Alexander Craig: ‘The most underestimated of all Scottish writers’?

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Contents

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Abstract.

This dissertation offers a re-evaluation of the poet Alexander Craig (1567-1627). Despite being considered a minor poet active during a fallow period in Scottish literature, he has received some share of critical attention. This attention has, in most cases, been directed at either *The Amorose Songes, Sonets and Elegies* (1606) or *The Pilgrime and Heremite* (1631). David Laing's collected edition of 1873 introduced the poetry but did not attempt a critical appraisal.

The rediscovery of a second, manuscript, version of *The Pilgrime and Heremite* has rekindled interest in Craig. In her 2013 thesis, Lorna MacBean made the case for further study of Craig. This dissertation places him in the social and literary context of his time and evaluates all of his known work, teasing out literary continuities and development. It offers an understanding of the poet in and on terms comprehensible to him and his contemporaries. Identifying and applying historicised categories of interpretation enables a clear understanding of Craig's relevance in his own cultural context. It gives us sight of a Scottish author at the early Jacobean court who engaged with contemporary emphases in poetry and culture rather than those which posterity prioritised, and demonstrates how he transferred this approach to a more regional poetic after retiring to the north-east of Scotland. It reveals a poet whose wide reading and eclectic tastes defy modern categorisation.

Introduction

Purpose and Method

Alexander Craig is best described as a minor poet writing during the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, traditionally viewed as a barren period in Scottish literature. Critical opinion is divided in its estimation of his merits. His poetry was described as 'very rare and very worthless'[1] by one nineteenth-century critic, yet the Hunterian Club considered it worth their while to create a collected edition in 1873.[2] Michael Spiller, who called his output 'extremely miscellaneous and even disordered', measured Craig's achievements as a sonneteer largely in Elizabethan terms, yet points out positive qualities in isolated passages.[3] Craig's fondness for Latin embellishments and obscure classical allusion, together with the fact that much of his minor verse comments on contemporary issues, indeed creates a barrier between him and the modern reader. However, in the mid-twentieth century R.D.S Jack called Craig 'the most underestimated of all Scottish writers'.[4] This dissertation will demonstrate the truth of Jack's assertion.

Recent years have seen a change in attitudes to Scottish literature of the seventeenth century. Analysis of texts in their historical context is offering a better understanding and appreciation of the writers and of the period. Priscilla Bawcutt's warning against 'a preoccupation solely with what we now consider the great names and the literary masterpieces'[5] given in a slightly different context, is relevant for the period. Authors who were once admired may have been left to

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[1] A.H. Bullen, 'Craig, Alexander' in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* (Oxford: 1887), at https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/odnb/9780192683120.001.0001/odnb-9780192683120-e-6569 [accessed 20/9/2020]

[2] David Laing (ed.), *The Poetical Works of Alexander Craig of Rose-Craig 1604-1631, Now First Collected.* (Glasgow: Hunterian Club, 1873)

[3] Michael Spiller, 'Poetry after the Union, 1603-1660' in *The History of Scottish Literature Vol.1 Origins to 1660 (Medieval and Renaissance),* ed. by R.D.S. Jack, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), pp. 141-162 (p.148).

[4] R.D.S. Jack, 'The Poetry of Alexander Craig: A study in Imitation and Originality', in *Forum for Modern Language Studies,* 5 (1969), 377-84 (p.378).

[5] Priscilla Bawcutt, 'Crossing the Border: Scottish Poetry and English Readers in the Sixteenth Century', in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the Culture of Late Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* ed. by Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood, (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 1998), 59-76 (p.60).

drift into obscurity. An appreciation of the role of patrons and patronage gives yet another perspective, and, as the chapters below will indicate in various places, in Craig's case patronage affects the nature and content of his verse in significant ways. Additionally, the history of the two versions of *The Pilgrime and Heremite* has relevance for the evolving study of the relationships between manuscript and print dissemination. It is against this background that a fuller, more historical-critical approach to Alexander Craig can add to our knowledge, not only of the poet but of the places and time in which he wrote.

Previous academic criticism of Craig has, for the most part, been directed at either the sonnet sequence found in *The Amorose Songes, Sonets and Elegies*, or the longer narrative poem *The Pilgrime and Heremite,* once dismissed as 'a curious pastiche of early alliterative verse.'[6] Michael Spiller's fortuitous discovery of a manuscript version in 2008 has caused most recent critical attention to focus on the texts of that work. It is too easy to discuss the most apparently accomplished part of an author's oeuvre in isolation. Concentrating on one publication does not allow for a complete appraisal of the poet or his poetic. A more accurate and comprehensive view will be had by assessing the better-known texts in conjunction and in sequence with the more generally overlooked publications. This approach can identify consistencies and developments, recurring themes and favourite poetic practices. It will allow us to situate Craig more firmly in his historical and literary place.

The dissertation, therefore, will provide a succinct critical assessment of all of Craig's known works and seek to understand them in the context of their time. It will demonstrate the ways in which Craig's awareness of, and connections with, other poets of his era inspired his writing. It will be conscious of the potential influence of patrons. The holistic approach will extend beyond the poems to paratext and it will be seen that Craig has seeded his work with clues as to his philosophy and motivation. The dissertation will demonstrate that Craig maintains an internal consistency of style, of purpose, of underlying philosophy and (broadly) of political stance. The insights gained will lead to a re-appraisal of *The Pilgrime and Heremite*. By placing the two known versions side-by-side, and

[6] Spiller, 'Poetry after the Union', p.148.

by assessing them as an integral part of Craig's oeuvre, it will become clear that the long-accepted understanding of *The Pilgrime and Heremite* as a religious allegory can be challenged.

There are few extant copies of any of Craig's publications. I have depended on Early English Books Online for digital editions of the original texts and accessed David Laing's 1873 collected edition via google books when library access became impossible.[7] I was reliant on Lorna MacBean's transcript of the manuscript version of *The Pilgrime and Heremite* during that period.[8] The text of 'Craiges passionado' has been taken from the Scottish Text Society's edition of the poetry of Robert Ayton.[9]

For ease of reference, I have appended a synopsis of the print and manuscript versions of *The Pilgrime and Heremit,* using MacBean's transcripts but with line numbering. Following Michael Spiller, I refer to the 'Skene' (print) and 'Kennedy' (MS) versions[10], and line references for *The Pilgrime and Heremite* will take the form ll.** S or ll.** K. All page references for the earlier collections are from the 1873 *Poetical Works.*

Biography

Biographical details for Craig are few and vague. Michael Spiller's 2004 entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* gives only approximate dates for his birth and death. It records his graduation from St. Andrews University in 1582, his removal to London, presumably following King James's assumption of the English throne in 1603, and the award of a royal pension in 1605. Spiller is probably right in supposing that he had returned to live in Banff before the publication of *The*

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[7] Laing, *Poetical Works,* https://play.google.com/store/books/details/Alexander_Craig_The_Poetical_Works_of_ALexander_Cr?id=b70xAQAAMAAJ .

[8] MacBean, Lorna, 'A documentary Edition of Alexander Craig's 'Pilgrime and Hermite' 1631: print and manuscript culture across the Union of Crowns.' (unpublished MPhil(R) thesis, University of Glasgow, 2013).

[9] Charles B. Gullans (ed.), *The English and Latin Poems of Sir Robert Ayton,* (Edinburgh: The Scottish Text Society, 1963), pp.122-28.

[10] Michael R.G. Spiller, 'Found in the Forest: The Missing Leaves of Alexander Craig's *The Pilgrime and Heremite*', in *Fresche Fontanis: Studies in the Culture of Early Modern Scotland,* ed. Janet Hadley Williams and J. Derrick McClure, 377-394, (p.380).

Poeticall Recreations in 1609, but it is uncertain when that move was made. The exact location of Rosecraig has never been determined.

In addition to listing his printed works, Spiller notes his contribution to *The Muses Welcome to the High and Mighty Prince James* (1618),[11] a collection of literary offerings to the king on the latter's only return to Scotland. Spiller also mentions that Craig sat in the Scots Parliament in 1621 as commissioner for Banff.[12] Some additional biographical and bibliographical details can be found in his first editor David Laing's introduction to the collected edition.[13] Laing recounts the payments of Craig's pension in great detail,[14] and offers an exhaustive list of Craig's connections with contemporary writers.[15]

Context

Social Context

The critic who hopes to successfully appraise a poet's work must develop an understanding of the environment in which they wrote and the audience for the poetry. Social and political environment cannot but be influential. Alexander Craig lived and wrote in a period of religious and political change and there is evidence of that in his writing.

Craig is presumed to have been the son a burgess in Banff, on the north-east coast of Scotland. Burgesses were merchants and tradesmen who held rights and privileges within the local community.[16] Changes in patterns of land ownership during the sixteenth century had increased the size of the middle class. Feuing of crown and church lands meant that landholders were not necessarily drawn only

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[11] *Ta Ton Mousoneisodia: The Mvses Welcome To the High and Mightie Prince Iames By the Grace Of God King Of Great Britaine France and Ireland, Defender Of the Faith &C. At His M. Happie Returne To His Old and Native Kingdome Of Scotland, After Xiiii. Yeers Absence In Anno 1617* (Edinburgh: John Adamson, 1618) at https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/lion/docview/2147537504/Z200139404/BF24052A1C1462DPQ/1?accountid=14540# [accessed 20/9/202].

[12] Michael Spiller, 'Craig[Craige], Alexander, of Rosecraig, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, (2004) found at https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6569 [accessed 22/9/2020].

[13] Laing, *The Poetical Works*, p.2.

[14] Ibid., pp.4-6.

[15] Ibid., pp.10-17.

[16] T.C. Smout, *A History of the Scottish People, 1560-1830,* (London: Fontana Press, 1985, c. 1969), p.163

from the nobility.[17] Increased wealth might lead to social aspiration. Craig's university education would be useful in preparing him for the employment as a legal secretary we know he found with George Home of Dunbar and enhance his social status through connections with the nobility and gentry.

The education Craig received would have been geared to producing useful citizens. An emerging 'lay elite' had, since the late medieval period, created a system of education in which 'the key humanist disciplines of rhetoric, history and moral philosophy' were central:

> It seems logical enough to assume not […] that humanism helped create a more literate and better educated lay elite, but that a more literate and better educated lay elite deliberately chose to educate themselves – and more particularly their children – along humanist lines.[18]

Latin was still the dominant language in education, and it 'remained a means of intellectual discourse […] after the Reformation.'[19]

Alexander Craig's entire body of work shows every sign of being written by a man who had been educated in humanist principles. It is abundant in classical allusion and Latin mottoes, and in both volumes of *The Poeticall Recreations*, ideas are worked and reworked in both English and Latin. Closer examination of the myriad Latin verses used in *The Amorose Songes, Sonets and Elegies,* reveals an underlying Stoic philosophy.

There are many signs that Craig was attracted by neo-Stoic ideas, including frequent use of quotations from Seneca, one of the most influential of the Latin Stoics.[20] The attractions of such a philosophy at a time of upheaval is clear:

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[17] Michael Lynch, *Scotland: A New History,* (London: Pimlico, 1992), p.182.
[18] Roger A. Mason, 'Laicisation and the Law: The Reception of Humanism in Early Renaissance Scotland.', in *A palace in the wild : essays on vernacular culture and humanism in late-Medieval and Renaissance Scotland* ed. L.A.J.R. Houwen, A.A. MacDonald, S.L. Mapstone , (Leuven: Peeters, 2000), 1-26, (pp.3-5).
[19] Sara Pons-Sanz and Aonghas MacCoinnich,'The Languages of Scotland', in *The International Companion to Scottish Literature,* ed. Nicola Royan, (Glasgow: Scottish Literature International, 2018), 19-37, (p.19).
[20] Isabel Rivers, *Classical and Christian Ideas in English Renaissance Poetry,* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1979), p.46.

> In a cultural situation that seemed without precedent, it was imperative for the individual to seek to impose reason, self-restraint and virtue.[21]

These ideas were present among late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century writers, including the influential Philip Sidney. Craig's collaborator William Alexander, like Sidney, saw Seneca as the epitome of 'dramatic style and morality [who] obtains "the very end of poesey"'.[22] In the early-modern period, such ethical systems were seen as entirely consistent and compatible with Christian practice.

Craig was born in the year of King James VI's coronation, after the defeat and exile of Mary, Queen of Scots. This was a time of great religious upheaval. The Scots Parliament had adopted the Protestant Confession only seven years previously. The organisational and spiritual detail of what a reformed church would look like in Scotland was still being debated.[23] Queen Mary's flight to England had precipitated a second, more Calvinist phase of reform, and relations between church and state were being renegotiated.[24] The young Alexander Craig graduated from the 'Protestant well'[25] of St. Leonard's College at the University of St. Andrew's in 1582, and there is evidence that he had signed the anti-Catholic King's Confession in 1581.[26] Religio-political and confessional debate would have been part of everyday discourse throughout Craig's life, yet there is little overt trace of it in his writing. Episcopalian leanings would be consistent with his north-east background and connections.

When Craig graduated in 1582, Scotland was a state in which government was centred on the crown. James VI dispensed with regents in 1585 and from that date all power and patronage came directly from the monarch. The Scottish Parliament sat at his bidding. James's claim to the English throne as heir to Elizabeth Tudor was a major pre-occupation and much of his policy making was designed to achieve that end. The daily administration of the country was devolved on nobles and favourites. Alexander Craig had connections with two of

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[21] Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'The Renaissance Uses of a Medieval Seneca: Murder, Stoicism and Gender in the Marginalia of Glasgow Hunter 297', in *Studies in Scottish Literature,* 39.1, 55-81, (p.58).
[22] Ibid. p.59.
[23] Lynch,*Scotland,* pp.196-8.
[24] Ibid. p.201.
[25] Ibid. p. 195.
[26] Laing, *Poetical Works,* Introduction, p.2.

the most powerful men at James's court. George Gordon, sixth Earl of Huntly was, in the 1580s, rebuilding his family's power base in the north-east.[27] He might have found it expedient to offer patronage to Craig, the son of a local burgess, as a way of buying support. George Home, Earl of Dunbar, was 'James's most intimate adviser'[28] and the patron to whom Craig's most frequently refers. The first documentary evidence that Craig was employed by Dunbar is dated 1606 but there is no reason to suppose the employment did not begin earlier.

In fact, we have no information about Craig's occupation or movements from the date of his graduation until the publication of *The Poeticall Essayes* in 1604. He may have found work immediately or he may have travelled to London in the hope of preferment. It is possible that his connections with a noble family would have given him access to the court.[29] All of his work, apart from *The Pilgrime and Heremite*, shows knowledge of the court, and of the political and dynastic issues which dominated James's first years in London. He was awarded a pension of £400 Scots in 1605 for unspecified services to the king.[30] Pensions, rather than appointments were James's preferred way of recognising service.[31]

In later collections, Craig would criticise the court, but never the monarch. He was always a loyal Jacobean, 'K. James 6 poet', as he was described in 1631.[32] At this distance in time, we cannot know if that was a prudent stance or a matter of personal conviction.

Literary Context

Poetry in the early modern period was not primarily a mode of self-expression. In the humanist education described above, rhetoric was the most important of the humanities. 'The pursuit of eloquence […] is a major task for the humanist scholar

[27] Ruth Grant, 'Friendship, politics and religion: George Gordon, Sixth Earl of Huntly and King James VI, 1581-1595' in *James VI and Noble Power in Scotland 1578-1603,* ed. Miles Kerr-Peterson and Steven J. Reid, (London: Routledge, 2017), 57-80.
[28] Maurice Lee, *Great Britain's Solomon: James VI and I in His Three Kingdoms,* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1990), p.136.
[29] Ibid., p.109.
[30] Spiller, 'Craig', *ODNB.*
[31] Bruce R. Galloway and Brian P. Levack (eds.), *The Jacobean Union: Six tracts of 1604,* (Edinburgh: Scottish History Society, 1985), p.xiv.
[32] NLS Adv. MS 35.4.14, f. 108v.

and writer, and that is inseparable from the pursuit of wisdom.'[33] This feature of Latin literature became evident in the vernacular literatures of Europe.[34] C.S. Lewis's remarks on the sonneteers could be applied to anyone writing amorous lyric poetry:

> The sonneteers wrote not to tell their own stories […] but to give us others, the inarticulate lovers, a voice. The reader was to seek […] not what the poet felt, but what he himself felt.[35]

The reinterpretation of ideas and the skill of writing in response to another author's performance were more important than originality of thought. 'The critic who does not understand the conventions governing their thought is in constant danger of blaming them for doing badly what they were not trying to achieve at all.'[36]

At a time of political and religious upheaval, however, it is not surprising to find change in the cultural realm. A.A. MacDonald sees a shift during the sixteenth century in Scotland, 'when some poets clearly began to speak for themselves.'[37] During the seventeenth century, a preference for wit and ingenuity emerged.[38] Alexander Craig speaks for himself, in challenging some of the poetic mores of his time, while not neglecting the styles and conventions of his predecessors.

The aspiring Scottish poet of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century would be aware of the monarch's own guidance and performance. King James published *Ane Schort Treatise Conteining Some Reulis and Cautelis to be Observit and Eschewit in Scottis Poesie* in 1584, at the start of his personal reign and shortly after Alexander Craig had graduated. It 'voices a rallying call aimed at bringing Scottish culture into the vanguard of European humanism [while

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[33] Paul Oskar Kristeller, 'Renaissance Humanism and its Significance', *Rediscovering the Renaissance: Papers from the Twenty-First Annual Conference,* ed. in Mario A. di Cesare, (Binghampton: Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies, 1992), 24-34, (p.36-7).
[34] Ibid. p.40.
[35] C. S. Lewis, *English Literature in the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama,* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1954), pp.490-91.
[36] R.D.S. Jack, 'The Language of Literary Materials: Origins to 1700', in *The Edinburgh History of the Scots Language,* ed. Charles Jones, (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1997), 213-63, (p.214).
[37] A.A. MacDonald, 'Early Modern Scottish Literature and the Parameters of Culture' in *The Rose and the Thistle: Essays on the culture of late medieval and Renaissance Scotland,* eds. Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood, (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), 77-100, (p.80).
[38] Spiller, 'Poetry after the Union, p.142.

determining] the conditions on which membership of his cultural […] band will be gained.'[39] The concept of a distinct 'Castalian band' of poets operating in and around James's Scottish court is no longer accepted, but poets and poetry were a feature of his entourage. The graduate hoping to make his way at James's court would have an advantage if he could demonstrate a poetic bent.

Many early modern writers composed in Latin as well as their vernacular. James was tutored by one of the great neo-Latinists and humanists of the time, George Buchanan, and could read and understand the language.[40] Robert Ayton, Craig's friend and collaborator, is reputed to have written poems in Latin, Greek, French and Scots.[41] Poets might also borrow Latin style for their Scots or English verse. The creation of what Priscilla Bawcutt calls 'mental frontiers' between Latin and vernacular writing may prevent us from fully understanding what we read.[42]

Scots poets are generally considered to owe more to French influence than their counterparts in England, who looked to Italy for inspiration and example.[43] Morna Fleming details similarities and differences in Scots and English poetic practice, and demonstrates that '[t]here are Scottish themes and stylistic features which do not figure importantly in English writing.'[44] Scots authors were nevertheless aware of the work of their English counterparts and the influence on Craig of Philip Sidney and Samuel Daniel, among others, will be demonstrated. Craig's work shows a wide-ranging knowledge of poetry ranging from the ancients, through Renaissance neo-Latin, to Scottish poetry as far back as the medieval period, to the work of his contemporaries. He engaged with ongoing literary debate; he published a sequence of poems inspired by *The Passionate Shepherd;* and he created an innovative sonnet sequence which showed a desire to develop that genre. The intertextual tendency which was evident in his early work with Ayton and Alexander did not end with that collaboration. This dissertation will

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[39] R.D.S. Jack and P.A.T. Rozendaal, *The Mercat Anthology of Early Scottish Liteature 1375-1707,* (Edinburgh: John Donald, 2008, c.2000), p.460.
[40] Lynch, *Scotland,* p.225.
[41] Gullans, *Sir Robert Ayton,* p.16.
[42] Pricilla Bawcutt, 'Crossing the Border, p.60.
[43] Jack, 'The Language of Literary Materials', p.255.
[44] Morna Fleming, 'The Impact of the Union of the Crowns on Scottish Lyric Poetry 1584-1619' (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Glasgow, 1997), p.10.

make the case that Craig knew poetry and if his own performance was sometimes faulty, he nevertheless understood the mechanics of the art, and was in touch with the poetic practice of his age. Inasmuch as he practiced poetry as a craft, he can be said to resemble the makars, with whom he also shared an often metafictional inclination.

The topic of the anglicisation of the Scots language is complex and dependent on many interconnecting factors. Anglicised language could be associated, in literary and non-literary texts, with Latinate style. Thus,

> Meurman-Solin points out that in Gilbert Skeyne's (c.1522-1599) *Ane Breve Descriptioun of the Pest,* a learned text composed in a Latinate style, has a higher degree of anglicisation and a lower degree of clearly Scottish forms than his rather less formal *Ane Brief Descriptioun of the Qualiteis and Effectis of the Well of the Woman Hill besyde Abirdene*.[45]

The advent of print was a major contributing factor, and the move to London increased the need to be comprehensible to an English audience. Craig demonstrates an awareness of this in the letter 'To the Reader' in *The Amorose Songes, Sonets and Elegies.*[46] His self-designation of 'Scoto-Britane' demonstrates his awareness of the merging of two nations, and two cultures. I will suggest that it is a signal of his desire to create something new using material drawn from both. His work is, in some respects, designed to demonstrate a way forward for poets under the new dispensation.

One particular aspect of Craig's writing shows his Scottish background more than any other. He was 'addicted to poulter's measure'[47], and used it for a variety of purposes. It appears in every volume he published and is cleverly employed in *Pilgrime and Heremite*. Nor was he alone, authors as diverse as King James VI and William Lithgow have employed it. Sebastiaan Verweij is persuasive when he suggests that, for a short time, it formed its own distinct genre in Scottish

[45] Pons-Sanz and MacCoinnich, 'The Languages of Scotland', p.35.
[46] Laing, *Poetical Works,* 'The Amorose Songes, p.11.
[47] Ibid., p.148.

poetry.[48] For this reason, it is wise to consider what we know about its use in the early modern period, and about modern critical reception of the form and thus hidden its contemporary popularity.

Verweij provides a good overview of the development of critical attitudes, from C.S. Lewis's condemnation of the 'terrible poulter's measure and the flat, plodding style which almost inevitably goes with it,'[49] through Wilbur Sanders's attempts to like it, to William Sessions' description of it as 'probably the most maligned of all metres in English.'[50] Its use in Scotland seems to have begun around the 1590s and was 'part and parcel of the early modern poetic repertoire in Scotland.' Verweij has found plentiful manuscript evidence for its popularity in Scotland and finds samples 'anthologised in manuscripts […] often clustered together, like sonnets in a series,' but notes that it has been barely used in print anthologies, and 'has all but disappeared from the canon of Scottish Renaissance writing.'[51] This absence might reflect critical dislike of the form.

Verweij's research shows that, in Scotland, 'poulter's measure became particularly associated with a genre of amatory lament, known variously as the 'dier', 'dyer', 'dyare', 'dyor', 'deere' or perhaps as [in] Alexander Craig's poem […] 'passionado'.[52] The name is understood to have come from Sir Edward Dyer, a courtier of Elizabeth Tudor. His 'He that his mirth has lost' appears in CUL MS Kk. 5.30 (the Tibbermuir Manuscript) with the title 'Inglishe Dyare' and 'may be the very model after which other Scottish 'diers' were fashioned.'[53] For Verweij, the *dier* constitutes a 'finely delineated genre [whose texts were] written in direct imitation of each other. They are 'deeply intertextual, creating infinite variations on a theme' and use similar themes and conceits.[54] Alexander Craig had a part in the creation of a sequence of poems found in NLS Adv. MS 19.3.6. These form the 'largest single grouping' found to date and comprise 'six poems, five of which are traditionally ascribed to Robert Ayton, Alexander Craig, and William Alexander.'[55]

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[48] Sebastiaan Verweij, 'Poulter's Measure, Sir Edward Dyer and the *Dier* in Jacobean Scotland' in *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland: Tides of Change 1567-1625,* ed. David J. Parkinson, (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 299-321.
[49] Lewis, *English Literature*, p.224.
[50] Verweij, 'Poulter's measure', p.302,
[51] Ibid. p.301-2.
[52] Ibid. p.299.
[53] Ibid. p.301.
[54] Ibid. p.309.
[55] Ibid. p.300

It is easy to imagine the three authors of the *diers* found in NLS Adv. MS. 19.3.6 writing in response to each other, each producing examples of the genre. The rejected lover, left with nothing to look forward to but the grave, is not a theme unique to the genre, but Verweij is persuasive in his arguments that the form and the theme used together were, for a short time, 'firmly embedded in the poetic repertoire, attracted a number of young leading lights […] and was found sufficiently malleable to accommodate not simply the rhetorical fancies of an affected lover, but also genuine political concerns.'[56] Alexander Craig certainly pressed the form to a variety of uses, as will be seen, while at the same time revisiting the theme of the rejected lover in a variety of forms, from the sonnet to the long narrative poem that is *Pilgrime and Heremite*.

It will be important to consider the overlap between print and manuscript culture in the seventeenth century as a means to understanding the question of authority. While Craig saw much of his writing appear in print some of his verses existed only in manuscripts until the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. David Laing collected some ephemeral verses in his *Poetical Works,* while the longer collaboration with Ayton and Alexander was not printed until 1963. Gullans believed that 'the value of texts taken from commonplace books is strongly questioned.'[57] However, the discovery of a version of *The Pilgrime and Heremite* in the Thoirs commonplace book provides an important example of their benefits and drawbacks. While the Kennedy manuscript contains the section missing from the only known print version, it does not make it possible to create a definitive version of the poem. The fact that the MS and print versions ultimately seem to be trying to do different things is a challenge to the modern taste for an authoritative text.

[56] Ibid. p.320.
[57] Gullans, *Robert Ayton,* p.viii.

Publications

Collaborative and miscellaneous verse.

There are some minor works to consider in addition to the poetry in Craig's printed collections and *The Pilgrime and Heremite*. He was involved in the composition of a compilation of verse written in poulter's measure and collected in NLS Adv. MS 19.3.6; he contributed to *The Muses Welcome,* a collection of celebratory pieces written to commemorate King James VI and I's only return to Scotland;[58] and he followed contemporary practice in composing complimentary verse for inclusion in other authors' publications.

The early collaborative verse in NLS Adv. MS 19.3.6 is jointly ascribed to Robert Ayton, William Alexander and Alexander Craig by Charles B. Gullans in his introduction to the Scottish Text Society edition of the poetry of Robert Ayton. It comprises seven poems, which he dates to the period before the court's removal to London, i.e. pre-1603.[59] He judges that their

> provincial style […] would not have been out of place in the England of the 1570's nor in Scotland until a much later period, but one finds it difficult to think of them as having been written by anyone who lived at the centre of London's literary life in the years 1603-1610.[60]

Written at a time when Craig was in his mid-thirties, they represent all that we have left from the early stage of his career. The document in which they are preserved forms a small part of the evidence for the 'vibrant culture of manuscript

[58] Laing, *Poetical Works*, Miscellaneous Poems, pp.3-8.
[59] Gullans, *Robert Ayton,* p17.
[60] Ibid, pp, 17-18

production and circulation at the Scottish Jacobean court.'[61] The poems are: 'Wilt thou remorseless fair'; 'when Diaphantus knew' ('Ane Dyor'); 'Even as the dying swan'; 'Let him whose hopelesse state'; 'Let not the world believe'; 'My love alas is loathsome unto me' ('Loues Lament') and 'Quhy did the gods ordain' (Craiges passionado). All of these poems are written in poulter's measure. Sebastiaan Verweij calls them 'the best-known series of Scottish poems in poulter's measure, and the largest single grouping.'[62] The collection shows a preoccupation with rejection and failure in love and engages with the Petrarchan trope of 'competition, whether with other poets or other lovers.'[63] Ayton, Alexander and Craig might well have been writing simply for their own amusement, but may also have been hoping to attract notice by their performance:

> It has been persuasively argued 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.[64]

Craig and his friends were writing in Scotland where James had encouraged an environment in which such poetic devices would be understood.[65] Alexander Montgomerie had used 'precisely this method to appeal to the king.'[66] This sequence of poems might be a joint attempt by three young men to emulate the master poet and to advance themselves at court.

The collaborative approach to composition was a feature of scribal publication which

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[61] Sebastiaan Verweij, *The Literary Culture of Early Modern Scotland: Manuscript Production and Transmission 1560-1625,* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), p.78.
[62] Verweij, 'Poulter's Measure, p.300.
[63] Heather Dubrow, *Echoes of Desire: English Petrarchism and its Counterdiscourses'* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p.2.
[64] Fleming, 'Impact of 1603', p.43.
[65] Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'Masks of Revelation and 'the "female" tongues of men': Montgomerie, Christian Lyndsay, and the Writing Game at the Scottish Renaissance Court.', in *Literature, Letters and the Canonical in Early Modern Scotland,* ed. Theo van Heijnsbergen and Nicola Royan, (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2002), 68-89, (p.82).
[66] Fleming, 'Impact of 1603', p.43.

> does not insist on authorship and a clear separation of authorial responsibility [but] allows for the setting up of a web of co-operation in a common poetic effort.[67]

Nevertheless, and unlike Gullans, Verweij ascribes individual authors to the poems, and gives Craig credit only for 'Quhy did the gods ordaine' or 'Craiges passionado'.[68] Accepting Verweij's verdict, a short appraisal of it will be useful. It contains many features which will recur throughout Craig's career. The narrative premise is that the poem's persona has ideas beyond his station (l.4),

> I murne againe becaus my fonnde conceatid thoucth,
> Doune wayit allace be my wnworthe, resolues and turns to no$^{t.}$ (ll. 14-15)

Craig is opening with a theme which other poets and authors had explored. John Stewart of Baldynneis (1545-1605) sonnet *Of Ambitious Men*, for example, showed that 'presumptuous ambition will result in a fall [and] echoes one of James VI's major philosophical tenets.'[69] The theme is equally appropriate for a lover or an ambitious young man. The rival favoured by the beloved is another conceit which we will encounter again and again in Craig.

> By none of thois for quhy my rivell for I see
> Hes made ane dullfull interdyte betuix my dame and me.
> O happie happie he to liue in suche estaite,
> He come in tyme, curst be the tyme, allace I come too late. (ll.30-33)

The sequence offers an interesting vignette no matter whether it portrays rejected lovers or overlooked courtiers. Any speculation as to which applies should be tempered with the recollection that the poetic self was not necessarily a revelation of the true self. The forlorn lover in 'Craiges passionado' shares many feelings and features with the rejected hermit in *Pilgrime and Heremite*. The early verse, true to its genre, allows the lover to revel in his pain, unchallenged. By the time the more mature Craig was composing his longest work, the dejected,

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[67] Alessandra Petrina, 'Italian Influences at the Court of James VI: The Case of William Fowler' in *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland: Tides of Change 1567-1625,* ed. David J. Parkinson, (Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 27-44, (p.44).
[68] Verweij, 'Poulter's measure', p.300.
[69] R.D.S. Jack, 'The Scottish Sonnet and Renaissance Poetry', (unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1968), pp. 1-2.

rejected lover was finding his pose challenged by a more robust and practical approach.

The language of 'Craiges passionado', as it is transcribed in NLS 19.3.6 is distinctly Scots as evidenced most clearly by the use of 'quh', not the English 'wh', and the 'it' or 'id' verb endings where English would use 'ed'. These usages disappear over the years. There is moderate use of alliteration, 'michtie monarchis mynde'; (l.1), 'Quhilk maks my munting mynde' (l.8); and 'all the duillefull dintes that in despaire cann duell' (l.65) but it does not dominate the work, nor is there the abundant use of classical allusion that we encounter in his later work.

This often-overlooked poem, then, introduces us to Alexander Craig and elements of his poetic practice that persist and develop over the years. It shows us Craig as writing for and in response to his peers and it demonstrates his awareness and engagement with prevailing trends. If it does not suit the taste of the modern critic, it was considered worth preserving by the compiler of one manuscript at least, a well-produced, decorated manuscript whose

> carefully laid-out texts, calligraphic flourishes and particularly its gilded edges suggest this was a presentation manuscript rather than a personal collection, and so [this sequence] may well have enjoyed a certain degree of canonical status, or at the very least, contemporary acclaim.[70]

Craig's contribution to *The Muses Welcome,* 'Great Man of GOD, whom GOD doeth call, and choose'[71] is also composed in poulter's measure, demonstrating again the ability to use the form for more than amatory verse, first seen in *The Poeticall Essayes*. It welcomes the king back to Scotland and describes the pleasures he might expect to find. As we will see, Craig's *Poeticall Essayes* had dwelled on the king's removal to London; here he tries to beguile the monarch into a lengthy stay in 'our cold North' (l.21). He recycles many themes and images from the earlier poetry. Craig was not alone in choosing to employ poulter's measure for this tribute. It was also used by the author of 'A Dedicatorie to their most magnificent King from the Lovers of learning', which opens the volume.

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[70] Verweij, 'Poulter's Measure', p.300.
[71] Laing, *Poetical Works,* Miscellaneous Poems, pp. 3-8.

What does mark Craig's contribution is his use of English. Sixty-two of the verses are composed in Latin, an acknowledgement of the king's love of classical languages, and a demonstration of its continuing widespread use in Scotland. Craig, like William Drummond in 'Forth Feasting', chose not to follow suit. This has the effect of making their contributions stand out. It is impossible to say whether this was intentional or a happy accident.

The recurring theme of the poetry is the unique position of Scotland and the King of Scots:

> It reminds James what it meant to be king of Scots, but it is also directed to the English visitors and subsequent English readers. Some of the vernacular addresses and poems seem to be seizing the chance to educate the English about the Scots self-perception.[72]

Craig had already touched on the subject in *The Poeticall Essayes,* an instance of his ability to voice a prevailing mood. His inclusion in *The Muses Welcome* is an indication that he was considered part of the Scottish literary community, alongside such writers as Alexander Hume and William Drummond.

The shorter uncollected poems are further evidence that Craig was writing and working as part of a network. They are examples of a common practice; it was not unusual for collections to open with a selection of complimentary verses. Craig's 'To A.G., Author of the Theatre of Scotish Kinges' was written for Alexander Garden, an Aberdeen lawyer and poet; and 'In Prais of the Prais-worthie Author' for inclusion in Patrick Gordon's *The Famous Historie of the Renouned And Valiant Prince Robert, surnamed The Bruce, King of Scotland &c.* (Dort: George Waters, 1615).[73] Finally, there is the four-line 'On the Earl of Argyll' which appeared in Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet's *The Staggering Stage of Scots Statesmen for One Hundred Years from 1550 – 1650* which appears to have existed only in manuscript form until 1745.[74] Craig's contribution is a compact, pithy little satire

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[72] Jane Stevenson, 'Adulation and Admonition in *The Muses Welcome'*, in *James VI and I, Literature and Scotland: Tides of Change 1567-1625,* ed. David J. Parkinson,(Leuven: Peeters, 2013), 267-81, (p.270).

[73] A full discussion of these poets, their works and their backgrounds can be found in the introduction to *The Poetical Works,* pp.14-17.

[74] Laing, *Poetical Works,* 'Miscellaneous Poems', p.9.

on Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll who defected to Spain and Catholicism in 1618. These examples are further proof that Craig was part of a loose network of poets writing and publishing at this time.[75] It is interesting none of Craig's printed collections contain such tributes. His *Poeticall Essayes* conclude with a sonnet 'To the Author' by Robert Ayton, and *The Poeticall Recreations 1609,* includes an exchange of sonnets between Craig and Ayton (pp.15-16), but the parade of praise from a selection of admirers is absent. It must remain a matter of conjecture whether Craig modestly chose not to include this feature; if he preferred his collections to include only his own work; or if there were insufficient lines of praise available for publication.

Robert Ayton, with whom Craig collaborated early in his career, is the only other contemporary poet to have works included in Craig's collections, but there is evidence that other poets were aware of, and commented in verse upon, Craig's work. Alexander Gardyne includes a sonnet which is evidently written in response to Craig's *Amorose Songes* in *A Garden of Grave and Godlie Flowers* (1609). It will be considered more fully in my discussion of *The Amorose Songes*.

The poems of tribute Craig composed employ a six-line stanza rhyming ababcc, a form Craig evidently favoured for short verse. It appears frequently in most of his collections and is the dominant form in *The Poeticall Recreations 1623*. The stanza-form is so widely spread, particularly after James VI's endorsement of it in his *Reulis and Cautelis* (1584) as the stanza form of choice for amatory lyric, that it is difficult to spot direct influences or parallels. It will be discussed below with reference to Craig's *Amorose Songes*.

This short survey of Craig's uncollected poetry shows that much of it shares the main features of his printed collections. There are fewer references to ancient literature and less alliteration than we find in his printed works. Thus, by considering them side by side with the work he collected for printing, we see more clearly consistencies and evolutions in Craig's practice as we examine his better-known work.

[75] Further examples of similar verses which might have been addressed to Craig can be found in Laing, *Poetical Works,* pp. 13-15.

The Poeticall Essayes of Alexander Craige Scotobritane (London, 1604)[76]

The Poeticall Essayes was the first selection of Craig's work to appear in print. Dedicated to King James, it is most notable for the opening sequence of poems which deal with the removal of the King and court to London. Early criticism held that Craig's poetry in this volume contains 'a high strain of flattery,' and 'displays […] much pedantic learning.'[77] Before approaching this claim and the verse in *Poeticall Essayes* more generally,we can infer a great deal about Craig and his intentions from the title page and dedications. For the seventeenth-century author, paratext was an essential part of the reading experience.[78] Michael Drayton complained about

> stationers, that […] heue either despitefully left out, or at least carelessly neglected the Epistles to the Readers, and so haue cousoned the Buyers with imperfected Bookes.[79]

Drayton's words, according to Randall Anderson, mean that ignoring these parts of the text leads to an 'inherently defective or incomplete' reading.[80] This is especially true of *The Amorose Songes,* but has relevance for all of Craig's printed titles.

The title itself had been used by Samuel Daniel (1562/3-1619) in 1599 and had echoes of James VI's *Essays of a Prentice in the Diuine Art of Poesie* (1584). Craig's volume of *Essayes* has more in common with the king's than with the English poet's. Daniel's was not a first publication; his *Delia, Complaint of Rosamond* and several historical works had appeared earlier. His *Essayes* were the work of a well-known poet. For Craig, like James, this was a print debut, which Craig acknowledges as he concludes the dedicatory Epistle; he is 'a true and louing Subiect, fearefull as a blushing and onmanumitted Prentice in Poesie'(p.4). This

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[76] Laing, *Poetical Works,*'Poeticall Essayes'
[77] Ibid. p.3.
[78] For the relevant critical investigations into the phenomenon of paratexts, see Genette (1997); Smith and Wilson (2011) and, specifically on Scotland, Reid-Baxter (2008).
[79] Quoted by Randall Anderson, 'The Rhetoric of Paratext in Early Printed Books' in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain Vol. IV 1557-1695,* John Barnard and D.F. McKenzie, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 636-44, (p.637).
[80] Ibid.

flattery of the king echoes the poets who were part of the Scottish court scene prior to 1603 but is disingenuous. Craig might not have been published in print before, but it is reasonable to assume that manuscript copy of his early poetry had been seen.

Craig's self-designation as 'Scotobritane' is very revealing. He was to use this and 'Banfa-britane' at various times.[81] They signal Craig's understanding of himself in the contemporary political and cultural climate. He is recognising his birthplace but also acknowledging the new dynastic reality; Scotland and England are, for the first time, governed by one monarch. It must be remembered that James Stewart's accession to Elizabeth Tudor's throne had not lacked opponents in either kingdom. James had even anticipated that he might need to fight for the English throne on Elizabeth's death.[82] After the Scottish court's move south, Scots and English battled in the streets of London.[83] Yet the king was determined to make this a '"perfect union", which would unite the two nations into a greater whole.'[84] During his personal reign in Scotland, King James had 'developed an elaborate propaganda machine that used a variety of channels of communication.'[85] The court poets were part of this structure, and it is easy to suppose that there was an expectation of poetic endorsement of the regal union and the king's larger project. While poets such as Samuel Daniel are known to have composed welcoming verse,[86] the opening trio of sonnets 'To His Maiestie'[87] echo the impression given in the dedication that many Scots poets had been slow to applaud the Union of the Crowns. In the opening Epistle Craig admits, 'I haue (accomplished Archi-Monarch) with the rest of these Boreo-Britan Poets, been ingrately silent'(p.3). The silence of the Scottish literary community could be read as a reluctance of the writers to endorse the king's ambition of creating one nation out of two. In this respect, the date of publication is not insignificant.
Although James had travelled to London as soon as possible after the death of

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[81] The related coinage 'Boreo-Britan' is used to describe Scots poets in the opening Epistle. See Laing, *Poetical Works,* 'Poetical Essayes', p.2.
[82] Lynch, *Scotland*, p. 225.
[83] Bruce Galloway, *The Union of England and Scotland 1603-1608,* (Edinburgh: John Donald Publishers Ltd, 2003), p.18.
[84] Ibid. p.xix
[85] Ibid., p.238
[86] Allardyce Nicol, *A Book of Masques in honour of Allardyce Nicol,* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967), p.19.
[87] Laing, *Poetical Works,* 'Poetical Essayes', pp. 7-8.

Elizabeth, an outbreak of plague kept the numbers at his coronation in July 1603 low,[88] and prevented him from making his formal entry into London until March 1604.[89] In October 1604, James 'proclaimed himself King of Great Britain [but] not everyone greeted this new title with enthusiasm.'[90] While the king could have used royal prerogative to achieve his aims, he preferred to have parliamentary approval.[91] The House of Commons in London was hostile to the idea, and chose to defer a decision until agreement was reached on governmental union.[92] The Scottish parliament was ambivalent at best.[93] A great many tracts, arguing for and against the change of royal title, were published in both capitals.[94] The appearance of *Poeticall Essayes* at that time, with its overt support for the union, cannot be considered to be coincidental. By signing himself Scotobritane, Craig is aligning himself with the monarch who seeks a new royal title. He is positioning himself as both Scottish and British, and very much the king's man. In addition, the title page notes that the poems were both 'seene and allowed'; permission for their publication had been given in advance, complying with the demands of contemporary English censorship.[95]

Craig's political position was closely aligned with the monarch's. He was employed by George Hume, the first Earl of Dunbar, one of the five members of the Scots Privy Council who advised James in London.[96] He has been called, as stated above, 'James's most intimate adviser.'[97] Craig's livelihood is thus closely dependent on the King's party. It is intriguing at this point to speculate as to whether Craig was indeed publishing purely of his own volition, or if he had been encouraged to create a mild form of propaganda. Perhaps the most credible scenario is that Craig's writing was known to Home who, with the king's knowledge, encouraged its publication. It is possible that this is the 'guid trew

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[88] David M. Bergeron, *Royal Family, Royal Lovers: King James of England and Scotland,* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991), p.71
[89] Ibid. p.3.
[90] Ibid. p.78.
[91] Galloway and Levack, *The Jacobean Union*, p. xix.
[92] Ibid. p.xx.
[93] Ibid. p.xxiv.
[94] Ibid. p. xxviii
[95] Verweij, 'Poulter's Measure', p. 301.
[96] Galloway and Levack, *The Jacobean Union*, p.xiii.
[97] Lee, *Great Britain's Solomon*, p.136.

and thankfull service done […] to his Grace be his belouit servitour Maister Alex[r] Craige'[98] which prompted the granting of his pension.

Unusually in collections of this period, poetry precedes the dedications. 'The Avthor to His Booke' (p.2) immediately follows the title page, an early indication that Craig was not in thrall to conventions. In eighteen lines he cautions the little volume not to fly too high, and to avoid the Court. If that is not possible, however, he hopes that 'Since freindes are few, I pray you breed no foe' (l.18). The distrust of ambition seen in 'Craiges passionado' is echoed and there is a suggestion that Craig is aware that his position is contentious.

The opening poem is concluded by a quotation from the Italian neo-Latinist Giovanni Giovano Pontano, an author to whom Craig will turn frequently in his next volume *Amorose Songes, Sonets and Elegies*. The obligatory modesty topos is evident: 'Airy mountains, pliant fields, woods and your rivers made famous by my songs, because you desired to make me so slender a poet, I resent you, while I burn with the love of great praise.'[99] Craig's choice of passage from Pontano's *Parthenopeus* is interesting: '*Parthenopeus* […] inscribes an act of cultural identity that unfolds against the backdrop of Pontano's assimilation into Neapolitan society.'[100] Craig, like Pontano, is negotiating his own identity 'within a system of distinctions and possibilities'.[101]

The collection proper begins with three sonnets 'To His Maiestie' (pp.7-8). Craig explains his apparent tardiness in praising the king by suggesting in the first sonnet that his 'rusticke Muse' (l.7) was drowned out by voices nearer to the king. Now that they are silent, his voice can be heard. In the second, he humorously likens himself to Melitides, who came late to the defence of Troy:

> Yet in this poynt our kindnes I conione,
> Wee come kind fooles to helpe when all is done. (ll.13-14)

[98]Register of Presentations to Benefices &c. vol.3, f.117[b], reproduced in, Laing, *Poetical Works,* Introduction, p.4.
[99] Translation of the Latin taken from Matteo Soranzo, *Poetry and Identity in Quattrocento Naples,* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), p.
[100] Matteo Soranzo, ' ' Umbria pieridum cultix' (*Parthenopeus,* l.18): Poetry and Identity in Giovanni Giovannio Pontano (1429-1503)', in *Italian Studies,* 67.1 (2012), 23-36, p.23.
[101] Ibid., p.25.

In the third of these sonnets Craig positions himself and his poetry as the blind and lame men at Pompey's feast:

> Wee come from farthest Scotish coastes to thee,
> Some portion of thy royall Feast to finde:
> It rests in thee to welcome Vs therefore,
> And make me rich, that I may beg no more. (ll. 11-14)

Craig has created an interesting little narrative, in which the poet who had been overlooked until he became necessary is happy to praise the king but is frank in his expectation of reward. The opening sonnets, then, can be read as supporting evidence that Craig had indeed been trying to attract attention in Edinburgh, and of the supposition that Craig was asked to publish his *Essayes* in support of the king's project.

The sonnets are followed by eight pages of praise in 'To the Kinges Most Excellent Maiestie: Epistle Congratulatorie & Perænetic' (pp.9-16). It combines compliment and congratulation with a great deal of advice. Craig is recalling the long Scottish poetic tradition of offering advice to the monarch and at the same time aligning himself with the many voices which had celebrated James's new position 'when any individual of worth offered counsel to the new King of the United Kingdom.'[102] The opening passages describe how the king had long lived in hope of the English throne, and assert that James had realised his ambition by God's will, not strategy, war or other device, 'Nor wits nor weirdes thy fortunes bringes about,/ but that eternall prouidence aboue' (ll.23-24). James is reminded that none of the many new honours are greater than the one he has held since childhood,

> Since thou art King of England, Ireland, Fraunce,
> Besides that famous and vnmatch'd renowne
> Of thy vnconquered olde and Scottish Crowne. (ll.28-30)

That Scotland remained 'unconquered' is a favourite theme of Scots writers at the time of the Union of Crowns. They enjoyed pointing out the failure of successive English monarchs to subdue Scotland. Here perhaps it alludes especially to the

[102] Fleming, 'Impact of 1603', p.46.

'Rough Wooing' of the Scots by Elizabeth's father Henry VIII.[103] The tables are now so far turned that the Scots king now even commands Cecil, Elizabeth's most long-serving minister and advisor (l.88). After many pages of classical allusion and advice, Craig closes with the observation that, among the King's many talents and abilities, it is as a poet he most excels:

> Though thou be best, and greatest both of Kinges,
> Mongst Poets all, is none so sweetely singes.
> Thou art the sweetest Musæus of our dayes;
> And I thy Prentice, and must giue thee prayse. (ll.241-44)

The closing section of this lengthy verse epistle echoes the conclusion of the dedicatory epistle which opened the volume; Craig, the 'prentice' offers homage to James, the master.

Craig adopts the Queens voice for the following sonnet, 'The Most Vertvovs and accomplished Prince ANNA, Queene of Britane, Fraunce and Ireland: Complaineth the absence of her Lord and Spous IAMES, King of the foresaid Realmes'(p.17). The reiteration of the newly acquired possessions in the lengthy title reinforces James's claim to be known as King of Great Britain. The sonnet is slightly critical in its tone, however. Anne is 'an Orphane from delight', (l.2). The long wished for prize has deprived her of her spouse, and she is unhappy. 'What wonder I thorough lake of presence pine?/ Worm's haue alace their Sunne, and I want mine.' (ll. 13-14). We are given the impression that delight at James's accession is tempered by grief at his immediate long-term removal to London. The queen and Scotland share the same fate, and the sonnet's sentiments are echoed in the two following poems, 'Scotlands Teares' (pp. 18-20) and 'Calidons Complaint' (pp.21-22). Craig portrays Scotland as the forlorn lover and repeats the phrase, 'Orphane from delight' in 'Scotlands Teares' (l. 9). England may be in mourning for Elizabeth, but Scotland has more cause to weep, as she is left without a monarch:

> What art thou *Scotland* then? no Monarchie allace,
> A oligarchie desolate, with straying and onkow face,

[103] Lynch, *Scotland,* p.xix.

A maimed bodie now, but shaip some monstrous thing,
A reconfused chaos now, a country, but a King. (ll.31-34)

The major cause for complaint is the king's apparent permanent residence in London, many in Scotland hoped that the king would divide his time between the two realms. Peace and unity are the most desired outcomes, however, and antique and scriptural examples of the reconciliation of warring nations point to the conclusion,

And that our louing plaint's and teares may now take end,
Thee to thy Crowns, thy Crowns to thee, the great good God defend.'
(ll.87-88)

There may be criticism, but there is also, eventually, a reluctant acceptance of the inevitable.

'Calidons Complaint' (pp.21-22) bemoans the departure of Queen Anne and Prince Henry to London, undermining the sense of shared identities in 'The Most Vertvovs and accomplished Prince Anna'. Scotland asks, 'And shall no light at all to len vs light be left?' (l.1), voicing the discontent felt by many of those who remained in Scotland. James is reminded that he had travelled himself to Denmark to bring the storm-bound Anne to Scotland and implored to face a less arduous journey from London to visit her and the prince in Edinburgh. Once again, however, the poet accepts the inevitable and Anne is asked to remember Scotland and that she 'was first our Queene'(l.52). Prince Henry is desired to 'Thinke on thy natiue soile with loue' (l.54). Finally, if all three must go to London, then they are commended to God, 'The Trinitie aboue preserue this Trinitie be-low'(l.56).
The sequence of poems continues with 'Elizabeth, Late Queene of England, Her Ghost' (pp.23-24). Craig imagines Elizabeth consoling her bereft subjects; her realms 'haue their lawfull King, the King his crowns againe'(l.14). Those English voices raised against James' accession are being reminded that the crowns are legally his, and that he is by far the best choice, 'A godly Dauid […] a Prophet and a Prince' (l.22).

'Sonet, To his Maiestie of the Vnion of the two famous Realmes *Scotland* and *England*' (p.25) closes the first section of the volume. It makes it clear that the

Union of Crowns is divinely ordained, the king's role is to 'Keepe *Britaine* whole, least it should be ouerthrowne' (l.12) and prays that

> The God of heau'n effect what thou intends,
> And bring thy proiects to their happie ends' (ll.13-14)

Sebastiaan Verweij has observed that the three *diers* in the sequence are not conventional examples of the genre, and comments on the 'sense of vexed urgency on the part of the speaker'. He notes that Craig is taking a risk in putting forward criticism of the king, but this 'sternly reproachful tone' is mitigated by the voice of Elizabeth in the third example.[104] He reads the three *diers* as a sequence, while I would go further and suggest that the first nine poems should be read together as a poetic manifesto of support for the Union of the Crowns, and of the creation of the new state of Britain. The technique of using a variety of styles and forms to create a narrative and develop an argument is something we encounter frequently in Craig, but it is not unique to him. Fleming cites William Dunbar, Alexander Scott and Alexander Montgomerie as prominent forerunners.[105] If Craig was indeed commissioned to create a body of work in support of the king's plans, those who commissioned him must surely have been pleased with the results. A sequence of occasional sonnets to the queen closes the 'royal' part of *Essayes*.

The second part is introduced by a letter 'To the Vertvovs and Accomplished Sir Iames Hay Knight, one of his Highnes most royall bed-chambers' (p.29). It announces the theme of the remainder of the volume: infidelity and betrayal, in both love and friendship. He describes himself as one who 'from a luckless louer, become and infortunate Poet [who has] determined with Courage, to write ditties against my riuall.' The conventional flattery and supplication which close this epistle show that Craig is hoping Hay will support him in his attempt to establish himself as a poet, and perhaps assist him to a position at court. It is impossible at this distance of time to separate the biographical from the adopted persona. The similarity of theme between the epistle, the poetry which follows, and 'Craiges passionado' suggest that he is still ambitious, and still hoping for a place in the royal household.

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[104] Verweij, 'Poulter's Measure', pp.
[105] Fleming, 'Impact of 1603', p.32.

'To His Calidonian Mistris' (pp.38-41) deviates from this theme. In it, the writer is promising that his devotion to his lover has not been lessened by absence:

> From *Venus* sports I doo indeed abstaine,
> For am I now as I was woont so vaine:
> Chast *Dians* laws I do adore for good. (ll.69-71)

Wherever he goes, he is reminded of the lover left behind:

> And where those time-worne monuments had beene,
> Where nought remains but ruines to be seene:
> Yet in my hart moe wracks, moe wayes I fand,
> Then can be made by any humane hand.
> And all these wondrous wonders which I see,
> Makes me but wonder more and more on thee. (ll.55-60)

The title and the fairly detailed descriptions of the various English sites he has visited suggest a political as well as a personal reading. In the early part of *Poeticall Essayes* Craig has portrayed himself as a Briton of Scottish origin. These lines to 'His Calidonian Mistris' might be an answer to the earlier 'Calidon's Complaint' and addressed as much to Scotland as to a lover he left there.

Formally, *Poeticall Essayes* is dominated by long verses in poulter's measure interspersed with sonnets. He uses both forms to develop his themes, setting out a case in poulters measure, then summing it up in a sonnet. This can be clearly seen in 'To his Anonim Friend and Mistres: Palinode' and the sonnet which follows (pp.34-36). The theme heralded in 'To Sir Iames Hay' is developed in these words: 'Thus looke from sex to sex, no fayth nor truth remains' (l.37).Men and women are both capable of betrayal, as Craig has found. The first line of the sonnet, 'I some time had a Mistres, and a Friend' is taken from the longer poem, and the subject and tone of each is the same. The love he pledged has gone, and the promises made retracted.

The first sequence in this volume, which sets out the case for the union, is also opened and closed by sonnets, which succinctly put the argument developed in the longer sections. This anticipates the mixing of verse form which we find in much of Craig's writing, especially in *Pilgrime and Heremite*. In considering his

use of form, it is interesting that, despite declaring himself to be King James's 'onmanumitted Prentice in Poesie', Craig does not use the king's preferred rhyming sequence in his sonnets. This king's man has enough poetic self-confidence to choose for himself.

Poeticall Essayes is replete with imagery and allusion drawn from ancient texts. Greco-Roman predominates, but there is some use of biblical themes. James is portrayed as another Noah ('To the Kinges Most Excellent Maiestie', ll. 13-18), the re-uniting of Juda and Israel is given as a model for the union of Scotland and England ('Scotland's Teares', l.86), and Britain is 'The onely earthly Eden now' ('Elizabeth, Late Queene of England', l.16). The abundance of classical allusion which is such a prominent feature of Craig's writing was remarked on by his contemporaries. In the closing sonnet, 'To the Author' (p.45), Robert Ayton suggests that Craige is the rock (craig) on which the muses were confined. Craig's writing does not portray him as a particularly committed or convinced Christian. Some Christian sentiments, mostly wishing the king and royal family well, are found, but these are conventional phrases, the language of everyday, unthinking piety. Lines such as 'Thee to thy Crowns, thy Crowns to thee, the great good God defend' ('Scotlands Teares', l.88), and 'The God of heav'n effect what thou intends,/ And bring thy proiects to their happie ends' ('Sonet, To His Maiestie on the Vnion of the two famous Realmes', ll.13-14) do not give the impression of being anything more than figures of speech. There is nothing here to make Craig stand out among his contemporaries as particularly devout. Nor does he appear as a vocal adherent of a particular side of the confessional debate which was still being played out in both countries.

Poeticall Essayes has shown us a poet who enjoys experimenting with different forms, developing themes within formal constraints, and who is confident enough to make unconventional use of his chosen form. Craig followed fellow Scots who did not always put the sonnet to orthodox Petrarchan use,[106] while his use of poulter's measure has been seen to 'deviate considerably from the

[106] Michael R.G.Spiller, 'The Scottish Court and the Scottish Sonnet at the Union of Crowns', in *The Rose and the Thistle: essays on the culture of late medieval and Renaissance Scotland,* ed. Sally Mapstone and Juliette Wood, (East Linton: Tuckwell, 1998), 101-115.

blueprint'.[107] Politically and socially, Craig is secure enough in his position to criticise the king. Craig is drawing on a long Scottish tradition of 'advice to the monarch', exemplified by such works as David Lindsay's '*Satyre of the Thrie Estatis'*. He is familiar with vernacular as well as classical predecessors. This examination of *Poeticall Essayes* has uncovered a poet who enjoyed experimenting with form, but whose subject matter and imagery were somewhat derivative.

The Amorose Songes, Sonets and Elegies of M. Alexander Craige, Scoto-Britane (London, 1606)[108]

This is the collection which has drawn most critical attention to Craig; its merits as a sonnet sequence have been widely discussed. *The Amorose Songes* comprises more than the sonnet collection, however. A letter 'To my Honorable good Lord and Maister (the true Maecenas of my Muse) George Earle of Dunbar, Lord Barwick, high Tresurar of Scotland' (pp.145-147) indicates the beginning of a second, shorter section of the volume. Previous generations of critics have prioritised the sonnet sequence and overlooked these verses. It will be necessary to consider them in order to create a picture of the entirety of Craig's output.

Critics' tendency to concentrate on the sonnets means that there has been little or no discussion of the dedications, Latin tags and other paratext. As we have seen, these were, for the seventeenth-century author, an integral part of the reading experience. Craig seeds his paratext with many clues to his self-identity as a poet and amplifies the poetic narrative by means of the Epistles which introduce the eight female personae who have inspired him, and by suffixing Latin couplets to many of the sonnets. This dissertation, therefore, will concentrate on the insights to be gained from these elements of the text while not completely overlooking the poetry.

The author's name is given as M. Alexander Craig Scotobritane. The only slight change from *The Poeticall Essayes* is the 'M.', indicating his graduate status.

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[107] Verweij, 'Poulter's Measure', p.317.
[108] Laing, *Poetical Works,* 'The Amorose Songes, Sonets and Elegies of Alexander Craige Scoto-Britane'

If we accept Arthur F. Marotti's claim that publication of a sonnet sequence was, among other things,

> the occasion for socially, economically and politically importunate [men] to express their unhappy condition in the context of a display of literary mastery.[109]

we can see a further attempt to consolidate his social position, and perhaps to gain preferment. Josephine Roberts' identification of the court women concealed in the *Amorose Songes* shows Craig to be familiar with the circles around the monarch and his family. As an employee of Dunbar, Craig seems to have been around the court, if not part of it. Like *The Poeticall Essayes,* this collection is prefaced by a quotation from Giovanni Giovano Pontano's *Parthenopeus:*

> I should be happy that my life at first directed me to tender elegies, and my Carmena sang to its proper lyre, and Fannia first admired the tender verses, which love, softening my heart dictated, before Umbria considered me an exotic poet and the amorous reader delighted in my song.[110]

Throughout the sonnet sequence, we find Latin mottoes from a variety of writers, but Giovanni Giovano Pontano (1426-1503) predominates. Lines, mainly from his *Parthenopeus,* conclude many of the verses. Many of Craig's first readers would be aware that Pontano was a native of Umbria, who made his name serving at the court of the Aragonese kings of Naples in a variety of roles.[111] Just as Craig emphasised his joint Scottish/British identity, Pontano described himself as Umbrian until he became a citizen of Naples.[112] Craig has chosen a quotation from a poet who, like him, had moved from a rustic environment to a sophisticated court – he mentions 'my rusticke Muse' ('Sonet. To His Maiestie' in *Poeticall Essayes,* p.7).

For Michael R.G. Spiller, who describes Craig as 'an extremely prolific

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[109] Arthur F. Marotti, ' "Love is Not Love": Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences and the Social Order', *English Literary History,* 49.2 (1982), 396-428, (p.408).
[110] Translation of the Latin taken from Matteo Soranzo, *Poetry and Identity in Quattrocento Naples,* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014).
[111] "Giovanni Pontano." *Britannica Academic,* Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1 Dec. 2009. Academic-eb-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/levels/collegiate/article/Giovanni-Pontano/60790. Accessed 18 Feb. 2020.
[112] Matteo Soranzo, ' 'Umbria pieridum cultrix' (*Parthenopeus,* I.18): Poetry and Identity in Giovanni Gioviano Pontano (1429-1503)' in *Italian Studies,* 67:1 (2012), 23-36, (p.25).

sonneteer', the unusual features of *The Amorose Songes* prevented it from being considered a sonnet sequence.[113] Josephine Roberts contradicts this view, referring to the collection as a sequence in her opening sentence of her 1986 paper.[114] In the opinion of R.D.S. Jack, *The Amorose Songes* is 'a sequence which successfully combines the interest of story and philosophy, while setting Petrarchanism in a true perspective, as one among many valid attitudes to love.'[115] In doing so Craig demonstrates a 'racy narrative style' creating a

> forceful contribution [which] though imperfect is surely more valuable than the timid Petrarchan echoings of some respectable minor English sonneteers.[116]

Jack points out ways in which this sequence differs from earlier Scottish sonnet collections, while 'not denying the validity of a Petrarchan attitude to love'[117] and challenges previous critical assessments of *Amorose Songes*:

> Earlier critics have failed to realise the importance of this sequence, partially because they did not see its historical position as a reaction against Fowler, Alexander and Murray. This was coupled with a serious failure to understand many of the stylistic and thematic principles behind Craig's verse.[118]

Jack believes that a lack of understanding of Scottish metre, a failure to appreciate Craig's use of composite terms, and a mistaken view of his use of classical allusion led critics to miss an important insight. What some called pedantic, Jack calls a similar use of material as that made by the metaphysical poets; Craig is a 'Scottish Wyatt.'[119]

It must be remembered that the Scottish sonnet tradition had long demonstrated its own characteristics which included 'an original, highly personal attitude to love.' In addition, 'the unrelenting melancholy of the Italians, the lax

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[113] Spiller, 'Scottish Court and Scottish Sonnet', p.114.
[114] Josephine A. Roberts, ' "Contraries by Conttraries": The Artistry of Alexander Craig's Sonnets' in *Studies in Scottish Literature,*21.1 (1986), 119-34, (p.119).
[115] Jack, 'The Poetry of Alexander Craig.' p.378.
[116] Jack, 'Scottish Sonnet' p.15.
[117] Jack, 'The Poetry of Alexander Craig.' p.378.
[118] Ibid.
[119] Ibid, pp.378-379.

moral code of the French and the love-lust conflict of the English' had all been rejected by King James in his self-appointed role as arbiter of poetic practice in Scotland.[120] In *The Amorose Songes,* Craig allows lust its place in the range of sensations and emotions which create the amorous experience. Heather Dubrow cites Craig's cast of 'fickle ladies […] émigrées from the households – and more to the point, the bedrooms - of Latin elegies' as an example of the ways in which Scottish Petrarchism differs from the English tradition.[121] Craig's extensive Latin scholarship has helped create the characters of his muses, and his fondness for classical tales would make him comfortable with the depiction of lust. The most striking feature of *Amorose Songes* is that it does not follow convention in celebrating a poet's love of one woman. Craig's sonnets are variously dedicated to eight women, and together create a narrative which explores the variety of types and moods of love.[122]

> As Craig explains in the introductory epistle "To the Reader," he includes a mixture of chaste and unchaste figures, as well as mingling of the English and Scottish tongues to illuminate the different types of love. This mixture allows Craig to include greater variety within the sonnet cycle, as he explores the emotional spectrum that lies between extreme adoration and contemptuous revulsion.[123]

Like Jack, Josephine Roberts also sees metaphysical traits. Craig's poems to Lais

> [examine] physical passion with a metaphysical style that combines the colloquial immediacy of Donne with the concrete, classical imagery of Jonson.[124]

The collection is dedicated to the queen who is addressed in the extravagant complimentary terms of the age (pp. 3-8). A wealth of classical learning amplifies the modesty topos. The queen is 'royall god-mother' (p.5) to the verses, which 'it is your Princely pleasure to protect' (p.6). Craig states that 'My Sonnets and

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[120] Ibid, p.143.
[121] Heather Dubrow, *Echoes of Desire: English Petrarchism and its Counterdiscourses,* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p59.
[122] Roberts, ' "Contraries by Conttraries", p120.6
[123] Ibid.
[124] Ibid., pp. 129-130

Songes are […] for the most part, full of complaints, sorrow and lamentations. The reason is, I was maister of my Verses, but Fortune Mistris of my Rewards' (pp.6-7). This might refer to the rewards of love, but we can detect a suggestion that Craig might have expected greater recognition than he received for *The Poeticall Essayes*, giving weight to the premise that he published them at the suggestion of either the King or Dunbar. *The Poeticall Essayes* were dedicated to the king; he might now hope for a better reward from Anne, whose 'munificens and frequent benefites bestowed vpon me' (p.7) have influenced his choice of patron. Craig might also have judged that this collection, which celebrates love, might be more properly addressed to a female. Roberts suggests that Craig intended Anne to be identified with '"Idea", a woman who symbolizes Platonic perfection.'[125] In the signature to this epistle to Anne, Craig repeats the 'Scoto-Britane' of the title page and of the *Essayes*, signalling that he is maintaining his dual Scottish/British identity in addressing the queen.[126]

'Epistle generall' (pp.9-10) is addressed to the eight muses who have inspired the verse. He relates (and embellishes) an anecdote found in Plato[127] about the Greek painter Zeuxis, whose striving for realism in his work is well attested by ancient sources, although none of his painting survives.[128] Craig is using the anecdote to signal that he is intending to describe love in a real and authentic way, moving away from the rather two-dimensional approach that we find in 'Craiges passionado'. Craig would not be the first to try to portray a sophisticated attitude to love in poetry. Centuries earlier, French writers had introduced a

> new spirit of realism [into] the lyric [in which] the lady is a target of criticism […] just as much as an angel to be worshipped.[129]

Craig attempted something new in addressing eight muses in one collection, but Ronsard (1524-1585) had 'celebrate[d] his meetings with Cassandre, Marie, Helene and Astree'.[130] Fidelity to one woman was not an absolute requirement.
This letter, then, makes the reader aware that *The Amorose Songes* sequence is a

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[125] Ibid. p.121.
[126] Ibid, p. 119.
[127] William A.P.Childs, *Greek Art and Aesthetics in the Fourth Century B.C.* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2018), p.299.
[128] Ibid. p.139.
[129] Jack, 'The Scottish Sonnet', p.72.
[130] Ibid. p.75.

departure from the Elizabethan norm. Craig signs this epistle, 'Your louing, but rude Zeuxis. A.C. Banfa-Britan,' another allusion to the Scottish roots which are part of his British identity. The Elizabethan era is finished; Craig has embraced the new Jacobean age in *The Poeticall Essayes;* this epistle is the first indication that he is offering a new approach to what had become a jaded genre. Marotti's observations on Elizabethan sonneteers is damning:

> Some desperate poetasters and socially pretentious gentlemen virtually made a travesty of the practice by mishandling the task of composing sonnet collections.[131]

Jack is less severe, but nevertheless is aware that the Elizabethan vogue for sonnet writing had produced some inferior examples:

> In an age when every lovesick courtier felt obliged to express his passion in sonnet form, it is not surprising that the genre became identified with inferior art. When so many people laughed at its conventions […] it was difficult for the good poet to use it as a vehicle for serious expression.[132]

Craig has embraced the challenge. As detailed below, in *The Amorose Songes* he consciously sets out to evolve the nature of sonnet sequences by introducing experiments and aspects of other traditions to the pallid Elizabethan style.

In 'To the Reader' (p.11.) Craig cites Mæonides (i.e., Homer) as an impeccable precedent for mixing dialects in his poetry. Unable to emulate 'that renowned Hellenist Homer', Craig explains his use of both Scots and English in his verse: 'the one as innated, I can not forget; the other as a stranger I can not vpon the sodaine acquire.' This speaks of a sense of displacement, which must inform our understanding of the 'Scotobritane'. Perhaps he is not yet fully comfortable with his assumed persona. He goes on to defend his inclusion of the 'vnchast' verses to Lais by asserting that they are intended to make the rest of the poetry seem less 'faulty'. We can deduce that he considers the publication of these poems to be something of a calculated risk. They are a necessary and integral part

[131] Arthur F.Marotti, ' "Love is Not Love": Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences and the Social Order' *ELH,* 49.2 (1982), 396-428, (p.408).
[132] Jack, 'The Scottish Sonnet', p.87

of the sequence but might offend some sensibilities. *Amorose Songes* was published in London, where the reader was not used to depictions of physical love:

> Lust was passed over in euphemistic terms by the Italians, accepted joyously by the French. Only the English see it as "filthy."[133]

By using the language issue to remind us that he is not English, Craig has paved the way for a very non-English approach to the portrayal of sex as part of the game of love.

The individual addresses to the eight muses (pp. 12-22) are headed by the letter to Idea (pp.12-13), the ideal woman, the muse who has the most sonnets dedicated to her. Roberts suggests this offers Craig the 'opportunity to describe his relationship to the queen as the highest example of chaste love.'[134] The tone and manner of address here is deferential and he concludes this epistle by describing himself as 'Idea's euer obliged and vnmanumissible slaue'. Tone and language register change according to the muse addressed. 'To Kala' (p.16) is written in a more straightforward style than 'To Idea', for example. Each missive is signed differently, and the simplicity of 'Thine till death: Craige' with which he concludes 'To Kala' conveys a sincerity which the others lack. Significantly, 'To Lais' (p.17) is unsigned. The letter repeats the assertion that he only includes the verses to her in order to make those written to the other muses appear 'less faulty.' He would otherwise wish them lost. He is ashamed of 'his frailty' and 'nor crauing, nor carefull of thy acceptance, O Lais, I cease to serve, or more to be Thine.' The reader is expected to believe that the relationship is over, and that the poet is ashamed of it.

Most of the eight muses would be familiar to Craig's readers. Idea, the 'symbol of Platonic perfection', had her genesis in the work of Michael Drayton (*Idea*, 1593, *Idea's Mirror* 1594) and Claude de Pontoux (*L'Idee,* 1597). Cynthia, Pandora, Penelope, have classical inspiration, Lithocardia (heart of stone) and Erantina are new coinages, and Kala (beautiful one) is taken from *Arcadia*.[135] Craig is making use of existing concepts and welding them into something new.
Each of the individual dedications is replete with examples taken from ancient

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[133] Ibid. p.81
[134] Roberts, ' "Contraries by Conttraries", p.121.
[135] Ibid.

literature and each is closed with a Latin quotation. This is a recurring feature throughout *Amorose Songes* and one which not only shows off Craig's learning, but gives away a great deal as far as his attitude to these 'women' is concerned. Comprehensive examination, translation and identification of these mottoes is beyond the scope of this dissertation but might be fruitfully pursued by a Latin scholar. Research into a few, however, has yielded some information about poets who influenced and inspired Craig. For example, the single line, followed by an apparent couplet, attached to the dedication 'To Lais' (p.17) encompasses, and adapts, the work of three Latin poets.

'O miseri quorum gaudia crimen habent'

'Oh you wretched, whose joys are tainted with guilt'

is taken from the sixth century Latin poet Maximian, or Pseudo-Gallus. The sensual nature of the sonnets to Lais are of a tone with Maximian's erotic verses, but the quoted passage echoes the dedication, in voicing guilt and regret. The second part of the motto is more complex.

'Dum furtiva dedit nigra munuscula nocte
Me tenet, absentes alios suspirat amores.'

'While she had given by night the stolen gift of delight
She holds me, sighs for someone who is an absent love'

Here, Craig joins the work of two writers. The first line is adapted from Montaigne (1533-1592), the first word in the source being '*si'* or 'if', which here becomes '*dum'* or 'while'. The second line is taken from the Roman poet Tibullus (55-19 BC). Again the opening word has been changed. The source reads '*Te tenet',* Craig has made this '*Me tenet.'* Craig has taken ideas and words and adapted them for his own purposes, making the message more personal and intimate in the process. Intertextuality is not unique to Craig, but this little trio of lines shows his ability to use and adapt, to merge and unify, ideas from a variety of pens and ages.

Virgil and Ovid also feature, and at times the closing Latin seems to point forward to the next sonnet. The so far unidentified line '*Coecus amor superos superat, lithocardia amorem'* immediately follows Sonnet 2, 'To Lais,' yet has

more in common with Sonnet 3, 'To Lithocardia'. Blind love references Cupid, who is being sought in Sonnet 3 and the 'stone heart' *lithocardia* to whom sonnet 3 is written. It is important to note that Craig's use of Latin seems to be purposeful and designed to do more than demonstrate his wide reading; it amplifies the message of the sonnets. Craig's intended audience was an educated elite whose ability to read and recognise the Latin mottoes would give them an insight to the text denied to most modern readers. In addition, Pontano's 'innovative reuse of ancient models'[136] might provide an example for Craig, who sought inspiration everywhere from antiquity to his present but who appears to be attempting to refashion and reanimate older styles.

We can see that in *Amorose Songes,* just as in *Essayes*, Craig has left clues about how he viewed himself and what he was trying to achieve. By likening himself to Zeuxis he has indicated that he is attempting a new, more realistic, approach to poetry, and specifically to the sonnet sequence. He is trying to move away from the idealised, two-dimensional woman of the Petrarchan tradition. Equally, he can be understood to be describing love in a more natural way with its variety and difficulties explored. Unrequited love is only part of the picture; the conflicting, shamefaced feelings for 'Lais' are as authentic and important as the chaste worship of 'Idea', and the feelings for the other muses illustrate the variety of emotions between these extremes.[137]

Another anecdote about Zeuxis raises an intriguing possibility. In attempting to paint a picture of Helen of Troy, the painter is said to have employed five different women as sitters, each of whom displayed one 'perfect' physical characteristic. It would not be possible to find perfection in one sitter, but by combining the five, he could depict that most beautiful of women. It is possible that, for Craig, the eight muses together create the most realistic depiction of womanhood. Zeuxis' composition was intended to depict perfection. Are Craig's eight muses together intended to describe reality? There is irony in the fact that both the painter and the poet could only ever create an artful illusion. -

[136] Sozano, Poetry and Identiy, p.25.
[137] Roberts, ' "Contraries by Conttraries"', p.120.

The first known review of *The Amorose Songes* was published by Alexander Gardyne in 1609.[138]

Alex. Rupeo. Suo, S.

Kind, Cunning, Crag, I can nought bot commend,
Thy wondrous wit, thy Judgement, thy Ingyne,
For thy attempts, brought to so braue an end,
Bewrayes thee for, none wordly, bot divine,
And if thou lift, from Men to lead thy Line,
Or brwik, that they, thy first for-Beares ware

Then'cording too, this Judgement meane of mine,
Thee to no Craig, nor Petra, I compare,
Bot I avow, proclame, and does declare,
Thee (th'only he, that sol'deserues the same,)
That learned old, the great Petrarchas heare,
He was the Craig, of whom, thou (Sandie) came.
For with thy works, that worthie thou reuiu's,
And by thy lines, his Ladie Laura liues

This fulsome praise is consistent with the type of complimentary verse discussed above, and the final two lines suggest knowledge of Craig's intentions. Petrarch's heroine was idealised, whereas Craig's women are realistic.

An examination of Craig's use of poetic form uncovers skilful use of formal variety. Sonnet sequences are often punctuated by other forms, a practice which Craig adopts. 'To Kala' (p.59), 'To frowning Cynthia' (p.74) and 'To Lais' (p.77) demonstrate the use of a six-line stanza, rhyming ababcc which Craig employed frequently throughout his career, and which King James's *Reulis and Cautelis* had decreed to be most appropriate for portrayal of romantic love. He uses two octets to address Cynthia (p.80), and, intriguingly, creates dramatic dialogue in sonnet form, where his poetic persona describes feelings of despair when he hears of Idea's demise, in 'At the newes of Ideas death, Dialogue twixt the Poets Ghost and

[138] Alexander Gardyne, *Gardyne's Garden of Grave and Godlie Flowers: Sonnets, Elegies and Epitaphs,* (Edinburgh: Abbotsford Club, 1845).

Charon' (p.85) and 'An other Dialogue to the same purpose'. (p.86)

His closing salutations are written in a variety of forms, from the sonnet 'Farewell to Lais' (p.117), via his favoured sextets in 'A sparing farewell to Kala', (p.118), to the long 'Elegie to Kala' (pp.121-124). Poulter's measure makes its appearance towards the end of the sequence; Craig appears to find it most effective for giving full expression to his ideas, allowing a fuller exposition of concepts that were distilled in the sonnets.

As has been mentioned, R.D.S. Jack considers Craig's ability to create a strong narrative as one of the strengths of this sequence. In his doctoral thesis, he separates

> the various strands of narrative by isolating in turn the sequences to Idea, Erantina, Kala and Lais [and demonstrates that Craig depicts] the descent of a moral staircase from ideal love to whoredom.[139]

Craig is drawing on Scottish precedent. The creation of a narrative had been seen already in Fowler; Stewart of Baldynneis provides a model for the dramatization of the Charon sonnets,

> But even more noticeable are the apt unusual parallels, mostly drawn from classical authors, with which he reinforces his arguments.[140]

This preoccupation with classical example prevents Craig from appearing as a 'passionate man or poet.'[141] This is not true in the Kala sequence, however. Jack detects

> a note of true love piercing through the thick web of classical myth and platonic theorizing. Only in her company does the poet forget himself enough to compose for her as well as about her.[142]

This love of classical example and philosophical posturing creates the biggest barrier between the modern reader and *The Amorose Songes*. For, while Craig used the classics widely in most of his collections, the density, variety and obscurity of these references in *The Amorose Songes* is remarkable. Jack's able defence of

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[139] Jack, 'Scottish Sonnets', p.405.
[140] Ibid. p.411.
[141] Ibid. p.419.
[142] Ibid. p.420.

Craig's ability to match a classical anecdote to any situation[143] overlooks the fact that the modern reader, ignorant of the context, is unable to appreciate how apt they are. Craig was writing for a different age, a fact that is most apparent in his sonnet sequence.

The final twelve pages of *The Amorose Songes* contains a discrete collection of verses, which complement, but do not repeat, the themes of the sonnet sequence. Two dedications indicate that this section is distinct and separate from the sonnets. 'To my Honorable good Lord and Maister' (pp.145-7) and 'To the Reader' (p.148-150) precede the poetry. As always, the attentive reader can glean information from them. George, Earl of Dunbar, is addressed as 'the true Mæcenas of my Muse'. In *The Poeticall Essayes*, Craig has used that appellation for King James. The idea that Craig has been disappointed by the king's reaction to *The Poeticall Essayes* is reinforced by the poet's description of himself as 'spendthrift, unwisely liberall; more prone to propine Presents' (p.145), which might indicate that his dedication to James had not proved profitable. He speaks too of a 'greater taske' which has been delayed by the waste of time on 'these amorose and idle toyes.' (p.146). It is tempting to believe that the 'greater taske' is the composition of *Pilgrime and Heremite,* thus suggesting that Craig had worked on it over a long period of time.

The poetry in this section demonstrates again Craig's ability to use different forms to explore themes and create a narrative. It is also an excellent example of intertextuality. Craig has created two narratives, one which depicts the wooing of Lesbia by Alexis, and one which seems to repudiate romantic entanglement. In the Alexis and Lesbia sequence, Craig, like Walter Raleigh, John Donne and others, is responding to Christopher Marlowe's *The Passionate Shepherd to his Love*. This section of *Amorose Songes* attracted critical attention long before the sonnets were noticed. Henry John Todd included some extracts in his *Notes to Milton's Poetical Works* (London: 1801) with the remark that they 'deserved attention.'[144] 'Alexis to Lesbia' (pp.151-3) opens with 'Come be my Loue, and liue with mee,' an inversion of the opening line of *The Passionate Shepherd.* The elements of pastoral verse are well represented: mountain and valley (s.2), floral garlands

[143] Ibid. p.14.
[144] Quoted in Laing, *Poetical Works,* Introduction, p.7.

(ss.3-4), ruins (ss. 6-7) rivers, nymphs, sea and ocean, (ss. 8-13) all feature. The speaker is not materially wealthy, but nevertheless has much to offer:

> Then shalt thou see my homlie fare,
> And what poore riches I haue thare. (s.14, ll.1-2)

The rejection which follows in 'Lesbia her answer to Alexis' (p. 154) and his continued persuasion (pp.155-159) reach a happy ending when Lesbia declares 'I am thine sworne, and I shall seale/ What I have sayd' ('Lesbia her answer', ll. 15-16.) Three distinct forms are employed in this sequence. The first two parts use the same four-line form as *The Passionate Shepherd*. The lover's continued pleas ('A new perswasion to Lesbia' and 'A Letter to Lesbia shewing his discontents') move to a longer stanza using rhyming couplets each of four feet. The sentiments of the last two are condensed into the 'Sonet to Lesbia', which is ultimately successful.

This compact little sequence encapsulates much of Craig's practice. The use of a number of forms in the creation of a narrative, the response to the work of another poet, and the exploration of the vicissitudes of love combine successfully to create a series of verses which maintain the simplicity of the pastoral genre. There are similarities here to Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* and Craig borrowed names from Sidney for the following verses.

The happy conclusion of the Alexis/Lesbia sequence is not repeated in Craig's final two poems. 'Codrvs Complaint and Farewell to Kalatibia' (pp. 161-3) and 'Codrvs his reconciliation to his heart, after he hath abiured Kalatibia' (pp. 164-5) have a more melancholy tone and resolution. The setting is pastoral, but the theme is that of the rejected lover. All the pain and unhappiness of 'Craiges passionado' are revisited. 'Codrvs Complaint' is written as if overheard by a narrator, however, as opposed to the first-person narration of the earlier work. Craig will use both of these techniques in *Pilgrime and Heremite*. 'Codrvs his reconciliation to his heart' is written in the persona of Codrus, welcoming his heart back 'like the prodig child' (s.1 l.1). After its amorous adventures the heart has returned to safety; to a place where 'Loue shall not looke in' (s.4. l.3). Experience teaches wisdom and the heart is advised: 'Then let thine owne misfortuns make thee wise' (s.6. l.4).

The two Codrus poems use different forms, indicating that different speakers tell different parts of the same tale. The ending is not happy, it might even be read as bitter. The sonnet sequence showed that the experience of love is widely varied. That message is reinforced by the final few poems. Alexis and Lesbia have their differences but are rewarded with a happy ending. Codrus's experience is quite otherwise.

The Amorose Songes is a more sophisticated volume than *The Poeticall Essayes*. The 'apprentice' of 1604 has made his contribution to a genre that was at once a 'socially respectable enterprise'[145] and medium for

> the courtly striving for the rewards available in hierarchical societies that functioned according to systems of patronage and that allowed (at least limited) forms of social mobility.[146]

Craig's hints that he had hoped for better reward for his efforts in *The Poeticall Essayes* provide one reason for the composition of *The Amorose Songes*. Attention to paratext offers social and literary insight which cannot be had to the reader who chooses only to consider the poems.

Analysis of the poetry shows Craig's ability to develop themes and ideas using a variety of forms. Longer forms such as poulter's measure allow him to expand and develop his thinking, which he can condense using shorter forms such as the sonnet. Craig has used more than Elizabethan English precedent in his composition. He has drawn on French and Scottish as well as classical and neo-Latin traditions in an attempt to revitalise the sonnet sequence. In *The Poeticall Essayes,* he celebrated the new Jacobean age. In *The Amorose Songes,* he might be said to be attempting to develop a new British Jacobean poetic. In both sections of *The Amorose Songs* Craig is creating a narrative which challenges the norm of the chaste, thwarted lover longing only for death. This challenge will be more extensively developed in *Pilgrime and Heremite*.

A picture is emerging of a self-consciously innovative poet familiar both with the literature of the ancients and of the writers of his own day. His ideas are not

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[145] Marotti, ' "Love is Not Love"', p.408.
[146] Ibid. p.398.

original, but his use of recent and antique traditions together with his willingness to explore the boundaries of form and genre create a recognisable poetic style.

The Poetical Recreations of Mr. Alexander Craig of Rosecraig, 1609.[147]

The first collection of poetry with the title *Poetical Recreations* is a much more miscellaneous collection than either *Essayes* or *Amorose Songes.* The two earlier collections concluded with a mixed selection of poetry, having opened with a sequence of verse that showed evidence of arrangement and narrative progression. There is nothing comparable in the 1609 *Recreations.* Nevertheless, it has features in common with earlier work. Like his *Poeticall Essayes,* this and the 1623 volume of the same name allude to the king's own publications. In 1591, James had had printed *His Majesties Poeticall Exercises at Vacant Houres.* The king's title implied that literature was now a pastime as opposed to a major preoccupation.[148] In using the word 'recreations', Craig is making similar inferences for his own writing.

Despite its disparate matter and apparent lack of any thematic arrangement, there is information for those willing to read between and behind the lines. In terms of self-identity, Craig has abandoned the 'Scoto-Britane' of the London publications. He is now 'of Rosecraig', the property he acquired in his home town of Banff after retiring from the English court. Readers familiar with his previous books might infer that he is more interested in advertising his accession to the 'lairdly' class than demonstrating his commitment to the king's ambition of uniting his two realms. The book was printed in Edinburgh, by the king's printer, Thomas Finlason, supporting the supposition that Craig was now entirely resident in Scotland. The move may have been caused by his employment. Dunbar was responsible for much of Scotland's administration, and may have chosen to make use of Craig in Edinburgh. Alternatively, it may have been a result of the dislike of the court affected in a number of the pieces.

The first volume of *Recreations* opens with a dedication to Dunbar (pp.3-4)

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[147] Laing, *Poetical Works,* 'The Poetical Recreations, 1609'
[148] William Calin, *The Lily and the Thistle: the French Tradition and the Older Literature of Scotland: Essays in Criticism,* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014), p.243.

which is reminiscent of the dedication which opens the second section of *Amorose Songes*. Craig acknowledges that in both cases these are mixed assortments of verse, one selection relegated to the end of the *Amorose Songes* 'for their methodles and irregular unhandsomenes' (p.146), the other described as 'foolish rymes' in the *Recreations* (p.4). In *The Poeticall Recreations'* uncharacteristically short message 'To the Reader' (p.5) Craig asks that the 'methodlesse placing of these Passions' be excused. While modest disclaimers are a traditional part of opening addresses, in this case they are partially justified. Craig's claim that the poems appear in the order in which he wrote them, however, might be less than candid. Of the first six, four are addressed to the king, and all bemoan Craig's 'hard Fortunes in England' (p.8). The recurring themes are poverty and romantic rejection. The final stanza of 'Complaint to His Majestie' summarises the message:

> Yet might these two reward me if they wold,
> And purge me both from povertie and Paine:
> She with good wil, my royall Syre with gold,
> And so preserue, and saue their slaue vn-slane.
> With modest looks, and silent sighs I serue,
> The shameless begger thriu's, and yet I sterue. (p.8)

If 'Craiges passionado' and other early verse were using the rejected lover as a metaphor for the overlooked courtier, he is now explicit in declaring that both king and lover are distinct but equal causes of his troubles.

'To His Majestie in Name of his Noble Master' (P.10) is the most intriguing of the six. It's premise seems to be that this 'Master' (presumably Dunbar) is being sent from court: 'How can I then (dread Liege) be frie from care,/ Since from thy sight I see I must remoue:' (ll.3-4). Dunbar held many positions in Scotland. It is to be assumed he travelled between Edinburgh and London frequently. With all appropriate caution about ascribing biographical/autobiographical purpose to a literary work, it seems worth investigating Dunbar's movements and position with the king at this time.

Craig revisits some of the muses of *Amorose Songes,* (pp.22-24) which enforces the impression of a miscellany; these might have been rejected from the

earlier collection or be a revisiting of favourite inspirations. Other ephemeral verse, such as 'Against the Sellers of Tobacco' (p.16), are examples of Craig following the prevailing fashion. Commentary on smoking was led by the king, whose *Counterblast to Tobacco* had appeared in 1604.

The remaining pages are filled with short addresses to a variety of notables; marriage congratulations, (p.11) epitaphs, (p.13, p.19, p.30) and other commemorative verse. Intermixed with these, there is a wealth of advisory and admonitory verse, much of which alludes to dishonesty, bad faith and double dealing. 'To His Vnkinde Friend' gives a flavour,

> Of all the wounds whereof that Roman great,
> Braue Iulius Caesar in the senat died:
> The wounds from Brutus (bureau most ingrate)
> Did grieue him most, on Brutus still he cri'd:
> So were my life to take last leaue of mee,
> Still wold I cry (vnkinde, vnkined) on thee. (p.13)

The real sense of resentment conveyed here is found in much of Craig's work. Together with a number of invocations against courtiers and courtly behaviours, as in 'to Covetovs Covrtiers' (p.14), 'to his friend who seemed sorie when he left the Court' (p.26), these sentiments give the entire volume a jaded sense of disillusionment.

Such ideas were not unique to Craig: 'Moral decay was a theme of Elizabethan as well as Jacobean verse.'[149] David Lindsay's 'Complaint and Public Confession of the Kingis Auld Hound, Callit Bagsche' (1536), written less than a century earlier, had much to say on courtly manners, court favourites and court fashions, and Alexander Hume's 'Epistle to Gilbert Moncrieff' had appeared during King James's Scottish reign. In Craig's own day, poets like Samuel Daniel wrote of their dislike of fashionable courtly behaviour. It was not a new phenomenon. Craig is once again abreast of current trends, and we must be careful not to see biographical detail where there may only be poetic pose.

The exchange of verses between Craig and Robert Ayton (pp.15-16) adds to the melancholic tone, if Ayton ceased to write, Craig himself will fall silent. 'I am

[149] Lee, *Great Britain's Solomon*, p.158.

thy Echo, and thy Airie elf, / The latter strains of the sweet tunes I'll sing' (ll.3-4, 'to his Dear Friend and Fellow Student Mr. Robert AEton')

While Craig still appears to be a person who knows the court and fashionable society, however much he claims to disdain it, addresses to the 'great and good' are now interspersed with more moralistic and advisory verses, which prefigure the second, 1623, *Recreations*. Craig is drawing on older precedents and echoing sentiments found in other poets of the age. Craig's fondness for the genre of 'complaint' might now be evolving into mere complaining.

While *Essayes* and *Amorose Songes* have very little Christian sentiment, *Recreations* 1609 sees a slight change in language and tone. In 'To my Lord Hay, at his legation to France' (p.11) he concludes 'At home, abroad, the living Lord defend thee' (l.6). The phrase 'living Lord' might be chosen merely to maintain scansion, yet it has a ring of sincerity. Similarly, the conclusion of 'To his singular good Lord and Master' (p.24), rings true:

> Long mai'st thou liue an argument of praise,
> A lordlie subject to my loving pen,
> That on thy worth the wondering world may gaise,
> A magistrat admir'd amongst all men.
>
> Yea, more and more heavens grant thee from aboue,
> The Makers mercie, and the Masters loue.

Poetically, this is a reasonably accomplished verse. The first four lines praise the 'Lord and Master', lines five and six signal that the virtues acknowledged are all gifts of God, given in love. The praise of thge human 'Lord and Master' is echoed in the acknowledgement of the gifts from the heavenly master. The human love between master and servant parallels the love of God and man. The 'magistrat', dispenser of justice, is at the 'mercie' of his Maker. Craig's favourite poetic technique, alliteration, is well used. The repeated <*m*> and <*l*> sounds have a softening effect; this is a gentle, not a triumphal, praise poem.

This sense of unaffected piety can be read into 'His regrate for the lose of time at Court' (p.25). 'Time slips, and slelie slids away,/ God is forgot, and woe is me therefore' (ll.1-2) is not an original idea; others have bemoaned the frivolous frittering away of time that court activity entails (ll.3-4), and eventually discover

that they have neglected more important matters (ll.5-6). These lines of Craig's might be just one more example of his ability to echo prevailing moods.

It has already been noted that Craig's poetry presents many obstacles to the modern reader. While this is most commonly caused by his copious use of classical texts to draw imaginative parallels, it is also evident in the final poem of this collection, 'Contempt of Death' (p.32). Here, Craig wonders at humanity's will to live, 'suppose they liue in sorrow' (l.4):

> Blind, lame, dumb, deaf, sick, poore and more we see,
> Men dam'd would live, yet know they needs must die. (ll. 5-6)

Modern sensibility balks at the idea that the poor, ill and disabled would be better off dead. Craig suggests that this thinking comes from classical philosophy, 'Brought vp and traind in *Epicurus* schools,/ Can not beleeue there is a life to come' (ll.9-10). A Christian response to God's promises would be, '*Then call, kill, Crown, for Lord I doe beleeue thee'* (l.12). It is dangerous to say with certainty that a poem articulates what the poet feels, but it is safe to say that in 1609, Alexander Craig was expressing more apparently genuine Christian sentiment than he showed in 1604 and 1606. It might be significant that this statement of faith concludes the volume, but it does not need to be read as a true statement of Craig's feelings.

The Aberdeen advocate, Alexander Gardyne, had a volume of poetry published in the same year. His *Garden of Grave and Godlie Flowers,* is 'a curious miscellany of elegies, prayers, meditations and poems in praise of King James and of various public figures and personal friends.'[150] Craig and Gardyne knew each other, and Craig contributed complimentary verses to Gardyne's works, and David Laing suggests that the first verses in this publication were written by Craig.[151] This suggests a close connection, which in turn leads to the possibility that the poets read each other's work while it was in preparation. These sternly Christian

[150] J. Derrick McClure, 'Alexander Garden (Gardyne) (c.1585-1642?), in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography,* https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10380 , [accessed 19/7/2020].
[151] Laing, *Poetical Works,* 'Introduction', p.12.

attitudes might reasonably be read as Craig's emulation of his friend's style and content.

The Poeticall Recreations of Mr Alexander Craig, of Rose-Craig, Scoto Britan (Aberdeen, 1623)[152]

The second collection bearing the title *Poeticall Recreations* should not be considered a continuation of the first. While Michael Spiller calls it 'a very flimsy volume of epigrams'[153] it is actually an organised and thematic volume written with purpose. Once again, we can infer a number of things before we examine the poetry. The title reprises 'Scoto Britan' which was absent from the 1609 collection, signalling an intention to resume his place in the pan-British poetic discourse. The book was printed in Aberdeen by Edward Raban, the nearest printer to Craig's home in Banff. This might demonstrate that he was, by now, entirely resident in the north east of Scotland. The title page includes a motif of a heraldic shield bearing a lion rampant and surrounded by fleurs de lys. The Lion Rampant has been the standard of the Scottish monarch since the reign of William the Lion (1142-1214), but in the British arms of King James VI and I, the lion which supports the arms flies the English cross of St. George. Thus, even in the choice of something as apparently minor as the decoration, Craig is re-enforcing his Scottish/British stance. If Craig had used the paratext of his 1609 *Recreations* to signal a resumption of a purely Scottish identity, there has been a reversal of stance by 1623.

The title page has one more clue to offer. Craig's choice of Latin motto, 'Otium sine literis mors est, & vivi hominis sepultura' is from Seneca and means, 'Leisure without literature is death and burial for a living man.' A quotation in favour of literature is to be expected from a poet, but the choice of Seneca and the significance of the quote become clear as the reader progresses to the dedications. The dedication 'To the Readers' (pp.7-8) contains a further quotation from Seneca, from the *Epistulae Morales ad Lucilium Liber XI-XIII*. It advocates a discriminating approach to the selection, and a thoughtful approach to the sharing and dissemination, of knowledge. The moralist tone of this collection is also

[152] Laing, *Poetical Works,* 'The Poeticall Recreations, 1623'.
[153] Spiller, 'Found in the Forest', p. 379.

anticipated by the quotation from Poliziano (p.7) which warns that those who give evil advice will find it return to haunt them.

By 1623, Craig's first, long-standing patron, George Hume of Dunbar was dead. This collection is dedicated to a member of another noble house known for its support of the king. George, Earl of Enzie, Lord Gordon and Badenoch was the heir of the first Marquis of Huntly, the most powerful noble in the north east of Scotland and 'without a doubt the most successful and powerful of the men favoured by James during his personal reign in Scotland.'[154] Craig's patrons are drawn from the most influential circles.

The dedicatory epistle declares that the contents have 'never received Impression till now', i.e., they are all new, unseen work, and intended merely as a 'shop window', an impression of his wider 'stock' (pp.3-4). In the two stanzas of complimentary verse which follow, he addresses Gordon as Mecoenas (Maecenas), an appellation he had used for Dunbar in the *Amorose Songes*. The sestain, with the rhyme scheme ababcc that we see in these stanzas is continued throughout much of the volume, although he returns to the *dier* for two 'Satyres' towards the end. The choice of two very simple poetic forms gives prominence to the content in this collection.

The opening verses, 'the Miserie of Man' and 'The Shortnes of Lyfe' (p.9), are reminders from antiquity that human life is transient. Euripides and Diogenes are used to convey a feeling of existential futility. It is possible to read many of the verses which follow as illustrations of vice and virtue. 'Polemoes Reformation' (p.10) praises temperance, which is more explicitly celebrated on p.11, in 'The temperance of Epaminodas, King of Thebes.' Mercy, tyranny, prudence, justice are all illustrated by examples from the classics, and the wisdom of knowing ones place is demonstrated in 'To a discredited Courteour' (p.13-14). Life at court and in circles of power is servitude ('Aliud', p.14), and biblical example is used to illustrate the need for chastity in 'Herodias and Salome' (p.15).

[154] Ruth Grant, 'Friendship, politics and religion: George Gordon, Sixth Earl of Huntly and King James VI, 1581-1595', in *James VI and Noble Power in Scotland, 1578-1603,* ed.Miles Kerr-Peterson and Steven J. Reid, (London: Routledge, 2017), 57-80, (p.58).

Pages 16-21 show us the motivation behind this publication. 'To Philocosmus' references Samuel Daniel's verse dialogue *Musophilus* (London, 1599). Here, Daniel sets out a defence of the production and study of literature, against the arguments of Philocosmus, who thinks them ephemeral and unnecessary. This was a topical debate at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, and a number of writers contributed their thoughts. In 1595 Philip Sidney's *The Defence of Poesy,* which used Ciceronian rhetoric to defend poetry from the criticism of Stephen Gosson, had appeared.[155] *Musophilus* is probably reacting to Thomas Lodge's *A Fig for Momus* (1595) when it 'champions the vitality of civic learning for the nation state'.[156]

This second volume of *Recreations* are evidently written in support of Daniel's position, voiced by Musophilus. For Craig, the antithesis of a literary life is a life of commerce, and the verses addressed to Philocosmus show the futility of wealth, which is as useful as a grasshopper's wings. In 'To Philocosmus' (p.16) he relates the well-known story of Midas:

> Midas desir'd Apollo, that hee would
> Turne each thing (which his hand did touch) in Golde.
> Hee had his Wish; the Miser's mynde was served;
> Meate touch'd by him, turn'd Golde: Thus Midas starved. (ll. 3-6)

A second verse on the same theme turns to Judas for example. 'Aliud' (p.16) sees Philocosmus 'makes gaine' by 'Violence or Fraud, and Trickes vntrue'(ll.3-4), his wealth comes from treachery, 'With Coyne, which hee (for selling CHRIST did winne,/ Hee'll buy a fielde, to burie Strangers in' (ll.5-6). As well as condemning avarice, Craig parades his deep knowledge of ancient literature in 'To Chremes' (p.17):

> The God of Wealth, PLVTVS and PLUTO strove
> Whose man should Godlesse, guttish CHREMES bee.
> A Reference was made to mightie IOVE
> Who pleasing both, gave thus-wayes his Decree,

[155] William E. Engel, *The Memory Arts in Renaissance England: A Critical Anthology,* (Cambridge University Press, 2016) https://doi.org/10.1017/CB9781316091722.020 [accessed 18/7/2020].
[156] Ibid, https://doi.org/10.1017/CB09781316091722.022 [accessed 18/7/2020].

Whilst CHREMES lives, let him be PLVTVS Man;
But when he dies, let PLUTO take him then.

Craig's deep knowledge of Greco-Roman mythology is writ large here. It is no longer general knowledge that Plutus, the Greek god of wealth, and Pluto were different personae with different roles. Chremes is a key character in Terence's play *The Self-Tormentor*, who is sorely in need of money and tries to make ends meet by controlling his off-spring's marital destiny. He is probably unknown to many modern readers, but Craig's contemporary readership was more familiar with such material – and such readers in possession of this information read a well-constructed little verse which reinforces the general theme of this section.

Craig's is giving voice to strong sentiments. Equating a denial of the benefits of literature and learning with avarice and, by extension, with the betrayal of Christ is by no means moderate. Thus, when we find three stanzas addressed 'To a rude and barbarous Boore, who wronged the Author' (p.19) we understand that 'the Author' is not Craig alone, but all authors. In a hyperbolic mixture of pagan and Christian symbolism, Craig damns these 'barbrous Boores' (l.1) to 'a sudden shamefull ende' (l.11), which will 'heape Shame upon their Childrens head' (l.18). The allusion to a number of Old Testament passages, e.g., Exodus 20:5-6, which promises inter-generational punishment to those who worship false gods, would be readily grasped by the seventeenth-century audience. 'The Authors Consolation' (pp.19-20) lowers the temperature and advises patience. The wrong-doers will reap their reward in time. The themed section concludes with a meditation on friendship which takes its title from Cicero: 'Amicus magis necessaries quam Aqua & Ignis' (friendship is more essential than fire or water.) This introduces a favourite theme of Craig's, that of the unreliable friend. So 'Damon turnes Demon, and Deceit hee loves:/ And Pythias, Python, poysning Serpent proves' (ll.5-6). Nevertheless, Craig declares himself a friend to Musophilus, and asks that the sentiment be returned. It is possible to read this as a message to either Gordon as patron, Samuel Daniel as inspiration, or as a general statement in favour of the literary life, and a hope that it will 'bee kinde' to him.

The remaining pages are, on the whole, given over to the type of literary ephemera as are to be found in many collections of the time, such as, 'A counsel

to his married Friend' (p.22) or 'Reply to a Dilatorie Answere, sent by Sir Gedeon, &c. to the Author'(p.25), but also contains some verses asking that the pension awarded to him by the king be paid (pp.24-25). Once again, Craig is following a well-trodden path. A number of Scottish poets, from Dunbar forward, had used verse to plead for their income.

'Satyra Volans' (pp.30-32) is an all-embracing attack, reprising and recapping much of the foregoing shorter verses. The satire is sent to court and courtiers, to churchmen, nobles, lawyer, writers, youth, beauty, to the poet himself, to comment on their unfitness for their roles and the transience of existence:

> Bid the Satyricke Find-fault Poet, Take him
> To some more Lucrous Trade: his Vane will wracke him.
> He hath good Wits, and yet a Foole doth spende them:
> Fit to fine Faults, but most vnfit to mende them.

'At the heart of any satire […] lies both a commitment to art and a belief in the power of words.'[157] This belief is at the heart of the argument made by Musophilos, and at the heart of this collection. The tone of doubt introduced by the message to the poet shows that Craig, like Daniel, feared that he might be wrong:

> Multa pererravi, sed non erase videbor
> Errorum numeros, si numerare vacat. (p.32)

In 'Satyrvla in Plebem' (pp.33-34) Craig plunders the ancients for example after example of the folly of trusting the popular voice:

> Experience, long, and dear, hath made mee finde,
> Nothing is more vnsure than Vulgare Minde.
> All commons are (Quicke-Silver-lyke) vnstable,
> Fawning, and frowning, at each franticke Fable. (ll.1-4)

Its conclusion, that

[157] Tricia A. McElroy and Nicole Meier, 'Satire' in *International Companion to Scottish Literature 1400 – 1650,* ed. Nicola Royan, (Glasgow: Scottish Literature International, 2018), 200-216, (p.200).

A Mariner may as well wrap the Winde,
And in his Sayles, till his next Voyage binde,
As can a King in anie modest Measure,
The Multitude command, and rule at pleasure.
It is the LORD, who onlie May, Can, Will,
The Windes, The Waues, and Peoples madnesse still. (ll.23-28)

gives the poem a distinctly medieval tone. 'Medieval satire [was usually] resigned to the belief that change comes only from God.' The Renaissance and Reformation period 'brought about a change in tone and attitude'[158]. Craig's innate conservatism is evident.

The long satires are followed by a number of shorter pieces, mostly in Latin. 'Satyrvla in Plebem' is closely followed by a Latin phrase, 'Pronior in plebem (si non ingrate fuisset). Antea nullus erat, postea nullus erit' under the initials I.R. (Iacobus Rex). Combined, they offer the Scottish staple of 'advice to the monarch' with a feeling that things never change.

There is a stronger moralistic tone to this volume than anything we have seen previously. Court intrigue and striving for preference and position are themes we have seen Craig touch on before. Now, they are positioned with praise of more personal virtues such as chastity and temperance. At times, these *Recreations* are reminiscent of biblical wisdom literature. Ecclesiasticus (The Book of the All-Virtuous Wisdom of Yeshua ben Sira) and the Book of Wisdom are full of such aphorisms, and each contains many strictures against greed and idolatry.

Wealth is not the right thing for a niggardly man,
and what use are possessions to a covetous one? (Ecclesiasticus 14:3)

The eye of the grasping man is not content with his portion,
greed shrivels up the soul. (Ecclesiasticus 14:9)

For the worship of unnamed idols
is the beginning, cause, and end of every evil. (Wisdom 14:27)

[158] Ibid. p.207.

Craig's publications have all contained biblical and Christian references, but it has been shown that they are sparse and more frequently seem to reflect a common turn of phrase than personal belief. There is a shift in this volume. There is more use of biblical example, though the classical still predominates.

There are also possible signs of engagement with the ongoing debate about forms of worship and wider church politics. Craig's own potential allegiances have been touched on in the short biography which opened this dissertation. For the first time, we see them reflected in his poetry. 'To a Libidinous Levi' (p.22) uses the well-worn theme of a hypocritical priesthood, who 'preach the Trueth, and practise quite astray' (l.4) and advises fasting as one possible remedy:-

> With Tyme and Hunger, Lust may bee with-stood:
> If not by these, an Halter would doe good.' (ll.5-6)

He accuses the church of hypocrisy again in 'Satyra Volans' (pp.30-32)

> Tell Church 'tis full of Shisme, vaine Pryde, and Greede;
> They teach what's good, but doe no goode in-dede.' (ll.12-12)

The themes of these passages are so commonplace that they are probably instances of Craig's participation in the general discourse. They are not developed enough to certainly be indications of personal conviction.

Reference to New Testament example is rare in Craig, but is used effectively to voice support for the king in 'To the Court of Parliament 1622 In favour of the Subsidie desired by His Majestie' (p.23). Craig uses Matthew 22:21 and Luke 20:25, to argue that the parliament should not withhold the monies the king needed to be able to recover the Palatinate for his daughter Elizabeth and her husband.[159]

> Who disobeyes to pay a Tribute due,
> Is neyther CHRISTIAN, nor a subject true. (ll.5-6)

The tone of these *Recreations* is heavier and harsher than in previous volumes. In 'Satyra Volans' he calls God's anger down on the greedy rich:-

[159] Bergeron, *Royal Family, Royal Lovers*, p.147

The Wrath of GOD consume the worthlesse Worme,
Who first began this lewde and pinching Ferme,
He looks a Man so hungrie in the Face
As hee would eate him raw, and nere say GRACE. (ll. 25-28)

A similar tone is found at the end of 'Herodias and Salome' (p.25):

For crying sinnes, ere King and Countrey mourne,
Let HAMAN hang, let BAVDS and HARLOTS burne. (ll.11-12)

Craig, in his late fifties, is showing signs of becoming old. Like Ben Sira he wants to share the benefits of his experience and warn modern youth off indulging in the type of pleasures he once enjoyed and has come to regret. His poetic technique, in which alliteration and classical allusion are key, and his engagement with current affairs and literary debate, are constants. Comparing 'Herodias and Salome' with some of the verses written to Lais in '*The Amorose Songes'* demonstrates the progression. The poetic persona is more 'grumpy old man' than 'languishing lover', but the author is still recognisably Alexander Craig.

The closing verses intensify the feeling of ageing and leaving previous pursuits behind. 'The Authors Resolution' (p.34) shows us a man who has found and furnished a home, but who must make poetry, just as birds must sing:

But I will sing, even to the day I dye,
Birds to themselves make Mirth, and so shall I.

If Craig's early poetry had been part of a strategy to attract patronage and royal approval, he now declares that he writes only for pleasure because he must. Here we have echoes of the opening lines from Seneca. Literature is necessary to him for as long as he lives.

He signs this 'Rosipetrae' – of Rosecraig. The burgess's son has become a man of property. The Scoto-Britane is gone, he is a Banffshire householder, and a poet. With Craig, of course, the last word cannot be in English. Two Latin verses follow, each describing his contentment with the simple pleasures of his home and his reduced ambitions (p.35). It is a Helicon in the shade of Parnassus, in which he lives amid banks of roses and sings songs of grace. If Craig was, as Jack and others

believe, once ambitious for a place at court, these tell us that he has renounced ambition together with the sins and pleasures of youth.

These closing pieces would mark a satisfying conclusion to Craig's poetic as well as his political career. This was the last of his work that he saw in print. The only other printed work we have is the 1631 *The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a Dialogue,* which appeared four years after his death.

The Pilgrime and Hermite Composed be the learned & famous poet Mr Alexander Craige of Rosecraige. K James 6 poet Banffa Brittanie first copied out of his Manuscripts in Edinburgh the penult day of February 1631 at Edinburgh by Mr Iames Kennedy agent 1631 (NLS Adv.35.4.14 ff.108v-113r)

The Pilgrime and Heremite in forme of a dialogue, by Master Alexander Craig. Imprinted in Aberdene: By Edward Raban, for David Melvill 1631 (edited by Robert Skene)

Background

Until relatively recently, a comprehensive appraisal of *Pilgrime and Heremite* was impossible. The only known witness was the incomplete copy of Edward Raban's 1631 print edition, edited by Robert Skene, now held in the Henry H. Huntington Library in California. Any attempt to understand the poem, therefor, had to deal with the fact that eight pages were irrevocably lost. This loss was considered so significant by Craig's first editor, David Laing, that he left eight pages blank in the edition he created for the Hunterian Club in 1873.[160]

The situation changed dramatically when Michael Spiller discovered a second version in a commonplace book belonging to the Thoirs family of Muiresk, near Turriff.[161] It is a later copy of a version created by a James Kennedy in 1631. Although bearing the same date as the print version, there were sufficient differences between them to make Spiller believe that the manuscript version was not copied from the same source as the print. Spiller notes that

[160] Spiller, 'Found in the Forest, p.377.
[161] NLS Adv. 35.4.14.

> It is not difficult to slot into Laing's blank pages […] the "missing stanzas" […] and the result makes continuous sense; but any future edition would have to respect the differences and reproduce both texts.[162]

In her 2013 dissertation, Lorna MacBean has created an exhaustive list of the ways in which these witnesses differ and appended her transcript of both versions.[163] The differences do indeed amount to more than a rediscovery of the 'lost' pages of the printed version. As will be seen below, there are lines in the print version which are not in the manuscript. Neither is an incomplete copy of the other, they represent, as Michael Spiller notes, separate pieces of evidence for the evolution of the poem.[164] It is neither possible nor desirable to reconcile the two into one definitive edition.

Kennedy and Skene must be supposed to have made editorial decisions in compiling their versions. MacBean has catalogued a number of corrections in the manuscript, and close reading can suggest further scribal errors. The nine stanzas of *moralitas* which conclude the print version have the effect of Christianising what is essentially a secular piece of work. Kennedy either did not see or chose to ignore them. Skene and Kennedy therefore can immediately be seen to be influential in our perception of the poem. What we have cannot be shown to be 'pure' Alexander Craig. This must not be forgotten in any discussion of authorial intention in an appraisal of *Pilgrime*.

The transmission and reception of these texts would make an interesting case study for anyone interested in the differences between manuscript and print transmission and can help our developing understanding of what 'publication' might mean in early-modern Scotland.

MacBean used page and folio numbers as references in her textual analysis of the two versions. To assist in my literary analysis, I have created a synoptic version with line numbers (see Appendix). This has the double benefit of immediately highlighting the textual differences, while making references easier. Restrictions imposed by the Covid 19 Pandemic allowed only very limited access to

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[162] Ibid. p.378.
[163] MacBean, 'A documentary edition of Alexander Craig's '*Pilgrime and Hermite',* pp. 27-40.
[164] Spiller, 'Found in the Forest'. 377-94,

the manuscript very late in the research process. I have relied, therefore, on MacBean's transcripts with some small corrections suggested by my own perusal of the manuscript and the online facsimile of the print version.

Precis

Michael Spiller is correct when he says that the numerous, and at times considerable, differences between the two versions do not affect the narrative, which is largely the same in both, the differences being 'omissions and additions affecting the presentation more than the substance' and in differences of word choice which do not 'materially alter the content.'[165] One synopsis can thus serve as a reference point for both versions: the narrator, who, in a dream, sees himself 'Apparelled as a *Pilgryme,* with Staffe in mine hand' (l.11 S), encounters the hermit in a wooded glade, living simply in a cave, and overhears him lamenting the fact that he has been rejected by the woman he loves. The pilgrim tries, and fails, to reason the hermit into a more accepting frame of mind. He then offers to carry a letter between the hermit and his lover, in an attempt to discover whether there is still hope. When the pilgrim tells the lady of the hermit's continued passion, she decides to send a rejection letter with the messenger, then follow in person to admit that she will marry him. The plan backfires when the heartbroken hermit appears to die with grief at the rejection, which in turn causes the just-too-late Poliphila to mourn him in a lengthy soliloquy. She seems to kill herself rather than face life without him.

There is a great deal of ambiguity in the way the poem ends. For Spiller it is a 'splendid *coup de theatre* [in which the lovers] kiss and make up and ride off into the wildwood together.'[166] This has been read as a Christian resurrection scene while the text invites us to imagine the lovers as latter-day Pyramus and Thisbe (l. 990 K, l.692 S). Whichever reading is preferred, the lovers depart the scene happily and the pilgrim wakes.

The divergence between the print and manuscript versions is most material at the conclusion. The manuscript finishes with the dreamer awakening, but the print version has another six stanzas subtitled 'The Poeme'. This explains the text

[165] Spiller, 'Found in the Forest' p.380.
[166] Ibid., p.383.

as a Christian allegory which depicts the Hermit as a despairing sinner, the Pilgrim an embodiment of faith which leads him to repentance, and the estranged lover as Christ, who brings the penitent one home to God. Spiller takes the allegory further, and puts forward a theory of the two Covenants, the first, the written, representing Mosaic law, which condemns humanity to death, and the second eternal Covenant in which the love of God, expressed in the person of Christ, restores humanity to a state of grace in which it can once again enjoy being in the presence of God.[167] This theory will be discussed later.

Editorial influence.

The foregoing evaluation of Craig's works has included analysis of the paratext where it exists and useful insight has been gained from doing so. In the case of *The Pilgrime and Heremite* the paratext in the Skene version tells us little about Craig but might inform our understanding of that editor's motivations. The manuscript does not contain paratext, but analysis of the long title and of some marginalia suggests ways in which *The Pilgrime and Heremite* was understood by later readers.

It is instructive to compare the title page of the print version with the introduction to the manuscript. The print copy omits any of the amplifying designations that Craig's own publications had included. He is simply Master Alexander Craig. The implication is that the name will be recognised without further introduction. For the scribe of the manuscript edition it was important to include 'of Rosecraig'. This had previously only been seen in the first (1609) *Recreations,* and as the Latin 'Rosipetrae' in the concluding salutation to the second (1623) *Recreations*. He also adds 'Banffa Brittanie' which had appeared in *The Amorose Songes*. The scribe might have worried that Craig would not be well known to the intended reader or may have felt that it was important to place him in the north-east of Scotland. He further adds that Craig was 'King James 6 poet'.

The manuscript in which Spiller found the second known version is a commonplace book compiled between 1685 to c.1720. Internal evidence shows

[167] Ibid. p.385.

that *The Pilgrime and Heremite* must have been copied before 1688.[168] This suggests that the transcription was made during the volatile reigns of King James's successors. We cannot be certain whether the Thoirs scribe or the James Kennedy whose 1631 transcript they copied chose to include this information, but it is probable that it is intended to remind the reader of Craig's royalist credentials.[169]

At this distance in time we cannot determine the motives of any of the editors with any certainty, but we must be aware that there is editorial decision-making that was not Alexander Craig's. With regard to the title and introduction we can infer that he would have preferred the manuscript version, simply from the fact that its wording is closer to the title pages of the books he himself saw published. We cannot appraise either version without being aware of an editorial hand.

By scrutinising the dedicatory epistles in the collections which Craig himself saw published, it has been possible to reach some conclusions about his motivation for compiling and publishing them. In the case of *The Pilgrime and Heremite,* however, it is the motivations of Robert Skene and possibly also of the publisher which can be discerned. The book is dedicated to 'The Right Honorable, Wyse and Vertuouslie disposed Gentleman, William Forbes of Tolquhoun.' This is William, 8th Lord of Tolquhoun, whose links with the Covenanters add motive for the print publication. Skene's ostensible purpose was to collect and preserve Craig's surviving papers.[170] His description of the text is given in a tone and language that are substantially different from anything still extant of Craig's and from the text itself. The protagonists, in this account, are 'both Despisers of the fleeting Pleasures and flitting Riches of this wretched World'. There is nothing in the text to substantiate this claim. The dedication carries on at some length in the same deeply pious vein, reminiscent of much of the polemical tracts which fed the religious debates of the covenanting period, which raises the suspicion that Skene was using the text for the purposes of religio-political propaganda.

[168] Ibid. pp. 379-80.
[169] Spiller suggests that this is simply a reminder, for later readers, of who Craig was.
[170] Laing, *Poetical Works,* 'The Pilgrime and Heremite'

There are three possible editors involved in creating the two witnesses; Robert Skene; Mr James Kennedy, agent, who compiled the 1631 manuscript; and the scribe who copied that manuscript into the Thoirs commonplace book. The son of Forbes of Tolquhoun was an officer in the army of the Covenanters[171], which might place Skene's version in the Presbyterian camp. Lorna MacBean has found initial evidence that James Kennedy might have been a servant of the Gordons of Huntly, a family who were as firmly committed to the royalist, episcopalian faction.[172] It appears to be possible that Craig's work was being claimed by both sides in the lead up to the National Covenant of 1638. Further research into the allegiances and connections of these persons was not possible due to pandemic restrictions but would undoubtedly shed light on the reasons for the resurrection of *The Pilgrime and Heremite* in 1631. MacBean's suggestion that 'the witnesses [would] fall into competition with each other: each claiming Craig's authorship in 1631, one in Edinburgh and one in Aberdeen'[173] might be proved correct, but for reasons that go beyond simple and traditional north-east Scotland rivalries.

The differences are not all editorial, however, and it is probable that Skene and Kennedy did not work from the same source material. Lorna MacBean, commenting on Skene's introduction to the print version, notes his statement that

> Having collected the dispersed, and long neglected Papers, of this subsequent Poesie, the Posthumes of a worthie Penne, for preserving them from perishing,

and suggests that there were 'multiple exemplars of an unfinished poem which were gathered together from Craig's estate by heirs' from which Robert Skene drew to produce his version.[174] Errors in stanza numbering and the phrase 'first copied out of his Manuscripts' in the inscription lead her to the conclusion that Kennedy, too, worked from more than one source version.[175] She continues:-

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[171] Clan Forbes Society, https://www.clan-forbes.org/, [accessed 17/9/2020] https://3579ccd0-8bd4-45f6-9603-9e15add419c5.filesusr.com/ugd/119a41_3410b06792aa45dea084a9dd344ff9e8.pdf
[172] MacBean, 'A documentary edition of Alexander Craig's '*Pilgrime and Hermite',* p.13
[173] Ibid., p.14
[174] Ibid., p.10
[175] Ibid. p.12-13.

> This prompts the question whether the same series of manuscripts informed [both versions] and, if so, why are there significant differences in language, phrase and ideology between the printed and manuscript version?[176]

It is possible that the agent Kennedy had access to an alternative version or versions in Edinburgh that Craig had perhaps shared with a fellow author or friend, at some stage of its evolution. There is no evidence that Craig had thought the poem complete before his death. The unsatisfactory ending gives weight to the argument that it was left unfinished. The numerous discrepancies between the versions also support this theory.

In reaching this conclusion, MacBean follows Spiller who also believes that *The Pilgrime and Heremite* is an unfinished work and who accepts 'The Poeme' as Craig's.[177] For him, these nine stanzas, together with the fact that the manuscript gives the names of the characters while they have been 'removed' from the print, form the primary evidence that 'Craig was editing a secular text for a religious purpose.'[178] This hypothesis makes the material from which Kennedy worked evidence of an earlier phase of the process of composition.

It is likely that Craig had worked on *The Pilgrime and Heremite* for a long time. In 1606, the epistle to Hume of Dunbar in *The Amorose Songes* contains the suggestion that Hume's approval 'will encourage mee hereafter to undertake a greater task' ('To My Honorable Good Lord and Maister', pp.145-147). In *The Poeticall Recreations* of 1623, he assures Gordon of Enzie, to whom it was dedicated, that 'he had 'better stuffe (which is yet vnseene)' to offer. The composition of a long, narrative poem with a distinct message was frequently seen as the master piece of a poetical career, and Craig showed, from the publication of *The Poeticall Essayes* in 1604 forward, that he was capable of using poetical form to create a narrative and put forward a particular point of view. It seems plausible to argue that *The Pilgrime and Heremite* is this 'better stuffe'. In seeking to understand Craig's purpose and potential message, we must understand how the texts have been presented to us.

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[176] Ibid.
[177] Spiller, 'Found in the Forest', p.384.
[178] Ibid. pp. 386-7

Form and poetic techniques.

The variety of forms employed is not random and is done for more than rhetorical effect. Spiller has called *The Pilgrime and Heremite* 'a kind of anthology' similar to Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590) and Lodge's *Rosalind* (1590). These had 'not only popularized pastoral complaint poems but had legitimized the insertion of verses in mixed metres into longer prose romances.'[179] Craig, however, has elected to tell his story entirely in verse.

The narrative sections of the poem are composed in ten-line stanzas, consisting of a sixain rhyming ababcc with a four-line wheel which rhymes dddc. In using this variant of the bob-wheel stanza Craig is drawing on long-established poetic practice. There are numerous examples in Middle English and Middle Scots literature. When discussing Craig's use of form, it is worth bearing in mind the fact that Hugh Kirkpatrick sees a close resemblance between Middle English and Medieval Latin poetry:

> The strongest influence on the particularly English development of the bob-wheel stanza appears to be not Continental Romance but Latin poetic technique.[180]

The stanza form is, according to Alice Miskimin, 'well suited to the segmental development of the Latin prose narrative.'[181] Craig's familiarity with Latin poetry is evident throughout his career and most obviously demonstrated in *The Amorose Songes*. While the form was considered old-fashioned by the time Craig was composing *The Pilgrime and Heremite*[182] it has good Scottish precedent. Andrew W. Klein mentions

[179] Spiller, 'Found in the Forest', p.390.
[180] Hugh Kirkpatrick, 'The Bob-Wheel and Allied Stanza Forms in Middle English and Middle-Scots Poetry', (Unpublished PhD thesis, North Texas State University 1976), p.2.
[181] Alice Miskimin in quoted in Kirkpatrick 'The Bob-Wheel' p.84.
[182], Kirkpatrick, 'The Bob-Wheel', p.130.

> the early fifteenth-century *Awntyrs of Arthure,* the late fifteenth-century poem *Sir Gologras and Gawain,* and the sixteenth-century poem *Rauf Collier* [which] relate exciting narratives with energy and style.[183]

It is also closely associated with the use of alliteration.[184] In the fourteenth-century English poem, *The Pistill of Susan,* 'the alliteration is excessive and […] ornamental not structural.'[185] The same might fairly be said of *The Pilgrime and Heremite* where it is more evident than in any of his previous works because it is a feature of the bob-wheel poetic. More recently, the Scots poet Alexander Montgomerie had produced *The Cherrie and the Slae*. Its elaborate stanza form could be considered a variation of the bob-wheel stanza and might have offered another inspiration to Craig. In choosing the main stanza form for his *magnum opus* Craig once again demonstrates his familiarity with a variety of poetic tradition and practice.

Other stanza forms are equally well chosen, each selected according to the speaker and the content of the speech. The Hermit's speeches show greatest formal variety. Where he is in dialogue with the Pilgrim, the ten-line stanza is maintained, but the form changes for his soliloquy and correspondence. In the letter to Poliphila (ll.521-628 K) but largely absent from the extant copy of Skene he selects a six-line stanza rhyming ababcc, which James VI had prescribed for expressions of love in his *Reulis*. This stanza is repeated in Poliphila's response, (ll.838-843 K, ll.497-512 S).

Poliphilas Complainte (ll.949-1015 K), Polyphila her complaint, and Testament (ll.655-717 S), employ rhyme royal. This stanza form had been employed by authors ranging from King James I who, early in the fifteenth century, used it to compose his *Kingis Quair,* to Craig's contemporary Samuel Daniel in his *Complaint of Rosamond*. In choosing this stanza for the woman's voice, Craig is following the more recent example.

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[183] Andrew W. Klein, 'Scots take the Wheel: The Problem of Period and the Medieval Scots Alliterative Thirteen-line Stnaza', in *Studies in Scottish Literature,* 43.1, (2017),15-21, (p.17).
[184] Kirkpatrick, 'The Bob-Wheel', p.2.
[185] Ibid. p.140.

The Hermit's 'complaint' sections (ll.782-837 K, ll.439-96 S) in which the Hermit, overheard by the Pilgrim, bemoans his fate again are presented differently in each version. Skene splits the long speech into eight-line stanzas of rhyming couplets; Kennedy transcribed this section as one continuous piece. It is an example of the *dier,* or lament, which, as we have seen, Craig has used throughout his career. It is used again for the Hermit's 'testament', in which he dictates his final wishes to the Pilgrim. The manuscript closes with a return to the main ten-line stanza, but the overtly Christian 'The Poeme' in the print version is in rhyme royal.

Spiller notes the variety of influences evident in the text, from Spenser and Sidney, through Drummond to Dyer,[186] but does not consider *The Pilgrime and Heremite* in relation to Craig's earlier work. As we have seen, Craig was adept at developing themes using a variety of forms. From the opening sequence in *The Poeticall Essayes*, through the complex narrative of the sonnet sequence in *The Amorose Songes* to the depiction of himself in contented retirement at Rosecraig in *The Poeticall Recreations,* he employed formal variation to amplify and expand his theme. In *The Pilgrime and Heremite* he is exercising this ability over a longer form.

Language

There are linguistic differences in the two versions of *The Pilgrime and Heremite* which support the proposition that they were derived from separate sources. There is a greater use of alliteration in the Kennedy version,[187] and on the whole the language and orthography of the Skene version is more anglicised than that of the manuscript. This is not a uniform tendency, however.

The first stanza in each version illustrates some of the differences.

Kennedy transcribed

[186] Spiller, 'Found in the Forest'. p.391.
[187] Ibid., p.383.

When pale lady Luna with her lent light
throw dawing of ye drigh day was drivn to depart
quhen Christell and clear skys compased ye night
as may morning reid rose from ye right art
Er phaeton the fond fool with whyt whipe in hand
from his slight sleepe ascended to loup our ye land
Twixt the dark & ye day all alon as I lay
all alon as I lay
in the mide month of may
this fell fray I found

while Skene and Raban offer

When pale Ladie Lvna, with her lent light,
Through the dawning of the Day was driven to depart
And the cleare christall Sky vanished the Night,
And the red morning rose from the right airt;
Long ere the fond Childe, with Whip in his hand,
From his slight sleepe awoke, to lighten the Land;
Twixt the Night and the Day
In my sleepe as I lay,
Amidst my Dreame this fray
And fairlie I fand:

Differences in spelling such as ‘lady’ and ‘ladie’ in the first line simply demonstrate the fact that language was not yet standardised. The use of ‘quh’ in preference to ‘wh’ in line three shows a Scots orthography that appears throughout the manuscript but is not used exclusively. ‘Reid’ (l.4 K) and ‘red’ (l.4 S) indicate different pronunciations and the Scots word ‘loup’ (l.6 K) is not found in the printed version. In the final line however, we find Skene employing the north-east dialect to produce a much better effect than Kennedy’s English version of the same line:

‘this fell fray I found’ (l.10 K),
‘And fairlie I fand’ (l.10 S),

Both versions finish the stanza by creating a sense of expectation, and they alliterate on the same letter, but it is the Scots dialect word which maintains the rhyme scheme.

Each line alliterates on a different letter, and this is uniform between the two versions. Kennedy, however, uses more alliterating words per line than Skene, as is demonstrated by a comparison of the third lines; 'quhen Christell and clear skys compasd ye night' (l.3 K) with 'And the cleare christall Sky vanished the Night' (l.3 S).

Other distinctively Scottish usages include the retention of <ȝ> by Kennedy, a letter which printers could not reproduce.[188] Such variations are to be found throughout the texts and might indicate that Skene was working from a later source than Kennedy.

Skene frequently offers greater clarity of meaning. A stanza from Poliphila's internal debate offers an example.

> What sall my soul so farr divided doe
> quhairon shall now, my resolution rest
> quhat weard quhen knows he best to yeild unto
> of strang extreams how cane I chone ye best
> Cum papthian prince I pray & I protest
> assist me now & maike nomore delay
> and guide my steps in this my Wildsome way (ll.734-40 K)

is much harder for the reader to navigate than

> O my divided Soule! What shall I doe?
> Whereon shall nowe my resolution rest?
> Which is the best Advise to yeelde vnto?
> Of two Extreames, howe shall I choose the best?
> Come Pithiane Prince: I praye and I protest:
> Assist me nowe, and make no more delay;
> But guide me well, in this my wilsome way (ll.391-97 S)

[188] Jeremy J. Smith, *Older Scots: A Linguistic Reader,* (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 2012), p.27.

The first line is not only clearer in Skene, it uses language to create a dramatic effect that is missing entirely from Kennedy. The primary difference is in the use of punctuation, but the language itself is less garbled in the printed version, as a comparison of the third lines demonstrates; 'quhat weard quhen knows he best to yeild unto' is difficult to make sense of, while 'Which is the best Advise to yeelde vnto?' is definite and concise. This too can be seen as evidence of a later, more revised source for the printed version.

Other small differences show a move away from Scottish concepts to more anglified usages. When asked how he had found the hermit's lair, the pilgrim responds

> by the wild way I went & wandered aside
> and by the will of the Weirds I wan to this Wood (ll.44, 45 K)
>
> Through the wild way as I went I wandered aside,
> And by a private plaine path I came to this Wood (ll. 44, 45 S)

The use of 'Weirds' to indicate 'fate' harks back to older Scots[189] and adds a level of the supernatural that the Skene version lacks.

Later, there is a distinct divergence in tone between the versions. The hermit momentarily regrets his devotion and declares

> and woe to my waine will
> yat quyle foyeld me of skill
> and led me Captive untill
> yat wench voyde of grace (ll.267-70 K)

and

> Curst bee my wicked will:
> Nuyte spoyling mee of Skill,
> And tooke me captiue till,
> That Groome voyde of grace (ll.267-70 S)

[189] Mairi Robinson (ed.), *The Concise Scots Dictionary,* (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1987, c.1985), p.781.

'Wench' holds connotations of promiscuity, while 'Groome', although an apparently odd word to use for a woman, denotes marriage. This might be evidence of a more prudish approach as the poem evolved. More prosaically, 'groome' might have been chosen to alliterate with 'grace'.

It can be seen that the linguistic differences do alter the tone, clarity and style of the two versions. Both versions use extensive alliteration, and while there is a little more in the Kennedy version, it is a dominant feature of both. There does seem to be evidence of evolution in the text, and of anglicisation, which supports Spiller's view that Kennedy was working from an earlier source document. These differences, taken with the numerous passages unique to one version or the other, mean that a synthesis of the two versions ought not be attempted.

Genre and Influences

Just as *Pilgrime and Heremite* employs a number of poetic forms, so it seems to include elements of a number of genres. Spiller has noted that although it starts and finishes in the manner of a dream vision, there are 'no marks of the dream vision genre: no supernatural presences, no dream landscapes, no surreal events or persons.'[190]

Skene's title page describes it as being 'in forme of a dialogue'. Dialogue undoubtedly features in the poem; the Pilgrim and Hermit discuss the wisdom of the Hermit's choices and there is an exchange between the Pilgrim and Polyphila but the poem consists mainly of narration. Intriguingly, the manuscript version has a more obvious appearance of a dialogue. The characters are named, and changes of speaker signalled by the insertion of these names into the text.

For Spiller, the poem is 'an extended version of the Complaint poem.'[191] While there are sections clearly designated as 'complaint' in each version, I believe that Spiller is over-simplifying. Complaint does not offer resolution; it simply describes the unsatisfactory situation. *The Pilgrime and Heremite* shows

[190] Spiller, 'Found in the Forest', p.381.
[191] Ibid.

the Hermit trying to improve his lot, and the results of the attempt. However, insight into Craig's technique can be had from analysis of the complaint sections.

In both print and manuscript versions, Poliphila's 'complaint' is composed in rhyme royal, following Samuel Daniel's *The Complaint of Rosamond*, (1592) and Michael Drayton's *Matilda* which appeared in 1594. These female complaints were, like the *dier* in Scotland, 'shaped in an ongoing dialogue between poets and poems.'[192] Anna Swardh has traced its development from 'lessons of moral and political virtue to ones concerning private, female virtue, with an implicit aim to raise pity and reader sympathy.'[193] This small section of *The Pilgrime and Heremite* is Craig's response to that poetic dialogue. While it does seek to elicit sympathy for the woman, it says nothing about female virtue. We have already seen Craig participate in such imitative and interpretive activity at the end of *The Amorose Songes* where he responds to *The Passionate Shepherd* and in his early collaborations with Ayton and Alexander.

'The Heremite his Complaint' (Skene) and 'Erophilus Complaint' (Kennedy) do not follow this pattern but bear all the hallmarks of the *dier*. The complaint opens by observing that there have been so many poetic tales of woe,

> That naught is left, alace, for most vnhappie mee,
> In Skyes aboue, on earth beneath, nor in the glassie Sea,
> No Metaphoricke Phrase, no high Invention braue:
> No Allegorie sweet Conceit, no Theame sublime and graue:
> But all thinges else are saide, which I can write or say:
> Thus in effect I wot not how my wracks for to bewray. (ll.441-46 S)

This sense of being part of a poetic community evoked by these lines show that Craig understood himself as one of a number of practitioners, each creating versions of a type. Yet the Hermit 'dare not, alace, though I haue cause, complaine' (l.483). This little touch of irony shows us a poet who knows what he is doing. Craig is clever in his use of the genre; its very attributes are lamented.

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[192] Anna Swardh, ' "Much augmented" and "somewhat beautified": Revisions in Three Female Complaints of the 1590s' *Modern Philology,* 113.3 (2016), 310-30, (p.310).
[193] Ibid.

'The Heremite his Complaint' is reminiscent in certain ways of 'Craiges passionado'. For example, both speakers understand themselves to have aimed too high: 'My Uentring was my Wracke, my high Desire, my Fall' (l.477) echoes the opening passage of 'Craiges passionado' in which

> I murne againe because my fonnde conceatid thoucht,
> Doune weyit allace be my wnworthe, resolues and turns to nocht. (ll.13-14)

A case can be made for considering 'The Heremite his Testament' as a continuation of the complaint, which was interrupted by the arrival of the Pilgrim with Poliphila's reply. The conclusion of the complaint is one of the sections in which the two versions differ. Skene's version ends with

> But since it is my weird, to fall, to waile, to weepe:
> Then by my losse let others learne a lower course to keepe. (ll.484-5 S)
>
> Thus endeth the Heremite His Complaint.

while, in the manuscript, lines are inverted, and the stage set for the arrival of the Pilgrim with

> yet by my loss let oyrs learne a lower course to keep
> but since it is my fait to fall to rail & weepe
> & I with patience will my friends returne awaite
> his newes will eyr end my woes or else restor my state. (ll. 825-8 K)

After the interruption, the hermit continues, but any small note of hope has vanished. Both versions call the following passage a 'testament', differentiating it slightly from the preceding complaint and preparing the reader for the fatal turn events will take. The first line, 'But now, and not till now, my Swan-lyke Song I sing' (l.513S, 865K) signals the change in tone, while letting the reader know that the genre is unchanged. The last song of the swan before death was a stock conceit in the *dier*.[194] The long dark poem has taken its darkest turn, and the Hermit really has nothing to wish for but death. The forlorn lover waiting only for death had become a stereotype, but Craig, in this long passage manages to labour the point while bringing a sense of immediacy to the trope. The Hermit's

[194] Verweij, 'Poulter's Measure', p. 310.

instructions to the Pilgrim regarding his burial place are substantially alike in both versions.

Both complaint and testament function as 'dramatic monologue [which] creates [a] dynamic between speaker and addressee - the beloved, but also, obviously, the reader.'[195] In this way, we see the form favoured by Scottish poets serving the purpose of the Elizabethan 'complaint', that of eliciting the readers' sympathy for the speaker. Craig has straddled the Anglo/Scottish divide once again.

Craig's poem straddles more than just an Anglo-Scottish divide when it references (ll. 125-6 K and S) a sixteenth-century Italian novella, *Dom Diego and Ginevra*, found in *The Palace of Pleasure, tome 2* by William Painter (London: 1567).[196] In this story, Dom Diego had secluded himself in a forest setting after being rejected by his lover Ginevra. He was discovered by his friend Roderico, who offered to act as go-between in an attempt to reconcile the lovers. Craig has the Pilgrim offering to act as Roderico to the Hermit's Dom Diego. Spiller is correct in noting that 'the scenery is very much the same, the idealized pastoral wilderness of countless fictions.'[197]

There are many features of the pastoral in *The Pilgrime and Heremite,* and a number of them might be directly drawn from *Dom Diego and Ginevra*. The Hermit's diet, 'On raw Rootes is my food,/ I drink of the fresh Flood' (ll. 61-2 K' and S) resembles that of Dom Diego who ate 'nothing else but of ye frutes of those wilde trees, sometimes of the fruits of herbs,' and drank 'the pure water of the fountaine, next vnto their holow'.[198] Craig also borrows a proof of love from Painter. Dom Diego was guilty of carving his name with Ginevra's in rocks and at times 'the soft barke of some tender and new growen spraye serued him in place

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[195] Ibid. 317
[196] William Painter, *The Second Tome Of the Palace Of Pleasure, Conteyning Store Of Goodly Histories, Tragicall Matters, and Other Morall Argument, Very Requisite For Delighte and Profit* (London: 1567), at https://search-proquest-com.ezproxy.lib.gla.ac.uk/lion/pubidlinkhandler/sng/pub/The+Second+Tome+Of+the+Palace+Of+Pleasure,+Conteyning+Store+Of+Goodly+Histories,+Tragicall+Matters,+and+Other+Morall+Argument,+Very+Requisite+For+Delighte+and+Profit/$N/2064285/DocViewToc/2138577104/docViewToc/762BF2F838A24F5FPQ/1?accountid=14540 [accessed 17/3/2020]
[197] Ibid.
[198] Painter, (1567). *The second tome*

of paper or parchement.'[199] In 'The Heremite his Testament', we find the hermit doing the same

> Yee braue and statlie Trees, which circumcituate here,
> Still bloome, and blossome, with the change of yearlie changing cheare.
> Though I did ryue your Kyndes, & brake your tender Barkes,
> By painting Polyphilaes name to your immortall markes. (ll. 609-12 S)

These are the first four of eighteen lines found in the print version but omitted from the manuscript. Many of these passages are best described as examples of pastoral mixed with complaint.

Craig's fondness for the *dier* has been discussed. His allusion to Sir Edward Dyer's 'He that his mirth has lost' is highlighted by the Thoirs scribe, who has inserted the word 'DYER' beside line 794, '&thou quhos mirth wes lost quhos confort wes dismayd.' This is a small but telling indication that the *dier* as a genre was known and understood by Craig and his readers.

Alexander Montgomerie, who was for a long time the most respected of the poets around King James's Edinburgh court is also acknowledged in *The Pilgrime and Heremite*. Lines in the opening stanza:

> 'quhen Christell and clear skys compasd ye night' (l.3 K)

and:

> 'Er phaeton the fond fool with whyt whipe in hande' (l.5 K0

call to mind 'Lyk as the dum solsequium'[200] which revives when

> … Phateon ryse — With vhip in hand
> to cleir the cristall skyis — And light the Land. (ll.9-10)

Such small references to already existing works underline the intertextuality of the period and of Craig's contributions.

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[199] Ibid.
[200] David J. Parkinson (ed.) *Alexander Montgomerie Poems Volume I: Text,* (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 20000, pp.33-36.

No work of Alexander Craig's would be complete without classical allusion. *Pilgrime*, however, is much less classically grounded than the bulk of his work. The names of pagan deities appear throughout, but Craig's characteristic presentation of what R.D.S. Jack calls 'ingenious classical parallels'[201] is absent. Poliphila's comparison of herself with Thisbe (l.990 K, l.692 S) looks to Ovid, and the neo-Classical rather than the antique. As noted above, seeing the lovers as another Pyramus and Thisbe can explain their apparent return to rude health after their apparent deaths (ll.1023-35 K, ll.725-37 S). This stanza could be read as a vision of the lovers united in a pagan afterlife, counteracting Spiller's Christian reading. The pastoral genre is reinforced by the reference to Cloris (l.494 K) but unusually for Craig, the classical references are not completely accurate. As the hermit describes his longing for death, he suggests that Clotho will cut the thread of his life. (l.94 K). Spiller has traced this error back to Painter.[202] It is corrected in Skene. Craig's wide reading and depth of knowledge suggest that he may have repeated Painter's error deliberately. The character, after all, need not show the same learning as his creator.

The Pilgrime and Heremite combines a variety of genres to create a whole which will foreground Craig's skills as a storyteller. The unresolved and unsatisfactory elements are accounted for by the fact that it was an unfinished work.

Names and characterisation.

In the print version, the Pilgrim is not named. The woman's name, Poliphila/ Polyphila, is given in the introduction to her 'disputation' with herself, and her 'complaint and testament' when she arrives to find her lover apparently dead. The Hermit is named twice. In 'The Hermite his Testament' the pilgrim is asked to bury the hermit in his cave and name it 'Strophonius Caue of care' (l.581 S) and the conclusion of the 'Testament' is signalled by the words 'So endeth the Testament of Stophonius'. The conclusion of the narrative section is marked with the words 'Heere endeth the fatalitie of the loyall Lover Soliphereus, and of his

[201] Jack, 'The Scottish Sonnet', p.16.
[202] Spiller, 'Found in the Forest', p.393, n.8.

sweete Ladie Polyphila.' Neither Strophonius/Stophonius nor Soliphereus occur in the manuscript, where the Hermit is named 'Erophilus' and the Pilgrim Æubulus. These names punctuate the manuscript to indicate who is speaking.[203] Poliphila/Polyphila is common to both versions.

Michael Spiller has analysed the names and the use made of them by Craig and his editors. In both print and manuscript, the woman is Poliphila, 'the Lady who loves many'. This reinforces the Hermit's assertion that she is unfaithful: 'Who lykes of another ane,/ much more than of mee.' (ll.99-100 S), 'quhen strays for a strange swane/ & Compts nought of me' (ll.99-100 K). The stereotypical fickleness of woman is encapsulated in the name. Æbulus means 'good counsellor' and Erophilus is the 'Man in love with Love'. Soliphereus 'does not readily mean anything in either Latin or Greek.'[204] For Spiller, the use of names in the manuscript and their omission from the print version is supporting evidence for his theory that 'Craig was editing a secular text for a religious purpose.' As the text became more Christian, the use of classical composite names became less appropriate.[205] He does not discuss the reference to Strophonius/Stophonius in the print version. This seems to be a faulty rendering of Trophonius, a figure from Greek mythology who, after robbing his king, beheaded his collaborator and who, like the hermit, disappeared forever into a cave and who was later considered an oracle. Skene's retention of this classical identity for the hermit is interesting. It cements the image of him as a sinful pagan in need of Christ's redemption, thus reinforcing Skene's reading. It has been made clear that Craig's poetry at all stages of his career is deeply rooted in classical lore but is little that is overtly Christian. The making of a Christian parable from an early secular text would signal a considerable change in tone and purpose. Strophonius/Trophonius might offer a link.

The question of who selected and rejected characters' names is complicated by the use of Æbulus. Unlike Poliphila and Erophilus, it is not a composite of Greek words. Spiller tells us it means 'good counsellor' without citing any sources. In 1627, the year of Alexander Craig's death, Edward Raban

[203] Spiller, 'Found in the Forest', pp.386-7.
[204] Ibid., p.386.
[205] Ibid., pp.386-7

published *Eubulus, or A Dialogue Where-in a rugged Romish Ryme, (inscribed* Catholick Questions, to the Protestant) *is confuted, and the Questions thereof answered.* The title page gives the author as P.A. A handwritten note on the online facsimile identifies P.A. as Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen. The book is dedicated to Anna, Lady Gordon. It was the first printing of a text which had been in manuscript circulation for thirteen years.[206] The Episcopal and Gordon connections are potential links between this text and either Craig himself, or one of the scribes responsible for the manuscript edition. It is possible that Craig had seen the text of *Eubulus* in manuscript during this time and adopted the name. It is also possible that Bishop Forbes had seen a manuscript of *The Pilgrime and Hermite* and used the name for his hero. Forbes created Eubulus as the character who is most doctrinally and theologically 'correct', and, like Æbulus, gives 'good counsel'. Lastly, either of the copyists might have been aware of the Forbes text, and introduced the name into his copy of *The Pilgrime and Heremite*. Æbulus/Eubulus is used only by the scribe to indicate the speaker, but the name is never used as an integral part of the text. Moreover, the two forms are used interchangeably.[207] This reinforces the theory that either Kennedy or the Thoirs scribe knew the Forbes text and borrowed the name.

The discrepancy in the use of names, together with other differences between print and manuscript must certainly be understood as part of an editorial process. We should remember that a poem of the length of *Pilgrime* was bound to be the work of many months at least, more probably of years. It would have gone through numerous revisions, and if we can accept the possibility that there was more than one manuscript in circulation, it is not far-fetched to suggest that the characters' names appeared on some manuscripts, but not all. In short, the use of names is a major difference between the two versions, and one which we cannot explain with certainty. The variety of explanations have one thing in common; they illustrate the continued involvement of Craig and/or his editors in what Theo van Heijnsbergen has called 'the writing game.'[208]

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[206] Patrick Forbes, *Eubulus, or A Dialogue Where-in a rugged Romish Ryme, (inscribed* Catholick Questions, to the Protestant) *is confuted, and the Questions thereof answered* (Aberdeen: Edward Raban, 1627), A2r.
[207] In addition, the name Poliphila appears in both texts, and Erophil at l.161 of the manuscript.
[208] van Heijnsbergen, 'Masks of Revelation'

The names given in the manuscript do signal the overall theme of the poem. The man who is in love with love believes himself rejected by the woman who loves indiscriminately. The pilgrim/narrator advises the hermit and mediates between the lovers. On the surface, *The Pilgrime and Heremite* is an examination of attitudes to 'romantic' love. The characters of the three protagonists are distinct but so broadly drawn they must be supposed to illustrate types, not individuals.

The two male characters broadly suit the designations 'Pilgrim' and 'Hermit'. The Pilgrim is active, seeking resolution of a situation, while the Hermit is a solitary sufferer, a martyr to love. Throughout the texts, the men use these designations to address each other in preference to proper names.

When asked why he lives alone in a cave (l.64 K), the hermit gives his reason:

> The cause of my comein heir kind freind quod hie
> (& with yat the salt floods fell flate in his eye)
> wes the Coy cold disdaine
> of her for quhos saik slaine
> as man mad I remaine
> by fats fond decree (ll.65-70 K)

He is planning to spend the rest of his life there, mourning his lost love.

> Thus darne in my dark den I determ to remaine
> as a bound beadman unto her yat works all my woe
> till deaf death with darff dart put point to my paine. (ll. 91-93 K)

The Pilgrim takes a more robust view of the situation. He assumes that the Hermit has aspired to a match above his station; describes the beloved as ruthless, taking delight in the Hermit's pain (ll. 101-10 K and S); and advises, 'dye not a fond fool for gods saik forgett her' (l.114 K). He suggests that the two men travel together as companions and friends. When the Hermit is resistant, he tries to persuade him by suggesting the possibility that 'thy sweet saint Thy dear Dame be deade' (l.153 K), or that she may have 'found a new feir/ & so loaths of the' (ll.159-60 K). He then advances the possibility that she is constant, and longs to know where the

Hermit has gone (ll.161-70 K and S). Whichever alternative is correct, there is nothing to be served by hiding away in a cave:

> Poor Hermite suppon yen & ponder I pray
> yat if thy dear dame be dead thou weeps all in vaine
> thou art a stark stock heir still thais to stay
> to faint for a fond fool yat feels no thy paine
> or if she rival respects more yan the
> quhat grace can thou heir gaine in dole still to dye
> er if she thinks tryd truth
> should reap revard of her Ruth
> why slips thou in such sloth
> the thing yat may be. (ll. 171-180 K)

The pilgrim does not show himself to be a devotee of the clichés of romantic love, referring to Cupid as 'that false little Elfe' (l.373 K). He confides that he too has loved, lost and suffered but he has recovered. This may have left him a little cynical:

> the leid leilest in lu shall come Leist speed
> and he yat deserts weall to reap Leist reward
> for firme faith & freindshipe shall find fraud & feid. (ll. 184-186 K)

Nonetheless, he does not seem to wholly reject the idea that the love between Erophilus and Poliphila may be enduring and is willing to plead his friend's case when he delivers the letter to Poliphila (ll. 629-69 K). Æbulus is shown primarily as decisive and active, he rejects the fatalistic approach and sees no virtue in seclusion and wallowing if resolution is possible. If the hermit will be advised by him, he can live a life free from his painr (ll. 381-420 K).

Erophilus is more passive. Our first impression of him is acquired through hearing him moan to himself about his situation: 'Long long doe I loathed live in love but reward' (l. 26 K). Craig's first readers would be familiar with the trope. Fidelity beyond the point of reason had been the motivation of countless unlucky lovers in innumerable Petrarchan sonnet sequences, and Craig himself had used it

from the beginning of his poetic career (Craiges Passionado). The hermit seems to revel in his misfortune:

> Hey ho quod ye hermite I live once to loue
> but now drownd in despair I sie my death frest
> Though both witt & will wold I may not remove
> I lye in the huks of loue fettered so fast
> My seldom found small sweets are so mixt with sours
> yat each moment er seim, a Miriad of howers
>
> and thus live I alone
> in this cold cave of stone
> as next nightbour to none
> but feilds fouls & flours.
>
> Thus darne in my dark den I determ to remaine
> as a bound beadman unter her yat works all my woe
> Till deaff death with darff dart put point to my paine
> Else CLOTHO with knife cutte ye tuiz threed in tuoe
> and on ye green growing bark of each blooming tree
> this ditto indorsd yair shall weall writtne be
> In sorrow & syte slaine
>
> For her heir I remaine
> quhen strays for a strange swane
> & compts nought of me. (ll. 81-100 K)

Unlike many in his situation he is not left to enjoy his misery as his pose is challenged by the more robust and practical pilgrim. He resists the pilgrim's admonishment however, 'Speak pilgrim qyod he yen of things yat may be' (Kennedy, l. 131). Erophilus knows the advice is good, but is unable to follow it:

> Flie lowe quoth my will
> Stay still saith my will yet
> So I byd so I flitte.
> So I hope so I hate. (ll. 137-140 K)

The hermit is in thrall to his feelings and is drawn to extremes. When the pilgrim speaks against the folly of supposition and asks why the hermit should spend his life imagining himself the victim of a fickle lover, when a number of scenarios are possible, the hermit's response shows that he is not guided by reason: 'She loaths or she lovs me a midst may not be' (l.182 K). In contrast to the pilgrim, his actions are dictated by the gods and by fate (ll.421-40 K). He could be said to personify medieval passivity in contrast to the pilgrim's more Renaissance inspired belief in humanity's ability to change and improve their situation.

Poliphila's character is as broadly drawn as the males'. She had loved Erophilus once, but unfortunately for him, that has changed (ll. 680-689 K). She is in a similar situation herself, as the person she loves best no longer loves her (ll.690-99 K). She is torn between the man she loves, who rejects her, and one who loves her, but whom she no longer cares for (ll. 700-5 K):

> What sall my soul so farr divided doe
> quhairon shall now, my resolution rest
>
> quhat weard quhen knows he best to yield unto
> of strang extreams how cane I chone ye best
> Cum papthian prince I pray & I protest
> assist me now & maike nomore delay
> and guide my steps in this my Wildsome way. (ll. 734-40 K)

As has been mentioned, this is a reference in the text to the novella *Dom Diego and Ginevra*. For Spiller, the Heremit 'is Dom Diego exactly, [but] the Lady herself, Polyphila, has none of the hysterical instability of the misogynistically-constructed Geneura'.[209] It might be argued against Spiller that Polyphila's actions are not the epitome or rational behaviour, and the accounts of her motivation are as 'misogynistically-constructed' as anything Painter wrote.

The soliloquy in which she debates her options shows a fair understanding of a woman's position in a society which expected them to marry. The stanza form Craig chooses matches Samuel Daniel's choice for *The Complaint of Rosamond* (London, 1594) which put forward the female point of view, albeit ventriloquised

[209] Spiller, 'Found in the Forest', p.382.

by a man. Poliphila is ultimately the fickle creature that the culture of the time demanded, but in this small section, Craig is showing that she was acting within constraints. Her complaint elicits sympathy, for like Daniel's Rosamond she is torn between two courses of action, neither of which would have been her first choice.

Craig cannot sustain even this rudimentary empathy, however, and Poliphila's decision to send a rejection by letter and follow on herself to declare her continued love shows all the expected female irrationality the age expected. When she arrives to find Erophilus dead of grief, her mourning is extreme. Has she, in the space of the journey, convinced herself that she is still in love with Erophilus, or does she simply see the loss of security that his death might represent? The unsatisfactory ending gives no real clues as to her motivation. Poliphila is ultimately capricious, underscoring the contemporary view of the fickle, unreliable female.

Viewing the characters as types rather than depictions of individuals supports the premise that *The Pilgrime and Heremite* is allegorical. This was an 'era when allegory was a dominant form […] the function of all the arts was to translate the invisibilia into visible terms.'[210] Craig's time around the court in London, and his demonstrated admiration of Samuel Daniel, make it likely that he was familiar with the spectacle of the masque, in which writer and actor would 'personify some large elemental force and give it a speech and a way of moving.'[211] Craig has personified attitudes to romantic love in order to challenge the Petrarchan model.

The attitudes and concepts associated with Petrarchism were not confined to sonnet sequences but permeated much of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature. 'Texts that never explicitly allude to it may well respond to it implicitly. Petrarchism is a basso continuo against which arias in different styles and genres are sung.'[212] The hermit displays many characteristics of the Petrarchan lover. He exists in the state of 'stasis […] that represents an emotional

[210] Paul Parish, 'Paul Parish: the allegory of fairy tale, past and present', *Foot in Mouth. An Artsjournal blog* <https://www.artsjournal.com/foot/2006/10/paul_parish_the_allegory_of_fa.html> [accessed 31 August 2021]]
[211] Ibid.
[212] Heather Dubrow, *English Petrarchism and its Counterdiscourses*, (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), p.7.

state of depression and compulsive repetition, of wishing that one was unable even to wish.'[213] In *The Amorose Songes* Craig has already reacted against the pieties of Petrarchan discourse by 'embracing an erotic alternative'.[214] In *The Pilgrime and Heremite,* he has created the pilgrim as the hero of the tale, to challenge the morbid, fatalistic stance of the hermit.

The Pilgrime and Hermite: A Christian Allegory?

While the two extant texts of *The Pilgrime and Heremite* tell substantially the same story, they differ in a variety of ways as discussed above. The most important difference is the nine stanzas, entitled 'The Poeme' which conclude the Skene version, and are completely absent from the Kennedy. These stanzas form, as Spiller observed, the *moralitas,* which seeks to describe *The Pilgrime and Heremite* as an allegory of human estrangement from and reconciliation with God. They materially alter the reader's perception by suggesting that the Hermit is sinful humanity, alienated and doomed, that the Pilgrim represents Faith, which reconciles us to God, and Poliphila is the mercy of God, saving us and leading us to paradise (ll. 758-799 S). As mentioned above, Michael Spiller takes this allegory further, seeing a representation of Mosaic Law which encoded the first Covenant between God and the Israelites and the New Covenant bought by Christ's death and resurrection.[215] These are interesting propositions, but neither is fully persuasive.

Until 2008, the few people who had read *The Pilgrime and Heremite,* read it as Skene intended. Familiarity with this presentation would fix the idea of Christian allegory in the reader's mind and the manuscript would be encountered with that interpretation fixed as fact. Reading the two versions side by side without prior knowledge of either allows for a different interpretation. Considering them both as part of an author's larger body of work, rather than as an isolated composition, also leads to a very different reception. Spiller is aware of

[213] Ibid. p.19.
[214] Ibid. p.64.
[215] Spiller, Found in the Forest, p. 385.

inconsistencies and narrative difficulties, but they are perhaps more clearly highlighted by this broader approach.

The woman's strange decision to send a rejection by letter then follow in person to contradict it and assure the Hermit that she returns his love, is open to a variety of interpretation, and Spiller's theory has merit. It is not the only possible reading, however. Craig's previous work, as has been shown, was predominantly inspired by classical example and demonstrates a neo-Stoic approach. The instances of Christian piety are rare and more prevalent in Craig's later collections. He had, however, dwelled on the themes of fickleness, betrayal and constancy throughout his career. It would be entirely consistent, then, for him to use the device of the letter to illustrate the perceived unreliability of female affections.

The allegory proposed in 'The Poeme' and Spillers's extension of it are both, in some details, theologically unsound. Close reading of *Pilgrime* does not support the conclusion of 'The Poeme' and there are few overt Christian references in *The Pilgrime and Heremite*. Many of them are the reflexive, figure-of-speech type which do not themselves demonstrate more than nominal Christianity. The examples here are all taken from the print version.

'By the blood that me bought' (l.49 S), 'by the Rood' (l.334 S) are everyday phrases in seventeenth-century speech. Similarly, invocations such as 'God graunt nothing but Good hereof ensue' (l.413S) amounts to no more than routine, reflexive piety. We have seen numerous instances of this throughout his work. References to prayer are no more convincing:

> Oh! had the times past in Prayer been spent,
> That rueth to my ruthless Love had beene sent
> And Cupid, I call on thee:
> Thou hear'st and cannot see:
> Have pittie on poore me. (ll.275-79 S)

taken together with

> For why? my Prayers are but Curses late and aire:
> And I beseech the gods by night, to see the Day no maire. (ll.569-70 S)

use prayer as a means of addressing the pantheon of antiquity rather than the one god of Christian belief.

This analysis of *The Pilgrime and Heremite* has demonstrated an internal consistency of approach with Craig's earlier work, supporting the supposition that it was being composed side by side with his shorter poetry. 'The Poeme' lacks that broad consistency. It is true, however, that *The Poeticall Recreations* published in 1609 did close with an explicit statement of faith as unequivocal as the last verse of 'The Poeme'. While this may have been emulation of another poet's style, it does mean that we cannot completely discount Craig as its author. We can, however, note some discrepancies which raise the suspicion that it is not by Craig.

This is the only instance in which Craig appeared to follow the fashion of putting the words 'god' and 'lord' entirely in capitals. This form was found in the Authorised Version of the Bible which appeared in 1611; it was not a new development. While we must remember that all such decisions in the extant texts of *The Pilgrime and Heremite* were not necessarily made by Craig, it is intriguing that neither Skene nor Raban, in preparing it for print, felt it necessary to make the usage uniform throughout.

More critically, the theology is faulty. Poliphila's initial rejection of the hermit's letter is a faulty metaphor for the actions of the Christian God. While humanity might imagine God has withdrawn his favour, his mercy is never unavailable. The capriciousness of the woman in sending a rejection while all the time intending to accept the man's proposals is not consistent with any Christian's understanding of their Lord. Similarly, to have bought the hermit's redemption, the god-figure must die and rise again. The fact that the hermit revives first is not consistent with an even rudimentary knowledge of the Gospel.

Poliphila's intention to follow the hermit in death, as he had followed her in life raises questions:

> As thou in death didst swrve & honour me
> I aswer death shall swrve and follow the. (ll.1000-1 K)

Is substantially the same in print

Though thou till death didst serue and honour mee,
I after death haue sought, and follwde thee. (ll.702-3 S)

This reversal of roles is entirely unchristian. A similar objection can be made to Poliphila's referring to the hermit as 'my Pilote now' (l.673 S). Most critically, the one reference to God's law is found in Kennedy:

The tym quhen yat spurry post shall be in pray spent
yat Ruthes love with god's law to my love lent (ll.275-6 K)

It is replaced by:

Oh! had I they tymes past in Prayer beene spent,
That rueth to my ruethlesse Loue had beene sent. (ll.275-6 S)

If Craig had been revising an older text, it is reasonable to expect such anomalies to have been corrected early in the process.

It has been noted above that the dedicatory epistle to William Forbes is written in very different terms from every other example of the genre in Craig. It dwells on the concept of humanity's sinfulness in language that is very consistent with the emerging Presbyterian/Puritan denominations.

It is entirely possible that 'The Poeme' was written by another author and attached to *The Pilgrime and Heremite* by Skene, in an attempt to use *The Pilgrime and Heremite* for a type of confessional propaganda that Craig had never attempted.

At a time when copyright subsisted with the printer/publisher, not the author, there would be no ethical or legal impediment to this.[216] Indeed, there are a number of known instances of printers producing editions without the consent, or even knowledge of the author. The most pertinent example is the history of the print publication of Alexander Montgomerie's *The Cherrie and the Slae*. Robert Waldegrave published the first two print editions in 1597, the first, it is supposed without Montgomerie's involvement. Waldegrave is assumed to have obtained another copy and produced a second, augmented print, which the printer claimed

[216] Alastair, J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720,* (East Linton: Tuckwell Press, 2000), p.96.

was corrected 'be the Author himself'.[217] This, it is assumed, provoked Montgomerie to revisit and revise the poem himself.[218]

The nature of allegory means, of course, that it is open to a variety of interpretations. With the exception of 'Craiges passionado', Craig challenged the prevailing Petrarchan model. I suggest that *The Pilgrime and Heremite* can easily be read as a longer, more involved exploration of that stance. Throughout this discussion of Craig, we have seen that his poetry can be read in a number of ways. One constant, however, has been the humanist philosophy which underlies it and the concept that, 'being educable, man might also be perfectible.'[219] The story in *The Pilgrime and Heremite* demonstrates the potential for improving the human condition.

The use of love affair as a metaphor for career can be applied here. If, as has been discussed, 'Craige's passionado' is a description of a frustrated courtier rather than a thwarted lover; if the production of a sonnet sequence was indeed intended as a means of social advancement, and the fluctuations in fortune and emotion it describes are indicative of uneven professional progress; then the stance of the pilgrim can be usefully applied. If reconciliation is not possible, the wise man will move on. The depictions of a contented literary life in Banff might be the consequences of such an attitude. The nature of allegory, of course, makes that interpretation no more certain than any other.

The Pilgrime and Heremite is in many ways an unsatisfactory work. The fact of its being unfinished, and the impossibility of reconciling the two versions mean that it must always provoke questions that can have no satisfactory answers. We can be certain, though, that Alexander Craig intended it to be the capstone of his career. James laid down rules for the composition of sonnets and used the form himself but was aware that poets who frequented his court 'would ultimately be judged neither on their lyrics or the sonnets. The true test […] was his ability

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[217] David J. Parkinson, *Alexander Montgomerie, Poems Vol. 2: Notes,* (Edinburgh: Scottish Text Society, 2000), p.9.
[218] Roderick J. Lyall, *Alexander Montgomerie: Poetry, Politics and Cultural Change in Jacobean Scotland,* (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), p.107.
[219] Arthur F. Kinney, *Humanist Poetics: Thought, Rhetoric and Fiction in Sixteenth-Century England,* (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1986), p.5.

to compose a long poem.'[220] Much of Craig's literary career is evident in his long poem. It is imperfect, frustrating and sometimes confusing. It is also technically accomplished, rooted in long precedent, and has a distinct narrative, albeit one which has yet to be satisfactorily mapped in critical terms.

Conclusions

Alexander Craig lived at a time of great religious and political change. The Scottish Reformation was an ongoing process throughout his life. The Union of the Crowns saw dynastic and administrative changes in Scotland and England. Craig's move to England in 1603/4, possibly in the household of the Earl of Dunbar, gave him some level of access to the court and royal households, and the opportunity to perform some unspecified service to the king, for which he was awarded a substantial pension. His purchase of property and return to his home town of Banff have the appearance of ambition partially realised.

Political, economic and professional advancement in the early modern period was dependent on a system of patronage. The pose of the aspirational or rejected lover can be understood as a metaphor for the ambitious but unsuccessful courtier. Craig's early work suggests that he was indeed trying to use his literary abilities to gain preferment. Craig's connections with the Gordons of Huntly and Home of Dunbar appear to have given him access to court circles. The full nature and extent of the support offered, and the ways in which Craig was employed, has not been discovered. Research into this aspect of his career might offer fuller insight into Craig's literary work.

Both Dunbar and Huntly were committed royal servants and Craig's political stance is unequivocally supportive of King James. The opening sequence of poems

[220] R.D.S. Jack, 'Poetry under King James VI' in *The History of Scottish Literature Vol.1: Origins to 1600 (Medieval and Renaissance),* ed. R.D.S. Jack, (Aberdeen: Aberdeen University Press, 1988), 125-40, (p.132).

in *The Poeticall Essayes* form a narrative manifesto in support of the king's accession to the English throne, and his poetic persona of 'Scotobritane' seemed to have been adopted, at least partially, to demonstrate a potential new self-identity for a new regime. In his 1623 *Poeticall Recreations,* he includes a short verse supporting the king in his 1621 dispute with Parliament over the Bohemian crisis, an event that was to affect the royal family and which led to long-lasting conflict on the continent, with crucial consequences for both English and Scottish subjects. A pervasive sense that Craig had hoped for better reward and recognition for such support does not overpower the apparent loyalty. In an age where thousands were dependent on the crown for their income, and competition for places and pensions was fierce, criticism of court life was inevitable. Craig gave voice to the resentment and discontent of courtiers frequently, yet another example of his engagement with the issues of his time. He demonstrated a knowledge of the court and courtiers even from his supposed retirement in Banff. His connections with the nobility and gentry of his area must be presumed to have kept him well informed. His retirement does not seem to have led to isolation.

Craig's literary output reflects the stages of his career, from the discontented youth of 'Craiges passionado' to the settled householder writing poetry simply because it is essential to his wellbeing as portrayed in *The Poeticall Recreations.* Poetry represented more than a means of self-expression for Craig. He engaged with, and was inspired by, other authors from antiquity to his present. His work shows his participation in the intertextual exchanges which were a large feature of the literary world in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His fondness for poulter's measure and *dier,* first seen in his collaboration with Robert Ayton and William Alexander, was not a personal idiosyncrasy. The form was widely anthologised in the manuscript collections and commonplace books which were part of the wider literary environment. This is one way in which Craig's personal taste can be shown to be in line with the prevailing fashions.

Craig was no mere follower of fashion, however. His sonnet sequence was highly innovative, challenging the norms of the Elizabethan authors. He was inspired by the example of visual artists as well as literary to create a unique and lively narrative. By portraying the variety of romantic experience, he

demonstrated an alternative to the highly stylised depictions of love which were still prevalent. In *The Poeticall Essayes,* Craig had celebrated the new reality created by the Union of the Crowns. *The Amorose Songes* might be considered to be a type of manifesto for a new poetic, one which was more attuned to real experience. He employed poulter's measure for poems which were not amatory lament, as the Scottish fashion required. In *The Poeticall Essayes,* he used it for political propaganda, and in *The Pilgrime and Heremite,* he demonstrated its relationship with the 'complaint' genre.

Craig's use of poetic form was never entirely conventional, but he repeatedly demonstrated a profound understanding of the uses and traditions of his chosen forms. The heavy alliteration in *The Pilgrime and Heremite* can be linked to his use of a version of the bob-wheel stanza for the narrative sections. His understanding of Latin poetry and its forms informed his choices. Once a form was selected, his strict attention to maintaining it was a strength and a weakness. His determined adherence to the constraints it imposed meant that ideas, scansion and rhyme were all compromised. He used technique and devices borrowed from a range of poets. This can be seen in his use of dialogue in the sonnet form; in his response to *The Passionate Shepherd;* and in his adoption of techniques from Latin elegy. His 'Scotobritane' persona owes a debt to the Italian Pontano, who depicted himself as a poet straddling two cultures. The opening sonnets in *The Poeticall Essayes* saw Craig describe himself as a rustic poet in a cosmopolitan environment, a direct imitation of Pontano. This duality of identity played well in his exploration of the Petrarchan model. It gave him freedom to disregard the Elizabethan norms, to introduce overt lust as a feature of romantic attachment, while still posing as a betrayed lover. There are multiple levels of sophistication hidden behind the cast of unfamiliar ancients which saturates *The Amorose Songes.* In *The Pilgrime and Heremite,* Craig turned to prose as well as poetry for inspiration, a further demonstration of his wide reading and his knowledge of contemporary literature.

Craig is often cited as one of the Scots poets who accelerated the anglicisation of the Scots language.[221] He showed some awareness of the dilemma Scots poets of his age faced in the prefaces to *The Amorose Songes*. Scots was not Craig's only language, however. Latin and the classics were a large part of Scots education, and a source of example and inspiration for Craig in every volume he published. It is this aspect of Craig's writing which, more than any other, forms and obstacle for the modern reader. For many of his first readers, Latin and classical example were entirely familiar and an integral part of the reading experience. In this way, too, Craig was very much a poet of his time and of his country and it is necessary to appreciate this aspect of his writing to reach a fuller understanding of his place in the ranks of Scottish poets.

He demonstrated an engagement with literary debates. The sequence of verses in *Poeticall Recreations* 1623 in support of Samuel Daniel's stance in *Musophilus* shows a poet who not only understood the arguments but was committed to one side in the debate. Craig stayed true to the tenets of his classical education, and the belief that the arts were necessary to the formation of rounded humans and good citizens informed the violent dislike of commercial practice which he affected in this collection.

Craig's engagement with literary, cultural and political issues did not extend to the ongoing debates on religious practice and doctrine. The king's intention of standardising religious practice throughout Britain had been met with strong resistance in Scotland, where Presbyterian styles of worship were preferred in most areas. Alexander Craig represented Banff in the Parliament of 1621, which debated the highly contentious Five Articles of Perth. These were designed to enforce some Episcopalian practices in Scotland. Alexander Craig's long support of the king's agenda, and his connections with the Gordons of Huntly, lead to the supposition that he would have voted in favour of the Articles, but nothing in his work indicates his stance on these issues. While his last two collections had more overtly Christian content than the London publications, they do not demonstrate that he leant more to one side than another in the confessional debate. This adds

[221] Murray Pittock, 'From Edinburgh to London: Scottish Court Writing and 1603', in *The Stuart Courts,* ed. Eveline Cruikshanks, (2009) pp.25-37, p.32. at https://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/gla/detail.action?docID=946292 [accessed 21/7/2020]

weight to the assertion that Craig was no more than nominally Christian. There are verses in the two volumes of *Recreations* which might counter that argument, to a reader able to accept that they offer an insight into the 'real Craig' that is missing from the rest of his writing. Such special pleading is not convincing. They can be best understood as exercises in emulation of Alexander Gardyne, whose *Garden of Grave and Godlie Flowers* appeared in 1609.

This understanding of Craig's position has implications for our understanding of *The Pilgrime and Heremite*. When the only known copy was of the print version, with its explicitly Christian *moralitas*, it was possible to accept it as a Christian allegory. Discovery of the manuscript version changes this perception. There is no doubt that the poem is allegorical, but it is unwise to give preference to any particular reading. It is my contention that 'The Poeme' is not an integral part of the piece, and that the editor and printer were attempting to use the poem to advance a Presbyterian point of view. The strident language of the dedication to Forbes of Tolquhoun is never matched by anything Craig wrote. Further research into the background of the scribes, editors and dedicatees of the two versions might explain the apparent rush to publication by Skene, and copying for circulation by Kennedy, in 1631.

The complex history of the two extant witnesses to *The Pilgrime and Heremite* is a useful illustration of the relationships between print and manuscript publication. While they are evidence of different stages of its evolution, as Spiller suggests, they are more useful as a cautionary example of the way in which editors and copyists can influence our perception. The texts we have available to us are obviously versions of the same work, but the differences between them prevent the production of a single authoritative edition. We cannot certainly ascribe any of the discrepancies to Craig, Skene, Kennedy or the Thoirs scribe. Like so much of Craig's work, they offer an insight into an aspect of the early modern literary environment.

Just as it is wise not to take one aspect of a poet's work in isolation, nor should we view the poet in isolation. Early-modern writers formed networks, shared their work, collaborated, and responded to other authors' performance. Alexander Craig's links to Robert Ayton were well known thanks to his

contributions to Craig's publications, but Craig's links to, and awareness of, other writers have been demonstrated, and shown to be influential. He was accepted as part of Scotland's literary community, as his inclusion in *The Muses Welcome* proves.

In providing an overview of Alexander Craig, this dissertation has demonstrated scope for further research. Craig himself would be better understood if his links with better-known poets and with his patrons were investigated. The benefits of understanding a writer as part of a larger grouping have been laid out by Theo van Heijnsbergen, who believes that this

> reveals patterns which would be lost in more traditional forms of biography […] and yields a dynamic model with a wider and more organic range.[222]

The relationship between vernacular languages and Latin in this period is important and needs to be researched by a competent linguist. Writers like Craig were multilingual and seeing a distinct dividing line between the neo-Latin authors and those who wrote in the vernacular prevents a full appreciation of either. Finally, the circumstances behind the two editions of *The Pilgrime and Heremite* need to be more fully explored, to discover, if possible, whether the creators intended them to be used as propaganda in the ongoing religious debates.

This dissertation has shown a more accomplished poet than many critics would recognise. Looking beyond and behind the heavy alliteration, the overwhelming classical allusion, and the frequently imperfect verse, has unearthed a technically capable writer with a good understanding of the mechanics of his craft, and one well versed in literature. Like a great many others, he seems to have hoped his abilities would bring him financial reward. Like a great many others, he seems to have been only partially successful. His estimation of his own abilities may have outstripped his performance. His innovations did not seem to inspire other writers. He was, nevertheless, recognised and appreciated by his peers. Craig defies categorisation, which may have contributed to the way he is

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[222] Theo van Heijnsbergen, 'The Interaction Between Literature and History in Queen Mary's Edinburgh: The Bannatyne Manuscript and its Prosopographical Context' in *The Renaissance in Scotland: Studies in Literature, Religion History and Culture,* ed. A.A. MacDonald, Michael Lynch and Ian B. Cowan, (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 183-225, (p.183).

viewed by modern critics. It is hard to prove Jack's assertion that he is the *most* underrated of Scottish poets, but it has been shown that critics, by failing to understand him in context, have indeed failed to appreciate much of his ability.

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The pilgrim and Hermite Composed be the learned &
famous poet Mr Alexander Craige of Rosecraige
K James 6 poet
Banffa Brittanie first copied out of his Manuscripts
in edinburgh
the penult day of February 1631 at Edinburgh by Mr Iames
Kennedy agent 1631

1. When pale lady Luna with her lent light
throw dawing of ye drigh day was drivn to depart
quhen Christell and clear skys compased ye night
as may morning reid rose from ye right art
Er phaeton the fond fool with whyt whipe in hand
from his slight sleepe ascended to loup our ye land
Twixt the dark & ye day all alon as I lay
all alon as I lay
in the mide month of may
this fell fray I found

2. apperled as a pilgrim with pyikstaffe in hand
furth the wyld way I went & wandred but guyd
me thought in a lauk lay a strek stream a strande
a bread bush of birck beughs by a bruik syde
and hopeing some Heremite yair had his repair
as fast as my feet might I still forward follwd fair
and with a wish as I thought
to the bush I wes brought
quhich natur hed weall wrought
and scorned arts laire

3. Throw ȝe wood as I wend halfe will of weme
to a cell my sharpe sight did shortly appear
Coy quiet cold caue a Cabine of stone
I drew darne to the door some dinne to hear
I leand too my left lug and thus lay I heard
Long long doe I loathed live in love but reward
and qhyen I deemed by the dine
some worlds wight wes yairin
to wax bold I begine
and no perril spard.

4. and onfrayd as I feir throu the cold cawe
I weill not in the noock quence the noise sounded
a horsk hoari Hermite Grim Grivd & Graue
in whos boyling breas nought but black be all abunded
Whos Coy colourd countenance & heaw hoarie Hew
his hide harms and sade seit his sight might forshew
The tears in a trembleing trace
Lyk flood flowd or his face
with many loud long alas
and sade sighs enew

The Pilgrime and Heremite, in forme of a dialogue, by
Master Alexander Craig. Imprinted in Aberdene: By Edward
Raban, for David Melvill 1631

(viewed on EEBO, from Henry E. Huntington Library and Art
Gallery)

When pale Ladie *Lvna*, with her lent light,
Through the dawning of the Day was driven to depart
And the cleare christall Sky vanished the Night,
And the red morning rose from the right airt;
Long ere the fond Childe, with Whip in his hand,
From his slight sleepe awoke, to lighten the Land;
Twixt the Night and the Day
In my sleepe as I lay,
Amidst my Dreame this fray
And fairlie I fand:

Apparelled as a Pilgryme, with Staffe in mine hand,
Foorth the day as I went, vndriven bout a guyde,
Mee thought in a laigh Lay, a cleare Streame, a Strand,
A broade Bush of Birke trees, by a Brooke syde:
And hoping some Heremite made there repare,
As fast as my feete might, forward I fare,
Through a Wood as I sought,
To a Bush I was brought,
Which Nature her selfe wrought,
Withoutten airts lare.

Through the Wood as I went, halfe will of waine
A Cell to my sharpe sight can shortlie appeare:
A quyet and a colde Caue, a Cabine of stone,
I drew me darne to the doore, some din to heare.
And as I lent to my Lug, this well I heard,
How long shall I loathed liue? I love bout reward.
And when I knew by the din,
Some wight was therein,
To waxe bolde I begin,
And no perill spar'd.

As I went through the floore of that colde Caue,
I well espyed in the barke where the noyse sounded,
an hoarse hoarie Heremite, grieved and graue,
Whose boyling Breast naught but blacke baile abounded,
Whose colour, countenance and pale deadlie hew,
His whole hidden Harmes there and griefes foorth shew:
Whose tumbling teares bout cease,
Lyke floods flowed over his face;
With manie long lowed alace,
And sad sighes anew.

5. With stout stepps he start up & stard in my face
& crievd how I yair came quhat Groom was my guid
by fortune Quod thy freind this forme fell the caice
by the wild way I went & wandred aside
and by the will of the Weirds I wan to this Wood
and hope height me yat heir some hermit hes hide
thus hope hat me heir brought
but if I offend ought
by the blisd blood wes bought
I obey as ye bide.

6. a pilgrime thou appears weal by thy worne weid
as stranger astrayd farr in the shaw sheine
but since thou art heir hapt so god me speid
thou art welcome to such as thou has heir sein
yet true I my treatment must move the to tyre
for meat drink haiv I non good bed or fyre
on rawe roots is my food
I drink of the fresh floode
on ground & green grass good
all night lyes my lyre

PILGRIME

7. Then haild I the hermite with yar words anew
and for his frank favour full thanks I gave
yea quhen I weil tryd yat his talk wes all true
the cause of his comeing yair in Court wries I creaw
HERM: The cause of my comein heir kind freind quod hie
(& with yat the salt floods fell flate in his eye)
wes the Coy cold disdaine
of her for quhos saik slaine
as man mad I remaine
by fats fond decree

PILGRIME

8. In faith freind quod I yen I saw by thy song
quhen cold by thy cave door as stranger I stood
some saint of the she sex hade wrought all thy wrong
& thow in loue long live & yet wes onliud
and of thy long letter this last lyne I heard
long long doe I loathed live in loue but reward
by quhich words I weall knew
yat thy dame wes untrue
and thy pale heaw hew
furth shaws thou art snard

EROPHILUS

9. Hey ho quod ye hermite I live once to loue
but now drownd in despair I sie my death drest
though both witt & will wold I may not remove
I lye in the huks of loue fettered so fast
My seldome found small sweets ar so mixt with sours
yat each moment er seim, a Miriad of howers
and thus live I alone
in this cold cave of stone
as next neighbour to none
but feilds fouls & flours

Yet stoutlie he start by, and stared in my face,
And craved how I there came? or who was my guyde?
By *Fortune*, quod I, thus fell the case,
Through the wild way as I went I wandered aside,
And by a private plaine path I came to this Wood,
Wherein I wist well some *Heremite* was hid.
but since I am heere brought,
If that I offended ought,
By the Blood that mee bought,
I'll obey as yee bid.

A Pilgryme quod hee, you seeme by your weede,
And a strayed stranger, if I right weine:
But since you are Heere come, So GOD mot mée spéede,
Thou art welcome to such as you haue héere seene:
But yet of my treatment I trow yee shall tyre,
For neyther haue I Meate, Drinke, good Bed, nor Fyre.
On raw Rootes is my Food,
I drink of the fresh Flood:
On Fog and greene Grasse good,
All night lyes my lyre.

Then helde I the Heremite with faire wordes anew,
And for his franke offring great thankes I him gaue:
And when I well tryde that his tale was all trew,
The cause of his comming there shortlie I craue,
The cause of my comming heere, *Pigryme,* quod hee,
And with that the salt teares fell in his eye:
Alace its for the loue of ane,
For whose sake thus I am slaine:
A Martyr héere I remaine
By fatall decree,

In faith, friend, quod I then, I saw by thy song,
When at the colde Caue doore darned I stood:
Some Sainct of the Shée sexe had wrought thee all this wrong;
and thou hadst long lived in loue, and yet vnlov'd:
And of the long letter this last line I heard,
How long shall I loathed liue? I loue bout Reward.
Whereby I well knew,
That thy Dame was vntrue;
Thy pale and wan how
Foorth shew thou wasst snat'd

Alace! quod the Heremite, I lived once to loue;
But now drowned in Despare, I see my death diest:
Though both Will and Wit would, I may not remoue,
I lye in the links of Loue fettered so fast:
And all my Care-seeming-Sweets, are so mixt with Sowrs,
That each moment almost appeareth ten hours.
Thus liue I héere alone,
In this colde Caue of stone,
As next neighbour vnto none,
But Trees, Fowls and Flowrs.

10. Thus darne in my dark den I determ to remaine
as a bound beadman unto her yat works all my woe
Till deaff death with darff dart put poynt to my paine
Else CLOTHO with kniffe cutt ye tuiȝ threed in tuoe
and on ye green growing bark of each blooming tree
this ditto indorsd yair shall weall writtne be
in sorrow & syte slaine
for her heir I remaine
quhen strays for a strange swane
& Compts nought of me

And thus in my darke Den I mynde to remayne,
As bound Bead-man to Her that workes all my woe;
Till Death with his Dart come put mee from payne:
Else *Atropus* cutting quyte the Threed in two,
And on the greene growing Barke of each blooming Tree
This Diton indorsed shall well written bee:
In sorrow and sight slayne,
For Her heere I remanyne,
Who lykes of another ane,
Much more than of mee.

Æbulus

11. Thy passions poor Hermit dispaird wold appear
& thy heart hye hoisd abowe thy degree
Since all thy fond foolish hops are fraȝen with fear
& fortune thy first friend is framd foe to the
For she quhen thou still scherves as thy self says
both reasonless & ruthless respectes ye na ways
Thy seils her seyt
thy dole her delyte
& with thy paine for despite
with proud poynts she plays.

Fond Heremite, quod I then, thy loue would appeare
Too high to bée placed aboue thy degree:
And thy fond foolish hope, frozen with feare,
And Fortune, thy Olde Friend, thy New Enemie,
As reaonlesse, and ruethlasse, respects thee nowayes.
Thy syle is her sight;
Thy duill, her delight;
And thy payne to despight,
Shee pleasantlie playes.

12. And so it weall seems yair leal loue is lost
& first to the green graue thoul goe er thou gett her
Most mad man why lows thou thy liffs foe thy host
thy dye not a fond fool for gods saik forgett her
For putt caice in hope to deseive thy desires
thou wrack heir for plaine want of bed food & fyrs
quhat soul shall be yen sein
to luik up thy dead Eyen

as custom requyres

Whereby it well seemes, thy labour is lost,
And vnto thy graue thou it goe, ere thou get her.
Mad man! Why mak'st thou thyne enemie thy hospe?
Die not a foole, man; for Gods sake forget her.
for, put case, in hope to obtayne thy desyres,
Thou die heere for want of Bed, Food and Fyres:
Then who shall bee seene,
To louk thy dead Eine?
And intombe thee, I weine,
As custome requyres?

13. Dishaunt yen thy hermitag & thy cold cawe
& live no more in love since thou art unloud
but follow me & taik part of such as I haue
for Company & counsell may doe the great good
Hade not Don Diego dyd in desert
wert not Roderico his woes did avert
and thus may it fall so
yat from his grou & er I goe
I fead ease to thy goe
& heall thy hurt hearte

Leaue, then, thy Heremitage, and this colde Caue,
And liue no more in loue, since thou art not lov'd:
but follow mee, and take part as I haue:
Companie and counsell may doe thee some good.
for Don-Diego had died in Desart,
Wert not Rodorico did him there convert.
Thus, it may fall so,
That I thy Rodorico,
May finde ease to thy woe,
And heale thy hurt Heart.

EROPHILUS

14. Speack pilgrim quod he yen of things yat may be
or yat have a firme hope to fraime full effect
for such is my faint force I want feet to flie
the blind & the bade boy hath Gune such a Check
yea tuixt my will & my Witt yair byds such debat
ye an with ye oyir still in strong stryffe for state
Flie low quoth my will
Stay still saith my will yet
So I byd so I flitte.
So I hope so I hate

Speake, Pilgrime, quod hee, of things that may bee,
Or that hath appearance, to take some effect:
For, such is my faintnesse, I want force to flee,
Love, Fortune and Death, haue given such a checke.
Betwixt Wit and Will there is great debate;
The one with the other striving for the state.
Flee Loue, quod my Wit.
Stay, sayes my Will yet.
So I byde; so I flit.
So I loue: so I hate.

15. But quair thou would seime so to salwe all my sair
& by thy stick statuts to stay all my sturt
goe medle with yat matter mad miser no more
Since all my health hangs still on her yat me hurt
Since to the vou I am brut yat Coal shall I blowe
Yet liwer & lights both did light in this love
And if my dame doth decree
yat I dye; let so be
I long fore till I sei
death bend his bow

But where thou wouldst seeme to salue all my sore
And by thy strait statues to stay all my sturt
Meddle with that matter, good Pilgrime, no more
Since all mine health hangeth on her that mee hurt
The Coale that mee burnes to the bone, I will blow,
Though Liver, Lungs and Lights, fly vp in a low,
Since shee doeth decree it,
That I die, so bee it;
I long till I see it.
Let Death bende his Bow.

Æbulus

16. O vaine wretch quod I then devest thy wowd weid
& Wander no more this in the woods wyd & wyld
for putt caice thy sweet saint Thy dear Dame be deade
by quom day by day damd thou dys thus exyld
Because it may fall furth befor thou her sie
by will of the Weirds she on beir brought may be
or deem yat thy dame dear
for change ay maik glad chear
hath now found a new feir
& so loaths of the

Vayne wretch, quod I then, cast off thy vowed Weed,
And wander no more in this wilde Wildernesse:
It may bee thy Mistres, that dear Dame, bee dead,
For whose sweete sake daylie that diest in destresse:
Perchance before that thou her againe see,
By vote of the Wan-weirds, that buried shee bee.
Or put case, thy Dame deare,
Hath chosen an new Pheare,
Thou wouldst despare to see her.
That so lightlies thee.

17. Or by a quyt contrair caice kind Erophil suppon
thy mistrs thus moment hath much mynd of the
& for thy long absence she maks mirthless moane
& with her heart wishes her leall love to sie
and with her self says so wold God I wist quhair
my poor pynd patient now maiks his repair
for wist I weall (so I thrive)
yat my love were alive
with all my strength would I stive
to question his quynt caire

Or contrarywyse, good Heremite, suppone
Thy Mistres this moment hath goode minde of thee;
And for thy long absence maketh great moane,
And from her heart wisheth her leile loue to see:
Saying in her selfe, Would God I wist where
My poore pyned Patient doeth make his repare.
Wist I well, so I thryue,
That hee were yet alyue,
I should bee no wights wyue
For ten yeares, and maire.

18. poor Hermite suppon yen & ponder I pray
yat if thy dear dame be dead thou weeps all in vaine
thou art a stark stock heir still thais to stay
to faint for a fond fool yat feels no thy paine
or if she rival respects more yan the
quhat grace can thour heir gane in dole still to dye
er if she thinks tryd truth
should reap revard of her Ruth
why slips thou in such slooth
the thing yat may be

Conceit with thy self, good Heremite, I pray,
If thy Dame bee dead thou weep'st but in vaine.
Thou art a starke Stocke, heere still for to stay,
And mourne for the losse that mendes not thy moane.
For if shee some other respect more than thee,
What grace canst thou get, in duill heere to die:
Or wouldst thou thy trueth,
Should reape reward of rueth?
Why slipst thou so with sleuth,
The thing that may bee?

19. my sure friend quod he yen as thou says I sie
of these tuo extreams strange the on must be trew
she loaths or she lovs me a midst may not be
as to my pains I may prove by stire signs anew
For loe my belovd love my dear dainte dame
despights the small elements yat spell my poore name
Thou ay we if I mint
to force floods from the flint
my true trauell were tint
such freindship to frame

Good Pilgrime, saide hee then, of these two I see,
As you seeme to conclude, that one must bee true:
Shee loathes, or shee loues: a mids may not bee,
As to my paines I may prooue by signes anew.
For my beloved Loue, my deare daintie Dame,
Despiseth those Elements which spell my poore Name.
Woe is mee, if I mint,
To forge Floods from the Flint,
My true travell shall bee tint,
Such Friendship to frame.

20. But whilst thou would seim say yat death drierie death
perhaps hath avenged quyt my dear dams days
to look for a long liff yat I must be laith
quhom each froward froune else of fortune affrays
and since on liff for her love I have tein such paine
I care not a cuitt for her saik love slaine
I shall not seime to shrinke
of death; for her death to drinke
quho sweet eyes with a winke
might revive me again

But you would say, that Death, drierie Death!
Perhaps, hath abrogate my deare Dames dayes:
to looke for a long lyfe then must I bee loath,
Whom each froward frowne else of Fortune affrays.
And since alike for her loue I haue tane such payne,
I care not a cuit for her sake to bee slayne.
I shall not séeme for to shrinke,
Of Death, for her death, to drinke;
Whose swéete Eyes, with a winke,
May reviue mee agayne.

21. Lett this yen appease ye good pilgrim I pray
yat no presence absente nor distance of place
no froune of fraud fortune no tyme no delay
no bade chance no new change no no contraircaice
no not all the proud spite proud faitts cane spit
may maik my firme fixd faith & fancie to flit
yea lett her flea lett her flow
lett her doe quhat she dow
to garr my greiff grein griw
I shall be trew ȝitt

Let this then applease thee, good Pilgrime, I pray,
That no presence, absence, no distance of place;
No fond toyes, no neew frayes; no tyme, no delay;
No bad chance, no new change, nor contrarie case;
No, not all the fierce flames that Fortune can spit,
Shall make my firme fixed sayth of fancie to flit.
Yea, let her fléete, let her flow;
Let her doe what shee dow,
To gar my grief aye grow,
I shall be true yet.

22. Good Hermite for truth told I hawe oft hard
the leid leilest in lou shall come Leist speed
and he yat deserts weall to reap Leist reward
for firme faith & freindshipe shall find fraud & feid
tack tent to the tails told of true Troil knight
a Greek rival arrived & reft all his right
in acoord all thy gaine
thy intent to attaine
Is short pleasur long pause
& dole day & night

Good Heremite, for trueth tolde I oft tymes haue heard,
The leilest in loue, commeth aye the worst spéede:
And hee that deserues well to reap best reward
For firme sayth and friendship, shall find nought but fiede.
Take tent to the tales tolde of true Troyall Knight
And hee that hanged him selfe, if I read right.
Yea, though thy sute thou obtayne,
With one word tint agayne:
Short pleasure, long payne,
With duile day and night.

23. But sin thou delyts thus to live full in loue
advyse the on this be never too trew
and though thou both say & swear thy mynd shall not move
yet pretense to Proteus exchange all thy hew
Since great Iove exchanged shape in a shower in a fyre
In a bull in a swane to attaine his desyre
For the yat lows lightest
be sure shall speed soonest
and he yat swrvs all the best
shall oft want his hyre

But since thou delightest to liue still in loue,
Advyse thee on this well, Bee never too true.
Though thou sweare and say thy mynde shall not moue,
For Orphus, take Protus, to change aye thy hew.
Was not great Ioue turn'd in a Showre, in a Fyre,
In a Swan, in a Bull, t'obtayne his desire?
For hee that louse lighliest,
Bee sure hee shall speede best:
And hee that loues without rest,
Shall surely get ill hyre.

24. If good friend thou looks, quhen in loue to come speed
yen flit from thy fixd faith be fals & untrue
For er thou fynd full effert so farr as I read
yair must be sound sympathie betuix her & ȝou
Quhen crew I how cane yair a kind Concord be
If thow be trew & she be deceitfull & slie
(she lykes best of a new yonge.
If she's stray be thou strange)
thy cairs if thou weil cheinge
be as false as she

Wherefore, in lue if that thou wouldst come speede,
Thou must flee fayth, bee facile, false, vntrue.
Ere thou prevayle right, so farr as I reide,
There must bee a sympahtie twixt her and you.
For I demand, How can right Concord bee,
Whyle you are true and shee both false and slee?
She lykes well another sho,
Then choose new, and change too:
And if you well doe,
Bee as false as shee.

EROPHILUS

25. I grant to my great grieffe I weil spy the right
& yet wrong with worse woe the wrong way I fraime
I know alas yat na love my love bein long light
& were I wise you wott I would doe the same
But faith bynd remembrance procures more my cair
Nor our pearce procured an qhuen I was placed yair
For whyles grieve I greitt
whyles Murne till we meit
some times my poor sprit
dyes drownd in Dispayr

26. and whyls in a rude rage I reikne with my selfe
& in the darn daily dream to condenme my desire
halfe dead in deserts heire why should I duell
& wraik thus for plaine want of food bed & fyre
why perishes my yeoths pryme to strang perrells proud
or why murne I for quho means not my good
And quhen at last I conclude
To burn the habit & the hood
I dare to alace do it
Till my wows tyme be gone

27. O weried be yat vaine vow yat ever it wes made
& cursed let the coy cause of my cold paine
O fey be the false faits yat bears me at feid
& blamed be the blind boy yat breeds all my baine
Unblest be the bade houer the first tyme and place
I fettered my fond fancie to her fair face
and woe to my waine will
yat quyle foyeld me of skill
and led me Captive untill
yat wench voyde of grace

28. Unsaid be yat wance wood yat Wench voyd of grace
quhat yat but her good graces grivs me so much
for weil I waitt may I wow if pittie had place
of all yat on muild movs yair were non such
The tym quhen yat spurry post shall be in pray spent
yat Ruthes love with god's law to my love lent
& Cupid I craw the
Thou fears tho thou may not sie
Hawe pittie on poor me.
And grant my intent.

29. Wise valur (as writs weil the old clark Empedocles
bestow of good hermite her gifts heir & yair
As it best lyketh her & the cost lott alace
Each salue to thy fair fool for small is her share
Hir God is thy nymph hath none gott no more
saue bewte: no bountie & voe is me yairfor
of pitie since no part
is hid in her fair heart
yet lett not be black dart
of dole the devoure

Alace! quod the Heremite, too late I spye the right,
And wronged with woe, still wrongly I frame.
I know that in loue, my Ladie proues but light:
And if that I were wyse, I would doe the same.
But fayth and her remembrance martyres mee maire,
Than did her presence perfect mee, when I was there.
For whyles grieved, I greete;
Whyles I mourne, till wee meete:
And some tymes my poore sprite
Dies, drowned in despare:

And whyles in a rage I reckon with my sell,
And to and fro dispute, to dash my desire:
Halfe dead in Desart, heere why should I dwell,
And pyne with payne, wanting Bed, Food and Fyre?
Why doe I lose youths pryme, without all gayne?
Or whymourne I for her that kéepes Disdayne?
And when that I conclude,
To burne Habite and Hood,
Yet doe I not doe it,
My Uow is so vayne.

Curst bee the fond Uou, that ever it was made:
Curst bee the first cause of my hidden payne:
And curst bee false Fortune, that holds me at feid:
And curst be the blinde Boy, that breeds all my baine:
Curst be the first houre, the tyme and the place,
That fettred my fond Heart in her fayre Face.
Curst bee my wicked will:
Nuyte spoyling mee of Skill,
And tooke me captiue till,
That Groome voyde of grace.

Unsayde bee that bad word, That Groome voyde of grace,
What but her good graces can grieue me so much?
For I may will saye, if Pittie had place
Of all that on mould moues, there is none such,
Oh! had I they tymes past in Prayer beene spent,
That rueth to my ruethlesse Loue had beene sent.
And Cupid, I call on thee:
Thour hears'st, and canst not see:
Haue pittie on poore mee,
And grant myne intent.

Dame *Nature*, sayth the wyse clerke *Empedocles,*
Bestowes, good heremits, her gifts here and there,
As shee well pleaseth, the best is but Claise:
Each man must be content, hee gets no maire.
For fayth doeth not affect thy Mistres faire,
But Beautie, which doeth bring thee to despaire.
Of pittie since no part
Is hid in her hard heart,
Yet let not the blacke dart
Of duile thee devoure.

30. O grieve not the good gods with thy vaine suit
for quhat they have once don they will not undoe
but lyk as a trime tree yat setts furth no fruit
though seitill of braw blooms & fair flourish tooe
of gladneth be gardner with hope of great gain
yet reaps he in harvest no pay for his pain
right so sir her fair face
Will judge heights of great grace
with tint travel alace.
But fruit makes ye faine

31. yen suit swrve pray praise & doe quhat ȝow cane
and in true tyme I fortell thy labour is lost
by the great gripping grief thow feils now & yen
to dress up thy in owne death thou spwors but ye post
Though for her saik each surge of syth ye assails
thy tryd truth & leil love but lyk nought avails
though thou beat ye bush weall
though framd for without faill
pulls ye prey be the tail
& proudlie prevails

Erophilus

32. Thou somtyme paid short since if ryt I think on
thy Company & counsell may stand me in sted
But now thy presence bade & plot I suppone
by duits of dispaire is to droune me in dread
Allwist be yat Counsell & so yat command
yat leaws me in worse caice yen first it me fand.
Now I frett now I fume
Now in caire I consume
for my death by thy doome
Is hard at the hand

33. But whilst I live myne alon in my cold cave
no framis of false fortune nor in no fraud at all
nor cair could my quiet content mynd conceive
for as my ioys were but few my griffs were but finall
And though I live myne alne both laite & aire
yet stoutly withstood I the duits of dispare
yea no cair could me kill.
Nor hurt doe my heart ill
For na wight of his will.
had halfe such a share

34. For whyls it revivedme to note the nyce noise
quhich bollows of the braue broockes on green bankes gaue
though the sweet sound yairof my heart did rejoice
quhen cliffs of the cold clenghs ye cold streams cleare
somtyms I attend to the sweet warbeling nots
quhich birds on y braue beughs did thirle trhinge yair throats
whyls the bussing of the bees:
Though the tops of tail trees
wald my hurt heart heit:
as they fell furth in flits.

And deafe not the good Gods, with thy vayne Sute:
What they haue once done, they will not vndoe.
Loue's like a trim Tree, which beareth no Fruite,
But green leaues, and blossoms, and flowrisheth too:
Oft gladning the Gardner, in hope of good gayne
Yet reapes hee in Harvest no Fruit for his payne.
Right so her fayre face
With gifts of sweet grace,
Tint travell, alace,
Bont fruit makes the fayne.

Then sute, serue, pray, prayse, or doe what you can:
Loe, heere I fore-tell thee, thy labour is lost.
For by the great griefs thou thol'st now and than,
To haste thyne on death, thou runnest the Post.
Though surges of sorrow full swift thee assayles,
thy lawtie in loue, bout lucke, nought avayles.
Though thou beate the Bush well,
Yet thy foe, without fayle
Hints the Prey by the tayle,
And prowdlie prevayles,

35. And whyls would the whirle wind quhich through ye
woods wend
with sweit prettie plaints pearce & please my dull ears
& whiles besyd I beheld the bests of each kind
furth through the Felβ flook following yair feirs
To slay my hunger startd stomaik whyls would I eite
of the fair fresh fruit quhich fell at my feitte
and whyls in my sueit songs:
Wold I writt all ye wrongs
yat ere ʒitt were amongs:
Sad me & my Sweite

36. And thus as I else told the past tyme I spent
til thou came the helper of all my old harme
I would god we had with as ʒitt bein Aaquant
I rew yat in rash forme I rapt out my arme
In such freindlie fashion to Welcome my foe
the hie host of my health o why did I so
but since I too late rew:
I intreat thou be trew
and so dear freind adiew
I take my leaw loe

Eubulus

37. Na seik man but shrinkes sare to sei himelf pausd
& er he come to his health hold his hurt sore
poor patient suppose yen thou loupe to be Panst
I count it na new thing for flie I yair force
but sins thou perceivs weil I would sie ye sound
as weil willd to rivet the auld working wound
O yen please not I pray:
To start thus but still stray
Leist if my will be away:
Such freinds be not found

38. And seik suite freind I say consider with thyselfe
thou haunts heir stays still in staggering estate
behold how yat blind god yat false little Elfe
thy black death deviseth befor the due date
Thou looks yat with leall love thy love shall reapy the
though be quyte contrar caice she shaps still to slay the
And if thowl but advert:
To ye grieffe of my heart
I shall prove the expert:
befor I goe fra the

39. I once fell (my fant freind the frenʒeie of love
& sometime I schervd sure a sueit seimly saint
as matchless a myld maid as might on Mould move
the worthiest on World wyd I may weil Waunt
and ʒitt she wes in love light & lyk ye feind false
her court kisse & quent claps wer mixt with sour salse
many way many wyle:
shope she to ouresyle
& grew glade to beguile:
and hold me in halse

40. Though in ye pryd of my pomp wen non proud as I
for why she wes my love & I hers againe
& this till ye false weirds my wealth did envye
I keept court with the clear as next unto nane
but faith in a short space my false facile dame
did find furth a new freind quhen I foot fra hame
I serve still & ay suite:
And ner finds any fruit
I reape baill but no bait:
my rights to reclaime

41. I byte bold at the bait hails the hooke bair
Syne to my staith swollowd up ye sour sweets of love
quhich all I compt call it makes my heart saire
yat I was ye most made man yat might on Muild move
and quho would hawe painted ye picture of caire
might look on my pale face & line a patron yair
god knows I wes crost:
quhen my love wes my host
& my rival runneing post:
my ryts to Impare

42. Then poor freind I pray ye give ear to my speech
be counβld be me now & use my advice
& I lay my lif doune if I be thy leech
in despite of thy dame to turne once the dyce
I knaw a Colliuiy cane cure all thy caire
a rare sweet receipt a drogg for despair
and if our mynds be to mell
I shall maike thyself tell
yat the pains shal the prepell
and shaike louse the snaire

Erophilus

43. The good gods of great grace Grant some releiffe
Some saw for each sore saue blind Love alone
but quhen the mynd is dismayd by yat mad mischeiffe
no help for yt suit. No for yt mon.
I oft hawe in wise writs & fond fabls found
how ye gread gods aboue bein to yat boy bound
& Orpheus can weall tell
yat prince Pluto himsell
heth proserpin in hell
& yer Queen her crouned

44. Lett none Meine to mock yen the blind boy our god
& quhat he deems ta be don tell no might withstand
In hell heavn earth seas hy ris bolts burns abroad
(illegible)
o yen what a Madness in me wer to meine
to lead love by a law quhich law ays bene
Experience doth plainly prove:
yat in law leads love
but Im burnd from above:
his shafts are so keine

44 (45). And pilgrim I now pray preach no more in vaine
for had thou power to perswad as orator of Rome
or sage senior Cicero himself yat was slaine
thy tyme toyle and tawell thou shall but consume
For I he seal quhat I say with my best bloode **445**
the bleed of my hurt heart if yat may doe good
and ere I faill in a whitte
yat I said to my sweite
the fish shall in the feilds fleitte
with out fnne or floode **450**

No 46.

47. since hermit quod I quhen thy heart is obdure
& yat my trew trawell but is no way respected
thou works for thyn owne wracke thou cannot be cured
thou art with the leprocie of love so infected
and since thus thy fond will our wails all thy witt **455**
yat no rule of reason can force the to flitt
Ive told now & yen:
the best counsell I cane
yet thou lyke a mad man:
Endures deaffe ȝitt **460**

48. This on thing doth ȝitt rest among all the rest
for as I would thou we weall I wish ȝe to writ
My limbs & my leggs both I lenne quod they left
& I shall thy bill bear & response repeit
And with yat me yen thought the hermit satt doune **465**
& on a banke of a brooke to a book made him bound
for in the cave as I think:
heid paper pen & ink
& on the brow of the bruik:
I fell to sleipe sound **470**

49. But tyme whill our eys sleipt so she slyde away
as non will deseue weall the past tyme he spent
I lift up my lockt lids & looked quair I lay
Syne I saw that the hermite obeyd my intent
yen came he to me ward with face full of sorrow **475**
good pilgrim quod he yen & saint John tobirrow
Thy pilgrim promise to me plight:
ye Gods grant thou rule ryd
from the day to the night
And fra night to morrow **480**

50. The great & the good god grant grace thou may speed
the fats find a franke foot fra thou furth faire
yat once I may news find of favour or feid
by word or hir hand writ I wish for na maire
Thus our we tuaine of farewealls judge miriads were
taine **485**
And our parteing in posthaist procurd so his paine
ye warme tears coats cheeks:
He na words for wae speiks
but ta be brieffe beseiks:
to haist me againe **490**

51. Quhen May had with most mirth marked ye mould
And flowres on the fair feilds wer fynly ouresprade
[…] all the hewes under heavne sueit to behold
ye comelie Cloris so courtlie wes clade
The danke dew lyke diamonds in each pleasant place
the brawe bloomeing branches & beughs did imbrace
To sad Echo shill sing:
The moist mountains in spring
till the rock riches ring:
to plead for hir peace

52. Brawe birds on yair beughs blyth with many a nyce nots
but soon frayd at my face they flow through ye air
to hear those sweet songs yat flew throught yair throats
it made me ama3d much to stay still & stare
but quhen I call to my mynd my long wearie way
berefte of all rest yan I maik no delay
but to confirme my command:
With my help in my hand
I loup light throw ye land
Without stope or stay

53. The back of my bill boore quhat bounes sauld bonne
& quhair my Saint: I should sie I weall know my sell
Er a few days wer doune I drew near to the toune
quhair the darne hermits on Dear Dame did dwell
And shortlie I shew her the sweet sheit wes send
from her old leall Love quhome she weall keand
And as I thought with glad will:
She braik up ye brief bill
I took trew tent yairtill
And thus wes it pend

Erophilus letter to Poliphila

54. Most blissed paper if thon kisse yat hand
or of yat hand and happie tuch receive
to quhos most blissd direction & Command
all blessedness submits at self a slawe
most blissed paper of so blist thou be
To preach her hand for quhom I dwyne and dye

55. doe not (alace) disdaine or thinke it scorne
to bear with the this message full of wae
sent from a wreatch dispaireing & forlorne
to quhom the fats & and fortune is a fae
Nor be affrayd befor her face to appear
quhillst thou my name & title base doest bear

56. No sooner shall yat hand (o hand divine)
tuch and unfold thy blacke oblined seal
but by yat tuch thy murneing inke shall shyne
& thou to heigh preferment mayst appeal
Playnts boldlie thy Inke murne & show thy love
& Ink shall shyne & plaints plaine Musick prove

57. Say yen a Wreatch how base soever he be
far love of her haists headlong to his graue
& he in quhom she livs of force must diee
no hope nor helpe cane he (alas perceive
he playns & 3ett Complains not of his fall
he hat much harme & 3itt no wrang at all

58. He dyes alace because his senses show
in woefull words yat such is her content
Since so she will of force it must be so
yair is no force the saikles must be shent
My love my liffe & all must be ourethrowne
by her quhen once we wowd & sworne myne ovne

59. Sworne by the bolts & vow quhich blind Love bears
(no fleud or oath) non wes her Love but I
quhich she confirmd with kisses sighs and tears
quhich spent with her with me shall never dry
I cannot boast yat I cane challenge more
but shes unkind & woe is me yairfore

60. oft hawe I told her how I grieve and pyne
but Eccho lyk she greiffe and pyne replyes
I sie no doome but dye despair & dwyne
no confort coms to my dispair & cryes
but now my voice is hoarse & I will still
henceforth conceal hur wrongs & hyd myn ill

61. Cease yen poore breathing of my liffs unrest
to fash her ears with plaints my heart with paine
Since I have showd my faith my worst my best
& ȝitt she hears not bot I pray in vaine
And since my wound by opneing will not heal
quhat once I shew I hencefurth will conceall

62. The heavie chear & passions of my heart
my crossing cares my caice is comfortless
thow meinst not once so merciles thou art
nor stwrpd on foote to ease me in distress
but thou shall sie quhen sorrow hath me slaine
yat lairge repentance shall inlairge thy paine

63. Hop hath no happe but waxins daylie old
doth chang his shape & turne to black dispaire
& now becommeth hoarie steal and cold
for still thou franes & thinks franris maikes ye faire
with weirding fron shey wes rust waisteth treasure
on earth (sawe Love) yair is no other pleasure

64. Thus dare I say no man hath beine more just
nor serwed his mistres with more due reguard
bot quhen misled evne by thyne owne mistrust
denys thy serwed his deservd reward
This maks my strange misfortune more & more
ȝitt will I suffer though I dye yairfore

65. dye, die poor heart & bide delyte adieu
death is ye last death is the best remeid
Came thou lyke thy saint: doth change her hew
quhich maks the bieast quhair she aboad to bleid
die yen poor heart & satisffie her wreath
end both thy dole & her disdaine by death

66. Thy liffe is nothing but a tragick sheane
quhos entrance pleaseth but the end is fade
The promises quhich some tyme movd thy flame
ye kisses wows & oaths quhich made the glade
are quyte forgott & she is tryd untrew
die yen poor heart and ye world adieu

67. I dwell in daill besyd the bruttish beaste
in vallies unto amidst the woods & trees
The rocks my bed of fowls & heres my feast
in solitude I sigh quhair no man sies
alon I live quhos lyke wes never ȝitt
the rage of Love hath so be writith my writ

68. In this sad cell quhich shrews me from the shewrs
from schorche my heat & from the ruthless raine
I keept a cloake to tell the tedious howers
a lute the sole companion of my paine
a book or two with paper pen & ink
a bead mans skull the dish quhairin I drink

69. and thus my life I fear in now near spent
my days I wott no longer dow endure
for want of food I find my forge wax faint
my salweness sores ar such yat I am sure
Least thou with speed thy answer send againe
death shall avenge thy wrath & end my paine

70. Nought resteth yen O fair & Cruel dame
but yat you have ane equall just regard
first to my faith & next unto thy fame
(god grant ye grace) which thou hes long deserd
witch else to writ thy answer good or ill
since both my liffe & death ar in thy will

71. Love leawths my life but blacke dispair brings death
yen of thou lyk thy loves liffe should last
Grant love for love avert thy wonted wrath
I freelie heir forgive the offences past
thus wait myn till thy answer me retreve
I kiss thy hand & kindlie taike my Leive

thus ends his letter

72. And so quhen yat suiet saint had looked or ye Letter
with bash baisd brawe blush & many a trew teare
quhich as it seemd to myself so weall they did besett her
and sheyne lyk ye read rose mongst lillies faire
for evn lyk the proud god quhich pithon slene
quhen in a green laurel tree his dear Daphne grew
she still in on stand stoode
& speacks me yair bade nor good
but I height by my hoode
shes changed many a heiwe

73. Quhat mistres (quod I yen) hath made youw thus to muse
or atr yow no yet at the noise of these my nyce newes
for evn as a man drivn in a dump he does
with sade sorrie silence you change many hewes
The meswenger or message hath moved so yor mynd
yat (speech spoyld) yow pause still & sigh sob & synd
for Christs saik if you caire:
have pittie on your poor man
& Lett me know quhair or quhen
yow conclude to be kynd

74. Sir Telephus ye trojan as trew stories tell
wes hurt by achilles ye kein Greekish knight
The would waxed worse still till yat syre himsell
yat wrought ye woe by ye wound reward it as by Dight
So be your sueit seimly self I prease now to speack
quhen by the boy bad blind I boldlie beseeke
Lett old love have no force:
bot on man have remorse
Least yow & him divorse
he beinge saire seike

So by your sweete selfe I preasse now to speake,
Whome by the god of Loue I pray, and beseike,
Forget the same of your force
On your Man haue remorse;
Lest Death him and you divorce,
For hee is sore sicke.

75. Or if the poore mans plaint hath pearsd through yor ears
if Love any lordship doth in yor breast broock
have pittie on his passions & trew tragick tears
quhen libertie and liffe both hath lost with yor looke
Love blows still the old coal quhich hath his burnt bons hurt
he stuts still for nought else but yat yow strangh his stwtt
yen choice of thes tuo:
and lett me learne or I goe
be frank freind or false foe:
to the heart yat yow have hurt

Or if a poore man's Plaint may pearce through your Eares?
If Loue anie Lordship in your Breast may brooke;
Haue pittie on his Passions, and salt tragicke Tears;
Who Libertie, and Lyfe both, hath lost with a Looke.
His Helpe must bee had from Handes that him hurt:
For sterne must hee stay still, till you stay his stutt.
Then, choose one of these twa,
Your sworn Slaue for to slay,
Or revert all his wae
Whome your Beautie hurt.

76. And yen with a fell frawne qhuich hade a full force
ye wholl world as it over waild with externe might
by quhich sight it weil seemd she had small remorse
upon the poor plient yat pyne in such plight
POLIP:
faith pilgrim (quod she yen thou lands all too late
a stranger detrues him dethrns him from state
yea ma Word to conclud:
I now can doe no good
for he is reft (by the rood:
by too stronge a mate

And then, with a fell Frowne, which had a full force
To over-rule the whole Worlde, with Eterne Might
Whereby it well seemed shee had no remorse
Upon the poore Patient, pyned in such plight.
Faith, Pilgrime, quod shes, thou ravest in a rage
Thou sleekest by my shame his sicke sore to swage
For in a word to conclude,
I can doe him no good;
Hee is reaft, by the Rood,
Of all his wun Wage.

77. though som tym the day dew I ner dow deny
yat he in my heart hade the most supream place
And thus till the false faits his wealth did envy
I ner could but courteuslie consider of his caice
and ??? alas (pilgrim his passions and paine
made my fearfull heart both affrayd & unfaine
And now (though it seime strange)
he rews now quhill I rainge
his bade chance & my change
hath breed all his baine

Though sometime the day drew, I dare not denye,
That hee in mine Heart had the most supreame place:
And so, till the fond Fates his wealth did envye,
I still, with courtesie, considred his case.
And trust mee, Pilgrime, his Passions, and Paine,
Ment as neare mine Heart, as ever did mine awne.
Though his case now seeme strange,
I will not my selfe cleange:
His bad chance, and my change,
Hath bred all his paine.

78. But lykas for my love he longs but release
assosiat (for my saik) with many sad songe
I am compensd in yat kind with alse cairfull caice
for he qairin I most wish hath wrought all my wronge
And lyke as for his Love he reaps but disdaine
the leid quhom I best lyke but loaths me againe
And as he livs him alon:
With many great grivous groan
So in my Mynd I bemoan
my hid parteing paine

And as for my Loue, who lyes without release
Associate for my sake, with manie sad Song;
So am I payde in mine hand, with as carefull case,
For hee whome I best loue, hath wrought mee great wrong
And like as for his loue, hee reapes but disdaine,
The Loue whome I like best, loathes mee againe.
And as hee liues all alone,
With manie great grievous groane,
So to my selfe I bemoane,
My hid piercing paine.

79. I flie to be folloud thus & follow to be fleed
I love & am lathd Loe & loath to be Lovd
So heir his a stratagem quhich hath my bailbreed
I frieȝe in the hoate flams & fray in the floode
I Lose quhat I best love yet choackt am with store
so much as my cloyd mynd can Mint for no more
Thou goe againe quhence thou came
& Show thy seik friends & Dame
persists still the selfe same
yat she wes of ȝeare

I flee to bee followed, and following, am fled:
I loue, and am loathed, and loath to bee lov'd.
Heere's a strange stratageme, that my vaile bred:
I frieze in the hote Flame, and frye in the Flood.
I lacke whome I best loue, and choakt am with store:
Yea, haue so much, that my mynde can craue no more.
Thus go thy wayes, whence thou came
And showe thy sicke Friende, his Dame
Remaines yet the self same,
That shee was before

80. But er I work yea any wrang yat no Way hath Wyte
but things feiles on thy feet thus freindlie doth faire
to seek for yat seick man some saw for his syte
& cure by thy kind craft his heart killing caire
thow sall on the way walk or stay in the street
& yen thou sall recive soon thy response in Wreitt
And yen quhill she the door barrd:
I stood still Unskarrd
& hence throu a hole eare
the song of the sueitt

I will worke thee no wrong, that no wayes has wyte.
But through the Fieldes on thy Feete friendlie doest fate,
To seeke to thy sicke man some Salue for his syte
And to cure by thy Craft his curst kindled Care:
Thou shalt walke on thy way, and stay on the Stréet,
And carrie him shortlie his answere in Writ.
And when shee the Doore bard,
I stoode still yet vnskard:
And through a hole I heard
This talke of the Sweete.

Poliphila ere she wrott this disputs with her selfe

Poliphila, before Shee writ her Answere, disputeth with her owne Desires, as followeth

81. How hard it is non knaws so weil as I
Unto a dolefull and divided mynd
to mack a weall joynd answer & reply
In principall & in noble parts are pynd
yen shall I be to creultie inclynd
or pitie him yat prays pleads for peace
ofhis or yat I strike in contrarie caice

How hard it is, none knows, so well as I
Unto a dolefull, and divided Mynde,
To make a well-joind Aunswere, and Replye,
When all the chiefe and noblest partes are pynde.
Then, Shall I bee to Cureltie inclynde?
Or pittie him that prayes, and pleades for Peace
If this or that I sticke in contrare case?

82. I love (alas) & am not love againe
& loath of him quhen Lovs me as his liffe
I for my saint my slawe for me is slaine
I of his threed of myne he keips ye kniffe
how shall I end this strange & fatall stryffe
but best it wer to looke before I loupe
& not to Loss assurance trew for houpe

I loue the Loue that lightlies mee againe;
And lightlie him that loues mee as his life:
Yea, for my loue with slaverie is slaine.
His lyfe's the Threed, my crueltie's the Knyfe.
How shall I rid this strange and fatall stryfe?
Yet best it were, to looke, before I lope:
And not to quite Assurance true, for Hope.

83. What sall my soul so farr divided doe
quhairon shall now, my resolution rest
quhat weard quhen knows he best to yeild unto
of strang extreams how cane I chone ye best
Cum papthian prince I pray & I protest
assist me now & maike nomore delay
and guide my steps in this my Wildsome way

O my divided Soule! What shall I doe?
Whereon shall nowe my resolution rest?
Which is the best Advise to yeelde vnto?
Of two Extreames, howe shall I choose the best?
Come Pithiane Prince: I praye and I protest:
Assist me nowe, and make no more delay;
But guide me well, in this my wilsome way

84. Poor hermite yen yat in distress doth duell
& buys my love with dear & great expence
unlosd with in thy sad & shaddie Cell
be blyth & let thy wonted harms goe hence
Thou must not die since I may mack defence
pull yen a poynt & period to thy pyne
thy long sought Love & lady shall be thyne

Then, Heremite, that doest in Desart dwell,
And buyst my loue, with dear and great expence;
With Toyle, and Tormentes, tedious for to tell;
Bee blythe, and let thy wonted Harmes goe hence:
Thou must not die, while I may make defence.
Put then a point and period to thy paine:
Thy long-sought Loue and Ladie shall bee thine

85. ȝitt writ I will in wrathfull verse to the
to kynd petition give a cold reply
I will no seime nor blind nor bold to be
with facile faith to tuist befor I trye
ȝitt I a vow to neyr lodge nor lye

Yet will I write disdainfullie to thee:
Thy loving Lines must haue a colde Reply.
I will not seeme too credulous to bee,
With hastie Faith, to trust, before I trye.
But I avow, I shall not sleepe, nor lye

in any bed till I behold thy face
& boldie once my best belowd imbrace

86. Goe loveless lyns salute my lower true
ȝitt stay o stay least ye inlarge his paine
Bot goe god grant yat nought but good ensue
Stay lurid lynes yow may be quyte mistaine
ȝitt goe & ȝitt you shall not goe alaine
my self shall follow with a love wingd heart
god grant my voyage be not wared in waist

Pilgrim

87. And so in a short space yat sweit seimly saint
presents me hir pilgrim a bail bearing bill
& cause in the wyld way she weind I should want
my script & bottle wayanded wer all will
And from her fair finger fynd a ring did she taike
presents me & prays me good newes to bring backe
And having no more to say:
but loath yat I should long stay
She went weeping away:
And not a word spacke

88. And yen quhen the blacke night his sade shaddow show
lyk a bad successor degenerd from the day
I toock my third foot in hand & through the throng threw
And cloyd with unclear clouds thus I wentout ye way
ȝett loath to unlet thus the letter ore long
I came to my seick friend & thus wes his song
For quhen I weil knew his voyce
I keipt up my self closs
to learn the layes of his lose
the wyd woods in among

Erophilus Complaint

89. So many thins of ȝow hawe pryed poets penned
In sheaw yair sade & pearceing pains & cause yair cairs to be kend
yat naught is left (alas) to poor Unhappie me
in earth in air in vaults above nor in the glassie sea
no Metaphorick phraȝe nor quick invention braive
nor alleyorick sweit conceit nor theame sublime orgraue
since all things else ar quod yat I can writ or say
I hawe no method left to me havme how my warks I may be
and nothing doth wrage my matchless grieffe so much
as yat my skill should be so small & sorrow should be Much
ȝitt all these poets brave quhen wer or after this shall be
(could I but utter as I feill) should all give place to me)
& thou quhos mirth wes lost quhos confort wes dismayd
quhos hope invaine quhos faith in skorne quhos trust wes all betrayd
though thou declard the dole in brawe & dainitie dy
thou wes unhappie yen I grant bot now unhappie I
thy poems shall present upon the pleasant page
nor sorrows quhen thou oversell unto the comeing age
with coastly Murex rare Sydonian wairs divine
thou lets thy lyns quhich mack thy moans Miraculouslie to shyne
my pangs lyk Tagus sands no numbers cane be wray
or lyk Auroras tears quhich she for memnon shads each day

In anie Bed, till I behold thy Face,
And boldlie him whome I should brooke, imbrace.

Goe, louelesse Lines, vnto my Lover true
Stay yet, lest ye procure his farder paine.
God graunt that nothing but Good hereof ensue
Yet stay, for why? Yee will bee quite mistane.
goe yet: but yet yee shall not goe alane:
My selfe will followe, with convenient haste.
God graunt my Uoyage bee not waird in waste

Thus endeth her Disputation

And so, in a short space, that sweet seemlie Sainct,
Presents mee her Pilgrime, a baile-bearing Bill:
And as in the wilde way shee weind I should want,
My Bag, and my bottle, shee plenisht at will.
A Ring from her Finger full faire did shee take:
And gaue mee, and prayed mee, good Newes to bring backe
And having no more to say
but loath I should long stay,
Shee weeping went away
And not a word spake.

Then, when the blacke Night her sadde Mantle shew
Ill Successour, degenerate from the Day,
With the third Foote in hand, I throgh the thrang threw.
Though clad with the darke Clowdes, I went on my way.
And loath to detaine the Lecture too long,
I came to my sicke Friende: and this was his Song
But, when I knew his voice
I kept my selfe full close,
To heare the Layes of his losse
The wilde woods among.

The Heremite his Complaint

So manie thinges before haue perfect Poets pende,
For to expresse their piercing paines, and Cause their Cares be kende
That nought is left, alace, for most vnhappie mee,
In Skyes aboue, on earth beneath, nor in the glassie Sea.
No Metaphoricke Phrase, no high Invention braue:
No Allegorie sweete Conceit, no Theame sublime and graue:
But all thinges else are saide, which I can write or say
Thus in effect I wot not how my wracks for to bewray
And nothing doeth aggrege my griping grief so much,
As that my skill should be so small, my sorrowes should be such
Yet all those poets braue, which were, or yet shall bee,
Could I but vtter, as I feele, might all giue place to mee.
And thou whose mirth was least, whose comfort was dismaid
Whose hipe was vaine, whose faith was skorne, whose trueth was betraide:
Thou didst declare thy duile, in braue and daintie dye:
Thou wast vnhappie then,I graunt, but now vnhappie I.
Thy Poemes did present vpon thy pleasant Page,
Moe Sorrowes thatn thou ever felt into thy cunning age.
With costlie Nurix rare, Sidoniane Wares divine,
Thou list thy Lines, which makes thy Moanes miraculouslie to shine.

My Paines, like Tagus Sandes, no numbers can bewray
Or like Auroras tears, which she for Memnon sheeds each day

as starrs in frostie night cannot be told quich shynes
as many hosts of harms my heart without compassion pynes
yea would I strive to tell these torments why I feil
with travel tint yen should I twin Ixions fatall wheil
& to engorge those grieffe quhich macks me sigh and soabe
wer but to weaw ane endless new Penelopean webbe
myn eyes lyke fountains full in bloods ȝitt funaces doe fry
or lyk ye Belideyan tubbs quhos dome wes wer to dry
my ȝitt & skadding fiyrs no lineall course can take
but restless round abut my heart a sperick motion maik
my thoughts ar now of bless lyk rucnd I lion bare
a reconsuised mass of yat quhich flurisht once so faire
my ventureing wes my wrack my high desire my fall
quhich mad ye naufrage of my heart my hop my hap & all
alas alas yat I impossible did preass
abow my fortuns race to she so farr to my disgrace
Disgrace with loss with shame with wrack & endlesse wrong
these are the drierie dittays now & subject of my songe
ȝitt dare I not alas (though I haue cause) Complaine
quhich maiks me thus to Timoniȝe & sham for to be seme
yet by my loss let oyrs learne a lower course to keep
but since it is my fait to fall to raill & weepe
& I with patience will my friends returne awaite
his newes will eyr end my woes or else restor my state

PIL: And quhen I sawe his song received a full end
I shortly my self shew & kyndlie did kyth
And when yat sore seick man his fare beard kend
syne saw ye fate of his freind god knows he wes blyth
yen brought I tae blacke bill superscryvd with his name
& subscrvd with the hand of his dear dame
And yen with a glade cheare
yen hope had deforcd feare
he thus read yat might heare
the sence of the same.

Poliphilas answr to Erophilus

90. Thy loving lyns I rashlie did receave
by quhich thy truth thy state thy suite I sie
ȝitt at my hands no succour shall thou haue
since faits to me; I shall be foe to the
And if thy death do thu my doome depend
Live loathd or die disgracd & so I end

As starres in frostie Sky cannot bee tolde which shynes;
So manie heaps of harms my hart without compassion pyns,
Yea would I preasse to tell the torments that I feele,
With travel tint then might I turne Irions fatall wheele.
And to disgorge these griefs which make me sigh and sob
Were for to weue a new Penelopeian webbe.
My Eyes like fountains might in bloodie Fornace frye,
Or like the Lidiane tubs, whose doome is never to bee drye.
My hote and smoothred sighes, no levill course can take:
But restlesse round abut my heart espheericke motion make.
My Thoughtes are now of Blisse like ruine Ilion bare:
My shape, a reconfused masse, which flowrisht once so faire.
My Ship, which sometimes saild in draine of hope aright.
On Rockes full colde is rent, in blacke and stormie night.
And I, forsaken Soule, a lyfelesse lumpe of Lead
Twixt wind and waue am cast, whereas no strength can stand in stead.
My Uentring was my Wracke; my high Desire, my Fall:
Which made the Naufrage of my Hurt, my Hope, my Hap and all.
Alace, alace, that I impossiblie did preasse,
Aboue my Fortunes for to flie, so farre to my disgrace
Digrac'd with Losse, with Shame, with Wracke, and endlesse Wrong:
These are the dolefull Ditties now, and subjects of my Song.
Yet dare I not, alace, though I haue cause, complaine:
Which makes me sigh, and sob, and thus for loue am slaine.
But since it is my weird, to fall, to waile, to weepe:
Then by my losse let others learne a lower course to keepe.

Thus endeth the Heremite his Complaint.

And when I saw that his Song received a full ende
I showed my selfe shortlie, and kindlie did kythe.
And when that sore sicke man his true Bearer kende,
And saw the Face of his Friend, God knows he was blythe
Then showde I the blacke Bill, subcryv'd with his Name
Well written with the hand of his owne deare Dame.
And then with a glad cheare,
When Hope had ceased Feare,
He read, that I might heare,
The Will of the same.

Her Answere, to the Heremite

Thy loving Lines I rashlie did receiue,
Wherein thy Trueth, thy State, thy Wracke I see:
But at mine handes no succour shalt thouh haue:
though Friende to mee, I shall be Foe to thee.
And since thy death doeth on my doome depende,
Liue loath'd, or die disgrac'd, and so I ende.

Thus shee shortly concludes.

PILGRIME

91. I raged as he yen did read these sad & sorrie news
his wonted voes revive & his old hurt & harms
he now reid & yen pale changed many hewes
& dounefell in deaths thraw tuixt my weack arms
(92.) And quhen with my fresh tears I foyld his fand face
his blood & his braith come unto yair pynd & paine place
he crys on CLOTHO to staye
her doome for yat halfe day
till he in writt may be wray
his heigh great disgrace

Erophilus his Testamente

93. Bot now & not till now my swannish song I sing
& with each word my dyeing eyes a bloodie tear furth bring
not yat I loath (alas) or shrink for to be slaine
for quhat cane be so sueit as death quhich puts ane end to paine
but by my death because her honor & renowne
shall loss ye coastlie diadem of fams Immortall Croune
yet since it is her doome yat in dispaire I dye
or loathed live the choice is hard quhairin no midst cane be
& ȝitt of evils tuo the best must ay be tane
so yat I rayr choyce to dye nor live in lasting paine
long hawe I lockt my thoughts fra quhnce ye torments of sorrou spring
the end quhairof alas must be a letter will to singe
my tuns are cairfull crys my words are plaints alace
the songs theam must the singer be since pittie hes na place
my pains are lyke a poynt yat is into a Circle sett
still mon nearness to my selfe yat no relieffe I get
how cane I hop for halping hand since heavens me despryres
& all ye gods are deamed abow with my sad plaints & Cryes
earths burden am I now quhos breth in feils the aire
with poysond breath proceeding from a heart consumed with Caire
for loe ye faithlees fayr into this state me calls
quhos stte ye statly starrs yemselvs quhos fortun fortune thralls
quhat resteth yen but death since death must be the last
to put ane poynt to all my paine since pleasures hope is past
yet I attest ye gods since first our Lows begane
yat I hawe bein leallest ay & best affected man

my love alas yairfor & thy disdaine hath beine
ye most extreams yat ever wer or shall againe be siene
Thou hes betrayd my hope & brock thy wowed faith
thou precounsed lyff by love thou has decernd my death
Thus whyl thy Cruel doome I call befor and tho
The eyes of my rememberance I doubt quhat I shall doe
I sometyms wish to live not to enjoy thy love
but yat I might behold my wrongs revenged from abowe

And when hee read these bad and noisome Newes,
Which did refresh his Woes, his Hurtes, and Harmes:
Whiles red, whiles pale, hee chaunged manie hewes,
And fell downe, in dead-thraw, betwixt my weake Armes.
And when with my salt Teares I bath'd his pale Face,
His Sprites, and his Breath, came to their owne place.
He cryde then, O Death, stay
Thy date, for this halfe day;
That I in writ may bewray
My high great Disgrace.

The Heremite his Testament.
But now, and not till now, my Swan-lyke Song I sing;
And with each word my dying Eyes the bloodie Teares foorth bring.
Not that I loathe, alace, or shrinke for to bee slaine:
For, what can be so swéet aas death which puts an end to pain?
My death shall bee the Cause, thy Honour and Renowne
Shal lose the conquerd Diademe of Fames immortal Crown.
Yet since it is thy Doome, that in disgrace I die,
Or loathed liue, the choise is hard whearas no mids may be
And yet of Evils twane, the best must aye bee tane:
So that I rather choose to die, than liue in endlesse paine.
Long haue I lookt for joy, whence floods of sorrow spring:
The ende whereof, alace, must bee my latest Will to sing.
My Tones, are carefull Cryes; my Words are Plaints, alace:
Sad Sorrow must the singer bee, since Pittie hath no place.
My Paines are like a Point, amidst a Circle set;
Still in such nearness to my selfe, that no reliefe can get
How can I hope for helpe, since Heavens doe mee despise?
And all the gods aboue are dead'd, with my Complaintes and Cryes
Earths burden am I thus, whose sighes infect the Aire,
With poisned breath, procéeding from an heart consum'd with Care.
For loe, the faithlesse Fates vnto this state mee calles:
By which the statelie Starres themselues misfortune tholes.
What resteth then but Death? Since Death must be the last
To put a period to my paine, for pleasures hope is past.
Yet A attest the gods, since first our loue began
I hae beene the lielest aye, and most affected man.
I loded thee, alace, thy Soliphermis sworne:
O Poliphila false! My lawtie is forlorne.
My loue, woe's mee, therefore, still thy disdanie hath beene:
The most Extreames that ever were, or shall againe bee séene
Thou first betrayed mne Heart, then falsifide thy Faith
And wher thou promisde Lyfe, by Loue, thou hast decreede my Death
When that thy Cruelties I call before, and to
The Eyes of my remembrance, I doubt what I shall doe.
Whiles doe I wish to liue, not to envye thy loue:
But that Imight beholde my wracke, revenged from Aboue.
Or that such wrongs as mine, if such, or worse, might bee,

or yat sometyms thou lyke the yat Minoian dame
by Theseus may be left alone & suffer such a shame
or yat the fatall wheel quhairon thou leans may lout
& mounting me may mack ye plead for my peace tyme about
but whillst againe I think might I may wish obtine
I cound not but be kind to the for kindness yat hat beine

yea though I be dydand yet such is ȝett my fyre
yat neptunes kingdom could not quench the coalls of my desire
for quhen I read the grieffs & torments quhich I thorlle
quhair no mischance it myn to fill a wofull martyrs roll
& quhen I look unto ye lyns in quhich the hellish doome
by thy hand writt to me it send quhat death shall me consume
yen I resolved at once for to obey thy will
& through my liffe the ransome be thy furie to fulfil

yen pilgrim thou quhen toock thy way unto ye wayles airts
for me prepare a burial place for bons quhu braith depairts

& let this Caven cold in quhich I now must die
to misers and unhappie men a Worthless mansion be

Yow hills & dails with sweit oblique & leisum levelled lyns
Might make mee smile at thy Mishaps, as thou hast done at mee
Or then that sometime thou, like that Minoaniane Dame
Mightst loue, and lothed bee, and suffer such like shame.
Or that the fatall Sparke, whereon thy Loines might lout,
And mounting much, might make thee pleade, for Peace thy time about.
Yet, whiles againe I thinke, might I my wish obtaine
I could not but bee kinde to thee, for kindesse that hat beene.
Thus what I would, I wish: but wot not what I would.
Twixt Heate and Colde I frieze, I frye, and fearfull am, and bolde
Yea, though I bee dismaide, such is my flaming Fyre
That Neptunes Kingdome could not quench the Coales of my Desyre.
Yet whiles I read the Schrole of Torments which I thole,
Where no Mischance is mixt to fill a grieved Martyres Roll.
And when I looke the Liues, wherein thy Hellish Doome,
By thy Chyrographie sent, That Death should me consume,
Thus I resolue at ones, for to obey thy will,
Although my Lyfe the Ransome bee, thy Furie to fulfil.
Since Contraries, wee see, are by Contraries cured:
Then, welcome, Death, to cut the Threed, which hath so long endured.
For why? my Prayers are but Curses late and aire:
And I beseech the gods by night, to see the Day no maire
My wishes are, that Hilles and Rockes should on me fall,
To end my endlesse breath, my lyfe, my loue, and all.
Yet all those wishes are but types, that I must die,
Which revelations all at once, shall now accomplisht bee.
Then loueless dame, adue, whom I haue helde so deare:
And welcome, Death, to cut the Threede, which holds my lyfe in weire.
And, Pilgryme, thou who took'st thy way in manie airts,
For me prepare a burial Bed, for Bones, when breath departs
Yet recommend mine Heart, vnto my sometime-Sweet;
Who shall, when I am dead and gone, for Grace and Guerdon greet.
And let that place bee nam'd, Strophonius Caue of care:
Where nought but woefull wandring wights, vndone with duill repare.
And let this Caverne colde, wherin I dwelt, to die
For Misers, and vnhappie men, a matchlesse Mansion bee.
Let him whose erring steps should guide hime heere to plaine
take paines to recollect my rolls, & scattered Skrolls againe.
That these my Waylings now, and Sorrowes Children may
Exotlde in after coming times, endure, and lieue for aye.
And that the wandering eyes, which reade my sorrowing songs.
When I am dead, may say, that shee causelesse hath wrought such wrongs.
The Mountanes high, whose poynts doe pierce the asure Aire;
Whose echoes lowed my Commerades make comfort to my Care:

Still mot your hights aryse, with statelie tops and stay,
To match the Alpes, that yee may bee as famous, faire as they,
Ye Valleyes loulie low, with sweet and level lynes,

qyhair naturs workmanship & pryd in flowrie mantle sheins
Green may yow grow for ay & let no spaits of raine
no winter showrs or summer shune your statlie broidering slaine
And thou o statlie brooke quhich did accept my tears
& harbour yen about thy heart for many looksome ȝears
straigt to the ocean se most sweetly may thou slyde
to pay thy devls bot any stay of contrair streame or tyde
yow whistling winds lyk ways quhich suietlie did receave
my cognat sight & burie quhen within thy bosome brawe
doe this much for me ȝitt lack onsigh to my dame
& suietily whispering show my saint: yat I haue sent ye same
and if she shall refuse or vilipend in wraith
this news of NO shall be a spur to heast me to my death

And thou suiet pyping Pan ȝon fauns & satyrs rare
Quhich wer amidst my mirthless moans Companions of my cair
ȝou Nimphs of hills & daills of woods of walls & floods
I give zou all a long fareweall and so my caire concluds.
And no poynt of death quhos wisht appe wach I feil
I clerat unto yow all ?? saveing word ffairweall

HEIRE ENDETH EROPHILUS his testament

Where Nature's workmanship and pryde in Floraes Mantle shynes:
Green mot yee grow for aye, and that ne spaits of raine,
No Snowie showres, no partching Sunne, your statelie broydering staine
And thou, O blessed Brooke, which didst accept my Teares;
And harbered thee within thy heart, so manie loathsome yeares
Unto the Ocean great, most swiftlie mot yee slide,
To pay thy debts, bout stop or stay of contrare stream or tide.
Yee whisling windes, likewise, which swiftlie did receiue,
My Cogiate Sighs, and burie them within your Bosome braue.
Doe thus much once for mee; Take one Sigh to my Dame:
And whispering sweetlie, show that Sainct, thus haue I sent the same.
And if shee doe refuse, which out of doubt I dread,
The newes of *No*, shall bee a Sput, to haste mee to my dead.
Ye braue and statslie Trees, which circumcituate heere,
Still bloome, and blossome, with the change of yearlie changing cheare.
Though I did ryue your Kyndes, & brake your tender Barkes,
By painting Polyphilaes name to your immortal markes:
Agrieue not with your wounds, for I dare well avow,
That I more cruelly haue rent my tender Heart, than you.
But last, and by the laiue, thou Holline, graue and greene,
Wherein my Mistresse name, and mine, most liuelie may bee seene,
I consecrate to thee my Corpse, when I am gone,
That by my losse I may enlarge thy thornie leaues each one.
And when I shall consume, and rot about thy roote,
Then shall thy Boughs and Branches bloome, and beare a fairer Fruit:
And as thou tak'st increase, so shall Her Name, and mine,
Unto thy praise, my losse, her shame, in seemelie sort aye shine.
Yee savage Citizens, which in this Forrest bee,
That did exchange your Cruelties, in Courtesies to mee:
Well not yee bee, poore Beastes, and that no shots of Lead
No life-bereaving Bow, nor bolt, procure nor haste your dead.
And thou sweet pyping Pan, ye Fawnes and Satyres rare,
Which were amidst my matchlesse moans, Companions of my care:
Ye Nymphes of Hilles & Dales, of Woods; of Uailes, of Floods
I bid you all, alace, Good-night, and so my Muse concludes
For now the Herbinger of Death, must life and loue bereaue.
My Heart is faint, and loe, my soule begins to take her leaue.
And so at point of Death, whose wisht approach I feele,
to end my life, I write this last Ill-faring word, Fare-well

Eubulus

94. And this quhill I to peace the sad poor hermits paine
prepared to repeat on his proud mistris speech
he doune tuix in arms fell into deaths thraw againe
quhen no lord for his liffe my thought could be a leech
(95.) His cognat corps with the cold clay were lumpish lyke to lead
healthless & helpless seimed he in heart & hand & head
yen weach wreatch did I wale
& but respect raine to raile
on hir whose faith now did faile
In such tyme of neide

96. Yitt in the midst of my moans doune lights ye fair dame
accompanyd with non but her pelfray & her page
but quhen she saw her leil love bay lost er she came
her faire face & ritch robs she rent in great rage
And flathings ye fair fell on her faint face
& great seas of salt tears she spent in short space
And song suae her sweit flaime
quhen na remeid did remaine
she thus concluds to comlplaine
her bade caifull caice

Poliphilas Complainte

97. O endless night of moan quhich hath no morrow
O Loureing heavns quhich helpless harms still threat
or mantleing in & with sable clouds of sorrow
throw quhich nor starr can sheyne nor air nor Lait
although escaped from Cage to seik my mate
And frame a glorious garland to my croune
I find by death my dantiest rose beat doune

98. Though swelling seas with endless wawes yat roll
to resalute the weather shakene shoare
they ebb they flow they changing courses tholl
& dare transcend the bounded banks no more
but I (alace) quhairin death doth still devoure
Admitt no stay nor measure in my moans
but our & Late Lament with grievous groans

99. Now numbers great of nights dipoyld of sleep
ar to yair pith: black predicesssors gaine
since poysons coupe quhich I hawe drunk so deipe
hath made a wound must mortall in each vaine
And hath not yet proclaimed my peirles pain
Till now yat reast beams no ease to me
its tyme to dye quhen we are foced to die

100. The scope and work at quhich my thoughts did aince
givs now my wexit spritt a mortall wound
& of my harms it helps the hudge bull frame
yat I am wise to sie my ills, and found
no helpe at all quhair help should most abound
I sie no ebb unto the flood of woe
with sade deludge quhich shaps to sink me so

So endeth the Testament of Stophonius

Thus the poore Heremite in midst of his paine
Began to repeate his faire Mistres speech;
Downe betwixt mine Armes fell, in dead thraw againe
When no Leid for his life, mee thought, could be Leach
His Cognate Corpse as Clay were, like the Lead
yea healthless and helplesse, were Heart, Hand and Head:
I began to bewaile,
And eke for to raile,
On her whose faith did faile
In such time of neede.

Yet in the midst of my moanes, down lighted that Dame,
Compnaied with none, but her Palfray and Page:
And when shée saw her liele Loue lye deade ere shée came,
Her faire Face and rich Robes, shée rent in great rage.
And startling shée fell vpon his faint Face,
And great Seas of sault Teares shée spent in short space
And séeing her Swéet slaine,
No remead did remaine:
She thus began to plaine,
Her bad carefull case.

Polyphila her Complaint, and Testament

O endlesse Night of noyse, which hath no Morrow!
O lowring Heavens, which harmes still haue threat!
Ov'r manlting mee with sable Clowds of Sorrow!
Whereas no Starre doeth shine earlie nor late.
And though I ship from *Craig* to seeke my Mate,
And from a glorious Garland to my Crowne,
I finde by death my daintie *Rose* dung downe.

Yée swelling Seas, with waltering Waues that roll.
To resolute the weather-beaten Shoare:
They eb, they flow, and changing, Courses tholl,
And dare transcende their bounded banks no more.
But I, alace, whome Duill doeth still devoure,
I find no entermissions to my Moanes,
But ere and late alment my grievous Groanes.

How can my wofull Heart, and weeping Eyes,
Behold the dearest of my life bereaft?
How can my minde admit the least surmyze,
Of anie Hope, that hath but Horrour left?
My Pilote now, by North, nor yet by East,
Espies no Calmes, but Mercie-wanting Stormes;
Pretending Death, in blacke and vglie Formes.

I grouelinges on the Ocean of my pride
Did misregard each true and loving Sute
So mante sude for favour on each side,
Which made my Seede to yeelde much barren Fruite
Though I bewaile, as nowe, it bringes no buite
Sighes, Teares, and Uowes, and all are waird in vaine:
Since nothing can redeeme thy life againe.

101. Now wretched wreatch my torment goes beyond
all hope of help & my desert exceede
The worst of ills my thoughts hawe bein so found
yat might my fancie taile effect in deed
To thousand deaths though thousand shames sutted
Nor all such shames nor all such deaths should slay me
till once the effect affected should betray me

102. But ach how cane my wiet and weiping eyes
behold ye jewell of my liffe herefte
how can my mynd admith the least surmise
of any hope yat hawe but horror felt
My pilot now in peep & sterne be efte
Espys no calme but mercier wanting storms
portending death in black and fearfull forms.

103. Thou Lett me dye & bide delyte adieu
delyte with the dear heart is dead & gone
The comeing age shall say thy Thesbe trew
wes true to the & love but the alone
ffor we shal by beneth on buriall stone
On grawe in end shall end our fatall grieffe
quhich yields me now in poynt of death releyfe

104. Since yesterday may not be brought againe
& wrongs (tho not recald) may be repeuted
I will no more Invock on death in vaine
but with my blood thy blood shall be resented
And both our livs in end shall be contented
As thou in death didst swrve & honour me
I aswer death shall swrve and follow the

105. And pilgrim now I pray and I protest
before I end this last exequall acte
Let me be bold to mack some small request
yat now some pains forth umquhill friend thou laike
First in this place a privat growe canst mack
And let us lye into invrd conjunctly ther
quhair non bill fauns & satyrs mack repaire

106. Nixt quhen thou coms unto yat court & lands
quhairin my love and luckless I wes borne
If any shall our dolefull deaths demands
with pittie speack & not (I pray) with scorne
This practiqß rare quhich seldome wes beforne
quhen as my deare & faithless friends shall heare
my cairfull chance will coast yen in many a
tear.

Finis

Eubulus

107. And so whilst yat rarest pearle depainting out her
Upon the dead cold corps of her owne lealest love
Unto my els harmd heart it heaped harme againe
& layd new weigh of voe my brinsed breast abow
To sie him & hear hir incrast still my care
I wist not weall quhom to help him hir heir or ther
yet whilst I dreamd in this doubt
The poor hermite lookt aboute
& gawe faint shrill shoute
tuixt hope and dispaire

Aye mee, alace! Alace, and waile-away!
Deare Heert, poore Heart; what restes for thy behoue?
Since I procure'd thy death by my delay,
And did mistrust my true and constant Loue:
Now shall my death, thy present death apporue.
Though whilst thou liv'd, to loue thee I was loath;
Yet I am thine beyond the date of death.

Then let mee die, and bid Delight adue;
Since my delight is with thee dead and gone.
The comming Age shall say, thy Thisbe true,
Was constant still, and lov'd but thee alone.
Wee both shall lye vnder one marble stone.
One Graue in ende, shall ende our fatall griefe;
Which yeeldes mee nowe, in point of death, reliefe.

Since yesterday may not bee brought againe,
And Wronges may bee rependted, not recall'd:
I will no more in veigh on Death in vaine.
but make all Womens cowrage to bee bolde:
And in the Tymes to come, it shall bee told;
Though thou till death didst serue and honour mee,
I after death haue sought, and follwd thee.

And Pilgrime, nowe I praye, and I protest,
Before I ende this last exequall Act
Let mee bee bolde to make this small Request;
That for thy vmwhile Friende some paines thou take:
First, In this place, a private Graue gar make;
And let us lye interd conjunctlie there,
Where naught but Fawnes, and Satyres make repare;

Next, When thou comst into my natiue Land,
Wherein my Loue, and louelesse I was borne;
If any of our Tragicke death demand,
With Pittie speake, I praye, and not with Scorne.
This Practicks rars, wich seldome was beforne
Which when my deare and loving Friends shall heare,
My Tragicke ends will cost them manie a Teare

Thus endeth her Complaynt.

And so when that rare Pearle departed out of paine
Upon the colde dead Corpse of her leile Loue,
Unto my else hurt Heart did heape Harmes againe,
And layde new weight on my brast Breast aboue.
To see him and her gaspe, still no wrisht my care.
I wist not whome to helpe, him, or her there.
While I stood in this doubt,
The Heremite lookt out,
And gaue a faint shout,
Twixt hope, and despare.

108. Now I saw of the world the best most worthie wight
the choysest of all yat might on mould move
hallowed be the heavns all yat showd me such as sight
& Lends liffe for to loock upon my Leill love
Now I am glade & ungrivd to the gaw though I goe
the travell & toyles tane rewards weall my voe
ffor now plaine may apprear
ther is a change of my cheare
since hope heights helpe heire
from my faire foe

Poliphila

109. I came (quod ye Clear yen) to cure all thy care
& thought the fats had forsworn to sang ye my feir
be blyth then my dear heart dispatch cold dispaire
& heigh horse thy hurt heart since I have the heat
Goe from the fair feilds contemne thy cold cave
quhair death bruttish bold the best blood doth creawe
And with the good gods grace
thou shall in shorte space
from first lose find release
& hopt health receave

Eubulus

109. Then franklie ye fant freick throu fraind fells furre
& past post to her pelfray the with greit payne
And of yat sweit seimlie saint: he held himself sure
the beast burthend with yen baiths of his faire faime
with blyth bliss they baith bend & ryd haistlie hame
Throu sheme shaws & dunk daills he and his daintie dam
And whillest we adieu crye
through the wyld woods hye
And as we turnd by and bye
I waked of my dreame

ffinis of the Hermite & Pilgrime.

This is the Worldes most wondrous worthie Might,
Most matchlesse of all, that may on moulde moue.
Hallowed bee the Heavens, that showde mee this sight.
And lent mee this light, to looke on my leile loue.
Now I am glad, and ungriev'd, to Graue though I goe:
Thy travell and toyle doeth reward well my woe.
For wilt thou belieue mee,
My Maker mischieue mee,
If thou canst agrieue mee,
I still loue thee so.

I come, quod the Cleare then, to cure all thy care,
Though the Faites had forsworne to fang thee my Feire.
Be blythe then, my deare heart, and mourns thou no maire
For Peace, saith the Proverbe, puts end to all weire.
Goe laue then thy Hermitage, and thy cold Caue,
Where Wolfe, Lyon, wilde Beare, thy blood still doe craue,
And with the good God's grace,
Thou shalt in short space,
For all thy losee stnde release,
And first Health receiue.

Then franklie the Frieke fuire, with her helpe and mine
And to her Palfray hee past, although with great paine:
And tooke on that swéet Sainct, that méek Iem divine;
The miracle which gods made, as next vnto naine.
Then blythile the Bairue blent, and hyde hastie Hame,
Throgh shéen Shaws, & donke Dailes, with his deare Dame.
And so with Adew dry,
Through the Wood could they hye,
As wee twinde, they and I,
I woke of my Dreame.

Heere endeth the fatalitie of the loyall Lover Soliphereus, and of his sweete Ladie, Polyphila.

The Poeme

As perfect Poets eye-tymes haue tane paine
And serch'd the Secrets of each high Engyne,
By base and lowlie Subjects to exlaime,
High Mysteries, both morall and divine:
Even so into this worthless Worke of mine,
Which at Friends bidding boldlie I set foorth;
Some things may séeme obscure, though little worth.

For as the Heremite leaues his dearest Dame,
And takes delight in colde Desart to dwell:
Syne of his Lot, and of him selfe, thinks shame,
And still despaires, and still doeth loathe him sell:
So wretched man, exchanging Heaven with Hell,
Forgetting GOD, in Darknesse doeth remaine,
And still despaires, to get Reliefs againe.

And as the painfull Pilgryme, now and than,
With Arguments, and pithie reasons strong,
Would faine reduce the Heremite, if hée can,
And make him to beholde his woeful wrong

And as the Woods, and savage Beasts among,
So with him bydes, and recomforts his Care;
Syne holds him vp, form dying in Despare
And as in ende, he mooues him for to wryte;
Syne shows his Sutes vnto his Mistres Eyes:
Wherein, yee see, shee tooke no small delyte,
Because in him some signe of Trueth shee stes.
She cures his Cares, and all his sicke Disease:
Yea, heales his hurt, and heartlie by the hand,
Shée home-ward leades him, to her natiue Land.

So sinfull man, first by the helpe of Faith,
Dispiseth Sinne, repents, and sore doeth pray,
That GOD in Mercie would avert His wrath,
And make his bred displeasure to decay.
And when the sicke converted would away,
From worldlie ease, with haste hee maketh speede:
Then comes the LORD, to helpe His owne at neede.

He cures our cres, Hee helps vs to bee haile:
He makes our sorie Souls for to rejoice.
If wee in Him confyde. Hee will not faile.
To free vs from the force of all our Foes.
And at the last, with great disgrace of those,
That loving LORD, shall take vs by the Hand,
and with Him leads vs, to the *HOME LAND.*

FINIS.