift’, *v.*, 1)
- 22 *thy hedd...tongue*] Compare Surrey, ‘Wyat resteth here’, ll. 5-8, 17-20.

- 23 *a sottell...best*] ‘an intricate or skilfull tool capable of polishing the most formless matter into the most decorous’ (‘subtle’, *adj.*, 5; ‘file’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 1b)
- 24 *style a...flowe*] Compare Turberville’s epitaph on Surrey: ‘No one is able to depaint at full, | the flowing fountaine of his sacred Skull’ (*Epitaphes*, sig. B4<sup>v</sup>).  
*Indite*] compose (‘indite’, *v.*, 3a)
- 26 *thewes of kynd*] ‘traits inherited by birth (thew’, *n.*, 2; ‘kind’, *n.*, 1, 2a, 12)
- 27-30 *what should...wische*] The elliptical syntax and extreme compression make the passage difficult. One possible paraphrase is: ‘How should I express the rest of your attributes, which expression is much better intended than spoken? I am not denying just praise out of envy, but am rather restrained by a careful style so that your great faults may be forgotten. To praise laudable qualities in you, which you did not possess, remains to be wished’. Hughey (II.430) offers her own gloss of the lines.
- 28 *prayer*] praise
- 29 *staid*] i.e., stayed, restrained (‘stay’, *v.*, 20a)

### Collations

*P* and *AH* (fol. 206<sup>v</sup>) descend from a common source, with two minor spelling variants from each other; neither contains a manifest error. The copy in *B* (fol. 186<sup>r</sup>) is in an untidy Henrician secretary hand; it probably claims Cheke’s authorship with the heading ‘J. C.’, though these initials could have a different referent. This copy is much-defaced, with tears and holes in the leaf. It is therefore impossible to undertake a full collation, with ll. 1-6 in particular near-illegible. Of the lines visible, there appear to be no substantive variants from *P*, or errors. It is possible, though improbable, that l. 21 in *B* begins with ‘had’ rather than ‘Thee’/‘The’; the state of the paper here prevents firmer conclusions.

### Heading J. C *B*

- 13 *shyne*] *sheene AH*
- 25 *perfytest*] *perfectest AH*

## [66]

Poem [66] is an epithalamium, and as such serves as a counterpart to [69]. The addressees to whom Cheke addressed the poem and its date of composition are unknown. Cheke's description of 'this haples age' (l. 17) could point to several periods in his adult life. The reign of Mary I was a particular nadir in the fortunes of Protestants, but any attempt to assign [66] to c. 1554-1556, when Cheke was largely in exile on the continent, is conjectural ('Cheke, Sir John,' *ODNB*). It is possible that the description is of a more general character.

The poem reveals Cheke's knowledge of, and engagement with, both humanist and Protestant writings on marriage. Those of Erasmus and Heinrich Bullinger were especially well known. Richard Taverner translated Erasmus' *Encomium Matrii* (1518) as *A ryght frutefull Epystle [...] in laude and prayse of matrimonye* (c. 1536; STC 10492); Miles Coverdale translated Bullinger's tract as *The Christen State of Matrimonye* (1541; STC 4045). Both treatises place the same emphasis on the 'liberty' of marriage and the need to bear children which Cheke voices in ll. 3 and 14-16. His prayer to the betrothed couple both begins and ends in ll. 2 and 21 with a reference to them being in the wider community of God's 'chosen'. This was a noun which Simpson notes had particular resonance for Protestants after c. 1540 (Simpson, 2007: 160)

Of the four Cheke poems in *P*, [66] alone preserves his idiosyncratic spellings. There are several instances of the employment of a double vowel to represent a long vowel sound (l. 7: 'strijff', l. 11: 'aage', l. 15: 'heer') and a diphthong to represent an 'o' sound (l. 4: 'hoap', l. 14: 'goan'); Cheke's predilection for omitting terminal 'e' (l. 13: 'ow', 'leav') and replacing terminal 'y' with 'i' (l. 1: 'sterri', l. 7: 'slipri') are also apparent, though these are not adopted uniformly by Hand A.

- 1 *weldeth*] wields, rules over, governs ('wield', *v.*, 1a)  
*ai*] ever, always ('aye', *adv.*)  
*sterri*] starry
- 2 *due*] rightful, proper ('due', *adj.*, 6a)
- 3 *this desyred knot*] i.e., the knot of marriage, a commonplace metaphor  
*free*] The concept that the band of wedlock is 'free' was another commonplace.  
Compare Taverner, *A ryght frutefull Epystle*:

If libertie be swete, it were best (by myne aduysse) to take a compaygnion with whom ye may part this so plesaunt thing. How beit, what is more free than this bondage, wher eyther is so bond to other that neyther wolde be enfraunchysed? Is nat euery man bound to his frende? Yet no man complayneth that hys liberty is take away.

(sig. D4<sup>r</sup>)

- 5 *stailes*] Hughey (II.430-431) argues that ‘stailes’ is the otherwise unattested form ‘staleless’, i.e., ‘fresh’. The more probable sense is ‘ever-changing’ (‘stayless’, *adj.*<sup>1</sup>, 1; ‘hap’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1).
- 6 *lives vnended bond*] ‘life’s ceaseless duty’, i.e., to live; ‘bond’ may also be another indirect reference to marriage in its sense of ‘covenant’ (‘bond’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 6b; 7a).
- 7 *remained*] remaining  
*slipri*] slippery
- 8 *ne given*] i.e., ‘not given as a permanent gift (since humans die)’
- 9 *forpointed*] appointed or determined beforehand (‘fore-point’, *v.*, 1a); the *OED* cites the verbal sense as Cheke’s coinage. Compare Cheke’s *The Gospel of St Matthew* (1843): ‘Everlastingnes, and happines wheerunto his chosen be forpointed’ (XVI.17).  
*owner hie*] God
- 10 *easi*] quiet, free from burden (‘easy’, *adj.*, 2; 3)
- 11 *vngreeved of*] untroubled by (‘ungrieved’, *adj.*); the earliest date that the *OED* cites for the adjective is 1676.  
*hoared*] greyed, whitened (‘hoared’, *adj.*); the earliest that the *OED* cites for the adjective is 1557.
- 12-13 *which birth...decree*] For the metaphor, compare [65].8.
- 14-16 *vndeathfull if...goal*] i.e., ‘immortal if you may be gone [dead], to make you always immortal here, and also to take leave of them [your children] in time to attain the goal of heaven’; the *OED* does not record the adjective ‘undeathful’.
- 14 *frute*] children (‘fruit’, *n.*, 6)  
*goan*] gone
- 15 *eek*] also, moreover (‘eke’, *adv.*)
- 16 *by tyme*] probably the single word ‘betime’, i.e., ‘in good time’, ‘early’ (‘betime’, *adv.*)
- 17 *happie*] fortunate and, possibly, ‘blessed’ (‘happy’, 2a; 2b); compare Cheke’s *Gospel*: ‘Happi be y<sup>e</sup> beggars in spirijt’ (V.3).  
*haples*] unfortunate (‘hapless’, *adj.*)

- 18      *whear happes...noan*] i.e., ‘where there can be no [‘noan’ = ‘none’] unfortunate turns of fortune’ (‘hap’, *n.*, 2)  
           *to short*] i.e., to cut short, to bring to a close (‘short’, *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 2c)

### Collations

*P* and *AH* (fols 206<sup>v</sup>-207<sup>r</sup>) have two minor spelling variants from each other (ll. 3 and 11), and one substantive variant: ‘at the <wie> ^day^ in *P* for ‘at the howre’ in *AH* in l. 8. Both readings are legitimate in context. Hand A in *P* manifestly made an initial copying error, before correcting his mistake. This error may point to an illegible word in *P*’s and *AH*’s common source, with the variant readings in the two copies each scribe’s independent emendation of it. It is also possible that either scribe may have checked an additional copy of the poem and taken their reading in l. 8 from that text.

- 3          do knit] dothe knit *AH*  
 8          at the <wie> ^day^] at the howre *AH*  
 11        do call] doth call *AH*

### [67]

Poem [67] is a lyric which departs from the other Cheke poems in *P* in not being explicitly occasional. No source is known, though it is possible that Cheke translated the poem from, or composed it in imitation of, one of the lyrics in a collection like the *Greek Anthology*. The poem appears to be an exercise in classical concision and economy. Hughey (II.431) notes that, with the exception of the blossom simile in l. 2, the poem develops a single conceit, ‘the Platonic metaphor of the shadow’. Its final line, somewhat similar in phrasing to the final line of Wyatt’s epigram ‘Stond whoso list vpon the Slipper toppe’ (M&T: CCXL), offers ‘no Christian note of hope’ (II.431). Cheke draws an explicit comparison between the morphing shape of the shadow and the course of life. In l. 6, the shadow, or Nature, is gendered female; the sun is perhaps rendered male in l. 5 with ‘his’, though this could be the impersonal pronoun (‘its’) rather than a masculine possessive.

- 1          *fainted*] exhausted, weak (‘fainted’, *adj.*, b)  
 2          *freshe of hew*] The phrase is Chaucerian; compare Wyatt, [6].2.

- sleighely*] *AH* has the adverb ‘sleightlie’ (‘slightly’), i.e., ‘slenderly’, ‘unsubstantially’ (‘slightly’, *adv.*, 1a); the spelling in *P* would also allow ‘slyly’, i.e., ‘quietly’ or ‘secretly’ (‘slyly’, *adv.*, 1b). For the second, compare Alexander Barclay, *Shyp of Folys*: ‘Deth dayly steleth slyely on the’ (1509; STC 3545; sig. K6<sup>r</sup>).
- 4 *or*] ere, i.e., ‘before’ (‘ere’, *adv.*, 4a)
- 5 *ay*] always (‘aye’, *adv.*)
- drenched*] drowned
- 6 *shroonken*] shrunken
- sear*] decay, dryness (‘sear’, *adj.*, 1); alongside ‘withered’, the phrase is somewhat pleonastic. The *OED* cites no form of ‘sear’ as a noun, but Cheke’s usage here is a clear development of the adjectival form.
- 7 *apalld*] pale, faded, weakened (‘appal’/‘appall’, *v.*, 1; 2; 6)
- drery chere*] doleful face/expression (‘dreary’, *adj.*, 3, 4; ‘cheer’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1, 2a)

### Collations

Hughey (I.334) gave ‘fear’ in l. 7 of *AH* (fol. 207<sup>r</sup>), but this is a misprint: the MS reads ‘sear’. *P* and *AH* therefore contain no substantive variants from each other.

### [68]

Poem [68] is an epitaph on ‘grindall’, who, unlike the anonymous poet in [65], is named in [68], l. 1. This ‘grindall’ is almost certainly William Grindal (d. 1548), a humanist associate of both Cheke and Ascham who was celebrated widely as a Greek scholar. Grindal is first recorded in 1541/2 as having graduated from Cambridge; he was probably based at Cheke’s college St John’s, where he subsequently took a fellowship between 1542 and 1543. From around this time, Ascham and Cheke, then royal tutor to Prince Edward, worked to secure an appointment for Grindal. He possibly assisted Cheke in Edward’s tuition in Latin and Greek before being named tutor to Princess Elizabeth in 1546. Grindal was, by the account of his friends, a good tutor to Elizabeth: in his life of Edmund Grindal, Strype reports that Ascham pondered ‘whether to admire more the wit of her who learned, or the diligence of him who taught.’ (Strype, 1710: 4-5). Grindal died, unmarried, of the plague in 1548, curtailing a promising career. Poem [68] probably dates from this year, though could have been composed later.

The epitaph is written as a laudation of Grindal's fine humanist learning and values. Cheke extols Grindal's 'quiet lif' and studiousness (ll. 4-5) and relates how it contributed to his character (ll. 6-7), before commenting that Grindal's 'hapy' life facilitated his passage into death (ll. 10-12). The keynote of [66] is that a humanist, scholarly manner of living, as one wedded to learning and virtue, is enriching in both this life and the next.

The poem differs from [65]-[67] in using rhyme. Cheke organises the twelve lines into cross-rhymed quatrains, producing a rhyme scheme of *abab cdcd efef*. This gives the poem the feel of a Surrey sonnet minus the terminal couplet, and Cheke perhaps drew his inspiration from this form. Stylistic features common to mid-Tudor verse are more apparent in [68] than the other Cheke poems. He employs alliteration in ll. 10-12 and experiments with balancing half-lines on either side of a medial caesura in ll. 4, 8, and 9.

- 1 *uncertaine certaine*] The sense is that death is certain, but the precise time of its arrival is uncertain.  
*free*] probably 'free from the trials of life', upon which [68].4 expands  
*rawght*] past tense variant of 'reached'; here it means 'arrived at', but also possibly 'obtained' ('reach', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 5a; 11a; 14c).
- 2 *plagg*] plague  
*stint*] cut short, cease (a journey) ('stint', *v.*, 1a; 3a)
- 4 *synce bound...strif*] i.e., 'since, bound [to pay a debt to death], no one is so free as when they exchange the strife of living for the restfulness of death.'
- 6 *well lyvd to die*] The sense is that Grindal lived a life good enough make the passage into death less painful.  
*lust*] in context, probably 'sexual appetite' ('lust', *n.*, 4)
- 7 *didst welthe...dispise*] i.e., 'bore good fortune well and disparaged the pains of misfortune'; it is possible that 'throws' also draws on the commonplace of rolling fortune's dice. Compare Gower, *Confessio*, 2.209: 'The chaunce is cast upon a dee, | But yet full oft a man may see'.  
*hap*] chance, fortune ('hap', *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 8 *th'apointed end...dust*] For the phrase, compare [69].23.
- 10 *havin*] haven ('haven', *n.*, 2)  
*wune*] The word is unclear, though 'wune', i.e., 'lived', 'resided', is most probable in context ('win', *v.*<sup>2</sup>; 'win', *v.*<sup>1</sup>, 6a, 7e). *AH* has 'wonne'. The formation of the initial

‘w’ is not typical of Hand A. The word could also be ‘rinne’, which the *OED* cites as a recognised spelling variant of ‘run’ (‘run’, *v.*, Forms, ‘rinne’).

11 *wherfore thy...spent*] ‘for which cause your swift death was too late for a life as well-spent as yours’ (‘wherefore’, *adv.*, 3)

12 *hapy*] fortunate, blessed; compare [66].17 in *P*.

### Collations

*P* and *AH* (fol. 207<sup>r</sup>) contain one minor spelling variant and one substantive variant in l. 1. Hughey (I.334) did not recognise the second of these in her edition. The reading ‘raught’ in *P*, for ‘caught’ in *AH*, is superior in sense as a description of Grindal’s passing into death. The *AH* reading is a probable scribal error, with the scribe having confused minuscule ‘r’ for ‘c’. The difficult word in l. 10 of *P* may differ from ‘wonne’ in *AH*, but this is difficult to establish.

1 rawght] caught *AH*

10 an] a *AH*

### [69]

Poem [69] is an epithalamium, and as such serves as a counterpart to [66]. Like that poem, its addressees and date of composition are unknown. Its author is almost certainly Cheke.<sup>53</sup> The poem survives in *AH*, fol. 207<sup>v</sup>, but unlike [65]-[68] it bears no subscription to Cheke. Hughey (II.432) therefore does not assign [69] outright to him, but comments ‘we may well question whether it was also written by [Cheke]’. In addition to the fact that the author-centred groupings common to *P* and *AH* suggest that [69] belongs with [65]-[68], there are four other pieces of evidence which indicate Cheke’s authorship. First, [69] is composed in the same unrhymed iambic hexameter as [65]-[67]. Second, the scribe, Hand A2, copies some orthographical idiosyncrasies suggestive of Cheke. The poem contains a handful of examples where he doubles both ‘a’ and ‘o’ to represent a long vowel (see [69].4: ‘haate’, 5: ‘aake’; 10: ‘spoorte’, 20: ‘loore’). Third, [69] shows features the same ‘classicised’ syntax as [65]-[68]; the frequently elliptical phrases suggest its author was familiar with Latin and Greek idioms.

<sup>53</sup> For a discussion of Cheke’s authorship of [69], see Vol. I, p. 30.



Fourth, the diction of the poem shares much with [65]-[68], in particular the words ‘happe’ (l. 2), ‘stay’ (l. 18), ‘vnstayde’ (l. 31), and ‘slipprie’ (l. 13). With [66], [69] has in common the phrase ‘starry heavens’ (l. 28).

The poem shares wider characteristics with [66]. It shows the influence of the same humanist and Protestant treatises on marriage, emphasising, like [66], the value of child-bearing (ll. 9-13), and describing marriage as a stay against the misfortunes of life (ll. 24-31). However, [69] is more unusual in devoting its central section (ll. 11-20) to a more exhortatory passage which urges the betrothed couple to ensure that their children serve the sovereign in peace and war. The poet’s decision to stress the need for loyal service would be relevant to an upper-class or noble family, who are the most probable addressees of the poem.

- 1 *luckie*] fortunate, prosperous (‘lucky’, *adj.*, 1a)  
*twistid*] intertwined (‘twisted’, *adj.* 2a; 2b)  
*copled*] coupled, joined together (‘coupled’ *adj.*)
- 2 *Ikmit*] knit together; Hughey (II.432) reads ‘I knit’ in *AH* as separate words, ‘forever knit’, with ‘I’ a variant spelling of ‘aye’. However, it is more probable that the word is ‘yknit’, with the archaic prefix and verb.  
*easy bondes*] comfortable, unfettering (‘easy’, *adj.*, 2; 4); on the freedom of marriage, compare [66].3 and the anonymous poem in *AH*:

O happie knott when it is knitt  
 so fast that it can never flytt  
 whiche is no band but Lybertie  
 wheare God hath grafte such amytie

(fol. 184<sup>v</sup>)

- happe*] chance, fortune (‘hap’, *n.*<sup>1</sup>, 1a)
- 3 *ne*] nor
- 5 *aake*] ache  
*dreery mynde*] Compare ‘drery chere’ in [67].7.
- 6 *forthinke*] to think beforehand (‘forethink’, *v.*, 1)  
*be falen*] i.e., befallen, already brought to pass (‘befall’, *v.*)
- 7 *fretid*] The sense is unclear; the most probable meaning is ‘vexed’ or ‘troubled’. The earliest date that the *OED* cites for this sense of the adjective is 1756 (‘fretted’, *adj.*<sup>1</sup>, 2).  
*lawnce*] pierce, slit open (‘lance’, *v.*, 6a; 7a)

- 9 *Yonge impes*] young children; the noun was often used in the period for the offspring of a noble house (i.e., a scion) and with peculiar application to males ('imp', *n.*, 3a), which supports the hypothesis that the addressees of [69] perhaps belonged to the upper class or nobility.
- 10 *wanton*] jovial, sportive ('wanton', *adj.*, 3a)  
*spoorte*] festivity, entertainment ('sport', *n.*, 2a)
- 12 *eke*] also, moreover ('eke', *adv.*)
- 14 *welthie peace*] The phrase permits two interpretations: (i) 'financially successful', counterpointed against the expensive nature of war; or (ii) 'thriving' or 'flourishing' ('wealthy', *adj.*, 1a; 3).
- 15 *cownsell*] most probably the Privy Council, the body of councillors closest to the monarch, which consisted mostly of high-ranking members of the nobility and upper class. For a negative portrayal of the Privy Council, see [17].
- 16 *haythe*] height ('height', *n.*, Forms, 'heyeth')
- 17 *them*] looks back to 'princely state' and 'stately rule'  
*wighte*] person ('wight', *n.*, 2a)
- 18 *stay*] source of support ('stay', *n.*<sup>2</sup>, 1b)
- 20 *By trade...sve*] i.e., 'to follow the skilled way by taking the course laid out by wisdom's teachings' ('sue', *v.*, 1; 'trade', *n.*, 1a; 'lore', *n.*, 1a)
- 20-21 *lyves tikle / Thread*] For the commonplace of life as a thread, compare Surrey, [51].58, and [56].9.
- 21 *tikle*] uncertain ('tickle', *adj.*, 5); compare [20].10.
- 23 *all appointed endes*] Compare [68].8.
- 24 *likely*] appropriate, seemly ('likely', *adj.*, 6)
- 25 *staide*] fixed, settled ('staid', *adj.*, 1a)
- 27 *afore*] before, in front of ('afore', *prep.*, 1).
- 31 *vnstayde*] uncertain, changeable ('unstaid', *adj.*, 4)  
*slipprie*] unstable, uncertain, insecure ('slippery', *adj.*, 3a); alongside 'vnstayde', the phrase is pleonastic.

### Collations

*P* and *AH* have two possible substantive variants: 'Iknit' in *P* for 'I knit' (i.e., 'aye knit') in *AH*, addressed in 2n. above; and 'ea<r>thely' in *P* for 'earthlye' in *AH*. The vertical

strikethrough of the 'r' in the second *P* reading is unclear, though would be manifestly erroneous.

1 I knit] Iknit *AH*

27 ea<r>thely] earthlye *AH*

§§§§§§§§§§

[70]

PROSE SERMON BY EDWARD DERING (1540?-1576)

Item [70] is the single prose piece in *P*. As a death-bed sermon attributed to the Protestant preacher Edward Dering, it is also perhaps the latest dated piece in the MS. Dering came from a Kent-based family and enjoyed a successful period at Cambridge, proceeding BA in 1560 and MA in 1563; he took his BTh in 1568 ('Dering, Edward', *ODNB*). No record of Dering's ordination to the priesthood survives.

Like Cheke, Dering was known for his aptitude as a Greek scholar. He served first in the household of Archbishop Matthew Parker, probably as chaplain, and then in that of Surrey's son Thomas Howard, fourth Duke of Norfolk (1536-1572). By 1570, Dering's religious beliefs appear to have radicalised to a form of puritanism, which may have been caused by his attendance at the presbyterian lectures of Thomas Cartwright (*ODNB*). Dering thereafter acquired a reputation for his outspoken condemnation of vice. Most famously, he criticised what he perceived as Elizabeth I's poor ministry of the Church in his Lenten sermon he delivered before her in 1569/70, which was printed as *A Sermon preached before the Quenes Maiestie* (STC 6699).

As reader of the divinity lecture at St Paul's Cathedral from 1572, Dering delivered a popular lecture series which was printed as *XXVII. lectures, or readings, vpon part of the Epistle written to the Hebrues* (1572; STC 6726). In 1572, he also married Anne Locke (1530?-1590x1607), reputed for composing one of the first English sonnet sequences with her 1560 *Meditation of a Penitent Sinner*, which was appended to her translation *Sermons of Iohn Caluin* (1560; STC 4450). Dering had a high reputation as a letter writer: fourteen epistles to

women friends survive, which were collected and published posthumously by the Middleburg printer Richard Schilders as *Certaine Godly and Verie comfortable Letters, full of christian consolation* (1590; STC 6682.5). Dering died, probably of pulmonary tuberculosis, on 26 June 1576. Schilders made him one of the first godly divines to have his collected works published when he printed *Maister Derings workes* (1590; STC 6676). Collinson describes Dering's 'deathbed scene' as 'stylised' and notes that those present recorded his last words (*ODNB*).

Item [70] is the prose sermon of Dering's final words. Hand H copied this single piece in the MS, below which is inscribed the name 'Ellina Harrington'. Ellina's hand, however, is almost certainly not that of Hand H.<sup>54</sup> The item is the sole known record of Dering's deathbed speech preserved in MS, though nine copies, all quite different from the *P* text, survive in print. The item presents a stylised scene of Dering's death in which Dering, apparently dead, revives after a window is opened and the sun touches him. The sermon is his response to the question of whether the sun burns; it invokes Christ as a rival and the one true sun, just as there is one true fellowship of Saints (ll. 8-9), who are numbered like humankind as sinners in need of Christ's salvation (ll. 10-15). Dering ends the sermon by declaring his readiness to die.

Although [70] putatively records Dering's deathbed sermon, there is doubtless some elaboration on part of the person who recorded the words. The figurative use of the window and sun as metaphors for faith is clear in the introduction to the sermon. It is uncertain how the Harringtons obtained a copy of [70], and likewise why the sermon of a high-profile Puritan appears in *P*. Dering was clearly a popular preacher, however, and the desire to preserve his works perhaps extended beyond doctrinal lines. Given that the date of the piece, and perhaps the hand which copies it, are later than the other items in *P*, it may not have been part of the initial collection but was added before the MS was bound. The presence of a text by a Puritan divine in *P* fits with the varied religious profile of the MS, as reflected in the inclusion of Campion's poem ([64]) and virulently Protestant pieces such as [13] and [14].<sup>55</sup>

8        *Diringe*] Dering  
4        *wear*] were  
7        *who*] Dering

<sup>54</sup> For a discussion of Hand H, see Vol. I, pp. 55-56.

<sup>55</sup> For a discussion of the diverse religious profile of *P*, see Vol. I, pp. 39-40.

- 12 *Abraham, Isack...Jacob*] These are three generations of the same biblical family, all of whom demonstrate their godliness. Abraham was the father of Isaac; in *Genesis* 22:5-8, he offered up his son as a sacrifice to God when he thought it was God's will. The episode served as a test of Abraham's faith. Jacob was the son of Isaac.
- 16 *sprighte*] sprite, spirit ('sprite', *n.*, 1a)  
*here*] hear

### Collations

- F* Thomas Fuller, *Abel Redeivivus* (1651; Wing / F2400), p. 342
- Le1* Edward Dering, *XXVII. lectures, or readings, vpon part of the Epistle written to the Hebrues* (1577; STC 6727), p. 513
- Le2* Dering, *XVII lectures* (1578; STC 6728), p. 495
- Le3* Dering, *XVII lectures* (1583; STC 6729), p. 495
- Le4* Dering, *XXVII. lectures* (1590a; STC 6730.5), p. 459
- Le5* Dering, *XXVII. lectures* (1590b; STC 6731), sig. 2D1<sup>r</sup>
- P* BL, Additional MS 36529
- Wo1* Dering, *Maister Derings workes* (1590c; STC 6676), p. 459
- Wo2* Dering, *Maister Derings workes* (1590d; STC 6676(a)), p. 459
- Wo3* Dering, *Maister Derings workes* (1597; STC 6677), sig. K1<sup>r</sup>

In addition to *P*, Dering's deathbed sermon survives in nine printed copies. The first printed witness is the 1577 edition of the *XXVII lectures*, p. 513 (*Le1*), and the second is the 1578 edition, p. 495 (*Le2*), both of which H. Middleton printed in London. *Le3* is in the 1583 edition, p. 495, which Thomas Dawson printed in London. There are then two 1590 copies: Richard Schilders' edition, p. 459 (*Le4*), printed in Middleburg; and Thomas Orwin's edition, sig. Dd1<sup>r</sup> (*Le5*), printed in London. The sermon is therefore wanting in the 1590 edition of the *XXVII lectures*, printed for Thomas Woodcock, and the 1614 edition, which Edward Griffin printed. A similar situation prevails in the editions of the *Workes*. The sermon is preserved in both 1590 editions which Schilders printed from Middleburg, *Wo1*, p. 459, and *Wo2*, p. 459; these were clandestine editions which hastily cobbled together Dering's printed texts without changing such details as the individual page numberings of the different texts. The sermon is also in the more carefully compiled 1597 edition of the *Workes* which John Roberts (I.R) printed from London, sig. K1<sup>r</sup> (*Wo3*). It is therefore missing from the 1614 edition. The reasons for the omission of the sermon from the 1614 editions of the *XVII. lectures* and the

*Workes* is unclear. The decision was perhaps editorial. The final, much-revised copy of the sermon survives in Thomas Fuller's 1651 *Abel Redevivus*, p. 342 (*F*).

*Le1-4*, and *Wo1-2* have no substantive variants from each other. Schilders printed three of these copies (*Le4*, *Wo1*, and *Wo2*), and appears to have used one of *Le1-3* as his source. *Le5* and *Wo3* contain minor variants from the other printed copies in their introductions, omitting the phrase 'in this vacant place'. It is probable that *Wo3* derives from *Le3*. *F* contains a substantially different text from all of the other printed copies. It is plausible that its changes were transmitted from another copy of the sermon, now lost, though equally possible that Thomas Fuller revised it himself for his collection of notable ecclesiastical figures.

*P* is apparently an earlier version composed before the sermon was edited for print. Its introduction is quite different from the printed copies, which contain an explicit address to the reader and omit the scene of Dering's attendants opening the window and questioning him about the sun. *F* also differs from the printed copies, in which the introduction is excerpted from a larger biography of Dering and gives the detail that Dering delivered his sermon because his attendants called for edification. The *P* text of the sermon proper is longer and less direct than *Le1-5* and *Wo1-3*. *F* is a shorter sermon which is more rigidly first-person in perspective, omitting the inclusive 'we' found in both *P* and the other printed copies. Neither *P* or the printed copies of the sermon are demonstrably corrupt, but speak probably to different compositional stages or, in the case of *P*, different scribal elaborations.

Intro Gentle reader I thought good in this vacant place to set downe an excellent speche vttered by the *Author* of this book a little before his death: whereby thou maist clearely see and learne that there is a sweete peace in death, to all suche as painfully serue the lord in Life. For he being raised vp in bed, and his friend requesting him to speake, the Sunne shone on his face & thereby took occasion thus to say: *Le1-4*, *Wo1-2*

When he drew near to his end, being set up in his bed, some of his friends requested him to speak someting [sic] to them that might be for their edification, and comfort: whereupon the the Sun shining in his face, he took occasion from thence to say thus unto them: *F*

8 vnto the earth] to the world *Le1-5* *Wo1-3*, in the world *F*; there is] nor *F*

- 9        Sonn of] *om. Le1-5 Wo1-3*; there is but] *om. F*  
           Fealowshipp of Saintes] Communion of Saints *F Le1-5 Wo1-3*
- 10-11    Yf wee...worlde] *om. F*
- 10        w<sup>ch</sup> I...ende] *om. F Le1-5 Wo1-3*; wee] I *Le1-5 Wo1-3*
- 11        wee] I *Le1-5 Wo1-3*
- 11-12    as righteous] equall in righteousnesse *F*
- 12-13    for they were the most righteous on the earth] (for they were excellent men in the  
           world) *Le1-5 Wo1-3, om. F*
- 13        yet wee must confes that wee are all synneres] yet we must all confesse that we are  
           great sinners *Le1-5 Wo1-3*, yet had I reason to confesse my selfe to be a sinner *F*
- 13-14    & haue...god] And we haue all neede of the grace of God *Le1-5 Wo1-3* [placed after  
           ‘Iesus Christ’], For we all have need of the grace of God *F* [placed after ‘Iesus  
           Christ’]
- 14-15    And that...of] and that I could expect no saluation but in the righteousnesse of  
           Christe] Iesus Christ *Le1-5 Wo1-3 F*; for my parte] for my parte as concerning death  
           *Le1-5 Wo1-3*, as for my death I blesse God I feel *F*
- 15-16    I feele...sprighte] and find so much inward joy, and comfort to my soul *F*
- 16        that if I should here] that if I should haue *Le1-5 Wo1-3*, that if I were put to my  
           choyse *F*
- 16-17    the sentence...side] whether to die, or live *F*
- 17-18    seing the...seperation] (seeing God hath appointed the separation) *Le1-5 Wo1-3*  
           [placed after ‘thousand times’], *om. F*
- 18-19    I would...Chuse] I had rather chuse a thousand times *Le1-5 Wo1-3*, I would a  
           thousand times rather chuse *F*
- 19        the sentence...lyfe] the sentence of death, than the sentence of life *Le1-5 Wo1-3*,  
           death, then life if it may stand with the holy will of God *F*

## CONCLUSION

This thesis has enabled a detailed study of the interaction between two significant sixteenth-century ‘cultures’: those of literary culture and manuscript culture. *P* is a manuscript miscellany which offers a snapshot of pre-1570 Tudor poetry as it has been selected, composed, copied, arranged, bound, and read by one literarily-inclined family, the Haringtons, who undertook the enterprise of anthologising verse in serious and dedicated fashion. The term ‘fashion’ is resonant in more ways than one in respect to the Haringtons and *P*. John Harington of Stepney’s creation of the manuscript miscellany stands in part as an act of self-fashioning that enabled him and his son, Sir John, to participate in the gentlemanly pastime of reading and compiling verse. For the elder Harington, this opportunity must have been especially attractive given the constant upheaval he endured in service to both Sir Thomas Seymour (c. 1544-1549) and Sir Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk (c. 1548-1553/4). The advent of Elizabeth I’s reign coincided with a period of calm in his life which gave him leisure to turn to English letters. The poems he collected for *P* before his death in 1582, copied between c. 1560 to 1600, are also distinctive for being out of fashion with prevailing Elizabethan tastes in these decades. Harington’s compilation of poetry by Wyatt, Surrey, Chaloner, Cheke, and Phaer, as well as his own pieces, was made after the publication of Tottel’s much-reprinted *Songes and Sonettes*, which seems otherwise to have arrested manuscript transmission of early- and mid-Tudor material. The nostalgic inclination of *P* is an abiding characteristic. This conclusion summarises some of the main findings and themes of the edition through a consideration of the Haringtons in three guises: ‘Manuscript Collectors’, ‘Literary Consumers’, and, ‘Literary Promoters’.

### **Manuscript Collectors**

As *AH* and the Harington prose manuscripts attest, the Haringtons were seasoned compilers of manuscript miscellanies. This fervour for anthologising literary material appears to have been in the blood given their eighteenth-century descendent Henry Harington’s own collecting proclivities, which culminated in the publication of *NAI-3*. This edition has revealed three traits about the elder Harington’s and Sir John’s compilation of *P*: their household was set up for large-scale transcription of literary material; its constituent poems were culled from a range of sources which were not the same as those that Tottel used; and its



inspiration, both in conception and arrangement, may well have been a printed miscellany such as Tottel.

It is clear that the Haringtons did not approach the task of collecting and transcribing literary material which passed through their hands haphazardly: their household at Kelston, Somerset, was apparently a hub of literary activity. Of the ten scribal hands in *P*, only one (Hand J) is that of a compiler, here Sir John. The remainder were household scribes, some of whom were possibly family members, each of whom was set to transcribe the work of a different poet. In practice, the division of labour was doubtless less neat, but the Haringtons do appear to have overseen the copying of material with care, which extended to the uniformity of the scribal hands themselves. The several coincidences between the main scribal hand in *P*, Hand A, and the principal scribe in *AH* suggest that the Haringtons most probably schooled the scribes in their household to encourage their adoption of a uniform ‘in-house’ style. The same pertains, on a reduced scale, to the similarities between Hands G and H in *P* and their respective counterparts in *AH*.<sup>56</sup> The compilation of *P*, as with the other principle Harington miscellanies, was a concerted enterprise which aimed at the diligent preservation of its poems for future readers. Two immediate such immediate readers were perhaps Sir John’s daughters Ellina and Frances, whose signatures in *P* (on fols 29<sup>v</sup> and 82<sup>f</sup>) suggest that they are not Hands B and C, as Hughey contended. The record of their names in the manuscript may be handwriting practice, or idle scribblings in available space, but could mark out Ellina and Frances as consumers of *P*’s verse contents.

These contents demonstrate that the elder Harington was a resourceful collector of poems in manuscript who was able to acquire material from a range of textual networks. For the poems of the two most high-profile figures in *P*, Wyatt and Surrey, the Collations in this edition have consistently indicated that that the Harington copies are substantive texts which descend independently from other surviving witnesses. In terms of Wyatt, these include Tottel (*TI-2*) and *E*, which putatively preserves Wyatt’s own final copies, and which the Haringtons themselves owned. The conjectural source of the nine Wyatt poems in *P* and *NAI-2* seems to have been an ‘edited’ one which refined metre and spelling. *P*, like Tottel, therefore captures the morphing appearance of Wyatt’s poems as the tinkering of numerous unknown hands strove to bring them in line with the accentual-syllabic (and iambic) scansion that was in the ascendent in mid-Tudor literary culture. Overall, the shorter Wyatt poems in *P*, if not the long epistolary satire, are superior to those in *E* and *TI-2*, with an error rate of

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<sup>56</sup> For a comparison of Hands G and H with their counterparts in *AH*, see Vol. I, pp. 54-56..

0.218 per line.<sup>57</sup> With regard to Surrey, Edwards is right to question editors' automatic tendency to make *P* the best witness. The examples of [32], [36], [37], [42], and [48] buttress his argument. However, there are others, most notably [33], [44], and [45], where *P* is patently the superior text. Overall, the Surrey poems in *P* have an error rate of 0.127 compared to 0.117 in *T1* and 0.144 in *T2*. If the Haringtons did have a choice in the the Wyatt and Surrey pieces they copied, they apparently exercised a degree of quality control.

It is probable that the elder Harington obtained his copies of Wyatt and Surrey from courtly circles; the other pieces seem to have come to him through a number of different manuscript currents. The edition has in this regard served as a case study of the ways and means through which one family, and primarily one man, of the minor Tudor gentry went about the business of obtaining literary material. Harington possibly took the four Cheke poems, [65]-[68], from humanist networks of transmission, but a source close to Cheke himself is possible, given that [66] faithfully retains Chekean orthography. The inclusion of Edmund Campion's Latin epic, [64], hints at another network still, both Catholic and almost certainly clandestine; Edward Dering's death-bed prose sermon may have passed to the the elder Harington, or Sir John, from a number of courtly or gentry-based networks. The verse of Chaloner ([1]) and Phaer ([2], [3], [15]) appears to have circulated little in manuscript, though both were members of William Baldwin's literary circle. Harington perhaps knew one of the members of this coterie, but this is only one route through which the Chaloner's translation of Ovid's *Heroides* 17 and Phaer's rendering of Books 1-3 of the *Aeneid* could have come to him. Whatever or whoever his sources, Harington was an active and well-connected participant in several manuscript transmission networks.

One of the more striking features of *P* as a codex is its principle of arrangement, which is author-centred in rationale. Who made the executive decision regarding this order is uncertain: the present binding of the manuscript dates most probably from the turn of the seventeenth century, but it is probable that it was planned thus from an early stage of compilation. *AH* preserves its earliest contents in a similarly ordered fashion, and Harington seems to have treated the notion of authorship less fluidly than many of his compiler counterparts, who freely revised and reassigned poems, especially those whose circulation was promiscuous. For *P*'s arrangement of generally authorial groupings, Harington may have taken his inspiration from Tottel, three of whose sections (Surrey, Wyatt, Grimald) are author-determined. This is one of the main crossovers that this edition has uncovered between

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<sup>57</sup> See Appendix 1

*P* and Tottel, and supplies one more example of the two-way interaction between manuscript and print which was endemic in the sixteenth century.

### Literary Consumers

The Haringtons' choice of poems in *P*, primarily made by John Harington, may also show the legacy of Tottel. The large compilations of Wyatt and Surrey poems in the printed miscellany possibly prompted Harington to do likewise in manuscript, but his impetus may have been rivalrous as well as emulative, documenting an alternative and arguably more personal collection of material. Alongside the earlier portions of *AH*, *P* gives a glimpse of what a man such as Harington, at once an Elizabethan gentleman and a literary consumer and practitioner born c. 1517x20, valued and sought to imitate. Whereas *AH* was supplemented by the compositions of Sir John and his peers, *P* manifests a particularly mid-Tudor taste which seems nostalgic in an Elizabethan miscellany upon which work may have continued into the 1590s. *P*'s repertoire of datable contents is either Henrician or mid-Tudor (c. 1547-1570) in provenance, and the style of the anonymous pieces in the manuscript, including doubtful Harington pieces, also point to this date range. With the exception of Wyatt and Surrey, the bulk of this poetry is doubly distant to contemporary readers. It was not prized by Elizabethan poets and critics, whose output has done much to shape our reception of sixteenth-century verse, and has been largely overlooked by twentieth- and twenty-first century commentators, who have shown little inclination to rid mid-Tudor poetry of the 'drab age' tag with which C. S. Lewis marked it in 1954. However, the mid-Tudor verse contents in *P*, including its examples of compiler poetry, exemplify some of its standard features, as well as understudied vitality.

The poems by the elder Harington, [16], [60], [62], and [63], are illustrative in this regard; this edition has tentatively added [13]-[14], [17]-[18], [19]-[31] and [61] to him on the basis of circumstantial, formal, and textual evidence. Many of these poems draw on the same fund of stylistic techniques, and show Harington working effects into his lines that are typical of mid-Tudor verse. Almost all of the assignable and possible Harington poems boast iambic accentual-syllabic metre; several are structured through alliteration, as in [17] and [18], and/or the balancing of antitheses on either side of the caesura, as in [17] and [62]. In terms of lineation, these poems tend to work at the level of the individual line as a unit of grammar, with end-stopped or list-like poems common, as in [63]. Poems [17] and [18] in particular draw heavily on the rhetoric and stock of phrases found in Thomas Churchyard's

*Dauy Dycars Dreame* (see Headnote to [17], [18]), and may both draft in a phrase from Surrey's paraphrase of Eccles. 3.

Such features as these have been frequently dismissed as unoriginal and pedestrian. However, neither the Harington poems in *P* nor those of the other poets are monostylistic or – thematic. Several of the pieces show a willingness to experiment with the lyric forms and generic possibilities that the poets of the mid-Tudor decades inherited from Wyatt and Surrey. Such characteristics are brought out, for instance, in [62], which adapts an unusual nine-line stanza form found in a love lament attributed to Wyatt and plies it into a bitter and satirical complaint against Stephen Gardiner. The most striking examples, however, are [17]-[18] and [19]-[25] and [27]-[31], all translations of sonnets from Petrarch's *Rime sparse* which adopt a range of adventurous rhyme schemes. In several respects, these poems stage a competition with Wyatt and Surrey as much as they do Petrarch, striving to outdo the two Henrician 'courtly makers' in formal virtuosity even as they remain tied to them by reusing their phrases and choice of rhyme-words. If these pieces are Harington compositions, they pay homage to his literary inheritance, but also expand on the potential of the lyric forms he received. In this sense, they add another voice to the company of mid-Tudor sonneteers alongside Anne Locke, Barnabe Googe, George Turberville, Thomas Howell, and George Gascoigne.

The assignable and possible Harington poems in *P* also demonstrate his interest in composing pieces from most of the staple mid-Tudor genres: religious polemic ([13], [14]), political complaint ([17], [18], [62]), instructional or moral poems ([26a], [60], [63]), posy ([62]), and amatory and moral sonnets ([19]-[25], [27]-[31]). As a whole, *P* is a generically diverse manuscript. The Cheke poems contribute an epithalamium, possibly the first in the Tudor corpus, as well as two epitaphs and a short moral lyric; poem [69], the probable Cheke epithalamium, is somewhat of a generic hybrid, combining a prayer for the betrothed couple with a bracing message for them to ensure that their children serve the state in peace and war. Each of these pieces bear the imprints of Cheke's extensive classical education. In collecting such verse, Harington picked up on what Pincombe and Shrank have identified as two of the distinctive, and compelling, traits of mid-Tudor verse: its willingness to combine different genres, and wear its learnedness with pride (Pincombe and Shrank, 2009: 1-21).

Among the more unusual of Harington's inclusions in *P* are the Chaloner and Phaer poems ([1], [2], [3], [15]), as lengthy examples of the heroic epistle and epic in turn. Such classical texts were not popular choices for manuscript compilers, due in large part to their length. Both Chaloner and Phaer composed their translations in the much-derided long-line

forms common to the period: Phaer uses fourteeners and Chaloner a more unusual variation on poulter's measure which inverts the standard twelve- and fourteen-syllable line couplets. This edition has discussed the manner in which these two forms help Chaloner and Phaer to adapt the long lines of their classical sources (see Headnotes to [1] and [2], [3], and [15]). A more remarkable conjunction between the two translations is rhetorical. Chaloner and Phaer share an aversion to the classical figure *antonomasia*, demonstrating a preference for directness in naming and phrasing. This pared-down style possibly exemplifies a more perfunctory attitude to rhetorical flair than is typical of later Elizabethan translations. In this respect, they may well have appealed to Harington, whose English rendering of Cicero's *De Amicitia* designedly 'used the plaine and common speache' to find an audience in the learned and 'vnlatined' alike (STC 5276, sig. A2<sup>v</sup>). As a miscellany, *P* allows readers to trace tastes of its compiler, somewhat nostalgic for an Elizabethan gentleman, and in turn consider the poetic merits of the selection of mid-century poems which he and his family deemed collectable.

### Literary Promoters

The final guise in which this conclusion considers the Haringtons is perhaps also the most resonant. The Haringtons' and Sir John's compilation of *P* was an act of care and enthusiasm, but also one of confidence. In addition to the compiler poems in the manuscript, whose inclusion may in part be for self-promotion or –fashioning purposes, *P*'s verse contents promote the literary aptitude of English and its fitness as a medium for verse. Whereas the barbarousness of the vernacular is an abiding fear in earlier Tudor writing, *P* has a more assured national agenda. Its leaves preserve the work of poets who replenished the stock of verse forms available to English versifiers, opened English poetry to continental influence (both Wyatt and Surrey), expanded its range of genres, and trusted its robustness enough to take on the challenge of translating Ovid and Virgil directly from Latin (Chaloner and Phaer). Margaret Tudeau-Clayton, for instance, considers Phaer and his fellow *Aeneid* translators to have played a key role in initiating the success of English translations in the mid-Tudor period, both on account their democratic appeal and national pride (Tudeau-Clayton, 2009: 389-403). *P*, in these terms, is the product of its compilers' esteem for poetry in their own vernacular.

Situating the Haringtons' choice of poems in this wider historical context of renewed confidence in the vernacular helps to shed light on their selection policy. Unlike many other

manuscript compilers, the Haringtons' main criterion in *P* seems overwhelmingly to have been the literary value of the poems themselves. The result is a verse miscellany distinguished by the comparative soberness of its contents, whose compilers gathered them together with an eye to their worth. As a family of the minor gentry who undertook this task so vigorously, and over a period in which high Elizabethan poetry had taken the limelight, the Haringtons are virtually unparalleled. In their increasing attempts to divest early- and mid-Tudor literature of Lewis' 'drab' tag, students and scholars of the period would do well to turn to *P* as a source of study and impetus for future research in the literature of the period. As this edition has hopefully asserted, both the Haringtons and their manuscript warrant their due places in literary histories of the sixteenth century.

**GLOSSARY OF RHETORICAL TERMS**

*anaphora*] repetition of the same word or group of words at the beginning of successive clauses or lines

*antonomasia*] Substitution of an epithet or descriptive phrase for a proper name, e.g. 'Father of the Gods' for Jupiter

*asyndeton*] The omission of conjunctions (e.g. 'and', 'then') between clauses

*enumeratio*] Lit. 'a counting out', a division of a theme into its adjuncts or constituent parts, often in the form of a catalogue

*epanados*] Addition of extra detail to an item or theme mentioned previously, often through parallelism (similarity in structure of successive phrases)

*hyperbaton*] inversion of normal word order

*merismus*] the division of an argument into parts

*pleonasm*] use of more words than is semantically necessary; in verse, it often aids poets in making up the required number of syllables in a line

*zeugma*] figure in which one part of speech, usually a verb, governs two or more parts of a sentence

## APPENDIX 1

Textual Accuracy of the Shorter Wyatt Poems in *P*, *D*, *E*, *NAI-2*, and *T1-2*

[5]-[7], [10]

	<i>P</i>	<i>D</i>	<i>E</i>	<i>NAI-2</i>	<i>T1</i>	<i>T2</i>
Total No. Lines	32	32	32	32	32	32
Total No. Errors	7	9	8	8	9	9
Error Rate (Total Errors ÷ Total Lines)	0.218	0.281	0.25	0.25	0.281	0.281
Errors per 100 Lines	22	28	25	25	28	28
Ranking	1	4	2	2	4	4



## APPENDIX 2

Textual Accuracy of the Surrey Poems Common to *P*, *T1*, and *T2*

[32], [33], [35]-[46], [48], [49]

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	<i>P</i>	<i>T1</i>	<i>T2</i>
Total No. Lines	369	366	366
Total No. Errors	47	43	53
Error Rate (Total Errors ÷ Total Lines)	0.127	0.117	0.144
Errors per 100 Lines	13	12	14
Ranking	2	1	3

## APPENDIX 3

John Harington of Stepney: 'Of person Rare, Stronge Lymbes, and manly shapp'

Source: *AH*, fol. 16<sup>r</sup>

A sonet written vpon my Lord  
Admirall Seymour./

Of person Rare, Stronge Lymbes, and manly shapp  
of nature fram'de to sarve on Sea or lande  
of frendship firme in good state and ill happ  
In peace head wise, in warr skill great, bolde hande  
on horse in foote, in peryll or in playe [5]  
None coulde excell, thoughe many did assaie  
A Subject true to Kinge, and servant great  
Freend to goddes truthe en'mye to Roomes disceat  
Somtuous abroad, for honor of the lande  
Temp'rat at home; yet kept great state with staie [10]  
And noble house; and gave moe mowthes more meat  
then some advaunste on higher steps to stande /  
Yet against Nature Reason and iust Lawes  
His blood was spilt, guiltless without iust cause /

Rhyme Scheme: *abab ccdd bcdb ee*



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*Ad4* Add. MS 46370

Add. MS 46372

*CT* Cotton Titus A XXIV*Ca4* Cotton Vitellius F.IX.*G* Egerton MS 2230*Eg* Egerton MS 2642*E* Egerton MS 2711*Hy78* Harley MS 78

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