

EROS PAEDAGOGICUS  
AN APPROACH TO ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE  
AND ITS UNDERLYING TRADITIONS

Richard Firestone

(I)

Parts I, II, III

MIRIAM WARNER  
211 Central Park West  
New York, New York 10024

Professor Wenxian Zhang  
Olin Library  
Rollins College  
Winter Park, Florida

Dear Professor Zhang:

*Eros Paedagogus* is a thought provoking work. Not everyone will agree with its arguments, but they suggest new viewpoints and raise questions of wide interest to scholars of Renaissance literature.

Sections of special interest include the analysis of Robert Parry's *Sinetes* which links up to recent gender studies in Renaissance literature. This chapter offers interesting material on that work and on Salisburie's poems by tracing the connection between these two and suggesting useful leads on the cultural milieu in which they wrote.

In Part II, Section 4 of the manuscript a discussion which traces the 'meaning' of Rosalind from Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* to Shakespeare's *As You Like It* not only helps to elucidate this comedy, but also helps to establish a socio-cultural context for *All's Well That Ends Well*,

The account of the Nashe-Harvey quarrel in the latter part of the manuscript also presents material that will interest scholars of the period.

While the analysis of Shakespeare's sonnets is controversial, it should be noted that Prof. Firestone states in that chapter "much study will have to be done to give full interpretation of many of the lines. Here we are simply doing the preparatory work, cleaning the rust from the key to the enigma."

For your information, in addition to this manuscript, I also have the first draft of an analysis of eight of Shakespeare's plays that can be made available to those interested.

As to myself, although I did not graduate from Rollins, I attended classes there, and was pleased to be a recipient of the Algernon Sidney Sullivan Award. A number of years ago I visited the campus, and I know my father would have been delighted to see how much the college has developed and grown.

Yours sincerely,



Miriam Firestone Warner

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Richard Firestone

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Contact: Miriam Warner  
c/o John Firestone  
Pavia & Harcourt LLP  
600 Madison Avenue  
New York, NY 10022  
tel. 212-508-2337  
[jfirestone@pavialaw.com](mailto:jfirestone@pavialaw.com)

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# EROS PAEDAGOGICUS

## An Approach to Elizabethan Literature and Underlying Traditions

By Richard Firestone

Professor Firestone was a European educated scholar with degrees from the University of Vienna and the Sorbonne. He was a member of the Modern Languages Department at Rollins College from the late 1920's until his sudden death in 1944, which, unfortunately occurred before the final version of this manuscript was completed. Placed in storage after his death, the manuscript came to light again only in the 1990's. As the range and depth of its scholarship are impressive, it is now being made available to scholars for research purposes. Readers should note that the first chapter on Robert Parry's *Sinetes* is essential to the understanding of the analysis of other works and ideas discussed here.

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### The work offers the following argument:

- 1) Throughout Elizabethan literature there occurs the motive of the mystification of male-female, i.e. where men are spoken of as women.
- 2) The tradition of this mystification of male-female lies in the mystic, hermaphroditic, hermetic psychology of past ages, a tradition which was current in Greek and Roman literature and which was revived by Petrarch.
- 3) This spiritual psychology was set forth in an age of religious consciousness not by way of Methodist discourse, but by way of irrational symbols – the symbols of alchemy, with which Elizabethan literature is largely permeated and which have already been recognized as referring to spiritual experiences. It was set forth by means of humorous mystifications which used the antiomic paradox of sex to bring about a deeper spiritual insight into those young male readers with whom the poets stood in personal relation.
- 4) The great mystics and mystae knew not only about the bisexual tendencies of the human soul, but they had an anagogic system of religious education, anchored in spiritual conceptions which showed the way of salvation and grace whereby the man could become a real spiritual man, freed from his womanish traits. The great mystics saw the spiritual problems of the human race not from the viewpoint of individualism, but from the viewpoint of super-individual religious consciousness. The relation of man to woman, and the deep significance of the conjugal union was the central point of their anagogic writings.

- 5) The erotic fiction of Shakespeare's age was not romantic and sentimental, but ironic. The illusion of poetry was used to bring the younger male generation to disillusion and introversion, to a descent from which men could rise to spiritual consciousness. Shakespeare's sonnets, a number of which were addressed to a young man, were the most refined, ironic expression of a Socratic physician of the soul who, with ironic love compliments provoked his friend to a manly attitude. Like other poets of the period, Shakespeare, far from being a sentimental Cyrano de Bergerac who is himself in love with the lady, is the spiritual godfather and well-wisher of a couple where the man resists to love. Not only Elizabethan lyric poetry bears this stamp of irony and deep spirituality, but also the erotic fiction of the novel (Lyly's *Eupheus* for instance), and plays of the Elizabethan stage.

This hypothesis is first developed from a close analysis of Robert Parry's *Sinetes* which has three parts, each of which serves to establish a definite entity of psychagogic thought of Elizabethan poetry. The "Passions" by Robert Parry are the poetic confessions of a young man who, by means of mystifying poetry, is brought to introspection and self knowledge, repentance of his undisciplined youth, and who becomes constant in his love for one woman. This conversion to the ideals of matrimony, honor, and true love is the first entity of psychagogic thought that lies within the spiritual and moral purpose of Elizabethan poetry,

The second entity is presented by the poems of Sir John Salisburie, who shows the typical attitude of the sonneteer who, even though he be a young poet, represents the wisdom of old age: a lover old and wise who is the platonic overseer of the loves of young men and women, spurring the male lover or husband on to constancy and virtue, and paying conventional honor to the beloved, betrothed, or wife of the man whom he addresses.

The third part, by the poet Nameless, illustrates the mystification of Elizabethan poetry by means of the erotic fiction of an imaginary mistress.

In Professor Firestone's opinion, the recognition of these three entities enables us to read with full understanding the sonnets by Shakespeare, which are symbolic of the enigma of Elizabethan literature.

- ) In the pre-scientific ages when the human mind was more at home in the fields of human introversion than in the fields of an extroverted scientific tradition, in the ages when the experience of introversion built up an entire lore of mystical and magical arts and pseudo sciences, it is the author's opinion that the lore of poetry had its own psycho-biological function. With the lore the young male hearer or reader of poetry within an aristocratic circle was mystified and brought into a descent of his own self that led him to an ascent with anagogic ideas that related to pure love, pure family life, and definite ideas of his moral and social obligations.

The author's analysis of Chester's *Love's Martyr* and works of other Elizabethan writers brings further evidence in this sense.

This study, aside from the literary facts which it establishes, thus presents a working hypothesis on the psychological function of the great poetry of the past. The value of this hypothesis may be tested by applying it to heretofore inexplicable literary and philological facts within the entire range of Elizabethan literature.

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THE LITERARY CHARACTER OF ROBERT PARRY'S SINETES



THE LITERARY CHARACTER OF ROBERT PARRY'S SINETES

But he that constantly keeps in his mind and maintains as his principle that the witchcraft of poetry consists in fiction, he that can at all turns accost it in this language,--

Riddle of art! like which no sphinx beguiles;  
Whose face on one side frowns while th' other smiles!  
Why cheat'st thou, with pretence to make us wise,  
And bid'st sage precepts in a fool's disguise?--

such a one, I say will take no harm by it, nor admit from it any absurd thing into his belief. But when he meets in poetry with expressions of Neptune's rending the earth to pieces and discovering the infernal regions, he will be able to check his feare of the reality of any such accident; ...And if at any time the charms of poetry transport him into any disquieting passions, he will quickly say to himself, as Homer very elegantly (considering the propension of that sex to listen after fables) says in his Necyia, or relation to the state of the dead, --

But from the dark dominions speed thy way,  
And climb the steep ascent to upper day;  
To thy chaste bride the wondrous story tell,  
The woes, the horrors, and the laws of hell.

Such things as I have touched upon are those which the poets willingly feign ...

(Plutarch's Essays, How a Young Man Ought to Hear Poems)<sup>1</sup>

A striking illustration of what Plutarch meant by this passage addressed to his young friend Marcus Sedatus, is offered in a volume of Elizabethan poetry entitled Sinetes.<sup>2</sup>

This volume may be of small interest to those looking for high artistic workmanship, for it is ostensibly the product of Elizabethan literary amateurs. On the other hand, to those who seek a scientific approach to the problem of Elizabethan literature, it offers the great advantage of disclosing the

"fool's disguise." "The coat of folly covering discretion (to use Shakespeare's expression) that has made Elizabethan literature ~~literature~~ such a puzzling problem is here so designed that it uncovers the particular form of discretion behind the conceit of Elizabethan poetry. In the writer's opinion, the motives in this volume are typical for Elizabethan poetry. They recur in infinite variations and repetition throughout its range, and are not the products of the individual fancy of certain amateurs. The poems appear to offer a definite criterion that is of scientific value. Into the texture of some of these poems are woven acrostics of names that give a clue which helps to unravel all the rest. This clue leads to a literary working hypothesis concerning Elizabethan poetry that is independent of individual guesses, and that can be tested again and again in its more significant products.

As to the biographical data concerning the authors of Sinetes, they can be found in the Introduction by Professor Carleton Brown to the "Poems of Sir John Salisburie and Robert Chester."<sup>3</sup> Sinetes is dedicated to "John Salisburie of Lleweni" who contributed a large number of poems to the volume under the title, "The Patrone his pathological Posies, Sonets, Maddrigalls, & Rowndelayes. Together with Sinetes Dompe." He is the same John Salisburie to whom Robert Chester had dedicated the well known allegory Loves Martyr: or Rosalins Complaint, a volume to which Shakespeare contributed his poem "The Phoenix and Turtle" and to which Ben Jonson, Marston and Chapman added their own poems relating to the same theme. Robert Parry, the author of Sinetes, wrote forty-six poems each consisting of four six-line stanzas, entitled "Passions," that describe the woes and carez of the shepherd Sinetes. A poet signed "Namelesse," added an introductory epistle in prose and a satirical

elegy, "The Lamentation of a Male-content." The volume is introduced with a rhymed dedication to John Salisburie, apparently written by Robert Parry, and is followed, according to the fashion of the age, by seven encomiums signed with initials, recommending the author and his poetry.

Let us critically review the contents of this volume.

In the dedicatory rhymed epistle, "To the right worshipfull John Salisburie of Lleweni Esquier for the Bodie to the Queens most excellent Maiestie," Parry tells that his muse desires nothing more than to make known the "greatness" of his patron's "minde":

Give leave a while unto my breathing Muse.  
 To pause upon the accent's of her smarte,  
 From the respite of this short-taken truce,  
 For to recorde the actions of my Harte:  
 Which vowed hath, to manifest thy worth,  
 That noble fruites to future age bringes foorth.---

The patron is to protect him from "envi's stinge"; then he adds:

Renowned Patron, my wayling verse,  
 To whose protect I flye for friendly ayde,  
 Vouchsafe to heare, while I my woes rehearse:  
 Then my poore muse, will never be dismaide,  
 To countenance the babling Eccho's frowne,  
 That future age may ring of thy renowne,  
 I that ere-while with Pan his hindes did play,  
 And tun'd the note, that best did please my minde,  
 Content to sing a sheapheards Round-delay;  
 Now by thy might, my Muse the way did finde,  
 With Maddrigals, to store my homely stile,  
 Graced with th' applause, of thy well graced smile.

The author assures the patron that this volume will help the latter's fame to posterity, and that the patron's applause will be a spur to the author's muse to dwell on "higher things."

The next poem, an encomium "Upon the Authors muse," signed by "Hu.Gry." (Hugh Gryffyth, Gent., whose full name is given to a poem following those of

the patron), compares Parry's poems to those of Ovid, praises his posies and especially his Sinetes:

There Cupides knacke are livelye seene,  
With Venus baites, that lovelye Queene.

Momus and Zoilus will cease carping the author if they see him protected by a lion (meaning the patron). Habet scintilla calorem is the motto of this poem.

The following poem, "Upon Sinetes Passions," signed by "H.P. gentleman," begins with an invocation of blind Cupid who does not see his friends, and flees from those who resist him:

Still, Still a boy, delightinge still to playe,  
What play? to slaye, what kinde of play is this:  
Soe plaies the hungrye hauke, with taken praye:  
So plays the wilie Catte with captive Mise.  
Sinetes mournfull Muse doth this descrie,  
His hapless hapes my plaints doe iustifie.

Though Cupid is still a boy, he is a tyrant as well.

Happie thou art, Sinetes though unhappie:  
Unhappy were the happes, which thee befell,  
Unhappy yet in this, that learned Parrye,  
Thyehapples happes, in sugred songes doth tell.  
Thou shrouded art, under the Lions wings,  
Whose noble Name, all carping cures will quaile,  
Now neyther Zoil, privily backbiting,  
Now Monus barkes against thee shall prevaile.

"W.R. Gent.", "In prayse of the Booke," compares Parry's poems to the song of Philomele; Sinetes is the wonder of all the Shepherds. Compared to Parry's poetry the author considers himself a skillless rhymor.

"H.P. Gent.", who follows next "In prayse of the Booke," tells that no praise is needed by Robert Parry, "for fame itselve will undertake the prayse":

Thy wise and deepe conceytes neede not be grac'd,  
For dayntie choise here found ech fancies please,  
Thy mindes repose may never be defac'd,  
Each fancie then they fancies fame will raise.  
O that my tong could duely raise thy fame,  
Yet after age at large shall doe the same.

"T.S. Esq." wonders why Parry's muse, that used to sing "of love, of joy, of solace sweete and pleasant vaine," has changed the theme by singing Parry's discontent:

When all thinges alter kinde that subiect be to change,  
Then love the ioy shall likewise turne to sorrow strange.

"R.S. Esq.", "In prayse of the Booke," brings forward a moral point of view:

Sweet is the paine which vertuous travell brings,  
High is the place which wisedome doth commend,  
Sower is the ease of vices root that springs:  
Love is the seate which idleness doth lend.  
None getteth wealth that puts not from the shore,  
Paine breedeth honor, vertue winneth fame,  
Glorie doth follow, courage goes before,  
Though oft the vent, answere not the same ...  
Therefore Sinetes ti's then no blot,  
With mournefull Passions to lament thy lot.

The last poem, by "W.M. Esq.", "In prayse of the Booke," is again an invocation of Cupid, the "cruell guide of lovers traine" who brings such woes:

When wilt thou cease to hurle hatefull darts:  
Shall all the earth ring though her spatious parts,  
From out the mouth of every fardon swayne,  
That thou in steed of love, breedst hellish paine,  
Thou dire Usurper of celestiall arts.

At the end he comforts Parry in a similar sense as the preceding author:

No Parry no, he doth but shew thee sorrow,  
That from woes darknes, ioy more light may borrow.

In many of these poems recurs the joco-serious treatment of the theme of Cupid, the most common motive of Elizabethan poetry. Cupid is playful like a boy, a tyrant who brings to his votaries sorrows and darkness. It is a "shrouded art," a "celestial art," that sings of Cupid. And what is significant in some of these poems is the point of view of moral elevation that comes to those who experience the distress that Cupid brings.

Then follow the poems by Robert Parry entitled "Passions." They are

variations of a single theme: the woes, the cares and the griefs of the shepherd Sinetes. The theme of woes, cares and griefs brought about by Cupid is the most common theme in Elizabethan poetry. It is stressed in sonnet poetry as well as in all other forms of lyric poetry of that age. Amidst a clownish jingle of bells this motive rings with a melancholy note, giving way to religious and moral reflections of highest order, expressing the confession of a deepfelt repentance of a mis-spent youth, and ending with a declaration of conversion.

Let us digress for the moment from Sinetes, and take as an example a characteristic poem, from the anthology The Phoenix Nest that appeared in 1593. From a literary point of view it excels many of the poems relating to this order that we find in the anthology, and it epitomizes in a few stanzas Parry's extensive poems:

The brainsicke race that wanton youth ensues,  
Without regard to grounded wisdomes lore,  
As often as I thinke thereon, renues  
The fresh remembrance of an ancient sore:  
Revoking to my pensive thoughts at last,  
The worlds of wickedness that I have past.

And though experience bids me bite on bit,  
And champs the bridle of a better smacke,  
Yet costly is the price of after wit,  
Which brings so cold repentance at hir backe:  
And skill that's with so many losses bought,  
Men say is little better worth than nought.

And yet this fruit I must confesse doth growe  
Of follies scourge: that though I now complaine  
Of error past, yet henceforth I may knowe  
To shun the whip that threatens the like againe:  
For wise men though they smart a while, had lever  
To learne experience to the last, than never.<sup>4</sup>

The shepherd Sinetes is a genuine contemporary of the Elizabethan generation. He repents his sins after having been brought into the "lovers maze"; afterwit had taught him that he had shown no regard "to wisdomes lore."

Passion I of Sinetes sounds the tragic note:

Fine ripe cōceyte forsake the wearied minde,  
 And fancies faile, whē sorrowes surges swaye  
 My pen bath'd in the waves of griefs unkind  
 Must write of moane, or ruine & decaye:  
 A tragicke note doth fit a tragick chaunce,  
 A heavie heart with sorrowes pipe must daunce.

Like Pelican I wander all alone,  
 The desart woodes and wildernes so wilde,  
 To senseless groves, I crye and make my moans,  
 Ev'n from my thoughts all hope is quite exil'd,  
 Left thus to mourne the skriching owls keepes time,  
 With dolefull notes that to the heavens doe clime.

Notes that bewaile the griefes of carefull heart,  
 That charge my minde with heapes of deepe annoy,  
 Which unto none I vowed to impart,  
 But unto you my drenching dolours ioy:  
 Keepe ladies keepe the closet of my griefe,  
 Yeilde Ladies yeilde, for sorrowe some reliefe.

No darke despaire may drowne my drowsie hope,  
 If you give life unto my dead desire,  
 Nor ought may daunt my minde, yf you give scope,  
 To pitties floodes to quench the kindled fire:  
 Fortune is blinde that will not see my paine,  
 Time hath a value to cure the same againe.

The man "Sinetes" is characterized in Passion III:

A happie man had I nev'r happy byn,  
 For fortunes smile did cause my greatest fall,  
 To purchase ease by newe increase of sinne;  
 Were for to make my soule, my bodies thrall:  
 Hap then whatmay, let fortune frowne or smile;  
 Cares cruell scourge shall not my minde defile.

Stanza 3

What appears as a genuine experience of distress is described in Passion IIII:

Nights rest is bard with weried thoughts controle,  
 The pillow moans bath'd in my drēching teares,  
 The sheetes beare guilt of my distressed soule,  
 Wherein is wrapt a multitude of feares,  
 When stealing nappes doth close my drowsie eies,  
 When starting feare sayth it is time to rise.

Yf sleepe at all possesse my vytall parts,  
 Then dreadfull dreames with gastly sights appeare,  
 Which do present the cause that wrought my smarts:  
 And doe a fresh renewe forgotten feare;  
 I sleepe in paine, I watch in wretched griefe,  
 Lyef's in dispaire sith hope forbids reliefe.

When cursed thoughts there carefull couch forsake,  
 Confused heapes of new encreasing sores,  
 Like wildfir tost in Phlegetons firie lake,  
 Or ship that stirrs gainst raging streame with ores;  
 So doth my heart with sorrowing sobs neere spent,  
 Strive with the course that cares command hath sent.

where

My moane I make/pities bowre is built,  
 Your gentle brests is mercies chaire of state,  
 A butt of bane which nev'r for lacke is tilt:  
 Yeildes fresh supplies unto my frowning fate,  
 Then fortune then cleere once this smothering aire,  
 With salves of hope, after this long dispaire.

Sinetes has come to self knowledge about his indiscreet youth, as  
 Passion V shows:

The living doth presage his dying dole,  
 His life is death while others reape his toyle,  
 Who hath not power himselfe for to controle,  
 Is sure the fruite of some accursed soyle,  
 His tong too long, his wisdom is too short,  
 Who rues in deede the thing he spake in sport.

But Ladies yet condemne not his desire,  
 Though passed deeds his present griefe procure,  
 And lare misshapps yeild fuell to his fier,  
 That scant he can the scorching heate endure.  
 Whose ayde he craves to mollyfie his paine,  
 With pleasāt sport of some conceyted vaine.

Stanzas 3 and 4

If it were not for the invitation to the ladies to share his sorrows, we should be inclined to interpret these confessions purely from the moral standpoint. But the "conceyted vaine" in which Sinetes continues with "pleasāt sport" in his address to the ladies, the allusion to feigning or the rhetorical assurance of not feigning, make us suspect that there is a mystery and not a moral lesson behind these poems. As we shall presently see, the volume confirms in an unequivocal way, that there is indeed a mystery behind them. The Passions of Sinetes "offered for an Incense at the shrine of the Ladies which guided his distempered thoughtes," are shrouded just as mysteriously as is the poem, "An Exelleent Dreame of Ladies and their Riddle" by Nicholas Breton, in The Phoenix Nest.<sup>5</sup>



In Passion XIV Sinetes describes the torments of hell. Ghastly visions appear to him as if he were tossed in "Carons boate." In vain he looks forward to being purged from a sting that "wrought my bitter bane." If it were not for the remembrance of pain that he had undergone, he might hope to extricate himself from the snare of sorrows and cleanse his thoughts of errors. But in his situation he feels that only death can redeem his tortured mind. In spite of the despairing pessimism of this poem, we hear thus the confession of a man who is undergoing a spiritual cleansing of his soul:

Harpies, and haggas, torment my fearfull gost,  
 No part if freed, from horror, and despaire,  
 My carcas that in CARONS boate is tost,  
 MEDUSA doth with cursed snakie hayre,  
 Trans-natue quite, the vertue of my minde,  
 Unto a stone, that is deaffe, dumme, and blinde.

Might but my soule enioye the fruite of rest,  
 And purge the sting, that wrought my bitter bane,  
 That hope miht once my desp'rat minde invest,  
 And strenngth encrease, to bannish thoughts profane;  
 Then would I ioy to see such happie day,  
 That once I might be freed from decay.

Sure I beleeve, though ioy could banish care,  
 And that I might possesse a quiet minde,  
 And should winde out my selfe from sorrowes snare,  
 To cleanse my thoughts from fruites of errors blinde:  
 Yet would remembrance of my passed paine,  
 Where grieffe I left, force me to begyn againe.

Then were my case far worsen than before,  
 For ulcers cut yeilde corosives extreme,  
 Salves hardly can, the former health restore,  
 And naught but death can tortur'd mindes redeeme:  
 Then must I rest contented with my lot,  
 Sich sorrowes now can not dissolve the knot.

The doleful tone that rings so monotonously through the first fourteen Passions, intermingled with the clownish admonitions to the ladies, is interrupted by a confession hidden in mythological allusions in Passion XV:

Benighted thus with clouds of new-spring charge,  
 My swelling heart (puff'd up by force of heate,  
 Suppress) did burne, till teares did fier enlarge;  
 Then water quench'd the flame, and forst the sweate;  
 A dolefull choise of two evils one to name,  
 To frie in frost or freeze in firie flame.

The time was come, that all my ioyes should end,  
 Then straying to me was this un-wonted care,  
 And so much more my scalding sighes I spend:  
 For as I could I did my minde prepare;  
 For to endure these floods of deepe annoy,  
 That drown'd my hope, and rob'd me of my ioy.

O time accurs'd that ev'r I knewe that day,  
 Which hath dis-roabde my minde of sweete content,  
 For then were hatch'd the birdes of my decay:  
 When un-awares my listning eare I lent,  
 To SIRENS song and CIRCE'S cursed charmes,  
 That train'd my minde, to worke his maisters harmes.

No musick then could better please mine eare,  
 Nor object seeme more precious to mine eye,  
 Then that which did my cruell torments reare,  
 Where but content I nothing could espie,  
 Yet fairest flowers have filthie Adders nest,  
 And I have found in pleasures vaine unrest.

What was the "Sirens song" to which the music-loving Sinetes lent his ear? And the Circe charm that bewitched him? Passion XVI gives a confession of deepfelt repentance that is as genuine a report of conversion as the poem from The Phoenix Nest quoted previously. Passion XVI:

Yeilding consent having unlocked the gate,  
 The garde which kept my minde in reasons folde,  
 Then fond desire wrought in my Minde debate,  
 How of my friends I might live un-controulde:  
 To follie then the restrained raines I lent,  
 Of libertie, which now I doe repent.

What toyes so vaine which then I did not taste,  
 What acte so badde I would not seeme to prove,  
 I thought that time could never my ioyes waste:  
 Nor checke the pride of mine untamed love,  
 Till on a heape my ioyes and follies toule,  
 The Bell of care, my loving ioyes controule.

Then gan I sighe, even with a sad lament,  
 And pause uppon the remnent of my life,  
 Then that seemed greate which lest did discontent:  
 When as repentance sharpened sorrowes Knife,  
 To execute the Iudgement of the lawe,  
 On him, thereof that never stooode in awe.

When frendes forsooke, and enemies did prie,  
 To worke revenge for some un-modest parte,  
 Then gan my soule, with sorrowes to discrie:  
 The guilte of sinne, that lodged in my hearte,  
 Whose memory did racke my senses soe,  
 That strech't they were beyond the bomds of woe.

In Passion XVII Sinetes confesses enigmatically:

Engendred griefe from seede of pleasures vaine,  
 Inforncing still the agents of my smart,  
 From sinnes aspect, my minde could not refraine,  
 For fretting lust did cyngge my broyled heart,  
 Till loth to yeilde, yet could not choise but yeild,  
 When as remorce perforce did win the field.

Then of two harmes making a choise of one,  
 To salve my soule, I pounde my life a thrall,  
 And gave consent to that which makes me moane,  
 Whereof proceeds the fruite of bitter gall,  
 Which pen'd my minde that soared in the skies,  
 In basest fould, where in dispaire it lies.

Stanzas 1 and 2

In Passion XIX Sinetes complains that he has come into bondage:

The freeman thinkes it small for to be bound,  
 [ Not knowing then the daunger which ensues,  
 But freedome lost dispaire doth straight confound,  
 Confused thoughts, which bring untimely newes,  
 For bondage come, and libertie being lost,  
 What is the thing whereof we than can boast.

Stanza 2

The bondage into which Sinetes has come is explained 'sub rosa' in  
 Passion XXI. Apparently Sinetes is tied to the one woman he has rashly chosen:

Suppose you came into a garden fine,  
 And might there choose one of the fairest flowers,  
 So choise being made as fancie did incline,  
 Yet walking there to view the fruitfull bowers,  
 Amongst those groves, a thousand flowers you finde,  
 Then former choise better to please your minde.

Where sight is free, but handling is deni'd  
 And if you touch, you may not taste the fruit,  
 Though nev'r so faine, least Garden-keeper spi'd,  
 And would ympeach your crime with blazing brute,  
 How much agreev'd would you be then in heart,  
 That better choise befel not to your part.

Would you not curse the rashness of your braine,  
 That moved speach which could not be unsaide,  
 And Fortune band which laid this subtill traine,  
 When you did finde how much you were betraide:  
 No doubt you would thinke this a heavie crosse.  
 Except you might in chosing, change your choise.

Stanzas 2,3,4

Passion XXII reveals the "root" of his "endured paine," out of which the  
 Passions of Sinetes grow. He has chosen her, and may not change: Hinc illae  
lacrimae!

Betrayed thus with lust of luring sight,  
 The flower is cropt which now I may not change,  
 The garden's free to view what might delight.  
 But passed choice restraines my minde to range:  
 So that beholding still what I desire:  
 It fuell yeilde unto the kindled fier.

The memorie of what I might obtaine:  
 If I were free, extenuates my ioy,  
 This is the roote of mine endured paine,  
 Though this be great, yet not my chiefs annoy,  
 With dayly showers, new weedes spring, and increase,  
 Which fruite out-growes, and future hope decrease.

Envyng fortune thrise be thou accurst,  
 Who not content to make me what I am,  
 Amongst the means to be accounted worst,  
 That from one bad, unto a worser came,  
 And heaped coales a new upon my head,  
 To bring me home unto my loathed bed.

Bed of disgrace, when stealing time gave light,  
 Discovering the messages of fame,  
 Which witness bare how deere I bought delight,  
 That for good will enjoyed nought but blame:  
 And payde therefore ev'n at the deerest rate,  
 For had I wist doth alwaies come to late.

In this sea of woes and griefs and cares, where Sinetes is ready to die  
 of despair, a new hope comes with Passion XXVII; he considers the possibility of

becoming a new man in a new attire:

Faire choyest dames that patronize my joy,  
 New ioyne with me, in prayer to IUPITER,  
 That I may die, if dying may destroy,  
 The living grieffe which leades me thus to erre:  
 Of if I live, let life be cloathed soe,  
 That new attire may banish former woe.

Stanza 4

Sinetes has "litigious thoughts" because he is aware that he was caught in the "net of confused shame." There are many minds in "ymprovident prosperitie" caught with "heape of toyes." This he learned when he "began to treade the lovers maze."

Passion XXVIII

Litigious thoughts will graunt me quiet rest,  
 For care is close intombed in my minde,  
 And memorie of passed woes molest,  
 Such as in vaine expect some ease to finde;  
 When ripping of the cares long past and gone,  
 Will make a fresh the stoutest heart to grone.

Ymprovident prosperitie is caught,  
 Within the net of new confused shame;  
 For still the un-respective mindes are fraught  
 With heape of toyes, that bring untimely blame:  
 My follies first did leade me to this case,  
 When I began to treade the lovers maze.

Un-warie peace on fat-fed pleasures stall,  
 Whose wanton thought, made weake with lust & ease,  
 Did guide my steps to this untimely thrall,  
 And destinie my sorrowes did encrease:  
 Being tangled thus in Labrinth of dispaire,  
 New-sprong effects my loyed hope impaire.

Sing Muses, sing, the ruines of my time,  
 Reade in my face the Kalender of ~~xxx~~ care,  
 With tragick notes repeate my passed crime,  
 My wrinkled browe records how hard I fare:  
 All must consume so shall my care have ende,  
 When as no sap is left for life to spende.

In Passion XXXI Sinetes is inclined to comfort himself with the following thoughts:

Eyes weepe no more, hart breath no sighing sobs,  
 Cease to repeate & quill thy maisters grieffe,  
 The theefe is knowne which hope of quiet robs:  
 And courage must (not weakenes) gaine reliefe;  
 Leave of to moane, with Fortune be content  
 No ease is found by this thy sad lament. ...

Thus rest content with this thy fatall chaunce,  
 For that will checke thy angry fortunes pride,  
 With envies pipe that leades a scornefull daunce,  
 And with disdaine thy sorrowes doth deride:  
 With patience thou mayst overcome at length,  
 And more then this repose no trust in strength.

Stanzas 1 and 4

In Passion XXXIII he reiterates his torments, and he confesses that there is a foe with whom he must reconcile himself:

The fit is come, my trembling flesh doth feare,  
 These idle toys fore-runners of my grieffe,  
 Prognosticate what torment I must beare,  
 I see me thinks the agents of reliefe,  
 Repulst by force of the tormentors hand,  
 Seeking in vaine his strength for to withstand.

Yeild then I must unto the cursed stroke,  
 That shall weare out the remnant of my dayes,  
 And be content to beare the servile yoke,  
 Which sorrowes charge from sorrowes store defrayes:  
 I must not scorne for to embrace my foe.

And for my follies which sometimes yeild ease,  
 To cleere the smoke of cloudie ATHOS fier,  
 Their force cannot my fettered thoughts release,  
 But rather doe encerease my fond desire:  
 And as ACTEONS dogs, spar'd not their Lord,  
 To hunt me from my rest, so they accord.

O harsh accord of woefull harmonie,  
 That naught can tune but solemne notes of care,  
 Wherein is crost the fruite of charitie,  
 Whereof I want (to salve my griefes) a share,  
 Then past redresse, I must remaine content,  
 To cherish that which frowning fortune sent.

There is still a retardation in his recital of woes and cares before Sinetes finds comfort and peace of mind. In Passion XXXIX we see that Sinetes does not enjoy company:

Walke I abroad to meete some companie,  
 For to remove these cursed cares away,  
 Eche man I meet, a mappe of miserie  
 Presents, to worke my ruine and decay:  
 His humor stor'd with pleasure and delight,  
 Unto my minde new cares effect invite.

And as in stormes copartners yeild content,  
 And maketh lesse the burthen of the minde,  
 Ev'n so a man in seas of sorrowes spent,  
 And knowes not where a mate the rein to finde,  
 Must needs endure the torment all alone,  
 When to the winds he makes his ruthles moans.

Stanzas 3 and 4

Passion XL shows how Sinetes is full of repentance when he rests at home:

Rest I at home, remembrance rackes my minde,  
 The object which doth feede my hungrie thought,  
 For nothing there remaines for me to finde,  
 But even the sound which I have deerely bought,  
 Repentance, purchas'd with hastie brayne,  
 Which stores my mind with heapes of loath, disdayne. ...

The day expir'd, the nights approach supplies,  
 Where dreames with feare prevert my quiet rest,  
 And MORPHEUS a sopor sweete denies,  
 Which after toyle should be my mornings feast.  
 Sometimes I bathe my carefull couch with teares,  
 From soundest sleepe, a wak'd with starting feares.

Stanzas 1 and 3

Sinetes sees no escape other than to yield: discontentment wastes his life.

Passion XLI:

Yeilde then content till sorrowes weared be,  
 Let them complaine what toyle they doe endure,  
 Both day and night in persecuting thee,  
 Then they will cease thy torments to procure:  
 And for to reape unto themselves some ease,  
 They will consent thy bondage to release.

Then shall the heav'ns confesse they did thee wrong,  
 And earth possess with such a tyrannie,  
 Shall curse the seedes, whereof thy woes are sprong,  
 All moaning thus thy woefull miserie:  
 O man thus borne in spite of angrie starrs,  
 Whose selfe-conceyte works to him deadly warrs.

Stanzas 2 and 3

In Passion XLII and Passion XLIII Sinetes exclaims, like Ecclesiastes:

Vanitas Vanitatum. Passion XLII:

Our dayes doe move like shadowes on the wall,  
 What doth not move like shadowes light effect?  
 Howers flie full fast to bring us unto thrall,  
 What doth not flie like shortest howers aspect:  
 Waves dos ov'r-flowe the sandes that be so wide,  
 What doth not swell as doth the flowing tyde.

The frutes made ripe by force of hastie time,  
 Doe soonest fade the blossome being decayed,  
 And as the flowing waves swell in their prime,  
 So flies it fast like shadowes forme display'd,  
 The day is full of labors paynefull toyle,  
 The day is full of dolors deadly spoyle.  
 Stanzas 2 and 3

Passion XLIIII:

Flowers, grasse, mist; doth fall, doth wither, doth fade,  
 With winde in time, to th'aire, flowers, grasse & mist we be,  
 For here being sent to dig, and delve with spade;  
 Our workes bring foorth the fruite of miserie:  
 As flowers fall, grasse wither, mist fades away,  
 So doth our daies, fall, wither and decay.

Stanza 2

Passion XLIIII, Passion XLV and Passion XLVI bring the final solution  
 and the final comfort. He whom Jupiter loves must be chastised. Passion XLIIII:

O happie man of whom IOVE made a choyse,  
 O happy man whom IUPITER doth love,  
 Whom IOVE accepts he onely may reioyce,  
 Whom IOVE takes to himselfe he doth reprove:  
 Yf chosen thus, and loved so by IOVE,  
 Or though reprov'd, why should we faint in love.

He onely shall the flaming wals enioy,  
 That gardes the thorne of IOVES imperiall seate,  
 And shall behould that prince which may destroy,  
 PHEBUS bright beams which feedeth us with heate:  
 No sorrowes then, nor grieffe shall him molest,  
 Being lath'd by IOVE unto his heav'nly feast.

Stanzas 2 and 3

Passion XLV:

IOVE did commaund, which must not be gain-said,  
 He spake the word, and all did yeild consent,  
 He made a back, and roaring seas obeyed,  
 Then with out states why are we not content?  
 He wills us from these wordly cares refrayne,  
 And his edict must ev'r and ev'r remayne.

Stanza 4



Passion XEVI rings out with the comfort of a great religious truth. The Renaissance theme of the age, with its mythological allusions, gives way to the Puritan theme of submission to the will of Jehovah:

If this be thus? then farewell all my ioy,  
 Which I possest before these cares encrochd,  
 IOVE made a choyse, death did his choise destroy,  
 O would that death had unto me approach'd:  
 More welcome sure had been his deadly dart,  
 Then these annoyes which breede encreasing smart.

Farewell my ioy, I doe renounce thy smile,  
 I hate the thing which cause of ioy may yeild,  
 Least faymed hope should certaine FATE beguyle,  
 Despaire hath wonne the honor of the field,  
 My love, my life, my ioy is gone before,  
 Death may alone my hope of ease restore.

Then as the faithfull which embrace the toole,  
 And kisse the same, which life doth take away,  
 Who well were taught in high IEHOVAS schoole,  
 That beares the bag of simple truth alway:  
 So will I clippe and kisse this world of paine,  
 Which Iove hath sent to coole my wandring braine.

Embracing death and loathing lifes repose,  
 I rest content and watch the happie time,  
 I seeke not now to triumphe ov'r my foes,  
 Yet heere would faine and both my life and rime:  
 But that I vowed ev'r as your sheapheard true,  
 With hand and hart to serve and honour you.

FINIS

Let us recapitulate briefly: in the surging tempest of all Passions, finally allayed by comforting thoughts of a moral and religious character, we find hidden a confession of a psychological nature: Sinetes, who had been uncontrolled in his will and in the enjoyment of liberty, had lent his ear to Siren's song. With "hastie braine" he had made the rash choice of a woman, and realizes with regret that a change is now impossible. Repentance and self knowledge bring him to see that he must yield to fortune's spite and that he must reconcile himself to one who was his foe.

Who is this foe to whom Sinetes had to reconcile himself? A hint of a biographical nature is given in the volume itself. In the poems/entitled "The Patrone his pathetical Posies, Sonets, Maddrigalls, & Rowndelays. Together with Sinetes Dompe. Plena verecūdi culpa pudoris erat.", we find under Posie III a poem entitled "The Patrones pauze in ode"; it reads as follows:

Dimpl's florish, beauties grace  
 Fortune smileth in thy face,  
 E Eye bewrayeth honours flower.  
 L Love is norish'd in thy bower,  
 I In thy bended brow doth lye,  
 Z Zeale imprest with chastitie.  
 IOVE's darling deere,  
 Opale lippes of corall hue,  
 Rarer die than cheries newe,  
 A Arkes where reason cannot trie,  
 B Beauties riches which doth lye,  
 E Entomb'd in that fayrest frame,  
 T Touch of breath perfumes the same.  
 O rubie cleere:  
 Ripe ADON fled VENUS bower,  
 Ayming at thy sweetest flower,  
 His ardent love forst the same,  
 W Wonted agents of his flame:  
 O Orbe to whose enflamed fier;  
 L Love incens'd him to aspire,  
 Hope of our time,  
 Oriad's of the hills drawe neere,  
 Nayad's come before your peere:  
 F Flower of nature shining shoes.  
 R Riper then the falling rose,  
 E Entermingled with white flower,  
 S Stayn'd with vermillion's power,  
 Nest'ld in our clime.  
 The silver swans sing in poe,  
 Silent notes of newe-springe woe,  
 T Tuned notes of cares I sing,  
 O Organ of the muses springe,  
 N Natures pride inforceth me,  
 Ev'n to rue my destinie.  
 Starre shew thy might,  
 'Helen's beautie is defac'd,  
 Io's graces are disgraced,  
 R Reaching not the twentieth part,  
 O Of thy gloases true desart,  
 B But no marvaile thou alone,  
 E Ev'n art VENYS paragone.  
 Arm'd with delight.  
 Iris coulors are to base,

She would make APOLLON gaze,  
 R Resting by the silver streame,  
 T Tossing nature seame by seame,  
 P Pointing at the Christall skie,  
 A Arguing her maiestie,  
     Loves rampire stronge.  
 Hayre of Amber, fresh of hue,  
 Wav'd with goulden wyers newe,  
 R Riches of the finest mould,  
 R Raresr glorie to behould,  
 Y Ympe with natures vertue graft,  
 Engines newe for dolors fraught,  
     Ev'n there are spronge,  
 A Iem fram'd with Diamounds,  
 In whose voice true concord founds,  
 Ioy to all that ken thy smile,  
 In thee doth fame beguile,  
 In whose beautie burneth fier,  
 Which disgraceth Queens desier:  
     Sauce all compare,  
 Love it selfe being brought to gaze,  
 Learnes to treade the lovers maze:  
 Lying uncov'red in thy looke,  
 Left for to unclaspe the Booke:  
 Where enrroul'd thy fame remaines,  
 That IUNOS blush of glory staines:  
     Blot out my care.  
 Spheare containing all in all,  
 Onely fram'd to make men thrall:  
 Onix deck'd with honours worth,  
 On whose beautie bringeth foorth:  
 Smiles ov'r-clouded with disdain,  
 Which Loyall heart doth paine:  
     Voyde of disgrace,  
 AURORA'S blush that decks thy smile,  
 Wayting lovers to beguile:  
 Where curious thoughts built the nest,  
 Which nev'r yeildes to lovers rest:  
 Wasting still the yeilding eye,  
 Whilst he doth the beautie spie.  
     Rea'd in her face.  
 Lampe enrich'd with honours flower,  
 Blossome gracing VENUS bower:  
 Bearing plumes of feathers white,  
 Wherein Tuttlles doe delighte,  
 Sense would seeme to weake to finde,  
 Reason's depth in modest minde:  
     Yeilding desire.  
 Lode-starre of my happie choyse,  
 In thee alone I doe reioyce:  
 O happie man whose hap is such,  
 To be made happie by thy touch:  
 Thy worth and worthynes could move,  
 The stoutest to incline to love,  
     Enflam'd with fier.

This posie, bearing signs of a hasty improvisation, is interesting to us because it contains the acrostics "Elizabeth Wolfreton" and "Robert Parry." The posie recommends the beauty and grace of Elizabeth and tells of Adonis who had fled from the bower of Venus to aspire towards her love. It alludes to cares which the patron suffers, and intermingles oracular allusions to smiles overclouded with disdain, and finally congratulates the man who would be made happy in loving Elizabeth.

The interpretation of Elizabethan poetry, of Renaissance poetry and of ancient classical poetry as well, has suffered, in the author's opinion, from the romantic conception of love built up by the literary tradition of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. That the theme of love, in the literature of the past up to the seventeenth century, lies quite in a different field; that it encompasses a religious, ethical conception of the path of life that is far removed from the idea of the poet as a romantic lover who pines after a lady whom he "berhymes," to borrow a word from Shakespeare, has not yet found recognition in literary history. The theme of love has been interpreted literally and according to the feigned outward fiction.

One of the poems by Petrarch in his Il Canzoniere, "Due rose fresche e còlte in paradiso," can reveal to us the basic attitude of the Renaissance poet who sings about the love theme:

Two roses fresh that grew in Paradise  
 The day that May was born in all her pride,  
 As a fair gift, a lover, old and wise,  
 'Twixt two who still were youthful, did divide;  
 And added such sweet speech and smile so gay  
 That e'en a savage heart to love would turn,  
 And glow and sparkle with an amorous ray;  
 And thus with changing hues their faces burn.  
 'Ne'er did the sun such pair of lovers see,  
 Laughing 'yet not without a sigh), he said,  
 And then, embracing each, he turned away.  
 Thus flowers and words he portioned; till in me  
 Around my heart a trembling gladness spread.  
 O blessed gift of speech! O joyful day! 6

(CCXLV)

This poem reveals to us the basic attitude of John Salisburie. He is like the "lover, old and wise," who speaks for the benefit of a couple whose names he has linked together in acrostics. He is the commender of the beauty and grace of Elizabeth Wolfreton, and the spiritual adviser of Robert Parry.

Presently we shall again find John Salisburie such a commender of a woman and spiritual adviser of a man, in poems that bear other acrostics. But we must first clarify a definite form of mystification that occurs in the most significant products of Elizabethan poetry as well as in Renaissance poetry in general. This we formulate as a working hypothesis:

The Elizabethan sonneteer feigns to be the lover of a woman, when actually he addresses the young man who is tied to that woman by bonds of love, betrothal or marriage. The poet is the "dear enemy" of the young man whom he challenges to follow the path of honor and wisdom and whom he brings, by way of mystification, to the labyrinth of the "lovers maze" where he (as Adonis), has to learn Ars Amandi, and, as a responsible man, Honor Amandi.

As clearcut evidence in favor of such a working hypothesis we offer first the poems by John Salisburie.

In Posies II and III Salisburie figures as the commender of a woman and as the spiritual adviser of a man of whom we know they were married. The posies read:

Posie II            The Patrone's affection.

L    Launterne of love the patrone due of lore,  
 L    Light some beame my affection to guide,  
 A    Amongst the drerie throbbes encreasing sore,  
 S    Sore in the vaile of heart when I them hide:  
 L    Languishing in delight I doe delight to pine,  
 A    And can I pine a more contented paine,  
 H    Hart once mine-owne, is nowe possession thine,  
 Y    Yeilde then to yeilde this hearts due entertaine.  
 H    Honour is the guest, let bounty be my prize,  
 T    Truth be the page of my admired light,  
 O    Occasion be thou prest at my advize,  
 R    Regarding hand, and hart, t'attend her sight.  
 O    Or else my heart and minde I hould in hand:  
 D    Doe then my hope confirme that hope may stand.<sup>7</sup>

## Posie III      The patrones phantasie.

T : Y      Tormented in thrall, Yea thrall to love,  
 R : H      Respecting will, Heart-breaking gaine doth grow,  
 E : T      Ever DOLOBELLA, Time so will prove,  
 B : O      Binding distresse. O gem wilt thou allowe,  
 T : R      This fortune my will Repose-~~le~~ase of ease,  
 U : O      Unless thou LEDA, Over-spread my heart,  
 C : D      Cutting all my ruth, dayne, Disdaine to cease,  
 I : S      I yeilde to fate, and welcome endless Smart.

Posie II contains the acrostic "Dorothy Halsall" read upward; she was a sister-in-law of John Salisburie; Posie III contains the acrostic "Cuthbert," and in the middle, "Dorothy," both read upward; "I S" stands for John Salisburie. Cuthbert was Dorothy's husband: Cutbert Halsall, Esq., of Halsall and Clifton, Lancashire.

Professor Carlton Brown, relying on the eighteenth and nineteenth century interpretations of Elizabethan poetry, where the poet is considered a romantic lover, wrote in his study: "The Halsall acrostics printed in the Parry volume show that Sir John's infatuation for his sister-in-law began before 1597, but we have no means of knowing how long it continued. Several allusions in the poems addressed to her make it clear that she was already married. In view of Sir John's unfriendliness toward the followers of Essex it is a bit odd to find that Dorothy's husband was of the Essex party and a recusant as well."<sup>8</sup>

If we read these two posies attentively, we find that they are not addressed to Dorothy Halsall, but to her husband Cutbert. Two reasons of logical and psychological nature seem to us to disprove Professor Brown's point of view: First, John Salisburie had been married to Ursula Stanley since 1586. Robert Chester had dedicated to Salisburie in 1601 the allegory, Loves Martyr; of Rosalins Complaint. How could John Salisburie admonish his married sister-in-law to be bountiful in love to him, and at the same time appeal to

her sense of honor and truth? Second, it is logical for a romantic lover to include the name of the husband when he aspires to the love of the wife? The evidence rests within the text itself. The poems can be interpreted fully only if we read them as being addressed to Salisbury's brother-in-law Cutbert Halsall. In Posie II John Salisbury, as patron, admonishes his brother-in-law Cutbert Halsall, in the name of a poetic lore that is the lore of wisdom<sup>9</sup> to love Dorothy, his wife. It is Cutbert who should be the lantern or light of love. Before she was married John Salisbury considered the heart of Dorothy as his own; now she belongs to Cutbert, and Salisbury is contented that it should be so. His only regret is that she is not regarded with love by Cutbert as she deserves to be rewarded. Therefore Salisbury gives Cutbert the well meaning advice to entertain her heart, and in the name of honor and truth to reward him, the poet, with bountiful love towards Dorothy. Cutbert ought to regard more seriously her hand and heart which he has won, and be attentive to her. The poet hopes that Cutbert will do this, and thus his own hope will not be shaken.

Posie III, which contains contains the acrostics of "Dorothy" and "Cutbert" and the initials "I S" (John Salisbury), taunts Cutbert, imploring him to cease disdainning Salisbury's love plea. Time will prove that the more he breaks Dorothy's heart and brings distress, so much more will Cutbert be forced to repent before they are united. The poet calls Cutbert Dolabella (Dolabella is in Latin a man's name), and mentions Leda which shows Salisbury's jove-like attitude in this love affair.

Further evidence of the correctness of this interpretation is to be found in the quotation of all the following poems. Attention is called first to Posies V, VI, VII and VIII, that clearly confirm the hypothesis. Posie V is entitled "The dittie to Sospiros." It is addressed to a young man just as Shakespeare addressed his Sonnets to a young man. This address to a young man is the typical address in Elizabethan sonnet poetry, although in most instances

veiled through the erotic fiction of a poetic mistress.<sup>10</sup>

Posie V, "The dittie to Sospiros," reads as follows:

The wound of hart doth cause my sighes to spring,  
 And sighes doe oft report my hartie sore,  
 This sore of heart doth woefull tidings bring,  
 That love is lacke and I doe grieve therefore:  
 O sighes why doe you rise and take no rest,  
 O heart why art thou thus with them possest,  
 My heart in selfe it selfe would pine away,  
 If that sometimes sighes musicke I should misse,  
 This bitter ioy and pleasant paine must staie,  
 The greatest griefe is now my greatest blisse:  
 The night I grone the day I teare my heart,  
 I love these sighes I triumph in their smart;  
 When minde and thought are clogged with their cares,  
 And that my heart is readie for to breake,  
 Then ev'rie sigh doth question how it fares,  
 And heart to them replies that it is weake.  
 Yet after sighes the heart is some-what glad,  
 Thus without sower the sweete is never had.

My wish and will for succour doe aspire,  
 Unto the seate of my endeered trust,  
 But want and woe ensuing my desire,  
 My heart doth quaile and after sigh it must:  
 Yet wish I must and well I may delight,  
 Though sighe for wants and woes doe me affright.  
 These sighes Ile entertaine though they me noy,  
 For they doe like the ease from where they rise,  
 They bringe in post newes of my mynded ioy,  
 And as they passe they message me no lies:  
 And yet they leave behinde them such a want,  
 That minde and ioy I finde to be but scant,  
 O will you never cease me sighes to grieve,  
 And maye not hope keepe you in calme repose,  
 Let me some respite have, hart to relieve,  
 Lest that your selves and you fullie lose:  
 Sighes doe aspire till they obtaine their will,  
 Sighes will not cease they seeke my heart to kill.

Salisburie evidently is not love sick; he complains to Sospiros that he is brought to sighs and grief because "love is lack" in Sospiros. The poet then says:

My wish and will for succour doe aspire,  
 Unto the seate of my endeered trust.

The poet is the guardian of such an "endeered trust." For example, such



an "endeered trust" is Elizabeth Wolfreston, or Dorothy Halsall. He wishes that the melancholy young man, as the name Sospiros indicates, should turn to succor the "endeered trust." To dispel the melancholy of Sospiros, the poet berhymes him in an ironic way. He finally assures him at the end:

Sighes doe aspire till they obtaine their will,  
Sighes will not cease they seeke my heart to kill.

Posie 6, entitled "The patrones Dilemma," shows a tremendous invective under the ironic veil of gentle works. It is addressed to a young man called "fair Anragos":<sup>12</sup>

Of stately stoness the Diamound is kinge,  
Whose splendor doth dazell the gazing eye,  
The Onix gloze, is tyed to honors winge,  
Whose vert's govern'd by th' imperiall skie:  
These graces all in thee combin'd remaine,  
For glorie thine their glories still doth staine.

Shall I not speake of Rubies glorious blaze,  
That blazeth still, like blazing star that shoes,  
Or cease to write how men at th, Opale gaze,  
Whose beautie shines like perles of dewe on rose:  
These vertues all (compar'd with thine) are base,  
For nature gave thee excellent of grace.

The Topas chast thou doest in kind excell,  
The Hyacinth that strangers love procures,  
Hath not such force, nor can not worke so well,  
As honors beautie still in thee alures:  
Yris shews not more coulors in her kind,  
Then vertues be with in thy noble mind.

The windie Histmos shews, and bright aspects,  
Comes far behind this faire Anragos worth,  
The Lupinar hath not more chast affects.  
Then glorie of th'unspotted minde brings foorth.  
My paines encrease thy graces to repeate,  
For cold despaire drives out of hope the heate.

Yf Saunus fort which doth expell deceate,  
Or Agathes which happie bouldnes yeilde,  
And eke Luperius whose vertues greate,  
Doth glad the mindes all which are found in fields:  
Yf these I had to comfort my despaire,  
Hope yet might hope to win & weare thy faire.

To understand this poem we first draw attention to a few lines in Shakespeare's "A Lover's Complaint" that appeared in 1609 together with the Sonnets, and is essential to them because it recapitulates the dramatic situation which they contain. It was customary in Elizabethan times to add a woeful tale to a sonnet sequence. "A Lover's Complaint" recounts the grief of a lovelorn maiden who tells an old wise shepherd how she fell in love with a youth who was no true lover. This false lover, in making his love declaration to the simple, pure maiden, boasts that he received love tokens:

"... I have received from many a several fair,  
Their kind acceptance weepingly beseech'd,  
With the annexions of fair gems enrich'd,  
And deep-brain'd sonnets that did amplify  
Each stone's dear nature, worth and quality.

"The diamond, why, 'twas beautiful and hard,  
Whereto his invised properties did tend;  
The deep-green emerald, in whose fresh regard  
Weak sights their sickly radiance do amend;  
The heaven-hued sapphire and the opal blend  
With objects manifold: each several stone,  
With wit well blazon'd, smiled or made some moan.

"Lo, all these trophies of affections hot,  
Of pensived and subdued desires the tender,  
Nature hath charged me that I hoard them not,  
But yield them up where I myself must render,  
That is, to you, my origin and ender;  
For these, of force, must your oblations be,  
Since I their altar, you enpatron me.

Verses 30,31,32

Salisbury's Posie 6, "The patrones Dilemma," can teach us with what irony were written such "deep-brain'd sonnets" about precious stones. The poet rhapsodizes about the qualities of fair Anragos: his graces, his glory, his virtues, his chastity, his force of love, that excel the virtues of the diamond, the onyx, the ruby, the topaz, and the hyacinth. He has as many virtues as Iris has colors. Then the author mentions the "windie Histmos" and adds that

"the Lupinar hath not more chast affects." Neither the Latin nor the English dictionary has the word 'Lupinar.' The Latin dictionary has the word 'Lupinarius,' a dealer in lupines. Lupines were used on the Roman stage as stage money: argentum comicum. Did Salisburie use 'Lupinar' for 'Lupinarius' with reference to those precious stones as argentum comicum to which the virtues of fair Angragos were compared, or is the word 'Lupinar' a misspelling of 'Lupinar' which in Latin means a house of ill repute? The latter seems far more probable. In either case, with "the Lupinar hath not more chast affects" the poet is far from being serious about the graces of this "fair Angragos," but rather is brought to "cold despaire" to write about them.

Posie VII, "The Palmers Dittie upon his Almes", reads:

Fayre Dole the flower of beawties glorious shine,  
 Whose sweete sweet grace true guerdon doth deserve,  
 My Orisons I offer to thy shrine,  
 That beawties name in glories state preserve:  
 My hap (ô haplesse hap) that gave th' applause,  
 Thy beawtie view'd when trembling hart did pause.  
 Were I a King, I would resigne my Crowne,  
 To gaine the name of Palmers happie kinde,  
 I would not crave to live in high renowne,  
 If Dole I had to satisfie my minde:  
 Then I for Dole a Palmers name would crave,  
 If Palmer might be sure his dole to have.

The poet wishes to gain the name of a palmer if he could obtain a dole. The dole he is begging for he calls "the flower of beawties glorious shine, whose sweet sweet grace true guerdon doth deserve," which indicates that he is begging for a reward to the grace of womanhood: the reward of love.

Posie VIII, "The Patrones Adiew," contains again the acrostic of his sister-in-law Dorothy, read upward:

Y	Yf love deserves the fruit of loves desire,
H	Hope loathes my love to live in hope of right:
T	Time after triall once may quench my fire,
O	Oh salve the sore and cherish my delight:
R	Rue lawless force, which fervent zeale procures,
O	Obtaine a hart like to the Emerald pure:
D	Dayne hope to graunt where feare dispaire allures, In deepe distresse naught but true faith is sure.

If we interpret this poem as addressed to Dorothy it is strikingly evident that the love plea is psychologically impossible and makes no sense. How could Salisbury, himself a married man, tell his married sister-in-law that "love deserves the fruit of loves desire"; and how could he admonish her to repentance with the words "rue lawless force" and at the same time beg her to "obtaine a hart like to the Emerauld pure"? What lover, assuring his love of his "true faith," confesses in the same breath "time after triall once may quench my fire"? The poem comes to its full sense if we realize it was addressed to Cutbert: it is Dorothy, loving her husband Cutbert, who deserves the fruit of love. Salisbury's "endeered trust," Dorothy, has so often hoped in vain that she loathes "to live in hope of right." It is Cutbert who should "salve the sore" and cherish Dorothy; Cutbert who should repent the lawless force which is his state of mind, and obtain the heart of Dorothy that is pure like the emerald. This hope Cutbert should fulfill and not bring about despair. In spite of a distressful situation, Salisbury's true faith in Cutbert is unshaken.

As further evidence of the correctness of our interpretation we quote two Sonettos that reveal the ethos of the poems of John Salisbury and of Elizabethan sonnet poetry in general. Sonetto 7 reads:

Marching in the plaine field of my conceyte,  
 I might behold a tent which was at rest,  
 My forces I did bend but ah deceite:  
 There left I freedome last which is now least.  
 For when I thought to fight with Mars for best,  
 There Cupid was which brought me to distresse,  
 Of foe when I thought to make a conquest.  
 Love and desire in tent did me oppresse.  
 These captaines twaine from tormēt may surcease,  
 If they did know the lore I beare in minde,  
 They may as Turtles one procure my ease,  
 O that to me of twaine one would be kinde.  
 Thou tēt that holdst in night such turtle doves,  
 Reiouce, embrace the twayne of world the loves.

Sonetto 7 reveals to us the general psychology of sonnet poetry: "the lover old and wise," with his mystifying poetry, teaches a lore which he bears in mind. This mystic lore concerns Mars and Cupid. The poet would be willing to fight the young man as 'dear enemy' as though he were fighting with Mars; but how can he fight him if Cupid has his hand in the affair? The poet's torment would cease if the young man and his beloved learned to live together in harmonious wedlock, like turtledoves. If only one of the twain would be kind to the poet and understand the lore which he bears in mind! The nature of this lore of wisdom, with its stress on honor, constancy, and true love is explained to us in Sonetto 15, which follows:

As fond conceyt doth move the wavering minde,  
 Of artlesse sottes that knowe not widdoms lore,  
 Inconstant still to chang with ev'rie winde,  
 Whose base desires wants frutes of vertues store,  
 So doth the arte and knowledge of the wise,  
 Stirre up his minde in honors foorde to wade,  
 With fervent zeale base changlinges to dispise,  
 And their weake strength, with courage to invade.  
 Whose mind being arm'd with true Loves strong defence,  
 He gyrdes his loynes with bondes of constancie,  
 And scornes that ought should alter his pretence,  
 Or stayne his name, with blot of infamie.  
 Thus wisdom is not given to manye,  
 And but to such for to be constant anye.

Here we find in Sonetto 15 the "sage precept" of male wisdom, which lies hidden under the fool's disguise in Salisburie's poems and in Elizabethan poetry in general. Haud ficta loquitur we may say of Sonetto 15, using a motto by Hugh Gryffyth, who at the end of Salisburie's poem praised Salisburie's character.<sup>12</sup>

In this collection of poems by Salisburie we find two Sonettos, 4 and 5, that bear the acrostic, read upward, of Salusburye Elanor, and Balusbury Eleanor, and each of the three Sonettos 16, 17, and 18 bear the acrostic Helena Owen, read upward. We quote only one poem of each group. Sonetto 4 reads:

R RELieve my minde being overprest with care,  
 O Oh heare my sorrows for I doe complaine,  
 N Non may the help save you the cure being rage,  
 A Ah put me not to death with lingring paine.  
 L Lest that my death to you shall nothing gaine,  
 E Enforced love dislikes which is not meate,  
 E Equalitie of love doth never paine.  
 Y You paragon most precious pure and sweete.  
 R Reioyce your lovers hart with love for love,  
 U Unlace dislike and let be far disdaine,  
 B Both one in one and let affection moove:  
 S Since that in hart affection doth remaine.  
 U Untie distresse to finde my blissfull sport,  
 L Let not your hart be cruell to the meeke,  
 A Attend my harts desire in humble sort:  
 S Soone grant my humble hart what it doth seeke.

Here speaks a "lover, old and wise," not a romantic lover, about the problem of marriage. He advises that the solution to harmonious wedlock is not enforced love, but equality of love. He admonishes "reioyce your lovers hart with love for love," "both one in one and let affection move." There is a spiritual note of meekness and humility of heart with which he hopes to touch the one to whom he really speaks.

Sonetto 17, one of the three which bears the acrostic "Helena Owen" reads:

N No care so great nor thoughts so pining seeme,  
 E Enjoying hope to reape the hearts desire;  
 W Which makes me more your beauties grace esteeme,  
 O Opprest with heate of PAPHOS holy fier.  
 A Appoint some place to ease my thrauled minde,  
 N Not freed yet from thy late luring looke;  
 E Enioye thy time and solace shalt thou finde,  
 L Let VULCAN toyle to forge his bayted hooke:  
 E Eyes glorious glaunce will trayne him to the lure,  
 H Heav'ns do repine thou shouldst his frownes endure.

The poet is sorrowful because the "hearts desire" of Helena is not fulfilled and she is in need of solace. The poet speaks of Paphos, the seat of the mystery of Venus, and promises that Vulcan will "toyle to forge a bayted hooke": the lure of mystifying poetry that will teach him the lore of wisdom. "Heav'ns do repine" if she has to endure the frowns of her lover.

Two Sonettos - 12 and 13 - appear to us to be of great interest. They not only show Salisburie in the guise of mentor, but (what is infinitely more important) they reveal a leading psychological thought, mythologically expressed, that occurs in various disguises through the entire range of Elizabethan literature. Evidently the purpose of this mystifying poetry was to bring about a state of mind in the young male reader that would lead him into his sub-conscious self, what modern psychological literature now calls an introversion. This state of mind, this introversion, figures mythically as a "descent into the under world" in Elizabethan poetry. In these Sonettos Salisburie treats the theme of the descent into the under world of the subconscious with deliberate psychagogic thought. Sonetto 12 reads:

Live long, sweet byrde, that to encrease our ioy,  
 Made soleme pause, betweene thy chirping layes;  
 When stately brier shielded our anoye,  
 And sheilded us from peeping Phebus raves:  
 Sweet Philomel recorde not our delightes,  
 In Mysicks sounde, but to the subtill ayre;  
 Least any should participate our spites,  
 Wrought by a sudden Cerberus repayre.  
 The pleasing sound our spirites did revive,  
 The sweet, sweet sent, refresh'd our yeilding sence,  
 The happy touch, most to delight did strive,  
 But caytiffe dog did hynder our pretence.  
 Then happie Byrd farewell, that eas'd my paine,  
 Farewell sweet brier, till fortune smile againe.

Literary evidence points to the fact that this Sonetto focused on Robert Parry himself. In the dedicatory epistle the author of the Passions, Robert Parry, had addressed his patron:

Geve leave a while unto my breathing Muse,  
 To pause upon the accent's of her smarte,  
 From the respite of this short-taken truce,  
 For to recorde the actions of my Harte:...

Parry asked permission for his Muse to pause upon the pains he had suffered.

Testimony to the cheerful nature of Parry's former poetry is given by T.S. Esq.

"In prayse of the Booke":

Of love of ioy af solace sweete and pleasant vaine,  
 That wonted was thy sugred muse to write and sing,  
 Both Sonetts Maddrigals with dainty ditties playne,  
 What sudden chaunce hath moved to chang thy stile what thing.

Sonetto 12 is addressed to a poet who between his "chirping layes" made "solemn pause." This solemn pause, as the context suggests, are Parry's "Passions." A stately brier shielded "the annoy" between Salisbury and this poet, that could only be concealed and not revealed in poetry. The spites between them were "wrought by a sudden Cerberus repayre," indicating the emergence from that underworld of the subconscious self which Parry had apparently undergone. This experience had brought Parry, as the "Passions" testify, introspection, repentance, and conversion. Salisbury praised the pleasing sound of this poetic report, and adds:

But caytiffe dog did hynder our pretence

The resentment expressed by Parry towards the mystification by mentioning in the "Passions" the Siren's songs, or in speaking of the "heape of toyes" whereby

Improvident prosperities is caught,  
 Within the net of new confused shame; ...

is symbolized as an angry Cerberus, the "caytiffe dog" separating the older and the younger poet. Yet in the final outcome Salisbury departs from him in the friendliest of spirits.

The theme of the descent of the young man into the underworld is then continued in Sonetto 13:

When Lordlin Tytan lodged in the west,  
 And EBON darknes ov'r-swayde the light,  
 LATONAS beams decreasing were suppress,  
 When silent streames did murmur there delight,  
 Then I entrench'd neere to a noble marke,  
 With courage bould a speare I tooke in hand,  
 To wyn my will fired with honours sparke,  
 Or loose my life in my commaunders band.  
 My speare I brake upon my gentle foe,  
 Which being perform'd the second I did charge,  
 Then call'd I was for treason armes to take,  
 And wisdom would my former charge forsake.



In mystic lore the west, the direction of the setting of the sun, figures as the place of retrogression and introversion. The east, the direction of the rising of the sun, figures as the symbol of the emergence to a new consciousness.<sup>13</sup> The tendency of remaining in the state of introversion, instead of rising to a new life, is that of the self-destructive Titans.

When "Lordlin Tytan" dwelt in the darkness of his own underworld, Salisbury entrenched himself to fight his "gentle foe." Twice he broke his spear upon him to show him courage and honor. The third time Salisbury apparently fought only with weapons of the mind. Then he was accused "for treason arms to take," which may refer to the reproach of mystification by Lordlin Tytan. The last three lines are indeed dark, yet the purport of the poem seems clear:<sup>it</sup> testifies not only to the theme of the descent into the underworld but also to the basic attitude of poet-master and young friend, as that of "dear enemies." The necessary reconciliation with his foe to whom the author of the "Passions" had to yield, is the reconciliation to his patron Salisbury, with whom he had a "respite of a short-taken truce," as he had declared in his dedicatory epistle.

The psychology of love in Elizabethan poetry, behind the veil of exterior erotic romantic fiction, is revealed to us in Sonetto 25. The Elizabethan mystagogues and poets who befriended the young bachelors of their generation in driving them, through mystifications, into the state of introversion, were plotters of Eros in a socratic sense.<sup>14</sup> A young bachelor is usually interested in choosing a woman according to his own romantic fancies. The Elizabethan mystagogues and poets were interested rather that this particular bachelor, for his own spiritual benefit, should be chosen by a woman who loves him. The natural Dionysic effect on a young man in the state of introversion is that he turns to a woman of whose love he is sure, rather than to aspire gaining a woman whom he

he is not sure.<sup>15</sup> The background of this thought is expressed in Sonetto 25, where Salisburie, with humor, wit and wisdom, stands on the side of the loving woman. Sonetto 25:

If Argus, with his hundred eyes, did watch  
 In vaine, when oft love did his cunning blynde;  
 Who doubttes but shee that meanes to make a match?  
 For to performe, both time, and place can finde.  
 And to abridge a woman of her will,  
 Is to powre oyle in fier, to quench the flame:  
 For then far more she is inclined still,  
 (Though once despis'd) againe to seeke the same,  
 Love doth commaund, and it must be obeyde:  
 The sacred deitie of the god is much,  
 Whose maiestie makes lovers oft afrayde,  
 That to his shrine with bended knee they crutch.

This is the cause, let woman beare no blame,  
 Who would not play if they did make the game.

The "Passions" of Sinetes are an example of how a mystified young Elizabethan lover bends the knee, at the shrine of Cupid. The poems of Salisburie illustrate the typical game of the Elizabethan socratic plotter of Eros.

The following Sonetto, 26, gives us the mythological word-signs that stood for a conscious and crafty psychological attitude. Mercurial wisdom of clever feigning was necessary to rock to sleep the Argus-like distrust of mystification:

Wheare true desire, (in simparchie of minde)  
 Hath loin'd the heartes, with APHRODITES delight;  
 There loving zeale, (to swete aspect inclin'd)  
 Will finde a time in spite of fortunes might.  
 ARGUS foresight, whose wake-full heedie eyes  
 Seeke to prevent the wynged Gods commaunde)  
 Is all to weake his charmes for to surprise:  
 Gainst whose resolve his cunning could not stande:  
 Yet if in Delphos sleepe laye the God,  
 Authoritie gainst Hundreth eies had fayld,  
 But MERCURIE, with his enchaunting rod;  
 Brought all a sleepe; when Argus love assayl'd:

Then since such happs to watching is assign'd,  
 Nothings is harde where willing is the minde.

An analysis of all the poems of Salisburie would mean an analysis of a very great number of mystifying conceits built up by a long tradition. We quoted only those poems which are of special scientific value and furnish special clues on account of their acrostics, or those that illustrate the unambiguous ethos and concealed psychology. The rest of the poems reiterate motives that we meet everywhere in Elizabethan poetry, which can be studied to greater advantage in more significant volumes. The collection of poems by Salisburie ends with four poems entitled "Sinetes Dumpe," also spelled "Sinetes Dompe" in this volume.<sup>16</sup> The last of these poems is very outspoken. It confirms the interpretation of all poems quoted here, and is in agreement with all of Parry's and Salisburie's poems contained in the volume. We set it down, therefore, as a clear symbol of the meaning of Parry's "Passions," and of the meaning of Salisburie's poems. It reads:

Sinetes Dumpe.

Though crost for follye of thy soaring minde,  
 Yet art thou blest her name is in thy rings,  
 At last thou shalt of her some comfort finde?  
 Though she be now dispos'd to clippe thy winges:  
 If thou art bashfull to discov'r thy minde,  
 Let thy ringe tell that she thou doest adore,  
 If then thou mayst not some contentment finde,  
 In mourning weedes thy weofull happs deplore:  
 Thy habyte then will sure reveale thy care,  
 She will enquire thy cause of thy annoy,  
 Then mayst thou sighe if thou canst not declare:  
 How that her fayre hath thus obscur'd thy ioy:  
 She then no doubt will soone conceave thy minde,  
 When in thy lookes thy ruines will appeere,  
 And with a smile thy thraulled chaynes un-binde;  
 Whose bright-beam'd sun thy cloudy stormes will cleere:  
 And graunt thee that (at last) thou lov'st so deere.

F I N I S

The poem describes the spiritual evolution of the melancholy Sinetes. Sinetes is grounded in wisdom's lore concerning love and marriage; the wings of his soaring mind are clipped by her to whom he has given the marriage ring, and

his discontented mind has learned contentment by adoring and loving her to whom he is bound in marriage.

The last part of this interesting volume contains a poem preceded by an epistle in prose entitled "The Lamentation of a Male-content upon this Enigma. Maister thy desires of live in Despaire." Below is quoted: Ovid Hoc si crimen erit crimen amoris erit, It is then freely translated:

Yf this a fault bee found in me,  
Blame love that wrought the misterie.

This motto and its free translation is symbolic for Elizabethan poetry in general, that treated the theme of love not as a mere moral lesson, but as a mystery. The motto contains the excuse for the mystification of those who were to be enlightened by it. It ought to be read in connection with another motto taken from Ovid's Ars Amandi (II:572) which is on the title page of the volume of Sinetes: Plena verecundi culpa pudoris erat.

The epistle in prose that precedes the poem, is dedicated "To the Honorable minded unknowne, the Name-less wisheth perfect health and perpetuall happiness." It is an epistle of the poet Name-lesse to a poetic mistress, the "Deare Patronesse of my haplesse lamentations." He confesses that he is secretly in love with her and that he cannot suppress the expression of his love. The poem will manifest to her his uncontrolled desire and reveal to her his "concealed fancyes." In a dream he had heard a voice pronouncing from a cloud; ~~Maister~~

Maister thy desires or live in despaire, and albeit I helde dreames but phantasies, which commonly doefall out by contraries my fortunes being so far inferior to my thoughts, maketh me to doubt the sequell thereof. Yet noble beautie of this sea-bound Region disdayne not to reade ende, and pittie if you will vouchsafe to mitygate the heavines of my martyred heart, which neere stifled with the sample of my discontentments, lamentably beggeth for comfort at your handes. Yours ever true, secret, and faithfull. Namelesse.

The poem, "The Lamentation of a Male-content," is a very clever rhetorical piece of mystification. While it feigns to be a confession of a lover who in

secret admires a poetic mistress, and confesses how impossible it is to master one's desires in such a situation, it also reveals the intention of the mystification. The poet outlines unobtrusively the course which the mystified male youth will take. We quote those lines which reveal this intention:

So eyes and gestures which doe play their part,  
Give her no knowledge that I am in love:  
For with dissembled myrth I hide my smart .....

The heav'ns are sad when she is Male-content,  
And Phoebus doth intome his goulden beame,  
In Ebon darkness till her cares be spent,  
Hyding himselfe within the Oce'n streames.  
But when her frownes be turn'd to smiles againe,  
He lendes his light out of a Cloudie tower,  
Thus the superior bodies doe remaine,  
Subject to this Semy-goddesse power: .....

Bootlesse I strive unlesse she take remorse:  
Remorse sayd I, how can she pittie take,  
On him that yet durst nev'r for pittie crave,  
She doth now know I languish for her sake: .....

No Phereclean barke with treason stor'd,  
Loaden with heape of desembling layes,  
Nor cruell darts with friendes deere blood begor'd,  
Did guide my course to view thy glorious rayes .....

Thus would I fa'ne that she did not know my case,  
And yet am loth she should my fancies knowe,  
Lest that she would my little hope defane,  
And being my friend begyn to be my foe .....

Not for my selfe alone, these passions strive,  
And torture still my neer-decayde heart,  
Nor yet of malyce others to carrive,  
But secret matters which the heav'ns ympart, .....

Depose the scruple of a double zeale,  
For time once lost cannot be had againe,  
From all the worlde to thee I doe appeale:  
Though thou shouldst hate, my love shall still remaine.....

The "Lamentation of a Male-content" ends with these two lines:

These secret griefes this love unknowne doth force,  
Whereof I die unlesse thou take remorse.

Poems of this kind must be read by keeping in mind the motto which is quoted in the introduction to the Elizabethan mystification Willobie his Avisas Contraria Contrariis. Avisas is represented in this literary hoax as a chaste, poetic mistress who rejects many of her suitors. In the introduction in prose to this poem it is stated that her name bears the initial letters of the following sentence: Amans Uxor Inviolata Semper Amanda. In a similar sense the poet Namelesse painted a poetic mistress, to bring home to the male youth the truth which is contained in the poem "Sinetes Dumpe." In the epistle in prose preceding the "Lamentation of a Male-content" it is mentioned that "dreams fall out by contraries." The poetic mistresse was the attractive imaginary bait with which the Elizabethan poets lured ~~these~~ into their inner circle/<sup>those</sup> whom they intended to bring upon a spiritual path that was beyond poetic fancies. We quote from the collection The Phoenix Nest the first stanzas of a poem that shows in what manner such a mistress was painted:

Sir painter, are thy colours redie set,  
 My Mistresse can not be with thee to day,  
 Shee's gone into the field to gather May,  
 The timely Prymrose, and the Violet:  
 Yet that thou maist, not disapointed bee,  
 Come draw hir picture by my fantasee.

And well for thee, to paint hir by thine eare,  
 For should thine eie, unto that office serve,  
 Thine Eie, and Hand, thy Art, & Hart, would swerve,  
 Such maiestie hir countenance doth beare,  
 And where thou were Apelles thought before,  
 For failing so, thou shouldst be praised no more ....

There follows then a detailed description of her marvelous beauty. It was a poetic mistress intentionally painted from fantasy and hearsay and not from actual sight.

The volume Sinetes is on the whole a "Pharecleann barke ...loaden with desembling layes," that has a moral and spiritual purpose in mind. It consists

of three parts. Each of these parts can serve to establish a definite entity of psychagogic thought of Elizabethan poetry. The "Passions" by Robert Parry are the poetic confessions of a young man who, by means of mystifying poetry, is brought to introspection and self knowledge, repentance of his undisciplined youth, and who becomes constant in his love for one woman. The second entity is represented by the poems of John Salisburie, who shows the typical attitude of the sonneteer who, even though he be a young poet, represents the wisdom of old age: a lover old and wise who is the platonic overseer of the loves of young men and women, spurring the male lover or husband on to constancy and virtue, and paying conventional honor to the beloved, betrothed, or wife of the man whom he addresses. The third part, by the poet Namelesse, illustrates the mystification of Elizabethan poetry by means of the erotic fiction of an imaginary mistress.

In the prescientific ages when the human mind was more at home in the fields of human introversion than in the fields of an extroverted scientific tradition, in the ages when the experience of introversion had built up an entire lore of mystical and magical arts and pseudo sciences, it is the author's opinion that the lore of poetry had its own psycho-biological function. With this lore the young male hearer or reader of poetry was mystified and brought into a descent of his own self that led him to an ascent with anagogic ideas that related to pure love, pure family life, and definite ideas of his moral and social obligations.

Plutarch, the wise heir of ancient civilization, in his essay "How a Young Man Should Hear Poems," gives us an illuminating idea of the fool's disguise in poetry that hide "sage precepts," and tells the young man in a euphemistic, half-veiled manner, what the psychological purpose of poetry is:

arousing "disquieting passions" which bring a young man into the underworld of his subconscious mind, from which he emerges with a mythological tale of his experience in the underworld. The dionysic effect of this experience is indicated by Plutarch through a quotation from Homer which we repeat again:

But from the dark dominions speed they way,  
And climb the steep ascent to upper day;  
To thy chaste bride the wondrous story tell,  
The woes, the horrors, and the laws of hell.

Significantly enough, after this quotation Plutarch adds: "Such things as I have touched upon are those which the poets willing feign." These "disquieting passions" of which Plutarch speaks are reported in Parry's "Passions." They tell the story of the "woes, the horrors and the laws of hell" of the inner soul. They tell of the "spites, wrought by a sudden Cerberus repayre," as expressed in Sonetto 12 by John Salisbury, who, being a man of the Renaissance wrote in knowledge of the psychological essence and inner concordance of the poetry of the past, that for him was "wisdom's lore."



PART II

ROBERT CHESTER'S LOVE'S MARTYR: OR ROSALINS COMPLAINT

## PART II

### LOVE'S MARTYR: OR ROSALINS COMPLAINT

#### 1. The Problem -----

Ralph Waldo Emerson has called the attention of a large public to the deep significance of Shakespeare's poem The Phoenix and the Turtle. He expressed himself as follows:

Of Shakespeare what can we say, but that he is and remains an exceptional mind in the world; that a universal poetry began and ended with him; and that mankind have required the three hundred and ten years since his birth to familiarize themselves with his supreme genius. I should like to have the Academy of Letters propose a prize for an essay on Shakespeare's poem "Let the Bird of Loudest Lay" and the Threnos with which it closes, the aim of the essay being to explain, by a historical research into the poetic myths and tendencies of the age in which it was written, the frame and allusions of the poem. I have not seen Chester's "Love's Martyr" and the additional poems (1601) in which it appeared. Perhaps that book will suggest all the explanation this poem requires. To unassisted readers, it would appear to be a lament on the death of a poet and of his poetic mistress. But the poem is so quaint, and charming in diction, that I would gladly have the fullest illustration yet attainable. I consider this piece a good example of the rule that there is a poetry for bards proper, as well as a poetry for the world of readers. This poem, if published for the first time, and without a known author's name, would find no general reception. Only the poets would save it.<sup>1</sup>

The task which Emerson assigned to historians of literature is still before us. Historical research thus far undertaken in that direction has proved, in the main, inconclusive. The first to deal with the problem was Dr. Alexander Grosart;<sup>2</sup> but he did not reach the root of the matter. Still to him we owe the orientating work of an editor who made us acquainted with Robert Chester's unique dilettante product and its supplement, the "Diverse Poeticall Essaies on the former Subject; viz: the Turtle and

Phoenix, Done by the best and chiefest of our moderne Writers," which bear the names of Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Marston, and Chapman. The title page of Chester's Love's Martyr and its supplement, the Diverse Poeticall Essaies, will best make the reader acquainted with the literary questions which this work suggested. Dr. Grosart tried to answer them in the following order:

- (a) Who was Robert Chester?
- (b) Who was Sir John Salisburie?
- (c) Who were meant by the Phoenix and the Turtle?
- (d) What is the message or motif of the poems?
- (e) What is the relation between the verse contributions of Shakespeare and the other "modern" poets?
- (f) Was the issue of 1611 only a number of copies of the original of 1601 except the preliminary matter and a new title page?
- (g) Is there poetical worth in the book?
- (h) Who was Torquato Caeliano?<sup>3</sup>

According to the results of subsequent research, Dr. Grosart was fortunate in identifying the man to whom the book was dedicated, viz: Sir John Salisburie of Lleweni County, Denbigshire, Wales. Dr. Grosart also made a very plausible guess as to the origin of the name of Torquato Caeliano, who figures on the title page as the original poet of Love's Martyr. An Italian poet of this name is not known, but Dr. Grosart calls to our attention that an Italian anthology, Rime di diversi Celebri poeti dell' eta nostra, nuovamente raccolte e poste in luce in Bergamo MDLXXXVII, on pages 95 to 148 contains selections from the Rime of Livio Caeliano. On pages 149 to 181 there are similar selections from Torquato Tasso, the latter's poems following immediately those of Caeliano. Dr. Grosart suggested

that Robert Chester had combined both names into Torquato Caeliano, "under who<sup>se</sup> mask as a professed translator he had elected to sing."<sup>4</sup> Dr. Grosart maintained that the 1611 issue was only a number of copies of the original 1601 issue, without the preliminary matter and with a new title page.<sup>5</sup>

Of the eight questions raised by Dr. Grosart, literary critics accepted only three (b,f,h) as having been logically answered. His attempts to answer the other questions proved futile. Dr. Grosart undertook to prove that Chester's Love's Martyr, which has for its subtitle Rosalins Complaint, was devised as an allegory to shadow forth, under the picture of the love of a male turtledove for a female phoenix, the unfortunate relation of Devereux, second Earl of Essex, to Queen Elizabeth. It seemed to Dr. Grosart that "Robert Chester as a follower, not to say partner, of Essex, designed his Love's Martyr as his message on the consummation of the tragedy of his beheading, and that Shakespeare, Ben Jonson, Chapman, Marston and others anonymous were siding, so to say, with Robert Chester in doing honor to Essex."<sup>6</sup>

This interpretation, contraverted from the start,<sup>7</sup> can safely be laid aside since we now know more about Robert Chester, and since we have more information about the life of his patron, Sir John Salisbury. The introduction by Professor Carleton Brown to the Poems of Sir John Salisbury and Robert Chester<sup>8</sup> informs us authentically for the first time that Robert Chester was not, as Dr. Grosart had assumed, the Sir Robert Chester of Royston (Herts), but as appears from manuscripts in the Library of Christ Church, Oxford, a man who lived as a domestic retainer - probably as chaplain or as tutor - in the household of the wealthy country gentleman, John Salisbury. Chester's poems in the Library of Christ Church make it clear that the friendship between the poet and Salisbury began at least two years before 1600.

Professor Brown, who gives us a very interesting and thorough account of Sir John Salisburie's life, proves that that gentleman was bitterly opposed to the party of Essex, and therefore was the last person to whom, as Dr. Grosart suggested, such an allegory would have been dedicated.

Professor Brown, in his analysis of Chester's Love's Martyr recognized that Chester's allegory of The Phoenix and the Turtle was intended to represent a nuptial union. He suggested that the poem may have been intended to celebrate the nuptial union of Sir John Salisburie with Ursula Stanley, which took place in 1586. To justify these somewhat belated felicitations which appeared in print fifteen years after the event, Professor Brown attempted to show that the poem contains an allusion to the offspring of this nuptial union, "a new Phoenix grown into maturity," by whom, he says, must have been meant Jane, the daughter of Sir John Salisburie and Ursula Stanley, who in 1601 was fourteen years old.<sup>9</sup>

However, Professor Brown offered this suggestion with a fine scholarly reserve and without presuming that this explanation throws light on Chester's poem, or on the poems of Shakespeare and other contributions. Professor Brown's suggestion seems to have been accepted by literary critics (with less skepticism) who considered that the question had probably been answered.

The true explanation of Chester's allegory and the poems appearing with it hinge not so much on their personal reference as on the elucidation of the literary tradition of the poetic theme involved.

Theoretically one might expect that even the obscurest theme can be elucidated by using the scientific method. But where personal affairs are put into the foreground of the explanation, even when there is no doubt as to their inspirational source, the fundamental literary question may still remain unanswered. Professor Brown's suggestion, which he himself uttered with

skepticism, has the disadvantage of dismissing the poetic theme of Chester as such. The inherent mystifications of Chester's allegory brought Professor Brown to criticise the poem as "essentially grotesque."<sup>10</sup> The confusions and obscurities seemed to him due, in part, to careless and inartistic workmanship and, in part, to the radical defect in employing the allegory of the Phoenix as a basis of a poem intended to celebrate the union of two lovers.

There is no question that in his judgment Professor Brown is justified from an esthetic point of view. However, Chester's allegory presents a psychological, not an esthetic problem.

Professor Brown's critical attitude may have been fostered by Dr. Grosart's unfortunate question, "Is there poetical worth in the book?" Anyone reading Chester's Love's Martyr and the Cantoes attached to it, can easily detect that the poem as well as the Cantoes are products of dilettanti. This becomes obvious when we compare them with the second part, where we hear the voices and utterances of poetic geniuses fraught with the universal meaning of the world. Chester confesses himself as a dilettante; but products of this type, when they require an analysis, must be judged not from an esthetic point of view, but from a psychological point of view. It is therefore the intention of this inquiry to substitute for Dr. Grosart's question, "Is there poetical worth in the book?" this one: What psychological significance has Chester's Love's Martyr?

Before we proceed, mention should be made of Arthur H.R. Fairchild's Historical and Critical Interpretation of Shakespeare's Phoenix and Turtle.<sup>11</sup> The author limited himself solely to Shakespeare's poem and assumed that there was no direct light thrown upon it by the other poems in conjunction with which it was published. Hence his attempted interpretation failed. It is the more astonishing that he could be led to this assumption that the poems were

not interrelated, since the title itself informs that the Diverse Poeticall  
Essaies deal with the "former Subject; viz: the Turtle and Phoenix." Mr.  
 Fairchild too has followed the conservative view of those who could not detect  
 any connection with Chester's poem. "It is generally thought," he sates,  
 "that in his own work Chester meditated a personal allegory, but if that  
 be the case, there is nothing to indicate that Shakespeare participated in the  
 design."<sup>12</sup> Mr. Fairchild attempted to establish that The Phoenix and Turtle  
 belonged to that class of poems connected with the institution, real or  
 imaginary, known as the Court of Love.<sup>13</sup>

Mr. Fairchild's thesis appears to be inconclusive since he did not succeed  
 in distilling the "myths and tendencies of the age" to such a degree that  
 anything definite could be said about Shakespeare's poem. The explanation  
 of Love's Martyr, as well as that of the poems of Shakespeare, Jonson,  
 Marston, and Chapman, hinges upon the interpretation of the symbols used  
 throughout, namely, the Phoenix as a female and the Turtledove as a male, and  
 their sacrificial union as a voluntary death. If we discover where and why the  
 Phoenix and the Turtle were used in this sexual designation, we can proceed  
 further. Forgetting to inquire about the Phoenix as a female, Mr. Fairchild  
 illustrates the use of the word Phoenix in Elizabethan times, which was  
 applied to any person or thing regarded as possessing unique excellence, the  
 synonyms of which were "paragon, distinguished, wonderful."<sup>14</sup> Therefore he  
 finds it hazardous to make any positive interpretation. In the literature  
 of emblems about the Turtledove he gathered more definite information, and  
 learned that it was a time-honored emblem for tenderness and conjugal love,  
 but here too he does not account for the male character of the Dove either  
 in Chester's poem or in the Diverse Po<sup>etical</sup> Essaies.

After the short survey of the outstanding works on our subject, we find the following questions which Dr. Grosart suggested, still unanswered:

- (1) Who were meant by the Phoenix and the Turtle?
- (2) What is the message or motif of the poems?
- (3) What is the relation between the verse contributions of Shakespeare and the other "modern" poets?

To these we add the questions:

- (a) What psychological significance has the poem?
- (b) Why has the poem the title Love's Martyr?
- (c) Why has it the subtitle Rosalins Complaint?
- (d) What is meant by the symbol of the Pelican?

If all these questions are answered satisfactorily without any haphazard assumptions, there will open up to us unexpected vistas which will lead to the very kernel of Elizabethan literature.



## LOVE'S MARTYR: OR ROSAINE'S COMPLAINT

### 2. The Symbol of the Phoenix, the Pelican and the Turtle

The Phoenix, the Pelican and the Turtledove are the three allegorical actors in Chester's Love's Martyr.

The legend of the Phoenix is as old as the history of civilization, and in Shakespeare's time had not yet lost its living significance. It is perhaps in place here to recall the history of the word Phoenix. The Greek word 'Phoenix' denotes the legendary bird as well as the date tree. According to Spiegelberg,<sup>1</sup> the Greeks translated it from the Egyptians, by whom the bird was called b<sup>e</sup>n<sup>e</sup>w; the date tree was called b<sup>e</sup>n<sup>j</sup>w; the date fruit was called b<sup>e</sup>n<sup>j</sup>t. All three words, shortened, were pronounced b<sup>e</sup>n<sup>e</sup>. Spiegelberg believed that the same sound of these three words suggested to the Greeks the word 'Phoenix' for the legendary bird as well as for the date tree.

Egypt had created the legendary bird as a symbol for the rejuvenation of the ages,<sup>2</sup> which was destined to introduce a new epoch or eon. Greece and Rome<sup>3</sup> adapted the symbol of the Phoenix to their own religious conceptions. The Greeks and Romans saw in the Phoenix a symbol of worldly splendor and everlasting power.<sup>4</sup> Subsequently, Christianity in its infancy transformed this myth to one harmonious with its new world view.<sup>5</sup> A comparison of Christ with the Phoenix arose at the very birth of Christianity: witness its occurrence in the apocryphal Gospel of Clement, the disciple of Peter, afterwards Bishop of Rome.<sup>6</sup> Christian patristic literature used the Phoenix as a comforting symbol for a better world beyond. The identification of the Phoenix with Christ Himself was crystallized in the words of the Christian monophysitic sect: Christus non imago sed Phoenix.<sup>7</sup> In its symbolic Christian significance the

Phoenix is to be found in a poem attributed by many competent critics to Cynewulf. The first portion of this poem is based upon the Latin poem attributed to Lactantius. The second part, in its allegorical application of Christ, is based on the writings of Ambrose and Bede.<sup>8</sup> The Phoenix as a symbol of medieval, religious, theological mysticism, in its sex both male and female, is testified to by Albertus Magnus, who wrote about this bird in his natural history De Animalibus:

De Phoenice: Phoenicem avem esse Arabiae in Orientis partibus scribunt qui magis theologica mystica quam naturalia prescrutantur. Dicunt autem hanc avem esse sine masculo et sexus commixione solam in sua esse specie ...<sup>9</sup>

Two facts seem to us to be important. In the medieval ages the symbol of the Phoenix for the mystery of the Resurrection of Christ had so deeply penetrated the common Christian consciousness that the Phoenix in this significance was represented on cathedrals. Such a Phoenix may be seen in the glass window of Le Mans and Tours, also on the door of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg. Other examples are at Magdeburg and Bale. Important is the other fact, that with the rising worship of the Queen of Heaven, the Phoenix, signifying the fire of rejuvenation, was used as the symbol for the Virgin Mother.<sup>10</sup>

The Phoenix as a female in Love's Martyr, which burns in order that another Phoenix may be born, evidently goes back to this medieval conception of the Phoenix as the Virgin Mother. Medieval poetry has many examples of this identification of the Phoenix with the Virgin Mother.<sup>11</sup>

As we know, the Pelican in Christian symbolism stands for Christ's atoning work; for His Passion and Death; sometimes for His Resurrection. The myth of the Pelican, like the myth of the Phoenix, comes from Egypt.<sup>12</sup> The Psalms refer to the Pelican as a kind of despairing soul.<sup>13</sup> The medieval bestiaries, modelled upon the Alexandrian Physiologus, tell us that the Pelicans are

fond of their young, but when they grow older the offspring strike their parents in the face. This enrages the parents, who in anger kill their young. Then one of the parents feels remorse and smites its own breast with its beak, so that the blood flows and the young may be raised again to life.<sup>14</sup>

In view of the fact that Chester's allegory makes use of the symbol of the Phoenix together with another symbol of Christ, the Pelican, it is interesting to note that the cathedral of St. Lawrence in Nuremberg and the cathedral in Magdeburg show the Pelican feeding its young with its blood, opposite the Phoenix.<sup>15</sup>

The religious symbol of the Dove also is as old as antiquity. It has been shown by Hugo Gressman<sup>16</sup> that the Doves of Aphrodite are related to the Dove goddess of Asia Minor. A myth tells us that Aphrodite flies to Libia accompanied by Doves. After nine days she returns, a scarlet red Dove flying ahead of her, the other Doves following. The scarlet Dove here is a symbol for the enamored male lover. Doves were also a symbol of Bacchus and were sacrificed to Adonis. In the catacombs, as is well known in Christian symbolism, the Dove represented the soul of departing Christians. In early Christian writings the Dove, symbol of the Holy Spirit, is represented as hovering above the Virgin. The Dove was frequently used as a symbol for the faithful Christian husband. Mr. Fairchild quotes from Mundus Symbolicus the following lemma or description concerning its symbolic meaning:

Haec volucris unicum duntaxat conjugalis amoris sui consortem  
admittit. Eaque mortua vitam ducit solitariam. Unde illam  
emblematis loco hanc Minutis Felicis inscriptionem insignis:  
AUT UNAM AUT NULLAM.<sup>17</sup>

Following now the suggestion of Emerson to delve into the poetic myths and tendencies of the age in which Shakespeare's The Phoenix and Turtle were written, it may be stated quite definitely that the symbols of the Phoenix and the Pelican were used then not only in religious literature, but also in alchemistic and Rosicrucian literature. The following are some examples:

1) In Kopp's book on Alchemy,<sup>18</sup> a book written from the viewpoint of a chemist, we find a very long list of alchemistic writings, every one of which bears on the title page the name of the Phoenix. The symbol of the Phoenix, in alchemistic literature, was used mostly for the Philosopher's Stone.

2) The symbol of the Pelican was also very frequently used in alchemistic literature. The alchemists represented the red tincture of the Philosopher's Stone as a Pelican, for by being poured on the baser metals it sacrificed itself and, as it were, gave its blood to tincture them.<sup>19</sup>

3) In the writings of Paracelsus, the symbol of the Phoenix is characterized from a psychic point of view: "Know that the Phoenix is the soul of Illiaster (that is, the first chaos of the matter of all things)... It is also the Illiastic soul in man."<sup>20</sup> It designates here the chaotic soul which is brought upon the path of spiritualization. The disciples of Paracelsus were the contemporaries of Shakespeare. They used this symbol very frequently.

4) The Rosicrucian Heinrich Kunrath, who is considered to have been a Hierophant of the magnum opus was a disciple of Paracelsus.<sup>21</sup> He was born in Saxony in 1560, became a physician at Bale, practiced medicine at Hamburg and Dresden, and died in 1601. His famous work Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Eternae<sup>22</sup> has on its title page the picture of a Phoenix burning on a wood pyre.

5) Another famous disciple of Paracelsus was the Rosicrucian Count Michael Maier (1568-1622) who wrote a book entitled Jocus severus, hoc est Tribunale aequum quo Noctua Regina Avium, Phoenice arbitro post varias disceptationes et querelas Volucrum eam infestantium pronounciatur, et ob sapientiam singularem Palladi sacrata agnoscitur.<sup>23</sup> As in Shakespeare's funeral poem, we find an assemblage of birds with the Phoenix presiding over them: the owl, crow, goose, etc. The singular wisdom of the owl carries off the crown.

The title Jocus severus is very significant in this inquiry, since it will help us, with additional material to be presented later, to recognize the group of poems to which Shakespeare's The Phoenix and the Turtle belongs. Count Michael Maier published also Cantilenas intellectuales de Phoenice redivivo,<sup>24</sup> which was printed in Rome in 1622, reprinted in 1623 in Rostock. The translation of the title reads: "Nine Triads of Intellectual Songs on the Resurrection of the Phoenix; or the most precious of all medicines, the mirror and abridgement of the universe, proposed less to the ear than to the mind, and presented to the wise as the key of the three impenetrable Secrets of Chemistry."<sup>25</sup>

We have thus come to the orientation of the mythical tendencies of the Elizabethan age, in Emerson's sense. The symbol of the Phoenix was an alchemistic, Rosicrucian and poetic symbol in Shakespeare's time, but it was still preeminently a living religious symbol for Christ. In order to show that the Phoenix, Pelican and Turtledove were still living ~~living~~ religious symbols in the sixteenth century, we quote from Thomas Decker's Prayer Book, printed in 1609. The title of this book is Foure Birds of Noahs Arke<sup>26</sup> and it contains prayers arranged for all classes, and befitting the various situations of life. The title page shows that the book is divided into four parts, each part using a bird as a religious symbol. They are:

1. The Dove		Comfort
2. The Eagle		Courage
3. The Pelican	bringeth	Health
4. The Phoenix		Life

The prayers relating to the Dove are dedicated "to the religious, virtuous and noble gentleman, Sir Thomas Smith, Knight." We read in the dedication:

Foure birds of Noahs Arke have taken several flights. The Dove (which is the first) flies to your hand; not by chance, but upon good chance: as knowing you to be a Dove yourselfe.<sup>27</sup>

The identification of the Dove with a man (Sir Thomas Smith) is noteworthy.

The prayers relating to the eagle, "Saint John's Bird," contain supplications on behalf of kings and rulers, and are dedicated to Sir John Scott.

The prayers relating to the Pelican are inscribed to the honor of Sir George Heywood; Thomas Decker writes in his dedication:

They (the prayers) are dewed with the drops of a Pelican, whose property is to suffer her own bosom to bleed that others may be fed. It is the bird of charity & the true Embleme of Christ on the Crosse (who was all Love). His sides are here pierced & His blood here runs forth making a river in which only (and by no other fountain) the leprosy of sin is ever to be censed.

In his admonition to the reader, Decker exhorts the imitation of Christ:

Crucify all thy sins. He was a Pelican for <sup>thy</sup> sake. Be thou a Pelican for thyselfe and others and flie with two winges (to heaven) Faith and good workes ... In our Prayers we must (in the love that we beare to God) beate our brests till (with the bleeding drops of a contrite and repentent heart) we have fedde our Soules with the nurishment of ever lasting life. The Pelican is content to yeeld all the pleasures of the world.

Decker then enumerates the ten flights of the Pelican which a Christian must take, being those of the Passion and the Death of Christ.

In accordance with the common tradition of the Christian world of that age, the prayers relating to the Phoenix are dedicated to the "two worthie and worthily admired, Lady Sarah, wife to Sir Thomas Smith, and Lady Catherine, wife to Sir John Scott." The dedication reads:

There is but one Phoenix (at one time) in the world. It is rare in shape and in quality; for which cause I send it flying to your bosoms; see thence you both are like the phoenix (rare) as well in the perfection of Bodie as excellence of minde. It is a Bird to which Christ suffered himself to be compared and it may aptly bee a figure of his resurrection ... This Phoenix will carry thee up to a second life that shall be ever, ever lasting.

Decker mentions the well known legend of the Phoenix:

When the Phoenix knoweth, she must die, she buildeth a nest of all the sweetest spices, and there looking steadfastly in the sun she beateth her wings in his hottest beams, and between them kindleth a fire among those sweet spices and so burneth herself to death... Christ is the true Phoenix. As therefore a grain of wheat is cast into the earth and there first rots and then quickens again & after yeeldeth itself in a tenfold measure; so was our Savior cast into his sepulchre, there lay His dead body for a time and then was quickened and then raised up ... When He died, He died alone, but when He did rise He did not rise alone, for in His resurrection do we all ascend up into heaven.

Thus we see the religious symbol of the Phoenix in Shakespeare's age as a symbol for Christ, referring to womanhood. In Chester's Love's Martyr the celebration of a nuptial union between the Phoenix as a female and the Dove as a male, is thus the glorification of the conjugal union of man and woman in a religious, Christian sense.

The literature of the sixteenth century abounds in a wealth of mystic poetic lore, intended to lead the male youth on through rebirth and conversion, to the Christian attitude on matrimony and on life in general. It is a mystifying anagogic literature, and as we shall see later, serio-comic in nature: serious in its spiritual attitude on life, but outwardly jocose and mystifying in its expression, with a view towards attracting and reforming the male youth to pure, spiritual, Christian life. The so-called psychic alchemistic and Rosicrucian literature belongs to this group.

While the aim of this literature was to lead the male youth on to the spiritual Christian simplicity of a dove, its invention was veiled by a feigning, mercurial psychology of mystification. Mercury, the wordsign of alchemy, is to be found in these writings.

The connection of Chester's allegory with the mercurial psychology of the age can become clear from its entire motivation. Here we quote only a few lines from the allegory, which justifies an inquiry on the spiritual psychology of alchemy. Mentioning the Sign of the Cross in the Life and Death of King Arthur, a poem we believe to have been inserted into the texture of Love's Martyr with a special significance, Chester alludes to a silver cross in a green field in the shield of King Arthur. After a religious comment he continues:

Wise learned Historiographers do write,  
That this pure Signe of the most holy Crosse,  
Was sent from God to Mercurie's delight  
Julian the Apostata's onely losse  
And that an Angell brought to Mercurie  
All Armour for his backe most necessarie.<sup>28</sup>

The psychology of alchemy is thus essential to our theme.

LOVE'S MARTYR: OR ROSALINS COMPLAINT

3. On Alchemy

In the Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum by Elias Ashmole, the well known collector of Elizabethan manuscripts, we find the following two little epigrams entitled "The Whole Scyence":<sup>1</sup>

Take Mercury from Mercury, which is his wyfe,  
For Mercurys wyfe to Mercury maketh great stryfe,  
But Mercurys wyfes Wyfe  
To Mercury maketh no stryfe

The second epigram is a variation of the first, and reads:

And thou wed Mercury to Mercury with her wyfe,  
Then shall Mercury and Mercury be merry withouten stryfe:  
For Mercuries Wyfe to Mercury maketh great stryfe  
But Mercuries wyfe's wife to Mercury maketh no stryfe.

If, as it is asserted, in these few verses is contained <sup>one of</sup> the secret of the whole science of alchemy, it would be of utmost value to us to solve the riddle of these lines.

Before beginning to read the writings of psychic alchemists, it should first be ascertained what conscious psychological aim determined the peculiar symbolism used. Since practically all the alchemistic writings are enigmatic, a solution of the two short baffling epigrams which promise to contain the secret of "The Whole Scyence" might prove a good way of approach. Do they contain the key? Interpreted literally, there is no such relation as a wife with a wife's wife, as given in the epigrams. There exists only man and woman, husband and wife. The use of the expression "wyfe's wyfe" in connection with "wyfe" is an obvious mystification.



The mystic, hermaphroditic, hermetic, or mercurial psychology found in the writings dating from antiquity until late in the seventeenth century (the conceptions of which may still be found in Swedenborg and William Blake), has been lost sight of in our modern age. The symbols for male and female, the Sun and the Moon, and the alchemistic slogan Ex Luna in Solem, indicating the purpose to lead the male youth on from the state of feminine consciousness symbolized by the moon, to the masculine consciousness symbolized by the sun, appears to us to be the ever recurring motif of esoteric, mercurial writings. Heretofore it has not been ~~scientifically~~ recognized that in the great poetry of world literature, of Greek and Roman antiquity, in the poetry of the medieval ages and of the Renaissance, and especially in Elizabethan literature, the mystification of male-female, the disguise of a man as a woman and of a woman as a man, flows from this same mystic, hermaphroditic, hermetic or mercurial psychology.<sup>2</sup>

An understanding of the telling facts of this mystification, which emerge in the following chapters, and which furnish the key to the solution of the sonnet problems from Petrarch to Shakespeare, would ensure recognition of the deep, spiritual psychology underlying the entire range of Elizabethan literature in general. Here we insert only three lines by one of the early poets of Elizabethan literature, George Gascoigne, whose

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motto was "Tam Marti Quam Mercurio." These lines can stand as a symbol of mystic hermaphroditic psychology common to most products of Elizabethan literature. They are taken from Gascoigne's poem The Steel Glass.<sup>3</sup>

I n'am a man as some do thinke I am,  
(Laugh not good Lord) I am indede a dame,  
Or at least a right Hermaphrodite.

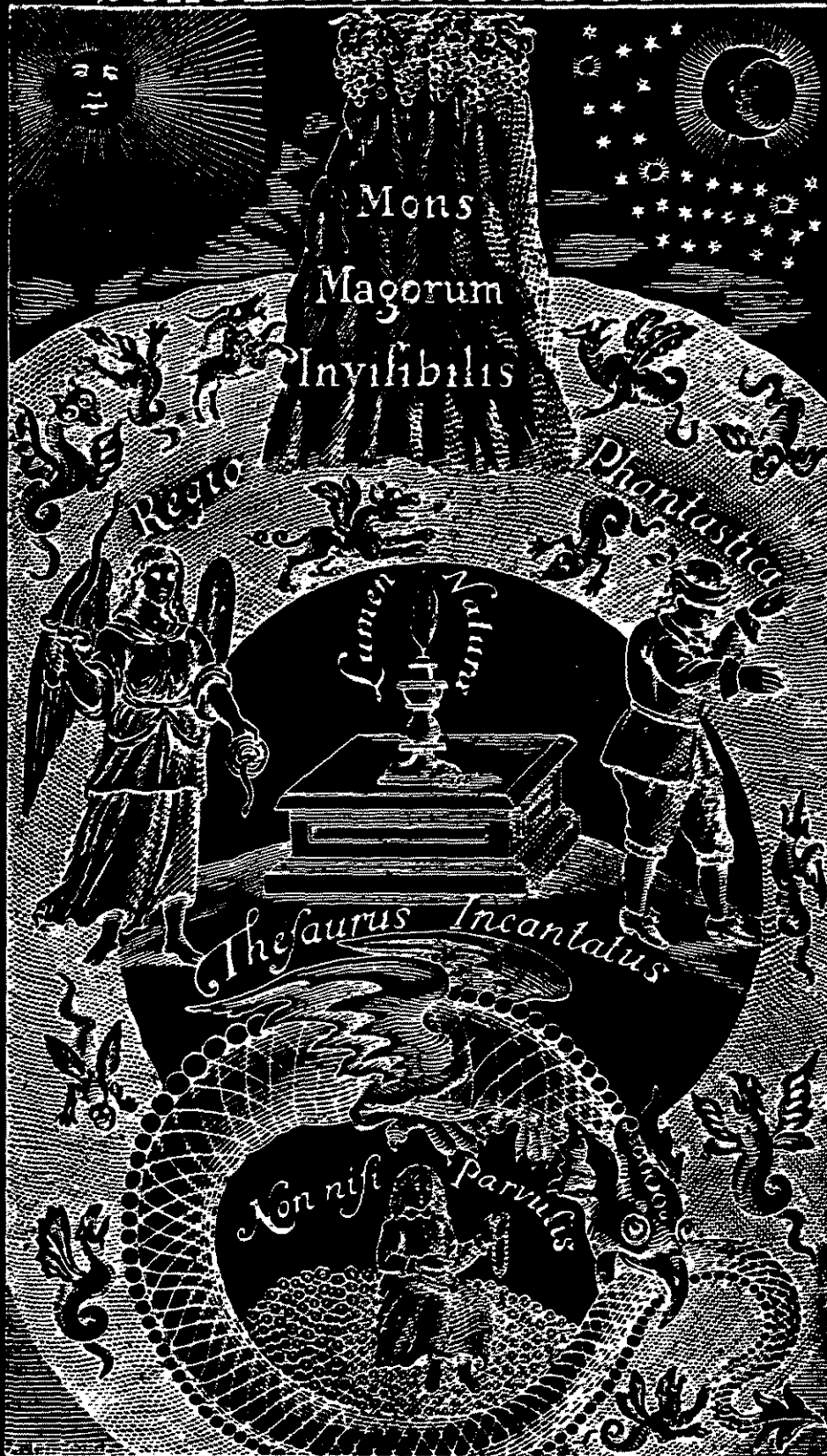
The following verses from Spenser's poem Colin Clout's Come Home Again are simply one example testifying to the leading thought of hermaphroditic psychology in Elizabethan literature:

For Venus' self doth solely couples seem,  
Both male and female through commixture joined.  
So pure and spotless Cupid brought she forth  
And in the gardens of Adonis nursed.<sup>4</sup>

Otto Weininger's book Sex and Character gives a rational approach to this mystic, hermaphroditic psychology. According to him, the ideal man (M), the complete male, is a concept never realized in nature. There is in every man (M) an admixture of feminine qualities (w); in every woman (W) an admixture of masculine qualities (m). The mutual attraction of the sexes is determined by the direct proportion of small w in large M, and of small m in large W. However, Weininger's point of view is static. The hermaphroditic psychology which is found in mythical form in ancient literature is not static but dynamic, and thus nearer to life and intuition than to science and analysis.

According to the Kabbalah, for instance, an unmarried man or an unmarried woman is both male and female.<sup>5</sup> With marriage the man loses his feminine part; the woman her masculine part. The great mystics and mystae knew not only about the bisexual tendencies of the human soul, but they had an anagogic system of religious education, founded on spiritual conceptions, which showed the way of salvation and grace whereby the man could become a real spiritual man, freed from his feminine traits. The great mystics and mystae saw the spiritual problem of the human race not from the viewpoint of individualistic

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rationalism, but from the viewpoint of superindividual, religious consciousness. The relation of man to woman, and the deep significance of the conjugal union, was the central point of their anagogic writings. This hermetic or mercurial psychology was apparently of such common knowledge among the enlightened men of the sixteenth century, that we find a theologian like the Anabaptist Campanus saying: "Nicht der Mensch an sich, sondern der eheliche Mensch ist das Gleichnis Gottes."<sup>6</sup>

This is the viewpoint expressed in alchemist writings. They can be considered an imaginative, fantastic pretense, intended for the spiritual enlightenment of the male youth in order to anchor him, by means of family ties, to a spiritual and productive life. Their principle was one of mystification; its aim was a noble one, as Bacon himself knew and admitted.<sup>10</sup> The human aim was the spiritual and intellectual awakening of those who were mystified, and their conversion through marriage. We bring here the facsimile of an illustration taken from the famous book Lumen de Lumine by an English Rosicrucian, Thomas Vaughan, who wrote under the name of "Eugenius Philalethes."<sup>11</sup> This illustration has the title Scholae Magicae Typus. The sun and the moon, which are the cosmic and at the same time the psychological symbols for male and female are, with the stars, the astral witnesses of the cosmos looking down upon the event which is here pictured. Between the sun and the moon we see a mountain, the top of which is covered with grapes: Nons Magorum Invisibilis, a symbol for the operation of invisible, metaphysical forces. A blindfolded young man with his guardian angel is shown descending, his back turned towards the Lumen Naturae in the center. He is surrounded by mysterious animals, a Regio Phantastica: a fantastic region of the imagination. This is the picture of a mystified scholar or young man of the school of magic. His destination is indicated below, where there is a young maiden with a rosary in her hand,

sitting upon a pile of coins. She is framed by a dragon with its tail in its mouth. This maiden is Thesaurus Incantatus, for whom the blindfolded young man is destined. The inscription Non nisi Parvulis indicates that the blindfolding or mystification of the standard school for magic was intended for the inexperienced young folk, a young man and woman. We see that the young man who is blindfolded is the one mystified: that is, led into a regio phantastica.

The mystagogic pretense of the enlightened alchemist, a man of divine wisdom, a God seeker and a truth seeker, consisted in his promise to teach his disciple the secret of the Philosopher's Stone, which would enable the latter to come to riches, if he sought them in the spirit of Christ. The alchemist attracted young men, "Illiac souls of chaos." What brought the disciples to him was the material desire for a Thesaurus Incantatus: the desire for gold. While teaching them the spiritual wisdom of a true religious life without which the secret of the Philosopher's Stone could not be practiced, the alchemist led them into a bewildering mysticism which was destined to lead them down to a descent into their inmost selves. From a psychological point of view, he brought them to an experience of introversion. This experience was referred to in esoteric writings as that of death, and also plays an important role in Chester's allegory where the Phoenix and Turtle meet to experience the mysteries of Paphos. The process of introversion, according to the psychoanalysts Jung and Silberer<sup>19</sup>, originates in the following manner: The growing individual, in his adjustment to the outer world, sometimes finds it difficult to sublimate his libido into those channels that befit a social life. This is due to his youth and inexperience. He reacts towards the world as he would towards his parents, expecting love and rewards for his affectionate behavior. Being intimately associated with his father and mother, he imitates them. The surrounding social world often offers a greater resistance towards this attitude than the growing individual expects. He does not therefore succeed in transferring

the libido of his father-and-mother imago to the outer world. Whenever this transfer fails, the individual withdraws his libido from the outer world and seeks consolation in that inner world which is the scene of his early youth. Hence there follows what is called regression. The impulse of the libido toward adaptation to the outer world is checked by an instinctive recoil from its unpleasantness. In the dualism of such a conflict, regression, or harking back, may bring about the absolute suspension of one's will. Thus the conscious life of the individual in his relation to the outer world becomes inactive; that is to say, the individual puts aside the libido which united him with the outer world. Not only his proper sexual libido, but also all those desexualized impulsive forces of voluntarily directed activity which maintain contact with reality which have been introverted. Psychiatrists describe this state of mind as "auto-eroticism par excellence."<sup>10</sup>

The Elizabethan poets, acquainted with the process of introversion through mystical experiences, symbolized this auto-erotic state of mind by the often quoted figures of Narcissus, Adonis, Ganymede and Philautus. The auto-erotic state of introversion, according to Jung, is in itself the beginning of a new adjustment, working for the preservation of the individual self. In such states of mind the subconscious self of the individual gets the upper hand. Subconscious life, according to the psychoanalytical view of Jung, is the counterbalance of conscious activity, always working in the sense of a compensation. Where the conscious activity has broken down, the subconscious self comes to the surface for the sake of that inner equilibrium toward which the individual is tending. The subconscious self, when released from inhibitions, produces fixed ideas of imaginative thinking, which have the symbols of the archaic mythical thought of previous ages. If the individual remains in suspense in this inner world, and finds no way of escape from it, he is but a shadow, mortally ill or almost dead. Sometimes, however, he succeeds in tearing himself free again and

in rising to the social world. This quasi-subterranean journey led to a fountain of youth and from the apparent death of the individual a new productive life arises. The libido which usually is slow in relinquishing any object of the past, when freed from its infantile claims, serves in building up a new coordinated personality. Thus the introversion has given rise to a rebirth.

From this point of view Jung and Silberer came to identify the process of successful introversion with original religious experience. They interpreted that the regression or suspension of will -- that is, the going back to the mneme of the race, was symbolized in mystic writings by spiritual death, the emergence from this state of mind or introversion with new vital energy being symbolized as a rebirth.

Silberer called the tendencies which lead to spiritual death "titanic"; those which lead to a new birth "anagogic." He attempted to identify the mercurial symbols as indices for changing the titanic tendencies into anagogic ones. The tendency toward destruction (castration) according to the teachings of the mercurialists, had to be sublimated into successful introversion, for which the sign  $\eta$  was used. The tendency to master others was to be replaced by mastery of oneself  $\Sigma$ . The love of combat was to be replaced by warring against oneself. The sexual libido was to be changed into a spiritual libido, which has the symbol of the shining sun  $\odot$ . The tendency of hypercriticism was to be replaced by knowledge,  $\Phi$ . The tendency towards vacillation was to be overcome by changing oneself, which has the sign of the moon  $\text{D}$ . <sup>11</sup>

The analogy of the process of successful introversion with the religious symbol of spiritual death and rebirth, the general recognition of the alchemistic symbols as signs to change the titanic tendencies of the soul into anagogic tendencies, can be philologically verified not only in alchemistic writings, but also in mystic writings of world literature, and especially by the entire range of Elizabethan literature. <sup>12</sup>

Let us quote again the two epigrams:

Take Mercury from Mercury, which is his wyfe,  
 For Mercury wyfe to Mercury maketh great stryfe,  
 But Mercurys wyfes Wyfe  
 To Mercury maketh no stryfe.

And thou wed Mercury to Mercury with her wyfe,  
 Then shall Mercury and Mercury be merry withouten stryfe:  
 For Mercuries Wyfe to Mercury maketh great stryfe  
 But Mercuries wyfe's wyfe to Mercury maketh no stryfe.

These epigrams refer to the psychological and spiritual outcome of the so-called "chymical" or mercurial marriage.<sup>13</sup> Mercury stands for the master; Mercury's wife, for the disciple or novice of the master; Mercury's wife's wife, for the wife of the novice. In alchemistic and mystic writings the relation of the mercurial master to his disciple or novice figures as a spiritual marriage between the master as the man, and the disciple as the woman.<sup>14</sup> In the epigrams quoted the mercurial disciple figures as the wife of the mercurial master. The woman whom the mercurial disciple actually marries figures as Mercury's wife's wife. The offense of the mystification to which the mercurial master submitted his disciple, brings the latter to "strife." After the experience of the introversion the disciple or novice no longer loves, but hates his master. The outcome of this strife is the "congelation" of the disciple towards his master, a word often used in alchemistic writings to describe the ensuing coldness. In Elizabethan literature the psychological effect of the mystification by the mercurial master or the novice, is very often referred to as a "cooling card." The disciple transfers his sympathy to his own wife: a situation which the master intended from the very first. This explains why "Mercuries Wyfe to Mercury maketh great stryfe," whereas "Mercuries wyfe's wyfe to Mercury maketh no stryfe." The expressions used in these epigrams,



"take Mercury from Mercury," and "thou wed Mercury to Mercury," refer to the separation of the mercurial master from the mercurial novice in the first case, and the spiritual marriage of the mercurial master and the mercurial novice in the second case.

These two epigrams sum up the psychological and spiritual secret not only of psychic alchemistic writings, but also give a key to the mystagogic poetry of world literature, as for instance the sonnet poetry from Petrarch to Shakespeare. Together with the illustration taken from Lumen de Lumine they serve to explain the telos of mystagogic writings. Therefore they have been chosen from a mass of writings which hold the same key.<sup>15</sup> The results of this inquiry, will, we trust, give evidence to the correctness of this interpretation.

The nature of this schizophrenic strife of the married novice with the master brings about, under the anagogic Christian ideals, the spiritualization of the soul of the novice; from his "descent" he comes to an "ascent." His former egocentric, Philautic, individualistic state of mind is transformed into a christocratic attitude. The recognition of the mystification male-female, the fact that before mystification he was alluded to by the master as a woman, provokes in him a rising masculinity. The peculiar mystifying identification of master and novice so common to all esoteric writings: "I am you, you are myself," -- which we also find in Shakespeare's Sonnets, brings the novice to a religious point of view of the super-individual Self as living in God.

The evidence for the strife of the married novice against the mercurial master is furnished in a poem by Petrarch from Il Canzoniere,<sup>16</sup> "Quel antiquo mio dolce empio signore." Here is quoted a translation by Sir Thomas Wiat.<sup>17</sup>

It has the title "Love's Arraignment." The first stanza introduces us immediately into the conflict:

Myne old dere en'my, my froward master  
 Afore that Queene, I caused to be acited;  
 Which holdeth the divine part of nature  
 That like as goolde, in fyre he mought be tryed...  
 Charged with dolour, theare I me presented  
 With horrible feare, as one that greatlye dreedith  
 A wrongful death, and justice always seeketh. (stanza 1)

The married novice calls his master his old dear enemy before the Court of the Queen of Love. The sonneteer, in feigning to be in love with a cruel mistress, or as in the case of Shakespeare, feigning to be in love with a sweet boy, is the old dear enemy or spiritual lover of a younger male friend whom he challenges to manhood with irony, and deals with him suaviter in modo, fortiter in re. This relation of "dear enmity" or spiritual love between an older man and a younger one, is constitutive for original sonnet poetry from Petrarch to Shakespeare.

Petrarch's ironic attitude is in this stanza assured from the first line. The married novice who has undergone the experience of introversion and has become aware of mystification, cannot forget what his master had done to him. He is charged with dolour, afraid of death, and one who always seeks justice. With the following words he arraigns his master:

He hath made me regarde God much lesse than I ought  
 And to myselve to take right little heed,  
 And, for a Woman, have I set at nought,  
 All othr thoughts: in this onely to spede,  
 And he was onely cuncelor of this dede,  
 Always whetting my youthely desyer  
 On the cruel whetstone tempered with fier. (stanza 5)

The original mystic experience had as a first effect, a spiritual crisis where the novice was brought to doubt, like Parcival, the traditional religious conceptions. Therefore he accuses his master of having brought him away from God. The master was responsible for the setting aside of all thoughts

for the sake of a woman. The master defends himself in the following manner:

Mine adversary, with grevous reprovff,  
 Thus he began: Here Lady the othr part:  
 That the plain trueth from which he draweth alowff,  
 This unkynd men shall shew, ere that I part,  
 In yonge age I took him from that art  
 That selleth wordes, and makes a clattering Knyght,  
 And of my welth I gave him the delight. (stanza 11)

Nowe, shameth he not on me for to complain  
 That held him evermore in pleasaunt game  
 From his desire, that myght have been his payne;  
 Yet onely therby I brought him to some drame:  
 Which, as wrechedness, he doth greatly blame;  
 And toward honor I quickened his wit  
 Where else as a daskard me might have sitt... (stanza 12)

And unto him, though he no dele worthy ware,  
 I chose right the best of many a mylion:  
 That under the mone was never her pere  
 Of wisdom, womanhede or discretion;  
 And of my grace I gave her such a facon,  
 And eke suche a way I taught her for to teche,  
 That never bade thought his hert myght have reche. (stanza 14)

Evermore thus to contant his maistres,  
 That was his onely frame of honestie,  
 I stirred him still toward gentilness,  
 And caused him to regard fidelitie;  
 Patiens I taught him in adversitie,  
 Such vertues he lerned in my great schoole,  
 Whereof he repentth the ignoraunt foole. (stanza 15)

But oon thing there is above all othr:  
 I gave him winges wherewith for to flye  
 To honor and fame: and if he would farther  
 Then mortall thinges, abovethe starry sky  
 Considering the pleasur than an Iye  
 Myght geve on erthe, by reason of his love  
 What should that be that lasteth still above? (stanza 19)

The master says he has freed his disciple from the clatter of words, and had brought him to spiritual consciousness. Through him the disciple had come to a peerless, virtuous woman, who became the frame of his spiritual virtues. He has quickened his wit towards the attainment of honor and had made it possible for him to come to fame with the wings of poetry. There is no

question as to who is right, but Petrarch closes wittily:

Dear lady, we wayt <sup>the</sup> sentence.  
It liketh me, quoth she, to have herd your question  
But lenger tyme doeth aske resolution. (stanza 21)

From the psychological and spiritual situation of this poem we can arrive at an understanding of the esoteric, spiritual symbolism of Petrarch's poetry intended as a romantic regio phantastica for the male youth, in order to bring them back, through ties of marriage, to the awakening of spiritual consciousness.

To recapitulate; psychic alchemistic thought had as its nucleus the aim to throw the young male individual, through the retrogressive process of introversion or illumination, on his own resources; to inculcate in him anagogic, spiritual and religious ideas; to anchor him in family life; and to give him back to society as a creative, productive member. We find in esoteric, ~~in~~ religious and Rosicrucian writings the two constitutive ideas of mystagogic thought. The first is "I am you and you are myself," whereby the master or prophet identify themselves with their disciples through the personality of Christ. In the book by August Horneffer, Die Symbolik der Mysterienbunde, an anthroposophic book which enlightens us on the symbolism within groups of antiquity of the early Christians and of the Freemasons, and shows the widespread sociological influence of mystery groups, we find:

Daher finden wir auch immer wider jene uralte Unionsformel in Gebrauch, die das religios sexuelle Erlebnis am schönsten und einfachsten wiedergibt "Du bist ich, ich bin Du." Zwischen Ich und Du wird die absolute Identitat erklart, die durch die Verbruderungshandlungen des Bundes und durch das Aussprechen dieser magischen Formel selber vollzogen werden soll. ~~18~~ 18

We must stress this idea of the identification "I am you and you are myself" since it is the theme of Shakespeare's poem The Phoenix and Turtle. The other idea is the mystification of male-female.

## LOVES MARTYR: OR ROSALINS COMPLAINT

### 4. The Figure of Rosalind in Elizabethan Literature

The subtitle of Chester's "Rosalins Complaint" has its explanation in the allegory itself. Rosalin figures as Dame Nature, who complains to the gods that a Phoenix, a woman of matchless beauty, is like<sup>ly</sup> to remain unmarried unless the gods assist her to find a true husband: a Turtle. Jupiter listens to the complaint and promises h<sup>is</sup> help. The Phoenix, in going through the mysteries of Venus at Paphos, finds a Turtle who would make a true loving husband. The fact which makes the mystifying content of the allegory so interesting, in the writer's opinion, is that this is not a mere poetic fancy of the imagination composed for the sake of poetry, but that, with the poems attached it stood in the service of a living mystery group of the age, in which the outstanding poets were participators as platonic sponsors of the loves of their male young friends, whom they led on to become reborn in a Christian sense, through the experience of matrimony. This maieutic intention determines the content of most of the poetry of the age.

The figure of Rosalind as a mystery figure in Elizabethan literature was introduced by Edmund Spenser in The Shepherd's Calendar. Substantial evidence for Rosalind as a mystification may be found in the following verses and literary facts:

Colin Clout, the traditional clown (whom John Skelton had introduced earlier in his improvised lines) complains in The Shepherd's Calendar of his unfortunate love for Rosalind in the following manner:

It is not Hobbinol wherefore I plain,  
 Albe my love he seek with dazily suit;  
 His clownish gifts and court'sies I disdain,  
 His kids, his cracknels, and his early fruit,  
 Ah, foolish Hobbinol! thy gifts beep vain,  
 Colin gives them to Rosalind again.<sup>1</sup>

As we know, Hobbinol stands for Spenser's friend Gabriël Harvey, whom he also called "Benevolo." Harvey, in turn, called Spenser "Immerito." A letter from Harvey to Spenser ends with the following valedictory remark in Latin:

O mea Domina Immerito, mea bellissima Collina Clouta, multo plus plurium salve, atque vale.<sup>2</sup>

These lines undoubtedly can be called "clownish gifts and court'sies." It can easily be understood why Colin Clout, towards whom/Hobbinol stood in the relation of a socratic lover,<sup>3</sup> distained such clownish gifts and court'sies. That Colin gave them to Rosalind brings out at once the fact that Rosalind, Spenser's poetic mistress, was intended to be a mystification: a mystification in harmony with the mocking, clownish, parodistic tone of Spenser's pastoral poetry. This is only one piece of evidence. The inherent mystification may also be found in other motives of The Shepherds Calendar.

The history of the "conceit" of this mystification can be given from the early records of Greek and Roman literature. Its literary form was determined by the ironic, ancient pastoral poetry which began with Theocritus, Moschus and Bion, and was imitated by the Latin poets, as for instance in Virgil's Eclogues.<sup>4</sup> The cult and myth of Venus and Adonis, in combination with other ancient myths, was the center of this literary branch of poetry.

Whereas the modern poets of esthetic culture merely imitated the form of ancient poets, an imitation which was entirely external, the Elizabethan poets were the free imitators of the inner sense and purport of ancient poetry. They knew ancient poetry from the mystagogic point of view, and made a conscious use of the infinite mythical allusions. The "painting and feigning" of poetry as a regio phantastica for the mind of the male juvenile, were intended to bring about illumination in those young men whom the poets befriended. The composition of poetry was determined by an ironic lore whereby the poet pointed out discreetly the difference of romance from the psychological and the spiritual realities of the soul. The poets arranged their motives in working against the imagination of the reader by means of contraria contrariis, in giving the opposite, the ironic picture of what they intended to convey: a law of contraries of which Chaucer made use and in which the Elizabethans were masters. While the modern romantic poet often is the enthusiastic believer of his own fiction, the Elizabethan poet looked with wistful irony into the face of the reader in writing his fiction. He was the first who turned away from his own pictures, and his intention was to bring the reader to a state of consciousness where he, also, would be sufficiently mature to turn away from it. The literary production as an invitation to walk along painted roads, had the purpose of showing the reader how impossible this really was. It was the effort of the spiritual consciousness of the Elizabethan age to use the imagination as a contrast to the actual spiritual reality of life. The poet treated his reader as a Don Quixote whose fancies he nourished in order to disillusion him.

An illustration of this method of writing is the melodramatic pastoral tale written by the Elizabethan "sailor and soldier," Thomas Lodge, Gent.<sup>5</sup>

The mystagogic intention of the tale is indicated by the subtitle itself, as a testament of Euphues to Philautus' sons. They are the ones to be enchanted when they read it, and disenchanting when they understand it. What the tale does not reveal to us directly is indicated by the subtitle. The ironic detachment from his own production as a "toy of fancy," as the expression usually went for products of this kind, was expressed by Thomas Lodge in his dedication of the tale to the Lord of Hunston, Lord Chamberlain, to her Majesty's Household and Governor of the Town of Ferwick: "Having with Captain Clarke made a voyage to the island of Terceras and the Canaries, to beguile the time with labour I writ this book." The socratic spirit of mystification was expressed in the preface to the tale, "The Schedule annexed to Eupheus Testament, the Tenor of his legacy, the token of his Love." This testament reads:

The vehemancy of my sickness, Philautus, hath made me doubtful of life; yet must I die in counselling thee, like Socrates, because I love thee. Thou hast sons by Camilla, as I hear, who being young in years have green thoughts, and nobly born have great mindes; bend them in their youth like the willow, lest thou bewail them in their age for their wilfulness. I have bequeathed them a golden legacy, because I greatly love thee. Let them read it as Archelaus did Cassender, to profit by it; and in reading let them meditate, for I have approved it the best method. They shall find Love anatomized by Eupheus with as lively colours as in Apelles' table: roses to whip him when he is wanton, reasons to withstand him when he is wily. Here may they read that virtue is the key of labours, opinion the mistress of fools, that unity is the pride of nature and contention the overthrow of families: here is elleborus bitter in taste, but beneficial in trial. I have nothing to send thee and Camilla but this counsel, that instead of worldly goods you leave your sons virtue and glory; for better were they to be partakers of your honours than lords of your manors. I feel death that summoneth me to my grave, and my soul desirous of his God. Farewell, Philautus, and let the tenor of my counsel be applied to thy children's comfort.

Eupheus dying to live.

If any man find this scroll send it to Philautus in England.

The intention of the tale as a mystifying "feigning and painting" for immature boys, Euphues-like, from well-born ancestors, Philautic as to their state of mind, was here expressed with great wit and socratic consciousness. The



tale was a romantic bait for a psychological experience, "bitter in taste, but beneficial in trial." The poetical roses which are woven into the love story of Rosader and Rosalynde are Rosicrucian in spirit; they are a satire of the imagination to lead on the male youth to the insight that the real Rose of the Spirit and the Cross of the Spirit, was the activistic transcendental state of mind which took root with a spiritual consciousness in real love, with its concomitant tasks and duties of life, and did not satisfy the imagination with mere paintings of Apelles. This peculiar literary form of prose-fiction was founded by Lyly's famous novel, Euphues or the Anatomy of Wit. Spenser's The Shepherds' Calendar and Lyly's novel Euphues which appeared about the same time, inaugurated Elizabethan literature. These two products contained the logos spermatikos of the entire range of Elizabethan literature. In Appendix I is the analysis of Euphues on which Thomas Lodge's pastoral tale is based. The latter tale can be considered as a blend of the ironic lyric spirit of Spenser's The Shepherds' Calendar and of the paradoxical prosy wit of Lyly.

The tale of Rosalynde begins with the account of a Pollonius-like wisdom of an old gentleman, who on his deathbed gives advice on behavior to his three sons. The humorous display of proverbial commonplace wisdom is executed with a subtlety of ironic consciousness which Lyly introduced into English literature. The poet stands above this proverbial, commonplace wisdom.

The advice which the dying knight, Sir John of Bordeau, gives to his three sons, Saladyne, Fernandyne and Rosader, is summed up in the following verses:

In choice of wife prefer the modest-chaste  
 In choice of friends beware of light beleef  
 A painted tongue may show a subtle heart.

The Elizabethan poets and mystagogues knew that the youth whom they befriended were never able to follow any of the advice from mere hearsay. The erotic aspiration of an ambitious male youth often tends towards a woman who

is splendid in show and towards a friend who is eloquent in words. To lead such on to a wife who is modest-chaste, the poets themselves became the "painted tongues" who showed subtle hearts.

In the case of this tale it was Rosalynde, the painted mystery figure whom the boys were to embrace in their imagination, like "Ixion who embraced Juno in a cloud," a mythical allusion which recurs several times in the tale.

Names, actions and plot of this tale, derived from the <sup>A.C.</sup> TALE OF GAMELYN, serve the broad psychological and spiritual entities of mental attitudes which were rooted in a metaphysical consciousness of life. It is the story of the development of the "younger brother who though inferior in years may be superior in honours": a Resicrucian attitude which in the sixteenth century look<sup>ed</sup> forward to the spiritual development of male youth by way of mystifying socratic treatment by elder brothers who could prove themselves "man to the boy," as Shakespeare expressed it. This elder brother is in this tale pictured as a cruel Turk, as the name Saladyne implies, who degrades his younger brother Rosader in withholding from him his inheritance, "suppressing him to a base estate," making him a "peasant by nurture, and a footboy and page," and on the whole treating him so that he became a "man lunatic."

By means of symbolical fiction which has its long tradition, the poet outlines how the youth, who was intentionally brought to revolt against the authority of his elder brother, through the experience of matrimony recovers from his youthful inferiority complex and comes to his own wisdom. In the symbolization of this tale Rosader is pictured as a wrestler,<sup>a</sup>/metaphysical wrestler, so to speak, as Jacob wrestled with the Angel. The event of this wrestling involves him with Rosalynde.

We are not interested here in the romantic plot which veils the story, but

in the constructive arrangement, the inner form, through the understanding of which it may be unveiled, and from which an adequate understanding of the purport and meaning can be won. The props of the story are two mythical figures alluded to under Rosalynde, disguised as Ganymede, the boy beloved by Jupiter, and cruel Phoebe, the "fever shaking light," or the moon, as we find in a poem attached to Love's Martyr.<sup>6</sup> The Elizabethan psychology regarded both the young man and the young woman as virgins.<sup>7</sup> The romantic disguise was played out with infinite variations. In the clever plot of Lodge's tale the clown and fool, Corydon, is the instigator of mystification. The other figures are merely embroideries. Phoebe is a female Philautus. "Phoebe is the brightest, but the most coy of all to stoop unto desire; but let her take heed, I have heard of Narcissus, who for all his high disdain against love perished in the folly of his own love."<sup>8</sup>

With the introduction of the pastoral scene, Lodge wittily alludes to the conceit of the sonnets. Rosader finds Rosalynde disguised as Ganymede, in the forest. He complains:

I have with Apollo enamored myself of a Daphne, not, as she,  
disdainful, but far more chaste than Daphne: I have with Ixion  
laid my love on Juno and shall, I fear embrace nought but a cloud.  
Ah, shepherd, I have reached at a star: my desires have mounted  
above my degree, and my thoughts above my fortunes.<sup>9</sup>

Rosalynde, hearing this complaint, answers:

Believe me, quoth Ganymede, either the forester is an exquisite  
painter, or Rosalynde far above wonder; so it makes me blush to  
hear, how women should be so excellent and pages so imperfect.<sup>10</sup>

This is an illustration of the many remarks in usum Delphini addressed to the mystified boy. Similarly many other remarks serve to enlighten the sons of Philautus.

had  
He/answered you, Ganymede, quoth Aliena: it is enough for pages to  
wait on beautiful ladies and not be beautiful themselves.<sup>11</sup>

This remark strikes the keynote of the sonnets of Shakespeare, who ironically

complimented the beauty of his young male friend, thus causing him to forget his own beauty and to wait on a beautiful lady. Ganymede replies to Aliena's remark about the beauty of pages:

Oh, mistress, quoth Ganymede, hold your peace, for you are partial. Who knows not that all women have desire to tie sovereignty to their petticoats, and ascribe beauty to themselves, where, if boys might put on their garments, perhaps they would prove as comely; if not as comely, it may be more courteous.<sup>12</sup>

Here again is a remark typical in the sonneteering of an age in which young men were berhymed as beautiful ladies in order to teach them to be courteous to women. There is suppressed laughter in the entire tale. The romantic sorrows of Rosader about Rosalynde, whom he loved so much, are ironic. The author betrays and conceals the sonnet mystification with the following remarks by Ganymede:

I can smile, quoth Ganymede, at the sonnetos, canzons, madrigals and roundelays, that these pensive patients pour out ... These Ovidians holding amor in their tongues, when their thoughts come at haphazard, write that they are rapt in an endless labyrinth of sorrow, when walking in the large lease of liberty, they only have their humors in their inkpot. If they find women so fond that they will with such painted lures come to their lust, then they triumph till they be full gorged with pleasures; and then fly they away like ramage kites, to their own content, leaving the tame fool their mistress, full of fancy yet without a feather. As they miss as dealing with some wary wanton, that wants not such a one as themselves, but spies their subtlety, they end their amours with a few feigned sighs; and so their excuse is, the mistress is cruel, and they smother passions with patience.<sup>13</sup>

This passage is a clever admixture of truth and feigning. The truth is that the sonneteering poets had "their humors in their inkpot"; that sonnet poetry was a painted lure. The feigning here consisted in that the poets were represented as libertines, which they were not. They are called Ovidians, imitators of Ovid. Ovid's poems were understood by the enlightened Elizabethan poets from their mystagogic intention of leading on the pueri or puellae to the healthy ethnic ideas of conjugal life. The licentious wit of Ovid's poems was merely a pretense to attract the attention of the corrupted youth of the age.<sup>14</sup>

His seemingly wanton Ars Amatoria are the mystagogic jocose expression of a vates who could assert in this poem:

Est deus in nobis, et sunt commercia caeli:  
Sedibus aetheriae spiritus ille venit.<sup>15</sup>

Those young boys whom the poets mystified and tamed were the original libertines. The grief and care and the sorrows of the poets concerning their cruel mistresses were indeed feigned, but the purpose to bring grief, care and sorrow to the mystified young man was not feigned.

Ganymede, the disguised Rosalynde, suggests to Rosader that he imagine Ganymede as Rosalynde and married to him. Whereupon Rosader exclaims:

Truth, gentle swain; Rosader has his Rosalynde; but as Ixion had Juno, who thinking to possess a goddess only embraced a cloud; in those imaginary fruitions of fancy I resemble the birds that fed themselves with Zeuxis painted grapes, but they grew so lean with pecking at shadows, that they were glad, with Aesops cock to scrane for a barley cornel. So fareth it with me, who to feed myself with the hope of my mistress' favours, sooth myself in thy suits, and only in conceit reap a wished for content; but if my food be no better than such amorous dreams, Venus at the year's end shall find me but a lean lover. Yet do I take these follies for high fortunes, and hope to divine some unfeigned end of ensuing fancies.<sup>16</sup>

The fiction of the marriage between Ganymede and Rosader gives a clue to the situation of the mystified young man. He is introduced into a regio phantastica of a pastoral world, brought into poetic ecstasies, then finds himself suddenly confronted with the reality of life. He is the bird who was fed with Zeuxis' painted grapes, made lean by the fancies of his imagination, and through the experience of mystification brought to an "unfeigned end of ensuing fancies."

This tale, with infinite variations, contains the mystagogic purpose of freeing the imagination of young men from romantic illusions and of teaching them the ideals of manliness. Aliena complains about the falseness of men, who

like sirens, allure chaste women with sweet words. "The reason was, quoth Ganymede, that they were women's sons and took that fault of their mother, for if men had grown from man, as Adam did from the earth, man had never been troubled with inconstance."<sup>17</sup>

Elizabethan literature is the mystagogic enactment of making men "grow from men." The meaning of this tale of fancy, which goes far deeper than the witty riddles of mystification as they were in fashion at that time, is expressed in the rustic song by Corydon, which renders the sense for the super-individual fact of mating in human society, veiled by the polite courtesies of the erotic fiction:

A blithe and bonny country lass  
Heigh ho, the bonny lass!  
Sate sighing on the tender grass  
And weeping said will none come woo her.

A smicker boy, a lither swain,  
Heigh ho, a smicker swain'.  
That in his love was wanton fain,  
With smiling looks straight came unto her.

Whereas the wanton wench espied,  
Heigh ho, when she espied!  
The means to make herself a bride,  
She simpered smooth like Bonny bell,  
The swain, that saw her squint-eyed kind!  
His arms about her body twined,  
And: 'Fair, how fare you well?'

The country kit said: 'Well forsooth,  
Heigh ho, well forsooth!  
But that I have a longing tooth  
A longing tooth that makes me cry.'

'Alas!' said he, 'what gars they grief?  
Heigh ho, what gars thy grief?'  
'A wound,' quoth she, 'without relief,  
I fear a maid that I shall die.'  
'If that be all,' the shepherd said,  
Heigh ho, the shepherd said  
'Ille make thee wive it gentle maid  
And so recure thy malady.'

Hereon they kissed with many an oath,  
 Heigh ho, with many an oath,  
 And fore God Pan did plight their troth,  
 And to the church they hied them fast  
 And God sent every pretty peat,  
 Heigh ho, the pretty peat!  
 That fears to die of this conceit,  
 So kind a friend to help at last.<sup>18</sup>

Here we find a definite connection between Chester's allegory and Lodge's fanciful pastoral tale. Lodge's rustic song and Chester's allegory express the conceit of Elizabethan literature and the great poets and mystagogues of world literature. They show how to bring Eros into the service of unmarried womanhood so that her sexual relations could be permanent, not ephemeral. The great poetry of western civilization served womanhood; it served monogamy as well. The unromantic psychological facts concerning the relation of the sexes to each other, of which the Elizabethan poets were conscious, lie in the natural inclination of the unmarried male youth to escape the duties of fatherhood, and the longing of unmarried women to find husbands, not merely lovers. In order to accomplish the realization of the ideals of matrimony, the effeminacy of the young male (and here we refer to the young male aristocrat) had to be overcome.

We have a record of the mentality of the male youth of the aristocratic class at the dawn of Elizabethan literature. It is a letter by Hubert Languet to his friend Sir Philip Sidney. This letter, written in 1579, furnishes an example of the moral level of the young English courtiers. It contains the following criticism:

To speak plainly, the habits of your court seemed to me somewhat less manly than I could have wished, and most of your noblemen appeared to me to seek for a reputation more by a kind and affected courtesy than by those virtues which are wholesome to the State, and which are most becoming to generous spirits and to men of high birth ...<sup>19</sup>

Brutality and contempt of women, effeminacy with the attending vices of human aberrations, were characteristic for the Italianized noblemen.<sup>20</sup> Thirteen or

fourteen years later Gabriel Harvey spoke of a new Spartan age which had set in.<sup>21</sup> This Spartan age had come about through the literary movement which propagated the *initia* or *mysteria*, the fundamental principles of life among the wealthy English male youth. The experience of mystification had this effect, that men of the upper class did not hesitate to marry women whose social status was inferior to their own. It meant a reshuffling of English society. Shakespeare's comedy All's Well That Ends Well offers the picture of such a marriage. Thus the Elizabethan poets were actually the initiators of the Puritan movement, which brought a new formulation of life, a new program of work, and a new organized class.<sup>22</sup> The line of development in English literature started with the mystifying, serio-comic treatment of the relation of the sexes, and ended in the dogmatic, Puritanical religious formulation which Milton gave in his Paradise Lost.

Thomas Lodge's theme of *Rosalynde* is the subject of Shakespeare's charming comedy, As You Like It. It would require a special study to develop amply this far more articulated and differentiating thought of Shakespeare's. Here we only call attention to the fact that the figure of Rosalind in Shakespeare's play is still a mystery figure of mercurial wisdom. She had been taught "magic" by her old uncle, "a religious man," who had been an "inland man" in his youth, that is, a man of inner experience. This comedy contains the most essential poetry because that poetry is so completely feigned. The clown of the play, Touchstone, whose very name betrays his alchemistic forbears, expresses this principle of the *ars poetica* of the Elizabethan age. The true meaning of this comedy becomes far clearer after we have become acquainted with Chester's allegory and the other poems which accompany it and which are so important to its pattern.



LOVE'S MARTYR: OR ROSALINS COMPLAINT

5. The Literary Character of Love's Martyr, of the Cantoes, and  
of the Poems "Done by the Best and Chiefest of our Modern Writers."  
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An intensive analysis of the argument of Chester's Love's Martyr will show us that there is an entity of psychic and spiritual experience which underlie all of its parts, and will illuminate the inner coherence of those parts which up to the present even to literary critics like Quincy Adams seemed a mystifying "hotch-potch."<sup>1</sup> We attempt to show what organic spiritual thought has shaped its true content.

The fact that a dilettante like Robert Chester could link his product with those of the most noted poets of the age is, in our opinion, not due to the fact as Carleton Brown suggests<sup>2</sup> that Salisbury, wishing to please Chester's vanity as well as his own, had called upon his distinguished friends to honor the volume with their verses. Chester's product is not so much an expression of poetic ardor as a testimony of the religious zeal of certain illuminati united in a brotherhood who through their writings drew new friends into this inner circle of the mystified. Although the difference of artistic expression between Chester and the four other poets is an enormous one, there is no real difference in their relation to a living mystery which was common knowledge to them all. As a devotee of this mystery, Chester, despite his antiquated conventional devices, attained a depth of feeling (thought not of expression) which is on the same level as that of the other four poets.

Sincere modesty as a human individual makes Chester interesting to us from

the start. In his dedication to Sir John Salisburie we are informed that he (Chester) finished his "long expected labour according to the directions of some of my best-minded friends." This indicates that the poem had its inception within a social circle. He was conscious of the fact that some absurdities had crept into the different parts of his product. He dedicated his verses to Sir Salisburie, "whose glorie will stop the mouthes of the vulgar, and I hope cause the learned to rocke it asleepe ... in the bosome of good wil."<sup>3</sup>

Two introductory poems, "The Authors request to the Phoenix," and "To the kind Reader," offer evidence that Chester had no exalted opinion of himself.

The first poem reads:

Phoenix of beautie, beauteous Bird of any  
 To thee I do entitle all my labour,  
 More precious in mine eye by far then many,  
 That feedst all earthly senses with thy favour:  
 Accept my home-writ praises of thy love,  
 And kind acceptance of thy Turtle-dove.  
 Some deepe-read Scholler fam'd for Poetrie,  
 Whose wit-inchanting verse deserveth fame,  
 Should sing of thy perfections passing beautie,  
 And elevate thy famous worthy name:  
 Yet I the least, the meanest in degree,  
 Endeavourd have to please in praising thee.  
 R. Chester.<sup>4</sup>

may have been

~~Professors of the law may have been~~ This poem ~~was~~/intended as  
 a compliment to Lady Ursula, since the volume was dedicated to her husband,  
 Sir John Salisburie. It may be inferred that Chester had honored Lady Ursula  
 as Decker, with his prayers referring to the Phoenix, had honored the wives  
 of Sir Thomas Smith and Sir John Scott. But the poem as such does not find  
 its explanation if we limit ourselves to the mere assumption that it has a  
 personal reference to Lady Ursula. The poem transcends personal interpretations.  
 It is a poem which glorifies the conjugal union in reference to Christ. This

subject was considered by scholars and wits of the time as a subject demanding the deepest learning, and therefore Chester felt himself inadequate for the task. The symbol of the Phoenix is a "fluid symbol," to borrow an expression from the philosopher Bergson. Its meaning was elastic. It referred to Christ, to the Holy Virgin, to womanhood, to the spiritual master as representative of Christ, and the novice who became a master. Robert Chester in asking to be kindly accepted as the Turtledove of the Phoenix, paid religious homage to the Phoenix, indicating thus a superindividual and not a personal symbol.

The humility of Robert Chester is most striking in the dedicatory poem, "To the kind Reader," the second stanza of which reads:

Then (gentle Reader) over-reade my Muse,  
That armes herselfe to file a lowly flight,  
My untun'd stringed verse do thou excuse,  
That may perhaps accepted, yeeld delight:  
I cannot clime in praises to the skie,  
Least falling, I be drown'd with infamie.  
Mea mecum Porte.  
R. Ch.

The allegorical introduction which follows is the conventional form of poetry current in the early Renaissance period, since "Le Roman de La Rose." At a parliament of the gods Rosalyn, here metaphorically represented in the person of Dame Nature, appears before the throne of Jove, displaying signs of deep distress. Drying her rosy cheeks, wet with tears, she gives voice to the following complaint:

One rare rich Phoenix of exceeding beautie,  
One none-like Lillie in the earth I placed;  
One faire Helena, to whom men owe dutie:  
One countrey with a milke-white Dove I graced:  
One and none such, since the wide world was found,  
Hath ever Nature placed on the ground.<sup>5</sup>

Dame Nature then gives a most pedantic account of the feminine beauty of the Phoenix. The glorification of the beauty of womanhood stands in the literary tradition of "Commendations," as we find them for instance, in John Skelton's

mystifying poem "The Boke of Phyllyp Sparrowe."<sup>6</sup> Dame Nature continues:

This Phoenix I do feare me will decay,  
 And from her ashes never will arise  
 Another Bird her wings for to display,  
 And her rich beauty for to equalize:  
 The Arabian fiers are too dull and base,  
 To make another spring within her place.<sup>7</sup>

Jupiter is incredulous at the account of this womanly beauty, whereupon Dame Nature produces a picture that convinces him of the truth of her assertion. All the gods now entreat Jove to assist Dame Nature in producing a new Phoenix through this exceptional woman. Jove himself admits that it would be a pity if she should die and leave no offspring. He therefore advises Dame Nature to fly with this Phoenix on Phoebus' chair to Paphos, to that place "where faire Venus from Adonis stole a kiss."<sup>8</sup> The Phoenix will find in Paphos a Turtledove who will die with her and produce a new Phoenix. This Turtledove is described as the ideal type of manhood, who keeps Prometheus' fire alive for the Phoenix:

His name is Liberall honor, and his hart,  
 Aymes at true faithfull service and desart.  
 Locke on his face, and in his browes doth sit,  
 Bloud and sweete Mercie hand in hand united,  
 Bloud to his foes, a president most fit  
 For such as have his gentle humour spited:  
 His Haire is curl'd by nature mild and meeke,  
 Hangs carelesse downe to shrowd a blushing cheeke.<sup>9</sup>

We have here the ideal picture of a man who is merciful to his friends, dreadful to his foes. Jove continues:

Give him this Ointment to annoint his Head,  
 This precious Balme to lay unto his feet,  
 These shall direct him to this Phoenix bed,  
 Where on a high hill he this bird shall meet:  
 And of their Ashes by my doome shall rise,  
 Another Phoenix her to equalize.<sup>10</sup>

The Turtledove is to become one of the annointed and elect. That another Phoenix should be born from the ashes of the Phoenix and the Turtledove is in

keeping with the Phoenix myth, but it has a special connotation within mystic orders. It was the duty of the mystified to find his heir and successor, as is hinted in the "Chymical Marriage of Christian Rosencreutz."<sup>11</sup> The mystified helped to induct new members. So Dame Nature sets out to accomplish her task.

An interpretation according to the scholastic method of the middle ages seems to us the only means of approaching the poem without impairing its inner meaning by hairsplitting logic. We may say that this allegory is capable of various interpretations: Materialiter: Dame Nature complains that a woman of high perfections is likely to live unmarried if the gods do not assist her in securing a husband. Mystice: Jupiter advises Dame Nature to fly with this perfect woman to a place where she will experience the mysteries of Venus. Spiritualiter: The husband who is worthy of such a perfect woman must give proof of his noble manhood: be dreaded by his enemies, merciful towards his friends. Allegorice: The experience of the mystery of love is brought about through ways which are assisted by nature itself.

Next follow two prayers which should convince any reader who is conversant with mystic literature that the products of the dilettante Chester <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ not the offspring of mere poetic fancy, but ~~is~~ a sincere religious expression of faith which prays for the illumination of a new novice. It is what mystic orders have called "religious work,"<sup>12</sup> and not merely poetry. The first prayer has the title, "An Introduction to the Prayer." The author addresses himself to the "Guider of the Sunne and Moone," the sun and moon being symbols of male and female. The poet as a devotee, before attempting to pray for the Dove, prays first that he be cleansed and purified himself, and that his pen, hand, wit, and undeserving tongue be properly guided. The second prayer has the title, "A prayer made for the prosperitie of a silver coloured Dove, applyed to the beauteous Phoenix." It is addressed to the "great maker of the firmament, That

rid'st upon the winged Cherubins ... and hear'st the sad prayers of the Seraphins." The bit of Kabbalistic lore indicates its connection with the conceptions of the psychic alchemists. The first part is addressed to Jehovah, the Father, and in its phrasings runs like a sincere prayer:

Bow down thy listning eares thou God of might,  
To him whose heart will praise thee day and night.

Accept the humble Praiers of that soule,  
That now lies wallowing in the myre of Sinne,  
Thy mercie Lord doth all my powers controule,  
And searcheth reines and heart that are within:...<sup>13</sup>

The poet then turns to Christ:

And now O Christ I bow before thy face:  
And for the silver coloured earthly Dove,  
I make my earnest prayer for thy love.  
Wash her O Lord with Hysope and with Thime,  
And the white snow she shall excell in whitenesse,  
Purge her with mercie from all sinfull crime,  
And her soules glorie shall exceed in brightnesse,  
O let thy mercie grow into such pāpenesse:...<sup>14</sup>

The prayer ends thus: As the Lord led the host of elected Israel through the Red Sea, and saved it from the wrath of Pharao, and brought his people into the chosen land,

So guide thy silver Dove Unto that place,<sup>15</sup>  
Where the Temptations envie may outface.

The use of the pronoun "she" in alluding to the dove, lies in mystic tradition where the mystified was called a virgin.

The two prayers show the theme of Love's Martyr: the experience of a soul-shaking event beset with psychic dangers religiously termed temptations, which bring together a man and a woman. The allegorical allusions which follow give an outline of this psychic event, which leads to the purification of a couple who are willing to live and die for each other. Furthermore, it presents the religious and practical outlook upon the world as it was brought about through

illumination. Chester was unable to create a real myth as were Spenser and Shakespeare. Inexpert as he was, he only re-echoed the traditional lore, and massed into the allegorical frame significant subjects which reflect the result of the mystification. The range of subjects that are interspersed furnish a clue to the mental horizon of a world view which any mind of limited vision might have had in the Elizabethan age, provided the possessor of the mind were within the group of the mystified, or the mystifiers. We must look upon Chester's simple-minded attempt at an explanation of the whole world, the significant events of history, the encyclopedic enumeration of plants, minerals and animals, with a certain sympathy. Chester delineated the congeries of emotional, intellectual, medical and magical interests of the time.

The author, fearing that the mystified might be inclined to doubt and scoff, adds to these two prayers a short poem, "To those of light beleefe," in which he admonishes the "favorers of excelling Muses" to read gently the conceit which follows. He exhorts those whose dull imagination does not know the "true nomination of herbs and trees":

Learne more, search much, and surely you shall find,  
Plaine honest Truth and Knowledge comes behind.<sup>15</sup>

He ends this poem with the following stanza:

Then gently (gentle reader) do thou favour,  
And with a gracious looke grace what is written,  
With smiling cheare peruse my homely labour,  
With Envies poisoned spitefull looke not bitten:  
So shalt thou cause my willing thought to strive,  
To adde more Honey to my new made Hive.<sup>17</sup>

The last two lines give us the first clue as to the literary character of this volume. Hive, or beehive, is the symbol for a mystery group.<sup>18</sup> The "new made, Hive" would indicate a group just formed. The comparison of a mystery group to a beehive is to be found in Elizabethan literature. As we have seen in Lyly's Eupheus in England, the pastoral figure of Fidus, who stands for a mercurial

master, is represented as a beekeeper. But let us turn from the poetical to the biographical field of Elizabethan literature for a moment. Gabriel Harvey, as his works can testify and as we shall show later on in this volume, was one of the organizers of the literary movement which stood in the service of the mystery. In the Museum of Saffron Walden is preserved the greater part of Harvey's fireplace.<sup>19</sup> Its entablature is divided into three sections, with figures and inscriptions as follows:

Aliss non nobis	:	Nec aliis nec nobis	:	Aliis et nobis
	:		:	
Ox with pack eating of thistles	:	Three men making a rope	:	Hive and bees at work
	:		:	
Nostri Placente	:		:	Labor

The first section suggests a society which profits by slavery; the second a society which is living in unprofitable chaos; the third, with the symbol of the hive and bees at work, a cooperative society whose aim is purposeful labor. Gabriel Harvey was one of the prototypes of the beekeeper, Lyly's *Fidus*. In Harvey's "A new Letter of Notable Contents," dated September 16, 1593, he wrote to the printer John Wolfe:

You have lately as appeareth by your indices of the sicknesse and so many other Novels very tidely played the Bees part: and so continue as you love me and yourselfe: unto whom I wish a rich hive and many honey-moones.<sup>20</sup>

Apparently the printer John Wolfe belonged to Harvey's intimate circle. In this passage is contained not only the allusions to the mystified as a bee and to the mystery circle as a beehive, but an actual reference to the psychological secret of the mystery circle: marriages brought about through the medium of mystification.

Many other motives in Chester's allegory with the cantoes and the poems attached give evidence that it was the mystagogic expression of a beehive to effect honeymoons.



After the poem "To those of light Beleefe" there follows "A meeting Dialogue-wise betweene Nature, the Phoenix, and the Turtle Dove." The Turtle-dove is announced too soon, since he appears, after many digressions, at the end of the allegory. We listen to a dialogue between the Phoenix and Dame Nature. Dame Nature greets the Phoenix and asks her why she is flying in the sun instead of being in the shade where the birds sing, and where she can bathe in wholesome springs. Is she not afraid to lose her feathers in the sun? The Phoenix is in a sad mood. She is afraid that she will die without being graced with the love of a young Turtledove. Nature, complimenting the Phoenix on her beauty, and seeking to know the cause of her "sullen mirth," receives this answer:

What is my Beauty but a fading Flower?  
 Wherein men reade their deep-conceived Thrall,  
 Alluring twentie Gallants in an hower,  
 To be as serville vassals at my Call?  
 My Sunne-bred lookes their Senses do exhall:  
 But (<sup>o</sup>griefe) where my faire Eyes would love, 21  
 Foule bleare-eyed Envie doth my thoughts reproove.

Pressed by Nature for a further explanation, the Phoenix confesses:

It better were for me mongst Crowes to dwell,  
 Then flocke with Doves, whē Doves sit alwayes billing,  
 And waste my wings of gold, my Beautie killing.<sup>22</sup>

Thus far we see the Phoenix in the mood of a virtuous maiden who wants to find a husband, but who can only find gallant lovers. It is Envie who hinders marriage. Since "Le Roman de la Rose"<sup>23</sup> the allegorical figure of Envy stands for the wicked enemy of chaste and true love. In Spenser's Faery Queen where Unas' faithful love and suffering for the Red Cross Knight is related, the poet confesses that nothing moves

... more dear compassion of mind,  
 Then beauty brought t'unworthy wretchedness  
 Through envy's snares, or fortune's freaks unkind.<sup>24</sup>

Chester's poem describes less artistically the spiritual experience which is given allegorical form in Spenser's Faery Queen.

Nature, on hearing the plaint of the Phoenix, is roused to anger, since her coming has been for the express purpose of remedying the situation by the use of her divine art. She therefore assures the Phoenix:

Ile chaine foule Envy to a brazen Gate,  
 And place deepe Malice in a hollow Rocke,  
 To some black desert Wood Ile banish Hate,  
 And fond Suspition from thy sight Ile locke: 25  
 These shall not stirre, let anie Porter knocke.

The Phoenix then complains that her rare beauty cannot thrive on this continent. She wants to take a flight to Arabia, but ere she goes Envy must be out of sight. The allusion to Arabia is in keeping with the myth of the Phoenix, and stands for the mystery. Nature promises her, as to Envy:

Ile conjure him, and raise him from his grave,  
 And put upon his head a punishment:  
Nature thy sportive pleasure means to save;  
 Ile send him to a perpetuall banishment,  
 Like to a tottered Furie ragd and rent. 26

Nature conjures Envie from his bed of snaky poison and corruption to inflict upon him the plague of confusion. As though coming from a cave of toads or poisoned dragons, there appears a damned fiend. The Phoenix fears that this fiend will be her tyrant, but Nature brings assurance that this fiend will have no power over her. She will place the Phoenix in a "sweete bower of secrecies," where she will spend her time in amorous discourse. The Phoenix sees how Envy, the villain, sweats, how he beats his black breast with fretting anguish. Nature banishes Envie to some "forreine soyle," a place of wilderness.

Here, then, the title Love's Martyr is clarified. Love's Martyr is an allegory for the typical mythical love story of Elizabethan literature. The clearest representative is Helena in Shakespeare's comedy All's Well that Ends Well, who overcomes the envy of a husband unwilling to subordinate his happiness to hers. All heroines in Shakespeare's plays who in doublet and hose set out to bring back to faithfulness and constancy the men whom they love, are Love's

martyrs. The anagogic spiritual ideas veiled by the opposite picture of a cruel mistress, favored mating from the viewpoint of the choice by women.

After Envie has been banished, the Phoenix is still full of sorrows. Nature comforts her, saying that she is ready to do greater things for her. The Phoenix expresses her yearning for Arabia; evidently the country in which she dwells (meaning Britain) is so sapless, that even in spring the plants wither; the sun is here pestiferous; there are no "herbes for Phisicke or sweet Surgerie," there is no heart-curing Balsamum. The discontent with his own country and age is thus expressed by Chester, and the flight into a Utopian dream is thus motivated.

With rhetorical emphasis Nature comforts the Phoenix. Jove himself, who makes a registry of man's deeds, has allowed Nature to bring the Phoenix to Paphos. This news, however, frightens the Phoenix instead of bringing her joy. She fears that an ill-divining planet or a fatal comet has worked upon a harmless bird such spite, "wrapping my dayes blisse in blacke fables night." If it were not a planet or comet, the Phoenix continues, then the wrath of Fortune has conspired against her. Nature warns the Phoenix not to rail against the sacred deity of Fortune. Fortune had tested her virtuous patience in youth and intends to lift up the Phoenix. Fortune is not her enemy; on the contrary, it wants to glory in her and set a crown on her feathered head. It should be high time, replies the Phoenix, for in her youth she had been unfortunate. The Phoenix hopes the Isle of Paphos will alter and bless her "halfe-rotten tottering state." She knows that in this Isle a Turtle has its nest in a wood of gold. Nature now invites the Phoenix into the chariot of Phoebus, an invitation which the Phoenix accepts with joy. She is delighted to leave that strand upon whose craggy rocks her ship was rent, and where her fresh blooming beauty was pent up as in a cell. Nature now outlines to her the voyage over the semi-circle of Europe, towards the tides which part the continent from Africa. The Phoenix is

so overjoyed that she bursts into song:

O happie time since I with Nature met,  
My immelodious Discord I unfret.<sup>27</sup>

In spite of the highly imaginative allegory, Chester is realistic in his psychology. He outlines with psychological insight the dissatisfaction of a woman fearing permanent spinsterhood, who rejoices at the prospect of a happy married life.<sup>28</sup>

As they ascend, Nature promises to show the Phoenix palaces of kings, huge built cities, temples of gods, and altars with rich offerings, the strange pyramids, and the River Euphrates. But first she enlightens the Phoenix on the foundations of cities of the Island of Britain. There follow historical and legendary reminiscences, with which Chester decorates his allegory. Tasteless as these reminiscences may appear to a modern reader, they indicate the dawn of a historic consciousness in the minds of the circle with which Chester was affiliated - a circle which prided itself on the enlightened understanding of real civilization. Chester is somewhat illuminated as to the true sources of civilization - the initia.

Dame Nature tells of King Arthur, who divided England into shires, built the University of Oxford, and was buried in the Church of Winchester; the city now called Leicester was built by the legendary King Leyre; Cambridge, the seat of learning, was built by Sigisbert; Ebranke built England's York, and erected the Castle of Maidens in Albania, now Edinburgh, where he placed the Nine Images of Stone, who represent the Nine Female Worthies. She then tells of King Arthur, who had finished Windsor Castle, where Edward III built a college; she mentions the Knight of the Garter, and Saint George's Cross, as rare things worthy of admiration. All these reminiscences are merely introductory, leading up to the separate account of "the Birth, Life and Death of honorable Arthur King of Brittain."

Hitherto it has been thought by critics that this part, which largely intrudes into the allegory, has nothing to do with the main theme. From an esthetic point of view this may be the case, but it is not true from a psychological point of view. It is essential to the main theme, since it transposes the allegoric content of a mystic experience into the field of traditional lore, where a time-honored legend radiates the significance of an experience of which Chester hints in his halting allegory. He explained his insertion of the birth, life and death of King Arthur in his introduction, "To the courteous Reader," as follows:

Courteous Reader, having spoken of the first foundation of that yet renowned Castle of Windsor by Aruiragus king of Britain, & finished by that succeeding prince of worthy memory famous king Arthur; I thought good (being intreated by some of my honourable-minded Friends, not to let slip so good and fit an occasion, by reason that there yet remains in this doubtfull age of opinions, a controversie of that esteemed Prince of Brittain) to write not according to ages obliuisc, but directed onely by our late Historiographers of England, who no doubt have taken great paines in the searching foorth of the truth of that first Christian worthie ...<sup>29</sup>

Chester is thus interested in defending the existence of King Arthur, in opposition to "some Writers ... that in their erroneous censures have thought no such man ever to be living ..." He chose the marvelous events attending Arthur's birth, those very parts of the Arthur legend which are not only legendary, but mythical. He added to them a rather hasty account of the battles of Arthur with the enemies of Britain, interspersing it with letters and orations which show the emotional spirit of valorous national consciousness.

The "History" of King Arthur, chosen by Spenser as the frame of his allegory because the "excellency of his person was furthest from the danger of envy, suspicious of present time," - that is, for reasons of safety, to guard himself and his circle against misinterpretations of the new movement of mystic initiation - was in Elizabethan times, just like ancient mythology, better understood by enlightened men than by our own age. The results of this study

bring to light on a new scientific basis Arthur Waite's thesis that the legend and symbolism of the Holy Grail are connected with mysteries of initiation and traces of a secret tradition in Christian times. The legend of the birth of King Arthur repeats the ever-recurring triangular myth of the substitution of the higher personality of the god or hero for that of the inferior personality of the husband. As Jupiter appears in the disguise of Amphitryon to Alcmene and begets Hercules (Chester himself quotes this parallel),<sup>30</sup> as Siegfried with the help of his magic "Tarnkappe" wins Brunhilde for Gunther, so in Love's Martyr does Uter, the King of Britain, alias Pendragon ("so called for his wittie policies") replace Tintagil, the husband of Igrene. Merlin the wizard is moderator - that is, the spiritual guide of Uter, who, disguised as Tintagil, steals into the bedchamber of Igrene. Meanwhile Tintagil is slain and Uter marries Igrene.

The legend tends to show the metamorphosis of the husband, Tintagil, into the higher personality of Uter, who himself had profited by the magic wisdom of Merlin. Chester tells this legend with the full consciousness of its inner meaning, as the analogy to Amphitryon can show. A very important point at the end of the Arthur poem, which we shall presently introduce, furnishes evidence that Chester thought of Arthur as a saint of initiation. He concludes this mythical story with the birth of Arthur six months after the marriage ceremony of Igrene with Uter; and the child, as had been promised, is given into the care of Merlin. From our viewpoint the valorous deeds of Arthur, which Chester cites, are of no great interest. They are, as we stated, impulsive utterances of national consciousness which, as we know, was very strong at the time of the reign of Elizabeth.

After the death of King Uter, Arthur, who under Merlin's care became "the right Idea of his fathers mind," brought the Picts and Saxons to submission. Chester then gives a description of "The Coronation of King Arthur, and the Solemnitie thereof," in which two lines are interesting to us because of the symbol

of the Dove. When King Arthur and his Queen go to church for their coronation, Chester tells how the Queen was attended:

Foure Queenes before her bore foure silver Doves,  
Expressing their true Faith and husbands Loves.<sup>31</sup>

At the coronation ceremonies comes an admonition from the Roman lieutenant, Lucius Tiberius, to pay tribute to the Roman Empire. Failure to obey would lead to invasion. In handling the subject Chester shows the mentality of a provincial tutor, who prides himself on an imaginative display of ornate expressions of courtly diplomacy. Letters and orations show how the Britains were offended. Arthur prepares for a just war, and Chester takes delight in describing the affair from the point of view of the emblematic signs and badges which Arthur displayed:

A crosse of Silver in a field of Vert,  
A gracious Embleame to his great desert,

On the first quarter of this field was figured,  
The image of our Ladie with her Sonne  
Held in her armes; this he desired,  
Wherein his new-growne valour was begonne:  
And bearing this same Figure forth right nobly,  
Did marvellous Actes and feates of Chivalrie.

This Signe in elder ages being odious,  
And hated of the bad deserving mind,  
By his deare blood is made most pretious,  
Our unpure Sinne by him being full refind:  
A great triumphant Signe, a Signe of joy,  
A blessed Crosse to free us from annoy.

To this the righteous man bowes downe his head,  
And this the heavenly Angels do adore,  
By this our unpure Soules with life is fed,  
And Diavels fearing this do much deplore:  
Hereon he vanquisht Sathan, Hell and Sinne,  
And by this Signe our new-life we begin.<sup>32</sup>

There follows then the passage previously quoted, which suggests the connection of the esoteric Christian mystery with mercurial art:

Wise, learned Historiographers do write,  
 That this pure Signe of the most holy Crosse  
 Was sent from God, to Mercuries delight,  
Julian the Apostata's onely losse,  
 And that an Angell brought to Mercurie,  
 All Armour for his backe most necessarie.

A shield of Azure herein coloured,  
 A flowrie Crosse between two golden Roses,  
 That the proud Jewes minds much distempred,  
 Whose vertue in it selfe true Time encloses  
 A rich wrought Shield and a most heavenly Armour,  
 That to the proud Foe strucke a deadly terroure.<sup>33</sup>

The "flowrie Crosse between two golden Roses" may be an early form of the Rosicrucian symbol, the official form of which was a red rose at the intersection of the cross.<sup>34</sup> Chester then tells how King Arthur went to Italy and returned after hearing of the rebellion of his cousin Mordred; how he landed and joined battle with Mordred, whom he slew, and whose men he defeated. The story of King Arthur ends with the account of the fatal wound which he had received in battle, and of his death, after a reign of twenty-six years. Chester records also that Henry II, inspired by a Welsh bard in whose lay he had found directions to King Arthur's tomb, found the body in a hollow tree and had it disinterred. It was a giant skeleton, the shinbone of which reached to the middle of the thigh of a "tall proper well set bigge lim'd Man." A Latin encomium funerale by Johannes Leyland on the life and death of King Arthur follows, and an English version of it, which closes:

You gentle Offspring of the Britaines blood,  
 Unto this puissant Emperour do honours good,  
 And on his Tombe lay Garlands of sweete Roses,  
 Sweete gifts of Dutie, and sweete loving posies.

Finis Epitaphy  
 No. Arth. 35

The life and death of King Arthur is built into the allegory as a mystic chapel, a shrine for the English saint of initiation. Short poems beginning with "Sweete loving posies" are indeed attached at the end of the



allegory, which were not composed by Chester, as will be shown presently. They are the expression of a group, and we shall soon have occasion to study these "sweete loving posies" laid on the tomb of King Arthur by the "offspring of the Brittaines blood." Chester cannot help showing veneration for his saint, so he gives "The true Pedigree of that famous Worthie King Arthur, collected out of many learned Authors." These indicate that Arthur was the descendant of Joseph of Arimathea. Chester thus puts the seal of highest sanctification upon the mystic hero of initiation.

After this lengthy digression the poet invites us to come back "to where we left." The Phoenix sees a large city and asks Nature for an explanation. "This is Troynovant," explains Nature, "which Aeneas had founded after stealing from Dido." The King Lud had later enlarged the place, and had called it Ludstone, which had grown to become the city of London. The Phoenix praises London as the school of knowledge and experiment, but Nature interrupts her:

Our cunning in Love-songs let us assay,  
And paint our Pleasure as some good Array:  
I will beginne my cunning for to tast,  
And your experience we will try at last.<sup>36</sup>

Indeed, the love song which Nature sings is full of meaning. She praises profane love to discover whether the Phoenix will consent to this conception of love. But the Phoenix praises the holiness of spiritual love. This antithesis, which we find throughout Elizabethan literature, is the height of the inner meaning of Chester's allegory. These two songs should not be judged esthetically; we must bear in mind that they are the product of a laboring dilettante who has clumsily reached the peak of his imagination with the contrast of profane and sacred love. The songs follow:

Here Nature singeth to this dittie following.

What is Love but a toy  
To beguile mens Senses?  
What is Cupid but a boy,  
Boy to cause expenes,  
A toy that brings to fooles expressed thrall,  
A boy whose folly makes a number fall.

What is Love but a child,  
 Child of little substance,  
 Making Apes to be wild,  
 And their pride to advance,  
 A child that loves with giegawes to be toying,  
 And with thinne shadowes alwaies to be playing.

Love is sweete, wherein sweete?  
 In fading pleasures, wanton toyes,  
 Love a Lord, and yet meete,  
 To crosse mens humours with annoyes:  
 A bitter pleasure, pleasing for a while,  
 A Lord is Love that doth mans thoughts beguile.

Nature is here interrupted by the Phoenix, as we can infer by what follows,  
 who sings her own song:

O sing no more, you do forget your Theame,  
 And have orphan'd the sacred name of Love,  
 You dip your tongue in an unwholsome Streame,  
 And from the golden Truth your notes remove,  
 In my harsh Dittie I will all reprove:  
 And unaccustom'd I will trie my skill,  
 To pleasure you, and to confute your will.

The Phoenix her Song to the Dittie before.

O Holy Love, religious Saint,  
 Mans onely hony-tasting Pleasure,  
 Thy glory, learning cannot paint,  
 For thou art all our wordly Treasure:  
 Thou art the Treasure, Treasure of the soule,  
 That great celestial powers dost controule.

What greater blisse then to embrace  
 The perfect patterne of Delight  
 Whose heart-enchauting Eye doth chase  
 All stormes of sorrow from mans sight:  
 Pleasure, Delight, Wealth, and earth-joyes do lye  
 In Venus bosome, bosome of pure beautie.

The mind that tasteth perfect Love,  
 Is farre remoted from annoy:  
 Cupid that God doth sit above,  
 That tips his Arrowes all with joy:  
 And this makes Poets in their Verse to sing,  
Love is a holy, holy, holy thing.<sup>37</sup>

In the Chymical Marriage of Christian Rosencreutz we find similar lyric

products for the glorification of holy love controlled by celestial powers.<sup>38</sup>

Shortly after this song, Nature and the Phoenix arrive at Paphos. The sun has just set and the evening stars are about to appear. Nature, always instructive, explains to the Phoenix, while there is yet light, the magic powers of plants, herbs, trees. Indeed, she intends to impart to her an encyclopedia of natural lore. We should not forget that Chester is not a true artist. He is a middle-class man with the interests of the middle class. Just as the readers of our family magazines are interested in recipes, household hints, etc., just so middle-class people of the sixteenth century were interested in an elementary knowledge of botany, zoology and mineralogy, which could serve them medically and "magically" as well. A man starting life's adventure with a woman should know the home remedies and everything useful about nature. This natural lore was derived from "The Booke of Secrets of the Vertues of Herbes, Stones, and certaine Beasts"<sup>39</sup> to which mercurial writings often referred, and from which Lyly, as it has been recognized by literary critics, had derived his euphuistic similes.

Nature begins her instruction, and furnishes the knowledge for fitting out an entire household medicine chest and magical chest as well. The plant *Agnus castus* is for chastity; *Moly* is the plant which cunning Mercury gave to Ulysses to withstand Circe's fatal sorcery (very often mentioned by Elizabethan writers on account of its esoteric relation to the mercurial mystery); *Mugwort* is a gynecological remedy; *Melampodium* cures the memory; and so we could go on ad infinitum. In the enumeration of these plants four stanzas are devoted to the flower *Narcissus*, not for its medicinal value in a material sense, but as a remedy for the souls of vain young men. *Narcissus*' selflove, one of the main themes of Elizabethan literature, the insight into the autoerotic complex of introversion, needed to be especially stressed:

## Phoenix:

The word Narcissus is of force to steale,  
 Cold running water from a stony rocke:  
 Alas poore boy thy beautie could not heale  
 The wound that thou thy selfe too deepe didst locke;  
 Thy shadowed eyes thy perfect eyes did mocke:  
 False beautie fed true beautie from the deepe,  
 When in the glassie water thou didst peepe.

O Love thou are imperious full of might,  
 And dost revenge the crie disdainig lover  
 His lookes to Ladies eyes did give a light,  
 But pride of beautie, did his beautie smother,  
 Like him for faire you could not find another:  
 Ah had he lov'd, and not on Ladies lower,  
 He neare had bene transformed to a flower.

## Nature:

This is an Embleame for those painted faces,  
 Where divine beautie rests her for a while,  
 Filling their browes with stormes and great disgraces,  
 That on the painted soule yeelds not a smile,  
 But puts true love into perpetuall exile:  
 Hard hearted Soule, such fortune light on thee,  
 That thou maist be transform'd as well as he.

Ah had the boy bene pliable to be wonne,  
 And not abuse his morne excelling face,  
 He might have liv'd as beauteous as the Sunne,  
 And to his beautie Ladies would give place,  
 But O proud Boy, thou wroughtst thine owne disgrace:  
 Thou lov'st thy selfe, and by the selfe same love,  
 Did'st thy devinesse to a flower remove.<sup>40</sup>

In these four stanzas is expressed the psychological secret of the mystifying sonnet poetry of the age. Soon, when we come to the scene where the Phoenix meets the Turtledove, we shall find an illustration of how Narcissus' "pride of beautie, did his beautie smother."

There follows a catalogue of trees, an enumeration of fishes, minerals and precious stones, many of them mentioned from the magical or medicinal angle. We also go through a catalogue of beasts, of worms, of insects, of serpents, and finally of birds. One bird, the eagle, is mentioned which is of special interest to us from a mercurial point of view. Nature says the young of the eagle are forced to look into Phoebus' light. If their eyes chance to water while thus gazing, the eagle accounts them bastards. This fable is often found in

mercurial writings, and refers to the attitude of the master to his disciples. The ability to look into the sun is the symbol for being able to pierce the mystery. Shakespeare praises Postumus, in Cymbeline, and calls him an eagle who can look into the sun. We find the allusion to the eagle also in sonnet literature, where it has the same mercurial significance.<sup>41</sup> The enumeration of the birds leads up to the meeting of the Phoenix and the Turtledove. The Phoenix espies the Turtledove and gets the following impression:

But what sad-mournefull drooping soule is this,  
 Within those watry eyes sits Discontent,  
 Whose snaille-pac'd gate tels someting is amisse:  
 From whom is banisht sporting Meriment:  
     Whose feathers mowt off, falling as he goes,  
     The perfect picture of hart-pining woes?<sup>42</sup>

A mourning soul with discontent in his eyes, with feathers mowt off, whose very gait indicates that something is amiss - in this crisis of introversion the Phoenix finds her future husband. Nature explains to her:

This is the carefull bird the Turtle Dove,  
 Whose heavy croking note doth shew his grieffe,  
 And thus he wanders seeking of his love,  
 Refusing all things that may yeeld reliefe:  
     All motions of good turnes, all Mirth and Joy,  
     Are bad, fled, gone, and falne into decay.<sup>43</sup>

The Phoenix is disappointed, and in the following ironical rhetoric, she asks Nature:

Is this the true example of the Heart?  
 Is this the Tutor of faire Constancy?  
 Is this Loves treasure, and Loves pining smart?  
 If this the substance of all honesty?  
     And comes he thus attir'd, alas poore soule,  
     That Destinies foule wrath should thee controule.<sup>44</sup>

As the Turtledove begins to stare at the Phoenix, Dame Nature takes her leave, and the Phoenix approaches the Turtledove to mingle her sorrow with her grief. Approaching him, the Phoenix becomes still more cognizant of his sorrowful attitude "as if his name were writ in Deaths pale booke." It is the imaginative

experience of death through which the initiate passes - the experience of the introversion, "the withdrawal of/mind into itself, at the point at which the mystified is about to tear away from his former self and to rise with a chosen mate, newly oriented in life. Chester's allegory here deals with the theme "der Erfahrung des Todes und der gnädigen Errettung vom Tode durch das Ewig Weibliche," which is the theme of the mysteries of initiation. The Phoenix greets the Turtledove: "Haile, map of sorrow." The Turtledove answers: "Welcome, Cupids child." The Phoenix then comforts him:

Let me wipe off those teares upon they cheekes,  
That stain'd thy beauties pride, and have defil'd  
Nature it selfe, that so usurping seskes  
To sit upon thy face, for Ile be partener,<sup>45</sup>  
Of thy harts wrapped sorrow more hereafter.

Here enters the theme of Narcissus' "pride of beautie, did his beautie smother": the future husband is to give away his beauty's pride to his wife. As we have already stated, from the mercurial viewpoint a young man does not reach spiritual manhood until he has learned to give up his vanity and self-love. In the sonnets of Elizabethan literature the mystified is addressed with compliments given ironically, as though to a vain woman, until he gives up his "pride of beautie." Here lies the psychological key to Shakespeare's ironic, mystifying sonnets.

The Turtledove, in all meekness, offers to kneel before the Phoenix and "crave pardon for presumptions foule offence." He is so humble that he thinks he is unworthy of her. Her snow-colored hands (the poet evidently forgot that the Turtledove is speaking to a bird, the Phoenix) shall not come near his impure face. He confesses:

My teares are for my Turtle that is dead,  
My sorrow springs from her want that is gone,  
My heavy note sounds for the soule that's fled,  
And I will dye for him left all alone:  
I am not living, though I seeme to go,  
Already buried in the grave of wo.<sup>46</sup>

Here is one of the darkest passages in the allegory. The Turtledove's sorrow springs from her that is gone, and then he says, "I will dye for him left all alone." What can this mean? The interchange of the masculine and feminine pronouns in one breath is not infrequently found in Elizabethan literature, and the logical interpretation of Shakespeare's Sonnets was impossible on account of this riddle. This passage, in the writer's opinion, refers to the androgynic personality of the master. The marriage of the Phoenix and the Turtledove is represented as the mystic death for the master. The Turtledove's former love was the master. Mystification has brought about the death of this relationship. To die for the master meant to live for the woman whom the mystified had married. Among the "Cantoes Alphabet-wise to faire Phoenix made by the Paphian Dove" which, as we shall show, are mystifying esoteric poems inviting novices to find their master who will lead them on "in Vestas honor, Venus lusts to tame":<sup>47</sup> that is, to lead them on to chaste marital love, we find the following:

Thou art a Turtle wanting of thy mate,  
 Thou crok'st about the groves to find thy Lover,  
 Thou fly'st to woods, and fertile plaines dost hate:  
 Thou in oblivion dost vertue smother,  
 To thy sweet selfe thou canst not find another:  
 Turne up my bosome, and in my pure hart,  
 Thou shalt behold the Turtle of thy smart.<sup>48</sup>

Here we find a description of a Turtledove, that is, a young man who is destined to come to an experience, as this scene suggests. This Turtledove, with psychological insight is described as being of a lonesome nature. He withdraws into the woods and avoids the fertile plains. It is a nature with a "sweet selfe": similar to that of the young man whom we find in Shakespeare's first seventeen sonnets. He is not invited to find a Phoenix, but first a "Turtle of his smart." It is an invitation to a friendship with a master. The loss of this friendship will be that woe which the Turtledove relates to the Phoenix.

When the Phoenix hears that the Turtledove is willing to die, she is ready

to die with him on the fiery altar. She has left Arabia, she says, just to find him out; to die together will be a comfort to both; Solamen miseris socios habuisse doloris. The thought of death seems to have brought about the union of many couples in this world. Psychoanalytical literature mentions it often, that the death complex, the fear of death, is the dynamic force of the sexual urge. Myths and tales have never ceased to exhaust this idea of the willingness of two lovers to die together, which generally ends with a happy marriage.

Chester does not mention that the burning of the Phoenix and the Turtledove is a spiritual life process which ends actually in the distant future, but this may be surmised from the fact that this death on the funeral pyre is termed a "happy tragedy": a tragedy with the motto "All's Well That Ends Well."<sup>49</sup> Before the Turtledove and Phoenix ascend the "funeral pyre" the dialogue continues in the following way: the Phoenix expresses her feelings:

Come poore lamenting soule, come sit by me,  
We are all one, thy sorrow shall be mine,  
Fall thou a teare, and thou shalt plainly see,  
Mine eyes shall answer teare for teare of thine:  
Sigh thou, Ile sigh, and if thou give a grone,  
I shall be dead in answering of thy mone.

Whereupon the Turtledove replies:

Loves honorable Friend, one grone of yours,  
Will rend my sicke-love-pining hart asunder,  
One sigh brings teares from me like Aprill showers,  
Procur'd by Sommers hote loud cracking thunder:  
Be you as mery as sweet mirth may be,  
Ile grone and sigh, both for your selfe and me.

But see what a noble mate the Phoenix is:

Thou shalt not gentle Turtle, I will beare  
Halfe of the burdenous yoke thou dost sustaine,  
Two bodies may with greater ease outweare,  
A troublesome labour, then Ile brooke some paine,  
But tell me gentle Turtle, tell me truly,  
The difference betwixt false Love and true Sinceritie.

The Turtledove-man now has to pass his examination. How well he knows his lesson:



That shall I briefly, if youle give me leave,  
 False love is full of Envie and Deceit,  
 With cunning shifts our humours to deceive,  
 Laying downe poison for a sugred baite,  
     Always inconstant, false and variable,  
     Delighting in fond change and mutable.

True love, is loving pure, not to be broken,  
 But with an honest eye, she eyes her lover,  
 Not changing variable, nor never shoken,  
 With fond Suspition, secrets to discover,  
     True love will tell no lies, no ne're dissemble,  
     But with a bashful modest feare will tremble.

False love puts on a Maske to shade her folly,  
 True love goes naked wishing to be seene,  
 False love will counterfeite perpetually,  
 True love is Troths sweete emparising Queene:  
     This is the difference, true Love is a jewell,  
     False love, hearts tyrant, inhumane, and cruell.<sup>50</sup>

Now the Phoenix knows that her Turtledove will make a perfect husband, purified  
 in his nature through Apelles' cunning art. The Phoenix replies:

What may we wonder at? O where is learning?  
 Where is all difference twixt the good and bad?  
 Where is Apelles art? where is true cunning?  
 Nay where is all the vertue may be had?  
     Within my Turtles bosome, she refines,  
     More then some loving perfect true devines.

Thou shalt not be no more the Turtle-Dove,  
 Thou shalt no more go weeping al alone,  
 For thou shalt be my selfe, my perfect Love,  
 Thy grieffe is mine, thy sorrow is my mone,  
     Come kisse me sweetest sweete, O I do blesse,  
     This gracious luckie Sun-shine happinesse.<sup>51</sup>

The difference between the "good and the bad" is one of the stock phrases  
 of Elizabethan literature.<sup>52</sup> As a result of the religious and moral outcome of  
 mystification, the one mystified realized the true significance of the good and  
 the bad. This came as a direct result of his soul-stirring experience. A  
 prerequisite for this insight was the ability to distinguish fiction from reality.  
 Apelles' art, in Elizabethan literature, is very often alluded to as the art of  
 painting and feigning. Since the time of Iyly the poets spoke ironically of

Apelles' art as the art of cunning poetry, the imaginative content of which had to be gleaned by wit. Chester, unable to refine his expressions into a paradoxical conceit, re-echoes the significant vocabulary of his time, the meaning of which he knew. However, in contradistinction to the great poets of his age he was unable to hide his meanings and at the same time to clarify them to the illuminati of his era.

The Turtledove, hearing the praise by the Phoenix, is not to be outdone. He prostrates himself before her:

Command, O do command, what ere thou wilt,  
My hearts bloud for thy sake shall straight be spilt.<sup>53</sup>

To which the Phoenix responds:

Then I command thee on thy tender care,  
And chiefe obedience that thou owst to me,  
That thou especially (deare Bird) beware  
Of impure thoughts, or uncleane chastity:  
For we must wast together in that fire,  
That will not burne but by true Loves desire.<sup>54</sup>

They are now ready to fly to the adjoining grove, to gather sweet wood in which to burn as a sacrifice to the god Apollo. They invoke the god Apollo - for the sake of the tender love which he bore to Phaeton and to Daphne, for the sake of his harp which he received from Mercury, for the sake of his Muses - to kindle this wood which is destined to receive the sacrifices of blood.

← Phaeton and Daphne are mythical symbols which, since the time of Petrarch, were used from this esoteric background in sonnet literature.

While praying the Phoenix discovers a spy. The Pelican is standing behind the bushes and observing them. The Phoenix is agrily aroused:

I will go chide with him, and drive him thence,  
And plague him for presumptions foule offence.

But the Turtledove explains to her:

Be not afraid, it is the Pellican,  
 Looke how her yong-ones make her brest to bleed,  
 And drawes the bloud forth, do the best she can,  
 And with the same their hungry fancies feede,  
     Let her alone to vew our Tragedy,  
 And then report our Love that she did see.<sup>55</sup>

The Pelican is the second symbolic representative of Christ the master. Since the symbol of the Phoenix is used in Chester's allegory for the wife of the mystified, the master could appear only as the Pelican in the presence of the Phoenix in this triangular relation. The most interesting statement in this stanza is that the Pelican feeds the "hungry fancies" of the young, and that he is standing behind the Phoenix and Turtledove to report their love. The most outstanding products of Elizabethan literature appeared in print not as coming from a single individual, but accompanied by poems and prefaces by several friends who stood as sponsors for the publication. These products are dedicated to patrons. In a word, Elizabethan literature is the expression of human experiences and human contacts of a group of men who seem to have been united by one common esoteric experience. Whoever was drawn into this circle contributed his poetic share in one way or another. The poetic product itself was not the main objective: it was the symbol of spiritual confession, and the appreciation for the writer depended less on the esthetic value of his poetry than on his ethical and spiritual attitude on life. There were guiding spirits in the background of the sudden literary outbursts of Elizabethan literature, of whom Gabriel Harvey, the friend of Spenser, was one. That the idea of spiritual report enters into the fabric of poetic productions may be gathered from one of the cantoes attached to the allegory. Number C-3 reads:

Chastnesse farewell, farewell the bed of Glorie,  
 Constraint adew, thou art loves Enemie,  
 Come true Report, make of my Love a Storie,  
 Cast lots for my poore heart, so thou enjoy me,  
 Come come sweet Phoenix, I at length do claime thee,  
     Chaste bird, too chaste, to hinder what is willing,  
 Come in mine arms and wele not sit a billing.<sup>56</sup>

In this mystifying canto it is again the novice who is pictured as inviting the master to bring him to the experience of final initiation, the end of which will result in his marriage; he will then report it to posterity. The poetic production is the result; the story related is considered a report by the master.

The final stanzas of the allegory, which describe the joy of hymen of the burning pair, are filled with mythical allusions to Phoebus, Dido, Eson, the Muses and Nymphs. The Phoenix and Turtledove offer their bodies as a sacrifice. The Turtledove is the first to burn to death, and the Phoenix concludes the allegory with the following stanzas:

O wilfulness, see how with smiling cheare,  
My poore deare hart hath flong himself to thrall,  
Looke what a mirthfull countenance he doth beare,  
Spreading his wings abroad, and joyes with all:  
    Learne thou corrupted world, learne, heare, and see,  
    Friendships unspotted true sincerity.

I come sweet Turtle, and with my bright wings,  
I will embrace thy burnt bones as they lye,  
I hope of thee another creature springs,  
That shall possesse both our authority:  
    I stay too long, O take me to your glory,  
    And thus I end the Turtle Doves true story.  
                                    Finis R.C.<sup>57</sup>

The Phoenix' praise of "deare hart hath flong himself to thrall," and of "friendships unspotted true sincerity," refers to the submission of the one mystified to the will of his master. This becomes clearer when, after the end of the allegory, the Pelican steps forward and explains:

What wondrous hart-grieving spectacle,  
Hast thou beheld the worlds true miracle?  
With what a spirit did the Turtle flye  
Into the fire, and chearfully did dye?  
He look't more pleasant in his countenance  
Within the flame, then when he did advance,  
His pleasant wings upon the naturall ground,  
True perfect love had so his poore heart bound,  
The Phoenix Natures deare adopted child,  
With a pale heavy count'nance wan and mild,  
Griev'd for to see him first possesse the place,  
That was allotted her, her selfe to grace,  
And followes cheerfully her second turne,  
And both together in that fire do burne.<sup>58</sup>

The soul-stirring event of mystification is suprarational and supersensual. It is the miracle. The experience of mysteries has always helped to ennoble the human soul, and Chester gives it expression by saying of the Turtledove that he became more beautiful than when he advanced upon the natural ground.<sup>59</sup> The Pelican then continues:

O if the rarest creatures of the earth,  
 Because but one at once did ere take breath  
 Within the world, should with a second he,  
 A perfect forme of love and amitie  
 Burne both together what should there arise,  
 And be presented to our mortall eyes,  
 Out of the fire, but a more perfect creature?<sup>60</sup>

The "second he" is the master with whom the novice should unite in spirit. The master is the center of the human sphere. It is with him that the very best should unite. The mating brought about through initiation is a perfect match. The Pelican then goes on to praise the blessings of the union, out of which a more perfect creature will be born:

Because that two in one is put by Nature,  
 The one hath given the child inchanting beautie,  
 The other gives it love and chastitie:  
 The one hath given it wits rarietie,  
 The other guides the wit more charily:  
 The one for vertue doth excell the rest,  
 The other in true constancie is blest.  
 If that the Phoenix had bene separated,  
 And from the gentle Turtle had bene parted,  
 Love had been murdred in the infancie,  
 Without these two no love at all can be.<sup>61</sup>

This is a plea for faithfulness in love. It was the conviction of the Elizabethan poets and especially of Shakespeare, that a woman left by her first lover was destined to become faithless to the other men whom she met. Thus the institution of prostitution is laid directly at the door of the men. The women are not the responsible agents. That is what Chester means in saying that "love had been murdred in the infancie" if the Phoenix and Turtledove had been parted.

The Pelican then goes on to preach against the immorality of the age:

Let the love wandring wits but learne of these,  
 To die together, so their grieffe to ease:  
 But lovers now adayes do love to change,  
 And here and there their wanton eyes do range,  
 Not pleased with one choice, but seeking many,  
 And in the end scarce is content with any:  
 Love now adayes is like a shadowed sight,  
 That shewes it selfe in Phoebus golden light,  
 But if in kindness you do strive to take it,  
 Fades cleane away, and you must needs forsake it.  
 Lovers are like the leaves with Winter shoken,  
 Brittle like glasse, that with one fall is broken.  
 O fond corrupted age, when birds shall show  
 The world their dutie, and to let men know  
 That no sinister chaunce should hinder love,  
 Though as these two did, deaths arrest they prove. 62

The last lines show Chester's insight into the social conditions of mating.

"No sinister chaunce should hinder love." Everywhere in the world are young men and women who do not come together because of obstacles, social or material. The mercurial master brings about that dangerous psychic situation in the soul of the mystified that makes him fear for his life. Therefore he straightway flees to the arms of the woman whom he loves and reveres. In civilized life marriage is a rational act; mating is instinctive. There is a method of approaching the self of human beings, and this technic was known to the mercurialists. Through them the souls of the mystified were rendered more diseased so that a cure could finally be effected.

After the Pelican has had his say, Chester himself, as an author, steps forward with a rhymed poem entitled "Conclusion." He begins:

Gentle conceivers of true meaning Wit,  
 Let good Experience judge what I have writ,  
 For the Satyricall fond applauded vaines,  
 Whose bitter worme-wood spirite in some straines,  
 Bite like the Curses of Aegypt those that love them,  
 For why, when mightie men their wit do prove,  
 How shall I least of all expect their love? 63

The allegoric poem, as we stated, appears to have been intended to arouse curiosity and to draw in new initiates. The gentle minds are invited to come to the experience of what the poet has written. He does not presume to be able to move men of a satirical, cynical type. But he hints that there are mightier men than he, who will be able to mend their wills and become their spiritual masters. Therefore he continues:

Yet to those men I gratulate some paine,  
Because they touch those that in art do faine.<sup>64</sup>

There are men in the group able to draw in those "that in art do faine." Their spiritual work is a work of Christian martyrdom, therefore the phrase "I gratulate some paine." Chester then goes on:

But those that have the spirit to do good,  
Their whips will never draw one drop of blood.

Gentle minds will not feel the offence of what is done to them. He continues:

To all and all in all that view my labour,  
Of every judging sight I crave some favour  
At least to reade, and if you reading find  
A lame leg'd staffe, tis lamenesse of the mind  
That had no better skill: yet let it passe,  
For burdnous lodes are set upon an Asse.<sup>65</sup>

The fact that he humorously calls himself an ass, upon whom "burdnous lodes are set," is a further convincing proof that Chester did not write as the result of poetic exhibitionism. Since antiquity the ass has been the symbol for the initiate, and Elizabethan literature very frequently used the word in this significance. Gabriel Harvey, in his pamphlet against Nashe, Pierces Supererogation, or a New Prayse of the Old Asse, had penned, in imitation of Encomium Moriae by Erasmus of Rotterdam, an ironic praise of the ass, whereby he pointed out the esoteric significance of this animal:

Marvel not that Erasmus hath penned the Encomium of Folly; or that so many singular learned men have laboured the commendation of the Asse; he it is that is the godfather of writers, the superintendent of the presse, the muster-maister of innumerable bands, the Generall of the great fieldes: hee, and Nashe will confute the world.<sup>66</sup>

In another passage he says:

He that remembereth the government of Balaams Asse, Aesops Asse, Lucians Asse, Apuleius Asse, Machiavell's Asse, Agrippas Ass, the Cumane Asse, the Rabbin Asse, Apollos Asse, the seven Sages Asse, Silenus Asse, Priapus Asse, Achitophels Asse, and Absoloms mule: litle needeth any other tutor or Counsellour.<sup>67</sup>

But Asses carrie mysteries: and what a riddle is this: that the true men should be the counterfeit, and the false fellow the true Asse.<sup>68</sup>

No Homericall Machaon or Podalirius<sup>R</sup> comparable to the right Asse; that teacheth the greatest Empirikes, Spagiriques, Cabalists, Alchemists, Magicians and occult Philosophers to wrap up their profoundest and unrevealable<sup>69</sup> mysteries in the thickest, or the rather in the closest intrals of an Asse.<sup>69</sup> (skinn)

Harvey mentioned Sidney as an initiated poet: "Was not Astrophill, excellent Astrophill, (an other Mercury at all dexterities and how delititious a planet of Beavenly harmony,) by his own adoption an Arcadian Asse?"<sup>70</sup>

Chester then concludes:

From the sweet fire of perfumed wood,  
Another princely Phoenix upright stood:  
Whose feathers purified did yeeld more light,  
Then her late burned mother out of sight,  
And in her heart rests a perpetuall love,  
Spring from the bosome of the Turtle-Dove.  
Long may the new uprising bird increase,  
Some humors and some motions to release,  
And thus to all I offer my devotion,  
Hoping that gentle minds accept my motion.  
Finis R.C. 71

It has been suggested that this passage refers to Jane, the daughter of Sir Salisbury and his wife Ursula.<sup>72</sup> The wife, Lady Ursula, we are informed, died in 1636. This passage may or may not have this personal reference. But here too the mystic sense which is in keeping with the myth of the Phoenix, transcends the possible personal allusion. The passage seems to refer to the one mystified who, in mystic orders, was supposed to find an heir or successor who would replace him. The theme of the new Phoenix rising out of the ashes, goes through the whole volume, and we shall find it again<sup>in</sup> the introductory poems which



precede the poems by Shakespeare, Marston, Chapman and Ben Jonson.

Following the allegory is a series of "Cantoes Alphabet-wise to faire Phoenix made by the Paphian Dove," consisting of seven-line stanzas, each line of every stanza beginning with the same letter throughout the stanza, with a few exceptions, and exhausting the alphabet in twenty-two stanzas. These cantoes are followed by another series of "Cantoes verbally written," which have for their titles well-known posies of the age: that is, inscriptions such as those so engraved on rings used as tokens of love. Below these posie titles follow short poems. Each line of the poem begins with a word of the posie, running in order, so that the posie can be read vertically. Apparently these two series of cantoes were not written by Chester himself. All the different parts of the allegory and introductory poems are signed with Chester's full name, or with his initials. The preface is signed "Ro. Chester"; the "Authors Request to the Phoenix" is signed "R. Chester"; the poem "To the Kind Reader" is signed "R. Ch."; the end of the allegory has "Finis R.C.", and the "Conclusion" is signed "Finis R.C.". It is remarkable that the "Cantoes Alphabet-wise are signed merely with the word "Finis," while the second series of "Cantoes Verbally Written" is signed "Finis quoth R. Chester."

We see that Chester was very careful to sign with his full name or initials every little bit that belonged to his pen. The word "Finis" at the end of the first series is negative evidence, and "Finis quoth R. Chester" at the end of the "Cantoes Verbally Written" is positive evidence that Chester is not their author.

It would require a volume in itself to analyse every one of these "Cantoes Alphabet-wise" and of the posie poems in the "Cantoes Verbally Written." Only the most characteristic cantoes of both series will be quoted, to define the literary character of the ironic mystifying conceit which is common to them all.

Many of the "Cantoes Alphabet-wise" are mystifying invitations to young men to come to the mystic experience of love. We quote, for instance, F-6:

Faint harted soule, why dost thou die thy cheekes,  
 Fearfull of that which will revive thy sence,  
 Faith and obedience thy sweet mercy seekes,  
 Friends plighted war with thee I will commence,  
 Feare not at all, tis but sweet Loves offence,  
 Fit to be done, so doing tis not seene,  
 Fetcht from the ancient records of a Queene.<sup>73</sup>

Here is an invitation to a young man fearful of the mystic experience destined to bring him illumination, to revive his sense. Gratefully he is to embrace the experience which will bring him to faith and obedience. The mystification to which the young man is to be subjected is termed "Loves offence," carried on by a group of friends who "plighted war" against him. The Cantoes are the expression of an entire group of friends who as "dear enemies" are cooperating together in mystifying the young man. This canto with its stress on "Sweet Loves offence" and "Friends plighted war" gives us a clue for the many biographical riddles of Elizabethan literature. It explains especially the mystification to which Drummond of Hawthornden was subjected by Ben Jonson, Drayton, Joseph Davies and Sir William Alexander. (This is further discussed in ~~the~~ Appendix<sup>II</sup>.) The queen alluded to in canto F-6 is the mystic queen, the Faery Queen, the Queen of Womanhood.

Canto H-8 is a request to the Phoenix, the master and demiurg of the mystic Queen, to help a novice to the mystic experience:

Health to thy vertues, health to all thy beauty,  
 Honor attend thy steps when thou art going,  
 High heavens force the birds to owe thee duty;  
 Hart-groning care to thee that still stands a woiing,  
 Have pity on him Phoenix for so doing:  
 Helpe his disease, and cure his malady,  
 Hide not thy secret glory least he die.<sup>74</sup>

It is a supplication to the master to heal the soul's disease of the mystified.<sup>75</sup>

Canto I-9 refers to one mystified who is "malcontent" and does not want to submit to the ethical code of the group:

I Love, ô Love how thou abusest me,  
 I see the fire, and warme me with the flame,  
 I note the errors of thy deity;  
 In Vestas honor, Venus lusts to tame,  
 I in my humors yeeld thee not a name,  
     I count thee foölish, fie Adultrous boy,  
     I touch the sweete, but cannot tast the joy.<sup>76</sup>

"In Vestas honor, Venus lusts to tame"; we find the sublimation of the libido for the sake of chaste marital love and the upbuilding of character fit for social life, as the professed spiritual aim of the group. The young man referred to in canto I-9 apparently had not reached it.

N-13 sums up the content of the first seventeen sonnets of Shakespeare:

Note but the fresh bloom'd Rose within her pride,  
 (No Rose to be compared unto thee)  
 Nothing so soone unto the ground will slide,  
 Not being gathered in her chiefest beauty,  
 Neglecting time it dies with infamy:  
     Never be coy, lest whil'st thy leaves are spread,  
     None gather thee, and then thy grace is dead.<sup>77</sup>

M-12 is a similar plea:

Make not a Jewell of nice Chastity,  
 Muster and summon all thy wits in one,  
 My heart to thee sweares perfect constancy:  
 Motions of zeale are to be thought upon,  
 Mark how thy time is overspent, and gone,  
     Mis-led by folly, and a kind of feare,  
     Marke not thy beauty so my dearest deare.<sup>78</sup>

Canto S-18 conceals and reveals the secret of sonnet poetry of Elizabethan literature, which with fancies as a "sugred baite" attracted the male youth in order to bring them to shame and contrition:

Shame is ashamed to see thee obstinate,  
 Smiling at thy womanish conceit,  
 Swearing that honor never thee begat,  
 Sucking in poyson for a sugred baite,  
 Singing thy pride of beauty in her height:  
 Sit by my side, and I will sing to thee  
 Sweet ditties of a new fram'd harmony.<sup>79</sup>

Canto C-3, which contains the idea of the spiritual report of love stories as an outcome of the mystic experience: the report of a love which was practiced and not merely penned, as Lyly expressed it in Euphues, has been quoted as well in T-19 which deals with the Turtle friendship of master and novice. The novice, towards whom the master stands in a socratic relation, is warned in canto ~~X~~22 not to behave towards him like Xantippe behaved towards patient Socrates. In this canto the mystified is taunted as the fair nymph Xantha:

Xantha faire Nimph; resemble not in Nature,  
Xantippe Love to patient Socrates,  
Xantha my Love is a more milder creature,  
 And of a Nature better for to please:  
 Xantippe thought her true Love to disease,  
 But my rare Phoenix is at last well pleas'd,<sup>80</sup>  
 To cure my passions, passions seldome eas'd.<sup>80</sup>

The second series of "Cantoes Verbally written" show us their psychagogic aim in the posies which are written above the poems. The posies themselves have nothing of a "conceit" in them. They are the expression of true love, often engraved on marriage rings. The tender conception of the song of love where the woman sings the leading role, and the lover the second, is expressed in the simple posie:

Ah quoth she, but where is true Love?  
 Where quoth he? where you and I love.  
 I quoth she, were thine like my love,  
 Why quoth he, as you love I love.<sup>81</sup>

With this posie is given the natural psychology of love, of which Elizabethan poets were conscious. The poems below, each line of which begins with a word

of the quotation, in the same order, lack this sincerity. Many of them are veiled by the motive of the erotic fiction about the cruel mistress, where men are feigned to pine away because the mistress denies her love. The content of these poems is mystifying and filled with infinite variations of ironic wit, referring to the mystified lover who had been led into the labyrinth of love, or love's maze. It would be useless to attempt here a minute, pedantic analysis of all of these poems. Many of them are so stereotyped in form that it would be difficult to bring out the proof that they were written in tsam Delphini. In others, however, the mystifications may be shown quite clearly. Whereas the first series of cantoes refer to novices, the second series refer to initiates who have gone through the mystic experience. The disenchantment of the lovers with mystifying poetry, and their submission to real love, is the theme of many. As an example number 5 is quoted:

My destinie to thee is knowne,  
Cure thou my smart, I am thine owne.

My  
Destinie  
to  
thee  
is  
knowne

My time is loves blind idleness is spent,  
Destinie and Fates will do it so,  
To Circes charming tongue mine eare I lent,  
Thee loving that dost wish my overthrow:  
Is not this world wrapt in inconstancie,  
Knowne to most men as hels miserie?

Cure  
thou  
my  
smart  
I  
am  
thine  
owne

Cure of my wound is past all Phisickes skill,  
Thou maist be gracious, at thy very looke  
My wounds will close, that would my bodie kill,  
Smart will be easde that could no plaisters brooke;  
I of my Phoenix being quite forsooke,  
Am like a man that nothing can fulfill:  
Thine ever-piercing eye of force will make me, 82  
Owne heart, owne love, that never will forsake thee.

It is here confessed that the poetic enthusiasm is spent in love's blind idleness. The effect of Circe's charming tongue, which was the tongue of mystifying poetry, has brought the downfall of the mystified, and has also brought him to the love of a woman who can heal his wounds.

One of the wittiest poems revealing the psychology of the triangular sonnet poetry of the age follows the posie which we have previously quoted, "Ah quoth she, but where is true Love?". The poem reads:

Ah  
quoth  
he,  
but  
where  
is  
true  
Love?

Ah thou imperious high commaunding Lord,  
(Quoth he) to Cupid gentle god of Love,  
He that I honor most will not accord,  
But strives against thy Justice from above,  
Where I have promised faith, my plighted word  
Is quite refused with a base reprove:  
True loving honour this I onely will thee,  
Love thy true love, or else false love will kill me.

Where  
quoth  
he,  
where  
you  
and  
I  
Love,

Where shall I find a heart that's free from guile?  
Quoth Faithfulnesse, within my Lovers brest,  
He at those pleasing words began to smile,  
Where Anguish wrapt his thoughts in much unrest:  
You did with pretie tales the time beguile,  
And made him in conceited pleasure blest,  
I grac'd the words spoke with so sweet a tong,  
Love being the honly burden of your song.

I  
quoth  
she  
were  
thine  
like  
my  
Love

I grad'd your song of Love, but by the way,  
(Quoth true Experience,) sit and you shall see,  
She will enchaunt you with her heavenly lay:  
Were you fram'd all of heavenly Pollicie,  
Thine cares should drinke the poison of Delay,  
Like as I said, so did it prove to be,  
My Mistris beautie grac'd my Mistris song,  
Love pleasd more with her Eyes then with her Tong.

Why  
quoth  
he  
as  
you  
love  
I love.

Why then in deepenesse of sweete Loves delight,  
Quoth she, the perfect Mistris of Desire,  
He that I honor most bard from my sight,  
As a bright Lampe kindles Affections fire:  
You Magicke operations worke your spight,  
Love to the mountaine top of will aspires:  
I challenge all in all, and this I sing,  
Love is a holy Saint, a Lord, a King.

The attention of the reader is drawn to a deviation from the poetic method of these posie poems, where the title posie and vertical readings are identical. It is remarkable that the change was a substitution of "he" for "she" for the third word in the first line. The author obviously used the basic mystification of male-female intentionally, as the content of the poem convincingly shows, and

and in this case it was done not to conceal, but to reveal. Vertically the posie reads:

Ah quoth he, but where is true Love?  
 Where quoth he, where you and I love.  
 I quoth she, were thine like my love,  
 Why quoth he, as you love I love.

With this little change the author was able to reveal the "conceit" of the sonnet poetry of the age. The first two lines reveal the relationship of the poet-master and friend, as Shakespeare had unveiled it in his Sonnets; the two lines following show us the outcome of such a relationship as concealed in Shakespear's Sonnets and in sonnet poetry in general.

The poem attached to this posie outlines the spiritual development of the young man inducted into marriage. The two constitutive mystifying ideas which are characteristic for this type of obscure poetry are to be kept in mind: the identification of the master and young friend ("I am you and you are myself") and the mystification of male-female. The master, the first "he" complains to Cupid that he (the second "he") whom the master honors most, will not accord and "strives" against Cupid's justice from above. It is the mercurial initiate struggling against the mercurial master. The master has promised faith but his "plighted word" is refused. The master admonishes his "true loving honour" to love his true love; else false love will kill the master. It is the admonition to the young man to love her who loves him, else the relation to his master will be a false love. Yet the master is not without hope. Faithfulness herself replies that a heart free from guile is in the lover's breast. As soon as the young lover hears that he begins to smile. His inner mood of anger is indicated by the line: "Anguish wrapt his thoughts in much unrest." He replies to the master:

You did with pretie tales the time beguile,  
 And made him in conceited pleasure blest ...

He reproaches his master for the mystification caused by "pretie tales" of

conceited poetry. The young man then continues:

I grac'd the words spoke with so sweet a tong,  
Love being the holy burden of your song.

Through actual deeds of love the young man had to realize what his poet-master had expressed in a sweet song. Experience then permits the following prognosis: the mystified lover will become a mystifying poet who will sing of a heavenly mistress, and with this song enchant the master's ear. This song is called the "poison of Delay." The word "delay" is one of the stock words of sonnet poetry.<sup>84</sup> The mystified lover who through the agency of sweet music reaches the experience of care and grief, delays his resolution of reconciliation with the master. From the poison of hatred of the mystification he distils the balm of a spiritual consciousness. Therefore the heavenly lay is called the "poison of Delay." The ironic attitude towards this poetic production, in an age which stressed deeds more than words, is then expressed:

My Mistris beautie grac'd my Mistris song,  
Love pleas'd more with her Eyes then with her Tong.

The last stanza indicates the operations of white magic. The mystified lover bars his sight from the master and parts from him in order to ascend to the mountain top of will: he ascends to Christ. He himself becomes a saint, a lord, a king of love.

The difference between the Elizabethan age as well as the ages of religious culture in general, and the romantic age of the nineteenth century may be outlined as follows: The modern romantic age believes in the ideal of such a love as characteristic for two lovers who were in the pure state of nature. It is the Rousseau ideal of Paul and Virginie. On the other hand, the Elizabethan age and the ages of religious culture thought such a love possible only if the lover and future husband were brought from the state of nature into the state



of grace. A romantic love as such, as it flames up in a young man and woman, was treated ironically in the Elizabethan age. For the "rude will" of a young man in the state of nature, even though his sincere love for a woman might bring him to an idealistic enthusiasm, seemed (to the Elizabethans) incapable of realizing the true meaning of matrimony with its sober tasks and duties of life. His first requirement was to penetrate the very center of religious life and to recognize the demands of society. The hot youth or "hotspur" had first to become a "cold" man in order to be able to cope with the world and to protect the warmth of his hearth. The posie quoted above expresses the anagogic ideal for a couple where the husband has been brought to the spiritual plane of grace. It reveals to us the spiritual development of the mystified initiate who strives against his master, becomes a faithful husband, and utilizes his own poetry with which to mystify others.

It is important to determine the literary tradition in which these posies were written. The "Posies" by George Gascoigne had appeared in its first edition as "Diverse Discourses and Verses ... by sundrie gentlemen," in 1573. They also gave a report of esoteric experiences, for George Gascoigne was one of the first poets of Elizabethan literature who introduced the spiritual report of the mercurial mystery into poetic form. This is a "misterie"; "another misterie"; "these things are mistical and not to be understoode buy by Thauthour him selfe." Such remarks are often to be found in the writings of George Gascoigne.<sup>85</sup>

In Sinetes Passions we have previously gathered evidence from Posies II and III by Sir John Salisburie (with the acrostics Dorothy and Cutbert) that he, Salisburie, was the "dear enemy" of his brother-in-law Cutbert, with whom he actually pleads to love his wife Dorothy. Like Love's Martyr, the volume Sinetes is one of the many mystifying expressions of the age.<sup>86</sup>

We now recognize these posie mottoes with their mystifying posie poems, inderted

in Love's Martyr, There are sixty in number and the same theme is repeated with infinite variations. They are the expression of an erotocratic group, a kind of mystic order which has its analogy in the Puritan sect of the "family of love." They are the expression of the "new made hive" of which Chester had spoken. They are the "sweete loving posies" laid by the "gentle Offspring of the Brittaines blood" on the tomb of King Arthur, the saint of initiation. Chester had quoted them and the repetition of one and the same motif points to the fact that they were composed by a number of writers.

That Love's Martyr originated from a group united through a common mystery is very evident when we turn to the second part, the "Diverse Poeticall Essaies on the former Subject: viz: the Turtle and Phoenix. Done by the best and chiefest of our modern writers, with their names subscribed to their particular workes: never before extant. And (now first) consecrated by them all generally, to the love and merite of the true-noble Knight, Sir John Salisburie. Dignum laude firum Musa vetat mori. Anchora Spei. MDCL." The sign Anchora Spei is in itself a symbol for mystic organizations. The Masonic Orders took it over. The Anchor of Hope symbolically anchors the soul so that it may withstand the onsets of a stormy life. We recognized in Chester the spokesman for the many Thyrus-bearers who are themselves represented with short poems "verbally written," poems of the dilettante. Here we find representatives of "the few who are inspired." The contributors were William Shakespeare, John Marston, George Chapman and Ben Jonson, and a writer who subscribed himself as "Ignoto." Two introductory poems are signed "Vatum Chorus." Thus we are given to surmise that the names of the four poets represent even a larger group. The self consciousness of this group is evidenced by the signature "Vatum Chorus," not "Poetarum Chorus." Prophets, seers, they called themselves, and the rhapsodic flights which they took, the expression of Paulinic and Neo-Platonic mysticism in the vesture of

Pindaric poetical form, justifies their name. The wide folds of the poetical garb do not conceal (save in the graceful lines of Shakespeare) the somewhat robust size and stature of Anglo-Saxon bards. The solid structure and fiery breath of the amassed sentences testify to an inspiration which came not from books, but from an original mystic experience of the soul. The first poem, "INVOCATIO, Ad Apollinem & Pierides," reads:

Good Fate, faire Thespian Deities,  
 And thou bright God, whose golden Eies,  
 Serve as a Mirrour to the silver Morne,  
 When (in the height of Grace) she doth adorne  
 Her Chrystall presence, and invites  
 The ever-youthfull Bromius to delights,  
 Sprinckling his sute of Vert with Pearle,  
 And (like a loose enamour'd Girle)  
 Ingles his cheeks; which (waxing red with shame)  
 Instincts the senslesse Grapes to do the same.  
 Till by his sweete reflection fed,  
 They gather spirit, and grow discoloured.

To your high influence we commend  
 Our following Labours, and sustend  
 Our mutuall palmes, prepar'd to gratulate  
 An honorable friend: then propagate  
 With your illustrate faculties  
 Our mentall powers; Instruct us how to rise  
 In weighty Numbers, well pursu'd,  
 And varied with the Multitude:  
 Be lavish once, and plenteously profuse,  
 Your holy waters, to our thirstie Muse.  
 That we may give a Round to him  
 In a Castalian boule, crown'd to the brim.

Vatum Chorus <sup>87</sup>

These lines are written in the volcanic Jonsonian temper. The erotic relations of the god Apollo to the silver Morne who, "like a loose enamour'd Girle ingles his cheek" making him and the grapes blush with shame; the quaint consequence of this relation trims the way through a winding apollinic, dionysic, poetic thought. The grapes are the symbol of the god Dionysus and for sexual desire; at the experience of sexual, sensual love, Apollo blushes with shame,

just as the grapes redden under the influence of Apollo's sun. But the reflection of his divine mind sublimates sensual love into spiritual love, just like grapes, the more they ripen they "gather spirit and grow discoloured." Thus in the name of spiritual love and the sublimation of sexual desire, the subsequent labors are prepared to congratulate an honorable friend. Sir John Salisburie, who was himself a mystifying poet of the age, must have played some important role in this group, otherwise his name would not have been thought worthy of immortality.

The second poem of Vatum Chorus is addressed "to the worthily honor'd Knight Sir John Salisburie." It reads:

Noblest of minds, here do the Muses bring  
 Unto your safer judgements tast,  
 Pure juice that flow'd from the Pierian springs,  
 Not filch'd nor borrow'd, but exhaust  
 By the flame-hair'd Apollos hand:  
 And at his well-observ'd command,  
 For you infuse in our rententive braine,  
 Is now distild thence, through our quilles againe.

Value our verse, as you approve the worth;  
 And thinke of what they are create,  
 No mercenarie hope did bring them forth,  
 They tread not in that servile Gate;  
 But a true Zeale, borne in our spirites,  
 Responsible to your high Merites,  
 And an Invention, freer then the Times,  
 These were the Parents of our severall Rimes,  
 Wherin Kind, Learned, Envious, al may view,  
 That we have writ worthy our selves and you.  
 Vatum Chorus. 88

These verses transcend flattery. The assurance that they resulted from no mercenary hope is an indication that a common ideal united the poets with Sir John Salisburie, who had inspired them by the nobility of his mind. This common ideal is the mystery centralized in the Phoenix, the master. Two short poems signed "Ignoto" follow, which give expression to the singularity of the Phoenix:

The first.

The silver Vault of heaven, hath but one Eie,  
 And that's the Sunne: the soule-maskt-Ladie, Night  
 (Which blots the Clôudes, the white Booke of the Skie,)
   
But one sicke Phoebe, fever-shaking Light:  
 The heart, one string: so, thus in single turnes,  
 The world one Phoenix till another burnes.

The burning.

Suppose here burnes this wonder of a breath,  
 In righteous flames, and holy-heated fires:  
 (Like Musicke which doth rapt it selfe to death,  
 Sweet'ning the inward roome of mans Desires;)
   
So she waft's both her wings in piteous strife;  
 "The flame that eats her, feeds the others life:  
 Her rare-dead ashes, fill a rare-live urne;  
 "One Phoenix borne, another Phoenix burne."<sup>89</sup>

The initiate emerges as a Phoenix when his selfish nature has died. Before that he was a "sicke Phoebe, fever-shaking Light," or the burning Phoenix. When his unselfish nature has died, then he inspires one who becomes the living urn for his ashes. The phraseology of the second poem reverses the order in which Chester stated the mystical fact. Chester wrote that one Phoenix burns so that another Phoenix might be born. Now we read: "One Phoenix borne, another Phoenix burns." The Phoenix born is the spiritual man who has entirely overcome all selfish desires. Not until then, according to the view of the illuminati, does real life begin. The unilluminated man lives the life of the dead, not his own life.

The rare-live urn filled with the ashes of the Phoenix is the new man for whom, according to the legend of King Arthur, an empty chair was waiting at the Round Table: "Seige perilous." This same poet Ignote anonymously haunts several other collections of poems of Elizabethan literature.

The poems of the four poets which follow reveal four different temperaments; they may be compared to the four temperaments of the Evangelists:

Marston, the choleric type; Chapman, the phlegmatic; Ben Jonson, the sanguine; and Shakespeare, the melancholy type. We reserve the interpretation of Shakespeare's poem for the end of this chapter. His poetic product stands out in tone and diction from that of the other three poets. Marston, Chapman and Ben Jonson are, in their different veins, enthusiastic Dionysic revelers; Shakespeare, in his slightly humorous, melancholy and philosophic irony, is gentle Prospero.

Of the three Dionysic enthusiasts, Marston is a mystic and sentimentalist; Chapman is the even-tempered, reserved scholar whose Gemüt and Vernunft are equally well balanced; Ben Jonson is the artisan, Hephaistos the smith, the rationalist.

Marston, as Homo spiritualis, or ἀνὴρ παρανοῦς rushes headlong into the fire. The light of inspiration projects him skyward:

A narration and description of a  
most exact wondrous creature, arising  
out of the Phoenix and Turtle  
Doves ashes.

O Twas a moving Epicedium!  
Can Fire? can Time? can blackest Fate consume  
So rare creation? No; tis thwart to sence,  
Corruption quakes to touch such excellence,  
Nature exclames for Justice, Justice Fate,  
Ought into nought can never remigrate.  
Then looke; for see what glorious issue (brighter  
Then clearest fire, and beyond faith farre, whiter  
Then Dians tier) now springs from yonder flame?  
Let me stand numb'd with wonder, never came  
So strong amazement on astonish'd eie  
As this, this measurelesse pure Raritie.  
Lo now, th'xtracture of divinest Essence,  
The Soule of heavens labour'd Quintessence,  
(Peans to Phoebus) from deare Lovers death,  
Takes sweete creation and all blessing breath,  
What strangeness is't that from the Turtles ashes  
Assumes such forme? (whose splendor clearer flashes,  
Then mounted Delius tell me genuine Muse.<sup>90</sup>

From the mystic death of two lovers comes the prima materia, the Philosopher's Stone, the quintessence of life, a new creation of divine perfection. Marston's exaltation sends up the highest, thinnest flame of expression that esoteric mysticism has uttered in English verse. The poem continues:

Now yeeld your aides, you spirites that infuse  
A sacred rapture, light my weaker eie:  
Raise my invention on swift Phantesie,  
That whilst of this same Metaphisicall  
God, Man, nor Woman, but elix'd of all  
My laboring thoughts, with strained ardor sing,  
My Muse may mount with an uncommon wing.<sup>91</sup>

This metaphysical Ens, the elixir of life, elix'd of God, man, and woman, gives birth to perfection in the realm of ideas of which human beings become representatives. Marston advances the mystic neo-platonic philosophy like an enthusiast who has seen "the light." In three short poems inscribed "The Description of this Perfection," "To Perfection, a Sonnet," and "Perfectioni Hymnus," he breaks out with enthusiasm:

The Description of this Perfection.

Dares then my too audacious sense  
Presume, define that boundlesse Ens  
That amplest thought transcendeth?  
O yet vouchsafe my Muse, to greeete  
That wondrous rarenesse, in whose sweete  
All praise begins and endeth.  
Divinest Beautie? that was flightest,  
That adorn'd this wondrous Brightest,  
Which had nought to be corrupted,  
In this, Perfection had no meane  
To this, Earths purest was uncleane  
Which vertue even instructed.  
By it all Beings deck'd and stained,  
Ideas that are idly fained  
Onely here subsist invested,  
Dread not to give strain'd praise at all,  
No speech is Hyperbolicall,  
To this perfection blessed.  
Thus close my Rimes, this all that can be sayd,  
This wonder never can be flattered.<sup>92</sup>

The following poem repeats the platonic view that rough Nature produces only imperfect copies of the perfect patterns which are stored up in the divine, ideal creation.

To Perfection.

A Sonnet

Oft have I gazed with astonish'd eye,  
At monstrous issues of ill shaped birth,  
When I have seene the Midwife to old earth,  
Nature produce most strange deformitie,

So have I marveld to observe of late,  
Hard favour'd Femines so scant of faire,  
That Maskes so choicely, sheltered of the aire,  
As if their beauties were not theirs by fate.

But who so weake of observation,  
Hath not discern'd long since how vertues wanted,  
How parcimoniously the heavens have scanted,  
Our chiefest part of adoration?

But now I cease to wonder, now I find  
The cause of all our monstrous penny-showes:  
Now I conceit from whence wits scarc'tie growes,  
Hard favour'd features, and defects of mind.  
Nature long time hath stor'd up vertue, fairnesse,  
Shaping the rest as foiles unto this Rarenesse.<sup>93</sup>

The third poem expresses the view that some human beings mature to such an ideal perfection. A sentence of Seneca is quoted, which intimates that through cultivation of the soul man can become like the gods.

Perfectioni Hymnus.

What should I call this creature  
Which now is growne unto maturitie?  
How should I blase this feature  
As firme and constant as Eternitie?  
Call it Perfection? Fie!  
Tis perfecter thē brightest names can light it:  
Call it Heavens mirror? I.  
Alas, best attributes can never right it.  
Beauties resistlesse thunder?  
All nomination is too straight of sence:  
Deepe Contemplations wonder?  
That appellation give this excellence.

- - - - -



Within all best confin'd,  
 (Now feebler Genius end thy slighter riming)  
 §Differentia No Suburbes § all is Mind,  
 Deorum & ho- As farre from spot, as possible defining.  
 minum (apud  
 Senecam) sic ha-  
 bet mostri  
 melior pars a-  
 nimus in illis  
 nulla pars ex-  
 tra animum.

John Marston. 94

The phlegmatic Chapman gives as the title of his poem the Greek name for the male Turtledove, indicating his leanings for the ancient tongue:

Peristeros: or the Male Turtle.

Not like that loose and partie-liver'd Sect  
 Of idle Lovers, that (as different Lights,  
 On colour'd subjects, different hewes reflect;)  
 Change their Affections with their Mistris Sights,  
 That with her praise, or Dispraise, drowne, or flote,  
 And must be fed with fresh Conceits, and Fashions;  
 Never waxe cold, but die; love not, but dote:  
 "(Loves fires, staid Fudgmetts blow, not humorous Passions,  
 Whose Loves upon their Lovers pomp depend,  
 And quench as fast as her Eyes sparkle twinkles,  
 "(Nought lasts that doth to outward worth contend,  
 "Al Love in smooth browes born is tomb'd in wrinkles.)  
 §The Turtle But like the consecrated § Bird of Love,  
 §The Phoenix Whose whole lifes hap to his §sole-mate alluded,  
 Whome no proud flockes of other Foules could move,  
 But in her selfe all companie concluded.  
 She was to him th' Analise World of pleasure,  
 Her formnesse cloth'd him in varietie;  
 Excesse of all things, he joyd in her measure,  
 Mourn'd when she mourn'd, and dieth when she dies.  
 Like him I bound th' instinct of all my powres,  
 In her that bounds the Empire of desert,  
 And Time nor Change (that all things else devoures,  
 But truth eterniz'd in a constant heart)  
 Can change me more from her, then her from merit,  
 That is my forme, and gives my being, spirit.  
 George Chapman. 95

He is clear, reserved, pious. His personal confession does not presume to overstep the boundaries set by a truly spiritual report. He does not indulge

in generalities which would distract the attention from his own presence. There is a Greek simplicity in the poem. It shows a well-rounded personality in contrast to that of Marston, the preacher, who attempts an apotheosis of the divine essence by looking up to heaven and forgetting to root himself to the earth. The smooth, clear surface of the poem allows one to see the rock bottom of the poet's soul. It is profounder than Marston's, whose spiritual constitution seems to have been to hide rather than show himself. Marston's depth is dark; Chapman's profundity is limpid. Chapman rises with the antithesis of false lovers to his confession of true conjugal love. As for himself, he permits us to consider his own self as a symbol; he is Peristeros, the mystified, the consecrated bird of love. But the Phoenix is not the master any more, nor a mere symbol.<sup>96</sup> "She was to him th' Analisde World of pleasure, her firmnesse cloth'd him in varietie." These lines show us psychoanalysis from the mystic and mercurial point of view. The analysis of the soul from a spiritual point of view is the analysis of the self with regard to the beloved; the analysis thus enlarges itself to the analysis of the world: sub specie amoris. The soul is a complete entity only when man and wife have found each other. What is realized in the beloved woman lives as ideal in the loving man. "Her firmnesse cloth'd him in varietie." The growth of the soul of a man depends on the character of his wife, and vice versa.

In this group Ben Johnson's poems are the most interesting from the point of view of his character. His sanguine temper and artisan-like nature foreshadowed the future rationalism. He "hammers it out," to use a Shakespearean phrase. He opposes himself humorously to all the symbols with which his subject might fittingly be introduced, to bring his readers' attention to his own domineering, dogmatic mind.

Praeludium.

We must sing too? what Subject shall we chuse?  
Or whose great Name in Poets Heaven use,  
For the more Countenance to our Active Muse?

Hercules? alasse his bones are yet sore,  
With his old earthly Labors; t' exact more  
Of his dull Godhead were Sinne: Lets implore

Phoebus? No: Tend thy Cart Still. Envious Day  
Shall not give out, that we have made thee stay,  
And foundred thy hote Teame, to tune our Lay.

Nor will we beg of thee, Lord of the Vine,  
To raise our spirites with thy conjuring Wine,  
In the greene circle of thy Ivy twine.

Pallas, nor ~~three~~ we call on, Mankind Maide,  
That (at thy birth) mad'st the poore Smith afraide,  
Who with his Axe thy Fathers Mid-wife plaide.

Go, crampe dull Mars, light Venus, when he snorts,  
Or with thy Tribade Trine, invent new sports,  
Thou, nor their loosenesse with our Making sorts.

Let the old Boy your sonne ply his old Taske,  
Turne the stale Prologue to some painted Maske,  
His absence in our Verse is all we aske.

Hermes, the cheater, cannot mixe with us,  
Thou he would steale his sisters Pegafus,  
And rifle him; or pawne his Petafus.

Nor all the Ladies of the Thespian Lake,  
(Though they were crusht into one forme) could make  
A Beauty of that Merit, that should take

Our Muse up by Commission: No, we bring  
Our owne true Fire; Now our Thought takes wing  
And now an Epode to deepe eares we sing.

Now Ben J<sub>o</sub>nson begins a lecture course in verse. He does not poetically suggest; he dictates:

Epos.

"Not to know Vice at all, and keepe true state,  
"Is Vertue; and not Fate:  
"Next to that Vertue, is, to know Vice well,  
"And her blacke spight expell.  
-----

Which to effect (since no brest is so sure,  
 Or safe, but she'll procure  
 Some way of entrance) we must plant a guard  
 Of Thoughts, to watch out and ward  
 At th'Eye and Eare, (The Ports unto the Mind;)   
 That no strange or unkind  
 Object arrive there, but the Heart (our spie)  
 Give knowledge instantly.  
 To wakefull Reason, our Affections King:  
 Who (in th' examining)  
 Will quickly taste the Treason, and commit  
 Close, the close cause of it.  
 'Tis the securest Pollicie we have,  
 "To make our Sense our Slave.

So far he has stated the problem of self-control. Now follows an  
 objection:

But this faire course is not embrac'd by many;  
 By many? scarce by any:

The rationalistic questioning tone of logical antithesis is worked out  
 so perfectly that it will ring for centuries. We find this voice of questioning  
 reason still fully alive in Lessing. This is how it stands with the civic  
 organization of our soul:

For either our Affections do rebell,<sup>97</sup>  
 Or some great Thought doth keepe  
 Backe the Intelligence, and scarcely sweares  
 They'r base, and idle Feares,  
 Whereof the loyall Conscience so complains.  
 Thus by these subtile traines,  
 Do severall Passions still invade the Mind,  
 And strike our Reason blind:  
 Of which usurping ranke, some have thought Love,  
 The first; as prone to move  
 Most frequent Tumults, Horrors, and Unrests,  
 In our enflamed brests.  
 But this doth from their cloud of Error grow,  
 Which thus we overblow.  
 The thing they here call Love, is blind Desire,  
 Arm'd with Bow, Shafts, and Fire;  
 Inconstant like the Sea, of whence 'tis borne,  
 Rough, swelling, like a Storme:  
 With whome who sailes, rides on the surge of Feare,  
 And boiles as if he were  
 In a continuall Tempest ...

After blind Cupid has been banished as blind Desire from the realm of the soul, Jonson states what enlightened spiritual true love is. The psychic experience of the mystery of a common group attuned to each other, is here fully asserted:

..... Now true Love  
 No such effects doth prove:  
 That is an Essence most gentile, and fine.  
 Pure, perfect; nay divine:  
 It is a golden Chaine let down from Heaven,  
 Whose linkes are bright, and even  
 That falls like Sleepe on Lovers; and combines  
 The soft and sweetest Minds  
 In equal knots: this beares no Brands nor Darts  
 To murder different harts.  
 But in a calme and God-like unitie,  
 Preserves Communitie.  
 O who is he that (in this peace) enjoys  
 Th' Elixir of all joyes?  
 (A forme more fresh then are the Eden bowers,  
 And lasting as her flowers:  
 Richer than Time, and as Times Vertue, rare,  
 Sober, as saddest Care,  
 A fixed Thought, an Eye untaught to glance;)  
 Who (blest with such high chance)  
 Would at suggestion of a steepe Desire  
 Cast himselfe from the spire  
 Of all his Happinesse? .....

Then Jonson procedes to refute and to challenge those who are skeptical about the possibility of such chaste spiritual love:

.....But soft I heare  
 Some vicious Foole draw neare,  
 That cries we dreame; and sweares, there's no such thing  
 As this chaste Love we sing.  
 Peace Luxurie, thou art like one of those  
 Who (being at sea) suppose  
 Because they move, the Continent doth so:  
 No (Vice) we let thee know,  
 Though thy wild Thoughts with Sparrowes wings do flie,  
 "Turtles can chastely die:

In Jonson's dogmatic mind anyone who reads his lines with skepticism must be described as a fool. His stentorian voice lowers itself to a deep basso when

he comes to the mysterious, dogmatic announcement, "Turtles can chastely die." It is interesting that the poet recovers in this passage a symbol from primeval times. The American Indians called those who were not initiated, "sparrows."<sup>98</sup> Jonson used the same expression. He continues to explain that his poem does not refer to those who of necessity or because of religious tradition must live a chaste life:

And yet (in this t'expresse our selfe more cleare)  
 We do not number here  
 Such Spirites as are onely continent,  
 Because Lusts meanes are spent:  
 Or those, who doubt the common mouth of Fame,  
 And for their Place, or Name,  
 Cannot so safely sinne; Their Chastitie  
 Is meere Necessitie,  
 Nor meane we those, whom Vowes and Conscience  
 Have fild with Abstinence:  
 (Though we acknowledge who can so abstaine,  
 Makes a most blessed gaine:  
 "He that for love of goodness hateth ill,  
 "Is more Crowne-worthy still,  
 "Then he which for sinnes Penaltie forbeares,  
 "His Heart sinnes, though he feares.)

Jonson now comes as a business man, not as a poet, to a "sound proposition":

But we propose a person like our Dove,  
 Grac'd with a Phoenix Love:  
 A beauty of that cleare and sparkling Light,  
 Would make a Day of Night,  
 And turne the blackest sorrowes to bright joyes:  
 Whose Od'rous breath destroyes  
 All taste of Bitternesse, and makes the Ayre  
 As sweete, as she is faire:  
 A bodie so harmoniously composde,  
 As if Nature disclosde  
 All her best Symmetrie in that one Feature:  
 O, so divine a Creature  
 Who could be false too? chiefly when he knowes  
 How onely she bestowes  
 The wealthy treasure of her Love in him;  
 Making his Fortunes swim  
 In the full floud of her admir'd perfection?  
 What savage, brute Affection,  
 Would not be fearfull to offend a Dame

Of this excelling frame?  
 Much more a noble and right generous Mind,  
 (To vertuous moodes enclin'd)  
 That knowes the weight of Guilt: He will refraine  
 From thoughts of such a straine:  
 And to his Sence object this Sentence ever,  
Man may securely sinne, but safely never.  
 Ben Jonson. 99

Ben Jonson invites the reader to meet the Phoenix. He gives explicit warnings as to the outcome of this meeting. The young man must be of noble, generous mind. The poet hints that if the Turtle finds his Phoenix love, his sweetheart and future mate, he should behave gently and lovingly. He reminds him of the sense of guilt which would be his if he acts ungenerously, and admonishes him not to forget that "Man may securely sinne, but safely never."

The short poem that follows gives again the assurance which we have heard repeated so often in the book: that there is some real truth hidden in this seemingly idle fancy about the love of the Turtle and the Phoenix:

The Phoenix Analyse.

Now, after all, let me man  
 Receive it for a Fable,  
 If a Bird so amiable,  
 Do turne into a Woman.

Or (by our Turtles Augure)  
 That Natures fairest Creature,  
 Prove of his Mistris Feature,  
 But a bare Type and Figure. 100

The Ode *2v 90v 61α 62v 17*, with which he concludes his contribution, shows Jonson as a Dionysic satyr, who revels with a gracelessness becoming to his healthy, vigorous, honest but coarse nature:

Ode ~~to Rosalind~~ to Beauty.

Splendor! O more then mortall,  
 For other formes comes short all  
 Of her illustrate brightnesse,  
 As farre as sinne's from lightnesse.

Her wit was quicke, and sprightfull  
 As fire; and more delightfull  
 Then the stolne sports of Lovers,  
 When night their meeting covers.

Judgement (adorned with Learning)  
 Doth shine in her discerning,  
 Cleare as a naked vestall  
 Closde in an orbe of Christall.

Her breath for sweete exceeding  
 The Phoenix place of breeding,  
 But mixt with sound, transcending  
 All Nature of commending.

Jonson praises the Phoenix, the mercurial master-wisdom as it is symbolized in the mystery figure of Rosalind. Even in his highest Dionysic exaltation learned Ben Jonson finds the following rhyme and reason to return to a sober thought:

Alas: then whither wade I,  
 In thought to praise this Ladie,  
 When seeking her renowning,  
 My selfe am so neare drowning?

Retire, and say: her Graces  
 Are deeper then their Faces:  
 Yet shee's nor nice to show them,  
 Nor takes she pride to know them. 101  
 Ben: Jonson

This sober truth at the end points to this ideal woman who was to be the mother of a future generation. The mystic heroine in reality was the type of woman rich in graces of the soul, and in her appearance simple like Nature herself. She was the master-mistress of the circle.

Of her simplicity and honesty the whole generation of writers speaks.<sup>102</sup>



Shakespeare's funeral poem on the death of the Phoenix and Turtle is sober. It does not glory in the prima materia or quintessence, like Marston's poem; it brings no personal confession, like Chapman's; it contains no persuasive and threatening dogmatic oratory, like Ben Jonson's contribution. Shakespeare speaks in the name of the Phoenix with the irony of Prospero, the master.

The poem has been recognized by some literary critics as a delineation of a spiritual union. The poem speaks of a spiritually married pair who had interchanged their personalities in chaste mystic union. "In the mystic flame both had died, leaving no posterity." We hear that a married pair had died: a Turtle, Peristeros, the consecrated bird of love, a male initiate; and a Phoenix, the Queen. That the Phoenix, the amiable bird, "turns into a woman," we have heard Ben Jonson assert. It is the master who in his amiability towards his disciple is the "bare type and figure" of that woman to whom the disciple turns when the socratic love in the realm of an utopian dream has brought him into the state of psychic introversion. The ambiguous symbol of the Phoenix in Shakespeare's poem presents Prospero, the master-poet laureate of Christian religious culture, who "dies" as a Christian martyr for the mystic Queen of Love. It is a metaphorical death of which this allegoric poem speaks. It is said in one line that the pair merely parted; that a complete separation of their personalities had come about. And yet, paradoxically enough, contrary to natural reason, they remained even then united. So much <sup>for</sup> the case of the mystic union.

Before we begin the analysis of Shakespeare's allegory, let us summarize again the point of view which is in the silent background of the great poetic world literature of the past. The question may be raised: "With what expectation does a disciple come to a man like Plato?" Undoubtedly to study his philosophy: in the aspect of the Greek ideal of *καθ' ἑαυτὸν βίη*, of what is

beautiful and good, which according to the Socratic equation, is also what is beautiful and true. Suppose Plato were a modern writer and not the man he was, and gave his disciple his Dialogues to read. The disciple might be enchanted with the painted heaven of Plato's Dialogues, and go on his way thinking that he knows the ideals of truth and beauty, since he has the philosophic expression of it in script. But Plato would know that the shadow had been taken for the substance, and that what had aroused the admiration of the disciple was only the appearance of truth and the boast of beauty. Let us suppose the young man to whom Shakespeare had written the Sonnets to be the same Earl of Southampton to whom was dedicated Venus and Adonis and Lucrece -- poems which paint in poetic form the ideals of truth and beauty in regard to love. The young Earl must have been very much flattered at Shakespeare's dedications of Venus and Adonis and Lucrece. He must have felt an admiring platonic love towards his poet friend. What attitude can a master-mind have towards an admiring enthusiast who is in love with him because he paints so beautifully the ideals of Love? No dearer desire than to see his friend convert these ideals into reality. What profit has a platonic love of one man for another, if there is to be any profit? That the passive idler be converted into a creative man. The more the master permits this passive admiration, the less is the master worthy of receiving it. The idealizing tendency of admiration of a younger man towards an older one, as the mercurial or natural philosophers well knew, as much as it is symptomatic of a noble soul, so is it a sign of a childlike attitude of a mind which has not reached maturity. As we would say in modern speech, it is a mind which has not outgrown its father imago. How can this young man be thrust upon himself? While arousing his imagination in the realm

of an utopian dream, the mercurial master prepared him and deliberately planned the process of introversion.<sup>103</sup> The final outcome, the End, resulted in an unexpected turn for the young man. He emerged with a wife. The feeling of resentment towards the platonic friend who had committed the "offence" of mystifying him, established a quaint triangular relation. The innocent white soul of the novice became the self-divided black soul of the one mystified. What has once been platonic love for the master is changed into hatred. The hatred of the "offence" causes the one mystified to forget the master and love ~~the~~ the wife.

The mind of the mystified became a clearing house of his own schizophrenic, contradictory tendencies brought about through his bisexual instincts. He was driven to the complete transference of his parental imagos to his own wife. The master served to catalyze this process. Shakespeare did that in his Sonnets to the young man, by seemingly complimenting him (as though he were a beloved woman), but actually ironically emphasizing the contradictions in his friend's attitudes, and bringing home a powerful lesson through this unusual experience. All traditional imitative tendencies were washed away. A refinement of consciousness and conscience resulted, and this prepared the young man to sense, in his own original way, the reality of this world.

The paintings of art and philosophy as ideals of illusion crumble to pieces, but their real significance is found in the ideals of action. The ideal world was the silent world of intuition, out of which the conscious power of creative activity sprang. The individual formerly so limited had become an infinite spirit with infinite resources with which to meet the situations of life. The highest sublimation ensued - the sublimation of love into the divine spirit, the spirit of Christ, where master and initiate met as brothers, in full reconciliation.

The allegory of such a reconciliation between master and initiate is ironically and mystifyingly told in Shakespeare's funeral poem, as the death of the Phoenix and Turtle. The first five stanzas read:

Let the bird of loudest lay,  
On the sole Arabian tree,  
Herauld sad and trumpet be,  
To whose sound chaste wings obey.

But thou shrieking harbinger,  
Foul precurrer of the fiend,  
Augour of the fever's end,  
To this troupe come thou not neere.

From this Session interdict  
Every foule of tyrant wing,  
Save the Eagle feath' red King:  
Keepe the obsequie so strict.

Let the priest in Surples white,  
That defunctive Musicke can,  
Be the death-devining Swan,  
Let the Requiem lacke his right.

And thou treble dated Crow,  
That thy sable gender mak'st,  
With the breath thou giv'st and tak'st,  
Mongst our mourners shalt thou go. <sup>104</sup>

The new Phoenix announces to the birds, which symbolize beings who live their own true instinctive lives, the death of the Phoenix and Turtle.<sup>105</sup> The eagle, St. John's bird, is to keep the obsequy. The death-divining swan is to play the requiem. The birds with chaste wings and the crow are admitted as mourners. The owl, and every bird of "tyrant wing" are excluded from the session. The owl is Minerva's bird. In Count Michale Maier's Jocus severus which tells of a meeting of the birds under the presidency of the Phoenix, the owl, as the symbol of reason, carries off the crown. But Shakespeare, who developed the theme from the viewpoint of the supremacy of spiritual love over the intellect, stressed the negative side of the intellect. In place of "the

intellect" a more modern psychological term would be "the conscious ego." The mystic experience is the breakdown of the conscious ego, and leads to the identification with, and responsibility for, the larger self. Writers like Hitchcock termed it the "not self"; in modern psychology it appears as the unconscious ego. On the plane of philosophic thought the mystic experience leads to the acknowledgment that the common root of logic and ethics is the cosmic self. On the plane of ~~philosophic~~ religious thought it leads to the acknowledgment of the supremacy of Love, Spirit or God over the intellect. In the second part of this mystic poem Shakespeare clearly indicated the spiritual outcome which lies above the intellect, which can only witness the "tragedy."

To this funeral Shakespeare admitted the crow as a mourner. Literary critics have long puzzled as to what was meant by "the crow." So Hesiod<sup>106</sup> spoke of the "prattling crow" more than two thousand years earlier. The prattling crow is the prattling poet. The crow as a living symbol for a poet in Elizabethan language is testified to by Green's well-known words about Shakespeare: "the upstart crow." This in itself is sufficient to identify the crow with the poet. We can point to the miracle tree of poetic invention, whence the expression flew upon individual tongues as a winged word. We find the literary English tradition for it in Chaucer's The Manciples Tale. The poetic symbols of Chaucer's mercurial master wisdom are well worthy of a separate study. The mercurial triangular secret, and the relation of poetic confession to it, are symbolized in the following tale:

When Phoebus, the god of poetry, lived on earth as a bachelor, he had in his house a white crow which he taught to speak:

Whyte was this crowe, as is a snow whyte swan,  
He coude when he sholde tell a tale.<sup>107</sup>

Phoebus had in his home a woman whom he loved more than his own life, and of whom he was very jealous. While Phoebus was away this woman betrayed him with an inferior. The crow was witness to this. When Phoebus came home the crow told him that he had been cuckolded, whereupon Phoebus, in jealous anger, slew the woman. But when he saw her dead he cursed the crow for his indiscretion:

Thou and thy offspring shall ever be blake,  
 Ne never sweet noise shul ye make,  
 But ever cry against tempest and rain. 108

The crow as the pet of Phoebus, the god of poetry, and as confidante of the triangular secret which it betrayed, point clearly to the symbol for the poet. We give still another proof that in Elizabethan literature Chaucer's symbol for the crow as the poet was used consciously. In Tofte's sonnet series Laura the symbol of the crow is combined with the symbol of the laurel tree. The poet confesses that he is the crow who flies upon the laurel tree when warring against Chameleon love:

The Crow makes war with the Chameleon;  
 And, being hurt, to th' laurel straight doth fly:  
 And, through the fruit he findest thereupon,  
 Is healed of hurt, finds food, and lives thereby.  
 Love the Chameleon is, the Crow am I:  
 And battle wage with him unto the death,  
 He wounds me deadly; whereupon I lie  
 To thee, my LAUREL: to restore my breath.  
 Thou me reviv'st. Such virtue's in thee rife  
 As thou, at once, dost give me food and life. 109

The poet also uses the symbol of the crow in Part III, Sonnet X, which shows us the living role played by Chaucer's tale in Elizabethan literature, and also demonstrates the significance of the color black in esoteric tradition:

Phoebus once had a bird, his chief delight,  
 Which, only 'cause he had an evil tongue,  
 He made him black; who was before most white.  
 So if all those who, Lovers true have stung  
 With spiteful speech, and have their loves betrayed;  
 Or to their Ladies false be and untrue,  
 Setting at nought the promise they have made;  
 LOVE would but change into this coal-black hue:  
 Thousands abroad, like sea-coal crows should show;  
 Who, now unknown, for snowy swans do go. 110

Chaucer's poetic concept is fully alive in Shakespeare's verses, and has deepened in its significance. A talented poet, unless he be a spiritual genius, or a Phoenix, lives thrice the life of mortal man. His works can be significant to three generations, and then he becomes out-dated. Therefore Shakespeare calls the crow "treble dated"; his indiscretion made him black, so Shakespeare says of the crow that it makes its "sable gender." The first condition for the theurg is complete discretion, the discipline of the tongue: not to allude in language to that which is effected by living spiritual attitudes. Poetry, although a means for bringing about the spiritual union, discloses the mystery. Therefore Shakespeare says of the crow, "with the breath thou giv'st and tak'st." But poetry, on the other side, is the only adequate expression of the mystic miracle. For Shakespeare the poet was the only understanding witness of the spiritual union.

Like all mystic utterances, what follows in the lament on the death of the Phoenix and the Turtle, sweeps over the unutterable by the use of contradictory paradoxes:

Here the Atheme doth commence:  
 Love and Constancie is dead;  
Phoenix and the Turtle fled  
 In a mutuall flame from hence.

So they loved as love in twaine,  
 Had the essence but in one,  
 Two distincts, Divisionnone,  
 Number there in love was slaine.

Hearts remote, yet not asunder;  
 Distance and no space was seene,  
 Twixt the Turtle and his Queene;  
 But in them it were a wonder.

So betweene them Love did shine,  
 That the Turtle saw his right,  
 Flaming in the Phoenix sight;  
 Either was the others mine.

Propertie was thus appalled,  
That the selfe was not the same;  
Single Natures double name,  
Neither two nor one was called.

Reason, in it selfe confounded,  
Saw Division grow together,  
To themselves yet either neither,  
Simple were so well compounded.

That it cried, How true a twaine,  
Seemeth this concordant one,  
Love hath Reason, Reason none,  
If what parts, can so remaine.

Whereupon it made this Threne,  
To the Phoenix and the Dove,  
Co-supremes and starres of Love,  
As Chorus to their Tragique Scene. <sup>lll</sup>

The anthem starts with the complaint that two souls, the Phoenix and Turtle, united in love and constancy, had been burned to death in one flame. The poet looks back at their love as at a spiritual union which lived in one essence, and although in distance from each other felt no separation of space. So completely had they identified themselves that there was no distinction of property between them. The two selves, the double name of single nature, had merged in their infinite communion so that they could not even be called one or two. The suggestive allusion in this Delphic poem hints at the Dionysic tragedy which followed: when these two souls had interanimated completely, confounded reason had to confess the supremacy of love over reason:

Love hath Reason, Reason none,  
If what parts, can so remaine.

The death of the Phoenix and Turtle is thus portrayed as a parting, and Reason itself sings the threnos on the ashes of a Phoenix and Turtle love.

The Threnos which concludes Shakespeare's poem on the Phoenix and Turtle reads:



Beautie, Truth, and Raritie,  
 Grace in all simplicitie,  
 Here enclosde, in cinders lie.

Death is now the Phoenix nest,  
 And the Turtles loyall brest,  
 To eternitie doth rest.

Leaving no posteritie,  
 Twas not their infirmitie,  
 It was married Chastitie.

Truth may seeme, but cannot be,  
 Beautie bragge, but tis not she,  
 Truth and Beautie buried be.

To this urne let those repaire,  
 That are either true or faire, 112  
 For these dead Birds, sigh a prayer.

The Threnos, the epitaph to the platonic affection of a disciple for a master, is the epitaph on the death of the eternal illusion that truth and beauty can be found, as it were, in some heaven of art or philosophy. The admiration for poetry establishes a friendship between a young man and a poet-master. The young man has the illusion that truth and beauty lie outside the soul in the objective world. But whatever seems like truth, is merely delusion; whatever appears as beauty is merely a boast. Truth and beauty can be realized only as unutterable secrets by those who are true and fair inwardly, who can sigh a spiritual prayer on the ashes of two birds who had died in the flames of eternal illusion.

"Death is now the Phoenix nest." The Phoenix' nest is the heart of the platonic young friend, in which had lived the affection for his master. Nicholas Breton's Melancholike Humours, a collection of poems which are the lyric disguise of a Merry-Greek inviting young man to "live a double death" - the death of the Phoenix and Turtle - contains the following "melancholy" jest:

## A Solemn Farewell to the World.

Oh, forlorn Fancy; whereto doth thou live  
 To weary out the senses with unrest?  
 Hopes are but cares, that but discomfort give  
 While only fools do climb the phoenix nest.  
 To heart-sicke souls all joys are but a jest. 113

The young "fool" who climbs the Phoenix' nest out of love for a revered master and poet who bestows upon him the flowers of his poetic conceits to entangle him in love with a woman, seems to us the true spiritual center of Elizabethan literature.<sup>114</sup> Poetry was but the expression with which to attract the "malcontent" young man, and bring them through the experience of love to the spiritualization of the soul, out of which the young men became creative and contented members of society, reborn in the religious sense. Thus we have to understand Breton's plea to the young men, in his Melancholike Humours:

But if thou can'st content thee with thy life  
 And wilt endure a double death to live;  
 If thou canst bear that bitter kind of strife  
 Where cross conceits but discontents do give:  
 If to this end thou can'st not humour drive,  
 And Care's true patience can commend thee so;  
 Give me the leave to tell thee what I know. 115

The use of cross conceits, a method of mystification intended to bring about the "descent," the experience of contrition and "care" out of which the young man saved himself by submission to permanent love, is common to most poetic expressions of Elizabethan literature. It is an ancient method of the ages of religious culture, so different from our age, of rationalistic and esthetic culture, the recognition of which can bring us to untold discoveries in world literature.

The ironic complaint about the death of a bird, esoterically symbolizing the death of puerile imitative consciousness of a youth goes back to antiquity.

Ovid's poem about the death of Corinna's parrot <sup>116</sup> is an example of it. Shakespeare's poem may be considered a variation of Ovid's theme and in common with Ovid's poem, invites the birds to the funeral. The friendship of the Phoenix and Turtle is the friendship of the parrot and turtle in Ovid's poem. The invitation to chaste birds only has its analogy to the gathering of the birds on the Elysian hill quo obscenae aves prohibentur. Both poems share the same aroma of fine irony. Ovid's death of the parrot, as well as Catull's death of Lesbia's sparrow, were imitated in the esoteric mysteries since the time of early humanism. The German educator, Dornavius, a mercurialist who wrote a book Mercurius Nobilis, edited a Latin anthology of such esoteric poems, under the title of Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae Joco-Seriae, <sup>117</sup> The title of the anthology gives us the clue in what sense these poems were meant: they were mystifying expressions of the joco-serious Socratic wisdom. The meeting of the birds under the chairmanship of the Phoenix, which the Rosicrucian Count Michael Maier described, has a similar title: Jocus Severus. From a passage in Thomas Nashe's Lenten Stuff <sup>118</sup> it becomes clear how well known and widely used and understood in their esoteric sense were these joco-serious poems in Elizabethan literature. (In Dornavius' Anthology we find several poems dealing with the theme of the death of a sparrow.) <sup>119</sup> Many of the esoteric symbols which we find in Dornavius' Anthology are catalogued in Nashe's Lenten Stuff. In Nashe's list of poetic symbols of joco-serious Socratic lore are named the constant turtle, the parrot and Philipp Sparrow. Philipp Sparrow is the sparrow of Catull's Lesbia who had the surname of Philipp in Elizabethan literature because of John Skelton's well-known poem, "The Boke of Phyllyp Sparowe." John Skelton was not merely a jester, as we would conclude from his poetic improvizations, but the precursor of the

Elizabethan mystagogue in the disguise of a clown. In the jocose funeral dirge, "The Boke of Phyllyp Sparrowe," we find not only the elements of Shakespeare's poem on the Phoenix and the Turtle, but also the thought elements of Chester's allegory. The poem is an allusion to the experience of mystification: ficta sub imagine texta as the poet himself confessed. The sparrow "that was late slayen at Carowe among the Nones Blake, by Gyb the cat," is an initiate. Many birds attend the funeral, among them the phoenix:

The byrde of Araby,  
 That potencyally  
 May never dye,  
 And yet there is none  
 But one alone;  
 A phoenix it is  
 This herse that must blys  
 With armatycke gummes  
 That cost great summes,  
 The way of thurifycation  
 To make a fumigation  
 Swete of reflary,  
 And redolent of eyre,  
 This corse for to sence  
 With greate reverence,  
 As patryarke or pope  
 In a blacke cope;  
 Whyles he senseth (the herse),  
 He shall synge the verse,  
Libera me,  
 In de, la, soll, re,  
 Softly bemole  
 For my sparrowes soule.  
 Plinni sheweth all  
 In his story naturall  
 What he doth fynde  
 Of the Phenyx kynde;  
 Of whose incyneracyon  
 There ryseth a new creacyon  
 Of the same facyon  
 Without alteracyon,  
 Savyng that olde age  
 Is turned into corage  
 Of fresche youth agayne;  
 This matter trew and playne,  
 Playne matter indede,  
 Who so lyst to rede. 120

The need for an epitaph for the sparrow leads the poet to conjure a pageant of figures from world literature and world history. Figures from the Arthur legend appear, Tristan and Isolde, Charlemaine, Judas Maccabeus, Troilus and Cressida, Odysseus and Penelope. The poets Ovid, Virgil, Petrarch, Alkeus, Sappho, Linus, and so forth, are reviewed. Skelton ends with an appreciation of the style of Gower, Chaucer and Lydgate.

Even the esthetically insignificant poems by John Skelton can serve as convincing testimony that our modern age, even with the help of text criticism, understands the literature of the ancients far less than did the enlightened poets and thinkers of the religious culture of Europe. They understood the poetry as the great expression of illumination. They knew the significance of the fairy tale book of world literature as a pictured expression of the spiritual, religious, patocratic and christocratic consciousness of man. In relation to poetry their consciousness was not merely esthetic as ours so often is, but rather, unillusioned and directed towards the spiritual interrelation of men. They held no individualistic myths about the poets of past ages. In the great poetry they recognized the civilized masks of the anagogic ideas of religion which concealed a consciousness far above poetry. Skelton's pageant of ideal figures of world literature and of illuminated men, is intimately connected with the theme of the death of the sparrow, the traditional symbol for illumination.

Skelton concludes the first part of the poem with the following Latin epitaph:

Flos volucrum formosa, vale!  
 Philippe, sub isto  
 Marmore jam recubas,  
 Qui mihi carus eras.

Semper erunt nitido  
 Radiantia sidera caelo;  
 Impressusque meo  
 Pectore semper eris.  
 Per me laurigerum  
 Britonum Skeltonida vatem  
 Haec cecinisse licet  
 Ficta sub imagine texta.  
 Cujus eras volucris,  
 Praestanti corpore virgo;  
 Candida Nais erat,  
 Formosior ista Joanna est;  
 Docta Corinna fuit,  
 Sed magis ista sapit.  
 Bien men sovient. 121

The poet Skelton, as Vates, has composed this epitaph for the mistress of the dead sparrow, whose name is given as Joanna Scroupe. This epitaph is ficta sub imagine texta: a plea for the love of a mistress. This becomes clearer in the second part of the poem, "The Commendacions," where the poet, in a vein similar to that of Chester in Love's Martyr, praises womanhood: O gloriosa femina is the ever recurring refrain. Her only enemy is Envy, who is angry at the poet and the mistress. Like in Chester's allegory, Envy figures here as the enemy of love.

In the third part of the poem Skelton conjures Phylllyp Sparowe by all the names of the acherontic world:

But Phylllyp, I conjure thee  
 Now by these names thre,  
 Diana in the woodes grene,  
 Luna that so bryght doth shene,  
 Procerpina in hell,  
 That thou shortly tell,  
 And shew now unto me  
 What the cause may be  
 Of this perplexite! 122

Just before the end are the following lines:

Inferias, Philippe, tuas Scroupe pulchra Joanna  
 Instanter petit: cur nostri carminis illam  
 Nunc pudet? est sero; minor est infamia vero. 123

The beautiful Joanna Scroupe conjured the sparrow in the name of the underworld. She is ashamed of this poem. The last line hints that the mistress is threatened by evils, the lesser of which is infamia.

Skelton's poem, "The Boke of Phyllyp Sparowe" is a mystification similar to Chester's Love's Martyr.

In conclusion, let us quote one poem of the seraphic poet John Donne, which should throw a light on the whole field of Elizabethan literature. It has the title "Loves Alchymie," and reads:

Some that have deeper digg'd Loves Myne then I,  
 Say, where his centrique happiness doth lie:  
     I have lov'd, and got, and told,  
 But should I love, get, tell, till I were old  
 I should not find that hidden mysterie;  
 Oh, 'tis imposture all:  
 And as no chymique yet th'Elixar got,  
 But glorifies his pregnant pot,  
 If by the way to him befall,  
 Some odoriferous thing of medicinall,  
 So, lovers dream a rich and long delight  
 But get winter seeming summers night.

Our ease, our thrift, our honor, and our day,  
 Shall we, for this vaine Bubles shadow pay?  
 Ends love in this, that my man  
 Can be as happy as I can; if he can  
 Endure the short scorn of a Bridegrooms play?  
 That long wretch that sweares  
 'Tis not the bodies marry, but the mindes,  
 Whith he in her Angelique findes,  
 Would sweare as justly, that he heares  
 In that dayes rude minstralsey, the spheares.  
 Hope for minds in woman; at their best  
 Sweetnesse and wit, they are but Mummy possesst. 124

The poem begins with the complaint that the mystery of the elixir can not be found. This attitude of denial towards alchemy is characteristic of

Elizabethan poets as a rhetorical figure of speech, since they knew that the Philosopher's Stone was buried in the soul of man and was not to be found in the exterior symbols and metals. The poet hints at what is the beginning and at what is the result of mercurial art. It begins with the happiness of a disciple who has entrusted his affection to his master, the center. The result is indicated in the rhetorical question:

Ends love in this, that my man  
Can be as happy as I can; if he can  
Endure the short scorn of a Bridegrooms play?

Chester's allegory revealed to us "the short scorn of a Bridegrooms play" veiled under the mystagogic ideas of the age, the ideas of "Love's Alchemy," to make the future husband as happy as his spiritual master. John Donne's poem alludes provokingly and ironically to the master's assertion that there is possible a marriage of the minds. The poet maintains the satiric attitude against women, which really is a satire on the feminine part of man.

John Donne, an orphic poet, is delphic and oracular. Delphic and oracular are all the poets of the Elizabethan age. John Donne, poeta seraphicus, is simply one seraphic voice in a chorus of mercurial illuminati.



PART III

GABRIEL HARVEY'S THE SCHOLLARS LOOVE, OR RECONCILEMENT OF CONTRARYES.....

PART III

GABRIEL HARVEY'S THE SCHOLLARS LOOVE, OR RECONCILEMENT OF CONTRARYES ...

An amorous odious sonnet ...

"By his contrarie is everything declared."<sup>1</sup>  
"Sith thus of two contraries is a lore."<sup>2</sup>  
Chaucer, Troilus and Criseyde

In our analysis of Parry's Sinetes we disclosed three entities of psychagogic thought found in Elizabethan poetry in general. Parry's "Passions" showed us a young man who, by means of Socratic, serio-comic poetry was brought to introversion, melancholy, contrition and self-knowledge. There is a confession by the shepherd Sinetes who, conscious of the sins and follies of his youth, had undergone a change of heart and became in constancy fixed towards his chosen one, ready to devote his hand and heart to her. This conversion to the ideals of matrimony, honor and true love, is the first entity of psychagogic thought that lies within the spiritual and moral purpose of Elizabethan poetry. The posies by Parry's patron, Sir John Salisburie, revealed to us the attitude typical of the sonneteer of the Elizabethan age who, under the erotic fiction of a romantic lover, advised a young man to love that woman in the bonds of marriage who loved him, the young man. From this point of view the biographical facts became clear that John Salisburie, as evidenced by poems with acrostics, was not the romantic lover of his sister-in-law Dorothy Halsall but the adviser to his brother-in-law Cutbert Halsall, admonishing him to love Dorothy. Similarly it became clear that John Salisburie was not the romantic lover of Elanor Salisburie nor of Helena Owen, but was the commender of these ladies to their

respective lovers. This attitude of the Elizabethan sonneteer, as "dear enemy" and adviser of a young man to whom, under the disguise of a romantic lover, the poet commends him to love that woman who loves the young man, is called the second entity of psychagogic thought. The third part of the volume, "The Lamentation of a Male-content" by the poet "Namelesse," revealed the erotic fiction of a poetic mistress. This fiction was intended to mystify the inexperienced male youth, to lead him into a "regio phantastica" of romantic illusion, the recognition of which brought him to introversion, contrition and self-knowledge, and lead him to realize the ideals of matrimony in a religious and moral sense far above poetic fancies. This erotic fiction of a poetic mistress intended for mystification, is the third entity of psychagogic thought of Elizabethan poetry. The analysis of Chester's Love's Martyr brought further evidence in this sense. To lead on the male youth "in Vestas honor, Venus love to tame," was the spiritual and moral purpose of this mystifying poetry. In connection with our analysis of Shakespeare's "The Phoenix and Turtle" we brought evidence that this poem lies within a group of symbolic poems of the Renaissance that were considered by scholars of the time as Sapientia Socratica Joco-seria. We showed that the symbolic tradition of this poetry goes back to ancient classical poetry.

The recognition of these three entities enable us to solve innumerable enigmas and contradictions that have so long baffled scholars of Elizabethan literature. They enable us to read with full understanding the Sonnets by Shakespeare, which are symbolic of the enigmas of Elizabethan literature. They enable us furthermore to recognize the tradition of these "conceits" that was founded in a humanistic sense by Petrarch, who had revived it from

sources of ancient classical literature.

We will examine sonnet literature in following chapters. But first, as important additional evidence we submit here a poem "The Schollars Looove, or Reconcilement of Contraryes,"<sup>3</sup> heretofore considered "barred and hid from commonsense," written at the very birth of Elizabethan literature, that reveals in full the psychology of the "conceit" in sonnet poetry. This poem is one of the "eggs" laid by a Senior, or Elder of Elizabethan literature, Gabriel Harvey, that was "hatched out" in more splendid poetical form by the younger generation: Edmund Spenser, Sir Philip Sidney, Sir Edward Dyer, and in novelistic form by John Lyly. The "hurlewind of conceit" that sweeps through this poem is found in most of the literary enigmatic productions of the Elizabethan age.

In the Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey we find the poem included within a group of similar conceits addressed to "Master Edwarde Diar," a Socratic poet of that time who helped also to bring about the spiritual and moral rebirth of the younger generation.

We submit this poem in full, together with other passages from the Letter-Book that are relevant to it. A few introductory remarks are necessary to bring into light its meaning and significance.

The character of a great deal of Renaissance poetry as the expression of Sapientia Socratica Joco-seria, is revealed at the very beginning of this poem, where "the looving or hating reader" is admonished to take it "ether in sport or earnest." The poem begins like a parody, praising Mistrisse Ellena. This paragon of a woman is called "my coonye." The poem is a treatise on the psychology of erotic poetic "coonye catching." The clue to this poem may be found in the few lines that reveal the character of serio-comic poetry:

Shall I tell you a little more of my proper owne selfe?  
 O, most fortunate unfortunate, happy most unhappy elfe!  
 A foole crampe me by the great toe,  
 For heatinge and coolinge and foolinge soe. 4

The poem indirectly tells how a young scholar or student is brought into fiery enthusiasm for a poetic mistress. Realizing that he has been mystified by this erotic fiction his fiery enthusiasm is extinguished by "cold water," a phrase that is derived from alchemistic lore. He resents that he has been so fooled. This feeling of resentment brings the scholar to revile the very mistress about whom he had been in ecstasies. He realizes that he had played the "asse," a symbol for the initiate or one mystified. He exclaims in this sense:

Owte and alasse,  
 Howe I played the asse?  
 O fortune harde,  
 O cooling carde.

The feeling of resentment so forcefully expressed in the "Passions" by Robert Parry, is here described in the lines immediately following those quoted above:

O horrible mischaunce,  
 O monstrous traunce,  
 Never miserable Villacco,  
 Surprised with y<sup>e</sup> like Cammassado.  
 What so colorable pretence,  
 Whate halfe sufficient defence;  
 Ether my harteburninge to ease,  
 Or to countervayle and appease  
 So detestable and haynous offence,  
 So excessive and intolerable greivance?  
 Would not sutch outrage  
 Make a saynt rage?  
 I am more then a furye  
 To think of such villanye.  
 I wante millions of tungen  
 To ease my lunges.  
 No eloquence can accomlishe  
 The tone half of my wishe.  
 Not if I were very Rhetorick herselfe  
 Could I sufficiently displaye sutch an elfe;

Nether hardhearted Gibiline nor desperate Guelphe  
 Made ever profession of so wicked pelfe.  
 Thowghe I were a volume of most exquisite orations,  
 Or a whole worlde of patheticall affections,  
 It were impossible ether to decipher her fasshions,  
 Or to mitigate and assuage myne own passions. § 6

The young scholar is thrown into a melancholy upon discovery of this mystification,  
 just like the melancholy Sinetes:

Tis only mallancholy  
 Must slave my malladye. § 7

The conversion brought about in the young scholar, his repentance, his  
 care and grief, as found in all of Parry's "Passions," we find here expressed  
 in the following way:

A wonderous greate exchange, a miraculous metamorphosis.  
 Who ever sae, who ever harde, who ever redd the like to this?  
 Whattes now my gallantist bravery  
 But reprochefull slavery?  
 My lustiest iettinge  
 But mallancholy frettinge?  
 My delicatist feastinge  
 But miserable fastinge?  
 My youthfulliste hollaes, hussaes, and sahoes,  
 But wretchid allasses, godhelpes, and woes?  
 My queyntist and most epicurelike confections,  
 Sugettes, ypocrase, and marchépane;  
 But over sensible and venemous infections,  
 Poysons, gaule, and rattesbane?  
 My deintiest conserves and restauratives,  
 But peremptory torments and corsives?  
 All y<sup>e</sup> rest of my trimmest, tricksiest, gingerliest loyes,  
 But very taedious and most odious toyes?  
 Sweet meates, quoth good owlde Master Dawse,  
 Do crave, and must have a sower sawce.  
 A marvelous instance  
 Against all dalliance.  
 Good Lorde for thy mercy,  
 Pardon my follye. § 8

The psychological theme of the poem lies within the scope of psychic alchemy  
 and natural philosophy. The mercurial master first arouses an enthusiastic  
 admiration in the young man, which is symbolized as fire. The realization that

he was mystified turns this feeling into hatred. The anagogic ideas which the mercurial master instilled in the young man that he should be faithful to the woman he loves, deliberate and cool towards men, and that he should harmonize his inner self by learning to reconcile the passions of love and hatred aroused in him and thus come to a spiritual discipline, are treated by Harvey from a psychological and philosophical point of view:

Myself have abondonid all former delightes,  
 Synce I was encounterid of so huge despytes.  
 Truste me no better axiomes in topics,  
 Than those same be De oppositis.  
 A mistereye of lerninge,  
 Most worthy the scanninge,  
 For him that would blowe y<sup>e</sup> bellowes,  
 To owterunne his fellowes.  
 I must bewraye a scholler,  
 I spite of my coller.  
 And to make you beleeeve it,  
 I will pawne my credit,  
 Not sutch a principle agayne in all Aristotle or Boetio,  
 As is that same on maxim, Contrariorum eadem ratio.  
 Sum translations have, Disciplina,  
 But those two, I take it, are Synonoma.  
 Then of contraryes must we have y<sup>e</sup> selfsame regarde,  
 And per consequente bestowe on them y<sup>e</sup> selfsame rewarde. § 7

This psychology on the spiritual discipline of the soul is derived from hermetic and Kaballistic sources. We quote here a passage from the Letter-Book which gives evidence that the "fire," one of the elements, is a spiritual and psychological concept:

The fyer is a queynte subtile element beyond the reatche and capacity of our divinist and most mysticall philosophers (I excepte not Hermes himselte, whom they terme y<sup>e</sup> very perfectiste philosopher nexte unto God himselte), and I knowe not by what extraordinarye and secret meanes y<sup>e</sup> knowledge thereof shoulde desende into the intelligible and reasonable parte, but by the ministry and mediation of owtewarde and externall sences and be cabilistically conveyid over from age to age; which biinge utterlye absurde (for who ever sae or felte the verye pure firye element unlesse it were perchaunce Prometheus or sum like imaginanye wonder of the worlde?) why maye not that which they call fyer for any thinge that is certainly knowne to the contrarye be

the very local place and seate of Hell, where is sutch horrible fierworkes and sutch continual burninge flames as both the formiddiste Catholique divines and most excellent profane writers threaten against the wickid? or at lestewise why maye it not be a certayne excessive and everlastinge heate, proceedinge from the whott breathes of so many divellishe fierye spirites and scaldinge feindes, as ar there inhabitinge, and bye a forcible burninge influence inflaminge the alreddye furious and boylinge minds of tyrants and whott impatient divellish fellowes (wherwith the fowre partes of the worlde are nowe sett on fier, and which finallye according to the most auncient divine oracles and fatall destinyes must necessarilye consume and destroye all) to all kinde of colerick passions, extreame outrages and horrible cruelties as well for pleasure as revenge or otherwise? ... 7 / 10

Still another passage in the Letter-Book testifies to the esoteric significance of the elements fire and water:

...water rulid first, thereuppon cam the diluge wherewith the worlde was overflowid; then fier when Sodom and Gomor, and the neybour cityes, were destroyed with fyer; aier in greate infections, and plagues which are sturrid uppe of divells, as magicians reporte, and as is manifest by Agrippa.

The raynebowe, the sign of y<sup>e</sup> regiment of bothe; the redd colour in it signifyth fier, and the greene mundation, abundance of moysture. And therefore it is sayd in Plato, in his Cratylus, to be callied in Greeks Iris, as a foreteller and prophetesse of thinges to cum as well for the change of the worlde generallye as for the change of the wether dailye. 8 "

Another passage entitled "Anemographia" treats in a similar spiritual and psychological sense, the nature of winds:

Anemographia. Not the greatist clarke and profoundist philosopher that ever was in the worlde can tell the certayne cawse of the windes? What can they be but huge legions and millions of invisible tumultuous and tempestuous spirittes? What cause can there be in the earthe of such blowinge and blusteringe in everye place, be the qualityes and dispositions otherwise never so repugnant and contrarye? What matter so everlastinge and endles?

Melancholye spirites ingender melancholye passions in men, affections colerick, colericke passions, &c. Mens bodyes ar disposed and qualified accordinge to the spiritts that have the predominant regiment over them, and all philosophye saith that the temperature and disposition (and) inclination of the mindes followythe the temperature and composition of the bodye. Galen, &c.

Customarye and cabalisticall by tradition.

Caetera desunt. 9 / 12



The soul brought into the fire of its own hell, where its perverted wickedness was then destroyed, like Sodom and Gomorrah, then purged and cleansed by water and finally brought to inner unity and harmony, is the theme of the poem by Gabriel Harvey. The irreconcilable conflict between fire and water is expressed in the following lines:

Fyer was father,  
 Fyer was moother,  
 Fyer was nurse and all;  
 Fyer was the matter,  
 Fyer was the manner,  
 Fyer was y<sup>e</sup> cause finall.

Can cowldnes heate?  
 Can water burne?  
 Doth sea ingender flame?  
 You gabb fonde poetts, or in bowrde,  
 You blason Neptunes name.

A strange effecte  
 If it were true,  
 That water showlde inflame.  
 Ile sooner howlde,  
 The fyer is cowlde,  
 And pleade it with lesse shame.

'Tis but madd poetts prittle prattle,  
 Or but fond womens tittle tattle.  
 There can be (I trowe).  
 Nether affinity,  
 Nor consanguinity;  
 Nether alliance,  
 Nor dalliance;  
 Nether agreemente,  
 Nor reconcilemente;  
 Nether frendeshipp,  
 Nor kyndeshipp,

Betweene whott loove, whott as y<sup>e</sup> fiery elemente,  
 And the cowlde water, where Neptune hath regiment.  
 Even as likely it were Heaven and Hell to accorde,  
 Or God and Mammon coosin-germanes to recorde,  
 As these twoe to linke in chaynes of amitye,  
 Or fetch them by descent from the self same Petegrye, ~~10~~ / 3

Immediately following these lines the author cautiously suggests that a possible reconciliation between fire and water, the contrary elements and the contrary passions, can be brought about. This suggestion is given under the metaphor of a marriage full of conflicts that can be brought into harmony:

Howbeit peradventure I maye venture to farr,  
 I dare not avowtche it, as my assertion,  
 (Which possibly schooleman will call in question),  
 That they ar so immediately and extremely repugnant.  
 But thoroughs the favorable mediation of sum gentle starre  
 They may at last be agreeid peeceabelye,  
 And ever after live together curtuouslye,  
 Uppon sum indifferent and reasonable covenant.

And then why not confederacye,  
 Where afore was conspiracye?  
 There maye a fierye water be,  
 Or waterishe fier haply,  
 That skaldes, and boyles, and rostes so longe,  
 Till water getts the victory;  
 And then whye not humble and dutifull submission,  
 Where before was continuall warre and rebellion? ~~13~~ 14

We find this suggestion of harmonious wedlock in the entire range of Elizabethan sonnet poetry, veiled under the ironic paradoxes of a cruel mistress with flinty heart who is rebellious as well as licentious. The purpose of finally bringing about unity in the soul through harmonious wedlock is expressed in the following lines:

Then of contraries must we have y<sup>e</sup> selfesame regarde,  
 And per consequente bestowe on them y<sup>e</sup> selfesame rewarde.  
 In arguing the hoursomes stande so mutch upon their identity,  
 That in fine I praesuppose they will conclude an unity.  
 No heavenlier intendemente  
 Under this element  
 Then so sett uppon unity  
 Manger contrariety;  
 A goodly truce  
 If it were in use;  
 A brave poynte of logick  
 Whilst y<sup>e</sup> world is so quick.  
 No diviner melody  
 Then when consente and dissent  
 Do give there assente  
 To make a pleasant harmony;  
 A musicall experiment  
 Inferring y<sup>e</sup> former consequente. ~~12~~ 13

The purgation of the young scholar, his repentance and his reconciliation with his master, is symbolized in this poem by a tale where a Mistrisse Infirmitye appears before a Comissary, asking forgiveness for her sins. This forgiveness is granted. Mistrisse Infirmitye confesses:

I once offendid against my conscience;  
 The next trespas shall never coste me so many pense,  
 And yet nothings, my cownsell tells me against nature,  
 What needid so rigorous and severe a consure?  
 The best of ye all may committe a skape;  
 Was never Master Comissary charged with a rape?  
 I acknowledg my folly and protest repentaunce;  
 Nowe, I praye, whereto servith any other penaunce?  
 My heate is well coolid,  
 And myselfe better schoolid.  
 Theres a tyme for everythinge.  
 And why not then for foolinge.  
 I remember full well the time once was  
 That Master Comissary himselfe cried Alasse,  
 When the very principallist parte of his apology  
 Was fleshe and bludde; and mans inbecillitye.  
 I wisse, Master Turnecoate, you neede not be so whott,  
 I knowe in whose dayes you were as cowlde as a blöcke;  
 And maye well enough crye, Peccavi, agayne;  
 When fewe enowghe perhappes shall pittie your payne.  
 Meete the same measure unto others in your iollitye  
 Then you will call and crave for in your owne misery.  
 I have heard lernid men talke of a circular motion,  
 And of y<sup>e</sup> naturall course of action and passion,  
 These mysteryes ar mystes to us silly fooles,  
 Wee ar better acquaintid with threefootid stooles;  
 But they beare us in hande, this on thinge is mente,  
 All thinges are allowable in Christendom and Kente.  
 Then, good Master Comissary, be compassionate,  
 And remember that all thinges being governid by fate  
 Your good selfe may cum on daye to like estate.  
 This was the defence of Mistrisse Infirmitye,  
 Being putt to her purgation before Master Comissarye.  
 Of all likelihood her counselour was a naturall philosopher,  
 Or else, peradventure, had a physician to her brother.  
 I dare not avouch any great certaintye,  
 But, berlady, she was behowlding to naturall philosophy;  
 She lernid heate and cowlde were thinges accidentall. 16

The Elizabethan sonneteers were "behowlding to naturall philosophy" and acted as physicians to their younger brothers. That Mistrisse Infirmitye is a disguise, that it stands for the young scholar, becomes obvious to a critical reader from the following lines in the confession:

My heate is well coolid,  
 And myselfe better schoolid.  
 Theres a tyme for every thinge,  
 And why not then for foolinge. ~~14~~ 17

As we can readily see, it was the young scholar who went through the experience of heating and cooling and was brought into the school of discipline. Let us keep in mind the exclamation of the scholar earlier in the poem,

A foole crampe me by the great toe,  
 For heatinge and coolinge and foolinge soe. ~~15~~ 18

The mystified scholar who was credulous declares that he will not be fooled a second time:

My determinate resolution,  
 Never to be credulous:  
 He hazards his owne confusion,  
 That is over venturous.  
 And I take him very slenderly and simply wittid,  
 That may the seconde tyme be justly twittid. ~~16~~ 19

The mystified scholar who went in so peculiar a manner through the school of love, having first been brought into an introversion, exclaims:

Ile sooner, Ile sooner,  
 Heare my knell:  
 And downe and downe  
 Descende into Hell;  
 Then lerne, then lerne,  
 Agayne to spell  
 A, M, O, Amo,  
 With Mistrisse Nell. ~~17~~ 20

The conclusion of this poem brings the paradoxical conceit where the young scholar who curses Mistress Nell and recommends her to hell, then declares

himself reconciled to her. This reconciliation cannot be explained on the basis of a real situation. It refers to the outcome of the mystification or "trechery"; he curses the erotic fiction of a mistress after he learned the psychological lesson from it. The poem as a whole brings evidence of this, as well as the motives of Parry's Sinetes, Chester's Love's Martyr and Elizabethan poetry in general.

Nowe devower her, good hell,  
 And so farewell good Nell,  
 And, savinge my quarrell,  
 Once agayne farewell;  
 You take me Iwisse  
 Farr amisse,  
 If you call this  
 A Judas kisse.  
 A gentle farewell  
 At the ende doth well.  
 Anger muste go to bedd  
 When the sonne hides his hedd.  
 Tis nighte tenne a clocke,  
 Farewell, gentle French pock.  
 Now in y<sup>e</sup> divells and his dammes name  
 Letts to bedward, be frends for very shame.  
 All is on, in conclusion:  
 And unity, you wott, is better then confusion.  
 Give me thy hande,  
 Ile forgive thy enormity,  
 But not for all Englande  
 Can forgett thy trechery.  
 And yet be we frendes, and frendes as you see,  
 In y<sup>e</sup> very hyghest superlative degree.  
 I remitt and pardon thy impietyes every chone,  
 Nowe, I pray you, what needes more betwixte John and Jone?  
 Lett no scruple of conscience disturbe thy hedd,  
 They trespasses and transgressions are buried in the bedd.  
 AAPlaudite and Deo Gratias for so happy an evente,  
 And then to borrowe a napp, I shalbe contente.  
 To-morrowe morninge exspecte y<sup>e</sup> reste,  
 And fower and fower howres reste.  
 In the meane while, gentle bedd of downe,  
 I beseech you give me leave to play my laying downe. 18 21

This poem is written in the Skeltonian manner of improvization and sums up the secret psychology of Elizabethan sonnet poetry. It contains also motives that

are beyond the tradition of sonnet poetry. In one passage is given a very humorous outlook on social life, illustrated by the story of Jack Simkin, from the viewpoint of the theme: the reconcilment of contraries. Here we find the popular humor animated by a profound moral view, as it expressed itself on the Elizabethan stage.

In the Epilogue to the poem it is shown how the young scholar, going through this psychological process, comes to an evaluation of the significant representatives of world literature: Plato, Xenophon, Aristotle, Petrarch, Chaucer, Gower, etc. Here it should be noted that the centre of interest is not merely poetry, but divinity, philosophy, medicine and statesmanship. Poetry with its mystifications was in Elizabethan times, as in the ages preceding, merely an introduction into weightier studies that brought out the man after he had gone through the exaltations of the "lover's maze."

Noteworthy is the following passage in the first part of the poem:

I challenge the, Aretino,  
 Or any other Unico;  
 Nether thy Angelica,  
 Nor Petrarches Lauretta,  
 Nor Catullus Lesbia, alias Clodia;  
 Nor Tibullus Delia, alias Plautia;  
 Nor Propertius Cinthia, alias Hostia;  
 Nor Oviddes Corinna, alias Martials Julia;  
 Nor any other famous Donna  
 Comparable with my Ellena.  
 No, not Paris Helena  
 Comparable with my Ellena.  
 No, not Hercules Deianira  
 Comparable with my Ellena;  
 No, not Joves Europa  
 Comparable with my Ellena,  
 A most incomparable creature  
 For singular feature.  
 A most divine girle,  
 And anestimable perle.

This passage brings the visible fiction and mystification of Mistress Ellena in line with the poetic mistresses of Italian and ancient Roman literature that seem to be similar erotic fictions.

In his correspondence with Spenser Harvey wrote about his own poem "...My Schollers Love, or Reconcilement of contraries, is shrunke in the wetting: I had purposed to have dispatched you a Coppie thereof, long ere this: but, not remedie, hitherto it hath alwayes gone thus with me: Some newe occasion, or other, ever carrieth me from one matter to another, & will never suffer me to finishe eyther one or other. And truly, Experto crede, it is as true a Verse as ever was made, since the first Verse that ever was made: Pluribus intentus minor est ad singula sensus..." Then he added the following very significant remark in Latin:

Det mihi Mater Ipsa bonam veniam, eius ut aliquae mihi liceat  
Secreta, uni cuidam de eodem gremio obsequentissimo filio,  
revelare...<sup>28</sup>

Thus Harvey himself explains the purport of his poem.

NOTES

Parry's Sinetes

- 1 The Complete Works of Plutarch, Essays and Miscellanies, Thomas Y. Crowell, New York, Vol. III, p. 652
- 2 Sinetes. "Passions upon his fortunes, offered for an Incense at the shrine of the Ladies which guided his distempered thoughtes. The Patrons patheticall Posies, Sonets, Maddrigals, and Rowndelayses. Together with Sinetes Dompe. Plena Plena verecumdi culpa pudoris erat. By Robert Parry Gent." At London, Printed by T.P. for William Holem, and are to be sould on Ludgate hill at the signe of the holy Lambe. 1597.  
All quotations taken from a photostat facsimile reproduced from an original copy through the courtesy of the Henry E. Huntington Library.
- 3 Bryn Mawr Monographs, XIV, 1913
- 4 The Phoenix Nest. Reprinted from the original edition of 1593 London. Printed for Frederick Etchells and Hugh Macdonald, 1926. p.68
- 5 Ibid. p. 23. It would lead us too far to quote this poem in full. Its full significance can be easily grasped after the reader has gone through this manuscript.
- 6 William Dudley Foulke, Humphrey Milford, Some Love Songs of Petrarch, Oxford University Press, 1915, p. 125. The original text of this poem, taken from Francesco Petrarca II Canzoniere, Ulrico Hoepli, Milano, 1926, is as follows:

Due rose fresche e còlte in paradiso .  
L'altr'ier, nascendo il dì primo di maggio,  
Bel donno, e d'un amante antiquo di maggio,  
Tra duo minori equalmente diviso,  
Con sì dolce parlar e con un riso  
Da far innamorare un uom selvaggio,  
Di sfavillante et amoroso raggio  
E l'un e l'atro fe' cangiare il viso.  
-Non vede un simil par d'amanti il Sole-  
Dicea ridendo e sospirando in seme;  
E E stringendo ambedue, volgeasi intorno.  
Così partia le rose e le parole,  
Onde 'l cor lasso ancor s'allegra e teme.  
Oh felice eloquenzia! oh lieto giorno!

- 7 The acrostic of Posie II, read upward, is Dorothy Halsall.



Notes

- 8 Bryn Mawr Monographs XIV, Poems of Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester, Introduction, 1913
- 9 The ethos of this lore of wisdom is explained in Sonetto 15, quoted on page 29.
- 10 Nicholas Breton, for instance, in his preamble to "A strange description of a rare Garden plot" in "The Phoenix Nest" addresses his poem to a young man, and gives a veiled description of the griefs and cares that are to overcome a young man in the maze of love. It reads:

The Preamble to N.B. his Garden plot.

Sweete fellow whom I sware, such sure affected love,  
As neither weale, nor woe, nor want can from my mind remove:  
To thee my fellow sweete, this woful tale I tell,  
To let thee see the darke distresse, wherein my minde doth dwell.

On loathed bed I lay, my lustlesse lims to rest,  
Where still I tumble to and fro, to seeke which side were best:  
At last I catch a place, where long I cannot lie,  
But strange conceits from quiet sleepes, do keep awake mine eie.

The time of yeers me seemes, doth bid me slouen rise,  
And not from shew of sweete delight, to shut my sleepe eies:  
But sorrow by and by, doth bid me slave lie still,  
And slug amongst the wretched souls, whom care doth seek to kill.

For sorow is my spring, which brings forth bitter teares,  
The fruits of friendship all forlorne, as feeble fancie feares.  
(The Phoenix Nest, reprinted from original edition, p.21)

- 11 The Greek dictionary shows no root word that is connected with the name Anragos. There seems to be no such Greek name. The author ventures the opinion that it is a macaronic word connected with the English word "anger": the boy who is made angry by the taunts of the poet.

- 12 Posse & Nolle nobile.  
A worthie man deserves a worthie motto,  
As badge thereby his nature to declare,  
Wherefore the fates of purpose did alot?  
To this brave squire, this simble sweete and rare:  
Of might to spoyle, but yet of mercie spare.  
A simbole sure to Salisburie due by right,  
Whose still doth ioyne his mercy with his might.

Though lyon like his Posse might take place,  
Yet like a Lambe he Nolle useth aye,  
Right like himselfe (the flower of Salisburies race)  
Who never as yet a poore man would dismay:  
But princokes pride he us'd to daunt alway:  
And so doth still: whereby is known full well  
His noble minde and manhood to excell.

Notes

All craven cures that come of castrell kinde,  
 Are knowne full well whe they there might would straine,  
 The poore t'opresse that would there favour finde?  
 Or yeilde himselfe their friendship to attayne:  
 Then servilè sottes triumphes in might a mayne.  
 But such as coms from noble lyons race,  
 (Like this brave squire) who yeildes receaves to grace.  
 Haud ficta loquor  
 Hugh Gryffyth Gent.

- 13 Compare the title of the Elizabethan play of conversion, Eastward Hoe!
- 14 Compare Socrates' speech in Plato's Symposium, about Eros, the plotter
- 15 This statement can be substantiated by a careful study of the poetic motives of Elizabethan poetry. It is very apparent in Chester's allegory, "The Phoenix and Turtle," as we shall see.
- 16 The word "dumpe" obviously corresponds to the English word "dump," meaning gloomy or melancholy, despondent.

Notes to Part II, Ch. 1

- 12 Ibid., p.
- 13 Ibid., p.
- 14 Ibid., p.

Notes to Part II, Ch. 2

- 1 Wilhelm Spiegelberg, Der Name des Phoenix, Strassberger Festschrift, 1901, pp. 163-65
- 2 Dr. Fritz Scholl, Von Vogel Phoenix, Akademische Rede, Heidelberg, 1890
- 3 Ibid., p.
- 4 Ibid., p.
- 5 Ibid., p.
- 6 Compare Clement, First Epistle to Corinthians, Ch. XII, 1-6
- 7 Dr. Fritz Scholl, Von Vogel Phoenix, Akademische Rede, Heidelberg
- 8 Cambridge History of Literature, Vol. 1, 64-5
- 9 Beati Alberti Magni Ratisbonensis Episcopi Opera Studio et Labore Petri Jammy Tomus Sextus Lugduni MDCI de Animalibus, pagina 638
- 10 "Bei dem steigenden Marienkult fand auch eine eigentuemliche Anwendung auf die Jungfrau statt als auf das Feuer, in dem der Phoenix sich verjuengt." Dr. Fritz Schoell, Von Vogel Phoenix, Seite 15.
- 11 Scholl mentions Konrad von Wurzburg, Goldene Schmiede, V 364 ff; Frauenlob, Marienbuch, stanzas 12,5,265; Wolfram von Eschenbach, Parzival, IX, 1086. Instances could be added from medieval, Italian, French and English literature, considering the general parallelism of motives. It is well known that Dante, Petrarch, Ariosto and Tasso used this symbol.
- 12 Compare Arthur H. Collins, Symbolism of Animals & Birds, Represented in English Literature, New York 1914,
- 13 Ibid.,
- 14 Ibid.,
- 15 Ibid.,
- 16 Hugo Gressman: Die Sage von der Taufe Jesu und die Vorderasiatische Taubengottin. Archiv fur Religionwissenschaft Bd. 20, 1920.
- 17 Fairchild's Englische Studien,

Notes to Part II, Ch. 2

- 18 Die Alchemie in alterer und neuerer Zeit, Ein Beitrag zur Culturgeschichte, Heidelberg, 1886. 2 Vol. Phoenix Bibliography Vol. 2, p. 381, ff.
- 19 Herbert Silberer, Problems of Mystification and its Symbolism, New York, 1917,
- 20 The Alchemistic Writings of Paracelsus, edited by Arthur Edward Waite, Vol. 1, p. 40, remarks:
- 21 Arthur Edward Waite, The Lives of Alchemists, Knopf, 1927,
- 22 Compare: Lives of Alchemistical Philosophers, by Arthur Edward Waite, London, 1888, p.
- 23 Francfurti 1617, p. 76
- 24 Rev. J.B. Craven, Count Michael Maier, Life & Writings, Kirkwell, 1910, p. 64.
- 25 Ibid., pp. 150-55
- 26 F.P. Wilson, editor, Four Birds of Noahs Arke, Oxford, Shakespearian Head Press, Stratford-on-Avon, 1924.
- 27 Ibid., pp 5-6.
- 28 Chester's Love's Martyr, 1601 edition, p. 62.

Notes to Part II, Ch. 3

- 1 Elias Ashmole, Theatrum Chemicum Britannicum, London 1652, p. 434.
- 2 The philological perspective to such mystifications of a serio-comic Socratic nature may be found in one of Plato's Dialogues, Cratylus, which deals with the problem of the correctness and incorrectness of names. Here Socrates, with ironic cunning, defends the possibility of a mystification of this kind. He says to Cratylus:

"... Can I not step up to a man and say to him, "This is your portrait," and show him perhaps his own likeness or, perhaps, that of a woman? And by "show" I mean bring before the sense of sight.

Cratylus: Certainly

Socrates: Well, then, can I not step up to the same man again and say, "This is your name?" A name is an imitation, just as a picture is. Very well; can I not say to him, "This is your name," and then bring before his sense of hearing perhaps the imitation of himself, saying it is a man, or perhaps the imitation of the female of the human species, saying that it is a woman? Do you not believe that this is possible and sometimes happens?

Cratylus: I am willing to concede it, Socrates, and grant that you are right.

The Loeb Classical Library, Plato, Vol. VI, p. 159

Notes to Part II, Ch. 3

- 3 The Complete Works of George Gascoigne edited by John W. Cunliffe, Cambridge, 1910, The Steel Glass, p. 144
- 4 Works of Edmund Spenser,
- 5 "Le mot homme designe le male et la femelle primitivement crees unis et separees ensuite afin que l'union ait lieu face a face." Sepher Hazohar, Le livre de la Splendeur traduit par Jean de Pauly. Ernest Leroux 1906, Zohar I 49a p. 284
- 6 E.A. Borner, Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi, Berlin, 1853, Vol. II, p. 648
- 7
- 8 Lumen de Lumine or a New Magical Light, Discovered and Communicated to the World by Thomas Vaughan (Eugenius Philalethes), edited by Arthur Edward Waite, London, 1910
- 9 C.G. Jung, Wanderlungen und Symbole der Libido, 1912,  
Herbert Silberer, Problems of Mysticism and its Symbolism, New York, 1917,
- 10 Ibid., p.
- 11 Compare ibid, p.
- 12 This view on alchemy as a system of religious education purporting to bring about a genuine experience of conversion, leading its adepts on from the state of nature to the state of grace, was advanced by the American, Ethen Allen Hitchcock, "Remarks upon Alchemy and the Alchemists, indicating a method of discovery, the true nature of Hermetic Philosophy, and showing that the search after the Philosophic Stone had not for its object the discovery of an agent for transmutation of metals. Being also an attempt to rescue from ~~undue~~ undeserved approbrium the reputation of a class of Extraordinary thinkers in past ages." New York, 1863. It was again advanced by Mary Anne Atwood, in "A Suggestive Inquiry concerning the Hermetic art and Alchemy, being an attempt to recover the Ancient Experience," republished in London in 1918 from a revised copy. Compare also A.E. Waite, "The Secret Tradition in Alchemy. Its Developments and Records," Knopf, 1926. From a more modern psychological point of view it has been advanced by Herbert Silberer, "Problems of Mysticism and its Symbolism," New York, 1917.
- 13 It is well to remember, in this connection, the title of the famous mystification by the German Abbot, Johann Valentin Andreae, "The Chymical Marriage of Christian Rosencreutz," published in 1616.
- 14 Compare, for instance, August Horneffer, "Die Symbolik der Mysterienbunde," Anthroposverlag, 1924
- 15 Compare, for instance, "The Hermetic Museum, Restored and Enlarged, Now First Done into English from the Latin Original Published at Frankfort in the year 1678, Containing Twenty-two most Celebrated Chemical Tracts, Vol. II, London, 1893, pp. 200-21.

Notes to Part II, Ch. 3

- 16 Gabriel Harvey wrote about Petrarch's mercurial poetry that stood in the service of spiritual alchemy: " Petrarch's verse, a fine loover, that learneth of Mercury, to exercise his fayrest giftes in a faire subject; & teacheth Wit to be inamored upon Beautye: as Quicksilver embraseth gold; or as vertue affecteth honour; or as Astronomy gazeth upon heaven; to make Arte more excellent by contemplation of excellentest Nature. Petrarck was a delicate man, and with an elegant judgement graciously confined Love within the limits of Honour; Witt within the boundes of Discretion; Eloquence within the termes of civility ... " The Works of Gabriel Harvey, Huth Library, Vol. II, pp.92-93.
- 17 The Poems of Sir Thomas Wiat, edited from the early Mss. and early editions, A.K. Foxwell, London, University of London Press, 1913, pp. 67-76
- 18 August Horneffer, Die Symbolik der Mysterienbunde, Anthroposverlag, 1924, p. 172

Notes to Part II, Ch. 4

- 1 Eclogue January
- 2 Works of Gabriel Harvey, The Huth Library, Vol. I, p. 107
- 3 Compare the Glossary to Eclogue January
- 4
- 55 "Rosalynde, Euphues golden legacies: found after his death in his cell at Silixedra, Bequeathed to Philautus sonnes nursed up with their father in England, Fecht from the Canaries, London, 1590." By Thomas Lodge, Gent.
- 6 Chester's Love's Martyr, p. 169, "The First," poem by Ignoto
- 7 In Ben Jonson's "The Masque of Hymen" we find a poetic symbolization of the significance of the marriage ceremony based on the arcana of Roman antiquity. Hymen sings about the marriage of man and woman, as that of "two noble maids of different sex to Union sacrificed." The sacrificial union of the Phoenix and Turtle on the wood pyre is a similar symbol.
- 8 Shakespeare's Library, Lodge's Rosalynde, being the original of Shakespeare's "As You Like It," edited by W.W. Greg, p. 51
- 9 Ibid., p. 69
- 10 Ibid., p. 72
- 11 Ibid., p.72
- 12 Ibid., p. 72
- 13 Ibid., p. 81
- 14 This statement is born out and amplified in Part II, Chapter 5 of this manuscript, giving evidence that the erotic motives of ancient classical poetry were, under various symbols, an ironic Sapientia Socratica Joco-seria.

Notes to Part II, Ch. 4

- 15 Artis Amatoriae, liber tertius, lines 549-550
- 16 Shakespeare's Library, Lodge's Rosalynde, being the original of Shakespeare's "As You Like It," edited by W.W. Greg, p. 90
- 17 Ibid., p. 38
- 18 Ibid., p. 162
- 19 Antwerp, Nov. 14, 1579, "Correspondence of Sir Ph. Sidney and Hubert Longuet," ed. Pears, London, 1845, 8 Vol., p. 167
- 20
- 21 Compare Harvey's Works, The Huth Library, Vol. p.
- 22 Lytton Strachey in his work "Elizabeth and Essex" considered it a great enigma of Elizabethan literature that the Elizabethan poets and the Puritans were "fellow brothers." From a psychological point of view the Elizabethan poets were the representatives of the upper classes and the Puritans of the suppressed lower classes, but both worked towards the same end, with different means.

Notes to Part II. Ch. 5

- 1 Quincy Adams, Shakespeare Biography,
- 2 Carlton Brown, Poems of Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester, Bryn Mawr Monographs, XIV, 1913,
- 3 1601 text, Dedication,
- 4 1601 text, Introductory poems,
- 5 1601 text, p. 2
- 6
- 7 1601 text, p. 7
- 8 The Adonis myth, a myth of initiation, is one of the main themes of Elizabethan literature
- 9 1601 text, pp. 11-12
- 10 Ibid., p. 12
- 11
- 12 Compare August Horneffer, Die Symbolik der Mysterienbunde, Anthroposverlag
- 13 1601 text, p. 13
- 14 Ibid., p. 14
- 15 Ibid., p. 15

Notes to Part II, Ch. 5

- 16 Ibid., p. 15
- 17 Ibid., p. 15-16
- 18
- 19 Photograph of the fireplace in Harvey's house, in Marginalia, edited by G.C. Smith, Shakespeare Head Press, MCMXII, p. 7
- 20 Works of Gabriel Harvey, The Huth Library, Vol. 1, p. 259
- 21 1601 text, p. 17
- 22 Ibid., p. 18
- 23
- 24 Book 1, Canto 3, stanza 1
- 25 1601 text, p. 18
- 26 Ibid., p. 18
- 27 Ibid., p. 25
- 28 The question could be brought forward, were women also drawn into a direct consciousness of the mystery? It is possible but, in the author's opinion, improbable. Only in an indirect or veiled manner was the woman the Muse of original great poetry in western religious culture. The real Muse was the inexperienced male youth who was introduced into the consciousness of Eros Cosmogonos. The Phoenix in Chester's allegory is not a real woman, but a religious symbol or an eidon of womanhood in the consciousness of men. Many things said about the Phoenix are in "usum Delphini," actually referring to the young man to be mystified. Despite its reverence for womanhood, the Elizabethan age was spiritually androcentric.
- 29 1601 text p. 42
- 30 It is Merlin who gives Uter the advice to steal into Igrene's chamber in the disguise of Tintagil:
- And as Jove stole to faire Alcmenas beddy  
In counterfeiting great Amphytrio,  
By the same lust-directed line being led,  
To Ingrenes lovely chamber must you go:  
You shall be like the Duke her husbands greatnesse,  
And in his place possess her Husbands Sweetness.
- 31 1601 text, p. 51
- 32 Ibid., p. 61      33 1601 text, p. 62      34      35 1601 text, p. 76
- 36 1601 text., p. 78
- 37 Ibid., p. 78-80
- 38



Notes to Part II, Ch. 5

- 39 By Albert Le Grand, printed in 1560
- 40 1601 text, pp. 86-87
- 41 Compare Elizabethan Sonnets, edited by Sidney Lee, Vol II, Drayton's sonnets "Idea," sonnet 56, "An Allusion To the Eaglets," p. 209. In sonnet 16, "An Allusion to the Phoenix," is to be found the glorification of the phoenix. P. 189.
- 42 1601 text., p.123
- 43 Ibid., p. 123
- 44 Ibid., p. 123-24
- 45 Ibid., p.125
- 46 Ibid., p. 125
- 47 Ibid., p. 136
- 48 Ibid., p. 139
- 49 It is a happy tragedy about the "mirth in heaven, when earthly things made even, atone together," as Hymen sings in ~~xxx~~ As You Like It, after a few "convertitès" have been brought to a happy marriage.
- 50 1601 text., pp. 125-27
- 51 Ibid., p. 127  
For example,
- 52 ~~For example,~~ Nicholas Breton's collection of essays, "The Good and the Bad," dedicated to Francis Bacon, is an ~~example~~ expression of the current thought of the time.
- 53 1601 text. p. 127
- 54 Ibid., pp. 127-28
- 55 Ibid., pp. 129-30
- 56 Ibid., p. 135 misprinted 119
- 57 Ibid., p. 131
- 58 Ibid., pp. 131-32
- 59 The antinomy of the claims of the spirit which vindicates irrational love of the human soul and heart, and rational thinking, is made the philosophic theme of Shakespeare's poem "The Phoenix and Turtle."
- 60 1601 text, p. 132
- 61 Ibid., p. 132
- 62 Ibid., p. 132-33

Notes to Part II, Ch. 5

- 63 Ibid., p. 133
- 64 Ibid., p. 133
- 65 Ibid., p. 134, misprinted 118
- 66 The Works of Gabriel Harvey, The Huth Library, Vol. II, p. 79
- 67 Ibid., p. 249
- 68 Ibid., p. 250
- 69 Ibid., p. 251
- 70 Ibid., p. 254
- 71 1601 text, p. 134, mis printed 118
- 72 Carleton Brown, Bryn Mawr Monographs, XIV, 1913
- 73 1601 text, p. 136
- 74 Ibid., p. 136
- 75 Shakespeare's Sonnets CLIII and CLIV allude to the mystic fountain which cures "men diseased."
- 76 1601 text, pp. 136-37
- 77 1601 text. pp. 137-38
- 78 Ibid., p. 137
- 79 Ibid., p. 139
- 80 Ibid., p. 140
- 81 Ibid., p. 157
- 82 Ibid., pp. 142-43
- 83 Ibid., pp. 157-58
- 84 Compare Parry's Sinetes, where Salisburie's poems "Roundelays" are intentionally printed "Rounde-delay." Pages before H and before H2
- 85 ~~1601 text, p. 134~~ Cambridge History, III, pp. 232-35,
- 86
- 87 1601 text, p. 167
- 88 Ibid., p. 168
- 89 Ibid., p. 169

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- 90 Ibid., p. 173
- 91 Ibid., p. 173
- 92 Ibid., p. 174
- 93 Ibid., pp. 174-75
- 94 Ibid., pp. 175-76
- 95 Ibid., p. 176
- 96 It points to the wife, and the verses describe the feelings of a blood-warm relation to his own mate.
- 97 These two lines follow "For either our Affections do rebell:  
Or else the Sentinell,  
(That shal ring larum to the Heart) doth sleepe,
- 98
- 99 1601 text, p. 177-82
- 100 Ibid., p. 182
- 101 Ibid., pp. 182-83
- 102 Thomas Lodge alludes to her as the final outcome of the mercurial process in the following way:
- There is a thing of substance full compleate,  
Not wholly earthly, not inflam'd too much,  
Not simply watrie, though it water eate,  
Nor sharpest, nor yet dullest in the touch,  
A qualitie light felt, and apt in curing,  
And somewhat soft, and leastwise not too hard,  
Not bitter, but in tast some sweet procuring:  
Sweet smelling, much delighting mans regard.  
It feedes the eare, it amplifies the thought,  
Except to those that know it, it is nought.  
Briefly, sweet friend, I think of Alchymie,  
As erst Thucides the learned clarke,  
Defynd a woman full of honestie:  
(In plaine discourse, but not in riddles darke:)  
That woman (said the sage) is best of all,  
In whose dispraise, or praise, lesse speech is had,  
That Alchymie say I is best of all,  
Which few mens reasons can approve for bad;  
Thus much of Alchymie and thus an end,  
Though thou command not, frendly I commend.\*
- \* The Anatomie of Alchemie, Epistle 7, The Complete Works of Thomas Lodge, printed for the Hunterian Club 1883, ed. Edmund Gosse.

Notes to Part II, Ch. 5

- 103 Compare Ben Jonson's masque, "The Fortunate Isles," where we are shown the mystification of a Rosicrucian novice, Merefool. It is declared to him that the father Outis, the good old hermit, one of the brethren, is to bestow on him all he has and makes him his heir. "But the good father has been content to die for you." Masques and Entertainments by Ben Jonson, edited by Henry Morley, London, 1890, p. 348.
- 104 1601 text, p. 170
- 105 Since it has been asserted by Mr. Fairchild that by the "bird of loudest lay" another bird than the Phoenix must be understood, it is important to stress that the phrase "on the sole Arabian tree" clearly identifies the Phoenix. Mr. Fairchild arrived at this conclusion because he thought that the Phoenix was not spoken of as a bird of song. The marvelous song of the Phoenix is one of the choice passages by Lactantius, and this poem introduced the mystic esoteric tradition into Christian poetry.
- 106
- 107 Compare the Students Oxford edition of Chaucer,
- 108 Ibid.,
- 109 Elizabethan Sonnets, edited by Sideny Lee, Westminster 1904, Vol. II, p. 394, Sonnet XXVIII
- 110 Ibid., p. 407, Sonnet X
- 111 1601 text, pp. 170-71
- 112 Ibid., p. 174
- 113 Breton's Melancholike Humours, with a critical Preface by Sir Egerton Brydges Bart. K. I. Kent 1815, p. 30
- 114 The Phoenix Nest set foorth by R.S. of the Inner Temple Gent. 1593, is an anthology of similar mystifying content as our volume.
- 115 Breton's Melancholike Humours, with a critical Preface by Sir Egerton Brudges Bart. K.I. Kent 1815, p. 32
- 116 Ovid complains that Psittacus, the imitative bird of the East Indies, is dead. Many birds are invited to the funeral. Pious birds, the poet says, strike your breasts with your feathers; scratch your eyelids with your claws. (A most forceful expression to stress the ironic tears of the poet.) The poet continues: Ye birds, sing long poems. Among the birds, the Turtle especially should bewail the death of the parrot, its best friend, to whom it was what

Notes to Part II, Ch. 5

Pylades was to Orestes. The illusion to marriage as the outcome of the friendship between the poet-master and friend is here symbolized by the friendship of the parrot and the turtle. The poet mourns: How much did you, parrot surpass all the birds in colors! What a voice you had -- though your sound was stammering! (This again is an ironic hint showing the vanity and immaturity of the youth before he "died.") Envy has carried away! Loquacious you were, and a lover of peace. You were so in love with speech, that you fed even on the least trifle! You had to die, while the vulture, the jackdaw and the crow live! Your last words were, "Farewell, Cupinna!" The poet continues: There where on an Elysian hill a dark grove with green oaks stands, there is the place where unchaste birds are forbidden to come; there the innocent swans are feeding, and there lives the ever single bird, vivax phoenix. The bird of Juno, the peacock, here explains his feathers. (The peacock is the symbol ~~of~~ for the vain poet; only those initiated could understand the mythical and symbolical allusions.) In this gathering the female turtle kisses her love-sick husband. The parrot has been admitted to a ~~seat~~ seat and converts the pious birds by his sayings. On its tombstone is written: I pleased my lady. It was given to me to speak of blessed learning.\*

\* Ovid Arorum ll 6. 1-62

- 117 Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae Joco seriae  
hoc est  
Encomia et Commentaria Autorum, qua veterum, qua recentiorum prope omnium quibus res, aut pro vilibus vulgo aut damnosis habitae, styli patrocinio vindicantur, exornantur. Opus ad Mysteria Naturae discendae ad omnem amoenitatem, sapientiam, virtutem, publice privatimque utilissimum. In duos Tomos partim ex Libris editis, partum manuscriptis conjestum tributumque a Caspare Dornavio, Philos. et Medico. Ridentem dicere verum quid vetat. (Picture

Notes to Part II, Ch. 5

of Pegasus.) Hanoviae MDCXIX.

This very interesting volume contains the motives of joco-serious socratic wisdom of ancient literature and variations of these motives by scholars and poets of the Renaissance.

- 118 In reference to the esoteric symbol of the red herring, the praise of which was the theme of his joco-serious pamphlet, Nashe wrote: "Homer of rats and frogs hath herioquut it, (the red herring) other oaten pipers after him in the praise of the Gnat, the Flea, the Hazill nut, the Grashopper, the Butterflie, the Parrot; the Popinjay, Philipp sparrow, and the Cuckowe; the wantonner sort of them sing discant on their mistris glove, her ring, her fanne, her looking glasse, her pantofle, and on the same jurie I might impannell Johannes Secundus with his book of the two hundred kinde of kisses. Phylosophers come sneaking in with their paradoxes of povertie, imprisonment, death, sicknesse, banishment and baldness, and as busy as they are about the bee, the stork, the constant turtle, the horse, the dog, the ape, the asse, the fox and the ferret." \*

\*Works of Thomas Nash, edited by Mc<sup>K</sup>errow, Vol. 3, p. 176. The character and esoteric significance of Nash's "Lenten Stuff" has not been recognized.

- 119 Caspar Dornavius, *Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae Joco-seriae, Varia Passeris Encomia*, Tomus I. 461 etc. Compare for instance the poem, "Laus Passeris <sup>1</sup>ronica, Georgii Galli, p. 462  
 Multa tuam vitiant Passercule crimina vitam.  
 Hinc odii plus, quam mentis amantis habes ...  
 Adde, importunum resoni sub fornice templi  
 Clamorem: Mystes dum sacra Verba facit.
- 120 The Poetical Works of John Skelton, principally according to the edition of the Rev. Alexander Dyce, Boston, 1864, Vol. I, pp. 78-80
- 121 Ibid., p. 89
- 122 Ibid., p. 107
- 123 Ibid., p. 108
- 124 The Poems of John Donne, edited by Herbert I.C. Grierson, Clarendon Press, Oxford 1912, Vol I, p. 39

Notes to Part III

- 1 Stanza 91, line 7, The Students' Chaucer, Oxford University Press
- 2 Stanza 93, line 1, The Students' Chaucer, Oxford University Press
- 3 The Scholars Loove, or Reconcilement of Contraryes, by Gabriel Harvey, Letter-Book of Gabriel Harvey, A.D. 1573-1580, edited from the original MS Sloane 93, in the British Museum, by Edward John Long Scott, printed for the Camden Society, 1884.
- 4 Ibid., f. 61, p. 115, lines 4-7
- 5 Ibid., p. 112, lines 2-5
- 6 Ibid., l. 112, lines 6-31
- 7 Ibid., p. 112, lines 32-33
- 8 Ibid., page 115, lines 8-31
- 9 Ibid., p. 116, lines 10-27, f.61 b.
- 10 Ibid., pp. 83-84
- 11 Ibid., pp. 89-90
- 12 Ibid., pp. 87-88
- 13 Ibid., pp. 106-07
- 14 Ibid., p. 107
- 15 Ibid., pp. 116-117
- 16 Ibid., pp. 122-23
- 17 Ibid., p. 122
- 18 Ibid., p. 115
- 19 Ibid., p. 127
- 20 Ibid., p. 127
- 21 Ibid., p. 128-29
- 22 Ibid., p.
- 23 Harvey's Works, The Huth Library, Vol. 1. pp 68-69

EROS PAEDAGOGICUS  
AN APPROACH TO ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE  
AND ITS UNDERLYING TRADITIONS

Richard Firestone

(II)

Part IV



PART IV

SONNET LITERATURE

## PART IV

### SONNET LITERATURE

#### 1. ~~Petrarca~~ Quest, Sidney, Spenser, Drayton, Daniel

Though so much has been written about Laura, it has not yet been sufficiently pointed out that this poetic figure, who by some literary critics is suspected to be a phantom figure, is rooted more in the laurel tree, the symbol for the poet, and in the Daphne myth, than connected with an actual woman. The Daphne myth is the generative myth of original sonnet poetry. A man disguised with feminine veils plays a great role in this myth, as the account given by the Greek writers Pausanias and Parthenius<sup>1</sup> can convince us. The story runs that Leukippos, the son of King Onomaus, fell in love with Daphne, daughter of Amyklas. She had fled from the acquaintance of young men and had devoted herself to hunting. Chaste Artemis, whom she revered, had made her a first-class shot. Leukippos, disguised in feminine veils, succeeded in joining the company of Daphne and her nymphs. The friendship of Daphne with Leukippos aroused the jealousy of the god Apollo, who himself was in love with this chaste maiden. He put it into the minds of Daphne and her nymphs to invite the supposed virgin Leukippos to bathe with them in the Arcadian river Ladon (The Daphne myth is an Arcadian myth.) When Leukippos refused to bathe the nymphs tore off his veils, and on discovering that he was a man they slew him. Parthenius winds up the Daphne story thus: On the counsel of the gods the slain Leukippos became invisible, and instead of him Daphne perceived the god Apollo himself. The latter stepped forward to seize her, and Daphne attempted to

run away. Seeing that she could not escape from Apollo, Daphne prayed to Zeus to free her from human life. Zeus granted her wish and changed her into a laurel tree, since then holy to the god Apollo.<sup>1</sup>

Petrarch's sonnets to Laura are intimately connected with the Daphne myth and the laurel tree. The Elizabethan scholar Gabriel Harvey, gives us a very important hint how to accept the Laura fiction.<sup>2</sup> He wrote to a friend:

Thinke upon Petrarches  
Arbor vittoriosa, trionfale  
Onor d'Imperadori el di Poete

and perhaps it wyll advance upon the wynges of your Imagination a degree higher: at the least if anything can be added to the loftnesse of his conceit, whom gentle Mistresse Rosalinde once reported to have all the Intelligences at commaundement and another time, Christened her,

Signior Pegase.<sup>3</sup>

What Harvey points out here is that the "conceit" of Laura as well as of Rosalind consists therein that the 'she' is a he - a man, a poet, a Signior Pegase, an illuminated poet who in a mystic, spiritual sense has all the "intelligences at commaundement."

In the Daphne myth may be found the inscription Ecce poeta, for such it was recognized by Petrarch who translated it in a Christian sense into the symbol of the spiritual crucifixion of the poet. He called the poet Laura, in ironic feminine disguise. Petrarch, the last troubadour and first humanist, went out to bring about the realization of the spirit in life. His poetry was an ironic disguise to attract the attention of the male youth of the time to lead them on to that experience of the spirit which brings about severe Christian discipline.

Elizabethan poets, in imitation of Petrarch and the Roman poets, sang of

a cruel mistress with flinty heart who did not reward their love. The fiction of the cruel mistress was an exterior romantic erotic fiction of the age - a mere fashion of speech. The young men with whom the poets came into contact were mystified and teased or, as the expression went, "gulled," and brought to poetic exaltation. The poets befriended their young male admirers with sweet gentleness, the irony of socratic love, until the young men entered marriage or love relations. The poets then feigned to be platonic admirers of the wives or mistresses. Such sonnets were "conceits." The erotic fiction of the cruel mistress was paradoxical, ironic, facetious, clownish. While the "cruel mistress" was praised to heaven with hyperbolic and esoteric speech, the satire and irony were directed against the young husband or lover of this "cruel" mistress. The sonnets had the anagogic aim of bringing the young lover or husband to understand that the cruel one was not the woman, but the man who did not treat a woman with gentleness. The spiritualization of the young man began with the insight that the beginning of a spiritual life lies in protecting womanhood, and in keeping holy the marriage relation. From this point of view the young husbands and lovers were brought to the significance of the Christian ceremonial law. The love for the wife had to lead the husband to "adoptive christendoms," as Helena says in the comedy All's Well That Ends Well.<sup>4</sup>

In this sense should we interpret the stilted and artificial<sup>sonnets</sup>, such as those written in honor of Stella, Parthenophe, Licia, Diana, Delia, Coelia, Idea, Fidessa, Chloris, Phillis, and Laura ad infinitum. Behind the irony of the erotic romantic fiction of that age are hidden Anglo-Saxon Leukipposes.

The logic and plan of this book force us to renounce the pleasure of going into a philological inquiry into the meaning of the interesting poems of Petrarch.

Yet while we leave this poet we do not neglect him - we try to establish that broad basis of understanding on which a new interpretation of Petrarch and other great literature will become possible.

The Cambridge History of English Literature says of Stella:

Stella was Penelope, the wayward daughter of Robert Devereux, second earl of Essex, Queen Elizabeth's favourite. When she was about fourteen years old, her father destined her for Sidney's hand in marriage; but that project came to nothing. In 1581, when about nineteen, she married Robert, second lord Rich, and became the mother of a large family of children. The greater number of Sidney's sonnets were, doubtless, addressed to her after she had become lady Rich. In sonnet XXIV, Sidney plays upon her husband's name of Rich in something of the same artificial way in which Petrarch, in his sonnet V, plays upon the name of Laura his poetic mistress, who, also, was another's wife. Sidney himself married on 20 September, 1583, and lived on the best terms with his wife, who long survived him. But Sidney's poetic courtship of lady Rich was continued till near the end of his days.<sup>2</sup>

Why should Sir Philip Sidney, who had married two years later than Penelope, a man who lived on the best terms with his wife, begin his poetic courtship to Penelope after she was married and had borne to Sir Robert Rich many children? Why should he accuse Stella of cruelty and play on her husband's name? Why was the volume, Sir P.S. His Astrophel and Stella, dedicated by the editors to Sir Philip Sidney's widow? There was attached in the first edition of Sidney's volume a preface written by the talented Thomas Nashe, who seems to have been at the time ~~when~~ the sonnets appeared the most promising poetic star. Nashe had too witty and flippant a tongue to withhold what he knew. His preface has the significant title "Somewhat to read for them that list," and begins thus:

Tempus adest plausus aurea pompa venit. So ends the scene of idiots; and enter ASTROPHEL in pomp. Gentlemen that have seen

a thousand lines of folly drawn forth ex uno puncto impudentiae, and two famous mountains to go to the conception of one mouse; that have had your ears deafened with the echo of Fame's brazen towers, when only they have been touched with a leaden pen; that have seen PAN sitting in his bower of delights, and a number of MIDASES to admire this miserable hornpipes: let not your surfeited sight - newly come from such puppetplay - think scorn to turn aside into this Theatre of Pleasure: for here you shall find a paper stage strewed with pearl, an artificial heaven to overshadow the fair frame, and crystal walls to encounter your curious eyes; whiles the tragi-comedy of love is performed by starlight.

The chief actor here is MELPOMENE, whose dusky robes, dipped in the ink of tears (which) as yet seem to drop, when I view them near; the argument, cruel Chastity; the prologue, Hope, the epilogue, Despair. Videte quae so et linguis animisque favete. <sup>6</sup>

Nashe glorifies Sir Philip Sidney at the expense of Spenser whose poetic manner had begun to go out of fashion, and whom he alludes to as Pan with his puppetplay and miserable hornpipes. There can be found no better description for sonnets than the phrase that they are written ex uno puncto impudentiae. The sonnets of Sir Philip Sidney were intended to serve as a spiritual lesson to Sir Robert Rich, who seems to have resented, like many lords and gentlemen of the time, the mercurial experience which had entangled him to marry the lady Penelope. Sidney, far from being a personal lover of Lady Penelope, plays in jesting irony the knightly rival who spurs Sir Robert Rich to love Penelope as he should.

"A paper stage strewed with pearl, an artificial heaven," but crystal walls for those who are witty enough to see the irony - that is, the make-up of the sonnets where not impulsive personal feeling but the cunning dialectic of wit played the leading role. The mercurial background of the sonnets is indicated by Nashe in the following lines:

Apollo hath resigned his ivory harp unto ASTROPHEL; and he, like MERCURY, must lull you asleep with his music. Sleep ARGUE! sleep ignorance! sleep impudence! for MERCURY hath IO: and only IO Paean

belongeth to ASTROPHEL.

Dear ASTROPHEL! that in the ashes of thy love, livest again, like the Phoenix. O might thy body, as thy name, live again likewise here amongst us! ...<sup>7</sup>

Mercury and the Phoenix invariably accompany the utterances of the time. The mythological word signs are, for the sixteenth century, a psychological slang as the definitions of psychoanalysis are for our age. Thomas Nashe alludes to the revival of a new age and new literature through the mercurial mystery in the following lines with which he finishes his preface:

Such is this golden age wherein we live, and so replenished with golden asses of all sorts: that if learning had lost itself in a grove of genealogies; we need do no more but set an old goose over half a dozen pottle pots (which are, as it were, the eggs of invention) and we shall have such a breed of books, within a while after, as will fill all the world with the wild fowl of good wits.

I can tell you this is a harder thing than making gold of quicksilver; and will trouble you more than the moral of AESOP's glowworm hath troubled our English apes: who, striving to warm themselves with the flame of the philosopher's stone, have spent all their wealth, in buying bellows to blow this false fire.

Gentlemen! I fear I have too much presumed on your idle leisure; and been too bold, to stand talking all this while in another man's door: but now I will leave you to survey the pleasures of Paphos, and offer your smiles on the altars of VENUS.

Yours in all desire to please

THOMAS NASHE.<sup>8</sup>

We have already witnessed the pleasures of Paphos in the meeting of the Phoenix and the Turtle in Love's Martyr. We shall now try to analyse the smiles of Venus in Elizabethan sonnet literature. But let us first hear what Gil Fletcher has to say in "The Epistle Dedicatory to the Worshipful, kind, wise, and virtuous Lady the Lady Mollineux, wife to the right Worshipful Sir Richard Mollineux, Kinght," a lady to whom the poet had dedicated his sonnets Licia, or Poems of Love:

Now in that I have written Love Sonnets; if any man measure my affection by my style, let him say, I am in love. No great matter! For if our purest Divines have not been so, why are so many married? I mislike not that, nor I would not have them mislike this. For a man may be in love, and not marry; and yet wise: but he cannot marry and not be in love, but he a mere fool.<sup>9</sup>

Gil Fletcher like Sir Philip Sidney wrote the sonnets on behalf of the married wife as an ironic satire against the husband who is himself a fool if he is married to a loving woman and not in love. The cruel Stella, like the cruel Licia and like all cruel ladies with hearts of flint are the husbands who are thus ironically fooled and not the women. Gil Fletcher takes leave from wife and husband in the Epistle Dedicatory in the following ironic way:

But, wise and kind Lady...You are happy every way, and so reputed. Live so, and I wish so you may love long! Excuse me, favour me: and, if I love (for I loathe to admire without thankfulness) ere long it shall be known what favours I received from wise Sir Richard to whom in all kind affects I rest bound.<sup>10</sup>

The favours which the poet expects from the husband ere long are ex uno puncto impudentiae noble: he hopes the husband will requite love with love.

Now we can turn safely to Sir Philip Sidney's sonnets. The direct invective against the husband Sir Robert Rich who is not worthy of the wife he has is to be found in the two well known sonnets/where he plays with the name Rich. They read:

## XXIV

Rich Fools there be, whose base and filthy heart  
Lies hatching still the goods wherein they flow:  
And damning their own selves to Tantal's smart,  
Wealth breeding what; more blest, more wretched grow.  
Yet to those fools, heaven such wit doth impart,  
As what their hands do hold, their heads do know;  
And knowing, love and loving lay apart,  
As sacred things, far from all danger's show:  
But that rich fool, who by blind Fortune's lot,  
The richest gem of love and live enjoys;  
And can with foul abuse, such beauties blot:  
Let him deprived of sweet but unfelt joys,  
(Exiled for aye from those high treasures, which  
He knows not) grow in only folly rich! 11



## XXXVII

My mouth doth water, and my breast doth swell,  
 My tongue doth itch, my thoughts in labour be:  
 Listen then Lordings with good ear to me!  
 For of my life I must a riddle tell.

Towards AURORA'S Court, a nymph doth dwell  
 Rich in all beauties which man's eye can see:

Abuse her praise saying she doth excel.

Rich in the treasure of deserved renown.

Rich in the riches of a royal heart.

Rich in those gifts, which give th' eternal crown:

Who, though most rich in these and every part,

Which make the patents of true wordly bliss;

Hath no misfortune, but that RICH she is. 12

*Beauties so far  
 from roads of words, that*

The two sonnets are more delicate in insinuation than their rude sense seems to imply. Should we merely intend to stress our rhetorical point we could say that the first poem reviles Sir Robert Rich as a fool, while the second poem extols Lady Rich at the expense of her husband. But such an interpretation would not correspond to the delicate sonneteering spirit. The ironic satire against the initiate in spite of the tremendous invectives which are destined to bring him to self knowledge, is good natured and benevolent. The second poem seemingly in praise of Lady Rich is just as well meant as a compliment to the innate good qualities of Sir Robert Rich whose inner worth is recognized if he would only come to see where the spiritual values of life lie. This is our view which we shall be able to justify by the analysis of Shakespeare's sonnets. But no matter what the discreet spirit of Sidney's sonnets is, from a psychologic and esthetic point of view on human manners to revile the husband for not enjoying the richest gem of love and life and to complain at the same time of the cruelty of Stella (who literary critics believe was Lady Rich) towards Sidney the lover, is incompatible, especially since we know that Sidney lived happily with his wife and had not the least intention of eloping with Lady Rich. As an excuse for this illogical discrepancy we are told that the sonneteering fashion was a traditional insincere mode of speech of the age and

that Sidney had merely followed the wooden fashion of the time. This is a tremendous undervaluation of human expression in general. Even a most dilettantic poem, false in sentiment and insincere in its utterance, has a subjective significance to its author, and what we recognize as imitation centers in some inner sense, derived from other creative sources, but never in pure nonsense.

On the other side, the suggestion of speech is so strong that if we read of a cruel woman named Stella it takes a certain effort to blot out the female shape to which our imagination immediately responds. But there is to be discovered a certain method of construction in Elizabethan sonneteering which will disclose the psychology of the mystification and reveal that it can fit only a man and never a woman. The name Stella as star is the symbolic name for the male initiate and we shall show later from a passage in Shakespeare that under the 'blazing star' the initiate is unquestionably alluded to.

In, ~~fact~~ for instance, a sonnet like number XXXV and one can see that the sincerity of confession is not able to maintain the romantic disguise:

What may words say, or what may words not say;  
 Where truth itself must speak like flattery?  
 Within what bounds, can one his liking stay;  
 Where Nature doth with infinite agree?  
 What NESTOR's counsel can my flames allay,  
 Since REASON's self doth blow the coal in me?  
 And ah! what hope that hope should once see the day,  
 Where Cupid is sworn page to CHASTITY?  
 HONOUR is honoured, that thou dost possess  
 Him as thy slave; and now long needy FAME  
 Doth even grow rich naming my STELLA's name.  
 WIT learns in thee perfection to express;  
 Not thou by praise, but PRAISE in thee is raised.  
 It is a praise to praise, where thou art praised. 13

What lover of the wife of another man can confess that reason's self does blow the coal in him? What lover, who has not the least intention of marrying the beloved woman, expresses the hope to see the day when Cupid is sworn

page to chastity. The beginning of the sonnet shows that only the cunning witty expression was the problem of sonneteering. It stands on the same level with Shakespeare's sonnets to the young man, and has the same complimentary, ironic and yet sincere expression. Let us read for instance Sonnet LXXI

Who will in fairest book of Nature know  
 How virtue may best lodged in beauty be;  
 Let him but learn of love to read in thee!  
 STELLA! those fair lines which true goodness show.  
 There, shall he find all vices ' overthrow;  
 Not by rude force, but sweetest sovereignty  
 Of REASON: from whose light those night birds fly.  
 That inward sun in thine eyes shineth so.  
 And not content to be perfection's heir,  
 Thyself dost strive all minds that way to move;  
 Who mark in thee, what in thee most fair:  
 So while thy beauty draws the heart to love,  
 As fast thy virtue bends that love to good.  
 But ah! DESIRE still cries, "Give me some food!" 14

The desire which the poet expresses is for virtue, and not for love. The romantic fiction in the sonnets of Sidney is that honor bids the poet to depart from Stella. The esoteric meaning is that the poet is more glad of this than of anything. This is how romantic fiction and esoteric meaning are united in Sonnet LXXXVII:

When I was forced from STELLA ~~ever~~ dear -  
 STELLA! food of my thoughts, heart of my heart;  
 STELLA! whose eyes make all my tempests clear -  
 By iron laws of duty to depart:  
 Alas, I found that she with me did smart;  
 I saw that tears did in her eyes appear;  
 I saw that sighs, her sweetest lips did part;  
 And her sad words, my saddest sense did hear.  
 For me, I wept to see pearls scattered so;  
 I sighed her sighs; and wailed for her woe:  
 Yet swam in joy; such love in her was seen.  
 Thus while th'effect most bitter was to me,  
 And nothing than the cause more sweet could be:  
 I had been vexed, if vexed I had not been. 15

The last line is an outburst of laughter: he would have been vexed, he says, at this sad parting, if he had not been vexed that Stella's state of mind had

not make it possible to have parted long ago. There are attached to the sonnets "Other Songs of Variable Verse." The poet declares in the Fifth Song that now, since he has lost his hope, rage rules his pen, and he will begin to blame her whom he has raised to honor:

\*\*\*  
 Now child! a lesson new you shall begin to spell.  
 Sweet babes must babies have, but shrewd girls must be beaten.

We know that Lady Rich had borne to Sir Robert Rich many children. Women are sweet babes; if they love, their love means the getting of babies. Stella (Mr. Rich who has become the faithful husband and has turned away from his friend Sidney) is given for the pretended unkindness to the poet a thundering lesson: he is the shrewd girl. How nonsensical to assume that Sir Philip Sidney, even by way of a metaphor, would dare to address himself to a married lady to tell her that he would beat her. He calls Stella a thief, a murderer, a tyrant, a rebel, a runaway, a witch and a devil. He ends the Fifth Song:

You then ungrateful Thief! you murdering Tyrant you!  
 You Rebel! Runaway! to Lord and Lady untrue.  
 You Witch. you Devil! Alas, you still of me beloved!  
 You see what I can say. Mend yet your forward mind!  
 And such skill in my Muse you, reconciled, shall find;  
 That by these cruel words, your praises shall be proved. 16

The dear enmity between Sir Philip Sidney and Sir Robert Rich is the inner theme of the sonnets addressed to Stella. It was a spiritual fight of two men against each other, which had aroused the amiable and somewhat ~~effeminate~~ effeminate courtier, Sir Robert Rich, to manly anger, an effect which Sidney set out to produce. ~~XX~~

But let us continue our Petrarcha quest, for whatever poet we name, it is the original creator on whose works we are throwing light. In Edmund Spenser's sonnets Amoretti, we find again that male youth for whose instruction the sonnets were written. Sonnet XXXIII is addressed by name to his friend Lodowick

Briskett, and is, according to Sidney Lee, "an apology for the poet's delay in completing his Faery Queen." <sup>17</sup> 18 Let us examine the content of this sonnet:

Great wrong I do, I can it not deny,  
 To that most sacred Empress, my dear dread,  
 Not finishing her Queen of Faery,  
 That mote enlarge her living praises, dead.  
 But Lodwick, this of grace to me ahead;  
 Do ye not think th' accomplishment of it  
 Sufficient work for one man's simple head,  
 All were it, as the rest, but rudely writ?  
 How then should I, without another wit,  
 Think ever to endure so tedious toil!  
 Sith that this one is toss'd with troublous fit  
 Of a proud love, that doth my spirit spoil.  
 Cease then, till she vouchsafe to grant me rest;  
 Or lend you me another living breast. <sup>19</sup> 19

This is not a mere excuse for not finishing the Faery Queen. The Queen of Faery is Spenser's allegoric spiritual report of the mercurial mystery into which he had been initiated. The poet admonishes his young friend to <sup>18</sup> led him a living breast: that is, to cease with his proud love and to requit love with love in that spirit in which the Faery Queen <sup>19</sup> ought to be written. If Sidney's knightly and vigorously youthful spirit was still able to give life to the imagined feminine shape of Stella, Spenser's moralistic and allegoric mind was hardly able to infuse into his sonnets any feminine delicacy of feeling which Petrarch had so richly inherited from the troubadour tradition. His is a neo-platonic rendering of the tenets of male consciousness seasoned, of course, by the innate humor and irony of the cunning theme. What the next generation thought of this theme of love can be guessed from the lines of Beaumont in his Epistla to the daughter of Sir Philip Sidney, the Countess of Rutland:

Let others well resolved to end their days,  
 With a loud laughter blown beyond the seas,  
 Let such write love to you: I would not wittingly  
 Be pointed at in every company  
 As was that little tailor, who till death  
 Was hot in love with Queen Elizabeth. <sup>20</sup> 19

Edmund Spenser, the son of a clothier, whose mother's name was Elizabeth, as he tells us in his sonnets, and whose wife's name is supposed to have been Elizabeth, had glorified the ironic dionysic theme of his poetry by flatteringly referring his mercurial Faery Queen motif to Queen Elizabeth whose favor he had tried to win. How seriously meant the love theme of Spenser comes out from the lines of Beaumont. The love sonnets were written with a "loud laughter blown beyond the seas", yet also with a spiritual and moral passion which transcended by far the subsequent epochs of literary creation. The sonnets accompanied the spiritual development of resignation of the initiated, 'bitterly' married bond fellows. There is no better example for it than Spenser's Amoretti which critics thought to have been written to please his bride Elizabeth. This name recurs once in the sonnets (as in the Shepherd's Calendar) and stands most probably for the beloved woman who is behind the triangular tragi-comedy of love. But any reader who has a psychological ear to distinguish the expression of a sincere love sentiment addressed to a woman from a feigned ironic expression can easily find out for himself that Spenser's friend Lodowick Briskett, addressed in the same way as Shakespeare's "sweet boy" (lend you me another living breast), is the subject of the sonnets from the beginning to the end.

Once we have the key, there is no better preparation for the understanding of Shakespeare's sonnets than to read Spenser. For the Amoretti are a paradigmatic school example of Elizabethan sonneteering since Spenser, compared to his greater contemporaries, was merely a witty, ironic dionysic schoolmaster. Nowhere can there be better seen the moral intention of the ironic frame. No mystifying irregularity, nor extravagance in imagination and speech disturbs the regular veiled order which is de rigueur. The argument, cruel chastity; the prologue, hope; the epilogue, despair: the arrangement fits like a glove.

One of the main ironic motives of sonnet literature is the beauty of the beloved cruel woman. Of course it is the privilege of the fair sex to be proud of their beauty. The vanity of women is the vanity of nature itself. But what hinders the superindividual spiritual consciousness of man is his being enamoured of his own exterior and inner excellence: just the vanity which hinders him from loving. The complete extirpation of this vanity is the moral aim of the ironic compliment on the beauty of the cruel woman. The "laughter blown beyond the sea" with which Shakespeare wrote his compliments on the beauty of his sweet boy will soon become apparent. Shakespeare insinuated these compliments with such utmost skill of poetic feigning that for more than three centuries readers believed him to be sincere. Spenser makes out of this ironic motif a schoolmasterly lesson, where he says straightforwardly what Shakespeare hid in the wrinkles of his hardly perceptible smile. Witness Spenser's Sonnet LXXIX:

Men call you fair, and you do credit it,  
 For that yourself ye daily such do see:  
 But the true fair, that is the gentle wit,  
 And virtuous mind, is much more praised of me:  
 For all the rest, however fair it be,  
 Shall turn to naught and lose that glorious hue;  
 But only that is permanent and free  
 From frail corruption, that doth flesh ensue.  
 That is true beauty; that doth argue you  
 To be divine, and born of heavenly seed;-  
 Deriv'd from that fair Spirit, from whom all true  
 And perfect beauty did at first proceed:  
     He only fair, and what He fair hath made;  
     All other fair, like flowers, untimely fade. 21 20

This is addressed to the mercurial initiate Mr. Lodowick Briskett. ~~xxx~~

~~Spenser's Sonnet LXXIX is addressed to the mercurial initiate Mr. Lodowick Briskett, who confesses of himself~~

~~"I heard my father say, I heard my mother sing, I heard my child cry, I heard my dog bark, I heard my cat mew, I heard my horse neigh, I heard my cow bellow, I heard my sheep bleat, I heard my hen cluck, I heard my pig grunt, I heard my dog bark, I heard my cat mew, I heard my horse neigh, I heard my cow bellow, I heard my sheep bleat, I heard my hen cluck, I heard my pig grunt." The~~  
 sonnet preaches male wisdom to a "she-fool." 22 21

Here we quote Sonnet X to show how impossible it is merely from the context of the words to imagine the physiognomy of a woman:

Unrighteous lord of love, what law is this,  
 That me thou makest thus tormented be,  
 The whiles she lordeth in licentious bliss  
 Of her freewill, scorning both thee and me?  
 See! how the tyranness doth joy to see  
 The huge massacres which her eyes do make;  
 And humbled hearts brings captive unto thee,  
 That thou of them mayst mighty vengeance take,  
 But her proud heart do thou a little shake,  
 And that high look, with which she doth control  
 All this world's pride, bow to a baser make;  
 And all her faults in thy black book enroll:  
 That I may laugh at her in equal sort,  
 As she doth laugh at me, and makes my pain her sport. 23 22

The feminine pronoun here makes the poem in gesture, tone and human manner, absurd and grotesque. But it comes to sense if we replace the inner situation which is the entity to this sonneteering expression. The poet brings by way of ironic speech the plea to the mercurial initiate to submit to the love of the woman with whom he became entangled through the mercurial mystery and whose love he resists because the affair was brought to him against his free will. The angry eyes with which he disdains to love is often stressed in sonnets. The prediction of the humiliation of his pride and of the laughter of the master when the initiate has submitted to love is also invariably found. The sonnets end, as usual, with the ironic expression of despair that the beloved cruel woman has gone. Sonnet LXXXVII reads:

Since I have lack'd the comfort of that light,  
 The which was wont to lead my thoughts astray;  
 I wander as in darkness of the night,  
 Afraid of every danger's least dismay.  
 Ne aught I see, though in the clearest day,  
 When other gaze upon their shadows vain,  
 But th'only image of that heavenly ray,  
 Whereof some glance doth in mine eye remain.  
 Of which beholding the Idaea plain,  
 Through contemplation of my purest part,  
 With light thereof I do myself sustain,  
 And thereon feed my love-affamish'd heart:  
 But, with such brightness whilst I fill my mind,  
 I starve my body, and mine eyes do blind. 24 23



The initiate is considered after the separation has come about, as the idea of the master's own self. But the poet does not forget to remind him how imperfect is the realization of this idea. He has to blind his eyes not to see these imperfections. We could quote Spenser's sonnets line by line to prove our thesis, but we think that we have so securely laid the foundations for understanding them that the reader will be able to follow them himself.

The poet Michael Drayton had given the title Idea to his sonnets. To imagine that the poet was in love with a woman whom he called, poetically, Idea, is ridiculous. The Pythagorean and platonic discipline of the soul brought about through the mercurial mystery is here interestingly illustrated through philosophic tenets and explanations of mercurial symbols. The triangular mercurial relation destined to bring about the loss of the beloved idea is here very wittily and sarcastically pointed out in Sonnet XXI:

A Witless Gallant, a young wench that wooed,  
 (Yet his dull spirit, her not one jot could move),  
 Intreated me, as e'er I wished his good,  
 To write him but one Sonnet to his Love.  
 When I, as fast as e'er my pen could trot,  
 Poured out what first from quick Invention came;  
 Nor never stood one word thereof to blot:  
 Much like his wit, that was to use the same.  
 But with my verses, he his Mistress won;  
 Who doated on the dolt beyond all measure.  
 But see! For you, to heaven for phrase I run,  
 And ransack all APOLLO's golden treasure!  
 Yet by my froth, this Fool, his Love obtains;  
 And I lose you, for all my wit and pains! 25 a y

The reader is invited to read Sonnet XVI, an allusion to the phoenix; Sonnet LVI, an allusion to the eaglets, two mercurial symbols for the initiate. But we must quote one sonnet in full because it exaggerates and brings to light one point which is treated with tender irony by Shakespeare. The sonneteering poet usually represents himself as being old. Forty years is the mythical age for the attainment of spiritual male wisdom. The initiate is addressed and admired as being very young. Nothing more is desired by the poet than that the

beloved should in the shortest time attain the wisdom of old age. Drayton expresses it in the following way in Sonnet VIII of Idea:

There's nothing grieve me, but that Age should haste,  
 That in my days, I may not see the old!  
 That where those two clear sparkling Eyes are placed,  
 Only two loopholes, then I might behold!  
 That lovely arched ivory-polished Brow  
 Defaced with wrinkles, that I might but see!  
 Thy dainty Hair, so curled and crisped now,  
 Like grizzled moss upon some aged tree!  
 Thy Cheek, now flush with roses, sunk and lean!  
 Thy Lips, with age as any wafer thin!  
 Thy pearly Teeth, out of thy head so clean,  
 That when thou feed'st, thy Nose shall touch thy Chin;  
 These Lines that now scornst, which should delight thee:  
 Then would I make thee read, but to despise thee! 26 25-

We must now devote our special attention to Samuel Daniel's sonnets Delia and the "Complaint of Rosamund" attached to them because these poems seem to be in closer connection with Shakespeare than has been thought. "In composing his cycle Shakespeare drew inspiration chiefly from the Delia collection with the Complaint of Rosamund, a poem which served as model to Lucrece," writes Quincy Adams in his Life of Shakespeare.<sup>27 26</sup> For the connection seems to have been not only literary as it has been recognized, but also biographical. The name Delia centers like the name Laura in the ironic Apollinic myth of the spiritual consciousness of the poet. The inner meaning of Daniel's sonnets is best seen in the poem attached to the, "The Complaints of Rosamond." In spite of the intensive research work done in behalf of Shakespeare's sonnets, one thing has remained unnoticed which could have served as the key to the inner conflict which animates them. Shakespeare's sonnets had appeared in 1609 with "A Lover's Complaint" attached to them. As we shall see, "A Lover's Complaint" is the psychological key for the secret dramatic conflict in the sonnets. This method of attaching an epic poem which, in a different disguise, hid the same esoteric motif as the sonnets was not a new one. Gil Fletcher had added to his

sonnets Licia or Poems of Love the epic poem "The Rising to the crown of Richard The Third;" Thomas Lodge had annexed to his lyric cycle "Phyllis Honoured with Pastorall Sonnets, Elegies and Amorous Delights;" "The Tragical Complaynt of Elstred;" and the poet Samuel Daniel who had influenced in literary form the sonnets of Shakespeare had added to his Delia "The Complaint of Rosamond." We see that thus the addition of complaints or woeful tales to sonnets of Elizabethan literature is embedded, if not in sure literary tradition, at least in a literary custom of the age.

The esoteric and ironic content of Complaints in Elizabethan literature is best studied in Spenser. We choose for an example Spenser's Complaint "Virgil's Gnat" which had appeared after the death of the Earl of Leicester, but which, as the dedication reads, was "long since dedicated to the most excellent Lord, The Earl of Leicester, late deceased 1591." From the following prefatory poem to "Virgil's Gnat" it is first to be seen that at least the smaller poetry of the age had grown out of the private relation of the poets to their patrons and friends which had for its aim not the publication, but the moral zeal for the spiritual elevation of the private persons addressed. From what follows it can be safely assumed that Spenser ~~had sent this poem to Lord Leicester during his lifetime~~ had sent this poem to Lord Leicester during his lifetime; secondly, that Spenser's Complaint stands on the same spiritual level as the sonnets of the age; thirdly, that it deals in veiled expression with the esoteric experience between Spenser and Lord Leicester. The prefatory poem reads:

Wrong'd, yet not daring to express my pain,  
 To you (great Lord) the causer of my care,  
 In cloudy tears my case I thus complain,  
 Unto yourself that only privy are.  
 But if that any Oedipus unaware  
 Shall chance through power of some divining spright,  
 To read the secret of this riddle rare,  
 And know the purport of my evil plight;  
 Let him be pleased with his own insight,  
 Ne further seek to gloss upon the text:  
 For grief enought it is to griev'd wight,  
 To feel his fault and not be further vex'd  
 But what so by myself may not be shown,  
 May by this Gnat's complaint be easily known. 27

The 'care' caused by Lord Leicester to Spenser is the same care caused by cruel ladies with flinty hearts of which we hear so much in sonnets and other lyric expressions of the age. The parabolic argument of "Virgil's Gnat" is in short as follows: A shepherd who had fallen asleep in the woods is in danger of being stung by a poisonous adder. A gnat, to save the life of the shepherd, infixes its little needl<sup>e</sup> into the half open eyel<sup>ids</sup> of the shepherd and awakens him. The shepherd start<sup>ing</sup> up kills the gnat with one stroke and, becoming aware of the snake, escapes the danger by slaying it. When the shepherd goes to sleep at night the ghost of the gnat appears to him and complains that it has lost its own life for its zeal to save the shepherd. There follows a very learned account of the gnat's experience in the acherontic world. The sonneteering plea towards the Earl of Leicester hides itself carefully through mythological allusion. But here and there it comes to the surface in some passages, where he speaks of Orpheus and Euridike, for example (stanzas 57,58,59,60), and emerges clearly in stanza 79:

Me therefore thus the cruel fiend of hell  
Girt with long snakes and thousand iron chains,  
Through doom of that their cruel Judge compel  
With bitter torture and impatient pains,  
Cause of my death and just complaint to tell.  
For<sup>th</sup>ou art he, whom my poor ghost complains  
To be the author of her ill unwares,  
That careless hear'st my intolerable cares.

The shepherd now erects a tomb in thankful memory of the gnat which had stung both his eyes, that is, brought him to the bitter experience of illumination, <sup>where</sup> and on the tomb/all kinds of flowers and garden plants grow tended by his care (the laurel tree and Narcissus are not forgotten) is an inscription:

To thee, small Gnat in lieu of his life saved,  
The Shepherd hath thy death's record engraved.

Samuel Daniel tells in the "Complaint of Rosamond" how a ghost came from the terror of the underworld to complain of the tortures endured. Rosamond - for

it is her ghost - suffers on account of her sins in life and she cannot return to the Elysium fields until a soul expresses sighs of love, an ironic hint at Delia, the initiate, who is to be moved. She tells the poet the woeful story of her life:

Delia may hap to deigne to read our story  
 And offer up her sighs among the rest,  
 Whose merit would suffice for both our glory,  
 Whereby thou might'st be graced and I be blest,  
 That indulgence would profit me the best.  
 Such powre she hath by whom thy youth is led,  
 To joy the living and to bless the dead.

So I (through Beauty) made the wofull'st wight,  
 By beauty might have comfort after death:  
 That dying fairest, by the fairest might  
 Find life above on earth and rest beneath.  
 She that can bless us with one happy breath,  
 Give comfort to thy muse to doe her best,  
 That thereby thou mayst joy, and I might rest.<sup>28</sup>

We see how Rosamond's bliss is conditioned by Delia's consent to love, and we shall presently see that Delia and Rosamond is the same fictitious person for the initiate. Rosamond was born of honest parents and had a happy youth in the country where she lived the innocent life of a country maid. It is one and the same country maid who recurs so often as a symbol for the inexperienced novice. But her friends sought to raise her honour to a higher place and therefore brought her to court. Here she was told that she had the power to make the winter green (again a symbol for the rejuvenation in the mercurial mystery) and she will become the envy of women and a marvel among men. Henry II who had come back from his wars in France (perhaps ~~it~~ alludes to Daniel's return from France) fell hotly in love with her and sought by all means to undermine the virtue of her youth. An old matron gave her the wicked advice to consider her material weal and to yield to the king's desire.

Thus wrought to sinne, soone was I train'd from Court,  
 T'a sollitarie Grange, there to attend  
 The time the King should thither make resort,  
 Where he loves long-desired worke should end.  
 Thither he daily messages doth send,  
 With costly Jewels (Orators of Love,)
 Which (ah, too well men know) doe women move.

The day before the night of my defeature,  
 He greetes me with a Casket rightly wrought;  
 So rare, that Arte did seeme to strive with Nature,  
 T'expresse the cunning Worke-mans curious thought;  
 The mysteries whereof I prying sought,  
 And found engraven on the lid above,  
 Anyone, how she with Neptune strove. 29

This motif in its exterior frame, to be believed only by a simple-minded servant girl of the Elizabethan times, is a symbolization of the state of inversion to which the initiate was brought "to his end." "Anyone, how she with Neptune strove," is probably a mystically written book intending to bring the novice to confusion. The strife of Aymone with Neptune, refers to the vain attempt of the novice to find out the thought of the book, for esoteric books were intentionally confusing.

Rosamond then lived in repentance of her sin in a palace of which the following is told:

A stately Pallace he forthwith did build,  
 Whose intricate innumerable wayes  
 With such confused errours, beguilde  
 Th' unguided Entrers, with uncertaine strayes,  
 And doubtful turnings, kept them in delays;  
 With bootlesse labor leading them about,  
 Able to finde no way, nor in, nor out.

Within the closed bosome of which frame,  
 That serv'd a Centre to that goodly Round,  
 Were lodgings, with a Garden to the fame,  
 With sweetest flowers that ev'r adorn'd the ground,  
 And all the pleasures that delight hath found,  
 T' entertaine the sense of wanton eies;  
 Fuell of Love, from whence lusts flames arise.

.....

None but the King might come into the place,  
 With certaine Maides that did attend my neede,  
 And he himselve came guided by a thread. 30

There can be found no better convincing passage for the esoteric meaning of this poem. Has any king ever built such a palace for his mistress? The whole refers to the labyrinth of the mystery into which the soul of the initiate is thrown. The "frame that served a center" where there was a garden of delights refers to a system of mystification for which the master and the initiated had the key. Here Rosamond lived in discontented retirement:

What greater torment ever could have beene,  
Then to inforce the faire to live retir'd?  
For what is beauty if it bee not seene?  
Of what is't to be seene is not admir'd?

Witnesse the fairest streetes that Thames doth visit,  
The wondrous concourse of the glittering Faire:  
For that rare woman deckt with beauty is it,  
That thither covets not to make repaire?  
The sollitary Countrey may not stay her,  
Here is the centre of all beauties best,  
Excepting Delia, left t'adorne the West. 31

Notice the clever stroke which Daniel makes here. Delia left to adorne the west is the initiate who lives with a divided soul in pride, sorrow and shame, retired from the world and embittered towards her with whom he is united. This is the westward course of his mystic experience. He lets his talents rot, and yet he longs for nothing more than to show them. Daniel whets the desire of the initiate to get out of this state, to unify himself, to let his light shine, to rise in the spiritual east.

The story of Rosamond ends with the report of how the legitimate queen had heard of the illicit love of Rosamond and in the absence of the king had invaded the palace and forced Rosamond to drink poison. While she is dying the king enters and takes tender leave of her. He promises:

Yet ere I die, thus much my soule doth vow,  
Revenge shall sweeten death with ease of minde:  
And I will cause Posterity shall know,  
How faire thou wert about all women kinde;  
And after-Ages Monuments shall finde,  
Shewing thy beauties title, not thy name, 32  
Rose of the world, that sweetened to the same.

The intention of this part of the story is to show the spiritual death and separation from the king. The promise of future fame for Rosamond refers to the creative work to be done by the initiate. She tells how she was interred at Godstow, and ends her story with reference to Delia:

But here an end, I may no longer stay,  
 I must returne t'attend at Stygian flood:  
 Yet ere I goe, this one word more I pray,  
 Tell Delia, now her sigh may doe me good,  
 And will her note the frailtie of our blood.  
 Then if I passe unto those happy bankes,  
 Then she must have her prise, thy Pen her thankses.<sup>33</sup>

The "Complaint of Rosamond" has in its exterior pathos the declamation against illicit love. Cruel Delia should learn from this story to listen to the plea for love of her lover. The inner connection comes to sense only through the fact that cruel Delia is a young man who lives in illegitimate love with a woman, the relation to whom he is admonished to make legitimate.



## PART IV

### SONNET LITERATURE

#### 2. Shakespeare's Sonnets

We turn now to the interpretation of Shakespeare's Sonnets and "A Lover's Complaint." We trust that the focus of our thesis is of a nature that it can enlighten an infinite number of literary facts of the literature of western civilization and we hope that scholars will continue the research work from our point of view. [Much/<sup>study</sup>will have to ~~be~~ be done to give a full interpretation of many of the lines. Here we are simply doing the preparatory work: cleaning the rust from the key to the enigma.] *Reader: Please note*

There is, properly speaking, no poetic motive here which cannot be traced back to the sonnet literature which preceded it. Shakespeare's merit consisted in refining the cumbersome and obscure allusions into limpid irony and discreet humor and to veil it at the same time, through his fictitious introduction of a suffering lover. He had done away ~~the~~ with the threadworn veil of Petrarch's tradition because it had hindered his deep sense for psychologic truth and his innate dramatic instincts.

The content of the sonnets is the plea of the poet to a young man on behalf of a woman who loves the latter. The young man stands in a spiritual relation to the poet; the erotic entanglement with the woman seems to have come about following the psychic mechanism of "original mating."<sup>1</sup> In a state of inversion brought about through the intercourse with the poet, the young man had sought protection in the arms of this woman. Then, having recovered from his "fantastic fit," his soul is divided. He both resents the deed of

his master and denies his love to the woman. The poet intercedes with his sonnets, trying to bring about a conciliation in that sense that the young man transfers his false directed love from his spiritual father to his own wife. The aim of the sonnets is the spiritual conversion of the young man, out of the original experience of the mystic triangle, which, from the time of Petrarch to Shakespeare, had found its literary expression through erotic, mythological and religious symbols. The expression of Shakespeare's sonnets is, according to esoteric tradition, ironic and alusive, purporting to challenge, provoke, and bring about the male consciousness and male conscience of the young man.

To understand the sonnets we must realize that, following the spiritual tradition of mercurial art and the poetic use of his age, Shakespeare interchanges the masculine and feminine pronoun "he" and "she," whenever psychological reasons force him to do so. He plays with the mercurial conceptions black and white, implying that the fair young Narcissus or Ganymede is black in his heart, whereas the black-haired lady who loves this Narcissus hopelessly, is white and fair. With irony he praises the beauty of the young man and is chaste and reticent about the fairness and kindness of the loving woman. These are the veils with which he has successfully hidden from the view of the profane a strictly private spiritual affair.

The best approach to the understanding of the dramatic conflict which animates the sonnets is the poem "A Lover's Complaint," which is artistically connected with them and which pictures the underlying real situation and characterizes the lovers and the relation of the poet to them.

From a hill the poet hears the voice and echo of a plaintive tone coming up from a vale near a river. He spies a maiden reading and tearing love letters and throwing the keepsakes of an unhappy love into the river. Looking

at her one could discover:

The carcass of a beauty spent and done:  
 Time had not scythed all that youth begun,  
 Nor youth all quit; but, in spite of heaven's fell rage,  
 Some beauty peep'd through lattice of sear'd age.<sup>2</sup>  
 (lines 10-15)

As she stood there complaining,

A reverend man that grazed his cattle nigh-  
 Sometime a blusterer, that the ruffle knew  
 Of court, of city, and had let go by  
 The swiftest hours, observed as they flew-  
 Towards this afflicted fancy fastly drew;  
 And privileged by age, desires to know  
 In brief the grounds and motives of her woe.  
 (lines 57-63)

In genuine Shakespearian swift masquerade, the poet transforms himself into an objective listener. The reverend father is undoubtedly the poet himself - "a blusterer, that the ruffle knew of court, of city." The maiden begins her woeful tale:

'Father' she says, 'though in me you behold  
 The injury of many a blasting hour,  
 Let it not tell your judgement I am old;  
 Not age, but sorrow, over me hath power:  
 I might as yet have been a spreading flower,  
 Fresh to myself, if I had self-applied  
 Love to myself, and to no love beside.'  
 (lines 71-77)

In the last three lines lie the pathetic accent of the tale: not self-love, but true love had made her unhappy. The poet now becomes the pitiless revenger in the description of the young man with whom she had fallen in love. With tragic irony he outlines the outer and inner features of the man with whom an immaculately perfect woman, a female saint of the spirit of man, can fall in love.

'But, woe is me! too early I attended  
 A youthful suit - it was to gain my grace -  
 Of one by nature's outwards so commended,  
 That maidens' eyes stuck over all his face:  
 Love lack'd a dwelling and made him her place;  
 And when in his fair parts she did abide,  
 She was new lodged and newly deified.

'His browny locks did hang in crooked curls;  
 And every light occasion of the wind  
 Upon his lips their silken parcels hurls.  
 What's sweet to do, to do will aptly find:  
 Each eye that saw him did enchant the mind;  
 For on his visage was in little drawn  
 What largeness thinks in Paradise was sawn.

'Small show of man was yet upon his chin;  
 His phoenix down began but to appear,  
 Like unshorn velvet, on that termless skin,  
 Whose bare out-bragged the web it seem'd to wear:  
 Yet show'd his visage by that cost more dear;  
 And nice affections wavering stood in doubt  
 If best it were as it was, or best without.

'His qualities were beauteous as his form,  
 For maiden-tongued he was, and thereof free;  
 Yet, if men moved him, was he such a storm  
 As oft 'twixt May and April is to see.  
 When winds breathe sweet, unruly though they be,  
 His rudeness so with his authorized youth  
 Did livery falseness in a pride of truth.'  
 (lines 78-105)

His lack of self-control, his show of outer strength and inner weakness is given in the symbolic description of this man as a rider.

'Well could he ride, and often men would say,  
 "That horse his mettle from his rider takes:  
 Proud of subjection, noble by the sway,  
 What rounds, what bounds, what course, what stop he makes  
 And controversy hence a question takes,  
 Whether the horse by him became his deed,  
 Or he his manage by the well-doing steed.'  
 (lines 106-112)

The female desire for ornamentation of his personality, excused by his beloved, is shown by the poet as being essential to his femininity:

'But quickly on this side the verdict went:  
 His real habitude gave life and grace  
 To appertainings and to ornament,  
 Accomplish'd in himself, not in his case:  
 All aids, themselves made fairer by their place,  
 Came for additions; yet their purposed trim  
 Pierced not his grace, but were graced by him.'  
 (lines 113-119)

He had a strong intellect, it is true, but steeped in self-will and vanity: the enchanter, the causeur, the esthete.

'So on the tip of his subduing tongue,  
All kinds of arguments and questions deep,  
All replication prompt and reason strong,  
For his advantage still did wake and sleep:  
To make the weeper laugh, the laughter weep,  
He had the dialect and different skill,  
Catching all passions in his craft of will;

'That he did in the general bosom reign,  
Of young, of old, and sexes both enchanted,  
To dwell with him in thoughts, or to remain  
In personal duty, following where he haunted:  
Consents bewitch'd, ere He desire, have granted,  
And dialogued for him what he would say,  
Ask'd their own wills and made their wills obey.'  
(lines 120-133)

There is no female sphinx. Thereinly sphinx is the feminine man. Shakespeare's dialectical tongue, disciplined by heavenly alchemy, makes this sphinx jump into the abyss by scanning his verses with the word "Man." The poor maiden "threw her affections in his charmed power, reserved the stalk and gave him all her flower." In spite of her better knowledge of his character ~~she~~ she could not help being in love with him. She had seen with her own eyes "this false jewel." She was witness of his destructive power; she knew him to be untrue; she saw how deceits were gilded in his smile; she shielded herself in safe distance and honor; but ~~she~~ could she withstand when he approached her thus?

....."Gentle maid,  
Have of my suffering youth some feeling pity,  
And be not of my holy vows afraid:  
That's to ye sworn to none was ever said;  
For feasts of love I have been call'd unto,  
Till now did ne'er invite, nor never woo?"  
(lines 177-182)

How the young man had come to suffering to approach her thus is not told by the poet. The young man merely boasts before her of all the trophies of hot affections which he had received from lovers: gems and jewels,

"And deep-brained sonnets that did amplify  
Each stone's dear nature, worth and quality."  
(Lines 209-210)

It seems that these deep-brained sonnets had had a purgative effect on him, for he offers to her all the trophies of his love:

"Lo, all these trophies of affections hot,  
Of pensived and subdued desires the tender,  
Nature hath charged me that I hoard them not,  
But yield them up where I myself must render,  
This is, to you, my origin and ender;  
For these, of force, must your oblations be,  
Since I their altar, you enpatron me."  
(lines 218-224)

He proceeds to tell her how he had seduced a holy nun and had made her a harlot:

"Lo, this device was sent me from a nun,  
Or sister sanctified, of holiest note;  
Which late her noble suit in court did shun,  
Whose rarest havings made the blossoms dote;  
For she was sought by spirits of richest coat,  
But kept cold distance, and did thence remove,  
To spend her living in eternal love.

"But, O my sweet, what labour id't to leave  
The thing we have not, mastering what not strives,  
Playing the place which did no form receive,  
Playing patient sports in unconstrained gyves?  
She that her fame so to herself contrives,  
The scars of battle 'scapeth by the flight,  
And makes her absence valient, not her might.

"O, pardon me, in that my boast is true:  
The accident which brought me to her eye  
Upon the moment did her force subdue,  
And now she would the caged cloister fly:  
Religious love put out Religion's eye:  
Not to be tempted, would she be immured,  
And now, to tempt all, liberty procured."  
(lines 232-252)

The nun who became a harlot through him is a transfiguration of the dionysic mercurial master, who stands "Jenseits von Gut und Boese" and can allow himself to be compared to both the chaste and unchaste type of humanity. "Religious love put out Religion's eye," is the reproach which we hear also at the end of the sonnets:

And, to enlighten thee, gave eyes to blindness,  
Or made them swear against the thing they see.  
(Sonnet CLII)

The young man then goes on to praise love, which is a potential force breaking down all the barriers. After he had thus expressed his love suit he begins to weep in a way similar to the mournful tattle in Love's Martyr.

'This said, his watery eyes he did dismount,  
Whose sights till then were levell'd on my face;  
Each cheek a river running from a fount  
With brinish current downward flow'd apace:  
O, how the channel to the stream gave grace!  
Who glazed with crystal gate the glowing roses  
The flame through water which their hue encloses.'

Seeing him weep she was filled with the pity which the phoenix had towards the turtle:

'Oh father, what a hell of witchcraft lies  
In the small orb of one particular tear!  
But with the inundation of the eyes  
What rocky heart to water will not wear?  
What breast so cold that is not warmed here!  
O cleft effect! cold modesty, hot wrath,  
Both fire from hence and chill extincture hath.'

'For, lo, his passion, but an art of craft,  
Even there resolved my reason into tears;  
There my white stole of chastity I daff'd,  
Shook off my sober guards and civil fears;  
Appear to him, as he to me appears,  
All melting; though our drops this difference bore,  
His poison'd me, and mine did him restore.' (lines 288-301)

"His poison'd me, and mine did him restore." This line is a theme with ~~the~~ which Shakespeare's sonnets end. We read in Sonnet ~~XXXX~~ CLIV that a votares of chaste Diana had taken up the firebrand of Cupid who had fallen asleep, and

had quenched it in a cool well nearby,

Which from Love's sire took heat perpetual,  
 Growing a bath and heathful remedy  
 For men diseas'd; but I, my mistress' thrall,  
 Came there for cure, and this by that I prove,  
 Love's fire heats water, water cools not love.

According to Elizabethan sonnet tradition, Shakespeare's Sonnets and "A Lover's Complaint" end there where the initiate must feel his blackest guilt. He has been restored by love, but he has not paid it back to her to whom he owes love. The reproach against his character grows more vehement with the last stanzas:

'In him a plentitude of subtle matter,  
 Applied to cautels, all strange forms receives,  
 Of burning blushes, or of weeping water,  
 Or swoounding paleness: and he takes and leaves,  
 To blush at speeches rank, to weep at woes,  
 Or to turn white and swound at tragic shows:

'That not a heart which in his level came  
 Could 'scape the hail of his all-hurting aim,  
 Showing fair nature is both kind and tame;  
 And, veil'd in them, did win whom he would maim:  
 Against the thing he sought he would exclaim;  
 When he most burn'd in heart-wish'd luxury,  
 He preach'd pure maid and praised cold chastity.

'Thus merely with the garment of a Grace  
 The naked and concealed fiend he cover'd;  
 That the unexperient gave the tempter place,  
 Which, like a cherubin, above them hover'd.  
 Who, young and simple, would not be so lover'd?  
 Ay me! I fell, and yet do questions make  
 What I should do again for such a sake.'

The poet ends "A Lover's Complaint" with a picture of the never-ceasing love of the unhappy lover. This motive is the only hint for the reconciliation which can come about between master and initiate. The oratoric arraignment of the female hypocrisy of the young man's soul which ends with an exclamation



point, is destined to ring with the voice of conscience in the young man's ear: if a true conversion is to come, it has to be demonstrated first in the meekest spirit of devoted humble love to her whom he owes his love and manly consciousness. "A Lover's Complaint" and the Sonnets are subservient to the anagogic aim of spiritual conversion of a young man, and break up there, with vehement utterance of the underlying conflict, where the real expectation of Master Prospero begins. According to the motto of Daniel's sonnet cycle Delia: Aetas prima canat veneres, postrema tumultus, "A Lover's Complaint" concentrates like a resuming finale the discordant clash of the conflict which had found its veiled expression at the end of the sonnets.

The reader is now invited, as we go along, to read for himself the sonnets and to dwell/<sup>first</sup> upon the happy irony of the summerly love of the poet to the "sweet boy." In the first seventeen sonnets the poet urges matrimony upon the young man. The young man, the self-loving Narcissus and Adonis, has found a subtle, cunning friend who sends him mellifluous sonnets to charm his ear. If we are not lulled by the musical charm of the first seventeen sonnets, we notice that the poet as a physician of the soul touches with soft irony at the source of self-love and vanity of his Narcissus and Adonis.

But thou, contracted to thine own bright eyes,  
Feedst thy lights flame with self-substantial fuel.  
(Sonnet I, lines 5-6)

Or who is he so fond will be the tomb  
Of his self love, to stop posterity.  
(Sonnet III, lines 7-8)

Unthrifty loveliness, why dost thou spend  
Upon thyself thy beauty's legacy?  
(Sonnet IV, lines 1-2)

For having traffic with thyself alone  
Thou of thyself thy sweet self does deceive.  
(Sonnet IV, lines 9-10)

For shame! deny that thou bearst love to any,  
 Who for thyself art so improvident.  
 Grant, if thou wilt, thou art beloved of many,  
 But that thou none lovest is most evident;  
 (Sonnet X, lines 1-4)

A nature this constituted cannot function. His physician tells him:

Profitless usurer, why dost thou use  
 So great a sum of sums, yet canst not live?  
 (Sonnet IV, lines 7-8)

The chief purpose of the so-called love relation of the poet to the young man which the sonnets accompany, is

Make thee another self, for love of me,  
 That beauty still may live in thine for thee.  
 (Sonnet X, lines 13-14)

So undeviating is the Daphne-pursuing Apollo in his love, who will not remove with the remover, that he exclaims

O, change thy thought, that I may change my mind!  
 (Sonnet X, line 9)

The conversion of the young man's soul is thus the "purpose" of the sonnets. But the poet, in his beginning of the summerly love, is far from his aim. The young unmarried man receives with delight these flattering embassies of love which he likes because they are the latest hit of poetic expression on the literary market. But we must be careful: the sonnets are, in our opinion, artistic reports of attitudes between the poet and the young man, and they are only metaphorical dramatizations of these attitudes. The young man must not necessarily have been delighted with the sonnets. He may have been delighted with a successful play of the poet and uttered his enthusiasm to the poet. With one word, the sonnets are a transcription for entities of attitudes in the relation of the poet to the young man, and, if we try to interpret them as if they fitted exact reality, we must be conscious that we are talking of

the metaphorical and mythical situation. The young man's delight with poetry which glorifies love and his disinclination for being himself an active lover, is especially ironized in Sonnet VIII~~II~~.

Music to hear, why hear'st thou music sadly?  
 Sweets with sweets war not, joy delights in joy.  
 Why lovest thou that which thou receivest not gladly,  
 Or else receivest with pleasure thine annoy?  
 If the true concord of well tuned sounds,  
 By unions married, do offend thine ear,  
 They do but sweetly chide thee, who confounds  
 In singleness the parts that thou shouldst bear.  
 Mark how one string, sweet husband to another,  
 Strikes each in each by mutual ordering;  
 Resembling sire and child and happy mother,  
 Who, all in one, one pleasing note do sing:  
     Whose speechless song, being many, seeming one,  
     Sings this to thee: 'Thou single wilt prove none.'

The greatest art of sonneteering expressing consisted in the oracular challenge of what was really meant. The goldsmith Touchstone in Eastward Ho! says invariably, whenever some laconic pithy saying comes from his lips, "Work upon that now!" This phrase is made the carrying comic slogan for the whole play. It indicates the method with which the psychic alchemists challenged the self-thinking of the disciple. The beginning of wisdom is not brought about through proverbs; it is brought about through oracles. To puzzle over the meaning of a sonnet helped along the psychic evolution of the young man. He is destined to come through the master into the relation with a woman whom he will learn to love. The woman is there, to love him and to be his faithful wife. But the young man does not heed her existence. The love which he receives he does not enjoy gladly. The sonnets, a symbol of the lovely relation to an elder male friend, are sources ~~of~~ of infinite delight to him. <sup>The following</sup> ~~This~~ sonnet may serve as a first example of the interlaced oracular ambiguity with which the poet, like a siren, cautiously ensnares the young man. The master is sure of the cathartic process through which the young man will go to find where truth and beauty lie.

But from thine eyes my knowledge I derive,  
 And, constant stars, in them I read such art,  
 As truth and beauty shall together thrive,  
 If from thyself to store thou wouldst convert;  
 Or else of thee this I prognosticate:  
 Thy end is truth's and beauty's doom and date.  
 (Sonnet XIV, lines 9-14)

We have only to dramatize Sonnet XVII with a living voice to hear the exaggerating irony with which Shakespeare 'berhymes' the self-love of his young friend who is so full of himself:

Who will believe my verse in time to come,  
 If it were fill'd with your most high deserts?  
 Though yet, heaven knows, it is but a tomb  
 Which hides your life and shows not half your parts.  
 If I could write the beauty of your eyes  
 And in fresh number all your graces,  
 The age to come would say "This poet lies;  
 Such heavenly touches ne'er touch'd earthly faces."  
 So should my papers, yellowed with their age,  
 Be scorn'd, like old men of less truth than tongue.  
 But your true rights be term'd a poet's rage  
 And stretched metre of an antique song:  
 But were some child of yours alive that time,  
 You should live twice, in it and in my rhyme.

Sonnets XVIII and XXIV promise the young man that they will immortalize his eternal summer. The eternal summer is that happy time when the initiate lives in self-divided isolation, making discoveries of the nature of his own self, which bring him to repentance. It is said of him that during this time he is eternally young; he does not age; he lives then out of time. The theme of the immortalization of his friend through verses is just as ironic as the admiration for his beauty. It can easier be found out since Sonnet XVII, which we read, assures his friend that only the begetting of children would help to secure his immortality. As a remembrance of his shame and repentance when he has grown to time - that is, come to the duties of the day and to the wisdom of old age - the immortal lines which glorify his beauty and youth are intended. To stress this

point Shakespeare exaggerates this motive of Sonnet XVIII ~~and~~ <sup>and in</sup> Sonnet XVIII ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> XIX, which reads:

Devouring Time, blunt thou the lion's paws,  
 And make the earth devour her own sweet brood:  
 Pluck the keen teeth from the fierce tiger's jaws,  
 And burn the long-lived phoenix in her blood;  
 Make glad and sorry seasons as thou fliest,  
 And do whate'er thou wilt, swift-footed Time,  
 To the wide world and all her fading sweets;  
 But I forbid thee one most heinous crime:  
 O, carve not with thy hours my love's fair brow,  
 Nor draw no lines there with thine antique pen;  
 Him in thy course untainted do allow  
 For beauty's pattern to succeeding men.  
 Yet do thy worst, Old Time: despite thy wrong,  
 My love shall in my verse ever live young.

We come now to that riddlesome Sonnet XX upon which the understanding of the whole sonnet cycle hinges. It reads:

A woman's face with Nature's own hand painted  
 Hast thou the master-mistress of my passion;  
 A woman's gentle heart, but not acquainted  
 With shifting change, as is false women's fashion;  
 An eye more bright than theirs, less false in rolling,  
 Gilding the object whereupon it gazeth;  
 A man in hue, all 'hues' in his controlling,  
 Which steals men's eyes and women's souls amazeth.  
 And for a woman wert thou first created;  
 Till Nature, as she wrought thee, fell a-doting  
 And by addition me of thee defeated,  
 By adding one thing to my purpose nothing.  
 But since she pricked thee out for women's pleasure,  
 Mine be thy love, and thy love's use their treasure.

Here we must digress in order to come to a complete solution of this riddle. Arthur Acheson, in his inquiry into the sonnets,<sup>3</sup> recognized that "A Lover's Complaint" as well as the comedy All's Well That Ends Well in its revised edition depicted the trouble of the lovers, the Earl of Southampton and Elizabeth Vernon. We are not interested in the minor question who the lovers were, but it is remarkable that even from Mr. Acheson's angle of interest "A Lover's Complaint" and the comedy impressed him as being vitally connected

with the sonnets. Now, the comedy All's Well That Ends Well is the dramatic transcription of the mercurial mystery, and outlines in parabolic form the situation of the initiate in the psychic reaction and evolution of the unheroic hero Bertram. If we want to know who the master-mistress is, we can look at the character of Helena. It is she, the woman in whom <sup>lives</sup> the spirit of man, who miraculously saves the life of the king who suffers from an incurable ulcer, the ulcer of the moral wretchedness of human nature. The sight of a perfect woman, the proverbial tenth good woman among nine bad ones, can restore him. The king has granted her the privilege for which she had asked, of choosing among his young Lords the man she loves; ~~and~~ her choice had fallen upon Bertram in whose mother's house she lives protected as a poor orphan of a once famous physician. The resistance which Bertram offers against living with her in wedlock is for social reasons. He prefers to go into war and to die rather than to yield to this enforced marriage. The mercurial marriage as a liaison of a woman of a lower social class with a man of the higher class has its psychologic reasons of which we have already spoken. The story ~~is~~ from ~~Boccaccio~~ Boccaccio, found in the Third Day of the Decameron. All's Well That Ends Well is organized in its main figures, especially Parolles, Lafew and the Clown, to develop effectively the psychology of the mercurial theme. Parolles represents the bragging, boastful lower side of Bertram's character; Lafew is a duplication of the role of the King; the irresponsible Clown is the villainous disguise for the poet himself who throws in with ambiguous clownish talk the cues referring to the esoteric background of the argument. From an esthetic point of view the comedy has been severely criticised by almost all literary critics, first, that Helena appears as the wooer, second, that the reconciliation of ~~his~~ Bertram to his destiny does not give any hope that the life of the perfect

woman Helena with this most imperfect man promises to be happy. It is not our intention to defend the comedy from an esthetic point of view, but to look at it from a psychological point of view. Helena, the perfect woman, who has the heart of a woman and the soul of a man, falls in love with a man who has the heart of a man and the soul of a woman. Helena and Bertram complete each other. That the mercurialists drew into their lines such types like Bertram, the children of the left side as they are esoterically called, was done with a great hope: the women with whom their character destined them to become entangled were likely to right them. Their "rude will" was subjected to submit to the state of grace which the souls of their women represented to them, which was a salvation for the man and a salvation for the woman: the man gave away to his wife his femininity; the woman gave away to her husband her manliness. Weininger's statement as to sex and character, the inverse proportion of masculine and feminine qualities as a determinant factor in human mating has always been the esoteric knowledge of mystics.<sup>4</sup> The initiate intentionally led down by the mercurial master to his descending path and moral ebb was spoken of and addressed as a woman; his wife spoken of as a man. With the ascending path the masculine accentuation of the man's character rose and correspondingly the feminine accentuation of the wife's character.<sup>5</sup> Elizabethan literature leads us through hell and purgatory, but it does not open the gates to heaven. This is why All's Well That Ends Well is unsatisfactory, like many conciliatory endings of Shakespeare's comedies. It outlines the spiritual crisis of the descent of the soul and the curtain falls there when heaven is supposed to begin. Shakespeare's sonnets, like all sonnet cycles of the age, have only the phases of the descent of the initiate who is accompanied by the mercurial poet, like Dante is by Virgil, when they visit hell and purgatory.

Sonnet XX glorifies the virgin nature of women who sacrifice Das Ewig Mannliche of their human inheritance to their male lover in order that he should rise to spiritual resignation and she descend to happiness and pleasure. From a philological point of view how are we sure that Sonnet XX refers to her for whom he pleads to the sweet boy and looks for recompense? There is a very sure sign which will enable us to separate the sonnets referring to her from those which refer to him. The sonnets to the sweet boy are filled with the ironic praise of his youth and beauty. This praise is intended to bring about the downfall of his vanity, for whatever we praise abundantly in words we kill with our praise. But of her he says:

A woman's face with Nature's own hand painted  
Hast thou the master-mistress of my passion;  
A woman's gentle heart, but not acquainted  
With shifting change, as is false women's fashion;

Why does the poet call her the master-mistress? A light upon this expression falls from a passage in All's Well That Ends Well. The news is brought home that Bertram is married. There ensues the following dialogue between Lafeu and Parolles.

Lafeu: Sirrah, your lord and master's married, there's news for you;  
you have a new mistress.

Parolles: I most unfeignedly beseech your lordship to make some reservation  
of your wrongs: he is my good lord: whom I serve about is my master.

Lafeu: Who? God?

Parolles: Ay Sir. (Act II, Scene 3)

It is characteristic for Shakespeare's discipline of speech that the wisest sayings are uttered by clowns and braggarts. It can be inferred how much value the poet puts upon the mere utterance of wisdom. The master-mistress is the divine mistress - the platonic mistress; is Griselda, is Helena, is the woman into whose arms the initiate runs at the psychic crisis for protection and from



whom he then tries to escape.~~ly~~ Let us hear the clown who gives the mercurial music and philosophy to the mercurial theme of the comedy. He sings:

Among nine bad, if one be good  
 Among mine bad, if one be good  
 There's yet one good in ten. (Act 1, Scene 3)

The master-mistress is Helena, the tenth good woman among nine bad ones. How does a man come to this tenth good woman? It depends in what psychic constellation he runs into the arms of a woman. If he runs to her in distress and she then clings to him, then she who might have been bad for another man among another nine, is the tenth good woman. The inverted initiate must come to the tenth good woman. He revolts then against his destiny, but the clown comforts him for the unavoidable luck:

For I the ballad will repeat  
 Which men full true shall find;  
 Your marriage comes by destiny,  
 Your cuckoo sings by kind. (Act I, Scene 3)

Here we have again the theme of mercurial cuckolding. This is the inner reason by the clown, pointing at the argument of the theme, declares that he wants to marry. The inverted initiate is separated from the world and the clown declares:

Clo: I am out of friends, madam; and I hope to have friends for my wife's sake.

Count: Such friends are thine enemies, knave.

Clo: You are shallow, madam, in great friends: for the knaves come to do that for me which I am a-weary of...

He veils thus with bawdy remarks the mercurial theme. That he knows it very well from Prospero-Shakespeare comes out from the very important passage after he has sung his refrain of the tenth good woman among nine:

Countess: What, one good in ten? you corrupt the song, sirrah.

Clown: One good woman in ten, madam, which is a purifying o' the song: would God would serve the world so all the year! we'd find no

fault with the tithe-woman if I were the parson: one in  
 ten, quoth a'! an we might have a good woman born but for  
 every blazing star, or at an earthquake, 'twould mend the  
 lottery well: a man may draw his heart out ere he pluck one.

Countess: You'll be gone, sir knave, and so as I command you! (Act 1, Scene 3)

We ought to print this passage in red, for it is a visible philological proof which concentrates and brings to full concordance what we have till now established. "We'd find no fault with the tithe-woman if I were the parson." Mating through the mercurial mystery does not go along social lines and customs. "We might have a good woman born but for every blazing star, or at an earthquake." The blazing star is the initiate: Sidney's Stella, Spenser's Rosalind, and talked of in many other sonnet cycles. The earthquake is Harvey's earthquake as we shall see later, of which he had so cunningly and provokingly written in a letter to Spenser. "Twould mend the lottery well." It is a transcendental theme for eugenists to think of. The demiurg or theurg broke social barriers and planted the new rising class on the older and nobler stocks. "A man may draw his heart out ere he pluck one." This is just the theme of the sonnets. The spiritual conversion consisted in drawing out the hardened heart of the initiate and replacing it with love for the tenth good woman.

Sonnet XX continues:

An eye more bright than theirs, less false in rolling,  
 Gilding the object whereupon he gazeth;  
 A man in hue, all 'hues' in his controlling,  
 Which steals men's eyes and women's souls amazeth.

The line "A man in hue, all 'hues' in his controlling," has puzzled critics. First of all, grammatically it is an apposition to 'eye' since the following pronoun 'which' clearly refers to it. The human eye has decidedly masculine and feminine qualities. (~~If you read, for instance, in Swedenborg of the masculine~~) The active observing eye is masculine; the receiving passive eye, feminine; the giving eye is masculine; the begging eye is feminine. The eye of Diana is

masculine; the eye of Aphrodite is feminine. The change of Diana into Aphrodite, the change of Ganymede into Jupiter, is the theme of fabling in Elizabethan literature. It is the eye of a woman which shows manly spirit and soul and self-control of its expression and direction, which is thus praised as a man in shape or form, having all shapes of forms in his controlling.

The last six lines of Sonnet XX read:

And for a woman wert thou first created;  
Till Nature, as she wrought thee, fell a-doting,  
And by addition me of thee defeated,  
By adding one thing to my purpose nothing.  
But since she prick'd thee out for women's pleasure,  
Mine by thy love, and thy love's use their treasure.

"And for a woman wert thou first created," refers paradoxically enough to her lover and husband. It cannot mean that she was created as a woman, because the poet confesses that she had defeated, in addition, him also. The master-mistress had thus defeated a woman and the poet. The poet is not in sensual love with the master-mistress; he is in platonic love, and he will help her to come to the use of her love. The line "By adding one thing to my purpose nothing," can be understood if we know what the purpose of the poet is: the conversion of the young man's soul, as we can also see from the next sonnet. She is not included in this purpose. Her soul is right and as a woman she is not to be converted. ~~She is to be converted to the use of her love.~~ The plural "women" and the pronoun "their" in the last two lines,

But since she prick'd thee out for women's pleasure,  
Mine be thy love, and thy love's use their treasure.

shows that the sonnet was not written on behalf of a particular master-mistress but that it expresses an entity of thought within the mercurial mystery, the relation of Prospero to the master-mistress, mystically also called the mercurial queen, and to her husband - a woman who is to be converted to become a man.

Sonnet XXI continues and strengthens the theme of Sonnet XX.

So it is not with me as with that Muse  
 Stirr'd by a painted beauty to his verse,  
 Who heaven itself for ornament doth use  
 And every fair with his fair doth rehearse,  
 Making a couplement of proud compare,  
 With sun and moon, with earth and sea's rich gems,  
 With April's first-born flowers, and all things rare  
 That heaven's air in this huge rondure hems.  
 O, let me, true in love, but truly write,  
 And then believe me, my love is as fair  
 As any mother's child though not so bright  
 As those gold candles fix'd in heaven's air:  
 Let them say more that like of hearsay well;  
 I will not praise, that purpose not to sell.

Whereas the poet showers compliments upon the young man, he is chaste in praising her. The hinderance of the young man's love to her lies in the romantic, ~~romantic~~ Don Quixotic fiction which the sweet boy has of womanhood and which he had derived from poetry. The poet refrains from any direct praise so as "not to sell his purpose." His purpose is the conversion of the young man's soul and if his conversion should truly come about, it is to come through his insight and self-knowledge, and not by persuasion.

With Sonnet XXII and Sonnet XXIII begin the expression of the secret conflict which animates them up to their end. Sonnet XXII expresses the mild temper of the poet's irony; Sonnet XXIII the fierce and aggressive temper.

Sonnet XXII reads:

My glass shall not persuade me I am old,  
 So long as youth and thou are of one date;  
 And when in thee time's furrows I behold,  
 Then look I death my days should explate.  
 For all that beauty that doth cover thee  
 Is but the seemly raiment of my heart,  
 Which in thy breast doth live, as thine in me:  
 How can I then be elder than thou art?  
 O, therefore, love, be of thyself so wary  
 As I, not for myself, but for thee will;  
 Bearing my heart, which I will keep so chary  
 As tender nurse her babe from faring ill.  
 Presume not on thy heart when mine is slain  
 Thou gavest me thine, not to give back again.

The poet will be patient with him as long as he has not attained the male

wisdom of old age. He will think as if he were young himself. Of course he is sure that the sweet boy will come to this wisdom, which brings the wrinkles of old age. With the death of green youth will come the expiation of former deeds. The dialectic which runs through the sonnets is the complete identification of the poet with the young man. Therefore he says, "Then look I death my days should expiate," when he means decidedly that the future days of the young man will be the expiation of his deeds. This dialectic, which it is vital to understand, is determined by the special form of religious thinking: just as God created man in order than man should re-create God, so the poet speaks of this lover as by him created, in order that he might make true the poet's love. The poet identifies himself with the young man through the infinite divine spirit, to bring about through this dialectical process the separation and distinction of the young man's personality from that of his own. If he identifies himself with the young man, it is to counteract the state of mind of the simpleton who identifies himself with his father imago. The identification is thus a means to burn up the father imago, ~~and~~ in place of which the feeling of the young man's conscience and responsibility of fatherhood should come about. To understand what the poet means under "death" in this special case, we can best turn back to All's Well That Ends Well. When Bertram has run away to escape the responsibility of the marriage tie which the king had imposed upon him, the news is brought home to his mother the Countess.

Clown: O madam, younder is heavy news within, between two soldiers and my young lady.

Countess: What is the matter?

Clown: Nay, there is some comfort in the news, some comfort; your son will not be killed so soon as I thought he would.

Countess: Why should he be killed?

Clown: So I say I madam, if he run away, as I hear he does: The danger is in standing to't; that's the loss of men, though it be the getting of children ... (Act III, Scene 2)

The mercurial knave well knows that it will take some time until Bertram will be 'killed' as a son to emerge as an expiating spiritual father. Of course the clown turns everything topsy-turvy: what is the growth of men is to him the loss of men. But the interpreter of the sonnets will always be in the realm of antilogies. Every symbol has its antilogical contradiction. While Shakespeare predicts the death of his sweet boy, he can just as well speak of his own death, symbolizing by it the separation from the young man. In any case, the conclusion of Sonnet XXII is clear: he reminds the young man to be as tender and cautious as he, the poet, is towards him. Should the young man slay the poet's heart - that is, separate himself from him as the poet expects - then the love of her to him, and him to her, will replace the heart which the young man had given to the poet.

Sonnet XXIII gives us the internal reason why the content of his plea is put into verses and rhymes, and in what sense it should be read.

As an unperfect actor on the stage,  
 Who with his fear is put besides his part,  
 Or some fierce thing replete with too much rage,  
 Whose strength's abundance weakens his own heart;  
 So I, for fear of trust, forget to say  
 The perfect ceremony of love's rite,  
 And in mine own love's strength seem to decay,  
 O'ercharged with burthen of mine own love's might.  
 O, let my books be then the eloquence  
 And dumb presagers of my speaking breast;  
 Who plead for love, and look for recompense,  
 More than that tongue that more hath express'd.  
 O, learn to read what silent love hath writ:  
 To hear with eyes belongs to love's fine wit.

~~See also the inner emotions for the writing of~~ "To hear with eyes belongs to love's fine wit." There cannot be found any finer phrase for the challenging spirit in which the sonnets were written. They are the expression of a transcendental psychology, acted out in attitudes, gestures and postures, using the ironic love speech to arouse antipathy, using the

masquerade of jealousy to hide before the public a truth which the poet intends to tell into the ears of the sweet boy, to make him the conscious witness of himself, of his emotions and deeds, driving him back into his own center, and leaving him in shame and contrition: to arise with a new love to her and the spiritual ataraxia towards the fictitious fancies of his own self and those of the world. Not the sonnets are interesting, but the state of mind in which they were written.

~~The sonnets accompany the psychic evolution of the young man for three years.~~

We choose first for our interpretation the sonnets which refer clearly to the triangular relation, the love story. They are the psychological kernel of the sonnet cycle and only through them can we win perspective to the other sonnets in which the poet gives self confession, assurance of friendship, admonition, and which deal in part with the incident of the rival poet.

Sonnet XL has the anagogic aim to bring about the separation of the two men as two distinct personalities, united only by a common conscience. It undermines the leanings of the young man to see the center of his personality in his master instead of himself - the typical father complex of a reverend young boy.

Take all my loves, my love, yea, take them all,  
 What hast thou then more than thou hadst before?  
 No love, my love, that thou mayst true love call;  
 All mine was thine before thou hadst this more.  
 Then, if for my love thou my love receivest,  
 I cannot blame thee for my love thou usest;  
 But yet be blamed, if thou thyself deceivest  
 By wilful taste of what thou thyself refuseth.  
 I do forgive thy robbery, gentle thief,  
 Although thou steal thee all my poverty;  
 And yet, love knows, it is a greater grief  
 To bear love's wrong than hate's known injury.  
 Lascivious grace, in whom all ill well shows,  
 Kill me with spites; yet we must not be foes.

The poet teases him first with the word love. His constant kindness to him, he insinuates, should not arouse in the young man the expectation and emotion of love from his master. Should he, for the master's sake, love her - then he would not blame him. He must blame him that he deceives himself by wilful taste and refuses her love. The poet then accuses the young man as a gentle thief who has robbed the master's poverty, namely, the little appreciated master-mistress. He reminds him that the situation of her who bears love's wrong is worse than the situation of the young man who bears the injury of hate, namely, suffering from the resentment which the master's offense has done to him. He admonishes the young man that if he intends to kill him with spites, they should not be foes, for her sake.

Sonnet LXI is still cleverer in its secret insinuations:

Those pretty wrongs that liberty commits,  
 When I am sometime absent from thy heart,  
 Thy beauty and thy years full well befits,  
 For still temptation follows where thou art.  
 Gentle thou art, and therefore to be won,  
 Beauteous thou art, therefore to be assailed;  
 And when a woman woos, what woman's son  
 Will sourly leave her till she have prevailed?  
 Ay me! but yet thou mightst my seat forbear,  
 And chide thy beauty and thy straying youth,  
 Who lead thee in their riot even there  
 Where thou art forced to break a twofold truth,  
     Hers, by thy beauty tempting her to thee,  
     Thine, by thy beauty being false to me.

While the poet seemingly excuses the young man's libertine manner of life in love affairs, he throws in the content of his plea to the friend to love her:

And when a woman woos, what woman's son  
 Will sourly leave her till she have prevailed?

He then tells him the two-fold truth: it is the young man's beauty (the feminine accentuation of his figure and character, as we have seen it in "A Lover's Complaint"),



which tempts her to him. So he is the tempter and he should feel responsible for the temptation. But it is also his beauty, his femininity, which makes him false to the master; for were he true to him, he would act like a man.

Sonnet XLIII, while masked so as to give the impression that the poet nobly resigns from the love to the master-mistress for the sake of his friend, tells the young man a bitter truth: she is worth far more than he.

That thou hast her, it is not all my grief,  
 And yet it may be said I loved her dearly;  
 That she hath thee, is of my wailing chief,  
 A loss in love that touches me more nearly.  
 Loving offenders, thus I will excuse ye:  
 Thou dost love her, because thou know'st I love her;  
 And for my sake even so doth she abuse me,  
 Suffering my friend, for my sake to approve her.  
 If I lose thee, my loss is my love's gain,  
 And losing her, my friend hath found that loss;  
 Both find each other, and I lose both twain,  
 And both for my sake lay on me this cross:  
     But here's the joy: my friend and I are one;  
     Sweet flattery! then she loves but me alone.

While the young man seems to have complied to the love plea the poet tells him:

That she hath thee, is of my wailing chief,  
 A loss in love that touches me more nearly.

Here lies the master's care: that she is in love with him who is not worthy or her, as Bertram is not worthy of Helena and as the reverend father who listens to "A Lover's Complaint" must feel about the treacherous young man - that he is not worthy of her. The master's comfort is that she loves in the young man the master's nobler part; his humor is that he, the young man, loves her with the master's eyes. The drift of the jest goes then to show him that he is not yet centered in love to her.

Sonnet XCIII is the clearest proof for the relation of the poet to the young man: ~~It is most interesting and gives the direct line~~

So shall I live, supposing thou art true,  
 Like a deceived husband; so love's face  
 May still seem love to me, though alter'd new;  
 Thy looks with me, thy heart in other place:  
 For there can live no hatred in thine eye,  
 Therefore in that I cannot know thy change.  
 In many's looks the false heart's history  
 Is writ in moods and frowns and wrinkles strange,  
 But heaven in thy creation did decree  
 That in thy face sweet love should ever dwell;  
 Whate'er thy thoughts or thy heart's workings be,  
 Thy looks should nothing thence but sweetness tell.  
     How like Eve's apple doth thy beauty grow,  
     If thy sweet virtue answer not thy show.

Men may look, as dear enemies or good friends, squarely into each other's faces, but their hearts must part. If he is true, the poet tells him, then only the young man's looks will be friendly to him, but his heart he will keep for her. This sonnet teases and cheers the young man up, to lose the wrinkles which the hatred against the master's deed had begotten. Her beauty, the beauty of the master-mistress, will grow like Eve's apple and be a temptation, if the young man is virtuous enough not to be enamoured with his own beauty.

Sonnet CV gives us again the picture of the soul of the master-mistress. It can easily be detected as such ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ by comparing the simplicity, naturalness and heartiness with which he speaks of her, with the antithetic position of the next sonnet, where the poet assails in bursting laughter with extravagant compliments the beauty of him, his sweet friend.

Sonnet CV

Let not my love be call'd idolatry,  
 Nor my beloved as an idol show,  
 Since all alike my songs and praises be  
 To one, of one, still such, and ever so.  
 Kind is my love today, to-morrow kind,  
 Still constant in a wondrous excellence;  
 One thing expressing, leaves out difference.  
 'Fair, kind, and true,' is all my argument,  
 'Fair, kind, and true,' varying to other words;  
 And in this change is my invention spent,  
 Three themes in one, which wondrous scope affords.  
     'Fair, kind and true,' have often lived alone,  
     Which three till now never kept seat in one.

"Fair, kind, and true," so he speaks of the heroine of his heart, who has lent herself to the picture of his ideal women in the plays - Helena, Imogen, Cordelia, Portia, Rosalind, Viola, and numerous others. But how he does show, in the next sonnet, his beloved friend as an idol! The voice of a good actor is required to release the laughter which Shakespeare controlled and mastered as the "owner of his face" when he wrote this sonnet:

When in the chronicle of waster time  
 I see descriptions of the fairest wights,  
 And beauty making beautiful old rhyme  
 In praïse of ladies dead and lovely knights,  
 Then, in the blazon of sweet beauty's best,  
 Of hand, of foot, of lip, of eye, of brow,  
 I see their antique pen would have express'd  
 Even such a beauty as you master now.  
 So all their praises are but prophecies  
 Of this our time, all you prefiguring;  
 And, for they look'd but with divining eyes,  
 They had not skill enough your worth to sing:  
 For we, which now behold these present days  
 Have eyes to wonder, but lack tongues to praïse.

"The chronicle of wasted time," is the tapestry of legends which have been spun out of the mystery from time immemorial. Notice the phrasing of "ladies dead and lovely knights," which is true since these legends are the record of Lauras who have been killed and had arisen as tamed men; and yet at the same time the phrase is bitterly satiric since it reminds the young man that the spiritual aspect of this world is that of "lovely ladies and dead knights," not of "ladies dead and lovely knights." Notice the mocking laughter in the enumeration of his friend's beauty of "hand, of foot, of lip, of eye, of brow," and imagine how in the rolling eye of Shakespeare the genius, the wet shimmer of ironic dissimulation must have shone when he led this sonnet up to the climax of exaggeration:

For we, which now behold these present days  
 Have eyes to wonder, but lack tongues to praise.

Sonnet CXXVII introduces the mysterious dark lady. Literary critics who are interested in the small gossip of the age will henceforth have more freedom in their research. They will be allowed to identify her, if everything else agrees, as a blond lady after all. For her black hair seems to be a traditional literary periwig, and the black eyes, of which there is so much talk in the sonnets, is only a symbolic color of mourning. The initiate in his conflict with his master was supposed to be, according to the technical mercurial phrase, in the black state of matter. Since the initiate was usually spoken of in the sonnets as a lady, many sonnet cycles introduce a black or a brown lady, satirizing the initiate's mourning over his master's deeds.

Sonnet X of Robert Tofte's sonnet cycle "Laura, the Toys of a Traveller, of the Feast of Fancy," (1597) can best show the evolution of the dark lady in Shakespeare's sonnets as an independent dramatic personality. It reads:

My mourning Mistress's garments, black doth bear;  
 And I in black, like her, attired am;  
 Yet diverse is the cause why black we wear;  
 She for another's death doth shew the same.  
 I for another reason bear this suit:  
 Only to show by this, my outward weed,  
 Mine inward grief (although my tongue be mute)  
 Of tender heart; which deadly sighs doth bleed.  
     Thrice happy I, if, as in habit (dress) we  
     Are both in one, our minds both one might be.

Laura, the berhymed gentleman, wears black for the death of the friend and poet who is dead to him on account of the mercurial offense. The poet wears black to sympathize with the grief of the lady who in vain loves Laura, the gentleman. Happy would the poet be if Laura, the gentleman, would wear black for the same reason as the poet does. Would Laura, the gentleman, consider the ~~grief~~ grief of the mourning lady who loves him, then the grief of the poet would come to an end.

Since Shakespeare had taken off the feminine veil from the Laura fiction, he could introduce the traditional black color of mourning in a dramatic and

psychologic way. It is the master-mistress not rewarded by love by the young friend who is in black mourning. It gave Shakespeare the possibility for a more effective disguise at the end of the sonnets where the tumultuous conflict with his friend had to be expressed. Since the dark lady stood in esoteric literary tradition for the initiate, he could frankly tell him the truth by seemingly accusing her. Shakespeare did it in a way which shows his psychologic genius of insight into human nature. The sweet boy resists to love the lady because in his romantic imagination she does not seem to him to be beautiful enough. She is symbolically black. There was a prejudice against black hair as being the contrary of blond beauty. Shakespeare tells his friend that he is black in his heart, and that his mistress is fair. The poet then turns, in many of the following sonnets, to the mourning mistress and tries to persuade her to give up a man who is not worthy of her. But she clings, like Helena to Bertram, in constant love to him. Under the light of this interpretation, all the contradictory puzzles which the sonnets offered disappear. They come in concordance with the inner sense of Shakespeare's plays and our interpretation destroys the impression - which has always been a cause of strange disappointment to serious Shakespeare critics - that Shakespeare had reviled the honor of a woman while he had flattered the beauty of a male friend. Sonnet CXXVII reads:

In the old age black was not counted fair,  
 Of if it were, it bore not beauty's name;  
 But now is black beauty's successive heir,  
 And beauty slander'd with a bastard shame:  
 For since each hand hath put on Nature's power,  
 Fairing the foul with art's false borrow'd face,  
 Sweet beauty hath no name, no holy bower,  
 But is profaned, if not lives in disgrace.  
 Therefore my mistress' eyes are raven black,  
 Her eyes so suited, and they mourners seem  
 At such whom not born fair, no beauty lack,  
 Slandering creation with a false esteem.  
 Yet so they mourn, becoming of their woe,  
 That every tongue says beauty should look so.

The invective of this sonnet is now clear. The young man, his friend, who lacks no beauty, is not born fair. She, the child of simple Nature, as he has already praised the master-mistress in sonnet XX and XXI, although black, is the heir of beauty, since beauty herself is falsified by the ornamentation of borrowed art.

The next sonnet, CXXVIII, reads:

How oft, when thou, my music, music play'st,  
 Upon that blessed wood whose motion sounds  
 With thy sweet fingers, when thou gently sway'st  
 The wiry concord that mine ear confounds,  
 Do I envy those jacks that nimble leap  
 To kiss the tender inward of thy hand,  
 Whilst my poor lips, which should that harvest reap,  
 At the wood's boldness by thee blushing stand!  
 To be so tickled, thy would change their state  
 And situation with those dancing chips,  
 O'er whom thy fingers walk with gentle gait,  
 Making dead wood more blest than living lips.  
     Since saucy jacks so happy are in this,  
     Give them thy fingers, me thy lips to kiss.

The mourning mistress looks at him admiringly, and yearns that he should deign to kiss her. But the musical friend is lost in heavenly art. We have only to go into modern drawing rooms where musical esthetes are worshipped to observe such silent love tragedies. Shakespeare addresses his friend as "my music" and identifies himself with the master-mistress, as he identifies himself in most of the sonnets with his young friend. The sonnet contains the plea that the sweet boy should kiss her poor lips.

In Sonnet CXXX Shakespeare ironised the lack of appreciation which the young friend had for the woman who loved him, and contrasted it with the fictitious romantic imagination which he had of the beauty of womanhood. It reads:

My mistress' eyes are nothing like the sun;  
 Coral is far more red than her lips red:  
 If snow be white, why then her breasts are dun;  
 If hairs be wires, black wires grow on her head.  
 I have seen roses damasked, red and white,  
 But no such roses see I in her cheeks;  
 And in some perfumes is there more delight  
 Than in the breath that from my mistress reeks.  
 I love to hear her speak, yet well I know  
 That music hath a far more pleasing sound:

I grant I never saw a goddess go,  
 My mistress when she walks treads on the ground:  
 And yet by heaven, I think my love as rare  
 As any she belied with false compare.

The young friend ~~she~~ prefers music and perfumes to the voice and breath of women. In the last two lines the poet speaks of himself. Then he calls his young friend she. She, the esthetic man, belied other women with false compare. Even this motive is embedded in Elizabethan sonnet tradition.<sup>6</sup>

Sonnets CXXXI to CXXXIV strike the deepest note of the triangular tragedy. The poet would like to see the mourning master-mistress turn away from a man who is not worthy of her. But she clings in unshaken love to the young man and the poet comes to the conclusion that it is her love and not his wish which should determine the fate of the couple. The four sonnets are addressed to the master-mistress. Sonnet CXXXI reads:

Thou art as tyrannous, so as thou art,  
 As those whose beauties proudly make them cruel;  
 For well thou know'st to my dear dotting heart  
 Thou art the fairest and most precious jewel.  
 Yet, in good faith, some say that thee behold,  
 Thy face hath not the power to make love groan:  
 To say they err I dare not be so bold,  
 Although I swear it to myself alone.  
 And to be sure that is not false I swear,  
 A thousand groans, but thinking on thy face,  
 One on another's neck do witness bear  
 Thy black is fairest in my judgement's place.  
 In nothing art thou black save in thy deeds,  
 And thence this slander, as I think, proceeds.

You are just as tyrannous, says the poet to her, in your love to him as he, proudly enamoured with his own feminine beauty, is cruel towards you. For you know what a fair and precious jewel you are to my own heart, and yet you are tyrannous, you insist in loving him. Yet some think - and the poet hints here at the young man - that your face has not the power to make one fall in love with you. I dare not contradict, although I know in my heart that they are wrong.





First we notice that the dark lady in this sonnet has no ruthless cruel eyes; on the contrary, they look in ruth, mourning, pity and despair into the world because her sweetheart torments her with disdain. The physiognomy of a despairing woman, disdained in her love, is heightened to the picture of a tragic Phaedra, with the fiery, mourning glance of her eyes, and with ash-pale cheeks, by the comparison of her eyes to the sun, breaking through ~~in the morning~~ the cloudy grey cheeks of the east, or to the evening star shining ~~in~~ in the dusk. The poet now entreats her to mourn not only for her sweetheart, who disdains her, but for him also: that is, to give up that love which is in her heart and with which the poet identifies himself. It is the plea to her to renounce her love and to mourn for the poet that his efforts are dead. Then the poet will swear that those who are proud of their beauty are black and foul. ~~The~~ ~~poet~~ ~~heads~~ ~~towards~~ With this and the following sonnet the poet heads towards a very deep psychological and spiritual insight: renunciation of love, spiritual resignation, is an impossible plea to women, if they do love. The spirituality of men must bow before the great "tyrant" of the love of women (Rhetorically stated, not morally).

Sonnet CXXXIII is the triumph of Shakespeare's skill of veiling from others that which he intended to convey. For its metaphorical language runs contrary to its inner meaning and the traditional steel hearted, flinty and cruel woman of sonnet literature reappears in more clever disguise than ever before since the poet talks of a real woman indeed. It reads:

Beshrew that heart that makes my heart to groan  
 For that deep wound it gives my friend and me!  
 Is't not enough to torture me alone,  
 But slave to slavery my sweet'st friend must be?  
 Me from myself thy cruel eye hath taken,  
 And my next self thou harder hast engrossed:  
 Of him, myself, and thee, I am forsaken;  
 A torment thrice threefold thus to be crossed.

Prison my heart in thy steel bosom's ward,  
 And then my friend's heart let my poor heart bail;  
 Whoe'er keeps me, let my heart be his guard;  
 Thou canst not then use rigour in my goal:  
 And yet thou wilt; for I, being pent in thee,  
 Perforce am thine, and all that is in me.

How little cruel the eye of the mourning master-mistress is, we have seen in the preceding sonnet. "That heart" and "thy cruel eye" is the heart and cruel eye of the sweet friend himself who, with his cruelty and resistance to love towards her, is in a self-torturing situation. The poet says to her in a humorous and ironic undertone which the word beshrew suggests, curse the heart of your lover which makes not only me but ~~him~~ also him unhappy. He is tortured as well as I because he is the slave of your slavish love to him. The cruel eye of my friend has taken me from myself, and he, my next self, is in a still worse situation. Thus we are all three tormented. Prison me in your heart which has been steeled - that is, steeled through his resistance to your love, made unable to love any more - but let his heart, let him be free: I shall be the bail for him. If you keep me, my spirit, I will protect you as I would protect him if he would keep my spirit. Being under my protection you would not be so rigorous to enforce your love. And yet you are so rigorous: you cannot renounce your love. I must therefore do perforce what you command. Not because it is my will, only because it is your will.

Sonnet CXXXIV leads us away from the thorny briars of subtle dialectic:

So, now I have confess'd that he is thine  
 And I myself am mortgaged to thy will,  
 Myself I'll forfeit, so that other mine  
 Thou wilt restore, to be my comfort still:  
 But thou wilt not, nor he will not be free,  
 For thou are covetous and he is kind;  
 He learn'd but surety-like to write for me,  
 Under that bond that him as fast doth bind.  
 The statute of thy beauty thou wilt take,  
 Thou usurer, that put'st forth all to use,  
 And sue a friend came debtor for my sake;  
 So him I lose through my unkind abuse.  
 Him have I lost; thou hast both him and me:  
 He pays the whole, and yet I am not free.

This sonnet brings the proof and seal that our interpretation of the three preceding sonnets is correct. The young friend belongs to her because her love and her will to be loved is supreme. The poet-master is mortgaged to her will. The poet would rather forfeit himself in order to see his friend restored to him. But/this couple, married in the temple of Jupiter, wants to be free. And now follows a line which states humorously with deepest psychological insight, the basic natural relation of a loving woman to a man, and the basic ethical relation of a loving man to a woman:

For thou art covetous and he is kind.

Women saints like Helena, most unselfish in their love, are selfish by the nature of the constitution of their sex, and the poet speaks of her covetousness in love with the most tender deepest compassion. The poet continues his love plea to his friend by anticipating what he expects him to be: kind. Kindness, nobility, generosity of heart, are the indispensable ethical foundations of a man's love to a woman. The spiritualization, resignation, renunciation, comes about in men through submission to the selfish covetousness of loving women. The poet's young friend, his bondfellow who is the security for the poet's mortgage, will pay the debt to her. With the same compassionate humor with which he calls her covetous, he calls her a usurer who puts all to use and takes her lover as the statute or ruler of her beauty. Women are the legitimate usurers of nature. If they find in a man the rule and law of their love, then this love is the mysterious aim of usurious nature itself. Just as the poet anticipated that the young man is kind, he anticipates twice that he himself loses, nay that he has lost his friend, through his own unkind abuse, hinting at the offence of the master's deed. The young friend will have to pay the whole debt of love, which lives in the master as the idea of human existence. The master does not feel free towards the couple; he is bound in responsibility to both of them.

The dialectic with the young friend continues then by leading him into the philosophic mystery, not of the question, but of the answer to free will. For the poet-master is not a questioner, he is an "answerer" - not in the usual sense that he answers with words, but that he challenges the young man to find an answer for himself. The young man has the feeling that the entire situation was forced through "the unkind abuse" of the master, through whose influence he had come into the state of inversion of which the unhappy love affair is the consequence. Therefore he sees in that which has "happened to him" the expression of the will of the master. But what has really happened is that the young man resents that he had been brought to the state of inversion which had uncovered to him his own instincts which he does not want to know. Resenting the effect ~~it~~ of it, he personifies his resentment as the master's will. Instead of seeing the inner necessity which had driven him to this step he argues out his experience as the intended will of the master. He takes thus his ideal identification with the master as a real one, and his state of mind is thus turned against himself, towards she who loves him, against his master. The first falsification of psychic reality, namely the hypostasis of the all powerful will of an outside influence of a master, instead of the self-knowledge and insight into his own acts, makes the young man oppose with his own free will - that is with his recovered conscious ego - the axiomatically hypostatized will of the master. But the young man will not be able to bear for a long time the contradictions of his own self with the accusations against the master. The day must come when the young man will take the sin and offense of his master as his own sin and offense towards her who suffers for his sake. He must see that the dissent against the deliverer is the destruction of his own soul. Then will fall away the superstitious axiom of the master's will and there will remain only the submission to the will of the entire self, which is equal to the submission of the divine

will. The free will of man begins when the soul begins to ascend. Shakespeare anagogically leads the young man, in two sonnets, to this ascent of the free will. If he has fulfilled her wish, then the young man will be able to use his free will. Sonnets CXXXV and CXXXVI read:

Whoever hath her wish, thou hast thy 'Will,'  
 And 'Will' to boot, and 'Will' in overplus;  
 More than enough am I that vex thee still,  
 To thy sweet will making addition thus.  
 Wilt thou, whose will is large and spacious,  
 Not once vouchsafe to hide my will in thine?  
 Shall will in others seem right gracious,  
 And in my will no fair acceptance shine?  
 The sea, all water, yet receives rain still,  
 And in abundance addeth to his store;  
 So thou being rich in 'Will,' add to thy 'Will'  
 One will of mine, to make thy large 'Will' more.  
 Let no unkind, no fair beseechers kill;  
 Think all but one, and me in that one 'Will.'

If thy soul check thee that I come so near,  
 Swear to thy blind soul that I was thy 'Will,'  
 And will, thy soul knows, is admitted there;  
 Thus far for love, my love-suit, sweet fulfil.  
 'Will' will fulfil the treasure of thy love,  
 Ay, fill it full with wills, and my will one.  
 In things of great receipt with ease we prove  
 Among a number one is reckon'd none:  
 Then in the number let me pass untold,  
 Though in thy store's account I one must be;  
 For nothing hold me, so it please thee hold  
 That nothing me, a something sweet to thee:  
 Make but my name thy love, and love that still,  
 And then thou lovest me, for my name is 'Will.'

The poet-master speaks of his own will only ironically and playfully. His plea to the young man is the expression of her wish, and not of his own will. Only by the blind soul of the young man can it be imagined that her wish is the master's will. It is the will of life itself. Only in the blind soul the will looms up so largely. The enlightened soul, with the grace of free will, acts as love bids and necessity commands.

The following sonnet, CXXXVII, reproaching the young man that he is of common vulgar nature, enjoins him that only the expectation of the nobility of his heart had brought the master to enter into a friendly relation to him. It reads:

Thou blind fool, Love, what dost thou to mine eyes?  
 That they behold, and see not what they see?  
 They know what beauty is, see where it lies,  
 Yet what the best is take the worst to be.  
 If eyes, corrupt by over-partial looks,  
 Be anchor'd in the bay where all men ride,  
 Why of eyes' falsehood hast thou forged hooks,  
 Whereto the judgement of my heart is tied?  
 Why should my heart think that a several plot  
 Which my heart knows the wide world's common place?  
 Or mine eyes seeing this, say this is not,  
 To put fair truth upon so foul a face?  
     In things right true my heart and eyes have erred,  
     And to this false plague are they now transferred.

The next sonnet, CXXXVIII, leads the young man on to the insight that as long as he has not grown to time and the male wisdom of old age, he has no relation to truth. The poet speaks of him with the feminine pronoun she. Taken in its straight literary sense the sonnet has no pith, and only the interpretation of its veiled irony reveals the great attitude and deep thought.

When my love swears that she is made of truth,  
 I do believe her, though I know she lies,  
 That she might think me some untutored youth,  
 Unlearned in the world's false subtleties.  
 Thus vainly thinking that she thinks me young,  
 Although she knows my days are past the best,  
 Simply I credit her false-speaking tongue:  
 On both sides thus is simple truth suppress'd.  
 But wherefore says she not she is unjust?  
 And wherefore say not I that I am old?  
 O, love's best habit is in seeming trust,  
 And age in love loves not to have years told:  
     Therefore I lie with her and she with me,  
     And in our faults by lies we flatter'd be.

It is clear that no elderly lover has bettered his chances for appearing young in the eyes of his young mistress by not contradicting her lies which she gives out as truth. It is clear that if an elderly lover has the vanity of appearing

young in the eyes of his young mistress he would not speak with such a light heart of his vanity and with such bitter seriousness of her. The sonnet is addressed to a young man who, in ~~relation~~ his lack of relation to truth is the "she." We have already spoken of the identifying attitude of the poet toward the young man. He had assured him in Sonnet XXII that as long as the sweet boy is young, his master will identify himself with his youth. The mercurial attitude worked not by teaching, preaching and arguing. It worked by completed identification with the partner. As Schopenhauer expressed it, the communion of truth is silently carried on by playing cards under the table. It is the glance of intuition which communes the truth. The conflict of the master and his friend goes on in "seeming trust" to each other.

Sonnet CXXXIX which follows makes for its theme one glance of the young friend who is again spoken of as a woman. He looks aside as if in loving reproach toward the master. This evading look tells that he stands not in manly dear enmity towards him but as a dependent loving disciple. Seemingly the raging outburst of a poet jealous that ~~his~~ his sweetheart prefers somebody else, it is grotesquely comic in its inner meaning, as can be proven from its verbal context:

O call not me to justify the wrong  
 That thy unkindness lays upon my heart;  
 Wound me not with thine eye, but with thy tongue;  
 Use power with power and slay me not by art.  
 Tell me thou lovest elsewhere; but in my sight  
 Dear heart, forbear to glance thine eye aside:  
 What needst thou wound with cunning, when thy might  
 Is more than my o'erpressed defence can bide?  
 Let me excuse thee: ah, my love well knows  
 Her pretty looks have been mine enemies;  
 And therefore from my face she turns my foes,  
 That they elsewhere might dart their injuries:  
 Yet do not so; but since I am near slain,  
 Kill me outright with looks, and rid my pain.

The master addresses his young friend: Do not tell me with your eye glancing aside that I am responsible for the wrong which you have shown by unkindness towards her and which grieves my heart so much. Tell it to me outright with your tongue. Slay me like a man - powerfully and not with a furtive glance which bears, the poet implies, a declaration of love to me. Tell me thou lovestt elsewhere, namely her and not me. But do not look any more at me thus. You can tell it to me openly, since your power over me, as I depend on your love to her, is so great that my suppressed defence cannot put up with it. Perhaps you are conscious of the fact, /sweet female boy, ~~your beauty~~ that your pretty looks are my enemies. You turn them away from me to seduce and injure her with your beauty. But do it not any more. Since your love to me is nearly slain, kill it with a straight-forward look and rid me thus from the pain which I feel for her.

If the reader feels that the inner veiled meaning of this sonnet is restored with too much freedom of interpretation, he is invited to read it again after the study of the following two sonnets. Sonnet CXL is addressed to the young man and reads:

Be wise as thou art cruel: do not press  
 My tongue-tied patience with too much disdain;  
 Lest sorrow lend me words, and words express  
 The manner of my pity-wanting pain.  
 If I might teach thee wit, better it were,  
 Though not to love, yet, love to tell me so;  
 As testy sick, when their death be near,  
 No news but health from their physicians know;  
 For if I should despair, I should grow mad,  
 And in my madness might speak ill of thee:  
 Now this ill-wresting world is grown so bad,  
 Mad slanderers by mad ears believed be.  
 That I may not be so, nor thou belied,  
 Bear thine eyes straight, thou thy proud heart go wide.

This sonnet continues the sonneteing tradition of the complaint about the cruel disdain of the male lover who figures usually in feminine disguise. The plea which it contains is that the young man should bear his eyes straight - that



is, look his master squarely into the face, according to the anticipation in Sonnet XCIII: "Thy look with me, thy heart in other place." Shakespeare gives to the expression of despair (which is tradition ~~xx~~ in Elizabethan sonneteering at the approaching end) the veiled appearance of being angry that a beloved woman cruelly disdains his love. Yet the dialectic is so apparent that it needs but little psychological insight to know that a disdained lover could never argue so with a woman he loves. How could a disdained lover of noble heart almost threateningly teach~~xx~~ her "wit?" ~~xxxx~~ How could he add the real threat that he will speak ill of her publicly and that his mad slander will be believed by mad ears? How could he give her the advice to comply to his love out of reasons of wisdom and to bear her eyes straight, though her proud heart go wide? The soul and physiognomy of a womanly face contradicts this speech. Addressed to a man it has the following coherent sense: Do not challenge my patience with cruel disdain of love. What I have said till now, I said sub rosa. In that which I could have told you I was tongue tied. My pain for her who wants thy pity is in sorrow so great that my words will overflow. I am so sick of you that I want to hear only that you love her. In my despair over your behaviour, I might speak ill of you and slander you. The world will believe me. And yet it would be a lie. Leave your pride and look straight with your eyes to where wisdom is.

Sonnet CXLI reads:

In faith, I do not love thee with mine eyes,  
 For they in thee a thousand errors note;  
 But 'tis my heart that loves what they despise,  
 Who, in despite of view, is pleased to dote;  
 Nor are mine ears with thy tongue's tune delighted;  
 Nor tender feeling, to base touches prone,  
 Nor taste, nor smell, desire to be invited  
 To any sensual feast with thee alone:  
 But my five wits nor my five senses can  
 Dissuade one foolish heart from serving thee,  
 Who leaves unsway'd the likeness of a man,  
 Thy proud heart's slave and vassal wretch to be:  
 Only my plague thus far I count my gain,  
 That she that makes me sin awards me pain.

The last two lines are the flashlight showing how the preceding two sonnets should be looked at. My plea to you is a sin. Her love makes me thus sin. The plague which this sin gives me brings me no gain. Except that I see her suffer. This unceasing pain which I feel for her is my reward. It is a reward because it shows me her genuine feelings. Were you a man you would be moved. But you are only the likeness of a man.

Sonnet CXLIII which follows uses the traditional motive of sonnet literature, the plea for pity which the cruel male lover should have towards her who loves him. Shakespeare deepens this plea psychologically and ethically by showing where the conflict of the disciple towards ~~the~~ his master lies, by leading him on to consider his own sins instead of arguing against the sins of his master. Would he come to this plane of self-knowledge, pity would root in his heart for her, and only then would he deserve that his master should pity him. If he hides that pity which he asks that his master should have for him, then his own example can teach the master to be pitiless towards him.

Love is my sin, and thy dear virtue hate,  
 Hate of my sin, grounded on sinful loving:  
 O, but with mine compare thou thine own state,  
 And thou shalt find it merits not reproving;  
 Or, if it do, not from those lips of thine,  
 That have profaned their scarlet ornaments  
 And seal'd false bonds of love as oft as mine,  
 Robb'd other' beds' revenues of their rents.  
 Be it lawful I love thee, as thou lovest those  
 Whom thine eyes woo as mine importune thee:  
 Root pity in thy heart, that, when it grows,  
 Thy pity may deserve to pitied be.  
     If thou dost seek to have what thou dost hide,  
     By self-example mayst thou be denied!  
   in its inverse sense

Sonnet CXLIII which comes next turns /a metaphor which the poet had used in the first part of the sonnets to depict his relation to the young ~~man~~ man. ~~inverse sense~~ The poet had declared in Sonnet XXII that he will bear and keep

his friend's heart with whose youth he identifies himself so charily, "as tender nurse her babe from faring ill." Here the poet appears as the babe, his young friend as the nurse; or rather to fit in into a peculiar picture, as a housewife and mother. We shall find later that during the three years which accompany the spiritual development of the young man Shakespeare's ironic dialectic changes in accordance with the spiritual growth of the young man. The spiritual content of the sonnets has just the anagogic aim to bring about the spiritual evolution of the young man. He is not the same when addressed in Sonnet CXLIII as he was when the poet wrote Sonnet XXII. The young man is no longer the beloved babe of the poet, but he has a babe which cries for love and this is she. We remember the line from Sidney, "Sweet babes must babies have, but shrewd girls must be beaten." We saw already how Shakespeare beats the young man, the shrewd girl, at the approaching end of the sonnets, and we can see in a few more sonnets how the poet heightens still more the traditional range and despair. In Sonnet CXLIII the poet has not the intention of beating him, but he ironises the escapades of the illusory imagination of the young friend. The poet identifies himself with her as he had done in Sonnet CXLIII when he had admonished his music-loving friend to kiss the poor lips of the mistress. The sonnet reads:

Lo, as a careful housewife runs to catch  
 One of her feather'd creatures broke away,  
 Sets down her babe, and makes all swift dispatch  
 In pursuit of the thing she would have stay;  
 Whilst her neglected child holds her in chase,  
 Cries to catch her whose busy care is bent  
 To follow that which flies before her face,  
 Not prizing her poor infant's discontent:  
 So runn'st thou after that which flies from thee,  
 Whilst I thy babe chase thee afar behind;  
 But if thou catch thy hope, turn back to me,  
 And play the mother's part, kiss me, be kind:  
     So will I pray that thou mayst have thy 'Will,'  
     If thou turn back and my loud crying still.

In its literal meaning the sonnet renders a nonsensical situation. Imagine a male lover who compares himself to a babe held in the arms of his mother-sweetheart

who puts him down because she runs after some flightly hope - while he runs after her crying to kiss him motherly, and then he will pray for her that she may have her 'Will.' It is impossible to imagine. <sup>The</sup> ~~this~~ line: "So will I pray that thou mayst have thy 'Will,'" is the psychological key for the ironic and humorous meaning of the sonnet. It discloses in what sense the poet is the spokesman for her. She is entrusted to him like a babe is entrusted to his mother. Of what use is my arguing about 'Will' whether the master is the guilty one or not, in view of the fact that she is dependent on his love as a babe is dependent on the love of his mother.

The following Sonnet CXLIV had appeared as early as 1599 in the Passionate Pilgrim. The ambiguity of this sonnet which speaks of "a man right fair, a woman coloured ill," is responsible for the sentimental romanticism which has been imaginatively woven around the triangular affair. The man right fair is, paradoxically enough, she, the master-mistress, whose eyes show (we have to imagine Helena in All's Well That Ends Well) "a man in hue, all hues in his controlling," controlling in her eye all shapes of expression with manly spirit. When she is spoken of as the mourning black lady because she is disdained in her love, her woe arouses the poet's pity and compassion. The colored woman is he, the fair man. He is praised only with the poet's tongue that he is beautiful and fair, but the poet's heart tells him that he is black. This secret insinuation becomes ~~an~~ an open accusation at the end of the sonnets where the poet in utmost despair over his character, and "frantic-mad" cries out at the end:

For I have sworn thee fair and thought thee bright  
Who art as black as hell, as dark as night. (Sonnet CXLVII)

Sonnet CXLIV reads:

Two loves I have of comfort and despair,  
Which like two spirits do suggest me still:  
The better angel is a man right fair,  
The worser spirit a woman colour'd ill.  
To win me soon to hell, my female evil  
Tempteth my better angel from my side,  
And would corrupt my saint to be a devil,  
Woing his purity with her foul pride.

And whether that my angel be turn'd fiend  
 Suspect I may, yet not directly tell;  
 But being both from me, both ~~mark~~ to each friend,  
 I gusses one angel is another's hell:  
 Yet this shall I ne'er know, but live in doubt,  
 Till my bad angel fire my good one out.

The intention of the poet is to show him that a complete separation would assure hell for both his angels.

The next sonnet, CXLV, the only sonnet of Shakespeare's in eight syllable verse, uses in an original way, the sonnetting motive of mercy. His friend is again spoken of as a woman. ~~and~~ The sonnet shows a sign of the approaching reconciliation of the young friend who relents in the hatred towards his master, who reminds him of his femininity with severe irony.

Those lips that Love's own hand did make  
 Breathed forth the sound that said 'I hate,'  
 To me that languish'd for her sake:  
 But when she saw my woeful state,  
 Straight in her heart did mercy come,  
 Chiding that tongue that ever sweet  
 Was used in giving gentle doom;  
 And taught it thus anew to greet;  
 'I hate' she alter'd with an end,  
 That follow'd it as gentle day  
 Doth follow night, who, like a fiend,  
 From heaven to hell is flown away;  
 'I hate' from hate away she threw,  
 And saved my life, saying 'not you.'

How can we assume that a sonnet which begins with a line: "Those lips that Love's own hand did make" is descriptive of a man? Here the physiognomy of speech, which seems to us so important, is indeed female. There is no better reply than to introduce here sonnet number LXXVIII from Parthenophil and 8 he as Parthenophil wrote to his mistress Parthenophe and which Parthenophe by Barnabe Barnes, which will help to clear up the entire question:

The proudest Planet in his highest sphere,  
 Saturn, enthronish in thy frowning brows!  
 Next awful Jove, thy majesty doth bear!  
 And unto dreadful Mars thy courage bows!  
 Drawn from thy noble grandfathers of might.  
 Amongst the laurel-crowned Poets sweet,  
 And sweet Musicians take the place by right!  
 For Phoebus, with thy graces thought it meet.

Venus doth sit upon thy lips and chin!  
 And Hermes hath enriched thy wits divine!  
 Phoebe with chaste desires, thine heart did win!  
 The Planets thus to thee, their powers resign!  
 Whom the Planets honour thus, is any such?  
 My Muse, then, cannot honour her too much!

That Parthenophe appears from this mercurial sonnet physiognomically as a man there can be no doubt. A man with the frowning brow of Saturn, the majesty of Jupiter, the courage of Mars, derived from ancestral blood, the divine wit of Hermes - the mercurial theme itself - destined to become, with Phoebus' help, a laurel-crowned poet, a man attracted by the graces who has been won by Phoebe's chaste desires - unveils in this sonnet the esoteric content of sonnet literature. The only female trait is shown in the line "Venus doth sit upon thy lips and chin." Here is Adonis' sign.

Sonnet CXLVI expresses the entity of spiritual consciousness which pervades the whole sonnet cycle. It was recognized long ago as a religious poem of an illuminated mind, but critics were not aware of the spiritual and artistic purpose it served. It shows the anagogic spiritual aim to which the young friend is to be led on:

Poor soul, the centre of my sinful earth,  
 . . . these rebel powers that thee array,  
 Why dost thou pine within and suffer dearth,  
 Painting thy outward walls so costly gay?  
 Why so large cost, having so short a lease,  
 Dost thou upon thy fading mansion spend?  
 Shall worms, inheritors of this excess,  
 Eat up thy charge? is this thy body's end?  
 Then, soul, live thou upon thy servant's loss,  
 And let that pine to aggravate thy store;  
 Buy terms divine in selling hours of dross;  
 Within be fed, without be rich no more:  
 So shalt thou feed on Death, that feeds on men,  
 And Death once dead, there's no more dying then.

Shakespeare had left out one word, probably a word which might be interpreted as an advice. ~~Had~~ He had left it out, we surmise, "not to sell his purpose" of conversion. Without this word the sonnet gives the impression of pure self confession.

The meaning of Sonnet CII becomes clear in the light of our interpretation:

Love is too young to know what conscience is;  
 Yet who knows not conscience is born of love?  
 Then, gentle cheater, urge not my amiss,  
 Lest guilty of my faults thy sweet self prove:  
 For, thou betraying me, I do betray  
 My nobler part to my gross body's treason;  
 My soul doth tell my body that he may  
 Triumph in love; flesh stays no farther reason,  
 But rising at thy name doth point out thee  
 As his triumphant prize. Proud of this pride,  
 He is contented thy poor drudge to be,  
 To stand in thy affairs, fall by thy side.  
 No want of conscience hold it that I call  
 Her 'love' for whose dear love I rise and fall.

With the dialectic of identification which runs throughout the sonnets, the poet leads the young man on to the point where he must ascend with his conscience, or not only descend farther into hell but also bring about the fall of his master. The poet tells his young friend: You are like Cupid, the gentle cheater, a young boy who does not know what conscience is, yet who brings about the birth of conscience. Should you continuously insist it is my fault that I brought you in a situation where you must needs love her, then you will bring me to a point where I will have to blame you for those faults of which you accuse me: I will have to love her myself, and you will be the causer of it. Betraying me by not submitting to her love, you would make me betray my own soul to the sensual desires of my body. My soul had permitted my body to triumph in love; as soon as my body, the sinful earth of my soul, had this permission, it rose up to have in you the triumph of love. My body has since become your drudge and helper to realize the love. My body can fall so deep that I will have to make love to her out of conscience' sake, because you do not do it. It is therefore that I call her 'love.' Her dear love can make me rise and -- fall.<sup>9</sup>

The following sonnet, as befits the end of the sonnet cycle, thunders the indignation of the master against his beloved friend:

In loving thee thou know'st I am forsworn,  
 But thou art twice forsworn, to me love swearing;  
 In act thy bed-vow broke, and new faith torn,  
 In vowing new hate after new love bearing.  
 But why of two oaths' breach do I accuse thee,  
 When I break twenty? I am perjured most;  
 For all my vows are oaths to misuse thee,  
 And all my honest faith in thee is lost:  
 For I have sworn deep oaths of thy deep kindness,  
 Oaths of thy love, thy truth, thy constance;  
 And, to enlighten thee, gave eyes to blindness,  
 Or made them swear against the thing they see;  
 For I have sworn thee fair; more perjured I,  
 To swear against the truth so foul a lie!

The sonnet outlines the conflict between the poet and his friend which had been going on for three years in its various phases of estrangement and reconciliation. It has the purpose of sustaining in his young friend a life-long feeling of guilt and responsibility. The theme of illumination and the psychological perspective to this theme comes out clearly from the line "And, to enlighten thee, gave eyes to blindness." This line, as we have already remarked, brings to concordance the theme of the sonnets with the theme of "A Lover's Complaint," where the poet, figuring ~~under~~ under the veil of a nun, says, "Religious love put out Religion's eye."

Shakespeare closes his sonnet cycle with two mythological vignettes of almost similar content, where he tries to symbolize the general psychology of the mercurial theme. The duplication of the same motive which we met previously in Sonnets CXXXV and CXXXVI, where the poet plays ironically on 'Will,' might indicate that Shakespeare was not satisfied with the expression of the difficult paradox in one sonnet, whose sense he corrected and mended with another. It has been surmised by literary critics that the theme of these two sonnets is based on a Latin version of a Greek epigram found in the ninth book of the anthology composed by Byzantine Marianus, a writer probably of the fifth century after Christ. The translation of this epigram reads:

Here beneath the plane trees, overborne by soft sleep,  
 Love slumbered, giving his torch to the Nymphs' keeping;



and the Nymphs said to one another, 'Why do we delay? and would that with this we might have quenched the fire in the heart of mortals.' But now, the torch having kindled even the waters, the amorous Nymphs pour hot water thence into the bathing pool. 10

In Shakespeare's sonnets this motive appears as follows in sonnets CLIII and CLIV:

Cupid laid his brand and fell asleep:  
 A maid of Dian's this advantage found,  
 And his love-kindling fire did quickly steep  
 In a cold valley-fountain of that ground;  
 Which borrow'd from this holy fire of Love  
 A dateless lively heat, still to endure,  
 And grew a seething bath, which yet men prove  
 Against strange maladies a sovereign cure.  
 But at my mistress' eye Love's brand new-fired,  
 The boy for trial needs would touch my breast;  
 I, sick withal, the help of bath desired,  
 And thither hied, a sad distemper'd guest,  
     But found no cure: the bath for my help lies  
     Where Cupid got new fire, my mistress' eyes.

The little Love-god lying once asleep  
 Laid by his side his heart-inflaming brand,  
 Whilst many nymphs that vow'd chaste life to keep  
 Came tripping by; but in her maiden hand  
 The fairest votary took up that fire  
 Which many legions of true hearts had warm'd;  
 And so the general of hot desire  
 Was sleeping by a virgin hand disarm'd.  
 This brand she quenched in a cool well by,  
 Which from Love's fire took heat perpetual,  
 Growing a bath and healthful remedy  
 For men diseased; but I, my mistress' thrall  
     Came there for cure, and this by that I prove,  
     Love's fire heats water, water cools not love.

If we compare the Greek epigram with Shakespeare's sonnets, we find the sleep of Cupid, the nymphs getting hold of Cupid's torch, the heating of water and its use as a bathing pool, common motives in both. Shakespeare had used only a traditional mythological picture, the esoteric content of which he had changed to serve as an expression of a psychology of the triangular mercurial theme. I do not think that Shakespeare himself had derived this picture from the epigram. It belongs to the

general mythological inheritance of the Renaissance from antiquity, and was probably brought to significance by the esoteric Diana myth which stood for the mercurial theme and of which Monte Mayor's Diana was the most famous expression. From the somewhat stilted conceit of H. Constable's Sonnet The Sixth Decade, III, of his sonnet cycle Diana, we can best approach the meaning of the last two Shakespeare sonnets.

A Carver, having loved too long in vain,  
 Hewed out the portraiture of Venus' son  
 In marble rock, upon ~~which~~ the which did rain  
 Small drizzling drops, that from a font did run:  
 Imagining the drops would either wear  
 His fury out, or quench his living flame;  
 But when he saw it bootless did appear,  
 He swore the water did augment the same.  
 So I, that seek in verse to carve thee out,  
 Hoping thy beauty will my flame allay,  
 Viewing my verse and poems all throughout,  
 Find my will rather to my love obey.  
 That, with the Carver, I my work do blame,  
 Finding it still th' augumenter of my flame. ll

This sonnet has in common with Shakespeare's last two sonnets the figure of Cupid and the vain effort of quenching or cooling Cupid's flame with water. Just as a carver, who had loved too long in vain had made an idol of Cupid and had placed it under the water of a fountain, hoping that his flame will thus be quenched, just so, Constable says to the friend he berhymes, I have idolized thee in my verse, hoping that thy beauty would become like cool water which would allay the flame. Seeing the picture of your feminine vanity, your love would ~~stop~~ cease being enamoured with it. I would then have no reason for the feigning of love. Just as the carver failed, so did I. Instead of my love obeying my will of not loving you, my will must needs obey my love.

The element of water symbolized in mercurial thinking the mental elaboration of cool thought. Shakespeare had tried to extend this artificial symbol to a

general symbol of the mercurial theme. Cupid who had fallen asleep represents the inverted initiate whose libido, in the state of inversion, is suspended, as psychoanalytical science states. He was thus easily disarmed by a chaste virgin, a votaress of Diana. The quenching of Cupid's torch in water signifies how the blind libido was subjected to the discipline of thought. The inner upheaval and conflict brought about through this situation is symbolised in the seething bath, a cathartic process, destined to cure the narcissistic self-love of a man to real love. No matter what subtle niceties can be said in interpreting these two sonnets, the words "...a seething bath, which yet men prove/Against strange maladies a sovereign cure" and "Growing a bath and healthful remedy/For men diseased" give the medical perspective to the sonnets and rehabilitate Shakespeare, the supposed lover of a sweet boy, as a spiritual physician.

The perspective which we have won can now help us to come to the full understanding of the rest of Shakespeare's sonnets. Many dialectical motives have previously been used by Elizabethan sonneteers, and the advantage of comparison is the greater since the Elizabethan sonnets not only enlighten us on Shakespeare, but Shakespeare's poems throw light on the Elizabethan sonnets: the cruel lady and the sweet boy explain each other since they are one and the same superindividual person: a cruel, sweet lady-boy. Sonnetting rhetoric is more or less stereotyped and only the ironic tact and liveliness of presentation distinguish individually the various sonnet cycles. If we read, for instance, Shakespeare's riddlesome Sonnet XXIV we can come only through comparison to an understanding of what is meant.

Mine eye hath play'd the painter and hath stell'd  
 Thy beauty's form in table of my heart;  
 My body is the frame wherein 'tis held,  
 And perspective it is best painter's art.  
 For through the painter must you see his skill,  
 To find where your true image pictures lies;  
 Which in my bosom's shop is hanging still,  
 That hath his windows glazed with thine eyes.

Now see what good turns eyes for eyes have done:  
 Mine eyes have drawn thy shape, and thine for me  
 Are windows to my breast, where-through the sun  
 Delights to peep, to gaze therein on thee;  
 Let eyes this cunning want to grace their art,  
 They draw but what they see, know not the heart.

We find in Watson's Tears of Fancie the corresponding motive in Sonnets

XLV and XLVI:

When neither sighs nor sorrowes were of force  
 I let my Mistress see my naked brest:  
 Where view of wounded hart might worke remorse,  
 And move her mind to pitie my unrest.  
 With stedfast eie shee gazed on my hart,  
 Wherein shee saw the picture of her beautie:  
 Which having seene as one agast shee start,  
 Accusing all my thoughts eith breach of duetie.  
 As if my hart had robed her of her faire,  
 No, no, her faire bereavd my hart of joy:  
 And fates disdain hath kild me with dispaire,  
 Dispaire the fountaine of my sad annoy.  
 And more, alas, a cruell one I served,  
 Lest loved of her whose love I most deserved.

My Mistress seeing her faire counterfet  
 So sweetelie framed in my bleeding brest  
 On it her fancie shee so firmelie set,  
 Thinking her selfe for want of it distrest.  
 Envyng that anie would injoy her Image  
 Since all unworthie were of such an honor:  
 Tho gan shee me command to leave my gage,  
 The first end of my joy, last cause of dolor.  
 But it so fast was fixed to my hart.  
 Joind with unseparable sweete commixture,  
 That nought had force or power them to part:  
 Here take my hart quoth I, with it the picture.  
 But oh coy Dame intollerable smart,  
 Rather than touch my hart or come about it,  
 She turned her face and chose to goe without it. 12

The way how Shakespeare had worked out the contrast of eye and heart is  
 moreover influenced by Watson's sonnets XIX and XX:

My Hart impos'd this penance on mine eies,  
 (Eies the first causers of my harts lamenting):  
 That they should weepe till love and fancie dies,  
 Fond love the last cause of my harts repenting.

Mine eies upon my hart inflict this paine,  
 (Bold hart that dard to harbour thoughts of love)  
 That it should love and purchase fell disdaine,  
 A greivous penance which my hart doth prove.  
 Mine eies did weepe as hart had them imposed,  
 My hart did pine as eies had it constrained:  
 Eies in their teares my paled face disclosed,  
 Hart in his sighs did show it was disdained.  
 So th'one did weepe th' other sighed, both grieved,  
 For both must live and love, both unrelieved.

My Hart accus'd mine eies and was offended,  
 Vowing the cause was in mine eies aspiring:  
 Mine eies affirmed my hart might well amend it,  
 If he at first had banisht loves desiring.  
 Hart said that love did enter at the eies,  
 And from the eies descended to the hart:  
 Eies said that in the hart did sparkes arise,  
 Which kindled flame that wrought the inward smart,  
 Hart said eies tears might soone have quencht that fl(ame,)  
 Eies said harts sighs at first might love exile:  
 So hart the eies and eies the hart did blame,  
 Whilst both did pine for both the paine did feele,  
 Hart sighed and bled, eies wept and gaz'd too much,  
 Yet must I gaze because I see none such. 13

A parallel is found to these two sonnets in Shakespeare's Sonnets XLVI and

XLVII:

Mine eye and heart are at a mortal war,  
 How to divide the conquest of thy sight;  
 Mine eye my heart thy picture's sight would bar,  
 My heart mine eye the freedom of that right.  
 My heart doth plead that thou in him dost lie,  
 A closet never pierced with crystal eyes,  
 But the defendant doth that plea deny,  
 And says in him thy fair appearance lies.  
 To 'cide this title is impanneled  
 A quest of thoughts, all tenants to the heart;  
 And by their verdict is determined  
 The clear eye's moiety and the dear heart's part:  
 As thus; mine eye's due in thine outward part,  
 And my heart's right thine inward love of heart.

Betwixt mine eye and heart a league is took,  
 And each doth good turns now unto the other:  
 When that mine eye is famish'd for a look,  
 Or heart in love with sighs himself doth smother,  
 With my love's picture then my eye doth feast  
 And to the painted banquet bids my heart;

Another time mine eye is my heart's quest  
 And in his thoughts of love doth share a part:  
 So, either by thy picture or my love,  
 Thyself away art present still with me;  
 For thou not farther than my thoughts canst move,  
 And I am still with them and they with thee;  
 Or, if they sleep, thy picture in my sight  
 Awakes my heart to heart's and eye's delight.

The contrast lives from the ironic paradox that the heart contains the picture of the inward beauty of the friend, the eyes see his outward beauty. The mortal war between eye and heart consists therein that the vanity of the friend, enamoured with his own beauty, is in conflict with the idea of inner beauty which the berhyming poet has of his friend. Around this paradox are, according to Watson's temperament or Shakespeare's genius, drawn the arabesque flourishes of sonneteering lines.

What distinguishes Shakespeare's sonnets from those of his contemporaries is the spiritual and philosophical mood which melts into the harmony of musical lines, humor, melancholy and irony. The Sonnets to Delia by Samuel Daniel have a similar rhythm of pensive meditation, although Shakespeare far surpasses Daniel in pneumatic breath and vision. Timeliness and time, the world-without-end-and-hour ~~and man~~ and man for whom the hourglass announces the coming end, the consciousness of the view sub specie aeternitatis as a spur to the human soul to fulfill the law of time, are the contrasting motives out of which the musical loges of the sonnets grows. The poet expects from his friend that he will come to his healthy disillusion of life; then the young friend, having found his center in himself, will not need the love of his masters. The poet desires that this time should come about, although he feigns to be afraid of it. We should never forget in reading the sonnets that they are indirect ironic insinuations, dramatized attitudes which have the anagogic purpose to challenge and to set aright

the soul of his friend. The poet speaks to his friend like an old father to his son, desiring nothing more than that his sonhood should end. The desire that his friend should emerge as a distinct personality is expressed in Sonnet XXXVI:

Let me confess that we two must be twain,  
 Although our undivided loves are one:  
 So shall those blots that do with me remain,  
 Without my help, by me be borne alone.  
 In our two loves there is but one respect,  
 Though in our lives a separable spite,  
 When though it alter not love's sole effect,  
 Yet doth it steal sweet hours from love's delight.  
 I may not evermore acknowledge thee,  
 Lest my bewailed guilt should do thee shame,  
 Nor thou with public kindness honour me,  
 Unless thou take that honour from thy name:  
     But do not so; I love thee in such sort,  
     As thou being mine, mine is thy good report.

The relation to his friend as that of a spiritual father to his son, is expressed in the following Sonnet XXXVII:

As a decrepit father takes delight  
 To see his active child do deeds of youth,  
 So I, made lame by fortune's dearest spite,  
 Take all my comfort of thy worth and truth:  
 For whether beauty, birth, or wealth, or wit,  
 Or any of these all, or all, or more,  
 Entitled in thy parts do crowned sit,  
 I make my love engrafted to this store:  
 So then I am not lame, poor, nor despised,  
 Whilst that this shadow doth such substance give  
 That I in thy abundance am sufficed  
 And by a part of all thy glory live.  
     Look, what is best, that best I wish in thee:  
     This wish I have; then ten times happy me!

The anticipation of the final separation which will replace the relation of master and disciple with a sober, manly friendship, is cautiously hinted at in Sonnet XLIX with that irony which enlightens us what real purpose sonnets had:

Against that time, if ever that time come,  
 When I shall see thee frown on my defects,  
 When as they love hath cast his utmost sum,  
 Call'd to that audit by advised respects;

Against that time when thou shalt strangely pass,  
 And scarcely greet me with that sun, thine eye,  
 When love, converted from the thing it was,  
 Shall reasons find of settled gravity;  
 Against that time do I ensconce me here  
 Within the knowledge of mine own desert,  
 And this my hand against myself uprear,  
 To guard the lawful reasons on thy part:  
 To leave poor me thou hast the strength of laws,  
 Since why to love I can allege no cause.

"When love, converted from the thing it was,/Shall reasons find of settled gravity" is not a sentimental complaint but a pious end for which the poet works.

Sonnets XXVII and XXVIII, XLIII, XLIV, XLV, deal with the theme of the communion of thought between master and friend. Sonnet XXXIV, L and LI, entirely esoteric, allude to Prospero's control of his friend's consciousness. The key for understanding these sonnets lies in Sonnet XXXIII:

Full many a glorious morning have I seen  
 Flatter the mountain-tops with sovereign eye,  
 Kissing with golden face the meadows green,  
 Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchemy;  
 Anon permit the basest clouds to ride  
 With ugly rack on his celestial face,  
 And from the forlorn world his visage hide,  
 Stealing unseen to west with this disgrace:  
 Even so my sun one early morn did shine  
 With all-triumphant splendour on my brow;  
 But, out, alack! he was but one hour mine,  
 The region cloud hath mask'd him from me now.  
 Yet him for this my love no whit disdaineth;  
 Suns of the world may stain when heaven's sun staineth.

We remember what Harvey had said of the English Petrarch, Sir Sidney, "Whose ditty is an Image of the Sun, voutsafing to represent his glorious face in a clowde." <sup>11</sup> The sun is the mercurial symbol of male consciousness; the sun covered by a cloud, the mercurial symbol for the initiate who is estranged from the master on account of the offence done to him. Shakespeare uses this picture entirely in that sense. His inimitable poetic faculty translates an



esoteric symbol into a natural scene, so that by the charm of his lyric picture we forget entirely the esoteric origin. And yet from the esoteric symbol this sonnet has grown. "Gilding pale streams with heavenly alchemy," refers to the vital transformation which the initiate experiences when his pale, green youth is changed into the gold of spiritual manhood. The westward course of the sun, under the disgrace of the covering cloud, is the westward course of the initiate who is angry and disgraces his master. The line "but, out, alack! he was but one hour mine," refers to the soul-shaking ecstasy of inter-communion between master and disciple, which lasted only a short time. The expression which Petrarch gives in Qualunque animal alberga to the desire to possess Laura for one night, not to change her as Apollo did with Daphne into a green laurel tree, but to lie confined with her in senseless wood, relates to the same psychic event of inter-communion. We are bordering again on a psychic puzzle which admits, in its riddlesome mysteriousness, no rational discussion. <sup>15</sup>

Sonnet LXXXVII sheds some light on Sonnet XXXIII:

Farewell! thou art too dear for my possessing,  
 And like enough thou know'st thy estimate:  
 The charter of thy worth gives thee releasing;  
 My bonds in thee are all determinate.  
 For how do I hold thee but by thy granting?  
 And for that riches where is my deserving?  
 The cause of this fair guilt in me is wanting,  
 And so my patent back again is swerving.  
 Thyself thou gavest, thy own worth then not knowing,  
 Or me, to whom thou gavest it, else mistaking;  
 So thy great gift, upon misprision growing,  
 Comes home again, on better judgement making.  
 Thus have I had thee, as a dream doth flatter,  
 In sleep a king, but waking no such matter.

The last two lines refer again mysteriously to the spiritual king and master, whose disciple does not want to realize in life what he seemed to have promised in the ecstasy of his ideal dreams.

Sonnets XXV and XXVI, XXIX, XXX and XXXI, lead up to the comfort which the poet derives from his friend's love. Sonnets XXX and XXXI contain especially the allusion that the young man is not the poet's first lover. The dead who are gone were lovers like the young friend. From Sonnet XXXI:

Thou art the grave where buried love doth live,  
 Hung with the trophies of my lovers gone,  
 Who all their parts of me to thee did give:  
 That due of many now is thine alone:  
 Their images I loved I view in thee,  
 And thou, all they, hast all the all of me.

In the sonnets there is an up and down of aggressive provocations and mild reconciliations. The recurring theme of reconciliation after a lapse of time is found in Sonnet XXXV. Sonnets XXXVI and XXXIX bring the anagogic suggestion to the young man that he must emerge from his identification with the master as a distinct, separate personality:

Let me confess that we two must be twain,  
 Although our undivided loves are one:  
 So shall those blots that do with me remain,  
 Without thy help, by me be borne alone.  
 In our two loves there is but one respect,  
 Though in our lives a separable spite,  
 Which though it alter not love's sole effect,  
 Yet doth it steal sweet hears from love's delight.  
 I may not evermore acknowledge thee,  
 Lest my bewailed guilt should do thee shame,  
 Nor thou with public kindness honour me,  
 Unless thou take that honour from thy name:  
 But do not so; I love thee in such sort,  
 As thou being mine, mine is thy good report.

O, how thy worth with manners may I sing,  
 When thou art all the better part of me?  
 What can mine own praise to mine own self bring?  
 And what is't but mine own when I praise thee?  
 Even for this let us divided live,  
 And our dear love lose name of single one,  
 That by this separation I may give  
 That due to thee which thou deservest alone.  
 O absence, what a torment wouldst thou prove,  
 Were it not thy sour leisure gave sweet leave  
 To entertain the time with thoughts of love,  
 Which time and thoughts so sweetly doth deceive.  
 And that thou teachest how to make one twain,  
 By praising him here who doth hence remain!

The plea that their " dear love should lose name of single one" and the anticipation that his friend teaches how to make ~~one~~ twain by praising his master when he is absent, refers to that paradoxical triangular love situation where the disciple thinks in his imagination that he is the representative of the love of his master.

Sonnet XLVIII has an affinity to the sonnets which refer to the rival poet by telling his friend that he whom he would keep from hands of falsehood is subject to become the prey of every vulgar theme.

Thee have I not lock'd up in any chest,  
Save where thou art not, though I feel thou art,  
Within the gentle closure of my breast,  
From whence at pleasure thou mayst come and part;  
And even thence thou wilt be stolen I fear,  
For truth proves theivish for a prize so dear.

Sonnet LIII uses the same picture. Just as the rich who keep their treasures  
locked up to enjoy/<sup>them</sup>only at special moments,

So is the time that keeps you, as my chest,  
Or as the wardrobe which the robe doth hide,  
To make some special instant special-blest,  
By new unfolding his imprison'd pride.  
Blessed are you, whose worthiness gives scope,  
Being had, to triumph, being lack'd, to hope.

Time is here compared to a chest. The poet seems to wait for the moment where he will again be proud of his friend, after forgetting and neglecting him.

With Sonnet LIII again begins the ironic praise of the friend's beauty contrasted with constance and truth of heart. The admiration of his friend's beauty is even more than ironic - it is teasing:

Describe Adonis, and the counterfeit  
Is poorly imitated after you:  
On Helen's cheek all art of beauty set,  
And you in Grecian tires are painted new.

We have only to recall from what viewpoint Adonis and Helena were looked at by

Shakespeare and all the Elizabethan poets, and what satiric accent the expression the expression "painted beauty" had for Shakespeare. The sonnet ends with:

In all external grace you have some part,  
But you like none, none you, for constant heart.

That the poet denies his friend's constancy becomes clear in Sonnet LIV:

O how much more doth beauty beauteous seem,  
By that sweet ornament which truth doth give!  
The rose looks fair, but fairer we it deem  
For that sweet odour which doth in it live.  
The canker-blooms have full as deep a dye  
As the perfumed tincture of the roses,  
Hang on such thorns, and play as wantonly  
When summer's breath their masked buds discloses:  
But, for their virtue only is their show,  
They live unwoo'd, and unrespected fade;  
Die to themselves. Sweet roses do not so;  
Of their sweet deaths are sweetest odours made:  
And so of you, beauteous and lovely youth,  
When that shall fade, by verse distills your truth.

We repeat here the advice the dying Euphues gave to Philautus on how to bring up his sons, in Thomas Lodge's Rosalynde: "They shall find Love anatomised by Eupheus with as lively colours as in Apelles table: roses to whip him when he is wanton, reasons to withstand him when he is wily." The roses in Shakespeare's sonnets are an illustration of such a whipping. The poet tells his young friend that his beauty must die in order that the odor of his virtue and truth might be distilled.

Sonnets LVI, LVII and LVIII express the poet's patience with his friend, who loses his time in idle pleasures:

I am to wait, though waiting do be hell;  
Not blame your pleasure, be it ill or well.

Sonnet LIX looks back to past ages which have the record of such love affairs as exist between the poet and his friend. He comforts himself that the Lauras of former ages might not have been better; perhaps worse:

If there be nothing new, but that which is  
 Hath been before, how are our brains beguil'd,  
 Which laboring for invention bear amiss  
 The second burthen of a former child!  
 O, that record could with a backward look,  
 Even of five hundred courses of the sun,  
 Show me your image in some unique book,  
 Since mind at first in character was done!  
 That I might see what the old world could say  
 To this composed wonder of your frame;  
 Whether we are mended, or whe'r better they,  
 Or whether revolution be the same.  
 O! sure I am, the wits of former days  
 To subjects worse have given admiring praise.

← We can guess what conception the young friend had of the poet's admiration after reading this sonnet.

Sonnet LX, reminding the friend of the passing of time, ends:

And yet, to times in hope, my verse shall stand,  
 Praising thy worth, despite his cruel hand.

Sonnet LXII reflects the delicate spirit with which the poet wants to bring the insight of the self-love of his friend. He does not tell right out that his friend is self-loving: it is ~~against~~ against the mercurial spirit to blame and vituperate - the acidia or bitterness of soul was forbidden as a corrosive - but the poet confesses ironically he himself is guilty of self-love because he loves his young friend.

Sin of self-love possesseth all mine eye  
 And all my soul and all my every part;  
 And for this sin there is no remedy,  
 It is so grounded inward in my heart.  
 Methinks no face so gracious is as mine;  
 No shape so true, no truth of such account;  
 And for myself mine own worth do define,  
 As I all other in all worths surmount.  
 But when my glass shows me myself indeed,  
 Beated and chopp'd with tann'd antiquity,  
 Mine own self-love quite contrary I read;  
 Self so self-loving were iniquity.  
 'Tis thee, myself, that for myself I praise,  
 Painting my age with beauty of thy days.

Contrast this with the following Sonnet LXIII where the poet assures his friend

that when he has come to wrinkles and old age, in these black lines his sweet love's beauty will be seen, "and they shall live and he in them still green." It should not be forgotten what ironic aspect was given in sonnet literature to the praise of green youth. With what solemn mien Sonnet LXIV has often been quoted and how has the wonderful music of this sonnet lulled the reader's mind to charmed sleep.

When I have seen by Time's fell hand defaned  
 The rich-proud cost of outworn buried age;  
 When sometime lofty towers I see down-ras'd  
 And brass eternal, slave to mortal rage;  
 When I have seen the hungry ocean gain  
 Advantage on the kingdom of the shore,  
 And the firm soil win of the wat'ry main  
 Increasing store with loss, and loss with store;  
 When I have seen such interchange of state,  
 Or state itself confounded to decay;  
 Ruin hath taught me thus to ruminat-  
 That Time will come and take my love away.  
     This thought is as a death, which cannot choose  
     But weep to have that which it fears to lose.

The reader will excuse me if I wake him up a little urgently with the prosaic question: What's wrong with the picture? A lover who, at the sight of the eternal interchange of the state of things, weeps to have that love which, at a later time, he fears to lose, is an ironic lover - that is, one ~~would~~ who would be glad to lose what he weeps to have. If we compare the lyric sentimental situation in Lamartine's "Le Lac" we find that the tears come about in memory of the enjoyed happiness which has been lost. No real lover has ever ruminated and reacted as Sonnet LXIV suggests.

Sonnet LXV again repeats the ever-recurring motive that the beauty of his friend will shine bright and be immortalized through the black ink of the sonnets.

Since all decays, how can beauty, not stronger than a flower, withstand the rage of sad mortality?

O fearful meditation! where, alack,  
 Shall Time's best jewel from Time's chest lie hid?  
 Or what strong hand can hold his swift foot back?  
 Or who his spoil of beauty can forbid?  
 O, none, unless this miracle have might,  
 That in black ink my love may still shine bright.

Shakespeare preserves the beauty of his friend with sweet words.

Sonnet LXVI, with enumeration of the general wrongs of the world, makes inconspicuous one serious reproach which ~~is~~ is addressed to the young friend:

Tired with all these, for restful death I cry,  
 As, to behold desert a beggar born,  
 And needy nothing trimm'd in jollity,  
 And purest faith unhappily forsworn,  
 And gilded honour shamefully misplaced,  
 And maiden virtue rudely strumpeted,  
 And right perfection wrongfully disgraced,  
 And strength by limping sway disabled,  
 And art made tongue-tied by authority,  
 And folly, doctor-like, controlling skill,  
 And simple truth miscall'd simplicity,  
 And captive good attending captain ill:  
 Tired with all these, from these would I be gone,  
 Save that, to die, I leave my love alone.

The forceful expression, the poet's range of discontent with the world, might have touched his young friend with a feeling of sympathy for the poet, but there is one statement which must have stung him the more: "And maiden virtue rudely strumpeted." The line can be written as a motto to "A Lover's Complaint" where Shakespeare /gives a simple explanation of the affairs of the sonnets. If the young friend wanted to remain in moral sympathy with the poet, then he needs first to mend himself. The unobtrusive, sincere rhetoric of this sonnet may stand as an example for the mercurial attitude to occasionally drop a word which could not fall to the ground, as a moralizing speech usually does. The reproach must have stuck because the sympathy of the young friend was first engaged.

Sonnets LXVII and LXVIII complain that ~~this~~ his friend, who could be the

pattern of natural beauty, is the victim of the painted beauty of false borrowed art.

Sonnet LXIX tells him that if the beauty of his mind does not match the outward beauty of his appearance,

The solve is this,-- that thou dost common grow.

We have already seen in Sonnet CXXXVII how the poet had reproached the common vulgar nature of his friend:

Why should my heart think that a several plot,  
Which my heart knows the wide world's common place?

The poet leads his young friend on to exterp from his heart the common, vulgar nature.

Sonnet LXX excuses the faults which his friend commits; those who are fair have ever been slander's mark. The poet thus offers an excuse for slandering his friend, whom he has told is of a common, vulgar nature. The sonnet is thus an example of the refinement of Shakespeare's ironic tact with which he seemingly retracts what was sincerely meant to lift his young friend up to a state of conscience where he will be above reproach.

Sonnets LXXI, LXXII, LXXIII, and LXXIV allude through the anticipation of the poet's death, which is soon to come about, to the final separation to which the relation of master and disciple leads. The poet entreats his young friend that when his master is dead,

Do not so much as my poor name rehearse,  
But let your love even with my life decay.  
Lest the wise world should look into your moan,  
And mock you with me after I am gone.

These lines can be understood only from the double-tongued sonnetearing point of view. From the viewpoint of a speech where every word is sincerely meant, the expression of such a sentiment must have sounded insincere as well as affected. What he meant to convey was that the friend should live so that he would need no



master. He entreats him furthermore that he should not praise him:

For I am shamed by that which I bring forth,  
And so should you, to love things nothing worth.

It is again an ungentle attack on his young friend to bring him to that realm of Shakespearian discretion where the ever-pressing feeling of shame forbids the exhibition of praise in words. The poet, comparing himself to the late season of autumn, speaks in sonnet LXXIII as one who is about to depart, and anticipating his own death in Sonnet LXXIV, comforts his friend that he will have lost merely the body of his master:

My spirit is thine, the better part of me:  
So then thou hast but lost the dregs of life,  
The prey of worms, my body being dead.

The allusion to the death is here symbolic. But it reflects also generally the attitude which the Elizabethan poets had towards death. Harvey wrote in the Marginalia that the death of Moses was the wisest way of dying. Marston in imitative affectation of this prevailing sentiment, had ordered written on his tombstone Oblivioni Sacrum. The epitaph of Shakespeare's tombstone expresses similar sentiments. We read in Sonnet CXLVI:

So shall thou feed on Death, that feeds on men,  
And Death once dead, there's no more dying then.

~~He is dead, but the covering of the fear of death during life~~

Sonnets LXXV and LXXVI repeat with seeming patience that the friend is still the same as he was. Sonnet LXXVII advises the friend to look into his mirror and watch the dial. The sonnet was designed, as has been suggested, to accompany a present of a book consisting of blank paper, where the friend is invited to write down his experiences about Time's thievish progress to eternity. It is again an ironic insinuation to write down that which mirror and dial can

plainly tell him. It is a satire against his friend's inactive, procrastinating state of mind.

Sonnets LXXVIII to LXXXVI deal with the rival poet. If the Earl of Southampton was addressed as "the only begetter of the sonnets," Thomas Nashe who had dedicated to the Earl of Southampton his Unfortunate Traveller, or Barnaby Barnes who had celebrated the Earl of Southampton in a dedicatory poem attached to "Parthenophil and Parthenophe," may put claim of being the alluded rival poet. Marlow, Drayton, and Daniel have been put forward; some interpreters think that George Chapman is alluded to. We have no time or interest to go into this particular question. Our interest is to determine what ~~spiritual~~ relation these eight sonnets have to the whole cycle. The theme of the rival poet has for Shakespeare the anagogic aim to teach his young friend to stand above the flattery of words. The poet expresses his contempt of so-called literary beauty of perfection of style. He is willing to admit that anyone may surpass him in technical ability. What he is afraid of is that the attachment of his young friend to another poet would nourish that vanity and self-love which he was about to destroy. Shakespeare feels superior to the rival poet not because of his own poetic ability, but on account of the sincerity of his character. To counteract the flattery of the rival poet Shakespeare again heaps upon the young man the ironic praise of his beauty. The recurrent tenor: You are more beautiful than your poet can tell you, bring home to the young man the narcissistic tendencies of his soul. ~~Shakespeare brings this again in Sonnet LXXXVI, there where the~~

Was it the proud full sail of his great verse,  
Bound for the prize of all too precious you,  
That did my ripe thoughts in my brain inhearse,  
Making their tomb the womb wherein they grew?  
Was it his spirit, by spirits taught to write  
Above a mortal pitch, that struck me dead?

No, neither he, nor his compeers by night  
 Giving him aid, my verse astonished.  
 He, nor that affable familiar ghost  
 Which nightly gulls him with intelligence  
 As victors of my silence cannot boast;  
 I was not sick of any fear from thence:  
     But when your countenance fill'd up his line,  
     Then lack'd I matter; that enfeebled mine.

Shakespeare is neither baffled by the great verse of the rival poet nor by the master spirit (the 'familiar' as it was called in Elizabethan times) who guides his pen; what makes him powerless, he states with great irony, is that the beauty of the young man's face becomes visible in the verse of the rival poet.

Sonnets LXXXVIII and LXXXIX show how the young friend cannot escape his master who identifies himself with him. If his young friend accuses him, he will side with him against himself. He challenges his friend in Sonnet XC not to protract his breach with him. He finishes ironically:

But in the onset come: so shall I taste  
 At first the very worst of fortune's might;  
     And other strains of woe, which now seem woe,  
     Compared with loss of thee will not seem so.

The next sonnet assures him that the master does not glory in hawks, hounds, or horses. Not these possessions are the poet's measure. We may infer, since the sonnets are addressed to a man of noble birth, that they are his young friend's measure. The only pride of the poet is the love of his friend. Should the latter succeed in removing this love, the poet would be wretched. This ironic assurance is then counterbalanced by the following sonnet, XCII, where he tells him that he cannot succeed in stealing himself away; as long as the poet lives, his friend belongs to him, for should his friend's love end, the poet's life would find an end also. This dialectic is possible only since by the love his friend is meant that attachment which the poet would gladly see terminated. The poet would not be

unhappy if he could 'die' for his friend.

The following Sonnet XCIII which we have already quoted makes the psychology of the triangular situation of the sonnets most visible: "Thy looks with me, thy heart in other place." This is the center of the plea of all the sonnets.

Sonnet XCVI praises the ataraxia of those who are captains of their souls and owners of their faces.

The summer's flower is to the summer sweet,  
 Though to itself it only live and die,  
 But if that flower with base infection meet,  
 The basest weed outbraves his dignity:  
 For sweetest things turn sourest by their deeds;  
 Lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds.

The comparison of the soul of his young friend with a flower that is infected or eaten up by a canker is one of Shakespeare's favorite pictures. It is continued in Sonnet XCV where the poet, as in Sonnet XCVI, excuses his faults and sins, but at the same time warns him to take heed of himself.

Sonnets XCVII and XCVIII allude to the lapse of a whole year - summer, autumn, winter, and spring - which was one winter for the poet. It is the period of mercurial congealation, where master and disciple are estranged from each other - a period of depression.

The theme of Sonnet XCIX is often used in Elizabethan sonnet literature. While the poet "says it with flowers," not his love but his rage is expressed:

The forward violet thus did I chide:  
 Sweet thief, whence didst thou steal thy sweet that smells,  
 If not from my love's breath? The purple pride  
 Which on thy soft cheek for complexion dwells  
 In my love's veins thou hast too grossly dyed.  
 The lily I condemned for thy hand,  
 And buds of majoram had stol'n thy hair;  
 The roses fearfully on thorns did stand,  
 One blushing shame, another white despair;  
 A third, nor red nor white, had stol'n of both,  
 And to his robbery had annex'd thy breath;  
 But, for his theft, in pride of all his growth,  
 A vengeful canker eat him up to death.  
 More flowers I noted, yet I none could see  
 But sweet or colour it had stol'n from thee.

He speaks of his love as of a delicately feminine nature. The violet had stolen the smell from his friend - a compliment which has to be taken in its inverse sense: the sweet boy is rather the thief, for it is well known that violets are modest - but he continues this picture as if the violet is responsible for the purple pride which flows in the veins of the sweet boy. We have only to keep in mind the picture of the seeming modesty of the man in "A Lover's Complaint." The lily, a symbol of white innocence, is ironically condemned for having imitated the whiteness of the hand of the sweet boy. Again, in the softest ~~xxx~~ of tones, a tremendous invective against the sweet friend for having the innocent appearance of the white lily. With the picture of the three roses standing on thorns the triangular relation is symbolized: the red rose, blushing with shame, is the master; the white rose, white in despair, the master-mistress; the third rose, neither red nor white, eaten up by a vengeful canker, the young friend.

Sonnet C is written after an interval. It is imbued with a satiric, ironic tone concerning the beauty of his friend, doomed by time to decay. The right perspective of the poet's irony are the four lines with which the muse of the poet expresses the needlessness of the praise of truth and of beauty in Sonnet CI:

Make answer, Muse: wilt thou not haply say,  
 'Truth needs no colour, with his colour fix'd;  
 Beauty no pencil, beauty's truth to lay;  
 But best is best, if never intermix'd?

Sonnet CII indicates that the less the poet has cause to berhyme his friend, the more his love is strengthened. In the spring time of their relation the poet's song was needed; but now his friend has come to the maturity of summer; he has grown riper.

Sonnet CIII chiding the muse that it does not inspire the poet to write of his love, gives the young friend the advice to look for himself into his mirror and to see how the reflection in the mirror by far surpasses anything which the verse

of a poet can invent. The mirror as the most satiric spiritual requisite of sonnet literature is to be found throughout from Petrarch to Shakespeare.

Sonnet CIV is the climax of the poet's irony against the young friend's beauty. Three years have passed, and he is still the same beautiful young boy:

To me, fair friend, you never can be old,  
 For as you were when first your eye I eyed,  
 Such seems your beauty still. Three winters cold  
 Have from the forests shook three summers' pride,  
 Three beauteous springs to yellow autumn turn'd  
 In process of the seasons have I seen,  
 Three April perfumes in three hot Junes burn'd,  
 Since first I saw you fresh, which yet are green.  
 Ah, yet doth beauty, like a dial-hand,  
 Steal from his figure, and no pace perceived;  
 So your sweet hue, which methinks still doth stand,  
 Hath motion, and mine eye may be deceived:  
 For fear of which, hear this, thou age unbred;  
 Ere you were born was beauty's summer dead.

The last two lines are, but for Shakespeare's good humored irony, almost sardonic. The poet expresses what will always be the thought of young unbred age, enamored with his own beauty: there was no beauty's summer before.

Sonnet CV praises in simple words the master-mistress, and Sonnet CVI/<sup>which</sup> shows the young friend as a beloved idol, has already been interpreted by us.

Literary critics thought they found in Sonnet CVII historic allusions to Essex and to Queen Elizabeth; we can neither affirm nor deny this assertion. It again repeats the motive that his love still looks fresh. The poet comforts himself that he will live in spite of death, in his poor rhyme, which will be a monument to his friend.

With Sonnet CVIII begins a series of new attacks by means of polite compliments. It might be enough, implies the poet, to have praised his beauty; the theme has been exhausted; but his friend is not yet old and shows no wrinkles, so the poet must begin anew to praise eternal love as if it were not already weighed down by the

dust and injury of age. He must begin again with that first conceit of love which, by the lapse of time and by their outward relation, should be considered as being dead; that is, not being necessary any more. So there begins a new series of ironic love declarations.

The poet confesses in Sonnets CIX, CX, CXI, and CXII his own frailties and holds against them his never ceasing love to his friend. If the poet can only convert him, then he will comfort himself about his own faults. He ends therefore in Sonnet CXII:

You are so strongly in my purpose bred  
That all the world besides methinks are dead.

The purpose of the poet, as we have seen from Sonnets XX and XXI, is the spiritual conversion of his friend. The confession of the poet's frailties and faults have the aim of telling his friend that he should not reproach his master; he should rather look to his own perfection. If he does that, then he will cure his master's faults.

Sonnets CXIII, CXIV, and CXV assure the young friend that the master's imagination changes every sight, be it beautiful or deformed, to his friend's lovely features. He tells him thus no matter how you are in reality, I see only the good side of you. He confesses that he cheats himself intentionally, for in loving his friend so he hopes that the love of his friend will grow:

Love is a babe; then might I not say so,  
To give full growth to that which still doth grow?

We shall find that in Sonnet CXXVI with which the traditional soneteering theme of hope ends, the poet confesses that his young friend has grown spiritually. What he tells him in Sonnet CXV has the aim to elicit his friend's spiritual growth.

The famous Sonnet CXVI has not that sentimental rose-water temper with which school girls understand it. Prospero's unshaken love rouses the tempest in the

souls of those to whom he marries his mind. It brings the souls to trial, despair, and anger. It is not a psychic love for youth and beauty; this love is the sickle to cut off the sweet boys' vanity and their rosy lips and cheeks. It is a spiritual love which leads to the wisdom of old age.

Sonnets CXVII to CXIX deal again with a new period of awakened hate in the young man's soul against his master. The poet confesses that he has been bitter against his young friend, to counteract the sweetness of his friend. The conflict of the poet is less the young man's unfriendliness, which the poet would easily pardon were the young man only friendly towards her, than the sweetness towards his master. The sweet sonnets themselves are, paradoxically enough, the bitter sauces with which he counteracted in a homeopathic way the sweet effeminacy of his friend.

Sonnet CXIX speaks of the maddening fever of their relation to each other, and tries to bring about a new reconciliation. Sonnet CXX offers peace to the friend: they have both gone through hell. The unkindness of the master is counterweighed by the unkindness of the young friend, and so they can forgive each other.

Sonnet CXXI has a similar theme to the saying of the Gospel: "If they have called the master of the house Beelzebub, how much more them of his household." (Matthew, 10:25). If it is maintained that all men are bad and reign in their badness, then the poet can be called bad. The poet cannot allow himself to be measured by the opinion of others; his own conscience tells him whether he is good or bad.

Sonnet CXXII alludes to a gift of a book to write in which the poet had received from his friend, similar to one which he had given to the young man. He assures the friend that he does not need these tablets. He closes with the lines:

To keep an adjunct to remember thee  
Were to import forgetfulness in me.



In Sonnet CXXVIII the poet assures his friend that he will never change in his love. Sonnet CXXIV justifies the sincerity of the poet's love with his aspirations, which do not look for honor or fortune:

If my dear love were but the child of state,  
It might for Fortune's bastard be unfather'd,  
As subject to Time's love or to Time's hate,  
Weeds among weeds, or flowers with flowers gather'd.  
No, it is builded far from accident;  
It suffers not in smiling pomp, nor fails  
Under the blow of thrall'd discontent,  
Whereto the inviting time our fashion calls:  
It fears not policy, that heretic,  
Which works on leases of short-number'd hours.  
But all alone stands hugely politic,  
That it nor grows with heat nor drowns with showers.  
To this I witness call the fools of time,  
Which die for goodness, who have lived for crime.

The last two lines have puzzled literary critics. We venture to guess that they have the following esoteric meaning: fools of time are those who are the victims of the prejudices and the fashion of the age. Shakespeare's extreme freedom from the prejudices and fashion of the age is ~~xx~~ an important motive, testified in many passages. Men who are subservient to the prejudices and fashion of the time are living for the crime of the age. On the other side, the outcome of the mercurial experience is the death of the egotistic self. In trying to prove to his friend the sincerity of his spiritual love, Shakespeare alludes to the ring of bondfellows who have lived as time's fools for crime, and die, that is, give up their selfish aims, for goodness.

Sonnet CXXV reminds the friend again of the master's simple taste which despises to honor outward things or to lay great basis for eternity. Those who forego the simple savor for compound sweet lose all. In this sense he asks his friend that he should give himself up to the poet, and he ends somewhat enigmatically:

Hence, thou suborn'd informer! a true soul  
When most impeach'd stands least in thy control.

Sonnet CXXVI, which has only twelve lines instead of the usual fourteen, leads to a pause of thought in the cycle of the sonnets. With it ends, as we already stated, the sonnets expressing hope. Following it begins the sonneteering theme of despair. Sonnet CXXVI reads:

O thou, my lovely boy, who in thy power  
 Dost hold Time's fickle glass, his sickle, hour;  
 Who hast by waning grown, and therein show'st  
 Thy lovers withering as thy sweet self grow'st;  
 If Nature, sovereign mistress over wrack,  
 As thou goest onwards, still will pluck thee back,  
 She keeps thee to this purpose, that her skill  
 May time disgrace and wretched minutes kill.  
 Yet fear her, O thou minion of her pleasure!  
 She may detain, but not still keep, her treasure:  
     Her audit, though delay'd, answer'd must be,  
     And her quietus is to render thee.

The sonnet sums up the situation of the soul in which the young friend finds himself after the relation to his master and master-mistress has lasted for more than three years. The young friend, the poet confesses, has grown by waning: that is, by resignation, by losing his youthful vanity. The more the young friend grows, the more his love withers for him. With his spiritual growth dwindles the father imago. Yet the poet warns him what Nature does to man; he may come too late to the insight that Nature ruins man at a time when he has lost her treasure: that is, his strength and vigor; therefore the poet advises him to give answer to Nature with his love.

We are at the end of our interpretation of Shakespeare's sonnets. We confess that we had to color glaringly and to stress rhetorically the secret conflict and the particular motives of irony and dissimulation which Shakespeare expresses so subtly. Our rough outline, we are afraid, destroys the ethereal quality of Prospero's magic and charm. The fine shades of meaning, the silence and discretion behind the particular arrangements of the sonnets, hardly to be interpreted for the moment, will become clear, we trust, after our explanation has been accepted and developed by other scholars.

A similar spirit as in the Sonnets prevails in Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis and in that collection of small poems known under the title of The Passionate Pilgrim. The rhetoric of ~~the~~ Venus in her plea to Adonis for love is very similar to the rhetoric of the first seventeen sonnets in which the poet urges the young man to marry. Here and there Adonis appears as the self-loving Narcissus. We quote, for example lines 157-162:and lines 169-174

'Is thine own heart to ~~mine~~ mine own face affected?  
Can thy right hand seize ~~upon~~ love upon thy left?  
Then woo thyself, be of thyself rejected,  
Steal thine own freedom, and complain on theft.  
Narcissus so himself himself forsook,  
And died to kiss his shadow in the brook.'

'Upon the earth's increase why shouldst thou feed,  
Unless the earth with thy increase be fed?  
By law of nature thou art bound to breed,  
That thine may live when thou thyself art dead;  
And so, in spite of death, thou dost survive,  
In that thy likeness is left alive.'

Venus speaks of Adonis' heart with exactly the same words as did the Elizabethan poets who complained of the flinty hearts of the cruel ladies, who were similar Adonis types disguised in women's garb:

'Art thou abdurate, flinty, hard as steel?  
Nay, more than flint, for stone at rain relenteth:  
Art thou a woman's son, and canst not feel  
What 'tis to love? how want to love tormenteth?  
O, had thy mother borne so hard a mind,  
She had not brought forth thee, but died unkind.'  
(Lines 199-204)

'Fie, lifeless picture, cold and senseless stone,  
Well painted idol, image dull and dead,  
Statue contenting but the eye alone,  
Thing like a man, but of no woman bred!  
Thou art no man, though of a man's complexion,  
For men will kiss even by their own direction.'  
(Lines 211-216)

To counteract the somewhat licentious content of this poem dedicated to the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare then wrote for his young friend the poem "Lucrece" which can fittingly be called a didactic poem intending to show in what the honor

of noble men consists, and what is the virtue of noble women.

The poems of The Passionate Pilgrim, collected from private sources, intermixed with verses by Griffin, Barnfield, Marlowe, and others, printed for William Jaggard in 1599, show like most of the lyric expressions of Elizabethan times, the witty masquerade of the mercurial spirit.

Four sonnets in this collection - IV, VI, IX and XI - deal with the theme of Venus and Adonis. They show the literary connection of <sup>Shakespeare's poem</sup> Venus and Adonis with the Sonnets. Number XI had appeared in 1596 in Bartholomew Griffin's sonnet cycle, Fidessa more Chaste than Kind. Literary critics question whether Shakespeare wrote these sonnets or whether they are imitations of Shakespeare's theme by other poets. There is one poem, number XVI, a melodious and teasing love romance, which seems to have the birthmark of Shakespeare's genius, and which indicates the masquerade of the mercurial spirit of the whole collection of The Passionate Pilgrim:

It was a lord's daughter, the fairest one of three,  
That liked of her master as well as well might be,  
Till looking on an Englishman, the fair'st that eye could see,  
Her fancy fell a-turning.  
Long was the combat doubtful that love with love did fight,  
To leave the master loveless, or kill the gallant knight:  
To put in practises either, alas, it was a spite  
Unto the silly damsel!  
But one must be refused; the more mickle was the pain  
That nothing could be used to turn them both to gain,  
For of the two the trusty knight was wounded with disdain:  
Alas, she could not help it!  
Thus art with arms contending was victor of the day,  
Which by a gift of learning did bear the maid away:  
Then lullaby, the learned man hath got the lady gay;  
For now my song is ended.

The poem, taken in its literal sense, is without taste or savor. But what humor does it reveal if we apply the key of the triangular mercurial situation where Narcissus appears as a fair lady, and the beloved woman as a 'man in hue; here called a trusty knight, an Englishman. The conflict of love towards the master

and the gallant knight in doublet and hose, is here clearly pointed out, and full irony is used that the silly damsel (Adonis), could not turn them both to gain. The difficulty of giving up the love to the father imago of the master and the disdain of the damsel for the trusty knight, points clearly to the sonnet situation. The last four lines allude esoterically to the metamorphosis which ensued. The disciple fighting against the master loses his femininity ("a gift of learning did bear the maid away"), and now of course ~~is~~ the disciple, having become a learned man, <sup>is</sup> married to a happy and gay lady, the former trusty knight. The disciple is at the beginning called a lordling's daughter, ~~was~~ an allusion made to his innate noble character, and the fairest one of three, because in his position towards master and master-mistress he is most enamored with his own beauty. The poem thus gives the entity for the mercurial process. The analysis of the poetic idea can show us that it has in its literal sense no psychological center. A fair woman loves a master. Her love turns then towards an Englishman. She is in conflict that she cannot love them both. She finally disdains the Englishman, and her love to the Englishman appears thus as an episode which had interrupted for a while her relation to the first lover, the master. Any ear with a feeling for logic and music can hear that the third stanza turns from the view point of its literal sense against itself:

But one must be refused; more mickle was the pain  
That nothing could be used to turn them both to gain,  
For of the two the trusty knight was wounded with disdain:  
Alas, she could not help it!

If the sense of the poem were straight and not twisted, the satiric tone for the fact that the lady could not help to disdain the trusty knight would be impossible. For it cannot be blamed on a woman that after an aberration she was brought back to her first lover. A woman who solves this situation in this way does not lend any physiognomic feature for a song. That she is carried away by "a gift of

learning" rather than by the valorous fight of a gallant and trusty knight is against the common psychology of romance.

If we examine other parts of The Passionate Pilgrim we find a similar though more hidden discrepancy between the inner sense and poetic expression. Number VII may claim to have been written by Shakespeare who often distinguishes between a lover and a lecher:

Fair is my love, but not so fair as fickle,  
Mild as a dove, but neither true nor trusty,  
Brighter than glass and yet, as glass is, brittle,  
Softer than wax and yet as iron rusty:  
    A lily pale, with damask dye to grace her,  
    None fairer, nor none falser to deface her.

Her lips to mine how often hath she joined,  
Between each kiss her oaths of true love swearing!  
How many tales to please me hath she coined,  
Dreading my love, the loss thereof still fearing!  
    Yet in the midst of all her true protestings,  
    Her faith, her oaths, her tears, and all were jestings.

She burned with love, as straw with fire flameth;  
She burn'd out love, as soon as straw out-burneth;  
She fram'd the love, and yet she foil'd the framing;  
She bade love fast, and yet she fell a-turning.  
    Was this a lover, or a lecher whether?  
    Bad in the best, though excellent in neither.

We are inclined to think that this poem is not a satire against a false woman but against a false young man. We advance the following reasons: the comparison to a pale lily graced with damask dye reminds one of Sonnet XCIX where Shakespeare speaks of his friend as of a rose which had stolen both colors, red and white. It is a symbol for his undecided character. The line "Dreading my love, the loss thereof still fearing?" is ~~against~~ again against common psychology. It refers to the relation of the disciple to the master: afraid of him, and still clinging to him. The bitter satire of the poet does not give the impression of being written against a woman. However, in this case it cannot be proven. The

real purport of The Passionate Pilgrim cannot be established until all the lyrical utterances have been subjected to a thorough investigation. There is much surprising material to be found which can substantiate our theory.

We also here call attention to number XIX, a poem which seemingly gives the advice to a man how to woo a woman. If we subject it to a critical analysis we find that the advice to a man how to woo a woman is the veiled form how to woo a novice. We quote four verses:

When as thine eye hath chose the dame,  
 And stall'd the deer that thou shouldst strike,  
 Let reason rule things worthy blame,  
 As well as fancy, partial wight:  
     Take counsel of some wiser head,  
     Neither too young nor yet unwed.

And when thou comest thy tale to tell,  
 Smooth not thy tongue with filed talk,  
 Lest she some subtle practice smell,-  
 A cripple soon can find a halt;-  
     But plainly say thou lovest her well,  
     And set thy person forth to sell.

What though her frowning brows be bent,  
 Her cloudy looks will calm ere night:  
 And then too late she will repent  
 That thus dissembled her delight;  
     And twice desire, ere it be day,  
     That which with scorn she put away.

What though she strive to try her strength  
 And ban and brawl, and say thee nay,  
 Her feeble force will yield at length,  
 When craft hath taught her thus to say:  
     'Had women been so strong as men,  
     In faith, you had not had it then.'

It is contrary to common psychology for a woman to be suspicious if a man approaches her with nice talk. The warning that filed talk would make her smell some subtle practice implies that subtle practice is to be used by the wooer. It is also against common psychology for a woman, listening to the voice of a wooer, to show

frowning brows and cloudy looks. It applies rather to the attitude of a young man who is drawn, against his will, with some fantastic tale, into the mercurial experience. The allusion to the deer whom the wooer should strike is also a mercurial symbol and as such occurs in Shakespeare's comedies. The whole poem speaks as if a woman is to be caught in a trap and is utterly reluctant to being wooed. Number XIX continues:

And to her will frame all thy ways;  
Spare not to spend, and chiefly there  
Where thy desert may merit praise,  
By ringing in thy lady's ear:  
    The strongest castle, tower and town,  
    The golden bullet beats it down.

Serve always with assured trust,  
And in thy suit be humble true;  
Unless thy lady prove unjust,  
Press never thou to choose anew:  
    When time shall serve, be thou not slack  
    To proffer, though she put thee back.

The wiles and guiles that women work,  
Dissembled with an outward show,  
The tricks and toys that in them lurk,  
The cock that treads them shall not know.  
    Have you not heard it said full oft,  
    A woman's nay doth stand for nought?

Think women still to strive with men,  
To sin and never for to saint;  
There is no heaven, by holy thea,  
When time with age shall them attaint.  
    Were kisses all the joys in bed,  
    One woman would another wed.

But, soft! enough!--too much, I fear--  
Lest that my mistress hear my song:  
She will not stick to round me on th' ear,  
To teach my tongue to be so long:  
    Yet will she blush, here be it said,  
    To hear her secrets so bewray'd.

The advice to lure with money and gold might imply to the illusions of making money, which were nurished in the souls of novices. The stanza before the last



one quoted has a slight variation which Malone<sup>16</sup> read from an old manuscript:

Here is no heaven; they holy then.

The whole passage, in our opinion refers to the descending path of the novice who is intentionally brought down and ascends to a saintly life when he has come to old age. The title, The Passionate Pilgrim, combines a dionysic and Christian element. We hope an investigation of Elizabethan lyrics by other scholars will throw further light on the significance of these poems.

Notes to Part IV, Ch. I

- 1 Parthenius, *Erotica* 15; Pausanias VIII, 20. Parthenius/<sup>who</sup>was very well known among Elizabethan writers (Sir Alexander Sterling used the name Parthenius as that of a patron of the poet Drummond of Hawthornden), and whose name seems to be a pseudonym for "the virgin man," was a Greek writer who lived in Rome.
- 2 Compare Harvey's remarks, where he speaks of "<sup>P</sup>Petrarckes Invention": "... His Laura was the Daphne of Apollo, not the Thisbe of Pyramus: ... Petrarcks Verse (was) a fine loover, that learneth of Mercury, to exercise his fayrest giftes in a faire subject; & teacheth Wit to be inamoured upon Beautye: as Quicksilver embraseth gold; ..." Works of Harvey, The Huth Library, Vol II, pp. 92-93
- 3 Works of Gabriel Harvey, The Huth Library, Vol 1, pp. 81-82
- 4 Act 1, Scene 1
- 5 Vol. p. 289
- 6 Elizabethan Sonnets, Sidney Lee, editor, Archibald Constable & Co. 1904, p. 5
- 7 Ibid., p. 7
- 8 Ibid., p. 9
- 9
- 10
- 11 Elizabethan Sonnets, Sidney Lee, editor, <sup>Vol. 1</sup>/p. 23
- 12 Ibid., p. 29
- 13 Ibid., p. 28
- 14 Ibid., p. 46
- 15 Ibid., p. 54
- 16 Ibid., p. 75
- 17 Ibid., p.
- 18
- 19 Charles Mills Gayley, <sup>B</sup>eaumont the Dramatist, New York 1914, p. 151
- 20
- 21
- 22
- 23
- 24
- 25

Notes to Part IV, Ch. 1

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29 Works of Samuel Daniel, edited by Alexander Grosart, 1885, Vol. 1, p. 94

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Notes to Part IV, Ch. 2

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3 Mistress Davenant, the Dark Lady of Shakespeare's Sonnets, London 1913

4 Compare Swedenborg "On Conjugal Love"

5 Compare Lyly's Euphues, where Euphues in his lowest ebb of despair says: "I perceive now that the wise painter saw more than the foolish parent can, who painted love going downward, saying it might well descend, but ascend it could never." The foolish parent so reviled is the mercurial master against whom Euphues rebels. The wise painter is the spiritual reporter, the Elizabethan artist and poet who merely gives the description of the moral crisis, the descending path.

6 Compare Barnabe Barnes Sonnet XIII in his sonnet cycle "Parthenophil and Parthenophe" where the motive is clumsily expressed.

7

~~8 Compare his essay "Animalischer Magnetismus und Magie," Vol. VI, Schopenhauer's  
ausgewählte Werke, herausgegeben von Buchhandlung, pp. 223-50~~

8

9 In the book of Lambspring we have seen the Soul, Body and Spirit as the mercurial word-signs for the consciousness of man. There is only one soul, the divine soul, the center of the universe. There is one body, the body of man, whose organs are made subservient to the soul and centralized in the soul. There is one spirit, the realizer of love. Shakespeare's dialectic of identification stands on this plane of mercurial consciousness; if the body of the neighbor fails to do what it ought to, the next body has to fulfill what the wretched organ of the neighbor has failed to do.

10 Mackail, Select Epigrams,

Notes to Part IV, Ch. 2

11

12

13

14 Works of Gabriel Harvey, The Huth Library, Vol.

15 I can only advise the reader, in order to come to a certain composure of mind, to frame himself philosophically as Schopenhauer had done in his Essay on Magic. This grim man had a full sense and respect for the mythical and magical record of past ages, and had the strength of rational power to incorporate in some way into his philosophic view, the underlying psychic reality for which these records stood. I refer to Schopenhauer and no one else because his point of view does not enlist the reader to any sectarian belief.

16

EROS PAEDAGOGICUS  
AN APPROACH TO ELIZABETHAN LITERATURE  
AND ITS UNDERLYING TRADITIONS

Richard Firestone

(III)

*PART V and Appendix I and II*

PART V

GABRIEL HARVEY

## PART V

### GABRIEL HARVEY

Elizabethan literature has long since been a mystifying puzzle to those who studied it closely. The Bacon myth is only a symbol of this puzzle. This myth took on such proportions that not only Shakespeare's work, but Spenser's and all the outstanding works of the epoch: those of Lyly, Greene, Nash, were believed to have been produced by the master mind of Bacon. That Francis Bacon was considered the master poet shows the special bias of the mentality of our age. According to our modern intellectual point of view, a literary poetic genius must be a man of scientific and encyclopedic knowledge. Bacon was such a man; the poetic fertility of the age was ascribed to him.

Apart from the intellectual bias which turned the thought to Bacon, there are indeed weighty reasons why such a myth originated and persisted. Let us listen to one of the martyrs of this myth. We have reasons not to believe him, yet we shall not laugh at him. He knew he would find unbelieving ears, but it is remarkable what courage he had to express an intuition which he could not work out in a scientific way on account of his lack of heuristic ideas. "Strike, but hear me!" - thus he introduced one of his books, quoting Themistocles' saying.

Mr. Edward George Harman writes in his book Gabriel Harvey and Nashe:<sup>1</sup>

Bacon had begun on his return to England from the continent, 1579, to flood the country anonymously, or rather to assume names with writings by which English literature began, then practically non-existent. In this view -- though no doubt it will seem incredible to most people -- the controversy with Harvey which is supposed to have been taken up by a succession of men, dating back to Lyly, was really the work of one man assuming in succession "the impersonation" of Lyly, Greene, Nashe; the original "impersonation" in days when young Francis Bacon and Harvey were still Cambridge friends, being "Immerito" supposed, without in my opinion, any real

justification to have been the early penname of Spenser the Irish official.

The boldness of these statements might indeed cause well informed men to strike the writer, and not to hear him. We do not agree with any of his statements except that Bacon returned to England in 1579. But remarkable is Harmanh's mythical thinking, the translation of intuition into a fanciful argument. The actual existence of Spenser, Lyly, Greene, Nashe, Shakespeare, cannot be doubted from the testimonials which we have. What had aroused the imagination of Mr. Harmanh to form such a preposterous argument was the impression of the creative atmosphere of the age, the inspiration radiating from one anonymous center, linking together the creative men of a generation. Our materialistic and individualistic age has entirely forgotten the manner in which genuine spiritual and artistic movements grow. The poet is for us a single individual who publishes his poetry in books; the philosopher, a single individual who gives lectures at a university. With such conceptions scholars approach Elizabethan literature. We are not familiar with the Socratic type of the genius who establishes new human contacts around himself and forms the center of a group of creative minds all of whom have more or less the stamp of their inspirer, who carry on the program of a new truth, bound to each other by an ethical code far more discriminating and higher than the conventional code. The fact of the inspirational center, which we discover when we approach the most important movements in the history of the human mind, as for example in the Pythagorean school, the Socratic school, the spiritual movements from the beginning of Christianity, has been hidden and kept out of sight in the history of Elizabethan literature.

Elizabethan literature was the poetic expression of "beginners," creative men who felt they were introducing a new era. From Lyly and Spenser to Shakespeare and



his followers, there is indeed one universal motive which runs through and rings in personal tones according to the individual talent or genius. The artistic construction of the poetic motives, the articulation of expression, vary; but the inspiration is one. It is this fact of one common inspiration which explains the parallelism of constructive thought in characters so different as Shakespeare and Bacon. There is one sway and swing common to two generations of men. The height of the movement seems to have been experienced by men who lived at the same time as Shakespeare.

Bacon had given a name to the illuminating spiritual experience through which his generation had gone; he called it Partus masculus temporis: the male birth of time. The ethical significance of this phrase is stressed in various lights, in all products of Elizabethan literature.

The manners of the leading English aristocratic class, in Elizabethan times, were in ill repute. Brutality and contempt of women, on one side, and effeminacy with the attending vices of human aberrations, on the other side, were characteristic of the time. There were, however, single individuals, great scholars, and leading personalities, imbued with the knowledge of antiquity, enlightened by the inner meaning of the gospel, practitioners of mercurial art, in which they had recognized the mystery of the early Christian tradition. They had the necessary discretion, insight and unselfish idealism to get hold of other single individuals of the younger generation and make them the instruments for the purification of the foul atmosphere of the time. It was not merely the expression of a pious desire when these men preached that any reformation should begin with one's own soul. These leading personalities brought about individual reformation through mercurial art. They were begetters of men in the real spiritual sense of the word. Mercurial art, divested from its misleading pretensions, was a psychological practice which the gospel

seemed to ~~sanctify~~ sanctify, and the ancient myths, literature and philosophy to illustrate. Intellectualists of today have asserted that there was no "science of psychology" in Shakespeare's time. They do not realize how irrelevant is the academic subject of scientific psychology from the practical, living, and spiritual point of view. The spiritual midwifery to the living innate psychology of the race, what manhood, womanhood and childhood is, what motherhood and fatherhood mean, has always existed since time immemorial. It is true that knowledge about this midwifery existed not on an intellectual but on a mystic plane, and the practice of this midwifery, which freed the imagination and intuition from traditional fetters, has ever been done anonymously.

\* \* \*

When we come to Gabriel Harvey we have arrived at the most puzzling personality of Elizabethan literature. As we have already suggested, he is the central figure of the Dionysic circle, to whom is due the inspiration of the most noted poets of Elizabethan literature. It will take some time until the literary material connected with this man is completely gathered and thus present an authentic picture of his personality and hidden activity. What we can give at present is merely a rather distant perspective to this singular type of man, whom approbrium, calumny and infinite misunderstanding have disfigured to a miserable caricature. The picture of Harvey which many literary critics have presented is analogous to the picture we would have of Socrates were he known to us only ~~him~~ by the ~~him~~ caricature of Aristophanes. The eternal conflict which this Socratic genius, Harvey, had with his environment, was favorable to the caricature which we have of his personality in the writings of Thomas Nash. Unfortunately, the editor of Harvey's writings, Dr. Alexander Grossart, did not see the imposing figure of this man. And yet the appreciation of his personality has risen with modern literary research.

Even a contemporary of Dr. Grossart, Morley, had inferred from the study of Harvey's Latin writings on rhetoric, the significance of his great learning. The editor of Thomas Nash's works, Ronald B. McKerrow, after a thorough investigation of Harvey's quarrel with Nash, admits that in the quarrel Harvey defended the future, and Nash the past. The editor of Harvey's Marginalia, G.C. Smith, helped to strengthen the impression that Harvey was one of the most learned and broad-minded scholars of the Elizabethan age. But even his most tolerant critics do not give a true perspective of this singular man. The fact is that a type like Gabriel Harvey is almost unknown in the history of esoteric literature. He is an esoteric writer who, as Shakespeare says, did not lay any bases for eternity. Harvey, like all theurgic inspirers, thought very little of writing generally. His works were the men whom he inspired, and not books. We have of him only one single encomiastic miniature picture, the sonnet of his friend and disciple, Spenser:

To the Right Worshipful, my Singular Good Friend, M. Gabriel  
Harvey, Doctor of the Laws:

Harvey, the happy above happiest men  
I read; that, sitting like a Locker-on  
Of this world's stage, dost note with critic pen  
The sharp dislikes of each condition:  
And, as one careless of suspicion,  
Ne fawnest for the favour of the great;  
Ne fearest foolish reprehension  
Of faulty men, which danger to thee threat:  
But freely dost, of what thee list, entreat,  
Like a great lord of peerless liberty;  
Lifting the Good up to high Honour's seat,  
And the evil damning evermore to die:  
For Life, and Death, is in thy doomful writing!  
So thy renown lives ever by enditing.

Your devoted friend, during life,

Edmund Spenser  
Dublin, this xvij. of July, 1586 2

Spenser could not have praised the artistic workmanship and literary excellence

of Harvey's "critic pen." Were these the qualities of Harvey's writings, posterity would long ago have bowed to Spenser's judgment. He must have meant the afflatus, the logos and pneuma which came from the writings of this man, as expression of his personality. He praises him as a spiritual fighter of undaunted courage and peerless liberty. We shall later see how serious was Spenser's statement that life and death are in his dooeful writings; we shall see that Harvey's renown lies in "enditing" poets and not books. If we want to know what is poetry for bards proper then we have to resorb to Harvey. We shall then find that poetry for bards proper is no poetry at all. The inspiration for bards lies in the attitudes of a spiritual master in whom lives the logos spermatikos, the begetting germ for heroic action and heroic poetry.

Harvey was not merely a literary critic. He scorned even scholarhip, though he had the profoundest learning of his age. Under the pretense of astrological and alchemical interests he was a theurg who practiced Prospero's magic. "The neatest, finest, sweetest Theurgia, my platforme," he confessed of himself on the margin of a book. The reason he became entirely silent at the close of the century, though he lived thirty years more to 1632, is found in the following remark: "Lyttle or no writing now serve, but only upon praesent necessary occasion otherwise not dispatchable. All writing layd abedd, as tedious and needless." He compared himself to no one else than to Apollonius of Thyana, the man who was in his time considered as Christ:

Appolonius being asked why he writt nothing, being so excellently hable answered it was not by his dessigne to sitt still. And surely it is not my platforme to ly by it...His three soverainest propertyes: pure Temperance, excellent discourse & singular Memorye. The rest was miraculous Magique: his divine Sapience. 3

He practiced the principles, as did all great socratic masters of the world, by teaching mainly through personal contact rather than the medium of books: "Secreta

omnium artium discenda, Symposiace, Inquisitive, Empirice, facillimo more Caroli Virali Xegetici." <sup>4</sup> Of his own manner of living he confesses: "Evermore early, very early rying; Evermore thin, very thin diett; evermore lively, very lively alacrity, all after a fine and delicate manner. Supra ipsum Unicum." <sup>5</sup> By Unicum he means Aretin. "... In study, praesent Meditationes & particular impressions orderly disposed & digested for ever, only available with effect. In actions, instant occasions are resolutely & most industriously to be solicited, importuned and dispatched for life." <sup>6</sup> We quote these few remarks from the Marginalia to serve as an introduction which could give us perspective and distance to this singular socratic genius of the Elizabethan age. The exterior facts about Harvey are presented with Scholarship in the introduction to the Marginalia by Moore Smith. These interested in the life of Harvey can read this introduction by Dr. Smith to advantage.

Harvey mastered the learning of his age through the medium of the three ancient languages, Hebrew, Greek and Latin, and the three Romance languages, French, Italian and Spanish. Since Harvey figures in the histories of literature as a proverbial pedantic and irate scholar, by some represented as a snob, by others as a simple minded fool, let us remember that his outward appearance was winning and that he distinguished himself by courtly manners and exquisite dress. Those who knew him, it is asserted, praised not only his rare learning but his excellent moral character. Even his slanderous enemy, Thomas Nash, confessed that his first impression of Harvey, when he saw him at the University of Cambridge, made him infer, from Harvey's "apparel and gait" that he was a "fine fellow."

There is one important biographical connection which brought him to the practice of mercurial art or theurgy, which needs to be put into a significant light to fully understand Harvey's social and literary interests: his relation to the famous

statesman, Sir Thomas Smith, his relative, friend, master and patron, who lived in the neighborhood of Saffron Walden, where Harvey was born. From Sir Thomas Smith Harvey learned the psychic practice of mercurial art, as is evident from a letter to Sir Robert Cecil <sup>7</sup> which shows at the same time the accomplishments which Harvey could claim. The letter was an application for the position of Master in Trinity Hall, which he failed to secure. The reason for this failure is given by Thomas Baker from mere heresay: "But a flashy wit, a rambling head & a factious spirit ruined his Interest here and put the Heads upon procuring the Queen's Mandat for a man of a more peaceable temper." <sup>8</sup> This reflects the opinion which official circles seemed to have had about this mysterious man. Harvey, mentioning the writings which he could publish, says in this letter to Sir Robert Cecil: "...Now, if my good Lord Treasurer or yourself shall not disallow of them, it imports me to bestow a little time in the transcribing and reforming of them & to publish them with other tracts and discourses, some in Latin, some in English, some in verse, but much more in ppose; some in Humanity, History, Policy, Law and the soule of the whole body of Law, Reason; some in Mathematics, Cosmography, the Art of Navigation, the Art of War, the true Chymique without imposture (which I learned of Sir Thomas Smith not to contemn) and other effectual practicable knowledge. I speak not any way to boast. For I can in one year publish more than any Englishman has hitherto done. But whereof more at fitting opportunity." <sup>9</sup>

"The true Chymique without imposture" learned from Sir Thomas Smith refers to mercurial art as practised by the psychic practitioners, the disciples of Paracelsus. On the death of Sir Thomas Smith in 1578 Harvey dedicated to the memory of his patron a collection of Latin poems Smithus vel Musarum Lachrymae. He praised him in the following words:

Smithus ego, regum magnorum pacifer Hermes  
 Natus ad omne, patriaeque illisque nihique  
 Alter eram Socrates, Deus intus, rusticus extra  
 Non specie, sed re vera mirabilis orbi.

Sir Thomas Smith is praised as the peace-bringing Hermes or Mercury and compared to Socrates. Like him he had the Godhead within and plain rustic manners without. According to Harvey, Smith realized the ideal of that man of whom Shakespeare says "More within, and less without."

Harvey felt himself to be the spiritual inheritor of Sir Thomas Smith. Harvey's plans were, to use a phrase of Shakespeare's Sonnets, hugely politic. He wanted to realize the ideas which Sir Thomas Smith had outlined in his Commonwealth of England. His aim was far from winning an exterior political platform for these ideals; he intended to reform his country from within by taking hold of the younger generation and making them productive and creative, and uniting them for one common purpose, namely, with virtue and honesty to clear the foul atmosphere of the age. Poetry, literature, were merely a means to draw the promising young forces into the secret circle, of which he became the "center," the regent and president. It is clear that such an apostolic work, which intended to reform the youth through the basic experience of sex, to bring them to temptation, contrition and conversion, was an extremely dangerous undertaking, and could be pursued only secretly and only through personal contacts.

The sincere zeal which animated the young Harvey for the welfare of his country can be seen from a short poem which we find in his Letterbook, which was intended to arouse the spirit of his fellow scholars at ~~Stam~~ Cambridge:

Where be ye mindes and men that woont to terrify strangers?  
 Where that constant zeale to thy cuntry glory, to vertue?  
 Where labor and prowes very founders of quiet and peace,  
 Champions of warr, trompetours of fame, treasurers of welth?  
 Where owld Inglande? Where owld English fortitude and might?  
 Oh, we are owte of the way, that Theseus, Hercules, Arthur  
 And many a worthy British Knight were woonte to triumphe in. 10

Harvey knew for what illuminating experience stood the mythical figure of Theseus, Hercules, and Arthus. He set out to organize a heroic order of men. In the Marginalia there is a comparison of his own political principals with those of Macchiavelli:

Macchiavellica politica in Mercuriali et Saturnino genere, nullo fere mode Heroica; mea, in Joviali solari, Martio et Mercuriali genere; omnimodo Heroica. Mea politica praecepta et exempla, plena Excellentissimae prudentiae ac fortitudinis; semperque Heroicam et stupendam Industriam, longe lateque ostendantia: Machiavellicis praeceptis et exemplis multo magnificentiora et nobiliora. Ut etiam efficaciora, actuosiora, habiliora, praevalentiora. 11

As the spiritual inheritor of Sir Thomas Smith he remarks in his Marginalia, most probably with relation to the secret organization: "Vivimus in Smithi Rep: non in Mori Utopia; aut Platonis Politeia, aut regno Xenophantis. Phantasticarum Rerum publicarum Usus tantummodo phantasticus." 12 Not Moore's Utopia nor Plato's Ideal Commonwealth, but Thomas Smith's practical ideals which could be realized, were his political aims.

Edmund Spenser was Harvey's first success. He sent out this poetic songster to gather a flock, and the poets Sydney, and Dyer were the first united with Spenser into the Areopagus. From Spenser, a poet made by Harvey who was destined to have supremacy over others, Harvey expected that he would recognize his master as the secret leader of that commonwealth which Harvey was about to establish. In a letter to Spenser he wrote:

"...savinge my ould coolinge carde, Item, a little to abate your Mastershippes currage that, as we grante you ye superioritye in sum speciall particularityes concerninge owne country, so you must needs acknowledge us your masters in all generall poyntes of government, and the great archeollycyes of all oulde and new commonwelthes. 13

Harvey seems to have had many conflicts with Spenser, as it comes out also from the following excerpt where he reminds Spenser that he should requit what he had done for him:



"...For the one I hope in the heavens my chin will one daye be so favorable and bowntifull unto me by meanes of sum hidden caelestially influence of the planets, and namely, a certayne prosperous and secrete aspecte of Jupiter, as bothe to minister superabundant matter of sufficient requitall; and to add a certayne solemne venerable grace to my most reverent Regentshipp when it cumes in actum. 14

That Harvey felt he was the leader and president of the new poets, the beginners who were to introduce a new era, comes out from the following passage of a letter where he writes to Spenser about the new prosody:

We Beginners have the start, and advantage of our Fellowers, who are to frame and conforme both their Examples and Precepts, according to that President which they have of us: as no doubt Homer or some other in Greek, and Ennius, or I know not who else in Latine, did prejudice, and overrule those, that followed them, as well for the quantities of syllables, as number of feete, and the like ...15

From this point of view is to be understood that Harvey claimed, in his attacks against Nash, that Spenser had called him Homer. In what relation Harvey stood to Sydney and Dyer can be inferred from the introductory lines of the same letter:

"...I cannot choose, but thanke and honour the good Angell, whether it were Gabriel or some other that put so good a notion into the heads of those two excellent Gentlemen M. Sidney, and M. Dyer, the two very Diamondes of his Majestoes Courte for many speciall and rare qualities: as to helpe forward our new famous enterprise for the Exchanging of Barbarous and Balductum ~~Rimes~~ Rymes with Artificiall Verses: the one being in manner of pure and fine Goulde, the other but counterfeit and base yl-favoured Copper..." 16

The Angel Gabriel is Gabriel Harvey himself. The "cooper" verses to be changed into verses of "pure and fine Goulde," is a simile taken from alchemistic art. We do not consider it our task here to rectify the somewhat confused view which literary historians, relying on Nash's criticism, have about Harvey's attempt to introduce the hexameter into English verse. His attempt failed but his principles of prosody were very sound.

Literary historians, awe-stricken by Spenser's traditional fame, and influenced by the traditional contempt of Harvey, deride the latter for having attempted at

one time to dissuade Spenser from his Faery Queene. They overy appreciate the Faery Queene as a poetic product and they under estimate the immense superiority of intellect and character which Harvey had over his disciple. "I will never linne baiting at you, till I have rid you quite of this yonkerly, & womanly humor," <sup>17</sup> he wrote to him. Harvey subjected Spenser to a most severe spiritual and intellectual discipline. Harvey not only introduced Spenser into the supersensual and superrational world, but tried to make him conscious of his five senses. The following passages from a letter of Harvey to Spenser might have ~~been~~ been written by Nietzsche. It is interesting that G.C. Moore Smith writes: "In Harvey there is already latent the doctrine of the Uebermensch." <sup>18</sup> The statement should be changed to: Harvey was the Dionysic philosopher of whom Nietzsche merely dreamt in his study ... Harvey writes to the sentimental dreamer Spenser:

You suppose the first age was the goulde age. It is nothinge soe. Bodin defendith the goulde age to flourish nowe, and ovr first grand-fathers to have rubbid thorowghe in the iron and brasen age at the beginninge when all thinges were rude and unperfitt in comparison of the exquisite finesse and delicacye, that we are growen unto at these dayes ... You suppose most of these bodily and sensual pleasures ar to be abandondid as unlawful and the inwarde contemplative delightes of the minde more zelously to be inbracid as most commendable. Good Lord, you a gentleman, a courtier, an yuthe, and go aboute to revice so owlde and stale a bookishe opinion, deade and buried many hundrid yeares before you or I knewe whether there were any worlde or noe! You are surr the sensible and ticklinge pleasures of the tastinge, feelinge, smellinge, seeinge, and hearinge ar very recreative and delectable indeede? Your other delightes proceedinge of sum strange mellancholy conceites and speculative imaginations discoursid at large in your fansye and brayne ar but imaginanye and fantasticall delightes, and but for names sake might as well and more trulye be callid the extremist labours and miserabelists tormentes under the sunne ... I dowbte not but you would sweare ere Sunday next, that there were not the like wofull and miserable creatures to be fownde within ye cumpus of the whole world agayne. None so injurious to themselves, soe rigorous to ther acquayntance, soe unprofitable to all, so untowards for the common welthe, and so unfitt for the worlde, meere bookewormes and verye idolles, the most intolerable creatures to cum in any good sociable cumpayne that ever God creatid. Looke them in the face: you will straytewayes affirme they are the dryest, leanist, illfavoriddest, abjectist, base-mindist carrions and wretcheches that ever you sett you eie on ..." <sup>19</sup>

Ibsen's idea that a human truth has its life for but thirty or forty years was anticipated by Harvey, this most modern man, in the following passage of the same letter:

"...There is a variable course and revolution of all things. Summer gettith the upperhande of wynter, and wynter agayne of summer. Nature herselfe is changeable, and most of all delightid with vanitye; and art after a sorte her ape, conformith herselfe to the like mutabilitye. The moon waxith and wanithe; the sea ebbith and flowith; and as flowers so ceremonyes, lawes, fashions, customs, trades of livinge, sciences, devises, and all thinges else in a manner flourish there tyme and then fade to nothings. Nothing to speak of ether to restorative and comfortable for delighte or beneficiall and profitable for use, but beinge longe together enjoyed and continued at laste ingenderith a certayne satietye, and then it soone becumeth odious and lothsum. So it standuth with mens opinions and judgements in matters of doctrine and religion. On forty yeares the knowledge in the tunges and elequence karrieth the creddeite and flauntith it owte in her sattin dobletts and velvet hoses. Then expirith the date of her bravery ..." 20

We can now understand the meaning of the title of one of Spenser's lost poems, "The Dying Pelican." We know the symbol. Spenser's dying pelican was Gabriel Harvey. It was he who had inspired the poet and brought him to fame, in connection with the court, and who had advanced him to "honor's seat." Harvey, who had chosen the anonymous position of an inspirer who had ever to remain in the background in order not to defeat his purpose, who had the courage to expose himself to slander, misinterpretations, and to be looked upon as a mad fool, gave ironical utterance about Spenser, who seemed to have forgotten the spiritual aim for which he was sent out and had the ambition to come to fame and wealth with his poetry:

"But Master Collin Cloute is not every body and albeit his olde Companions, Master Cuddy and Master Hobbinoll be as little beholding to their "Mistress Poetrie," as ever you wist: yet he peradventure by the meanes of hir special favour, and some personal priviledge, may happilly live by dying Pellicanes, and purchase great land and Lordshippes with the money which his Calendar anddreams have and will afford him. Extra jocum, I like your Dreams passingly well." 21

Harvey was exceedingly capable of artistic workmanship, yet as a socratic man he never took ornamental writing seriously. All of his writings in English

have the visible sign of being improvizations written on the spur of the moment for a special occasion. His literary career is full of misleading mystifications which had a purpose of challenging and provoking the curiosity of green boys, and of confusing and confounding those who were naughty. Like King Amphion of Thebes, to whom Shakespeare alludes in The Tempest, Harvey's purpose was to build the walls and houses of a city with a miraculous orphic harp. He himself had neither time nor ambition to make music. But he needed poets who could become "connycatchers": catchers of connies, or novices, like Mistress Ellena. Harvey needed men who, from the viewpoint of intuitive spiritual consciousness, would have an ironic relation to mere poetic fabling. He needed men brought to self knowledge through the illuminating experience who could see that the center of Christian cultural life lies in the protection of women: men who could recreate in themselves the gentle Christian spirit, and who could understand the symbols of the Christian religion from within; men who could embody the esthetic ideal of humanism and adopt from the Christian ceremonial law as much as was conducive to a healthy and productive life.

There looms up from among the characters of Shakespeare's plays one figure who looks the very portrait of Harvey as we see him: the magician Owen Glendower of Wales in the first part of King Henry IV. But before we present this picture we must first bring up the esoteric allusion to the fever, or fit of inversion, which is contained in a most interesting letter to Spenser published in 1580 in which Harvey relates a discussion about the causes of earthquakes held at a gentleman's house in Essex.

It has been thought by historians of literature that Harvey seriously attempted to bring before the public a learned dissertation on earthquakes. No one had surmised that this letter, under the veil of an academic discussion about a natural event, referred to the soul-shaking experience brought about through mercurial or theurgic art. It is a "prettie conceited discourse," as Harvey termed the letter, the more clevly disguised since it apparently referred to an earthquake which had really taken place in England in April 1580. The masking of the "Pleasant and Pitthy discourse of the Earthquake in April last," can be discovered from the satiric introduction of "a coople of shrewde wittee new marryed Gentlewomen, which were more Inquisitive, than Capable of Natures works," as interlocutors. These interlocutors are introduced as women to serve as a satire against the womanish nature of man. One he calls Mystresse Inquisitiva, the other Madame Incredula: "Being in the company of certain courteous Gentlemen, and these two <sup>incident</sup> Gentlewomen, it was my chaunce to be well occupyed, I warrant you, at Cardes (Which I dare say I scarcely handled a whole twelvemoonth before) at that very instant, that the Earth under us quaked, and the house shaked above: besidethe mooving, and ratling of the Table, and fourmes, where wee sat. Where upon, the two Gentlewomen having continually beene wrangling with all the rest, and especially with my selfe, and even at that same very moment, making a great loude noyse, and much a doc: Goode Lorde, quoth I, is it not wonderful straunge that the delicate voyce of two so proper fine Gentlewomen, shoulde make such a suddayne terrible Earthquake?" 22

We see that the relation of this event was written from the ironic aspect of the <sup>incident</sup> fear of the two gentlewomen. "The Gentlewoomens hartes nothing acquaynted with any such Accidentes, were marvellously daunted: and they, that immediately before were so eagerly, and greedily praying on us, began nowe forth with, very demurely, and devoutedly to pray unto God, and the one especially, that was even nowe in the

House toppes, I beseeche you hartily, quoth she, let us leave off playing, and fall a praying." 23

Harvey invites them to "first dispute the matter, what daunger, and terror it carryeth with it." One of the Gentlewomen, Mistresse Inquisitiva, then beseeches Harvey to try their wits a little, and to let them hear a piece of his deep university cunning. The manner in which Harvey introduced his learning dissertation showed the ironic attitude to the whole question concerning earthquakes: "Seeing you Gentlewomen will allgates have it so, with a good will, quoth i: and then forsooth, very solemnly pawing a whyle, most gravely, and doctorally proceeded as followeth." Harvey explains earthquakes mainly from a psychic and teleological point of view which has reference to the soul of man, and not from the natural viewpoint of mechanical causes. He compares the earthquake to the outburst of the conflict between good and evil forces in the soul of man. Thus he cunningly alludes to the psychic conflict which brings about the soul-shaking experience of inversion.

*Abstract* "... Which evill working vehemently in the parties, and malitiously encountering the good, forcibly tosseth, and cruelly disturbeth the whole: Which conflict indureth so long, and is fostered with abundance of corrupt putrified Humors, and ylfavored gross infected matter, that it must needs (as well, or rather as ill, as in mens and womens bodyes) burst out in the ende into one perillous disease or other, and sometime, for want of Naturall voyding such feverous and flatuous Spirites, as lurke within, into such a violent chill shivering shaking Ague, as even noew you see the Earth have. Which Ague, or rather every Fitte whereof, we schollars call grossly and homely ~~Ter~~ Terrae Motus, a moving, or sturring of the Earth, you Gentlewomen, that be learned,

*Incident*  
 somewhat more finely and daintily, Terrae metus, a feare and agony of the Earth: we being onely mooved, and not terrified, & fearcely moved therewith ... whether our Motus, or your Metus, be the better, & more consonant to the Principles and Maximes of philosophy? the one being manly, and devoyde of dreade, the other womanish, and most wofully quivering, and shivering for very feare. In sooth, I use not to dissemble with Gentlewomen: I am flatly of Opinion, the Earth whereof man was immediately made, and not woman, is in all proportions and similitudes liker us than you, and when it fortuneth to be distempered and diseased, either in part, or in whole, I am persuaded, and I beleeve Reason, and Philosophy will beare me out in it, it only moveth with the very impulsive force of the malady, and not trembleth, or quaketh for dastardly feare." 24

Harvey, who in sooth dissembles with these supposed gentlewomen, thus has transferred the question in issue to the psychic field. The earth is the soul of man. The conflict of the soul (an insight which the most modern psychologists share with him) brings about what he calls the "ague or fitte." The distemper or disease of the soul brought about through an inner conflict abreacted with an impulsive force of the malady, is the crisis of inversion to which he alludes metaphorically by the earthquake. The reaction to this bantering by the supposed gentlewomen is then rendered as follows:

"...Reason, quoth Madame Incredula: By my truly, I can neither picke Our Rime, nor Reason, out of anything I have hearde yet, And yet me thinkes all should be Gospell, that cometh from you Doctors of Cambridge. But I see well, all is not Gold that glittereth. In deede, quoth Mistrisse Inquisitiva, heere is much adoce, I trowe, and little helpe. But it pleaseth Master H. (to delight himselfe, and these Gentlemen) to tell us a trim goodly Tale of Robinhood, I knoew not what. Or suer if this be Gospell, I dowte, I am not in a good beleefe. Trust me truly, Syr, your Eloquence farr passeth my Intelligence." 25

Whereupon this shrewd and cunning mercurialist predicts boldly to both of them

← that ere long they will experience as in a dream, a similar earthquake. At this point we can understand the fictitious makeup of these two interlocutors, as gentlewomen. There was a distinction made between Terrae Metus and Terrae Motus: the former a designation for womanly attitude, the latter for manly attitude. Harvey, the hierophant and theurg, prepares both of them to be ~~unafraid~~ not afraid, like women, if they were to be mystified into a psychic crisis. First he teases them because they cannot understand what he means. To the remark of the gentlewomen which we have quoted, that his learning surpasses their intelligence, he replies immediately:

"Did I not tell you aforehand, quoth I, as muche? And yet would you needes presume of your Capacities in such profound mysteries of Philosophie, and Privities of Nature, as these be? The very thinking whereof (unlesse happily it be per fidem implicitam, in beleiving, as the learned beleive, And saying, It is so, because it is so) is nigh enough, to caste you both into a fitte, or two, of a dangerous shaking feaver, unlesse you presently seeks some remedie to prevent it. And in earnest, if ye wyll give me leave, upon that small skill I have in Ex-trinsecall, and Intrinsecall Physiognomie, & so foorth, I will wager all the money in my poore purse to a pottle of Hyppocrase, you shall both this night, within somewhat lesse than two howers and a halfe, after ye be layed, Dreame of terrible straunge Agues, and Agonyes as well in your own prettie bodyes, as in the mightie great body of the Earth. <sup>26</sup>

The fearful shrinking from this prediction is evident from the reply of Mistresse Inquisitiva: "You are very merily disposed, God by prayesd, quoth Mistresse Inquisitiva. I am glad to see you so pleasurable. No doubt, but you are marvellous



privie to our dreams." 27

After more jesting, on the suggestion of one of the male interlocutors, Harvey is driven to give his final judgement as to whether he accounts for earthquakes as "Naturall or Supernaturall motions." Just as the alchemistic theories are to us irrelevant from a chemical point of view, just so Harvey's pretended theory of earthquakes, which he himself did not take seriously, from a scientific point of view is uninteresting and not original. Not one sound observation of his own is recorded; he merely repeats what had come down from antiquity on this subject. Quite different is his theory in the psychological, philosophical and theological aspect. In accordance with the neo-platonic theosophy of the Renaissance, the earthquake, for him the symbol of a psychic event, is treated as a natural event and at the same time from a teleological point of view as a supernatural event. He brings in the theurgic point of view that God, "very Nature self," or "Natura Naturans," has at His command Natura Naturata, and "useth the service and Ministrie of his Creatures, in the atcheeving" of his providential, miraculous aims. Thus he shares the viewpoint of Giordano Bruno, his contemporary, a man of a type similar to Harvey. The psychology of former times, whether on the theological, mystical, or philosophical plane, in contrast to modern psychology, never accounted for a psychological event from a viewpoint of a mere judgement of fact, but always from a viewpoint of judgement of value. A psychology from the viewpoint of judgement of value will always necessarily lead to a superindividual theosophy. In using the symbol of the earthquake, Harvey gives the theosophy of "The End," of which the alchemists speak so much. He sums up the question in the following way:

Master Hs. short, but sharpe, and learned Judgement of Earthquakes.

... The Earthquakes themselves I would saye are Naturall: as I verily beleve the Internall Causes whereof, are: I meane those two Causes

which the Logicians call, the Materiall, and the Formall: Marry, the Externall Causes which are the Efficient and Finall, I take rather of the two to be supernaturall. I must crave a little leave to laye open the matter.

The Materiall Cause of Earthquakes, (as is superficially touched in the beginning of our Speach, and is sufficiently proved by Aristotle in ye second Book of his Meteors) is no doubt great abundance of wynde ...

The formal cause, is nothing but the very manner of this same Motion, and shaking of the Earth without: and the violent kinde of striving and wrastling of the windes, and Exhalations within: which is, and must needes be done in this, or that sort, after one fashion, or other. Nowe, Syr, touching the other two Causes, which I named Externall: The first immediate Efficient, out of all Question, is God himselfe, the Creator, and Continuer, and Corrector, of Nature, and therefore Supernaturall: whose onely voyce carrieth such a reverend and terrible Majestie with it, that the very Earth againe, and highest Mountains quake & tremble at the sounde and noyse whereof; the text is rife in every mans mouth: Locutus est Dominus & contremuit Terra: Howbeit it is not to be gainsayd, that it is holden of all the auncient Naturall Philosophers, and Astronomers, for the principall, or rather sole Efficient, that the Influence, and heate, of the Sonne and Starres, and especially of the three superior Planets, Saturne, Jupiter, and Mars, is a secundarie Instrumentall Efficient of such motions.

The finall, not onely that the wynde should recover his Naturall place, than which a naturall reasonable man goeth no farther, or not

our excellent profoundest Philosophers themselves: but sometimes also, I graunt, to testifie and denounce the secrete wrathe, and indignation of God, or his sensible punishment upon notorious malefactours, or a threatening Caveat, and forwarning for the inhabitants, or the like, depending upon a supernaturall Efficient Cause, and tending to a Supernaturall Morall End.

Which End, (for that I know is the very poynt, whereon you stande) albeit it be acknowledged Supernaturall and purposed, as I sayd, of a Supernaturall Cause, to whom nothing at all is impossible and that can worke supernaturally, and myraculously without ordinarie meanes, and inferiour causes: yet nevertheless is, we see, commonly performed, by the qualifying, and conforming of Nature, and Naturall things, to the accomplishment of his Divine and incomprehensible determination. For being, as the olde Philosophers call him, very Nature selfe, or as it hath pleased our later schoolemen to terme him, by way of distinction, Natura Naturans, he hath all these secundarie inferiour things, the foure Elementes, all sensible and unsensible, reasonable and unreasonable Creatures, the whole world, and what soever is contayned in the Compas of the Worlde, being the workmanship of his owne hands, and as they call them, Natura naturata, ever pliable and flexible Instruments at his Commaundement; to put in execution such Effectes, either ordinarie or extraordinarie as shall seeme most requisite to his eternall Providence; and now in these latter dayes, very seldome, or in manner never worketh any thing so miraculously and extraordinarily, but it may sensibly appeare, he useth the service and Ministerie of his Creatures, in the atcheeving

thereof. I denie not, but Earthquakes (as well as many other fearfull Accidents in the same Number) are terrible signes, and as it were certaine menacing forerunners, and forewarners of the great latter day, and therefore out of controversie the more reverently to be considered upon: and I acknowledge considering the Eventes, and sequels, according to the collection and discourse of mans Reason, they have seemed to Prognosticate and threaten to this, and that Citie, utter ruine and destruction: to such a Country a generall plague and pestillence: to an other place, the death of some mightie Potentate or great Prince: to some other Realme or Kingdome, some cruell imminent warres; and sundry the like dreadful and particular Incidentes, as is notoriously evident by many olde and newe, very famous and notable Histories to that effect ..<sup>28</sup>

It is clear that Harvey could speak of fearful accidents, the forerunners and forewarners of the great latter day, in a symbolic and roundabout way. Since the publication of Harvey's letter on earthquakes, "the earthquake" became an esoteric expression in Elizabethan literature, denoting the fit or fever brought about through the mercurial mystery. In such a significance, as we have said earlier, we find it in All's Well That Ends Well, where the clown remarks, "... an we might have a good woman born but for every blazing star or an earthquake ..."<sup>29</sup> Spenser's esoteric "blazing star" and Harvey's "earthquake" are combined into one phrase.

We turn now to Owen Glendower in King Henry IV who ~~looks like~~ reminds us of Harvey as we imagine him. Glendower boasts before Hotspur:

Glendower: ... at my nativity

The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes,

Of burning crescents; and at my birth

The frame and huge foundation of the earth  
Shak'd like a coward.

Hotspur: Why, so it would have done,  
At the same season, if your mother's cat  
Had but kitten'd, though yourself had ne'er been born.

Glendower: I say the earth did shake when I was born.

Hotspur: And I say the earth was not of my mind,  
If you suppose as fearing you it shook.

Glendower: The heavens were all on fire, the earth did tremble.

Hotspur: O, then the earth shook to see the heavens on fire,  
And not in fear of your nativity.  
Diseased nature oftentimes breaks forth  
In strange eruptions; oft the teeming earth  
Is with a kind of colic pinch'd and vex'd  
By the imprisoning of unruly wind  
Within her womb; which, for enlargement striving,  
Shakes the old beldame earth, and topples down  
Steeple and moss-grown towers. At your birth,  
Our grandam earth, having this distemperature,  
In passion shook.

Glendower: Cousin, of many men  
I do not bear these crossings. Give me leave  
To tell you once again that at my birth  
The front of heaven was full of fiery shapes;  
The goats ran from the mountains, and the herds  
Were strangely clamorous to the frightened fields.  
These signs have mark'd me extraordinary;  
And all the courses of my life do show  
I am not in the roll of common men.  
Where is he living, -- clipp'd in with the sea  
That chides the banks of England, Scotland, Wales,  
Which calls me pupil, or hath read to me?  
And bring him out that is but woman's son  
Can trace me in the tedious ways of art,  
And hold me pace in deep experiments.

Hotspur: I think there is no man speaks better Welsh.--  
I'll to dinner.

Mortimer: Peace, cousin Percy; you will make him mad.

Glendower: I can call spirits from the vasty deep.

Hotspur: Why, so can I, or so can any man;  
But will they come when you do call for them?

Glendower: Why, I can teach thee, cousin, to command  
The devil.

Hotspur: And I can teach thee, coz, to shame the devil  
 By telling truth: tell truth, and shame the devil!  
 If thou have power to raise him, bring him hither,  
 And I'll be sworn I have power to shame him hence.  
 O, while you live, tell truth, and shame the devil! <sup>30</sup>

The old chronicles tell of Owen Glendower, "The same night he was born all his father's horses were found to stand in blood up to their bellies." <sup>31</sup>

Holinshed relates that when the King pursued Owen into his mountains, the latter "conveyed himself out of the way into his known lurking places, and, as was thought, through art of magic he caused such foul weather of winds, tempests, rains, snow and hail to be raised for the annoyancye of the King's army, that the like had not been heard of." <sup>32</sup> The motive of the earthquake was invented by Shakespeare himself, in analogy to the esoteric significance of Harvey's earthquake. Shakespeare used this motive in a psychological way to contrast the craftiness of the mystifying wizard with the rash bluntness of the young Hotspur, who cannot guess that there is an art even greater than mere outspoken truth-telling. Hotspur gives utterance to his dissatisfaction with Owen Glendower, and it is interesting what Mortimer replies to this:

Mortimer: Fie, cousin Percy! how you cross my father!

Hotspur: I cannot choose: sometimes he angers me  
 With telling me of the moldwarp and the ant,  
 Of the dreamer Merlin and his prophecies,  
 And of a dragon and a finless fish,  
 A clip-wing'd griffin and a moulted raven,  
 A couching lion and a ramping cat,  
 And such a deal of skimble-skamble stuff  
 As puts me from my faith. I tell you what, -  
 He held me last night at least nine hours  
 In reckoning up the several devils' names  
 That were his lackeys: I cried to him, and well, go to,  
 But mark'd him not a word. O, he's as tedious  
 As is a tired horse, a railing wife;  
 Worse than a smoky house: - I had rather live  
 With cheese and garlic in a windmill, far,  
 Than feed on cates and have him talk to me  
 In any summer-house in Christendom.

Mortimer: In faith, he is a worthy gentleman;  
 Exceedingly well read, and profited  
 In strange concealments; valiant as a lion,  
 And wondrous affable; and as bountiful  
 As mines of India ... 33

In his enumeration of the topics of discussion by Owen Glendower, Shakespeare followed Holinshed, in a measure. But the description of Glendower's effect on Hotspur and Mortimer's judgement of Glendower render the impression of Harvey by those who knew him superficially, and by those who knew him intimately. There was no other man at that time to whom the attribute "exceedingly well read," could so aptly be applied. If the preceding pages have not sufficiently brought out that Harvey was "profited in strange concealments," the following pages surely will. That he was "valiant as a lion," Spenser had already stated, in testifying to his great courage. The affability of his personality will be shown later. And even the scant literary remains which we have of Harvey give a conception of the wealth of his knowledge, which extended in all fields of human thought, a master mind "as bountiful as mines of India." The passage quoted suggests that Shakespeare may have known Harvey. The fact that Shakespeare actually was Harvey's disciple and friend lies buried in those mystifying pamphlets known as Harvey's polemic pamphlets against Greene and Nash. We must turn our attention to these pamphlets and uncover the mystification which for more than three centuries concealed the important biographical relation of Shakespeare to Harvey.

\* \* \*

As we know, Harvey's quarrel is embedded in the Martin Marprelate controversy, the fight of the Puritans against the Episcopalian Church government, of which Lyly and his disciples Nash and Greene were the hired defenders. Lyly provoked Harvey, whom they suspected to be the secret leader of the Martinists. The quarrel had thus

its political aspect. The private reasons lay in the personal attacks of Greene and Nash, who slandered not only Gabriel Harvey but his brothers Richard and John, and also their father. But the main pathos of the affair comes from the fact that Harvey, as the leader of an esoteric circle, fought in the interest of a young poet who had arisen in their midst: William Shakespeare.

The facts in the Martin Marprelate controversy have been discussed by various writers. Yet the spiritual and psychological origin of the Puritan movement has until now remained just as dark as the spiritual and psychological origin of Elizabethan literature. The soul-shaking experience of the age which, in the aristocracy and educated middle class, vented itself as an esthetic expression in imaginative literature, in the lower classes had its religious and social outlet in the Puritan movement. The name Puritan appears in print since 1564. The Lordkeeper, Nicholas Bacon, the father of Francis Bacon, seemed to have favored the Puritans not from a political point of view but from a religious point of view, as Christians who had been saved and redeemed. It is well known that Lady Anne Bacon (1528-1610), wife of Sir Nicholas Bacon, was a supporter of many Puritans by her purse as well as by her influence. Harvey used to praise in one breath Sir Thomas Smith and Sir Nicholas Bacon "the peerless men" as mercurialists par excellence. The Latin epitaph which Harvey composed for Nicholas Bacon reads:

Epitaphium Nicolai Baconis summi Angliae Cancellarii.  
 Sepulchrum loquitur:  
 Reginae, Regno, Magnatibus, Urbi  
 Tris fuit ille Megistos et ipso Hermetior Herme.

Sir Nicholas Bacon is praised above Hermes Trismegistos, the common name for a mercurialist, popularized through the Byzantine Bessarion, whose theurgic theosophy, under the veil of mercurial symbols, had spread to Italy after the fall of the Byzantine empire. There it had found adepts like Marsilius Ficinus and the ~~elder~~ older Count Pico de Mirandola. From Italy the movement had spread throughout western



Europe. Francis Bacon, who had grown up under the spiritual atmosphere of mercurialism, was of course enlightened on the psychic significance of mercurial art as a means to work on the imagination of man, and from this point of view he admitted the noble ends of alchemy.<sup>34</sup> But though Francis Bacon is considered by some writers as a magician, he seems not to have been a mercurial practitioner. He was a generation ahead of his time, and had turned his pacified mind to the problem of the organization of scientific inquiry, whereas most of his contemporaries were still in the excitement and throes of their shaken-up souls. Francis Bacon was, to use the expression of that age, a "Methodist discourser," and not a mystifier. At any rate, the mercurial mystery was the fountain head of inspiration for the esthetic, scientific, religious and social endeavors of the Elizabethan age.

When we maintain that the Puritan movement started as a mystery movement, we do not mean to imply that all early Puritans who ~~joined~~ joined the party were initiated into the mystery. Only their leaders were illuminated and were conscious from personal experience of the symbolism of the Christian ceremonial law. The more their ranks were filled, their excited spiritual atmosphere tended to bring about the inversion on the basis of fixed religious ideas. Bunyan may serve as an example of such religious inversion only distantly related to the proper sexual instinct. But in the Elizabethan age the spiritual atmosphere was not yet leavened enough to bring about the rising of such spontaneous outbursts of the masses. The Puritan movement was closer to the mystery movement.

We can deal with this important historic question as to the psychological and spiritual origin of the Puritan movement only by giving a few striking examples which we come across in our inquiry. We give the facsimilie of one of the poetic expressions of the Martinist movement: "Sir Martin Mar-People, his Coller of Esses. Workmanly wrought by Maister Simon Sooth-saier, Goldsmith of London. And offered to sale upon great necessity by John Davies. Imprinted at London, by Richard Jones.

SIR MARTIN  
Mar-People, his  
Coller of Effes.

Workmanly vvrought by  
*Maister Simon Sooth-saier,*  
Coldsmith of London,

*And offered to sale upon great  
necessity, by Iohn Dauies.*

*Jo.*

*Robinson*



Imprinted at London, by  
Richard Ihones, 1590.

1590." We see from the picture in what sense Maister Simon Sooth-saier could call himself a goldsmith. The picture has on the forehead the mercurial signs, and we can safely infer that the author was a psychic mercurialist. The title "Sir Martin Mar-People, his Coller of Esses," refers to the choleric dissatisfaction and revolt at the existing order of things, as is evidenced by every line of this poetic pamphlet. The poem is the best illustration of our statement that mystery movements, from a social point of view, tend to be the solvents of an ossified and unsatisfactory state of social affairs. One has to read for himself the poem, of which almost every line begins with the ever repeated arraignment, "Such is ...", to get a conception of the explosive soul force which was conjured up by the psychic practitioners of the age. We quote only a few lines to show how the social and religious motives are united:

Such huge oppression of the poore, where pitie should abound,  
Such discord in opinions now, the simple soul to wound,  
Then let us leave this wretched world and cleave unto the Lord  
And turn from all our wicked ways in thought, in deed and word. 35

The mystery as a psychological factor in the Puritan movement which brought forth the Martin Marprelate controversy, cannot be so easily inferred from the pamphlets pro and con, where ecclesiastical matters relating to the Primitive Church and to the Episcopalian Church government are discussed. But it can be inferred from those writings which are on more neutral ground. We direct attention to Lyly's Pap with a Hatchet, Richard Harvey's Plaine Percevall, and Gabriel Harvey's reply to Lyly, which he printed in his attack on Nashe, Pierces Supererogation, of a New Prayse of the old Asse.

Lyly, and his literary apprentices Greene and Nash, had become defenders of the Episcopalian Church government. They had been hired by Bancroft, chaplain to Archbishop Whitgift, who had organized the High Commission to bring conformity into the church. This High Commission was on the level of the Spanish Inquisition, or at least was rated as such by the Puritans of the age. Mr. William Pierce, in his

historic "Introduction to the Martin Marprelate Tracts," states that Bancroft, in hiring Lyly and his followers, can be considered as the founder of the yellow press. And indeed, Lyly, Greene and Nash, as we shall see, used the ruthless methods of the yellow press.

To come to a just appreciation of Harvey's quarrel with Lyly, Green and Nash, we must constantly bear in mind under what moral circumstances it started. Lyly's method in the Martin Marprelate controversy was that of denunciation and intimidation. He knew that Gabriel Harvey, and his brothers Richard and John, were theurgic practitioners and sympathizers with the Puritans. Gabriel Harvey's sympathy with the Puritans or Precisians was already known when he was a student at Cambridge, and brought him the enmity of his fellow students. Lyly boldly denounced Gabriel Harvey as being the leader of the Martinists, not because he really believed it, but in the hope that Harvey would be provoked to deny it and join the other side. So much he must have known: that Gabriel Harvey, although not a partisan, was the friendly adviser and moderator of the Martinists. He knew that if Gabriel Harvey withdrew entirely from the Martinists their cause would fail on account of their rash and fervent zeal. Lyly knew that the esoteric understanding of the Scriptures by the Puritan leaders, who were propagators of the mystery, could easily be turned against them as profanation of the Scriptures. As the title, Pap with a Hatchet, implies, he told the Martinists "kindly in an unkind manner" that he himself would be the denunciator should they trouble the peace of Her Majesty, the Queene. We believe that Lyly, in spite of the fact that he was in the pay of the Episcopalians, acted as a sincere patriot. But his attempt to force Harvey to join the other side through intimidation fell very short of its mark: Gabriel Harvey lost all respect for Lyly.

About Harvey Lyly wrote:

"And one we will coniure up, that writing a familiar Epistle about the naturall causes of an Earthquake, fell into the bowells of libelling ... all his works bound close, are at least six sheets in quarto, & he calls them the first tome of his familiar Epistle: he is full of latin endes, and worth ten of those that crie in London, haie ye anie gold ends to sell. If he give you a bob, though he drawe no bloud, yet are you sure of a rap with a bable. If he ioyne with us, periisti Martin, thy wit will be massacred: if the toy take him to close with thee, then have I my work, for those ten yeares have I lookt to lambacke him. Nay he is a mad lad, and such a one as cares little for writing without wit, as Martin does for writing without honestie; a notable coach companion for Martin to drawe Divinitie from the Colledges of Oxford and Cambridge to Shoemakers hall in Sainct Martins. But we neither feare Martin, nor the foot cloth, nor the beast that weares it, be he horse or asse, nor whose sonne he is, be he Martins, sonne, Johns, sonne, or Richards, sonne: nor of what occupation hee be, be hee a ship-wright, cart-wright or tilburn wright." 36

The phrase, "he ... is worth ten of those that crie in London, haie ye anie gold ends to sell," alludes to Harvey the theurgic ~~and~~ alchemist, who brought about "The End." Lyly threatened: "If Martin muzzle not his mouth, and manacle his hands, Ile blabb all, and not stick to tell, that pewes and stewes are time in their religion." 37 To deride the Martinists in their attempts to make golden, spiritual souls of the right Christian spirit, Lyly told the following tale:

"Martin, Ile tell thee a tale woorth twelve pence, if thy wit be woorth a pennie. There came to a Duke in Italie, a large lubber and a beggerlie, saying hee had the Philosophers Stone, and that he could make gold faster, than the Duke could spend it; the Duke askt him, why he made none to maintain himself? Because, quoth he, I could not

get a secret place to work in; for once I indevoured, and the Popes holinesse sent for me, whom if he had caught, I should have been a prentice to mainteine his pride. The Duke minding to make triall of his cunning, & eager of golde, set him to work closely in a vault, where it was not knowen to his nearest servaunts. This Alchemist in short time consumed two thousand pounce of the Dukes gold, and brought him half a Ducket; whie (quoth the Duke) is this all? All quoth he my Lord, that I could make by Art. Well said the Duke, then shall thou see my cunning: for I will boyle thee, straine thee, and then drie thee, so that of a lubber, that weighed three hundred weight, I will at last make a dram of knaves powder. The Duke did it." 38

Lyly followed this tale with another one, wherein he threatened to tear the mask off a cunning libeller who wrote in a fool's coat:

"Now because I have nothing to doo between this and supper, Ile te ll you another tale, and so begin Winter by time. There ws a libeller, who was also a coniuurer, so that whatsoever casting of figures there was, he deceived them; at the last, one as cunning as himself, shewed, where he sate writing in a fooles coate, & so he was caught and whipt. Martin, there are figures a flinging & ten to one thou wilt be found sitting in a knaves skinne and so be hanged." 39

We can easily see in what sense Lyly had purposely comtected these two tales. Harvey, the mystifying libeller, was the false alchemist whom he intended to denounce.

In another passage Lyly accused one of the Martinists of profanation of the Scriptures:

"It was one of your neast, that writt this for a love letter,  
to as honest a woman as ever burnt malt. Grace, mercie, and  
peace to thee (o widow) with fervent motions of the spirit, that  
it may work in thee both to will and to doo. Thou knowest  
my love to thee is, as Paulus was to the Corinthians; that is  
the love of copulation. How now holie Martin is this good  
Hee thought wooing? If you prophane the Scriptures,  
Levi had still it is a pretie wit; if we but alledge  
lien as well as Doctours to expound them we are wicked.<sup>40</sup>  
Paul.

This striking esoteric allusions shows that the mystery movement existed in the early Puritan days. The allusion to the wooing of a widow is the allusion to the wooing of a novice.

Lyly was not opposed to the mystery movement, since he himself was an initiate; he was against the political consequence in which the Puritan leaders were involved. The mystery movement was intended to bring reformation to the individuals, and not to the state. As we shall presently see, Gabriel and Richard Harvey were of the same opinion. The advice Lyly gave to the anonymous Martin is interesting:

"If thy vain bee so pleasant, and thy wit so nimble, that all  
consists in glicks and girds, pen some playe for the Theatre, write  
some ballads for blinde David and his boy, devise some jests and  
become another Scogan; so shall thou have vent enought for all ~~thy~~  
thy vanities, thy Printer shall purchase, and all other iesters beg." <sup>41</sup>

Indeed, the poetic ~~outlet~~ outlet was less dangerous on the stage than on the political platform, where the religious fanaticism of the masses was conjured. The literary outburst and the religious/outburst of the Elizabethan age had the soul-shaking experience of illumination as spiritual and psychological background. Lyly concluded

his pamphlet with the expression of the following patriotic sentiment:

"Her sacred Maiestie hath this thirtie yeares, with a settled and princelie temper swayed the Scepter of the Realme, with no lesse content of her subiects, than wonder of the world. God hath blessed her government, more by miracle than by counsaile, and yet by counsaile as much as can come from policie. Of a State taking such deepe roote, as to be fastened by the providence of God, the vertue of the Prince, the wisdom of Counsellors, the obedience of subiects, and the length of time; who would goe about to shake the lowest bough, that feels in his conscience but the least blessing."<sup>42</sup>

The same patriotic sentiment was shared by Richard and Gabriel Harvey. They, too, felt that the aim of the Martinists should be the reformation of their own selves and not that of the church. But in contrast to Lyly, both spoke to the Martinists as well-wishers and sympathizers. Richard Harvey's "Plaine Percevall the peace-making maker of England, sweetly indeavouring with his blunt persuasions to botch up a Reconciliation between Mar-ton and Mart-other."<sup>43</sup> is written in a popular vein, intermixed with the esoteric slang of the age. The beginning is dramatic: the author invites Martin and his followers into the next tavern where they all can "talk it out betwixt the shadow of Martin and the natural shapes of his heirs." He approaches them as a father-confessor who knows their mercurial secret:

"I pray thee make once an auricular confession, tell me in mine eare: is the desire of Reformation so deeply imprinted in thine hart, as the terme is often printed in thy papers? Is it conscience or lucre that spurgals thy hackney pen, to force it take to high a hedge as thou leapest at? ...Whow? I go about to disgrace thee?



No, no, I come but by way of intreaty as it were with a beck to admonish thee, that thou putst the wrong foot before, and therefore pull backe. Yet beare with me, if I doubt whether all be gold that glistereth, sith Saint Martins rings be but Copper within though they be gold without, sayes the Goldsmith.<sup>44</sup>

The last sentence alludes to the mercurial secret of the Puritans. The marriage rings, to judge from their ecclesiastical policy, were not of refined gold, but of unrefined copper.

There are many more esoteric remarks in this pamphlet, but would require lengthy explanations and we therefore omit further quotations. Richard Harvey warned the Martinists in the following way: "Take heede Martin, a horse may over reach in a true pace and thou play the foole though thou shouldst have a good matter in hand."<sup>45</sup> Turning to the opposite side, he remarked: "I doe not thinke thou Martin and you be of diverse Parishes, but you be all of one Church, saile all in one ship, and dwell all in one Commonwealth ... All this hart burning between you, is but about the bounds of the Parish, and the limits of the church line."<sup>46</sup> The need of self reformation is stressed by Richard Harvey in the same sense as by Lyly: "Some of conscience study to reforme their owne lives, and looke first into their own bosome, others to the intent that all the world might suppose, that nothing were amisse at home, like bad housewives flie abroad and search out public imperfections, to busie their heads about."<sup>47</sup> On the last page of the pamphlet we find a Latin poem which as this remark at its end: "An Alehouse to stablish friendship, or botch up Peace in an Endship.

Twenty pound for a Dictionary.

Given in the Church loft. By me, H.D., Schollardmaker for fault of a better."

The remark "Twenty pound for a Dictionary" is sufficient hint for the esoteric

mystifications which Richard Harvey's pamphlet contained, as did most utterances of the Elizabethan age. The esoteric slang of Elizabethan literature is a problem by itself, and it will ~~be~~ take many years until we have a reliable dictionary. The remark "to botch up Peace in an Endship" refers to the alchemistic End or final initiation. The mystifying mercurialist was esoterically alluded to as the owner of an alehouse, or even derisively as the owner of a brothel.

We now turn to Gabriel Harvey's reply to Lyly's Pap with a Hatchett. He wrote it in Trinity Hall, November 1589, and seems to have circulated it among his personal friends. He published it in 1593, inserting it in the middle of his pamphlet against Nashe, Pierces Supererogation of a New Prayse of the old Asse. We find in it a source of information which enlightens us not only on the ecclesiastical problems of the early Puritans, but also on the mercurial mystery movement of the age. The editor of Harvey's Marginalia, G.C. Moore Smith, had this to say about Harvey's reply to Lyly: "Perhaps nothing wiser or more far-sighted was ever written in the whole of the sixteenth century." <sup>48</sup> A careful reading of this pamphlet will show the truth of this statement. Here indeed a master mind can be recognized. Harvey speaks with authority on a subject for which our intellectual age has lost ~~in~~ the keys of understanding. Here speaks a man who knows the sublime but un sentimental truth about the psychological origin of religious movements, their spiritual, ecclesiastical, sociological and political scope. The German philosopher Schelling, in his philosophy of religion, stated that the religion of the future will be founded on the esoteric understanding of the Scriptures, and not on the mythical understanding. In Gabriel Harvey we find a man who had this esoteric understanding. Of course he spoke the learned patois of his age, and no patois becomes rusty so easily as a learned patois. But if we rub away the rust, a splendid armor of a spiritual ~~fighter~~ fighter appears. He addressed

Lyly with that moral and intellectual superiority which brought him into eternal conflict with the surrounding world since his early youth:

"Patt-hatchett (for the name of thy good nature is pittifully growen out-of request) thy olde acquaintance in the Savoy, when young Euphaas hatched the egges, that his elder friends laide, (surely Euphues was some way a pretty fellow: Would God Lilly had alwaies bene Euphues, and never Papp-hatchett;) that old acquaintance now somewhat strangely saluted with a new remembrance, is neither lubbabied with thy sweet Papp, nor scarre-crowed with thy sower hatchet. And although in selfe-conceit thou knowest not thy selfe, yet in experience, thou mightest have known him, that can unbutton thy vanity, and Unlase thy folly: but in pittie spareth thy childish simplicity, that in iudgement scorneth thy roisterly bravery; and never thought so basely of thee, as since thou began'st to disguise thy witt, and disgrace thy art with ruffianly foolery." 49

Gabriel Harvey reminded Lyly of the mercurial inspiration from elder brothers which had given birth to his Euphues. Harvey apostrophied Lyly: "Euphues, it is good to bee merry: and Lilly it is good to be wise: and Papp-hatchett it is better to loose a new iest than an old frend; that can cramme the capon with his owne Papp, and hew-downe the woodcocke with his owne hatchett." 50 He alludes to Lyly's being ~~in~~ in the pay of the High Commission with the following words: "Oh, but in his Preamble to the indifferent reader, ~~kk~~ he approveth himselfe a marvellous discreet, and modest man of the soberest sort, were he not provoked in conscience, to annswere contrary to his nature, and manner. You may see how grave men may be light to defend the Church." 51

Harvey describes with satiric power what impression the euphuistic style, already out of fashion, made upon him:

But when we began to renew our old acquaintance, and to shake the hands of discontinued familiaritie, alas good Gentleman, his mandillion was overcropped; his wit paunched, like his wifes spindle; his art shanked, like a lath, his conceit as lank, as a slotter herring and that same blustering eloquence, as bleake, and wan, as the Picture of a forlorne Lover. Nothing but poor Mammaday, and a few morsels of fly-blowne Euphuisme, somewhat nicely minced for puling stomackes. But there be Painters enough, though I goe roundly to worke: and it is my onely purpose to speake to the purpose.<sup>52</sup>

I quote this passage as an example of <sup>the picturesque style of Harvey</sup> ~~Harvey's picturesque style~~, who knew how to restrain himself with sober irony in the use of mere painting words.

Harvey expressed his regret of the histrionic form in which the Martin Marprelate affair was staged, and gave forceful utterance of his contempt for Lyly's denunciation:

It was Martins folly, to begin that cutting vaine: some others oversight, to continue it: and double Vs triumph to set it agogg ... but had I bene Martin (as for a time I was vainely suspected by such mad Copesmates that can surmize anything for their purpose, howsoever unlikely, or monstrous:) I would have beene so farre from being moved by such a fantastical confuter, that it should have beene one of my May-games, or August triumphes, to have driven Officials, Commissaries, Archdeacons, Deanes, Chauncellors, Suffraganes, Bishops, and Archbishops, (so Martin would have florished at least) to entertaine such an odd,

lightheaded fellow for their defence; a professed iester,  
 a Hick@scorner, a scoff-maister, a play monger, an Interluder;  
 once the foile of Oxford, now the stale of London, and ever the  
 Apesclogg of the presse, cum Privilegio perennitatis. <sup>53</sup>

From Harvey's scolding vocabulary we can recognize the spiritual attitude of the age towards men of mere histrionic or poetic talent.

Harvey then blames the levity of both contending parties:

Serious matters would be handled seriously, not upon simplicity, but upon choice, not to flesh, or animate, but to disgrace, and shame Levity. A glicking Pro and frumping Contra shall have much-adoe to shake hands in the Ergo<sup>o</sup>. There is no ende of girdes & bobbes: it is sound Arguments, and grounded Authorities, that must strike the definite stroke, and decide the controversy with mutuall satisfaction. <sup>54</sup>

After having stated that knowledge and industry must "clear errors in doctrine and clean corruptions in discipline," Harvey continues:

A perfect Ecclesiasticall Discipline, or autentique Pollicy of the Church ... is not the work of One man whosoever or of one age what so- ever: it requireth an incredible great iudgement: exceeding much reading in Ecclesiasticall histories Councells, Decrees, Lawes: long and ripe practice in Church-causes. <sup>55</sup>

Harvey does not presume to dispute as a professed Divine or as a severe censor: "...but a scholler may deliver his opinion with reason; and a friend may lend his advise at occasion especially when he is urged to speake or suspected for silence." <sup>56</sup> The author introduced his dissention from the Martinists with a very polite and diplomatic phrase which shows that he speaks as a friend of the

Martinists: "They must licence mee to dissent from them, that authorise themselves to disagree from so many notable, and worthy men ..." <sup>57</sup> With Ciceronian oratory he distinguished the characteristics of both parties in the following way:

"Superstition and Credulitie, are simple Creatures: but what are Contempt and Tumult?" <sup>58</sup> He delivered his opinion about the introduction of the democratic Primitive Church in the following succinct way:

The difference of Commonwealthes, or regiments, requireth a difference of lawes, and orders: and those lawes and orders are most soverain, that are most agreable to the regiment, and best proportioned to the Commonwealth. ...Popular Elections and offices, as well in Churches, as in Commonwealthes, are for popular states: Monarchies and Aristocracies, are to celebrate their elections, according to their forme of government, and the best correspondence of their states, Civill, and Ecclesiasticall: and may iustifie their good proceeding by good divinite. <sup>59</sup>

One should learn from Saint Paul, in this respect, how he demeaned himself towards King Agrippa and the ethnic governors Felix and Festus, said Harvey. He had inserted on the same page the following significant remark which seems to have been a reply to Lyly's jest about the wooing of a widow:

To the cleane all things are cleane. S. Paul, that layed his foundation like a wise architect, and was a singular frame of divinity (omni) sufficiently furnished to be a Doctour of the Nations & a Convertour of People) became all unto all, and as it were, a Christian Mercury, to winne somme. <sup>60</sup>

Harvey was afraid that the introduction of the Primitive Church, erected in every parish, would bring about the situation that every minister would become a

great pope in a little Rome. Thus it would foster only pride. He then continued:

I dare come no neerer: yet Greenwood, and Barrow, begin already to complaine of surly, and solemne brethren: and God knoweth how that Pontificall chapter of estate might work in man as he is man. <sup>M</sup>ercurie sublimed is somewhat a coy, and stout fellow: and I believe, those high, and mighty Peeres, would not sticke, to look for a low and humble legge. <sup>61</sup>

The expression "Mercurie sublimed" refers to the initiate. About the Eldership Harvey expressed himself as follows:

And I hope he was not greatly unadvised, that being demaunded his opinion of the Eldership in question, answered, he conceived of the Eldership (as it is intended, and motioned in England) as he thought of the Elder-tree, that whatever it appeared in shewe, it would in triall prove frutelesse, seedelesse, bitter, frail, troublous and a friend to surging waves and tempestuous stormes. <sup>62</sup>

We see from this quotation what a high conception Harvey had of spiritual leadership: to be fruitful a spiritual leader had to be, as it were, anonymous.

Harvey showed a prophetic knowledge of the political consequences to which the spiritual tendencies of the Puritans of his day were leading. He foresaw the inherent democratic principle which would establish equality among men on the basis of arithmetical proportion. He himself cherished the view that a society is better crystallized in geometrical proportion. He foresaw that an independent minister in a community would tend to become a kind of a pope who, instead of tyrannizing popularly, as Harvey thought some popes had done to their advantage, would go to the opposite direction, and "popularize tryannically." It is a phrase worthwhile to be incorporated into the vocabulary of our democratic age. He foresaw the

plutocratic regiment which would grow out of the puritan principles if the "Delphical Sword" were given over to an artisan government: "Twis, the penny is a strong argument with such natures: and he that carrieth the heaviest purse, how unmeete soever he may seems for a Conistorie, thinketh himself mightilie wronged, unless he be taken for the best, or one of the best in the Parish." <sup>63</sup> He foresaw that the Puritan's proud and severe separation from sinful people would tend to dry up their own spiritual productivity. He quoted from the store of his great learning the example of Judas the Gaulonite and Simon the Galilean who, in their "fanatical zeal and deep conceit of a neat and undefiled purity," had severed themselves from the corrupt society and had thereby brought about the lamentable overthrow of their commonwealth. He disapproved of the intention of the Puritans to establish a Synhedrion and characterized this institution as being Jewish in spirit, not Christian. (On this occasion Harvey was carried away by asseverations which made him forget that the Hebrew people, like every other nation, have the vices of their virtues.) Harvey reminded the Martinists that charity was the only living Christian principle; without charity, doctrine is a parrot, discipline an echo, reformation a shadow, and santification a dream.

There is one remark in his reply to Lyly which has a very important bearing on the Shakespeare problem in general. Harvey wrote:

Illuminate understanding is the rare byrd of the Church; and graund intendiments come by a certaine extroadinarie, and supernatural revelation. One Unlearned Singularist hath more in him, then ten learned Precisions: give me the brave follow, that can carrie a Dragone tayle after him. Tush, Universitie learning is a Dunse: and School Divinitie a Sorbonist. It is not Art of Modesty, that maketh a Rabi Alphas, or a ringleader of multitudes. <sup>64</sup>



The Baconists may ponder over this passage with great profit. First of all we see in what esteem mere school learning was held by one of the most learned men of Shakespeare's time. Second, Harvey knew that the experience of illumination which he was able to bring about would tend to lead into the center of the human and divine problem from which he could gain an unconfused, creative relation to the world. Third, Harvey felt that as a theurg and master he could provide from the store of his learning the mere technical details of which every creative genius is in need. Harvey had no false modesty of his own resources: "Give me the brave fellow," is a phrase which recurs, as we shall see, with reference to poets also. An attempt to give detailed interpretation of this passage brings us to the following analysis of Harvey's thoughts: Illumination is an experience which rarely occurs oftener, within the pale and discipline of the church; it occurs/as Harvey must have thought, outside the church. The man fit for illumination must be a singularist. Harvey must have meant by it a man of an original type, whose consciousness was not tied to the state of mind of the crowd. The expression, "the brave fellow that can carry a Dragons taylor after him," is a mercurial expression. In figure six of the book of Lampspring <sup>65</sup> is a dragon eating his tail ( See also the illustration page 59 of this volume). The dragon's tail is a symbolization of the hatred of the disciple towards the master who had brought him to the crisis of inversion. The eating of the dragon's tail symbolizes the submission of the disciple to the master's deed, and his reconciliation to his fate. to the world and to God in the religious spirit of grace. A man of this experience of illumination, Harvey states, could become a master, a Cabalistic Rabi Alphas, who knows the alpha and omega of the divine life sense, and as such can become a ringleader of multitudes.

Harvey ended his reply to Pap with a Hatchett with the following ultimatum to Lyly:

Till he disclaimeth his iniurie in Print, or confesseth his oversight in writing; or signifieth his Penitence in speech; the abused partie that had ~~the~~ reason to set down the Premisses without favour hath cause to iustifie his own hand without feare ... 66

Harvey's ultimatum to Lyly, so characteristic of this man of dramatic attitudes towards the world, brought about the literary situation which is reflected in Harvey's quarrel with Greene and Nash. Lyly in no way complied with the conditions laid down by Harvey, as we can infer from the fact that Harvey's pamphlet, which was written in November 1589 for private reading and which must have come to Lyly's notice, was not printed until 1593, four years later, in his attack on Nash, Pierces Supererogation. Lyly's authority, we can infer, must have protected and encouraged Greene and Nash in their attack on Gabriel Harvey, his brothers and his father.

Greene attacked the whole Harvey family in his "Quip for an Upstart Courtier." This pamphlet contained a few lines of direct invective which Greene, before his death, caused to be taken out. There is, however, a copy extant which contains the incriminating lines. These lines are of no great account compared to the general tendency which pervaded the whole pamphlet. It was indeed a stroke of the yellow press insofar as it intended to denounce Gabriel Harvey, the sympathizer of the Puritans who at that time were suppressed and poor, as an upstart courtier. The pamphlet is a satire on Velvetbreeches, the upstart, the type of middle class man "raised up from the plough, advanced for their Italian devices or for their witless wealth, who covet in bravery to match the greatest Noblemen in this land." 67 By this upstart courtier is meant Gabriel Harvey himself, who stood in connection with the nobility of the country. Greene introduces a jury of tradespeople, artisans and professionals of all kinds, who condemn Velvetbreeches and express their sympathy for the lower class in their representative, Clothesbreeches. The decision

of the jury ~~is~~ is that "Clothesbreeches is many more antient than Velvetbreeches." The pamphlet abounds in facetious, esoteric allusions, and is written in a parabolic, popular vein.

We must here call attention to Greene's biographical confession, "Groatworth of Wit Bought with a Million of Repentance." Greene wrote it before his death and the pamphlet was published by Chettle. It contains the well-known invective against Shakespeare about the "upstart crow." The attack on Shakespeare seems to have its reason in the fact that Pembroke's company, to which Shakespeare belonged, had brought out Shakespeare's revision of Marlow's twin plays, "The Contention of the two famous Houses of York and Lancaster," and the "True Tragedie of Richard Duke of York," under the title of "The History of Henry VI, newly revised with additions." Shakespeare's revised play was in competition with Peël's play "Henry VI" of which Greene probably was a collaborator and which was being played at that time by the rival company of Lord Strange. Literary critics have centered their attention on Greene's pamphlet merely from the point of view of its relation to Shakespeare. What Greene's confession meant, from a biographical and psychological point of view, has been obscure. The literary form of Greene's confession was determined by the introductory parable in the second part of Lyly's Euphues. Greene tells of himself, using the name of Roberto, that he was the son of the usurer Gorinnus. This usurer was a parabolic father. On his deathbed Gorinnus is said to have preferred his son Lucanio to Roberto, and left to Luciano all his wealth, and to Roberto an old great to buy himself a groatworth's of wit. The dying father had given to Luciano the following advice: "Multiply in wealth my sonne by any means, thou maist only flie Alchymie, for therein are more deceits than her beggarly Artists have words and yet are the wretches more talkative than women." 68

After the death of his father, the disinherited Roberto decided to do harm to his brother Lucanio. Roberto introduced his wealthy brother into the house of the Courtesan Lamelia, "who kept a Hospital." There occurs in this tale the following remark on love: "Fie on love: for since he learned to use the Poets pen, he learned likewise with smoothing words to faine." <sup>69</sup> Lucanio falls in love with Lamelia. She promises to return his love should he prove firm. Lamelia estranges Lucanio from his brother Roberto who, having lost the help of his brother, lives in destitution. Roberto was approached by a gentleman, a "player reputed able to build a Windmill." This gentleman engaged Roberto to write plays. Greene then tells that Lucanio had meanwhile lost all his wealth to Lamelia. He became a "notorious Pandar." Roberto lived among the rabble and led a shameless life. He ill-treated his wife. The shameful end of sundry of his consorts wrought no compunction in him. The approaching death brought him finally to conversion and repentance. The dying Roberto gives the following advice to his readers:

- 1: Set God before your eies, the feare of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom...
- 2: Beware of looking back: for God will not be mocked; of him that hath received much much shall be demanded ...
- 3: If thou be single and canst abstaine, turn thy eies from vanitie for there is a kind of women, bearing the faces of Angels but the hearts of Devils able to entrap the elect, if it were possible ...
- 4: If thou be married forsake not the wife of thy youth to follow strange flesh; for whoremongers and adulterers the Lord will judge ...

Greene's confession is a genuine outcry of despaire over his ill-spent life, and ends with the avowal of a genuine religious conversion. There are several circumstances related in this confession which Harvey and others have testified

were biographical: we know that Greene had forsaken his own wife; we know that he had lived in corrupt society; we know from his works that he had devoted his labors to the stage. But what is the meaning of the allusion to his father, Gorinnus the usurer? What means the fairy tale introduction of a brother, Lucanio? What is the meaning of the strange story of Lamilia, the courtesan who kept a hospital? What is the significance of the gentleman, a player able to build a windmill? What does it mean that Lucanio became a pandar?

Before we attempt to answer these questions let us first see what advice the dying Greene gave to his fellow playwrights. We find it in his pamphlet separated from the parabolical, biographical account of his life under the title "To those Gentlemen his Quondam acquaintance, that spend their wits in making plaies." Greene attacked the actors, "the Puppets that speake from our mouths, those Anticks garnisht in our colours," who had become faithless to him and who would become faithless to them all. As an instance he mentions the "upstart crow" beautified with his feathers, who in his conceit thinks to be the only Shake-scene in a country -- a passage long ago recognized as referring to Shakespeare. "O that I might intreate your rare wits to be employed in more profitable courses & let those Apes imitate your past excellencies." Greene turned to Marlow, known at that time for his titanic, atheistic attitude, with the following words: "Wonder not (for ~~the~~ with thee will I first begin) thou famous gracer of Tragedies that Greene who hath said with thee like the foole in his heart, there is no God, should now give glorie unto his greatness; for penetrating is his power,

his hand lies heavie upon me, he has spoken unto me with a voice of thunder, and I have felt he is a God that can punish mee." 71

The second writer whom Greene addressed is believed by literary critics to have been either Nash or Lodge: "With thee I joine young Juvenall that being Satyrist, that lastlie with me together writ anComedie ... then blame not scholars vexed with sharp lines if they reproof thy too much libertie of reproof." 72

We are inclined to think that these lines refer only to Nash. Since we know that Greene had taken out the invective lines against the Harveys, we can safely infer that in the last weeks of his life he repented of his behavior towards Harvey. Nash had attacked Harvey in his "Pierce Penniless." The dying Greene warned Nash that he had vexed scholars with too much liberty of reproof (Greene must have had in mind Gabriel, Richard and John Harvey). Greene warned Nash not to continue the misdemeanor which he himself had committed. We know that he had slandered John Harvey, the physician who died before he was twenty-nine years old, at about the same time that Greene died. We do not know who the third writer was whom Greene addressed. To all his fellow playwrights he gave the advice: "Defile not the Temple of the Holy Ghost, for mans time of itself is not so short but is more shortened by sin." Greene's confession shows his deep contrition, but it shows also that some great wrong had been done to him, as we see from the closing lines: "For a whole booke cannot contain these wrongs which I am first to knit up in some few lines of words.-- Desirous that you should live <sup>though</sup> ~~through~~ himself be dying, Robert Greene." 73

In our view Greene's confession shows the characteristic religious Puritan reaction of the many men of his time who were entangled and entrapped, as it were, into the mercurial mystery and illumination. The confession of the dying Greene can give us the psychological understanding of the spiritual rebirth of a

Puritan. What he tells us in his parable of the usurer Gorinnus, the courtesan Lamilia, the gentleman, the player who was able to build a windmill, Roberto and Lucanio, the two brothers, one of whom became a playmaker the other a notorious pandar, all refer to Robert Greene's mercurial experience of natural magic, which made him a poet and a propagator of the mystery by the lure of plays. ~~The~~  
~~Elizabethan~~ The ururer Gorinnus, the courtesan Lamilia, the gentleman, the player who was able to build a windmill, all stand for the mercurial master, the propagator of the mystery. Robert Greene depicted himself not only in Roberto, but also in Lucanio. Robert-Lucanio, like in the similar parable by Lyly, like the poetic complex Philautus-Euphues, are the ambivalent representatives of Robert Greene's soul, of his good and bad angels. The story shows how the bad angel Roberto destroyed the good angel Luciano. Luciano would have come to wealth if Roberto had been satisfied with his inheritance, the groat to buy himself a groatworth of wit. Robert Greene is the prodigal son who died just as he came to the threshold of his father's house. He had left his wife, he had squandered his days with jests and carousing, he had disorganized his life. The pangs of his disharmonious soul which was not yet able to recreate in himself a mild faith, or intellectual vigor, or a religious and social passion for righteousness, or a tender love for those around him, or the spiritual refinement of an artist, can be guessed from the magical play, "Friar Bacon and Friar Bungay". The small inner voice of conscience is in this play mysteriously magnified in Brazen Head with his monotonous, "Time is, Time was, Time is past." When the words, "Time is" resound, Miles the spiritual soldier, asks for a "better oration." When the words, "Time was" din in ears, Miles walks disinterestedly up and down, like a "peripatetian and a philosopher of Aristotle's stamp." But when the words, "Time is past" are thundered, lightning flashes forth, a hand appears and breaks down Brazen Head with a hammer,

and Miles cries out: "Hell's broken loose ... the latter day is come." Miles hears from his master, Bacon, that he had missed the right moment to call him for help. Had he called his master when the words "Time is" were being spoken, "England had been circled round with brass." But now the magic spell is broken, "Europe's conceit of Bacon hath an end." Greene's autobiographical confession was written on his deathbed in despair because his time was past. To exculpate himself he accused the propagators of the mystery of the age, the propagators of Europe's conceit.

Henry Chettle's "Kindharts Dreame" (1592) enlightens us under what circumstances Greene's "Groatworth of Wit" was published. The author confesses that he himself had copied Greene's pamphlet; that he had left something out, but had not put in a word in the whole book. He stresses the fact that neither he nor Nashe had written it. It has often been quoted how Chettle exonerated himself for the attacks on the two poets, under whom, as literary critics have inferred, Marlow and Shakespeare were meant. Chettle confesses that he had not been acquainted with either of them. As to the one (Marlow) he does not care to be acquainted; as to the other (Shakespeare) he expresses regret that at that time he did not spare him as he wished he had, and that he had not used his own discretion. Chettle was as sorry as if the original fault had been his own "because myselfe have seene his demeanour no less civill than excellent in the qualitie he professes. Besides divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing which argues his honesty and his facetious grace in that approves his Art." <sup>74</sup> The "toy," as Chettle terms his pamphlet, was written to discover the falsehearts that wake to commit mischief. It contains jocose discourses dark in allusions, given by the jester Tarlton, Antony Now, now, William Cuckoe, Doctor Burkett, and Robert Greene. In



the fictitious letter of Robert Greene to Pierce Penniless, Nashe is admonished: "Awake (secure boy) revenge thy wrongs, remember mine; thy adversaries began the abuse, they continue it; if thou suffer it, let thy life be short in silence, and obsecutie; and thy death hastie, hated and miserable." <sup>75</sup> We see from this pamphlet that Chettle was friendly disposed towards Shakespeare and hostile towards the enemies of Nashe and Greene, referring undoubtedly to Gabriel Harvey and his brothers.

Gabriel Harvey's attack on Greene and Nashe, in his "Foure Letters, and Certaine Sonnets: Especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties, by him abused," has heretofore been considered by literary critics as the expression of a vain and irate scholar, who was uncharitable and merciless towards a talented poet who had had the misfortune to die in misery. That Harvey was not moved to make his reply because his personal vanity had been hurt by the attacks of Greene and Nashe can be seen from the following passages: "Were other of my disposition, small time should be lost in avenging or debating verbal iniuries, especially at myselfe." <sup>76</sup> "Yet partlie the vehement opportunity of some affectionate friends, and partlie mine own tender regard of my fathers and my brothers good reputation have so forcible overruled that I have finally condescended to their passionate motion." <sup>77</sup> "And were it not more for other than for myselfe, assuredly I would be the firste that should cancell this impertinent Pamphlet; and throw the other two Letters with the Sonnets annexed into the fire <sup>""</sup> who having wedded myself to private study and devoted my mind to publike quietnesse took this troublesome pen in hand." <sup>78</sup> It is evident that Harvey was very unwillingly drawn into this quarrel.

Harvey criticised Greene's immoral life severely in this pamphlet, that it might reform the literary youth of the age who had dragged down the lofty spiritual aims of illumination into licentious and wanton wit. "But I seeke not the

condemnation of the dead, or the disgrace of the living, but the good amendment of the one by the naughty example of the other." 78 He attacked Greene and Nashe because they had "wantonly played with the highest and deepest subjects of spiritual Contemplation: Heaven and Hell, Paradise and Purgatory." 79 "Let them affect mysticall commendation that profess occult Philosophy." 80 He tried to show the necessity of discretion to those who were adepts: "How cometh it to passe that much more is professed, but much less performed then in former ages? especially in the Mathematicques as in natural Magie, which being cunningly and extensively imployed (after the manner of Archimedes, Archytas, Apollonius, Regiomontanus, Bacon, Cardan and such like industrious Philosophers, the Secretaries of Art and Nature) might wonderfully bestead the Commonwealth." 81 The fact that Harvey linked together mathematics and natural magic had its reason in that the illuminati of the age considered occult philosophy as the Pythagorean discipline. The understanding of these and similar expressions give the real perspective to Harvey's pamphlet.

The sonnets attached to the "Foure Letters" reveal Harvey's claim that he was the Pythagorean leader, mercurial master and inspirer of the poets.

Fine Mercury conducts a dainty hand  
Of Charities and Muses hand in hand.  
(Sonnet V)

Harvey addresses the poets of the age:

How faine would I see Orpheus in you revived,  
Or Suadas honey bees in you rehived.  
(Sonnet VII)

Here again we find the comparison of a mystery group to a beehive. In Sonnet IX he reminds the poets that Pythagoras and Apollonius trained their followers to temper rage and to refine their tongues with curious silence. Just so should the poets of the age display these heavenly gifts. As the inspirer of Spenser whose

sonnet we have previously quoted, Harvey included in the "Foure Letters," and as the friend of Sydney, he hinted that the Faery Queene and the Arcadia "the lively christals of conceit," cannot be stained by "Gibelin or Guelph." This is most probably an allusion to the split in the mystery movement which Lyly, with his followers Greene and Nashe, had brought about. Harvey admonished the poets to sing like dainty Petrarch who was "sweet Siren's sonne" (Sonnet XII); they should

...Teach industrious worth to shine like Sun--  
 To live in motion and in action hoat:  
 To eternize Entelechy divine  
 Where all Heroique wonderments concurr.  
 (Sonnet XIV)

We shall later have occasion to explain how Harvey viewed the Aristotelian principle of entelechy as the secret of secrets of occult philosophy. In the name of his brother John, who had been grossly reviled by Greene and who had died at the same time ~~with~~ as Greene, Harvey expressed his forgiveness for the offences in a sonnet so forcefully written that it aroused the admiration of Disraeli who said that Harvey must have been a great poet to have composed it.

Sonnet XVIII  
 John Harveys Welcome to Robert Greene

Come, fellow Greene, come to thy gaping grave:  
 Bid Vanity, and Foolery farewell:  
 Thou overlond hast rung the bawdy bell  
 Vermine to Vermine must repaire at last.  
 No fitter house for busy folke to dwell:  
 Thy Conny-catching Pageants are past:  
 Some other must those arrant Stories tell.  
 These hungry wormes thinke longe for their repast:  
 Come on: I pardon thy offence to me:  
 It was thy living: be not so aghast:  
 A Foole, and a Physition may agree,  
 And for my Brothers never vex thyselpe  
 They are not to disease a buried Elfe.

*There ever long  
 heart pland the  
 mad brand know*

Yet the sonnets on the whole make a rather ridiculous impression. They were impromptu expressions and he did not care or had not the time to bestow upon them artistic workmanship. How far it was from Harvey's ambition to appear as a

poet can be seen from the following lines:

Tales to tell would I a Chaucer were  
 Yet would I not even now a Homer be.  
 Though Spenser me hath often H<sub>o</sub>mer term'd  
 And Monsieur Bodin vow'd as much as he ... 82

If Harvey quoted Spenser and Bodin, who had called him Homer, he wanted to convey that, like H<sub>o</sub>mer, he was the spiritual organizer of his age, as Homer had been the spiritual organizer of the Greeks.

Harvey attacked Nashe in the "Foure Letters" because the latter had reviled him and his brother Richard in "Pierce Penniless: his supplication to the Devil," which was dedicated to the Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's patron and friend at that time. This book was the humorous expression of a youth who is dissatisfied with the world and whose grievance consists of the fact that he is poor and is not rewarded by a Maecenas. There is in existence a priapic poem, "The Choice of Valentines," which, as Mc<sup>K</sup>errow informs us, was in all probability written by Nashe for the Earl of Southampton. That Harvey was in touch with the Earl of Southampton is testified by a letter written by Harvey to him. It is interesting that Nashe's novel The Unfortunate Traveller, dated in its first edition June 27, 1593, which appeared in 1594, had a dedication to the Earl of Southampton. The second edition of this novel, which appeared in the same year, was printed without the dedication. We can easily infer from this fact that Nashe had become estranged from his patron. This suggests that possibly in the public fight between Harvey and Nashe, the Earl of Southampton was drawn over to Harvey's side.

Harvey criticized in Nashe his mood of despair to which he had given expression in his "Pierce Penniless." "All his thoughts and marginal notes," Harvey wrote about the malcontent Nashe, "consorted to his conclusion that the whole world was uncharitable and he ordained to be miserable." <sup>83</sup> "A brave Heart," he admonished Nashe, "in extreamest distresse, never languisheth; no such affrighting

Death or gnashing Hell, as the devouring abyss of Despair." <sup>84</sup> "All abiect dolefulness is woefully base and baselie woefull." <sup>85</sup> It was Harvey's intention in ~~his~~ his first attack, to make Nashe conscious of the fact that he had committed a wrong in defaming Harvey, his brothers and his father. He was ready to make peace with Nashe. He exhorted him benevolently: "Good sweet Oratour, be a divine Poet indeede, <sup>""</sup> and employ thy golden talent with amounting usance in deede; and with heroicall Cantoes honour right Vertue and brave Valour indeede; as noble Sir Philip Sidney and gentle Spenser have done with immortal Fame: and I will bestow more compliments or rare amplification upon thee, then ever any bestowed ~~upon~~ upon them: or this Tounge ever affourded." <sup>86</sup> "Be a Musitian and Poet unto thyself, that are both, and a Ringleader of both unto ~~the~~ other: be a Man, be a Gentleman, be a Philosopher, be a Divine by thy resolute selfe; not the Slave of Fortune, that for every fleabiting crieth out alas & for a few hungry meales, like a Greek Parasite misuseth the tragedy of Hecuba: but the friend of Vertue, that is richest in poverty, freest in bondage, bravest in jeopardy, cheerfullest in calamitie; be rather wise and unfortunate with the silver Swanne, then fortunate and unwise with the golden Asse." <sup>87</sup> With unfeigned sincerity Harvey confessed his dissatisfaction in having been drawn by "desperate malcontents into these Inkhorn adventures," and he desired nothing more than a complete understanding "with a cup of white wine, and some little familiar conference in calme and civil termes." Harvey thought that his reply to the attacks of Greene and Nashe would end the controversy, and that Nashe will have learned "that Pennillesse is not Lawless and that a Poets or a Painters License is a poore security to privelege debt or diffamation." <sup>88</sup>

To Harvey's admonitions and his offer of peace and friendship Nashe replied immediately with his "Straunge News, or Feure Letters Confuted," where he displayed

the manners of a street boy who had grown into the role of a dominating jester of London. Nashe's reply showed his blindness towards Harvey's personality. Nashe's boyish behavior is best characterized by one passage where he tried to make ridiculous a man twice as old as himself, who had written the best treatise on Ciceronian oratory:

From this day forward shall a whole army of boies come winding about thee as thou goest in the street, and cry Kulleloc, Kulleloc, Kulleloc, with whup ho, there goes the ape of Tully, tih he he steale Tully, steale Tully away with the Asse in the Lions Skinne. <sup>89</sup>

How small a thinker and truthseeker was Nash, who possessed only the volubility of a flippant tongue and made a journalistic use of the esoteric interests of the age, can be seen from the ridiculous challenge which he made to Harvey:

Gabriell, if there be any witte or industry in thee, now I will dare it to the uttermost: write of what thou wilt, in what language thou wilt, and I will confute it and answere it. Take truths part, and I will prove to be no truth marching out of thy dung voiding mouth.

Divinite I except, which admits no dalliance: but in any art or other profession of which I am not yet free, and thou shalt challenge me to try maistries, Ile binde myselve Prentise too, and studie thoroughly, though it never stand me in another stead while I live, but to make one reply only because I wil have the last word of thee. <sup>90</sup>

These lines disclose Nashe's schoolboy mentality. Unaware of the significance of Spenser's relation to Harvey, though the encomiastic sonnet by Spenser which Harvey had inserted at the end of his "Eoure Letters" should have enlightened him, Nashe derided Harvey as a goosecap without judgment of poetry, and continued:

A pure sanguine sot art thou that in vaine glory to have known Spenser for thy friend and that thou hast some interest in him, Censerest him worst than his deadliest ennemie would do. <sup>91</sup>

Immortal Spenser, no frailty hath thy fame; but the imputation of this Idiots friendship: upon an unspotted Pegasus thy gorgeous attired Fayrie Queene ride triumphant though all report dominiona, but that this mud born bubble, this bile on the browe of the University, this bladder of pride new blowne, challengeth some interest in her propertie. <sup>92</sup>

Harvey is criticized by literary historians for his vituperative vocabulary. It must be kept in mind that he resorted to it to reply to the tone and manners of Nashe. We need to differentiate in Harvey's mystifying esoteric writing what he said ~~pro~~ pro domo and what he said pro mundo. Harvey used pro mundo in the same tone as Nashe, to cry down his fish-wife eloquence, and to silence the laughter which it had provoked. His reply was "Pierces Supererogation, or a New Prayse of the Old Asse." He called this pamphlet a "Preparative to Certaine Larger Discourses, Intituled Nashes S. Fame," apparently to frighten him away from further replies. Harvey succeeded so well that Nashe was dumbfounded and made silent for three years. What Harvey intended to teach Nashe was "gentleness of Humanity, mildness of Modestie, meekness of Humilitie, recompense in deedes" rather than "to glose and paint in words." <sup>93</sup> His pamphlet appeared under the commendation of three friends: Barnabe Barnes, John Thorius, and Anthony Chewt. Harvey introduced besides a strange mystification, an unnamed "gentlewoman," whom he pretended to be the "patroness, or rather championess in this quarrel," and of whom he did not tire to speak throughout his whole pamphlet. The expression of Barnabe Barnes, the author of the esoteric sonnet series, Parthenophil and Parthenophe, is interesting because it throws a light on Harvey's anonymous position among the literati of the age. He compares Harvey to Theophrastus and speaks of his "praiseworthy and unmatcheable wit." "I would (as many of your affectionate friends would) it had been your fortune to have encountered some other Paranympths, the such as you are now to discipline ... and I hope the most desperate swasher of them will one day learn to shew himself honeste and wiser." <sup>94</sup> The role which Barnabe Barnes recommended to Harvey was to discipline the paranympths of the age, the literati who were the parasites and cunnycatchers of the nymphs,

as the uninitiated young men were called. In a sonnet which Barnabe Barnes added to his commendation, Harvey is called the "sweet Doctor, whose praise Sidney, Bodin, Hatcher, Lewen, Wilson and Spenser can unfold by their sweete Letters." 95-96

Harvey's pamphlet is incoherent in its rhapsodic digressions and held together by one ironic idea after the manner of Erasmus, the "prayse of the Old Asse." Since Nashe had called him an ass, Harvey set out to show him the esoteric significance of the ass, which since time immemorial had been used as a symbol for the initiate. We have already quoted these passages ( see pages 109-110). Harvey comes to the conclusion that all mythological animals are nothing but asses. In this connection Harvey alludes in a jocose manner to Chettle who, as we know, had aroused Nashe in the name of Robert Greene to fight against their enemies. From the following passage it can become clear that Chettle had afterwards reconciled himself to Harvey:

Kind-hart ~~that~~ hath already offered fair for it & were not that Phul Assur himself had forstalled and engrosed all the commodities of Assyriam with the whole encomium of Asses into one hand; it should have gone very hard but this redoubted Lob Assar Duck would have retailed and regrated some precious part of the said commodities and advauncement. He may haply in time by especiall favour and approved desert (what means of preferment to especiall favour and approved desert?) be interteined, as a chapman of choice or employed as a factour of trust and have some stables of Asses at his appointment as may seem meetest for his carriages and conveyances. For my own part I must be contented to remaine at his devotion, that hath the <sup>whole</sup> generation of Assyraians at commandement with a certaine personall privilege or rather an Imperial prerogative to create and install Asses at pleasure. 97



Harvey here plays with the words ass and Assyrian. The passage is dark; yet we see that Chettle is promised to be made "a chapman of choice or employed as a factour of trust and have some stables of Asses at his appointment." As the leader of the group, Harvey in a jocosse manner calls himself "Phul Assur," and assigns to himself the imperial prerogative to create and install asses at pleasure. Chettle is promised by Harvey to be promoted in the secret group.

If we lay aside the ironic theme of "Pierces Supererogation," viz. "the prayse of the old asse," and turn our attention to the polemic content of the pamphlet, we find in this mystification on rhapsodic digressions intentionally arranged in illogical manner. Nevertheless, if we once lift the esoteric veil there arises before us the picture of one of the most interesting analysis of the age. Harvey's feeling of distance to this "inkhorn battle" which was forced upon him, becomes clear from the following lines, which give us the right perspective of how to view this quarrel in Harvey's light:

... I could yet take pleasure, and proffite, in canvassing some Problems of naturall Philosophy, of the Mathematiques, of Geography, and Hydrography, of other commodious experimentes, fit to advance many valorous actions: and I would upon mine owne charges, travaile into any parte of Europe, to heare some pregnant Paradoxes, and certaine singular questions in the highest professions of Learning, in Physick, in Law, in Divinity, effectually and thoroughly disputed pro & contra: and would think my travaile as advantageously bestowed to some purpose of importance, as they that have adventurously discovered new-found Landes, or bravely surprised Indies. What conferences, or disputations, what Parliaments, or Councils, like those, that deliberate upon the best gouvernement of Commonwealthes, and the best discipline of Churches, the

dubble anchor of the mighty shipp, and the two great Luminaries of the world? Other extravagant discourses, not materiall, or quarrelous contentions, not available, are but wastinge of winde, or blotting of paper ... 98

Harvey had expected that Nashe would accept his offer of peace and friendship, and would recognize the inner motive of his plea for a severe discipline in life and poetic expression:

... But what a notable Asse indeede was I, that sought the winges of a mounting Pegasus, or a stying Phenix, where I found the head, & feete of a braying creature? ... I looked either for a fine-witted man, as quicke as quicksilver, that with a nimble dexterity of lively conceite, and exquisite secretaryship, would outrunne mee many hundred miles in the course of his dainty devises; a delicate minion: or some terrible bombarder of tearmes, as wilde as wild-fire, that at the first flash of his fury, would leave me thunderstricken upon the ground, or at the last volley of his outage, would batter me to dust, and ashes ... But the trimme silkworme, I looked for, (as it were in a proper contempt of common finesse) prooveth but a silly glow-woorme: and the dreadfull enginer of phrases, in steede of thunderboltes, shooteth nothing but dogboltes, and catboltes, and the homeliest boltes of rude folly ... till maister Villany became an Autor; and Sir Nash a gentleman ... 99

Against Nashe's licentiousness Harvey exclaimed in the manner of Cato the Censor:

The date of idle vanityes is expired: away with these scribling paltryes: there is an other Sparta<sup>n</sup> in hand, that indeed requireth Spartan temperance, Spartan Frugality, Spartan exercise, Sparta<sup>n</sup> valiancy,

<sup>Spartan</sup>  
perseverance, Spartan invincibility and hath no wanton leisure  
for the Comedyes of Athens, nor any bawdy hours for the songs  
of Priapus, or the rhymes of Nashe," 100

It refers undoubtedly to Nashe's poem "The Choise of Valentines" which he had written for the Earl of Southampton.

Harvey asserted that he did not write his pamphlet for his own sake, but for the instruction and admonition of a few young men:

My writing, is but a private note for the publique advertisement of some few: whose youth asketh instruction, & whose frailtie needeth admonition. In the cure of a canker, it is a generall rule with Surgeons: It never perfectly healeth, unlesse the rootes and all be utterly extirped; and the fleshe regenerate. 101

That Harvey defended a circle of friends or "sworn brothers" of a mystery group becomes clear from the following exclamation against Nashe:

... Compare old, and new histories, of farr & neere countries: and you shall finde the late manner of Sworne Brothers, to be of no new fashion, but an auncient guise, and heroicall order; devised for necessity, continued for security, and ~~maintained for security, and~~ maintained for proffite, and pleasure. In bravest actions, in weightiest negotiations, in hardest distresses, in how many cases, One man, noboddy; and a dayly frend, as necessary, as our dayly Bread. 102

Since Harvey's life work was entirely anonymous, socratic and apostolic, an attack upon his authority and integrity could be refuted only by the testimony of friends who knew him. It is characteristic with what supreme intelligence Harvey introduced this testimony:

The truth is, I stande as little upon others commendation, or mine owne titles, as any man in England whosoever; if there be nothing else to sollicite my cause: but being so shamefully and intollerably provoked in the most villanous termes of reprech, I were indeede a notorious insensate asse, in case I should eyther sottishly neglect the reputation of soe worthy favorers, or utterly abandon mine owne credit ... if I live, seeing that I must eyther live in tenebris with obloquay, or in luce with prooffe; by the leave of God, I will proove miselfe no Asse ... but amongst a number of sundrie other learned, and gallant Gentlemen, to M. Thomas Watson, a notable Poet; to M. Thomas Hatcher, a rare Antiquary; to M. Daniel Rogers of the Court; to Doctor Griffin Floyd, the Queenes professour of Lawe at Oxforde; to Doctor Peter Bare a professour of divinity in Cambridge; to Doctor Batholmew Clark, late Deane of the Arches; to Doctor William Lewen, Judge of the prerogative Court; to Doctor John Thomas Freigius, a famous writer of Germany; to Sir ~~John~~<sup>Philip</sup> Sidney; to M. Secretary Wilson; to Sir Thomas Smith; to Sir Walter Mildmay; to milord the bishop of Rochester; to milord Treasurer, to milord the Earle of Leicester ... I beseech God, I may deserve the least part of their good opinion, eyther in effectual prooffe, or in dutifull thankfullnesse: but how little soever I presume to mine owne sufficiency, (he that knoweth himselfe, hath smal cause to conceive any high hope of low meanes) as in reason I was not to flatter miselfe with their bountifull commendation. 103

Though Harvey considered heroic national poetry an important means for changing the atmosphere of the age, yet his interest in it flowed from his active participation of the religious and social questions of his day. It is therefore

significant how he shoved Greene's and Nashe's pamphlets aside: "... Were some demaunded, whether Greenes, or Nashes Pamflets, were better penned: I beleeeve they would answeare; Sir Roger Williams Discourse of War for Militare Doctrine in Esse; and M. Thomas Digges Stratiotices, for Militare Discipline in Esse ..." 104

Sir Roger Williams, a Welchman and staunch Puritan, is claimed by Mr. Wilson to be the model for Shakespeare's Fluellen in Henry V-VI. In a later connection we shall show what inner reasons seem to favor Mr. Wilson's view.

Harvey's conflict with Nashe consisted mainly in that Nashe was flippant, indiscreet, and obscene concerning the mercurial mystery. Harvey asserted that in spite of mystifications the intentions of a mercurialist are square, and he used for it the following symbol:

The Aegeptian <sup>mercury</sup> would provide to plant his foote upon a square; and his Image in Athens was quadrangular, whatsoever was the figure of his hatt: and although he were sometime a Ball of Fortune (who can assure himselfe of Fortune?) yet was he never a wheele of folly, or an eele of Ely. The Glibbest tunge must consult with his witt; & the roundest head with his feete: or peradventure hee will not greatly thanke his tickle devise ... 106

If we keep in mind that the Bishop of Ely had the privilege of censorship of the public press, we can get the meaning of what Harvey wanted to express in this passage: Even if a mercurialist uses tickle devices with a glib tongue, he has to be witty as well as honest; he should not resort to mere folly and think that he can slip, like an eel, through censorship. This remark is intended for Nashe, whom Harvey accused of irresponsibility and indiscretions. "... But noe Apology of Greene, like Greens grotes-worth of witt: and when Nash will indeede accomplish a work of Supererogation, let him publish, Nashes Penniworth of Discretion." 107

The mercurial experience was presumed to bring about a spiritual development in the man who had gone through it, out of which grew works of supererogation, useful for the common weal. Harvey's satire against Nashe consisted therein that his opponent who boasted continuously about his knowledge of the mercurial mystery, had no works of supererogation to show, but only works of vanity. In this sense Harvey wrote:

... What the first pang of his divine Furie, but notable Vanitie:  
 what the second fitte, but woorthy vanity? what the thirde career,  
 but egregious vanity? what the glory of his ruffian Rhetordque, and  
 curtisan Philosophy, but excellent villany? That, that is Pierces  
 Supererogation. 108

It needed a long discipline of silence until a mercurial master, a Phoenix, who can produce works of supererogation, is born; therefore Harvey wrote: "... the birde of Arabia is longe in hatchinge: and mightye workes of Supererogation are not plotted, & accomplished attence ..." 109 Harvey knew men of this kind in his circle, who produced works of supererogation, through discreet and valorous action, who did not flaunt their mercurial knowledge: "... Give me the man that is meeke in spirit, lofty in zeale: simple in presumption, gallant in endeavour; poore in profession, riche in performance. Some such I knowe, and all such I value highly. They glory not of the golden Stone, or the youthfull Quintessence: but Industrie is their goulden Stone; Action their youthfull Quintessence; And Valour their divine worke of Supererogation ..." 110 Harvey alludes with irony to the alchemist Kelly of whom news was spread that he had found the Philosopher's Stone with which he could make gold: "Great matters are no wonders, when they are menaced, or promised with big othes: and small thinges are marvels, when they are not expected, or suspected, I wondred to heare, that Kelly had gotten the Golden Fliece, and by virtue thereof was sodenly advaunced into so honorable reputation

with the Emperours majesty; but would have woondred more, to have seene a  
 woorke of Supererogation from Nashe ... <sup>111</sup> If we are in doubt that his  
 remark on Kelly is ironic, the following passage can show us what he really  
 thought of these pretenders of the age:

~~Fixxxxxx~~ Never any of these prating vagabundes had the vertuous  
 Elixir, or other important secret: (yet who such monarches for  
 Phisique, Chirurgery, Spagirique, Astrology, Palmastry, naturall &  
 supernaturall Magique, Necromancy, Familiar-spiritshipp, and all  
 profound cunnige, as some of these arrant Impostours?) hee is a  
 Pythagorean, and a close fellow of his tongue, & pen, that hath the  
 right magisterium indeede; and can dispatch with the finger of Art,  
 that they promis with the mouth of cosenage ... <sup>112</sup>

The pythagorean master, according to Harvey, had no time for idle talk, because  
 his life consists of action: "... Silence is a great misterye: and lowde wordes  
 but a Coweherds horne ... The Sunne sayth not: I will thus, and thus displaye my  
 glorious beames, but shineth indeede: the springe braggeth not of gallant flowers,  
 but flourisheth indeede: the Harvest boasteth not of plentifull fruit, but  
 fructifieth indeede. <sup>113</sup>

Harvey criticized Nashe's obscene licentiousness in the following way: "I  
 will not heere decipher thy unprinted packet of bawdye, and filthy Rymes, in  
 the nastiest kind: there is a fitter place for that discovery of thy <sup>^</sup>brothell  
 Muse, if the still prostitute her obscene ballatts, and will needs be a young  
 Curtisan of ould knavery..." <sup>114</sup>

Harvey used the philosophic conception of entelechy to indicate the inmost  
 secret principle of the occult experience of the mystery and Pythagorean discipline.

Other secrets of Nature, and Arts, deserve an high reputation in their severall degrees, and may challenge a soverain interteinement in their speciall kinds: but Entelechy is the mysteris of mysteries under heaven, and the head-spring of the powerfulllest Vertues, that divinitie infuseth, humanitie imbraceth, Philosophie admireth, wisdom practiseth, Industrie emproveth, valour extendeth; or he conceived, that conceiving the wonderfull faculties of the mind, & astonished with the incredible force of a ravished, & enthusicall spirite; in a profound contemplation of that elevate, and transcendent capacitie, (as it were in a deepe exstasie, or Seraphicall vision,) most-pathetically cryed-out;  $\delta$  magnum miraculum Homo. 115

In Harvey's Marginalia we find the terse remark: "Triplex Entelechia maximum Secretum." In his "Foure Letters" he had already remarked, referring to the mercurial mystery: "Nimble Entelechy hath beene a straunger in some Countries; albeit a renowned citizen of Greece; and a free denisen of Italy, Spaine, Fraunce, and Germany." 116 Entelechy, according to the Aristotelean philosophy, is the non-mechanical, vital principle of life. In the medieval ages this conception figured under the scholastic term of "forma substantialis." In modern philosophy this conception has no equivalent, unless we refer to it under the vague term of "soul." In the principle of entelechy Harvey seems to have seen the vital principle of spiritual rebirth and regeneration which the mercurial master brought about in the disciple through inversion, and which led the latter to married life. Since the mercurial mysta figured as the representative of Christ, the wedded pair could consider themselves spiritually as the incarnation or entelechy of the vital spirit of Christ. It is interesting that the antitrinitarian theology of the Anabaptists in the sixteenth century brought forward a representative, 117 Campanus, who dogmatised this conception of natural philosophy.



In Harvey's pamphlet, so full of mystifications, we find a passage which deserves special attention:

Nash, the Ape of Greene, Greene the Ape of Euphues, Eupheus, the Ape of Envie, the three famous mammals of the presse, and my three notorious feudists, drawe all in a yoke: but some Schollars excell their masters; and some lustie bloud will do more at a deadly pull, then two, or three of his yokefellowes. It must go hard, but he wil emproove himselfe, the incomparable darling of immortal Vanitie. Howbeit his frændes could have wished, he had not showne himselfe to the world, such a ridiculous Suffenus, or Shakerly, to himselfe, by advauncing the triumphall garland upon his owne head, before the least skermish for the victorie: which if he ever obtaine by any valiancie, or bravure, (as he weeneth himselfe, the valiantest and bravest Actour, that ever managed penne) I am his bondman in fetters, and refuse not the humblest vassalage to the sole of his boote ...<sup>118</sup>

In order to fully understand this passage, we must quote a few lines from Nashe's "Strange News," his reply to Harvey's "Foure Letters." The phrasing in the quotation above unquestionably grew out from these lines. Nashe wrote about Harvey:

Now do I meane to present him and Shakerly to the Queens foole taker for coatch horses: for two that draw more equally in one Oratoricall yoke of vaine-glorie, there is not under heaven."<sup>119</sup>

As to the person of Shakerley (also Shakerly and Shakerlye), we find in Francis Meres Wits Treasury the following information: "Popular applause doth nourish some, neither do they gape after any other thing but vaine praise and glory; as in our age Peter Shakerlye of Paules, and Monarcho that lived about the Court." 120

Peter Shakerlye seemed to have been a vainglorious halfwitted fellow since he is classed with Monarcho the Italian. Nashe ridiculed Harvey by calling him the vainglorious yokefellow of Shakerly. To this Harvey replied that three yokefellowes were Nashe, the ape of Greene, Greene, the ape of Lyly, and Lyly, the ape of envy; There are scholars who excel their masters. Harvey expressed the hope that such a scholar, a lusty blood, would do more at a deadly pull than two or three of his (Nashe's)yokefellowes. The person to whom Harvey alluded was spoken of in terms of reproach but also with great sympathy. The reproach lies in the fact that this person had shown himself an incomparable darling of vanity in advancing upon himself a triumphal garland upon his head against the wishes of his friends. He calls him a Shakerly and a ridiculous Suffenus. The name Suffenus refers undoubtedly to Catullus' poem XXII, where the poet Suffenus is satirized for admiring his own poetry. Should he obtain the victory by valiancy and bravery, Harvey promises to be his bondman in fetters, and do vassalage to the sole of his boots. The person of whom Harvey speaks "weeneth himselfe, the valiantest and bravest Actour, that ever managed penne." With reference to the lines of Nashe where Harvey is called a yokefellow of Shakerly, Harvey replied that three yokefellowes are Nashe, Greene, and Lyly; he himself would appear with a yokefellow who at present was a vainglorious Shakerly, but of whom worthy deeds were expected, that would make Harvey his vassal and bondman. Such deeds are to be expected of him, for he "weeneth himselfe, the valiantest and bravest Actour, that ever managed penne."

All of us know the poet who in the year 1593 could ween himself the valiantest and bravest actor that ever managed pen. We need to prove that Harvey knew this actor: William Shakespeare. In Harvey's pamphlets we find the names of all the significant young poets of the age: Greene, Nashe, Marlow, Chettle. How does it

come that the most significant of them is not mentioned by name? There must be a special reason why Shakespeare is not mentioned by name. Literary critics have often expressed their astonishment that until 1598 the plays by Shakespeare appeared anonymously. On the other hand we know that his Venus and Adonis and Lucrece appeared with Shakespeare's name, and had been dedicated to the Earl of Southampton, the same young nobleman to whom Nashe had dedicated his "Pierce Penniless" and his novel, The Unfortunate Traveller. We find in the "Foure Letters" a passage where Harvey speaks to a young man whose name he does not give; with sympathy and soft reproach:

I speake generally to every springing wit; but more specially to a few; and at this instant singularly to one: whom I salute with a hundred blessings: and entreat with as many prayers, to love them that love all good wittes: and hate none, but the Divell and his incarnate Imps, notoriously professed. I protest, it was not thy person that I any-way disliked; but thy rash and desperate proceeding against ~~thy~~ thy well-willers: which in some had been insufferable: in a youth was more excusable: in a reformed youth is pardonable: and rather a matter of concordance than of agrievance. 121

We see how he speaks to a young man with whom he is in full sympathy, whom he calls a reformed youth, with whom he wants to come to concordance. The only conflict Harvey has with this youth is that he had disliked the rash and desperate proceedings against his well willers, among whom Harvey apparently counted himself. It was probably to this passage that Nashe replied:

Alas even his fellow writer, that proper young man, almost scorns to cope with thee, thou art such a crow troden asse. Dost thou in some respects wish him well and spare his name? In some respects doth he wish thee as well (hoc est to as well known for a foole) and

promiseth by me to talke very sparingly of thy praise. For thy name, hee will not ~~xxx~~ stoupe to plucke it out of the myre, and put it in his mouth. 122

We see that Nashe here mentions a proper young man whose well-wisher Harvey is, and whose name he had spared and of whom Nashe asserts that he will not speak in Harvey's defense.

From these two passages it is clear that Harvey was the well-wisher of a "proper young man" with whom he had had a conflict and to whom he wanted to reconcile himself. In Harvey's pamphlet, "Pierces Supererogation" we find mentioned a gentlewoman of whom Harvey asserts that she will take revenge on Nashe. Harvey tells that this gentlewoman had written a comdey against Nashe. Harvey is superabundant in her praise. Of the many numerous passages referring to her, we quote the following:

... It is of little Value either for matter, or manner, that can be performed in such perfunctory Pamflets, on either side: but how little soever it be, or may appeare, for mine owne part I refuse not to underly the Verdict of any curcous, or equall censure, that can discerne betwixt chalke, and cheese. Touching the matter, what wanteth, or might be expected here, shall be particularly, and largely recompensed, as well in my Discourses, intituled Nashes S. Fame, which are already finished, and attend the Publication: as also in other Supplements thereof, especially those of the above mentioned Gentlewoman, whom after some advisement it pleased, to make the Strange Newes of the railing Villan, the cussionet of her needles, and pinnes. Though my scriblings may fortune to continue awhile, and then have their desert, according to the laudable custome; (what should toyes, or dalliances live in a world of businesse?) yet I dare undertake with warrant, whatsoever she writeth,

must needs remaine an immortall worke; and will leave in the activest  
 world an eternall memory of the silliest vermin, that she shall voutsafe  
 to grace with her bewtifull, and allective stile, as ingenious as elegant.  
Touching the manner, I take it a nice and frivolous curiositie for my  
 person, to bestow any cost upon a trifle of no importance, : and am so  
 overshadowed with the floorishing braunches of that heavenly plant  
 that I may seeme to have purposely prevented all comparison, in yeelding  
 that homage to her divine witt, which at my handes she hath meritoriously  
 deserved. Albeit I protest, she was neither bewitched with entreaty,  
 nor juggled with persuasion; nor charmed with any corruption: but onely  
 moved with the reason which the Equity of my cause, after some little  
 communication, in her Unspotted Conscience suggested. They that long  
 to advance their owne shame (I alwayes except a Phenix, or two) may  
 bravely enter the listes of comparison: & do her the highest honour in  
 despite, that they could possibly devise in a serviceable devotion.  
 She hath in my knowledge read the notablest Historyes of the most-  
 singular woomen of all ages, in the Bible, in Homer, in Virgill, (her  
 three soverain Bookes, the divine Archetypes of Hebrue, Greeke, and  
 Roman Valour); in Plutarch, in Polyen, in Petrarch, in Agrippa, in  
 Tryaquell, in whom not, that have specially tendered their diligent  
 devoit, to honor the excellentest woomen, that have lived in the world:  
 and commending the meanest, extolling the worthiest, imitating the rarest,  
 and approving all according to the proportion of their endowments,  
 envieth none, but Art in person, and Vertue incorporate, the two  
 precioucest creatures, that ever floorished upon earth. Other woomen  
 may yeelde to Penelope: Penelope to Sappho: Sappho to Arachne: Arachne  
 to Minerva: Minerva to Juno: Juno to none of her sexe: She to all, that

use her, and hers well; to none of any sexe, that misuse her, or hers. She is neither the noblest, nor the fairest, not the finest, nor the richest Lady: but the gentlest, the wittiest, and bravest, and invinciblest Gentlewoman, that I know. Not such a wench in Europe, to unswaddle a faire Baby, or to swaddle a fowle puppy. Some of you may aime at her personage: and it is not the first time, that I have termed her stile, the tinsell of the daintest Muses, and sweetest Graces: but I dare not Particularise her Description according to my conceit of her beadesert, without her licence, or permission, that standeth upon masculine, not femine<sup>ine</sup> termes; and is respectively to be dealt withall, in regarde of her courage, rather then her fortune. And what, if she can also publish more workes in a moneth then Nash hath published in his whole life; or the pregnantest of our inspired Heliconists can equall? Could I dispose of her Recreations, and some others Excercises; I nothing doubt, but it were possible (not withstanding the most-curious curiositie of this age) to breede a new admiration in the minde of Contempte, & to restore the excellentest bookes into their wonted estate, even in integrum. Let me be notoriously condemned of Partiality, and simplicity, if she fayle to accomplish more in gallant performance, (now she hath condescended to the spinning-up of her silken talke) than I ever promised before, or may seeme to insinuate now. Yet she is a wooman; and for some passions may challenge the general Priviledge of her sexe, and a speciall dispensation in the cause of an effectionate friend, devoted to the service of her excellentest desert; whom she hath founde no lesse, then the Handmayd of Art, the mistress of Witt, the Gentlewoman of right Gentlenesse, and the Lady of right Vertue. Howbeit even those passions she hath so ordered, and managed, with such

a witty temper of violent, but admised motions, full of spirite, and  
 bloud, but as full of sense, and judgement, that they may rather seeme  
 the marrow of reason, than the froath of affection: and her hoattest fury  
 may fitly be resembled to the passing of a brave career by a Pegasus,  
 ruled with the reanes of a Minervas bridle. Her Pen is a very Pegasus  
 indeede, and runneth like a winged horse, governed with the hand of  
 exquisite skill. She it is, that must returne the mighty famous worke  
 of Supererogation with Benet, and Collect. I have touched the booted  
 Shakerly a little that is alwayes riding, and never rideth; always  
 confuting, and never confuteth; always ailing something, and railing  
 anything; that shamefully, and odiously misuseth every frend, or  
 acquaintance, as he hath served some of his favorablest Patrons, (whom  
 for certain respectes I am not to name), M. Apis Lapis, Greene, Marlow,  
 Chettle, and whom not? that slauteth me with a Gabrielissime Gabriel,  
 which can give him the farewell with a Thomassissime Thomas, or an  
 Assissime Asse; yet have not called him a filthy companion, or a  
 scurvy fellow, as all the world, that knoweth him, calleth him: that is  
 in his Pierce Penniles, and Straunge Newes, the Bull-beggars of his  
 courage, hath omitted no word, or phrase of his railing Dictionary,  
 but onely Tu es Starnigogolus: and hath Valiently vowed to have The  
 Last Word, to dye for't. 123

Dr. Alexander Grossart, the editor of Harvey's works, unaware of the esoteric  
 disguises of Elizabethan literature, assumed that Harvey had flattered, in a vile  
 manner, the Countess of Pembroke, with compliments paid to this anonymous gentle-  
 woman. Even Harvey's text could have made him suspicious of this gentlewoman,

since Harvey said that he does not dare to "particularize her description ... without her license, or permission, that standeth upon masculine, not feminine termes." That this gentlewoman was the mystifying disguise for a man was clearly seen by Nashe and his friends. This gentlewoman was a mystification for them insofar as they did not know what man was alluded to. Nashe finally fell upon the idea that Harvey, whom he thought so vainglorious, referred to himself under the disguise of this gentlewoman. In Nashe's reply, "Have with you to Saffron Walden," which appeared three years later, the mystification was largely discussed. In this lampoon written in the form of a dialogue, *Importuno*, one of the interlocutors, remarks:

There is no such woman, but 'tis only a Fiction of his, like Menanders Table or Comedie called Thessala of women that could pluck back the Moone when they listed or Ennius invention of Dido, who, writing of the deedes of Scipio first gave life to that Legend.

Nashe, who figures as Respondent, thereupon replies:

Yea, Madam Gabriela, are you such an old jerker? then Hey ding a dong, up with your petticoate, have at your plum-tree: but the style bewraies it, that no other is this good wife Megara but Gabriel himself. <sup>124</sup>

We see the esoteric disguise of a man into a woman was in Shakespeare's age a commonplace, easily seen through. Nevertheless Gabriel Harvey had succeeded in mystifying Nashe in a grandiose manner, as the close analysis of Harvey's text can show us. Harvey's intention was to confound Nashe and he did it in a manner of all wizards, not through plain speech but through oracles. His literary method was, to use Shakespeare's phrase again, a "coat of folly covering discretion." Harvey intended to play out another poet against Nashe; a poet able to surpass Nashe in every respect. This poet, he asserted, would accomplish the works of



supererogation which Nashe was not able to perform. There is in the passage we have quoted of the gentlewoman a subtlety of conceptions involved which we must first recognize. Harvey promised at first to explain the matter of the quarrel in a discourse entitled "Nashes S. Fame, ready to be printed." He also promised a supplement to this publication, the writing by a gentlewoman who had satirized Nashe's "Strange News" or as Harvey expressed it, had made Nashe's work the "cussionet of her needles, and pinnes." Harvey humbly confesses that his own writings will live but a short time and he warrants that whatsoever the gentlewoman writes, will remain an immortal work and "leave in the activest world an eternal memory." Harvey does homage to the divine wit of this gentlewoman and declares that only the equity of his cause and her unspotted conscience had won her to his side. She was inspired by the "notablest Historyes of the most-singular women of all ages, in the Bible, in Homer, in Virgill, (her three souverain Bookes, the divine Archetypes of Hebrue, Greeke and Roman Valour)." He mentions also Plutarch, Polyen, Petrarch, Agrippa and Tyraquell as literary sources for her inspiration. What Harvey wanted to convey here is that all illuminated poetry is written in honor of womanhood, an expression of the inner sense of every mystery movement. Harvey tells Nashe that she can publish more in one month than Nashe has published in his whole life. He hopes that she will "accomplish more in gallant performance than he has ever promised," and he adds in brackets, "now she hath condescended to the spinning-up of her silken talke." This expression can throw a light on the ironic attitude which Harvey shared with the enlightened men of the age towards poetic production in general. Poetry, from a spiritual point of view, is a silken talk. He then praises the expression of her passions as full of spirit and blood and full of sense and judgment and compares her poetry to a Pegasus ruled with the reins of Minerva. It is this

gentlewoman, he concludes, who will accomplish the works of supererogation with blessing and short prayer, if we understand rightly the expressions of Benet and Collect. After the sustained praise of the gentlewoman there follows the abrupt sentence: "I have touched the booted Shakerly a little, that is always riding and never rideth; alwayes ~~confuting~~, and never confuteth; alwayes ailing something, and railing anything." These lines are still sympathetic and give the impression that what Harvey had stated about the gentlewoman refers to the booted Shakerly, or to that man of whom he had said that he had proven a ridiculous Suffenus or Shakerly to himself and to whom Harvey had promised that should he obtain the victory by bravery and valour, that he would be his bondman in fetters and do homage to the sole of his ~~booted~~ boot. But then Harvey hurries off with mercurial mystifying swiftness into the following invective which seems to be an attack against Nashe: (The booted "hakerly)

... that shamefully, and odiously misuseth every frend, or acquaintance, as he hath served some of his favorablist Patrons, (whom for certain respectes I am not to name), M. Apis Lapis, Greene, Marlow, Chettle, and whom not? that saluteth me with a Gabrielissime Gabriel, which can give him the farewell with a Thomassissime Thomas, or an Assissime Asse; yet have not called him a filthy companion, or a scurvey fellow, as all the world, that knoweth him, calleth him: that in his Pierce Penniless, and Straunge Newes, the Bull-beggars of his courage, hath omitted no work, or phrase of his railing Dictionary, but only Tu es Starnigogolus: and hath Valiently vowed to have the Last Word, to dye for't.

This passage was written so that Nashe could believe that it referred to him, for he had called Harvey Gabrielissime Gabriel, and the "farewell with a Thomassissime Thomas, or an Assissime Asse" referred undoubtedly to Thomas Nashe. Since Nashe

← had called Harvey a Shakerly, he could easily believe that Harvey had ~~reciprocated~~ reciprocated and had called Nashe a Shakerly. Nashe's fiercest anger was aroused because of the implied accusation that he had shamefully and odiously misused every friend, among whom is mentioned M. Apis Lapis (it referred probably to Lyly whose rhymed lampoon "The Whip for an Ape" must have brought forward this disguised name), Greene, Marlow and Chettle. No matter what ~~accusation~~ accusation Harvey could bring forward against Nashe, certainly the accusation that Nashe had misused Marlow, Chettle and Greene was preposterous, and one which Harvey himself could not believe, for Nashe fought against Harvey as the defender of Greene and it was absurd to assume that he had misused Greene. When, three years after, Nashe answered Harvey's "Pierces Supererogation" with the pamphlet "Have With You to Saffron Walden," Marlow and Greene had already died and could not uphold Nashe. But Chettle was alive and Nashe included in his pamphlet the following letter from Chettle:

I hold it no good manners (M. Nashe) being but an Artificer, to give D. Harvey the ly, though he have deserved it by publishing in Print you have done mee wrong which privately I never found: yet to confirme by my Art in deed what his calling forbids mee to affirme in word, your book bring readie for the Presse, Ile square & set it out in Pages that shall page and lackey his infamie after him ( at least, while he lives, if no longer). Y<sup>o</sup>ur old Compositor, Henry Chettle. 125

"I never abused Greene, Chettle, Marlow in my lyfe," exclaimed Nashe with utmost indignation. Indeed, how could Harvey in good faith ever utter such an impossible accusation, since Nashe fought for Greene against Harvey. We know one noted poet of the age against whom Greene and Marlow had reasons for complaint: this was William Shakespeare. Harvey, too seems to have had a conflict with this certainly proud young man, who could not easily bend to the will of a man

who was ambitious to be his leader and master. He said of this gentlewoman in another passage:

The manner of her wrath, or disdaine, (yet I beleeve, she was never forward with any not ever angry but with One: whom onely she scorneth, & before whom she never contemned any,) is somewhat like the counter-tenour of an offended Syren; or not much unlike the progresse of the resplendent Sunne in the Scorpion. 126

The one whom this gentlewoman disdained and was angry with seems to have been Harvey himself. We need to restore an esoteric manner of speech taken from astrology, in order to understand to what Harvey alludes in these few lines. The initiate was spoken of as the sun being in the sign of the Scorpion when he warred against his master on account of the offence of initiation. We find such allusions specially in the Elizabethan sonnet literature. The state of mind of the initiate symbolized under the sign of the Scorpion was considered essential for the spiritual development and therefore Harvey could say that "her wrath, or disdaine ... is not much unlike the progresse of the resplendent Sunne in the Scorpion." With the cunning of a mercurialist Harvey spoke to Nashe and at the same time intended to bring about an understanding with that poet who was able to surpass Nashe a hundred times.

Before we discuss this question we must bring forward those definite facts which make it highly probable that under the disguise of the gentlewoman Harvey referred to William Shakespeare. In "A New Letter of Notable Contents" written to the printer, John Wolfe and dated the 6th of September 1593, Harvey spoke again in great praise of the gentlewoman and said the following:

What Dia-margariton 127 or Dia-ambre, so comfortative or Cordiall as her Electuary of Gemmes (for though the furious Tragedy Antonius be a bloody chaire of estate yet the divine Discourse of Life and

and Death is a restorative Electuary of Gemmes,) whom I do not expressly name not because I do not honour her with my heart but because I would not dishonour her with my pen, whom I admire and cannot blason enough. 128

Since Harvey did not intend to mention the name of the gentlewoman, he took care to disguise the title of two works which this supposed gentlewoman had written. But here the disguise becomes transparent to a literary critic. There is one work of Shakespeare which cannot be better described than as a furious tragedy which is a bloody chair of estate. In John D'ante's press therè had appeared the "Noble Roman Historye of Titus Andronicus," dated in the Stationery Register on the 6th of February, 1593, seven months earlier than Harvey's letter to John Wolfe. Harvey speaks of the tragedy Antonius. The name Antonius contains the same vowels as Andronicus, and Harvey himself gives us the clue to decipher this in speaking, in one of his passages, of a method of writing "where vowels are coursed and mutes are haunted." 129 We have therefore two dependable indications which dovetail marvelously into each other. Harvey's judgement about the furious tragedy, the bloody chair of estate, is the judgment of all literary critics of Titus Andronicus. Following Harvey's own clue, we course or write out the vowels in Andronicus, and get A o i u, the same vowels as in the name Antonius. The mutes or consonants of Andronicus are haunted or spirited away. It is also to be taken into consideration that the date of the publication of Titus Andronicus antedates Harvey's letter only by seven months, so that the tragedy must have been fresh in his mind and provoked so fitting a criticism.

The Discourse of Life and Death is the other work through which Harvey alludes to the gentlewoman. Again, of course, it is a disguised title. Shakespeare had honored the Earl of Southampton with the works: Venus and Adonis and Lucrece. ~~These two productions can be likened to two scenes~~ The striking scene in Lucrece from a picturesque point of view is the moment where she kills herself;

from a poetic point of view, the dramatic resolution to prefer an honorable death to a shameful life. As a matter of fact, Shakespeare worked out in Lucrece with utmost rhetorical skill Lucrece's decision to die, and the contrast of life and death is brought to the following paradoxical expressions:

Poor hand, why quiver'st thou at this decree?  
 Honour thyself to rid me to this shame;  
 For if I die, my honour lives in thee,  
 But if I live, thou livest in my defame:  
 Since thou couldst not defend thy loyal dame,  
 And wast afraid to scratch her wicked foe,  
 Kill both thyself and her for yielding so. (Lines 1030-36)

'In vain,' quoth she, 'I live, and seek in vain  
 Some happy mean to end a hapless life.  
 I fear'd by Tarquin's falchion to be slain,  
 Yet for the self-same purpose seek a knife:  
 But when I fear'd I was a loyal wife:  
 So am I now: O no, that cannot be;  
 Of that true type hath Tarquin rifled me.' (Lines 1044-50)

'O, that is gone for which I sought to live,  
 And therefore now I need not fear to die.  
 To clear this spot by death, at least I give  
 A badge of fame to slander's livery,  
 A dying life to living infamy:  
 Poor helpless help, the treasure stol'n away,  
 To burn the guiltless casket where it lay!' (Lines 1051-57)

'To kill myself,' quoth she, 'alak, what were it,  
 But with my body my poor soul's pollution?  
 They that lose half with greater patience bear it  
 Than they whose whole is swallow'd in confusion.  
 That mother tries a merciless conclusion  
 Who, having two sweet babes, when death takes one  
 Will slay the other and be nurse to none.' (Lines 1157-63)

'My honour I'll bequeath unto the knife  
 That wounds by body so dishonoured.  
 'Tis honour to deprive dishonour'd life;  
 The one will live, the other being dead:  
 So of shame's ashes shall my fame be bred;  
 For in my death I murder shameful scorn:  
 My shame so dead, mine honour is new-born.' (Lines 1184-90)

The antithesis of life and death dominates Lucrece's discourse and this is why Harvey could allude to this poem as a "Discourse of Life and Death." The date

of composition of Lucrece can be determined from the dedication of Venus and Adonis to the Earl of Southampton, where the poet tells his young friend that he had vowed "to take advantage of all idle hours" till "I have honoured you with some graver labour." The poem must therefore have been written after the dedication containing the words, and before its entry on the books of the Stationers' Company, i.e. between April 1593 and May 1594.<sup>130</sup> Harvey who wrote his "A New Letter of Notable Contents" on September 6, 1593, may easily have known the poem in its entirety or in part from the manuscript.

There is moreover another indication which points to the intimate connection between the young Shakespeare and Gabriel Harvey. In the esoteric poem "Gorgon, on the Wonderfull yeare" which appeared with "A New Letter of Notable Contents," there is a mysterious talk about a "Circle" and a "Centre" and two members of the circle are alluded to in the following way: "De-maine entreates the rodd" and "Navarre wooes Roome". These two names are taken from contemporary figures of the age, and it is very interesting that we find these two names in Shakespeare's early comedy, Love's Labor Lost under the figures of Ferdinand, King of Navarre, and his attendant, Dumain. In this connection Harvey's remark becomes very significant that the gentlewoman had written a comedy against Nashe. Nashe himself was not aware in what comedy he figured, and remarked in his reply: (Harvey) "...Scarebugs me with a Comedie which she (the gentlewoman) hath scribbled up against mee."<sup>131</sup> In Shakespeare's comedy we find the witty Biron who is punished by his mistress for his overbearing wit and sent to a hospital to do penance for a year.

~~At present~~ Here we bring in one testimony which is, so to speak, the stenographic record of the esoteric background of the literary situation of Elizabethan literature from 1590 to 1600, the strange scribblings on the front of Bacon's manuscript on "Tribute, or giving what is dew."<sup>132</sup> These scribblings

have aroused the imagination of many literary critics, and the wealth of facts to which the scribblings allude made it difficult to imagine that they were written without intelligent purpose. The light which we have gained can be used as a flashlight to show up the whole range of thought in the mind of the writer. It was written by a man who was undoubtedly initiated, who must have belonged to the inner circle of initiated friends. The ~~dialectic~~<sup>of</sup> identification between master and initiate is tersely indicated in the line "Yours from yourself." The connection of the psychic experience of the mystery with the mystery of Christ is expressed "By your religion refreshing yourselves as in Christ." The initiate as a bondfellow among many is expressed in "your selfe among others." There is a wealth of allusions to the poets of the age ~~united~~ united through one common experience. This experience consisted in spiritual contrition, grief, and care. We find the remark "Laden with grief and oppressions of heart,"<sup>and</sup> under this remark are two Christian names: Philip Edmund. Considering that we find the names of several other poets, among others William Shakespeare and Thomas Nashe, we can easily conclude from the fact that these two names are linked together, what outstanding poets were in the mind of the scribbler: Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser. William Shakespeare's name is written out in full, also the titles of his plays, "Rychard the second, Rychard the third," two lines from Lucrece, and also the title "Loves Labour Lost," and below it, as an explanation of the esoteric content of this comedy, "Loves Hospital." We recall from Greene's autobiographical confession Lamia's Hospital, to which Roberto had brought his brother. Love's Hospital is the esoteric symbol for the mystery organization where lovers are made sick in order to recover in a spiritual sense. Above the names of Thomas Nashe there is written "He of Dogs frment," referring probably to his play "The Isle of Dogs," a comedy the licentiousness of which brought Nashe so much trouble.



Nevill

Mr. ffrancis Bacon  
of Tribute, or giving, what is dew



Esquer agt

Nevill

By your religio fons refusing  
of their  
reprehending your selves  
as in Christ  
most refusinge of any's

The praise of the worthiest vertue  
The praise of the worthiest affection  
The praise of the worthiest power  
The praise of the worthiest person  
and consort

ne vile velis  
Anthony Compt  
all  
Compt  
refreshing ye hart

By Mr. ffrancis Thomas  
Thomas  
By Mr. ffrancis Bacon of Gr  
Francis  
turner

laden with grief and  
oppression of heart  
Philippe

Greene Inn in the  
Philippe against monsieur  
revealed

Mullis annis iam transactis  
Nulla fides est in pactis  
Bell in ore Verba lactis

Earle of Arundells letter to the Queen  
from your service  
Speaches for my Lord of Essex at the tyft

Hell in corde ffraus in factis  
your lovinge  
friend

Speech for my Lord of Sussex tilt  
more than external by

honoric abilitatine  
Leycesters Common Wealth  
Incor to autore

Orations at Graues Inne revells

Dyr Queenes Maie many  
Earle of Arundelles By Mr. ffrancis Bacon Bacon  
letter to the Queenes Maie Earle of A By Mr  
By Mr

Essaies by the same author printed

By Mr. ffrancis  
Bacon

William Shakespeare  
Richard the second Shakespeare  
Richard the third ffrancis

Bacon end of the  
Amund and Cornelia Thomas  
reveling Thom Thom  
day through as your

every crany by Thomas Nashe Junferior plaw  
peepes and see your Thomas  
William Shakespeare

Shake sh sh  
sh sh Shakespeare  
your  
William Shakespeare

William Shakespeare Wm Wm  
Will Shakspe  
William Shakespe  
Shakespear

Alongside is written "your inferiour players," referring to Nashe as one of the inferior players in the mystery. There is also the following Latin epigram:

Multis annis iam transactis  
Nulla fides est in pactis  
Mel in ore, verba lactis  
Sel in corde, fraus in factis

Your loving friend  
honorificabilitudine

"Honorificabilitudinitatibus" occurs in Love's Labor's Lost with reference to the schoolmaster, Holofernes, who figures as a pedant, just as Harvey figured as Pedantius among the students at Cambridge. In our opinion Hologernes in the play is a pedant only in his theatrical garb, which disguises his significance as schoolmaster of Dionysus, an inspirer like the old Roman Cato grammaticus, "Latina Siren qui poetas legit ac facit." The Latin epigram seems to have been very well known among Elizabethan writers. It refers to the mystifications of the mystae of the age and, we believe, has a reference to Harvey himself. We find in Harvey's Marginalia the following remark in Latin: "Sirenis lingua et caput Gorgonis: quod volunt, valent. In extremis casibus Gorgon revelanda: aliae rixae et lites Ironice transigendae, mel in ore, verba lactis." <sup>133</sup> A page further we read: "Siren singulis diebus vitae: Gorgon ne semel in anno." <sup>134</sup> That these lines of the Marginalia refer to Harvey's occult mercurial practice becomes clear from his remark on Appolonius of Thyana, the famous magician and wizard of antiquity, at the time of Christ of whom he says: "He had ye cast to overawe them that went about to restrain him. He would show them a Gorgons hed, first bewitch them with a Sirens tongue, if that will not serve coniure them with a Gorgons hed." <sup>135</sup> Harvey's words "mel in ore, verba lactis," his ironic attitude in quarrels, the bewitching with a siren's tongue, are in part the same, in part similar to the lines of the epigram we have quoted. The phrase "your loving friend" finds its explanation in the fact that Harvey wrote in his Marginalia of

the initiated poets under the general term of "Axiophilus," the man worthy to be loved. Literary critics assumed that Harvey had alluded with the name Axiophilus to Spenser but there is not the slightest indication that it referred only to him; it is a term which referred to initiated poets in general, as the following passage shows:

No marvell, though Axiophilus be so slow in publishing his exercises, that is so hartie in dispatching them: being one that rigorously censures himself, unpartially examines others & deems nothing honorable or commendable in a poet that is not divine or illuminate; singular or rare, excellent or some way notable I doubt not, but it is the case of manie other, that have drunk the pure water of the virgin fountain. And Chrysotechnus esteems a singular poet worth his weight in gould: but accounts a meane versifer a Cipher in the algerisme of the first philosopher: who imitated none, but the harmonie of heaven, & published none but goulden verses. The precious  $\chi\rho\upsilon\beta\acute{\alpha}\ \acute{\epsilon}\pi\eta\gamma$  that deserved the silver commentaries of Hierocles in Greek: Stephanus Niger in Latin, & Angel Politian in fine Tuscan. Give me such goulden verses: or diamont cantoes: or enchanting sonets or percing epigrams: or none. 136

Harvey referred to the illuminated poet under the name of Axiophilus, and to himself as Chrysotechnus, the man who is an artificer in gold making, the loving friend of Axiophilus. What he here expressed is a code of honor for the illuminated poet who is slow in publishing the works expected of him and who censures them rigorously, while at the same time he is an impartial critic of other poets. After a review of the most noted poets of the age, Harvey remarked also about Axiophilus: "Axiophilus shall forgett himselfe or will remember to leave some memorial behind him & to make use of so manie rhapsodies, cantoes, hymns,

odes, epigrams, sonets and discourses as at idle hours or at flowing fitts he has compiled. God knows what is good and fitting for this age." 137 In the review of the most noted poets of the age Harvey wrote of Shakespeare: "The yonger sort takes much delight in Shakespeare's Venus & Adonis, but his Lucrece & his Tragedie of Hamlet Prince of Denmark have in them to please the wiser sort. Of such poets: or better: or none.

Vilia miretur vulgus: mihi flavus Apollo  
Tocula castalia plena ministret aqua,

quoth Sir Edward Dier." 138

The evidence which we have presented clearly shows that the scribblings on the front page of Bacon's manuscript were written by a man who was an initiate himself. He had recorded in a ~~sketch~~ stenographic way the mystery and secret of Elizabethan literature.

Harvey's judgment of Shakespeare has shown us with what unerring instinct Harvey had chosen the most significant works of Shakespeare for the object of his praise, especially his Hamlet which was destined to become the Sphinx myth of our rationalistic and esthetic culture, as King Oedipus was for the Greeks. "Such poets: or better: or none:" was the proud challenge for the circle of his friends for whom he had the general name of Axiophilus. "Give me such goulden verses: or diamont cantoes: or inchanging sonets or percing epigrams: or none." Thus he apostrophied Axiophilus: an expostulation the style of which shows his authority as master and leader. The entire proofs which we have brought that by the gentlewoman Harvey had meant William Shakespeare now makes easily understandable that passage which we have quoted, where Harvey speaks in praise of the gentlewoman and follows it immediately with blame for Shakerly. He did it in so clever a manner that Nashe could believe that he had been meant, since he himself had called Harvey a "yoke-fellow of the fool Shakerly." That Harvey

had not Nashe in mind is obvious since no matter what he could reasonably charge against Nashe, the accusation that Nashe was faithless to Greene, Marlow, and Chettle is so preposterous that it is impossible to believe. If the matter stands so that by Shakerly Harvey had meant no one other than Shakespeare, it becomes necessary to find out the reason why Harvey could praise Shakespeare so highly as the gentlewoman, and on ~~the~~ the other side why he blamed him as a ridiculous Suffenus and fool Shakerly. There is implied in this matter a delicacy of conceptions which our poetocentric and histrionic age has entirely lost. Compliments were due to a gentlewoman, and not to a man. Paying compliments to a male poet under the disguise of a gentlewoman implied an ironic attitude towards mere poetic production as being, after all, an expression of womanly vanity: the expression of the peacock, an esoteric symbol for the poet. Therefore Harvey could write, while paying his compliments, "now she has condescended to the spinning up of her silken talk." But Harvey expected from a real poet more than that: he expected from the illuminated poet that he would not consider himself the center of the universe; that he would not be enamoured with the products of his own imagination, a fault for which Catullus reproached Suffenus; that he would make his poetry the product of his illumination subservient to the propagation of the mystery. Harvey wrote: "One cunnycatcher worth twenty Philosophers." He expected of the poet that he would become a cunnycatcher, the esoteric slang expression for the ~~propagator~~ propagator of the mystery. For this purpose ~~there~~ ~~was~~ discipline of character and discretion were necessary. The conflict of Harvey with Shakespeare, whom he praised so much as a poet, seems to have consisted in the fact that he had committed something which went against the code of Axiophilus. We have heard that that young man of whom he expected that he would excel his master, had shown himself the "incomparable darling of immortall Vanitie," and

advanced the "triumphall garland upon his owne head, before the leāst skermish for the victorie." Harvey expected of this young man that he would improve himself and win the victory by "valiancie, or bravure" and prove to the world that he is that which he believes himself to be: "the valiantest and bravest Actour, that ever managed penne." In such an event Harvey promised to be "his bondman in fetters, and refuse not the humblest vassalage to the sole of his boote." Meanwhile he had to reproach the booted Shakerly that he had odiously and shamefully misused his friends, Greene, Marlow, Chettle, and "Apis Lapis," most probably Lyly. Harvey implied thereby that Shakerly was faithless by nature, and that he was just as faithless to him as to his other friends.

Harvey's "Pierces Supererogation" is dated the 27th of April, 1593. Shakespeare's Venus and Adonis was registered by the printer Richard Field, for himself, on April 18, 1593. As is well known, Shakespeare had dedicated the poem to the Earl of Southampton. In this dedication, as we have already stated, he had promised him Lucrece with the words: "...and vowe to take advantage of all idle houres, till I have honoured you with some graver labour." Harvey evidently was opposed to this early publication, as we can infer from his criticism of the ridiculous Suffenus who had advanced the triumphal garland upon his head before the last skirmish of the victory. From the fact that in the same year Harvey wrote a letter and sonnet to the Earl of Southampton, we can infer that he considered him a prospective novice. Harvey's intention seemed to have been that Shakespeare's poems should appear after the initiation of the Earl of Southampton, and not before. That was why he criticized Shakespeare and told him he had advanced the triumphal garland upon his head before the last skirmish of the victory. In spite of the difference of opinion, the interests of Harvey and Shakespeare seem to have been identical. Shakespeare's rival for the good graces of the Earl

of Southampton, the eighteen year old patron and 'minion' of the poets, was Thomas Nashe. How this over-witty and overbearing Nashe must have looked upon Shakespeare, who had no university education, can be inferred from his derogatory remark of Anthony Chute: "Is hee such a high clearke in hys Bookes?" (a youth that could not understand a word of Latine)." <sup>139</sup> We quote the following passages from Nashe's "Pierce Penniless" which the editor McKerrow considered as "Fancied allusion to Shakespeare": "The sonne of a churl cannot chuse but prove ungrateful like his Father. Trust not a villaine that hath bene miserable and is sodenly growne happie ...He ~~is~~ that hath neither comlinesse nor coine to commend him, undoubtedly strives over time by stratagems, if of a molehill he growes to a mountain in a mement." <sup>140</sup> We have to consider that these sentences appeared in "Pierce Penniless" which was dedicated to the Earl of Southampton.

Harvey's purpose seems to have been to destroy Nashe's friendship and influence with the Earl of Southampton. He seems to have succeeded, as we can infer from the fact that "The Unfortunate Traveller" by Nashe appeared in its second reprint in 1594 without the dedication to the Earl of Southampton which the first edition bore. Harvey was far from the purpose of destroying Nashe as a poet; he intended rather to bring upon him the mercurial experience of contrition, shame and repentance, and to bring him to recognize Harvey as master. An overbearing man like Nashe could not be more humiliated than by finding out one day that among the poets there was one by far superior to him. He could not be brought to recognize Harvey's authority in a better way than it if were proven that this superior poet had for years bowed to the authority and discipline of Harvey.

Literary critics are astonished at the fact that Shakespeare's plays had not appeared under his name until 1598. It is the year when Harvey, and not

Nashe, had had the last word in the controversy. In 1599 appeared Nashe's "Lenten Stuff," which is what literary critics have not guessed: an expression of contrition and repentance of the quarrel with Harvey. The book is written in esoteric language. In the dedication we read: "

Howe many bee there in the worlde that childishly deprave  
 Alchumy, and cannot spell the first letter of it; in the blacke  
 book of which ignorant band of scornes, it may be I am scorde up with  
 the highest; If I be I must intreate them to wipe me out, for the  
 red herring hath lately beene my ghostly father to convert me to  
 their faith. <sup>lll</sup>

It was Gabriel Harvey, as we shall see, who had become his "ghostly father" and had converted him. Until Nashe was converted, it appears, Shakespeare's works had to be anonymous, probably for reasons of spiritual discipline. We are confirmed in this view by the following passage where Harvey plays out the anonymous gentlewoman against Nashe, and promises that she will appear in person when Nashe's "necessary defence" will have appeared. The passage runs as follows:

Though my Pen be a slugplum, looke for a quill, as quicke as quicksilver, & pittie the soary swaine, that hath incurred the indignation of such a quill; and everlastingly be a miserable Spectacle for all libelling rakehells that otherwise may desperately presume to venture the foyle of their crank folly. The stay of the Publication resteth only at my instance; who can conceive small hope of any possible account, or regard of mine owne discourses, were that faire body of the sweetest Venus in Print, as it is redoubtedly armed with the compleat harnessse of the bravest Minerva. When his necessary defence hath sufficiently accleered him, whom it principally concerneth to



acquitt himselfe: She shall no sooner appear in person, like a new Starre in Cassiopeia, but every eye of capacity will see a conspicuous difference between her, and other myrrours of Eloquence: And the wofull slave of S. Fame must either folde himselfe with insensible perversitie or behold his own notorious folly, with most shamefull shame. <sup>142</sup>

The new star in Cassiopeia which was to appear in person after Nashe had "accleered" himself was William Shakespeare, called a gentlewoman, as Harvey had called Spenser: O mea Domina Immerito bellissima Colina Clouta. This "gentlewoman," as Harvey mystifyingly hinted, meanwhile had to be eclipsed, since she was under a "terme probatory." Referring to her comedy writings, Harvey said:

M. Stowe, let it be enchronicled for one of the ~~singular~~ singularities, or miracles of this age, that a thing lighter than Tarletons Toy, and wayner than Shakerleyes conceit, that is, Nash, should be the subiect of so invaluable a worke: and be it known to Impudency by these Presents, that his brasen wall is battered to Pin dust, and his Iron gate shaken to all nothing. It is in the least of her energeticall lines to do it: more easily then a fine thread cracketh a jangling Bell. A pretty experiment: & not unlike some of her strange inventions, and rare devises, as forcible to move, as feat to delight. The issue will resolve the doubtfullest minde: and I am content to referre Incredulity, to the visible, and palpable evidence of the Terme Probatory. When either the Light of Nature, and the Sun of Art must be in Eclipse: or the shining rayes of her singular giftes will display themselves in their accustomed brightnesse: and discover the base obscurity of that mischievous Planet, that in a vile ambition seeketh the exaltation of his fame, by the depression of their credit, that are hable to extinguish the ~~proudest~~ proudest glimze of his Lampe. <sup>143</sup>

Harvey's intention was to bring upon Nashe the occult mercurial experience. He would have preferred not to confound and illuminate him at all. He would have preferred to confound and to illuminate him without having to quarrel with him in the open. But the situation which Nashe had brought about made it necessary to confute him in print as well as through the occult mercurial experience. Harvey expressed this thought in the following passage:

...I know One, that experimentally proved what a rod in lye could do with the curstest boy in a Citty; and found the Imperative moode a better Oratour, then the Optative: It may fortune, the same man hath such a Whipsy-doxy in store for a Jacksauce, or unmannerly puppy, as may Schoole him to turne-over a new leafe, and to cry the pittifullest Peccavi or a wofull Penitent. For my part, whom at this instant it smartly behooveth to be resolute I confesse, I was never more entangled and intricated in the discourse of mine owne reason, then since I had to do with this desperate Dick; that dareth utter, and will cogge anything to serve his turne. Not to confute him, in some respects were perhaps better: to confute him is necessary. Were it possible, to confute him in not confuting him, I am of opinion, it would be done: (for Insolency, or any iniury would be repressed by order of Law, where order of Law is sufficient remedy: and Silence, in some cases, were the finest Eloquence; or Scorne the fittest answer): and haply I could wish, not to confute him in confuting him, (for the discovery of cunycatchers doth not greatly edify some bad mindes): but seeing he is so desperate, that he will not be confuted with not confuting, I must desire his Patience, to be a little content to be confuted with confuting, rather after his or other guides, then after my manner. 114

Harvey's mystifying sentences run mad; yet there is a method in his madness. He threatened Nashe with the mercurial symbol of the mystic triangle that he will be made silent: "...One She, & two He's have vowed, they will pumpe his Railing Inkhorne as dry, as ever was Holborne Conduit: and squise his Craking Quill as to emptie a sponge, as any in H<sub>o</sub>sier Lane." 145 Since Nashe had reproached Harvey because the latter, in a letter to Spenser, had reviled Dr. Perne, the Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Harvey gave as answer a characterization of the sly Dr. Perne, which may be claimed a masterpiece of writing and has been recognized by Dr. Grossart as such. After this characterization Harvey abruptly inserted a weird poem which alluded to the mystic triangle and played with the theme of death:

The Coffin Speaketh.

Aske not, what Newes? that come to visit wood:  
My treasure is, Three Faces in One Hood:  
A chaungling Triangle: a Turnecoate rood.

A lukewarme Trigon: a Three-edged toole:  
A three-card galley: a three-footed stoole:  
A three-wing'd weathercock: a three-tongu'd schoole.

Three-hedded Cerebus, wo be unto thee,  
Here lyes the Onely Trey, and Rule of Three:  
Of all Triplicities the A.B.C. 146

This poem figured as an epitaph to Dr. Perne, and was introduced with the following lines: "... so it were reason, the thrice-famous Devine, should have the three-sided figure, or equalater(al) Triangle, imprinted upon his Sepulchre: with this, or some worthier Epitaph, devised according to the current Method of Tria sequuntur Tria." 147 When Nashe read this he was apparently mystified and frightened, and referring to this poem exclaimed in his reply, "Have With You to Saffron Walden:" "What wooden jest is this?" 148

Harvey claimed that he possessed psychic powers, commonly called supernatural:

the ability to disembody his spirit and invade whom he willed. Harvey wrote:

We may discourse of naturall Magique, and supernaturall Cabale,  
whereof the learnedest and crediblest antiquity hath recorded  
wonderfull Histories: but it is the rod of Mercury, and the ring of  
Gyges, that worke miracles: and no Mathematician, Magitian, or Cabilist  
may countervaile him, that in his heroicall expeditions, can walke in  
a cloude, like a Vapour, or in his divine practice go invisible, like  
a Sprite. 149 - 50

Harvey's purpose was "to work alchemy upon Nashe." The quarrel of Harvey and Nashe has an occult background which historians of literature have not suspected.

After the appearance of "Pierces Supererogation," Nashe offered peace to Harvey in a few lines of his book "The Tears of Christ." He made overtures for peace through the mediation of the printer Wolfe. Harvey would not accept these offers of peace until Nashe, who had insulted him and his family, would publicly confess his guilt. Harvey wrote "A new Letter of Notable Contents" with a strange sonnet entitled "Gorgon, or the Wonderfull Yeare," which he addressed to the printer John Wolfe, dated 16th of September 1593. The Letter and sonnet are mystifying and oracular, like all of Harvey's writings. Yet his position ~~and~~ as the center and leader of a mystery circle becomes clear. John Wolfe, as we have already said, seems to have been a member of this circle. The Letter mentions in the beginning Barnabe Barnes "Parthenophil and Parthenophe." It mentions also Anthony Chert's play "Shores Wife" and then goes on to speak of the latest news of Europe. It alludes to the articles of accord and truce in France; to the remonstrances to the Duke de Maine; to a pamphlet which had appeared on the Turkish assiege of Syssex in Crotia; to the declaration of peace in Germany. Harvey rejoices that France and Croatia had come to terms of truce and triumph. It is our impression that Harvey, in ~~and~~ alluding to the topics of the day,

may have referred to events that happened within the circle.

Harvey then goes on to speak about the offered peace by Nashe. He was not inclined to believe that Nashe had reformed himself. As a condition for peace Harvey sets down:

Till a publique iniurie be publicuely confessed, and Print confuted in Print, I am one of S. Thomas disciples: not overprest to beleieve but as cause causeth: and very ready to forgive as effect effecteth ... For mine owne determination, I see no credible hope of Peace, but in Warre: and could I not commaunce, that I desire, I am persuaded, I should hardly obtaine, that I wish. I love Osculum Pacis, but hate Osculum Judae; and reverence the Teares of Christ, but feare the Teares of the Crocodile. 151

Indeed, Harvey's letter was written in a manner intended to continue the war with Nashe. Nashe believed that he had entered into a fight merely verbal, and that the quarrel could be smoothed out with words. He was hardly aware at that moment that Harvey was a confounder like the early Christians. Referring to the gentlewoman who sided with him in this quarrel, he wrote:

...never lend credit to the word of a Gentlewoman, if I made not old mother-Gunpowder of the newest of these ratling babyes. And if steeping in Aqua fortis, will infuse courage into his goose-quill; why man, I will dowse thee over head, and eares in such a dowty Collyrium, as will inspire the Picture of Snuffe, and Fury, into the Image of S. Patience. I have not bene squatterring at my papers for nothing: and albeit I cannot paint with my pen, like fine Sappho, yet I can dawbe with my incke, like nine of the Muses: and am prettily provided to enterteine S. Fame with a homely gallimaufry of little Art, to requite her dainty flaumpaump of little wit ... 152

"A New Letter of Notable Contents" in its rapidity of invectives against Nashe; in the assertions that Harvey is ready for peace, which he contradicts immediately with new attacks intended to arouse the anger of Nashe; in its swift changes of thoughts, gives the impression of a demonic spirit. It seems that Harvey, in order to tame Nashe and to drive out all his gall, intended to make him utterly mad at first. Harvey's writings, considered ~~from~~ merely from a verbal and literary point of view, are likely to arouse sympathy for Nashe. We do not defend Harvey's manner of writing, but only call attention to what he meant. He said of Nashe:

Let him reforme his publique, & redresse his private enormities, & with a sincere vowe I sweare him frendship; or let him rest quiet, & I am quiet. Otherwise I may possibly be induced, to pay him home with an immortal revenge, that hath plagued his own tongue with desperate blasphemies in jest: O Christ, of how horrible consequence, without teares in earnest? There is a great distance betwixt Hell, and Heaven: the Divell, and God: Rakehells, and Saintes: the Supplication of the Divell, and the Teares of Christ: the Straunge Newes of Villany, and the mitaculous Newes of Repentance: the Herald of Warre, and the Ambassadour of Peace: the publique Notary of Lyes, and the Register of Truth: the Divels Oratour, and Christes Chauncellour. Though Greene were a Julian, and Marlow a Lucien: yet I would be loth, He should be an Aretin: that Paraphrased the inestimable bookes of Moses, and discoursed the Capricious Dialogues of rankest Bawdry: that penned one Apology of the Divinity of Christ, and another of Pedarastice, a kinde of harlotry, not to be recited ... O monster of extremities; and O abomination of outrageous witt. It was his glory, to be a hellhounds incarnate, and to spoile Origen of his egregious praise: Vbi bene, nemo melius: vbi male, nemo peius. 153

Here we find expressed Harvey's conflict with the three young writers of the age: Greene, the Julian Apostata; Marlow, the Lucien; and Nashe, the Aretin. The experience of illumination was not intended to destroy religion, but to build it up, and in this sense he wrote against the three writers:

Non est bonum, ludere cum Sanctis: cum Christo ludere, execrabile...  
 there is no kingdome, or Commonwealth upon Earth so profane, or barbarous, but either in conscience is, or in Pollicy seemeth, religious, or cannot possibly maintaine any durable state. I would every Autour, that hath done no better, had done no worse: and it were to be wished, that some desperate wittes were not so forward, to disbowell the intrails of their owne impious mindes. Plinyes and Lucians religion may ruffle, and scoffe awhile: but extreme Vanitie is the best beginning of that bravery, and extreme Miserie the best end of that felicity. Greene, and Marlow might admonish other to advise themselves: and I pray God, the promised Teares of Repentance, prove not the Teares of the Onion upon the Theatre. 154

If Humanity will needes grow miraculous, it must flye with the wing of Divinity, not flutter with the plume of Atheisme, or hoise the sayle of Presumption. Whosoever dispiseth the Majestie of Heaven, or playeth the Democritus in Goddes cause; be his witt never so capon-crammed in Vanity, or his hart never so toadeswaine in surquidry: is the abjectest vermin, and vilest padd, that creepeth on the earth. 155

In this letter Harvey contrasts Nashe with the gentlewoman, whose furious tragedy "Antonius" and "Discourse on Life and Death" he mentions. This gentlewoman is an initiated young poet to whom Harvey alludes, and even if we had not offered substantial proof that it was William Shakespeare, the general enthusiasm with

which he speaks of her would have caused literary critics to guess that it was William Shakespeare, had they been aware of the mystification of the age to speak of a poet as a woman, as a Laura.

What hath the bravest man, that she hath not: excepting the Lion in the field of Mars, which she hath in the field of Minerva: whose warre she wageth with a courageous minde, and invincible hand, and the cunning oray of the worthy Old-man in Homer. His talke was sweet: his Order fine: and his whole menage brave: and so is hers: but for a dainty wit, and a divine humanitie she is such a Paragon, as may compare with the excellentest of Homers women, and pledge the honorablest of his Goddesses. She is a right birde of Mercuries winged chariot: and teacheth the liveliest cockes of the game, to besturre them early, to crow gallantly, to march comely, to fight valiently, to comfort kindly, and to live in any estate honorably. No flower more floorishing, then her witt: no fruite more mature then her judgement. All her conceits are illuminate with the light of Reason: all her speaches bewtified with the grace of Affabilitie: all her writinges seasoned with the salt of Discretion: all her sentences spiced with wittines, perfumed with delight, tempered with proffit: no leaven of Experience more savory, then all her platformes, & actions: nothing more mellow, then the whole course of her life. In her minde there appeareth a certaine heavenly Logique: in her tongue, & pen, a divine Rhetorique: in her behavior, a refined Morall Philosophie; in her government, a soverain Pollicy: in every part of her proceeding a singular dexteritie: & what patterne of skill, or Practice, more admirable than the whole? Let it not seeme incredible, that shall enact & accomplish more, then is signified. The maner of her wrath, or disdains, (yet I beleeve, she



was never froward with any, nor ever angry but with One: whom onely she scorneth, & whom she never contemned any,) is somewhat like the counter-tenour of an offended Syren; or not much unlike the progresse of the resplendent Sunne in the Scorpion. Her ~~behaviour~~ <sup>favour</sup> is liker triacle for the hart, then ypoerace for the mouth: her disfavor like the moone withdrawing the cheerey beames of her bounteous light in a cloud: her hatred (if she can hate, for I verily thinke she never hated, but One) like the flashing weapon of the fiery Aier. She is not lightly moved: but what she resembleth, or representeth, when she is moved, could I as visibly declare, as she can vigorously utter, I would deeme miself a peece of an Oratour, <sup>if</sup> I could display her excellent perfections, whose minde is as full of ritch giftes, and precious Jewells, as Newyeares day. Yet her goodliest ornament, and greatest wonder, is the sweet humilitie of that brave courage ...<sup>156</sup>

We have to keep in mind what Harvey had stated about his relation to the gentlewoman "that standeth upon masculine, and not feminine termes." Only thus can we understand his mystifying allusion: "she was never froward with any, nor ever angry but with One; I verily thinke she never hated, but One." This one, with whom the gentlewoman was angry, and whom she hated was Gabriel Harvey himself. One of the results of the illumination, as we have already indicated, is the hatred of the disciple for the mercurial master who had brought about the dangerous inversion. We have shown how this estrangement and hatred helps to turn ~~xx~~ the disciple away from his father-imago, and to strengthen the love for the chosen mate. The illuminated disciple and his master mutually feel they are "dear enemies" to each other. This is the reason that in original sonnet literature where the initiated disciple is berhymed as a woman, is spoken of as the "sweet foe." The mercurial master is "quel antique mio dolce empio signore," the old dear enemy whom Petrarch arraigns before the Court of Love, x

There were two <sup>I</sup> eminent celestial gentlewomen who were not merely poets born, but poets made by Gabriel Harvey: Domina Immerito, Bellissima Colina Clouta, the poet Edmund Spenser; the gentlewoman, a Minerva with heavenly logic, divine rhetoric, refined moral philosophy and sovereign policy, the bird of Mercury's winged chariot, William Shakespeare.

Harvey used towards Nashe the bitter language of invectives which Nashe had used towards him. His real intentions are expressed in sentences like the following: "... misery accompany my actions, and the mercy of heaven by my unmercifull enemy, if I desire not with a longing hart, to wreacke my teene upon wilde indiscretion by requitting good for bad, & converting the wormewood of just offence into the angelica of pure attonement." <sup>157</sup> He intended to bring him to a supernatural, occult experience. Unless we understand Harvey's tacit irony and humor with which he wrote his bombarding, noisy mystifications, we cannot get a real perspective to his writings. He intended, after all, to bring about a good understanding with Nashe, and therefore he concluded his letter:

All is well, that endeth effectually well: & so in some hast he endeth, that wisheth you entirely well ... I can say nothing for miselfe, whose date is expired: but I dare ascertaine you, three drops of the Oyle of roses, or three drops of the Mercury of Buglosse, will enstrengthen the braine, or comfort the hart more, then six, and six ounces of their common sirrups ... <sup>158</sup>

With these mystical drops of the oil of roses and with the three drops of the Mercury of Buglosse, were annointed in a supernatural way all the holy brethern of the age, some of whom called themselves Rosicrucians.

To this letter was added a sonnet, "Gorgon, of the Wonderfull Yeare," which, on account of its mystifying style, is aptly termed by Nashe the "Goggle-eyed sonnet." We give here the sonnet:

## S O N E T

Gorgon, or the Wonderfull yeare.

St. Fame dispos'd to cunnycatch the world,  
 Uprear'd a wonderment of Eighty Eight:  
 The Earth, addreading to be overwhurled,  
 What now availles, quoth She, my ballance weight?  
 The Circle syml'd to see the Center feare:  
 The wonder was, no wonder fell that yeare.

Wonders enhaunce their powre in numbers odd:  
 The fatall yeare of yeares in Ninety-three:  
 Parma hath kist; De-maine entreates the rodd:  
 Warre wondreth, Peace and Spaine in Fraunce to see,  
 Brace Eckenberg, the dowty Bassa shames:  
 The Christian Nepture Turkish Vulcane tames.

Navarre wooes Roome: Charlmaine gives Guise the Phy:  
 Weepe Powles, they Tamberlaine voutsafes to dye.

## L'envoy

The hugest miracle remains behinde,  
 The second Shakerly Rash-swash to binde.

A Stanza declarative: to the Lovers of Admirable Workes.

Pleased it hath a Gentlewoman rare,  
 With Phenix quill in diamont hand of Art,  
 To muzzle the redoubtable Bull-bare,  
 And play the Galiard Championesses part.  
 Though miracles surcease, yet wonder see  
 The mightiest miracle of Ninety Three.

Vis consilij expers, mole ruit sua.

The Writer's Postscript: or a frendly Caveat to the Second  
 Shakerly of Powles.

Slumbring I lay in melancholy bed,  
 Before the dawning of the sanguin light:  
 When Eccho shrill, or some Familiar Spright,  
 Buzzed an Epitaph into my hed.

Magnifique Mindes, bred of Gargantuas race,  
 In grisly weedes His Obsequies waiment,  
 Whose Corps on Powles, whose mind triumph'd on Kent,  
 Scorning to bate Sir Rodomont an ace.

I mus'd awhile: and having mus'd awhile,  
 Jesu, (quoth I) is that Gargantua minde  
 Conquerd, and left of Scanderbeg behinde?  
 Vowed he not to Powles A Second bile?  
 What bile or kibe? (quoth that same early Spright)  
 Have you forgot the Scanderbegging wight?

## Glosse.

Is it a Dreame? or is it the Highest minde  
That ever haunted Powles, or hunted winde,  
Bereaft of that same sky-surmounting breath,  
That breath, that taught the Tempany to swell?

He, and the Plague contended for the game:  
The hawty man extolles his hideous thoughtes,  
And gloriously insultes upon poore soules,  
That plague themselves: for faint harts plague themselves.  
The tyrant Sicknesse of base-minded slaves,  
Oh how it dominer's in Coward Lane?  
So Surquidty rang-out his alarum bell,  
When he had girn'd at many a dolefull knell.

The graund Dissease disdain'd his toade Conceit,  
And smiling at his tamberlaine contempt,  
Sternely struck-home the peremptory stroke.  
He that nor feared God, nor dreaded Div'll,  
Nor ought admired, but his wondrous selfe:  
Like Junos gawdy Bird, that prowldly stares  
On glittering fan of his triumphant taile:  
Or like the ugly Bugg that scorn'd to dy,  
And mountes of Glory rear'd in trowing witt:  
Alas: but Babell Pride must kisse the pitt.

## L'envoy

Powles steeple, and a hugher thing is downe:  
Beware the next Bull-begger of the towne.

Fata immatura vagantur.

F i n i s 159

The title "Gorgon" refers to the occult experience of invasion which Harvey professed to be able to bring about to those who attempted to restrain him. We have quoted from the Marginalia that passage in which Harvey confessed that he used the revelation of Gorgon "ne semel in anno": not even once a year. We recall also that passage where he spoke of Apollonius of Tyana, whose "miraculous sapience and magic" Harvey admired, where he also mentioned that he would show a "Gorgon's hed" to those who went about to restrain him. Edmund Spenser, in his Faerie Queene, attributes the magic feat of Gorgon to Archimago. The mythological

figure of Gorgon stands for an occult experience which the illuminated poets of the age had gone through. It is an experience which is poetically symbolized by Prospero's magic art. The subtitle, "The Wonderfull Yeare," refers to the year 1588, the year of victory over the Spanish Armada. It is also the year when the young Nashe emerged as a promising poet of the age. Harvey stated that S. Fame had come that year to "cunnycatch the world." Harvey states with that irony with which he replied to such quarrels ("rixae et lites Ironice transigendae") that he, the center of the secret circle, would have been almost afraid of Nashe's provocations, had not the Circle laughed at his fear. But all the threats with which Nashe rose against him came to naught. Harvey then mentions the year 1593 as remarkable. Under the names of contemporary figures he alludes, most probably, to events within the circle. A definite interpretation in mystifications of this kind cannot of course be given. But we may be satisfied if we recognize the general drift of the mystification. "Parma has kist": probably refers to the submission of one of the members to his master; "De-maine entreates the rodd": refers to a man who deserves to be punished; "Brave Eckenberg, the dowty Bassa shames": probably refers to a man who was in a state of contrition; "Navarre wooes Romme": seemingly referring to Henry IV of France who in that year became a Catholic, may at the same time bear an allusion to a person within the circle. It is important to us that two names, Navarre and Dem-maine occur also in Love's Labor's Lost. <sup>Two Thus</sup> ~~These~~ literary facts are given in this mystification "Gorgon": the death of Marlow, who is mentioned as Tamberlaine; Rash-swash (Nashe) has to be bound, that is, brought to discipline. Whether Harvey in this mystification meant that the second Shakerly (Shakespeare) has to bind Nashe, or whether he called Nashe himself a second Shakerly, is doubtful. We have seen how Harvey had so cleverly played with the name Shakerly that Nashe believed it referred to him.

"A Stanza Declarative: to the Lovers of Admirable Workes," announces that a gentlewoman, a Phoenix, will help to muzzle the "redoubtable Bull-bare," meaning Nashe. She was the championess in this quarrel. Harvey considered the fact that the gentlewoman sided with him as the mightiest miracle of the year 1593. It is the year when Shakespeare appeared in print as a poet. "The Writer's Postscript: or a frendly Caveat to the Second Shakerly of Powles," as well as the "Glosse" and "L'envoy," refer to Marlow. What Harvey expressed can be understood as a caveat or warning to Shakespeare; a caveat to Nashe; a general caveat to the literary youth of the age. Harvey warned the poets that religion had to be saved and not destroyed. In Harvey's eye Marlow was a man who in his titanic attitude dreaded neither devil nor God. He had erected his own wondrous self as authority, that is, he was a vain peacock. Harvey warned the poets not to imitate Marlow's attitude of atheism. The way how Harvey expressed his thoughts about Marlow has aroused the sharpest criticism of modern literary historians. It is to be considered that Harvey used the example of Marlow as well as the example of Greene; as a warning to the literary youth not to follow the path of irreverence of licentiousness. In spite of the recognition of Marlow's poetic genius, to which Harvey was not blind, modern critics have come to the same judgment about Marlow. Ulrici, for instance, calling attention to his reckless, titanic mind, spoke of his "waste and wild heart." 160

Nashe seems to have been dumbfounded for three years by this oracular and mystifying pamphlet. In 1596 he answered it with "Have With you to Saffron Walden, or Gabriel Harvey's Hunt is up, or Nashe his confutation of the sinful Doctor." He added on the title page, in the mood of a man who wants to show his courage, "As much to say, as I sayd I would speake with him." But this assertion is weakened with the following statement found in the book: "I protest I do not write against him because I hate him, but that I would confirme and plainly shew to a number of weake beleevers . . . that I am able to answere him." 161 He also

confessed that Harvey's friends had driven him to write this book because they had said what a "triumph he (Harvey) had over me." The form of Nashe's reply is a dialogue where Nashe figures as Respondent to several men, of whom one is called Senior Opportuno, the opponent who defends Harvey; another, Grand Consiliadore, who figures as the chief censor and moderator; the third, ~~Domine~~ Bentivole; the fourth, Don Garneades, "de boone Compagniola," a Country Justice who "preacheth to thieves." These disguised personages seem to represent a circle of friends of Lyly's, since Nashe confesses: "Neither would I have you imagine that all these personages are fained. . . . In some nooke or blind angle of the Black Friers you may suppose (if you will) this honest conference to be held." <sup>162</sup> Of Grand Consiliadore Nashe tells us that he is a "grave reverend gymnosophist that as Aesculapius built an Oracle of the Sunne at Athens, so is his chamber an Oracle or Convocation Chappell of all ~~the~~ <sup>for all</sup> sound consaile ~~for~~ the better sort of the sonnes of understanding about London." Nashe's reply seems to have emanted from a mercurial circle hostile to Harvey. Nashe spread before the public the most private affairs about Harvey and his family. He made use of the caricature of a pedant, which was then current about Harvey, without the least regard whether it actually fitted the man. In some instances the manner of ridicule is likely to make Harvey interesting in modern eyes. For instance, he calls him Ratcatcher Ego, and tells of this man who had such a lively interest in all experimental sciences that he caught a rat, "made an Anatomie of it, read a lecture of three dayes long upon evrie arterie or muscle in her, and after hanged her over in his studie." Nashe tells of the man, of whom we know from the Marginalia that he was an early riser, always active and living on a thin diet: "No more does he feed on anything when he is at Saffron Walden, but sheeps trotters porcknelles and buttered rootes, and other while in Hexameter meditation, or when he is inventing a new part of Tully or hatching such another

Paradox as that of Nicholas Copernicus was who held that the Sunne remains unmovable in the Center of the world and that the Earth moved about the Sunne." 163

Harvey replied to Nashe's pamphlet, "Have With you to Saffron Walden," with a short pamphlet entitled "Trimming of Thomas Nashe Gentleman, by the high-titled patron Don Richardo de Medico campo, Barber Chirurgion to Trinitie Colledge in Cambridge." 164 It appeared without Harvey's name. The nature of this pamphlet is so little known that McKerrow thought it was not written by Harvey. The title as well as the name of the supposed author grew out from the fact that Nashe had dedicated his pamphlet to the Barber Surgeon, Dick Lichfield of Trinity College, Cambridge. Harvey adopted the role of a barber to trim Nashe. The pamphlet is not Harvey's entire answer; it is merely a literary report alluding to Harvey's occult mercurial treatment of Nashe. It reports the telepathic communion of Harvey's spirit with Nashe. It is written with pitiless justice and pitying commiseration. Nashe is given a chance to become a new man. He was initiated by Harvey, and invited ~~him~~ to submit to his mastership. Harvey came to Nashe as a spirit, like a thief in the night:

Argus that had an hundred eyes sometime slept, or els hee had not dyed for it: and when Mercurie came, hee had no power to hold ope his eyes ... I meane thee no harme yet, yet I pipe not to you: but I thinke it will be my lucke to be as ill a scrouge to you, as ever Mercurie was to Argus... 165

Harvey brought upon Nashe the experience of death, of Gorgon, in order to revive him.

... Thou little wottest of what a furious spirite I am, für I keeping among such spirits in this place, as thou sayst, am my selfe become a spirit, and goe about with howling cries with my launce in my hand to tortour thee, and must not returne home, till Ignatiuslike thou shalt



be carbonadoed, and I shall carrie on my launcepoint thy bones to hang at my shop-windowe, in steed of a cronet of rotten teeth, as the trophies of my victorie: and this shalbe done, comest thou never so soone into my swinge.

Therefore keep out of my hant, I have a walke, thou maist be blasted before thou comest neere my walke; if thou dost but looke

backe and see mee in my walke, thy necke will  
Spirit walks.

stand awry, thy mouth distorted, thy lips ugly  
wrested, and thy nose hang hooke-wise. But rather I take thee to be a spirit, for that I talking with thee all this while, cannot have a glance on thee. 166

An occult experience of this kind was likely to bring Nashe to despair and destroy his life if he did not submit to Harvey, as his master, and instead of accusing others, learn to accuse himself. Harvey spoke at first of the defects of Nashe's character as a writer and as a man. What he told him was to serve as a guide to his self-knowledge. Concerning Nashe's pamphlet, "Have With you to Saffron Walden," Harvey wrote:

You knowe or at the least ought to knowe that writers should eschewe lyes as Scorpions, but your lyes that you devised of one, are the greatest part of the matter of your Epistel, as My Shoppe in the towne, the teeth that hange out of my windowe, my painted may-pole, with many others which fill up roome in the Epistel in abundant manner, and which are nothing else but meere lyes and fictions to yeald the matter, whereby I perceice howe threede-bare thou art waxen, howe barren thy invention is, and that thy true amplifying vaine is quite dried uppe. Repent, repent, I say, and leave of thy lying, which without repentance is very haynous ... 167

Like most of the literati, Nashe was enamored with his own wit, Harvey showed him that he had little wit, because he was too vain and therefore not man enough to have good wit: "A good wit is ~~that~~ it that maketh a man, and hee is not a man, that hath not a good wit ..." 168 He wanted to tell him that to be enamored with one's own wit is folly; every good man has a good wit. Harvey showed him also that he was too effeminate to be a good writer. For Harvey, a good writer was a man who could write extempore:

... but now I see thou art no versifier, thou hast only a prose tongue, & with that thou runst headlong in thy writing with great premeditation had before, which any man would suppose for the goodness, to be extempore, and this is thy good wit: come, I say, come learne of me, Ile teach thee howe to pot verses an houre together ... thou seekest too many wayes to cast out thine excrementes, thou are too effeminate, and so becomst like a woman, without a beard ... 169

After having told him these and many more truths, Harvey reconciled himself to him, invited Nashe, who had become a bondfellow in fetters, to serve Harvey, the master:

... so say I to thee, Nashe come forth, be not ashamed of thyselfe, stretch out thy legs, that every step thou goest, thy shackles crying clinke, may remember & put thee in minde of all thy goodnes and vertue ... but now thou art a good case, thou art no vagabond, now thou servest a Master, and hast a house to goe to, and a couch to lye in, thou muste bee thriving and provident where thou art, and twill be a good saving for thee ... 170

He advised him to retire into himself and become a new man: "... keep thou thy self still in prison, eclipse thee from the sight of the world, gaze onely

on thy selfe, that so thou more cleerely seeing thine owne deformed nature, mightst labour to reforme it, and bring thyselfe into light againe ...<sup>171</sup>

Harvey tried to show Nashe that he was his true spiritual friend; as to his other friend, Harvey wrote: "But thou hast never a true Friend, yet thou hast enough of those frends, that would be sauce to thy meate; that is if thou couldst bid them to a supper, they would come to eate up thy meate, and sauce it with fine talk."<sup>172</sup> The occult experience was destined to give Nashe a new consciousness; as Harvey called it, a new coat:

This I speak not to wage discord against thee, but rather to make an end of all iarrs, that as wife and husband will brawle and be at most all fewde all the day long, but when board or bed time come they are friends againe and lovingly kiss one another: so though hitherto we have disagreed and beene at oddes, yet this one coat shall containe us both, which thou shalt weare as the cognisaunce of my singular love towards thee, that we living in mutuall love may so dye, and at last loving like two brothers Castor and Pollux, or the two sisters "Ursa Maior" and "Ursa Minor," wee may be carried up to heaven together, and there translated into two starres. <sup>173</sup>

The myth of Castor and Pollux was used as an esoteric symbol of the relation between master and disciple who had become friends. Harvey taunted Nashe, and said that he could cut off his ears on account of the indiscretion which he had committed with his tongue:

...but why (might some say) are thine eares punished for thy tongues fault? I answere, thine eares are worthy to be punished for not discharging their office: for whereas they should heare before thou speakest, as they that he skilfill at the ball, first receive the ball

before they cast it foorth againe; and into a vessel there is first  
infusion before there be effusion out of the same ... 174

Yet Harvey held before him the hope that his ears could be healed:

... What wilt thou give me if I (I am a Chirurgion) make a newe paire  
of eares grow out of thy head, which passeth Apolloes cunning, that so  
thou maist still live with fame in thine own countrie, or if I heale them  
as though thou never hadst any, that I may goe with thee into Germanie  
and there shew thee for a strange beast bred in England, with a face  
like a man, with no eares, with a tung like a venemous serpent, and a  
nose like no body. The last I care not if I consented to, it thou  
wouldst live in good order but one half yere: but to the first, that is  
to give thee new eares, I never will grant thogh thou shouldst be inspired  
to live orderly al the residue of thy life, no though I had wax & al  
things ready: for long ago hast thou deserved this disgrace to be ear-  
lesse ever since thou beganst to write. 175

Harvey plays with him in an ironic manner by promising him first what he immediately afterwards denies. The stress of this whole passage is that Nashe should reform his life. All the other consequences would depend on Harvey's grace. The talk of sending Nashe to Germany, no matter how ironic and jocose the phrasing is, hints at the connection of the English mystery movement with that of Germany. Harvey concluded that Nashe deserved to lose his ears, and wrote: "Therefore thou deservedst to loose thine eares for naming the Bishop of Ely and of Lincolne, and for writing of Christes teares over Jerusalem:..."<sup>176</sup> It may be possible that Nashe had denounced Harvey to the Bishop of Ely and of Lincolne, the censor of the public press.

The sentence which Harvey pronounced upon Nashe at the end of this pamphlet has an esoteric significance:

Forasmuch as Thomas Nashe sundrie and of ten times hath been cast into

manie prisons (by full authoritie) for his misbehaviore, and hath polluted them all, so that there is not one prison in London, that is not infected with Nashes evill: and being lately set at libertie, rangeth up and downe, gathering poyson in everie place, whereby he infecteth the common aire; I am to desire you, that as you tender the common good of the weale publike, and as the vertue of your office requireth, which is to clense the City of all vitious and unruly persons, when this abuse named Nashe shall happen into your precinctes or dioces of your authority, you would give him his unction in the highest degree, and clense us quite of him, which you shall effect thus: send him not to prisons any more, which are corrupted by him already, but commit him to the Proctor of the Spittle, where hee shall not stay long, least hee breed a plague among them also: but passe from him to Bull, who by your permission having ful power over him and being of such amiable and dexterious facility in discharging his duety, will soone knit the knot of life and death upon him, stronger then that Gordian knot never to bee loosed, and by that pritty tricke of fast and loose, will loose your Citty from him and from all his infections, and will hang him in so sweet & clear a prospect as that it wilbe greatly to your credit to see the great concourse thether of all sects of people ...<sup>177</sup>

The prison, the gallows, the spittle, the criminal slang of the age, were all used as symbols in the esoteric language of the mystery movement. In view of the fact that in 1601 Nashe was referred to as dead (though it was never known where or when he actually did die), and that there exist indeed poetic allusions about Nashe, there is something gruesome in Harvey's sentence when we read the last line: "...Lastly, al the Ballad-makers of London his very enemies that stayed his

last grace will be there to heare his confession, and out of his last words will make Epitaphes of him, & afterward Ballads of the life and death of Thomas Nash ..." 178

Nashe's only work which appeared after "The Trimming of Thomas Nashe" was "Lenten Stuff," an expression of resignation, repentance, and atonement, as the title implies. We have previously quoted his remarks in the preface to "Lenten Stuff," where he confesses that he is not any more the scorner of alchemy, since the red herring had been his ghostly father and had converted him.

We know that on June 1, 1599, it was decreed by Whitgift and Bancroft: "that all Nashes bookes and Doctor Harvey's bookes be taken wheresoever they may be found and that none of their bookes be ever printed hereafter." 179 From that time on both Harvey and Nashe disappeared from the public eye. Whether Nashe actually died in England shortly afterwards, or whether he went to Germany as an emissary of Harvey, is worth while to be investigated. Of Harvey we know that he died in the year 1630. It is our contention that the last thirty-two years of his life were the most fruitful of Harvey's anonymous activity in England, and that a wealth of facts are still to be discovered concerning this singular man of the age. The man who remarked in his Marginalia: "All writing layd abed, as tedious and needless;" the Socratic genius who wrote "Secreta omnium artium discenda, Symposiace, Inquisitive, Empirice ...", did not need to write for publication. The man who inspired Spenser, Sidney, and Shakespeare lived an anonymous life. In due time he will be considered as the first visible example of the anonymous center who determined the history of his age. In his Marginalia he had written of the death of Moses: "Mors Mosis: Notabile exemplum sapienter, pieque moriendi." This seems to have been the manner of his own death.

Gabriel Harvey, the professed mercurialist and theurg, was one of the rare

men of the Renaissance who understood the religious institutions of all nations from the viewpoint of the psychologically common key of the mysteries. He interpreted the writings of Hebrew, Greek, and Roman antiquity from the esoteric point of view, and seems to have transmitted this esoteric understanding to his disciples and intimate friends. In his Marginalia he remarked on the book of his personal friend, Joannis Freigii:

Mosaicus continens Historiam Ecclesiasticam, Basileae 1583: Prima mundi historia, tam politica quam ecclesiastica maxime omnium historiarum heroica: et divina Idea heroicarum omnium actionum, speculum Universale omnium artium, omniumque Autorum ab ærbe condito. Res gestae quattuor Monarchiarum, cunctarumque, nobilium Nationum: merae imitationes istorum Exemplorum: ad utilissima quaeque, et illustrissima aspirantium. Certe Mosaica historia liber librorum est et fons fontium. Quo diligentius est et curiosius examinanda maxime in excellentissimorum hominum secretis, et potentissimarum rerum arcanis: quae sunt praecipua Mnemosyna singularium ingeniorum. Socratis nihil ad mysteria Noachi, Abrahami, Josephi, Mosis, incomparabilium heroum Doctrinamque gentium. Etiam quo quid antiquius eo melius. Quaecumque vel ex Persis Magi vel e Babylonis et Assyriis Chaldaei, vel ex Indis Gymnosophistae; vel e Gallis Druidae et Semnothei invenerunt: ea ipsi a Judaeis accepere. Nam Judaei, primi omnium philosophi fuerunt: et Aegyptus, Judaeos prophetas illos, nostros in Quam illos, aliquamdiu habuit. Pythagoras autem, et Plato mutato Cabalae nomine in philosophiam. Idem porro Cabalae, Pythagorae, et Platonis, docendi modus fuit, quomodo hominum in <sup>animi</sup> Deos, coelumque referendi: parque exercitatio, quo quis ad eius rei cognitionem, et mysteria deduceretur: nempe per symbola, atque notas; per proverbialia, et paroemias; per numeros et figuras; per litteras, syllaba et verba. 180

The mystery of the divine Idea, according to this enlightened humanist, has as its fruit the heroic life of the nations; the mystery of Noah, Arbaham, Joseph and Moses is the highest of all the mysteries of the nations of antiquity: the Persians, Babylonians, Assyrians and Indian Gymnosophists. Harvey was medieval in his thought when he wrote that even the Druids had derived their mysteries from the Hebrew people. He saw in the Socratic attitude and Pythagorean and Platonic discipline and doctrine, the philosophic transcription of the Arcana of the Kabbala. Harvey's historic conception in our age cannot be interesting to us; it is merely a repetition of the mythical point of view of Philo, but important for us is the fact that Harvey had in his way the common esoteric key for the writings of antiquity. He could thus see in Noah, Joseph, Dionysus, the mythical cultivators of vineyards and makers of wine, the mythical progenitors of the Dionysic mystery. Harvey, the mercantilist, from the viewpoint of the inner connection, could make the following statement: "Hermes Trismegistus, nepos Arbahami: quo credibilius, illum nonnulla divinitatis mysteria attigisse divinitus." 181

His attitude towards novices is indicated in a few terse remarks: "A younger brother never coosend or Uncled. Prove any masteries with a dexterity ever cautelously." 182 Harvey recorded in a laconic manner in his Marginalia a conversation with a friend which illustrates ~~with~~ discreet humorous understanding which the learned men of the age had for initiation: "Harvey's war of wit with Dr. Kennall of Oxford, "Ould Doctor Kennall of Oxford, to me sumetye other cheefe Doctors cumpany: and sumtyme attending his; Doctor Humfry; and three/accompanying other yonger gentâemen, my inferior gestes: Agis fabulum notoriam: My Answer; Utinam promotoriam. His reply, Omnia tempus habent. My reicoynder: Sed tempus intempestivum mon est Tempus. His Triplication: Yet I know a gentleman giveth for his posey Sero, sed certo.



My quadruplication: Spes, bona comes malae fortunae. But I thank you Syr for yo<sup>r</sup> motory: and remain yo<sup>r</sup> detter for yo<sup>r</sup> other motives. Ah Syr, you are quick of Answer. Sum woomen ar, though I am not." 183 The climax of this war of wit is Dr. Kennall's remark: "Yet I know a gentleman giveth for his posey Sero, sed certo." He hinted that a gentleman who, through initiation, had come to his posey: that is, to his marriage, even if at war with his master for a certain time, will finally pay back with productive work. Even if he produces his work late, it will nevertheless certainly be done. Harvey's answer shows his humorous foxy reticence; he wishes that his "fabula notoria," that is, his mercurial method of mystification might become "promotoria," that is, promote the initiate. The last remark on women strikes the keynote of the age: the partus masculus temporis.

With reference to the mystic mercurial triangle Harvey wrote in his Marginalia: "Three persons sufficient to people and replenish the universal world." 184

What characterizes Harvey's broad personality in his dramatic sense for action. He had a most practical English mind: "I never made account of any study, meditation, conference, or Exercise, that importeth not effectual use & that aymeth not altogether at action: as the singular marke whereat every Art & every vertue is to levell. I love Method: but honour Practise." 185 "Idle Hedds are always in  $\frac{e}{y}$  transcendentibus & in nubibus: politique Witts, evermore in concreto activo." 186

The following is the program of his royal master mind, which outlines the range of his universal thought and his universal activities:

In Mathematicis opus est alis Platonis;  
 In Mechanicis opus est alis Daedali;  
 In Pragmaticis opus est alis Caesaris;  
 In Hippicis et Apodemis opus est alis Pegasi;  
 In Legationibus et Expeditionibus opus est alis Mercuris aut  
 etiam Angeli.

Sine quibus fere, et opera mathematica, mechanica pragmatica,  
 Hippica, Apodemica, Oratoria, Imperatoria perditur: et olem aurei  
 temporis argentearumque expensarum luditur. 187

If we look at Elizabethan literature through the medium of Gabriel Harvey's personality, we shall discover in the most significant products of the lyric, epic, and especially in the dramatic field, the law of the esoteric language, the law of the esoteric psychology, and the law of the ironic manner of composition. This literature refers to the experience of the Christian Dionysiac mystery. Elizabethan literature will do us the great service to help us discover in an entirely new sense the classical literature of medieval Italy and more particularly the classical literature of antiquity. The parallel of Elizabethan literature with the literature of the Augustan epoch can show us what psycho-biological significance the outburst of a great literature has as the expression of a new religious Urelebnis. We shall come to an entirely new interpretation of the Roman poets: Catull, Tibull, Propertius, Virgil, Horace, Ovid, Persius, Martial, Juvenal, those poets who furnished in part the rhetoric to Elizabethan poets. They too, under mythological symbols, referred to the experience of a mystery; they too, used the mystification of male-female, and from their example the Elizabethan poets learned to hide, under the expression of lascivious talk, the jocose allusion to the mystery. They too, were the defenders of the holiness of the marriage institution; their priapic watonness was merely a lure and bait to draw in and to reform young initiates. We shall come to recognize that the lascivious lines of a Catull are just as ironic as the lascivious lines of a John Donne, and that their spiritual attitude is expressed in Catull's lines:

Nam castum esse decet pium poetam  
Ipsum, versiculos nihil necessest. 188

Or as Martial expressed it:

Lasciva est nobis pagina, vita proba. 189

We shall come to recognize that the greatest literature we have from antiquity, medieval ages and the Renaissance is but a great Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Socraticae Joco-seriae, - to quote a title given to a collection of esoteric poems -

and that it refers to the initiation of young greenmen. We shall discover that great literature, <sup>of the part</sup> is but the jocose, ironic expression referring to the mystery of ~~initiation~~ initiation.

Gabriel Harvey gives us a hint when speaking about Ovid: "Ovids Metamorphosés nothing else but Mercuries pageants, where Jupiter and ~~but~~ Apollo do everywhere Mercurise for lyfe; and sometimes Martialise upon occasions." 190

Philology is bound to enter upon an entirely new path of investigation. So far, philology has clung to the rigid principle: in the beginning was the word. The method of text criticism, no matter how enlightening its results were for a time, did not deviate from this principle. It brought about the troublesome and often confusing controversy as to what word really was in the beginning. Philologists treated the written word with a scientific seriousness and mistook for a sincere object of nature what was often the disguise of ironic human wit. It is well known that the greatest minds of the human race used the word as a medium of irony. The greatest works of world literature are expressions of irony, and the acceptedly greatest poet of world literature has long ago been recognized as the poet of irony par excellence. The characterization of the form of irony which Fowler gives in his Dictionary of Modern English Usage<sup>191</sup> is as follows: "Motive or aim; exclusiveness; province: statements of facts; method or means; mystification; audience: an inner circle." Fowler's excellent, logical ~~deduction~~ ~~deduction~~ deduction agrees with the empirical facts which we have established concerning Elizabethan literature and the Shakespeare problem. Philology has to enter, on a great scale, into the investigation of the literary traditions of mystifications, the material means of poetic irony. It will become clear that there is a traditional set of esoteric symbols used during the ages, which the illuminated poets transmitted to each other. It will become clear that the myth makers invented their myths with ironic consciousness, and that the poets made ironic use of them. It will become clear that the poets used the

myths and tales as fig leaves and sang with more humor than had the unpoetic mind of Lucretius, of "alma Venus, Aeneadum genetrix." They sang of the eternal scene in Eden, the mystic triangle, the spiritual father, and Adam and Eve. As genuine Orphics they sang not merely for the sake of singing, but like King Amphion of Thebes, in order to build a city with a miraculous harp. With their mystery circles they planted new colonies. Sometimes they planted a spirit which prepared their nation to conquer the world. The Augustin poets were the spiritual founders of the Roman Empire, as the Elizabethan poets were the spiritual founders of the British Empire.

APPENDICES

## APPENDIX I

### EUPHUES OR THE ANATOMY OF WIT

Euphues, the first English novel, having for its theme the relation of man to woman, found its artistic expression in a refined paradox. The model for the novel was the man Lyly himself. It was a confession that the love of a woman makes the man, provided he submits to this love. Only in this way could he free himself from his own womanish traits. Though seemingly cursing the "false and inconstant" hearts of women, it was written in their honor and its objective was the chastisement of the spirit of man.

The ethical conviction underlying this book is expressed in a monologue in which Philautus gives voice to his love for Camilla: "Thou art a woman, and the last thing made and therefore the best. I am a man that could not live without thee, and therefore the worst. All things were made for man as a sovereign, and man made for woman as a slave." <sup>1</sup> But this normal and sound truth of "male wisdom" which motivated the writing of the book, is enwrapped with so many paradoxical statements about women and intentionally so disorganized by a misleading thread in the unfolding of the tale, that its true nature has not yet been recognized despite the close attention which literary historians have given to it. General histories of literature give a false impression of its spirit. According to J.J. Jusserand <sup>2</sup> the book was "expressly written for women," while Albert Feuillerat, <sup>3</sup> the biographer of Lyly, stated: "L'Anatomy of Wit etait pour lire entre hommes. La femme n'y apparaissait qu'a titre d'eternelle ennemie." Both statements are true in an antinomic way. In our opinion the novel was intended to be read by women as fiction and to

be understood by men as religious philosophy. It gives a code of discretionary attitudes to the male sex, and a fashion of new speech to the female sex. Lyly expressed this double intention through paradoxes in his preface, "To the Ladies and Gentlewomen of England," whom he thought fit to address separately from his gentlemen readers: "Eupheus had rather lye shut in a Ladyes casket, than opin in a Schollers studie." <sup>4</sup> If we go to the root of the matter and look for the origin of the new literary fashion which originated in Eupheus, we find the following confession of Feuillerat: "La question des origines de l'Euphuisme est peut-etre la plus difficile de toutes les questions Lylyiennes." <sup>5</sup> Euphuism has been defined as being mainly a certain mannerism of style. All new styles result from the advent of a new psychology and a new spirit. The psychology and spirit of Euphuism, because of its mystifying nature, has escaped adequate analysis by modern interpreters of Lyly. Euphuus, the histories of literature state, derives its name and attributes from a well known passage in Aſham's "Scholemaster," in which Aſham attempted to interpret to his English readers the Greek ideal of a harmoniously developed youth. Aſham quoted the seventh book of Plato's Republic, where Plato defines εὐφροῦς as a well born youth who is endowed equally well with physical and intellectual gifts. Euphia was considered the natural presupposition for those young men in whom could be realized the educational ideal of the Renaissance. Heinrich Kunrath wrote in his Amphitheatrum Sapientiae Eternae <sup>6</sup> in the explanation of the fifth grade of spiritual attainment: "Eὐφροῦς naturalem significat ingenii animique bonitatem quae indoles a Latinis solet appellari. Non enim ex quovis ligno fit Mercurius, sed conveniente aptoque nato." <sup>6</sup> Kunrath's quotation shows that the presupposition for mercurial experience or illumination is

Ascham

Euphia, the platonic ideal which ~~Ascham~~ had popularized in his "Scholemaster." Lyly's Euphues is the expression of the mercurial psychology of his time and had the anagogic aim to inspire the young male generation to spiritual manliness and productive work, and to bring the youth to that mercurial experience out of which they could learn sobriety and their proper relation to the female sex.

If we once understand that the spirit and psychology of Lyly's Euphues is derived from mercurial art, we can grasp the peculiarity of the style and the allusions to the magical attributes of beasts, plants and minerals. "The Boke of secrets of the Vertues of Herbes, Stones, and certaine Beasts," by Albert le Grand, from which Lyly is said to have derived his similies, was one of the handbooks of alchemistic writers.

The attitude of the enlightened alchemist and mystagogue also dictates the style of the book - the antithetic ironic paradox: a form of expression in which the writer's meaning is not explicit, but which challenges the imagination of the reader.

The outstanding humor and wit of Elizabethan literature had its birth in the use of the paradox; the paradox not only as an art of verbal expression, but also as an art of poetic construction. It nullified the poetic product as a product of the imagination and transfigured its inner meaning into poetic irony. The fool was made the spokesman of this paradox. Marston introduced the mountebank under the name of Paradox in his "Montebank's Mask." The paradox was a mask: the paradox was literature; literature was a mask. Poetry was "mere feigning." "The truest poetry was the most feigning.

Now what was the method of the Elizabethan poet, the mercurial clown of Elizabethan literature? He sees what he sees, and he talks of what he sees while he feigns to talk as his partner in conversation would wish him to talk.



This was a peculiar art of conversation with mercurial practitioners, whose method the poets copied. We might define it as a kind of intuitive, discreetly dramatized psycho-synthesis. Outstanding literary productions of the age served in provoking and challenging readers with whom the writers stood in personal contact. Elizabethan literature was the report of personal relations. On the literary products themselves the poets looked with a certain nonchalance. They were merely a "willing conceit."

Lyly's Euphues had a personal implication. It was not written principally because of literary ambitions, but as a personal confession of his own experiences. He said in his preface to the first part: "To the gentlemen Readers: I am not he that seeketh praise for his labour, but pardon for his offence. Neither do I set forth for any devotion in print, but for duty which I owe to my patron." <sup>7</sup> There were spiritual experiences underlying it. It is asserted in the preface to the second volume: "If you think this love dreant not done, yet methinketh you may as well like that love which is penned and not practiced." Despite its fantastic mystifying style, Lyly's Euphues is a spiritual report. It is not a product of mere fancy.

Let us give a logical and psychological analysis of the poetic motives of the two parts of Euphues which will bring us nearer to the erotic fiction created by Lyly for his generation, since literary histories give a false impression in summing up in a serious tone what was wistfully veiled in cunning irony. Euphues, an Athenian youth of "more wit than wrath, of more wrath than wisdom," comes from Athens to Naples, where he gives himself over to the pleasures of the city, appreciating more "the tabernacles of Venus than the temple of Vesta." He meets an old man Eubulus, a benevolent spiritual father who foresees in Euphues that so "rare a wit would in time either breed an intolerable trouble

~~treasure~~ or bring an incomparable treasure to the common weal." Eubulus, true to his name, advises Euphues to subject his nature to spiritual discipline. Euphues contends with him, saying that the nature of man cannot be mended, and refuses to listen to any further advice. The novel starts thus with the contrast of the spiritual wisdom of the old man and the unteachable nature of the young man. This contrast is carried through both parts of the novel, and from it is derived the wordy rhetoric of Euphues. The contrast as such is the abbreviated report of the relation of a wise old man who takes an interest in the young man, a relation that existed between mercurial master and novice.

Euphues then meets a young man, Philautus, whose friend he becomes. Philautus is called by Lyly the "shadow of Euphues," and a critical reader can surely discern that Euphues and Philautus are two moral shadows of the character of a young man. Throughout the tale these two shadows are of course differentiated, Euphues being the young man given to learning and pensiveness, Philautus the emotional lover who is unhappy in his love affairs because, as his name implies, he loves himself. Lyly says of the friendship between Euphues and Philautus: "Euphues and Philautus used not only one board, but one bed; one book (if so be it they thought not one book too many). Their friendship augmented every day in so much that the one could not refrain the company from ye other one minute. All things went in common between them which all men accounted commendable." 8

It is told of Philautus that he was betrothed to a certain Lucilla, a maiden "more fair than fortunate, more fortunate than faithfull." Philautus introduces her to his friend Euphues. Lucilla after conversing with Euphues falls in love with him. Euphues, pretending to be in love with the modest gentlewoman Livia, betrays Philautus when the latter leaves town to settle affairs prior to the marriage. When Philautus returns Lucilla declares to her

father that she loves no one else but Euphues. Philautus breaks with his faithless friend. We now hear the astonishing news that Lucilla has broken with Euphues also, after he had been absent for some time, because of her father's ~~wishes~~ (Ferardo's) opposition to the marriage. She has chosen another lover, Curio, a man inferior to both Philautus and Euphues, as she herself confesses, and marries him. Ferardo dies in despair when he learns of this unhappy match, and leaves his wealth to her and Curio, "a man in body deformed, in mind foolish, an innocent born, a beggar by misfortune." We are then told that Lucilla dies on account of her sins.

The faithlessness of Lucilla is the cause of the melancholy humor of Euphues, who withdraws from life and devotes himself to the study of "physik, law and divinity," and preaches against the inconstancy of women. He reconciles himself with Philautus, and the remainder of the first part of the novel is filled with moral dissertations of Euphues, concerning education, religion and social life.

Before we proceed farther to ascertain Euphues' convictions, we must seek to understand why Lucilla had chosen the cripple Curio for her husband, of whom she tells hardly more than we have quoted, and who remains a phantom figure throughout the novel. If we listen to the speeches on love delivered by Euphues to Lucilla, we hear a very warm defence of womanhood. Euphues states: "Men accuse women of cruelty because they themselves want civility." <sup>9</sup> In one passage he praises the faithfulness of women to their first lovers: "As there is no one thing which can be reckoned either concerning love or loyalty wherein women do not excel men, yet in fervency above all others, they so far exceede, that men are lyker to marvaile at them, than to imitate them, and readier to laugh at their virtues, than emulate them. For as they are hard to be wonne

without tryell of great faith, so they are hard to be lost without great cause of ficklenesse." 10

Here Lyly utters words of sober wisdom, characteristic of the ethos of Elizabethan literature, and especially of the plays of Shakespeare. But Lyly constructs a story which contradicts this ethos by showing an inconstant, faithless woman who, rejecting two of her lovers, marries a sub-man and a cripple. The story is the more conspicuous since it is out of harmony with common psychology. In his dissertations on love, Euphues had declared that women should love "deformed men with reformed mind." 11 Lucilla, who had proven so fickle to both Philautus and Euphues, shows herself very faithful to the deformed Curio. When her father tried to dissuade her from her marriage, she replied: "The love of woman maketh the man," believing thus that her love would mend Curio. Regarding the decision of his daughter to marry Curio, Ferardo remarks: "I perceive now that the wise painter saw more than the foolish parent can, who painted love going downward, saying it might well descend, but ascend it could never." 12 The love story is invented by Lyly from the viewpoint of a painter or feigner. We shall quote later a passage where Philautus makes a distinction between "visard" and "visage" in the sayings of his friend Euphues. The motive of Lucilla's faithlessness to Philautus and Euphues, and of her marriage to Curio, is Lyly's wisard. Ferardo's remark about the descent of love comes from the conception of the natural philosophers who brought their novices through the experience of introversion and its erotic consequences, to the descent which preceded their spiritual ascent. The curve of the spiritual path of the soul runs from descent to ascent. The first part of Lyly's Euphues symbolizes the descent, while the second part, Euphues in England, is symbolic of the ascent to manly consciousness. There is one point of symbolic truth in the story: Lucilla's marriage to the deformed Curio whom she hopes to refashion,

is the general reference to the outcome of mercurial experience in its descent. The motive of her faithlessness to Philautus and Euphues is a rhetorical pretense, the feigned erotic fiction of the age about the inconstant, faithless and cruel woman. This fiction the inexperienced young men and novices accepted, until their own love affairs, brought about through mercurial art, showed them that they themselves were the inconstant cruel persons with flinty hearts. We <sup>have</sup> shall come to recognize this fact in our chapter on sonnet literature. The motives in the second part of Euphues can prove the ironic fictitiousness of this pretense of the novel.

Moral dissertations on the ideals of manliness follow in the first part of Euphues. In the "Cooling Card for Philautus," Euphues, "cold as a clock," admonishes all "imps and novices in love not to blow the coals of fancy with desire, but to quench them with disdain; not to be curious to please the Ladies, but to take care ~~to~~ not to displease their Lord." The young men should devote themselves to labor, study like himself, "physick, law and divinity," be intent on martial feats, and have an interest in hunting and hawking." Euphues popularizes Ascham's educational ideals. In a "Letter to the grave Matrons and honest Maydens of Italie," Lyly tries to win the favor of his women readers by differentiating honest maidens from "such inconstant women as Lucilla." The next treatise, Euphues and his Ephebos, speaks of the education of boys in imitation of Plutarch's "De educatione puerorum." In a dialogue between Euphues and the libertine, Atheos confesses his belief ~~in~~ in a merciful God. Lyly concludes with letters from Euphues to his friends, among them being one to Eubulus comforting him on the death of his daughter. In the first edition of 1578 this letter was addressed to Ferardo, and referred to the death of Lucilla. In the later editions Lyly had replaced the name of Ferardo with Eubulus, since

it contradicted his own story which had previously spoken of the death of Ferardo. We see with what indifference the Elizabethan poets treated their poetic motives, which they ironized as "make-believe."

Thomas Lodge, in his pastoral tale Rosalynde, spoke with a similar disregard of Philautus' sons whom he had by Camilla, though we know that Philautus had not married Camilla. The philological question arises as to why Lyly did not omit the letter entirely instead of addressing it to Eubulus, of whom it had not been told that he had a daughter. Euphues writes: "Thou weepest for the death of thy daughter, and I laugh at the folly of the father, for greater vanitie is there in the minde of the mourner, than bitterness in the death of the deceased, but she was amiable, but yet sinful, but she was young and might have lyved, but she was mortall and must have dyed." <sup>14</sup> Does it seem real for a young man to comfort, in such a way, a father who has lost his daughter? For initiated contemporaries this letter on the death of Eubulus' daughter had a different connotation. A young man like Euphues, who through mercurial treatment had come to sober wisdom, was compared to a woman who had died. We find in Spenser's Shepherds Calendar a pædistic ode on the death of a maiden, Dido, which has the same ironic purport. In the preface to the "Ladies and Gentlewomen" in the second part, Euphues in England, Lyly writes that if some "more curious than needeth" should object "that some sleights are wanting, I must say that they are noted on the backside of the book." He could truthfully have written that the sleights are to be found between the lines.

At the beginning of the second part we see Euphues and Philautus on board a ship on their way to England. Euphues tells Philautus a long, moral story about the death of a usurer, Cassander, and the adventure of his son, Callimachus. Cassander had called Callimachus to his deathbed and had given him the advice

that he should mind his books more than his father's bags, and show more zeal to die well than to live wantonly. After the death of his father Callimachus finds, instead of the expected wealth, the following inscription in a chest: "In finding nothing thou shalt gain all things." He finds also many good proverbs, such as: "Thrift is not gold but grace." "A man should choose a woman more commended for humility than for beauty," etc. Callimachus feels that he has been deceived by his father, and compares him to the mercurial plant, Molly "that has a flower as white as snow and a root as black as ink." Callimachus arranges the funeral of his father and sets out to seek adventures. In a cave he finds a hermit who feeds on roots and water. This hermit happens to be his father's brother, to whom Cassander had entrusted ten thousand pounds for Callimachus, should the latter be in need. The hermit discloses neither this fact nor his identity. He tries to dissuade the young man from travelling and tells him his own story. His father had called him and his twin brother to his deathbed and showed them two bags, one filled with gold, the other filled with writings. The father then declared that one of his sons must be disinherited. On the death of the father, his brother permitted him to choose the bag he wanted, whereupon he snatched the bag of gold and set out travelling. For thirteen years he travelled, and spent all his money. His only gain was acquaintance with the vices of the world. When he had lost the last of his money he returned to his native soil and found his brother honored and wealthy. He himself, in repentance of his sins, determined to retire, and for forty years had lived as a hermit in a cave. The hermit now advises Callimachus to study maps and the history of the world rather than to travel. But the young man is indignant at this advice. He would rather be a page to Ulysses than an apprentice to Apelles. He leaves the hermit, and promises to return to his cave should he return. After many years he does return and confesses with disappointment that he had been

entangled with women, entrapped and deceived, and concludes: "What has happened to you or any, the same has chanced to me alone." The hermit then discloses his identity and hands him the ten thousand pounds. Callimachus lived "long and with great wealth."

The story which introduces the second part of Euphues in England is a mercurial parable which pictures the experience of the novice as a traveller. The traveller is the pilgrim who comes to spiritual wisdom. Lyly tells this moral story with irony, since he knows that a youth has to come to his own experience and has to become a page to Ulysses, not an apprentice to Apelles. The figure of the father, the usurer, who advises the son to look for wisdom and not for money is, from the beginning parabolic and not psychological. The usurer is the mercurial master who harvests, in his disciples, a hundredfold for what he has sown.

It is interesting that Lyly's disciple, Robert Greene, made the biographical confession of his life, "A Greatworth of wit bought with a million of Repentance," with the use of a similar parable. The usurer Gorinnus called his two sons to his deathbed and to one he ~~gave~~ left all his wealth, and to the other he gave an old goat to buy a greatworth of wit. Greene's autobiographical confession is a puritanical outburst of despair, accusing the mystagogue who fostered "feigning poetry" of having taught him a greatworth of wit, bought with a million of repentance. Thus after an ill-spent life he sought to ease his conscience. (This ~~xx~~ work is discussed further in Part V of this volume.)

The motive of Eubulus, the motive of the usurer Cassander and his brother the hermit, all reflecting the relation of the spiritual father to the spiritual son, is then repeated by Lyly in the following tale: Euphues and Philautus land in Dover and proceed to Canterbury. Surprised by nightfall, they seek an inn



and meet an honorable old man, Fidus, a beekeeper and pastoral figure in whose humble cottage they find lodging. The conversation at first centers about the life of bees. Fidus compares the beehive to a platonic commonwealth. Fidus then tells his guests the melancholy love story of his youth. He was born in Kent of noble parents. As a young man he frequented the court of Henry VIII. There he won the friendship of an old gentleman in whom he "misliked nothing but his gravitie." The old gentleman blamed the youth for dallying with women and warned him that he "will catch his fall where he thinks that he will take his rising." The idea of descent-ascent is oracularly woven into the story. At a banquet Fidus falls in love with a lady whom he names Iffida, the faithless one. His wooing is favored by the circumstances that Iffida's country home is but two miles from the mansion of his father. The story of this wooing is ornamented with paradoxical conversations about love and witty riddles about the choice of the right woman or the right man. Iffida confesses to Fidus that she cannot love him since it is the nature of women to love most where they are hated most. Should he hate her she would begin to love him. Here is brought to the surface the anti-romantic tendency of Lyly's novel that the passion of love is an affair of women rather than of men. Fidus, in despair that his love is not requitted, becomes dangerously ill. His father consults an Italian physician, who diagnoses the cause of the illness as love. Iffida is brought to Fidus, and he confesses to her that he loved her, lived for her, and is now ready to die for her. Iffida declares that she cannot be the "remedy of his disease." She herself is in love with a certain Thirsus who had gone beyond the seas, to whom she will remain ever faithful. Should Thirsus die she will be buried with him. Iffida nurses Fidus until he recuperates. The news comes that Thirsus was slain

by the Turks. Iffida falls ill and dies after five years of mourning. Fidus retires from the world to live thereafter in simple rusticity as a solitary beekeeper, devoted to spiritual life.

At the end of this story the reader is astonished that Fidus had called his love Iffida. It is shown in the course of events how faithful she was to Thirsus and how kind to her friend in distress. Here lies the ironic wit of Lyly and the ironic attitude of the erotic fiction of the age, seemingly to curse the faithlessness and ~~xxx~~ inconstancy of women, while actually praising their fidelity. The names Fidus, Thirsus, Iffida, indicate the esoteric significance of the tale. The initiate dies as the passionate Thirsus bearer; his faithless womanish nature dies and he emerges as the faithful, spiritual man who is in constancy "fixed" for the world. The anti-romantic theme of sober manly wisdom concerning love is then continued in the love stories of Philautus. Euphues is the observer, mentor and tutor of Philautus, and represents the mercurial master wisdom as compared with the passionate young man. Philautus rebels against his master, by whom he feels mystified, and in a characteristic manner he gives vent to his anger: "But in faith, Euphues, I am now as well acquainted with ~~thy~~ thy conditions as with thy person, and use hath made mee so expert in thy dealynge, that well thou maist juggle with the world, but thou shalt never deceive me ... I know thee now as readily by thy vizard as thy visage." 15

The quarrel between Euphues and Philautus arose because of the latter's love for the maiden Camilla, who does not return his love. The melancholy despair of Philautus is made the satiric and humorous motive in this second part of the novel. He is shown as the ridiculous and inopportune wooer. Philautus seeks the help of a magician, Psellus, to win Camilla. Yet Psellus, a Pythagorean magician, cunning in mathematics, tells him that the love of women cannot be won by the virtues of stones, herbs or magic. He advises Philautus to frame letters, ditties, music, for nothing better can pierce the heart of a beautiful

lady than writing. Philautus follows this advice, but every letter is answered with sarcasm by Camilla. A gentlewoman, Flavia, finally directs the attention of Philautus to Frances, a modest young gentlewoman called the Violet - for whom his heart never bled, and whom he never wooed - and Philautus wins her for his wife. Philautus, who becomes reconciled with Euphues, is shown as a reformed man. He promises his friend that he will find him constant to one, faithless to none, in prayer devout, in manners reformed, in life chaste, in words modest, not framing his fancy to the humor of love, but his deeds to the rule of zeal. Euphues advises him to be humble to his superiors, gentle to his equals, favorable to his inferiors, not envious of his better, not to jostle his fellows, not to oppress the poor. The conversion of Philautus' soul through the unsentimental marriage with a modest gentlewoman, is shown not from a psychological point of view, but from the background of paradoxical mystification. Drowned in a sea of conversations and letters, we find the story that Camilla had fallen in love with a certain Surlius, higher in birth and station than she, who is finally moved to marry her despite the protestations of his family and friends. Camilla, in defending her love for Surlius, writes in a letter: "It is the eye of the woman that is made of Adamant, the heart of the man that is framed of iron, and I cannot think you will say that the virtue attractive is the iron which is drawn by force, but in the Adamant that searcheth it perforce. And this is the reason that many men have been entangled against their wills with love and kept it with their wills. You know, Surlius, that the fire is in flint that is striken, not in the steel that striketh, the light in the sun that lendeth, not in the moon that borroweth, the love in the woman that is served, not in the man that sueth." <sup>16</sup> The sophistry of love in Elizabethan literature, freed from its paradoxical and ironical disguises, has behind all word plays this deep view:

love is in the woman that is served. Women are the lovers, but their love must be requited by men. The focus of life is a woman in love, and not a man in love. According to the point of view of that age, a man in love was a comic figure; a woman in love, a tragic figure. Mercurial mystery pushed the novices into the whirl of introversion where, against their wills, they became entangled with love. They were led on by their masters to pardon the "offence" and to submit fully to the wills of their loving women. The esoteric poetic expression of this plea of the master for the novice to submit to this love, is original sonnet literature. The poets sang of a cruel woman with flinty heart, and meant thereby the initiate. Lyly's novel is a veiled expression of this experience. We see two men, Philautus and Sarius, unwillingly entangled with love and yet resolved to keep this love with their wills. We see the spiritual conversion of Philautus, the self-lover. Lyly worked out a code of honest love whereby his exoteric reading public could be ruled. Love is stated as honest affection, which is grounded upon virtue, not fancy built upon lust; thus love is conditioned by time, reason, favor and virtue; the virtues of a loving man are constancy, secrecy, security, credulity; those of a loving woman, patience, jealousy, liberality, fervency and faithfulness. Passions in love are conceded to a woman but forbidden to a man.

At the end of his novel in Euphues Glasse for Europe Lyly gives enthusiastic expression to the conditions in England, climaxed by an extravagant praise of Queen Elizabeth. After the marriage of Philautus, Euphues returns to Greece as a melancholy scholar, and the novel then concludes:

Gentlemen, Euphues is musing in the bottome of the Mountaine Silixedra:  
Philautus married in the Isle of England: two friends parted, the  
one living in the delights of his new life, the other in the contemplation

of his old griefs. What Philautus doeth, they can imagine that are newly married, how Euphues liveth, they may gesse that are cruelly martyred: I commit them both to stand to their owne bargains ... I Gentlemen, am indifferent, for it may be ~~xxx~~ that Philautus would not have his life known, which he leadeth in marriage, nor Euphues his love descryed, which he beginneth in solitarinesse; least either the one being too kind might be thought to dote; or the other too constant, might be judged to be madde. But were the trueth knowne, I am sure Gentlemen, it would be a hard question among Ladies, whether Philautus were a better wooer or a husband, whether Euphues were a better lover or a scholar. But let the one marke the other, I leave them both, to conferre at their next meeting, and commit you to the Almightye.<sup>17</sup>

The story ends with an ambiguous mystification. The Mountain of Silixedra, to which Euphues had retired for his solitary and spiritual life, is a Greek word for the seat of flint. From this mountain of flint were perhaps broken off all the flints which were said to be in the hearts of cruel young ladies in Elizabethan sonnet literature, but which lay in truth in the hearts of their lovers. After these two shadows, Philautus-Euphues, had served Lyly for so many pages of rhetorical purpose, he hints that Philautus-Euphues is one psychological entity, representing the state of mind of a mercurial initiate. Euphues, living in solitariness, represents the initiate who resents the mercurial offense. This is why Lyly speaks of Euphues as cruelly martyred, and this is why he is afraid that the disclosure of Euphues' state of mind would be described as madness. Philautus represents the husband who forgets the master and submits to the love of his wife.

Only the initiated poets of the age recognized the disguised craftiness in the disguise and the true makeup of Lyly's novel. For the exoteric public Lyly

had created a sophisticated type of speech which became fashionable among the youth of both sexes. He had created the paradoxical erotic fiction for rhetorical purposes. To use a proverb which Lyly himself quoted, with his erotic fiction he had created "Eve's new kirtle from Adam's old apron."

APPENDIX II

THE MYSTIFICATION OF WILLIAM DRUMMOND OF HAWTHORNDEN

My Dear Noble Drummond: Your Letters were as welcome to me, as if they had come from my Mistress, which I think is one of the fairest and worthiest Living. Little did you think how oft, that Noble Friend of yours, Sir William Alexander, (that Man of Men) and I, have remembered you, before we trafficked in Friendship. Love me as much as you can, and so I will you: I can never hear of you too oft, and I will ever mention you with much Respect of your deserved Worth. I enclose this Letter in a letter of mine to Mr. Andrew Hart of Edinburgh, about some business I have with him, which he may impart to you. Farewel Noble Sir, and think me ever to be

Yours Faithful

Friend

London 8 November  
1618

Michael Drayton

Joseph Davis is in Love with you. <sup>1</sup>

The poet who wrote this letter to William Drummond of Hawthornden was fifty-five years old. Since the early 90's Michael Drayton had confessed his love for a cruel mistress. Judging from the above letter, neither her negative attitude nor her self-centered egotism which, according to Drayton's Sonnet V,<sup>2</sup> she asserted with a continuous "No" and "I", had destroyed his love for her. Literary critics have taken pains to show that the concrete personality for Drayton's abstract Idea was Anne Goodere, the wife of Sir Henry Rainsford of Clifford. "Drayton's friendship with Lady Rainsford and her husband is well attested."

Thus we read in the Cambridge History of English Literature about Drayton.<sup>3</sup>

It is the prevailing opinion that Drayton was "faithful" only to Lady Anne Rainsford, and it was only a minor love affair he had with Lucy, Countess of Bedford.

From our point of view it is easy to understand that Michael Drayton, like John Donne and most great Elizabethan sonneteers, a transcendental lover of metaphysical wit, was alike faithful to both ladies and perhaps to many more, and that he loved them not only sub specie aeternitatis, but also sub specie mariti.

Drayton's letter to William Drummond is a biographical illustration of the ironic psychological background of original sonnet poetry. The young man is taken by surprise, as it were, with complimentary love confessions from three experienced older men; for Drayton not only stresses his own love, but mentions also the love of Sir William Alexander, and adds a postscript: Joseph Davies is in love with you. Joseph Davies had come for a personal visit to William Drummond, bringing an introduction from Michael Drayton, with whom Drummond was in correspondence, but whom he never met, as we know. After Davies' visit, Drummond wrote two enthusiastic letters to Drayton about the latter's poetry, and the letter previously quoted is Drayton's reply. Drayton's enthusiastic equation of Drummond's letters with those from his mistress is the more visible in its ironic intention since Drayton assures him that his mistress is the fairest ever living. What difficulties Drayton feigned to have with his mistress at this time can be seen from Sonnet VIII of his sonnet sequence Idea, published a year later (1619) where he says he was grieved that he might not see his mistress when she had come to old age, for then he should like to make her read the sonnets which she now scorns. Since Gascoigne's The Steel Glass the real lyric theme was the wisdom of disillusioned old age of men. Drayton's letter to Drummond is an illustration of the "summerly love" of poet-master



and friend, which ends with winter's disillusionment. <sup>4</sup>

We must know this young man William Drummond of Hawthornden to understand the situation. He was born December 13, 1585, was educated at the Academy and University of Edinburgh, went to London and to France. He was an ardent reader of poetry, and in 1613 published a sequence of poems, "Tears on the Death of Moeliades," which Sir William Alexander prefaced under the name of "Parthenius." In 1616 appeared an edition with a sequence of sonnets, songs and madrigals, in which the poet mourned the untimely death of Mary Cunningham, who had died in 1615, just before Drummond's intended marriage with her. These poems, written in a style which was then the newest literary fashion, are a natural outlet for the grief of a mourner, and have nothing in common with original sonnet poetry, except the imitative phrasings. In his conversation with Ben Jonson, William Drummond prided himself upon having been the "first who had celebrated in this Isle a Mistress Dead."

There is a family legend that when Drummond was in London he had frequented a circle of poets who called him "Bo-peep."<sup>5</sup> Apparently there was a concerted action among the poets to mystify "Bo-peep" to make him lose his pastoral poetic sheep and the jingling clatter of beautiful phrases, and to bring him upon a spiritual path. Not only Michael Drayton, Sir William Alexander and Joseph Davis "courted" him with ironic love, but also Ben Jonson himself, who made a trip on foot to Scotland and visited William Drummond in January 1619.

It may be interesting to note first that William Drummond had the following impression of Drayton's Sonnets and Spenser's Amoretti: "Drayton seemeth rather to have loved his Muse than his Mistress; by, I know not what artificial Similes, this sheweth well his Mind, but not the ~~Passion~~ Passion." ... "As to that which Spenser calleth his Amoretti, I am not of their Opinion, who think them his; for

they are so childish, that it were not well to give them so honourable a Father." <sup>6</sup> Drummond, at that time ~~was~~ not aware of the secret "conceit" of sonnet poetry although a contemporary, was as much estranged from them as are our readers of today. Unconsciously he felt that something was not right in both sonnet sequences with the mistresses, and dismissed Drayton's sonnets as sophisticated and Spenser's Amoretti as childish. Indeed, Spenser's sonnet sequence, from the viewpoint that they are addressed to a mistress are unnatural and contradictory. Spenser had too much the temperament of a humorous, methodical schoolmaster to be so lively and temperamental a sonneteer as Sidney, whose aristocratic breeding helped him to a feigned, artistic and courtly gallantry.

We possess that valuable document, Drummond's report of his conversation with Ben Jonson which, read in its true light, gives us an illustration of the method of mystification. It contains, moreover, two portraits: that of the mystifier Ben Jonson, and that of the mystified William Drummond. The portrait which we get of William Drummond is ~~now~~ on the whole favorable, although his suspicious and hypercritical attitude did not hinder him from gullible receptivity. Of how little value Drummond's imitative poetry appeared to Ben Jonson comes out from the latter's remark that the poems smelled too much of the schools. What a sober view the practical mind of Ben Jonson took of Drummond's poetic aspirations, becomes clear from the advice given, as reported by Drummond: "He dissuaded me from Poetrie, for that she had beggered him, when he might have been a rich lawyer, physition of marchant." <sup>7</sup> This advice certainly does not represent Ben Jonson's final judgment on poetry, but should be understood in relation to his host Drummond, whose later development showed that he was more a dilettante than a poet, and for whom poetry was a dangerous, sentimental food for dreams, which wasted his days. Ben Jonson outspokenly told Drummond what he

thought of his sensitive, modest good nature: "He said of me I was too good and simple and that oft a man's modesty made a fool of his wit."<sup>8</sup> Ben Jonson told Drummond "gulling" stories to make him "a fool of his wit," in order to bring him to his senses. How far Jonson could give reins to his Aristophanic fantastical humor, can be inferred from the following story with which he tried Drummond: "A packet of letters which had fallen over board was devoured of a fish that was tane at Flushing and the letters were safely delivered to him they were written at London."<sup>8</sup> This story gives the tone to other stories told which seem to have more likelihood of truth, but which are as mystifying as the story of the fish: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~

He saw a picture painted by a bad painter of Esther, Hamann and Assuerus; Hamann courting Esther in a bed after the fashion of ours, was only seen by one leg. Assuerus back was turned with this verse over him: And wilt thou Hamann be so malicious as to lye with mine owne wyfe in mine own house.<sup>8</sup>

He himself being once so taken, the goodman said: I would not believe you would abuse my house so.<sup>8</sup>

He said two accidents strange befell him: one that a man made his owne wife to court him, whom he enjoyed ere hee knew of it, and one day finding them by chance, was passingly delighted with it.<sup>8</sup>

A Gentlewoman fell in such a phantasie or phrensie with one Mr. Dodd that she requested her husband that for the procreation of one Angel or Saint he might lye with her: which having obtained it was but an ordinarie birth.<sup>8</sup>

He had an intention to have made a play like Plautus Amphitricion but left off for that he could never find two so like others that could persuade the spectators they were one.<sup>8</sup>

All these stories have one common key: the motive of cuckolding as often used by Elizabethan poets, with which they alluded to the transcendental cuckolding as told in the story of Amphitricion. With such stories the poets alluded to their own experiences of mystification, which they in turn perpetrated on others, and our relation to stories of this kind should be as to a humorous hoax. The

boasting display of immorality had the anagogic purpose of bringing about morality. Drummond himself mentions that Ben Jonson told him he had married an honest wife, and reports of Jonson: "Of all styles he loved most to be named Honest." 9

In memory of his visit to Drummond Jonson wrote two poems which have the following interesting dedication:

To the Honoring Respect  
 Born  
 To the Friendship Contracted with  
 The Right Virtuous and Learned  
 Mr. William Drummond  
 And the Perpetuating the same by  
 All offices of Love  
 Hereafter  
 I Benjamin Jonson  
 whom he hath honoured with the leave to be called His,  
 have with mine own Hand, to satisfy his request,  
 written this imperfect song.

Here we have an example of how an ironic love with "leave to be called his" was contracted between poet-master and friend. First there is a madrigal<sup>10</sup>

On a lovers Dust, made sand for an hour glass:  
 Doe but consider this smal dust,  
 here running in the Glass  
 by atomes moved,  
 Could thou believe that this the bodie ever was  
 of one that loved,  
 And, in his Mistress flame playing like the Flye  
 turned to cinders by her eye?  
 Yet, and in death, as lyfe unblest  
 to have it exprest  
 Even ashes of Lovers find no rest. 10

This seemingly nonsensical madrigal, imitated from the Latin of Hieronymus Amaltheus De horologio pulvere<sup>11</sup> is an intimation that the poet-master who had burned to ashes, that is, whose earthly passions and vanities had died, remains restless until his "beloved" will come to the same burning. The symbol of the hour glass, the motive of time, is intended to show that time will bring his beloved friend to burn to ashes.

The second and more significant poem has the following title line written by Drummond: "And this which is (as he said) a Picture of himself." In Ben Jonson's collection of poems entitled Underwoods, the poem, with some slight changes, appears with the title: "My Picture, Left in Scotland":

I doubt that Love is rather deafe than blinde,  
 For else it could not bee,  
     That she  
 Whom I adore so much, should so light mee  
 And cast my sute behinde:  
 I'm sure my language to her is as sweet  
     And all my closes meet  
     In numbers of as subtle feet  
     As makes the youngest hee  
         That sits in shadow of Apollos tree.

O! but my conscios feares,  
 That flye my thoughts betweene,  
 Prompt mee that shee hath seene,  
     My hundred of gray haire,  
     Told six and forty yeares,  
 Read so much waste, as she cannot embrace  
     My mountaine belly, and my rocky face  
 And all these, through her eyes,  
     Have stop'd her eares. 12

Who is the deaf mistress in Scotland to whom Ben Jonson left his picture, who read so much waste that she cannot understand him? The books of imaginative literature which Drummond read in France were pedantically listed by Drummond, and this list, in Drummond's own hand writing, is still extant. Hugh de Selincourt, who wrote about Drummond in the Cambridge History of English Literature and who shows a very fine discriminating psychological insight into Drummond's character and personality, came to the conclusion from the list of these books of imaginative literature that in France Drummond was a "literary epicure." The mistress who has "read so much waste" could be none other than the literary epicure Drummond, who was filled with so many new-fashioned phrases that he could not understand old Ben Jonson. He told it to Drummond in so sweet and ironic a manner that it needed a few years of spiritual development for

Drummond to understand who this "deafe mistress" was. The mystifications to which Drummond was subjected by Ben Jonson, explains psychologically the irritated mood in which he wrote down, after Jonson's departure, the report of his conversation with the poet. Professor Selincourt sensed the situation in writing that Drummond was "disturbed by the man's vigorous, actual presence." The master-poet, with his "mountain belly and his rocky face," must have left his friend with loud laughter. What did the poetry of Drummond mean to him? Ben Jonson was not a mere esthetic poet. Like all great Elizabethans he was a Socratic poet; that is, poetry for him was in the service of Socratic maieutics: it led on the young men with whom he was personally in contact, to find themselves. Like ~~with~~ many great poets of the past, ~~ix~~ poetry as such was for him a mere improvisation which he ornamented from the store of his great learning; an invitation to a meeting; a keepsake; a manly challenge; in a word, the expression for the sake of a living contact, where he could impress the stamp of the archetype of his soul upon a fellow man.

Ben Jonson brought back his laughter to London and wrote the masque, "News from the New World Discovered in the Moon," which is well known as referring to his trip on foot to Scotland. The symbol of the moon in reference to this trip is of great importance. The slogan of the psychic alchemists and Rosicrucians was Ex luna in solem.<sup>13</sup> Their spiritual intention was to make out of the man in the moon a man of the sun: to bring about the change from passive feminine attitudes to manly consciousness. The young man was courted as though he were a woman, and the dealings with him were intended to be such that he should later become aware of this fact. The natural reaction to this "offense"<sup>14</sup> brought out those manly qualities which the "bondfellows" expected of him.

This masque as it was presented at court before King James in 1620, is a typical example of a mystifying report of Aristophanic imagination; again, a "coat of folly covering discretion." The masque carefully reveals its real purport and meaning by means of indirect allusions. The mystagogic purpose to lead out from the darkness of mystification to spiritual light, is indicated by the motto: Nascitur e tenebris: et se sibi vindicat orbis.

Two heralds announce to a printer, a chronicler and a factor, that they are bringing news. This introduces the theme, which can reveal to our age of the press what ironic and skeptical attitude Ben Jonson had towards the printed word in general. The heralds bring from the moon news, which they say has come neither by way of sea or land, nor is the news the report of discoveries by means of a telescope. The heralds deny that the news is the outflow of a philosopher's phantasy in the manner of Pythagoras, or of a brother of the Rosie Cross's intelligence. The news which they bring is the expression "of the neat and clean power of poetry, the mistress of all discovery." That Ben Jonson's neat and clean power of poetry is connected with Pythagoras' way and the Rosie Cross, although he denies it at first, comes out later where it is told that the poet who had made the trip to the moon had discovered lawyers there who are "pythagoreans, all dumb as fishes, for they have no controversies ...". It is also told that the "brethern of the Rosie Cross have their college within a mile of the moon; a castle in the air that runs upon wheels with a winged lanthorn." These passages allude undoubtedly to the Rosicrucian secrets of mystification which Ben Jonson surely must have known. The report starts with a description, as was current in that age, of the orb in the moon formed like the earth, with navigable seas and rivers, a variety of nations, policies, laws, with havens, castles and port towns, with inland cities, boroughs, hamlets, fairs and markets. This report is interrupted by the factor, who asks whether there are ale houses also in the moon. "I am sure," he adds, "if he be a good poet he has discovered a good tavern

in his time." With this remark the real theme starts: it is the humorous and discreet challenge to the poet William Drummond, who in his report of the conversation with Jonson had remarked of the latter that "drink was the element in which he lived," and who may have made his guest feel what he thought about him in this respect. Ben Jonson, a poet of Horace's stamp, shows, with the elaboration of this point, that the element in which he lived was not drink, but the manly humor which drink gave him: If he had not discovered a tavern, replies the herald, he would think the worse of his verse, and the printer adds, "And his prose too, i'faith." Then follows the first stroke, the rapidary question of the chronicler: "Is he a man's poet, or a woman's poet, I pray you?" This question is the central motive of the masque. It is developed in the following manner:

Chronicler: Is he a man's poet, or a woman's poet, I pray you?

2nd Herald: Is there any such difference?

Factor: Many, as betwixt your man's tailor, and your woman's tailor.

1st Herald: How, may we beseech you?

Factor: I'll shew you; your man's poet may break out strong and deep i'the mouth, as he said of Pindar, Monte decurrens velut amnis: but your woman's poet must flow, and stroke the ear, as one of them said of himself sweetly,

Must write averse as smooth, and calm as cream,  
In which there is no torrent, nor scarce stream.

2nd Herald: Have you any more on't?

Factor: No, I could never arrive but to this remnant.

1st Herald: Pity! would you had had the whole piece for a pattern to all poetry. 15

Ben Jonson's intention in visiting Drummond was to "commence friends plighted war" and to inflict on him "sweet Loves offence," to quote from the esoteric stanza in Love's Martyr; to change a woman's poet into a real man,



if not into a man's poet, and in an indirect way of socratic treatment to bring him to see that the "masculine issue of the brain" <sup>16</sup> of Elizabethan poets was something quite different from Drummond's dainty poetic fancies gathered in an imitative way from the imaginative literature of Italy, France and England. That the theme of the man's and the woman's poet is intimately connected with the experiences in Scotland can be seen from the dialogue which follows immediately:

Printer: How might we do to see your poet? did he undertake this journey, I pray you, to the moon on foot?

1st Herald: Why do you ask?

Printer: Because one of our greatest poets (I know not how good a one) went to Edinburgh on foot, and came back: marry he has been restive, they say, ever since; for we have had nothing from him; he has set out nothing, I am sure.

1st Herald: Like enough, perhaps he has not all in; when he has all in, he will set out. I warrant you, at least those from whom he had it: it is the very same party that has been in the moon now. <sup>17</sup>

Ben Jonson thus reported that his visit in Scotland was a visit to the moon. <sup>brings</sup> Here we have the key of Jonson's masque, which/a proof to our assertion that Jonson's poetry, like the poetry of many great Elizabethans, was often not the outflow of mere poetic imagination in the sense that our age of esthetic culture knows poetry, but that it had a spiritual and philosophic background referring to living, personal contacts.

There follows a humorous bantering where Jonson gives reins to his imagination, concealing and revealing the Pythagorean Rosicrucian psychology. After mentioning the Pythagorean lawyers, and the college of the Rosie Cross in the moon, the talk of lovers in the moon brings up the sly question:

Factor: Are there no self-lovers there?

2nd Herald: There were; but they are all dead of late for want of tailors.

Factor: 'Slight, what luck is that! we could have spared them a colony from hence.

2nd Herald: I think some two or three of them live yet, but they are turn'd moon-calves by this.

Printer: O, ay, moon-calves! what monster is that, I pray you?

2nd Herald: Monster! none at all, a very familiar thing, like our fool here on earth.

1st Herald: The ladies there play with them instead of little dogs. <sup>18</sup>

The motive of Philautus and Narcissus had not yet dried up in the year 1620. It runs as a psychological and spiritual leitmotiv throughout Elizabethan literature. One can imagine the effect which the ironic masque may have had upon William Drummond, seeing himself ironized as a moon-calf. The masque winds up its dialogue with the old esoteric joke of sex mystification, a joke which we find already expressed in a different variation by Aristophanes in Plato's philosophic comedy, The Banquet. Ben Jonson mentions an island in the moon in the following way:

1st Herald: Only one island they have, is call'd the isle of the Epicoenes, because there under one article both kinds are signified, for they are fashioned alike, male and female the same; not heads and broad hats, short doublets and long points; neither do they ever untruss for distinction, but laugh and lie down in moon-shine, and stab with their poniards; you do not know the delight of the Epicoenes in moon-shine.

2nd Herald: And when they have tasted the springs of pleasure enough, and bill'd, and kist, and are ready to come away; the shees only lay certain eggs (for they are never with child there,) and of those eggs are disclosed a race of creatures like men, but are indeed a sort of fowl, in part covered with feathers, (they call them VOLATEES,) that hop from island to island; you shall see a covey of them, if you please, presently ... Enter the Volatees for the Antimasque, and Dance. <sup>19</sup>

The Volatees, an imaginary race of men begotten by women who are like men, are like those feathered creatures which gather around the Phoenix, of whom the Rosicrucian, Count Michael Maier, treated in his Jocus severus and of whom Shakespeare sang in his "Phoenix and Turtle."

The masque ends with a compliment to King James, and with an apotheosis of the divine light which brings harmony to the soul.

Drummond most probably resented the offense of mystification; for a while he discontinued his correspondence with Michael Drayton, as the following letter shows:

Noble Mr. Drummond:

I am oft thinking whether this long Silense proceeds from you or me, whether I know not, but I would have take it upon you, and excuse me; and then I would have you lay it upon me, and excuse yourself. But if you will (if you think it our Fault, as I do) let us divide; and both, as we may amend it. My long being in the Country this Summer, from whence I had no Means to send my Letter, shall partly speak for me; for believe me, worthy William, I am more than a Fortnights Friend; where I love, I love for years; which I hope you shall find. When I wrote this Letter, our general Friend, Sir William Alexander, was at Court at Newmarket, but my Lady promised me to have this Letter sent to you: Let me hear how you do, as soon as you can; and know that I am, and will be ever

Your Faithful  
Friend  
Drayton

London, 22 November  
1621 in haste. 21

It is a biographical fact in William Drummond's life that during the years of 1620 and 1621 he went through a great crisis; cherished melancholy thoughts, believing that he would die soon, and fell ill for a time. That William Drummond, during these years, went through a great spiritual development, which brought him to a religious consciousness, is testified to by his collection of poems, Flowers of Sion which appeared in 1623 with a prose essay on death entitled "The Cypress Grove." These poems and the prose essay are a literary testimonial of the spiritualization of Drummond's soul, as Professor Selincourt writes: "The poems are religious beyond all the narrow limits of dogma, and gave voice to the spirit of Christ's teaching that God is love." <sup>22</sup> The prose essay, "The Cypress Grove," treats the theme of death from the religious point of view of fearlessness.

The poet confesses to have come to the consciousness of "this great All": Drummond had been brought to what all great mystics call cosmic consciousness. With this confession, which came from a deeper well than all his poetry of the past, Drummond ended his career as a poet. He became an active, disillusioned man. The change of his spirit is so visible that Professor Selincourt, without being aware of the psychological secret, wrote about Drummond in concluding his essay: "He found at length a personal answer; and having created his faith and won through to a certain tranquility, he no longer wrote poetry, except as an occasional exercise, or to lament a friend's death. He lived twenty-six years after the appearance of Flowers of Sion, and from one point of view, his life in that year began. He took interest in the stirring events that followed the death of James I; he wrote a history of Scotland; he married and had many children; he wrote topical prose pamphlets; he travelled; he rebuilt his house."<sup>23</sup>

William Drummond, known in the history of English literature as one of the most sensitive poets, the ~~prototype~~ prototype of an esthete, for whose poetry Ben Jonson parodying lines

Must write a verse as smooth and calm as cream  
In which there is no torrent, nor scarce stream,

are characteristic, by means of spiritual treatment ~~xxxx~~ became an active, disillusioned man, nay, even a fearful man, as "The Letter Patent to Mr. William Drummond for the Making of Military Machines" can prove.

Notes to Part V

- 1 p. 5
- 2 From "Four Letters, and certain Sonnets, especially touching Robert Greene, and other parties by him abused, &c." 1592,
- 3 Gabriel Harvey's Marginalia, edited by G.C. Moore Smith, Shakespeare Head Press, MCMXII, p. 153
- 4 Ibid., p.
- 5 Marginalia, p. 199
- 6 Ibid., p. ~~199~~
- 7
- 8 Ibid., p. 49
- 9 Ibid., p. 74
- 10 Letterbook, p.
- 11 Marginalia, p. 150
- 12 Ibid., p. ~~150~~ 197
- 13 The Works of Gabriel Harvey, The Huth Library, Vol. 1 p. 139
- 14 Ibid., p. 131
- 15 Ibid., p. 77
- 16 Ibid., p. 75
- 17 Ibid., p. 26
- 18 Marginalia, p. 55
- 19 Works of Gabriel Harvey, Vol. 1, pp 146-47
- 20 Ibid., p. 148
- 21 Ibid., p. 93
- 22 Ibid., p. ~~40~~ 40
- 23 Ibid., p. ~~42~~ 42
- 24 Ibid., p. 45
- 25 Ibid., p. 46
- 26 Ibid., p. 47
- 27 Ibid., p. 48
- 28 Ibid., pp. 51-55

Notes to Part V

- 29 Act 1, scene 3
- 30 King Henry IV, Act III, Scene 1,
- 31 Shakespeare's Works edited by Gollancz, Introduction,
- 32
- 33 King Henry IV, Act III, Scene 1,
- 34 Bacon's Works,
- 35
- 36 Complete Works of John Lyly, edited by R. Warwick Bond, Vol. 3, p. 400
- 37 Ibid., p. 401
- 38 Ibid., p. 402
- 39 Ibid., p. 402-03
- 40 Ibid., p.
- 41 Ibid., p.
- 42 Ibid., p. 400
- 43 Puritan Discipline Tracts, reprinted from Black letter edition, London, 1860,
- 44 Puritan Discipline Tracts, Paine Parcivall, p. 11
- 45 Ibid, p. 22
- 46 Ibid., p. 14
- 47 Ibid., p. 23
- 48 Marginalia, p. 59
- 49 Works of Gabriel Harvey, The Huth Library, Vol. 2, p. 124
- 50 Ibid., p. 125
- 51 Ibid., p. 127
- 52 Ibid., p. 130
- 53 Ibid., pp. 131-32
- 54 Ibid., p. 133
- 55 Ibid., p. 133-34
- 56 Ibid., p. 134
- 57 Ibid., p. 134

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- 58 Ibid., p. 135
- 59 Ibid., pp. 136-37
- 60 Ibid., p. 141
- 61 Ibid., p. 146
- 62 Ibid., p. 149-50
- 63 Ibid., p. 194-95
- 64 Ibid., p. 169-70
- 65
- 66 Works of Gabriel Harvey, Vol. 2, p. 221
- 67 Green's Works, edited by Grossart, vol , p. 232
- 68 Ibid, Vol. p. 107
- 69 Ibid., Vol p. 114
- 70 Ibid., Vol p. 140
- 71 Ibid., p. 142
- 72 Ibid, p. 142
- 73 Ibid., p. 146
- 74 Kindhearts Dreame, edited by McKerrow, pp. 5-6
- 75
- 76 Works of Gabriel Harvey, Vol. 1. p. 185
- 77 Ibid., p. 176
- 78 Ibid., p. ~~22~~ 220,222
- 78a Ibid., P.
- 79 Ibid., p. 217
- 80 Ibid., p. 226
- 81 Ibid., pp. 229-30
- 82
- 83 Harvey's Works, Vol 1, p. 195
- 84 Ibid., p. 197

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- 85 Ibid., p. 197
- 86 Ibid., pp. 217-18
- 87 Ibid., p. 198
- 88 Ibid., p. 199
- 89 McKerrow, Vol. 1. p. 290
- 90 Ibid., p. 305
- 91 Ibid., p. 281
- 92 Ibid., p. 382
- 93
- 94 Works of Gabriel Harvey, Vol. II, p. 21
- 95-96
- 97 Works of Gabriel Harvey, Vol. II, pp. 263-64
- 98 Ibid., pp. 36-37
- 99 Ibid., pp. 40-41
- 100 Ibid., p. 95
- 101 Ibid., p. 109
- 102 Ibid., p. 77
- 103 Ibid., pp. 83-84
- 104 Ibid., p. 99
- 105
- 106 Works of Gabriel Harvey, Vol. II, p. 56
- 107 Ibid., p. 75
- 108 Ibid., p. 61
- 109 Ibid., p. 65
- 110 Ibid., p. 68
- 111 Ibid., pp. 68-69
- 112 Ibid., p. 70
- 113 Ibid., p. 69



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- 114 Ibid., p. 91
- 115 Ibid., pp. 106-07
- 116 Ibid., Vol. 1, p.
- 117 Campanus meint, eine göttliche Zweiheit der Personen mit der Einheit reimen und durch das Verhältnitz der zwei Geschlechter begründen zu können. Nicht der Mensch, sagt er, sondern der eheliche Mensch ist Gottes Gleischniss: in der Ehe sind zwei Personen und Ein Mensch in Einem Wesen. So sind Vater und Sohn Ein Wesen. Und wie aus Adam Eva ward, so ist der Sohn aus des Vaters Wesen und Natur gezeugt, gemacht, geschaffen. Darin ist auch unbeschadet der Wesenseinheit die Subordination des Sohnes begründet. Er nennt ihn Gesandten, Diener, Amtmann Gottes.<sup>5</sup> Bemerkung <sup>5</sup>: In Gott die Einheit der Geschlechter zu sehen, ist ein alter Fundamentalsatz für gewisse naturphilosophische Systeme ... Seite 648, Vol. II, E.A. Dorner, Entwicklungsgeschichte der Lehre von der Person Christi, Berlin, 1853.
- 118 The Works of Gabriel Harvey, Vol. II, p. 222-23
- 119 McKerrow, Works of Thomas Nashe, Vol. 1, p. 257
- 120 Quoted from Harvard Shakespeare edition, edited by Henry N. Hudson, Boston, 1883, Vol. II, p. 46, note 9
- 121 Works of Gabriel Harvey, Vol. 1, p. 219-20
- 122 Ibid., p. 288
- 123 Ibid, Vol. II, pp. 318-23
- 124 McKerrow, Vol. III, p. 113
- 125 Ibid., p.
- 126 Works of Gabriel Harvey, Vol. 1, p. 278
- 127 Restorative powder of pearl
- 128 Works of Gabriel Harvey, Vol. 1, p. 267
- 129
- 130 Works of Shakespeare, edited by Gollancz, Vol. II, Preface to Rape of Lucrece, p. 86
- 131 McKerrow, Works of Nashe, Vol. III, p. 114
- 132 ColloTYPE Fascimile & type transcript of an Elizabethan Manuscript, preserved at Alnwick Castle, Northumberland, Frank I, Burgoyne, ed. 1904
- 133 Marginalia, p. 153
- 134 Marginalia, p. 54
- 135 Marginalia, p. 153

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- 136 Marginalia, p. 231
- 137 Ibid., p.
- 138 Ibid., p. 232
- 139 McKerrow, Works of Thomas Nashe, Vol. III, p.
- 140 Ibid., Vol. I, p. 176
- 141 ~~McKerrow~~ Ibid., Vol p.
- 142 Works of Gabriel Harvey, Vol. II, p. 323-24
- 143 Ibid., p. 324-25
- 144 Ibid, p. 327-28
- 145 Ibid., p. 119
- 146 Ibid., p. 316
- 147 Ibid., p. 316
- 148 Works of Nashe, McKerrow, Vol. 3, p.
- 149-50 Works of Harvey, Vol. II, p. 314-15
- 151 Ibid., Vol. I, p.
- 152 Ibid, p. 281-82
- 153 Ibid,, p. 289-90
- 154 Ibid., p. 292
- 155 Ibid., p. 290-91
- 156 Ibid., p. 277-79
- 157 Ibid., p. 285
- 158 Ibid., p. 294
- 159 Ibid., pp. 295-97
- 160
- 161 McKerrow, Works of Nashe, Vol. 3, p. 19
- 162 Ibid, p. 21
- 163 Ibid., p.

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- 164 Printed in London, 1597 for Philip Scarlet
- 165 Works of Gabriel Harvey, Vol. 3, p.
- 166 Ibid., p. 42
- 167 Ibid., p. 24
- 168 Ibid., p. 33
- 169 Ibid., pp. 37-39
- 170 Ibid., p. 44
- 171 Ibid., p. 47
- 172 Ibid., p. 45
- 173 Ibid., pp. 66-67
- 174 Ibid., p. 60
- 175 Ibid., pp. 62-63
- 176 Ibid., p. 63
- 177 Ibid., pp. 69-70
- 178 Ibid., p. 70
- 179 Transcript to the Stationers Registers, ed. Arber, Vol. 3, p. 677
- 180 Marginalia, pp. 203-04
- 181 Ibid., p. 208
- 182 Ibid., p. 189
- 183 Ibid., p. 191
- 184 Ibid., p. 205
- 185 Works of Gabriel Harvey, Vol. 1, p. 228
- 186 Marginalia, p.
- 187 Ibid., p.
- 188 Catull's Poems, XVI, lines 5-6,
- 189 Martial's Poems, Lib. 1, No. IV, line 8,
- 190 Marginalia, p. 193
- 191 Oxford, at the Clarendon Press, London,

Notes to Appendix I

- 1 All quotations from Euphues are taken from "The Complete Works of John Lyly, by R. Warwick Bond, Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1902, Vol. 1.  
P.
- 2 The English Novel in the Time of Shakespeare, tr. E. Lee, London 1890, p. 95 ff
- 3 Albert Feuillerat, John Lyly, Contribution a l'Historie de la Renaissance, p.
- 4 Bond edition Lyly, p.
- 5 Feuillerat, John Lyly, p. 444
- 6 Heinrich Khunrath, "Amphitheatrum Spacientiae Eterna," Hanoviae 1609, p. 121  
(original in New York Public Library)
- 7 Bond edition Lyly, p. 182
- 8 Ibid., p.
- 9 Ibid., p.
- 10 Ibid., p. 216
- 11 Ibid., p.
- ~~12 Ibid., p.~~
- 12 Ibid., p.
- 13 Ibid., p.
- 14 Ibid., p.
- 15 Ibid., p.
- 16 Ibid., p.
- 17, Ibid., p.

Notes to Appendix II

- 1 Works of William Drummond of Hawthornden, edited by Bishop Sage, Edinburgh, 1711, p. 153
- 2 Elizabethan Sonnets, edited by Sidney Lee, Vol., p.
- 3 Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. 4, p. 17
- 4 There is a law of composition in sonnet sequences, as indicated by Daniel's motto to the sonnet sequence Delia: "Aetas prima canat veneres postreme tumultus." (Elizabethan Sonnets, Lee, Vol 2, p. 115) Shakespeare adhered to this law. After a series of ironic "embassies of love" there follows at the end of the sonnets the tempestuous outbreak.

Notes to Appendix II

- 5 Anecdote told in Drummond's Works edited by Bishop Sage, Edinburgh, 1711:  
"For, being at London, 'tis very credibly reported of him (tho' by some ascribed to others) that he peeped into the Room where Sir William Alexander, Sir Robert Carr, Michael Drayton and Ben Jonson, these Famous Poets, were sitting. They desired Bo-peep, as they called him, to come in which he did."  
(The Authors Life IX, Drummond's Works.)
- 6 Drummond's Works, edited by Sage, p. 226. These remarks appear to have been written between 1616-15, since in connection with them Shakespeare is spoken of as living. Compare Mason's biography of William Drummond.
- 7 Compare R.F. Patterson's "Ben Jonson's Conversations with William Drummond of Hawthornded" 1923
- 8 Compare Ibid., pp.
- 9 Ibid., p. 52, line 710
- 10
- 11 Delitiae Poetarum Italarum 1608. This anthology, like the anthology "Delitiae Poetarum Germanorum huius superiorisque aevi Francofurti 1612" and similar Latin anthologies of the age, contain very valuable material that clarifies the ironic lyric poetry of the age, which stood in the service of joco-serious Socratic wisdom.
- 12 Drummond's Works, edited by Bishop Sage, p.
- 13 The phrase ~~Ex~~ "Ex luna in solem" occurs significantly in Nash's Lenten Stuff. Lyly's The Man in the Moon is a poetic symbolization of this pythagorean and socratic attitude of the age.
- 14 Compare the esoteric stanza F-6 in Love's Martyr:
- Faint hearted soule, why dost thou die thy cheekes,  
Fearfull of that which will revive thy sence,  
Faith and obedience thy sweet mercy seekes,  
Friends plighted war with thee I will commence,  
Fear not at all, tis but sweet Loves offence,  
Fit to be done, so doing tis not seene,  
Fecht from the ancient records of a Queene.
- 15 The Works of Ben Jonson, edited by William Gifford, 1854, "News from the New World Discovered in the Moon," p. 733
- 16 Compare Ben Jonson's Epigram to Elizabeth, Countess of Rutland, the daughter of Sir Philip Sidney, where the poet mentions that Sidney left no male heir "save that most masculine issue of his brain."
- 17 The Works of Ben Jonson, p. 733
- 18 Ibid., p. 734
- 19 Ibid., p. 734

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20 Francfurti, 1617,

21 William Drummond's Works, p.

22 Cambridge History of English Literature, Vol. 4, p. 172ff

23 Ibid., p. 177