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**THE IMPACT OF THE UNION OF THE
CROWNS ON SCOTTISH LYRIC
POETRY 1584 - 1619**

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ABSTRACT

This thesis examines the impact on Scottish lyric poetry of the Union of the Crowns in 1603 by making a detailed analysis of the separate Scottish and English literary traditions before 1603, highlighting the peculiar features which identify national traits. In the course of this analysis it is seen that English influence on the themes and *topoi* of Scottish writing is not particularly marked, although a drive towards English orthography is seen in printed works of the 1580s and thereafter increasingly in original Scottish writing.

Following the Union of the Crowns, the lyric products of the united kingdoms are analysed by 'school' in order to determine how much of the distinctively Scottish voice that had been previously identified is still detectable. The accepted view is that Scottish poetry simply disappeared by a process of attrition as Scottish poets found they could not compete with their English contemporaries, but it is my contention that even where Scottish poets deliberately adapted their writing to the styles of English groupings of poets, they maintained a strongly individual Scottish voice. The Scottish poetical traditions and themes continue well into the seventeenth century and beyond the scope of this thesis, maintained through the habitual practice of keeping manuscript collections and commonplace books.

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PREFACE

This detailed study of the poetry of the reign of James VI and I was stimulated by my studies in the Department of Scottish Literature, where I undertook a distance-taught degree of Master of Philosophy in Scottish Literature in 1988 to 1991. My researches first started when I decided that the M. Phil. dissertation would be on the love poetry of the period, concentrating on the sonnets and sonnet sequences. I found in the poetry of Alexander Montgomerie, John Stewart of Baldynneis, William Fowler, and then later in my researches into William Alexander, Alexander Craig, Robert Ayton and William Drummond of Hawthornden, to name only the major poets of the period, a body of work which is astonishing in its scope and complexity.

Since that time, I have delved far more deeply into all the lyrical utterances of these and more minor poets, have gone back into the collections of sixteenth-century poetry on which so much of the later work is grounded, and have gained a far clearer idea of how Scottish poetry has been able to maintain its integrity to the present day.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

I should like to express my thanks generally to both Professor Douglas Gifford and Professor Rod Lyall for first inspiring my interest in Scottish literature through the distance-taught M. Phil. course. I should like specifically to thank the latter for encouraging me to embark on this course of study, for letting me see early drafts of work he was doing on Alexander Montgomerie, which I found most helpful, and for supervising my work for the first three years.

Dr Theo van Heijnsbergen has been unstinting in his support since taking over the post of supervisor, and has given me a great deal of practical help in terms of the background reading that I needed in order to situate the work of the late sixteenth century in its historical and literary context.

AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

Certain parts of this thesis have already been presented for publication in slightly different form. Chapter 1 on the Poetry of the Scottish reign of James I was the basis for a chapter in the teaching materials produced for the M. Phil. in Scottish Literature, distance-taught by the Department of Scottish Literature at Glasgow University. Chapters 4 and 5 have been largely rewritten since being abstracted for a paper on the Scottish poetry of the English reign of James VI and I, presented at the 8th International Conference on Scottish Language and Literature, Medieval and Renaissance, in Oxford in 1996. This paper is scheduled to be published in one of the volumes of the Proceedings of the conference. Chapter 1 has also been the source for material for an article on the love poetry of James VI, which is at present being considered for publication elsewhere.

DEFINITIONS

The following definitions are used consistently throughout the thesis. Poetry which is based on the work of Petrarch, and which adopts his styles and themes is described as Petrarchan. I do not use the term Petrarchanism. By Petrarchist, I intend the more superficial employment of the master's themes and/or figures, as seen in the work of the *quattrocentisti* in Italy and John Donne in England.

I have decided to acknowledge, through my rejection of the commonly-used 'poet-lover' in favour of 'persona', even although such a term did not exist in the context of Renaissance poetics, the fact that poets who write such lyrics are consciously adopting the persona of the Petrarchan lover. This should be seen as a continuation of the medieval poets' adoption of a variety of poses to enable them to vary their poetic style. I can thus make clear the distinction between the poet, i.e. the intellectual consciousness constructing the work, and the lover who is the 'I' of the poems. Where this distinction is insufficient to explain the situation of a particular poem or sequence of poems, it is discussed in the text.

Another commonly-used term which is rejected is the appellation 'the Castalian Band', as there is no evidence from the texts themselves that the poets ever thought of themselves as such. I refer to the poets writing in Scotland in the 1580s and 1590s as Jacobeans, or Scottish Jacobeans if there is any ambiguity.

As there is a dispute critically regarding the terms 'metaphysical', 'gothic', 'baroque' and 'mannered/mannerist/mannerism', I have defined the terms as I use them in the thesis as follows. 'Metaphysical' I have reserved to describe the style most commonly associated with John Donne, but also seen in some of the poems of Michael Drayton, William Alexander and Alexander Craig in which the reflective power of a poem is heightened by the employment of an apparently inappropriate metaphor which in fact serves to enlighten through its novelty. Scottish (and indeed English) lyric poetry from the sixteenth century is far more dependent on simile, signalled in the text by a phrase such as 'Lyk as ...', which is resolved into the conclusion 'So faires with me' or 'Euen so am I'. The same technique can be seen in the English habit of appending explanatory titles such as

'The louver compareth his state to a shippe in perilous storme tossed on the sea'. When Scottish poetry pushes this similitude further, developing the literal and the concrete to their logical conclusion, which allows poets to draw on different areas of experience, it takes on what might be labelled 'gothic' features. This 'Scots gothic' should not be confused with nineteenth century 'gothic', with its associations with the gloomy and the supernatural, although some of the imagery that results from such a literalisation of metaphor is indeed decidedly macabre.

The 'baroque' style appears when the poetic conceit is taken to extravagant extremes, in piling ornament on ornament, and in finding exotic comparisons. This feature I particularly associate with the poetry of William Drummond of Hawthornden, although it does appear in the work of William Fowler. 'Mannerism' is another aspect of the style, in which wordplay and elaborate games requiring considerable poetic virtuosity develop out of the older traditions of alliterative verse and, in Scotland, the flyting tradition. French styles derived from the Grands Rhétoriciens mingle with the native Scottish styles to produce a mannered rhetoric.

I have not used the manuscripts themselves as source texts, as in order to do so, I should have had to concentrate on those manuscripts readily available in Edinburgh and Glasgow, which would have narrowed the scope considerably and hindered the comparative nature of the exercise. I have used the editions which are most usually cited as authoritative, for Scottish poetry those in the Scottish Text Society series, with Hunterian Club and Bannatyne Club editions where there is not a suitable STS version, and for English poetry, as there is not an equivalent to the Scottish Text Society series for the period under discussion, individual editions which are uniformly cited by later critics.

With regard to spelling, I have throughout the thesis adhered to the spelling and punctuation of my source texts, including capitalisation. There is no normalisation of u/v/w and i/j spellings beyond that which has been undertaken by the editor of the text concerned. Use of italicised letters to indicate abbreviation and contraction in the manuscript also follows the particular editor's practice. Where I have made any change to the printed text, I indicate such change by square brackets.

Introduction 'The Impact of the Union of the Crowns on Scottish Lyric Poetry 1584-1619'

The period under scrutiny in this thesis is one which has been given little critical attention in the course of the modern period, and is only now beginning to be reassessed and revalued. For too long, critics have viewed the Jacobean literary product from a twentieth century post-Romantic perspective, measuring the Scottish achievement against the Golden Age of Elizabethan and Jacobean writing in England rather than, as will be shown to be more appropriate, against the earlier Scottish and European sources. In addition, the question is compounded by scholarly debate about whether James VI does in fact preside over a Scottish Renaissance, some critics ascribing Renaissance attitudes and stylistics to earlier writers such as Gavin Douglas,¹ while others maintain that the medieval period continued essentially up to the Union of the Crowns in 1603.²

In his influential study,³ Kurt Wittig discusses the Scottish Renaissance under the chapter title 'The Pattern left in the Sand: the Background to the Minor Poets from the Fourteenth to the Seventeenth Century'. Even David Lindsay, who does merit a chapter of his own, is seen as representing the 'Ebbing' of the tide of Scottish achievement, which creates the clear impression that the Jacobean period, which includes what R. J. Lyall has called 'the Castalian moment'⁴ was a further decline, the poetry unworthy of real critical attention, especially when compared with what Wittig calls the 'Treasure-trove' of the Scottish Ballads.

Roderick Watson in his Introduction to *The Literature of Scotland*⁵ leaps from 'the flowering of Scots [coming] to full season in the poetry of Henryson, Dunbar, Douglas and Lindsay' to 'the next most impressive period in Scottish cultural history' seen as 'the "Scottish Enlightenment" of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries' (p. 1). As Watson has chosen to organise his material in centuries, the Castalians have to compete with Gavin Douglas, David Lindsay, prose writing and devotional poetry as well as the Gaelic inheritance, which is one of Watson's prime concerns. Seen from this perspective, it is perhaps understandable that the small court circle, with its relatively small body of work produced in what was a very short period of time should tend to pale

into a kind of insignificance, but that is really only because it has not been sufficiently appraised for itself, rather than by comparison.

More recent publications, such as the first volume of *The History of Scottish Literature*,⁶ show a significant change in attitude to some extent, in that the poetry of the Scottish reign of James VI is given its own chapter, acknowledging its achievement, but the interesting and important Scottish works of the English reign are subsumed in the following chapter into the whole period from Union to Restoration, apparently dating the decline of identifiably Scottish culture as starting from 1603.

It is my contention that a great injustice is done to the lyric poetry of the reign of James VI and I if the Scottish verse is set against an English canon and English norms largely because of the Union, and because of the inevitable anglicisation of the language which had gained pace with the Reformation and was encouraged by the actions and practice of James himself in his own writings. The language question is a vital part of this study, as James is generally held to be the greatest betrayer of his own tongue in a mercenary desire to sell as many books as possible in England and to ingratiate himself with his future subjects south of the border. If, however, one looks at the linguistic development of Middle Scots, it is clear that, if Scots were to be promoted as the language of culture and literature as well as of state business, then the highest form of that language would be preferred, which form was, entirely coincidentally, because of the accidents of linguistic history, closest to Early Modern English.⁷ It was a versatility that Scottish poets possessed, enabling them to choose to write in Scots or English in the first place, and then to choose to write in literary or colloquial Scots, while English contemporaries had only the latter choice available to them in the vernacular. There are, additionally, some extant examples of Scots translating their own writings from Scots into English, showing that Scottish authors were very aware of the differences as well as the similarities between the two.⁸

Literary and cultural relationships between the two neighbouring countries had ensured a healthy exchange of writings, making Middle Scots texts available to English readers and Early Modern English texts familiar to Scots

readers, although, as even a superficial perusal of the Bannatyne Manuscript, for example, will show, these texts were copied in Scots, rather than in their original English form. The activities of printers in both countries had a part to play in the 'normalisation' of the languages, in England rendering Scottish texts intelligible to an English readership, and in Scotland imposing their own orthography on the Scots language as can be seen in the printed versions of James' *Essayes of a Prentise*.⁹

Quite apart from the linguistic question, the issue of the canon itself requires to be re-examined. Close analysis of the work produced in Scots and English during the reign of James VI and I shows clearly that the native Scottish inheritance and European influence is far stronger than the English, despite superficial similarities in genres such as the sonnet sequence, and that the Scottish poets not only of the Jacobean period but of the following three decades were drawing to a far greater extent than has heretofore been realised on the rich legacy of the sixteenth century up to and even beyond the Reformation. Again and again in this thesis the relationship of late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century images, tropes and themes to their Scottish precedents from the earlier sixteenth century will show a healthy and continually developing and evolving Scottish strain which never actually dies, but rather becomes dormant until the climate is right for it to be reborn.

It will be shown that there are Scottish themes and stylistic features which do not figure importantly in English writing at all or until much later, such as the realistic and sensuous approach to writing about sexual love seen throughout the period and particularly in the work of Alexander Montgomerie; the exuberant experimentation with the possibilities of language introduced by Montgomerie and developed by John Stewart of Baldynneis and William Fowler; the eclectic classicism of Alexander Craig, which contrasts with the Ovidianism seen more generally; and the proto-Romanticism of William Drummond's sonnets for Auristella.

It is a central tenet of my thesis that the poetry written earlier in the sixteenth century was known and referred to by post-Reformation lyricists, as there are so many correspondences and continuities that it cannot be credited

that the poets of the 1570s started from first principles without referring to the poetic productions of the previous reigns at all. Unfortunately, there is very little tangible evidence for the existence of manuscripts of contemporary poetry circulating within court circles or more widely among the cultivated burgesses of Edinburgh and surroundings.

This thesis will argue that the poems of Alexander Scott were influential on a number of later Scottish writers. The sole witness for Scott's poems is the Bannatyne Manuscript, compiled, according to the writer, 'in tyme of pest ... 1568'¹⁰ and from 'copeis awld mankit and mvtillait'¹¹, which latter attestation shows that the works of Scott circulated in manuscript, although direct evidence for their transmission between court and country does not now survive. Bannatyne's collection is very extensive and wide-ranging, mingling long, moral works with lively entertainments, giving something to appeal to every temperament and every situation, and it was not static, but was added to after 1568.

The Maitland Folio, compiled by Sir Richard Maitland of Lethington, and the Maitland Quarto, in the name of his daughter, Marie Maitland, are roughly contemporaneous with Bannatyne's MS.¹² The Folio is predominantly the statesman's collection of his own moral and serious verses, with suitable additions in a number of different hands, which suggest the composition of the manuscript over a period of time. The Quarto, which duplicates many items in the Folio, is a suitable collection for a young woman, and was probably copied by Marie Maitland herself.

It is posited that the existence of such manuscript collections suggests strongly that, even if a great many of the poetic productions contained therein were composed for and within the royal court, there were channels of transmission with the major families of the time outwith the court circle, and that the keeping of manuscript miscellanies was a tradition among the literate middle class of the time – ministers of the kirk, notaries, schoolteachers – educated men in the main, but not scholars. That these miscellanies were circulated among family and friends, and often added to over a period, appears indisputable. Much as I would like to find hard evidence to support this contention, I am forced to

rely on the assumption that such circulation of poetry either in manuscript or by word of mouth after 'public performance' at court did take place, as there is so much internal evidence in the poems of the 1580s themselves of a knowledge and appreciation of the work of the makars of the previous decades. That this was generally the case among literate, cultured Scots is attested by the existence of smaller-scale commonplace books and songbooks which are only now being systematically examined, and it suggests that there was not as distinctive a *court* culture in Scotland as there was in Elizabethan England. There must have been a relatively free flow of literary works between the Scottish court and the country, where burgesses, secretaries and writers to the signet were as likely to pen lines that appealed to courtiers as vice versa.

As a great deal of the poetry discussed in this thesis is not readily available to readers, I have adopted a more descriptive approach than is usual and have quoted extensively from poems throughout the period, in order to show more clearly the way that the distinctively Scottish voice developed to the end of the sixteenth century and then adapted to the demands of English language and literature of the early seventeenth. While it is not disputed that the Scottish writers are in the main minor characters in the context of British literature after the Union, those which will figure in the pages below deserve more than a footnote in the literary histories.

Chapter 1 'The Poetry of the Scottish Renaissance under James VI 1584 - 1603'

This chapter investigates the poetry of the Scottish Renaissance while James VI was still resident in Edinburgh. After a brief historical setting and an analysis of several relevant contemporary poetic manifestos, a survey of the poets involved, apart from serving its own purpose in highlighting the qualities of these individual poets, will yield a wide range of features that might be said to be characteristic of Scottish poetry of that period. Together these two elements show that this body of poetry merits a great deal more attention in its own right than it has been given so far.

The last two decades of the sixteenth century were a time of intense and interactive literary endeavour in both Scotland and England, although it might not at first sight look as if the two neighbouring kingdoms could have a great deal in common apart from geographical borders. England had for the past half century been ruled by a Virgin Queen who was now coming to the end of her unprecedented reign. Scotland, on the other hand, was about to enjoy the first fruits of the personal reign of James VI after an extended period of regency and uncertainty caused by aristocratic rivalries in the 1570s and early 1580s. This had given rise to factional disputes, the Gowrie group being powerful enough to carry out the kidnap and imprisonment of the lawful King. The English state, although continually under threat of Spanish invasion, the final attempt to come with Philip's Armada in 1588, was internally relatively cohesive, tolerant of religious differences in the main, and settled politically.

The fact that during this period Elizabeth kept imprisoned James' mother, Mary Queen of Scots, and would (at least tacitly) agree to her execution for treason in 1587 would seem to offer further grounds for a deep antipathy between the two countries. Doubts about James' adherence to the Protestant faith in which he had been brought up gave members of the Scottish nobility and many of Elizabeth's councillors (although not, apparently Elizabeth herself) pause for thought. By this time, James was in correspondence with Elizabeth in an attempt to engineer a *rapprochement* which would lead to his succession to the throne of England,¹ as he was her closest heir through the marriage between

James IV of Scotland and Margaret Tudor, and the two countries were growing ever closer politically.

The 1590s produced a clear polarisation, however, in that James, although not entirely free to rule without continually looking over his shoulder, married and began establishing himself far more strongly at the head of what was to become a royal family. In England, on the other hand, the old order which had sustained Elizabeth throughout her long rein had gone, and the new faction centring on the Earl of Essex was in the ascendant. In addition, religious changes produced by Reformation and Counter-Reformation underpinned much of what affected life in Europe, and the personal involvements of the various monarchs in religious differences impinged on the fates of their own and neighbouring countries.²

Scotland and England were thus becoming part of a fairly small Protestant land mass in Europe, alternatively surrounded or besieged – depending on the perception – by Catholic countries, which made it more likely that they would gradually converge. In any case, the similarities were marked: their populations spoke very similar languages (at least as far as the Lowlands of Scotland were concerned) and were increasingly subject to the same influences from mainland Europe through literary, ecclesiastical and academic links forged throughout the years. The cultural heritage was very similar, as far as Lowland Scotland and South Central England were concerned, and the increasing availability of books through printing and publishing made it inevitable that the literature of the two countries should begin to converge.

A surge of national pride, possibly connected with the religious question, can also be identified around this period, with the publication of epic poems of national heroes, such as Tasso's *Rinaldo* (1562), Barber's *Brus* (1570), Ronsard's *La Françiade* (1572), Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* (1590), Shakespeare's history plays detailing Elizabeth's antecedents; histories, such as Raphael Holinshed's *Chronicles of England, Scotland and Ireland* (1577); literary treatises such as Du Bellay's *Défense et illustration de la langue française* (1549), James VI's *The Reulis and cautelis to be obseruit & eschevvit in Scottis Poesie* (1584), Puttenham's *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) and Sidney's

Defence of Poesie (1595). The legacy of European wars seemed to intensify the sense of the cultural differences between countries despite national alliances, and to produce a pride in the individual nature and achievements of each nation, a pride which was becoming established in a sense of a national cultural identity expressed through literature. In many of the countries of Europe, this manifested itself in a desire to purify and embellish the language, and thereby elevate the literature through conscious manipulation of classical themes and rhetorical tropes in the vernacular.

Although manifestos of national poetics were produced earlier in Italy and Spain, as far as the present thesis is concerned the most influential is the French experience, which most directly impinged on the Scottish developments. Joachim Du Bellay in 1549 produced *Défense et illustration de la langue française*,³ a treatise which argued strongly for a literature in the vernacular as a means of improving the language itself and of boosting nationalistic pride in French; Livre II covers elements of poetic theory. This became the manifesto of the Pléiade group of poets, whose laureate was Pierre de Ronsard. Du Bellay's treatise was of enormous influence in Scotland and England, and his ideas can be seen in various forms in the treatises of George Gascoigne and George Puttenham, although they did not seem greatly to influence Philip Sidney. James VI, in his *Reulis and cautelis to be obseruit & eschevvit in Scottis Poesie* leans heavily on Du Bellay, but, as has been shown by recent commentaries,⁴ is no slavish imitator.

Du Bellay's treatise was the first dedicated to the French language in terms of its potential as a language of literature. While admitting that the vernacular was not yet sufficiently copious to be as good a vehicle as Latin or Greek, the writer saw the continuing process of translation (which had been promoted at the court of François I^{er}) as inimical to a real elevation of the native tongue, partly because it caused a stiffness and loss of elegance, but mainly because the original work had been created by divine force:

Cette divinité d'invention qu'ils ont plus que les autres, de cette grandeur de style, magnificence des mots, gravité des sentences, audace et variété des figures, et mille autres lumières de poésie: bref cette énergie et ne sais quel esprit qui est en leurs écrits, que les Latins appelaient *genius*. (Chap. VI, p. 59)

[That divine power of inventiveness that they have more than others, elevated style, magnificent diction, roundedness of expression, boldness and variety of metaphor, and a thousand other poetic gifts: in short that energy and indefinable spirit found in their writing, which the Latin writers called *genius*.]⁵

Those who confined themselves to translations were betraying the original writers and, if they were using translation as a means of enriching French literature, betraying the language itself. These *traducteurs* are better called *traditeurs*, echoing the Italian saying *traduttore traditore*.⁶

Imitation of the styles and tropes of the classics rather than slavish translation is what the Latin writers did and is a more fruitful way of developing an underdeveloped literature:

Imitant les meilleurs auteurs Grecs, se transformant en eux, les dévorant, et après les avoir bien digérés, les convertissant en sang et nourriture ... (Chap. VII, p. 60)

[Imitating the best Greek writers, transforming themselves into them, swallowing the words and ideas, and after having fully digested them, converting them into blood and nourishment ...]

The image of digestion, of literature as the food and drink of the emerging language, is one which will be seen to be found in many of the treatises throughout the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, and implies that what is absorbed is changed into the building blocks by means of the genius of the poet operating like the digestive juices of the stomach. What is produced has to be new and identifiably different from the source, as this is, above all, a nationalistic call, Du Bellay insisting that the French language, whatever its current status, is as worthy a language as any other:

... toutes langues sont d'une même valeur, et des mortels à une même fin d'un même jugement formées... le Français et l'Allemand, non seulement le Grec ou Romain, se peut donner à philosopher, aussi je crois qu'à un chacun sa langue puisse compétemment communiquer toute doctrine. (Chap. X, p. 69)

[... all languages have the same worth, and men are created equally with the same powers of reasoning ... the Frenchman and the German can turn himself to philosophy as well as the Greek or Roman, and I believe that each will find that any subject can be studied in his language.]

His tone becomes even stronger when discussing the attitudes of those who consider that French is totally barbaric, and cannot be thought of in the same way as Latin and Greek:

Que pensent donc faire ces reblanchisseurs de murailles qui jour

et nuit se rompent la tête à imiter? que dis-je, imiter? mais transcrire un Virgile et un Cicéron, bâtissant leurs poèmes des hémistiches de l'un, et jurant en leurs proses aux mots et sentences de l'autre.

(Chap. XI, p. 75-6)

[What do these whitewashers think they are doing while they cudgel their brains to imitate Virgil and Cicero? What am I talking about, imitate? They merely transcribe, building their poems on lines of the former, and swearing by the words and thoughts of the latter in their prose.]

This shows Du Bellay's forceful and effective use of imagery. To call imitators, or as he sees them, transcribers, 'whitewashers' clearly and concisely, if rather impertinently makes the point that they are involved in the most lowly form of painting. The blank face of the poem has no effective colouring, in a metaphorical sense, and merely restates what was there before. If French writers would develop their language it would rival the classics, as Greek and Latin are only as good as they are through longevity and the fact that they were spoken by the ancients. Even Cicero had to justify writing in Latin to those who preferred Greek. The familiar always breeds contempt in those who would be thought erudite.

Livre II of the *Défense* is the poetic manifesto, the means by which aspiring writers can use the vernacular in new ways, rather surprisingly by ignoring the works of already established French poets like Marot, Héroët, Mellin de Saint-Gelais and Scève:

... on pourra trouver en notre langue ... une forme de poésie beaucoup plus exquise, laquelle il faudrait chercher en ces vieux Grecs et Latins, non point es auteurs français pour ce qu'en ceux-ci on ne saurait prendre que bien peu, comme la peau et la couleur; en ceux-là on peut prendre la chair, les os, les nerfs et le sang. (Chap. II, p. 82)
[... you can develop in our language ... a much more exquisite type of poetry, which you will have to look for in Greek and Latin writings, not in poetry already written in French, as French poets will only be able to give you very little, like the skin and the complexion; whereas the Greek and Latin will give you the flesh, the bones, the sinews and the blood.]

In the same way that the image of blood and food was used previously, here the imagery of the physical body is used to show the strengths of a properly-determined programme of imitation. The currently-admired French poets are all surface with no substance, but the flesh, bones, sinews and blood of new French poetry can be derived from a proper study of the ancients, like Ovid, Tibullus

and Propertius for elegies, Theocritus and Virgil for eclogues, and Martial for the epigrams.

Good literature is not only to be found in classical times, but in near-contemporary Italy. Petrarch is the model for sonnets, as is Bembo, and Sannazaro and Boccaccio come in for special commendation in the fields of pastoral and prose narrative respectively. However, traditional French kinds are to be eschewed:

rondeaux, ballades, virelais, chants royaux, chansons et autres telles épiceries qui corrompent le goût de notre langue et ne servent sinon à porter témoignage de notre ignorance. (Chap. IV, p. 86)
[traditional French vernacular kinds and other similar spicy foods which corrupt the taste of our language and serve only to bear witness to our ignorance.]

Once again, the physical is the source of the metaphor, the aesthetic 'taste' being suborned to the sense, which is dulled by too much spicy food, such that it can no longer discriminate.

This is the beginning of the series of practical suggestions and propositions which make up the rest of the *Défense*, and the writer now moves to the language itself, in terms of invention of new words to fit new purposes, a process which he justifies clearly by referring to the use of technical terms by craftsmen and professionals, and by the even more basic fact that things existed before there was language, and the first men had to invent their own names from the beginning:

... les choses aient premièrement été; puis après, les mots avoir été inventés pour les signifier; et par consequent aux nouvelles choses être nécessaire imposer nouveaux mots, principalement ès arts dont l'usage n'est point encore commun et vulgaire, ce qui peut arriver souvent à notre poète auquel sera nécessaire emprunter beaucoup de choses non encore traitées en notre langue.

(Chap. VI, p. 96)

[... objects existed in the first place, and only later were words invented to name them, thus it is necessary to invent new words to name new things, especially in the case of those which are unknown to ordinary people, which often means that our poet will have to borrow names for things which have not yet appeared in French.]

Innovation, as long as it is done sensitively, and the use of French terms which are old-fashioned but not totally obsolete, following Virgil's practice, are recommended, but always with due regard to the sound of the word: 'tout au

'jugement de ton oreille' (p. 98) [let your ear be the judge]. The poet himself is to be the ultimate authority in matters of taste, as '*ton oreille*' (my emphasis) indicates.

Sound brings him logically to the question of rhyme and rhythm, and again, Du Bellay has strictures on this aspect. Some poets have been too clever by half, inventing polysyllabic rhymes with little regard for the sense, but he would not advocate removing rhyme altogether, as long as it can be maintained as:

volontaire, non forcée; reçue, non appelée; propre, non aliène;
naturelle, non adoptive: bref, elle sera telle que les vers tombant
en icelle ne contentera moins l'oreille qu'une bien harmonieuse
musique tombant en un bon et parfait accord. (Chap. VII, p. 100)
[spontaneous, unforced; logical, not invoked; native, not alien;
natural, not arcane: in short, rhyme will have the same pleasing
effect on the ear as well-composed music arriving at a harmonious
close.]

The musical sound of the verse and the unforced nature of the words used as rhyme words are the important aspects of this instruction. Given the difficulties of the French language in some respects, he allows that some poets may not want to use rhyme, and choose to write in blank verse, but they are warned to ensure that '*ces vers non rimés fussent bien charnus et nerveux, afin de compenser par ce moyen de défit de la rime*' (p. 101) [these unrhymed lines are well supported with flesh and sinews, to compensate for the lack of rhyme]. Again the image of the physical body is brought into play to reinforce the literary analogy. Rhyme is clearly seen as a structural feature, rather than a decoration, and a device which holds the body of the poem together.

Specific advice on verse form, the use of the caesura and the alternation of masculine and feminine rhymes is very particular to the French language, and aims to point aspiring poets in the right direction by giving precise and clear directions on what method to follow and what to avoid. Antonomasia is preferred to simple naming of persons, and epithets have to be new-made to add real meaning to their nouns. Everything, ultimately, is governed by the '*jugement de l'oreille*' and anything which offends, however traditional, is to be plucked out.

The final call is to the patriotic duty of French poets to write in French

and to improve the quality of the nation through its language, calling on Apollo to look on France as his potential birthplace for a renaissance:

Je supplie à Phoebus Apollon que la France, après avoir été si longtemps stérile, grosse de lui enfante bientôt un poète dont le luth bien resonnant fasse taire ces enroutées cornemuses, non autrement que les grenouilles quand on jette une pierre en leur marais. (Chap. XI, p. 111)

[I appeal to Phoebus Apollo that France, which has been barren for so long, may give birth to a poet fathered by him, a poet whose sounding lyre will silence these harsh bagpipes, as throwing a stone into the fen silences the frogs.]

It is interesting that here the image of the rise of the vernacular poet is conveyed using the natural image of birth, while the existing reviled poets are described either as inanimate (but noisy) bagpipes and animate (but non-human) frogs. This would surely be seen as a challenge which could not be ignored. The appeal to patriotism continues throughout the final chapter:

...Là donc, Français, marchez courageusement vers cette superbe cité romaine, et des serves dépouilles d'elle, comme vous avez fait plus d'une fois, ornez vos temples et autels... Vous souviene de votre ancienne Marseille, seconde Athènes, et de votre Hercule gallique tirant les peuples après lui par les oreilles avec une chaîne attachée à sa langue. (Chap. XII, p. 118-9)

[So, Frenchmen, march with courage towards the magnificent city of Rome and with her spoils decorate your temples and altars, as you have done more than once before... Remember your ancient Marseilles, a second Athens, and your French Hercules pulling people after him by the ears with a chain attached to his tongue.]

Again the judgement of the ear is to be the final arbiter, after pillaging whatever can be found in Latin and modern Italian literature, using a brilliantly evocative image of the power of persuasive language. This is, of course, in one image, precisely what Du Bellay's intention has been in this treatise: to pull the French people after him through the force of his oratory. Interestingly, the image of the Gallic Hercules has figured in ceremonial pageants since 1549, which would tend to suggest that Du Bellay's description of it here might have started the vogue.⁷

The Pléiade as it developed largely followed this manifesto, with Pierre de Ronsard firmly established as its laureate. Ronsard's enjoyment of royal patronage (he was a friend of Mary Queen of Scots as well as many members of the French court, and visited Elizabeth in the mid-1580s) ensured his primacy as laureate and helped to disseminate his particular delight in Anacreontic tropes

and what he called *vocables composez*, compound epithets which became such a feature of the work in English of Philip Sidney, Fulke Greville, William Shakespeare and, in Scotland, William Alexander and William Drummond. Ronsard also standardised the sonnet form, based on the Italian of octave in *vers embrassés* (*abba*) and sestet in two tercets, in addition using the *abba* quatrain as a verse form in itself in lyric poetry and song. It was this sonnet form that predominated in England in the early flowering of the genre, although it is Shakespeare's form in three alternately rhyming quatrains and final rhyming couplet that Gascoigne advocates in *Certayne Notes of Instruction*.⁸

There are a number of reasons which could have moved James to involve himself formally in poetry at this time. He came from a family which had written poetry as a matter of course, his mother's poems being particularly fine. He had lost a close companion when the Duke of Lennox was banished, which was the likely impetus for his first long allegorical poem *Phoenix*. While he had been imprisoned by the Ruthven Raiders in 1582-3 he had plenty of time to write, and it is clear from references in individual poems that John Stewart of Baldynneis wrote uplifting poetic epistles to him during this time.⁹ He would now, released from George Buchanan's tutelage, have direct access to his mother's library, to which the more liberal Peter Young had already introduced him.¹⁰ He was clearly aware of the poetic treatises being written in England, and had obviously read Du Bellay's *Défense*. James' desire that the very best of what was being written on the Continent be available to Scottish writers was fulfilled initially by translation from foreign sources, thereafter by vernacular adaptation and more or less direct imitation of the works of Ronsard, Desportes and Du Bartas predominantly.

The political uncertainties and repeated periods of regency throughout the latter part of the sixteenth century interrupted court culture, but literary life then became channelled into a more 'bourgeois' milieu in Edinburgh, epitomised by the family of George Bannatyne, the compiler of perhaps the most important manuscript source of contemporary and earlier Scottish poetry of the sixteenth century.¹¹ The court of Mary had been the last flowering of a truly courtly culture in Scotland, which had perhaps in the eyes of many become tainted with

the Catholicism of the Queen, and which thus was seen as unalterably opposed to the reforming aims of the Kirk.

The long-standing tradition of copying poems into manuscript collections was not limited to the educated townspeople but extended into the highest ranks of society. James' own poems, many of which were printed, were preserved in various manuscripts, the King himself and Prince Charles later preparing the unpublished verse for print. This is one source for the interesting little poem entitled 'Song: The first verses that euer the King made', which according to the draft MS. of Calderwood's *Historie of the Kirk of Scotland* was written 'when he was fyfteene yeere old', which would locate it in 1581, although another version in the Scottish Record Office describes it as 'maid in anno 1583 at the diuk of obiynnie his puting out of Scotland'.¹² The Song shows the turbulence of life ordered by poetic form, playing on the antithesis of appearance and reality, and exploring what is very often seen as the typical Jacobean dark trait of dissembling to succeed. The Machiavellian sentiment is hardly surprising in the boy king who had seen so much death and treachery in his own family, and, if the poem was indeed stimulated by the banishment of the Duke of Lennox, could see that even now he was not free to choose his own friends. The first stanza allows thought free reign as 'Thought vnreuealed can doe no euill' (3) whereas 'wordes past out cummes not againe' (4). The whole purpose is 'to Inuent/The waye to gett thy owen Intent' (5-6). The second stanza advocates dissembling:

To pleas thy selfe with thy consaite
And lette none knowe what thou does meane (7-8)

all for the purpose of hoodwinking others about one's true intentions. What is interesting here is the reference to acting, and to playing a part, which is so much a part of Renaissance composition, deriving from the rules of rhetoric which still held such sway. In an intriguing mixture of the new and the old, the Renaissance-Humanist and the medieval-scholastic, the third stanza gives a series of *sententiae*, perhaps showing that the new means and methods are built on the foundations of the old:

Since foole haste cumes not greatest speede
I wolde thou should learne for to know
How to make vertue of a need

Since that necessitie hath no law
 With patience then see thou attend,
 And houe to vanquise in the end. (13-18)

The advice of Polonius to his son in *Hamlet*, and the advice of the 'lipper' lady to Cresseid in Henryson's *Testament of Cresseid*, come immediately to mind here, neatly combining both traditions.¹³ This ambivalence is fundamental to James' own practice.

What makes this poem even more interesting in view of what James would assert in his public pronouncements on poetry, is that it is clearly the answer to a much older poem found in MS. Camb. Kk. 1. 5 (two stanzas), a manuscript from the 1480s. This poem is also found (with an additional middle stanza) in the Bannatyne MS. and in *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis* of 1578, in which it is ascribed to James I.¹⁴ James VI's poem is derived from the final stanza of the earlier poem, which is a moral instruction to live a virtuous life, accept one's station in life and trust that God will reward appropriately. The final stanza (as printed in *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis*, the most likely source for James VI's poem) is as follows:

Sen word is thrall, and thocht is only fre,
 Thou dant thy tounge, that power hes and may;
 Thou steik thy een fra warldis vanitie:
 Refraine thy lust, and harkin quhat I say:
 Graip or thow slyde, and keip furth the hie way,
 Thou hald the fast upon thy God and man,
 And for ilk inche he will the quyte ane span. (p. 53: 15-21)

Whether this poem was written by James I, it was well enough known for the first line of this stanza to be carved above lintels and on fireplaces, as has been found during reconstruction work in the Abbot House in Dunfermline. Although this does not give any support to the notion that manuscript evidence of earlier poetry was circulating at court, it does give the lie to the idea that James in his first published productions did not appear to wish to resurrect the old forms and styles but rather to start afresh with a completely new poetic principle, hence his *Ane schort Treatise conteining The Reulis and cautelis to be obseruit. & eschevvit in Scottis Poesie* (hereafter *Reules and cautelis*),¹⁵ heavily based on French precept and example. However he did maintain the link with the Scottish past in quoting from Alexander Montgomerie, a Catholic admirer of Pierre de Ronsard who combined this French influence with a very

strong foregrounding of Scots lyric, especially of the mid-century work of Alexander Scott. The *Reulis and cautelis* specifically mentions Du Bellay in the Preface, and James is clearly following the Frenchman both in his nationalism and his specific rules for the writing of poetry.

The *Reulis and cautelis* is a manual of versifying for apprentice poets, described as 'docile bairns of knavvledge', in Scots, which he insists is a different language from English, and thus needs its own separate instruction. The further impetus is that:

lyke as the tyme is changeit sensyne, sa is the ordour of Poesie
changeit.../ ... quhat I speik of Poesie now, I speik of it, as being
come to mannis age and perfectioun, quhair as then, it was bot in
the infancie and chyldeheid. (p. 67)

There is a feeling of timeliness about both his reign and the need for a new poetic to celebrate it. His sense that he is the first Protestant King of Scotland shows in the much more serious tone which James brings to his dealings with poetry, as it alludes to St Paul's letter to the Corinthians:

When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I
thought as a child: but when I became a man, I put away childish
things. (1 Corinthians 13: 1)

As religion has now come of age so has poetry. Clearly, we are concerned with a branch of literature that deserves close study and has important things to say.

That it should say these things properly, in a fit manner, is what James is concerned with, and thus he concentrates on the technicalities of the writing rather than on producing a full poetic theory, which was what had exercised his predecessors. In his strictures on technique, James takes a very similar line to Gascoigne in his *Certayne Notes of Instruction*, arguing for 'Inuentioun' and against slavish imitation, advocating a reliance on imagination to produce the best writing:

For gif Nature be nocht the cheif worker in this airt, Reulis wilbe
bot a band to Na-/ture, and will mak zow within short space weary
of the haill airt : quhair as, gif Nature be cheif, and bent to it, reulis
will be ane help and staff to Nature. (p. 68)

and:

... translating any thing out of vther language, quhilk doing ze not
only essay not zour awin ingyne of *Inuentioun*, bot be the same
meanes, ze are bound, as to a staik, to follow that buikis phrasis,
quhilk ze translate. (p. 79)

The influence of court music on the poetry of the period is also marked in James' remarks on what he calls '*Flowving*', by which he means rhythm, and on line length and rhyme. Throughout the treatise, James confuses 'foot' and 'syllable', although the meaning is always clear. He advocates an iambic metre (although Gascoigne rather disparaged lack of variety in metre) and specifically approves fourteen and twelve syllable lines, with '*Sectioun*' or caesura carefully marked after a long syllable 'for the Musique, because that quhen zour lyne is ather of xiiij or xij fete, it wilbe drawin sa lang in the singing, as ze man rest in the middes of it, quhilk is the *Sectioun*' (p. 72). He is very conscious of the sound of the language, and the way the position of a word in a line can affect pronunciation and thus the 'flow' of the line, and argues strongly for meaning over artifice. There may be an anti-medieval or anti-formula-writing stance in his injunction that poets 'put in na wordis ather *metri causa* or zit for filling furth the number of the fete' but that every word must have its due weight' in cace ze wer speiking the same purpose in prose' (p. 75).

Following Du Bellay very closely, he insists that the ear must tell the writer what is correct, and it is the poet himself who makes the judgement, not any outside authority: 'zour eare man be the onely iudge, as of all the vther parts of *Flowving*, the verie twichestane quhairof is Musique' (p. 74).

Despite its derivativeness, this is a very deliberately Scottish tract, which, although it takes many of its ideas from the French, re-makes them in Scots language to be different from what has gone before. James defers politely to those who have preceded him, but he clearly feels that he has the learning and the position to lay down rules for his own country's literature, which also shows the break from the scholastic traditions of authority of the medieval period in favour of the humanist perspectives of the Renaissance. It is perhaps also significant that James should make specific mention of music, as so many of the songs and lyrics written at the Scottish court were indeed set to music, and the practice of recycling old tunes by writing new words to them, whether in the manner of the *Gude and Godlie Ballatis* or by starting totally from scratch, is something that lasted long after the period under discussion.¹⁶

James follows the humanist categorisation of classical texts in the requirement that the diction and style must correspond to the matter of the poem. In the same way that all literatures have high, middle and low styles, James advocates different types of diction, rhetorical devices, line length, stanza form and rhyme schemes for the various types of verse which could be written, giving examples in most cases, some from his own work, others from that of his 'maister-poete' Montgomerie, although most of the terminology comes straight from Du Bellay's *Défense*. Typically Scottish forms such as the flyting and Scottish diction using alliteration are singled out for special mention and commendation. Decorum is very important to James in all aspects of poetry, and he clearly does not approve of the pastoral tradition of shepherds talking of matters of state: 'Gif zour subiect be of landwart effaris, To vse sklender reasons, mixt with grosse ignorance, nather keiping forme nor ordour' (p. 76). This is realism, undoubtedly, but denies the whole of the pastoral tradition, which was still strong in Italy as well as in England.

Related to decorum in terms of subject matter and diction is the advice on the use of metaphor, called '*Comparisoun*': 'let sic a mutuall correspondence and similitude be betwixt them as it may appeare to be a meit *Comparisoun* for sic a subiect' (p. 77). Circumlocution in epithets is preferred to *vocables composez*, as the latter means 'making a corruptit worde, composit of twa dyuers simple wordis, as "*Apollo gyde-Sunne*"' (p. 77). This is one area where James disagrees with Du Bartas, as the Frenchman had a predilection for this type of locution, and it is to James' credit that when translating *The Vranie* he usually finds rather more acceptable alternatives.¹⁷

Specific stanza forms are also indicated for particular types of poem, the names sometimes quite deliberately taking the French name for a form which already existed, as in his naming of '*Ballat Royal*', or *ballade* stanza for 'any heich & graue subiectis, specially drawin out of learnit authouris' (p. 80), which had been used consistently in Scottish poetry since the medieval period. Similarly, what James calls '*Troilus* verse', to be used for 'tragicall materis, complaintis, or testamentis' (p. 81) is rhyme royal, so named because of James I's use of it in the *Kingis Quair*, but by this appellation, clearly lined with Chaucer's

verse, perhaps showing, as James made clear in his introductory remarks, that he sees Scots and English (both the languages and the peoples) as inevitably drawing ever closer, as 'English ... is lykest to our language' (p. 67) and thus they should draw on the same shared cultural heritage, as indeed Britain does today. It seems clear that James is attempting to make a conscious break from his Scottish predecessors, however illustrious, in favour of an adherence to European styles. The stanza for love poetry, the six line Common verse, is simply Ronsard's *vers commun*. In his own practice, James was inordinately fond of fourteeners, usually split by printers into shorter lines of eight and six lines alternately, or of poulter's measure, of alternating twelve and fourteen syllable lines, again often halved by printers. The sonnet is defined as fourteen decasyllabic lines with an interlaced rhyme scheme, following the pattern of those quoted in the *Treatise*, and as this will be a most important form for the later development of this thesis, its structure will be examined at length below.

James' own description of 'the perfyte poete' gives the clearest indication of what he saw as the important qualities of such a poet:

*Ane rype ingyne, ane quick and vvalkned witt,
 VWith sommair reasons, suddenlie applyit,
 For euery purpose vsing reasons fitt,
 VWith skilfulnes, vwhere learning may be spyit,
 With pithie vvordis, for to expres zovv by it
 His full intention in his proper leid,
 The puritie quhairof, vveill hes he tryit:
 With memorie to keip quhat he dois reid,
 With skilfulnes and figuris, quhilks proceid
 From Rhetorique, vvith euerlasting fame,
 With vthers vvoundring, preassing vvith all speid
 For to atteine to merite sic a name.
 All thir into the perfyte Poëte be.
 Goddis, grant I may obtaine the Laurell trie. (p. 69)*

Despite the fact that James' strictures on poetry appear to be exemplified, it is noticeable that in effect there is a heavy reliance on the rules of classical rhetoric, as absorbed from his teaching by George Buchanan, the great humanist Latinist. This is shown in references to 'reasons fitt', which has overtones of borrowings from others as well as of decorum, and 'learning' which is not to be hidden from the reader. This is further stressed by the reference at the end of the octave to remembering what has been read, which should be added to the use of rhetorical

figures. Such reliance on predecessors does tend somewhat to undermine the insistence that the poet use 'his awin inuention' although the poem is successful in showing the sonnet form in its Scottish structure used for 'compendious praying of any bukes, or the authouris thair of, or ony argumentis of vther historeis, quhair sindrie sentences, and change of purposis are re-/quyrit' (p. 81). It will be seen, however, in the detailed discussion of James' own poetry later in this chapter, that James was clearly of a more imitative than innovative bent, at least in the matter of lyric verse, and he found it very difficult to break away from the examples that his own literary heritage provided.

The Scottish literary Renaissance was thus a much more 'political' affair than was the case in Europe. The fact that the King himself was actively involved both in the writing of a poetic manifesto and in putting its aims into practice made Scotland unique. It also meant that court culture, which had for so long been lacking in Scotland, was actively resurrected, although it would be a mistake to assume that literary culture had been absent in Scotland since the flight of Mary, or that court culture was the only kind there was. We have glimpses of a country house culture, although not as extensive as in England, which presumably would have been interested in what was going on at court. The learned, clerical and academic world, which was part of the Latin culture, would have little interest in the French- and Italian-influenced court productions, and the mass of the people, who were served by the education programmes of the Kirk, would have been almost completely untouched by whether there was a court or not, seeing its presence only in pageants and entries. That there is not the evidence of all of these strands of Scottish culture except in a few printed books and manuscripts is unfortunate, but enough remains for literary historians to extrapolate what might have originally been produced, and in what form.¹⁸

The new court poetry does show a sense of continuity from pre-Reformation times, in that the works by Montgomerie, cited by James as the best examples to follow, are indebted in large measure to the poetry of Alexander Scott, the 'laureate' of the previous generation. The Scottish forms such as flyting and Scottish diction using alliteration, as well as newer interpretations of lyric modes deriving from a development of the practice of a long line of

illustrious predecessors who had perfected the genres, can be found in Montgomerie's work.

As Du Bellay had the older master, Pierre de Ronsard, as doyen of the poetic smithy, James had Montgomerie at his right hand, although the parallel is not exact. Obviously as king, James had tremendous personal and political influence, and his publication of *Essayes of a Prentise, in the Divine Art of Poesie* (1584)¹⁹ signalled clearly that he was establishing himself as the standard. The apprentice poet quite clearly denies the plethora of *excusatii* by his very appearance and demands to be read, although the 'Sonnet of the Authour' at the end is very different in tone:

Therefore, good Reader, when as thow dois reid
 These my first fruictis, dispyse them not at all.
 Who watts, bot these may able be indeid
 Of fyner Poemis the beginning small.
 Then, rather loaue my meaning and my panis,
 Then lak my dull ingyne and blunted branis. (p. 94: 9-14)

One of the most striking features of the sonnets which open this book, after the laudatory commendations which are characteristic of this type of production, is the relative absence of a Christian God, and the effective absence of any Christian perspective. James is called Alexander, Augustus, Caesar, said to be 'of *Mars* and *Pallas* race', compared to Homer and Virgil in his literary excellence, clearly inspired by Apollo rather than any mortal teaching, and foster-child of the Muses. The first twelve sonnets written by James are described by him as 'Inuocations to the Goddis' and stand as direct pleas to the pagan deities to enable him to communicate better with his readers. Every one of the sonnets directly mentions readers in the hope that they will be better able to picture and hear the scenes from the natural world which he describes, and will empathise with him in his emotional affect. This is a feature of the Renaissance sense of realism and the Pléiade delight in realistic descriptions of the natural world, combined with the humanist-derived display of rhetorical skill using classical models.

A different note is sounded in 'Ane Metaphoricall invention of a tragedie called Phoenix', which in its very allegorical and symbolic nature appears medieval, echoing Henryson's 'tragedie' of *The Testament of Cresseid*, but which

in its examination of personal grief is very modern, the dichotomy apparently emblematised in the two 'column' poems prefaced to the longer work. The first of these, with the words of the poem arranged in a rather complicated diamond shape between plinth and capital, simply forces the words to fit the required number of syllables in the line, which have been helpfully printed around the outside of the figure. This is in tune with the way that earlier poets and musicians would fit a new poem to an established tune without much regard for the meaning of the words as the lines were broken to fit the demands of the melody. Renaissance musicianship married words and music²⁰ (or as it was carried into French poetry, 'le son et le sens') which is precisely what is seen in the second poem, described as 'The expansion of the former Colomne'. This is a virtuoso double acrostic, the initial and terminal letters of each line spelling out 'Esme Stewart Dwiki', and using *rime batelée* or caesura rhyme rather than end rhyme. This may well be simply courtly games-playing, as George Puttenham describes it, but it demands considerable skill to carry it off. Again the appeal is to readers to empathise in his sorrows:

... ye moue all that it rei D
 W ith me, indeid, lyke dolour thame to gri V
 I then will liv', in lesser grief therebi I (p. 41: 12-14)

Given the historical situation, and what is known of James' love for his second cousin, he seems here to be writing very personally, rather than 'persona-ly'.

As has been suggested, this personal loss coupled with the fact that as King he could make a difference to the literature of his country may have been the impetus to form a group like the Pléiade in France, but it was self-interest as well as a desire to regenerate the Scottish literary scene which drew John Stewart of Baldynneis, William Fowler and the Hudson brothers to join their King and his laureate to form what has become known, although the term is not found in the work of those poets, as the Castalian band, with James at their head as patron and provider of precept and example. The oldest, Stewart and Montgomerie, were from the minor aristocracy, while Fowler's family background was the merchant class, and the Hudson brothers had come from England primarily as court musicians. This was a heterogeneous grouping, whose writing covered a very wide range of themes, styles and dictions, and

although the smithy did not burn white hot for very long, while it lasted it produced much that is of interest, beauty and depth.

Unlike France, where translation and imitation was primarily seen as appropriate for the improvement of the vernacular stock in terms of vocabulary and ability to deal with sophisticated concepts, Scotland already had, despite the all-pervasive influence of Latin, a well-established vernacular language with its own literature, the poetic developments during their reigns of James IV and V and Mary Queen of Scots having to a great extent enriched the vocabulary through the employment of specific techniques. On the other hand, as Thomas Hudson makes clear in his 'Epistle Dedicatorie' to his translation of Du Bartas' *Historie of Judith*, James wanted to imitate 'the loftie Phrase, the grave inditement, the facound termes of the French Salust' which could not be 'sufficiently expressed in our rude and unpolished english language...' This statement is complicated by the fact that the Scots vernacular was at this time called Inglis, although Hudson's English origin would tend to suggest that he intended to translate into his own language. However, by using the possessive 'our' rather than 'my' he implies that the two languages were either the same, or so similar as to make little difference.²¹ Perhaps even at this stage James was thinking about the advantages of a wider readership by writing in English rather than Scots.

The language issue is important, as a perusal of the manuscript sources of *Essayes of a Prentise* and *His Maiesties Poeticall Exercises* (1591) shows that although James wrote in Scots, his printers produce the work in an Englished form.²² Anglicisation of Scottish writing had been a fact of life for many decades, and was given a fillip by the Calvinist reformers, who produced the Bible in English, rather than Scots. As James had pointed out, the two languages had much in common. There is evidence of English prints of Scottish works by writers such as Gavin Douglas, Robert Henryson and Sir David Lindsay, and many Scottish printed books are found in England in the late sixteen and early seventeenth centuries. Correspondingly, there was an interest in English works in Scotland, although frequently evidence of this is found in manuscript sources,

and written in Scots, as if prints had been copied in Scotland for wider circulation.²³

Certainly, the drive towards internationalism or, more specifically, Europeanism, was James' impulse, and hence instead of Latin or Greek, French and Italian texts supplied the bases for Scottish writing. It appears that there was a deliberate effort to translate or imitate the great European texts, to bring them to Scottish attention. James showed his Protestant credentials by choosing to translate Du Bartas' *The Vranie* and, later, wrote his own epic, *Lepanto* (which Du Bartas translated into French).²⁴ Again the forward-looking Renaissance ideal is seen in James' own work, as he is translating contemporary French epic poetry, and writing an historical account based on true events, rather than on the spurious tales found in the medieval romances (although of course the mythology of Homer and Virgil was still revered as if it were true history). Montgomerie, on the other hand, produced the mediievally-coloured allegory *The Cherrie and the Slae* as his major poetic work, showing his adherence to an earlier style, although his shorter poems show the pervasive influence of French versification in style and imagery.

As would be expected from the doyen of this band of poets, Montgomerie's poetry is, in its variety, reminiscent of that of William Dunbar and Alexander Scott, the leading lights of the early and mid-sixteenth centuries respectively. All three show a command of a wide range of poetic styles and personae, wide vernacular vocabulary brilliantly used in flyting, and a European consciousness displayed in their range of subjects, developing the language as a forceful medium. As Dunbar had flyted enthusiastically with Kennedy, so Montgomerie 'chaist Polwart from the chimney nook' to gain his position as laureate, but fell from favour and had to plead with the king for restoration of his pension, also a theme of a number of Dunbar's poems. All three wrote feelingly and movingly on religious and moral topics as well as on the wide range of courtly themes. All were makars, first and foremost, focusing on technique, although Scott and Montgomerie did develop, from the French influence, a more overtly Renaissance stance in their development of persona and the chameleon-like rhetorical pose.

Post-Medieval poets could quite happily switch from genre to genre, using first or third person, without being personally identified, their personae seen more as the mouthpiece for the words spoken, and thus could hold apparently contradictory attitudes from poem to poem. It is a shortcoming of modern critical readings of poetry that we have difficulty understanding how the same poet can express such diametrically opposed viewpoints using what is apparently the same first person pronoun. However, the rhetorical scaffolding which was so much a part of poetic production in the medieval period did not disappear with the Renaissance, and continued to underlie writing well into the seventeenth century, and, indeed, into the early modern period.

Increasingly during the Renaissance throughout Europe the poet is seen to use the poem as a kind of meditation, examining a facet of human existence which has affected him personally, whether it be love, or belief in God, or the effects of Time, or the vicissitudes of fortune, and thus, using the first person, to communicate more directly with readers on human terms and translate an individual personal experience into more universal significance. Montgomerie appears to be walking a tightrope between these two types of first person narrative, in which the tension which this ambivalence provokes widens the possible interpretations while simultaneously giving him a means of escape.

The same ambivalence explains why, at the same time that he is posing as the hopeless sufferer of unrequited love, he can write the most delightful song lyrics, the poems which are most commonly found in the manuscript collections. At least thirty of Montgomerie's original lyrics were set to music,²⁵ and some of his translations from the French would be written to accord with the French setting.

One virtuoso example of the sung lyric which brings together French, Italian and English as well as Scottish precedents, mediated by a masterly use of alliteration and musical rhythm, is seen in 'The Solsequium' (*MP XV*)²⁶ which, with its 'cuttit and brokin' stanza form is clearly intended to be set to music. What is so astonishing about this poem is the almost metaphysical comparison between the lover and the sunflower, using the dialectical logic that culminates in

John Donne's work, derived possibly from Italian developers of baroque Petrarchan imagery like Marino. The poem's opening:

Lyk as the dum
Solsequium,
With cair ouercum,

And sorou, when the sun goes out of sight, (1-4)

describes simultaneously in realistic fashion and through personification the reactions of a flower to the setting of the sun in order to set up the essential comparison 'Lyk as ...' which will be developed in the second stanza beginning 'So fairis with me' (19). This use of the figure *collatio* was developed by the later followers of Petrarch in Italy and came to Scotland and England via the poets of the Pléiade in France, but Montgomerie's version of it uses a musical rhythm and the heavy alliteration and assonance of Scottish tradition to intensify the emotional impact:

Hings doun his head,
And droups as dead,
And will not spread,

Bot louks his leavis thou langour of the nicht, (5-8)

As the lover is compared with the sunflower, so the mistress becomes 'My lamp of licht' (22) and 'Titan myne' (34). From this it is but a short step from the simile to the metaphor of the lover becoming the sunflower:

... on my staitly stalk,
I florish fresh.
I spring – I sprout –
My leivis ly out – (47-50)

This is astonishingly sexual imagery, introduced by the mention of 'Curage', a medieval euphemism for sexual desire and potency, and making clear reference to the erection caused by the sight of the lady. There is no Petrarchan sense of shame in this sensation; rather the naturalistic imagery makes clear that this is part of life and rightfully so. Sex is healthy and wholesome, as is seen by his 'hartsum heu' (51) and upright (in both senses) posture before her:

No more I lout,
Bot stands vp stout,
As glade of hir, for vhom I only greu. (52-54)

Now the persona, adopting the Petrarchan commonplace of the lady as sun to his own purposes, effortlessly moves to the lady as Apollo and himself as 'Thy Zodiac' (60) desiring that they never be separated, taking the image of the

lovers as microcosm to a heightened, astrological extent. Where Donne in 'The sunne Rising' turns the lovers' bedroom into the whole world, and they its entire population, Montgomerie turns his persona and the lady into the cosmos itself, but remains within the sphere of rationality by acknowledging that:

Sen *primum mobile* sayis aluayis nay;
At leist thy wane
Turn soon agane.

[Fareweill, with patience perforce, till day.] (69-72)

He and his lady must be subject to the laws of the universe, and since the sun cannot be stayed in the sky, under the influence of *primum mobile*, i.e. God, she cannot be forced to stay with him beyond the hours of propriety, but he can hope for a shortened period of darkness during her absence. This direct equation of the lovers with the universal absolutes appears at odds with much of the more conventional poetry being written, as the poet would be more likely to insist that his love is greater than, or beyond natural forces. Montgomerie stays within the same framework: if he is comparing himself to a flower responding to the lady-sun, then he must continue that metaphor through to the end or risk destroying his delicate analogy.

This highly complicated and very modern-sounding imagery is not, however, typical of much of Montgomerie's work. While one of the preoccupations of the Renaissance period was with time and mutability, most clearly seen in the changes and decay in the natural world, which was such a fruitful field for the poets of the Pléiade and all their followers, Montgomerie shows an allegiance to an earlier age, in his almost medieval preoccupation with fortune, usually ill-fortune. A number of poems bewail his ill-luck, such as 'Ane Invectione Against Fortun' (*MP* III) in which his friends at court are invited 'With fals and fein3ed Fortun for to flyte' (6) as 'the worthiest and valiantest sho wraks,/And honours out-waills for wnworthie acts' (22-23). In a rather different vein, in 'The Poets Complaint of his Nativitie' (*MP* IV), while complaining that 'the Hevins are hinderers of my hap' (1) he elevates himself to the status of a god by cataloguing the events of his life as if they had been watched over by the gods at every turn:

Quhy wes my mother blyth vhen I wes borne?
Quhy heght the Weirds my weifair to advance?
Quhy was my birth on Eister day at morne?

Quhy did Apollo then appeir to dance?
 Quhy gaiv he me good morou with a glance?
 Quhy leugh he in his golden chair and lap,
 Since that the Hevins ar hinderers of my hap? (15-21)

In this way, he creates a biography for himself of a poet who 'wes nurisht with the noble Nymphs' (29) on Helicon, was inspired 'with hevinly fury' like the poets of old, and who was once 'with [his] king in credit' (41), but despite all this has found himself cast out. The movement of the poem is towards the inevitable conclusion that the wickedness is not Fortune's at all, but men's, as all of Fortune seemed to be bent towards progressing him. Perhaps this is why Echo is such a popular myth for Montgomerie. He sees the forlorn nymph as his companion in misery:

The Weirds vs baith predestinat to pyne,
 Continually to others to complane. (*MP* VIII: 19-20)

This poem may well be the inspiration for James' sonnet 'Vpon occasion of some great disorders in Scotland'²⁷ which, although it does not actively borrow Montgomerie's words, appears to imitate it in its anaphoristic structure, in James' repeated 'in vaine' to parallel Montgomerie's 'quhy'. Both refer to being destined for poetic glory, James 'In vaine ye made me syne to take a place/Vpon that forked hill in honnour hie' (9-10). But James does not use the comparison with Echo, preferring to describe himself as 'Marcellus' whose name has become a byword for promise unfulfilled, or 'Job whaise patience Sathan thinkes to try' (14). This kind of intertextuality, which had been so much a feature of the poets of the mid-century, is frequently seen in the work of the Jacobean.

Although Montgomerie's complaints against Fortune are sometimes non-amatory, ill-luck in love is perhaps the most common cause for complaint, as in 'On Love and Fortun I complene' (*MP* XXX), 'O Lovesome Lady, lamp of light!' (*MP* XXXVI) or 'Quha waries all the wicked weirds, bot I?' (*MP* XL), in all of which he poses as the lovelorn swain devoted to a lady who disdains him and causes him pain. However, there is never any sense of the same ground being covered, as Montgomerie is a master of stanza form and rhyme scheme. While the first is written in the conventional six-line tetrameter stanza rhymed *ababcc* which James thought was the most suitable for love lyrics, the second is

a more complex nine-line stanza, the first six lines alternating tetrameter and trimeter rhymed *ababab*, followed by a quasi-refrain following the pattern:

[And so]
I sigh suppose I may na mair,
Sen Fortun is my fo. (7-9)

where the last line is repeated almost exactly in all six stanzas, and the seventh tetrameter line ties the *c*-rhyme refrain to the rest of the stanza on the *b* rhyme. The last of the three poems is a seven-line mainly pentameter stanza rhymed *abababb* where the final line is a trimeter. This last example shows also the wealth of the Scottish vocabulary in its first stanza:

Quha waries all the wicked weirds, bot I?
Or vha, bot I, suld curse the thruard faits?
To vhom, bot me, does destinies deny
Some kynd of comfort to thair auin estaits? (1-4)

'Weirds', 'faits' and 'destinies' are used interchangeably, but with slightly different resonances to portray different aspects of fortune, which provides yet another term.

Montgomerie's love poetry tends to concentrate on the Petrarchan *topos* of the lover languishing in death-in-life for the love of his disdainful lady. 'Evin dead behold I breath!' (*MP XX*) is constructed in four stanzas each almost forming a sonnet in itself, missing only the final rhyming couplet. The concern is totally with the lover's state with no mention of the lady herself except as 'fatall deidly feid,/O Rigour but remorse' (9-10). Here again, the Scottish dimension is seen in the heavy use of alliteration and assonance, and in the interlacing rhyme scheme which Montgomerie may have invented, as will be discussed below:

3it tyme sall try my trueth,
And panefull patient pairt.
Thoght love suld rage but reuth,
And death with deidly dairt
Suld sey to caus me smart; (37-41)

An even more complex mingling of medieval, Petrarchan and Renaissance imagery is seen in 'In throu the windoes of myn ees - ' (*MP XXII*), the image of the window being a prominent metaphor in the sixteenth century, where the medieval image of love's dart striking through the eyes merges into the *topos* of the heart always dying but never dead, but with the innovation that here the poet has taunted Cupid, using a very dismissive, colloquial tone:

"Boy, with thy bou do vhat thou dou,"

Quod I, "I cair the not a cute." (8-9)

but has immediately realised his mistake. In a series of alliterating Petrarchan antitheses:

Fra hand I frei3d in flamis of fyre;
 I brint agane als soon in yce:
 My dolour wes my auin devyce;
 Displesur wes my auin desyre. (19-22)

he describes the pains of love and only much later, in the fifth stanza of the poem, invokes the classical comparison of Ariadne leading Theseus out of the 'labyrinth of love' (40) which itself seems a novel image, but even more astonishing is the image of the Minotaur as his hidden love, which would ally him with Pasiphaë in her shameful passion. The fatal love he feels is translated into a murderous monster of legend, to whom he is to be sacrificed. In a beautiful inversion of what would be expected, where the fugitive has to hide from the Minotaur to save himself, here the poet states that if he revealed himself to his Ariadne he would be safe, but then again if she rejected him his state would be worse. His looks, sighs and tears are, as his love was, animated and literalised and enjoined to plead his case:

Go once, my longsome looks, reveill
 My secrete to my lady sueet;
 Go, sighs and teirs, for me intreet,
 That sho, by sympathie may feill
 Pairt of the passionis of my spreet. (46-50)

If she will not have him, then death is his only remedy, as his lady's rejection is death. This imagery, which could be described as 'metaphysical', is actually more akin to the gothic tendency which is so characteristic of Scottish writing, in which the similitude is literalised and then developed to its logical conclusion. Such development had already been explored by the quattrocentist imitators and parodists of the Petrarchan love poem (see Appendix), but it is not hypothesised that this superficial similarity shows any kind of influence of the *quattrocentisti* on Scottish Petrarchans.

A rather different technique is seen in 'A late regrate of leirning to love' (MP VI) where love is described through the conceit of a poison causing actual illness, of a particularly horrible sort:

A frentick fevir thugh my flesh I feill;
 I feill a passione can not be exprest;
 I feel a byll within my bosum beill;

No cataplasme can weill impesh that pest.
 I feill my self with seiknes so possest,
 A madnes maks my mirth from me remove.
 Alace! alace! that evir I learnd to love. (8-14)

From the fever of love, the conventional image of the fires of love, and the passion which he can not speak of (the sense of 'express'), the poet moves to an absolutely literal description of disease, the alliteration, particularly the /b/ in line 11, accentuating the almost explosive nature of the boil which is ever-growing, and would, in medical terms, have to be expressed, i.e. lanced. The language is that which would be used by a doctor treating a real malady. The conceit of the Cupid-darted heart is similarly made concrete:

My hopeles hairt vnhappiest of hairts
 Is hoild and hurt with Cupids huikit heeds
 And thirlit throu with deidly poysond dairts
 That inwardly within my breist it bleids. (15-18)

This is a gothic intensification of the arrow-pierced heart of Petrarchist development, literalised into a very vivid picture of the heart so pierced through with arrows that to the reader it comes to resemble a hedgehog. Because the heart is seen as literally damaged, the line, 'My doctours wage and deuty will be deir' (40), is both logical and very witty. This literalisation, or concretising, of the traditional metaphor can be seen to be gaining popularity in Scottish poetry at the end of the century.

James VI, who was not otherwise very successful in the love lyric, similarly used a literalising approach to the metaphor of love as sickness in one of his particularly vivid love sonnets addressed to 'cruell Cupide':

No medicine my sicknesse may asswage
 Nor cataplasme cure my wounde I see ...
 The feuer hath infected euerie parte
 My bones are dried there marrowe melts away,
 My sinnowes feeble through my smoaking smarte
 And all my bloode as in a pann doeth playe. (3-4, 9-12)²⁸

The use of alliteration here heightens the effect of the detailed description, itself an example of the more Ciceronian *copia*, culminating in the very vividly gothic image of the blood boiling in a bedpan.

That love is at the centre of human existence, and gives reason to life, informs the argument of Montgomerie's 'The Secreit Prais of Love' (MP XXVI) which, although at first sight a straightforward composition, has far more to it.

The first stanza appears to be dealing with Platonic verities, in that only the shadow or outward image of the object is seen, and not its true essence:

As evirie object to the outuward ee,
 Dissaivis the sight, and semis as it is sene,
 Quhen not bot shap and cullour 3it we se,
 For no thing els is subject to the ene;
 As stains and trees appeiring gray and grene,
 Quhais quantities vpon the sight depends,
 Bot qualities the cunning [sense transcends.] (1-7)

The language complicates this simple antithesis, as Montgomerie is playing with antithetical ideas - the 'object' and 'subject' in lines 1 and 4; the 'quantities' and 'qualities' in lines 6 and 7 and everywhere the opposition of seeming to being, as the 'sight' is opposed to 'the cunning [sense]' of cognition. This leads naturally into the antithesis of 'vha sayis they sie me as I am' in the second stanza, and clearly what he appears to be is not what he is at all, his outward appearance showing nothing of his inward condition. This is perhaps the poet playing games with his readers, exactly as Alexander Scott did with his listeners, pretending to play a persona but really keeping his own counsel, and, as will be seen, William Alexander played exactly the same kind of game in *Aurora*.

In a superb display of hyperbole, his love is shown to be beyond all measure and beyond all compare:

Suppose the heuins be huge for to behold,
 Contening all within thair compas wyde,
 The starris be tyme, thoght tedious, may be told;
 Becaus within a certan bounds they byd:
 The carde the earth from waters may devyde:
 Bot vho is he can limit love, I wene,
 Quhom nather carde nor compas can contene? (29 - 35)

This is the resolution of the earlier statement that 'Imaginatione is the outuward ee' (15) which 'by some secreit sympathie, may see/The force of love, vhilke can not be defynd' (17-18). Only the imagination can conceive of the power of human love, which here, in a rather neat turning of the conventional trope, is limitless, while the sky and the sea are circumscribed.

This power is anaphoristically conjured in the final stanza as a 'force' which, while capable of anything, cannot be put into words: 'A vehemency that words can not reveill' (41), when of course the entire poem has been concerned with just that aim in mind. But, denying his own virtuosity, the poet concludes:

'Quhilk I conclude to suffer, and conceill' (42), neatly requiring his reader to re-read, bringing his powers of imagination to bear on the comparisons used.

This characteristically stoical note of suffering for love is found again in 'Ressave this harte, vhois constancie wes sik' (*MP* XXVII) where the poet, remembering a time when he had predicted his own death, now finds himself, on his deathbed, writing his testament, leaving to the lady 'the hairt wes nevir fals/About thy hals to hing vhare thou may sie' (14-15), again using the literalisation of the metaphor to convert the heart into some kind of macabre jewellery and perhaps evoking the common sixteenth century habit of sending hearts with poems as presents. But the longing is still evident:

Give patience place – considder weill the cace;
This is the race that euery man must rin,
Thoght I begin vha had no langer space. –
Thee to imbrace once, God! if I micht win! (29-32)

The proverbial expression and homely diction make it easy to miss the extremely complicated *rime batelée*, a form derived from French pre-Pléiade poetics in which a caesura rhyme is added to the Ballat Royal stanza form, showing Montgomerie's mastery of rhyme and structure which heightens the emotional content rather than obscuring it.

On the other hand, Montgomerie is not always the despairing lover, and can employ a familiar, down-to-earth diction which is refreshing, as in 'A Bony "No," with smyling looks agane' (*MP* XLII). He is here warning '3oung lassis' that they should play harder to get, and they would find that love became more of a game, with more enjoyment at the end. He would rather receive 'A bony "No," with smyling looks agane' (1) than a straightforward "3es." The whole poem makes clear, with its repetition of words for appearance, that this is not advocacy of chastity, but merely of seeming rigour. Discouraging admirers in truth is the last thing on his mind:

I speik not this, as trouing for to tyre:
Bot, as the forger, vhen he feeds his fyre,
With sparks of water maks it burne more bald;
So, sueet denyall doubillis bot desyr,
And quickins curage fra becomming cald. (12-16)

The poet is here using what would be an everyday scene to literalise the otherwise rather difficult Petrarchan conceit of the tears of the lover feeding the

fires of his love rather than drowning them. The homely alliterative diction and conversational tone reveal the reality of the workings of love, and show the Petrarchan pose as a highly stylised and rarefied version of the realities of human love. Whether in the village or the court, the desired result is the same:

For, folou love, they say, and it will flie.
 Wald 3e be lovd, this lessone mon 3e leir;
 Flie vhylome love, and it will folou thee. (22-24)

It can be seen how varied was Montgomerie's versification, and how expertly he could match the stanza form and the diction to the matter, and this expertise continues when he turns his hand to sonnet-writing. Sonnets comprise a relatively small part of Montgomerie's known poetry, but he uses the sonnet form superlatively in a variety of dictions and registers, in love poetry, conventional eulogy, epithalamia, and in complaint and apology, where the personal aspect of the inspiration adds depth and emotional impact to the form. Although he did not write a Petrarchan sequence as such, he did like the sonnet's compressed form for expressing contradictory ideas, and often these contradictions are expressed in mini-sequences of three, four or five poems, where a dialectic or a dramatic monologue is composed from the individual items.

There is no way of telling whether the copyist of the Ker MS in which Montgomerie's poems are found has imposed a sequence on the sonnets which may be at odds with the poet's original intentions. For this reason, I have decided that Montgomerie's sonnets should be discussed in terms of stylistics, the clearly related small groups being looked at individually, rather than attempting to see a sequence of events in the manuscript. There is a great variety of styles and subject matters in these collected sonnets and it is sometimes difficult to decide whether certain sonnets do in fact belong together. However, this is not the place for a detailed study of such matters, and the short sequences will be dealt with as they are edited by James Cranstoun unless there are very strong reasons for disagreement.

James, in his *Reulis and cautelis*, had singled out the sonnet as the form to be used for poems of praise of books or their authors, or other praiseworthy personages, and not for love at all, although he gives no reason for this. He had,

in addition, specified the form that was to be employed, an interlacing rhyme *ababbcbccdcdee*. Critics are divided on the origins of this form which is only used outside Scotland by Spenser, and the prevailing opinion is that Spenser must have originated it.²⁹ However, it is to some extent based on the ballade stanza (or as James calls it 'Ballat Royal') long established in Scottish verse (and found throughout the poetry of the previous two centuries) which James advocates for high and grave subjects. Certainly the interlaced rhyme can be found in Montgomerie's lyrical pieces, and his particular skills with difficult and demanding rhyme schemes make it easy to attribute this particular form to him. While James clearly incorporates the work of Chaucer in his new developments of Scottish literature, there is no evidence that he has read Spenser, and, since all his other examples come from Scottish precedents, Montgomerie can be given the credit. Spenser may have independently found the stanza form in Chaucer, and used it in the April and November Eclogues of *The Shepheardes Calendar*, later extending it for his own purposes in the sonnet.

Montgomerie could turn his hand to sonnets on a wide variety of subjects, although those praising James as a poet were probably best liked by the King. It has been persuasively argued³⁰ that the amatory lyric has a long history as a veiled appeal to the sovereign, or indeed to any social and political superior, the hope for love of the lady expressing courtly ambition, and the jealousy of feared rivals symptomatic of the competition for place that was part of court life. As I shall show below, Montgomerie uses precisely this method to appeal to the King more subtly. This technique is seen in a wide variety of lyric forms in addition to the sonnet. 'Before the Greeks durst enterpryse' (*MP XXXVIII*), although superficially an account of the Greek appeal to Apollo for advice before embarking on the Trojan war, was cited in part by James as a prime example of amatory lyric, which would suggest that James identified Apollo with the lady. This final stanza, which was quoted in James' *Reulis and cautelis* as a proper example of common verse, compares the poet with the Greeks who have been told 'Hou Troy and Trojans haiv they suld' (17), although without the rider that it would take them ten years:

Quilk ansueir maid thame not so glad,
That thus the victors they suld be,

As evin the ansuer that I had
 Did gritly joy and comfort me,
 Quhen, lo! thus spak Apollo myne:
 All that thou seeks, it sall be thyne. (19-24)

However, it could well be that this is an appeal to James himself, which James quite well understood, but deliberately decided to reject in favour of the 'easier' reading. Critics are divided on how this poem should be read,³¹ although James makes his position abundantly clear, and thus officially rules out any of the other possible interpretations.

It may be because he realised that a grosser kind of flattery would be more appealing to James that Montgomerie adopted a much more obsequious diction in his series of four poems praising James' translation of Du Bartas' *The Vranie*. In these sonnets Montgomerie rehearses the tropes and the images which become so familiar throughout this period, of James as Apollo, both inspirer of poetry and god of the sun, lighting and enlightening the world. While praising James as David, Montgomerie is at the same time posing as the amateur excusing his own minor talent, referring to himself as the moon to James' sun, he shining only through James' favour:

Bot euen as Phoebus shyning does ashame
 Diana with hir boroude beimis and blind;
 So vhen I preis thy praysis to proclame,
 Thy weghtie words maks myne appeir bot wind. (S X: 9-12)

Of course, this could be a dig at James' more ponderous style, when he has too much of a predilection for fourteeners, while Montgomerie's is light and airy in the most positive sense of 'wind'.

In a much more homely version of the same idea, and using a characteristic image, following James' own description of himself in the final sonnet of *Essayes of a Prentise*, Montgomerie describes himself and the other poets of the band as those with 'fordullit hedes/And blunter brainis' (S XI: 7-8), but returns to the aureate style in the following sonnet with a catalogue of greater and lesser qualities:

Can goldin Titan shyning bright at morne,
 For light of torches, cast a gritter shau? (S XII:1-2)

Significantly, in addition to maintaining, as James had advocated in *Reulis and cautelis*, the many names for the sun-god for James – in this sequence he is first Apollo, then Phoebus, then Titan, and finally Apollo again – he is given two lines

for his comparison, each of the other comparisons of greater and lesser things being made in a single line. Each of the comparisons involves an event of natural majesty compared with its human or animal equivalent to show the inferiority of the latter:

Can our waik breathis help Boreas to blau?
 Can candle lou give fyr a griter heet?
 Can quhytest suanis more quhyter mak the snau?
 Can virgins teirs augment the winter[s weet?] (S XII: 5-8)

the proposition taking ten lines of the sonnet, the answer simply stated in the next two lines, and the relation to James in the couplet:

So, peirles Prince! thy cunning maks the knoune;
 Ours helps not thyn: we stein3ie bot our aune. (13-14)

It was this sonnet with its image of Apollo 'staining' (dulling) the rest of the stars, which James chose to preface *The Vranie*. In the fourth and last sonnet of this small sequence, Montgomerie has amalgamated the image of Apollo the lightener of the world with that of the phoenix in her uniqueness to give James the highest possible praise, and perhaps in so doing it alludes obliquely to *Phoenix* and to the relationship that James had with Lennox:

So, quintessenst of kings! vhen thou compyle,
 Thou stanis my versis with thy staitly style. (S XIII: 13-14)

If that 'quintessenst' is in fact a superlative rather than simply an alternative spelling of 'quintessence', then the praise becomes hyperbolic indeed, and underscores the uniqueness by going beyond the image of the phoenix.

Despite the proliferation of sonnets celebrating friends, fellow courtiers and fellow poets, the main recipient of eulogy was James himself, whether as the leader of the poetic band, or as King of Scotland. Montgomerie took the traditional role of counsellor to the King seriously and in the sonnet 'To his Maiestie' appeals to him to act immediately 'as David did betymis' (S VII: 3), and to 'clenge 3our cuntrie of thir cruell crymis' (1), specifically (and traditionally) naming adultery, witchcraft, incest and unlawful killing. Referring to the kingly virtues of mercy and judgement, he advises the young king to 'Chuse godly counsel, leirne to be a king' (9), an instruction straight out of Lindsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis*.³² This, although surprising to modern ears, is completely in keeping with the tradition of offering advice to the monarch, which

is seen in even wider range in 1603, when virtually any individual of worth offered counsel to the new King of the united kingdom.

It is evident, whatever the chronology of the poems and the atmosphere of the Jacobean Court, that something was rotten in the Scottish state, as is made clear in a discussion of 'the iniquitie of man' and how this has affected Montgomerie as a courtier and a poet. In a sonnet to David Drummond (*S V*) he complains that 'Mydas, not Mecenas, is our judge' (14), and that this has promoted the unworthy to positions of power at court:

The cuccou flees befor the turtle dou;
The pratling pyet matchis with the Musis;
Pan with Apollo playis, I wot not hou;
The attircops Minervas office vsis. (9-12)

When it is considered that 'Apollo' in these poems almost invariably refers to James, it is clear that the true artists of the Court, among whom Montgomerie would undoubtedly number himself, were being discarded in favour of undeserving pensioners, empty chatterers and spiteful backbiters. The reference to the cuckoo, which usurps other birds' places, and the use of the alliterative 'pratling pyet', literally a chattering magpie, show the tradition of flyting with which Montgomerie was so familiar, where undesirables are compared in increasingly uncomplimentary terms to animals, illustrating the concern that the wisdom which should rule kingly decisions is replaced by spite and venom. This attitude and complaint looms large in the poetry of another member of the Band, John Stewart of Baldynneis, and seems to have been a widespread concern among some of the courtiers. When one relates this imagery to one of the stanzas in *Phoenix*, where James describes 'the *Rauin*, the *Stainchell*, & the *Gled*' (146) who were envious of the phoenix it may suggest that Montgomerie is referring to the ousting of Lennox in 1583, although if that were the case it begs more questions than it answers in terms of ascribing roles to specific individuals.

On the other hand, and showing that the King was capable of choosing good counsellors, is the sonnet 'In Praise of M. J. M., Chancellor', constructed in masterly *vers rapporté*, praising the qualities of Maitland as gifts 'Of Mars, Minerva, Mercure, and the Musis' (*S IX*: 1). In case it might be thought that too much praise was being heaped on a politician, Montgomerie makes clear that this

is the result of the King's wisdom: 'a cunning king a cunning chancellor chuisis' (8). The tetradic imagery of this sonnet gives it even more mystical strength, and it ends four square with the symbols of the gods named in the first line: 'suord, pen, and wings, in croun of laurel lei[ves]' (14). This sonnet could well be the stimulus for James' sonnet on Sir Philip Sidney, which uses very much the same imagery and structure.³³

However, Montgomerie lost his position and pension while in prison abroad as a result of being captured while on the King's secret business. Cranstoun, following the Ker MS, places Montgomerie's pleas for the restoration of his court pension immediately after the series discussed above in which the King's virtuosity as a poet is celebrated (although the historical account separates them by a number of years), which serves to shock and heighten the effect of helplessness and betrayal. There is a development through the sequence from careful apportioning of blame to others and not the King: 'Help, Prince, to whom, on whom not I complene' (S XIV: 1), to a clear sense of friendship betrayed: 'Is this the frute, Sir, of your first affectione,/My pensioun perish vnder your protectione?' (S XVI: 13-14) He appeals to justice and right on his own behalf, as he has served loyally, and should be rewarded. As poet, also, he is aware of his own worth, using the device of *excusatio* to show in what respect he should be held:

With August, Virgill wauntit his reuard,
And Ovids lote als lukles as the lave;
Quhill Homer livd, his hap wes very hard,...
Thocht I am not lyk one of thame in arte,
I pingle thame all perfytlie in that parte. (S XV: 9-11, 13-14)

The inclusion of Virgil, who was supported by Maecenas because Augustus would not offer patronage, and who thus gave his name to all wealthy patrons of the arts, has a twofold aim: it shows Montgomerie's true estimation of himself as the equal of Virgil; and it highlights Montgomerie's sense that only at court can patronage be found, and that James, like Augustus, is abdicating his responsibilities to his maister poete. This is stinging criticism when it is considered how James was lauded as Augustus in the commendatory poems in *The Essayes of a Prentise*, although of course the use of the metaphor makes it indirect.

In addition to eulogy and complaint, Montgomerie found that the sonnet was the ideal form for compressed invective, seen in the two groups of sonnets to the Lords of the Session and to his advocate, all of whom let him down badly after a promising start. The movement of the group of four sonnets addressed to the Lords of the Session in which the poet appeals to them for justice, is one that from a carefully-worded appeal to wisdom develops into a powerful display of invective against those who will not lift a finger to help him. There appears to be a Biblical resonance in the opening lines of Sonnets XIX and XX where he asks, 'How long' he will have to wait until the case is settled and his pension can be restored. He clearly invokes the Biblical warning against injustice in the second of these:

Look vp, my Lords; thair is a Lord above,
Quha seis the smallest secreit of 3our hairts. (*S* XX: 3-4)

continuing this thought ever more strongly as the poem develops: 'He recompencis, as 3e play your pairts ... As 3e will merit ather hell or hevin' (7, 12). Perhaps as a final inducement, he promises that if they support him, he will celebrate them in verse: 'For I may able eterni3e 3our names' (14). This could also be seen as a warning, in that the poet's account of the case will remain long after they are all dead, and he, in his partiality, will emerge better than they will.

However, he receives as little response from the Lords of Session as he did from the King, and the final sonnet of the four damns them to hell as they have damned him to penury and exile. He accuses them of having little wisdom and less conscience:

My Lords, late lads, nou leidars of our lauis,
Except 3our gouns, some hes not worth a grote.
3our colblak conscience all the cuntrey knauis;
Hou can 3e live, except 3e sell 3our vote? (*S* XXI: 1-4)

Following from the warnings he gave in the previous sonnet, he reminds them 'God is not blind, He will not be abusit' (8), and forecasts a particularly horrible Day of Judgement for them when they will be 'compeld at Plotcok to appeir' (12), to explain their misdeeds to the poet and 'mony hundreth 3e haif herryit heir' (10) before Pluto, before being ushered into Hell.

The same development is seen in his sonnets on his advocate John Sharpe, where the lawyer is first praised for his 'sharpness', but, as it becomes

clear that his case for restoration of his pension is failing, the tone becomes that of a flyting, with allegations of miscegenation, bestiality and disease, heavy alliteration underscoring the invective:

A Baxters bird, a bluitter beggar borne,
Ane ill heud huir sone, lyk a barkit hyde,
A saulles suinger, seuintie tymes mensuorne,
A peltrie pultron poysond vp with pryde, (*S* XXIV: 1-4)

The accusations continue for thirteen lines of the sonnet, piling on the loathsome qualities until the final line: 'Quha reids this riddill he is Sharpe forsuith' (14).

Why Montgomerie should use the sonnet for this kind of writing is possibly connected with the way it was being developed as a form which could express antitheses particularly well. If it is to be used for eulogy, then why not equally for obloquy? Although satires proliferated in England in the 1590s, there is no equivalent Scottish form unless one can count these sonnets. As poetical exercises, too, they force the poet to bring to bear all his resources of flyting language, and, as Montgomerie always flyted in alliterative verse, a double constraint is put on his inventiveness. The contrastive juxtaposition of the satirical sonnets shows the poet's mastery of rhetoric and serves to counterpoint the amatory and eulogistic sonnets. The organisation of the manuscript would tend to suggest that its copyist saw the sonnets as individual parts of a greater whole, where the continually changing tone and diction added an extra dimension to the work.

As has been made clear in the foregoing discussion, the flyting tradition is the foundation of only a very small part of Montgomerie's sonnet writing; the predominant tone is of complaint, usually against love, showing the elder poet's independence of his youthful tutor. The next grouping of sonnets to be discussed is one where Cranstoun's editorial practice is questionable, in that it follows the group entitled 'A Ladyis Lamentatione', subtitled 'The Same' and yet clearly it is not, being the first of a little group of poems which depend on antitheses. Moreover, the rhyme scheme is quite different: the three sonnets of 'A Ladyis Lamentatione' (*S* XXXIII to *S* XXXV) use the Scottish interlaced rhyme scheme of *ababbcbccdcdee*, while *S* XXXVI 'Fane wald I speir vhat spreit doth me [inspire]' and *S* XXXVII 'My plesuris past procures my present pain' have an Italianate *abbaabbacddcee*. The next sonnet, however, reverts to the Scottish

rhyme. The two Italianate sonnets look like schoolbook exercises, 'poeticall exercises at vacant hours'.

While *S XXXVI* merely catalogues the oppositions fairly mechanically, *S XXXVII* develops the difference between 'plesuris past' and 'present pain', the alliteration heightening the contrast. The first quatrain develops the idea of ever-increasing grief: 'My greif ay groues, my gladenes wants a grane' (4), while the second repeats in different forms that what is lost is gone for ever:

My bygane joys I can not get agane,
 Bot once imbarkit, I must byde the blast,
 I can not chuse; my kinsh is not to cast:
 To wish it war, my wish wald be bot vane (5-8)

The idiomatic 'my kinsh is not to cast', which means that he has no opportunity to choose, is absolutely typical Montgomerie, suggesting at once a resignation to fate and a resentment that someone with his qualities should be put into such a position. However, because he is still capable of reasoning, he can perhaps fool his senses into believing that things are better:

3it, vhill I sey my senses to dissaive,
 To pleis my thoght, I think a thousand things,
 Quhilks to my breist bot boroude blythnes brings. (5-7)

but this is more self-deception, and despair rules.

That this is the fault of his senses overcoming his intellect is made clear in the following sonnet where he anaphoristically blames every sense for its part in his present pain. In what is perhaps a reminiscence of William Dunbar's *The Goldyn Targe* he regrets his wisdom could not 'haif bene [his] sheild' (*S XXXVIII*: 11) against the dangers of female allure, but the final couplet makes clear that speaking out was the fault:

Had I my counsell keepit vndeclairde,
 I might haif dred, bot deidly not dispairde. (13-14)

This illustrates yet another of the paradoxical commonplaces of Petrarchan lyric, namely that love should never be expressed openly but nourished in the heart, which, if it were obeyed, would remove all the love poems from the public domain.

A decidedly more Petrarchan mini-sequence comprises *S LIV* to *S LVIII* which, although subtitled 'On his maistres', does not give the indication of being other than conventional, as the invocation in the first sonnet to his Muse,

Minerva, hints that this is an intellectual rather than a passionate enterprise. The subject of this sonnet will be 'The bravest blossome beutie can outbring' (*S LIV*: 4), using the homely image of the blossom rather than the courtly rose. The Petrarchan commonplace of the lady's 'angels ees' which 'micht mak the sun thin[k shame]/As half eclipsed, in the heuins to hing!' (7-8), is rather reductive here, as the lady's eyes should outshine the sun and eclipse it *totally*. However, the poet relates the image to the governing power of Minerva rather than Venus. This perhaps also explains the very down-to-earth note sounded in 'Bot hola, Muse!' (9), where the nautical term has the effect of reining in an unruly thought, introducing the traditional *excusatio* '... merit far exceeds thy slender skill' (10). This is a typical Montgomerie pose, and introduces what was to become Stewart of Baldynneis' favourite phrase for his limited poetic abilities as his 'slender skill'.

The following sonnet mingles the conventionally Petrarchan image of Cupid lying in the lady's face with a favourite Montgomerie device of legal imagery, where from the second quatrain the persona is seen as the defendant in a legal process. His patience 'pleids [his] proces at the bar' (*S LV*: 7) and he brings to bear all his attributes in his own defence, using Scots law terms:

My secrete sighis, solisters for my sute;
My trinkling teirs, the presents I propyne;
My constancie, hir counsellours to enclyne:' (9-11)

but the persona is condemned by his own emotions: 'My pairties ar my javellour and my judge' (14).

Finally in this short grouping there is a poem of almost total despair: 'Hou long sall I in languishing lament' (*S LVIII*: 1). The heavy alliteration on antithetical words, the anaphoristic 'Hou long sall', beginning ten of the first twelve lines and perhaps echoing the Biblical plea to Pharaoh to free the Israelites from captivity. This echoing and the very native diction place this very much in a Scottish tradition, the final couplet using completely alliterating *vers rapporté* lines in an attempt to reassert manly action:

Revenge, revert, revive, revest, reveall,
My hurt, my hairt, my hope, my hap, my heall. (13-14)

Although this kind of mannerist writing was frequently used simply for its entertainment value, Montgomerie is here showing that alliteration can be used powerfully to intensify a very strongly-felt emotion. Here the disyllabic words in

the penultimate line are positive, uplifting and demanding of action, the monosyllables in the final line reinforcing the demand even more strongly to end on the restoration of wholeness in 'heall'.

These sonnets show a generalised Petrarchan idiom, but incorporated into a Scottish tradition developed throughout the sixteenth century, and this is very much the key to Scottish developments of courtly poetry. When translations are made, the Scottish language and tradition provide too strong a foundation to be ignored, and Montgomerie is the best practitioner of the vernacular development. This can most clearly be seen in his translations and adaptation of the poems of Pierre de Ronsard.

A very close correspondence between source and imitation can be found between 'So suete a kis 3istrene fra thee I reft' (*S* XLI: 1) and Ronsard's 'Hyer au soir que je pris malgré toy' (*Nouvelle Continuation des Amours* XXXVII), although here Montgomerie has compressed the Frenchman's twenty lines into the fourteen of the sonnet and has heightened the Ovidian sensuality even of the original, implying that this kiss was stolen as part of love-making, as 'in bouing doun thy body on the bed' (2) shows,³⁴ and rather denying the literal interpretation of 'reft' as 'stolen', as the love is clearly requited. Although once again the imagery is basically conventional, it is literalised, the kiss transferring the persona's 'lyfe' with his breath, and hence his 'spirits wald neuer shed' (4) from the lady 'And left [his] corps as cold as ony kie' (6). He pictures his heart, again literalising the convention into the common sixteenth-century practice, sent to find his spirit:

Bot it wes so inamored with thyn ee,
With thee it myndit lykuyse to remane: (9-10)

This is the point where, if Montgomerie were conscientiously imitating Ronsard's style, regardless of the verse form of the original, he would probably have used the French sonnet form with the rhyming couplet in lines 9 and 10. This sonnet is written with the Scottish interlaced rhyme scheme and heightens the sensuality of the original while always maintaining a courtly decorum in the use of euphemism, as in the witty closing couplet here:

Except thy breath thare places had suppleit,
Euen in thyn armes thair doutles had I deit. (13-14)

which suggests rather ambiguously that he had 'died' in her arms after all. She has exchanged breath, spirit and heart with him in perfect concord, in her returning of the kiss. Ronsard uses the same image, but his poem begins and ends with the stolen kiss, suggesting that the relationship continues, although Montgomerie's version seems more completed.

Although it does not have a Ronsardian antecedent, 'Thyne ee the glass vhare I beheld my [hairt]' (XL: 1) is included with the other translations, and it does take Ronsard's structure, but perhaps more interesting is the fact that it can be found in almost identical form in Constable's *Diana*.³⁵ Constable was at the Scottish court in late 1589, and was privy to the King's marriage preparations, and was clearly given access to the writings of the Castilians, including the King himself. It is clear that the two poets are working on the same poem, although there are differences in grammar, and, more substantially, in the language of the sestet. It is impossible to establish which poem was written first.

What makes it likely that both poets are working from a common source is that both have deviated from their preferred sonnet forms to write this one. Where Montgomerie almost invariably chooses the Scottish interlaced style and Constable the French Marotic form,³⁶ here both poets have adopted the Italian or French *abba abba* in the octave with *cddcee* in the sestet. Perhaps both poets were working on an imitation or adaptation rather than on a straight translation, which is a sentiment that James would have approved of, as this is exactly what was recommended to his readers when borrowing from other languages. It might have been a kind of competition between the two poets to see who could produce the better version.

This kind of intertextuality, which a modern reader might see as plagiarism was, certainly in the sixteenth and even in the seventeenth century, seen as the fundamental means for improving poetic practice, whether a direct translation or close imitation were attempted, or, more usually, when one poet's image captured the imagination of another, as is seen in a twofold development in 'Bright amorous ee vhare Love in ambush [lyes]' (S XXXIX). This sonnet is only very loosely based on Ronsard's 'Oeil, qui portrait dedans les miens repose' (*Amours* LXXXVII), but, although not translating, here Montgomerie has

adopted Ronsard's rhyme-scheme which incorporates a rhyming couplet in lines 9 and 10. The convention that Cupid resides in the lady's face or eyes is a commonplace, but the 'amorous ee' is not, as the lady should be chaste and disdainful. Here, of course, 'amorous' is being used as an adjective of location - that place where Cupid (Amor) is lodged. It also appears, in contrast to the Petrarchan convention, but absolutely in tune with the note of realism in love that Ronsard was so instrumental in developing, that this love is requited as the description of the 'cleir cristal tear' and 'sueet secreit sigh' sound as if they are the lady's, which is made much clearer in the French source. It appears that the first quatrain describes the lady in conventional terms although in an unconventional situation - reciprocating the emotion, which is the entire point of Ronsard's sonnet. The catalogue continues into the second quatrain with 'Quhyte ivory hand, vhlk thrust my finger[s pryse]' (5), only to be broken off abruptly with the accusation of the lady's parts 'As homiceids, and murtherers of my harte' (7). This may well have been the stimulus for Constable in 'Sweete hand, the sweet but cruell bowe thou art' (sonnet 20) where the lady's hand is imagined as the bow firing five arrows at once. Constable, in an astonishing development of the image which is very like the Scottish gothic imagery discussed above, develops the wounds created by the lady's fingers into a comparison with Saint Francis' stigmata, but causing him far more pain than the saint ever suffered:

Saint Frances had the like, yet felt no smart,
 where I in living torments never die:
 his wounds were in his hands and feete, where I
 all these five helplesse wounds feelee in my hart. (5-8)

Inevitably, the metaphor of the saint develops into the image of the relic, the very Petrarchan image of the lady's glove now becoming 'this arrowes' quiver, and this relique's shrine' (14).

Although, as has been seen, Montgomerie is capable of this kind of intensely gothic imagery, it is not the development he is contemplating in this poem, which rather promotes the legal metaphor. As he is the plaintiff, she must be the defendant in the case, and, like all defendants, she is innocent until proven guilty, and he realises that he will never prevail against her:

Bot, oh! I fear, 3ea rather wot I weill,
 To be repledgt 3e plainly will appeill
 To Love, whom Resone never culd comm[and:] (9-11)

'Repledgt' is a Scots law term which relates to the movement of a case from one jurisdiction to another, here clearly to ensure that her law will defeat that of reason. The analogies between pleading and punishment in legal and amorous terms had long been seen in poetry generally, and the use of legal terminology is frequently found in Scottish poetry from much earlier times, notably in the work of Dunbar and Douglas from earlier in the sixteenth century, and the lyrics in the Bannatyne Manuscript, especially those by Alexander Scott.

This distinctiveness of imagery can be seen in another Ronsardian translation, on a theme which also exercised Philip Sidney in his guise of Astrophil, that of the comparison of the thinking man with the unthinking pet. In a close translation from Ronsard's *Amours* XXXIX, Montgomerie's persona compares himself with the lady's messan, which 'secreit in my ladyis armis may ly,/And sleip so sueitly in hir lovely lap' (*S* XLVII: 3-4), while not being able to appreciate the joys of so doing. However, where Astrophil used this image as a means of disparaging the inappropriate judgement of Stella in preferring a dog to him, Montgomerie ends as Ronsard did in bemoaning his sensibilities, that make him so aware of the comparison and make him conscious of the pangs of love. It appears that he feels he is too learned (or perhaps too sexually experienced?) for her and has perhaps frightened her off:

For that my 3outh to leirne I did apply;
My ouer grit skill hes maid my ounie mishap. (7-8)

Although he does not wish to be the lapdog or to be reduced to being 'a beist of blunter brane' he rather wishes that his mind were not so quick:

Vhy haif I not, O God, als blunt a [braine]
As he that daylie worbleth in the wyne,
Or to mak faggots for his fuid is fane? (9-11)

for then his spirit 'suld not persave [his] smarte' (14). But if he were as brainless as this then his appreciation of beauty would be blunted as well, and he would be contented with 'warblings' and 'faggots' rather than the courtly music and fine collations that he is used to. It seems that the Petrarchan opposition of sweet to sour underlies the original poem and in this case, although not always or necessarily, the translation.

This sonnet immediately recalls in many senses the Petrarchan poems which may have had a more political purpose, as indirect addresses to James, and

the Aesopian fable of the ass which tried to play the lapdog and was bludgeoned for her pains. The image of 'a beist of blunter brane' (*S* XXVIII: 5), used by Montgomerie in a number of different poems, often in praise of the King's superior intellect, is striking. Unfortunately, in Aesop's tale, 'to play the messan ... sho wes not [meit]' (9), and her reward for her efforts was that 'they battound hir vhill that they sau hir bluid' (12). Clearly, the speaker sees himself in the role of the ass, unfairly treated although his intentions are honourable and fitting:

So stands with me, who loues with all my [hairt]
My maister best: some taks it in ill pa[irt.] (13-14)

The ground may appear rather dangerous here, relying as it does on an assumption of identity between the poet and the persona, but then that is the poet's safeguard. He can write about a female ass and then draw the analogy directly with his own situation, when, as in this case, writing to one of his fellow poets, but he can equally deny identity with exactly the same arguments. What is clear here is that the speaker, whoever he is, is not blaming the master, who is described as 'courteous', which, although it could be read simply as meaning 'good-natured' or 'kindly', could equally be taken to imply 'of the court', and thus relate to James. The master had nothing personally to do with the beating of the poor animal, but he clearly did not stop the others doing it. The poet's affection for his master annoys others, but not necessarily the master himself. All these points tend to support the suggestion that a number of the Petrarchan love sonnets can be taken as veiled appeals to James, particularly when they employ imagery that has been seen in poems addressed to fellow poets like Robert Hudson.

These poems show a sense of companionship and shared aspiration that occur when a fellow poet is being addressed. Hudson is a friend, 'My best belouit brother of the band' (*S* XXV: 1), one who understands what the atmosphere at court is like. This is also one of the very few references there are in the poems to the existence of anything like a 'Castalian Band'. He reminds Hudson of his favoured status formerly:

3it 3e haif sene his Grace oft for me send,
Quhen he took plesure into poesie. (*S* XXVI: 11-12)

and attests his continuing devotion to James, comparing himself to the lizard which, according to fable, fed simply by looking with love on a human face:

I feid affectione vhen I sie his Grace,
 To look on that vhairin I most delyte;
 I am a li3ard, fainest of his face,
 And not a snaik, with poyson him to byte; (*S* XXVII: 1-4)

The plain statement of love makes this a very personal appeal rather than a plea for professional patronage.

Again using a Petrarchan rhetoric to appeal to the King, Montgomerie in Sonnets LI to LIII describes his exile in terms more commonly used for the unrequited lover. The nightingale, as Philomela banished from human company to hide the shame of her rape, and able only to sing as a bird after her tongue was cut out to prevent her naming her violators, is a productive image for the poet, who can only bewail his fate obliquely, hoping that intelligent understanders (James) will read the true message. Added to the image is the idea that the nightingale sings while piercing her breast on thorns, dying on song. This is the image that Montgomerie uses in two otherwise unlinked sonnets, XLVIII to Margaret Douglas and LI 'To The for Me', where the 'cheiping chyrris and charris' (*S* XLVIII: 1) and 'Thy chivring chirilis, vhilks changinglie thou [chants]' (*S* LI: 3) echo the poet's feelings. The bird 'sees not, sillie, saikles thing!/'The piercing pykis brods at thy bony breist' (7-8); unlike the poet, who is very conscious of the cause of his pain. The vision of the nightingale makes him reconsider his first thoughts to give up:

Euin so am I, by plesur lykuyis preist,
 In gritest danger vhair I most delyte:
 Bot since thy song, for shoring, hes not ceist,
 Suld feble I, for feir, my conqueis quyt?
 Na, na – I love the, freshest Phoenix fair!
 In beuty, birth, in bounty but compair. (9-14)

The references here to 'Phoenix', and 'bounty', the first a common image for James and the second the kingly prerogative of generosity, would seem to indicate that this is a veiled plea for reinstatement, and it could be that the *b* rhyme in the octave is a particularly subtle verbal clue, being a rhyme of 'king' although that word itself is not mentioned. Certainly the 'Euin so am I' is a clear verbal clue pointing the reader to understand the parallels between the bird's situation and that of the poet/persona. The point is developed in the following two sonnets, LII comparing himself to Icarus, lent 'wings of hope and high desyre' (1) by Love and aiming 'at the only *A per se* of all;/Vhilk staynis the sun,

that sacred thing of things.' (7-8). The phrase '*A per se*' is the expression used to refer to the first and foremost, either of men or women, the foremost of men being the King, while 'thing of things' echoes by rhyming 'king of kings', and the reference to 'staynis the sun' recalls the celebrations of James as King and poet at the beginning of the manuscript. The final sonnet in this small sequence, although again ostensibly addressed to a lady, uses heavier alliteration to underscore the emotional content and perhaps the real intent:

For pitthie poemis prettilie out paintis
My secreit sighis as sorouis gritest heep. (*S* LIII: 3-4)

The poem is to 'Anatome3e [his] privie passionis plane' (9) although there is no anatomising here, as if the 'passionis' have already been well rehearsed. Rather, the reader is invited to read between the lines, perhaps specifically where the poet appeals directly to 'my Soveran' in the penultimate line. Of course, the lady as sovereign is another Petrarchan commonplace, but given Montgomerie's situation, it is very likely that this means the actual sovereign:

Go, sonet, soon unto my Soveran say,
Redeme 3our man, or dam him but delay. (13-14)

The support for an interpretation of this poem as an appeal to the King could come from a recognition of the undermining of the Petrarchan trope of unending servitude – the conventional lover would not make such bold demands. There is also the religious resonance of 'redeme' and 'dam' which although it conflicts with the conventional idea of servitude to a lady would accord well with obedience to a King ruling by Divine Right.

These poems, adopting and adapting a Petrarchan rhetoric which had already become part of the totality of European literature, show Montgomerie playing with the tropes of the convention in different situations, generalising the imagery and pushing it rather further than had been done before. Perhaps the most astonishing mini-sequence of sonnets takes a female persona, ostensibly to show the effects of love on the other half of the population, and to show that men and women equally suffer from its effects, although the sequence should really be seen as part of the *querelle des femmes*. Subtitled 'A Ladyis Lamentatione' (*S* XXXIII to *S* XXXV), it consists of three sonnets³⁷ in which a betrayed lady bewails her fate before turning to God for forgiveness. There seems to be quite a strong echo of Robert Henryson's *The Testament of Cresseid*

in the subject matter and the diction, as the first poem opens with a reference to 'wicked weard', which is exactly what Henryson's narrator said of the fate of his heroine. Montgomerie's lady similarly mourns the 'fatall threed' (2) of her life, held by the Fate '[i]n hir vnhappy hands' (5), who pushed her onwards while pulling her back, in a dramatically vivid description:

In hir vnhappy hands sho held my heed,
And straikit bakward woderhins my hair;
Syne prophecyed, I suld aspyre and speed:
Quhilk double sentence wes baith suith and sair, (5-8)

The 'double sentence' rather prefigures Shakespeare's employment of the metaphor of duplicity in *Macbeth*, and is literalised as the contradictory effect of the backward pulling and the hopeful prophecy. Interestingly, this also evokes 'The Poets Complaint of his Nativitie' discussed earlier, and perhaps adds yet another dimension to the interpretation. What makes the lady's ill-fortune even more unbearable is that she appeared to be fulfilling her desires: 'I wes matchit with my match and mair' (9) until 'fickle Fortun whirld [her] from hir vheell' (12), turning her from 'Lady Lucrece' into 'Cressede' (14). There is some clever underwriting going on here, for Lucrece is the symbol of virtuous chastity, who killed herself rather than be accused of faithlessness. Cresseid, in Henryson's version of the tale, was seduced by Diomed rather than raped, and was thus complicit in her own shame. Montgomery could here once again be asserting his own love for and loyalty to James, which the 'pratling pyats' at court are traducing, turning him in to the symbol of disloyalty: Cressede. It is posited that Montgomerie is adopting the guise of female characters who are known only from men's accounts of them in written texts, and whose characters tend to be harshly judged by these male commentators to discuss his own situation in yet another diction and form.

Having introduced the lady, the second sonnet (*S XXXIV*) is addressed to Melpomene, the muse of tragedy, and perhaps echoes Henryson again, in that he described his poem as a 'tragedie'. Montgomerie's sonnet develops the comparison with Cressida as a leper and with the ugly owl, outcast by his fellow birds, perhaps here awakening reminiscences also of the medieval *The Buik of the Howlat*. The poet makes powerful use of alliteration in the Scottish tradition, highlighting and reinforcing the main ideas thereby:

Melpomene, my mirthles murning Muse!
 Wouchsaiv to help a wrechit woman weep,
 Whose chanch is cassin that sho can not chuse
 Bot sigh, and sobbe, and soun, vhen sho suld sleep. (1-4)

Following the same pattern as in Henryson's *Testament*, the Lady, who has now become Cressida hiding her shame, has to resolve her situation by appealing to God, calling for mercy through her belief in redemption:

Suppose my silly saull with sin be seasde,
 3it the reversiones rests that it redemes. (*S XXXV*: 7-8)

What makes the story even more of a tragedy is that the lady has done nothing that could cause her to be reduced to this state. Cressida did do what she was accused of and was punished, but this lady gives the reader no indication of having sinned in any way, which makes her third persona, 'ane other Magdelene' (12) appropriate as an intermediate state of sinfulness, and brings her into the Christian era. The link with adultery is there in the 'historical' accounts, which would tend to suggest that this is the lady's crime, the pagan universe enwrapped by the Christian principle of forgiveness, once guilt has been acknowledged, which is the meaning of 'Peccavi Pater' (14). Montgomerie's usual complaint is, however, that Fortune alone has brought about his reduced circumstances, and he has never done anything for which he should be blamed, which makes the very fact that no specific crime is mentioned here an interesting parallel. This can be read as a subtle message to James that although he has railed against his fate and the unfairness of his King towards him in the past, exactly as Cresseid did, he is now prepared to accept his fate and actually turns to the King for forgiveness, using the words of the Catholic confession, 'Peccavi Pater', to introduce this final stage which, because this is a plea, has not yet taken place, and therefore cannot yet be written.

However, even read 'straight', as in Henryson's *Testament*, and indeed Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde*, this is a man's interpretation of woman, not a true female voice. In the conventional Christian view, the woman is guilty from the start and tends to pull the man down with her, unless actively working otherwise. This is no feminist picture, and is in fact much more akin to the most archetypally misogynist patriarchal attitude. The lady employs the language of Petrarchan complaint, but calls on Melpomene, the muse of tragedy, rather than

on Cupid or Venus. In the same way that the beloved lady could 'redeem' her lover by granting him grace, God can literally redeem this lady by forgiving her sin and granting true grace. That Cranstoun has put this group of sonnets alongside more conventional expressions of Petrarchan compliment suggests that he sees the same thread running through all of them. But yet another interesting tension is set up in this sequence if it is accepted that an appeal to James is the real intent, as it squares very neatly with James' identification of himself as divinely appointed to rule, as has already been illustrated above (p. 58).

James clearly admired Montgomerie's poetry, although his personal taste did not include love lyrics, his attitudes being too serious, and, perhaps, his misogyny too deep-seated to allow him to dissemble to the extent even of poetically enslaving himself to a woman. Although he used the older poet's verse to illustrate many of the points in his *Reulis and cautelis*, James was a keen poet himself, and *The Essayes of a Prentise* and *Poeticall Exercises* were his own work, of which he was clearly very proud, even going so far as to print Du Bartas' *L'Vranie, ov Myse Celeste* alongside his own translation of it not, as he says in his introduction:

to giue prooffe of my iust translating, but by the contrair, to let appeare more plainly to the foresaid reader, wherin I haue erred, to the effect, that with lesse difficulty he may escape those snares wherin I haue fallen. (p17: 32-35)³⁸

He excuses himself further for having broken some of his own rules, as he is guilty of 'Ryming in tearmes' (37), for instance, but explains that his treatise is not to be followed slavishly, 'but that onely it should shew the perfection of Poësie, wherevnto fewe or none can / attaine' (45-47).

James has not always been well served by later critics, who have perhaps too readily accepted, as has *The Concise Cambridge History of English Literature*, condemning 'the jejeuneness and insipidity which characterise the literary efforts of the royal pedant', the judgement of Alexander Pope as expressed in the speech for the Goddess Dullness in *The Dunciad*:

'Oh' (cry'd the Goddess) 'for some pedant Reign!
Some gentle JAMES to bless the land again;
To stick the Doctor's Chair into the Throne,
Give law to Words, or war with Words alone,
Senates and Courts with Greek and Latin rule,
And turn the Council to a Grammar School!' (IV: 175-80)

This is unfair, as the previously-quoted introduction to *The Vranie* shows, and James has shown himself as no mean poet when inspired by his own deeply religious convictions and using his own 'rype ingyne and vvalkned vvitt' as in 'Ane schort poeme of tyme'. This seems at first a very predictable early morning aubade, but in fact has far more to it than meets the eye, and shows James' consciousness of the change from the medieval theocentricity to Renaissance humanism, which is probably why it has been placed in *The Essayes* between his Psalm CIII and his glossary of 'obscvre wordis' from classical texts. The heavy alliteration is easy to see and appreciate, but James is using assonance and internal rhyme both structurally and as a means to convey his message.

It is no accident that he introduces the rising sun as:

That fyrie *Titan* cumming was in sight
Obscuring chast *Diana* by his light, (p 89: 6-7)

Although this appears conventional classical imagery, he has chosen 'Titan' in preference to 'Apollo' or 'Phoebus' because of the /i/ vowel which, of course, rhymes with the 'tyme' of the title, and chimes with the assonance within the line. He shows the wealth of the vernacular by using words with this vowel sound at strategic points in the poem and to describe everything associated with the sun: 'sight', 'light', 'rysing', 'skyes', 'dryis', before leading into 'tyme', created by the light, in the third stanza. Here again, the language is very carefully chosen to accord with the sound of the word 'tyme':

Yet ydle men deuysing did I see
How for to dryue the tyme that did them irk,
By sindrie pastymes, quhill that it grew mirk. (19-21)

While 'tyme' has to be spent (or wasted, in the poet's view) in 'pastymes', it is 'mirk' which, should, by its very absence of light, be a difficult time to occupy, which does not 'irk' such men.

The reasons for the strong conjunction of the sun and time and work are made clear in the fifth stanza:

For what hath man bot tyme into this lyfe,
Which giues him dayis his God aright to knaw:
Wherefore then sould we be at sic a stryfe,
So spedelie our selfis for to withdraw
Euin from the tyme, which is on nowayes slaw
To flie from vs, suppose we fled it noght?
More wyse we were if we the tyme had soght. (29-36)

The purpose of the daylight is to reveal God's creation and to allow an appreciation of it, but more than this, there is a sense of urgency, of time being lost before the work has been accomplished, which is very understandable given James' experience even once crowned. He must have been very conscious of the anxieties which were pervasive in literature towards the end of the century, but he had very personal reasons for his own anxiety as well, which are illustrated in this kind of introspective, meditative verse.

Although aware of and to some extent influenced by contemporary European trends in poetry, James was not really interested in Petrarchan lyrics; he was governed more by his classical tutelage under Buchanan, and he shows a preference for traditional styles of versification, for stanzaic lyric rather than sonnets. Love lyrics where they are found appear to have been composed more or less to order, one or two pieces actually subtitled 'at her Majesty's desire', and hence composed after the King's 1590 marriage. Those poems collected in the STS edition of *The Poems of King James VI of Scotland* Volume II of 1958 as *Amatoria* are a heterogeneous collection, presumably from the 1580s and very early 1590s, comprising a couple of songs, a defence of constant love, a complaint of his mistress' absence from court, a dream vision, a dyer and 14 sonnets. There are addresses to various ladies and poems without any identifiable addressee, schoolbook exercises and poems on contemporary themes, but this is not a sequence in any real form.

The STS edition, while including two different tables of contents for *Amatoria*, both in Prince Charles' handwriting, prints them in the order they appear in Add. Ms. 24195, which is in groupings of twos generally, with one longer sequence of six. As is inevitable at this time, there are elements of Petrarchism in these love lyrics, but far more noticeable is the native tradition of versification and the classical colouring. Another feature is the contrast between the strong Scots language of some of the manuscript versions, usually Ms. Bodley 165 and the pronounced Englishing of Add. Ms. 24195, which James has corrected and annotated in his own hand. It appears that the pieces were reworked for a wider audience although it is uncertain whether they were ever intended for print. All quotations are taken from Add. Ms. 24195 for the sake of

internal consistency, although the linguistic question is, as has been detailed above, of undeniable importance.

The two Songs which the contents page places first in *Amatoria* are composed in traditional stanzaic form, both in 8-line stanzas of four tetrameter lines rhymed *abab* followed by three trimeters and a dimeter, in the first Song rhymed *cccb*, and in the second *cdcd*. The first Song 'What mortall man may liue but hart' laments the absence of the beloved, but unlike more conventional absence poems it is clear that the love is requited, which differentiates these lovers from those in other poems:

Bot we endure far greater skaith
For onelie one of them hath paine
Bot we alike are wounded baith
And cairfull till we meet agane (p. 94: 25-8)

The diction is very plain and straightforward, with no attempt to develop the metaphor of love's wound as would be done in some other poems. If this were written at the time that James was waiting for his bride to arrive from Denmark, it would explain both the idea of shared grief and of the plain diction: it is more like a love-letter to a real person than the conventional Petrarchan expression. The second Song cites the apposite classical parallel in the story of Hero and Leander, which is therefore just as likely to be the impetus for both Songs instead of only the one which makes specific reference to the myth. Whether there is an autobiographical element or not, the first Song ends on a note of rejoicing, anticipating a meeting in the future:

Reioyce therfor my halfe in all
Since honest causes be the staye
Of presence, houe that meete we shall
With greater gladnes on a daye (44-7)

Here there is an even clearer indication of the true relationship between speaker and lady, in that she is described as 'my halfe in all', as an equal rather than some rarefied superior being. The final four lines of the poem rather intensify the anti-Petrarchan stance and turn the whole into a kind of *consolatio*, in which God's wishes will decide the eventual outcome:

I praye the Lord abone
To send it till ws soone
Farewell till that be done
And after aye. (53-6)

Where the Petrarchan would see death as the only release and the only end to be hoped for, James' persona can anticipate a happier ending to the pains of parting. If the autobiographical reading is intended, there is a final layer of meaning in this final stanza, in that the separation will end in the God-sanctioned relationship of marriage.

The second Song is much less hopeful, comparing the separated lovers first to Hero and Leander and then to Pyramus and Thisbe. The poem plays on the effects of fortune and chance in inveigling lovers into impossible situations. Cupid used 'craftie arte' (p. 98: 2) to inflame both Hero and Leander with love to ensure that '[t]here loue to others neuer past' (10), despite the fact that 'fortune was there mortall foe/And made them perishe both at last' (11-12) in the sea which divided them. Again, depending on date of composition, this could be using the mythological parallel cunningly to describe the couple divided simply by stormy seas, but not by any human agency which wants to keep them apart.

The lovers' 'fortune' is then likened to that of Pyramus and Thisbe, 'deuyded onlie by a wall' (20), able to communicate through a hole '[w]hich of a chance before/Dame fortune brake' (23-4), where fortune appeared to be conspiring to help them (although all readers would be aware of the tragic outcome of that story, too). Where the Greek lovers had chance on their side, James' persona experiences 'enuie' (29) which caused a nail to be driven through the hole to block it up and relegate him to solitude once more.

Neither of these Songs has any indication of addressee, and thus they give the impression of being poetical recreations or exercises, as does the poem 'Constant Loue in all Conditions', which creates a very traditional Scottish winter scene reminiscent of medieval Scots texts:

Now doeth disdainfull Saturne sadd and olde
With ycie bearde enioye his frosen raigne
His hoarie haires and snowie mantle colde
Ou'rcouers hills and euerie pleasant plaine (p. 73: 1-4)

Perhaps this could be seen as a very Scottish version of Petrarch's 'Ponmi ove 'l sole occide i fiori e l'erba' [Put me where the sun burns flowers and grass] (*Rime* CLXV),³⁹ but the native tradition appears much stronger, specifically deriving from the wintry scene at the beginning of Henryson's *Testament*, some of Douglas' descriptions of the Scottish winter, and indeed James' own sonnet from

the beginning of *The Essayes*. Love is exiled from this icy landscape, as '... no Cupide with his golden bate/Darr make there harts his harbour where he hants' (11-12), the 'kindlie courage' (15), the sexual drive and potency of birds and beasts frustrated and imprisoned by the all-pervasive cold. Only the persona, not being a beast, does not forget his love despite the cold. Rather than a Petrarchan fire versus ice opposition, this is a more gentle affirmation that man's reason, his sense of the rightness of loving, enables him to maintain the 'inward flame' (21) in despite of 'winters frost [or] sommers heate' (23)

Although this poem is written in the Ballat Royal stanza of eight pentameter lines rhymed *ababbcbc*, it is constructed almost like a sonnet. The first stanza sets the scene, as would be expected in the first quatrain of a sonnet; the second depicts the animals and how they are affected by the prevailing cold; and the final stanza, like the sestet of a sonnet, sets the persona in opposition to these animals, opposing reason to sense and love to naked sexuality. As will be seen later, James did not show the same facility in handling the tighter sonnet structure, and this is one of the more successful poems in the collection, as it allows his natural inclination to copiousness fuller rein. This can, however, be counterproductive, as in 'A dreame on his Mistris my Ladie Glammiss' (p. 82), a thoroughly medieval dream vision, but with classical imagery and an amalgam of Virgil, medieval dream theory, the theory of the humours and Delphic as well as Sibyllic oracles.

The dreamer refers to Virgil's *Aeneid* in the 'ports of horne' (11), which introduces the notion of the twin Gates of Sleep, of which one is said to be of horn, allowing an easy exit for shadows which are true. The other is of ivory, perfectly made, but the spirits send visions which are false in the light of day (*Aeneid* vi: 893-6). The dreamer is granted a vision of his lady who 'bowed her doune/And ioyned the rubies sine ... vnto mine' (37-40) and presents him with 'a tablet and an Amethyst' (43), which when he awakes he finds are still there, proving that the dream was no vision, but a true experience and thus a *somnium*. A long analysis of the allegory shows that medieval dream theory is still potent in James' intellectualising. Perhaps this poem illustrates most clearly that James is European in a more old-fashioned medieval way, in that he is following the

precedent of the *real* Renaissance as it was understood in fourteenth-century Italy.

The amethyst is interesting, as it is 'in forme of hart' (109) and therefore absolutely right in the context of sixteenth century love tokens. As the Petrarchan simile tended to be literalised in Scottish amatory lyrics, the concept of the lover sending his heart to his lady had long since been literalised into the practice of sending jewels in the form of hearts. The long disquisition on the magical powers of the gem, however, rather than its symbolism as a love token, shows this poem as deriving from a medieval mindset. The amethyst, a symbol of love and its pains, can protect its owner against drunkenness and against poison, can give courage and strength in battle, but it cannot protect against Cupid's dart, perhaps because the last property of the stone is:

A hunter for to aide,
In end to catch his pray, the fruit
Of all his trauell made, (158-60)

The detailed description of the hunting scene which follows this explanation makes it likely that James is using some of his own experience of a much-loved occupation.

The tablet, however, is rather different, being a tiny gold-leaf book, whose pages depict various emblems, described and with an explanatory motto:

The other on the vtter side
The Sunne hath shining bright
Into the midst, with stars about
Bot darckned by his light
And as that dittie sayes, As Sunne
Amongst the stars does shine,
So she her sexe surpasseth far
In vertues most diuine: (201-8)

This is a novelty which was coming out of Europe, the linking of text with image in the emblem literalising the metaphors, predominantly of Petrarchism, which had become so pervasive. In this respect, the same kind of ambivalence seen in Montgomerie's straddling of the old and new literary worlds is seen in James' stanzaic poetry, showing an awareness of the native style of versifying married to a determination to be part of the new poetry.

But although the sixteenth century tradition has a tight hold, James appears always to be trying to remake the conventions in a new way. His

'Complaint of his mistress's absence from Court' (p. 80), is written in what is conventionally called rhyme royal, which James renamed Troilus verse. James in his late sixteenth century poem looks back at first to medieval allegory in its depiction of the lover basking in the sunlight of his lady's presence thinking himself secure as a ship on a calm sea, but then the absence of the lady is seen as the disappearance of the sun and rising of a storm. Where a Petrarchan would have developed the metaphor of the storm-tossed mariner mirroring the lover's distraught condition, what differentiates this poem both from its medieval precedents and from the contemporary convention is the rather more gothic development of the imagery:

Then if a cloude the sonne of vapours grosse
Eclipse the Sunne from there astonish'd sight
There cause of ioye becomes there cause of losse.

.

And drumlie cloudes with rumbling thunders rearde
Doe threaten mixing heauens with sea and earde. (22-8)

The meteorological fact of the development of clouds is given a human explanation in that the 'vapours grosse' drawn up by the heat of the sun become a cloud 'born' of the sun, and cover the face of its father or eclipse him through jealousy. The figurative mode is very much more important than the superficial use of Petrarchan commonplaces such as the lady as sun, and the *vers rapporté* of the penultimate stanza, although an old tradition of Scottish writing, found in the *Kingis Quair*, is very much part of the French convention imported from the Grands Rhétoriciens, seen frequently in the work of John Stewart of Baldynneis:

The Court as garland lackes the cheefest floure
The Court a chatton toome that lackes her stone
The Court is like a volier at this houre
Wherout of is her sweetest Sirene gone.
Then shall we lacke our cheefest onlie one?
No, pull not from ws cruell cloude I praye
Our light, our rose, our gemme, our bird awaye. (50-6)

The ambivalence, and the tension between worlds is seen in the very native diction, in the correlative structure derived from French models, where all of the images in the first four lines are collected together in the final line,⁴⁰ and even in the verse form. Interestingly, Ronsard used the same imagery in his elegy to Mary when she left France,⁴¹ and it is conceivable that this trope, the gaping void

at the centre, was grafted on to what is in effect quite a different poem, showing James' ability to incorporate the newer developments from Continental literature into the existing tradition, like the medieval writers' incorporation of the new classical images and tropes into their own conventions.

The final stanza reminds us of Montgomerie's lyric 'Lyk as the dum Solsequium', the natural comparison of the lover's attraction to the lady:

Bot what my Muse, how pertlie thus thou sings
Who rather ought Solsequium like attend
With luckned leaues till wearie night take end. (59-61)

Clearly, this is a lover-like pose, as the Muse is far too facile (the force of 'pertlie'), the reference to Montgomerie's and Ronsard's images pointing to the ludic intertextuality of the poem. Drawing attention thus to the artificiality shows a much more sophisticated consciousness than James is often credited with.

This consciousness of the Scottish vernacular tradition is seen even more strongly in the work of John Stewart of Baldynneis, whose versification is interesting in that he shows an awareness of the variety of current styles previously fine-tuned by the Scottish makars, but he is perhaps most sympathetic to the moralising tone of the Reformers. In subject-matter, too, his work exhibits a diversity which tends to show an enjoyment of experimentation, but also continues the tradition of the chameleon poet of the earlier part of the century. Stewart's is one of the few manuscripts of the period where the reader can be sure of the order in which the poems should be read, as the poet edited his own works for presentation to James. Many of the first poems in the manuscript preserved in the National Library of Scotland and edited by Thomas Crockett for the Scottish Text Society in 1913⁴² are either religious or morally uplifting in tone and tenor, frequently employing Biblical references and parallels to illustrate the moral purpose, although he can turn his hand to the love lyric with a fair degree of success. His address 'To his Awin Maistres' (p. 136) is thoroughly medieval in composition and tone, creating a *locus amoenus* which could have come straight out of Dunbar. Where Montgomerie could turn his hand to a translation, an imitation or something truly original in the form of a love poem, particularly in the sonnet form, Stewart was clearly happier, at least when writing of amatory affairs, with the more copious forms of stanzaic verse. This is

not the natural world of the Pléiade, but the enamelled jewel-like fancy of the medieval courtly scene:

Sum Rubie Reed, And Sum lyk topas scheine,
 Sum Iassink hewit, And sum as sapheir blew,
 In valeis fair all cled vith emerauld greine,
 Quhois blossums clein maist seimlie schaddows schew;
 sum purpour fyn, And sum of cramsie hew,
 Sum quhyt, Sum van, broune, blae, and violat,
 Vith holsum smell my sensis to renew
 All glorious gilt in glansing aureat. (9-16)

Here, Stewart is using his favourite Ballat Royal stanza form, probably in conscious imitation of James, but the detail of the colours, rather than painting a vivid picture, simply crams in as many colour words as possible, without ever enabling the reader to identify which flowers are being described, the fact that they are 'clein' and smell 'holsum' apparently more important than their individual identity. The tell-tale 'aureat' is revelatory, as the conventional medieval description modulates into the description of flowers in their health-giving properties, none of which can save him from 'dalie dolor duynyng to the deed' (24).

This is a world populated by classical deities, the flowers Flora's tapestry, the sun Apollo, the wind Eolus, the birds Philomela, even Echo is there, but the one person missing, given the title of the poem, is the lady herself. This lady is clearly a poetic construct, in the same sense as Petrarch's Laura; she is described entirely in terms of the effect she has on the speaker and is, in Stewart's expression, more a product of the earlier discourse of courtly love. There is even a reference to medieval plant-lore in the description of the inability of the lover to free himself from the pains of love:

That tractive Dictane is ane souueraine cuir
 for to pull bak againe the deedlie dart
 from sauuage deir, Bot I sic duill Induir
 That nothing suir may eise my painfull part. (57-60)

While this has, in its archaism, a ring of novelty, the Petrarchan antitheses are much less successfully incorporated, even to the extent of the alliteration not being perfectly maintained, which is not a flaw that is often found in Stewart's poetry:

I froune, I fant, I freise, I flam, I smart,
 Vpheyst vith hoip, And drounit in despair; (61-62)

Stewart was the oldest member of the courtly group, which perhaps explains his allegiance to the older poetic forms, and he seems to be more interested in writing of friendship than of love, often in playful style, as in 'In Commendatione of his Luifing Freind' (p. 139), which takes the form of a dream vision, very much in the medieval vein, to offer some very hyperbolic praise to the addressee. Although the vision is introduced as a 'dreidfull dreame' (2), it does not at first sight appear particularly dreadful, as the sleeper is 'vp hichlie drest/Amongs the mychtie Musis nyn' (3-4). The panoply of the gods is described in very conventional terms, with 'vatrie Neptune' (7); 'stalwart Mars' (8); 'venus ... smyling' (9); 'vulcanus slie' (12); 'litill cumlie Cupid keine' (15), and so on. After a further cataloguing of the company, the spectre at the feast is announced: 'The frostie auld Saturnus snell .../ Quhois scharpe seueir resemblance fell/Did all the heawenlie Gods molest' (31 - 3). This description is very reminiscent of the picture of the gods, and particularly of Saturn, seen throughout Scottish writing of the period, possibly deriving ultimately from Henryson's description in *The Testament of Cresseid*, which clearly had a huge influence on the writing of the following centuries. It is Saturn's baleful influence that the gods hope to dispel by finding:

Sum amiabill man discreit,
Quhois plesand speitche And cumlie face
May all our sour translait in sueit: (38 - 40)

Although the choice has already been made, the reader is kept in suspense for a few lines more while Jupiter, 'that *gratious* God' (47) explains that the chosen one, described as 'this man *elect*' (45) will be carried by his eagle '[t]o be *deificat* vp heir' (46) (emphases mine). These are particularly favourite words in Stewart's vocabulary, and they seem frequently to be used to conjoin the worlds of sacred and profane love under the same basic system, as can be seen in the following discussion.

It is only in the last stanza of the poem that the addressee is directly mentioned, as the likely object of Phoebus' search:

Bot than of 3ow I haid sik dout,
That from my sleip soon did I skar,
And feruentlie bids 3ow bewar. (52 - 4)

Where the reader is fully expecting that the speaker will be the chosen one, since he is the one who has had the prophetic dream, again reminiscent of the *Testament of Cresseid*, the supreme compliment is paid to the 'luifing freind' in preferring him as the object of the gods' search. This is again using a Petrarchan idiom unconventionally, since it should be the lady who appears in the dream vision, and since the addressee functions only as a construct of the discourse, as the Petrarchan lady does. On the other hand, this could be part of the courtierly trick of presenting a poem under the bonds of friendship in the hope of reward from a patron, in this case the King.⁴³

As has been seen in the discussion of Montgomerie's lyrics, such apparently unconventional use of amatory rhetoric calls into question how seriously one should read a poem of this type, but no such difficulty is presented by 'To his Darrest Freind' (p. 145), which was definitely written for fun. Written in four very idiosyncratically composed stanzas, this poem is a distinctly mannerist construct, where the lines can be read vertically as well as horizontally without markedly affecting the sense, although the rhyme structures them in eight-line *rime batelée* stanzas with heavily marked caesura, and the favourite *ababbcbc* rhyme scheme. Here form almost takes over from content, but the poet clearly enjoyed the exercise and the enthusiasm is conveyed.

In signe of fauor stedfast still	
vith suir guidwill	Thois lyns I send;
3e most amend	Quhair as I spill
This litill bill	In meitir pend
Vnto the end	It salbe kend
That I pretend	vith constant part
In Ioy and smart	for to defend
3our grand commend	vith luifing hart. (1-8)

Another Stewart commonplace is seen here, in the request that his lack of skill should be overlooked in favour of his good will, but as is usual, the display of rhetorical skill undercuts the *excusatio* and shows a poet revelling in playing around with language and style.

Where the poems on friendship reveal a depth of comradeship which mirrors that seen in Montgomerie's poems to Robert Hudson, there is a sense of uncertainty in the love poems which is perhaps a product of Stewart's own experience, as there seems to be a wistfulness about many of them which

suggests a lack of desired experience in the poet, although this could equally be an elaborate pose in the Alexander Scott or Sir Thomas Wyatt mode, if he is deliberately imitating Montgomerie. 'In Commendation of Tvo Constant Lvifers' (p. 143) celebrates the forthcoming marriage of the King's favourite, the Master of Gray, but, apart from constancy in love, which the poet has found 'In dyuers volums ... hes purchest high commend' (1-2), it is the equality between the lovers that he praises most highly:

And Scho againe of qualitie perfyte
In luif elects him for hir onlie chois,
for lyk with lyk dois communlie delyt,
So lyklihod hes so conlonit thois
That fortouns force may not thair luif dispois,
king Cupids craft, nor venus vanton vill,
Minerua so dois in tham both reiois,
Quha hes tham linkit with hir sacred skill. (33-40)

Again the resonant word 'elects' is used in an amorous context, which seems to suggest that choosing rightly in love raises lovers to a higher plane, out of the wiles of Cupid and Venus and into the governance of the wise Minerva. Love is clearly directed by will and reason rather than by blind desire. Unfortunately, the same wisdom did not apply to Stewart himself, as his association with the Master of Gray caused him to be banished from court in disgrace.

There are tantalising suggestions about Stewart's true feelings and desires in some of the poems, suggestions which are reiterated too often to be believable as a pose but which seem prompted by real concerns and thwarted hopes. Some of the most interesting expressions of these concerns are found in poems where Stewart speaks in female voice, apparently examining the woman's position with regard to love. 'In Name of ane Amorus Ladie' (p. 115) could be thought to be an address to such a lady, but is in fact her own mental perturbation, caused by the fact that:

... this luifing hart of myn
Hes chosin ane Inferior,
To quhom my nature dois Inclyn
To luif as my superior. (13-16)

The reference to nature is in opposition to the earlier appeal to reason, which should be the guiding force in choosing a marriage partner:

Bot Reson sayis, "pull back that dart,
And rather chose thy peregall." (7-8)

Employing the same image of the dart which cannot be withdrawn which was seen in 'To his Awin Maistres', here is a rather different opposition of reason to nature, or of the will to the senses, from the usual appeal to reason either to show love as a folly or to justify love on the grounds of the worthiness of the lady. Here the lady uses her reason to justify her love for the inferior, citing the natural reference of the falcon sometimes being contented to catch a 'litle lark' (19) rather than more substantial prey, and the mythological reference to Icarus, destroyed because he aimed too high. This is a very common *topos* in the Bannatyne MS, which suggests that it was an identifiable Scottish theme, but Stewart and Montgomerie are the only ones who use it:

Thay haif aneuch that ar content
And suddan fall may tham InIuir
Quho clymmyng vp does suiiftlie spreit. (38-40)

Again the underwritten reference to Icarus is strong, but there is also a very strong echo of the refrain of the *Moralitas* in Henryson's fable of 'The Twa Myis',⁴⁴ showing Stewart's moral sensibilities.

There are three stanzas in favour of loving the inferior, followed by three stanzas appealing to her sense of honour and position, although interestingly, the only parallel the lady can find to convince herself on this side of the argument is 'Medea, And vthers mo' (56) who are not specified. But this is the argument that wins the day, her sense of her self-respect preventing her going ahead with her heart's desire. In very direct and down to earth diction she denies her love:

Na. first sall I torment in greife,
Quhill cairfull corps consume in ly,
Or that I virk sic mad mischief.
O than quhat frantick fuill var I? (57-60)

This could be read in two ways. Either Stewart is taking the absolutely conventional line and upholding the status quo, maintaining the marriage of equally-ranked partners as a means of preserving the true nobility, or, as the lowly relative of the King, who is granted access to the court circle but not fully of it, he could be paradoxically pleading his own case, standing behind his poem as the rejected lover, and hence attempting to establish a nobility of the intellect rather than of breeding.

The poem most definitely evokes Alexander Scott's 'Luve preysis but comparesone' which excuses love from egalitarianism:

Ffor luve makis nobill ladeis thrall
 To bassir me[n] of birth and blud;
 So luve garris sober wemen small
 Get maistrice our grit men of gud. (5-8)⁴⁵

It has been suggested that this poem could have been Scott's encouragement to Mary, Queen of Scots to marry, and specifically that she should take a Scot, or at least someone who spoke 'Inglist' as her second husband,⁴⁶ but the poem is constructed in such a way that the power of love is paramount, Scott using the convention of offering service to plead the lover's case:

So tho' my lyking wer a ledly,
 And I no lord, 3it no' [th]e less
 Scho suld my serwyce find als reddy
 As duke to duches docht him dress. (17-20)

The inequality can go both ways, the high born lady taking 'ane propir page, hir tyme to pass' (28) and 'a lord to lufe a silly lass' (26). However, it has to be admitted that Scott does not appear to be thinking of marriage in these circumstances, as 'hir tyme to pass' would seem to show, and the final stanza of the poem makes clear that this is really just an elaborate game, not psychologically serious, and thus not as 'dangerous' in expression. Stewart's more anguished internal dialogue between heart and head is both more 'real' and more like a medieval psychomachia.

It is tempting to ally this poem with 'In Name of ane Loyale Ladie' (p. 131) who, although there is no suggestion that the man she loves is inferior, is absolutely steadfast in her love, and refuses to allow any objection, because the man is '*electit* myn' (7, my emphasis). This is a strange poem, as it uses imagery more commonly found in descriptions of the lady, specifically that of the rose and, echoing Montgomerie very mutedly, the marigold:

So as the sone maks mariguld disclois,
 Luik of his vult disuails my Inwart hart,
 And quhan his Person absent from me gois,
 Destrest I am And closit vp vith smart. (13-16)

This could be a way of showing that women experience love in the same kind of way as men do, which is not at all what most of the poets writing at the time seemed to believe. On the other hand, and far more believably, it could be a deliberate echoing of Montgomerie's Petrarchan poems to James, where Stewart is really pleading his own case under the guise of writing in female persona.

Perhaps the game is given away by the title. The difference between 'amorus' and 'loyale' in the descriptions of the ladies seems highly significant, the former clearly ruled by her grosser impulses, and therefore able to pull the dart out, after using her reasoning, but the latter has already reasoned why she should continue to love, and is ruled by the higher impulse of loyalty. This interpretation could be supported by reference to the poems which Stewart wrote to or for James when he was held by the Ruthven Raiders in 1582-3, in which true bonds of loving friendship are expressed.

But just as Stewart has been pinned down to this picture of the rather old-fashioned melancholy courtier somewhat overawed by his prince and his poetic competitors and willing to become amorously engaged in the overheated atmosphere of the Jacobean court, the exuberance of his verse disabuses, most definitively in the pair of sonnets addressed to and from a Hostess. These most bawdy rhymes work on a double perspective, and employ the sonnet form for invective in the same way as Montgomerie's flyting sonnets. The first is superficially a poem of thanks to a woman who has given him a room for the night:

Guid day, madam, with humyll thanks also,
That me vnto 3our ludgeing lairge did gyd.
3ea, skairs I knew quhan I thairin did go
Quhair I sould vend, the vallis var so vyd. (p. 180: 1-4)

but it is actually a bawdy aubade addressed to a whore, the imagery of wide passages and slippery pavements doubling for the female anatomy. The disappointments of the experience are all the Hostess' fault, in the view of the speaker, as '...inexpert I am to suym the sie/Quhilk flows on bordor of 3our brod resort' (11-12), denying that he makes a practice of consorting with whores. She is the 'oppine port' (10), possibly like the Port of Leith itself, whose whores would welcome foreign sailors. For the benefit of readers who have missed the point, the explanation is given in the final couplet: 'Quhairin I vat is furnissing but dout/To serwe the turck And all his camp about' (13-14).

The Hostess replies in such a way that the subtext has to be carefully extracted from what is apparently a rejection of an ungrateful and over-demanding guest:

None sutche as 3ow sould to my palice speir

Quho may be eisit soon in smallest hall,
 3our sthomack seruith bot for sempill cheir,
 I 3ow againe sall not to banket call. (p. 181: 5-8)

The antithesis between what she is offering (the 'palice' and 'banket') and what the guest is capable of receiving and appreciating ('smallest hall' and 'sempill cheir'), and between the ostensible fare (food for the stomach) and the actual provision (sexual favours - as the word 'eisit' hints at) is resolved in the devastating couplet: 'Heirfoir 3our pithles person to repois/Tak my bak chalmer for 3our guckit nois' (13-14). This woman has most definitely the upper hand of the hapless male, and, although not as extravagantly as has been seen in some of Montgomerie's sonnets, has been given the tenor of the flyting genre for her riposte. Surely this is poetry written purely for enjoyment, and it is rather reminiscent of the bawdy songs that are the staple fare of men-only gatherings. It is quite refreshing to see that the court poets were capable of real-life, and low-life depiction, as well as high-style sublimation of love, which is a continuation of the strong note of realism which is found in collections of the earlier period, especially in the Bannatyne MS.

Although Stewart tended to write of love or friendship in stanzaic lyrics, James, ignoring his own strictures in *Reulis and cautelis*, was prepared to turn his hand to the amatory sonnet, perhaps having been encouraged by his Queen. The fourteen sonnets in *Amatoria* are more Petrarchan in imagery than the longer lyrics, with the same classical colouring, but perhaps most illuminating of James' attitude to the composition of love poetry are 'Two Sonnets to her M:^{tie} to show the difference of Stiles' (p. 70), the two styles being honesty and artificiality. These were clearly composed after the King's marriage in 1590, and thus after the main period of poetic creation, and they show how the Petrarchan sonnet form could be used for a totally invented statement of emotion, perhaps the reason that James was so mistrustful of the form. In order to heighten the effect of artificiality of the second sonnet, the one pleading honesty is put first. Pleading to be excused from writing, the poet explains:

Long since forsooth my Muse begunne to tire
 Through daylie fascherie of my oun affaires
 Which quench'd in me that heauenly furious fire (5-7)

This is not the Petrarchan fire of love, but the Horatian divine fury which animates poets and stimulates their imaginations, but here it is quenched by the day-to-day business of running the kingdom. James is admitting that he was never a poet first and foremost, but a King ruling by Divine Right and power, and now very much a King oppressed by the petty quarrels arising all the time in court, some of which have been referred to in the poetry of Stewart of Baldynneis. Although Philip Sidney could from his rather lowly position at Court use his political preoccupations as grist to his poetic mill, James found that, from the time of his marriage, as the succession to the English throne approached, poetry had to take a back seat. In an apparent farewell to poetry, he concludes: 'Now ar Castalias floods dried up in me/Like suddain shoures this time of yeere ye see' (13-14). Comparing 'Castalias floods' to 'suddain shoures' almost makes the production of poetry a seasonal occupation, or appropriate for only one period in a man's life, as these showers are clearly the Scottish 'sunny showers' of late spring and summer. Additionally, it may show how short was the period of the renascence of Scottish courtly culture, truly a 'Castalian moment'.

The second sonnet now reveals its artificiality. The Muse is still sleeping and the verse is 'barren' but the name of the Queen and her 'inchaunting fame' (19) will arouse her and allow the poet to write. Interestingly, the Queen is clearly not the poet's Muse. The poem appears to recall the journey to Denmark, when James was taken from his native land:

And Eagle like on Theatis back to flee
Wher she commaunded Neptune for to be
My Princely guard and Triton to attend
On artificial flying tours of tree (22-5)

Again the imagery is classical, and James is very conscious of his own social position, willing to write only for someone who is of the same social rank: 'Then since your fame hath made me flie before/Well may your name my verses nou decore' (27-8).

While clearly a 'poeticall exercise', and showing the artificiality of the tropes, and an awareness of Petrarchist developments, the poems do work as poems, and are constructed neatly as parallels, perhaps deliberately to show that James was not unable to write Petrarchan love lyrics; he chose not to. As is conventional in this kind of lyric, the poem is all about the writer, rather than

about the Queen who is the ostensible subject and addressee, a trait which is seen in most of the other sonnets, some of which were clearly written before James and Anne actually met.

The first of the sonnets complaining against the winds which historically delayed the arrival of Anne in the Scottish Court, 'From sacred throne in heauen Empyrick hie' (p. 68, where it is printed as half of a double sonnet), was replied to by Henry Constable who was at the Scottish Court at the time, and the techniques of the two poets show interesting differences. James appeals to the power of poets, Apollo, Amphion and Orpheus referred to elliptically, to control the elements and 'all things inferiour in degrie' (3), and rather undermines his own attempt by admitting that 'the middle region of the aire' (12), the place where words are produced and heard, is not subject to such control; Aeolus and 'contrarious Zephyre', governed by 'hatefull Juno' (13), prevent his queen setting sail. Constable, mocking the Petrarchist tropes, explains that if he were able to, his sighs would produce winds and his tears seas that would carry the ships from Denmark, but following the example of Serafino's elaborate excuses, explains that he cannot give aid since 'with those sighes my deare displeased is' (9), which rather neatly leads into his counter-plea to James:

Yet for my good will (O Kinge) grant me this
When to the winds yow sacrifice agayne
Sith I desir'd my sighes should blow for thee
Desire thow the winds to sigh for me. (11-14)⁴⁷

In other words, it is the thought that counts, not the effect of the attempt.

Constable's wit rather shows up James' pedantry and plodding style in this first sonnet.

James' style tends more to the Ciceronian than the Senecan, and the tight structure of the sonnet does not often suit him. When he does succeed, he can produce a very effective poem, as in 'To the Queene, Anonimos' (p. 69), where the trick is that he writes of himself in the third person. The poem opens with an echo of Petrarch in 'That blessed houre when first was brought to light' (1), but more so with an echo of the classical Judgement of Paris, where three goddesses are pictured vying for the chance to protect Anne. This may be a deliberate echo of English court verse of the time, as the myth of the Judgement was often used for Elizabeth by English writers. Although Anne is the apparent subject of the

poem, James shows the usual egotism of the sonneteer, compounded by his own royal position, as by naming his queen 'Our earthlie Juno' (2) he automatically becomes Jupiter. Before naming the three goddesses he has proclaimed himself king of the gods and 'happie Monarch sprung of Fergus race' (9), tracing his own lineage back to its origins. Only in the sestet are the Queen's attributes mentioned, making this sonnet as Italianate in structure as it is in rhyme scheme (*abbaaccadeedff*). She is 'wise Minerue when pleaseth the' (10), 'chaste Diana' (12) when occupied in sporting pursuits, and finally: 'Then when to bed thou gladlie does repaire/Clasps in thine armes thy Cytherea faire' (13-14). This is a successful closure, the use of 'Cytherea' rather than, say, 'lovely Venus' creating a line which scans beautifully, but the main point of interest in the poem is that it is all about James, and about what he makes of his Queen. It is his choice of activities which brings out the particular quality required, and that she is named for the goddesses serves to heighten his own sense of status rather than to praise his consort.

A group of six sonnets, printed as a six-stanza poem in the manuscript (pp. 70-3), shows the same mixture of traditional North European and Petrarchan tropes. The first of these sonnets, a very neatly localised version of 'Voyant ces monts' by Mellin de Saint-Gelais, sees the persona comparing himself with the Cheviot hills, starting neatly with natural and human comparisons:

There foote is fast, my faithe a stedfast stone
From them discends the christall fontains cleare
And from mine eyes butt fained force and mone
Hoppes trickling teares with sadd and murnefull cheare (5-8)

The alliteration here reinforces the patterning of the comparisons which are unforced and generally successful, but the sestet divides lines and ideas at the caesura, and creates a rather odd impression, as in 'From me deepe sighs, greate flocks of sheepe they feede' (10), where the first half refers to the previous line and the second half will be developed in the next line. This attempt to cram in more comparisons than the sonnet will really bear is balanced in the next poem by a rather too leisurely approach, where the loss of three of the four elements or humours comprising a man, which should logically form the octave, with the

sestet suggesting a solution, actually extends over 10 lines and leads to a sense of imbalance. The actual loss of the elements is described rather baldly:

My flames of loue to firie heauen be past
My aire in sighs euanish'd is and gone
My moysture into teares distilling fast
Now onelie earthe remaines with me at last (20-23)

The images are perfectly conventional, although the following image of the persona as 'suche a cast' (25) depends on an understanding of the Scottish meaning of the word as 'fortune, or fate'. The possibilities which could have been explored in this image of the man of clay in his single-element state (one thinks of Richard II's meditations)⁴⁸ appear obvious, but that James did not pick up on the Promethean angle perhaps shows that his heart was not really in the job in hand.

The Petrarchan commonplace of the lady as the sun was always a productive image, and in one of the more successful of the present group of sonnets James uses the trope in conjunction with a comparison between the real sun and the lady sun. Acknowledging the misery produced by 'drearie darknes [which] cumes in Phoebus place' (32), he insists that deprived of 'my onelie lampe of light' (34), his state is much worse, as she is his source of life: 'Since Lezardlike I feede vpon her face/And suckes my satisfaction from her sight' (35-6). This is the same image that Montgomerie employed to express his love for the King, and his is also the image of the marigold, the flower which always follows the sun. In James' poem, plants are made to grow simply by the action of the sun: 'No more may I, then marigolde by night/Beare blossomes when no sighte of Sunne I haue' (37-8).

The comparisons work well, playing on the duality of the lady as beloved face (for the lizard) and life-giving sun (for the flower), but here James appears to have tried to do too much with the closure, as the image of the body without a heart is thrust into the antepenultimate line to give a third deprivation, and he has piled a *vers rapporté* couplet on to the correlative structure, leaving the closure feeling unsatisfactory: 'How may a man, a floure, a corps in smart/See, blossom, breathe; but eyes, but Sunne, but hart' (41-2). The effective and resonant lizard and marigold images have been subsumed, unaccountably, into the very conventionally Petrarchan 'living dead man' image.

What is here revealed is James' working in the mainstream of contemporary poetics, not as innovator and torch-bearer, but rather as competent Band member, borrowing Montgomerie's images as Montgomerie had once borrowed his King's. The images found in these sonnets are conventionally classical, or Petrarchan metaphors derived from Montgomerie, or very peculiarly Scottish images like those of the heart sent as a gift, or, from the natural world, the lizard and the marigold. A generalised Petrarchan rhetoric appears in sonnets and stanzaic poems which are more often specifically localised than situated in a mythological or medieval landscape. Versatility in form and content is the hallmark of the Jacobean, and subject matter is drawn from earlier Scottish and from contemporary French sources. James was kept in touch with his native cultural heritage by the writings of the older poets Montgomerie and Stewart, and his liking for, and competence in, depicting aspects of the real Scottish landscape adds a dimension of natural realism which could be said to lead on ultimately to the work of William Drummond of Hawthornden.

This is seen in the fifth sonnet, which conflates classical and natural images rather effectively. '[T]hat crooked crawling Vulcan', becomes synonymous with the fire that he uses in his forge, buried under ashes 'whill by his heate he drie/The greene and fizzing faggots made of tree' (59-60). Although this looks at first sight to be a gothic version of the traditional Petrarchan fires of love which produce tears in the lover, it is more effectively a natural image of sap-filled wood burning, the onomatopoeic 'fizzing' being absolutely right in the context. It is the native diction and idiom which give this poem its effectiveness as when the spark of love is described as 'that litle sponke and flaming eye' (61), which, once given oxygen, will 'bleaze brauelie forth and sparkling all abreed' (62), despite being 'smor'd vnder coales of shame' (66). This is clearly a remembered sight of the reviving of the fire which has been smored (or smothered) under peats or coals during the night. In addition to the native diction, the pronunciation by a Scot would add assonance, particularly in the first quatrain:

*An-vnder ashes colde as oft we see
As senseles deade whill by his heate he drie* (58-9, emphases mine)

The Scottish ownership of the Petrarchan commonplace could hardly be more strongly marked, and shows James to be a highly competent imitator in his own terms.

But in contrast to Petrarchism, it is the classical strain which is more to James' taste, as can be seen in the sonnets 'Not orientall Indus cristall streames' or 'Faire famous Isle, where Agathocles rang' (p. 118), in both of which James employs topographical imagery to praise the nameless lady. The river which is praised in the first sonnet is unnamed, as is the lady, who could as well be the nymph Arethusa, loved by the river god Alpheus, as any mortal woman. Similarly, the isle in the second remains unnamed, although it has to be Sicily, from the reference to Agathocles and Siracusa and from the name itself: 'the sweet resemblance of that Name,/To whom thou seemest, so sibb, at least in sound' (25-6). This is a poem mourning the death of Lady Cecilia or Cecily Wemyss, punning on the names, but it is distinctly more recondite (to the modern reader) than Montgomerie's courtly name-game poems, and perhaps shows James' love of display of learning rather than real poetic endeavour.

What is appealing about this poem is the native diction combined with the Italianate structure, which makes clear that this is not simply the second half of 'Not orientall Indus' despite the line numbering, as the first poem has the usual Scottish interlaced rhyme, while this is *abbaabbacdcdee*. The 'famous isle' is described as having 'fertill feelds' which 'were bathed in bangsters blood/when Rome, & ryuall Carthage, straue so lang' (17-18). The destructive Punic wars are reduced by the Scots word 'bangster' into a bullies' tussle, albeit an extensively damaging one. The other Scots word, 'farelies' (24) (wonders) has a homely sound which contrasts with the actual events, which were battles between gods and demi-gods, with all kinds of supernatural interventions. The reductive idiom in Scots serves to heighten the praise of the lady who 'dothe merit more then much' (28).

These poems illustrate that James had no great feeling for the amatory lyric, and was simply imitating the figures and tropes seen in his French reading and in the works of Montgomerie and of William Fowler in his Italianate mode. This, however, should not be surprising, as amatory lyrics were not of any real

interest to James; moral and philosophical works coming from Europe carried much more weight. He clearly felt at one time, or perhaps intermittently, that it was the done thing to write love lyrics, perhaps to keep the Queen happy, as the subtitles often make clear that this was Anne's taste more than his own, but his rather plodding style and over-learned comparisons remove much of the lightness and joy that should be a part of such lyrics. He never really managed to cope with the construction of the sonnet as a love poem, although he was very much more successful with it as the medium for general eulogy, or when really moved to the exercise, as in the Bothwell sonnets.

The Bothwell sonnets are a group of three sonnets which show to the full the Renaissance impulse towards introspective meditation. Francis Stewart Hepburn, fifth Earl of Bothwell, was involved in the affair of the North Berwick witches who attempted to kill the King as he was returning from Denmark by sea. Although Bothwell continually threatened the King from about 1588 until he fled the country in 1595, this particular incident appears to be that of 24th July 1593, when he attacked the King in Holyrood Palace.⁴⁹ The first, 'when the King was surprised by the Earle Bothwell' (p. 110), takes the convention of the psychomachia, but in this case not between Love and Reason, but between courage and wisdom. The two 'valliant champions' (2) are personified, and the poem depicts vividly the tussle between them, the diction mirroring the arguments:

Thy selfe vndanted showe quoth courage braue
 Bot wisdom wishes for a while to stave
 Quoth courage rather die then liue a slaue
 Quoth wisdom true, if so sould be for aye (5-8)

There is no solution to the question, as is shown in the rather indeterminate, conditionally constructed final couplet:

Of all these straits the best is out of doubt
 That courage wise, and wisdom should be stout. (13-14)

That this is unsatisfactory is shown in the following two sonnets, which are full of impotent fury. Where the previous tussle was between discretion and valour, now it is a battle between truth and treason. The alliteration heightens the effect of the invective:

Shall cloyed vice with falsehoods fained farde
 In credit creepe and glister in our eye

Shall coloured knaues so malapertlie lie
 And shamelesse sowe there poysoned smitting seede (17-20)

The sense of betrayal, of having been taken in by fine words and fine sentiments, is tangible. Perhaps echoing some of Montgomerie's complaints, and certainly with a Biblical echo, the sestet appeals to God:

How long shall Furies on our fortunes feede
 How long shall vice her raigne possesse in rest
 How long shall Harpies our displeasure breede
 And monstrous foules sitt sicker in our nest (23-6)

The anaphoristic 'how long' is combined with forceful use of alliteration and with the classical references to ravening creatures pitted against mankind. There may in addition be an underwritten reference in the last line quoted either to the birds which drove out the phoenix in the poem of that name, or to Montgomerie's complaint about the 'cuccou' in his sonnet to David Drummond. As in all the poems evoked here, only God can punish, James clearly feeling that even as King, he has not the power to prevail against this man: 'In tyme appointed God will suirlie haue/Each one his due rewarde for to resaeue' (27-8). Clearly Justice has deserted them, as she 'hath her hart infected sore' (38), presumably by love for Bothwell, and thus will not bring him to book. These poems show that James could handle the sonnet form when moved to it, and this little group of three shows the same kind of development that is seen in many of Montgomerie's short sequences, which give him the space to examine different sides of the issue in an internal dialogue. It also shows that he could use the sonnet form very effectively to examine and analyse his own feelings, as this is clearly an example of James writing *in propria persona*. Perhaps the strictures of the sonnet form enabled him to order and define his attitudes such that he was ready to act decisively when the time was ripe.

Stewart's sonnets, on the other hand, display a more extravagant kind of experimentation with complicated rhyme schemes. He seems to have enjoyed experimentation for the fun of it, as is seen in 'Of the Qvaliteis of Lvif' (p. 157), where in a virtuoso display of *vers enchayenné* he manages to construct a sonnet every line of which opens with the last word of the previous line, while maintaining the *ababbcbccdcdee* rhyme scheme. The effect is of a series of epigrams rather than a unified poem:

Luif is ane aigre douce delyt and greif:

Greif is in luif ane lustie langing lyf:
 lyf may not last Quhair luif pretends mischeif:
 Mischeif of luif is eurlasting stryf: (1-4)

William Fowler showed off his Latin learning in a pair of sonnets which similarly exhibit a joyful exuberance in the power of language, but also coincidentally are reminiscent of some of William Dunbar's religious poems. 'Sonett Pedantesque' (p. 224)⁵⁰ and 'The Same Mair Sensible' (p. 225), although both written in Scots, show the difference between the latinate high style and the vernacular plainer style. From:

transcendant Sun! Sublime irradiant lux!
 quhase solshyne rayes my eyes to vewe dar vix,
 quha in tempestuous procels is my dux,
 and keips my name fro Lethes Laike and stix, (SS X: 1-4)

he moves to the vernacular, although still a relatively high-style vernacular, which rings more true because it is less affected:

bright shyning sun and faire reflexing light,
 quhase golden beames my eyes dar skairslye vewe,
 quha is my conduct in the cluddie night,
 and doth my bark fra roks and cregs reskew, (SS XI: 1-4)

In keeping with the diction, the first version has the classical references to Lethe and Styx, while the second is much more distinctively Scottish in terms of topography, a feature which has been noted in James' own poems.

Montgomerie shows this same delight in experimenting with the sonnet form, using word play and complicated structures of rhyme to show off his virtuosity. This appears to have been one of the features of Jacobean writing. The sonnet to Eufame Wemis (S XLIV) is the simplest in structure, incorporating the lady's name in the first and last lines: 'Treu *fame we mis* thy trumpet for to tune' (emphasis mine) while that addressed to Margaret Douglas similarly uses her name in the words chosen:

That I micht tak and tame the turtle DO[U,]
 And set hir syne vhare that I micht sie th[rou]
 Ane costly cage of cleirest cristall GLAS; (S XLIX: 10-12)

There is, in addition, an echo from Holland's medieval *Buik of the Howlat*, celebrating the Douglas family, once again showing Montgomerie's awareness of his vernacular tradition, and his ability to graft new styles on to the old.

More complicatedly, and requiring considerably more poetic skill and control, is the *vers enchayné* used for the sonnet to Issobell Yong (S XLIII),

where the last two syllables of every line become the first two of the following line, all the while maintaining the rhyme-scheme. However, despite the sophistication of the structuring, the sentiments expressed in this sonnet are very homely and natural:

I trou 3our love by loving so vnsene;
 Vnsene siklyk I languish for 3our love:
 3our love is comely, constant, chaste and clene;
 And clene is myne, experience sall prove; (1-4)

As the diction shows, love need not be expressed in high-flown rhetorical terms, but can be just as effective when spoken of quietly and calmly, the repetitions slowing the flow and giving a greater impression of thoughtfulness, and the skilfulness of the construction taking over the emotive impact of metaphor and aureation.

A virtuoso exhibition is shown in the *rime batelée* of the sonnet celebrating the marriage of John Jhonsone and Jane Maxwell (*S XLV*) where the caesura of the following line picks up the rhyme of the previous line:

Sueit soull, perceive hou secreit I conceill,
 Rad to reveill that peirtly I propone.
 Look ony one before me loved so leill;
 Examene weill; oh! oh! we seet in none. (1-4)

In addition to the caesura rhyme, there is a careful use of alliteration which once again links this technique to the older forms of poetry, but with the subtle change in that while medieval alliterative verse used the figure structurally, on the strong stresses of the line, Montgomerie employs it more subtly. This type of playfulness is typical of the mannerist games which continental poets, imitating the Grands Rhétoriciens, were playing with language; it is also seen in the vogue for anagrams which would, particularly after the turn of the century, be taken to be portents of the future.

While using this same French-influenced style, Stewart of Baldynneis shows his Scottish lineage in the heavy alliteration, which is seen to even more dazzling effect in 'Ane Literall Sonnet', (p. 185) where every word in each line alliterates on a single letter. Although rather a catalogue, because of the necessarily asyndetic construction, the wealth of the Scottish alliterative vocabulary, some of it borrowed from medieval tradition, as in 'peirless proper

plesand perll preclair' (6) and '[r]ythche rubie rycht renownit royall rair' (8), is impressive. The last four lines are epigrammatically successful:

for fauor flowing from fresche faces fair
Restorit rychtlie restles rancor ruid,
Bot beutie breeding bittir boudin baill
Dois dalie deedlie duynyng dartis daill. (11-14)

It is not clear that this poem should be taken to be a sincere expression of the unhappiness of earthly life, given its deliberately mannerist construction, which is in strong contrast to the stanzaic poems at the beginning of the manuscript where a genuine sentiment does seem to be conveyed. The 'Literall Sonnet' appears in a section of the manuscript which mingles sonnets and quadraings (quatrains) which deal with either the uncertainties of life or the difficulties of achieving poetic recognition. Stewart was rather an outsider, conscious perhaps of his age and his dependence on the king, which is perhaps why he was drawn into the disastrous allegiance with the Master of Gray. The arrangement of the manuscript anticipates to some extent the careful arrangement found in Ben Jonson's *Epigrammes*,⁵¹ where juxtaposition of contrasting portraits adds to the effect.

For instance, Stewart places his sonnet 'To Echo of Inuart Havines' (p. 154) after his superlative 'Of ane Fontane' from the French of Philippe Desportes and a neat little quatrain on hunting which picks up the correlative rhetoric of the final couplet of the translation. He thus has shown his poetic gifts seriously and playfully. After the Echo sonnet come three quite different sonnets, the first, 'Of Ambitious Men' (p. 155) about worldly success and its attendant dangers, and the next two on the unhappiness of love. 'Vpone the Portrait of Cvpid' (p. 156) is an interesting critique of the way the god is depicted in art, while 'Of the Qvaliteis of Lvif' (p. 157) is a more conventional expression of the pains of love, but showing the poetic skill in the employment of *rime batelée*.

While Echo is perhaps the most popular image used by poets to express the despair of unrequited love, she may have more than a commonplace significance for Stewart. He dare not express his feelings openly, but only under cover of the myth and in the hope that readers (for 'readers' read James) will understand. Stewart's Echo is located very specifically in the Scottish rather than the Arcadian landscape, complaining '[t]hroch daill, throch vaill, throch forrest,

Rock, And hill' (3). Here the same image of 'beutie breeding ... baill' as was seen in the 'Literall Sonnet' is used but more literally, as the poet pictures his pain as 'ane boyling baill Inwart [that]/Behuifs to break or birst the boudin brest' (9-10), the plosives intensifying and echoing the sense of welling pain, and, incidentally and intertextually, using a very literal image also found in Montgomerie and William Fowler.

It is interesting to compare Stewart's poem with Fowler's and with Montgomerie's on the same subject. Stewart calls paradoxically on Echo to '[s]upplie my speitche now till exprime my paine' (5), knowing that Echo can only repeat and reinforce his own words. While she comforts him by reiterating his 'grewous gronyng' (7), he himself is only echoing Echo's own complaints at Narcissus' 'cald desdaine' (4). Fowler takes the myth and conflates it with other myths and transformations. The octave conventionally depicts 'vnsene Echo' who reflects the persona's complaints: 'With piteous voyce shee dois my plants approve; .../And frames her accents to my fayinting mone' (SS XIV: 4, 6), which is exactly what an echo does do, but then the antithesis comes in: 'As wishing that the plagues which I ay prove/might *with* my teares be dryed vp and gone' (7-8). Although there is no chance of either plagues or tears being stopped while love continues, one re-reads and discovers that Echo's 'piteous voyce' has the power to move 'a stone to reuthe' (5), which is a conflation of the speaker's voice, merely repeated by Echo, and the power of Orpheus' lyre to move stones.

The sestet then compares the pity of Echo with the hard-heartedness of Fowler's lady, Bellisa, who 'baithe frome speache and pittie ... refraynes' (12), which is of course actually what Echo does, having no corporeal presence to utter anything for herself. It is this paradox to which Fowler drives the poem in the final couplet: 'so shee laments conpond of stone and aire,/quhils shee which fleshe is brings me cross and caire' (13-14). The literal explanation of the echo, which would not work if not 'conpond of stone and aire' is wittily used to contrast the unreal with the real, the natural phenomenon with the living woman.

In 'To the, Echo, and thou to me agane' (*MP* VIII), in Troilus stanzas named by James as appropriate for lovers' complaints, Montgomerie more

conventionally appeals to Echo as a fellow sufferer: 'Let vs complein, with wofull 3outs and 3ells/On shaft and shooter that our hairts hes slane' (5-6). The poet bitterly affirms that Echo's plight is easier to bear than his in that her love 'is dead, syne changed in a rose,/Quhom thou nor nane hes pouer for to brook' (38-9), while he has to see his lover and suffer from the sight every day. Where Montgomerie goes further and shows his awareness of the developments of the trope which had gained popularity in France and Italy⁵² is in his use of actual echoes in his final stanza:

Quhat lovers, Echo maks sik querimony?	Mony.
Quhat kynd of fyre doth kindle thair curage?	Rage.
Quhat medicine, (O Echo! knouis thou ony?)	Ony?
Is best to stay this Love of his passage?	Age.
Quhat merit thay that culd our sigh assuage?	Wage.
Quhat wer we first in this our love profane?	Fane.
Quhair is our joy? O Echo! tell agane.	Gane! (50-6)

The tendency towards highly elaborated rhetorical games-playing flourishes in the Jacobean sonnets, brilliantly in Stewart's 'To his Maiestie. Sonnet' (p. 148), which uses internal rhyme in a very deliberate pattern but in a rather odd poem which, although ostensibly 'for 3our delyt' is in fact all about the backbiting which goes on at court, and the poet's suffering from it. The first quatrain introduces the poem, with the *excusatio*, as is usual in Stewart, prominent, but then the second quatrain realises the subject, or perhaps even the impetus for writing:

Sum be ane ryt, And vthers of dispyt
 Vill me Bakbyt, 3it not ane myt I cair,
 for nane thay spair Quhan thay prepair to flyt:
 Blak thay call quhyt, And hes the vyt that rair
 Men dois declair Thair happie skair of lair. (5-9)

There is clearly a considerable degree of ill-feeling in the court, but whether the backbiting is on the grounds of poetic skill or on a more personal basis is never established. Here, it might appear that the criticism is on poetic grounds, as Stewart pulls out all the stops to show his rhetorical skill. He maintains a difficult *a-a/a-a-b b-b-a/a-a-b* internal rhyme in the quatrain, and driving the sense into the third quatrain, where the internal rhyme continues on the *b* rhyme. He is, in addition, possibly punning on the different meanings of 'lair' as learning and the place where an animal sleeps, which redounds entirely to his advantage.

Taking the moral high ground, or moralising generally, is Stewart's forte, and some of his most successful short poems take this form, as in 'Of Ambitious Men' (p. 155), which compares social climbers to the 'dryest dust, vinddrift in drouthie day' (1), which lands on the faces and clothes of 'lords And ladies of renoune' (2), and thus for a moment becomes part of their world until the sweepers brush it away. The aspirers manage for a short time to 'volt with valtring vind' (10) before being dashed to the ground, the greatest fall being reserved for those who try to climb to the very top: 'Bot ay the suyfter And moir hich thay brall/Moir low And suddane cums thair feirfull fall' (13-14).

Given the number of poems of the period which deal with the fall of courtiers, this must have been something of an occupational hazard, and not one which affected only arrivistes, but could be the fate of well-established members of the inner circle. The King's fickleness in the matter of favourites would not encourage a sense of security. This is perhaps voiced in the final sonnet, 'To Fame' (p. 191), which shows in its lexicon the French influence that Stewart had absorbed throughout his writing career:

The greatest soucie nixt eternall gloir,
 Quhartill Ilk nobill nature sould pretend,
 Is that guid name thair doings may decoir,
 Quhan that the parks hes spone thair fatall end. (1-4)

Both 'soucie' and 'parks' are peculiarly Scottish words derived from French, showing Stewart's attempts to follow James' instructions in the *Reulis and cautelis* to try to improve the vernacular base. If this is to be taken as a personal statement, it shows that Stewart did take his poetry seriously. He was concerned that he was being or would be miscalled, and that he had not achieved recognition in his lifetime '[b]ecause so monie bittir bailful blast/from mouths maling maliciouslie brists out' (9-10). Even the King's support cannot be counted on, hence the appeal to Fame herself: 'heirfoir, O fame, reserve for me guid name,/And giwe tham shame, Quho speikith to my blame' (13-14). Not real fame, but a preserved reputation is what he wants after his death.

Stewart is a very interesting poet because his writing shows the developments of the Scottish Jacobean period rather more clearly than the work of an established poet like Montgomerie does, and, perhaps, creates a more rounded picture of what it was like to live in James' court, while Montgomerie is

rather more concerned with his own problems, and, of course, had long periods of absence. Stewart throws himself wholeheartedly into the attempt to fulfil his King's desires with regard to poetic output, and perhaps to secure for himself a place in his King's personal affections through flattery and imitation. The final sonnet to James, and effectively the dedication of *Rapsodies of the Avthors 3ovthfvll Braine* appears to take Montgomerie's sonnet to R. Hudson (S XXVIII) but with a twist, in that instead of complaining, as Montgomerie did, that his goodwill was mistaken by others, and his loyalty to the King questioned, Stewart attests James' acceptance of his goodwill:

Accept guid vill: Guidwill 3e vey nocht lycht,
So in the coustom of 3our Royall hart
3our maiestie vill think it Reson rycht
My trew Guidwill to tak in to guid part, (9-12)

There is frequently a note of pleading about Stewart's appeals which is not entirely attractive to the modern reader, but, as those trying to gain James' favour often found, overt flattery was often more successful.

Still firmly ensconced in the arms of Love rather than involved in covert appeals for patronage, however, was the supreme practitioner of the art of the superficially Petrarchan sonnet sequence *per se*: William Fowler, sometime intelligencer at the English court in the employ of Walsingham,⁵³ well versed in French and Italian literature, and probably with a knowledge of the manuscripts of verse which were circulating in the Sidney circle in the 1580s.⁵⁴ When he arrived to take up his place at court he was the only poet whose literary interests derived from Italy rather than France: his contributions to the body of European translations being collected were Petrarch's *Trionfi* and Machiavelli's *Il Principe*. Fowler's sonnet sequence, although by no means a translation of Petrarch's *Rime*, owes a considerable debt to the Italian and employs not only the basic structure of the sequence but also a number of Petrarch's images, using them, however, in such a way that the effect is not of repetition or translation but of reiteration through imitation. Fowler's work was clearly influenced by the Italian anthologies which proliferated in the late sixteenth century, showing that he had a wider appreciation of contemporary European developments in style and imagery than was usual amongst his compatriots. It may well be that his intelligencing work in England had exposed him to the Italian writings which

were more important as source material for English sonneteers. The Scots had always been more trained to listen to and read French literature than Italian, and James' own tastes confirmed this. In his sonnets Fowler combined an Italian source with a solidly Scots vernacular almost without exception encased in the Scottish interlinked *ababbcbccdcdee* rhyme scheme.

It is quite difficult to establish exactly when Fowler was writing what, as he has composed three sequences of varying lengths, and there are two rather different manuscript versions of most of the poems. The Hawthornden manuscript has a *Sonnet Sequence* of sixteen sonnets which appear before most of *The Tarantula of Love* and a seven-poem cycle entitled *Death*. The Drummond manuscript has the totality of *The Tarantula*, and for that reason has been used as the source for the sake of consistency.⁵⁵ It appears, however, that the *Sonnet Sequence* may well have been written first as a kind of sampler of Petrarchism, as each of the sonnets exemplifies one of the Petrarchan tropes. *Death* may or may not be related to *The Tarantula*, as it does not mention the name of Bellisa, the lady of *The Tarantula*, while *Sonnet Sequence* does.

The odd title of the sequence, *The Tarantula of Love*, comes from a statement in Castiglione's *Il Cortegiano*, that those bitten by the tarantula become maddened and express that madness in verse, in music or in love. Fowler combines the first and last in describing the madness of his own love and his foolishness in writing about it, dwelling on the effect of the poison working on the system which had, according to Castiglione, the same kind of antithetical effect that Petrarch had experienced in his love for Laura. It can thus be seen that Fowler was moving into the mainstream of Italian literature rather than relying on a single source, and bringing to the Scottish readership a wider range of scholarship than had previously been noted, while importing, no doubt considerably influenced by English sonneteers, the notion that the highest praise one could pay to a mistress was to write about her as Petrarch wrote of Laura. There is no need to assume that Bellisa, the idealised lady of the sonnets, exists anywhere but in the poet's imagination, although the name could be an anagram of Isabel. Unlike Petrarch, Fowler does not deliberately construct a persona for himself. This does not mean that Fowler is speaking *in propria persona*,

however, but rather that the poet and the persona stand in pretty much the same space, with the persona posing as the Petrarchan lover very much in the forefront.

The first sonnet of *The Tarantula of Love*, while not a direct translation of Petrarch's opening sonnet of the *Rime*, pays obvious homage to the Italian original:

O yow who heres the accents of my smart
diffusd in ryme and sad disordred verse
gif euer flams of love hathe touchte your hart,
I trust with sobbs and teares the same to perse; (1-4)

but differs from Petrarch in that while the latter was concerned to show the Neoplatonist idea that earthly love is only a shadow of the eternal love of God, Fowler desired immortality for Bellisa and for his love for her through his verses: "O of this stayles thought the stayed sing/breide him not deathe that gloire to the dois bring." (13-14)

In *The Tarantula*, poetry is a persuasion to love, in this case with a note of self-interest added, as if the lady kills the poet through her disdain and cruelty to him, then he will be unable to celebrate her beauty. This is very different from Petrarch's purpose in writing his *Rime*, which was highly moral, and has a closer resemblance to Puttenham's 'beau semblant', writing as a means of showing one's fitness for high office, which is probably exactly what Fowler's purpose was, and he succeeded admirably, becoming Queen Anne's secretary.

Another feature immediately noted is the alliterative line and use of oxymoron where he departs from Petrarch:

yea, euen in these ruid rigours I reherse,
which I depaint with blodie bloodles wou[n]ds,
I think dispared saules there plaints sal sperse,
and mak the haggard rocks resound sad sounds. (5-8)

This is the Scottish alliterative tradition continuing from the earlier period and following James' rules. Although there is no evidence that Fowler knew anything of the literature of the preceding age, he had plenty of contemporary examples and a clear facility with language which he exploited to the full. He may have come from the merchant class, but he had all the courtier's accomplishments.

A third departure from Petrarch, and from Castiglione, Bembo and Ficino, is that Fowler's persona does not succeed in portraying his love for

Bellisa as the first rung on the ladder of love which would lead eventually to a rejection of earthly *eros* in favour of heavenly *agape*. He does attempt to follow the Neoplatonic code, but is continually frustrated by the fact that his love for Bellisa is thoroughly sensual and physical, and is enjoyed, where it can be, in that sense. There is much more of Ovid than of Plato in the sequence. The eventual rejection of love comes from the wish to be free of the pains of love, but not materially from the sense that sensual love is an improper emotion. Only in a later sequence, *Death*, is any kind of sublimation of physical love attempted, by which time, of course, any real communion between lovers would be impossible. Fowler is first and foremost a Renaissance realist in the sense that poets increasingly rejected the Petrarchan or Neoplatonist ideals in favour of a recognition that love was a fact of life and that women were wooed as a preparation for marriage and procreation, not as a courtly game which would never develop beyond a vow of eternal servitude. The demand that the lover's constancy and devotion should be requited, which is found reiterated in the poems of the Bannatyne MS of the mid-sixteenth century, and which had been the primary theme of Sir Thomas Wyatt's original translations of Petrarch nearly half a century before, was finally finding its time, and would be developed after the Union in Scottish literature in the work of William Alexander, Robert Ayton and Alexander Craig, and in English writing in the lyrics of John Donne.

The final interesting feature of this opening sonnet is the reference to 'disordred verse' (2) which, while echoing Petrarch in 'rime sparse', also has all kinds of resonances for the world picture of the time. The medieval belief in the ordered universe had already been fragmented as new scientific discoveries and the development of humanist doctrines had led to the questioning of established and accepted truths. Physical love, with its pains and tears mirrored the fragmentation of order and prevented a harmony with nature as it prevented man's seeing the natural beauties and rhythms of the world except by comparison with his own feelings, and showed how out of tune he was with the divine verities. Neoplatonism would attempt to constrain this disorder by sublimating physical love, but this never found favour with the Scottish temperament.

Where the language of Neoplatonism appealed to poets, whether they actually accepted its doctrines or not, was that it gave an extra dimension of imagery through an idealisation of the lady, such that she could be seen as analogous to any feature or event in the universe, and the constancy of love could be related to eternal verities, as was seen in Stewart of Baldynneis' 'The suelling sie sall first rewert in fyre' (p. 168). Fowler's poem of impossibilities echoes this idea, but in a contrary vein, in that if he can be freed from the bonds of love, then nothing in the universe is secure:

Aire be thow ferme, O fyre agane be cold,
sea stand vnmovd, Earthe rin a restles race;

Lat all things chainge and alter without stey;
imposseble things posseble may be, (XLIV: 1-2, 9-10)

These poems reflect also the mid-sixteenth-century Scottish satirical poems of impossibilities which mocked the idea of finding a constant woman. Here, as most often, the man is the constant one, and constancy in the face of disdain is seen as a virtue.

The 'impossibility' trope is related to the antitheses inherent in being in love and uses many of the same images, deriving from the contrast between the beauty of the lady, Bellisa, and her disdain. Some of Fowler's 'antitheses' sonnets are the most successful of the sequence in their wit. Again, these sonnets show an awareness of the Petrarchist developments of the *quattrocento*, where Serafino and Tebaldeo pushed the metaphors of the master as far as they could go, particularly Petrarch's use of the contrary effects of love (see Appendix). There are mini-sequences within the sequence where Fowler develops the antithetical images of heat and cold, life and death, freedom and captivity, sickness and health, pride and shame, the commonest images of the entire sequence, exemplified in Sonnet XIII:

thus hardned by the yce and melt by flame,
I leiue, yet ded, seik sore, I find me sound,
I fal and ryse, I stakkring stand for schame,
I skale the skyes, yet groveleth on the ground, (5-8)

This sonnet shows Fowler's mastery of alliteration to intensify the experience being described, and his use, like Montgomerie, of unliterary, almost colloquial diction. There is, in addition, a very sexual motif to this, in the sense of the lover

paradoxically being 'hardened' by the ice of the lady's disdain, which is reinforced by the image of him 'standing' for shame, erect but unwillingly so. 'Melting' was an image frequently used by Philip Sidney in a sexual context, and, given other echoes of the Englishman's images, it could be that Fowler, while in England, had seen some of *Astrophil and Stella*. It is possible that the manuscript of Sidney's sequence, recorded in the library of William Drummond of Hawthornden,⁵⁶ was one of those Fowler exchanged with Sir Edward Dymoke in Padua in 1591 or 1592, which might mean that Fowler knew of the manuscript before the pirate copy was printed. I do not intend to suggest that Fowler was deliberately imitating Sidney's writing, but rather that if individual poems were circulating within the Sidney circle, then it is likely that Fowler, as a cultured individual, and working for Sidney's brother-in-law, would have access to them.

What can be stated is that while Sidney was writing with a clear purpose, which will be developed in the following chapter, Fowler appears to be using the Petrarchan and Petrarchist themes and tropes as a poetical exercise, rehearsing the various strands in different guises, but showing an awareness of his national literary heritage in his use of alliteration, relatively plain style vernacular, the preference for simile over metaphor, the Ovidian nature of his classicism. Fowler's huge vernacular vocabulary rivals that of Montgomerie, and he exploits it to the full in sonnets of antitheses.

The antithetical notion is further developed by the use of paradoxical expressions and of oxymoron, as in sonnet XXI, where the lady's eyes, contrary to the life-giving sun that they resemble, bring only death to the persona:

O quhat great power lurketh in these eyes,
 which brings me deathe quhen I there beames behald!
 O how bothe sueit and soure ar these bright rayes,
 which att one instant maks me whote and cold!
 proud eyes, meik eyes, which maks in doubts me bold, (1-5)

The fifth line combines the antitheses of pride and humility, showing the persona's confusion about how he should read the signals he is given. The message is made clear at the end of the octave: 'fair eyes which bothe dois plagues and peace vnfold,/and by sueit discord dois my saule subvert' (7-8). Again the discordant effects of love are seen, causing pain and ecstasy in equal measure. The language epitomises the lover's continuing battle with his desires:

'stey! stey! go! go! I wott not quhat I wishe,/bot this I knaw, they bring me bayle and bliss' (13-14). As so often in Scots poetry of the period, the alliterative pairing of words of similar or contrasting meanings (as 'bayle and blisse') is a structural feature of the poem, strengthening the sense by sound.

This is the beauty of the sonnet sequence form: it has its given limits and permits of different viewpoints of the same situation, allowing the poet to make a paradigmatic analysis or to change tone and mood numerous times while working towards a solution of the basic paradox. The individual paradoxical sonnets could almost be said to be microcosms of the whole sequence, reminding the poet and the reader of the dialectic which is continuing to its resolution. Short sequences employing a particular trope or figure are a predominantly Scottish development of the sonnet sequence, permitting the anatomisation of one facet of the persona's condition. While it could be posited that this fragmentation undermines the sense of a coherent persona, on the other hand it creates a more realistic biography as no living person could exist in such a continual state of torment. It further enables the poet to experiment with the paradox of love causing very contradictory emotions in the lover. The paradoxes inherent in the lover's feelings so expressed, and the wavering and inconstancy they imply, are dealt with straightforwardly and wittily in Sonnet LXIX:

How can I be cald constant in my love
 sen in inconstancyie my dedes consists?
 I mount and fall; I baithe stand stil and move;
 I feare, I hope; I leave aff yet insists;

.

thus of Inconstant constant am I maire: (1-4, 12)

It is noticeable that Fowler is addicted to the figure of oxymoron, rather than the trope of antithesis, which is what relates him more to the Petrarchists than to Petrarch himself. He is taking the superficialities of Petrarchism, and adapting them to his own idiom, and thus already, with its first introduction into Scottish literature from the Italian, Petrarchism has been 'translated' through another literature, albeit this time in the same language as the original rather than in French.

A popular Petrarchist image is that of the sea-tossed ship, which is useful as nothing is at once as changeful and as eternal as the sea, and thus there are

many possibilities for imaginative development. While Fowler's use of the image in sonnet XLVIII is a pretty conventional comparison of the shipwrecked lover with '[s]chip brokken men, whome stormye seas sore tosis' (1), longing to reach shore and 'to ancer in your heaven' (14), LXIII is a much more gothic development, making close comparison between all the elements of shipfaring and the lover's situation, but rather differently from James' development of the same image, above, p. 79. While the lover is in the 'beaten bark with waltring wawes tost sore' (2), the lady is the fixed point:

thy words, the Mapp and cairt is, O my glore,
thy eyes, the ey attractiue calamite,
thy winks, the twinkling stars which I adore,
the pointed compass ar thy proper feite, (5-8)

In this small section, Fowler is using a number of novel images and techniques, like the sight and sound rhyme of 'eyes' and 'ey' in line 6, the internal rhyme again in line 7, and the image of the compass which is forever associated with Donne, although it is actually Guarini's originally.⁵⁷ Where the lady is associated with fixity and stability, the persona is all instability: 'The rudder is my reason vndiscreit' (9) where his reason has been undermined by his love, and can no longer serve to steer him. All the images are metaphors taken from the world of navigation, here literalising the metaphor to create the picture of the captain drawing his course on the chart by measurements from the stars and compass. By the end of the poem, from imagining himself on the sea, 'Vpon this firthe' (1), the poet has become his own universe, absolutely solipsistically, in a gothic hell of his own creation:

the airs my greiffs, the reas my piteous plaint,
the ancar doubt, the suits sowre sueit,
the schip my half deade harte through mad Intent,
the see my teares, my sighs the whirling wynde,
which maks me seik the heaven I can not fynd. (10-14)

Since the world and everything in it is formed from his own body, then heaven must also come from within, but there is nothing of heaven from which to create it, hence the despair of the final line.

Unlike Petrarch, Fowler does not really develop a coherent narrative in his sequence, but rather returns frequently to images which please him to intensify the effects of love which he is describing, as in the sonnets which deal

with the commonplace of the languishing death-in-life of the lover's condition, where Fowler finds many different images to express the situation. The most obvious, given the title of the sequence, although not at all obvious otherwise, is the image of poison, which is used in a number of the poems, and had been used by Montgomerie and Stewart before him. In a startling poem, love's poison is contrasted with the very real infection of plague:

although this poysning pest, blak, rid and paile,
disperseth some and other als infect,

I have no feare of a pestiferous breathe,
sen of lovs force I feil the full effect,
whoe in my breist his poyson sparpled hathe.

for so lovs venim dois on me encroache
as no infectioun can infect my corse:

for quhaire that pest is poyson tynes her force. (XXVII: 1-2, 6-8, 12-14)

The poison of love, the venom of the tarantula, actually becomes the plague (pest) by the end of the poem, but the speaker is never in any danger in any case because he is inoculated by 'lovs venim'.

Although the 'poison' image could be said to be a logical development of the image of sickness curable only by the mistress, an image that had long been used as a conceit, as in Sonnet L: 'and panse the wonds of my vnceasant payne,/ for as yow hurt so can yow hail agayne' (13-14), the references in other poems in this section of the sequence to the absence of the lady make it look as if Fowler is referring to an actual period of plague which has separated the lovers, like the major visitation of 1585. Whether real or not, the idea that the poison of love is a mithridate against a real plague is novel, to say the least. As has already been seen, this kind of gothic imagery is more characteristic of Scots than of English poetry at this time, and seems to resemble more closely the medieval moralities than the baroque developments coming from continental sources.

This kind of conceitedness, in the poetic sense of the word, which has been seen in the mannerist games being played by other members of the Band, could be seen to play into Fowler's hands, given the trope of entrapment in the Petrarchan mode, and the tradition of the fowler's net in medieval Scottish literature. However, the need to maintain the fiction of the persona would make it impossible to utilise such an obvious image, although he does employ the pun

on a couple of occasions. The first instance is during a period of absence from Bellisa while his own thoughts, which 'chainging disavoues' (XXIX: 5), present her picture to him in his mind's eye and keep his faith, 'And Foulers rins not Foule to gurnis and glewe' (14). This is clearly a joke, and could of course be read without the pun, but the ambiguity adds an extra level of playfulness to the sequence.

In the second 'Fowler' sonnet he makes even more appropriate use of the pun as he takes the Petrarchan image of the lark freed from the cage by the lady. Perhaps he had given it to her as a present as the bird 'in the foulers hand with feare hethe bene' (LXIV: 3) but now it has alighted on her neck 'and ioying lairgar lyfe hathe there reposd' (8). This is another reminiscence of *Astrophil and Stella* 83, although the image is originally Petrarch's. However, where Sidney used the same image to warn the bird that if it took liberties with Stella's neck it would have its neck wrung, Fowler is much more sorrowfully envious, describing himself as 'no Foulers cachting bot a Foulers caught' (10), enchanted and enthralled 'by the [whose] beautye hath me glosed' (11). This is rather similar to the way Montgomerie and Sidney shared the Ronsardian image of the lady's lapdog, the former sadly all too conscious of his mournful state, while the latter was more robustly critical of the lady's lack of prescience.

The image of captivity or slavery is frequently found in *The Tarantula*, here compounded by the pun on the writer's name, with the fowler trapped instead of trapping, the actual tools of the trade foregrounding the pun. Fowler developed a formulaic approach to the captivity motif, with imagery of snares, traps and birdlime underlying it all. The second sonnet gives a catalogue in *vers rapporté* of the trials he is to write about: 'The fyres, the cordes, the gurns, the snairs, and darts,/quhairwith blind love hes me enflamd and wound' (II: 1-2), developing into the full flush of love with its 'sorroues', 'floods of woe', 'burdens of my heavye cairs', 'wonds', 'great disgraces and dispairs' in Sonnet XIV when: 'I see new glewe, new gurns, newe netts, new snairs/adrest to trapp me faster in your traynes' (11-12), which again has the medieval gothic overtone of the preacher's warning.

The most mannerist use of the image appears in the final sonnet of the sequence (LXXV)⁵⁸, where Fowler combines the wound, flame and snare imagery of love in a virtuoso display of *vers rapporté*, relating the three types of trial a lover has to go through:

So hard a hart, so could, so frie then myne,
no arrow, flame, nor cord, perst, brunt nor band;
bot captiue now I am through these assaults of thyne;
sore hurt I am, flamd, chaine by feit and hand,
more ferme then stone, more cold then frost or sand;
frie and exemd fra force of lovs impyre,
I feard no wond, no letts nor bur[n]ing brand,
by bow, by netts, by sparks of whote desyre;
bot now by shott I am destroyed in yre,
as never dart, nor fewell, chayne so sore,
a hart more oppned, fastned, or did fyre;
and yet save death I see no help therefor
to staunche, quenshe, lousse, the bloode, the bleise, and knott,
that binds, waists, rinis, which I to stey meanes not.

The poem mediates between the wished-for imperviousness of the lover and the absolute destruction by the various hurts of love, the contradiction of the first quatrain amplified in the next seven lines, with the final three lines appealing to death as the only remedy, extending the final couplet as the pain is too great to fit into the traditional two lines of the closure. Despite using the same three images in almost every line, Fowler never repeats himself, finding synonyms each time to express the magnitude of his hurt. Although it could be argued that this is an exercise in linguistic virtuosity, in the same way as many of Stewart of Baldynneis' sonnets are, it does not diminish the power of the poem. The effect is the opposite of a catalogue; rather an accumulated agony which culminates in the very gothic imagery of 'to staunche, quenshe, lousse, the bloode, the bleise, and knott' (13) where the blood, fire and knot, although metaphorical, can only be dealt with in literal terms, by the ending of physical life. This, as has been seen, is another trait of the Scottish development of Petrarchism, in that the metaphor is literalised, made very concrete, either for humorous purpose, or with the aim of making the image particularly vivid. The sensations that the persona is describing are foregrounded, such that the reality of the pains of love is brought home to the reader in a shared experience.

Although this sonnet does not end the sequence in the Drummond manuscript, a much more 'proper' appeal to God taking that place there (which suggests that Drummond may have censored his uncle's irreligious and non-Platonic attitudes) it is more in keeping with the tenor of the rest of the sequence that Fowler's persona should end as he began, as his rejection of love was very mechanical and abrupt in a group of three sonnets, the last of which quotes Petrarch only to undermine his Neoplatonic line:

Blist be that houer, and blisshed be that day
that opned vp the wyndowes to disdayne,
whair through my eyes there blyndnes dothe bewraye,
which, whils they servd, they served but ay in vayne: (XLV: 1-4)

Where Petrarch blessed the day and the hour that he first saw Laura, and thus fell into the chains of love, Fowler's persona blesses the day that the scales were lifted from his eyes and he was able to see clearly, rather than through the blind passion of the lover. The unstinting and unrewarded service to the chosen beloved, which was Petrarch's entire *raison d'être*, is entirely rejected, and even reversed.

The sonnet immediately following throws him straight back into the Petrarchan fires and antitheses of love, '[f]ull of desyre bot fraught agane with feare' (XLVI: 1), showing that Love is not finished with him yet. There is no sense at all of a development through various stages to a logical appeal to God and indeed the ending of the sequence in the Drummond manuscript is extremely abrupt. The penultimate sonnet admits:

that I have blaikned beutydes lovd and servd
and hethe adord bot outward bark and skin,
and earthlie things to heunlye hes preferd: (LXX: 10-12)

but this could have been written at any time, as it is very general in its sentiments, related to the rest of the sequence only by the last line: 'and off my mortal mak immortal love'. The sonnet apparently plays on the difference between physical, earthly love, which is mortal, and the heavenly, immortal love of God, and shows how the diction of Petrarchism mirrors, where it does not use directly, the language of religious love. However, it is 'immortal gloire' that is appealed to, which suggests far more strongly that this ill-fated earthly love affair is to be the source of poetic immortality, as was made clear at the beginning of the sequence.

Similarly indeterminate is the sonnet which is given in Drummond as the final sonnet, which has echoes of Donne's Holy Sonnets in its use of the language of amatory poetry in the appeal to God:

by thy sweit meiknes and thy mercye thral
my stubborne thoughts, proud rebells to thy grace;
in thy sones bloode my sinns, great god, displace,
and giue me words to cal vpon thy name. (LXXI: 7-10)

A similar religious element is related to Bellisa rather than to the persona of the writer and is picked up in the next sonnet but two in the Hawthornden manuscript. Bellisa is here pictured reading 'the holy booke,/and reiding that which shee weill vnderstands' (LXXIII: 2-3), in contrast to the persona, who clearly does not understand at all the Christian message of Love:

and quhils her heide was boued her brest shee strooke,
and with a godlye and a gudlye 3eale
pourd furthe her sighs of vapours ful and smoke,
and with such incence did her playntis revele. (5-8)

The rhetoric of Petrarchism is here used to describe Bellisa's virtuous complaint, her sighs and complaints not those of unrequited love, but rather of Christian piety and fears of being found unworthy of Christ's love. It is the persona's final realisation that she would never requite him for 'her godlines dois mak her mair indurd' (14), which leaves the persona, as has been seen, embroiled in the traps and snares of love without hope of release.

Fowler, in his Petrarchism, was working in Scots, and maintaining the Pléiade influence of sensual as opposed to purely Platonic love and moving further away from the pure strain of Petrarchism which had already lost favour in England and the Continent. This is likely to be a function of the wide network of contacts he had in England and on the Continent through his diplomatic missions, and it is arguable that, although not by any means the greatest poet of the so-called Castalian Band, Fowler was as great an influence as Montgomerie in terms of being a conduit for literary and other publications from France, Italy and the Low Countries. His entrée into English courtly circles through his work for Walsingham would further widen his influence and give him some contact with the English literary scene. As Secretary to Queen Anne, he was employed in more prosaic court writing, but he is the only member of the Band to continue

writing after the turn of the century, and the only one to transfer with the court to London in 1603.

By the time that Fowler had completed his sonnet sequence, the Castalian moment had largely passed, James was turning his attention towards prose composition, and energies were more concentrated on the inevitable accession to the English throne and language. What had been achieved in less than a decade was a quite astonishing variety of poetic productions, all of them in their own way celebrating the renaissance of Scottish court culture after the uneasy decades following the Reformation. Although James VI himself quite deliberately set in place the manifesto for a Scottish poetics clearly differentiated from any English equivalent, he did not intend a narrow nationalistic interpretation of 'Scottis poesie' and thus presided over a disparate groups of practitioners who owed more or less poetic allegiance to their Apollo depending on their own personal experience, proclivities and ambitions.

From Montgomerie, who, whatever his flattering praise of James, was too independently talented to bow to all his king's rules, James had the legacy from the mid-sixteenth century Marian court, and the sensual Ronsardian Pléiade influence to balance James' own preference for the Huguenot Du Bartas. John Stewart of Baldynneis, who was far less independent than the 'maister poete', followed James' strictures as expressed in the *Reulis and cautelis*, bringing yet another strand of French influence in the work of Philippe Desportes. To this Frenchified Scots William Fowler brought the Italian which had only been available in French-mediated versions before, producing a sequence which, as will be seen in succeeding chapters, was of significant influence for the younger generation of Scottish writers, specifically Fowler's own nephew, William Drummond of Hawthornden.

Most of the Scottish writing of the 1580s and early 1590s owes a good deal to the previous generations, both in theme and in style, showing the same kind of intertextuality which allowed poets to adopt themes, lines and images from each other's poems and rework them which derived from the vernacular tradition. The all-pervasive Petrarchan rhetoric was moderated by a strong Scottish sense of realism and by a latent misogyny which derived from medieval

times. A very masculine standpoint is the keynote of the Scottish Jacobean court literature, the only female voices being travesty voices, firmly constrained and controlled by the male poet. It is perhaps unsurprising that, at least before 1590, there should be no clear portrait of a woman in any of the poetic productions, as the Jacobean school gives the impression of being a men's club, sometimes rather boyishly so.

The previous generations in French literature were also plundered. Mannerist games-playing with language, anagrams, letter games, acrostics and shape poems became popular in England later. Joshua Sylvester, for instance, created a whole series of acrostics and shape poems for James,⁵⁹ but the vogue was developed in Scots from the French source in the Grands Rhétoriciens. Stewart of Baldynneis seemed to be trying almost single-handedly to improve the vernacular by enriching it from French, as many of the words of French origin in the *Dictionary of the Older Scottish Tongue* are credited to him, although unfortunately many of them were not to be used by anyone after him. Stewart and William Fowler showed the richness and virility of the vernacular vocabulary in their alliterative poems when not borrowing from foreign sources.

Apart from the linguistic richness, what distinguished Scottish poetry in the last two decades of the sixteenth century was the variety of stanzaic form, which was a continuation of a Scottish development of an import originally from English: alliterative verse. The most commonly used stanzaic form among the Jacobean poets was the ballat royal, rather than the sonnet, with a rather old-fashioned predilection, especially on James' part, for longer lines such as fourteeners, which, although they worked well in some contexts, such as in the *Lepanto*, more often than not led to a plodding tediousness. Montgomerie's stanzas, although often highly complex in form and rhythmic patterning, were ideally suited for the new musical developments coming out of France, and these stanzaic forms are found recurring in Scottish poetry in the succeeding centuries, much as the 'Christ's Kirk on the Green' stanza has recurred at various periods. Where a standardised European form such as the sonnet was adopted, it was given specifically Scottish characteristics, and, in the main, not used for love, but rather for eulogy, for commendation of poetical and other works, for private

meditation, and for invective. The creating of short sequences of sonnets to tell a story appears to be a peculiarly Scottish development, while English poets went wholesale into sonnet sequences. Despite the influence of Du Bellay and Ronsard, long stretches of writing in the same form did not appear to suit the Scottish mentality, or perhaps it was rather the content of such sequences which did not appeal, as the Scottish misogyny prevented any such adoration of a woman, as did the healthy belief, seen reiterated throughout the manuscript collections of the sixteenth century, that love was not something shameful, but that love and marriage were to be celebrated.

Obviously, given the all-pervasive influence of Petrarchism throughout the Renaissance, there is bound to be a similarity in imagery and theme found in different national poetics, but there is an individual quality to Scottish poems, which are often localised quite specifically, and show appreciation of the natural world as it appears in reality rather than as the aureate enamelled landscape of the medieval period. This is to some extent a function of the wide range of themes employed by Scottish poets, which meant that they were not imprisoned in the psychomachia of the sonnet sequence. Where the Petrarchan sonneteer talks of love as a storm-tossed boat, the Scot imagines a crossing of the Forth, or a journey to Orkney. The fires of love, rather than outdoing Etna, are compared to the blacksmith's forge or the household fire. The pains of love are described as if they were a real illness. Much of the imagery has a dark, gothic, nightmare quality, which recalls the medieval warnings to sinners about the pains of hell, but this would develop into the more sophisticated and decorative European baroque tendency seen in the poetry of William Drummond.

In clear contrast to the gothic imagery, there are much lighter images, like that of the traditional heart made of crystal or precious metal which is sent as a gift, the marigold as a symbol of the lover following his lady, the lizard looking lovingly on the human face. The poetry of the Scottish Jacobean period is signalled by intertextuality, particularly by picking up James' own images and by reiterating them in different contexts.

The literature produced by the court of James VI reflected the brilliance of the mid-sixteenth century court of Mary and married it to contemporary

developments in France, Italy and England while remaining true to its prime directive, which was to create a national poetics and thereby to enrich the Scots language. Had the court not departed to London and remained estranged so long, there were aspiring young poets who could have carried the torch into the next century, but the removal of so many of the brightest talents to London, and their exposure there to a wider range of influences, to a great extent ended the brief Scottish Renaissance.

Chapter 2 'Some Characteristics of English Poetry Before the Union: Philip Sidney to Shakespeare'

Chapter 1 has illustrated the development of Scottish vernacular poetry over the relatively short period of the last two decades of the sixteenth century, showing the rich heritage of earlier sixteenth-century Scottish writing underpinning the newer forms and styles derived from French Pléiade sources in the first instance, and later from the Italian reworkings of Petrarch. A very similar development is seen in English writing, concentrated into an even shorter time space, that of the first half of the final decade of the century. It cannot be contended that the sonnet sequences which enjoyed a tremendous vogue at this time represented the only poetry that was being written at that time in England, but the sheer volume of sonnets still extant tends to overwhelm any other lyric writing, and, in addition, the sonnet sequence is an admirable means for any poet to show his individual style within the constraints of a formal rhetorical structure.

In this chapter, I propose to examine the sonnet sequences written by the most important and influential poets of the period, differentiating them in terms of their writers' preferred styles and themes. This will necessitate close analysis of a wide range of sonnets in terms of addressees, diction and imagery, and of the social and artistic relationships between the poets themselves, as a large measure of borrowing and imitation can be detected even without overt source-hunting. Because the preferred rhetoric at this time was Petrarchan, it should be no surprise to find that there are close similarities in Scottish and English writing, but whereas the Scottish Petrarchism tended to come through the intermediary of the French Pléiade group under the guidance and influence of Pierre de Ronsard, English Petrarchism was more generally derived from Italian as well as French sources. Sonnet sequences enjoyed a huge popularity in England in the 1590s, and a rather more limited popularity was maintained after the Union, while, as has been seen above, apart from William Fowler's *The Tarantula of Love*, the form did not appear to appeal to sixteenth-century Scottish writers.

As Chapter 1 began with an analysis of the critical writings which informed and led to King James' *Reulis and cautelis*, the critical treatise which

laid the ground rules for 'Scottis P'oesie, so this chapter opens with Philip Sidney's treatise, which has a rather different purpose, namely to put the case for poetry as a moral tool in the hand of the good governor.

Philip Sidney's *Defence of Poesie*,¹ although it does have a literary aim, is not simply a detailed treatise on how to write effective poetry, like Puttenham's or Gascoigne's, but it has a much more political purpose, fitted to one who did not want 'a Poet's name' (*Astrophil and Stella* 90: 8) for his epitaph. Although not published until 1595, the treatise must have been written at least a decade before, and is therefore part of the discussion of the early 1580s.

As is made clear by the very title, Sidney feels there is a need to justify poetry's position in literature, which he does at considerable length, referring to the high regard in which poetry is held in the literatures of Greece, Rome, Italy and England. He is very conscious of the arguments that could be levelled at poetry by ecclesiastical authorities, and is ready for them, pointing to the Psalms of David as divinely inspired in the Christian sense, rather than in the pagan sense of the 'divine fury'. This is the thrust of his argument: that poetry has a moral and didactic purpose which is, because poetry is more pleasant to read, more likely to have an improving effect on readers. He cites as persuasive arguments the use in the Bible of parables, and it seems that he was familiar with Joachim Du Bellay's treatise, as he uses the Frenchman's image (see Chapter 1 p. 16) of the message as spiritual food:

Certainly euen our Sauour Christ could as well haue giuen the morall common places ... of disobedience and mercy, as that heauenly discourse of the lost Child and the gracious Father... the Philosopher teacheth, but he teacheth obscurely ... but the Poet is the foode for the tenderest stomachs ... whereof *Esops* tales giue good prooffe: whose pretty Allegories stealing vnder the formall tales of Beastes, make many, more beastly then beasts, begin to heare the sound of vertue from these dumbe speakers.

(p. 166-7)

Most of the first part of the *Defence* is concerned with showing that poetry can teach and describe better than philosophy and history because poets are not tied to the literal truth, but can select such that the best example is given:

Onely the Poet disdayning to be tied to any such subiection,
lifted vp with the vigor of his owne inuention, dooth growe in

effect another nature, in making things either better then nature
bringeth forth, or, quite a newe, formes such as neuer were in
Nature... Her world is brasen, the Poets only deliuer a golden. (p. 156)

This should not be seen as condoning poetry purely as fiction. Quite the reverse, it is Sidney's interpretation of Aristotelian *mimesis*:

a representing, counterfetting, or figuring foorth to speake
metaphorically, a speaking picture: with this end, to teach and
delight. (p. 158)

Continuing the metaphor of the painter, Sidney contrasts:

...the meaner sort of Painters (who counterfet onely such faces
as are sette before them) and the more excellent, who, hauing
no law but wit, bestow that in cullours vpon you which is fittest
for the eye to see: ... do imitate to teach and delight, and to
imitate borrow nothing of what is, hath been, or shall be: but
range, onely rayned with learned discretion, into the diuine
consideration of what may be, and should be. (p. 159)

This kind of invention, as King James would also understand the word, is what gives poets their prophetic status, which is contained in the appellation 'Vates' [prophets], as they are always pointing towards a potential beauty, and always trying to 'moue men to take that goodnesse in hand', which is what brings him to a defence of poets in spite of what Plato is supposed to have said about poets' being banned from his Republic. Citing *Ion*, Sidney shows that, far from being an enemy to poetry, Plato 'giueth high and rightly diuine commendation to Poetrie' (p. 192) and blames only those poets who provide a poor example to readers by showing heroes, gods and virtuous men in ignoble circumstances.

The second half of the *Defence* deals, as does the second half of Du Bellay's *Défense*, with more practical aspects of poetry, such as the genres, showing how each in its different way can teach a moral lesson, and does give some instruction in the matter of rhyme and rhythm, but this is not to give the poetaster the means of producing acceptable verse, as he does believe, unlike Du Bellay, Gascoigne and James, that a poet is born, rather than made: 'A *Poet* no industrie can make, if his owne *Genius* be not carried into it... *Orator fit, Poeta nascitur* [an orator is made; a poet is born] (p. 195). Only a very few English writings are worth reading, in his view: Chaucer, the *Mirror for Magistrates*, Surrey's lyrics, the *Shepheards Calendar*, although:

That same framing of [Spenser's] stile to an old rustick language
I dare not alowe sith neyther *Theocritus* in Greeke, *Virgill* in
Latine, nor *Sanazar* in Italian did affect it. (p. 196)

As Du Bellay and James do, Sidney makes a point of commenting on poetic diction, deploring 'farre fette words [that] may seeme Monsters', and the alliterative trope 'coursing of a Letter, as if they were bound to followe the method of a Dictionary' (p. 202). This is exactly the same point as has been seen earlier: although James praises alliteration, it is as a structural feature, and not as some kind of game to see how many alliterating words can be used in a single line. Perhaps taking Du Bellay's stricture, Sidney criticises the tendency to 'cast Sugar and Spice vpon euery dish that is serued to the table' (p. 202), thus dulling the taste for more delicate essences.

The conclusion sums up the foregoing arguments succinctly in the manner of a logical proof, citing the authorities: the points have been made, poetry has been fully justified, and it is now up to those who have sufficient wit and industry to produce work which is worthy of the name:

...sith the euer-praise worthy Poesie is full of vertue breeding
 delightfulnes, and voyde of no gyfte that ought to be in the noble
 name of learning; sith the blames laid against it are either false
 or feeble; sith the cause why it is not esteemed in Englande, is
 the fault of Poet-apes, not Poets; sith, lastly, our tongue is most
 fit to honor Poesie, and to bee honoured by Poesie; I coniure
 you ... no more to scorne the sacred misteries of Poesie ... but to
 beleeeue, with *Aristotle*, that they were the auncient Treasurers
 of the Graecians Diuinitie. To beleeeue with *Bembus*, that they were
 first bringers in of all ciuilitie. To beleeeue with *Scaliger*, that no
 Philosophers precepts can sooner make you an honest man ... that
 [poets] are so beloued of the Gods that whatsoeuer they write
 proceeds of a diuine fury. Lastly, to beleeeue themselues when they
 tell you they will make you immortall by their verses. (p. 205-6)

The final appeal is to patrons rather than to poets themselves, a recognition of the essentially symbiotic relationship between the poet and the Prince, but placed on an almost mercenary plane, showing an appreciation of the vanity of those with wealth and power. However, as has been the case throughout the *Defence*, it is poetry as moral education which is stressed, the means of developing the divine part of man through the intellect. Love poetry is not the prime discourse advocated, but the poet writing love poetry while animated by the purest of motives cannot but write in an elevated and improving style. This perhaps explains why *Astrophil and Stella* was not published by Sidney, as its style and tenor could not in any sense be said to follow Petrarch's chaste dictum, but

rather it serves as an illustration of the way that hopes and energies can be dissipated into amatory dalliance if not actively channelled into more uplifting purposes. However, as will be argued below, there is rather more to the status of *Astrophil and Stella* than this.

It was Sidney's sequence which really started the vogue for sonnet-writing in the 1590s; earlier works like Wyatt's and Surrey's translations from Petrarch (in Tottel's *Songes and Sonnettes* of 1557) and Thomas Watson's *Hekatompathia* or *Passionate Centurie of Love* (1582) did not capture the public mood. It was Sidney's prestige, his family connections, his heroic death, his moral standing that authorised the proliferation of sonnet sequences. Sidney's most authoritative editor, William Ringler, contends that the sonnets were never seen until after Sidney's death,² an opinion not in conflict with internal evidence from the work of Fulke Greville, Samuel Daniel and Michael Drayton which tends to indicate that the poems were circulated privately amongst friends and admirers, until the publication of the pirated version in 1591.

It was into this water finally sufficiently warmed by Sidney that English poets dipped their toes, giving rise to the great vogue for sonnets and sonnet sequences which is the literary phenomenon of the late sixteenth century. That the sonnet should have become more popular than any other literary form is relatively easy to explain. It seemed to be used by a number of poets as a proving ground for their poetical exercises, as prefaces, dedications and indeed references in the poems themselves indicate. The very tight form and rigorous demands of the rhyme-scheme are useful means of instruction in compression. Because of its two-part structure, the individual sonnet can express a tension, or question and answer, or problem and resolution in its octave and sestet, while a sequence of sonnets of whatever length can propose a more diverse approach to difficult questions, trying out different ways of looking at the situation and setting up antitheses and contrasts which will, in large, mirror the antithetical effects seen in individual poems. The form is precise, demands strict control of diction, rhythm and rhyme, was already established as high style in Italian literature, as it was praised by Pietro Bembo as the highest linguistic form in the vernacular. (Critical appraisal of the sonnet in Italian literature will be found in

the Appendix.) Du Bellay had followed his treatise on poetry with a sonnet sequence, *L'Olive*, King James had appended a series of sonnets to his printed *Reules and cautelis*, and now Sidney gave the English *imprimatur* for the form.

As has been seen in Chapter 1, the rhetoric of Petrarchism could be used politically, and this is seen in England in courtiers' letters from much earlier in the Elizabethan period as well as in purely poetic productions. Such letters³ show the extent to which Petrarchism had been thoroughly assimilated into the language of the courtier, in the same way that Bembo and Castiglione had delineated the ideal courtier to the Italian prince through literature. It had become an accepted mode of discourse in all situations, whether for purely literary or for more pragmatic purposes. Its popularity with all types of versifiers, and especially its association with the court, gave it prominence as the highest literary kind, and the sheer number of individual poems within individual sequences ensured that there was a vast number of examples to imitate.

One of the major differences between the Scottish and English literary scenes is that there were many more courtiers at the larger English court, and more of a tradition of applying to the monarch through the intermediary of courtiers. In Scotland, direct appeal to the monarch was much more acceptable. The patron addressed in Petrarchan terms was receiving a high compliment to his or her status. The tension created between the rhetoric of courtship as employed by a poet seeking patronage and that same rhetoric appealing to a beloved lady for acknowledgement of love offered added an extra dimension to the finished poem or poems and allowed poets to play with the themes and figures while recreating them in their own way, illustrating the essential duplicity of the undertaking, exactly as described by George Puttenham in *The Arte of English Poesie*.⁴

Where a poet received patronage, or hoped to receive patronage, his work would effectively take the form of acknowledgement of service, a tangible proof of his privileged but inferior status. In this respect, the imagery of captivity, service, even slavery, would be expected to be prominent, and the placing on a pedestal of the idealised subject of the sequence both enhanced the status of the patron and underscored the essentially feudal nature of the

relationship between patron and poet.⁵ Given that in the Elizabethan period the patron was as likely as not to be female, the tropes of Petrarchism were ideally suited to the poetry of praise. The poet would thus gain entry into the rarefied atmosphere of the court, encouraging a maintenance of the status quo with regard to class divisions.

Sidney's own sonnet sequence, *Astrophil and Stella*, very probably the first one written, or at least contemporaneous with Watson's *Hekatompathia*, is not a purely Petrarchan sequence. It uses the rhetoric of Petrarchism as it had been transmitted through Italian Neoplatonic literature, but melds the Italian tropes to an older style of native diction, writing songs to intersperse the sonnets, and creating an entire amorous discourse in a variety of stanzaic forms and metres, some of his earlier experimentation with quantitative measures underlying the variation in form and structure.

Michael Drayton's *Ideas Mirrovr* of 1594⁶ celebrating Anne, daughter of his patron Sir Henry Goodere, develops the full range of Petrarchan tropes and imagery, idealising Idea as the mistress of the enslaved poet, and, as the sequence develops, as the saint to be worshipped by the poet as acolyte. She is the sun lighting the world, the Platonic ideal of Beauty, the lady whose beauty and worth paradoxically render the poet speechless and inadequate. This sequence is the ideal model for less inspired poets suing for favour as it allows the poet to show a virtuoso command of the rhetoric which reinforces the sense of obligation of the poet to the patron, who is his divine inspiration, and thus celebrates the whole patronage system. Drayton was a professional poet, but was also an aspiring laureate, who took his poetry even more seriously than the status of his potential patrons.

Samuel Daniel's *Delia*,⁷ is addressed to the Countess of Pembroke apparently as neighbour and friend rather than purely literary patron. This sequence concentrates on the painful effects of love when it is clearly seen to be hopeless, and develops the *carpe diem* motif so appropriate to a beautiful woman and used so powerfully also by Shakespeare in his sonnets to the lovely youth. This address to the Countess shows that Daniel preferred to be seen to have the status of valued friend, rather than client-poet, and throughout he plays

on the tension between a gentlemanly carelessness and the real need for support through patronage. In this way, *Delia* illustrates a threefold purpose: the celebration of the patron, the admiration of the lady herself and the bond of friendship.

The last of the major sequences published during the Elizabethan period, Edmund Spenser's *Amoretti*,⁸ rather departs from the Petrarchan ideal, as it is clear throughout large parts of the sequence that a real woman, his second wife, Elizabeth, is being addressed in full Petrarchan panoply. In this sense, Spenser does not appear to be indulging in the same kind of 'Poeticall exercise' as the other writers, but has a far more tangible foregrounding which to some extent obfuscates the chaste purpose of the writing. There is, in addition, an occasional intrusion of the professional poet, with poems which are clearly addressed to Elizabeth the Queen, and commentaries on how the work on *The Faerie Queene* is progressing.⁹ The happy coincidence of the names of patron and mistress creates an interesting tension between the two motives for writing, but it is noticeable that the motif of slavery and unworthiness in the writer assumes a major role in the sequence, which creates a further tension with the sensual element addressed to the woman he marries, and rather underlines the feudal nature of the courtly love relationship, which is, of course, very much in tune with the style which Spenser adopted for *The Faerie Queene*. Like Drayton, Spenser was an aspiring laureate as well as a professional writer, and would achieve his crown with the publication of the allegorical work.

Although not published until much later, Shakespeare's *Sonnets*¹⁰ are both at one with the vogue of the 1590s and distinctly at odds with it. Since the majority of the sonnets are addressed to a lovely youth, and those addressed to a woman concentrate on excoriating her faithlessness, they conflict with the received wisdom of worthy objects of love. However, without the Petrarchan underpinning, the *Sonnets* would not have the impact they do, as the metaleptic process, whereby the conventional tropes are used in an apparently inappropriate way, adds an extra dimension to the beauties of the language and the images used. Echoes from Petrarch as well as from other Elizabethan sonneteers abound in Shakespeare's sequence, showing clearly that although he did not follow the

prevailing thought, he was very much adopting the tropes and themes of contemporary writing.

Shakespeare's break with convention is at least two-fold, in that his persona addresses the vast majority of the poems (126 out of 154) to a young man, who is clearly both friend and patron, and the so-called 'dark lady' of the remaining sonnets is a faithless whore. The 'lovely boy' of the sonnets arouses tempestuous emotions in the narrator, his infidelities causing the same kind of jealousy that a cuckolded husband would feel, and the 'dark lady' is as far from the Petrarchan ideal as possible. This is precisely Shakespeare's genius: by subverting the conventions twice in different ways, he shows himself twice the poet.

The whole point of writing a Petrarchan sonnet sequence was to attempt to make something different and individual out of it, which demanded some deviation from the original source, and a remaking of the conventions as they applied more naturally to the English context. Given that Petrarch had used his sequence to pronounce on political and religious questions, it was eminently suitable for courtier-poets to turn its tropes to domestic political preoccupations. A poet who, like Sidney, was part of the court circle in his own right could see the workings of the system from the inside, and can be seen as writing ironically, for an intellectual readership of 'understanders', other courtiers or those associated with the Inns of Court, who could share their feelings of despair at the inactivity of the Queen on the religious questions and other factional interests that they saw as so important. Ironic writing would be relatively safer given the continual threats of banning, imprisonment and worse for those whose works transgressed the accepted bounds.

The qualities of the complete and perfect courtier had been described by Baldesar Castiglione in *Il Cortegiano*, widely used throughout Europe as a manual of courtship. One of the attributes of the courtier is rhetorical skill, which, as Puttenham envisaged it in *The Arte of English Poesie*, included the art of *beau semblant*, the essential balance between sincerity and deception within which the courtier has to operate as prince-pleaser.¹¹ It is an interesting illustration of the sophistication of the role of the sixteenth century courtier that

the rules governing courtly behaviour, derived from Castiglione, lay considerable stress on the arts of rhetoric, specifically the *sprezzatura* of the courtier's poetry, a quality admired as the mark of a gentlemanly amateur, while Puttenham's manual of advice for courtly poets, which appears to be dealing with rhetorical skills, is in fact more concerned with behaviour. Only the most persuasive and most apparently sincere would achieve their goal. Sidney's sequence is very much the product of courtship, as a close analysis makes clear.

The general tenor of *Astrophil and Stella* sequence is of dissatisfaction and frustration, expressed in very sensual and often erotic terms. It is possible to read in this sequence an ironic or allegorical employment of the Petrarchan tropes, used not to sublimate the feelings of shame provoked by an unworthy and impossible love, but rather to express a political frustration in terms of a much more acceptable and less politically dangerous sexual torment. The imagery of shame, of servitude, of imprisonment in an unwanted state is clear throughout the sequence. There is also the rather shameful state of being enslaved to a woman, when even the most enlightened humanists did not believe that women had the same kind of potential as men. Queen Elizabeth herself admitted that she could not possibly as a woman operate all four of the kingly virtues.¹² Elizabeth depended on her courtiers, but was determined to keep them under her control, making them compete against each other for her favours.

Arthur F. Marotti locates the Petrarchan sonnet sequence in Elizabeth's court as an escape valve for the dissatisfied courtier.¹³ The political ambition he feels but must not display is translated into the more acceptable 'hope' of the love poem. The rivalry he has with fellow courtiers is similarly turned into the lover's fear of being supplanted in his lady's affections. His despair at his lady's absence reflects his terrors of being away from court when some important office is awarded. The tensions inherent in the theme could actively be operated by the male writer who is, after all, creating his own ideal woman in despite of those around him at court. All of these situations can be found in Sidney's sequence, and would be understood as such by those of his coterie who read the poems.

In order to further distance himself from the writing, not content with creating his own literary world which mirrors the real world, Sidney creates a

fully rounded character in *Astrophil* to act as narrator for the sequence. It is *Astrophil* who is the 'I', rather than *Sidney*. The first person narrative form which is used in all the sequences was not devised by *Petrarch*, as it had been used in classical times by *Ovid* in *Amores*, and since medieval times in the form of a *speculum morale*, using the self as a (negative) example to others. English and Scottish writers had from medieval times written in first person on the understanding that this was a pose, which allowed them to change their protagonist's personality, age, or situation in life with the theme of the poem. In *Rime*, *Petrarch* writes as an older and wiser man, telling the story of his misspent youth from a position of middle-aged tranquillity, reassembling his personality as he assembles the formal poetic sequence. In this way, he is both maker and subject matter of his book, a means of moving from confusion to a reordered state of mind. In the Italian text, the personal quest for salvation is stressed, which gave the appeal to high-minded Protestant writers of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. It is this aspect of *Astrophil and Stella* which *Alan Sinfield* examines in his study of the reasons for the high-minded *Sidney's* having written such a sensual sequence.¹⁴ However, it should not be thought that all sequences were constructed to be morally elevating. They were written increasingly because it was the fashionable thing to do and because there was apparently an insatiable public appetite for such works.

Sidney's first sonnet perhaps shows even at this very early stage the ironic counterpointing that would be so much a feature of later sequences. Although he starts from an apparent avowal of truth, this is immediately undermined:

Loving in truth, and faine in verse my love to show,
That the deare She might take some pleasure of my paine:
Pleasure might cause her reade, reading might make her know,
Knowledge might pitie winne, and pitie grace obtaine, (*AS* 1: 1-4)

The tension between 'truth' and 'verse', given all the discussion about the fictive nature of verse in the poetry manuals, is very evident here, especially if one reads 'feign' into 'faine' as well as the conventional reading of 'eager'. This reading is also possible in Scots and French uses of the word, and it is very much in tune with *Sidney's* intentions as stated elsewhere. The second more conventional tension is found in the Petrarchan opposition between 'pleasure' and 'paine',

developed into the Aristotelian declension from reading of tragedy through understanding and pity to eventual granting of grace in the form of sexual acceptance. The very rhetorical use of the Alexandrine line in imitation of classical writers is the last of the elements which show that this is a very deliberately constructed poem, but the rest of the sonnet reveals that Astrophil has very little idea how to go about the task. Sidney separates himself very clearly from Astrophil, his very earth-bound and sensual alter-ego, who does not understand the rhetorical strictures regarding *inventio*, *dispositio* and *elocutio* (a fault Sidney certainly would not have been guilty of), whose Muse calls him a fool, and who 'looke[s] in [his] heart' to find the inspiration for his writing. What he finds in his heart is not the truth, as might be understood by a modern reader, but the picture of Stella, a very Petrarchan image conveying the inability of the writer to separate himself from his senses, and at the same time to create a picture of an idealised woman. In addition, since the Elizabethans situated the reason in the heart, the lover, whose heart is overcome by passion, has lost his reason, and therefore should be called a fool. This double perspective mediates the entire sequence and creates a structural tension between the persona and the poet himself.

The fiction of the sequence is maintained throughout, and is often directly alluded to, as in Sonnet 45. Astrophil complains that Stella 'cannot skill to pitie [his] disgrace' (3), despite its being 'painted in [his] beclouded stormie face' (2). If his feelings are real, what 'skill' should she need to understand them? Perhaps his actor's make-up is deficient, in that his 'painting' does not clearly reveal the part he is playing as the tragic hero and could be interpreted as the ranting villain (which is what 'stormie' would tend to suggest). This makes it look as if she is part of the game as well, but without being entirely aware of the part she has been given. She is far more at home with established literature, understanding the tropes and the appropriate responses to them:

Yet hearing late a fable, which did show
 Of Lovers never knowne, a grievous case,
 Pitie therof gate in her breast such place
 That, from that sea deriv'd, teares' spring did flow.

.

Then thinke my deare, that you in me do reed
 Of Lover's ruine some sad Tragedie:

I am not I, pitie the tale of me. (5-8, 12-14)

This anticipates Hamlet's berating himself for being unable to respond appropriately to his own situation when confronted with the apparently genuine emotion of a perfectly counterfeiting actor. 'I' and 'not I' signals clearly that the 'I' of these poems is not the real writer, but, in an increasingly complex double bluff, Astrophil is saying that he is not writing as himself either: he is simply writing a fiction, 'the tale of me', in which he is an actor/narrator.

The persona which Sidney adopts is complex. Astrophil is not Sidney, as Astrophil is only a character created by the action of Sidney's pen, and Sidney should not be seen as sharing Astrophil's thoughts, but the fact remains that Sidney is writing the sequence, putting words and thoughts into Astrophil's mouth and mind, continually undermining him by the greater intelligence of the poet hiding behind him. In a further undermining of the fiction, it is quite clear that the Stella addressed can be identified with Penelope Rich. The biographical element will not be pursued in any of the sequences studied, but it must be acknowledged that Sidney's use of political and biographical references appears to suggest that his purpose is more ambitious than the fashionable creation of a sequence of love sonnets and songs. Furthermore, it seems that there is yet another double perspective operating in *Astrophil and Stella*, as, while Astrophil can utter the ritualised *excusatio*, in Sidney's case it could well be an absolute statement of truth, as he would far rather have been remembered as a soldier-knight, Protestant-defender at the centre of the court circle of advisors to the Queen, than as the courtly poet *par excellence* that he was forced, *faute de mieux*, to become:

STELLA thinke not that I by verse seeke fame,

.

Nor so ambitious am I, as to frame

A nest for my yong praise in Lawrell tree:

In truth I sweare, I wish not there should be

Graved in mine Epitaph a Poet's name: (AS 90:1, 5-8)

Here, as elsewhere in the sequence, the poet's own preoccupations steal into the fiction, ironically attesting Sidney's political ambitions. Even more ironically, he did indeed achieve 'a Poet's name', his heroic death in battle serving paradoxically to confer the poetic rather than the martial laurel. There is, however, no irony in his continual assertions that his sequence is original, owing no debt to others,

whether contemporary or classical, as he was forging a new poetics which was more suited to the times:

I never dranke of *Aganippe* well,
Nor ever did in shade of *Tempe* sit:
And Muses scorne with vulgar braines to dwell,
Poore Layman I, for sacred rites unfit.

.

I am no pick-purse of another's wit. (*AS* 74: 1-4, 8)

The reference to *Tempe* comes from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, another important underpinning of all Petrarchan sequences. This is the place where Daphne was turned into a laurel to escape Apollo's advances, and is connected with one of Petrarch's many puns on Laura's name: *l'auro*, the laurel. Sidney is undermining his character by showing that Astrophil does not realise where the tropes he is using come from, which in itself shows how widespread the rhetoric of Petrarchan convention already was. Perhaps more importantly, this is a modesty *topos*, as he who did 'in shade of *Tempe* sit' was Apollo, who had vowed eternal devotion to the nymph he had attempted to violate. Given that a 'pick-purse' has to be furtive and hopes not to be found out in his activities, Sidney could in the eighth line be ironically attesting Astrophil's unacknowledged debt to Petrarch.

Although Sidney could write to please himself, and to reveal his true feelings only to those who would not use them against him, the professional poet had to use the fashionable styles in an acceptable way to ensure continued patronage. Supreme amongst the professionals was Michael Drayton, who was tremendously influential on the tastes of the time. For many years into the seventeenth century he was the focus of a large coterie of poet friends and admirers, and he dedicated his works to a wide range of literary friends and aristocratic readers. Here, however, is where the very distinctive meaning of 'friend' in the sixteenth century context must be examined, as the 'friends' addressed by the professional poet, unless clearly identified as those with whom he has an amicable personal relationship, are almost invariably potential backers and patrons.¹⁵

Drayton was the poet's poet, who could turn his hand to all the various genres of poetry from pastoral to epic, and was generally well regarded as a stylist to imitate. But it was clearly Sidney's example which spurred him to write

a Petrarchan sequence. Drayton acknowledges his debt to Sidney in the opening sonnet of *Ideas Mirrovr* while he attests his sincerity and originality. Excusing his 'rude unpolish'd rymes', he ironically asserts:

Yet these mine owne, I wrong not other men,
Nor trafique further then thys happy Clyme,
Nor filch from Portes nor from Petrarchs pen,
A fault too common in thys latter tyme.
Divine Syr Phillip, I auouch thy writ,
I am no Pickpurse of anothers wit. (Amour 1: 9-14)

In addition to asserting individuality, particularly the individuality of the *English* development of the trope, this quotation illustrates the borrowing which was a common practice at the time, and shows also the continuance of the doctrine of Imitation. Here Sidney (rather than Astrophil, which shows Drayton's ignoring of the fiction of the persona) is ranked with Petrarch and Desportes as the best models to be imitated but not directly translated. It has been noted that Petrarch himself adopted this method of incorporating lines from Italian predecessors in one of his *canzone*, although without openly acknowledging the source, to show that he saw himself as one of the illustrious writers of Italy.¹⁶ Paradoxically, by quoting this line from the 'divine' writer of *Astrophil and Stella* in this way, Drayton shows that he considers himself Sidney's equal, and that his lady's beauty and Sidney's example are all the inspiration that is needed.

The main emphasis of the 'truth' of this poetry is that it is written from the purest motives, to praise the idealised or beloved lady rather than to show off poetic expertise. That this is belied by the techniques employed by the poets and their obvious study of the best uses of language is yet another example of the tensions apparent in the fashionable poetry of the time. All poets echo Drayton's *excusatio* that their verses are 'rude' and 'unpolish'd', showing the gentlemanly carelessness of *sprezzatura*, while simultaneously showing the expected virtuosity and elegance, never for one moment expecting to be believed.

Daniel in his sequence adopts many of the poses seen in *Astrophil and Stella* and in *Ideas Mirrovr*, but he also adopts a persona which, although considerably less complex than Sidney's creation of Astrophil, nonetheless establishes a distance between the poet and the 'I' of the sequence, which enables him to make the similar assertion that the *Delia* sequence has been written not to

gain fame or patronage, as he is a gentleman amateur rather than a professional writer, but rather to allow him to unburden himself of his pain in love. However, in a sonnet which threatens the avowed veracity of the experience described, he admits that he has created Delia, comparing himself unfavourably with Pygmalion, who worked out his desires in marble and was rewarded:

I figured on the table of my harte
The fayrest forme, the worldes eye admires,
And so did perish by my proper arte.

.....

O happie he that ioy'd his stone and arte
Vnhappy I to love a stony harte. (*Delia* XIII: 6-8, 13-14)

The humorous punning in the couplet pokes fun at the persona while simultaneously epigrammatically comparing the sculptor and the poet. This tension between the poet who knows exactly what he is doing and the persona adopted in the poems, who insists that he is not writing fiction, is rather uneasily maintained, and creates a sense of distance which permits a greater appreciation of the poetic skills employed. Daniel's persona (and in a sense Daniel himself) specifically criticises those poets who write purely for patronage, thus making it impossible for readers to question his own motives:

For God forbid I should my papers blot,
With mercynary lines, with servile pen:
Praising vertues in them that haue them not,
Basely attending on the hopes of men. (*Delia* XLVIII: 5-8)

He is asserting that the only reason he writes is that he has been inspired by virtuous beauty, which establishes the subject of the sequence as a lady admired for her intellectual and moral qualities as well as her beauty, rather than as a munificent financier of literature, and thus could be said to elevate the purpose. In a perfect note of servility, he ends the sequence with two sonnets which show him resigned to eternal rejection by the lady who has 'inkindled [his] chaste desiers' (*Delia* XLIX: 2) and resolved to write only for himself, returning full circle to the note of the opening sonnet:

But sith she scornes her own, this rests for me,
Ile mone my selfe, and hide the wrong I haue:
And so content me that her frownes should be
To my'infant stile the cradle, and the graue.
What though my selfe no honor get thereby,
Each byrd sings t'herselfe, and so will I. (9-14)

The Countess of Pembroke, like any potential patron, could not fail to be favourably inclined to the poet who credited her with being the source of his inspiration and prowess. It could be presumed that, when *Delia* was published without authorisation in the company of *Astrophil and Stella*, although Daniel protested on Sidney's behalf ('But this wrong was not onely doone to me, but to him whose vnmatchable lines haue indured the like misfortune; ignorance sparing not to commit sacriledge vpon so holy Reliques') in the dedicatory epistle, he was very pleased that his work should have been ranked alongside such an illustrious predecessor. However, both Sidney and Daniel, the former from his actual social position and the latter from his aspiration, would never stoop to the indignity of printing their verse, as this was contrary to the gentlemanly code. Only jobbing poets published their wares.

Where Drayton and Daniel can assert, from the position of the security of established patronage, that what others think of their verse is of no importance, the writing itself being the only criterion, Sidney's desire for truthfulness, as expressed by Astrophil, is related to his wish that something new be created out of the Petrarchan model, and that an exact adaptation is neither desirable nor praiseworthy:

You that with allegorie's curious frame
 Of others' children changelings use to make,
 With me those paines for God's sake do not take:
 I list not dig so deepe for brasen fame.
 When I say '*Stella*', I do meane the same
 Princesse of Beautie, for whose only sake
 The raines of *Love* I love, though never slake,
 And joy therein, though Nations count it shame. (*AS* 28: 1-8)

This relates to the very first sonnet of the sequence, when Astrophil's Muse told him to look in his own heart and to write only what he knew, but the understanding reader perhaps realises that Sidney is once again undercutting Astrophil, and all other poets. 'Allegorie' could be a barbed reference to Spenser, whose style Sidney did not approve of, but it could equally be a denial of an allegorised reading of the sequence. The reference to making 'others' children changelings' suggests that he is critical of using the ideas of others as if they were one's own, or, perhaps, is warning readers not to read too much into the lines. Why does Sidney have Astrophil say '*I list not dig*' (emphasis mine) when it is the

readers who are being warned off, and why use the expression 'brasen fame' which immediately suggests the Horatian *exegi monumentum aere perennius* [I build a monument more lasting than bronze] and thus contradicts itself? The fact remains that Astrophil is using an imaginative construct, 'Stella', to illustrate the 'truth' of his love, which creates a very interesting tension. Astrophil's language is ambiguous, 'raines' suggesting at once 'reins' and 'rains', and 'slake' could be read as 'slack' in conjunction with 'reins', and as 'slake' (as in thirst) in conjunction with 'rains'. The interplay of names in this paragraph indicates the complexity of Sidney's structure, as the guiding intelligence of Sidney throughout underlies the rather less cerebral but clearly realised persona of Astrophil, the poet often revealing himself ironically.

The intellectual Sidneian subtlety is frequently subservient to the sensual movement of Astrophil's thoughts, which range from the empty joy of the first stolen kiss to the almost masturbatory imagery of the Tenth Song. Astrophil's excitement and desire for further fulfilment after the granting of the first real kiss ring more true and therefore more rhetorically persuasive than many of the more academically and Platonically constructed sequences. The whole sequence is unrelenting in its pursuit of Stella, even in the Songs. In his brother, Robert's, sequence, the songs move into a pastoral landscape populated by nymphs and shepherds,¹⁷ but Sidney's songs simply move Astrophil and Stella into a different location or different mode of speech without materially affecting the aim of the narrative, although with a significant heightening of the sensual element.

In the inverted Endymion image of the Second Song, the protection of sleep paradoxically, but also absolutely realistically, renders the lady vulnerable to invasion in an overtly sexual sense. Astrophil is minded to 'invade the fort', but draws back because 'Who will read must first learne spelling', the mixed metaphor possibly indicative of mental confusion, and he steals only a kiss, immediately railing at his cowardice. From this point onwards there is a series of sonnets praising the excitement of the kiss and the desire for more. His language, of necessity sensual, becomes heightened in his reminiscence: he talks of 'a sugred kisse/In sport I suckt' (*AS* 73: 5-6), likening Stella's lips to the nectar-filled flower attracting the bee. The sweetness of the kiss sends him into

transports of hyperbole: 'SWEET kisse, thy sweets I faine would sweetly endite,/Which even of sweetnesse sweetest sweetner art' (*AS* 79: 1-2), where the words overflow the rhythm of the line even as the sweetness overpowers him. The use of polyptoton heightens and intensifies the sensuality as though repetition of cognates of 'sweet' make it ever sweeter. The use of the same figure in the following sonnet to describe the swell of the lip seems to promise an equal sensuality in Stella:

SWEET swelling lip, well maist thou swell in pride,

.

Whence words, not words, but heav'nly graces slide.

The new *Pernassus*, where the Muses bide,

Sweetner of musicke, wisdom's beautifier:

Where Beautie's blush in Honour's graine is dide.

.

Sweet lip, you teach my mouth with one sweet kisse.

(*AS* 80:1, 4-6, 12, 14)

The imagery is always sensual, of the senses, particularly the sense of taste, playing on the pun on 'sweet' as applied to ladies. These sonnets create a mellifluous sense in the reading, filling the mouth in the same way that some of Keats' poetry does, in a way echoing the desire for musicality in language of the *dolce stil nuovo* school,¹⁸ although totally contrary to their rarefied notions of the lady, and convey something of the passions that are being described, whether real or imaginary.

Astrophil's own rhetoric appears to overwhelm him on occasion, allowing him to produce startling effects, as when using the absence *topos* to heighten the passionate effect, turning the conventional expressions of dejection in solitude into an erotic fantasy more usually seen in dream visions. In the Tenth Song he plans to send his thoughts to 'Enter bravely every where', but it is clear that he projects himself in his thoughts, imagining the delights to come:

Think of that most gratefull time,

When my leaping hart will clime,

In my lips to have his bidding,

There those roses for to kisse

Which do breath a sugred blisse,

Opening rubies, pearles deviding, (25-30)

The image of the hart, the Actaeon image, although deriving from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, is central to Petrarchan morality, as moralised versions of the

myth see Actaeon devoured by his dogs, which are the earth-bound ideas of the beautiful gained from looking at the naked Diana.¹⁹ Although Astrophil here is referring to the organ of the heart, which leaps to his lips to taste Stella, the pun is Sidney's underwriting, underlining the dangers of the sensuality.

Astrophil, however, is unaware of the dangers as he goes beyond this to imagining himself accepted by Stella, a Prince who has been beatified by acceptance, but the attentive reader picks up the Ovidian resonances:

When I blessed shall devower,
With my greedy licorous sences
Beauty, musicke, sweetnesse, love,
While she doth against me prove
Her strong darts, but weake defences. (32-36)

The image is of feeding an insatiable desire for Stella, admitting, by his use of the word 'licorous' that such desires are unlicensed, while being unable to restrain the thoughts. The reiterated 'Think of...' of the previous stanzas is now heightened into 'Thinke, thinke...' as the excitement mounts to the sexual climax in the final stanza:

O my thought my thoughts surcease,
Thy delights my woes increase,
My life melts with too much thinking;
Thinke no more but die in me,
Till thou shalt revived be,
At her lips my Nectar drinking. (43-48)

The imagery here is very complex, the 'thought', which is insubstantial and fugitive, given a very physical role as seducer, which is complicated further in the first line of the final stanza. The thought which is sexual seducer is murdering his rational thought ('O my thought my thoughts surcease') and hence simultaneously exciting him and causing him shame for his non-rational behaviour. The image of 'melting' is very common and is usually connected with an overt display of sexuality, here conveying the sexual climax, playing on the very Elizabethan meanings of 'die' and 'revive' in this context, and seemingly internalising the sexual act in his own imagination, becoming, in the final line, both Astrophil drinking nectar from Stella's lips and Stella drinking from his in a perfectly mutual congress. Erotic wish-fulfilment through a sterile journey to an emotional impasse is all that Astrophil gets from Stella, but he makes much of it.

A more fulfilling outcome is experienced by Spenser's persona, although there are similar checks on the way. At some stage in the writing, Spenser decided that the sequence would be addressed to his future wife, Elizabeth, and thus the tension between the rhetoric of courtship both as rhetoric and as wooing was created. This tension is expressed primarily through the juxtaposition of sonnets celebrating physical beauty, appreciated by the senses, and more Neoplatonic sonnets in which the sensual is sublimated into a higher, more cerebral and spiritual appreciation. Here, perhaps, the language of courtship as we would now understand it is seen for the first time, as this is a sequence designed to woo the lady, culminating in the marriage ode, the *Epithalamion*. In this sense, Spenser is more likely to be speaking *in propria persona* than the other poets, but it is assumed that, except when clearly referring to himself and his other work, he is adopting the conventional pose in persona. In addition, despite his success as a poet, and his virtual acceptance as Elizabeth's laureate, Spenser did not fulfil his political ambitions, and *Amoretti* can be read as an amorous compensation for a similar failure to Sidney's.

The lady's looks, smiles, golden hair hiding under nets of gold all arouse a physical response. If Spenser's persona were to succeed in sublimating his sexual desires, the heightening of experience would raise him above the ordinary sphere, but, as is made clear in Sonnet III, this is no easy task, where the sight of his lady's 'huge brightness' (5) dazes him so much that he can only stand dumbstruck 'with thoughts astonishment' (10), his pen 'rauisht ... with fancies wonderment' (12). Only in his heart can he speak and write 'the wonder that my wit cannot endite' (14). Here, the language undermines the sentiment, as the reference to 'fancies wonderment' ties him firmly to the lower senses, the fancy being the physical appetite, located in the bowels, which is fed by the senses, and perhaps also imparting rather a different meaning to the 'rauisht pen'. His understanding has to be mediated by his heart, as what he is feeling is not a Platonic sublimation, despite all his efforts to make it so, by turning her from the physical into the ethereal. It is the lady who controls all his thoughts and feelings, her eyes 'full of the liuing fire,/kindled aboue vnto the maker neere' (Sonnet VIII: 1-2) leading him to something higher than 'base affection':

Through your bright beams doth not the blinded guest,

shoot out his darts to base affections wound:
 but Angels come to lead fraile mindes to rest
 in chast desires on heauenly beauty bound. (5-8)

Sight of her draws her admirers heavenward, far beyond 'base affection', as courtiers looked on Elizabeth as far beyond their reach. Spenser's Elizabeth tames passionate thoughts: 'strong through your cause, but by your vertue weak' (12), but she cannot stop her admirer feeling the passion kindled by her sight, as her smiling looks feed the desire. The smile and the look, the mouth and the eye, are combined, and the effect is electrifying and intensely sensual.

for when on me thou shinedst late in sadnesse,
 a melting pleasance ran through euery part,
 and me reuiued with hart-robbing gladnesse. (Sonnet XXXIX: 6-8)

Again as has been seen in Sidney's work, the metaphor of 'melting' has a very sexual connotation. The lover can feed on such smiles, as the chameleon can feed on air, but more satisfyingly: 'More sweet than Nectar or Ambrosiall meat,/seemd euery bit, which henceforth I did eat' (13-14). Although it is clear that this is not a kissing sonnet, the effect is of physical nourishment sustaining love's hunger.

The persona is clearly capable of feeling the fires of lust, and revels in a sensual description of his lady's charms in hyperbolic vein:

Fayre bosom fraught with vertues richest tresure,
 the neast of loue, the lodging of delight:
 the bowre of blisse, the paradise of pleasure,
 the sacred harbour of that heuenly spright. (Sonnet LXXVI: 1-4)

The quasi-religious imagery serves rather to compound the sensuality than to abate it, as does the careful use of alliterating phrases, picking up medieval tropes from love visions and showing the kind of archaic language which Spenser used so effectively in *The Faerie Queene*. This is developed further into a description of his thoughts 'ravisht with your louely sight' (5) flying to her breast: 'And twixt her paps like early fruit in May,.../they loosely did theyr wanton winges display' (9, 11). This again picks up the image which Sidney used so effectively in the Tenth Song, of thought taking on almost physical shape, and acting as proxy with the lady.

The following sonnet, which has overtones of the dream vision and also picks up the image of the banquet which was common in the Renaissance,²⁰ continues this sensual praise of his lady's breast, comparing it to 'a goodly table

of pure yvory' (Sonnet LXXVII: 2) on which are laid delights fit for a prince.

Pride of place goes to:

twoo golden apples of vnualed price;
far passing those which Hercules came by,
or those which Atalanta did entice. (6-9)

The classical imagery creates a rather unworldly picture, which to some extent undercuts the sensuality of the image by making it mythological, but the somewhat Biblical resonance of the reference to 'apples' in a description of a woman is a signal of the temptation of physical beauty. The aspiration of Spenser's persona to a more Neoplatonic appreciation of the beautiful is apparently constantly being undermined by his very physical response to the woman he is wooing, mirroring the sense that his political ambitions threaten to undermine the more socially acceptable courtship.

However, the Petrarchan sequence demands that the sexual conquest is not the end of the lover, and that the arguments of the heart have to be sublimated to the needs and demands of the intellect, the part of man which allies him to the angels. The medieval idea of love at first sight, the lover struck by the sight of his beloved, which is central to Petrarch's thesis, shows that love appeals to the highest of the senses, and is not subject to the base impulses of touch, taste and smell, which are dependent on the material rather than the ethereal world. As Plato has asserted, the beloved must have intrinsic worth, which can be perceived by something in the lover beyond the physical sight, and it is this inward eye which loves and which draws the lover upwards. As Astrophil asserts at the beginning of the sequence:

NOT at first sight, nor with a dribbed shot
Love gave the wound, which while I breathe will bleed:
But knowne worth did in mine of time proceed,
Till by degrees it had full conquest got. (*AS* 2: 1-4)

The 'knowne worth' is Virtue, which is not simply – although it does incorporate – chastity. Astrophil is painfully aware that 'Desire/Doth plunge my wel-form'd soule even in the mire/Of sinfull thoughts, which do in ruine end' (*AS* 14: 6-8). Since Stella is herself an epitome of Virtue, her beautiful exterior quite properly raises 'Strange flames of *Love*' (*AS* 25: 4) in anyone who regards her, but these flames are, because of her 'vertuous soule, sure heire of heav'nly blisse' (*AS* 52: 7).

It is Stella's beauty, framed by the contending powers of Beauty and Virtue, that holds him, and has done so from the outset. In the psychomachia of the middle part of the sequence, he is the battlefield for the war between Desire and Virtue, reaching a truce in sonnet 72 with an apparent rejection of Desire in favour of Virtue:

DESIRE, though thou my old companion art,

.

Virtue's gold now must head my *Cupid's* dart.

Service and Honor, wonder with delight,
Feare to offend, will worthie to appeare,
Care shining in mine eyes, faith in my sprite,
These things are left me by my only Deare;
But thou, Desire, because thou wouldst have all,
Now banisht art, but yet alas how shall? (1, 8-14)

Cupid's dart which is headed with gold originally caused him to fall in love, but now that base emotion is to be turned to nobler causes. 'Service' is what the courtier offers to the prince, and 'Honor' what he receives in return, his behaviour governed by his rules of courtly conduct and his will to serve carefully and faithfully, the same protocol governing the rules of courtly love. But virtue cannot be persuaded yet, as the incomplete syntax in the final line shows the impossibility of banishing desire, which perhaps suggests that 'Cupid's dart' is yet another sexual euphemism.

Spenser's persona is very aware of the Platonic soul-body division, and that his physical desires must be sublimated while he is looking at the woman as an example of physical beauty. But she has powers to raise him, for as he looks at her he sees her as 'resembling heavens glory in her light' (Sonnet LXXII: 6) and she will become the heaven towards which his soul aspires:

Hart need not with none other happinesse,
but here on earth to haue such heuens blisse. (13-14)

While apparently praising her physical beauty he is really praising her 'vertuous mind' which, unlike physical beauty, is 'permanent and free/from frayle corruption, that doth flesh en sew' (Sonnet LXXIX: 7-8). The equation of the beloved woman with the godhead is central to Spenser's view of the Petrarchan sequence and very much in tune with his Neoplatonic sentiments.

The chief end of Drayton's persona, from the outset, is worship of Beauty, as the force which draws the admirer heavenward, introduced in the first

sonnet and continued through reference to the religion of the Vestals, dedicated to Chastity to become a natural part of this mythology 'Making thy breast [Chastity's] sacred reliques shryne' (Amour 5: 12). Idea's chastity enhances the power of her physical beauty, transforming her into the ideal of Beauty and making poems of praise to her a form of worship. Idea has love's weapons 'Of purest gold, tempred with vertues fire' (Amour 26: 7). Her quality and worth impose an almost religious duty on her lovers expressed through religious imagery in the sonnets:

Receave the incense which I offer heere,
By my strong fayth ascending to thy fame,
My zeale, my hope, my vowes, my praise, my prayer
My soules oblations to thy sacred name. (Amour 1: 9-12)

This assertion that the divine in Idea is what is worshipped does not allow Drayton to escape a charge of absolute egocentricity. Everything which is offered comes from *him*, it is not drawn unwillingly from him by the worth of the lady, and the inescapable conclusion, which is to a great extent justified by fact, is that the lady would not have 'fame' if it were not for the poet's writing about her.

The rising stream of love from the persona to the idealised lady, where not likened to the smoke from sacrificial fires on an altar, is equated to the flight of eagles towards the sun. This type of poem, extremely popular in the Renaissance, derived from *Rime XIX* in which Petrarch compared eagles and falcons which can look directly at the sun with bats and owls which are so sensitive to light that they come out only at night. They are all perfectly adapted to their lifestyles and have no need to envy each other. Moths and butterflies, however, are attracted to an alien and destructive force, that of fire, which gives out both light and heat. The poet cannot look at the sun of the lady's eyes (as eagles can), but does not have the baseness to see himself as a sun-shy bat, and thus has no choice but to pursue that which will destroy him.

Drayton's persona is in no doubt about his own worth and confidently tests his thoughts of the lady against the eagles' nobility:

But they, no sooner saw my Sunne appeare,
But on her rayes with gazing eyes they stood.
Which proou'd my birds delighted in the ayre,
And that they came of this rare kinglie brood. (Amour 3: 5-8)

Daniel's persona maintains the fiction of the devoted admirer, which Drayton does not countenance in this first version of the sequence, although it would develop in later revisions. Delia's admirer admits that if the battle between Beauty and Virtue did not exist, 'My Muse had slept, and none had knowne my minde' (*Delia* VI: 14). The beautiful lady cannot be obtainable or conquerable as she would thereby immediately lose her mystique and potential for causing infinite pain and pleasure in the lover. She has to be on a pedestal of unobtainability, either through chastity or through being attached to another.

The question of the sense of continuing to love under such conditions of absolute unobtainability made sense to Petrarch and the Neoplatonists (and, in a different sense, to the professional poet), as it was a means of achieving sublimation through completely disinterested admiration, the exercise of reason over the passions. This is the argument that Drayton uses in *Amour* 31, when he makes the point that Reason is necessary to enable him to write, 'Els senceles love could neuer once endite' (4), using an interesting adjective to pun on the witlessness of love which is purely governed by the sense, true love requiring the underpinning of reason to make it worthwhile.

All the major Petrarchan sequences follow the Italian in his admiration of Laura which tends towards worship of the divine in the lady, as seen in Spenser's *Sonnet XXII*, where the temple in which he worships is 'built within [his] mind' (5), stressing the metaphysical nature of his love, his thoughts attending 'lyke sacred priests that neuer thinke amisse' (8). His sensuality is denied as the physical organ of emotion, the heart, will be sacrificed to her 'burning in flames of pure and chaste desyre' (12). However, closer examination of the imagery makes it apparent that the time is Lent, 'this holy season fit to fast and pray' (1), which adds tension between the Neoplatonic and the Christian into the existing pattern of tensions between courtship rhetoric and true courtship, and sensuality and spirituality. Where Neoplatonism urges a disregard of the physical world except in so far as it mirrors elements of the eternal, Lent is the time in the Christian year for contemplation of the world as it illustrates God's creation and Christ's sacrifice, and, if the Petrarchan motive of searching for the divine

through contemplation of divine qualities in the lady underlies the writing of the sonnet sequence, then the marrying of secular and sacred love becomes clear.

This is perhaps also seen in Sonnet XIII, where the relationship between the Lady and Christ is restated. In the same way that Christ showed 'Myld humblesse mixt with awfull maiesty' (5), she raises her face to the sky and covers her eyelids in a confusing mixture of pride and humility. She remembers her mortality 'what so is fayrest shall to earth returne' (8), but her face seems to scorn mortality:

... and thinke how she to heauen may clime:
treading downe earth as lothsome and forlorne,
that hinders heauenly thoughts with drossy slime. (10-12)

Her pride is praised as the means by which she sublimates earthly desires, which are here given the most unappealing description seen in any of the moral sequences. Far from being the vice which damned Lucifer, her pride is seen as a virtue, as it can still countenance more humble origins: 'Yet lowly still vouchsafe to looke on me:/such lowlinesse shall make you lofty be' (13-14). Paradoxically, in behaving with humility, she will be raised higher in his, and the world's, estimation. Spenser's sonnet lady is elevated high above him and indeed high above all other ladies:

For in those lofty lookes is close implide,
scorn of base things, and sdeigne of foule dishonor:
thretning rash eies which gaze on her so wide,
that loosely they ne dare to looke vpon her. (Sonnet V: 5-8)

As only eagles can look directly at the sun, so the persona proves his worth by gazing directly at the lady, and must undergo a trial of faith to win her. Anyone who is willing to persevere with her will gain a much greater prize, as her love 'not lyke to lusts of baser kynd/the harder wonne, the firmer will abide' (Sonnet VI: 3-4).

Drayton goes even further in his deification of the lady, however, and, although Spenser had equated his lady with Christ in his desire that she should look kindly on him despite his lowly condition, Drayton employs the more gothic imagery of the lady as miracle-worker, as Idea has been his Muse enabling poetic creation:

See myracles, yee unbelieving see,
A dumbe-borne Muse, made to expresse the mind,
A cripple hand to write, yet lame by kind,

One by thy name, the other touching thee. (Amour 12: 5-8)

It must be understood that it is the divine in Idea which can perform the rather limited miracle of enabling a tongue-tied and blocked writer to produce his song of praise. Perhaps what Drayton is celebrating is the divinely-inspired poetic fervour which Horace stated was necessary to the best poetry, but what is also becoming evident is that Drayton's method is far more elaborate than Sidney's.

This idea is taken further in a later sonnet, where there appears to be a more direct equation of Idea with Christ. She, Christ-like, brings her influence to bear 'which doth Religion teach,/And by example, true repentance preach' (13-14), which will 'save a thousand soules from hell' (12). The Neoplatonic concept of the beautiful woman as the reflection of an essence of Beauty should make the comparison of the idealised lady with the image of the perfect Man in Christ rather less surprising than it appears to modern readers, but it remains a potentially blasphemous comparison. What saves it from this charge is its very logical and literal development, recalling the Scottish parallels which were examined in Chapter 1, in which the veracity of a comparison is tested against a number of points.

Given this idolising stance, it is surprising that the persona appears to turn against the lady, and to castigate her for what, after all, is her essential role in the whole undertaking. When Drayton's persona does contemplate actually suffering the pangs of love as opposed to striking the pose, he uses very strong language indeed, which enables him to show his virtuosity in metaphorical creation. He imagines his love for Idea as a motherless babe, born when Saturn was in the ascendant (Amour 16) and thus fated to a luckless life. In hyperbolic vein, reminiscent of Serafino, (see Appendix) he compares his fires of love, tears and sighs to the earthly elements, in such a way that he excels them all:

The fire, unto my loue, compare a painted fire,
The water, to my teares, as drops to Oceans be,
The ayre, unto my sighes, as Eagle to the flie,
The passions of dispaire, but joies to my desire (Amour 27: 5-8)

Drayton's persona berates himself for being in this situation 'when my Hart is the very Den of horror' (Amour 3: 2) and can only put it down to madness. 'But still distracted in loues Lunacy/And Bedlam like thus raving in my grief' (Amour 43: 9-10). He is, however, very conscious of the power the lady has over him, and is

prepared to attempt to deny his love by accusing her of being a 'daungerous eye-killing Cockatrice', 'inchaunting Syren' and 'weeping Crocodile' beguiling him only to pleasure herself in his distress. She is the 'Mayr-maid':

...who with thy sweet aluring harmony
Hast playd the thiefe, and stolne my hart from me...
Thou Crocodile, who when thou has me slaine
Lament'st my death, with teares of thy disdaine. (Amour 30: 9-11, 13-14)

This imagery has about it some of the Gothic quality seen in the Scottish as well as late-medieval images of disease and plague, although it is also an intensification of the animal imagery that Spenser uses frequently in *Amoretti*.

In an even more extravagant image, he bastardizes Idea as an offspring of an immortal mother and mortal father:

And thus if thou be not of humaine kind,
A Bastard on both sides needes must thou be,
Our lawes allow no land to basterdy:
By natures lawes, we thee a Bastard finde. (Amour 40: 9-12)

However, although she is unnatural and unkind in the Renaissance sense of the words, she can only be sent to heaven, not hell, for her beauty and virtue are surely heavenly. The irony is that she does not exist in any sense, leaving a gaping hole at the centre of the work which has to be filled with poetic virtuosity.

Daniel's persona, like Spenser's, suffers immoderately for his love, feeling that he has been trapped and enslaved by Delia purely for her amusement, and that his loyal heart, his unfeigned faith and chaste desire must languish chameleon- and salamander-like, 'fed but with smoake, and cherisht but with fire' (*Delia* XV: 4). In a particularly vivid image he speaks 'to her that sits in my thought Temple sainted,/And layes to view my Vultur-gnawne hart open.' (7-8) He sees himself as Prometheus, punished for his efforts on her behalf, as the demigod was by Zeus. He feels love is unfair, as he is giving everything and receiving nothing in return. Her disdain acts on him like cutting Hydra's head – several new ones grow in its place: 'But still the Hydra of my cares renewing,/Reuiues new Sorrowes of her fresh disdayning' (*Delia* XVI: 9-10). This is the recurrent note of the *Delia* sequence, perhaps echoing Wyatt: the lover is worthy and should be requited, but even if Delia will never deign even to look on

him, he will not hate her, showing his constancy and worth by continuing to love her.

Having created his ideal lady, he has imprisoned himself, and must renew his desires again and again:

Still must I whet my younge desires abated,
Vppon the Flint of such a hart rebelling;
And all in vaine, her pride is so innated,
She yeeldes no place at all for pitties dwelling. (*Delia* XVII: 9-12)

Only Delia herself can free him, either by returning his love, or by returning her beauties and qualities whence they came. Using the feudal rhetoric of cession, in 'restore', 'yield', 'bequeath', 'remove', 'give', 'let have', he pleads with her to give back her beauties to the natural world and to the goddesses she has stolen them from, and then invokes her negative aspects:

But yet restore thy fearce and cruell minde,
To Hyrcan Tygers, and to ruthles Beares.
Yeelde to the Marble thy hard hart againe;
So shalt thou cease to plague, and I to paine. (*Delia* XVIII: 11-14)

More often, however, she delights in using her tigerish ferocity against him in spite of his pleas.

The lady of Spenser's *Amoretti* is most often shown in her excessive cruelty to him and determined refusal to accept his advances, however chaste. After describing her beauties and her worth to justify her pride, he then turns on her, complaining: 'the whiles she lordeth in licentious blisse/of her freewill, scorning both [Love] and me' (Sonnet X: 3-4), making an interesting use of 'licentious' considering that he is talking of excessive chastity. This is of a piece with the complaints that God is angry, or jealous, or asleep, and shows that Spenser's aim is far more moral and sublimating than might at first sight appear. The lady's 'lording' it over him and even over the God of Love as a cruel victor in battle is an image which might have been expected from the soldierly Sidney rather than the clerkly Spenser, but this is again one of the motifs of the courtly love tradition, the attempt on the Fort of Chastity.

Dayly when I do seeke and sew for peace,
and hostages doe offer for my truth,
she cruell warriour doth her selfe addresse
to battell, and the weary war renew'th:

Of my poore life to make vn pittied spoile. (Sonnet XI: 1-4, 8)

The lady seems incapable of any magnanimity in victory, although urged to look at examples from mythology and natural history. She is harder than the lion, which 'disdeigneth to deuoure/the silly lambe that to his might doth yield' (Sonnet XX: 7-8) again using a Biblical image to support his rhetorical stance. He finds it difficult to understand how such cruelty can hide behind such heavenly beauty, comparing her with a panther, which is beautifully coated, but so terrifying that it hides its head so prey may admire his coat without seeing his teeth. Similarly the lady:

... with the goodly semblant of her hew
 she doth allure me to mine owne decay,
 and then no mercy will vnto me shew. (Sonnet LIII: 6-8)

Surely beauty would be better allied with mercy than cruelty: 'But mercy doth with beautie best agree,/as in theyr maker ye them best may see' (13-14). It does appear that the lady is deliberately flaunting her beauty to exercise her cruelty, for she is aware of her effect, and wreaks havoc:

But my proud one doth worke the greater scath,
 through sweet allurement of her louely hew,
 that she the better may in bloody bath
 of such poore thralls her cruell hands embrew. (Sonnet XXXI: 10-12)

The problem for the narrator, however, is that he loves his torture and comes back for more. There is a masochistic pleasure in being tormented by so beautiful, if sadistic, a torturer:

Yet euen whylst her bloody hands them slay,
 her eyes looke louely and vpon them smyle:
 that they take pleasure in her cruell play,
 and dying doe them selues of payne beguyle.
 O mighty charm which makes men loue theyr bane,
 and thinck they dy with pleasure, liue with payne.
 (Sonnet XLVII: 9-14)

There is a mock heroic aspect to this imagery which seems to suggest that, as in the Christian image of salvation, suffering is the necessary concomitant to love, and permits the interpretation of love as some kind of hellish torment, a kind of purgatorial cleansing which removes the pains of earthly love and prepares for a heavenly pleasure. However, at the same time there is an implicitly sexual element in the references to 'dying with pleasure' which would, in the Elizabethan idiom, be the ultimate goal of wooing.

Shakespeare is overtly concerned with sensual pleasures, but, with his dark lady, rejects sexual love. Love, or, more properly, lust, is.

Th'expense of spirit in a waste of shame...
Is perjured, murd'rous, bloody, full of blame,
Savage, extreme, rude, cruel, not to trust,
Enjoyed no sooner but despised straight, (129: 1, 3-5)

The tumultuous run of adjectives mirror the madness and the hellish torments of physical passion. All tenses are suborned to the fury: 'Had, having and in quest to have, extreme' (10), but even knowing all this 'none knows well/To shun the heaven that leads men to this hell' (13-14), this final line showing clearly the oppositions that are so much a feature of a Petrarchist expression of love. But it is the very English meaning of 'spirit' as the male ejaculate which gives this sonnet its power and makes clear that the man's precious essence is being squandered on an ungrateful whore.

That women are also subject to the demands of lust and the pleasures of sexual love Shakespeare seemed to show very early in the first part of the sequence, describing his lovely boy as 'pricked ... out for women's *pleasure*' (20: 13, emphasis mine), and his dark lady seems to be an extreme sufferer, unable even to stop her eyes from roving elsewhere when in the narrator's company. He is aware that what he would like to think 'a several plot' (137: 9) is in fact 'the wide world's common place' (10).²¹ She has 'sealed false bonds of love' (142: 7) and 'Robbed others' beds' revenues of their rents' (8), using the language of commerce to comment on her duplicity. Not content with punishing him with her own misdeeds, she is even seeking to corrupt his boy, the two of them seen as angels: 'The better angel is a man right fair,/The worser spirit a woman coloured ill.' (144: 3-4) but the 'worser spirit' 'corrupt[ing] my saint to be a devil,/Wooing his purity with her foul pride' (7-8). It could be that this is the situation referred to in sonnets 40 to 42 where the narrator lost his beloved to his own mistress.

The persona berates himself for feeling the way he does and for being unable to break from the faithless woman. The blindness of love here is developed in a new way, hiding the known faults of the mistress from the maddened lover's eyes:

O me, what eyes hath love put in my head,
Which have no correspondence with true sight!
Or if they have, where is my judgement fled,

That censures falsely what they see aright? (148: 1-4)
 This is the opposite of what he had described in sonnet 93, where he would obey his eyes and not his heart and ignore the truth: here he sees the truth of her behaviour and refuses to believe it because of his blindness in love.

He cannot break from the lady, whatever her faults, because of the physical power she has over him. His fleshly desires betray him:

My soul doth tell my body that he may
 Triumph in love; flesh stays no farther reason,
 But rising at thy name doth point out thee
 As his triumphant prize. (151: 7-10)

The imagery is far more overt here – a clear depiction of an erection produced even by the sound of her name – not at all the subtle eroticism found in Sidney's Second Song. Here the passive body has been given permission to act out its desires by the ruling soul, the duality of soul and body, feeling and intellect, married in the language of the verse and illustrating the satisfaction of the body as the most it can understand. The body is fulfilled by this physical love: 'Proud of this pride/He is contented thy poor drudge to be' (10-11).

This sonnet epitomises the supposed anti-Petrarchan stance adopted by Shakespeare. His lady is clearly described in the famous sonnet 130 ('My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun') as a very real, not at all idealised woman, and he goes even further in depicting her as the fullest type of Eve in comparison to the chaste Lauras of the other sonneteers, but the final couplet of that sonnet capitulates to the Petrarchan: 'And yet, by heaven, I think my love as rare/As any she belied with false compare' (13-14). He is clearly resentful of the power that love gives to a beloved whether male or female, but while his apparently genuine love for the boy of the first section did not allow him ever really to criticise, he has gone to town on the dark lady, laying at her door all the pains of betrayed rather than unrequited love. It is noticeable also that, while he addresses the lovely boy as beloved, muse and patron, the dark lady is merely the subject of the few sonnets addressed to her. She is immortalised in verse, but not in the same way as in all the previous sequences. She has inspired him only to write slightly and disgracefully about her (although not, surprisingly, about women in general) and about the horrors and depravity of lust.

Where Sidney delivers a narrative which can be read both as sensual love story and, more intellectually as amorous compensation for the lack of political fulfilment, his incorporation of the central Petrarchan images of the lady's eyes as stars, the dart-wounded heart, the imprisonment of the soul in the earthly case, the battle between desire and virtue and many other commonplaces provided the groundwork for followers and admirers to tread in his footsteps. Both Spenser and Drayton concentrated on the divinity of the lady, with the lover's heart as the temple and shrine to Beauty and Love, and the sometimes excessive cruelty of the refining fires and pains of love imposed by the lady.

Both Shakespeare and Daniel, however, were more concerned with the realities of earthly life and love, shown in their attachment to the Anacreontic and Horatian *carpe diem* motif. This may well show that they were more familiar with, or more influenced by the French Pléiade Petrarchism, as this motif is very common in the work of Ronsard. The first group of Shakespeare's sonnets employs images from the natural world to urge the young man to beget a child to continue his beauty into succeeding generations, defeating time thereby and preserving beauty:

For never-resting time leads summer on
To hideous winter, and confounds him there,
Sap checked with frost, and lusty leaves quite gone,
Beauty o'er-snowed, and bareness everywhere. (5: 5-8)

He advises him to look at the practice of distilling perfume from flowers to maintain a memory of summer: 'summer's distillation left/A liquid prisoner pent in walls of glass' (9-10), which is continued in the following sonnet almost as a second stanza:

Then let not winter's ragged hand deface
In thee thy summer ere thou be distilled.
Make sweet some vial, treasure then some place
With beauty's treasure ere it be self-killed. (6: 1-4)

What is seen clearly here is an echo of Ronsard's use of *vocables composez*, a feature which is notable throughout the sequence, and the image of the perfume vial, which was used by the French poet's eulogist to symbolise the spreading of the poetic influence:

... maintenant qu'il est decedé il verra [sa renommée] s'exceder
et surpasser elle mesme, ny plus ny moins que les phioles pleines
de parfums et de senteurs, lesquelles venant à se casser,

espendent leur odeur encore beaucoup plus loin qu'elles ne faisoient auparavant. (from the *Oraison Funèbre*)²²
 [... now that he is dead he will see his fame grow and surpass itself, in the same way as vials full of perfumes and odours, if broken, release a perfume much more pervasive than that of the original flowers.]

The effects of time, its destruction of youth and beauty, are a perpetual preoccupation of Shakespeare as dramatist as well as sonneteer. Although the image was much used by Ronsard, it is not much found in Scottish imitations of the French poet, as Scots seem to be more affected by the more medieval notion of Fortune. In Shakespeare's *Sonnets* there is a recurring suggestion that the narrator is considerably older than the beloved, although the description in sonnet 63 is probably exaggerated as Shakespeare would have been in his thirties at the time of writing:

Against my love shall be as I am now,
 With time's injurious hand crushed and o'erworn,
 When hours have drained his blood and filled his brow
 With lines and wrinkles; ... (1-4)

He does seem to be preoccupied by the inevitability of death, and the relative brevity of life in which to revel, in a very mournful rather than a joyfully Anacreontic way. In sonnet 73, he creates three images of his approaching death, as leaf-denuded trees, '[b]are ruined choirs where late the sweet birds sang'; as the twilight '[w]hich by and by black night doth take away'; and as the dying embers of a fire '[t]hat on the ashes of his youth doth lie', each image containing both past and present to heighten the contrast. It becomes clear in the couplet that this ageing is seen and understood by the lover, and he loves well because he will not have much time to love. There is a perfect sense of mutuality, which is the dominant note of the sequence despite some checks and setbacks.

Daniel, like Shakespeare, is fond of the *carpe diem* motif, although he treats the image in a more conventional way. Some of the most successful poems in the sequence are *Delia* sonnets XXXI to XXXIII, using the Anacreontic and Ronsardian image of the pleasures of the present and the dangers in delay. The four poems are clearly interlinked, the last lines of the first three becoming respectively the first lines of the last three. Although the comparison of the lady with a spring flower is a commonplace, the language in these poems is so beautifully wrought that the trope is remade. In the first poem of the

mini-sequence, Delia is warned that, although the rose can be remade by Nature every spring, rediscovering 'That pure sweete beautie, Time bestowes vppon her' (4), she has but one life, and one spell of beautie:

No Aprill can reuiue thy withred flowers,
Whose blooming grace adorne thy glorie now:
Swift speedy Time, feathred with flying howers,
Dissolues the beautie of the fairest brow.

O let not then such riches waste in vaine;

But loue whilst that thou maist be lou'd againe. (*Delia XXXI*: 9-14)

He paints a picture of Delia as she will be, balanced with her portrait as she is, to let her see clearly what she will become. While this sonnet employs the imagery of speedy change and mutability, the following one becomes more insistent of present action:

But loue whilst that thou maist be lou'd againe,
Now whilst thy May hath fill'd thy lappe with flowers;
Now whilst thy beautie beares without a staine;
Now vse thy Summer smiles ere winter lowres,

Now ioye thy time before thy sweete be dunne, (*Delia XXXII*: 1-4,7)

The anaphoristic 'Now' encourages her to think of the future, which is once again set alongside the present line by line. A very harsh warning based on this correspondence between physical beauty and the flower is given in the couplet: 'Men do not weigh the stalke for that it was,/When once they finde her flowre, her glory passe' (13-14).

The fourth sonnet in this sequence is much gentler in tone, modulating from the tentative opening to the affirmative in the final line:

These collours with thy fading are not spent;
These may remaine, when thou and I shall perish.
If they remaine, then thou shalt liue thereby;
They will remaine, and so thou canst not dye. (*Delia XXXIII*: 11-14)

This is the persona's assertion of his confidence in the power of his writing, but even here there is an underwriting of insecurity, as 'may remaine' and 'if they remain' indicate. He wants to be sure, but too much in the world is uncertain, except change and decay.

The motif reappears towards the end of the sequence, once again using words and phrases associated with time to heighten the effect of immediacy.

Beautie, sweet loue, is like the morning dewe,
Whose short refresh vpon the tender greene,
Cheeres for a time but tyll the Sunne doth shew,

And straight tis gone as it had neuer beene. (*Delia* XLII: 1-4)
 The tinkling alliteration of /t/ and /s/ almost sounds like the delicate dropping of dew on the grass until the harshness of the fourth line with its strong stresses on 'gone', 'ne-uer' and 'beene' (emphasis mine).

In the following sonnet he reiterates his advice, telling her to 'learne to gather flowers before they wither:' (*Delia* XLIII: 6), but gives her some little time more before the signs of ageing appear:

I must not grieue my Loue, whose eyes would reede,
 Lines of delight, whereon her youth might smyle;
 Flowers haue a tyme before they come to seede,
 And she is young and now must sport the while. (*Delia* XLIII: 1-4)

It has to be acknowledged however, that the sestet of the immediately preceding sonnet removes, although in a beautiful image, this small note of comfort:

When thou surcharg'd with burthen of thy yeeres,
 Shalt bend thy wrinkles homeward to the earth:
 When tyme hath made a pasport for thy feares,
 Dated in age the Kalends of our death. (*Delia* XLII: 9-12)

He is well aware that 'women grieve to think they must be old' (14), and that he is wasting his breath reiterating what they have been told so many times.

Shakespeare's *carpe diem* warnings have of necessity to take a rather different line, namely that of begetting children to continue the beautiful line, but he ends this first part of the sequence with a more specific warning about time, this time a 12-line poem written in rhyming couplets. The beloved has not changed during the years they have been together, although everything else has shown the effects of time, but this cannot last. Time rules over Nature, and the latter will have to present her account eventually, the settlement (the 'quietus') being his preserved beauty. Now there is no exhortation to produce children against the ravages of time, but a more generalised warning that he cannot escape the effects of time forever. This part of the sequence shows a generalised classical influence in its tropes and is much less conventionally Petrarchan than the other sequences under study. The very fact of the sex of the beloved relates it to Greek love-poetry, as does the insistence on the need to act before time catches up and destroys the joys of youth.

It has been seen that the major sequences written during the last decade of the 1590s (and here I include *Astrophil and Stella* as it did not come into the

public domain until 1591), although sharing some common themes and rhetorical tropes, were effectively very different from each other. This is because of the very nature of the sonnet sequence: that, to use Du Bellay's image of the way language develops, from a common root different stems grow and produce individual flowering heads.²³ As new works were written and, increasingly, published in numbers, more and more examples became available and the sonnet sequence became the fashionable mode of discourse. Intertextuality enabled the professional poets like Drayton and Daniel who were steeped in the writing of the time to borrow images and tropes from contemporaries and reforge them to their own methods. Only Shakespeare has defeated Janet Scott in her exhaustive search for earlier sources,²⁴ although she has pointed out that many of his sonnets do, however unconventionally addressed, adopt perfectly conventional Petrarchan themes and images, expressed in his own individualistic way.

The Scottish and English poetic productions of the 1580s and early 1590s are very clearly differentiated, the English poets showing very little allegiance to their predecessors from earlier in the sixteenth century, perhaps because, as C. S. Lewis famously described it, the verse produced after the Reformation was 'drab' and uninspiring to them.²⁵ The magnificent triumphs of the Elizabethan reign demanded something equally spectacular, and the Petrarchan sonnet sequence ideally fitted the needs of the time in its celebration of an all-powerful woman literally set above all the courtiers in her entourage always admirable but forever untouchable. The imagery of Astraea, the goddess of Justice presiding over the Golden Age of Saturn, was powerfully applied to Elizabeth in pageants and in art, rendering her as Queen of the Fortunate Isles,²⁶ but in poetry she was most often Laura to the poet's Petrarch, Cynthia to his Endymion, the sun to his Icarus, and, in pastoral vein, 'Elisa, queene of shepheardes all' and the Faerie Queene herself. Perhaps, on the other hand, this multiplicity of literary roles serves to underline the courtiers' dissatisfaction with Elizabeth's political inactivity, and the barely-concealed frustrations that would-be soldiers felt in her refusal to become involved in what they saw as the vitally important power-struggles between Protestant and Catholic in the Low Countries. It cannot have been mere coincidence that the Petrarchan sonnet

sequence enjoyed its greatest vogue once given the stamp of respectability by Sir Philip Sidney, and died out with the Queen's death.

This celebration of the female never had the same effect in Scotland, with its established royal family, the births of children clear testimony to the physical relationship between king and queen. It depended on the gynocentric English situation where fears for Elizabeth's inevitable demise and the concerns about the succession, not just among courtiers but in the country at large, could be seen as the impetus to a celebration of femininity combined with god-like power. It is not my hypothesis that all these sequences were designed to appeal to the queen, but there was a kind of gynocracy in place, in that there were a number of powerfully influential court ladies, like Penelope Rich, surrounding Elizabeth, ladies who were sued for patronage by different poets. The Petrarchan sequence was the ideal medium for praising women in an idealised, apolitical manner, and it was flexible enough for different poets to foreground different aspects of the Petrarchan rhetoric which appealed to them, very much as Italian imitators of Petrarch in the *quattrocento* had adopted parts of his poetry for their own purposes.

The ready availability of the images from extant works and the way they could be interrelated, combined with the different rhetorical stances which could be adopted by poets whether courtiers or professionals, perhaps explains why the sonnet sequence maintained its popularity in England for so long. It could always be made new, and even, once the vogue had passed, be satirised and mocked effectively, thus giving the possibility of comic versions.²⁷ What the foregoing analysis has shown is that, while all the major poets were working in the broad canvas of Petrarchism, each of them had his own style which, at this point, makes it unlikely that one would confuse a Drayton sonnet with one of Daniel's, for instance. Drayton developed his sequence on Petrarchist as well as Petrarchan lines, and rivalled the metaphysical wit of Donne in his later revisions, while Daniel continued to work on *Delia* until the final versions had very little in common with this sequence. Spenser's reissued unrevised *Amoretti* of 1611 still had a freshness that showed the greatness of the intellect and the originality of the thought.

It is perhaps significant that it is Sidney, Spenser and Drayton who form the triadic base of the work of the poets who would in the seventeenth century be called 'Spenserians'. The type of poetry produced by the Spenserians is usually thought of as mellifluous, celebratory of the beauties of the natural world, delighting in poetry for its own sake, feminine rather than masculine, decorative and carefully structured. Of this type of poetry there is relatively little in Scotland from the time of the Scottish Jacobean, although the younger generation, including William Alexander, were beginning to show signs of making a more Pléiade-type occupation of the natural world. Scottish poetry of the 1580s and of the early 1590s tends to concentrate on the poet's own concerns, his feelings about love, his preoccupations about his place in society, the vicissitudes of fortune. These ideas and hypotheses are explored in different forms: the poet argues, disputes, pleads, plays elaborate games with language and with images, producing brilliantly decorative poems in complex stanzaic patterns, following the example of his vernacular predecessors by continually switching theme, rhetoric, stance, tone, stanza form to show as wide a range of styles as possible, ideally to illustrate all the kinds James had described in his treatise.

Although it could be argued that these are found in the English Petrarchan sequences, they are only elements, and not the *raison d'être* of the poem itself, as is the case in Scotland. The long sequence did not appeal, except to William Fowler, who, of course, came to Scotland from Walsingham's service in England, and thus with access to the currents of literary thought there. While some of the English poets, like Drayton, were eminently capable of this kind of diversity, many of the minor poets simply jumped on the bandwagon of the sonnet's popularity.

Chapter 3 'Scottish poetry of the early years of the Union: William Alexander, Alexander Craig and Sir David Murray and their Scottish and English influences'

I have decided to devote two separate chapters to the Scottish poets writing in England after the Union, as it is clear that two very different styles developed from a common root. Although William Alexander, Alexander Craig and Robert Ayton have been linked poetically by manuscript evidence, a point which will be elaborated in Chapter 4, the three Scots in their published work showed marked differences in approach and technique. Where Alexander and Sir David Murray continued to write in the predominantly Petrarchan style associated with Michael Drayton and the English Spenserians, Robert Ayton travelled the same road as John Donne,¹ using the Petrarchan images, tropes and themes to develop an analytical, ironic, hard-edged rhetoric which was more in tune with the drama of the Jacobean stage than with the mellifluous tones of the Spenserian poetic. Alexander Craig forms an interesting bridge between the two camps, as his earlier work was grounded firmly on Petrarchism, although with a considerable degree of innovation, while the later poetry is much more epigrammatic and worldly-wise.

After the Union, it becomes much more difficult to distinguish Scots from English writings, predominantly because virtually all the work in the public domain is in the English language, whether written thus by the poet himself or regulated by the London printers, who were already well versed in ironing out orthographical differences in the various English regional dialects.² The early seventeenth century publications of William Alexander (he was not knighted until 1609), Alexander Craig and Sir David Murray are instructive in this regard. As far as Alexander is concerned, manuscript evidence suggests that he revised his writing continually to excise all Scotticisms. It is contended by Kastner and Charlton in their introduction to the Scottish Text Society edition of Alexander's collected works that *Aurora* (1604) was written substantially before *Darius*, although the latter text was published first, in 1603, and that a comparison of the language shows that a good deal of work has been undertaken to eradicate Scotticisms.³ There is evidence elsewhere that Alexander was in correspondence

with Drayton,⁴ and it would be expected that the Scottish newcomer would be ready to learn at the feet of the established master, which could well include attempting to bring his own writing closer to the English norms.

Although Craig in his first printed work, *The Poeticall Essays* (1604)⁵ makes no reference to the language in which he writes, by the time of the publication of *The Amorse Songes, Sonets and Elegies* (1606) it has clearly become an issue:

Smyrnean Maeonides vsed in his delicate Poems diuers Dialects,
as Ionic, Aeolic, Attic, and Doric: So haue I (O courteous Reader)
in this; and but alas in this, imitate that renowned Hellenist
Homer, in vsing the Scottish and English Dialectes: the one as
innated, I can not forget; the other as a stranger, I can not vpon
the sodaine acquire. (p. 11: To the Reader)

What this explanatory epistle makes clear, however, is that Craig considers that language is an accident of birth, as the dialects he cites are the languages of the various kingdoms of the country we call Greece. In the same way, his native language (or dialect – he is clearly using the words interchangeably) is Scots, but he can write in English if he chooses. Craig's pride in his special distinctiveness is shown in his designation of himself as 'Scoto-Britane', indicating that he can be both Scottish and British. Murray, in his dedication of *Caelia* (1611)⁶ makes no mention of the language question, although he does show his allegiance by designating himself 'Scoto-Brita[i]ne'. However, this designation shows the uneasiness that many of the Scottish poets felt, the desire for separation in union, or the acknowledgement of difference, underlining the ambivalence.

Because all love poetry which is published is a public act, a courtship gift to a specified recipient, the dedications of these poems are illuminating in terms of the Scottish-English concern. Alexander's *Aurora* is dedicated to Lady Agnes Douglas, Countess of Argyll, as part of the rhetoric of courtship. This may well be the wife of the Archibald Douglas with whom the poet travelled on the continent in the late 1590s. He is in debt to her for 'the manie obligations' owed to her 'manifold merits', paying off the debt 'by giuing [her] the patronage of these vnpolished lines', but in so doing, he puts himself more deeply into debt, as the gift is so inadequate. In this respect, as Lorna Hutson has pointed out,⁷ the dedication is absolutely conventional in that the text seeks to repay a more

material kindness done (or hoped for in the future) for the writer. However, as the Countess is the ideal Petrarchan mistress, in herself 'a beautie, though of it selfe most happie, yet more happie in this, that it is thought worthie (and can be no more then worthy) to be the outward couer of so many inward perfections', and 'as no darknesse can abide before the Sunne', the casting of her eyes over the pages will remove all 'deformitie' in the 'vnpolished lines'.

Rather similarly, although his first poetical efforts had been dedicated to the King, Craig's *Amorose Songes* are dedicated to Queen Anne. As is conventional, she is the ideal mistress, who is equated with the divine Idea, the highest form of praise in the courtly love vein. As such, she can impart a virtue to the work by her reception of it, whatever its intrinsic weaknesses. Self-effacement is unknown to Craig, his poems being ranked, as the dedication shows, with the highest in the land, which sometimes gives rise to some strange juxtapositions, as when he describes the effort it has cost him to produce them:

Though my Poyems (incomparably bountifull, incomparablie
 beautifull, and so peerelesse Princesse) be painefull to me, and
 vnpleasant to the delicat Lector; shall I with *Tamburlan* destroy
 them? or like a cruell *Althea*, consume with fire the fatall Tree,
 kill mine owne *Meleager*, and so inhumanlie cut off mine owne
 birth? I gaue life to my Lines, and shall I now become their
 burreau? O liue my deformed Child, some other hand shall commit
 thee to *Phaeton* or *Deucalions* mercie, then mine ... Your royall
 God-mother poore *Rymes* hath saued your life ... I hunt not for
 fame; nor print I those Papers for prayses, but to pleasure your
 Princely eyes with varieties of my vaine inuentions.

(p. 5: Epistle to the Queene)

The parenthetical description can easily be read as applying to the poems as well as (or perhaps even rather than) to the Queen, and his classical parallels elevate the destruction of his work to the status of mythological killing. The assumption of the Queen's acceptance is part of the convention of the poetic dedication, and, within the Jacobean rhetoric of kingship, to address the Queen as 'God-mother' is a very good label. If it is not simply a printer's convention, the printing of 'Rymes' in italic along with the names of the classical characters also elevates their status to some kind of Orphean lyric. The classical comparisons, so different from Alexander's mainstream Petrarchism, and even so different from the conventional comparison with Artaxerxes, who accepted a handful of water

from a poor man who had nothing else to give him, show clearly the style that identifies Craig throughout his writing. He has taken to heart and applies with a vengeance his King's strictures about finding appropriate parallels in classical literature.

Murray dedicates his sequence to Richard, Lord Dingwall, an Italianate sonnet plus common verse *envoi* conventionally disparaging the quality of the verse:

... here my Muse propines
You, with her youthfull follies, in those lines
Deckt with Inuention of conceits so light. (2-4)

where the Scottish word 'propines' shows his origins. The notion of a professional poet was unknown in Scotland. If a poet wished to live by his art, he would have to offer his present work *in propyne* to the King or a high-placed noble in the hope of a cash reward, lands, position or a pension. Equally, he could be commissioned *in propyne* to produce a work to celebrate an occasion or praise an individual.⁸ Murray is conventionally dismissive of verse which he clearly thought was worth bringing to print, even if it was to be balanced by his much more serious *The Tragical Death of Sophonisba*, the work which is referred to in the *envoi*:

And if vnto this idle humerous Vaine,
Where Youth and folly show their skil-lesse Art,
She breed acceptance, she her wits shall straine,
(Ere it be long) a subject to impart,
That to your noble eares shall seeme more worth:
Till when, accept this her abortiue birth. (15-20)

Obviously this is *excusatio*, but it is notable that he uses the image of birth (breed, strain, abortiue birth), as Alexander and Craig, as well as Spenser and Daniel do,⁹ to describe the poetic production, acknowledging his fatherhood in contrast to those poets who did not care to collect their work. Clearly all three share the belief that poetry, while an expected courtly accomplishment, has to be worked at, each stage of the development of the poetic vision being important in and of itself.

However, it has to be admitted that there is little real sense of a nationalistic comradeship among the Scots who travelled to England, as the various writers tended to attach themselves to the existing groups which they

found most congenial. Alexander became strongly involved with the Drayton circle, as did Murray, despite the fact that the Scots as courtiers had little social contact with the English professional poets. Literary contacts were made and maintained. Craig, as the aspiring pensioner, was rather an outsider, and his eclectic style did not ally him naturally to any of the major groupings either at court or in the town, although his evident friendship with the more courtly Robert Ayton would probably give him an entry into otherwise closed circles.¹⁰ Craig's writings after *The Amorse Songs* become rather more Jonsonian in tenor, and his dedication of the additional 'Alexis to Lesbia' poems as '*propine Presentes*' to the Earl of Dunbar may suggest a certain disenchantment with the court, which would tend to be confirmed by his retiral to Rossraig as soon as he had obtained the desired pension.

While Murray adopts the negligent stance appropriate to the courtier poet, Alexander was very serious about his work, even about *Aurora*, which he did not reprint in his 1637 *Recreations with the Muses*. He shared Sidney's view that poetry should have a moral purpose while creating a clearly fictional or mythological world, and Spenser's delight in mellifluous language. It was apparently important for poets working in this Sidney-Spenser strain to stress that the work was begun in youth, when the sense of delight in the natural world (what for the Romantics in the nineteenth century would be 'sensibility') was unalloyed, and concentrated in the figure of the Muse, who inspires the *furor poeticus*. To Alexander, Petrarch and Sidney are the twin peaks of achievement, and he very successfully weds the two in *Aurora*, all the while using imagery straight from Spenser's *Amoretti*.

What makes Alexander interesting above all is that he appears in *Aurora* to amalgamate the dominant trends in both Scotland and England. The Neoplatonic Spenserian mode never really took hold in Scotland, even with William Fowler, as has been seen in the previous analysis of *The Tarantula of Love*, and although it is evident that Alexander draws a good deal of his imagery from Spenser, he finds it difficult to adopt the English poet's philosophy. The Ronsardian and Ovidian mode is present in Sidney but even more so in the work of Alexander Montgomerie, derived from French and native sources. William

Alexander's other French borrowings from Du Bellay and Desportes seem to suggest that this is where his heart really lay.¹¹ This is the clearest pointer to Alexander's Scottish heritage, as he has picked up the French sources from the major writers from before the Union, and appears to share with Montgomerie a very realistic attitude towards sexual love which is allowed full rein throughout the sequence while masquerading as a more 'proper' Neoplatonist Petrarchan.

Stylistically, Alexander shows a desire to continue the Scottish tradition of experimentation in verse, but he was not content to adopt native verse forms, even when writing songs. It was the Italian forms of the madrigal and the sestina that he adopted from Sidney's first use of them in *Arcadia*. It is possible that Alexander picked up Italian works while on his tour in Europe, but an even more likely source at the Scottish court, and then later in London, is the influence of William Fowler, whose Italian studies and his contacts with English writers neatly link the two. The earliest madrigals in English literature are the two in Sidney's *Arcadia*, followed by the four in Alexander's *Aurora*, and only Drummond of Hawthornden attempted to write madrigals in a later period.¹² Similarly, the sestina, originally invented by the troubadour Arnaut Daniel at the end of the twelfth century and passing into Italian literature with Dante, thereafter developed by Petrarch, Sannazaro and Tasso, was only attempted by Sidney, Alexander and Drummond. In this and in other respects, Alexander's lyric writing will be seen to be more important than has perhaps been acknowledged to date, in that he provides a link from the earlier Scottish traditions through the Sidneian metrical experimentation to the only seventeenth century Scottish poet accorded more than footnote status in most of the English language anthologies. Drummond's poetry will be examined at greater length in a later chapter.

Alexander's sequence is very Sidneian in form, and frequently in content, but there is further evidence that Alexander was aware in the course of his many revisions of the currents of poetry in England, as well as in native practice. The use of compound words was a Ronsardian innovation picked up by Sidney and Shakespeare, although not greatly used in Scotland except by John Stewart of Baldynneis. Since Drayton, like Alexander, derived much of his imagery from

Spenser, there is inevitably a superficial similarity between their sequences, although there is perhaps a more direct reference to Drayton's work in Son. 70, where Alexander talks of 'some gallant sprites ... [who] Did ... Forme rare *Idaeas* of a diuine face' (1-4). Of course, these beauties were only Art, and did not approach Aurora's divine beauty, and 'those bordring climes' (9), if they once saw Aurora, would agree 'that *Calidon* doth beauties best confine' (11-12). This would appear to be both a light-heartedly xenophobic jibe at English sonneteers, and also a contention that the most beautiful lassies are to be found north of the border. Like Daniel and Shakespeare, Alexander was fond of the *carpe diem* motif, and he did not spare to warn Aurora of the dangers of too rigorous a denial of love.

Clearly, the sequence was seen by Alexander as a necessary apprentice piece which had considerable worth in its place and of its type, but was not the kind of writing for which he wished to be remembered, and given that Milton admired the *Monarchick Tragedies*, perhaps his judgement was not far wrong. What Alexander said in *Anacrisis*¹³ about the value and purpose of poetry reinforces his desire to be remembered for works with a strong moral purpose rather than the somewhat more frivolous and more lyrical works of his youth. In Alexander's view, 'language is but the Apparel of poesy, which may give Beauty, but not Strength' (p. 182). Evaluation of a poem depends on 'what Sinews [the work] hath' (which is exactly what Joachim Du Bellay said about verse)¹⁴ when the apparel is stripped off. Showing his desires for order and decorum in the classical mode, Alexander compares a poem to a garden, a favourite Spenserian image:

the disposing of the Parts of the one to the several Walks of the other: the Decorum, kept in Descriptions, and representing of Persons, to the Proportions and Distances to be observed in such things as are planted therein, and the variety of Invention to the Diversity of Flowers thereof; whereof Three Sorts do chiefly please me: A grave Sentence, by which the Judgment may be bettered; a witty conceit, which doth harmoniously delight the Spirits; and a generous Rapture expressing Magnanimity whereby the Mind may be inflamed for great Things. (p. 182)

The conservatism of the line taken on decorum links Alexander to both Sidney and King James, and he follows Sidney and Bacon in defending fictions, as they

show 'things as they should be, where Histories represent them as they are, many times making Vice to prosper and Virtue to prove miserable' (p. 186). For Alexander, Sidney is the absolute idol, the *Arcadia*, described in *Anacrisis* as 'the most excellent work that, in my Judgment, hath been written in any language that I understand ...' (p. 187) and the Scottish poet's desire only to emulate, even attempting to continue the *Arcadia* 'beginning at the very half Sentence where he left with the Combat between *Zelmane* and *Anaxius* ... meerly out of my Love to the Author's Memory, which I celebrated under the Name of *Philisides*' (p. 187).

The same desire for moral purpose, although not expressed in those terms, inspires Craig in his remarkably original sonnet sequence, which is made clear in his epistle to the Reader: '*So haue I ... committed to the Presse my vnchast Loue to Lais, that contraries by contraries, and Vertue by Vice, more cleerely may shine.*' Although Drayton's revisions of *Idea* were increasingly turning it into a miscellany with the linking theme of the lady's beauty, quality and worth, the pretence of a single mistress was maintained, and only Fulke Greville in his more revolutionary *Caelica* deliberately invented a multiplicity of addressees. Craig, however, was breaking new ground in the sense that he addressed his *Amorose Songes* to eight different ladies, each symbolising a different aspect of love. His guiding principle appears to be 'matchless Idea', the Platonic ideal who beguiles even Cupid with her beauty, and also the 'idea' of the sonnet mistress, a concept with which Craig plays wittily.

Where Craig departs from the conventions as they had long been established is in his open admission that the whole sequence is a fiction, the ladies inventions of his imagination, although they may have some basis in actual court personalities, as tantalising hints and anagrams suggest. The 'Epistle generall to Idea, Cynthia, Lithocardia, Kala, Erantina, Lais, Pandora, Penelope (and the order in which these ladies are addressed is interesting in itself) makes clear that all eight are addressed simultaneously, and that all eight are party to the situation, whereas previously sonneteers have used the presence of a rival at a significant point in the narrative to increase tension and forward the 'plot'. As if this were not enough, he actually uses the story of Zeuxis painting the vine

clusters so realistically that '*the Fowles of the ayre were deceiued, & descended thereto in vaine*', and signs the epistle '*Your louing, but rude Zeuxis*.' The reader is expected to understand the fiction and applaud the purpose.

Idea, as befits the Neoplatonic ideal, frames the sequence, and is addressed in 18 separate poems, sonnets to her alternating with those to each of the other ladies. Lithocardia, the second lady addressed, is literally 'heart of stone', and symbolises everlasting rigour, while inspiring undying passion. Two anagram sonnets suggest that this lady may be a Mary Douglas.¹⁵ Pandora, who is appealed to on the grounds that the gods of antiquity knew the pangs of love, has 17 poems, and may be identified with the wife or sister of Sir James Hay, if the hints in two of the sonnets can be so interpreted.¹⁶ The persuasion to love based on an appeal to the classical precedents of mortals who were loved by gods and goddesses is found in the poems to Cynthia, where the specific precedent of Cynthia and Endymion is invoked to plead the persona's case:

Proud *Cytherea* loued *Adonis* poore,
And *Cynthia* seru'd *Endimion* Sheepheard swane;
So though I be inglorious and obscure,
Yet may she loue her Poet and her Man. (p. 29: 9-12)

Here, a very subtle nod to Scots precedent may be detected in the name 'Cytherea', which King James used for Venus in one of his most successful sonnets to Queen Anne,¹⁷ and 'Cynthia' is the name used by Robert Henryson for the Moon in *The Testament of Cresseid*, that most seminal of Scottish texts.¹⁸ Craig does have his Petrarchan Laura in Erantina, specifically evoked as 'Sweete louely *Laura*, modest, chaste, and cleene' (p. 32: 5):

It seemes that Poet *Petrarche* tooke delight
Thy spotles prayse in daintie lines to dight,
By Prophecies, before thy selfe was seene. (6-8)

I am not aware of any other sonneteer who has the bravado to suggest that his lady *is* Laura and Petrarch merely the prophet of her coming: the greatest praise that has been paid to date has been to compare the lady favourably with Laura, which thereby compares the poet favourably with Petrarch.

Another common ruse is to compare the poet's mistress with that of Astrophil, in homage to Philip Sidney, and this is another trick that Craig turns, addressing 10 sonnets to Penelope, who is 'a Lady *Rich*' (p. 38: 10) and thus clearly identified with Astrophil's Stella. Penelope appears to form the bridge

between the courtly, untouchable addressees and those who are more easily contemplated as obtainable. She is described as 'liberall' presumably in her role as patron of poets, and gives Craig the possibility of playing with the Ulysses myth in a variety of guises. She is, however, introduced after the Laura figure, Erantina, and before Kala, the 'faire sheppardesse' who watches her sheep and is the only lady wooed as a conventional marriage partner. Craig appears to be using the Scottish tradition of intertextuality to identify Penelope Rich as the mediator between the Petrarchan heroine and the woman who was reputedly the object of passion of Philip Sidney, and who in the guise of Stella was associated with a highly sensual discourse.

The last two to be addressed are rather different in terms of a conventional sonnet sequence, as neither is the idealised mistress deriving from the courtly love tradition. Kala is the archetypal shepherdess of pastoral, most probably derived from Sidney's *Arcadia* although there is the very popular precedent of Guarini's *Il Pastor Fido*.¹⁹ The last introductory address, to Lais, is not in fact to the lady at all, but to a potential rival who 'would supply [his] place' (p. 43: 2) with the lady who has 'latelie granted [him] grace' (4). Immediately the ground of the sonnet sequence as a wooing game is removed, and the object is to keep the woman in his bed instead of allowing another to take her from him. It has been suggested²⁰ that Lais is named after a fabulously expensive whore of Corinth, who gave rise to the proverbial 'Not every man has the luck to go to Corinth' quoted by Erasmus in the introduction to *De Copia*, although Craig's Lais does not appear to take money. Craig seems to be using this part of the sequence in a rather traditionally misogynist way, to show that women behave exactly as men have always said they do: once having experienced sexual love, they wish to widen that experience to every man in their acquaintance. She is 'a facill Dame' (14) resembling Shakespeare's Dark Lady, and would be very easy to steal. The echo of Shakespeare is found even more obviously in the sonnet which appears to be derived from 'My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun':

I haue compard my Mistris many time
To Angels, Sun, Moone, Stars, & things aboue:
My Conscience then condem'd me of a crime.
To things below when I conferd my Loue:
But when I find her actions all are vane,

I thinke my Rimes and Poyems all profane. (p. 77: 1-6)

This sonnet additionally shows Craig's technique in imitation. He takes an idea, or a line of verse, and then develops it in his own way, so that the effect is of an echo rather than a quotation or translation.

Another departure from sonneteering convention is that these sonnets are clearly intended to be read as written addresses rather than the unexpressed thoughts of the persona. The diction changes with the addressee, decorum being strictly maintained, for Idea in the highest style with the most arcane classical comparisons, through Pandora and Erantina in the middle high Petrarchan style, Kala in the pastoral idiom although occasionally with Petrarchan tropes, to Lais in the lowest. This is the only decorum that Craig will admit, the Petrarchan decorum of love being acceptable only as one of many ways of looking at and experiencing love. In the sense that these are written exchanges, there is more 'practical' logic to the production of the sequence, as letters are designed to be read, and the very act of writing a letter gives the lady a place in the discourse rather than being the gaping void at the centre, while the lady of most other sequences, from Laura onwards, is entirely absent, even when apparently being addressed directly. It could further be posited that the writing of a letter assumes the expectation of a reply, and therefore puts the lady in a clear state of obligation, as the recipient of a courtship gift, which is only hinted at, and very rarely expressed, by more conventional sonneteers. Interestingly, two of the sonnets to Idea are written 'At Ideas direction', which both echoes King James' sonnets subtitled 'At Her Majesty's desire' and creates the illusion of a real intercourse between poet and subject. Thus, this sequence assumes more of a relationship between the writer and the lady addressed, which Craig furthers by frequently punning on his own name in the course of the poems, and apparently writing at least from time to time *in propria persona*.²¹ This is an aspect of the medieval heritage, the assumption of the poetic pose appropriate to the situation, seen in English and Scottish poetry of the sixteenth century.

Where Petrarchan poets had previously examined their antithetical reactions to love either traditionally, in a series of poems which formed a dialectic resolved by a rejection of physical love in favour of Platonic sublimation or, in a more modern vein, an acceptance of a happy marriage, Craig's solution

enables him to adopt a more realistic portrayal of a lover in the face of different kinds of acceptance or rejection. The antitheses of the traditional sequences are, however, maintained by the placing of the sonnets to the various ladies, to whom he seems to be paying court simultaneously. However, even this is not as straightforward as it seems, as the persona's attachment to each lady is less than constant throughout the sequence. The ebb and flow of favour given and returned or repulsed is at work in each of the eight interlocking sub-sequences to create a highly complex set of emotional interchanges. The greatest emotional range is displayed in the Lais poems, where, reminiscent of Montgomerie's female-voice sonnets entitled 'A Ladyis Lamentatione' (see above pp. 58-61), the addressee changes from virtuous maid to empress of whores through her permissive and promiscuous nature, but even the sweet Kala receives poetic vituperation because of her perceived falsity and lack of constancy.

Lest it be thought that Craig is the only real innovator in the Petrarchan mode, a close examination of Alexander's *Aurora* reveals a more subtle craftsman at work. The first poem in *Aurora* echoes Petrarch's *Rime* I, but very differently from William Fowler's echo. Alexander, like Petrarch, comments on 'The idle rauings of my brain-sicke youth' (2) and the 'follies' (4) of love, clearly echoing 'mio primo giovenile errore/quand'era in parte altr' uom de qual ch'i' sono' [... my first youthful error, when in part/I was not the same man who treads this ground,] (*Rime* I: 3-4),²² setting up a two-fold perspective of the older, rational man looking back on his youthful silliness.

A conventional reading of this introductory sonnet leads the reader into the misconception that this is to be a 'negative example' sequence, teaching men not to fall into the traps he will describe. This is apparently the message of the sestet, where he asserts that he would not have let this foolishness see the light of day 'had not others otherwise aduisd' (9), compounding the modesty *topos* by describing the work as 'This childish birth of a conceitie braine' (11), showing 'those errours of mine vnripe age' (13). The interesting word 'conceitie' is glossed by Kastner as meaning 'fantastic, full of conceit, a Scotticism', but clearly has resonances of the use of the conceit in sonnet writing, as well as the imputation of excessive pride. If one can believe the 'three lusters' that he had lived when he

first saw Aurora's face, then his age was 'vnripe' indeed, but then King James was by some said to have written *his* first piece at 15. Whereas Petrarch, as the moderating consciousness overseeing the assembly of the sequence, corrects his juvenile errors by turning towards Neoplatonic sublimation, Alexander's moderating consciousness works in entirely the opposite direction, correcting the Neoplatonic idealism in favour of a much more realistic appraisal of earthly love. Once the sequence is seen in this light, its remarkable novelty becomes apparent. Although Craig was to some extent working on the same basis, the fact that Alexander has deliberately taken Petrarch's overarching structure and turned it on its head is a great deal more effective than Craig's fragmenting of the persona.

The dual perspective is intensified in the insistence on the worth and virtue of the lady worshipped which explains the love and fixes it much more firmly than mere physical beauty could ever do. 'Not beautie, no but vertue raised my fires,/Whose sacred flame did cherish chast desires' (Son. 1: 6-7). As with Sidney, this was no 'dribbed shot ... But knowne worth did in mine of time proceed' (*AS* 2: 1, 3), rather intensifying the medieval notion of love at first sight to accommodate more rational choice, which is the central feature of the Sidneian sequences.

It has been suggested that Alexander, by choosing the name 'Aurora' for his lady, is attempting to eclipse Sidney's Stella,²³ as the dawn eclipses the brightest star, and he does refer in Sonet 17 to Aurora's 'star-staining eyes' (10), using a very Scottish expression to convey the dulling of a lesser light by a greater.²⁴ There is also the 'riddle' in *AS* 37: 'Towardes *Aurora's* Court a Nymph doth dwell' (5) where Stella is identified with Penelope Rich. This would be in keeping with the type of homage paid to Sidney by his followers and admirers who variously adopted his numbering, or his use of different verse forms, to show their allegiance. It could also be seen as a kind of *hubris* in a callow Scottish courtier, but this again would be in keeping with the persona moderated by the controlling consciousness of the older and more serious poet who after 1604 would decide to deny *Aurora* the oxygen of publicity in favour of his historical and dramatic works. It could also be that he has adopted one of Petrarch's puns on Laura,²⁵ or that, since this is his first piece of poetry, it is the

dawn of his writing career, the goddess as Muse being a very Spenserian concept. The multiplying of interpretations shows how many different threads are being woven into this very complex sequence, which has far more merit and interest than has previously been credited. It is admittedly, to a certain extent, derivative, but Alexander has imposed a narrative overview on the disparate elements which is attempting, in even more grandiose vein, to recreate an *Odyssey*, the journey to self-knowledge through an understanding of the realities of love compared more than once to that traced by Theseus through the labyrinth of Knossos. What the moderating consciousness knows, and what the questing persona has to find out, is that love is a physical pursuit, that its logical outcome is marriage and children, and that Neoplatonic sublimation is a pose which never had any place beyond the realm of literature. The 'conceitie braine' in love with love has to be taught the reality of life.

Aurora is only very occasionally portrayed as a real woman, as is the case with Fowler's Bellisa, but while Bellisa could conceivably be 'the beautiful woman', having some identifiable human attributes, Aurora is admittedly a goddess, which relates the persona to all the helpless mortals who loved or were beloved by gods and goddesses, specifically Tithonus. This is becoming an identifiably Scottish trope which continues well into the new century from sixteenth century precedents, predominantly in the Bannatyne MS, and is perhaps the peculiarly Scottish version of the Petrarchan eagle image which is employed to symbolise the virtue of the lady drawing the lover's thoughts heavenward. There is an echo also of the poems written in female voice by John Stewart of Baldynneis (see above pp. 73-6), in which he specifically referred to the gods and goddesses who loved and were loved by mortals, as justification for inequalities of match. Alexander does not seem to have Stewart's apologetic tone in his justification:

I wot not what transported hath my mind,
 That I in armes against a goddesse stand;
 Yet though I sue t'one of th'immortall band,
 The like before was prosp'rously design'd.
 To loue *Anchises Venus* thought no scorne,
 And *Thetis* earst was with a mortall match'd,
 Whom if th'aspiring *Peleus* had not catch'd.
 The great *Achilles* neuer had bene borne. (Son. 89: 1-8)

Although not stated except in the case of Achilles, each of these unions produced a hero of mythology, which gives Alexander's persona further cause for hopeful pride, as the issue of the union is his sequence. Once again, the physical and sexual aspect of love is foregrounded. Alexander invents Aurora more cleverly than might be appreciated. Although he does not explain himself until close to the end of the sequence, which is labyrinthine in its development as well as in its imagery, he is in Aurora combining the human and the divine very similarly to Petrarch's creation of Laura, whom he transformed into the laurel and the dawn as well as the lady of the original glimpse, through punning on her name. Sidney did this with Stella also, making her into a celestial being as well as a woman. Alexander's purpose is similar to Craig's already described, which is to contrast and oppose the human and the Neoplatonic forms of love showing that the same object of adoration can inspire both sexual love and rarefied sublimating love.

David Murray's *Caelia* is a much shorter sequence of 22 sonnets ranging through the various tropes of Petrarchism as they had been developing in Scotland and in England. Janet Scott has found sources in Watson's *Tears of Fancie*, Drayton's *Idea* and Daniel's *Delia*,²⁶ showing Murray's allegiance to Spenserian lyrics but there is also a strongly Scottish aspect in terms of vocabulary and scenes. The sequence is playful, experimenting with the tropes, and sometimes mocking or parodying the conventions. Murray, like Sidney, tells his reader about the process of poetry-writing, echoing Alexander's vocabulary in his description of the outpourings of 'my infant Muse ... Led by the furie of my vnstay'd yeares' (1: 1-2) 'as my fancie did conceit' (3). *Caelia* appears from this sonnet to be the first poetry written, followed by eulogy: 'admires/Th'enchanting Musicks of anothers quill' (5-6), in this case the tantalising John Murray, who is widely praised, but whose poetry has quite disappeared. The final stage is elegy: 'she would bewaile with teares/Th'vntimely fals of some whom death did kill' (7-8). Only once all this had been written out of his system, could the Muse grow 'more graue' and the poet 'vnder protection of a royall name' (11) write 'fair *Sophonisha's* tragicke death' (12) which was dedicated to Prince Henry. However, although *Sophonisha* appears to have pride of place, as did

Alexander's *Monarchic Tragedies*, interestingly neither poet really wished to destroy the first fruits of poetic endeavour, Murray here using a Scottish term perhaps to excuse his presumption:

Yet lest poore Muse her first conceit were smor'd,
She here presents them to a Noble LORD. (13-14)

He neatly manages to blame the Muse for the inadequacies of the verses while rejecting the alternative course of smothering them at birth, and inviting the Lord Dingwall almost to foster-father them.

Caelia is beauty formed by the whole of Nature and came to earth for peace as she 'with importune celestiall sutes was deau'd' (3: 2) We see here the conflation, which will be noted at times in Alexander's work, of the elevated and the parochial, 'deau'd' being the Scots for deafened, and creating the picture of the person of wealth of whatever kind continually pestered by inferiors. Once on earth, she can turn the tables on mortals, as Murray's persona finds himself 'ouercome into a bloudlesse field,/A yeelding slaue vnto thy mercy flees' (4: 3-4). He shares the slavery imagery with Spenser and Alexander, but even at this early stage there is a throwaway carelessness to the rhetoric which underscores the tiredness of the metaphors. The internal rhyme, a feature of Scots verse from medieval times, shows the mingling of the traditions.

Alexander's goddess Aurora is equated with the Platonic ideal of beauty in Son. 3, where taking the story of Zeuxis from Pliny, the persona compares the artist's beautiful woman, composed Frankenstein-like from 'the naked showes he severally perceiued' (6) with his, completely perfect as she is, but not human and alive, as the couplet shows: 'O if he had all thy perfections noted,/The Painter with his Picture straight had doted' (13-14). Quite apart from the unnoticed Scotticism in 'doted with' rather than 'doted on', this image has distinct similarities with the myth of Pygmalion, who fell in love with the statue he had created and who appealed successfully to Aphrodite to bring her to life, thus tending to undermine the potential credibility of the narrative by admitting that it is an artistic construct. The masculine ideal of feminine beauty is here deliberately and openly created and the Picture, not the actual woman, is evoked: this is always an artistic creation, whether in words or in painted colours. The presumed source for this is in Daniel's *Delia* XIII, where the persona laments

Pygmalion's happy lot in comparison to his: 'O happie he that joy'd his stone and arte;/Unhappy I, to loue a stony harte' (13-14). The 'stony harte' may also have suggested 'Lithocardia' to Craig, as this kind of literary and allusive pun would appeal to him.

Murray obviously used this same sonnet of Daniel's as his source for *Caelia* 15, quite unashamedly adopting the English poet's images, although he, like Alexander, has changed the Greek Artist from Pygmalion to Zeuxis. Where Daniel moves between the marble that the sculptor had to work with, the flinty heart of the lady, and the damage done to his own tender heart, as he 'figured on the Table of [his] hart/The fairest forme that all the world admires,' (6-7), Murray literalises the metaphor of the 'table-of-the-heart' into an easel. His creation is thus given the appearance of originality:

Tho' on a table he, most skilful he,
In rarest collours rarest parts presented,
So on a hart, if one may match a tree,
Though skillless I thy rarer shape have painted. (9-12)

As has been seen in the work of Philip Sidney, and will be seen in that of Alexander, Murray is fond of the figure of polyptoton, the employment of different grammatical parts of the same root word either to create intensification through repetition or to highlight antithetical points, here specifically contrasting the mechanical skill of the painter with the artless imaginings of the lover, and, grammatically a paradox, showing that the comparative 'rarer' can at times be beyond the superlative 'rarest'.

This kind of tinkering with language is an important tool of the Petrarchan sonneteer, as he has continually to find new ways of saying the same thing, which can only increase the artificiality. That the love is a creation as well as the beloved lady is hinted at in *Aurora* Son. 4, which although ostensibly it enacts the conventional 'inability-to-express-love-in-the-presence' sonnet, is actually more interesting and more sophisticated than that. Initially it is the sincerity of his love that binds his 'staggering tounge' (2) – the mixed metaphor aptly conveying his confusion – and respect for 'her heauenly vertues' (5) that bridle his desire, but ultimately it is a different kind of love altogether that underlies his feelings: 'Thus Loue mar'd love, Desire desire restrain'd;/Of mind to moue a world, I dumbe remain'd' (13-14). The difference between 'Loue' which

is the Platonic ideal and 'loue' which is the sensual version is the key to the whole sequence, as it is to Petrarch's and to Sidney's, and it is no accident that the wording is particularly Sidneian here. Similarly, the 'Desire' is to mount heavenward towards the ideal, while 'desire' is the animal part of man, given full expression in Craig's Lais poems. Alexander's persona is confused by the presence of diametrically opposed impulses, earthly and heavenly, inspired by the sight of one lady, thus fragmenting the persona into the antithetical structures of the genre. Craig, on the other hand, fragments the female in an attempt to maintain the integrity of the male persona.

As Murray's Caelia is Beauty, Craig's Neoplatonic Idea is Love, in many senses, as she bewitches even Cupid into giving up his quiver and bow to her only to be shot himself, but he has the power to blind himself again and avoid the fires caused by her sight. Craig subverts all the conventions, for instance that of love residing in the lady's heart, as in the first sonnet to Lithocardia, where we find Cupid is in the poet's own heart, apparently hiding from his mother Venus, or from Idea. There is a pun on his own name in Venus' fear that Cupid is deliberately avoiding her: 'In *Craigs* and Rocks such Elu's doe make repare,/And so perhaps hee harbors in thy hart' (p. 27: 9-10). Lithocardia's flinty heart would clearly be too hard for Cupid to find lodgement.

Craig's subversions of the Petrarchan conventions are manifold: they are seen in his deliberate striking of poetic poses and his balancing of the Neoplatonic with the determinedly human and even deliberately sexual. He refuses to contemplate a dialectic of love addressed to a single woman, and rejects the single narrative developing the movement of love from the earthly to the heavenly in favour of the interlinked addresses to the earthly and the heavenly simultaneously, the classical parallels serving to enhance rather than to confuse.²⁷ Most of the poems are in the Scottish interlaced sonnet form, and those which are stanzaic tend to use the common verse rhyme scheme which James advocated for this kind of lyric. In this sense, Craig is continuing the Scottish tradition both in verse form and in terms of creating a poetics which provides a mask behind which the true personality of the poet can hide. However, even this is not clear-cut, as Craig's puns on his own name continually

insert the author into his work, forcing the reader to acknowledge his playful, debunking presence.

Murray also subverts the Petrarchan conventions, but rather differently from Craig. His is most frequently the mocking, parodic method, which stands back and laughs at the love-lorn. In this way, Murray can still inject a note of originality into what are fast becoming tired images, but it should not be thought that he is simply mocking. He shows himself capable of particularly effective turns of phrase which underly the parody with an intriguing note of seriousness. The seventh sonnet's address to Aurora may contain an underwritten homage to Alexander, but it is Aurora as mother of Memnon who is invoked here, the persona saying she has no need to mourn her son as he has enough tears for both of them. In any case, in a superlative periphrasis, the sun, 'the great bright patterne of the light,/To quench his drought carrouses them againe' (7: 7-8), while the lover could weep all day and never dry up. The one advantage Aurora's tears have is that they 'pleads pittie by there sight' (6), while his tears have no response but scorn from Caelia, hence the final line: 'Lend me thy mouing teares, sweet weeping morne' (14). From an offer to Aurora to relieve her grief the poem turns to a plea that her grief continue for his benefit, to provoke Caelia's pity and, hopefully, love. This recalls Constable's poem to King James, discussed above (see above p. 79), in which the English poet offers his help to speed the King's boat to Norway to meet his Queen, and ends by admitting that all he can actually offer is the thought of so doing, asking the King to reward his intent, if not his action.

If the lady is the sun in the persona's sky, then the myths of Phaeton and Icarus are particularly profitable, and popular, as was seen in Drayton's *Ideas Mirrovr*, and this image is found in *Caelia*. Sonnets 11 and 12 relate both myths together, the former comparing the persona unfavourably with Phaeton. They were both 'incens'd with a praeposterous desire' (11:3) but the persona rather fatuously says that he has been punished more severely: 'I ceaselesse burne, his flames were quencht in *Po*' (14) The following poem has Icarus hovering in the sky admiring 'The glory of that cart to tel,/From which his match in fondnesse head-long fel' (12: 6-7). He has an even higher aspiration: 'for my desire being

wing'd with fancies plumes/To gaze on brighter rayes then those presumes' (10-11). The fault of both Phaeton and Icarus, and, by extension, the persona, is presumption, a preposterous sense of pride, which is derived partly from the inspiration of love, and partly from folly, or, in Murray's word, fondness. Like Alexander, Murray uses the word 'fancies' to express his infatuated, unrealistic love, often describing his persona as 'fond', as Phaeton is described as 'the Suns fond child' (11:1) This is Petrarchism taken to its logical limit, the portrait of the lady losing all sense of reality in hyperbole and exaggeration, as is seen dramatically in Sonet 14: 'Oh, neuer let the rising Sun auant,/I saw his brightnesse! not her brighter face' (5-6), reducing the sun to an inferior light in comparison to the absent Caelia. This is parody of the desperation of the lover, and mocks the excesses of devoted Petrarchans in a typically debunking way.

A more Sidneian note is, however, seen in Sonet 18, where Caelia has dreamed he has died and has wept for him, rather in the same way that Stella wept to read the tale of a dejected lover in *Astrophil and Stella*. Murray's persona asserts this was no dream: 'Thinke that no vision did you then deceiue,/Sith you may view the very truth in me' (7-8). Where Astrophil used this incident to deepen his pose: 'I am not I: pitie the tale of me' (45: 14), Murray's persona tends to point out the realities of the despair of love in that he suffers more for loving then she does in apparently mourning him: 'But if for dreaming so you mourn'd so much,/Farre rather mourne that in effect its such' (13-14).

Murray appears to be able to move smoothly between the English and Scottish conventions of the late sixteenth century, as is evidenced by his easy use of the imagery that was current, often giving a subtle twist to the established trope by means of ironic counterpoint, or by literalising of the conventional metaphor, as in 'Gazing from out the windowes of mine eyes' (Sonet 17), which immediately evokes the Montgomerie lyric 'In throu the windoes of myn ees' (MP XXII). In the earlier poem the persona had been contemptuous of Cupid's power until wounded through his eye and suffering all the fiery pains of love, and had finally sent his 'longsome looks' to find the lady and his 'sighs and teirs' to intreat for him 'that sho, by sympathie, may feill/Pairt of the passionis of my

spreet' (49-50). In Murray's version the lack of the lady is described as a physical deprivation, the metaphor of the lover starved of the sight of his lady is literalised into 'wandring troupes' of 'famish'd lookes' (3) (an image Sidney used in *AS* 106:6 when Astrophil is bemoaning Stella's absence) flying out through the windows of his eyes on a foraging expedition. Like eagles they soar heavenward in search of the absent lady, and because of their lofty aspirations, and in reminiscence of Montgomerie's image of the lizard that feeds by gazing on the human face, they 'scorn to feed on any other face' (7) and return unsatisfied to their source. The persona does not seem in control of his own senses as his soul, deprived of its food, which is the sight of the lady, has blinded him, 'shadowing my face with sable cloudes of grieve' (10), denying the natural daylight also and sinking the lover into artificial night. Once again the hyperbole rather takes over, showing the baroque development of the conceits, which now have nowhere to go but into exaggeration, as was found by the *quattrocentisti*, continually imitating and developing the tropes of Petrarchism.

Alexander uses this literalising of the metaphor occasionally in *Aurora*, one of the most successful versions being found in the reference to Cadmus and the 'earth-borne troupes at iarres' (Son. 6: 3) representing the '[h]vge hosts of thoughts imbattled in [his] brest' (1). Read superficially, this is simply a hyperbolic or baroque description of a mind buzzing with conflicting ideas, but read more deeply it reveals a two-level composition reflecting the two-fold consciousness operating in the sequence. First of all, these embattled thoughts which are *earth-* rather than heaven-born have 'spoil'd [his] soule of peace ...' (4) which is the first clue to the underwriting of the image, and suggests the imagery of Sidney's Tenth Song (see above pp. 127-8). The persona then becomes Cadmus 'forc'd to reape such seed as [he has] sowne' (5) which as well as the classical legend, evokes the Biblical 'as ye sow so shall ye reap'. Cadmus killed the serpent guarding the Castalian stream in order to get lustral water for the sacrifice of a cow to Athene, the goddess of wisdom, and gained the services of the men who arose from the dead serpent's teeth sown in the ground at Athene's injunction. Thus the sown men are Cadmus' allies and servants, not his

enemies. His thoughts are forcing him to reconsider his state, which he describes with awkward syntax as:

O neither life nor death! ô both, but bad
 Imparadiz'd, whiles in mine owne conceit,
 My fancies straight againe imbroyle my state, (9-11)

The word 'imparadiz'd' here refers both to the state of the persona given some cause to hope and that of the Christian soul in a state of bliss. At this very early stage in the narrative the persona is afraid of the physical effects of love, and cannot conceive of the possibility that human love can be a good thing. This is an important sonnet, containing as it does the words 'conceit' and 'fancies', the former being part of the writer's description of himself in the first poem, and the latter one of Alexander's favourite words, also used in the first sonnet. These 'fancies' are seen as external, and something to be fought against, in order that he can regain his 'state', but their meaning will modulate subtly in the course of the sequence to become something very different by the end.

The torment continues for another two sonnets, the imagery of majesty and monarchy and the punning on 'state' showing how the mind's sovereignty is threatened, until the partial resolution in Son. 9 where the thoughts are to be written, for '[a]lthough that words chain'd with affection faile ... Yet Lines (dumbe Orators) ye may be bold' (1, 3). This culminates in the very paradoxical close: 'Thus she, what I discover'd, yet conceal'd:/Knowes, and not knowes; both hid, and both reueal'd' (13-14). Aurora is here given a very definite place in the discourse, as the understander of the work, perhaps even as the superior intelligence the persona is addressing. Literally, he has discovered his desires in the process of writing, but has kept them concealed by not publishing the written lines, the change in tense between 'discover'd' and 'knowes' perhaps revealing the timescale between writing and publishing. Here, the movement is towards a revaluation of the very foundation of the sequence, and an examination of the worth of the persona, his desert where Aurora is concerned, which takes us back to the origins of the whole Petrarchan movement in England, with Wyatt. Like Wyatt in a number of his lyrics, Alexander's persona suffers for his faith, but sees that suffering as a positive good, both spiritually uplifting and morally enlightening.

Pleading 'for pitie, not for fame' (Song 2: 94), he comes to Son. 10. There are a series of vows, anaphoristically made in the Petrarchan imagery of 'starrie eyes', 'golden lockes whose locke none slips' and 'Corall of thy rosie lippes', clearly dwelling on the physical beauty of the lady, followed by the rather gothic imagery of the 'iewels of thy mind', which rather tends to suggest that he is considering the less material aspects of her appeal, and finally citing his own 'spotlesse loue' and 'chast desires' to show that he is not simply looking at the surface appearance of Aurora, but is crediting her with qualities which are more usually associated with the male lover: 'Thy solide iudgement and thy generous thought,/Which in this darkened age haue clearely shin'd ' (7-8).

He is here using the language of Neoplatonism to show his appreciation of her higher qualities, which are clearly intended to cancel out any imputation of base appeal to the senses. Swearing by that which is subject to sublunary change would be pointless, as the closing couplet makes the point clear: 'Then since I loue those vertuous parts in thee,/Shouldst thou not loue this vertuous mind in me?' (13-14) This highly Neoplatonic suggestion, that it is the unseen, essential parts of Aurora which cause him to love her, after he has given full survey to her visible beauties and risen above their contemplation, follows Petrarch closely. It is this kind of love that will lead the lover to a higher realm and make him a better person. Alexander, as becomes clear throughout the sequence, allows his persona to use Neoplatonic concepts to draw himself towards a rarefied, never-to-be-consummated love affair, but the consciousness of the poet is not in tune with such an unworldly aim. However, it should not be thought that he is speaking cynically at this point simply to gain the advantage. This sonnet shows the development beyond physical beauty to a more lasting force of attraction in the lady, which, although it shares elements with Neoplatonism, is a good rule for the ordinary lover to follow also.

This explains why, here as in all the sequences, the constancy of the persona in the face of implacable rigour is the mark of his worth and stature. The depiction of Alexander's lady in her rigour towards him is completely conventional:

Can crueltie then borrow beauties shape?
And pride so decke it selfe with modest lookes?

Too pleasant baits to hide such poison'd hookes,
 Whose vnsuspected slight none can escape.
 Who can escape this more than diuellish art,
 When golden haire disguise a brazen heart? (Son. 14: 9-14)

This is the image of the tiger and leopard with beautiful coats hiding cruel teeth and claws, an image which Spenser was very fond of,²⁸ and which is, of course, a natural image, and nothing devilish at all. The lady's 'brazen' heart could either be unworthy of her golden exterior or, more likely, too hard to be touched, although not as hard as Craig's Lithocardia's heart. But even given the ruthlessness and hardness, he will not give up his pursuit but will 'admire that diamantine mind' (15: 3) and abjure 'such apostasie' (6) as to reject her. The religious imagery is very typical of the sequences generally, particularly those of Spenser and Drayton.²⁹ The religious note continues in the couplet, where he appears to allow that Aurora may not be entirely blameless in her attitude: 'If any pitying me will damne her part,/Ile make th'amends and for her error smart' (13-14). Petrarch could never have conceded that any imputation of wrongdoing could attach to Laura, and always assumed the 'errore' was his own. Alexander is fully aware of what Petrarch's purpose was, and he 'corrects' the un-Petrarchan sentiment in Son. 20: 'Lest blaming her, I ere I die do wrong' (14). What is happening in *Aurora* is rather a measure of the change that is seen in Petrarchan sonnet sequences: putting women on pedestals is not an attractive proposition to Jacobean writers, perhaps primarily because they are Jacobeans rather than Elizabethans. The Scottish Petrarchans had their feet rather more firmly on the ground of real relationships and of more realistic developments. This would certainly be the case for Craig, who, despite the distancing effect of the classical parallels, treats most of his women as real women rather than rarefied essences, only Idea and Lithocardia being physically or socially out of his reach.

However, the poetic persona has a number of trials to undergo before reaching the rational standpoint, as is seen in Elegie 1, perhaps a lament for the death of the idealist and the birth of the realist. The Elegie starts with a description of the swan song, and the self-immolation of the phoenix, then travels to the Underworld and the torments of the damned, blames Aurora for her behaviour, which he has to excuse on the grounds of her sex, before rationalising it into his own error. In keeping with the solipsistic nature of such

sequences, but with rather a different and more masculine twist, the lady's rigour will be used as a means of self-improvement, and there is even a suggestion that while she will change and undergo the effects of time, he will not change his feelings for her, at least in the intellectual sense:

Her rigorous course shall serue my loyall part to proue,
And as a touch-stone for to trie the vertue of my loue.
Which when her beautie fades, shall be as cleare as now,
My constancie it shall be known, when wrinkled is her brow:
So that such two againe, shall in no age be found,
She for her face, I for my faith, both worthy to be crownd. (85-90)

This Aurora is clearly a mortal woman, as the goddess would not age, and, indeed, the effects of age on her lover, Tithonus, were the bane of her tragic existence. Equally clearly, the sensual side of love is not denied, but is anchored in that which is more lasting than physical beauty. Here the poet is playing off present pains and future recognition, underwriting the effects of the passage of time with a subtle immortality *topos*: only in his poetry will her face be recognised as the epitome of beauty, as Time has changed her utterly, but conversely his quality, constancy, will not change as it is, as immaterial, not subject to Time. Craig employs the same reasoning, but in a rather different way, when he tells Idea that it was her beauty which inspired him to write, and thus his poems are all hers:

Thy presence creats all those thoughts in mee,
Which mee immortall, and maks thee diuine:
And such delight I haue with thee to stay,
As twentie Moones do seeme but halfe a day. (p. 51: 11-14)

This working of the image is essentially androcentric, implying that women have no quality but their physical beauty, while men can offer their loyalty, virtue, constancy and faith. Although the image does not go nearly as far as Donne's in 'The Canonization', the same underlying sense is present: what will survive is something far deeper than mere physical attraction, because it has been tested and proved in 'scientific' terms, as Alexander's image from alchemy shows.

The *carpe diem* motif, effectively used by Samuel Daniel in his *Delia* sequence to warn of the need to accept love before the beauties of youth fade, had been popular since Anacreon. The trope in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century poetry is usually described as Ronsardian, but was used by Petrarch, and thus is found in both French- and Italian-derived Petrarchan sequences. The

trope could be used as a gentle hint that time passes, and that beauty and youth are subject to time, but could also be a strong warning to a woman that unceasing rigour would not be to her benefit in the long run, as in *Aurora* Son. 84, where Aurora is told '[t]hou ow'st thy father Nephewes' (3), but then also that she owes the poet 'a recompence for all my passions past' (4). The explicitly sexual reference is followed up in the reminder of Daphne's fate: she 'did become a barren tree' (7) because of an unnatural desire for chastity. Not only does she owe some recompense to the poet; she owes it to herself to experience love. If she relies too much on her own beauty, she may find she is left alone: 'But do not fall in loue with thine owne selfe;/ *Narcissus* earst was lost on such a shelve' (Son. 26: 13-14), which sounds like a wonderfully reductive conflation of the Ovidian myth and the Scottish saw where Narcissus/Aurora is left 'on the shelf' because of being too choosy about a mate.

This is followed up in Song 9, where the legend of Aurora and Tithonus is specifically evoked to warn Aurora of passing time, here the apparent anomaly of the immortal goddess being told that she is losing time bringing into sharp focus the tension that Alexander has consciously created by the figure of the goddess and that of the mortal beloved. Tithonus is pictured as jealous of the other lovers he sees around him, for his beloved slips from his bed as soon as she can in disgust at his wizened appearance. However, the rest of the world rejoices in the sight of Aurora replacing the chaste Phoebe each morning. The persona sees himself as Tithonus, promised much but now disappointed, his summer hopes blasted both with the springtime rains (his tears) and the autumnal frosts:

I enuie not thy blisse, so heau'n hath doom'd;
And yet I cannot but lament mine owne,
Whose hopes hard at the haruest were orethrowne,
And blisse halfe ripe, with frosts of feare consum'd
Faire blossomes, which of fairer fruites did boast,
Were blasted in the flowers,
With eye-exacted showers,
Whose sweet-supposed sowers
Of preconceited pleasures grieu'd me most. (55-63)

The imagery here is complex and effective, Pléiade-derived either directly or through Montgomerie in its detailed depiction of the beauties of the natural world, contrasting the happiness of Aurora with the despair of Tithonus through

seasonal imagery and antithesis. The accumulation of words alliterating on /b/: 'blisse' ... 'blisse' ... 'blossomes' ... 'boast' ... 'blasted' creates a narrative in miniature culminating in the devastation of his 'orethrowne hopes'. What Tithonus has done, of course, is to anticipate love before it was confirmed, and has counted the flowers as guarantees of the fruit to come. The image of the 'sweet-supposed sowers' is impressively Sidneian, conveying the difference between the truth ('sowers') and the imagined ('sweet-supposed') through the alliteration and the compounding, reinforced by the neologism 'preconceited', which takes the reader back to Alexander's favourite theme: that of the 'fancies' of the immature, love-sick brain. There is a definite sense of realism entering the sequence now, this stanza's use of a combination of traditional Scottish alliteration, Pléiade imagery and innovative compound adjectives to show the mingling of old and new as well as native and imported conventions being used to the same end: the rationalisation of love and the movement towards a fulfilling outcome.

An alternative perspective is given in the very next poem in the sequence, 'An Eccho', the only titled but unnumbered poem in the entire sequence. This type of poem was very popular for Scottish, English, French and Italian poets,³⁰ and, as is seen in Montgomerie's Echo poem (*MP* VIII), where the echo is used only in the final stanza, is a rejection of Neoplatonism in favour of sensual physical love. Given the myth on which it is based, it is an ideal motif to express the dangers of too-passionate unrequited love. Given also the essential narcissism of the sonnet sequences, it achieves a further resonance which was no doubt fully intended by the original writer. Frequently, the Echo motif is used to oppose passion and reason, as is the case here. Each of Echo's responses is the rational answer to the persona's grief-stricken question, given by one who is acknowledged to know what suffering is: 'Thou blabbing guest, what know'st thou of my fall? *all*' (4). The final lines of the poem show the persona the way forward:

What if I neuer sue to her againe?	<i>gaine</i>
And what when all my passions are repest?	<i>rest</i>
But what thing will best serue t'asswage desire?	<i>ire</i>
And what will serue to mitigate my rage?	<i>age</i>
I see the Sunne begins for to descend.	<i>end</i> (15-19)

This is one instance where the influence of the older poetic consciousness appears to be at work, the echoing voice giving the paternal advice to the young lover, but, as the reference to the descending sun makes clear, the rejection of love is seen not as a matter of will, but of time and natural change and thus the Echo poem is incorporated into the theme of mutability.

Perhaps the most remarkable expression in English of this trope is given by Drayton in *Idea* 8.³¹ Drayton had a very different purpose from his predecessors which makes this poem more interesting. He opens the poem with an expression of grief that he is as subject to time as Idea is, and fears that he might not live to see her changed by the years, but the whole of the poem is a very detailed and gothic description of what she will look like then:

There's nothing grieves me, but that Age should haste,
That in my dayes I may not see thee old,
That where those two cleare sparkling Eyes are plac'd,
Onely two Loope-holes, then I might behold.
That lovely, arched, yvorie, pollish'd Brow,
Defac'd with Wrinkles, that I might but see;
Thy daintie Hayre, so curl'd, and crisped now,
Like grizzled Mosse upon some aged Tree;
Thy Cheeke, now flush with Roses, sunke and leane,
Thy Lips, with age, as any Wafer thinne,
Thy Pearly Teeth out of thy head so cleane,
That when thou feed'st, thy Nose shall touch thy Chinne: (1-12)

The minuteness of the description is almost forensic, the skull clearly visible beneath the skin in line 5, which could refer either to the skull within which the 'Loope-holes' are seen or the forehead that is intended. The cruelty of the contrast is brought out semantically in the juxtaposition of words of similar sound or meaning, as in 'Brow,/Defac'd with Wrinkles', which creates the impression of a visage undone by age, or in 'Hayre ... *crisped* now,/Like *grizzled* Mosse', where the congruity of the sounds of the adjectives clearly shows how fine is the line between beauty and its opposite. The final line cruelly depicts Idea as a witch-like crone, hardly even female.

Although in a very different vein, this resembles some of the more gothic descriptions which King James, Alexander Montgomerie and William Fowler inserted into their works, and it is only the first of a number of instances which will be cited to suggest an intertextuality in English and Scottish poetics of the

early seventeenth century. Here, the sonnet forms part of the trope of constancy in the lover, as well as a rather spiteful pointer to the inevitable changes of time: 'These Lines that now thou scorn'st, which should delight thee,/Then would I make thee read, but to despight thee' (13-14). There are two ways of reading these lines, which gives another dimension to the poem. 'These Lines' could be assumed to refer to the poems of praise that Idea has disdained, in which case she will be hurt (despighted) in her old age to have her beauty recalled when she can no longer see it in her glass. On the other hand, it could be assumed that 'These Lines' refers to *this* poem, which Idea could read now as a joke, or as a warning of the effects of Time, she being still a young and beautiful woman, but which, if presented to her when she has become old, will be an ugly reinforcement of what she has to face in her glass every day. The final rub is that the persona will clearly still be in attendance even although Idea is no longer beautiful, still writing even if not in praise of her beauty.

The constancy of the lover in despite of his lady's disdain or inconstancy was what in the Petrarchan sequences characterised the superior position of the lover, equating his constancy with the unchanging nature of the world and using 'impossibility' sonnets to prove his loyalty. In Son. 58 Alexander's persona assures Aurora:

The ring which thou in sign of fauour gaue,
Shall from fine gold transforme it selfe in glasse:
The Diamond, which then so solid was,
Soft like the waxe, each image shall receiue: (5-8)

using the impossibility *topos* in almost the same way that William Fowler did but with a new twist: the gold and diamond of the ring are testimony (the sense of 'glass' and 'image') of their mutual love, and the impossibility of the transformations intensifies the strength and equality of their love, gold and diamond being, of course, the noblest of metals and minerals. This implies that she has responded to him in a very tangible way, by giving him a gift of a ring. Before he will change his feelings, rivers will return to their sources, the oak tree will tremble like a reed, harts will feed in the air and whales on the mountains:

And foule confusions seaze on euery thing;
Before that I begin to change in ought,
Or on another but bestow one thought. (12-14)

In other words, 'Chaos is come again'. It has to be admitted, however, that this is using the impossibility *topos* in a different way from that found in sixteenth-century examples, where the whole point of the poem was the *inconstancy* of *women*. Where Fowler used the trope to testify to the constancy of lovers in the face of the lady's constant rigour, Alexander is adapting it to show the constancy of love itself, when it is mutually entertained.

Murray employs the impossibility trope in two different ways. In *Caelia* Sonet 16 the trope is used in the conventional Petrarchan sense, saying that Etna may stop burning, water cease flowing, but he will maintain his fires, his tears and his despair-frozen hopes. However, in the earlier Sonet 10, he conflates two conventions, the river image and the impossibility trope, into a very much more successful, highly mannered sonnet. As Caelia 'sat once by a christal brooke' (1), the waters not only absorbed her reflection, but became animated and 'with amazement they did on her looke' (4), and having seen her, they fell into the same state as the persona:

Desirous stil for to behold her beauty,
Neglecting to the Ocean their duty,
In thousand strange Meanders made returne: (6-8)

This is cleverer than it might appear, for of course Meander was himself a river god enamoured of a nymph, his winding course in pursuit giving rise to the description of the winding of a river. This meandering back to catch another glimpse of Caelia continues for as long as she sits there, the circularity of the waters' flowing now compared to the music of the spheres:

But oh! againe with what an heauenly tune,
Those pleasant streames that issued from the spring,
To see that goddesse did appeare to sing,
Whom having view'd did as the first had done. (9-12)

This is mannerist hyperbole, the syntax as convoluted as the winding of the waters finally, and is typical of the extravagant style that Murray was adapting from his varied reading of contemporary writers on both sides of the border.

While the conventional Petrarchan wisdom is that the moderating consciousness of the poet corrects the sensuality of the sonneteering persona, in Alexander and Craig a sense of realism which has stood back and looked at the events of life with a more rational eye underlies the Petrarchan rhetoric, and can maintain the fiction while underwriting it with a moral discourse which points the

negative example. Once looking for this kind of underwriting, it appears everywhere and sometimes in the subversion of the most conventional of images, as the 'lady-as-sun' image. Alexander uses this figure tellingly to direct his readers to his main purpose: pointing out the impossibility of such a worship. Son. 17 appears to conflate the lady-as-sun image with the myth of Actaeon, as the persona is depicted catching a glimpse of 'six gallant Nymphes' (1), only one of whom really shone in his estimation:

The rest pale Moones were bettered by this Sunne,
They borrowed beames from her star-staining eyes:

.
Phoebus all day I would be bard thy light,
For to be shin'd on by this Sunne at night. (9-10, 13-14)

It is clear that his lady of the sonnets is vastly more beautiful than any other creation, they being only pale reflections of her glory, but this adoration is contrary to nature, as is evidenced by the reference to the sun at night, an impossibility. The persona follows this disorderly thought through to Song 6 where, using an image straight out of Petrarch's *Rime* CCCLXVI,³² he is pictured gazing 'vpon that diuine grace,/Which as that I had view'd *Medusaes* head,/ Transform'd me once' (63-5). Although the persona cannot appreciate the truth, and sees heaven contriving to destroy him, it is clear that his desire to look on Aurora is as contrary to nature as is looking on the Gorgon, risking being turned to stone.

Alexander shows his debt to William Fowler (and, as will be seen below, the link through Fowler to Drummond) quite specifically in this Song, which is a clear echo of *The Tarantula of Love* XXII 'The day is done, the Sunn dothe ells declyne', although he develops the sonnet into a poem of eighty lines playing on the absence of the sun, which causes night to fall literally, and the absence of his lady, which benights him metaphorically. He can only see Aurora in dream vision, and feeds his soul on the sight, but this is, in a neatly elliptical image, compared to the Trojan horse, the betraying gift which should be rejected:

And yet those dainties of my ioyes,
Are still confected with some feares,
That well accustom'd with my cruell fate,
Can neuer trust the gift that th'enemie giues,
And onely th'end true wnesse beares:
For whil'st my soule her pow'r imployes,

To surfet in this happie state,
 The heau'n againe my wracke contriues,
 And the worlds Sunne enuying this of mine,
 To darken my loues world begins to shine. (71-80)

The antitheses between 'the world' and 'my loues world' and 'darken' and 'shine' show indirectly the wrongness of the persona's attitude at this point in the sequence. A love which denies the natural world and natural human desires is not to be commended. The persona who wishes to exchange the true sun for a substitute which comes out at night not only is asking for an unnatural state of existence, but is denying himself the light of reason, which is also symbolised by Phoebus. Love is seen to be unnatural, disorderly and unreasonable, as Fowler, following Petrarch, so powerfully showed.

As has already been seen in most of the Petrarchan sequences, although not in Petrarch himself, the arrogant solipsism of the persona demands that the whole world conspires to destroy him, as here, the sun does not rise to light the world, but specifically to outshine Aurora and darken his microcosmic world. In what should be a paradox, but does in fact have a kind of logic to it, this trope of the lover as microcosm also enables him to claim a universal significance for his experience. This is seen in one of Craig's sonnets to Lithocardia, where he uses the quattrocentist hyperbole to show the universality of love, epitomised in the lover as microcosm:

A very World may well be seene in mee,
 My hot desires as flames of Fire do shine,
 My sighes are ayre, my teares the Ocean sea,
 My steadfast fayth, the solid Earth, & syne,
 My hope my heauen, my thoughts are stars diuine,
 My ielosie the very pangues of Hell ... (p. 48: 1-6)

The persona incorporates all four elements literally and metaphorically, and in so doing denies any other lover the possibility, as he has abstracted all the constituents of the world to himself. In the same way the life of a lover is the life of man in miniature, with the changeability of Fortune being equivalent to the antithetical effects of love, both life and love ending in death, in the latter case either the metaphorical death of sexual consummation, or the death-in-life of the rejected lover.

Interestingly, Craig has used the same trope in reverse to make Pandora the whole life and meaning of the cosmos, in that whatever he looks at he sees her:

Each thing allace, presents and lets mee see,
The rare *Idea* of my rarest Dame,

.

The shining Sunne, her hart transpersing eye.
The morning red her braue and blushing shame,
Night absence, and day presence doth proclame,
foule wether frowns, & calme sweet smil's may bee
My scalding sighs tempestious winds, and raine:
But exhalations of my tragick teares, (p. 75: 1-2, 5-10)

As is conventional and expected, although the lady is given pride of place in the cosmos, it is the effects of this on the persona which cannot be left alone for long. The lady only has existence through the effect she has on the persona.

What differentiates the Spenserian-Sidneian sequences from the more purely Petrarchan, or from oddities like Craig's sequence, and gives more of a sense of reality to the experience described, is the sensuality of the language when the imagination is allowed to take over; in Alexander's word, the 'fancie' has taken over. This is found variously through the sequence, as in *Aurora* Son. 18, which is a hyperbolically sensual description of Aurora's mouth: 'Praise-worthy part where praises praise is plac'd' (1), and very successfully Sidneian in imitation. The repetition and the alliteration on /p/ and /m/ make the reader conscious of the lips meeting and parting. The synaesthesia in the sestet again uses alliteration particularly effectively to heighten the hyperbole even further:

Mouth moistned with celestiall Nectar still,
Whose musicke oft my famish'd eares hath fed,
With softned sounds in sugred speeches spred,
Whil'st pearles and rubies did vnfold thy will. (9-12)

Allied with the Sidneian precedent is the Scottish heritage from Alexander Scott and Alexander Montgomerie, who, as has been seen in the discussion of Chapter 1, both in their poetic personae revelled in sensual Ovidian celebrations of beauty and physical enjoyment of the kiss. It is unlikely that anyone would argue that here the persona is celebrating only the higher faculties of sight and hearing and is not bound by more base considerations. This is as sexual a kind of imagery as is found in *Astrophil and Stella*, culminating in the breathless closure of the couplet:

I wishe that thy last kisse might stop my breath,
Then I would thinke I died a happie death. (13-14)

Although the final line is rather flat, it has to be read with the underwriting of the pun on 'died' for its effect, and the contradictory meanings of 'breath' and 'death'. As Astrophil was able to bring himself to a sexual climax by imagining what he would like to do to Stella in the Tenth Song, so Alexander's persona flops flaccidly having realised the kiss in his imagination.

As is so often the case in *Aurora*, once the sensual aspect of love has been explored, it is 'corrected' by a following Neoplatonic alternative, which seems to show that this is the way the sequence ought to be read. Certainly the received wisdom is that Alexander is a Neoplatonic Petrarchan, which I feel is belied by the evidence of the sequence. Thomas Roche has made fascinating analyses of all the major sonnet sequences based primarily on number theory, and tying a number of them, starting from *Astrophil and Stella*, to an underwritten Ulysses myth.³³ Although this theory has its appeals with regard both to Sidney's sequence and to *Aurora*, it requires some effort of will on the part of the reader to accept all the conclusions drawn, one of which is that Son. 19 and the following Song 3 are the paradigm on which the entire sequence is based.

Son. 19 makes a very simple statement about the quality of his love. He is not like others who 'bewitch'd with a deceitfull show,/Loue earthly things vnworthily esteem'd' (1-2). This may be taken as an implication that human love is unworthy, but that is not what Alexander says. His persona loves Aurora because her exterior is *not* deceitful, but mirrors her essential worth and virtue. He aims higher 'and loftier things delighted for to know' (8). This is not easier than other men's paths; in fact he still suffers woes, but the end will make any suffering worthwhile:

That for the which long languishing I pine,
It is a show, but yet a show diuine. (13-14)

It is this divinity which leads the quester through the labyrinthine allegory of Song 3. The persona describes his state as 'Enamour'd of mine owne conceit' (3), which simultaneously suggests that he has fallen in love with the creation of his 'conceitie braine', underlining the fictiveness of the description, and there is also the inevitable self-centredness, reinforced a few lines later with the thought, reminiscent of Montgomerie's taunting of the god of love, that '*Cupid* did

conspire my fall' (10) and the pride in youth's resilience, in that only Venus could 'find out some art,/By which he might haue meanes t'abate my pride' (15-16). It is Venus' arrow which glides through his bowels and makes him follow 'beauties beautie' (18).

Although the analysis Roche makes of Song 3 is persuasive, the poem appears to have rather more in common with Scottish medieval allegory, in that it seems to evoke generally the trope of the dream vision and specifically both the *Kingis Quair* and Dunbar's *The Goldyn Targe*. In Roche's view the persona is led by a vision of beauty through a number of trials, each potentially life-threatening but not fatal to him, first following over earth then into the sea, where:

In th'Hauen I did a barke behold,
With sailes of silke, and oares of gold,
Which being richly deckt, did seeme most sound. (34-6)

It turns out to be an illusory soundness, established only on the exterior trappings, but although the ship overturns, he is not drowned, thus surviving the trial by water, and sees his beauty when he reaches safety in the town. She brings him to a 'chamber made of pearle' (52) in which 'I proudly sought,/In state with *Ioue* to striue' (53-4), which promptly goes on fire, leaving him 'like to die' but still alive, having undergone his trial by fire. This is continued in the next trial where 'She on my backe two wings did bind,/Like to *Ioues* birds' (63-4) which appears to equate him with the eagles which aspire towards the sun. It is really Icarus whom he resembles, as he 'Did th'airie sprites appall' (67) until tossed to the earth by a mighty wind and again all but killed, still miraculously surviving a trial by air. All the elements have now been survived, perhaps suggesting by their order that the persona is moving upwards in the Neoplatonic ladder of love, but equally each of these trials has been brought about by the pride and presumptuousness of the persona, aspiring with the eagles and being shot down. Perhaps this suggests the essential pointlessness of the Neoplatonic pose.

Having reached a garden of earthly delights (or Bower of Bliss) he finds the lady who '(as it seem'd) growne kinder then before' (73) made him a flowery bed and fed him on nectar, pillowing his head on her breast. But this is not the end of the quest, as is signalled in the next stanza 'When I was cur'd of euery

thing saue care' (85) as the 'care' is the key to his state. He cannot be contented with earthly pleasures but insists on transforming his natural desires into something higher, despite all the evidence that his intentions are wrong. He thinks he must still find his way to the true path, now through a labyrinth. He is led by 'She whom I name (without a name)' (86) through passages made of gem-stones among 'a world of men [who] shed weightie grones,/That tortur'd were with th'engines of despaire' (95-6).

In an effectively parochial comparison, the persona compares his wandering in the maze to the river Forth, Alexander's own home river:

As *Forth* at *Sterling*, glides as t'were in doubt,
What way she should direct her course;
If to the sea or to the source,
And sporting with her selfe, her selfe doth flout:
So wandred I about (97-101)

Although the first two lines here aptly mirror the uncertain movements of the wanderer in a maze, the word 'sporting' turns the whole episode into a game, an enjoyably purposeless wandering, which 'flouts' the self, as the river is supposed to flow straight to the sea, and is thus not behaving appropriately. But this doubtful gliding, associated as it is with a river, which flows from the source to the sea by gravity, not by any kind of conscious choice, calls into question what Alexander's purpose is, and the repetition of 'her selfe', which was a very indeterminate term at this time³⁴ suggests an underwritten *nosce te ipsum* [know thyself]. This hint that the persona is not being true to himself in his travels continues to the end of the poem without becoming very much clearer. His guide 'with a courtesie, I must say course' (105) left him alone until finally, another nymph, an Ariadne, 'like th'other in the face,/But whose affections were more mildly bent' (111-12) led him '[o]ut of the guilefull place' (116). Although he compares himself to 'th'vngratefull *Theseus*' (117) it appears that he 'made not [his] deliuerer smart' (118) although confusingly there is no indication that he did stay with her once having escaped, despite the fact that she led him by the heart, which would imply that there was some emotional connection made.

The *envoi* makes the difficulty at once more opaque and clearer in that the reader is told 'I am my selfe, what ere I seeme,/And must go mask'd, that I may not be knowne' (125-6). The reader must decide whether the 'I' is Alexander

himself or his persona. It could even be a double blind, like Astrophil's 'I am not I; pitie the tale of me', or an echo of Hamlet's 'Seems, madam? Nay, it is, I know not 'seems'.³⁵ It could be an acknowledgement that the sequence is a fiction, and the pose of the persona, the poet hiding behind the mask of Alexis, and that the more serious, but apparently ludic Alexander has planted hints for understanding readers to unravel and appreciate. If one accepts Roche's thesis, then the key elements in the sequence, masked in allegory and imagery, are to be found in this song, which with 126 lines has one more line than the 125 poems of different types in the sequence, which could tend to suggest a kind of completion. There may even be an underwritten Ulysses myth in the 10 stanzas of 12 lines each, if each of the stanzas were taken to be a year of wandering, and the *envoi* the final return, where Ulysses can only be recognised by those who remained true and loyal to him: his dog, Argus, and Penelope, his wife. If this is the case, then the homage to Sidney is similarly underwritten, in that his 108 sonnets in *Astrophil and Stella* are in Roche's view to be taken to refer to the 108 suitors Penelope repulsed while awaiting her husband's return.³⁶

However, I find it difficult to accept such sophistication, and, having already drawn attention to the medieval allegories which survived the depredations of the Reformation, I shall posit a more rational explanation based on the earlier Scottish literature that Alexander could have access to during his time at the Scottish court. In this simpler interpretation, the whole song is an allegory of the trials of love, with its hopes and setbacks, in this case often apparently caused by the persona's not thinking seriously enough before acting and acting precipitately before being controlled by the lady's chastity. His belief that his lady is the epitome of beauty and grace encourages his faithfulness to her and the *envoi* could be an indication that he knows he is playacting but will, once he has finished the masquerade, adopt a more natural pose. He has to find his way, or be guided by a lady, through the labyrinthine ways of love in order to find that the true end of love is marriage. The resemblances to the *Kingis Quair* are tantalising, although there is no evidence that Alexander, or indeed anyone of his period, was aware of this text. There is also an echo of Montgomerie's 'In throu the windoes of myn ees' (*MP XXII*), where the speaker wishes his Ariadne

were moved 'to lend hir Theseus a threed,/Hir leilest lover to leed/Out of the laberinth of love' (38-40), and 'The Secreit Prais of Love' (*MP* XXVI), where he calls on 'Imaginatione ... the outuard ee,/To spy the richt anatomie of mynd' (15-16).

The Song sets up a number of paradigms which will be worked through, but the ultimate resolution will be in Song 10 – the search for the woman with 'affections more mildly bent'. While Alexander's development of the antithetical composition is not novel, the opposing pulls of the desire for a physically satisfying human love and a more intellectually approved Neoplatonic admiration are clearly delineated. What is beginning to emerge is a sense of realism and the beginnings of a resentment of the implied criticism of his worth. He has served faithfully and deserves some acknowledgement. Here, there is a sensation that the mature writer is controlling the composition, and laying trails for understanding readers. He contrasts his 'fancies course' (22: 1) with 'th'affections of my soule' (4), clearly showing that the two are opposed, the former tied to the idea of being in love, while the latter identifies the true love of his life. It is where the poet changes to the past tense that the mediating consciousness becomes most evident: 'Yet all my merits could not moue thy mind,/But furnish'd trophees for t'adorne thy pride' (9-10). He refuses to interpret this as evidence that he is being refined and drawn up to a purer kind of love, and takes the lady's disdain as simple rejection, warning her that she will burn his love away to ashes if he is not careful. His love 'in the fornace of those troubles tride' (11) has been 'fin'd and refin'd too oft but faintles flashes,/And must within short time fall downe in ashes' (13-14). This is a contrast to the way Petrarch and Spenser would use the image of the alchemist's refining fire, which would be a symbol of the purifying power of *caritas*. All the earthly concerns would be burned away as dross, and only the pure essence left behind, the soul aspiring to heaven. It would also be unthinkable for Petrarch to criticise the lady for her pride in this way, as Alexander's persona realises, because he immediately returns to praising Aurora's pride and rigour, thus showing how worthy he is to remain constant to such an unyielding mistress. This, of course, is part of the narcissism endemic in sonnet

sequences – the persona is the centre, not the lady, whatever the appearances to the contrary

Antithetical voices are very much a feature of *Aurora*, and Alexander very often pairs sonnets which take totally opposing viewpoints to explore the experience of love dialectically, opposing the Neoplatonic to the realist interpretation of love. The reader's appreciation depends on an understanding of the conventions of the tropes, which is why one of the pair of sonnets reinforces the conventional attitude while the other undermines it through counterpoint. This is seen particularly clearly in sonnets 28 and 29, referring to the myth of Phoebe and Endymion, where in the first of the pair the persona imagines himself as Phoebe and Aurora as Endymion, neatly and innovatively putting the goddess in the position of the sleeping shepherd and the lover to the all-powerful god. As such, he dreams of stealing kisses from Aurora:

But to no greater grace I craue to clime,
Then of my goddesse whiles whil'st she reposes,
That I might kisse the stil-selfekissing roses,
And steale of her that which was stolne of him; (5-8)

The very Sidneian flavour of the repetition and of the compound 'stil-selfekissing' adds a sensual depth to the image which is not always true of Alexander, and the closure is as typically Sidneian. Admitting that stealing kisses from a sleeping partner is less than totally satisfying, the persona neatly turns the situation further to his own advantage. If Aurora was displeased when she found out what he had done:

I render would all that I rob'd againe,
And for each kisse I take would giue her twaine. (13-14)

On the other hand, the immediately following sonnet denies the sensuality of the physical kiss in favour of a more spiritually fulfilling relationship between lover and mistress. Imagining himself more conventionally as Endymion, this time the recipient of the kiss rather than the kisser, he describes a dream which was more satisfying than any other lover's dream simply because he had no physical contact with his lady. The elliptical description of sleep is masterly, and has echoes of Shakespeare: 'Whil'st I embrac'd the shadow of my death,/I dreaming did farre greater pleasure proue' (5-6).

The explanation is simple: Endymion received a physical kiss without knowing anything about it while the persona enjoyed a soul-to-soul communion with his mistress: 'He onely got the bodie of a kiss,/And I the soule of it, which he did misse' (13-14). This, it could be argued, is a rather neat example of self-deception, in that a dream vision is seen to be more 'fulfilling' because it was not physical, but another of Alexander's concerns is that men are too easily ensnared by physical beauty, and do not look deeply enough into the beauty or otherwise of the soul. Alexander contends that beauty has only a superficial hold on its admirer, and only the superficial mind will be enchanted:

Those that haue naught wherewith men's minds to gaine,
But onely curled lockes and wanton lookes,
Are but like fleeting baites that haue no hookes,
Which may well take but cannot well retaine: (102: 5-8)

using the Spenserian angling image earlier employed in Son. 92 where the poet pictured himself as a fish 'carelesse swimming in thy beauties seas' (1). The sestet ironically develops the difference between illusion and reality, the outward appearance and the inward worth, and the cruelty of the lady's dangling 'some sweete word or looke' (12) in front of her admirer to keep him hooked.

Sonnets based on antitheses deriving from the contrast between internal cruelty and external beauty are found in the work of Spenser, and in Fowler,³⁷ both Scottish and English precedents informing the antithetical sonnets of Alexander and Craig. The conventional employment of the trope is found in Alexander's 'The most refreshing waters come from rockes' (*Aurora* Son. 79), which is very much in line with the traditional sense of the lover's joyful suffering, in the hope of eternal joy. Spenser suggests that the outcome is akin to the Christian bliss of eternal life: 'Why then should I accoumt of little paine,/that endless pleasure shall unto me gaine?' (*Amoretti* XXVI: 13-14), which Alexander explicitly develops in the closing lines of his sonnet:

I hope to haue a heauen within thine armes,
And quiet calmes when all these stormes are past,
Which coming vnexpected at the last,
May burie in Obluion by-gone harmes. (9-12)

However, this heaven is not at all the Christian land beyond death, but a very earthly heaven in the arms of the woman he loves. The underwritten reference to

the water of Lethe is similarly un-Christian, showing how far away Alexander is drawing from his master.

Where both Spenser and Alexander had posited the presence of sourness as the necessary tempering to sweetness, Craig turns the trope on its head to show that the most beautiful and apparently sweet things are in fact the repositories of poisonous and noisome sours and evils. His employment of the sonnet of antitheses is quite different from the other two, and is written to emblematised the betrayal of his pastoral mistress, Kala, who had accepted his love and then deserted him. Kala had been wooed as a Petrarchan mistress and won, and had thereafter revealed that her sweet exterior covered a treacherous heart:

The whitest Siluer drawes the blackest skore,
In greenest Grasse the deadly Adder lowrs,
The fairest Sunne doth breed the sharpest showsrs,

.
Shall I supp sweet mixt with so sowre a fals? (p. 119: 1-3, 9)

This is far more the conventional misogyny that has been seen so frequently in Scottish poetry, in that, however virtuous the appearance, the Eve will out and the man will suffer.

The lady of the sonnets is increasingly warned that she should not expect to be treated as an untouchable goddess, but that the love which she is offered should be reciprocated for the benefit of both parties. That this love can only be a force for good and something that creates joy is an idea that separates Alexander from his more passionately languishing contemporaries. In a sonnet which appears to derive indirectly from Petrarch's 'S'amor non è, che dunque è quel ch'io sento?' [If not love, then what is it that I feel?] (*Rime* CXXXII) his persona questions his feelings:

Can that which is th'originall of ill,
From which doth flow an Ocean of mischiefe,
Whose poysnous waues doth many thousands kill,
Can that be loue? (Son. 34: 9-12)

Clearly the answer is no, for love is good and sustaining, and mutually rewarding. He challenges 'th'old Philosophers' (Son. 44: 2) as 'all but fooles' for they 'could not apprehend the highest Blisse' (4), which is 'to loue and be belou'd, this is the good' (7). The harmony of souls arising from the harmonies of bodies

is the chief end, but a human physical love between two people who have recognised their mutual attraction is very clearly the starting point for such a soulful communion.

Worthiness in the lady is very important to Alexander, and it is here that perhaps the relationship between the poet and the persona becomes most blurred. There are pleas to the lady to accept his continuing devotion in the face of apparently implacable cruelty and rigour, but reiterated warnings that he will not follow the conventional line of enslavement to a lady who is well-born and virtuous which confers honour on the admirer, as it did in the traditions of courtly love from which Petrarchism ultimately derives. His persona will not fall into base thralldom, as Spenser's did not,³⁸ but will show his constancy while 'fettred with a golden band' (Son. 27: 6) and will only die 'by *Hectors* hand:/So may the victors fame excuse my fall' (7-8). Only a lady who outshines the sun will ever blind his eyes. This will ensure 'much honour if I winne, if lose, no shame' (14). This was a very popular theme in the Renaissance, deriving ultimately from Tansillo's 'Amor m'impenna l'ale' and 'Poi che spiegel'ho l'ale',³⁹ and was used to excuse the persona's otherwise impotent condition, accepting enslavement as the price for the Neoplatonic reward. Alexander's persona, however, cannot maintain this pose in the face of rationality, as is clearly shown in Son. 91, where he is extremely robust in his complaint.

After a fairly conventional octave cataloguing in Montgomerie-esque vein:

The pure white fingers, or the daintie cheekes,
The golden tresses or the nectard breath:
Ah they be all too guiltie of my fall,
All wounded me though I their glorie rais'd; (3-6)

the poet turns on her with a warning: 'Yet for all this, O most ungratefull woman,/Thou shalt not scape the scourge of iust disdaine' (9-10). This is a sentiment Petrarch could never have expressed, and clearly shows that Aurora is here seen as a woman who is loved, and who should recognise and reciprocate that love, because, of course, whether she is attracted to her suitor is irrelevant: he has spent the pains in wooing her and deserves his reward. Clearly, not only has he been entrapped by her physical allurements, which he said were only sufficient to trap those who could not look beneath the surface, he has further

been irritated by the shock to his self-image, in that she cannot see that he deserves some requital, considering all that he has done for her. The next two lines of this sonnet put the whole relationship on to an almost commercial footing, on the grounds of basic courtesy: 'I gaue thee gifts thou shouldst haue giuen againe,/It's shame to be in thy inferiors common' (11-12). The language of reciprocity here illustrates the obligation imposed on the recipient of a gift, which was certainly not a disinterested token of admiration, but the first stage in a series of transactions, often between inferior petitioners and higher-placed patrons. This commercialising of the process of patronage was applied to the rhetoric of love-lyric, as the frequent use of mercantile imagery witnesses.⁴⁰

Such un-Petrarchan sentiments are increasingly seen in the later sonnet sequences, often based on the sight of the lady fondling her lap-dog, which has already been discussed in the work of Sidney and Montgomerie, above. Craig, in a sonnet to Kala, pictures himself as the dog which continues to pester its angry master despite all the threats of punishment: 'While thou corrects, I kindly quest and cry,/And more thou threats, the more I am thine owne' (p. 83: 11-12). Here it is the absolute loyalty of the dog which is appealed to, in the following sonnet this going even beyond death. When he compares the way Cinthia treats her dog, and compares it to her treatment of him, he initially tries reason:

Why loues thou more (faire dame) thy Dog then mee?
 what can he do but (as the Scholer said
 At *Xanthus* feast) shake eares and tayle on thee?
 And I can do much more to make thee glade,
 With tedious toyle and longsome labour made. (p. 97: 1-5)

Not only is there the characteristic classical reference in justification of his point of view, but a direct reference to the time he has spent on his poetry and his attendance on her, which surely has to be worth more than any dog's ability to pick up a dropped glove or kerchief. It appears, from the development of the sestet, that it is the dog's presence in Cinthia's bedchamber which finally causes him to erupt out of all reasonableness:

But I, whom thou disdainefully exyles
 From thy sweet bed, and thy most sweet embrace;
 Which fawning Currs with filthy feet defiles,
 I could doe more, but I lack leaue allace:
 Fie Natures bastard, make no Dog thy Loue
 Least thou a Monster, I a Martyr proue. (9-14)

The impotence of the suitor in the face of the lady's rigour is clearly galling, as the forceful alliteration on /f/ in line 11 illustrates, but, as is usual, the persona has the final word, coming out of the unsuccessful suit as a martyr for love, while the lady is debased as something unnatural and misbegotten, very strong terms reminiscent of Drayton's *Amour* 40 (see above p. 137) being used to criticise her behaviour and leaving the reader questioning the validity of the 'martyr' image. The poem shows a psychological strength in its realism and is in striking contrast in its tone to the very similar poem by Sidney which criticises Stella's inability to distinguish Astrophil's wit from a dog's instinct, and from Montgomerie's 'To his maistres messane' (*S* XLVII) which bewails the lover's all too complete understanding of his situation.

These demands for a response in tangible or other form lead naturally into the practice of the giving of gifts at New Year, which, at least at Court, as is clearly shown by the records of New Year's presents made to Queen Elizabeth and to King James, had very little to do with genuine affection and a good deal to do with establishing a position in the pecking order. Any courtier who expected to be shown royal favour had to ensure that such favour was expensively and publicly bought by means of a carefully selected gift which was calculated to strike a fine balance between providing evidence of having more money than sense and showing an appropriate regard for the sovereign's deserts. Such gift-making extended to all ranks of the nobility who were capable of offering any kind of patronage to aspirants, and the poem of congratulation or praise was a favourite method. It is from here a very short step to the praise offered to a mistress as a preliminary to the granting of the desired grace.

Craig has written two rather strange poems as New Year gifts, the first to Penelope, avowing his loyalty to her by means of a comparison with lady Lucrece, supposed by her husband to be absolutely chaste, but who killed herself 'a deemd adultress in dispaire.' (p. 91: 4), which might hint at the imputations that were made about Penelope Rich and Philip Sidney after the publication of *Astrophil and Stella*. The poem's aim is presumably to show that all women but Penelope are naturally adulterous, and that he is willing to make the sacrifice to remain loyal only to her:

I loue thee still, and I will not refuse,

Though small allace, be my reward therefore.
 And so (faire Dame) for Newyears gift receaue
 My heart thine owne, my selfe to be thy slaue. (10-14)

The close is conventional, but is considerably undermined by the opening of the poem, if it has been properly read.

In a rather different and extremely baroque vein is 'Newyeares gift to Idea' (p. 96), where his use of classical parallels is eclectic to say the least. He has clearly, to use Du Bellay's metaphor,⁴¹ swallowed the classical myths, chewed them up, digested them, and formed from them the muscles and sinews of his own poetry, but this at times produces the most odd comparisons, perhaps deliberately, in this poem the rather horrible story of the Locrian king Zaleucus, who decreed that an adulterer should lose both his eyes, until, finding his own son under sentence, he excused him one eye, giving one of his own instead, out of paternal kindness. This is described as an appropriate illustration of the 'custome old,/That friends their friends with mutual gifts should greet' (10-11), confirmed by 'Zaleucus-like these Lines are sent by mee,/To keepe the law and kith my Loue to thee' (13-14). What Craig is doing here is parodying the conventions, both of new year gift-giving, which had become increasingly extravagant among courtiers, and the extravagant praise of the mistress. The very inappropriateness of the parallel serves to highlight the impossibility of Idea's ever reciprocating his worship of her in kind.

A similar development of apparently inappropriate parallels is seen in Drayton's *Idea* 50 in which the pains of love are compared to the very real pains of vivisection carried out on a condemned man. This is an element which has been seen in the work of William Fowler in Scotland, where he compared the plagues of love to the very real plagues that he had seen raging through Scotland in his lifetime (see above p. 100). The lady as cause of the pain and also as medicinar was of course a Petrarchan commonplace, but Drayton's gothic expression here is much more akin to that of Fowler than to Petrarch. the condemned man is given to the surgeons to practise on:

First make incision on each mast'ring Veine,
 Then stanch the bleeding, then trans-pierce the Coarse,
 And with their Balmes recure the Wounds againe;
 Then Poyson, and with Physicke him restore:
 Not that they feare the hope-lesse Man to kill,

But their Experience to increase the more;
 Ev'n so my Mistres workes upon my Ill;
 By curing me, and killing me each How'r,
 Onely to shew her Beauties Sov'raigne Pow'r. (6-14)

It is the calmness and detailed interest with which this horrific scene is described that shows the maturing of Drayton's style, combined with the gothic trait of taking a conventional comparison to an extravagant height by making the metaphor literal and then developing it to its logical conclusion. The essence of the comparison is signalled by the parallel inherent in the idea that the surgeons treat the wounds in order to keep the victim alive as long as possible to practise their skills, and the way the Petrarchan lady holds her admirer by giving him occasional looks and smiles.

But this is parody rather than serious criticism, and is perhaps symptomatic of the increasing tide of realism overtaking lyric poetry in the seventeenth century. Alexander's persona, although seemingly in thrall to the conventional Petrarchan lady, is in fact moving towards a more rational relationship, and, in so doing, is learning more about the true nature of women. By Sonet 103, close to the end of the sequence, he realises that Aurora was acting for the best and was not simply being cruel, and he can see her true virtue shining through:

Thou of my rash affections held'st the raines,
 And spying dangerous sparkes come from my fires,
 Did'st wisely temper my enflam'd desires,
 With some chaste fauours, mixt with sweet disdaines: (5-8)

Clearly, this is no ordinary woman, already credited with having more intellectual power than the persona to curb the passions. She is a more rational being, and has acknowledged the persona's devotion by means of the 'chaste fauours' which he has rather unkindly rejected as insufficient to match his passion in the past. Where he is 'rash', she is wise, and her disdains are always the product of chastity rather than ritual teasing. He is finally able to see that she loved as well as he did, but was better at hiding it: 'For whil'st thy reason did thy fancies tame,/I saw the smoke, although thou hid'st the flame' (13-14). Having found his way out of the labyrinth, the persona is once more unified with the poet, who can now go off and write other things. The final sonnet in the sequence, 105, makes clear that he

is now turning his back on love poetry, presumably having got it out of his system, in favour of historical epic:

Awake my Muse, and leaue to dreame of loues,
Shake off soft fancies chaines, I must be free,
Ile perche no more, vpon the mirtle tree,

But with *Ioues* stately bird Ile leaue my nest,
And trie my sight against *Apolloes* raies: (1-6)

Once again, Alexander's favourite word 'fancies' is invoked to synecdochise the entire scope of amatory lyric, but the apparent paradox of 'soft fancies chaines' shows clearly how enslaved a man can be by love, and, perhaps, by the fashion for love poetry. Although the thoughts of the lover are often equated with flights of eagles (Jove's birds) to the sun (Apollo's rays), here it is clear from the rejection of the myrtle tree sacred to Venus that the poet has turned his back finally on the amatory lyric, and considers that his Muse has not been properly exercised. Following Horace, he will rest '[v]pon the Oliues boughs' (8) sacred to Pallas Athene and will take his chance at being thought 'like *Icarus* I feare, vnwisely bold' (13) as he is 'purpos'd others passions now t'vnfold' (14).

That penultimate line would seem to indicate that Alexander is still at the beginning of his writing career, although as has been explained it is very difficult to date any of *Aurora*, given the numerous revisions which it underwent until it was published in 1604. If, however, *Aurora* is a *pièce d'occasion*, begun only because the Petrarchan sonnet sequence was popular, another reason for finishing it off is given in Song 10, where Alexander bids a happy farewell to bachelordom on the eve of his marriage.

O welcome easie yoke, sweet bondage come,
I seeke not from thy toiles for to be shielded,
But I am well content to be orecome,
Since that I must commaund when I haue yeelded:
Then here I quit both *Cupid* and his mother,
And do resigne my selfe t'obtaine another. (43-8)

The oppositions here, although Petrarchan in essence, are more positive than the bitter oppositions and antitheses that Alexander has been rehearsing throughout the sequence, and there is perhaps an underwritten homage to Spenser here also, in that the older poet's *Amoretti* were frequently published with the *Epithalamion*, as if the marriage celebration naturally crowned the sonnet

sequence. Scottish readers, however, would equally detect yet another tantalising echo of the *Kingis Quair* in the journey through poetry to a happy and fulfilling marriage 'in lufis yok that esy is and sure' (stanza 193).

Alexander is the only Spenserian sonneteer who follows Spenser in this way, all the others ending in either a vow of eternal love despite lack of response, or a decision to turn elsewhere, both of which tend to indicate the artificial nature of the love described. Murray uses the accountancy conceit also found in the sequences of Sidney, Daniel and Drayton⁴² to bring his sequence to a close, although it is not in fact the final sonnet, as is made clear in the less than final account presented. The mercantile diction distances the sonnet from any emotional declaration of love, and underscores the cost to men of maintaining the pose of Petrarchan lover:

Ponder thy cares, and sum them all in one,
Get the account of all thy heart's disease,
Recken the torments do thy mind displease,
Write vp each sigh, each plaint, each teare, each grone, (20: 1-4)

The very mechanical counting of every negative aspect is cold and calculating, and clearly posed, making it obvious that the writing has been just as calculated. Although this is a successful sonnet of its type, showing Murray's facility with the trope, it does not convey any sense of despair. The closing couplet has a tone of resignation, as if this game has now become tedious but has to be continued until both partners decide to call it off:

And when all those thou hast enrold aright
Into the count-booke of thy daily care,
Extract them truly, then present the sight
With them, of flinty *Caelia* the faire,
That she may see if yet moe ills remaine
For to be paid to her uniust disdaines. (9-14)

There is an underwritten Alexander-like resentment at being unjustly ignored, the Scottish note perhaps reinforced by the internal rhyme in the couplet, but perhaps a more important expression of despair at rejection is found in the final numbered sonnet of the sequence, which is on the subject of Bellizarius, lieutenant to the Emperor Justinian, cast aside after he had outlived his usefulness.

In the same way that Petrarch used topical or classical allusions in the course of *Rime* to underscore the universality of his situation, so Murray appears

to present the figure of the destitute former favourite as mirroring his own position, and it may well be that his court position rather than his pose as lover of Caelia is intended. This is once again an Italian sonnet, as befits its Petrarchan origin, and appears to indicate that Murray's allegiance is finally to the Petrarchan strain. The passer-by is appealed to as witness to the actions of 'never-constant fortune, changing aye' (22: 3) who:

... in a moment tooke
Mee from the hight of an Imperiall sway,
And plac'd me heere, blind begging by this way, (5-7)

There is a reminder here of Montgomerie's poems where he bewails his ill fortune in life and love⁴³ but Murray now allies himself with his namesakes, the poet John Murray, and his cousin, M. David Murray.

Craig has a number of farewells to make, although as he does not bid farewell to all the ladies addressed throughout the sequence, and, indeed, keeps returning to the lascivious Lais even after he has bidden her and her '*Judas kis*' (p. 117: 7) farewell. Finally, he has his moment of triumph over her, as he has written her character and it cannot change:

Thinks thou that change fro[m] this to yonder place,
Can caus thy shame and scandall to decay?
No *Lais* no, I pray thee hold thy peace,
And put these fond opinions quite away:
For while thy life, or yet my lins endure,
the world shall say, thou art a shameles whore. (p. 143: 7-12)

One could argue that since Demosthenes had already so named her, and her name had become such a byword that Erasmus could cite her, whatever vituperation a minor Scottish poet heaped on her was not markedly going to affect her, but the serious point is that Scottish literature is one place where the Magdalen is not given a second chance, at least not until Drummond.

As befits the Petrarchan origin of Erantina, he will remain faithful to her, never asking for anything from her, until death:

I shall be found no falce nor flitting friend,
My loue shall last as long as life suppose,

.
Yet all those iarres shall not my minde remoue
The day of death shall be the date of loue. (p. 132: 6-7, 13-14)

The avowal of love until death is absolutely in tune with Petrarch's own declaration, and there is a quietness about this which, with its antitheses

strengthened by alliteration, sounds much more genuine than a more passionate declaration would do. The same kind of quietness, although this time in resigned rejection, is found in the 'vnwilling Farewell to Penelope'. Using the example of Cotys breaking a 'vessell rich and rare' (p. 137: 2) which had been sent him by a friend 'not for contempt, but to preuent my care' (5), as it could not then be broken carelessly by his servants, he is leaving Penelope and will not present her with any more poems.

A hint in the farewell to Lithocardia is reinforced in that to Pandora 'from England', which suggests that this was the time that Craig had chosen to make his bid for patronage at the court. However, he will not stop singing the praises of his Scottish Pandora, and will in fact spread her praises amongst the English poets he meets: 'And till wee meet, my rustick mats and I/Through woods & plains, *Pandoras* prayse shal cry' (p. 142: 13-14).

However, she will have to take her place after Idea, as, befitting her position as chief addressee throughout the sequence, Idea's farewell sonnet is not a farewell, but a final declaration of continuing service, with a twist, similar to Fowler's twist of Petrarch, in that the sonnets to Idea, while celebrating her beauty and virtue, are simultaneously celebrating the merit of the writer, and, perhaps even more importantly, if the writer dies, so does Idea's praise:

Thou, they, and I, a true relation beare:
As but the one, an other can not bee;
For if it chance by thy disdane I die,
My Songs shal cease, and thou be known no more.

.
In *Hyperbolik* loftie heigh conceits:

Thou, they, & I, throughout the world be known
They mine, thou theirs, and last I am thine own. (p. 144: 3-6, 12-14)

The solipsism of the sonneteer is the beginning and end of Craig's sequence, showing his adherence to an older form, and illustrating as clearly as need be the essentially artificial nature of his *oeuvre*. The same could well be said of Drayton, who ends the first version of *Ideas Mirrovr* with a sonnet of antitheses beginning 'When first I Ended, then I first Began', neatly encapsulating the circularity of the enterprise, and then in the 1599 and all later revisions ends on a very Spenserian sonnet about warfare and conquest, where the persona offers terms of peace to the lady in the hope of ending the torment.

It is clear even from this very limited study of the Spenserian-Sidneian sonnets still being written at the turn of the seventeenth century, and presumably still being bought by readers, that the taste for Petrarchism had not died, but that the conventional conceits were being adapted into a newer, more 'realistic' type of approach to love poetry. Whether there is a Scottish influence to this is very difficult to ascertain, although as has been argued, the Neoplatonic strain never really found favour in Scotland, as it did not have a foothold in the earlier lyric poetry of the sixteenth century. From 1604 onwards, the tropes and conceits of Petrarchism are subverted and twisted, parodied and literalised in a new development of what had been done in *quattrocento* Italy. Increasingly, a gothic development in the type of imagery used, found in extreme form in the work of Alexander Craig, and a mannerist tendency in stylistics, illustrated in some of the works of Sir David Murray, where the rhetoric risks taking over altogether from the sense of the original image, questions the master's whole practice, cynicism gradually making the tropes of Petrarchism impossible to take seriously.

Petrarchism was, however, far from dead, and had become so entrenched in lyric poetry that it would be unthinkable to write love lyrics without reference to the conventions, even by parodying, or inverting or literalising them. Even the most 'metaphysical' of poets, as will be seen in the next chapter, were schooled in Petrarchism, and used its tropes and figures as the basis for their new developments.

Chapter 4 'The Anti-Spenserian Development: Robert Ayton and Alexander Craig and their Scottish and English influences'

The foremost among the Scottish Jacobean poets after Sir William Alexander is undoubtedly Sir Robert Ayton, who held a number of minor court positions before becoming secretary to Queen Anne and later to Queen Henrietta Maria. A cultivated and literary man, he wrote in four languages, Greek, Latin, French and English, as well as in his native Scots, and was claimed as a friend by Ben Jonson, who said, in his conversations with Drummond 'That Sir R. Ayton loved him well.'¹ Ayton's verse in English (the Latin verse will not be considered here) shows a considerable variety of forms, although the themes tend to be the conventional ones of love and praise of great men and fellow writers already seen in the works of his contemporaries Sir William Alexander and Alexander Craig. In common with the other Scots who moved south in and after 1603, Ayton wrote predominantly in English rather than Scots, and Englished his extant work, showing an easier familiarity with the language than some of his countrymen. However, he was no mere slave to English fashions, and the range of his verse forms shows a continuation from the Scottish tradition as well as a sensitivity to and appreciation of contemporary English developments in occasional poetry and song lyric.

The first seven poems in the Scottish Text Society's collection of Ayton's English and Latin poems² are rather an odd introduction to the poet's work, for, as his editor Charles Gullans points out, only three of them are by Ayton, two probably by Sir William Alexander and one almost certainly by Alexander Craig.³ Although Ayton and Craig were undergraduates together at St Andrews in the mid to late 1580s, it is almost certain that Alexander was matriculated at Glasgow University,⁴ and thus the three are highly unlikely to have been writing together. Internal evidence from the later writing of both Ayton and Craig shows that they did read each other's work, but how exactly the work of the three poets comes together is unexplained.

The seven poems in Scots come from a single manuscript source, subscribed 'Semple', which made it appear that they were all by a single hand, until McDiarmid pointed out that the fourth poem of the seven is the same,

although in Scots, as Elegie II of *Aurora*, and thus, unless Alexander is guilty of the most appalling plagiarism, his rather than Ayton's.⁵ Similarly, it is now assumed that 'Craig's passionado' is by Craig rather than about him. The dyor or dier and the passionado are developments of the medieval complaint, and the presence of two dyors, one each by Ayton and Alexander, and the passionado by Craig (typically he would choose the more florid development) makes it reasonable to assume that some kind of competition was undertaken between Ayton and Craig, with or without the active participation of Alexander, in which they continued the Scottish courtly tradition of intertextuality. That they actively employed the rather old-fashioned poulter's measure so beloved of King James in his longer pieces of verse, specifically, in this context, 'A Dier at her Maiesties Pleasure',⁶ would additionally seem to show that the form itself, which is the lament of a swain dying for love, had an appeal in its very artificiality.

In Ayton's Dyor, numbered 2 in the STS edition, Diophantus pleads with his lady Charidora for her love in Scots and in an Englished version (2a) which is not always an accurate translation, but shows some quite significant changes from the original. A number of examples illustrate the point. 'Ourgazeinges grouflings on ye gronde/with death prent in his eyes' (4) becomes in the Englished version printed: 'And Ghostly gazeing on the ground/Even death struck in his eyes.' Although the alliterative /g/ is retained, the powerful effect of 'groufling' (grovelling) is totally lost in the revised version as is the force of 'prent' as the reason for his grovelling as opposed to 'struck' which appears more like a consequence. The idiomatic and alliterative 'can he crye' which perfectly reflects the forcing of the 'wrestling voyce' is lost in the English 'ah, he cries' and there appears to be a deliberate mistranslation of 'myne ay adorit dame' as 'My high adored Dame' (8). (It should be pointed out that 'death print' (4) and 'can cry' (8) are found in the text of Add. 28622, which is another seventeenth-century witness quoted by Gullans.)

It could be hypothesised that, in the same way that Alexander Englished and amplified his verses in *Aurora* very possibly under the influence of his admiration for Drayton, Ayton in his Englishing was also following Spenser and Drayton at this time, rather than Donne and Jonson as he did later, as the

imagery and language of the Englished version is rather more Spenserian than anything else. The particular detail of the description of the lady in some parts of the poem becomes subsumed in the Englished version into a much more generalised and newly conventional portrait: 'Thy wordes soe wyse, thy lukes so grave,/thy maneris so modest' (62) becomes 'Thy words thy lookes and such things Els/As none but Angells have'. The phrase 'such things Els' is horribly unpoetic, and appears to be tolerated simply to allow the angel image to have prominence.

Unfortunately, since Ayton did not edit his own work, as Alexander and Craig did, it is not as easy to see the development of the themes over time. Stylistic variations are not as useful a guide to dating as might be the case with some poets, although it is presumed that the poems in poulter's measure are more likely to be early than post-1603. Although a willing experimenter with different forms and styles, often song measures and shorter, non-stanzaic forms, Ayton in his early work appears to have written under the influence of James' *Reulis and cautelis*, and James' own poetry, hence the predilection for the otherwise unfashionable metre. Like James, Ayton shows that the native measure can be pressed into service for a variety of themes, particularly when combined with alliteration.

Most of these early poems are concerned with the lover's undying love for a disdainful lady, and although there are similarities in imagery and diction, the voice is subtly different in each. It looks as if Ayton is experimenting with the measure within certain self-imposed limitations, but achieving different effects with each attempt. There are also alternative visions in consecutive poems, as in 'Will thow, remorsles fair' and 'Let him whois hapeles state', numbered 6 and 7 in the STS collection, where the Petrarchan is first denied and then confirmed, following Alexander's usual method. The Petrarchan convention of building a poem on oppositions is exploited in the language of the first of these, where the 'Remorsles fair' is pictured as laughing while the speaker laments, her 'cheefe contentment ... /to see [him] mallecontent' (6: 2). This persona, however, will not 'waste his spirit in an expense of shame', but will exercise his own sense of himself and his own dignity, expressed as '[m]y iust desert's disdaines/to loue ane

Loueles dame' (7). This is very like Alexander in his attesting of the futility of pursuing love where it is not reciprocated, but is derived ultimately from the precedents set by Scott and Montgomerie in Scottish poetry, as has already been amply illustrated in the foregoing chapters. This poem is much more robust in its sentiments while maintaining highly conventional Petrarchan sentiments and tropes, with the lady as saint, the mariner's star, the horizon of hope, the balm to soothe his pain. The writing is very conventionally Scottish, following James' *Reulis and cautelis*, using poulter's measure and heavy alliteration, as James did in his own *Dier*. The lines tend to have two alliterating sounds, using the stressed syllables as in medieval alliterative verse. The Petrarchism of this poem is very Scottish, or Alexander Scott-ish in its directness and straightforwardness of expression, and its lack of surface imagery except in a few significant places, such as where describing his unwillingness to continue in this life as 'mutineris malcontent's' (12). Simile and conventional classicism are preferred to innovative metaphor, the despairing lover described as 'narcissus lyke' (3), 'lyke pigmalion' (4), suffering 'the lyfe of cupidis fyre' (8). The other Scottish and Scott-ish element is the refusal to continue to love under such conditions, as in the earlier poet's 'To Luve Unlubit'.⁷ As is seen throughout Ayton's love lyrics, 'my blinde love now must burrow reassonnes eyes' (5) and rational judgement must rule blind emotion. This rational and much more earth-bound viewpoint has been seen to be a feature of Scottish poetry even where poets use the Petrarchan idiom, and, as this chapter will illustrate, finds its fullest expression in Ayton's work.

Interestingly, the Englished version, present in three different manuscripts and collated as one text in the STS edition, facing the Scots version,⁸ goes rather further in its imagery than the original: 'But thow ... wald eternize/thy bewtie with my bloode' (14) becomes 'But thou ... would ambitiously imbrue/Thy beauty in my blood', which is very reminiscent of some of Spenser's stronger images, as in *Amoretti* 31, where the poet laments 'that she the better may in bloody bath/of such poore thralls her cruell hands embrew' (11-12). The final line also is different in the Englished version. Originally this line read: 'thow will noucht loue thy freinde' (18), making clear the lady's deliberate rejection of him, but in the

translation it is rendered as: 'thou cannot love thy freind', which relieves the lady rather oddly of guilt, while allowing her earlier to bathe in his blood and tears.

Ayton, like many of his contemporaries, both Scottish and English, did not find a single verse form and stick to it slavishly. There is a variety to his work in verse form as well as in style, diction and content, and he is very difficult to pin down. Although coming from a basically Petrarchan lyrical strain, he shows evidence of having developed, whether independently or, more probably, through assimilation of contemporary writing, a more ironic or sardonic, worldly-wise and even cavalier attitude towards love throughout his literary life. The way the poems are presented in the STS volume there is a continual switching of attitude and subject matter from one poem to the next, and frequently poems are paired as statement and rebuttal.

Exactly this kind of pairing is found in numbers 10 [A Declaration] and 11 [A Protestation], where the first poem in eight-line stanzas of alternately rhymed quatrains declares undying unrequited love constantly borne without (much) complaint, and the following in simple quatrains explores the paradox of the heart which continues loving hopelessly.

The first of these is actually about poetry, describing how the writer originally played at love or made fun of lovers, but now has moved into a tragic mode: 'Vnto my Muses mourning mouth/A wailing wayne hath wrought' (7-8), and there may be a reference to Alexander Craig if there is a pun in 'my wonted Secretaryes/In whome I doe confide,/The hills and Craigs I meane' (139-141). This is a trait which has been found throughout Craig's own work, and was a feature of Scottish Jacobean poetics, chiefly in the work of Montgomerie, although name games and anagrams were universally popular at this time. In hyperbolic vein typical of mannerist Petrarchism, and reminiscent of the later images of Michael Drayton,⁹ he compares his grief with that of those in Hell, but his pain is unjustified, while they are being punished for previous sins. This is play-acting, rehearsing the tropes rather tritely:

It could not be a life,
 Since that I had noe heart,
 And well I knowe it was noe death,
 Since that I felt my smart.
 It was then such a mids

As takes part of the two,
Or rather such as both the Extreames
Doth vtterly missknowe. (41-8)

This stanza shows a feature of Ayton's English verse, in that the rhymes are not secure in English, but often depend on a Scots pronunciation, as in 'two' and 'missknowe', which would presumably be pronounced 'twa' and 'missknaw'. Another interesting feature is that as printed here the lines which do not rhyme are paired semantically, 'life' opposing 'death', and 'mids' opposing 'Extreames'. This is a theme which will be important throughout Ayton's lyric oeuvre: the notion of the Aristotelean Golden Mean, which is frequently used to criticise excessive love in others:

But things too violent
Cannot too long indure,
My passions are soe excessive
There owne End they'l procure. (101-4)

Again the unrhymed lines are paired semantically, 'passions' being 'excessive' are therefore 'violent'.

The partner poem is apparently Neoplatonic, the persona framed by the stars '[t]o make a man whose luck should be/To be belov'd of none' (27-8), the lady a saint and ideal of beauty: 'That even her shaddow should infect/A world of hearts with love' (31-2). Even at this early stage, however, the rhetoric is being literalised in the gothic manner typical of the age, where the lady's beauty is so overwhelming that even her reflection makes every man fall in love with her. The 'shaddow' of the lady *should* be interpreted as the earthly manifestation of the Neoplatonic ideal, but the poem plays on the alternative literal interpretations of the reflection and the actual shadow cast by the lady's body in the sunlight. This is only the start of a philosophical analysis of the effects of love on the lover who dates the beginning of his life from the moment of his sighting the lady:

I must confess the truth
Thy love bringes life to mee,
And I esteeme him as starke dead
That lives vnloving thee. (53-6)

But the paradox is that this life is a living death, because his heart has been sacrificed 'And aye since syne I thinke it lives/Because for the it dyes' (63-4). The problem is worked through logically and dialectically and exposed as requiring faith to be understood:

Now this to thee perchance
 A paradoxe doth prove,
 Yet none mistrusts such misteryes
 But Heriticks in love. (65-8)

And who is 'thee' to whom this paradox is addressed? The second person pronoun is variously employed throughout the poem for the writer's heart, for the lady, for the addressee, who clearly cannot be the lady herself, as this person is 'not well purifyed/With loves refyning flame' (71-2). Clearly it has to be the reader himself, pictured as the conventional unsympathetic friend, and effortlessly drawn into the dialectic almost as another character, eventually to support the writer in his rational judgement.

The direct presentation of the persona's situation which is such a mark of Donne's poetry, and which gives such an apparently personal viewpoint,¹⁰ is seen to some extent in most of Ayton's work, the imagery developing from the Spenserian-Petrarchan vein as it does in the work of Donne.¹¹ Number 12 [An Exhortation] is paradoxical in that what is exhorted is almost indistinguishable in its smallness. The persona is suffering from 'Irrelenting smart' (1) but cannot free himself from the lady, although he knows he should:

But while affection would my woes reveale
 And say vnto my sweetest heart farewell,
 My senses are soe suffocat'd with care
 They sigh, they grone, then sayes nothing but faire. (5-8)

This would appear to be an early lyric, as the rhyme requires a Scots pronunciation of 'farewell'. 'Faire' is, of course, the first syllable of 'farewell', but is neatly and, I think, uniquely used in this sense to play with the ideas.

The actual exhortation *appears* to come in the second stanza, where the hyperbolic 'fairest faire' is invited to 'read in my sighes and teares/The secreete anguish of they dyeing slave' (9-10) rather than to reciprocate his feelings or requite his love. He is resigned to the grave while protesting '[t]en thousand deaths shall never end his love' (16). Another interesting feature of this poem is the modulation from first to third person and back again, as what the lady would read is described. Although it is not obvious, the persona *is* asking for more. He has said he is resigned to his fate, should say farewell and cannot and therefore must suffer the consequences, but in the final stanza, subtly, the real exhortation is made, hidden in a great show of self-abasement:

And thus resolv'd I only begg of the,
 Amidds my sadd Exile, this poore releife,
 That if thou cannot thinke with love on mee,
 Thou would with pittie pause vpon my grieffe. (17-20)

The love which he craves is literally hidden in the verse, not being used as a rhyme word, although the rhymes are highly significant: the 'releife' for his 'grieffe' would come from 'the' to 'mee' if the lady would consent to his pleas. The piling on of words redolent of his poor state, using adverbs, verbs, adjectives and nouns severally, heightens the totality of his despair. This is further reinforced by the alliterative /p/ sounds which show the plea bursting from his lips. What he is asking is not little at all, of course, but is real acknowledgement from the lady of his devotion, her pity being the first step to love. This is how the pay-off line works:

... when some freind my Name to minde shall call,
 Thou'll only sigh and wish mee well, that's all. (23-4)

The sigh *would* make him well, as it would show her feelings. There is a sense of just deserts here – he has devoted his life and she should acknowledge that, very much as William Alexander's persona required Aurora to acknowledge his devotion to her. While this is Ayton's most frequent stance, he is perfectly prepared to pose as the conventional Petrarchan lover.

The Petrarchan's vow of constancy despite the lady's changeability was a theme that Ayton used frequently, often again by looking at both sides of the issue in different poems, as in numbers 48 [Vpon his unconstant Mistress] and 49 [Constancy: A Song]. In the former Ayton uses alternating masculine and feminine rhymes skilfully to point the difference between male and female attitudes to love. Where man exercises his judgement through reason to choose his mate, woman is governed by her heart and is swayed by irrational impulses. The persona bemoans the fact that his brain told him that loving this woman was foolish (although it is *her* foolishness that is cited): 'Why did I wrong my Iudgment soe' (1) and now finds himself 'by her folly ... forsaken' (6). The entire construction of the poem is built on a reversal of the conventional themes and ideas, in the same way that the stanza form, inverting the more usual common verse *ababcc* here takes the form *aabccb*. Where the conventional Petrarchan theme of the woman as a shadow was symbolic of the Platonic ideal and

therefore something positive to aim for, the persona sees this as pointless and insubstantial, the appearance rather than the reality:

And of my shadow am a chaseing,
For all her favours are to mee
Like apparitions which I see,
Yet never can come neare th'imbraceing. (9-12)

The expert opposing of the rhyme to the content is here shown, the lines describing the man in his chase and desire to embrace enclosing the shadowy form of the woman he cannot reach.

Although Jonson's 'That Women Are Bvt Mens Shaddowes' is a translation, it does have resemblances to Ayton's poem, in its play on the different meaning of 'shadow' picking up the Earl of Pembroke's argument about whether women were or were not men's shadows.¹² Jonson takes the literal line in this epigram, although it is assumed that the Countess of Pembroke, advancing the opposite case, was talking in a more Platonic sense. Jonson compares the natural actions of a light-cast shadow with the learned actions of the woman courted:

Follow a shaddow, it still flies you;
Seeme to flye it, it will pursue:
So court a mistris, shee denies you;
Let her alone, shee will court you. (VII: 1-4)

This is witty, and of a piece with an oft-cited paradox of female behaviour. The honesty is all on the male side, the perversity on the female. Women are seen to be cunning, taking advantage of men at weak times of youth and age, as the shadow is longest in early morning and evening:

So men at weakest, they are strongest,
But grant vs perfect, they're not knowne. (9-10)

It is significant that a man in the prime of life, at the noontime of his day, should be described as 'perfect'.

Ayton is in such an ironic mood, and is still trying to understand why women love, and when his pursuit would be likely to meet with success, as there is no 'Almanack' to tell him 'when love with her had beene in season' (48: 14, 15). Finally, using an arcane term from astronomy in what would more conventionally be an astrological sense, he recognises:

... there is noe Art
Can finde the Epact of a heart
That loves by chance and not by reason. (16-18)

But this recognition will not make him give up and abandon her. Since she is so contrary in her actions and desires, her very inconstancy may give him what he wants if he waits:

For what vnto my Constancy
Is now deny'd, one day may be
From her Inconstancy expected. (22-24)

The poet here neatly turns the tables on the lady, making her inconstancy an actual advantage to him, and enjoying a sardonic smile at her expense. This appears to be a Jacobean development of the *querelle des femmes*, and has elements in common with the 'impossibilities' trope so popular with Scottish poets in the sixteenth century. Although the persona will have to wait for his acceptance, there is no sense that he has given up the controlling interest to the woman, as she 'loves by chance and not by reason' (18), while he decides to pursue his course on the ground of his original judgement.

A different type of enjoyment is found in the following poem as printed, number 49, which is titled [Constancy: A Song]. This is a much more witty and playful poem on the subject of woman's constancy, deploring her perversity: she loved him when she thought he took no notice, and now that he has declared himself she has lost interest, exactly as Jonson said in his Epigram. Playing on the pun of 'kind' meaning 'loving' as well as 'behaving according to nature' the singer contemplates paying her back in her own coin:

Methinkes it were good policie
For mee to turn vnkinde
To make the kinde.

Yet I will not good nature strayne... (8-11)

He will maintain his own integrity, despite her contrariety, and will not use the excuse that he was only acting this way because she did it first, as that would show 'lightness' in him. Rather, he will pay her back by showing the difference between them, expressed rather interestingly:

But since I gave thee once my heart,
My constancy shall show
That though thou play the womans part
And from a freind turne foe,
Men doe not soe. (21-25)

Women are always thought to be the changeable ones, and this lady has simply shown that she is like all the rest, initially welcoming and then rejecting his

advances. Whatever her conduct, however, he will do as all men do, which is to follow their constant natures and she can thus be rather smugly dismissed with that 'Men doe not so' which sounds decidedly arch in the circumstances.

This tone of masculine clubbiness, conveying a sense of greater enjoyment of all-male gatherings which must have been central to court culture under James, may well be the impetus for an intriguing appeal for patronage addressed to Sir James Hay, Gentleman of his Majesty's Bedchamber (number 28). This, although addressed to a man, is couched in the most extravagant Petrarchan terms, and seems to go beyond mere courtly exaggeration. Perhaps the key lies in the reference in the first line of the poem to '*Iamus* keys', suggesting the turn of the year and the period of misrule which occurred at that time. Janus is also the two-faced god, and thus could be signalling the duplicity of the poem in its literary cross-dressing. It could even be a subtly punning hint at an imitation of the *Basia* of Joannes Secundus, which adopted a similarly playful tone.¹³ It is clearly a request for notice, and certainly would stand out from the more conventional expressions of flattery which such a courtier as Hay, second in favour only to Robert Carr at this time, would receive from less well-placed hopefuls such as Ayton.

The full panoply of Petrarchan imagery is used here, Ayton writing in his own name as '*your most addicted*'. He sends 'hecatombs of kisses to [Hay's] hands', sacrificed with 'flames of feruent loue' (4, 3) attesting that if they are received by Hay, their worth will be immeasurably increased 'if once thy shrine they tuch' (6). This is the most Spenserian of Petrarchan imagery being subverted in a double sense: the rhetoric of courtship is addressed quite deliberately to an identifiable man, unlike Shakespeare's duplicitous sonnets to the lovely youth, and the 'kisses' are in fact a collection of Latin poems, or *Basia*, which are the real gift. In fact, it is Hay's response which is the theme of the poem, as that is what will reward the poet. If he laughs at the poem-kisses 'then they will compare/With all the haruest of th'Arabian fields' (7-8) and will become more than comparable with the kisses of gods and goddesses.

Yea they will be more sweet in their conceat
Then *Venus* kisses spent on *Adons* wounds;
Then those wherewith pale *Cynthia* did entreat
The louely Shepheard of the *Latmian* bounds;

And more then those which *Ioues* Ambrosian mouth
 Prodigaliz'd vpon the Troian youth. (13-18)

What the relationship with Hay was is difficult to establish from this poem, as it was part of the conventions of courtship to address a courtier in friendly terms in the hope of a positive response.¹⁴ The mocking, parodic tone softens the pleading which is the purpose of such poems and recalls the *sprezzatura* so admired in gentlemanly poetics. What is most probable is that this is a plea for a court position, which Ayton hopes might come to James' ears. He is using James' favourite stanza form, the common verse James thought suitable for love lyrics, which is not one which he uses elsewhere.

The whole prerogative is Hay's, and, like the courtly lady, he can accept the advance or show his 'rigor' in disapproval, but this has been anticipated, Ayton apologising in advance for the 'vncourtly frame' (20) of the kisses, and appealing to Hay's sense of courtesy to excuse him from blame: 'My Muse was but a Nouice into this/And being Virgin scarce well taught to kisse' (23-4). As *Basia* was published privately in 1605, this is clearly a bluff, claiming inexperience using a kind of modesty *topos* while showing considerable expertise and wit developed over at least fifteen years since his student efforts.

It does not look as if the appeal was successful, or if poetry was flowing from Ayton's pen, as Alexander Craig, writing in *The Poetical Recreations* of 1609 'To his dear friend, and fellow student, M^r. Robert AEton' appeals to him:

... be not silent in this pleasant spring:
 I am thy Echo, and thy Aerie elf,
 The latter strains of thy sweet tunes I'll sing:
 Ah, shall thy Muse no further frutes forth-bring,
 But *Basia* bare, and wilt thou write no more
 To higher notes, J pray thee tune thy string: (p. 15: 2-7)¹⁵

Since Craig was back in Scotland living on his annual pension by this time, it is possible that he was not aware of Ayton's work circulating in manuscript in London, and was waiting for more published works to come north. Craig has his place in this chapter as some of the poems in *The Amorse Songes* and even more so those of *The Poetical Recreations* of 1609 took a decidedly different tone, relating him far more closely to Jonson in his Epigrams than to his fellow Scots still writing in the Petrarchan vein. Craig's description of himself as 'thy Echo' may solve some of the difficulties of precedence in poems where both

poets have taken the same theme and developed it independently, as that would suggest that Ayton was the originator and Craig the imitator, although in the matter of appealing for patronage, Ayton could well have taken several leaves out of Craig's book as, despite the sometimes egregious nature of the appeals, James was clearly flattered by Craig's attentions (or, alternatively, 'with Scoto-Banfa sutes was deau'd', to parody Sir David Murray's line), and granted him a pension in 1607 which enabled him to retire to Scotland to become the Jacobean equivalent of 'Our man in the North', while Ayton had to wait until May 1608 for his first court position as Groom of the Privy Chamber. Since both men were around the court seeking preferment at the same time, it is logical to assume that they would continue their friendship, and, as poetry was still an important means of achieving courtly advancement, collaboration and mutual criticism would help both to the rewards they achieved.

It is likely that Ayton's lack of material success, despite poems in Latin and English to King James, accounts for the growing note of cynicism, very reminiscent of Montgomerie's laments on his ill-fortune, as is seen in [Sonnet: On Hope] (number 15) which hints at more generalised disappointments. The tone is bitter and unrelenting:

You hopes, you Bankerouts of tyme and youth,
 You shaddowes which Cephisus sonne did chase,
 You fruites which fledd from Tantalus hungry mouth,
 Goe hence from mee and take your dwelling place (1-4)

The mingling of the mercantile and classical imagery, and the requirement for the Scots pronunciation of 'mouth' to rhyme with 'youth' gives a very negative tone. The periphrastic description of Narcissus serves partly to conceal the theme in a generalisation of chasing after that which cannot be obtained. Tantalus is, incidentally, a favourite Ayton image, which might suggest the poet's feeling of always being on the edge of things, never quite making his mark. There is perhaps a multiple echo in the reference to 'Camelions as can live on Aire' (6) from Hamlet's '... of the chameleon's dish, I eat the air, promise-crammed' (*Hamlet* III.2.88) and Montgomerie's lizard images in his poems to Robert Hudson, although ultimately the image derives from Ovid or possibly from Lyly's *Endimion* 3.4.161.¹⁶ The epigrammatic closure expresses the positive virtue of stoicism:

A hopeless life is Arm'd against all paine,
It doubleth greife to hope and not t'obtaine. (13-14)

It could be, however, that Ayton was not willing to be as overt in his pleas as Craig clearly was, the *Poetical Recreations* by their very title paying homage to James' own *Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres* of 1591, and the first of a series of petitions openly pleading poverty:

So am I come Great King,
Vnto thy Christmas chere,
And Povertie against my will,
Invit's me to be heere.

Jf succurd once, nor seeke againe
J rather sterue and dye. (p. 6: 13-16, 31-2)

Although this volume was published in 1609, it is presumed that these poems were written before the pension was granted, and this may have been the one which gained it. Ayton never made such direct appeals to the King and waited much longer for his reward. It was apparently more to Ayton's taste to show his poetic virtuosity by following James' rules, or his preferred measures, or even by direct response to one of his poems, which is in any case in tune with the Scots tradition.

In a verse which sounds imitative of one of James' *Amatoria*,¹⁷ Ayton's persona compares himself to a stick being burnt. Even such an inanimate object responds to fire, so why should a man be expected to remain silent when afflicted by the fires of love?

Yet who would not have cry'd for ayd
Burnt to the quick?
A senseless stick
To Vulcans tyrranny betrai'd
Will wast itself in moyst expence,
And keepe a noyse as ift had sense. (13-18)

There is perhaps a sexual innuendo here too, in the reference to 'moyst expence' which on the surface appears to depict the stick weeping, literally releasing its sap in response to the heat, but combined with the verb 'wast' it rather suggests ejaculation. James' sonnet, if it was indeed the stimulus for this development, is a very naturalistic description of the sudden bursting out of flame from a smored fire:

Although that crooked crawling Vulcan lie
An-vnder ashes colde as oft we see

As senseles deade whill by his heate he drie
 The greene and fizzing faggots made of tree
 Then will that litle sponke and flaming eye
 Bleaze brauelie forth and sparkling all abreed (*Amatoria* 15: 1-6)

James' simile, introduced at the beginning of the sestet in the conventional manner 'So am I...' becomes Ayton's gothic metaphor, the green stick and the despairing lover being intertwined by the imagery and more complicatedly inseparable. This is not the kind of juxtaposition of apparently inappropriate images which exercised the metaphysical poets in England, but it is rather a logical development of the Scottish convention of literalising the metaphor, so many examples of which have already been rehearsed in this thesis.

This principle of using and developing the images and themes of other poets is also seen in clear comparisons between individual poems by Ayton and Craig. Although Craig called himself as Ayton's echo, there are one or two instances where the developments of particular images are so different that it is impossible to establish whose came first. However, in *The Amorse Songes* Craig addresses a sonnet to Pandora which begins: 'O what a world I suffer of extreames,/Twixt hot desire and icie cold dispaire' (p. 105: 1-2), and then continues to compare the Thames with the Sestian sea and himself to Leander swimming to his Hero, this love story becoming confused with the myth of the dolphin saving Arion from drowning. This is one of the very few occasions when Craig uses a classical parallel that most readers would already be familiar with, and the reference in the first line to the Aristotelian criticism of extremes is not one that Craig uses, although it is found frequently in Ayton's work, which might suggest that Craig's sonnet is derived from Ayton's 'Vpon Love' (number 43). Craig's version is much more conventional than Ayton's satirical mockery of lovers, or rather of Petrarchan idealists. Where reason is cited by Petrarchans, and by Ayton himself in other poems, as justification for loving without hope of return, on this occasion the poet sees reason as the impetus to different action:

But not that passion which with fooles consent
 Above the reason beares Imperious sway,
 Makeing there lifetime a perpetuall Lent,
 As if a man were borne to fast and pray. (5-8)

Where Spenser had attested his love through his Lenten sense of devotion,¹⁸
 Ayton along with all the more progressive Jacobean writers sees such self-

deprivation as foolish and pointless, the subversive use of religious imagery underlining the inappropriateness of the conventional terms. This debunking of the convention continues logically, questioning the claim that lovers make that they die for love: 'If all that say they dye had dyed indeed,/Sure long ere now the world had had an end' (15-16), by literalising the metaphor in the Scottish way and showing how ridiculous it sounds.

An acknowledgement and celebration of the sexual reality of love is the development that will culminate in the overtly licentious verses of the Cavalier poets in which all the lovers have feet of clay. Ayton rather vacillates in this poem between the rejection of idealism in love and the full-bodied embrace of sensuality. This is also seen in the way he takes tropes from the convention and mocks the sentiments they express, as, for instance, when he questions the role of fate or the stars: 'Besides wee neede not love vnless wee please,/Noe destinye can force mans disposition' (17-18), while earlier and more conventional writers, including Craig, had contended that their love was pre-ordained and inescapable. There is a directness about the language and diction which reminds one of Donne. The 'folly' of love, already described as 'the sweetest folly in the world' (4) is made literal and compared to the very real madness of Bedlam. As Drayton had playfully compared lovers to madmen,¹⁹ Ayton calls the clinically mad 'Innocents' whereas lovers have wantonly put themselves in such a position that they 'seemes so distracted of there witts' (21). The replacement of the diagnosed madmen in Bedlam by lovers would be 'but a veniall sinn' (22).

The language of religion was always found by poets to be particularly apposite in the context of love poetry as it enabled poets to talk of martyrs for love, who suffer for their passion, and to accuse those who deny the power of love of heresy or of apostasy. Craig describes himself as 'a martire late and aire' (5). Ayton, however, has already shown that he is prepared to have none of this, and chooses a delightful rhyme to cut the legs from such false posturing:

And some men rather then incurr the slander
Of true Appostates will false Martyrs prove,
But I am neither Iphis nor Leander
Ile neither drowne nor hang my selfe for love. (25-8)

Quite apart from the total destruction of the meaning of Leander's sacrifice, which now becomes in a rather bathetic rhyme a means of avoiding wagging

tongues, it is the unexpected reversal of the epithets of 'true' and 'false' which questions what truth is. In Ayton's view, truth is being true to oneself and one's self-esteem, not to some hopeless cause.

The final three stanzas cite the justification for this action, the first an Aristotelian rejection of extremes, which is perhaps the point that Craig picked up for his more compressed form, and which shows that Ayton's debater is not rejecting love as such, merely hopeless unrequited idealistic love: 'Now for to love too little or too much/Are both Extreames, and all extreames are vice' (31-2), and he admits that he has been a lover and 'I have dyed for love as other doe' (34), but not in the 'false martyr' mode: 'But, prais'd be God, it was in such a sort/That I revived within an houre or two' (35-6). He is here attesting the pleasures of sexual love and laughing at Petrarchan celibacy.

The final stanza appears almost grandfatherly, or at least avuncular in its tone, with its Scots rhyming of 'now' with 'doe', and 'yet' with 'witt', and puts the final nail in the Petrarchan coffin with a medieval reference to sexual potency:

Thus have I liv'd, thus have I lov'd till now,
And findes noe reason to repent mee yet,
And whoseover otherwise will doe,
His courage is as little as his witt. (37-40)

Reason has throughout been the guiding force – love is entertained with reason or not at all – and in this final stanza although 'noe reason' is being used in a looser sense: the alliance with 'witt' as the last word closes the poem significantly, making the connection with 'courage' as sexual potency exercised along with reason. Hence the poem has a point to make and is not simply wit for the sake of wit.

Perhaps the closest evidence of collaboration between Craig and Ayton is found in Craig's sonnet to Pandora 'Deare to my soule, and wilt thou needs be gone' (p. 76: 1) and Ayton's [A Valediction] (number 37). In both poems the conventional departure of the lady leaves the persona disconsolate and wishing for death. Also conventionally, the lady has two hearts, her own and the persona's. In Craig's version: 'Thou hast two harts; mine, thine, and I haue none' (5), and in Ayton's: 'Then with two hearts thou shall be gone/And I shall rest behinde with none' (7-8). Already, Ayton's more leisurely progress shows the difference between the sonnet's compressed urgency and the song lyric's

expansiveness. Ayton's persona is clearly not despairing, and possibly does not believe she will leave, as he tries to persuade her to stay by promising her kisses, '[e]xpecting increase back againe' (12), while continuing immediately '*And* if thou needes will goe away' (13, emphasis mine), where the disjunctive 'but' would be more expected in the context. Where both poets agree is that the hearts should be shared out, each of the pair keeping the other's heart for the duration of the separation, but each poet takes a novel attitude. Ayton asks that the lady '[t]ake myne, Let thine in pawne remaine/That thou will quickly come againe' (15-16), which does not sound like a particularly permanent engagement, and also echoes the 'promise' of kisses in the deferred nature of the gift. The note of play-acting and posing seems to be underlined by the last stanza:

And if perchance there lidds I close
To ease them with some false repose,
Yet still my longing dreames shall be
Of nothing in the world but the. (21-4)

This is the pose of the Petrarchan lover, and the love is firmly anchored in the world of reality, as is shown rather subtly by the mention of the lady appearing in his dreams (the Petrarchan commonplace) but those dreams being of her 'in the world', unable to aspire as high as the Petrarchan's refined love. In this respect, it appears that Ayton is indulging the courtierly game of verse-making, albeit with considerable skill and wit, rather than seriously investigating the nature of love.

Craig is rather more innovative, inviting Pandora to 'play ... the gentle Pyratts part' (7), rather neatly accusing her of theft while allowing her to make 'gentlemanly' restitution in the one breath. Craig's persona is torn between despair for his own bereft self and fear for Pandora's safety on what appears to be a projected sea journey: 'But brooke them both I gladlie grant and stay,/How canst thou ride in raging raine and wind?' (9-10) His resolution is a reciprocal exchange which leaves each of them whole and requited: 'I gaue thee mine, O then giue thine to mee,/That mine and thine be one twix mee & thee' (13-14). It is clear that these two poems are related although stylistically very different.

Mary Jane Wittstock Scott²⁰ chooses Ayton's poem to show clearly the gulf which lies between Donne and Ayton, when one considers the former's 'A Valediction: forbidding mourning', where the original premise becomes the foundation of a towering edifice of imagery and symbolism all ultimately

grounded on the fragile figure of the departing husband. As has been seen, Ayton's poem is highly conventional in its basic theme, and rather unrepresentative of the best of his wit, although there are witty innovations. The lady is departing, conventionally, taking the sun from the persona's sky, and is taking his heart with her, leaving him a living corpse:

Then will thou goe and leave me here?
 Ah doe not soe my dearest deare.
 The sunns departur clouds the sky
 But thy departure makes mee dye. (1-4)

The sight-rhyme in 'goe', 'doe' and 'soe', where only the first and last actually rhyme, and the assonance in 'leave me here' and 'dearest deare' add a note of pathos to the plea, while the intensely personal effect of her departure concentrates the reader's interest on the speaker, while apparently raising the lady to a status higher than that of the sun. Donne's 'A Valediction: Forbidding Mourning' is a far more formidable edifice altogether, this being the poem in which the famous image of the compasses appears, in imitation of Guarini.²¹ Although Donne's imagery is as concrete as Ayton's, and even more visual, the emotional drive is present from the first, in the comparison of the lovers to dying saints of whom it could be said 'T'were prophanation of our joyes/To tell the layetie our love' (7-8). These lovers are, like the lovers of Donne's 'The Extasie', 'by a love, so much refin'd' (17) that it has sublimated the sensuality of the world and becomes 'an expansion/Like gold to ayery thinnesse beate' (23-4) or 'as stiffe twin compasses' (26). The image of the circle with its fixed point and never-ending circumference symbolises the perfection both of the wedding ring and of the relationship. Ayton's lovers, on the other hand, as has been seen, are Donne's inferior sort:

Dull sublunary lovers love
 (Whose soul is sense) cannot admit
 Absence, because it doth remove
 Those things which elemented it. (13-16)

But then this is the difference between the Ayton and Donne. Ayton more than most seems grounded in the reality of life and love, never very satisfying and always rather less than one had hoped for, 'Thurinus' smoake for good and solid ware' (15: 8), while Donne is more genuinely soul-searching and spiritual.

Dating Ayton's poems is notoriously difficult, but stylistically there is a development from early Petrarchan lyrics, often in poulter's measure, to tighter structures with a more rational, realist expression, often taking the same themes as in the earliest lyrics. At some point Ayton experimented with the sonnet form, but was never moved to write any kind of sequence. It is usually the Scottish interlaced rhyme scheme which is adopted for the sonnet, signalling his poetic allegiance with Montgomerie and Fowler. It was this form which he used for one of his most successful lyrics, that 'On the River Tweed' (number 24), lamenting the King's departure for London to join 'two Diadems in one' (2). The river, appointed 'Trinchman of our mone' (4) seems formed from the tears of Scotsmen lamenting their loss, as well as simply carrying the tale of their lament out to sea.²² The uneasiness of the sight-rhyme 'one/mone', which would not rhyme at all when read out in Scots underlines the unhappiness of the poet's position. The Petrarchan overtone of the river formed from the tears of those left behind is very much in tune with the language that was used to praise both James and Elizabeth by courtiers, while the alternative meaning of 'trinchman' as 'go-between', like Pandarus, suggests the need for an artificial conduit between two people who once could communicate directly. That James 'all our hearts inthralls' gives him the status of a beloved as well as a king, and conveys additionally the idea that his courtiers are still in thrall to him even if not actually at court. Ayton's use of the Scottish interlaced rhyming form of the sonnet further intensifies the sense, as it mirrors the sliding and interlacing movement of the waters, and allows him to point the rhymes with significant words.

While the River Tweed sonnet is very muted in its use of Petrarchism, number 17 [Sonnet: Love's Provocation] is rather more overt. In this sonnet, the address is to eyes and ears, but not those of the lady, as would be following the convention. It is the persona's eyes which are addressed and called 'Vnhappy' (1) as their 'Cristall circles ... dissolve in teares' (4) as a result of the lady's 'Fatall, Loveing, fying Spheires' (2). Similarly, it is the *Lady's* 'painted Phrase' that surprises the 'Fort' (6) of the persona's 'vnhappy eares' (5) reversing the descriptions usually allocated to persuasive lover and fortified lady. The implication is that the lady has been tempting the innocent persona and he has

become ensnared by her deliberate attempts to seduce him. However, even considering the pains that this has brought him, he ends by asserting the essential rightness of love and the merit of such a lady: 'For who soe loves her not, that heares or sees,/Is neither worthy to have eares nor eyes' (13-14). Exactly the same kind of close is found in Song 36, which for most of its development denies the Petrarchism of the sonnet: 'Hee whose heart is not your prey/Must either be a foole or blinde' (23-4), although this implies that anyone with any intelligence as well as eyesight would have to fall in love with her, thus refuting any imputation of blind (as in unthinking) love.

Redressing the balance in favour of Petrarchism, number 19 [Sonnet: The Power of Love] praises the worth of the lady, by putting love for her into a traditional system of rankings:

Can Eagles birds fly lower then there kinde,
Or can Ambition stoope to servile gaine?
Can free born breasts be forc'd against there minde,
To put the Maske of love vpon dissdaine? (1-4)

A series of undeniable propositions is put in the octave, each one opposing the highest to the lowest as in the first quatrain, then the answer is reiterated in the sestet which begins: 'Noe, noe, my Fates are in the Heavens inrold' (9), which equates love with divine ordinance rather than chance and passion. The final couplet attests the power of love and the importance of constancy to a lady who has been well chosen: 'And ere I change, by t'heavens I vow to leave/A Ioyles bedd, and take a joyfull Grave' (13-14), the antithesis in the final line foregrounding the conventional martyr-for-love trope. This is one of the most ardent of the Petrarchan sonnets, and it appears that William Fowler may have taken a liking to it, as it was found among his papers collected in the Hawthornden manuscript, although not in his hand.²³

The song or lyric rather than the sonnet is most often the vehicle for serious love sentiment, as tends to be the case with Donne, possibly because the sonnet form had become too associated with the kind of artificial Neoplatonic idealism which Ayton rejects. The essential difference between Donne and Ayton is that in the latter's love lyrics there is rarely any sensation of true passion or any depth of feeling. Where a knowledge of Donne's deep love for his wife informs an appreciation of the poetry, urbanity and sophistication are the keys to

all of Ayton's poems, as befits a poet who was claimed by Ben Jonson as a friend. Another difference is the strongly Ovidian strain in Ayton, which proclaims his adherence to the former poetic regime rather than the more truly 'metaphysical'. There has clearly never been any attempt to imitate the work of Donne, although one could presume that, with Ben Jonson as a mutual friend, the two would be aware of each other's work. What can be detected is a similarity of stance, of tenor, rather than any tangible similarity of style or imagery, although there are rare instances where Ayton uses the kind of arcane imagery that the metaphysical poets were so fond of, as in the use of 'epact' from astrology as already discussed. In many ways, Ayton, as he develops poetically, comes more to resemble the epigrammatic Jonson more than the metaphysical Donne.

A more robust and certainly more realistic attitude towards love was emerging as a counterweight to the still-popular Petrarchan idealism, as has been seen in the poems of Alexander and Drayton from this period, in which the conventions of Petrarchism are subverted or used ironically. A trio of Ayton's poems all deal with the realities of rejected love from this more realistic standpoint. Song 45 challenges the lady to admit her true feelings and to tell her lover that she does not love him rather than continue to pretend. Love should be true-speaking: 'Leave to Statesmen tricks of State,/Love doth Politicians heate' (7-8). He further contradicts the conventional view that looks and smiles will satisfy the lover, again using the image of the chameleon, and denies that love can be 'fedd on Ayre' (12):

Lov's a glutton of his food
Surfeit makes his stomack good.
Love whose dyett growes precise
Sick of some Consumption dyes. (13-16)

There is a definite sense that love has substance and physical presence, such that absence of it will cause real death rather than the imaginary death of the lover. If she cannot give him that she should 'Prove true, say [she] cannot love' (20) which rather neatly changes the conventional interpretation of 'prove true', in the sense of prove a real lover.

A similar plea for honesty and straight dealing is seen in the following poem, number 46, where the persona asks: 'What meanes this Nyceness now of

late/Since tyme doth truth approve?' (1-2) Clearly the previous emotion has cooled but the lady is still playing with her admirer. He, however, is no lovelorn Petrarchan now; he desires an honest reaction from her, upon which 'I'll give you all the love that's past,/The rest shall be my owne' (15-16). The imagery of hunting or gaming appears to underlie the theme, as the lady is accused of 'intend[ing] to draw mee on' (9) as to a bait and the poem ends 'Since every one is bound to play/The fairest of his game' (19-20). There is a nod to straight dealing, as in card games, which picks up the earlier reference to 'cunning or distrust' (5).

This concept of honesty and integrity in love, which entails a rejection of the rarefied Petrarchan idealism celebrated by Elizabethan sonneteers, has been seen developing from Pléiade origins through Scottish lyric poetry generally, and in the lyrics of Alexander, Craig and Ayton specifically. This poem, and others of its tenor, show the direct link from Alexander Scott through Alexander Montgomerie to Ayton and ultimately to the Cavalier poets. It is very different truth from Sidney's but has a moral dimension in that it demands honesty instead of fashionable play-acting and posing.

The trope is given a good deal of force in number 47 [The Rejection]. Although the 'rejection' of the title might be supposed to be the lady's of her lover, it is more powerfully read as the persona's rejection of a hopeless love:

Shall feare to seeme vntrue
To vowes of constant duty
Make mee disgest disdaines vndue
From an inconstant beautie? (1-4)

The idealistic Petrarchan would answer with an unequivocal 'Yes', but the realistic Jacobean sees such devotion as affectation and folly. The lightly religious tenor is quite deliberately undercut – this persona will be neither martyr nor apostate to love:

Let her call breach of vow
What I call just repentance,
I count him base and braine sick, too,
That dotes on Coy acquaintance. (9-12)

It appears that a war of words is going on here, where the terminology determines the way the action is seen, and now the 'foole' of an earlier poem

who could not appreciate the merit of the lady is the 'braine sick' who destroys his own life for a worthless admiration.

As was seen in the poems of Alexander in the previous chapter, the Petrarchan lover's judgement is seriously questioned if he ceases to love in the face of rejection. Ayton's persona has experienced the pangs of hopeless unrequited love: 'My fairs vnkinde and I have spent my paines/And purchast nothing but vndew disdaines' (32: 1-2), and could not even console himself with the thought that he could punish the lady by turning from her: 'What then, shall loveing less be my revenge?/O Noe, I wrong my Iudgement if I change' (7-8). Now, however, he can take the more rational line. There is a neat development in quatrains here, the first putting the proposition, the second his answer, the third his justification. But the fourth quatrain injects a note of doubt, with a conditional element: 'Thus *if* out of her snaire/At last I doe vnfold mee ...' (47: 13-14, emphasis mine), and this conditionality causes the major problem, as he wants to love, but is aware of the effects on his self-esteem. There is a sense of over-protestation in his accusations that the lady 'caught mee there/And knew not how to hold mee' (15-16). This is a very Alexander-like sentiment, but not expressed in Alexander's way, as is seen in *Aurora* Son. 102:

Those that haue nought wherewith mens minds to gaine,
But onely curled lockes and wanton lookes,
Are but like fleeting baites that haue no hookes,
Which may well take, but cannot well retaine: (5-8).²⁴

The idea of trapping and holding continues to the last line of the poem, but almost with a sense of desperation – he has to rebel against his own inclinations to break away from the lady: 'Yet I can heate as well as love/When reason binds mee to it' (19-20). This is the side of Ayton which most closely resembles Ben Jonson when he is writing of love, despite his assertion, in the first poem of *The Forest*,²⁵ that he would not be including love lyrics in the collection. The 'Epode' (number XI) is a disquisition on virtue, starting from the Socratic viewpoint that to live a virtuous life has to be chosen and worked at, and is not a matter of fate. Jonson's virtue is chaste love, but Reason must rule, and 'make our sense our slaue' (18), the specific danger being from the sensual claims of love. The poet claims this is not love but rather:

... blinde Desire,

Arm'd with bow, shafts, and fire;
 Inconstant, like the sea, of whence 'tis borne,
 Rough, swelling, like a storme: (37-40)

True love is nothing like this:

It is a golden chaine let downe from heauen,
 Whose linkes are bright, and euen,
 That falls like sleepe on louers, and combines
 The soft, and sweetest mindes
 In equall knots: This beares no brands, nor darts,
 To murther different hearts,
 But in a calme, and god-like vnitie,
 Preserues communitie. (47-54)

Although the origin of the golden chain is in Horace, the idea is related to the Great chain of Being that was popular in the Elizabethan period, and there is also a suggestion of Pythagorean unity through love, which joins the disparate elements of the cosmos. Only the 'vicious foole' (66), the adjective being used literally here, can deny such love, as he sees everyone is the same as him:

Who being at sea, suppose,
 Because they moue, the continent doth so: (70-1)

which is a rather neat turning of the Petrarchan image, already used earlier in the poem (lines 39-43) of the lover as storm-tossed mariner, although there used to imply common experience as opposed to singularity.

It is made abundantly clear that loving rightly is a path that has to be deliberately chosen and worked at, the love which results being mutually advantageous:

... when he knowes
 How onely shee bestowes
 The wealthy treasure of her loue on him;
 Making his fortunes swim
 In the full floud of her admir'd perfection. (103-7)

The image of 'full floud' is another image with connotations of timeliness and rightful prosperity, and was an image used frequently in the period to suggest the correct action at the best time. What Jonson is suggesting is the same kind of realistic love grounded on physical appeal and developed into mutual trust that Ayton's persona seems to advocate.

A similar kind of logical working through the realities of love is found in Ayton's pair of poems, numbers 50 and 51, the second 'The Answer' to the first '[at the King's Majesty's Command]'.²⁶ The first poem, although primarily

indebted to Scott's 'To Luve Unluvit' and Montgomerie's 'A Description of Vane Louers'²⁷ is very much in keeping with the tone of robust realism which has been seen emerging in the works of many poets of the Jacobean period. Once again, constancy is the issue, the woman having changed and the persona seeing no reason (that important word) to continue loving her hopelessly. The stanza form allows the poet to carry on a dialectical commentary, the oppositions of the case severally explored in the two quatrains of the eight-line stanza. The persona logically justifies his actions using virtually the same terms as are found in the poems numbered 17, 36, 43 and 47:

Hee that can love vnlov'd againe
Hath better store of love then braine.
God send mee love my debts to pay
While vnthrifts fooles there love away. (5-8)

Reason is opposed to love, and the idea of reciprocation is strongly made in the mercantile imagery. Love is owed to him for his expense of love to her, and he would only be spending it thriftlessly to continue giving love without hope of return.

Since the lady has clearly bestowed her affections on someone else: 'But thou thy freedom did recall/That it thou might Elsewhere inthrall' (13-14), she is no longer captivated by the persona and he is, as he says 'a Captives Captive' (16). This is reason's answer to her, but he has stronger arguments yet, those of religion and faithfulness to a creed:

When new desires had Conquer'd thee
And chang'd the Object of thy will,
It had been Lethargie in mee,
Noe constancy to love the still,
Yea, it had been a sinn to goe
And prostitute affection soe,
Since wee are taught noe prayers to say
To such as must to others pray. (17-24)

He is obliquely accusing her of heresy and attesting his orthodoxy by the removal of his affection, which is a sophist's argument, although using different terms to justify the same behaviour on both their parts. He has taken the moral high ground because he was abandoned first, although he protests that that 'Nothing could have my love o'rethrowne' (9). He has taken his stance, and is now rather playing the woman's part himself, as he put it in the earlier poem, as he will

become disdainful, and will laugh at the man who is the latest object of her questionable love and abandon her to her pursuit.

That this is a sophist's attitude is shown in the reply which is, whether actually 'at the King's Majesty's Command' or not, couched in more conventional terms, producing a poem which, although in exactly the same stanza form, and taking the same premise, stands the speaker very successfully in the role of devil's advocate:

Thou that lov'd once now loves noe more
For feare to show more love then braine,
With Heresye vnatch'd before
Apostasie thou doest maintayne.

Can he have either braine or love
That doth Inconstancy approve?
A choice well made no change admitts,
All changes argue afterwitts. (1-8)

This is exactly the reasoning that all the Petrarchan poets used for their condition: that reason had decided their choice, and that whatever the consequences, reason dictated that they should stick to the woman they had chosen. The inconstancy is on both sides, and cannot be justified in the way it was in the previous poem.

The argument was full of holes in the first place, and each one is systematically plugged:

Say that shee had not been the same,
Should thou therefore an other bee?
What thou in her as vice did blame,
Can that take vertues name in thee? (9-12)

The questioning immediately lays bare the falsity of the argument, using oppositions in language as well as in sentence form to underpin the point made.

The Christian understanding of love is brought into play to undercut the contention that love should be reciprocated, as 'True love hath noe reflecting end' (17) as long as the object is good in itself, and the previous mercantile image infinitely strengthened:

Tis merchant love, tis trade for gaine
To barter love for love againe,
Tis vsury, yea worse then this,
For selfe Idolatrie it is. (21-4)

This does clearly show the pusillanimity of the argument as previously expressed, and shows that a 'sour grapes' attitude was the cause of it. This *is* the moral high

ground, much more admirable than the easier rejection of 50. 'Lett constancy be thy revenge' (26) is the final advice, as this will show her what she has lost, and will cause her 'greife and shame' (28) to such an extent that she will return contrite: 'And where thou beggst of her before,/She now sitts begging at thy doore' (31-2). This conclusion brings us back to the idea of the woman as a man's shadow, in the Jonsonian sense, only perversely interested in the man who wants nothing to do with her, and the conventionally misogynistic attitude so prevalent. It also carries within it the promise that even more smugness can accrue to the constant male persona, who can simply dismiss his erstwhile mistress as the same as all womankind, and not a patch on men for rational actions. In this way either rejecting or constant he is the winner – morally, socially and personally.

Despite the biblical and moral colouring, this is a very satirical approach but full of conceit and wit, and highly enjoyable for that, in the same way that Donne's similarly conceitful lyrics are successful. A rather more sardonic jibe against court women is found in sonnet 42 [Vpone a Gentlewoman That painted], a very Jonsonian epigram, which can be read (by a very unsophisticated reader) as praise for the lady's artistic ability but is in fact a criticism of her use of cosmetics. Ayton has wittily confused the natural with the contrived in the same way that the gentlewoman hoped to do with her face-painting:

She'll sweare she does not know what painting is,
But straight will blush with such a portred grace
That one would thinke Vermillion dyed her face. (6-8)

Even her graceful manner is 'portred', that is as portrayed in a painting, and of course her face *is* coloured with vermilion to give it the appearance of a natural blush. The use of cosmetics to improve on nature, and to follow fashion, is seen to be very much the same as playing the fashionable courtier, in both senses of the word.

A very similar development in this respect, although on a totally different theme, is seen in a gift poem, number 41, which takes the metaphor of the dart-pierced heart, itself, as has been seen, a traditional Scottish love-token, and literalises it as the description of a jewel sent as a New Year's gift apparently by the Queen. Whether there ever was a jewel, or whether the poem about the jewel

is the gift itself is unclear, as the continual substitution, of jewel for lover's heart, and then poem for jewel, was rather distancing the gift from its medieval origins. This heart has been pierced by a bloody dart and thus is recognised by the writer as his own, rather than the sender's. However, it is made clear that the poet's declaration of love was mere convention and flattery in the first place as 'The heart I sent, it had noe pain' (9) perhaps using Alexander Scott's own expression for requited love, in 'Up Halesum Hairt'.²⁸ The poem is built on the commonplaces of Petrarchan oppositions, the poet asserting that his heart has been treated like a rebel, when all the time it 'yeildes itselfe to the' (16); that it is being punished for the lady's fault rather than 'some missdesert' (21) of its own. Rather the lady is afraid that 'it should infect/Thy loveless heart with love' (27-8), which is described as a 'crime'. As has already been seen in the work of William Alexander, the lady is not forever blameless, and can be criticised, even if only playfully, showing the superior moral position of the lover.

Ayton's 'mirror' sonnet is perhaps written in direct imitation of Alexander's *Aurora* Son. 42, in which his persona wishes himself changed into Aurora's mirror, in which guise he could look on her as she looked on him, the naturalistic and the metaphor mingling in the conventional rhetoric to produce something new and satisfying. Ayton adopts the same theme but to a very different end in his 'Sonnet Left in a Gentlewoman's Looking Glasse' (number 18), in which he invites the recipient to look into his eyes rather than into her mirror, '[w]here thou shalt see thy true resemblance twyce' (4). This is literally true, but then he takes off into a flight of fancy inviting her, if she is unwilling to sully her eyes with looking on his: 'Looke on my heart wherein, as in a shryne,/The lively picture of thy beauty lyes, (7-8) adopting the Petrarchan commonplace, and then returning to earth with an invitation to 'read those lynes, and reading see in them/The Trophies of thy beautie and my smart' (11-12). That the whole poem is an artifice is made clear in the couplet: 'Or if to none of those thou'l daigne to come,/Weepe eyes, breake heart, and you my verse be dumbe' (13-14). Again the commonplaces of Petrarchism are rehearsed but without any real feeling behind them: they are the vehicles for a display of wit.

This conclusion shows another trait which was developed in the last decades of the previous century in Scots verse in imitation of mannerist developments in Europe:²⁹ the use of correlative verse, in which elements developed separately in each of the quatrains of a sonnet, here the eyes mirroring the lady, the heart carrying her portrait, the verse celebrating her conquest, are brought together in the couplet to provide a witty close. This was a trope that Scottish poets like William Fowler and John Stewart of Baldynneis particularly liked

Where most of Ayton's anti-Petrarchan poems do no more than mock lovers, and his criticism of court ladies and their *préciosité* is rather less than stinging, he is capable of viciousness, as is seen in number 44 [On Love], where the poet takes the rules of a dicing game as the basis for a commentary on the vagaries of love, with obscene overtones. The first point made is that women are not constant in their feelings:

Lov's like a game at Irish where the dye
Of maids affection doth by fortune fly,
Which, when you thinke you certaine of the same,
Proves but att best a doubtful aftergame. (1-4)

Love is clearly to be thought of as subject to chance and fate in the same way as the fall of the die, but fortune favours the brave, and 'being Gamesters, you must boldly venter' (7). The terminology of the game appears to lend itself to descriptions of the sexual chase, as the following line shows: 'And wher you see the pointe lye open, enter' (8). This 'open point', the winning point in the game, is equated with the vagina, the goal of the lover.

However, even having won this point, the gamester-lover is not secure: he must consolidate his win:

Yet doth not all in happy entrance lye,
When you are on, you must throw home and hye.
If you throw low and weake, beleive mee then,
Doe what you can, they will be bearing men, (13-16)

Ayton here is cleverly and wittily adapting the language of the game to his view of the reality of human relationships, insinuating, as Donne also frequently does in his early lyrics,³⁰ that women are too fickle and inconsistent to remain with the one man for any length of time, and once introduced to the pleasures of sex will want to experiment elsewhere.

A counterpart to this very witty misogynist pose, and bringing Ayton's *oeuvre* full circle in a sense, is found in [The Shepherd Thirsis] (number 38), which, in comparison to the rather high flown and Arcadian Amintas poems of the early St Andrews collaborative period, is a delight. Thirsis 'long'd to die' (1) but clearly not literally, given that his shepherdess mistress 'whome no less passion mov'd' (4) was willing to die with him. Clearly what he longs to do is to reach his climax, but is going too fast for the lady who begs him to wait for her:

And while thus Languishing he lyes,
Sucking sweete Nectar from her eyes,
The lovely Sheppherdess, who found
The harvest of her love att hand,
With trembling eyes, straight falls a crying
Die, die sweete heart, for I am dyeing. (9-14)

R. D. S. Jack points out that this poem is derived from a scene in Tasso's *Aminta*,³¹ but acknowledges that Ayton's poem is a metaphorical rendering of the corresponding scene in the Italian, where the hard-hearted shepherdess only discovers love when she believes her faithful swain is dead. Ayton is playing with the metaphorical 'dying' as sexual orgasm. The language of the lovelorn poet and the traditional pastoral imagery are beautifully combined here into a poem which one can easily imagine being recited aloud to heighten the comic effect of the bucolic lovers adopting the courtly pose. The phrase 'harvest of her love' is particularly attractive in the context as it is an image redolent of ripeness and fullness. What is perhaps most surprising about this poem is its celebration of the simultaneous orgasm, which most twentieth-century readers (wrongly) would probably have considered a very modern concept.

In case any obtuse readers or hearers did not manage to follow the poem, Ayton makes the point clearer in the final four lines:

Thus did those lovers spend there breath
In such a sweete and deathless death,
That they to life reviv'd againe,
Againe to try deaths pleasant paine. (17-20)

Here the 'spending' of breath is not the 'expense of spirit' deplored by Shakespeare, or the mercantile image found in so many of these poems, but rather 'expending' as the two lovers gasp orgasmically, the quasi-repetition of 'deathless death ... deaths' and actual repetition of 'again/Againe' allied with the

assonance and alliteration of 'deaths pleasant paine' suggesting that there will be multiple deaths to come before this relationship dies.

This is perhaps an appropriate place to draw to a close the examination of Ayton's lyric verse, as it has come full circle from the Italianate laments with which he apparently began his writing. It appears from the traceable Italian sources of many of his lyrics that he was thoroughly versed in contemporary Italian writing, and most likely had read Petrarch in the original along with the anthologies in the Bembist tradition (see Appendix). His work shows the distance Scottish poetics has travelled from the idealistic Petrarchan vein which was developing at the end of the previous century to a much more realistic, robust examination of the nature of life and love as experienced in the real time of the early seventeenth century. In fact, his lyric writing, in its directness and energy and reliance on analogy, not to say its scatological wit, has to some extent sidestepped the metaphysical in its delight in conceits to an affinity with the Cavalier poets like Rochester, whose work is far outwith the scope of this thesis. There is always a great sense of enjoyment about Ayton's verse, which creates the impression of its being dashed off without too much preparation or rewriting, the form and structure chosen *ad libitum* to suit the theme and topic. He did not trouble to fabricate a poetic persona, but rather adopted the pose which was appropriate for the particular lyric. His clear love and knowledge of Italian verse was very much in the mainstream of Scottish poetry of the time, which had moved away from the French models of the end of the sixteenth century, but he is no mere translator. His generalised imitations show that he has been thoroughly immersed in Italian and Latin literature and thus can use its characters, images, themes and tropes while making them very much his own. In this respect, although in no other, he resembles William Drummond of Hawthornden, the Italianate Petrarchist *par excellence*.

Chapter 5 'The Lyric Poetry of William Drummond of Hawthornden compared with his Scottish and English contemporaries'

His ... lyric poetry has been criticised as imitative and literary because of the wide range of literary precedents for so much of it. But it was part of [his] conception of poetic tastes that the poet's ear and mind should be trained on the best authors of all times.... Indeed, [he] acknowledged no single master other than his own taste, based on an extraordinarily wide reading and a retentive memory, and his confidence in his own judgement is justified by his success in remoulding and refurbishing his sources.¹

This could well have been a criticism of the poetry of William Drummond of Hawthornden, but was in fact written about Torquato Tasso, one of the Italian poets on whom Drummond modelled his own work, and it shows that Drummond's imitative style was neither unique nor disparaged at the time he was working. It is significant that criticism of Tasso should give such a clear guideline to the poetry of one of his admirers, as Drummond is often thought to have been the first Scot to have rediscovered Italian poetry. However, as R. D. S. Jack has amply and convincingly shown,² and as this thesis has illustrated, the relations between Scots and Italian literature had been strong since the time of James I of Scotland. Although neo-Latin rather than vernacular Italian literature was more influential, it cannot be assumed that major works in the vernacular, like Dante's *Commedia*, Petrarch's *Rime* and Boccaccio's *Il Decamerone* were not known, simply because they do not appear in library lists of the time. After all, the *Roman de la Rose* does not figure either, and it was clearly well known across Europe. Italian ideas derived from humanist philosophers were freely imported into Scotland by graduates returning from the universities of Florence and Padua, as well as by clergy exchanging visits. Although it was more common for Scottish scholars to complete their studies in the universities of France, as Drummond himself did, Italy was an attractive destination for young Scots, like William Alexander on his tour with Archibald Douglas.³

Drummond, far from being an imitator of an outmoded form, out of step with his history and culture, is therefore seen to be the latest in a long line of Scottish writers who borrowed from Italian sources in their native compositions.⁴ His favoured master was Tasso rather than Petrarch, as William

Alexander's had also been. In his critical essay *Anacrisis*, Alexander said of Tasso:

There is no Man doth satisfy me more than that notable *Italian*,
Torquato Tasso, in whom I find no Blemish but that he doth make
Solyman, by whose Overthrow he would grace *Rinaldo*, to die
 fearfully, belying the Part that he would have Personated during
 his Life, as if he would choose rather to err in imitating others than
 to prove singular by himself.⁵

Drummond further immersed himself in the Scottish-Italian literary tradition by borrowing from Alexander and Fowler, who tended to be closer imitators of Petrarch than he was. Thus the 'inuentioun' that James VI had argued for so strongly is seen in full flowering. Drummond takes a theme which has already been imitated or adapted from the original Petrarchan poem, and develops it further in line with his own preoccupations.

As will be discussed in this chapter, Drummond's developments of Petrarchism tended very strongly towards the highly decorated and mannered baroque style which was coming out of Italy and Spain, a style which clearly suited Drummond's temperament and creative impulse. His poetry is like intricately woven tapestry, each word chosen to have its individual effect in the picture, imparting a sensuous pleasure to the reader which draws him gently into the melancholic 'Romantic' world the poet inhabits. In his sensuousness of description, Drummond is both a follower of Petrarchist and Petrarchan verse and a precursor of Keats.

Drummond's themes in *Poems*⁶ are profoundly melancholic, dealing with mortality and mutability, most often seen in the changing seasons of the natural world, a *contemptus mundi* which grows through the sequence of sonnets, madrigals, songs and sestinas and culminates in the religious imagery of *Flowres of Sion*. David W. Atkinson has pointed out the baroque element in this sense of dislocation from and dissatisfaction in the world, in which love is symbolic of the world's inability to offer true fulfilment without attendant pain and loss.⁷ Most of Drummond's poems convey an intensely personal viewpoint, although it is not hypothesised that these are any more autobiographical than the poems of any other sequence. The solipsism which is so much a part of the sonnet sequence as a genre is doubly reinforced in Drummond's by his solitary habits, his retreat

from the world of men, the absence in the sequence of anyone but the persona he adopts and his lady Auristella. In order for this consistent viewpoint to be as intense as possible, he chooses poems for imitation which echo his persona's viewpoint and allow him to discourse on solitude, refuge and retreat. Whether the persona is in fact Drummond himself, or is a rather ironic counterpointing of the poet is difficult to establish, although the rather bawdy verses and the riddles found among the madrigals might suggest that Drummond the man was not quite as cerebral as the persona of *Poems*.

The 'persona-I' viewpoint is intensified by the frequent use of mythological allusion found in Drummond, a technique is part of the same process of imitation which inspired his predecessors at the end of the previous century. As the Scottish Jacobean enhanced the profile of Scottish vernacular poetry through reference to classical mythology, so Drummond shows his allegiance both to his native predecessors and to their models through reiteration of the same parallels. The myths are so well known and understood through generations of repetition, interpretation and moralising that even to the twentieth-century reader the reference to Ixion, Prometheus or Memnon immediately strikes a chord – the concrete representation of the ethical or philosophical dilemma is instantly recognised. In addition, Drummond may be quite deliberately following the precepts of his King, as he makes very free use of antonomastic references, as recommended by James in the *Reulis and cautelis* (see above p. 26).⁸

Although the exploration of the poet's world is the prime motivator of the sequence, there is in fact a narrative element, in which the poet describes the beginning of his love; the restlessness and sleeplessness which immediately affect him; the growing love for Auristella and seeing her embodied in the natural world despite her physical absence from him; the longing for some acknowledgement from her; her final departure and the fading of her memory. The second, shorter part of the sequence concerns his devastation at the death of Auristella, and his slow realisation, guided by Auristella herself, that the glories and pleasures of the sublunary world are but pale shadows of the eternal world to come.

In this bipartite division of the poems, Drummond is of course ultimately following Petrarch (and perhaps Dante), but a closer example is that of his uncle, William Fowler in *The Tarantula of Love* (see above pp. 92-104). However, the name of his lady, Auristella, would seem to show that he is consciously combining both William Alexander's Aurora, and Philip Sidney's Stella. All three predecessors in their different ways inspire Drummond to begin his sequence with a discussion on the nature of poetry itself, and how love and art intertwine.

The first sonnet in *Poems: The First Part* is very typical of sonneteers in general, in that he places the sonnets among his juvenilia: 'In my first Yeeres, and *Prime* yet not at Hight,/When sweet Conceits my Wits did entertaine' (Sonnet i: 1-2). Although 'conceit' has come to be associated with the metaphysical use of intellectual and far-fetched imagery, in Drummond's case it is far more likely to be used in Alexander's sense of 'fanciful thoughts', as he admits that he had not experienced '*Beauties Force*' (3) at that time. In this, he appears to be working contrary to Astrophil, in Sidney's sequence, who started off 'Loving in truth, and faine in verse my love to show' (*AS I*: 1),⁹ but is in fact following Sidney (and filching his idea if not his actual words in line 8¹⁰) in that his persona attempts to use the ideas of others in his love lyrics:

Led by a sacred Troupe of *Phoebus* Traine,
I first beganne to reade, then Loue to write,
And so to praise a perfect Red and White,
But (God wot) wist not what was in my Braine: (5-8)

It is very tempting to read 'a sacred Troupe of *Phoebus* Traine' as the poets of James' court, among whom his uncle was numbered, as their works would certainly give him plenty of opportunity to read about love, and, given the later reference to 'those *Antiques* of the Age of Gold' (10) a combination of the late sixteenth-century Scottish poetry with classical love stories. Cupid himself, seeing 'in what an awfull Guise' (9) he wrote of love, decided to give him the practical experience of love that he lacked:

And that I might moe *Mysteries* behold,
Hee set so faire a *Volumne* to mine Eyes,
That I [quires clos'd which (dead) dead Sighs but breath]
Joye on this *liuing Booke* to reade my Death. (11-14)

This opening sonnet illustrates Drummond's style perfectly. There is the classical allusion which pervades the sequence, the extended metaphor, the use

of parenthesis, antithesis, inversion, and rhetorical figures like zeugma, in which two subjects share the same verb, epizeuxis (repetition without intervening words), and polyptoton, in which different grammatical parts of the same root word are used.¹¹ There is also the conceitful word-play of the last four lines, in that where the youthful sonneteer said he first found love in books, his living mistress is read as a book, but, interestingly, a book in which 'to reade *my* Death' (emphasis mine). The solipsism of the sequence is present from the outset, as is the fiction of the love story. Although less subtle than Sidney's "'looke in thy heart and write'", this is a combination of art and feeling which is absolutely typical of Drummond's style.

It is unfortunate that so much energy has been devoted to searching for the undoubted French, Italian and Spanish origins of much of Drummond's oeuvre, as this has tended to obscure the influences from English and Scottish writing, which contextualise Drummond far more clearly, and go a long way to explain why he was so admired by Michael Drayton, for instance. This mingling of the English and Scottish has already been signalled in the first sonnet of the sequence, and is intensified in the second which, although acknowledged as an adaptation from Jean Passerat, has a very Sidneian tenor and structure, if one compares it to the fifth sonnet of *Astrophil and Stella*. This is the development of the mutability/mortality theme which will underlie every description of the natural world from this point on.

I know that all beneath the *Moone* decayes,
 And what by Mortalles in this World is brought,
 In *Times* great Periods shall returne to nought,
 That fairest States have fatall Nights and Dayes:
 I know how all the *Muses* heauenly Layes,

As *idle Sounds* of few, or none are sought,

I know fraile *Beautie* like the purple Flowre,
 To which one Morne oft Birth and Death affords, (Son. ii: 1-10)

There are no direct correspondences, but rather the sense is of the persona arguing with himself about the irrationality and impermanence of love and beauty when compared with the true realities, stressed by Drummond by his repeated 'I know' at the beginning of each quatrain, and by Sidney in the repetition of 'true' at the beginning of octave and sestet, and of lines 12 and 14. The knowledge

does not at this stage prevent Drummond's persona enjoying what he can see around him, nor does it prevent him allowing Love to enslave him, for, since 'Sense and Will inuassall Reasons Power' (12) he is effectively a slave to his senses and desires, and cannot help himself. The conclusion in both is identical in tenor, Drummond's quiet, resigned melancholy only relieved by the note of hope in the couplet, which prevents the poem from being entirely morbid. 'Know what I list, this all can not mee moue,/But that (*ô mee!*) I both must write, and loue' (13-14), although expressed in a more expanded way, so typical of the difference between the leisured, sometimes rather Ciceronian Drummond and the laconic Sidney, means exactly the same as Sidney's 'True, and yet true that I must *Stella* love' (*AS* 5: 14).

These first sonnets do to a great extent lay the ground for the whole sequence, in that the first signals the essential artifice of the enterprise, a point picked up in the third again in a very Sidneian way, by avowing the truthfulness of the love depicted while it denies the artifice it clearly shows. Here I am thinking of such lines in *Astrophil and Stella* as 'For me in sooth, no Muse but one I know:... then all my deed/But Copying is what in [Stella] Nature writes' (*AS* 3: 9. 13-14). There seems also to be an echo of *AS* 6, which talks of lovers writing of their Muses in terms of gods and goddesses, and contrasts Astrophil's true feeling with their imagination: 'But think that all the Map of my state I display,/When trembling voice brings forth that I do *Stella* love' (13-14).

Drummond similarly asserts that his persona is writing from the heart:

Of my rude Pincell looke not for such *Arte*,
My Wit I find now lessened to deuise
So high Conceptions to expresse my Smart,
And some thinke Loue but fain'd, if too too wise:
These troubled Words and Lines confus'd you finde,
Are like vnto their Modell *my sicke Minde*. (Son. iii: 9-14)

In this sonnet, the arts of painting and poetry are compared, in a kind of *ut pictura poesis*. He describes himself as using a 'Pincell' which is a paintbrush rather than the modern pencil, picking up the image of 'paint your Thoughts' in the first line of the sonnet, and continuing through to the idea of the "Modell" in the final line. The representational aspect of the love poem is very important to Drummond, as will be seen when the sequence is analysed, and the comparison

with painting is natural and right in this sense, while still presenting a baroque or mannered approach to the subject, in its rather convoluted structure and syntax.

All this reminds the reader of Sidney, but with a very individual development of the basic theme. Drummond's method is to take the idea or the theme from another poet, and develop it in his own way, as is also seen in the fifth sonnet, which recalls *AS* 30. Where Sidney posited political problems and difficulties against his need to love Stella, Drummond looks to the metaphysical, literally to the world of the heavens. In a series of questions idly posed, the persona considers the motion of *primum mobile*, whether there be other inhabited worlds, how the '*fixed Sparkes of Gold*' (5) can at the same time be '*wandering Carbuncles* which shine from hie' (6), how the sun and moon change places, what causes the rainbow, and where the monsters of the deep come from. But all these great thoughts are swept away 'when thy sweet Eye/Bade mee leaue all, and only thinke on Thee' (13-14). The very fact that ontological and teleological questions cannot hold their own in her presence gives a clear idea of the power of the lady, but unlike Donne's lady, she never becomes the universe for Drummond. It is always his universe, stamped with her presence, but she is eternally separated from him, while Donne's lady is the world within which he lives, as can be seen in poems such as 'The good-morrow', 'The Sunne Rising', 'A Feaver' and others. Donne's lovers make 'one little roome, an every where' ('The good-morrow': 11)¹² and become worlds in themselves and for each other: 'Let us possess one world, each hath one, and is one' (14). They are the entire population of their world: 'She's all States, and all Princes, I/Nothing else is' ('The Sunne Rising': 21), and their solipsism gives them power to command. Even the sun can be ruled by the lover who 'could eclipse and cloud [his beams] with a winke' (13) and who pretends to make the sun's task easier by representing the world:

Thine age askes ease, and since thy duties bee
To warme the world, that's done in warming us.
Shine here to us, and thou art every where;
This bed thy center is, these walls, thy spheare. (27-30)

The woman is the universe for Donne's persona; she is 'the worlds soule' ('A Feaver': 9) and if she dies 'the whole world vapors with thy breath' (8). Donne's valedictions similarly anchor his life and being in his relationship with her –

although he has a life outside it does not have any real substance until he has shared it with her. While Sidney strikes this note occasionally throughout his sequence, there is not the same effect of total absorption in love as is found in Donne and Drummond. A Scottish influence on Drummond for this sense of love as the whole of life, the universe and all experience may be found in Alexander Montgomerie's 'Melancholie, grit deput of dispair' (*MP* XXVII),¹³ where the poet maintains a stoic determination to love despite the pains, attesting his loyalty 'thocht I had a hundreth thousand hairts,/And euiry hairt peirc't with als mony dairts' (51-2) until the hour of his death, all because his lady's 'angels ees might ay, I think,/Revive me with a wink' (63-4).

Although only a few of the first poems in the sequence have so far been discussed, because of Drummond's careful editing of his own work and the reader's basic understanding of Petrarchism, it is possible even at this early stage to see where the sequence is going. The poet's deliberate positioning of particular sonnets, especially those opening the sequence, which have to set the tone, shows the generalised influence of English poets, especially Sidney, and also muted echoes of Donne. However, the debt to William Fowler appears greater and more generalised. R. D. S. Jack has traced the major Scottish sources for Drummond's poems,¹⁴ completing and in some cases contradicting the conclusions drawn by L. E. Kastner in his exploration of the Italian and other European sources. Jack finds a number of correspondences between Fowler and Drummond which are closer than would be the case if both poets were working independently from Petrarch, and in any case, as has already been mentioned, Drummond tended only rarely to use Petrarch himself, preferring the work of his followers and imitators. Both Fowler and Drummond begin their sequences with poems on the subject of love and art, and both then go on to write a number of poems on antitheses or lists of troubles.

One poem in particular, *Tarantula* XXII,¹⁵ appears to be a clear source for Drummond's eighth sonnet in *Poems: The First Part*. 'The day is done, the Sunn doth ells declyne' is one of William Fowler's most successful sonnets, creating as it does a simply imagined but particularly effective and affective picture of the onset of night and sleep. Drummond's imitation of it, while clearly

using it as source, is developed in his own style, which makes the two poems appear quite different. In the first quatrain, Fowler states the facts that the day is over and night approaches. The picture of the night is calm and beautiful:

The day is done, the Sunn dothe ells declyne,
night now appr[o]aches, and the Moone appeares,
the tuinkling starrs in firmament dois schyne,
decoring with the poolles there circled spheres; (XXII: 1-4)

The language is simple, with a high percentage of monosyllables, and no unexpected or unusual epithets. The description is in fact highly predictable, even to the nursery-rhyme sound of 'the tuinkling starrs', which is entirely in keeping with the poet's purposes. The alliteration is lightly handled, creating an overall feeling of harmony. God is clearly in his heaven and all is right with the world in this account. Drummond's version immediately peoples the night with mythological beings:

Now while the *Night* her sable Vaile hath spred,
And silently her restie Coach doth rolle,
Rowsing with Her from TETHIS azure Bed
Those starrie *Nymphes* which dance about the Pole. (Son. viii: 1-4)

Here we have the essential Drummond: mythological allusion, and personification of both the night and the sea, which in this case does *not* serve to concretise the image but rather to obfuscate it; a plurality of modifiers, the adjectives frequently appealing to the senses by creating polychromatic images. The sense of peace which pervades Fowler's scene is absent here, perhaps deliberately, considering the development of the poem. Where Fowler's description is of the real world, Drummond's is mythologised and personified. Although the Night's Coach *rolls* 'silently', Night has *spread* 'her sable Vaile', she has *roused* the nymphs who will *dance* around the Pole (emphases mine). All is movement; graceful and gentle movement, perhaps, but movement onwards nonetheless, rather than Fowler's movements of retiring.

In the second quatrain, Fowler has his world go to sleep, again expressed very simply and even more monosyllabically:

the birds to nests, wyld beasts to denns reteirs,
the moving leafes vnmoved now repose,
dewe dropps dois fall, the portraicts of my teares,
the wawes within the seas theme calmlie close: (5-8)

This is deceptively simple writing, as it is so compressed and economical. Line 5 shows the use of zeugma, which his nephew was so attached to, while line 6 has polyptoton and paradox combined, if the '*moving* leafes' can possibly at the same time be '*vn*moved' (emphases mine). It appears that there is an element of wordplay here, in that '*vn*moved' suggests the emotional response in the following line. It is important to note, however, that the dew drops are not his tears, but merely the '*portraits*', suggesting that he is seeking natural correspondences with his feelings without expecting the world to weep in sympathy with him. This is not pathetic fallacy by any means.

Drummond, on the other hand, introduces the myth of Cynthia and Endymion into his second quatrain, pursuing the personification he had developed in the first quatrain:

While CYNTHIA, in purest Cipres cled,
The *Latmian* Shepheard in a Trance describes,
And whiles lookes pale from hight of all the Skies,
Whiles dyes her Beauties in a bashfull Red, (5-8)

The reader's knowledge is appealed to in the antonomastic naming of Endymion as 'the *Latmian* Shepheard', and a recollection of the myth brings in the love element which is missing from Fowler's poem. Although the earlier poet mentions tears, these could have different causes, but Drummond is more single-minded, working towards his conclusion in each section of the poem.

Both poems are constructed in three quatrains and a rhyming couplet, but following very different patterns. Fowler uses the Scottish interlaced rhyme scheme, which allows him to develop the theme through the first twelve lines, and to conclude in the couplet, while Drummond uses a rather complicated *ababaccaddcee* scheme, which looks as if it is going to use the Scottish rhyme scheme until line 5 when it moves into two quatrains in *vers embrassés*, and ends on a rhyming couplet. While Fowler's poem is divided in terms of argument into octave and sestet, Drummond's is very clearly constructed into three separate thematically linked quatrains, with the contrasting picture of the sleepless lover in the couplet. In both, however, the variously painted positive side of the night scene can foil the contrasting restlessness of the persona. Fowler develops a completely different tenor in the sestet, making much more use of the imagery of disorder, pain and torment of love that is characteristic of *The Tarantula of Love*

as a whole, but there is a level of subtlety in that where one might have expected line 9 to begin with 'But' or 'Yet', Fowler makes his reader wait:

to all things nature ordour dois Impose,
 bot not to love that proudly dothe me thrall,
 quha all the dayes and night but chainge or choyse,
 steirs vp the coales of fyre vnto my fall,
 and sawes his breirs and thornes within my hart,
 the fruits quhairoff ar doole, greiff, grones, and smart. (9-14)

While the octave had been based on the ordered replacement of natural things, the sun by the moon, for instance, which is stressed by the summing-up line 9 introducing the contrast, this section of the poem is based on antitheses, introduced by the 'bot' in line 10, and continuing through 'proudlye' and 'thrall', 'dayes and night', 'steirs up' and 'my fall'. The poet's case is opposed to the ordered universe, implying that love is not under the control of nature and is in fact opposed to nature, in that love does not sleep, while every other living thing, even an inanimate thing like a leaf or a wave in the sea, does. The natural imagery of 'breirs and thornes' is a further antithesis, as this feeling cannot be natural within the system of order, and yet the poet's insistence is that it is, because of the imagery used. Now the monosyllabic words of the final line have the effect not of simplicity, as at the beginning of the poem, but of the agonising throb of a perpetual pain, the final 'smart' representing the continual pricking of the thorns of love. We have moved a considerable distance in the fourteen lines of this poem, and end with an unrelieved expression of grief and pain.

Drummond similarly sets his persona against the calm peace of the rest of the world, but not with such power as his predecessor. Because he had introduced the Endymion myth in the second quatrain, he has to go back to incorporate Fowler's putting the creatures to sleep:

While *Sleepe* (in Triumph) closed hath all Eyes,
 And Birds and Beastes a Silence sweet doe keepe,
 And PROTEVS monstrous People in the Deepe,
 The Winds and Waues (husht vp) to rest entise,
 I wake, muse, weepe, and who my Heart hath slaine
 See still before me to augment my Paine. (9-14)

Fowler's 'nature' has become Drummond's '*Sleepe*' which actually imposes the rest on the world, and that parenthetical '(in Triumph)' seems to suggest that the

persona's ability to stay awake for whatever reason is a kind of little triumph of his own, making again the solipsistic point that he is the only sentient soul in the world. The personification of Sleep and of the forces of the sea as 'PROTEVS monstrous People in the Deepe' give the impression that the world is an animate place, which is all of a piece with the animist beliefs of the classical world which Drummond is reinhabiting. The cause of the sleeplessness is different, too. In Fowler's case it is love itself, the abstract quality, which keeps him awake through the pains it causes him, while for Drummond it is the picture of the lady, elliptically described as 'who my Heart hath slaine'. Where Fowler's natural world is alien to him but still intrinsically itself, quite unconcerned with his persona's feelings, Drummond's is animated with mythological beings, every plant redolent of the Ovidian tale of its origin in thwarted love. It is this animism, the insistent personification of the environment, which Drummond will go on to develop as the setting for *Auristella*, who will become the animating spirit in place of all these different mythological beings. Drummond's persona is most often depicted, as here, gazing at the panorama of the world around him, and totally separated from it as from a painting.

Quite apart from the individual differences in the treatment of the common theme, there are clear differences in language and structure. Fowler writes in Scots, although in this case a Scots which is very close to the English of the time, with the occasional Scots grammatical marker like the singular form of the verb with a plural subject in 'The twinkling starrs ... *dois* schyne', 'wyld beasts to denns *reteirs*', 'Dewe dropps *dois* fall' (emphases mine); the Scots forms 'quha' and 'quhairoff'; the very Scottish rhyme 'reteirs' and 'tears'. Lexically, the Scots is thin, being in the main Scots spellings of English words, like 'steirs' (stirs) and 'breirs' (briars). The only veritable Scots word is 'doole'. Although Drummond occasionally betrays his Scottish accent in some of his rhymes, here he uses the Scottish idiomatic construction 'whiles ... whiles'. In terms of structure, Fowler uses the Scottish interlaced rhyme scheme advocated by James in *Reulis and cautelis*, which confers an effect of unity and harmony on any poem, while Drummond's preferred structure is more Italianate.

The comparison of Drummond's poem with Fowler's as source resembles very closely the kind of criticism that has been made of Drummond as an imitator of Petrarch, Tasso and Marino. Ruth Wallerstein has analysed Drummond's translation style, and has found this same 'elaborate mythological description ... the picturesque elaboration of figure, and the abundance of adjectives ... illustrating the love of mythology and storying ... [which] eschews the acute definition of passion which leaves Petrarch's style concentrated and rapid.'¹⁶ The same kind of elaboration and decorating has been noted when Drummond seems to be influenced by Sidney, who is as terse a communicator of immediately-felt passion as Petrarch is.

In addition to the influence of Fowler, Professor Jack has traced echoes from the poems of Sir William Alexander, who actually makes a guest appearance in the *Poems* as Alexis in Son. xlv. It is known that the two poets admired each other, and corresponded, and Alexander was one of the conduits through whom Drummond kept in touch with affairs of state while living at Hawthornden. Drummond admired Alexander as one of the greatest Petrarchans of his age, and while he shared many of the Petrarchan themes and *topoi* with Fowler, the forms of madrigal, sestina and song are found in Alexander (although ultimately they come from Petrarch and other Italian sources). Alexander's oppositions of love and sensuality, of ideal and real, appearance and reality, recur again in Drummond's sequence exploring the nature of love in the abstract. This exploration moves from the grief of the lover to a general enquiry into the nature of mankind's essential condition. Alexander saw the oppositions explored in his poetry as the major truth of life, but, as has been seen in Chapter 3, above, ultimately rejected the Neoplatonic vision in favour of a much more realistic appreciation of love, epitomised in his farewell to 'soft Fancie's chaines'. Drummond, on the other hand, maintains the more philosophical outlook throughout his sequence, and finds an essentially Neoplatonic conclusion. In this sense, Drummond is 'metaphysical' in that he concerns himself with teleological questions in a consistent manner which suggests a world view.¹⁷

While the general tenor of many of Drummond's poems reminds the reader strongly of Alexander, there are a limited number of direct parallels, two

of which concern the Platonic doctrine of the Ideal. In *Aurora* Son. 3,¹⁸ Alexander describes the actions of the painter Apelles, 'That subtile Greeke' (1) shaping 'Beauties Goddesses with so sweet a grace' (2). He is pictured creating 'th'*Idaea* which his soule conceived,/Of that which was most exquisite in all' (7-8), and thus creating a Platonic essential, which, of course, Aurora is.

Drummond takes the implicit and makes it explicit:

That learned *Graecian* ...

... doth tell,

That at the Time when first our Soules are fram'd,
Ere in these Mansions blinde they come to dwell,
They live bright Rayes of that *Eternall Light*,
And others see, know, love, in Heavens great Hight,

Most true it is, for straight at the first Sight
My Minde mee told, that in some other Place
It elsewhere saw the *Idea* of that Face,
And love'd a Love of heavenly pure Delight. (Son. vii: 1, 3-7, 9-12)

Of course, in a sense, Plato could be called 'that subtile Greek', as his *idea* of the beautiful could sit alongside any painted representation, but Drummond has clearly taken the hint of the Platonic doctrine and expanded it into an explanation. Where Alexander used the classical allusion to praise the beauty of his mistress, excelling all others, Drummond uses it as the basis for a philosophical discussion on the attraction of beauty, justifying it on the grounds that it leads the lover heavenward. This is Drummond's consistent stance throughout the first part and most of the second part of the sequence, and it is not until the very end of the second part of the sequence that the 'heavenly pure Delight' will be experienced, as opposed to the more physical torments that his persona suffers for the most part.

A more direct parallel can be found between Drummond's Son. xx and *Aurora* Son. 19 where Alexander's persona makes explicit the Platonic essence which underlies all earthly shows while asserting that the love *he* feels is for the real, rather than the appearance:

Let some bewitch'd with a deceitfull show,
Love earthly things vnworthily esteem'd;

But I disdain to cast mine eyes so low,

And loftier things delighted for to know, (1-2, 5, 8)

The epigrammatic couplet simultaneously admits that his lady is the appearance of the beautiful and the essence of that Beauty in the Platonic sense, the interplay of antithetical ideas throughout the sonnet leading to the conclusion:

That for the which long languishing I pine,
It is a show, but yet a show diuine. (13-14)

Drummond makes a similarly ambiguous point when he compares 'All other Beauties' (Son. xx: 1) with Auristella. He uses the conventional terms for describing female beauty (hair of gold, skin the colour of the wild rose, white hands) but with a clear Platonic foregrounding:

All other Beauties how so e're they shine
In Haires more bright than is the golden Ore.
Or Cheekes more faire than fairest *Eglantine*,
Or Hands like Hers who comes the Sunne before:
Match'd with that Heauenly Hue, and Shape diuine,
With those deare Starres which my weake Thoughts adore,
Looke but like Shaddowes, or if they bee more,
It is in that that they are like to thine. (1-8)

The combination of 'Heauenly Hue' and 'Shape diuine' with 'Shaddowes' conveys the Platonic message: all other beautiful women are but pale reflections of the true Beauty who is Auristella, and in fact there is something of an echo of *Aurora* Son. 3 in the distinguishing of certain aspects of beauty, put together to make a composite, as Apelles is said to have painted his picture. There could even be a slight note of *hubris* in the younger poet assuming that the reference to the goddess 'who comes the Sunne before' is intended to refer to Aurora, a point which has already been noted in Alexander's naming of his heroine Aurora who would outshine Sidney's Stella. Another of Drummond's favourite rhetorical figures, *hyperbaton*, is seen here, in that we have to wait seven lines to find out what the point of the sentence is. This rather periphrastic style is in such contrast to the direct, sometimes abrupt preciseness and compression of the 'strong-lined' school of poetry that it goes some way to explain why Ben Jonson, who thought enough of Drummond that he made a detour to visit him while on his walk from London to Scotland, considered that his verses 'smelled too much of the schooles and were not after the Fancie of the tyme'.¹⁹ To a great extent, of course, Jonson was absolutely right, as Drummond's style, whether in translation, adaptation or imitation, again most likely under the influence of Alexander, is decidedly Spenserian in expression while Sidneian in theme.

The most Spenserian expression can be found in Son. iv, but clearly mediated by the influence of both Alexander and Fowler. The use of antitheses is Petrarchan, and is a favourite figure of Spenser and Fowler, while the imagery of bondage is a favourite of both Spenser and Alexander:

Faire is my Yoke, though grievous bee my Paines,
Sweet are my Wounds, although they deeply smart,
My Bit is Gold, though shortned bee the Raines,
My Bondage braue, though I may not depart: (1-4)

There is also a reminiscence of Sidney's 'I on my horse and Love on me doth trie' (*AS* 49) in the imagery from horsemanship, all of which goes to show how generalised the influences are, whatever the 'original' source may be. What Jonson was perhaps pointing to is this generalised Spenserian-Sidneian influence within the genre of the sonnet sequence itself, which was rather outmoded, although clearly still popular with readers, if not with Jonson. It is highly unlikely that a professional poet like Michael Drayton would have continued revising and rewriting *Idea* until 1619 if such verse were truly 'not after the Fancie of the tyme'. It is tempting to suggest that Drummond is right in the mainstream of British lyric verse, and it is Jonson who is out of step.

Since Drummond is working within the contemporary development of Petrarchism in *Poems: The First Part*, one can expect to find the *topoi* of Petrarchism in the poems, and that is to a great extent true. However, amongst the conventional celebrations of the beauty of the lady as surpassing by far the natural precious attributes of the world, outshining any of the other beauties around her, and of her worthiness to hold him in thrall, there is a new and very distinctive note. Drummond's love-lyrics do not tell a story with a great deal of narrative plot, but rather they create a world in which the solitary, retreating persona invests every aspect of his surrounding with Auristella in despite of her absence from him. Drummond's landscape is animated by Auristella: if beautiful, fading before the evidence of her superior charms; if flowering, a reminder of earthly mortality and of the fact that her beauty does not change; if autumnal, a heralding of the inevitable end. The pathetic fallacy expressed in different ways invests around fifteen of the poems in the sequence, outweighing those poems which concentrate on the desire for death and *contemptus mundi*, a theme developed further by Drummond in his religious lyrics. It is the rusticated, but

never rustic, poet's addition to the Petrarchan development to graft the melancholic pastoral strain so strongly on to what is already a virtuoso amalgam of a number of different strands and influences.

This amalgam can be seen in one of the early sonnets, Son. ix on sleep. While the ultimate source is Ovid, the passage picked up by Shakespeare for *Macbeth* II.ii lines 35-9,²⁰ Drummond's poem is, according to Kastner's notes, immediately derived from Marino. The octave, however, in different ways strongly recalls both Sidney's 'Come sleepe, O sleepe, the certaine knot of peace' (*AS* 39), and Daniel's 'Care-charmer Sleepe, sonne of the sable Night' (*Delia* XLIX).²¹ Each poet develops the Ovidian source for his own purposes, but one of Drummond's purposes appears to be to equate Sleep with the Holy Ghost, the Christian Comforter:

Sleepe, Silence Child, sweet Father of soft Rest,
Prince whose Approach Peace to all Mortalls brings,
Indifferent Host to Shepheards and to Kings,
Sole Comforter of Minds with Griefe opprest. (1-4)

The whispering alliteration of the first line sounds like a mother hushing her child to sleep, while the antithesis of 'Child' and 'Father' introduces the antithetical development of the rest of the poem. The depiction of family relationships among mythologised beings may have been suggested by Daniel's poem, which employs a very similar figure: 'Care-charmer Sleepe, sonne of the sable Night,/Brother to death, in silent darknes borne' (1-2), but it is undoubtedly from Sidney that the third line is derived: 'Th'indifferent judge betweene the high and low' (*AS* 39: 4). Drummond's sleepless persona is separated from the normal run of humanity whatever their social degree, as he is not asleep despite his grief-oppressed mind.

While the rod is most often used as a symbol of chastisement, here Sleep's 'charming Rod' (5) is more like a magic wand bringing oblivion to sleepers: 'And yet o're me to spred thy drowsie Wings/Thou spares (alas) who cannot be thy Guest' (7-8). This picks up the melancholy note in Daniel's sonnet, which longs for 'dark forgetting of [his] care's returne' (5) and mourns 'the shipwrack of [his] ill-adventured youth' (6).

Drummond's sestet appeals for Sleep to come, but to bring dreams of Auristella:

...O come, but with that Face
To inward Light which thou art wont to show,
With fained Solace ease a true felt Woe, (9-11)

Since he cannot see his lady in life, the best substitute is to dream of her, as even that little measure clearly removes some of the pain, but this is only a 'fained' alleviation, and the 'true felt' pain continues on waking, a pain that Daniel's persona does not want to contemplate: 'Still let me sleepe, imbracing clowdes in vaine,/And never wake to feele the daye's disdayne' (13-14). However, this is essentially denying the role of Comforter which was conferred in Drummond's first quatrain, and taking his persona's sufferings to a plane higher than that experienced by ordinary mortals. That even this substitute is likely to be denied is made clear in the changed tone of the final three lines, where Sleep is assumed to be deaf to his pleas, deliberately denying him even the limited grace of a dream-vision. This is where he departs most clearly from Sidney, who offers Sleep the inducement of a sight of Stella if he will only come to him: '... thou shalt in me,/Livelier then else-where, *Stella's* image see' (13-14). In desperation, Drummond's persona calls for sleep under any circumstances:

Or if *deafe* God thou doe denie that Grace,
Come as thou wilt, and what thou wilt bequeath,
I long to kisse the *Image of my Death*. (12-14)

There is a further piece of wordplay in the final line, as 'the Image of my Death' could be an elliptical description of Auristella, love for whom has caused him to undergo this death-in-life existence, but it is more likely to be depicting sleep as the image or painting of death, showing that he has reached the breaking point because of sleeplessness. There is also an echo of Alexander's 'shadow of my death' (*Aurora* Son. 29: 5) when he is talking of dreaming of Aurora and comparing his experience with that of Endymion. Since Drummond immediately in the following sonnet goes on to talk of Endymion in an appeal to the Moon to implant an image of 'the blacke *Mappe* of all my Woe' (Son. x: 14) in the sleeping Auristella's mind, it would seem to show that he was deliberately borrowing, but once again, he borrows an expression from Sidney in 'Mappe', as in *AS* 6:13 (see above p. 237).

The first detailed landscape poem is found in Song i which starts with the appearance of Spring, very much in the tenor of a medieval *locus amoenus* in

which a dream vision might be expected. This appears to be a reintroduction to the theme of love, as the persona depicts himself '*free from all Cares, Farre from the muddie Worlds captiuing Snares*' (9-10) which, although it might be true in terms of not being embroiled in the intrigues of the world, certainly is not the way we last pictured him. As Kastner points out, this expression is derived almost without change from Sidney's *Arcadia*: 'Free all my powers were from those captiving snares,/Which heavenly purest gifts defile with muddy cares.'²² Once again it is the combination of Petrarch and Sidney which inspires Drummond to his description, Sidney giving him the mental state, and Petrarch the vehicle for his praise. In the same way that all the Petrarchans had praised their local rivers as carrying the essence of the beloved lady, so Drummond's persona praises the Ore in hyperbolic terms:

*By Oras flowrie Bancks alone did wander,
Ora that sports her like to old Meander,
A Floud more worthie Fame and lasting Praise
Than that which Phaetons Fall so high did raise: (11-14)*

The comparisons are quite conventional, the fall of Phaeton a commonplace to describe the fires of love which can never be quenched.

The landscape is not intended to be read as realistic, but is an imaginative recreation of the pastoral (or Arcadian) idyll, from the putative Castalian spring to the Apollonian laurel:

*A Place there is, where a delicious Fountaine
Springs from the swelling Paps of a proud Mountaine,

The Lawrell there the shining Channell graces,
The Palme her Loue with long-stretch'd Armes embraces,
The Poplar spreads her Branches to the Skie,
And hides from sight that azure Cannopie. (19-20, 23-6)*

The sensuality of the imagery, and the personification of the landscape into the all-embracing body of a woman, prepare for the vision which the poet is to experience in the course of the poem, while the essentially enclosed nature of the place, with the branches presumably cutting out the natural light along with the sight of the sky, suggests something not unlike a hermit's retreat, a place for reflection on the beauties of creation.

As expected, the persona does experience a vision, which overtakes him while '*thickest Shades me from all Rayes did hide/Into a shut-vp-place, some*

Syluans *Chamber*' (50-1). This place, carpeted with flowers, appears to be peopled with a multitude, as each flower is named for its mythological origin:

*Here Adon blush't, and Clitia all amazed
Lookt pale, with Him who in the Fountaine gazed,
The Amaranthus smyl'd and that sweet Boy
Which sometime was the God of Delos joy: (55-8)*

And, of course, as is read in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, each of these flowers came into being as a result of a god's being disappointed in love in some respect, further preparing for what is to come.

Gradually, the natural world fades as the persona sleeps and he is assailed firstly by the cosmic harmony of the music of the spheres, then by the sight of what appear to be the three graces coming from a cloven myrtle tree, the tree sacred to Venus. The most beautiful is described in entirely conventional Petrarchan terms, although, as Kastner points out, the imagery is derived also from the general setting and the specific description of Zelmane's song on the beauty of Philoclea bathing in *Arcadia*:

*Her haire more bright than are the Mornings Beames
Hang in a golden shower aboue the Streames,
And (sweetly tous'd) her forehead sought to couer,
Which seene did straight a Skie of Milke discover,
With two faire Browes, Loues Browes, which neuer bend
But that a Golden Arrow foorth they send.
Beneath the which two burning Planets glancing
Flasht Flames of Loue, for Loue there still is dancing.
Her either Cheeke resembl'd a blushing Morne,
Or Roses Gueules in field of Lillies borne:
Betwixt the which a Wall so faire is raised,
That it is but abased euen when praised.
Her Lips like Rowes of Corral soft did swell,
And th' one like th' other only doth excell:
The Tyrian Fish looks pale, pale looke the Roses,
The Rubies pale, when Mouths sweet Cherrie closes.
Her Chinne like silver Phebe did appeare
Darke in the midst to make the rest more cleare:
Her Necke seem'd fram'd by curious Phidias Master,
Most smooth, most white, a piece of Alabaster.
Two foaming Billowes flow'd vpon her Brest,
Which did their tops with Corral red encrest:
There all about as Brookes them sport at leasure,
With Circling Branches veines did swell in Azure:
Within those Crookes are only found those Isles
Which Fortunate the dreaming old World Stiles.
The rest the Streames did hide, but as a Lillie*

Suncke in a Christalls faire transparent Bellie. (109-36)

This is a very Pléiade-influenced *blason*, reminiscent also of Alexander's Song 8 in *Aurora*, although it is the general situation, the description of a beauty bathing, which confers much of the resemblance. A more specific point of contact can be found in Alexander's 'dike of snowes:/The line that still is stretche'd out euen,/And doth deuide thy faces heauen' (36-8) and Drummond's 'Wall so faire' (119), to describe the lady's nose. Similarly, Alexander's description of 'some branched veines arise,/As th'azure pure would braue the skies' (59-60) is echoed in Drummond's 'with Circling Branches veines did swell in Azure' (132). Alexander's decorum in refusing to contemplate in words what lies beyond the waist, although he does go as far as mentioning 'a mountaine made of naked snowes,/Amidst the which is Loues great seale' (76-7), is absolutely echoed by Drummond, although the younger poet does allow some hint of being able to say more, if he were permitted to, when he says '*the rest the Streames did hide, but as a Lillie/ Suncke in a Christalls faire transparent Bellie*' (135-6). Clearly he could see what he was not going to describe. Some of Spenser's descriptions in *Amoretti* are similarly sensual, as has been discussed in Chapter 2 above, but that simply heightened the appeal of the physical world that the Neoplatonist was fighting to reject, which is exactly what Drummond is doing in his sequence.

Sight of this nymph immediately awakens love in the dreamer and he rejects all the experiences of his past waking life as mere shadows compared to this. Even while he is being ravished by the sight, he is aware that this is not altogether a good thing, and that suffering is inevitable: '*And yet O deare bought Sight! O would for euer/I might enioy you, or had ioy'd you neuer!*' (151-2)

In the dream vision, the persona's state of excitement is such that rational thought is easily overtaken by sensuous appreciation, and the river is begged to hold in some way a continuing image of the nymph, by imprinting reflections, '*Draw thousand Pourtraits of Her on your Face*' (158), in default of his preferred solution, to be himself '*A Daulphine to transport Her to the Sea*' (162). This is again a highly conventional image, which was explored rather more imaginatively by Sir David Murray in his river sonnet (see p. 178 above).

Where Drummond allows his imagination free rein rather than remaining tied to the conventional visions, he shows his baroque temperament. When Venus in her coach breaks the spell, coming to collect the nymphs to her: '*A Crue of Virgins made a Ring about Her,/The Diamond shee, they seeme the Gold without Her*' (183-4). Here is seen the development of the metaphor which is so much a part of baroque writing. The virgins simply collect around the goddess, but are then transformed into a piece of jewellery because of the shape of the group. The effect is to highlight the ineffable beauty of this newcomer, if such beautiful nymphs are simply her foil.

In the same way that Alexander in his sequence undergoes an allegorical journey to take him in the direction of his goal, so Drummond takes his persona to the Fort of Chastity, which makes this dream vision very like a medieval allegory. The Fort is built upon a rock of crystal, and the temple within its walls is forbidden to lovers '*Who haue their Faces seene in Venus Glass*' (214) and who fill up the ditch with '*a Lake of Inkie Teares*' (218). Only at this point is the persona smitten with the full realisation of love and the banishment of hope. Even his loftiest thoughts are not worthy to reach his beloved's domain:

*What bitter Anguish did inuade my Minde,
When in that Place my Hope I saw confinde,
Where with high-towring Thoughts I onely reacht Her
Which did burne vp their Wings when they approacht Her?* (229-32)

There is a rather neat conflation of the image of thought compared to eagles as the only birds able to look at the sun, and the loftiness of the thoughts being the true test of the worth of the lover, and of that of Icarus as the symbol of presumption and destruction.

Given that this was a dream vision, if it had been written as part of the medieval allegorical convention, the dreamer would have woken a sadder but a wiser man, and would have learnt from the experience. But we are not dealing with medieval allegory, and Drummond's persona finds that out as soon as he frightens himself awake: '*For what into my troubled Braine was painted,/I waking found that Time, and Place presented*' (251-2). The dream has become reality, and, given the emotional resonances, nightmare rather than dream. This is subtly different from Alexander's resolution of his allegorical journey, as his persona appeared to have gained self-knowledge from his experience, while

being able to leave the emotions of the dream-vision behind him, even if he does not apply it to his future conduct.

For Drummond, Time is the symbol of mortality and mutability and all the pains that life is subject to, rather than Fortune, and now this vision has combined the negative aspects of life with this place which he had until now seen as a comforting retreat. Never more will the landscape be able to succour him, as it is forever imprinted with the shadow of his pain. That it still can provide him with a measure of sympathy, if not relief, is shown in a number of sonnets where the features of the landscape are appealed to as fellow-sufferers. Son. xv personifies the river, the flowers, the '*Mirtle, Palme, and Bay*' (5), the winds, even the very rocks of the hills, showing that they by their attitudes have responded to his grief:

Each thing I finde hath sense except my Deare
Who doth not thinke I loue, or will not know
My Griefe, perchance delighting in my Woe. (12-14)

However, when he appeals to them directly to give him some words of comfort, all he hears is the empty echo of his own words:

Will that remorselesse Faire e're Pitie show,
Of Grace now answer if yee ought know? *No.* (xvi: 13-14)

The Echo poem was popular throughout European literature at the end of the sixteenth century, showing once again the generalised influence which Drummond was subject to, and this is just a hint of what could be done with a literary echo, but the homophone is effective in intensifying the double negative at the end of the poem. Unlike Sidney's grammatical squib,²³ here two negatives do not make a positive.

Drummond's use of the landscape as a kind of objective correlative for his emotional state is, of course, very different from Jonson's use of landscape to symbolise the hospitality of ordered retirement from city life, although it can be seen that there are correspondences. Both poets use landscape as a means of complimenting an admired addressee, in Drummond's case, Auristella, and in Jonson's, the Sidney family, and both focus on particular aspects of the natural world as reflecting the inhabitants. It is appropriate to Drummond's style that his landscape is stylised and mythologised, whereas Jonson's is more natural and English. In this way, it could be said that both are using the landscape in a similar

way, and certainly in a way that had not been seen before in either English or Scots poetry, with the possible exception of Alexander Hume's 'The Day Estivall',²⁴ written towards the end of the previous century.

Jonson's 'To Penshurst'²⁵ started the vogue for the country house poem of the seventeenth century, but this predecessor of the genre has manifold purposes. It is designed to show the functional beauty of the house in comparison to the 'prodigy houses' of the *nouveaux riches* of Elizabethan and Jacobean society. The integration of the house with its surroundings, of the family with the native inhabitants, makes an important point about the moral status of the Sidney family. They did not have to be forced by legislation back to their country estate as many of the nobility did, but took naturally to their place in the scheme of things, acting as representatives of the King in the country at large. Penshurst is clearly at one with its environment, the imagined presence of sylvans, dryads, satyrs and fauns conferring a classical perfection on the place. Even the causes for wonder are natural, 'That taller tree, which of a nut was set/At his great birth, where all the *Muses* met' (II: 13-14) commemorates the birth of Philip Sidney; 'thy *Ladies oke*' (18) is a remembrance of Lady Leicester's going into labour at that point, and 'Thy copp's, too, nam'd of GAMAGE' (19) commemorates Barbara Gamage, who married Lord Sidney in 1584. Although this is similar in many senses to Drummond's imprinting of his landscape with Auristella, there is none of Drummond's air of desolation; rather a rejoicing in the remembrances.

Very similar sentiments are found in the next poem in *The Forest*, 'To Sir Robert Wroth' (III), although the address here is directly to the owner of the estate rather than to the estate itself. The connections are manifold, Wroth having married Sir Philip Sidney's niece and being of very similar temperament with regard to his obligations to state and arts as the rest of the family. This poem owes a good deal to Horace's Second Epode, translated by Jonson and read to Drummond during his visit,²⁶ and included in *Under-wood*. As in 'To Penshurst', country living is praised above court attendance, and country hospitality is the most liberal to experience. Jonson's depiction of what Wroth does not do is presumably a fair picture of everyday city behaviour. As with Penshurst, Wroth's estate, Durrants, is a remade Eden, freshening and

sweetening everything that comes in contact with it. To a twentieth-century reader, Jonson's talk of the 'serpent riuer' (18) which runs through it inevitably raises a questions of the evil underlying the good, but it has to be remembered that in the seventeenth century the image was multi-valent, and could convey the ideas of continuity, completeness and age-old wisdom. It could be, of course, that the winding trail of the river is the only serpent-like aspect of the estate, which would heighten its Edenic effect.

Although they were approaching the theme from very different directions, both Jonson and Drummond invest their landscapes in poetry with classical qualities, for Jonson the Horatian virtues of utility and pleasure, for Drummond the more Ovidian occupation of nature by mythological characters standing behind every flower and tree. In both, the landscape is seen to have the character it has because of the people who live in it and have influenced its development, and thus inhabitants and environment become interchangeable and inter-referential.

There is perhaps another advantage to Drummond in rooting Auristella so firmly in the surrounding countryside. This concerns the colour of her eyes, which mirror the green of the trees, leaves and grasses which are all around, an aspect which is developed from Son. xviii (a sonnet clearly derived from AS 7²⁷) in which the lady is named as Auristella for the first time.

Nature, having 'wonderfully wrought/All AVRISTELLAS Parts, except her Eyes' (1-2) seeks advice from the planetary gods. Mars and Apollo are clearly on the side of Sidney, the soldier-poet, in that they:

...did Her aduise
In Colour Blacke to wrappe those Comets bright,
That *Loue* him so might soberly disguise,
And vnperceiued Wound at euery Sight. (5-8)

Of course, both gods have suffered the effects of unrequited love, and thus could be expected to have rather a dull view of it. Phebe rather predictably goes for blue, but Jove and Venus advise green:

That to pin'd Hearts *Hope* might for ay arise:
Nature (all said) a *Paradise* of Greene
There plac'd, to make all loue which haue them seene. (12-14)

Thus the generative force of Nature and the hopeful pains of love are combined in Auristella's eyes, and, by extension, in every aspect of the natural world. Even

the sky is really green, as Mad. ii shows: '*The Heauens (if we their Glasse/The Sea beleue) bee greene, not perfect blew*' (10-11).

Drummond's love for colour imagery extends into his diction and lexicon, as he delights in finding different colour words, especially from heraldry, such as the '*Sinople* [green] *Lampes of Ioue*' (Mad. ii: 5) which, by a curious quirk of pronunciation sound very like the opposed colour 'Most bright Cynoper' [vermilion] in the following sonnet. Even the colour opposite in the spectrum to that of Auristella's eyes awakens images of her:

Desire (alas) *Desire* a *Zeuxis* new,
From *Indies* borrowing Gold, from *Westerne* Skies
Most bright Cynoper, sets before mine Eyes
In euery Place, her Haire, sweet Looke and Hew (xix: 9-12)

His very desire is personified and made into the painter, Zeuxis, creating lifelike images from his surroundings. This is the very opposite of Platonic idealism, and is rather the imprinting of the adored lady on the natural world. Drummond's persona sees Auristella in every aspect of creation, instead of seeing God's work through contemplation of Auristella's beauties. That it is 'Desire' which acts like Zeuxis intensifies the sense that this is a very sensual passion. This 'painting' is very much present in the work of Alexander Craig, as has been seen in Chapter 3, where he clearly identifies himself with Zeuxis.

In case this wordplay might be thought playful and too artfully self-conscious, Drummond now shows one of his other sides, the one which is sonorous, Shakespearean, even proto-Miltonic. Son. xxiv has a syntax that is Sidneian in its complexity, echoing the unwillingness of the thought. The lady is considered in the way God should be by the penitent man, but he cannot change his feelings:

In Minds pure Glass when I my selfe behold,
And viuely see how my best Dayes are spent,
What Clouds of Care aboue my Head are roll'd,
What comming Harmes, which I can not preuent:
My begunne Course I (wearied) doe repent,

Yet when I thinke vpon that face diuine,

Malgre my Heart I ioye in my Disgrace. (1-5, 12, 14)

The use of the French word 'malgré' rather than the Scots 'maugre' may perhaps signal the French origin of this poem, derived as it is from Desportes, but the

theme is a combination of the perennial theme of the battle between Love and Reason for the soul of man. The Ronsardian and Shakespearean warnings to the lady of the effects of Time are another source for Drummond, seen in Son. xxvi:

Trust not sweet Soule those curled Waues of Gold
With gentle Tides which on your Temples flow,
Nor Temples spread with Flackes of Virgine Snow,
Nor Snow of Cheekes with *Tyrian* Graine enroll'd. (1-4)

There is a clever development here where the natural image becomes concretised as the following description, showing that the lady is part of the natural world and subject to its changes and vicissitudes. The waves of the hair immediately become the ever-changing tides of the sea. As these change, so she should look to herself:

Looke to this dying *Lillie*, fading *Rose*,
Darke *Hyacinthe*, of late whose blushing Beames
Made all the neighbouring Herbes and Grasse reioyce,
And thinke how litle is twixt Lifes Extreames:
The cruell Tyrant that did kill those Flowrs,
Shall once (*aye mee*) not spare that Spring of yours. (9-14)

This is extremely complex imagery, as while the lily and rose relate directly to the lady, the hyacinth is more properly the lover, as is seen in Mad. iii, where:

The Flowrs did smile, like those vpon her Face,
And as their Aspine Stalkes those Fingers band,
(That Shee might read my Case)
A Hyacinth I wisht mee in her Hand. (11-14)

As this is placed just four poems earlier in the sequence, it sets up resonances for the poems which follow it, and the interweaving of the flower imagery applying to both lady and lover adds a depth which would not otherwise be as apparent. The relationship with the imagery used by Ronsard and Daniel in their warnings to their ladies of the effects of time is also inescapable, and once again situates Drummond in the mainstream of Pléiade-influenced Petrarchism.

The following poems make clear that this warning to Auristella is part of the same process of persuasion to love and that it does not give him pleasure to point out the inevitable vicissitudes of nature to her, as from Son. xxviii to Son. xxxi the note is of unrelieved despair. Linking himself to the older tradition, seen in Wyatt's 'Blame not my lute',²⁸ of addressing one's lute, he pleads with his lute to 'Sound hoarse' as 'true Witsnesse of my Woe' and 'your Accents straine/Vnto these Teares vncessantly which flow' (xxviii: 1, 3-4). Only the sun-shaded places

are suitable for him, to fit his mood. There is perhaps also a suggestion of Orpheus descending into Hades to rescue Euridice: 'Thou *Hell* may'st mooue, though not a *Womans Heart*' (14). It was the beauty of Orpheus' music which persuaded Hades to release Euridice, but clearly Auristella is made of sterner stuff.

The following two sonnets lament his love-pains, blaming the stars for bringing him into the world to suffer in this fashion, hyperbolically offering himself and his love-fires for the creation of more volcanoes in the world, as no amount of snow and ice can extinguish the flames. Parodying Petrarch's image of the blessed day on which Laura was born, Drummond's persona laments the 'cruell *Starre*' and 'gloomie Day' which gave him life. His grief and despair are totally uncontrollable, and the only explanation is that he is fated to suffer alone:

Ah only I, abandon'd to *Despaire*,
Nail'd to my Torments, in pale *Horroures* Shade,
Like wandering Clouds see all my Comforts fled,
And Euill on Euill with Hours my Life impaire: (Son. xxx: 9-12)

There is an apparent image of crucifixion here, although the insistence on despair and evil prevents a direct comparison, leaving the sense of physical pain with no possibility of relief. He feels singled out for special tormenting treatment by some malicious god: 'The Heaven and *Fortune* which were wont to turne,/Fixt in one Mansion staye to cause mee mourne' (13-14). Where even the changeability of Fortune could hold the promise of some alteration in his state in the future, he feels that the wheels of Fortune and the zodiac itself are stayed simply to cause him further pain. This is far more solipsistic than any of the other sequences looked at and goes far beyond the merely hyperbolic, developing into an intensely mannered and elaborate expression of grief, imagining that the entire world is conspiring to make him miserable. Dwelling on Fortune as the cause of his misery rather links him with Alexander Montgomerie, who was similarly preoccupied. The influence is entirely conceivable, again through his uncle, William Fowler, and ties Drummond deeper into a more conventional, traditional mindset, which is very much in keeping with what in the medieval period would have been called the aureation of his language.

The logical culmination of this development is found in the sonnet as monument in Son. xxxi where the persona addresses some future reader, warning him that he risks suffering the same fate by reading the poems:

Deare Eye which daign'st on this sad *Monument*
The *sable Scroule* of my Mis-haps to view,

If thou not dazell'd with a Heauenly Hue,
And comely Feature, didst not yet lament? (1-2, 5-6)

Of course, in a way, Drummond is here describing the process he went through, creating and loving in verse a being who is herself a composite of all the beautiful mistresses described in the Petrarchan sequences. He has already perused many a '*sable Scroule*' before beginning his work, and has created his sequence to mirror his lamentation. He will serve as a negative example to all readers:

Looke on the wofull Shipwracke of my Youth,
And let my Ruines for a *Phare* thee serue
To shunne this Rocke *Capharean* of Vntrueth,
And serue no God who doth his Church-men sterue: (9-12)

The typically classical allusion is combined with the conventional image of the lover as shipwrecked mariner to heighten the tone of the advice, using an image straight from Sidney,²⁹ but there is no real hope that anyone will heed it, as love is part of life, and pain is part of love.

However, it is the fundamental premise of the sonnet sequence that a single mood does not predominate for too long, and Song ii injects a new note of optimism and hope. This Song has an extremely complex rhyme scheme mingling rhyming couplets, triplets, cross-rhyming quatrains and odd unrhymed lines, and the structure in terms of punctuation often seems to cut across the rhyme boundaries. There are roughly five sections to the poem, each one a plea to a different god(dess). Phoebus is first called on to '*arise/And paint the sable Skies*' (1-2) clearing Night away '*to make deare thy glorious Light*' (14). The reason for this change in mood is explained in the second section:

This is that happie Morne,
That Day long wished Day

This is the Morne should bring vnto this Groue
My Loue, to heare and recompense my loue. (15-16, 22-3)

The repetitions heighten the emotional impact, but the use of the conditional tense of the verb hints at uncertainty and the fear of disappointment which appears to be fulfilled at the close. Everything is ready like a stage set, and the lines borrowed from *Romeo and Juliet* serve to intensify the artificiality of the setting: 'Night like a Drunkard reeles/Beyond the Hills to shunne his flaming Wheelles' (42-3).³⁰ The *locus amoenus* awaits its presiding goddess but she is absent: 'Here is the pleasant Place,/And eu'ry thing, saue Her, who all should grace' (46-7).

The following sonnets and madrigal appear to be the developing anticipation of Auristella's arrival, as the mounting excitement seems to show. He starts with Auristella asleep compared to Aurora, Venus, Endymion, and outshining them all to the extent that she makes viewers fall in love with her, simply through seeing her asleep: 'Shee waking but perswades, now forceth Loue' (xxxvi: 14).

The following sonnet is decidedly baroque in expression and imagery, in that the syntax is reversed from the usual pattern, and the conventional images are used in the opposite sense from the expected. The first word is misleading, as 'Of *Cithereas* Birds that milke-white paire' implies the interpretation 'that pair of doves', but the development finally (in line 7) reveals that 'of' should be interpreted as 'from', as the doves are a pattern for Auristella to follow. The first quatrain on the doves is left open grammatically speaking until the principal clause appears in the second quatrain: 'Of *Cithereas* Birds that milke-white paire .../Loues Lessons thou mightst learne?' (xxxvii:1, 7). But she cannot learn such lessons as she is clearly made of stone: 'If thou but Sense hadst like *Pigmaliions* Stone?/Or hadst not seene *Medusas* snakie haire' (5-6).

This is a rather more gothic image, as 'Pigmalion's stone' was a sculpture which the creator fell in love with and which was brought to life by Venus at his request, while the Gorgon's glance turned sentient beings into stone. Line 5 posits an inanimate sculpture which has become animate, while the following line reverses the process. In either case, the end product is not 'natural', but has been subject to some kind of metamorphosis. The image recalls a line in Alexander's

Aurora Song 6 in which Aurora is depicted as some kind of benign gorgon, her beauties fixing him to the spot as if turned to stone, as he can look only on her:

And then I gaze vpon that diuine grace,
Which as that I had view'd *Medusaes* head,
Transform'd me once; (63-5)

The echo of *Aurora* Son. 59 is even more striking: 'As hauing view'd *Medusaes* snakie head,/Seem'd metamorphos'd in a marble stone' (7-8). Auristella's attitude, like Aurora's, is unnatural and self-destructive. Even the plant world has an example to show her in the ivy's embrace of the elm tree:

Looke how that *Elme* this *Iuie* doth embrace,
And bindes, and claspes with many a wanton Fold,

Nay seemes to say, deare Tree we shall not parte,
In Signe whereof loe in each Leafe a *Heart*. (10-11, 13-14)

Again we have the inversion of subject and object initially confusing the sense, and the animism and personification of the landscape seen everywhere in Drummond, added to his ability to see symbols everywhere around him of the power and naturalness of love.

It appears that Auristella does actually come to him having survived the amorous advances of the River Forth which tries to kiss the boat that carries her, as Son. xl is a kissing sonnet, very reminiscent in imagery and sensuality of *AS* 80 - 82. Auristella's lips are

... Fruites of *Paradise*,
Celestiall Cherries which so sweetly swell
That *Sweetnesse* selfe confinde there seemes to dwell,
And all those sweetest Parts about despise (1-4)

Here polyptoton intensifies the sensuality by repeating the root word 'sweet' in different forms, including even the Platonic essence of sweetness to crown the image. Given the anticipation, it is hardly surprising that the imagery should become hyperbolic:

I die (deare Life) vnlesse to mee bee giuen
As many Kisses as the *Spring* hath Flowrs,
Or as the siluer Drops of *Iris* Showrs,
Or as the Starres in all-embracing Heauen, (9-12)

although it is rather unusual that the persona does not first ask for a single kiss to restore his life to him. His anticipation has made him too demanding, although what appears to be a recognition of this in the final two lines is in fact a very Sidneian closure: 'And if displead'd yee of the Match complaine,/Yee shall haue

leau to take them backe againe' (13-14). The joke is on the lady, who would thus be kissed twice over as recompense.

What makes this poem even more interesting is its correspondence to the sixth of Jonson's poems in *The Forest*, although Jonson's employment of the imagery is very different. Jonson begins 'Kisse me, sweet ...' (VI: 1), which echoes Drummond's use of cognates of 'sweet', but the real correspondence is in the way the number of the kisses is conveyed. Jonson's description comes from his own locality:

All the grasse that *Rumney* yeeldes,
Or the sands in *Chelsey* fields,
Or the drops in siluer *Thames*,
Or the starres, that guild his streames, (13-16)

The last is a rather neat and delicate pun, the starlight seen as the gilding on the existing silver sparkle of the water. As was seen earlier in the comparison of the landscape poetry, Jonson's comparisons are located in the real world, whereas Drummond's are mythological and metaphysical (in the literal sense of being beyond the physical), and the identity of the comparisons, flowers becoming grass and sand, the drops of rain becoming drips of river water, stars in both, literal in Drummond, reflected in Jonson.

The remembrance of this kiss (or the vivid imaginative creation of it) gives Drummond's persona respite in his pain during his beloved's absence. The following sonnet appears to relate to the kiss of the previous one, but with a fairly long time-lapse between them. Now the kiss is remembered as an event from 'One Time' (xli: 9), clearly indicating the past tense status and the singularity of the experience, and implying a historical specificity not unlike Donne's:

One Time I found when as yee did mee kisse,
Yee gaue my panting Soule so sweet a Touch,
That halfe I sown'd in midst of all my Blisse, (9-11)

The use of 'sweet', although predictable in the situation, is a muted echo of the repeated cognates of 'sweet' in the previous sonnet, and the very faintness of the echo serves further to underline the emotional distance between the two experiences. This would be the persona's choice, '*what sort of Death should ende my Woe*' (8).

Two following madrigals and a sonnet celebrate Auristella's effect on the natural world, as she imparts beauty and perfume to the rose more penetrating than that of any classical *locus*: 'My Ladies Brest you bare, and Lips you kist' (Mad. v: 12). She outshines the natural beauties of a summer meadow, as, in contrast to what she was warned of earlier (Son. xxvi) her beauties will not fade with time:

Shee whose faire flowrs no *Autumne* makes decay,
Whose Hue celestially, earthly Hues doth staine,
Into a pleasant odoriferous Plaine
Did walke alone, to braue the Pride of *Maye*: (Son. xlii: 1-4)

This is, as the reader of the next sonnets realises, a hint that Auristella is no longer on the earth, and has escaped the rigours of time through death, but at present it is read as a piece of hyperbolic praise of a lady whose beauty exceeds that of the flowers in the full glory. She even turns Spring (the lovely '*Sonne of the Sunne*') into Summer as Spring burns with love at seeing her '*amongst thy Flowrs alone/Vnmask'd*' (Mad. vi: 11-12)

The truth is only revealed elliptically in the following sonnet and made explicit in the second sextain of the sequence. His Eden has been spoiled by some unknown jealous rival, and what was once a consolation to him is now a Hell. This is not a Petrarchan trope, but was introduced into the imitative sequences produced by the *quattrocentisti*, and thus became part of the generalised Petrarchan mode. Only isolated words in this sonnet reveal the truth, as if it is too painful to be clearly expressed. The first quatrain celebrates the wood as his refuge from the world, and his own world:

Deare Wood, and you sweet solitarie Place,
Where from the vulgare I estranged liue,
Contented more with what your Shades mee giue,
Than if I had what *Thetis* doth embrace: (Son. xliii: 1-4)

He has no desire for worldly power and influence, and his solitude and estrangements are self-chosen, not impositions on him. There is little attractive about the world of the vulgar.

However, he has clearly been thought to be too contented and in need of some disturbance, and the reference to the 'snakie Eye' (5) clearly hints at a Satanic invasion of Eden to spoil his peaceful existence and turn what had once pleased him into 'silent Horrors' (6). This is the image which causes most

difficulty, as it is so out of tune with the 'Deare Wood' and 'deare Resorts' used elsewhere. It is the only negative note in the poem, and is not picked up until the following sonnet. Here, the sestet returns to the celebration of the quiet life 'Farre from the madding Worldlings hoarse Discords' (11) (which Gray must surely have been thinking about when he wrote in his *Elegy in a Country Churchyard*: 'Far from the madding crowd's ignoble strife'/Their sober wishes never lean'd to stray') and a hint that perhaps he has been summoned to public life: 'Ah! if I were mine owne, your deare Resorts/I would not change with *Princes stately Courts*' (13-14).

It quickly becomes clear that Auristella is dead and forever parted from him, and from now until the end of this part of the sequence, all the poems bemoan his loss in different ways. Son. xlv is particularly difficult to penetrate, as it is using a very baroque phraseology and imagery, describing his eye as a window which 'serued for a Spheare/To that deare Planet of my Heart,...' (1-2). This reminds the reader of Robert Ayton's 'A Sonnet Left in a Gentlewoman's Looking Glasse' (see above, p. 228), as the first quatrain of this sonnet asks the lady to 'come and looke vpon these Eyes of myne' (3) rather than in her looking glass, as she can have two reflections in his eyes rather than one. Ayton's use of the figure is much less serious than Drummond's, as his extravagant hyperbole parodies the devotion which Drummond's persona depicts faithfully. In Drummond's version, the only purpose in his persona's existence was to carry the lady's portrait, and, 'Bereft of Her who made thee fortunate' (11), his eye has been transformed from Heaven into 'a Gulfe ... whence Cloudes of Sighes arise' (12). While she was alive he lived by her presence in the heavenly spheres, but he is now by her absence transported into the underworld of grief. The metaphor of the lover being the setting for the heavenly lady is picked up in Son. xlviii, where, looking at an armlet of hair which is all he has to remind himself of her, he wishes:

Yet Haire for you, ô that I were a *Heauen*!
Like *Berenices Locke* that yee might shine
(But brighter farre) about this Arme of mine. (12-14)

But although it appears that he wishes to be a foil for her beauty, there is also a sense that he becomes greater through his association with her, for without him, she cannot shine.

This is another instance where Drummond and Donne can directly be compared, as Donne has two lyrics on the subject of a bracelet of hair. Where Drummond's impulse is to the metaphysical and the cosmological, Donne's is very much to the personal and the intimate, revealing the strength of the personal relationship. In 'The Funerall', the bracelet of hair is 'my outward Soule' (5), a symbol of his lost love, but, more powerfully, a means of keeping him alive to 'keepe these limbes, her Provinces, from dissolution' (8). This is in distinct contrast to 'She's all States, and all Princes, I' ('The Sunne Rising': 21), as now he is the land over which she rules. There is a sense that without her he cannot go on living, his own brain's 'sinewie thread' ('The Funerall': 9) being too weak to hold the parts together, while hers, even after death, has power:

These haire which upward grew, and strength and art
Have from a better braine,
Can better do it; (12-14)

Although it is clear that the wearing of a bracelet of hair from the loved one was a commonplace, Donne invests it with an almost supernatural power, testifying to the eternity of real love, as is seen in 'The Relique', in which the 'bracelet of bright haire about the bone' (6), which clearly has not suffered the effects of dissolution, is taken to be by those whom 'mis-devotion doth command' (13) as a sign that this couple should be canonized. Although written in a negative strain, it is clear that the poet's meaning is that they *are* different from other couples, and should perhaps be singled out as special in their love. What is different in Donne's and Drummond's treatments of the same theme is that while Donne concentrates on the personal, and creates a picture of an actual beloved woman, Drummond invests the bracelet with mythological qualities and immediately removes it from the world of experience.

The opposite appears to be the case when Drummond concentrates on the natural world, as he does in two of the previous sonnets, the first, Son. xlv looking askance at the landscape which appears to be in mourning for Auristella, so changed it is since he last looked at it, and the second, Son. xlvi, taking the

form of a walk around the same landscape accompanied by Alexis (Sir William Alexander) pointing out the places of special note in their relationship. There is a compliment to the Menstrie poet here, as Auristella is pictured reading his poems, presumably *Aurora*: 'Her Voyce did sweeten here thy sugred Lines,/To which Winds, Trees, Beasts, Birds did lend their Eare' (7-8). How different is this pointing out of features in the landscape to Jonson's celebration of landmarks at Penshurst. In Drummond, the closing note is of melancholy, which will take over almost entirely from now on. These remembered pleasures are merely barbs, as they remind him how miserable he is now: 'But (*ah*) what seru'd it to bee happie so?/Sith passed Pleasures double but new Woe' (13-14). Clearly his persona does not subscribe to the dictum that it is better to have loved and lost than never to have loved at all.

His only consolation is dreaming, during nights which are now appealing times of substitute pleasures rather than unwished-for periods of sleepless torment as in earlier sonnets:

A Sleepe I had more than poore Words can say,
For clos'd in Armes (mee thought) I did thee keepe,
A sorie Wretch plung'd in Mis-fortunes deepe (xlvii: 5-7)

Here the *excusatio* of 'more than poore Words can say' is consistent, as he does not give a description of the dream itself, but rather of the effect it had on him, and even this joyful event has served only to underline how miserable his life really is, as he said in the previous sonnet. There is an echo here of Alexander's Endymion sonnets, in the second of which his persona imagines dreaming of Aurora:

Whil'st I embrac'd the shadow of my death,
I dreaming did farre greater pleasure proue,
And quaff'd with *Cupid* sugred draughts of loue,
Then *Ioue*-like feeding on a nectar'd breath: (*Aurora* Son. 29: 5-8)

But while Alexander's persona derived great satisfaction from his dream, Drummond's is doubly wounded, and the Platonic closure is also underwritten with despair: 'Loe, what is good of Life is but a Dreame,/When Sorrow is a neuer-ebbing Streame' (13-14). The Platonic dictum is concretised, as the only good in his life *is* in the form of a dream, whereas what Plato meant was that life, however joyful, could only ever be a dream of the heavenly verity.

It is a fact, however, that disappointment in love is as good a stimulus to writing as success, perhaps more so in the case of the sonnet sequence, as Daniel's persona admits: 'O had she not been fayre, and thus unkind,/My Muse had slept, and none had knowne my minde' (*Delia* VI: 13-14). and Drummond finds Sidney a particularly sympathetic precursor, in the 'Stella-in-absence' poems. Son. li, although owing nothing in terms of content to Sidney, takes the model of *AS* 89 with its alternating rhymes of 'night' and 'day', and replicates the pattern precisely, but with the words '*Life*' and '*Death*'. Quite apart from the virtuoso stylistics, the poem shows a deliberation in its content which mirrors the two parts of the sequence.

Although the opening poem of the sequence owes a good deal more to Sidney than to Petrarch, it is to the Italian that Drummond turns to close the First Part of *Poems*. In a sonnet derived from Petrarch's 'Pommi ove 'l sol occide i fiori e l'erba' [Lay me where the sun kills the flowers and grass] (*Rime* CXLV)³¹ his persona attests his fidelity to his Love. However, this is in no way a translation of the Italian, but an imaginative recreation of a number of very different geographical and social situations. In each quatrain, an antithesis is present, an ideal situation contrasted with a dangerous or unlooked-for fate, as in the second quatrain: 'Place mee where *Neptunes* Quire of *Syrens* sings,/Or where (made hoarse through Cold) hee leaves to roare' (7-8). His social situation makes no difference to him, as nothing matters but his Love:

Mee place where *Fortune* doth her Darlings crowne,
A *Wonder*, or a *Sparke* in *Emuies* Eye,
Or late outrageous *Fates* vpon mee frowne,
And *Pittie* wailing see disastred *Mee*,
Affections Print my Minde so deepe doth proue,
I may forget my Selfe, but not my Loue. (9-14)

There are a number of references to Fortune in the sequence, although it is not a central image, but here the combination of '*Fortune*', '*Fates*' and 'disastred' (literally ill-starred) conveys the clear impression of a star-crossed life, where human desires and aspirations are subject to the whim of fortune and simply have to be accepted. This is similar to the note of complaint seen in many of Alexander Montgomerie's poems, and, as has been suggested, ties Drummond more to an earlier way of interpreting the world, one in which the actions of men

have little effect, as everything is decided by the stars. What is interesting about this sonnet, and particularly the sestet, is the number of references to 'Mee', showing the absolute solipsism of the sequence. The word is used six times, beginning and ending the last quatrain, with the cognate 'my' three times in the closing couplet. It is difficult to believe that the persona who can write in this way could ever 'forget my Selfe'.

The poems of *The Second Part*, written to eulogise the dead lady, are hyperbolic in their grief and in their celebration of her beauty. Marino is the most common source, and Drummond's baroque tendency towards elaboration and decoration is given full rein following the Italian.

The conventional *blason* of Petrarchan tradition in Son. ii is used with a twist in that although the verbs are in the past tense, the impression is of a continuing present:

That liuing Snow, those crimson Roses bright,
Those Pearles, those Rubies which did breede Desire,
Those Lockes of Gold, that Purple faire of *Tyre*,
Are wrapt (*aye mee!*) vp in eternall Night. (5-8)

Of course, as these features are still breeding desire in her admirer, despite her earthly absence, the device is effective. This is, however, a very conventional *blason*, even to the description of the eyes as 'sparkling Saphires of Delight' (1), which although it seems to show that Drummond has forgotten that he made Auristella's eyes green rather than blue (see *The First Part* Son. xviii) more probably refers to the use of sapphire to brighten colours in illuminated manuscripts. This meaning would be in tune with Drummond's love of colour imagery from unusual sources.

Auristella has power to do more than merely enrich the life of her lover: she is actually credited with improving the lot of the whole world: 'What hast thou more to vaunt of, wretched World?/ Sith *shee* (who cursed thee made blest) is gone?' (9-10). Drummond is here picking up the language that he used in *The First Part* to heighten the effect of the loss. This sonnet is very reminiscent of the opening of each quatrain of *First* Son. vi: 'Vaunt not, faire *Heauens*, of your two glorious Lights .../ *Earth*, vaunt not of those Treasures yee enshrine, .../ Vaunt not, rich Pearle, red Corral, which doe stirre/ A fond Desire in Fooles to plunge your Ground' (1, 5, 10-11). She has gone far beyond the status of the

conventional mistress to be the pattern of the Platonic ideal of beauty. What is described is an appreciation of the transitoriness of earthly beauty and the inability of Beauty to take any form but that of Auristella. That appears to be the premise of the closing lines of both this sonnet and the next:

Thine euer-burning Lamps, Rounds euer whorld,
Can vnto thee not modell such a one:
But if they would such Beautie bring on Earth,
They should be forc'd againe to make her breath. (11-14)

While this sonnet deprecates the world's ability to produce anything like Auristella, the following one goes further, and criticises heaven for making beauty mortal: 'Weake influence of Heauen! what faire yee frame/Falles in the Prime, and passeth like a Dreame' (Son. iii: 13-14). Here Drummond shows how he can select poems from different sources and mould them to his own style, as the first of these quoted is, as Kastner points out, an adaptation from Marino, while the second is translated from the Spanish poet Garcilaso. The two meld together perfectly, the emotion intensifying as the object of obloquy changes from earth to heaven. The rejection of the world has no element of the Christian *contemptus mundi* as there is no sense at all of the consolations of Heaven. Because he is sorrowing, there is no good in the earth anywhere. An awful despair seems to prevail.

This sense of the desolate lover as microcosm, which has been seen in so many different guises over the course of this study, returns with a vengeance in Son. v where the persona, like Serafino's lover (see Appendix), becomes all the elements of the world, his tears providing the water for the oceans, his sorrows the clouds, because 'The Sunnes bright *Sunne* is set' (3). Because he is mourning, the whole earth will share it: 'My Voyce now deafen Earth with Anatheames,/Roare foorth a Challenge in the Worlds Despight' (5-6). Since the Earth was cursed before Auristella appeared, and it was blessed only with her presence before reverting to its former state, his anathemas seem rather superfluous, and given that the sestet is formed of a series of instructions not to feel anything but pain and grief there is a sense that this is melodramatic posturing: 'Teares, Complaints, Sighs, mourning Weeds, Graues gaping wide' is the stuff of Jacobean tragedy.

The theatrical image is one which underlies all the poems in this part to some extent. The sonnet sequence is itself a type of play-acting, of characterisation, and the various postures of the persona can be compared readily to those of stage characters. Drummond pictures himself as the character Damon in Song i. If the imagery and language of Son. v is reminiscent of Ford at his most 'Jacobean', then that of the following sonnet is, despite its Italian source, beautifully Shakespearean in its characterisation of youth as 'the Aprill of thy Yeares' (1). Auristella has now achieved her apotheosis and 'So to enrich the Heauen mad'st poore this Round' (2). The tone has changed utterly from raving bombast to sorrowing resignation, but still with a complexity of diction which demands attention. This is not simple grief at all. There is a fear that she can never again be contacted in any way:

If heauenly Lawes (*alas*) haue not thee bound
From looking to the Globe that all vpbeares?
If Rueth and Pittie there aboue bee found? (5-7)

The questioning is tentative, and already potentially defeated through the doubling of the conditional 'if' and the question. Even the wordplay is used to heighten the fear of rejection: 'O daigne to lend a Looke vnto those Teares./Doe not disdaine (deare Ghost) this sacrifice' (8-9). Although 'daigne' and 'disdaine' are not cognates, their common phonic quality makes them appear so, while maintaining, through the bridge over the octave-sestet gap, the essential difference between a godly condescension and a very human contempt. Rather than build a concrete monument, he will pledge his heart as 'a liuing Piramide' (12) to her, decorated with Venus' attributes, myrtle and flowers.

The insubstantiality of life is a theme of this sequence, exemplified in Madrigall i, which compares life to '*a Bubble blowen vp in the Aire,/By sporting Childrens Breath*' (2-3). This poem is a baroque conceit, the language intensifying the emptiness and vanity of earthly life, first by its association with children, who have not reached an age to understand the difference between reality and illusion, and by the accumulation of images of helplessness and weakness. Even words which appear to offer stability do so only to be destabilised:

*And though it sometime seeme of its own Might
(Like to an Eye of gold) to be fix'd there,*

And firme to houer in that emptie Hight, (5-7)

This is all illusion, the appearance undermined by the opposition of 'Might', 'fix'd ... *And firme*' to 'seeme' and 'emptie'. The world is all temporary show, a 'Pompe' in which 'it doth not long appeare' (10), as, coming from nothing, it returns to nothing: 'For euen when most admir'd it in a Thought/As swell'd from nothing, doth dissolue in nought' (10-11). This is masterly, the synonyms of 'nothing' and 'nought' linked to the vacuity of 'Thought' by the rhyme. There is a sense of awful powerlessness, almost of nihilism, in this madrigal, which is to some extent belied by the delicacy and beauty of the images.

Now the night is appealed to, in very similar terms as in *The First Part* Son. ix (see above, pp. 248-9) as 'The Ease of Care,/Vntroubled Seate of Peace,/Times eldest Childe' (Madrigall ii: 1-3) but here the persona's sleeplessness and his contemplation of the starless sky gives him the opportunity to wonder whether the stars are in convocation to decide where Auristella's star shall appear. The inevitable solipsism reappears at the closure, where, because Auristella cannot be found on earth the persona asks: 'Striu'st thou to make all other Eyes looke blinde?' (13)

The general intention of the poems in this section of *The Second Part* is to look at the changes wrought by Auristella's departure or, conversely, to lament those things previously enjoyed now that she is no longer part of them, in other words, to adapt the *ubi sunt topos* of medieval lament. This is the point of Sonnets viii and ix, which lament, respectively, the sound of the lute without her accompanying voice, and the return of the Spring without her to crown it. The lute is to revert to untuned wood, never to utter pleasing sounds but only 'orphan Wailings to the fainting Eare' (viii: 10). As in Son. xxvii of *The First Part* there is an echo of Orpheus bereft of Euridice, but this is the Orpheus who has looked back and lost his love eternally. Similarly, the Spring, although the same as before, '[d]elicious, wanton, amiable, faire' (ix: 10), is quite unappealing to him in his desolation, despite the beauties which he cannot ignore:

Sweet *Spring*, thou turn'st with all thy goodlie Traine,
Thy Head with Flames, thy Mantle bright with Flowrs,
The *Zephyres* curle the greene Lockes of the Plaine,
The Cloudes for Ioy in Pearles weepe downe their Showrs. (1-4)

The return of Spring is the occasion for a melancholy pun, as Drummond deliberately uses the verb 'turn' to mean both 'return' and 'change', enabling him at the end of the octave to pull the two together: 'The sad Memorialls only of my Paine/Doe with thee turne, which turne my Sweets in Sowres' (7-8). The return of Spring brings back his sorrow, and changes everything beautiful to ugliness.

This is continued in Sonnet x, which denies all the beauties of the Earth as Auristella is not there to share them with him. While denying that Earth has anything to offer him, he cannot help painting a picture once again of its beauties. The *blason* of the Earth takes the place of the *blason* of the lady:

What doth it serue Earths Beautie to behold?
The Mountaines Pride, the Meadowes flowrie Grace,
The statelie Comelinesse of Forrests old,
The Sport of Flouds which would themselves embrace? (5-8)

There is an acknowledgement of the continuing beauty of the earth, and perhaps the beginning of a realisation that for others these beauties still exist, as otherwise he would not be able to contemplate writing about them.

Now that the sequence is moving towards its conclusion, there is a change in tone which, although intermittently maintained, takes the persona on his final journey towards Christian redemption. This is seen more clearly in Sonnet xiii in which God, depicted as 'that First and *onlie Faire*' (1) has taken Auristella away from '*this World of Sense*' (3) where she had been put only to give Earth's inhabitants an idea of heavenly beauty. The persona knows his love is pure and chaste (or at least has been made so since her death), and he dedicates it to 'him who will it not disdaine' (8). Never again will he be confounded by appearance of outward beauty or inward grace, as he has learned that earthly love is doomed to failure and disappointment: 'Loue heere on Earth hudge Stormes of Care doe tosse,/But plac'd aboue, exempted is from Losse' (13-14).

That this is not yet the final acceptance is immediately made apparent in the following Madrigall, the last in the sequence, where he pleads with Death to take him, calling on '*that Prince which here doth Monarchise*' (Mad. v: 5).³² But Death, described as '*grimme-grinning King*', showing Drummond's easy assurance with alliteration and assonance, is not interested in him: '*Late hauing deckt with Beauties Rose his Tombe/Disdaines to croppe a Weede and will not*

come' (8-9). It is probably not accidental that while the 'First and *onlie Faire*' will not 'disdaine' the persona's love, Death 'disdaines' his life, as the journey and the narrative are not yet complete, and it requires the lessons of the last poem in the sequence, the 248-line Song ii to accomplish the task. This long poem is effectively a summary of the entire narrative, tracing the development of the emotional and psychological journey to its culmination in the dream vision, which is very reminiscent of Petrarch's closing poem in *Rime*.

Drummond appears to begin the dream by inverting as many of the conventions as possible. First of all, it takes place in autumn, while the preferred time for such narratives is late spring or early summer, specifically May. However, Venus is named as the planet known as the morning star, right at the opening to signal the content: '*It Autumne was, and on our Hemispheare/Faire Ericyne began bright to appeare*' (1-2). There is a very definite sense of consciousness here as the dreamer is totally aware of what is happening, signalled by the mediievally parenthetical '*When by my Bed (me thought) a Virgine stood*' (20), clearly signalling the dream state.

We are given a full description of the lady in lines 21 to 34 which mingles natural beauties with abstractions like modesty, majesty, grace, the whole encompassed by imagery of light, from her '*Gowne as pure as Light*' (24) to her eyes which sent forth '*such Beames ... that but with Paine/Here, weaker Sights their sparckling could sustaine*' (27-8). She has been sent to reason with him logically, to bring him to an acceptance of his lot. This logical probing has a rather biblical tone to it in its repetition of 'How long ...'. Loss of life in the Christian ethic is gain, as it means the dawning of eternal life and there is something almost blasphemous in bewailing the death of a beloved who has, after all, gone to a better place:

*Esteeme that Losse, which (well when view'd) is Gaine,
Or if a Losse, yet not a Losse to plaine?*

*If shee for whom thou deafnest thus the Skie
Bee dead? what then? was shee not borne to die?* (39-40, 43-4)

The reader is inescapably reminded of Gertrude's admonitions to Hamlet in similar circumstances, where the grief-stricken poet-prince cannot hear the voice of reason and logic,³³ and the numerous echoes of other lines from

Shakespeare's plays make it possible that this is one of the sources in Drummond's mind along with the conventions of the *consolatio*. Appeals to order and to precedent gain similarly little response:

*If onely shee had died, thou sure hadst Cause
To blame the Destinies and Heauens yrone Lawes:
But looke how many Millions Her aduance,
What numbers with Her enter in this Dance,
With those which are to come: shall Heauens them staye,
And Alls faire Order breake, thee to obaye?* (51-6)

The logic is inescapable, and shows how universal the situation of the persona is, in having lost a loved one, and how impossible it would be to exempt him and his from the laws of nature or of God.

From the general principle, the Vision moves to the exploration of the specific case of Auristella's death, pointing out that this life as it is experienced is not much to celebrate, reduced to '*this filthie Stage of Care*' (63) and '*this litle Vapour, Smoake, this Sparke, or Fire*' (68). Life is made to seem a penance which has to be endured, with little but weakness and senility to look forward to. There is none of the celebration of the beauties of the natural world, as:

*One Yeere doth serue all Natures Pompe to see,
Nay, euen one Day, and Night: This Moone, that Sunne,
Those lesser Fires about this Round which runne,
Bee but the same which vnder Saturnes Raigne
Did the serpentine Seasons enterchaine.* (76-80)

The world is loathsome, pointless and repetitive. The reference to the Age of Gold serves to underscore the Fall since that perfect time and the pointlessness of holding on to so debased a world and so hopeless a future which '*Whiles makes the Minde as wrinckled as the Face*' (84).

Only now is the identity of the Vision revealed, introduced by a reversal of the quasi-refrain 'If shee bee dead?': 'But what if shee .../Doth liue?' (93, 97), creating the tension that is necessary to heighten the shock effect of the revelation. She is alive while he is dead, and her shining eyes, rosy cheeks and golden locks are brighter even than when he celebrated them in verse. She tells him that he cannot be happy until he, too, has cast off the '*Gownes of Earth*' (107), as only freedom from '*Senses Ballances*' confers true happiness. If, she continues, we were made for this life alone, why should we continually aim upward '*Vnto immortall things still to aspire?*' (172) Clearly we must have some

embryonic appreciation that there is something better to come, so why
'*complaine/To leaue this loathsome Iayle of Care and Pain*' (179-80)?

Fame, Love and Beauty are ephemeral and '*reacheth but to Dust*' (197) and bring no lasting pleasure or comfort. On the other hand the pains of life and love: envy, fear, sighs, complaints, remorse, tears, false joy, vain hopes, hate and wrath have no place in the World of Bliss, and Death, paradoxically, augments rather than diminishes Love.

The Love that is praised is of course the love of God, the '*only Faire*' now described in Petrarchan terms. If the '*dimme Glance of an Eye*' of a lady (205) could make him fly to her like a moth to a flame '*And like the Taper-flie there burne thy Wings*' (208) and a wailing voice had the power '*as through Eares thy Soule to steale*' (210), how would he respond to the ultimate love object, the really divine '*only Faire*'? The newly-arrived would suffer the real flames of love, and bewilderment of mind at the sweetness of the voices of the heavenly choir and would immediately see how shadowy are Earth's attractions. All the wonders of sky, earth and sea are, in a perfectly Neoplatonist description '*but darke Pictures of that Soueraigne Faire*' (226).

Where this really connects with the *topoi* of Petrarchism, however, is in this last section of the song, when the Vision identifies *women* as the means by which men are raised to the heavens:

*From fading things, (fond Wights) lift your Desire,
And in our Beautie, his vs made admire,
If wee seeme faire? ô thinke how faire is Hee
Of whose faire Fairnesse, Shadowes, Steps, we bee.*

*That Happinesse yee seeke is not below,
Earths sweetest Ioy is but disguised Woe.* (229-32, 239-40)

This is intensely Platonic as well as being the essence of Christian teaching, and appears to be supporting Ficino's Neoplatonic advocacy of seeing human love as the first stage in an upward movement of the soul to God.

The last quatrain restores the world to its natural beauty:
*And while vpon that Face I fed my Sight,
Mee thought shee vanish'd vp in Titans Light,
Who guilding with his Rayes each Hill and Plaine,
Seem'd to haue brought the Gold-smiths World againe.* (245-8)

The image beloved of Montgomerie, of the lizard feeding by gazing on the human face, is combined with the image of the return of the Age of Gold, not through any momentous change in the world itself, but simply through a change in the persona's perception of it. The sun still rises, the earth is still beautiful, God is in his heaven and all is now put right with the world.

It has already been seen that there are correspondences between the poetry of Drummond and Jonson, even if sometimes rather tangential, but the correspondences are very much on Jonson's terms, as he had little time for Petrarchan writing, and, although he did not spare to give his opinion of the Scot, clearly considered him worthy of the time he was prepared to spend at Hawthornden. The relationship between the two men (one could not with any justice call it friendship) continued through letters and the exchange of poems for some time after the Hawthornden winter. Perhaps the main clues to the relationship they had as writers lie in other aspects of Drummond's work, such as the Madrigals and Epigrammes, which Jonson could well have read, having written a fair number of the latter himself and considering himself something of an expert in the field. Drummond's collection of short poems (the terms 'madrigal' and 'epigramme' seem to be used synonymously) show a very different poetic persona from that of the melancholic Damon.

Many of the madrigals are translations or adaptations, as would be expected of Drummond, but the structure of the shorter form seems paradoxically to suit him, forcing him to compress images and figures to produce a much more strong-lined poetry than has been seen in the sonnets. One such is 'Kisses desired' (xvi), which plays on the modesty of his desires when compared with the love that Catullus expressed to Lesbia. Where the Roman poet '*them in thousands did receaue*' (6), he will ask only for one, whereafter '*by that sweet Blisse/Euen sweare to cease you to importune more*' (8-9). However, he is playing with words, as '*poore one no Number is*' (10) but only in the sense of not being a plurality, which does not justify his intent to ask '*after one Kisse, but still one Kisse, my Deare*' (12), in the guise of not asking for more (than one). This toying, playful note, which is so different from the Drummond of the sonnet sequence, at times becomes distinctly more Aytonian and even Donnean, as in

the little three-poem cycle on a bee, and the two-poem pair on a flea, both groups derived from Tasso.

The bee is described as '*an audacious Knight/Come with some Foe to fight*' (xxxix: 1-2) but finding the lady, acted as a Tyrant rather than a Champion in stinging her lip. Like Donne pleading for the life of his flea, the lady is begged not to kill the guilty insect, as it was really her fault that the sting occurred:

*(Sweet) it was no Despight,
But Hue did him deceaue:
For when thy Lips did close,
Hee deemed them a Rose, (xxxii: 3-6)*

The bee is compared elliptically with the Petrarchan butterfly which immolates itself on the candle-flame, mistaking it for the sun, and with the lover, who longs to kiss the lady's lips: '*Hee wanting Wit, and blinded with Delight,/Would faine haue kiss'd, but Mad with Ioy did bite*' (8-9), which closure sounds distinctly Sidneian, as in *AS* 82: '*And I do sweare, even by the same delight,/I will but kisse, I never more will bite*' (13-14).

The real sting is experienced by the lover, as the bee's venom has been imbibed by the lips such that the pain is transmitted in the next kiss, which clearly was given by the lady rather than craved by the lover:

*This by the Sting they haue,
And that they of the Honey doe receaue:
Deare Kisse, else by what Arte
Couldst thou at once both please and wound my Heart? (xxxiii: 5-8)*

The closure is perfectly Petrarchan, but is given a neat twist in that there is now a quasi-scientific explanation for the simultaneous joy and pain of love.

The Petrarchan motif of the flea, which was given such a novel treatment by Donne, is another image that Drummond plays with in madrigal form. The pair of poems compare the flea with '*that pied Butterflie/Which courtes the Flame and in the same doth die*' (lxiii: 3-4), contrasting the death occasioned by faulty vision of the butterfly with the mock heroic death of the flea which has at least enjoyed its last actions: '*When this doth sporte, and swell with dearest Food,/And if hee die, hee knight-like dies in Blood*' (7-8). The idea of 'swelling' during 'sport' adds a sexual dimension to the image which is continued into the next poem, when the flea has been killed by the lady. As the lover 'dies' at his lady's hand, so too the flea, and yet he dies happy, because before dying he

tried '*a Louers last Delight,/To vault on virgine Plaines, Her kisse, and bite*' (5-6). This flea, by the manner of his dying, is '*happier farre, more blest,/Than Phoenix burning in his spicie Nest*' (9-10).

As Jonson praised Drummond's epitaph on Prince Henry and celebrated 'Forth Feasting', as a piece 'he wished ... had been his own'³⁴ it is clear that he was familiar with the range of Drummond's writings, and perhaps found some correspondences with his own in some of the madrigals, as there are relationships with the Epigrammes, although admittedly rather distant ones. Where Drummond's madrigals and epigrams are almost entirely Italian-derived adaptations or direct translations, Jonson's are based on the classical pattern established by Martial, but the similarity between the two is the continual switching of tone from poem to poem. Drummond's madrigals are rather like miniature paintings, hung closely together on a study wall, offering a variety of subjects, viewpoints and treatments, while Jonson's *Epigrammes* convey a panoramic picture of the London that he knew and experienced. Jonson peoples his *Epigrammes* not with mythological and romance-inspired characters, but with characters and types already familiar from his plays, and from London life.

Jonson's method in organisation is to set opposing characters in juxtaposition, such that they reinforce each other by difference, and it does show that he has taken a different tack from his predecessors in the field of the English epigram, as he acknowledges in *Epigrammes* xvii and xviii. He welcomes the 'legitimate fame' (xvii: 3) conferred by the opinion of the critic who understands them: 'And, but a sprigge of bayes, giuen by thee,/Shall out-lieue gyrlands, stolne from the chast tree' (5-6). He would rather have muted praise given honestly, than prostitute his classical predecessors' art by appealing to popular taste.

It is unlikely that Jonson visited Drummond to gain the latter's approval of his work; but it shows his regard for the Scottish poet that he did spend time with him, exchanging (or at least giving) opinions on contemporary writers, and sending him poems after he had returned to England. Jonson did not suffer fools gladly, as the *Conversations* clearly show, and he would not have given Drummond the time of day even if his road had led right past his front door had he not felt a sense of communion with the Scot.

The only other Scot of any note writing at this time in Scotland, and one not visited by Jonson, was Sir William Mure of Rowallan, the nephew of Montgomerie, whose writings provide a very illustrative foil to those of Drummond. It has already been seen that, although Drummond imitated the Scottish poets William Fowler and Sir William Alexander, he did not use a Scottish idiom in either verse form or poetic structure, as Fowler and Alexander did not either, imitating Petrarch and Sidney respectively. The impetus from the mid-1580s in Scotland was away from traditional Scottish forms in favour of the new structures coming out of Europe. It has been amply demonstrated how great was Drummond's debt to the Petrarchans of all Europe, including those of Scotland and England, but what is somewhat disappointing is that Montgomerie's rich legacy has been forgotten, and is only briefly resuscitated by his nephew, who quite deliberately posits himself as Montgomerie's heir. In the paeon to Prince Charles, Mure refers to the former laureate:

Machles Montgomery in his native tounge,
In former tymes to thy Great Syre hath sung,
And often ravischt his harmonious ear
W^t straynes fitt only for a prince to heir. (XX: 1-4)³⁵

In predictably humble vein he denies his own skills despite his illustrious ancestor, describing himself as 'Pan for Apollo' (8), but claims his place 'By ryt hereditar to serve thy grace' (10).

Mure is not Montgomerie, and no amount of imitation can make him so, but he does show a sensitivity to language when following his uncle rather than slavishly imitating current practices. The *Miscellaneous Poems* collected by William Tough are not without merit in themselves, and have an additional appeal in their numerous borrowings from Montgomerie, particularly *The Cherrie and the Slae*. The variety of stanza form which was to a certain extent lost in the anglicising impetus of the 1590s is resurrected in Mure's poems, as are the traditional *topoi* from the medieval period, like the dialogue poem between Love and Reason, or Beauty and Love, and the lyric designed to be sung, as is sometimes indicated in the title: 'Chaunsoun', 'To Ye Tune of Pert Jean', 'To the Tune of ane New Lilt', 'Ane Letter to ane Muscally Tune'. Many of the titles are French, further reinforcing the other strand of European influence, in contrast to the predominantly Italian sources of Drummond. In Mure the Auld Alliance is

flourishing, just at a time when James' interests were focused on Spain rather than France; hence, perhaps, the appeal to Prince Charles.

Mure's poetry is interesting and very readable, but definitely old-fashioned. The Scots language has given way to either English or a very anglicised Scots, the heavy alliteration and personifications of Love, Beauty, Reason and Youth have long gone in contemporary verse, and the song stanzas really have to wait for the followers of Ben Jonson to flourish anew. However, Mure's collections of traditional songs and song-tunes have played a vital part in ensuring that these elements of the Scottish culture were not lost, and could be revitalised by future generations.

There is a kind of narrative in the collection from the first poem which is the conventional 'Ane Conflict Tuix Love and Resson', apparently imitated in miniature from *The Cherrie and the Slae* in terms both of characters and style of discussion. From this point, where Cupid supported by Youth succeeds in defeating the forces of Reason, the conventions of unhappy love are developed. Reason's arguments against love are strongly made, the persona being warned he is entering 'Ane labyrinth of woe' (I:101) where love will prove 'Ane monstruouse Minotaur to cutt thy throate' (104) and then, mixing metaphors and inviting comparison with Fowler's *The Tarantula of Love*:

Ane spytfull spidar, ewer spewing
Ye poysonous potioun of late rewing,
 3ouths venemous infectioun;...
A basse-borne passioun schairce rype till rottin,
Tuix hatefull lust and Idilnes begottin. (105-112)

Interestingly, the arguments advanced by Cupid are precisely those usually used by Reason to warn the unwary of love's entrapments. It is Reason, says Cupid, which imposes a yoke on the potential lover, while Love is 'That heavinl[y] vniting of tuo myndes in one,/Quhich nothing can dissolue bot death alone' (119-120). Cupid uses Reason's own arguments against Love, effectively dismissing them by voicing them first:

'Behold,' (q^d Cupid), 'ressounes schifts
Of false philosophie consists:
By sophistrie he schauens
Loues hony to be gall,
A bait only to thrall
Such as obeys his lawes.

Bot quho vnto such Rhethorick reposses,
 Lyfes sueitest joyes, and true contentment lossis.' (129-36)

Predictably now, the heart, invited to judge between Cupid and Reason, '... out of judgments deepe,/Did loue in end prefer' (148-9). What is significant about this conflict is that at no time is there any object of affection, no lady to be admired. It is purely a conflict in the abstract between Love and Reason for the mind and heart of the poet, leaving him open to the attractions of the first beauty who crosses his path.

Once convinced by love, a pattern is set up of male constancy in the face of female disdain which has been seen in all the Petrarchan sequences; a determination to love regardless of hurt; and, what is most clearly derived from Montgomerie, a delight in French titles and in lyrical forms which have (or can have) musical settings. Mure did make an extensive collection of extant song tunes, and this was clearly his prime interest. Beauty, Love and Youth are always personified and speak as identifiable characters in a curious amalgam of the medieval and the quattrocentist (see Appendix on the development of Petrarchism in Italy). The imagery is almost entirely predictable although there are subtleties and ironies that lift the verse to a higher level than might have been suspected. In 'Mes Amours et mes Douleurs sont sans Comparisoune', Beutie 'by a pleasant spring reposes' (1) sending out 'smyling blinks ... from hir wantoune eyes' (7), which is eminently conventional, but the hint that these looks 'Had force to robe proud Cupid of his dairts' (8) is as expected made literal later in the poem when Cupid fells himself by looking at her and yields her the field:

So boyl'd w^t flames, vex'd both w^t feir and teires,
 Out of the anguisch of his hert did plaine: ...
 'Bot now at last, o'rcume, I humbly 3eild;
 Save then or sloe ane captiue beggand grace:
 Receaue, in sing that thou hes won the field,
 Ye bow, ye shafts, ye quaver and ye brace, ...
 I yeild to the, more worthie thame nor I.' (31-2, 37-42)

While this is going on, in the background is the prospective lover, who has just sealed his fate in the conventional way: "'Fy, treacherouse loue, fond Cupid I defy him'" (24). The reader knows from Montgomerie's own poems on the subject (*MP* XVII and XXXIII) that it is only a matter of a short time until this defiance will be punished, as it duly is, but by armed Beutie rather than by

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Cupid himself. Exactly as the persona was warned by Reason previously, the love he feels clasps him like a spider:

Bot nothing could ye cruel spidar moue
To liue his hold, delichting in my woe:
Scho lykwyse, quhom I serued, bot scorn'd my loue,
Lauching to sie my trickling teirs doune go. (II: 85-8)

The conventional Petrarchan oppositions are now in full play.

However, the development is not always entirely predictable. Mure appears to be constructing a persona who is naïvely sure of himself, and thus is easily tricked by persuasive argument, as in 'Ane Conflict', but who once in will deal honourably with the situation. The persona does not fall into a slough of despond in the face of disdain, but resolves to behave honourably, and without despair, in the hope that desert will be rewarded:

I liue resolued neauer to despair,
Content I am (and sua my faith deserwest,)
My spring by toylsume w^t a pleasent herwest. (94-6)

The natural imagery of the harvest as the reward of spring-time labours relates this poetry to the realities of life as well as to the poetic conventions.

Given this posture, it is unsurprising that Mure felt moved to reply, in the same way as his sixteenth-century predecessors had done, to a song entitled 'I Cair not Quhither I Get Hir or No' making the case for constancy and fidelity. Once he has made his choice 'My loue salbe endles quhair once I affect' (III: 5), and he will love 'quhither scho loue me or no' (9), and 'honour and loue hir, more then sche can heat' (12). This sentiment is paramount in the following poems, that constancy shows the strength both of love and of character, and that the pain of love is the promise of joys to come, as in 'Chaunsoune':

Shee, I suppose,
Lyk to the rose,
The prick befoir ye smell impairs.
Hert-breking woes
Oft-tymes forgoes
The mirth of murning, martyred herts. (V: 28-33)

The alliteration in the final line heightens the contrast between the semantically-opposed words 'mirth' and 'murning, martyred'.

Mure's rather limited range lends itself to a good deal of self-plagiarism, where what are clearly preferred images are used in later poems, such as the image of the rose given here, which he recycles as '... as the rose, in pulling, oft

Absolutely conventional is a sonnet on the nature of poetic endeavour, in which he denies that he is 'desyrouse of renowne' (VIII: 1), or is playing the poet 'for hoip of hyre' (4), perhaps hoping that others will agree that he is one of those who 'By Natour ... do weir ye Lawrell croun' (3). His inspiration is the lady who infuses his breast with Horatian 'sacred fyre' (7) rather than the fires of love, to enable him to write in a variety of forms:

Hir worth I raise in Elegiak lyne;
In Lyricks sueit hir beuties I extoll;
The brave Heroick doth hir rair ingyne
In tyme's imortal register enroll: (9-12)

Given such lofty sentiments, it seems ignoble to suspect, as one probably could with Montgomerie, that the last line is a pun: 'Since thou of me hath maid thy poet, then/Be bold, (sueit lady), to imploy my pen' (13-14).

Where Mure really finds his *métier* is in the traditional lyric for musical accompaniment and the poems abjuring love in favour of loftier sentiments. The three sonnets subtitled in the STS volume 'Fancies Farewell', in which he bids farewell to love poetry, using William Alexander's term 'fancies' to refer to human passions, are much more successful pieces, and seem to find a more fruitful image in the Bible. Love poetry is dismissed as 'Lost seede on furrowes of a fruitlesse soile,/Which doth thy trauells but with Tares acquite' (1: 3-4), as in the parable of the sowing of the seeds.

There is a tremendous sense in these three poems of time wasted and shortness of time for repentance, which is noted in the religious sonnets written later. The third sonnet of 'Fancies Farewell' hammers home the need for immediate action: 'Looke home my Soule, deferre not to repent,/Time euer runnes:...' (3: 1-2), and uses proverbial, or proverbial-sounding axioms to impress the urgency:

While wounds are greene the salve with speed apply,
Workes once adjourn'd good successe seldome try.
Delay's attended still with discontent:
Thrise happie hee takes time ere time slyde by
And doth by fore-sight after-wit prevent. (4-8)

Although there is a real sense of fear that time is running out ('timouslie lament' (9), 'make haste: O shunne delay' (13), 'Time posts away' (14)) there is at the same time an acknowledgement that Youth is always rather silly and misguided:

'Thy younger yeares, youthes sweet Aprile mispent' (11) and that repentance is always possible as long as it is attempted in time. The follies of youth need not be damning, as is shown by the double meaning inherent in 'Trees are hewde down vnwholesome fruits bring foorth' (10), which recalls 'By their fruits, so shall ye know them': trees that can bring forth wholesome fruit are safe and the dangers of damnation can be averted by producing 'works of greater worth' (12).

What is most immediately noticeable about these sonnets compared to the earlier poems is that they are English, not Scots, possibly indicating that Mure was, like so many of his Scottish predecessors, about to embark on the work which he would see as his redemption, *The Trve Crvcifixe for True Catholickes*, looking forward to a more serious reading public.

This is nearly the end of the auld sang but not quite, as, although outwith the scope of this thesis, the spirit of Alexander Montgomerie was resurrected for a second time in Patrick Hannay's collection of 1622. Hannay uses Montgomerie's *The Cherrie and the Slae* stanza form for his narrative of *Philomela*, and the *Songs and Sonets* employ a variety of stanza forms, tropes and images borrowed predominantly from Montgomerie.³⁶ The 'maister poete's' genes may have led to a dead end, but his poetic legacy lived on.

Conclusion

As has been pointed out in the closing chapters of this thesis, the poetry of William Drummond is the crown and culmination of the practice of European imitation in Scottish verse as it had developed over the four decades since James VI produced his poetic manifesto designed to rejuvenate Scottish poetry in the European style. It is significant that Drummond's verse is written in English rather than Scots, as he considered himself to be in the mainstream of British poetry, and Ben Jonson's visit to him is sufficient testimony to his status as a British writer.

The language issue had by the time of the publication of Drummond's *Poems* largely been swept away. The written languages of Scotland and England had been converging throughout the later half of the sixteenth century, the process greatly aided by the Reformation in the 1560s and by the publication of works by English-speaking printers. After 1603, the desire for a true union demanded linguistic unity to show solidarity rather than narrow nationalism. It is no accident that both Drummond's *Poems* and James VI and I's *Works* were published in 1616 in the same language as Jonson's *Works*, as these were designed to show, in their different ways, the heights which the English language had reached in all the realms of literary endeavour.

Publication is perhaps the most vital aspect of the transmission of literary culture, as it was not part of the Scottish tradition to issue prints. Poems, even very long works, are found in manuscript form in collections, miscellanies and commonplace books, but hardly ever in printed form. The works of Scott, Montgomerie (with the exception of *The Cherrie and the Slae*), Stewart and Fowler were not published. James' own *The Essayes of a Prentise* was a vanity publication rather than a commercial proposition. The circulation of this kind of high culture in Jacobean Scotland was limited to that group of interested admirers who had contacts with the court and who maintained their own personal records of works they considered worthwhile. There was, in this sense, a good deal of literary editing going on in the latter half of the sixteenth century,

which may have resulted in the loss of material which did not appeal to those who compiled the collections of verse.

There is a kind of carelessness about this lack of interest among the Scottish poets themselves in publishing their own work which resembles the English courtier- and gentlemen-poets' rejection of the indignity of print, and the end-result is the same: without printed copies, the circulation of such literature is limited, and aspiring poets of the next generation have no models to follow. Thus only in print did Sidney, Spenser and Drayton have a strong influence on the poets of their time, as the work was readily available. While the Scots poets could maintain their coterie of like-minded colleagues within the court and among the surrounding gentry and nobility, the traditions and conventions of Scottish poetry could flourish in renewal, but after 1603, the wider availability of printed texts by English poets drew the Scots into the English 'schools'. In addition, in an interesting development of precisely the same point made by Du Bellay and James in their poetic manifestos, these printed English works could act as primers in English language for the Scots.

Writing in Scots continued in Scotland, but this tended to be the popular poetry and songs which had been part of the oral tradition, never printed, and only preserved in manuscript and in commonplace books. It was collectors like William Mure of Rowallan and the Sempills of Beltrees who actively preserved such works, which would see their own renaissance in the eighteenth century with Allan Ramsay and Robert Burns.

Although 1616 could have been a logical terminus for this thesis, I wanted to include Jonson's visit to Drummond in 1619, as the *Conversations* are so revelatory both of Jonson's views and of Drummond's reception of them. The other event of literary moment which took place in 1619 was the publication of Michael Drayton's collected works, and it has been shown that his influence was pervasive on Scottish as well as English poetry.

Appendix

Petrarchism in the Renaissance

A distinction is made throughout this thesis between Petrarchan poetry, the poetry directly derived from an imitation of the *Rime* of Francesco Petrarca (1304-1374) and Petrarchist poetry, which is mediated by an imitation of his Italian followers of the *quattrocento*.

The collection of lyric poems written to Laura was begun in the fourth decade of the fourteenth century, but not edited in the form that it is now known until almost twenty years later, ten years after the death on 6 April 1348 of the lady who inspired the sequence, and whom the poet first glimpsed on 6 April 1327. The final sequence comprises 366 poems, 263 of them 'In vita' (during Laura's lifetime) and the rest 'In morte' (after her death), mirroring Dante Alighieri's poems to Beatrice, and showing that Petrarch was working in a traditional vein. It has been pointed out by commentators that he draws on themes from Propertius, Ovid, the troubadours, the *Roman de la Rose*, the Sicilians, the *dolce stil nuovo* and contemporary writers, but that he treats their themes in a very original way.

Love at first sight, the obsessive longing for an unobtainable love, the lover as the feudal servant, the beloved lady as the most beautiful, most virtuous, an angel on earth, inspiring worship tending to idolatry, the hopes, fears, joys and sorrows of love were all themes in the tradition, but Petrarch developed and intensified the exploration of them, creating specific situations such as the love-racked lover on his bed unable to sleep for thinking of his lady, and thus unable to be relieved by the dream-vision, the storm-tossed sailor, the fly or butterfly mistaking the candle for the sun and dying for its mistake. The lover is a besieger at the lady's fort, or a worshipper at her shrine, the lack of communication between them sometimes being developed into poems on the lady's absence or illness.

As far as poetic technique is concerned, it is derived from the overarching *topos* of the sequence, which is the antithesis between the lover's attraction to the lady's charms, his sensual appreciation of her beauty and his

more elevated desire to praise her virtue and chastity, and rejection of precisely these elements, because of her lack of response to him, his spiritual impulse towards more heavenly concerns and his revulsion at the servility of his position. Because of this, the antithetical trope is paramount, although paradox and oxymoron can be useful to allow the poet to construct reverse statements which can convey the sense of being pulled in two directions at once.

The lady of the sequence derived from Petrarch is courtly, well-born, relatively well educated, literate, accomplished musically. She has golden curling hair, which very often becomes a net in which the lover is trapped. Her skin is lilies and roses intermingled, giving rise to imagery of the dawn breaking. Her eyes are blue, and shine like stars or suns. These eyes are framed by eyebrows which are the shape of Cupid's bow, and which are used to dart love's arrows into the helpless lover's heart. Her lips are of coral, her teeth pearl, her breath perfumed like the summer breeze, and her mouth when it speaks sweetens every word. Her neck is an alabaster column, leading to breasts which are white as snow, tipped with coral, and marbled with stream-like veins. Her hands are white, soft and perfectly formed, and have the power to heal the pains of love with a touch.

Again using antithetical tropes, this beautiful exterior is often compared to the hard and rigorous heart, the image of the beautiful exotic cat hiding its deadly teeth and claws behind its attractive coat. The whole picture can be given in a *blason*, a catalogue of the lady's beauties, sometimes using the imagery of heraldry as well as that of precious stones, or individual features can be picked out for a single poem or series of poems. An extension of this is the poem celebrating the lady's lapdog, or her glove, or muff, or ring, something which touches her or is held by her, and which the lover envies.

Such a catalogue suggests that the figures of both lover and lady are constrained by Petrarch's original, which is to some extent true, but Petrarch, in his creation of a poetic persona, as Dante had before him, allowed those poets who followed him to take the elements of *Rime* which most appealed to their own personalities. Both Dante and Petrarch use the 'I' of the poems in three different ways: the 'I' of the sonnet writer, who is rational and composed,

controlling the words and lines of the poems; the 'I' of the poetic lover (often called the poet-lover, but in this thesis always called the persona), who is wretched, miserable and confused by his feelings; the 'I' of the actual poet who organises the sonnets into the narrative sequence after the event.

Petrarchan poets attempted to follow the structure and the moral purpose of *Rime*, while Petrarchists of the *quattrocento* in Italy, like Chariteo and Tebaldeo borrowed only the surface vocabulary, diction, imagery and metrical form from the master, and added themes from Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius, Ovid and Virgil, incorporating a clearly sensual element including a voluptuous dream vision which could become obscene. In addition, the sonnet form was changed by Tebaldeo such that it drove towards the epigrammatic closure in the final couplet. The *strambotto*, in eight lines with only two rhymes, became a popular alternative to the sonnet, especially in the hands of Serafino dall'Aquila. Serafino's poetry is epicurean and sensual, rejecting the rarefied Petrarchan adoration. Emotions are shameless exaggerated, such that his fires of love enflame rivers and seas, light up whole countries. He could weep deserts fertile, sigh enough wind to drive a sailing boat, melt the frozen wastes. He composed whole series of poems on the lady's ring and on her mirror.

It was Pietro Bembo who called a halt to the excesses of the Serafino school, and attempted to reinstate the older forms on more classical lines, using the full scope of the sonnet as Petrarch had, rather than driving the whole poem towards the close. Bembo aimed for seriousness and restraint in language, eschewing the voluptuous descriptions of the *quattrocentisti*, and advocating Petrarch's artificial fourteenth-century Tuscan as the best model for a poetic Italian language. In his Neoplatonism, Bembo followed Marsilio Ficino, who taught that the love of God has irradiated all living things, such that an attraction to beautiful things gave one a sight of the radiance of God and an impulse heavenward. Whereas for Petrarch an appreciation of Laura's beauty was in the main a distraction in the spiritual quest, for Ficino it was the first step on the ladder of love, through which the human love (*eros* or *cupiditas*) could be translated into Christian love (*agape* or *caritas*) mediated by the refusal of the

lady to grant her lover's desires. The 'grace' which the lover pleads for from his lady is transformed into the grace of God.

The Bembist influence, supported by Jacopo Sannazaro, whose *Rime* were published in 1530, and various anthologies called *Rime diverse* published from 1545 onwards, was based in Venice, spread into France and was taken up by the Pléiade group. Joachim du Bellay, although not directly influenced by Petrarch himself, used the themes and tropes of Petrarchism as they had been developed by Sannazaro and Lodovico Ariosto in his first sequence *L'Olive* (1549). The quattrocentist influence could not be entirely eradicated by the Neoplatonist purifiers, and Maurice Scève in Lyon brought much of the work of Chariteo, Tebaldeo and Serafino into the French mainstream, localising Serafino's images in his home town, and thus 'naturalising' them. The Neapolitans Angelo di Costanzo, Bernardino Rota and Luigi Tansillo revived the *préciosité* of their predecessors, and had a profound influence on the writing of Philippe Desportes. The poems in Pierre de Ronsard's *Amours*, although based on the Petrarchan themes and tropes, are much more openly and aggressively erotic than Petrarch, especially in the *Continuation des Amours*, when Cassandre has been supplanted by Marie.

The plethora of anthologies and collections in both Italy and France ensured that there was no lack of examples to imitate in England and Scotland, and it was a matter of poetic personality whether the original Petrarchan, the Neoplatonist refined version, or the quattrocentist extravagant version appealed. In Scotland as in England, examples can be found of the various influences melding to produce something which is new and distinctive.

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 Mortimer, Anthony (ed.), *Petrarch's Canzoniere in the English Renaissance* (Bergamo, 1975).
 Spiller, Michael R. G., *The Development of the Sonnet: An Introduction* (London, 1992).
 Vianey, Joseph, *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVIe siècle* (Montpellier and Paris, 1909; Reprinted Geneva, 1969).

Notes to Introduction

- 1 Priscilla Bawcutt, in 'William Dunbar and Gavin Douglas', in R. D. S. Jack (ed.), *The History of Scottish Literature*, Volume 1, Origins to 1660 (Aberdeen, 1988), comments on Douglas' humanist values in terms of his 'antipathy to some aspects of scholasticism, a respect for the text of ancient authors, and a belief in the high importance of the classics' (p. 81).
- 2 J. Derrick McClure, in 'Medieval Makars, Background and Language, lecture to Association for Scottish Literary Studies Schools/Further Education Conference, October 1996.
- 3 Kurt Wittig, *The Scottish Tradition in Literature* (Edinburgh, 1958).
- 4 This is a reference to the term 'the Castalian moment' which R. J. Lyall uses in his current work on Montgomerie to highlight the shortness of the creative period. Although writing did continue into the 1590s, and James' own *Poeticall Exercises* were published in 1591, there was not the same impetus to the creation of a national literature as there had been immediately after the publication of *The Essayes of a Prentise*. Helena Shire, in *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under James VI* (Cambridge, 1969), asserts that most of the Jacobean work was completed between 1583 and 1585 (p. 104).
- 5 Roderick Watson, *The Literature of Scotland* (London, 1984).
- 6 This volume is the first of four under the general editorship of Cairns Craig and published by Aberdeen UP which cover the whole of Scottish Literature from earliest times to the 1980s.
- 7 Alex Agutter, 'Middle Scots as a Literary Language' in *The History of Scottish Literature* pp.13-26 deals very fully with the interrelationships between Scots and English in the sixteenth century.
- 8 I am thinking primarily of James' own Englished versions of his works, whether in printed form or in manuscript source, the manuscript evidence of Robert Ayton's and William Alexander's Englishing of their early verse, and of Alexander's very deliberate revisions of *Aurora* and *Darius*, which are described by L. E. Kastner *et. al.* in the introduction to *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling*, STS, 2 Volumes (Edinburgh and London, 1921-1929), Vol. 2, pp. xxv-xxix.
- 9 James VI, *The Essayes of a Prentise in the Divine Arte of Poesie* (Edinburgh, 1584). M. A. Bald, in 'The Anglicisation of Scottish Printing', *Scottish Historical Review* 23 (1926), pp. 106-115, examines the role of the English printers in Scotland.
- 10 W. Tod Ritchie (ed.), *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, STS, 4 Volumes (Edinburgh and London, 1928-34).
- 11 *The Bannatyne MS.* Vol. 1 (1934), p. xxxiv.
- 12 *The Maitland Folio* (c. 1570-86), ed. W. A. Craigie, STS, 2 Volumes. *The Maitland Quarto* (1586), ed. W. A. Craigie, STS, (1920).

Notes to Chapter 1 'The Poetry of the Scottish Renaissance under James VI
1584-1603'

- 1 G. P. V. Akrigg (ed.), *Letters of James VI and I* (Berkeley, 1984), pp. 48-51, 62-72, 79-89, 117-18.
- 2 For instance, Henri IV of France, widely recognised as head of the Huguenot party, converted to Roman Catholicism in 1593, and Spanish forces menaced the Protestant Low Countries.
- 3 The edition I am using is an abridged and slightly modernised version of *La Défense et illustration de la langue française*, edited by Yvonne Wendel-Bellenger for Larousse (Paris, 1972), which is the title I have adopted in the text. All page references are to this edition.
- 4 G. P. V. Akrigg, in 'The Literary Achievement of King James I', *University of Toronto Quarterly* 44 (1975), pp.115-29; R. D. S. Jack, in 'James VI and Renaissance Poetic Theory', *English* 16 (1967), 208-11; and R. J. Lyall, in 'James VI and the sixteenth century cultural crisis' (unpublished paper), all compare James' treatise with those of Du Bellay, Gascoigne and Puttenham, and find significant differences in emphasis, if not in actual theory. James is clearly trying to be different in his advice to Scots poets.
- 5 All translations from Du Bellay are my own.
- 6 Literally 'traitor translator'.
- 7 I am grateful to Prof. Michael Lynch of the Department of Scottish History at Edinburgh University for pointing out to me the image of Hercules in French pageantry, and also in the pageant for Elizabeth I at Kenilworth in 1575.
- 8 G. Gregory Smith (ed.), *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 2 Volumes, (Oxford, 1904) Vol. 1, pp. 46-57. The specific reference to the sonnet form is on p. 55.
- 9 Poems like 'Ane Prayer and Thankisgiwing', which asks God to 'confound all that dois conspyr/Agains his maiestie elect.' (79-80); 'To his Rycht Inteirlic Belowit Freind', which exhorts the addressee to 'Schaik aff despair, And confort 3ow in houp./for God vith trubill dois his chosin try' (32-33); 'To his Maiestie in Fascherie', which appears most clearly to encourage hope for the future, as 'Maist plesour purchest is be pryce of paine' (26). There are in addition a number of poems addressed to ladies, or in female voice, which could equally be veiled expressions of succour to the King.
- 10 George F. Warner, 'The Library of James VI', *Miscellany of the Scottish History Society* (Edinburgh, 1893), 1, pp. ix-lxxv.
- 11 W. Tod Ritchie (ed.), *The Bannatyne Manuscript*, STS, 4 Volumes (Edinburgh and London, 1928-34).
- 12 James Craigie (ed.), *The Poems of James VI of Scotland*, STS, 2 Volumes (Edinburgh and London, 1955-8), Vol. 2, p.132. In his note to the poem, pp. 244-5, Craigie details its manuscript history, but does not mention the copy of the poem held in the PRO in Edinburgh, whose subscription indicates that it was 'maid in anno 1583 at the diuk of obiynnies putting out of Scotland'. I am most grateful to Dr Sally Mapstone of Oxford University for this latter reference.

- 13 Polonius' string of sententious warnings to his son, Laertes, is found in *Hamlet* I.iii.59-80. Cresseid is told to 'mak vertew of ane neid' in the leper-house, in *The Testament of Cresseid*, line 478.
- 14 Walter W. Skeat (ed.), *The Kingis Quair*, STS (Edinburgh and London, 1911), p. 99. The earliest version is Cambridge MS. Kk. 1.5, fol. 5 (late fifteenth century), which is missing the second stanza, and the poem is ascribed to James I only in *The Gude and Godlie Ballatis* of 1578.
- 15 *The Poems of James VI*, Vol. 1, pp. 65-83.
- 16 Kenneth Elliott and Helena Mennie Shire (eds.), *Music of Scotland 1500-1700 (Musica Britannica XV)* (London, 1957), p. xvi.
- 17 For instance, James translates Du Bartas' 'Vne sainte beauté se presente à mes yeux,/Fille, comme ie croy, du grand Dieu lance-foudre' (31-2), as 'A holy beuty did to mee appeare,/The *Thundrers* daughter seeming as she weare'; 'Sur le ciel porte-feux à son gré le promeine' (120) becomes 'Vpon the fyrie heauen to walk at list.' In both these instances, the Scots is simpler, perhaps more conventional, but rather more effective.
- 18 See, among others, A. A. MacDonald, 'Scottish Literature in the sixteenth century and the parameters of culture', paper read at the *Middle Scots Seminar*, Oxford, 1992-3.
- 19 *The Poems of James VI*, Vol. 1, pp. 1-96.
- 20 Kenneth Elliott has pointed out that Scottish versifiers and arrangers appeared to prefer French stanzaic forms while English arrangers had a predilection for common metre. This was illustrated in a paper entitled 'French influence on music in Scotland during the Renaissance' delivered at a day conference *Aspects of the Auld Alliance* (Association for Scottish Literary Studies), 25 November, 1995.
- 21 A. A. MacDonald has studied the process of anglicisation as it affected the transmission of Scottish culture in 'Anglo-Scottish Literary Relations: Problems and Possibilities', *SSL* 26 (1991), pp. 172-84.
- 22 Although the face-to-face printing by James Craigie in the STS volume of James VI's poems shows that *Phoenix* was not markedly altered for the print from the manuscript original, there are significant differences in the language of the printed and manuscript verses of the translation of Du Bartas' *Second Sepmaine*. M. A. Bald discusses this issue in 'The Anglicisation of Scottish Printing', *Scottish Historical Review* 23 (1926), pp. 107-15.
- 23 A. A. MacDonald, in the works already cited (1991 and 1992-3) contends that while the evidence of popularity of printed books is relatively scarce in Scotland at the end of the sixteenth century, the practice of copying books into manuscript form continued into the seventeenth century, and that even medieval texts were copied into manuscripts like the Reidpeth MS of 1622-3.
- 24 Guillaume De Salluste Sieur Du Bartas, in his translation of *La Lèpante*, added 16 lines of praise to the 'Phoenix ecossois'. The French text was first published along with the original in *His Majesties Poeticall Exercises* (1591).
- 25 *Music of Scotland*, p. xvi.
- 26 James Cranstoun (ed.), *The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie*, STS (Edinburgh and London, 1887). All references to Montgomerie's poems

are taken from this edition, with the abbreviations *MP* and *S* being used for *Miscellaneous Poems* and *Sonnets* respectively.

'The Solsequium' is found with its melody in *Music of Scotland*, p. 175.

- 27 *Poems of James VI*, Vol. 2, p. 119.
- 28 *Ibid.*, p. 68.
- 29 The summary of the discussion is found in James Craigie's introduction to *Poems of King James VI of Scotland*, Vol. 1, p. xxvi, but Murray F. Markland, in 'A Note on Spenser and the Scottish Sonneteers', *Studies in Scottish Literature* 1 (1963-4), pp. 136-40, contends that Spenser and the Scots were working independently and the coincidence of form is serendipitous.
- 30 Arthur F. Marotti, "'Love is Not Love": Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences and the Social order', *ELH* 49 (1982), pp. 396-428.
- 31 There is some debate on the interpretation of this lyric, with Helena Shire, in *Song, Dance and Poetry*, pp. 94-5, and Ian McFarlane in a paper delivered to the Scottish Renaissance Seminar in June 1995 both describing it as a celebration of the King's escape from the Ruthven raiders, while R. D. S. Jack, in *Alexander Montgomerie* (Edinburgh, 1985) sees it as a celebration of sexual love cloaked in mythological propriety (p. 52).
- 32 Roderick Lyall (ed.), Sir David Lindsay's *Ane Satyre of the Thrie Estaitis* (Edinburgh, 1989), lines 1701-27, pp. 60-1.
- 33 Although James adopts a very different style, he does take the Gods in the same order as Montgomerie does, the substitution of Apollo for Montgomerie's Mercury perhaps suggesting that he allies himself with Sidney as poet. (*Poems of James VI*, Vol. 2, p. 104)
- 34 Where Ronsard is describing a more spiritual love, as his use of the word 'âme', and the rather less overt reference to the setting show, Montgomerie has a more physical relationship, which brings body, spirit and heart together.
- 35 Joan Grundy (ed.), *The Poems of Henry Constable* (Liverpool, 1960). This is Sonet 3 of the first group of seven 'of the byrth and/beginning of his loue' (p. 117). Grundy comments that there is a Scottish version by Montgomerie without attributing prior authorship to either.
- 36 The French Marotic form of the sonnet, developed by Clément Marot from the Italian *strambotto*, was in the form of three quatrains and a rhyming couplet, but the couplet came between the second and third quatrains, rather than at the end. This was very different from the Italian form, that used by Petrarch, which had a clear octave-sestet structural division with a variety of rhyme schemes in the sestet, or that derived from *terza rima* and popularised by the *quattrocentisti* Serafino, Tebaldeo and Sasso, where the sestet rhyme was almost invariably *cdcdcd*. Marot employed a structure never used by either Petrarch or Bembo, a sestet rhymed *ccdeed*. This was to be the regular form in France from the Pléiade onwards. See Appendix for further detail on the development of the sonnet form.
- 37 While Cranstoun prints these sonnets into a group of six, from XXXIII to XXXVIII, it is clear, on the evidence of versification, as has been argued

- above, and the internal evidence of the final 'I conclude' at the end of XXXV, that only the first three comprise the lamentation.
- 38 In fact, James may even be alluding to Du Bartas in the title of his first collection, *The Essayes of a Prentise*, as R. D. S. Jack has pointed out in 'The French Influence on Scottish Literature at the Court of James VI', *Proceedings of the Conference of Scottish Studies* 2 (1974), pp. 44-55. Du Bartas in *L'Uranie* advises would-be poets to 'recherche nuict et jour les ondes Castalides' and suggests that men of great learning may fail to achieve what 'un jeune apprenti' may do (p. 49).
 - 39 Theodor E. Mommsen (ed.), *Petrarch Sonnets and Songs* (New York, 1946), translations by Anna Maria Armi. All references to Petrarch are from this edition.
 - 40 Joseph G. Fucilla, in 'A Rhetorical Pattern in Renaissance and Baroque Poetry', *Studies in the Renaissance* 3 (1956), 23-48, analyses examples of recapitulative or correlative poetry as found in Greek, Italian, French, Portuguese, English and Scottish verse.
 - 41 Elégie sur le départ de la Reine d'Ecosse, le 15 août 1561, texte de 1578, *Nouvelle Poesies 1563-4* includes the lines: 'Comme un beau pré depouillé de ses fleurs;...Et un anneau sa perle précieuse/Ainsi perdra la France soucieux/Son ornement, perdant la royauté/Qui fut sa fleur, sa couleur, sa beauté. (1, 7-10).
 - 42 Thomas Crockett (ed.), *The Poems of John Stewart of Baldynneis*, STS (Edinburgh and London, 1913). All references are to this edition.
 - 43 Lorna Hutson, in *The Usurer's Daughter* (London, 1994) refers to literary gifts as advertising the existing closeness and facilitating future growth of friendship, often through literary exchange (p. 6).
 - 44 The refrain of this fable advises contentment 'with small possessioun', the whole tale advocating satisfaction with one's lot in life. Denton Fox (ed.), *Robert Henryson: The Poems* (Oxford, 1987), pp. 18-19
 - 45 James Cranstoun (ed.), *The Poems of Alexander Scott*, STS (Edinburgh and London, 1896), p. 26.
 - 46 Theo van Heijnsbergen has made this suggestion, situating the poem in a largely French-speaking court.
 - 47 *The Poems of Henry Constable*, p. 142.
 - 48 The relevant passage is in III.ii.145 ff: Let's talk of graves, of worms, and epitaphs ...for what can we bequeath/Save our deposed bodies to the ground?
 - 49 *Poems of James VI*, Vol. 2, pp. 110-11. Craigie in his note on pp. 236-7 gives the historical background to these sonnets.
 - 50 Henry W Meikle *et. al* (eds.), *The Works of William Fowler*, STS, 3 Volumes, (Edinburgh and London, 1912-39), Vol. 1. All references are to this edition. Citations from *The Tarantula of Love* (pp. 135-211) are referred to by Roman numerals alone, while the *Sonnet Sequence* (pp. 213-30) is abbreviated to SS plus the numeral.
 - 51 C. H. Herford *et. al.* (eds.) *Ben Jonson*, 11 Volumes, (Oxford, 1925-51). Vol. 8 (1947), pp. 1-89.
 - 52 The Echo poem became particularly vogueish in the late sixteenth century, and is found in Italian, French, Spanish and English examples, eventually becoming popular enough to inspire an anthology, the *Lusus imaginis*

iocosae, published by Theodoor van der Does (Dousa) at Utrecht in 1638, which provides around thirty examples in Latin, Greek, Dutch, German, French, English and Italian. I am indebted to R. J. Lyall for this information.

- 53 There are numerous references to Fowler's work for Walsingham, for instance in *Invisible Power* by Alan Haynes (Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd, 1992), where Fowler is described as poet-scholar and spy (p. 31), or in *Giordano Bruno and the Embassy Affair*, by John Bossy (Yale UP, New Haven, 1991), where it is his contacts with the French ambassador at Salisbury House which are of interest (pp. 16-20). References in *CSP Scottish 1589-1603* show Fowler was still in contact with Walsingham during the late 1580s.
- 54 Arthur F. Marotti refers to this circulation in "'Love is Not Love'", p. 406.
- 55 Although I am using the Drummond MS version of the sequence in preference to Hawthornden MS for the reason stated, it appears to me that there may have been some judicious editing on the part of the poet's nephew to ensure that the sequence followed the Ficinian line. I am not at all convinced that the turning to God was the final aim of the original writer, as the first sonnet rather conclusively denies that, and I am unconvinced that the *Death* sequence is necessarily part of *The Tarantula*, mainly because of the absence of any reference to Bellisa. This requires further study outwith the scope of the present thesis.
- 56 Robert H. MacDonald (ed.), *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh, 1971), p. 227.
- 57 The immediate source of the image appears to be Guarini's *Rime* XCVI, as pointed out by Mario Praz, although Herbert Grierson has found the image in Omar Khayyam, and W. A. Murray describes the images of the compasses and the beaten gold as together the chemical symbol for gold, found in the texts of Paracelsus. More prosaically, it is the device of Christophe Plantin, the sixteenth-century Belgian printer. Helen Gardner brings together all the various references to the image in her note on the poem on pp. 189-90 of *John Donne: The Elegies and The Songs and Sonnets* (Oxford, 1965).
- 58 I take this to be the concluding sonnet partly because of its virtuoso use of the mannerist high style, which has been such a feature of the sequence as a whole, and partly because it is the final appeal to death as the only release, which is where the sequence was directed from the outset.
- 59 A. B. Grosart (ed.), *The Complete Works of Joshua Sylvester*, 2 Volumes (Edinburgh, 1880), Vol. 1, specifically 'Anagrammata Regia' on anagrams of Iacobus Stuart and Iames Stuart, and 'Corona Dedicatoria' to the Muses.

Notes to Chapter 2 'Some Characteristics of English Poetry Before the Union:
Philip Sidney to Shakespeare'

- 1 I am using the version of the *Defence* printed in G. Gregory Smith (ed.), *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 2 Volumes (Oxford, 1904), Vol. 1, pp. 148-207. All page references come from this edition.
- 2 William A. Ringler, Jr. (ed.), *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford, 1962), pp. lx-lxii. All references to *Astrophil and Stella* are taken from this edition.
- 3 Letters from the disgraced Earl of Essex to Queen Elizabeth are found in *Cal. SP. Dom.* 1598-1601, Vol. 275, pp. 465-6 and 473. In addition, Arthur F. Marotti, in '"Love is Not Love": Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences and the Social Order', *ELH* 49 (1982), pp. 396-428, points out that Sir Christopher Hatten was writing in such terms to Elizabeth in 1573-4 when absent from court, clearly in fear of losing his place to a rival (p. 399).
- 4 *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, Vol. 2, pp. 1-193.
- 5 Catherine Bates, in *The Rhetoric of Courtship in Elizabethan Language and Literature* (Cambridge, 1992) discusses the issue in global terms, while the specific reference is found in Lorna Hutson, *The Usurer's Daughter* (London, 1994), p. 3.
- 6 J. W. Hebel (ed.), *The Works of Michael Drayton*, 4 Volumes (Oxford, 1931-33), Vol. 1, pp. 95-124. All references to *Ideas Mirrovr* are taken from this edition.
- 7 A. C. Sprague (ed.), *Poems and a Defence of Ryme* (London, 1972). All references to *Delia* are taken from this edition.
- 8 J. C. Smith and E. de Selincourt (eds.), *Spenser: Poetical Works* (Oxford, 1912), pp. 561-78. All references to *Amoretti* are taken from this edition.
- 9 I am thinking of sonnets such as XXXIII 'Great wrong I doe, I can it not deny ... not finishing her Queene of faery' (1, 3), and LXXX 'After so long a race as I have run/through Faery land, which those six books compile' (1-2), which make direct reference to the *magnum opus* in various stages of completion, which in itself suggests that the sonnets were written over a period of time.
- 10 Stanley Wells (ed.), *Shakespeare's Sonnets and A Lover's Complaint* (Oxford, 1987). All references to *Sonnets* are from this edition.
- 11 This concept is dealt with at some length by Puttenham after he has completed his very detailed description of the history of poetics and poetic form and style as it should presently be practised. The Third Booke, 'Of Ornament', culminates in chapter XXV, entitled 'That the good poet or maker ought to dissemble his arte, and in what cases the artificiall is more commended then the naturall, and contrariwise' (pp. 182-93).
- 12 Elizabeth did not force the issue of her gender, accepting temporary male status through her regal position, and admitting her reliance on her aristocracy by conceding that she could exercise only two of the kingly virtues, Justice (embodied in her personification as Astraea), and Temperance. Prudence and Magnanimity could only be exercised by a male ruler. David Norbrook, in *Poetry and Politics in Renaissance*

England (London, 1984), pp. 113-14, discusses the kingly virtues within the context of a discussion of Spenser's humanism as displayed in *The Faerie Queene*.

- 13 "'Love is Not Love", pp. 399-406.
- 14 Alan Sinfield, 'Sidney and Astrophil', *SEL* 20 (1980), pp. 25-41.
- 15 Laurence Stone, in *The Family, Sex and Marriage in England 1500-1800* (New York, 1977), defines 'friends' in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries as advisers, associates, and backers, including persons of high status from whom there is hope of patronage (p. 97).
- 16 In canzone 7 of *Rime*, Petrarch creates a poem in which four of the five stanzas end with a quotation of the first line of one of his predecessors: Daniel Arnaut, Guido Cavalcante, Dante Alighieri and Cino da Pistoia. In the fifth stanza, Petrarch quotes from one of his own poems, thus putting himself into the history of Italian poetry and showing he ranks himself with these predecessors. (Thomas P. Roche, Jr., *Petrarch and the English Sonnet Sequences* [New York, 1989], p. 51.)
- 17 P. J. Croft's edition of *The Poems of Robert Sidney* (Oxford, 1984) reveals a sequence composed of sonnets, songs, pastorals, an elegy and a couple of translations. A number of the songs and pastorals parallel the development of the narrative of the sonnet sequence by introducing characters like the nymph and shepherd, or the lady and the pilgrim, and others from the pastoral tradition.
- 18 The *dolce stil nuovo* is associated primarily with Dante Alighieri (1265-1321) and is, as the term implies, a stylistic variation on the courtly poetry of the time. The *stilnovisti* saw the lady as the ideal, a rarefied essence which had little resemblance to a living woman. She is a creature of light and beauty, almost without physical attributes, who is a messenger of divine grace and wisdom. For the *stilnovisti*, the appearance of the lady rather than the communication between lovers was central, the description of her ideal qualities leading to a style pared of metaphor and abstraction, where clarity of expression, lexical simplicity and melodic euphuism were valued. (Michael R. G. Spiller, *The Development of the Sonnet: An Introduction* (London, 1992), pp. 29-34).
- 19 Frances A. Yates, in *Renaissance and Reform, Collected Essays*, 3 Volumes, (London, 1983), Vol. 2, discusses Giordano Bruno's image of Actaeon as the hunter 'after the vestiges of the divine in nature, until he is himself hunted and devoured by his dogs, express[ing] a mystical identification of subject with object and the wildness of the chase after the divine object, the naked Diana or "the beautiful harmony of the body of nature..." (p. 141).
- 20 Caroline Spurgeon, in *Shakespeare's Imagery* (Cambridge, 1935, 1990 reprint) comments on the playwright's 'contemporaries' ... stock images of banquets, surfeits, a cloyed or sharpened appetite, the taste of honey and spice' (p. 83), and it will be remembered that du Bellay, in his *Défense et illustration de la langue française*, comments on the over-spiced taste of the traditional French forms which destroy the delicate palate of the true poet (Chap. 1, p. 18).

- 21 The same image is used by Fulke Greville in *Caelica* XXXVIII, where, the lover having gained his lady's grace, he turns against her: 'While that fine soyle, which all these ioyes did yeeld,/By broken fence is prou'd a common field' (13-14). Geoffrey Bullough (ed.), *Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville, First Lord Brooke* (Edinburgh, 1938), p. 95.
- 22 'Oraison Funebre sur la Mort de Monsieur de Ronsard prononcée en la Chapelle de Bon-Court l'an 1586 le jour de la feste saint Mattias par Monsieur du Perron à present Evesque d'Evreux' reprinted in *Oeuvres Complètes de Ronsard*, 7 Volumes (Paris, 1924), Vol. 7, pp. 22-65. This quotation is on p. 57.
- 23 Du Bellay uses the imagery of plant growth for language from the beginning of his treatise, as in Chap. I: '... les langues ne sont nées d'elles-mêmes en façon d'herbes, racines, et arbres ...' [languages are not self-generating like grasses, roots and trees ...] (p. 50); in Chap. III: '... notre langue ... qui commence encore à jeter ses racines, sortira de terre et s'élèvera en telle hauteur et grosseur qu'elle se pourra égaler aux mêmes Grecs et Romains ...' [our language ... which is already starting to extend its roots, will come out of the ground and will reach a height and grandeur which will be the equal of the Greeks and Romans ...] (p. 54). All quotations from Yvonne Wendel-Bellenger (ed.) *La Défense et illustration de la langue française* (Paris, 1972). Translations are my own.
- 24 Janet G. Scott, in *Les Sonnets Elisabéthains: Les Sources et l'Apport Personnel* (Paris, 1929) lists the themes used by Shakespeare, but finds only evidence of conventions without being able to trace any specific source in a particular poem or poet (p. 324).
- 25 C. S. Lewis, in *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (Oxford, 1954), characterises 'Drab' poetry of the Tudor Age as that in which 'the language is very plain. There is little aureation, few metaphors, no stylized syntax, and none of the sensuous imagery loved by the Elizabethans' (p. 222) This is because lyric poetry was thought of as words for music, the 'richness and deliciousness' coming from the lute accompaniment rather than from the words. 'Golden' poetry, on the other hand is 'not simply good poetry ... [but] ... poetry in its innocent – as the theologians would say, its "once born" – condition' (p. 318).
- 26 Frances A. Yates, in *Astraea: The Imperial Theme in the Sixteenth Century* (London, 1975) discusses the use made by Elizabeth and her courtiers of this myth deriving from Virgil's Fourth *Eclogue* (pp. 59-65). The legend of the Queen of the Fortunate Isles is retold by Pietro Bembo in *Gli Asolani* (The Meeting at Asolo) and quoted by Michael R. G. Spiller in *The Development of the Sonnet*, pp. 74-5.
- 27 The obvious reference is to Sir John Davies *Gullinge Sonnets* of c. 1594, but in fact burlesque versions of courtly-love poems were produced by Cecco Angiolieri (c. 1260-1312?) on the subject of visits to a prostitute (*The Development of the Sonnet*, p. 26), indicating that the concept is far from new.

Notes to Chapter 3 'Scottish Poetry of the Early Years of the Union: William Alexander, Alexander Craig and Sir David Murray and their Scottish and English influences'

- 1 Donald L. Guss, in *John Donne, Petrarchist: Italianate Conceits and Love Theory in The Songs and Sonets* (Detroit, 1966) describes the development of Donne's poetic style from conventional Petrarchism to metaphysical complexity.
- 2 A. A. MacDonald has studied the process of anglicisation as it affected the transmission of Scottish culture in 'Anglo-Scottish Literary Relations: Problems and Possibilities', *SSL* 26 (1991), pp. 172-84. The same concern is the subject of M. A. Bald's 'The Anglicisation of Scottish Printing', *SHR* 23 (1926), pp. 106-15.
- 3 L. E. Kastner *et. al.* (eds.), *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Stirling*, STS, 2 Volumes (Edinburgh and London 1921-29), Vol. 2, pp. 441 - 521. All references are to this edition. The discussion on the eradication of Scotticisms is found on pp. xxvii - xxix.
- 4 Drayton's correspondence with Alexander is described and quoted from by Bernard H. Newdigate in *Michael Drayton and his Circle* (Oxford, 1941), pp. 177-90.
- 5 David Laing (ed.), *The Poetical Works of Alexander Craig of Rose-Craig 1604-1631*, Hunterian Club (Glasgow, 1873, reprinted New York and London, 1966). This edition comprises all of Alexander Craig's collected works, and prints them chronologically, but with a separate sequence of page numbers for each of the individual books. Page numbers given in the text will thus be clearly signalled as referring to *The Poeticall Essayes* of 1604, or *The Amorse Songes, Sonets, and Elegies* of 1606.
- 6 T. Kinnear (ed.), *Poems by Sir David Murray of Gorthy*, Bannatyne Club (Edinburgh, 1823).
- 7 Lorna Hutson, *The Usurer's Daughter* (London, 1994), pp. 122-4.
- 8 Helena Mennie Shire, *Song, Dance and Poetry of the Court of Scotland under King James VI* (Cambridge, 1969), p. 8.
- 9 Craig's reference to poetry as birth has already been quoted, but Alexander's description of the 'childish birth of a conceitie braine' (*Aurora* Son. 1: 11) as the result of a 'rape' by 'a bodie or an airie shape' (Son. 2: 10-11) is rather more sinister, and more akin to Spenser's 'unquiet thought ... bred,/of th'inward bale of my love-pined hart' and growing 'lyke to viper's brood' (*Amoretti* Sonnet II: 1-2, 6). Daniel, although describing his verse as 'wayling ... Infants of my love', written to witness a 'Father's grieve' (*Delia* II: 1, 4) elevates its status by comparison with Minerva 'brought foorth without a mother' (2).
- 10 As will be discussed below in greater detail, Craig and Ayton were undergraduates together at St Andrews University, and there is evidence from their poetry that they maintained close contact while in London, and, perhaps, helped each other with compositions.
- 11 Janet G. Scott in *Les Sonnets Elisabethains: Les Sources et l'Apport Personnel* (Paris, 1929), cites sources for all the major sonnet sequences of the period, including those of Alexander and Murray, although not Craig, and feels that Kastner has probably not found all the sources: 'Les

- emprunts de Stirling aux sonnettistes étrangers sont peut-être plus nombreux que ne le suppose M. Kastner' (p. 324).
- 12 The madrigals referred to in the work of Alexander and Drummond should not be confused with those written predominantly by composers of the Elizabethan and early Jacobean period such as William Byrd, Thomas Morley and John Dowland, which derive in the main from native airs. The poetic madrigals are derived from Italian developments in the *Cinquecento* and the Marinists (note to Madrig. 1 in *Works of Alexander*, p. 634).
 - 13 J. E. Spingarn (ed.), *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, 2 Volumes (Oxford, 1908), Vol. 1, pp.180-9.
 - 14 See Chapter 1 above, p. 17 and p. 19.
 - 15 The sonnet to Lithocardia 'by Anagram' (p. 40) described her as 'a glorious Dame', and the following poem (p. 41), also subscribed 'Anagram' opens (As *Marigould* did in her Garden walke'.
 - 16 Sonnet to Pandora (p. 78) says 'Sweet *Hais agene*' (2), while the last sonnet to her before the farewell (p. 114) ends 'Yet neither fruite nor flower was like my *Hay*' (14).
 - 17 King James' sonnet 'To the Queene, Anonimos' ends 'Then when to be thou gladlie does repaire/Clasps in thine armes thy Cytherea faire' (13-14). James Craigie (ed.), *The Poems of King James of Scotland*, STS, 2 Volumes (Edinburgh and London, 1955-8), Vol. 2, p. 69.
 - 18 *The Testament of Cresseid*, in Denton Fox (ed.), *Robert Henryson: The Poems* (Oxford, 1987), pp.111-31.
 - 19 R. D. S. Jack, in 'The Poetry of Alexander Craig: A Study in Imitation and Originality', *Forum for Modern Language Studies* 5 (1969), pp. 377-84, has pointed out that one of Craig's sonnets to Kala (p. 83) is very reminiscent of Ronsard's 'J'avais cent foir juré de jamais ne revoir' to Marie, which is very much in keeping with the tone of sensuality which pervades these pastoral poems. However, the same critic, in *The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh, 1972) sees the general tenor of the Kala poems as an Italian pastoral influence mediated by English translations and imitations (pp. 93-5).
 - 20 Lorna Hutson makes this suggestion in *The Usurer's Daughter*, p. 272; the original story is found in Demosthenes. An alternative source is Horace in *Epistles* i.17.36: 'Few have the long purses needed for the expensive vices of Corinth.'
 - 21 Craig several times puns on his own name, as in 'In *Craigs* and Rocks such Elu's doe make repare' (To Lithocardia, p. 27: 9); 'Where *C'raigs* true heart hath his heroick throne' (To Kala, p. 99: 8); 'In weell, in wo, in want, and wealth, thou shalt command poore *Crag*' (To Pandora, p. 140: 28).
 - 22 *Petrarch Sonnets and Songs*, ed. Theodor E. Mommsen, translations by Anna Maria Armis (New York, 1946), pp. 2-3. All references and translations are taken from this edition.
 - 23 Thomas P. Roche Jr., in *Petrarch and the English Sonnet Sequences* (New York, 1989), suggests the connection with Sidney's Stella (p. 277), but makes the point that the light of the dawn in is the light of reason,

- eclipsing the light of love emitted by the adored lady, and thus realism is paramount.
- 24 The most frequent use of the trope is found in the work of Alexander Montgomerie, as in his sonnets in praise of the King's *The Vranie*: 'So, peirles Prince! thy cunning make the knoune;/Ours helps not thyn: we stein3ie bot our aune' (*S* XII: 13-14); 'As bright Apollo staineth eury star .../Thou stanis my versis with thy staitly style' (*S* XIII: 1, 14), in James Cranstoun (ed.), *The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie*, STS (Edinburgh and London, 1887), pp. 94-5.
 - 25 Petrarch puns in a number of different poems on the name Laura, and on the sound of the word: 'E le rose vermiglie in fra le neve/Mover de l'ôra' (CXXXI: 9-10) [And the vermilion roses in the snow/Would be stirred by the aura]; 'L'aura soave al sole spiega e vibra/L'auro ch'Amor de sua man fila e tesse' (CXCVIII: 1-2) [The mellow aura in the sun displays/The gold that Love himself both spins and weaves]; 'l'aura mia vital de me partita' (CCLXXVIII: 4) [My living aura deserted my course].
 - 26 *Les Sonnets Elisabethains*, pp. 324-5.
 - 27 R. D. S. Jack considers Craig's eclectic classicism on pp. 381-4 of 'The Poetry of Alexander Craig'.
 - 28 For instance in such lines as:
 Ah why hath nature to so hard a hart
 given so goodly giftes of beautie's grace ...
 Sith to all other beastes of bloody race
 a dreadfull countenance she given hath (Sonnet XXXI: 1-2, 5-6)
 or: The Panther knowing that his spotted hyde
 doth please all beast but that his looks them fray,
 within a bush his dreadfull head doth hide,
 to let them gaze whylest he on them may pray. (Sonnet LIII: 1-4)
 - 29 Drayton's revisions of *Idea* rather played down the religious imagery which was much more evident in the first version of the sequence, the 1594 *Ideas Mirrour*, discussed in Chapter 2, but the relics are still to be found, as in sonnet 30, where Idea is the poet's Vesta, his heart her temple and his thoughts the Vestal flame (J. William Hebel [ed.], *The Works of Michael Drayton*, 4 Volumes [Oxford, 1931-3], Vol. 2, p. 325).
 - 30 See note 52 to chapter 1 above, p. 297.
 - 31 *Works of Michael Drayton*, Vol. 2, p. 314.
 - 32 'Medusa, e l'error mio m'han fatto un sasso/D'umor vano stillante' [Medusa and my error made my face/A stone dripping in vain] (111-12), in *Petrarch Sonnets and Songs*, p. 520-1.
 - 33 *Petrarch and the English Sonnet Sequences*, pp. 278-80.
 - 34 Anne Ferry, in *The Inward Language* (Chicago, 1983) points out that the word 'self' often meant 'soul' in the sixteenth century, and relates this to the basic Christian tenet *nosce te ipsum* which had been adopted from the Latin by Luther and Calvin, and was used by Elyot in *The Booke Named the Governour* (1531) (pp. 39-41). Common critical terms such as 'personality', 'real self', 'consciousness', 'introspection', and even the basic 'person' or 'role' cannot be used in a sixteenth- or early seventeenth century context. Hamlet the character and Montaigne the writer are the earliest examples of those aware of an 'autobiographical persona' (p. 9).

- 35 *Hamlet* I.ii.76.
- 36 The point is made in Petrarch and the English Sonnet Sequences pp. 235-8 and is supported by Alastair Fowler, *Triumphal Forms* (London, 1970), pp. 175-80.
- 37 Fowler's sonnets of antitheses are found in *The Tarantula of Love* XIII, XXI, XL, XLII, LIV, LIX, LXIX, while Spenser uses the trope in *Amoretti* Sonnets XXVI, XXX, XXXI.
- 38 Alexander's image is clearly derived from Spenser's 'Being my selfe captived here in care,/my hart, whom none with *servile* bands can tye' (*Amoretti* Sonnet LXXIII: 1-2, emphasis mine).
- 39 J. Vianey, *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI^e siècle* (Montpellier and Paris, 1909, reprinted Geneva, 1969), p. 199. Kastner, in *Works of Alexander*, concurs with this sourcing, and points out that Daniel's *Delia* 30 'And yet I cannot reprehend the flight' is similarly derived (note to Son. 27, p. 636).
- 40 Irving D. Blum, 'The Paradox of Money Imagery in English Renaissance Poetry', *Studies in the Renaissance* 8 (1961), pp. 144-54, points out that images of treasure appear in love poetry from Wyatt onwards, with the purpose of celebrating wealth as a means of enjoying life. Love and virginity are often described as treasures, as in Daniel's *The Complaint of Rosamond* (p. 149). Blum suggests that the ultimate source of this imagery could be Matthew 13: 45: 'The kingdom of heaven is like unto a merchant man seeking goodly pearls' (p. 154).
- 41 See Chapter 1 above, p.16.
- 42 Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* 18, Daniel's *Delia* I and Drayton's *Ideas Mirrovr* Amour 10 are all built on the accountancy conceit.
- 43 See Chapter 1 above, pp. 35-7.

Notes to Chapter 4 'The Anti-Spenserian Development: Robert Ayton and Alexander Craig'

- 1 *Conversations with Drummond* number 10 in Vol. 1 of C. H. Herford *et. al.* (eds.), *Ben Jonson*, 11 Volumes (Oxford, 1925-52), refers to the animosity between Sir William Alexander and Jonson, and Ayton's attachment to the latter (p. 137). Additionally, in *Aubrey's Brief Lives* ed. Oliver Lawson Dick (London, 1949) is found, in the reference to Thomas Hobbes: 'His conversation about those times was much about Ben: Jonson, Mr. Ayton, etc.' (p. 150) which would tend to support the idea that the two men were friendly and perhaps worked together.
- 2 Charles B. Gullans (ed.), *The English and Latin Poems of Sir Robert Ayton*, STS (Edinburgh and London, 1963). All references are to this edition.
- 3 There is a detailed discussion of these seven poems in *Poems of Sir Robert Ayton*, pp. 262-6.
- 4 McGrail, in *William Alexander, First earl of Stirling* (Edinburgh, 1940) contends that Alexander actually attended Glasgow University, as originally suggested in 1775, although there is no record of his presence (p. 6). He also revises Alexander's birthdate to 1577, on the evidence that Alexander himself seemed to indicate that he was born on the same date as William Vaughan (pp. 4-5).
- 5 Matthew P. McDiarmid, 'Scots Versions of Poems by Sir Robert Aytoun and Sir William Alexander,' *Notes and Queries*, New Series, 4 (1957), pp. 32-35.
- 6 In James Craigie (ed.), *The Poems of James VI of Scotland*, STS, 2 Volumes (Edinburgh and London 1955-58), Vol. 2, pp. 74-9.
- 7 James Cranstoun (ed.), *The Poems of Alexander Scott*, STS (Edinburgh and London, 1896), p. 73.
- 8 The three manuscripts are MS 19.3.6 folios 56-61^v in NLS; Add. Ms. 28622 in BM; and EUL Ms. Laing III, 436, p. 17.
- 9 For instance, as in *Idea* 41, where he describes his heart as 'the very Den of Horror,/And in my Soule the paines of Hell I prove,/With all his Torments and Infernall terror' (2-4), in J. Hebel (ed.), *The Works of Michael Drayton*, 4 Volumes (Oxford, 1931-3), Vol. 2, p. 331.
- 10 See note 34 to Chapter 3 above, p. 304.
- 11 See note 1 to Chapter 3 above, p. 302.
- 12 *Ben Jonson*, Vol. 8, p. 104. All references to Jonson's poetry are from this edition. This poem is also referred to in *Conversations* number 14, Vol. 1, p. 142.
- 13 The *Basia* of Joannes Secundus is discussed by Robert H. MacDonald in *The Library of Drummond of Hawthornden* (Edinburgh, 1971), pp. 110-11).
- 14 Lorna Hutson, in *The Usurer's Daughter* (London, 1994), p. 6, discusses this aspect of the poem as gift.
- 15 David Laing (ed.), *The Poetical Works of Alexander Craig of Rose-Craig 1604-1631*, Hunterian Club (Glasgow, 1873, Reprinted New York and London, 1966). All page numbers are to this edition.
- 16 'Loue is a Camelion, which draweth nothing into the mouth but/ ayre, and nourisheth nothing in the body but lunges' (*Endimion* III.iv. 129-30 in R.

- Warwick Bond [ed.], *The Complete Works of John Lyly*, 3 Volumes, [Oxford reprint, 1967], Vol. 1, p. 50).
- 17 *Poems of James VI*, Vol 2, p. 72. According to Joseph Vianey, in *Le Pétrarquisme en France au XVI^e siècle* (Montpellier and Paris, 1905, reprinted Geneva, 1969), the image was developed by Maurice Scève from Serafino's original paradox that the fires of love produce tears as green wood when burnt produces moisture (p. 61).
 - 18 The most obvious example is *Amoretti* XXII, 'This holy season fit to fast and pray,/men to devotion ought to be inclynd' (1-2), although LXVIII, while celebrating Easter, 'Most glorious Lord of lyfe that on this day/didst make thy triumph over death and sin' (1-2) uses the same imagery as a persuasion to love: 'So let us love, deare love, lyke as we ought:/love is the lesson which the Lord us taught' (13-14).
 - 19 Drayton's *Idea* 9 in *Works of Michael Drayton*, Vol. 2, p. 315:

... I am Lunaticke,
And ever this in Mad-men you shall finde,
What they last thought of, when the Braine grew sicke,
In most distraction they keep that in Minde.
Thus talking idly in this Bedlam fit,
Reason and I (you must conceive) are twaine. (5-10)
 - 20 Mary Jane Wittstock Scott, 'Robert Ayton: Scottish Metaphysical', *SLJ* Vol. 2: 1, July 1975, pp. 5-16. The comparison of the two poems is on pp. 11-13. Donne's 'A Valediction' is in Helen Gardner (ed.), *John Donne: the Elegies and The Songs and Sonnets* (Oxford, 1965), p. 62.
 - 21 See note 57 to chapter 1 above, p. 298.
 - 22 The concept of the river carrying the emotions of those looking into it is ultimately derived from Ovid's 'Flumina senserunt ipsa quid esset amor' [Rivers although inanimate become sensible of passion or emotion]. The use of river imagery in the Renaissance is examined by David Quint, in *Origin and Originality in Renaissance Literature* (New Haven, 1983), pp. 150-6).
 - 23 *The Poems of Sir Robert Ayton*, p. 279.
 - 24 L. E. Kastner et. al. (eds.), *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander Earl of Stirling*, STS, 2 Volumes (Edinburgh and London 1921-9), Vol. 2, p. 479.
 - 25 *Ben Jonson*, Vol. 8, pp. 93-122.
 - 26 *The Poems of Sir Robert Ayton*, p. 314.
 - 27 Scott's 'To luvè unluvit' has already been found to be a seminal text for his Jacobean poetic heirs, but Ayton's debt here is even greater to Montgomerie's 'A Descriptione of Vane Lovers', found in Cranstoun (ed.), *The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie*, STS (Edinburgh and London 1887), pp. 141-2.
 - 28 James Cranstoun (ed.), *The Poems of Alexander Scott*, STS (Edinburgh and London, 1896), pp. 44-5.
 - 29 Joseph G. Fucilla, 'A Rhetorical Pattern in Renaissance and Baroque Poetry', *Studies in the Renaissance* 3 (1956), pp. 23-48.
 - 30 Donne's early lyrics about the inconstancy of women include 'The Message' (p. 30), 'A Jeat Ring Sent' (p. 38), 'The Indifferent' (p. 41) and 'Woman's Constancy' (p. 42) in addition to the Song cited.

- 31 R. D. S. Jack, *The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh, 1972), pp. 97-8.

Notes to Chapter 5 'The Lyric Poetry of William Drummond of Hawthornden compared with that of his Scottish and English contemporaries'

- 1 This quotation from C. P. Brand in *Torquato Tasso* is quoted by R. D. S. Jack in *The Italian Influence on Scottish Literature* (Edinburgh, 1972), p. 134.
- 2 In addition to the book cited above, Professor Jack has written a number of articles and books on the Italian influence on Scottish poetry, including 'Imitation in the Scottish Sonnet', *Comparative Literature*, 20 (1968), pp. 313-28; 'William Fowler and Italian Literature', in *MLR* 65 (1970), pp. 481-92; *Scottish Literature's Debt to Italy* (Edinburgh, 1986).
- 3 Alexander's tour is discussed briefly in T. H. McGrail, *William Alexander, First earl of Stirling* (Edinburgh, 1940), p. 7.
- 4 *The Italian Influence*, pp. 113-4.
- 5 J. E. Spingarn (ed.), *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, 2 Volumes (Oxford, 1908), Vol. 1, p. 185.
- 6 L. E. Kastner (ed.), *The Poetical Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden*, STS, 2 Volumes, (Edinburgh and London, 1913). Vol. 1 contains *Poems: The First Part* (pp. 1-50), and *Poems: The Second Part* (pp. 51-74), which are the subject of this chapter.
- 7 David W. Atkinson, 'William Drummond as a Baroque Poet', *SSL* 26 (1991), pp. 394-409. Specific mention of the sense of dissatisfaction with the world is on p. 407.
- 8 Charles Calder, in 'Artificiosa Eloquentia: Grammatical and Rhetorical Schemes in the Poetry of William Drummond', *SSL* 26 (1991), pp. 380-93, examines a number of antonomastic references to Venus, such as 'Idalian Queene', 'faire Paphos wanton Queene', Acidalia's Queene', 'faire Ericyne', 'Queene of the third Heauen' etc.
- 9 William A. Ringler, Jr. (ed.), *The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney* (Oxford, 1962) pp. 163-237.
- 10 Sidney's line, in *AS* 74, is 'But (God wot) wot not what they meane by it' (6). Perhaps significantly, this is the sonnet which Drayton also borrowed from, in 'I am no pick-purse of another's wit' (8)
- 11 'Artificiosa Eloquentia' details Drummond's use of such rhetorical figures pp. 382-7.
- 12 Helen Gardner (ed.), *John Donne: The Elegies and The Songs and Sonnets* (Oxford, 1965), p. 70.
- 13 James Cranstoun (ed.), *The Poems of Alexander Montgomerie*, STS (Edinburgh and London, 1887), pp. 171-3
- 14 R. D. S. Jack, 'Drummond of Hawthornden: the Major Scottish Sources', *SSL* 6 (1968), pp. 36-46.
- 15 Henry W. Meikle et. al. (eds.), *The Works of William Fowler*, STS, 3 Volumes (Edinburgh and London, 1914-40), Vol. 1, p. 156.
- 16 Ruth Wallerstein, 'The Style of Drummond of Hawthornden in its Relation to his Translations', *PMLA* 48 (1933), pp. 1090-1107. The quotation from p. 1090.
- 17 'Drummond: the Major Scottish Sources', p. 42.

- 18 L. E. Kastner *et. al.* (eds.), *The Poetical Works of Sir William Alexander, Earl of Sitrling*, STS, 2 Volumes (Edinburgh and London, 1921-9), Vol. 2, pp. 441-521. *Aurora* Son. 3 is on p. 444.
- 19 C. H. Herford *et. al.* (eds.), *Ben Jonson*, 11 volumes (Oxford, 1925-51), Vol. 1, pp. 128-78, *Conversations with Drummond*. This particular remark is noted as number 6 on p. 135.
- 20 The lines from *Macbeth* are: ... the innocent Sleep;
Sleep, that knits up the ravell'd sleeve of care,
The death of each day's life, sore labour's bath,
Balm of hurt minds, great Nature's second course,
Chief nourisher in life's feast ...
- 21 A. C. Sprague (ed.), *Samuel Daniel: Poems and a Defence of Ryme* (London, 1972).
- 22 *Poetical Works of William Drummond*, pp. 170-7.
- 23 In AS 63, Astrophil asserts the primacy of grammar over love's objections:
'For Grammer sayes (to Grammer who sayes nay?)/That in one speech
two Negatives affirme' (13-14).
- 24 Hume's poem 'The Day Estivall' is found in *Longer Scottish Poems Volume 1 1375-1650* edited by Priscilla Bawcutt and Felicity Riddy (Edinburgh, 1987), pp. 291-302.
- 25 *Ben Jonson*, Vol. 8, pp. 93-6.
- 26 Mentioned in *Conversations* number 16, *Ben Jonson*, Vol. 1, p. 144.
- 27 Stella's eyes were described in AS 7 as Nature's 'chief worke' wrapped 'in colour blacke' (1-2).
- 28 In Normal Ault (ed.), *Elizabethan Lyrics* (London, 1949), pp. 11-12.
- 29 This is the same rhyme as used by Sidney in AS 5:
An image is, which for our selves we carve,
And, fooles, adore in temple of our hart,
Till that good God make Church and Churchman starve. (6-8)
- 30 Kastner. *op. cit.* refer's to Masson's pointing out of the similarity with 'And flecked darkness like a drunkard reels/Forth from Day's path and Titan's fiery wheels' in *Romeo and Juliet* II.iii (p. 195).
- 31 *Petrarch Sonnets and Songs*, ed. Theodor E. Mommsen, Translated by Anna Maria Armi (New York, 1946), pp. 236-7.
- 32 This cannot but remind the reader of Shakespeare's *Richard II*:
... Within the hollow crown
That rounds the mortal temples of a king
Keeps Death his court, and there the antic sits
Scoffing his state and grinning at his pomp,
Allowing him a breath, a little scene,
To monarchize, be fear'd, and kill with looks; (III.ii.160-5)
- 33 The relevant lines are :
Do not for ever with thy vailèd lids
Seek for thy noble father in the dust.
Thou know'st 'tis common - all that lives must die,
Passing through nature to eternity. (I.ii.70-3)
- 34 *Conversations* number 6 in *Ben Jonson*, Vol. 1, p. 135.
- 35 William Tough (ed.), *The Works of Sir William Mure of Rowallan*, STS, 2 Volumes (Edinburgh and London, 1897-8), Vol. 1.

- 36 David Laing (ed.), *The Poetical Works of Patrick Hannay, 1622*, Hunterian Club (Glasgow, 1875).

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Abbreviations used in the Bibliography

<i>ELH</i>	<i>English Literary History</i>
<i>FMLS</i>	<i>Forum for Modern Language Studies</i>
<i>MLR</i>	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association of America</i>
<i>RES</i>	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
<i>SEL</i>	<i>Studies in English Literature</i>
<i>SHR</i>	<i>Scottish Historical Review</i>
<i>SLJ</i>	<i>Scottish Literary Journal</i>
<i>SSL</i>	<i>Studies in Scottish Literature</i>
<i>STS</i>	Scottish Text Society

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