

The Eclogues of Giles Fletcher the Elder: Composition, Circulation and Reception, c. 1560-1660

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in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

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I, Sharon van Dijk, confirm that the work presented in this thesis is my own. Where information has been derived from other sources, I confirm that this has been indicated in the thesis.

Abstract

This thesis is the first complete study of the nine Latin eclogues of Giles Fletcher the Elder (1546-1611), which he wrote in the 1560s and 1570s whilst at Eton and Cambridge. Fletcher's eclogues have been at the periphery of scholarship on early modern pastoral, perhaps in part because he was a manuscript poet: only two of his eclogues appeared in print during his lifetime. Considering the composition, circulation and reception of his eclogues from the unusual schoolboy eclogues he composed in 1563 to the inclusion of one of his Cambridge eclogues in a manuscript sequence from the 1650s, the thesis examines their allusions to earlier Latin verse and their connections to contemporary and later poetry in English and Latin. It sheds light on Fletcher's position in the history of Anglo-Latin and English pastoral, arguing that he played a significant role in it: he wrote sophisticated European style eclogues, which were distinctly English in their setting and the topics they addressed. He thus introduced features of contemporary continental pastoral whilst forging a distinct Cambridge Protestant pastoral, which influenced the later pastoral works of Edmund Spenser (1552?-99), Phineas Fletcher (1582-1650) and John Milton (1608-74).

The thesis illustrates the influence manuscript verse could have in the early modern period and shows that early modern Latin and English poetry cannot be read in isolation, as they shaped each other. It also discusses the use of the term *ecloga* for verse-dialogues without any pastoral features in the second half of the sixteenth century and demonstrates that Latin occasional poems could be copied and recontextualised in manuscript years after the occasion for which they were written, gaining new (political) meaning in a different context.

Impact Statement

Giles Fletcher the Elder (1546-1611) is unknown to many and has not received much attention even from scholars working on the poetry of his sons, Phineas Fletcher (1582-1650) and Giles Fletcher the Younger (1585/6-1623) or from those working on sixteenth-century pastoral, although he wrote nine Latin eclogues. This can in part be explained by the fact that they were written in Latin, as Neo-Latin literature is a young field, which offers a wealth of material untouched by scholarship. This study tries to show that Fletcher's eclogues have played a more significant role in the pastoral tradition than has thus far been acknowledged. The research is interdisciplinary in nature and contributes to multiple fields; those of neo-Latin and English in the first place, but also those of classical reception studies and manuscript studies. The poems are relevant to any scholars interested in pastoral, including those working on the early modern reception of Vergil and those working on the English poets Spenser and Milton. Fletcher was a manuscript poet; most of his eclogues did not appear in print during his lifetime. Yet, as the thesis shows, they were circulated and read for decades after they were first composed. Thus, the thesis also sheds light on the potential significance of Latin manuscript verse, much of which has not yet been studied. It has something to contribute to discussions of sixteenth-century education, the role of occasional verse and the interaction of manuscript and print.

To make sure that this research has impact on the various fields to which it is relevant, my work has and will be presented at conferences and seminars concerned with different disciplines, including the International Milton Symposium, the Renaissance Society of America conference, the UCL Lyceum Classics Seminar and the International Association of Neo-Latin Studies conference. I am also pursuing an interdisciplinary publication plan, preparing publications for journals such as *the Milton Quarterly*, *Huntington Library Quarterly* and *Journal of the Northern Renaissance* which are concerned with the fields of English, bibliography and Renaissance studies more generally. In the future I hope to also publish in a classical reception journal. Finally, I am preparing a contribution for *An Anthology of Neo-Latin Literature in British Universities* (Bloomsbury), which will include some of Giles Fletcher the Elder's pastoral verse and thus arises directly from my PhD research. This volume may be

used by school as well as university teachers, raising awareness of Neo-Latin in the Latin teaching community more widely.

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Note on Texts

Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem* (throughout)

Citations are at times taken from Scaligero, Giulio Cesare, Deitz, Luc, Vogt-Spira, Gregor, and Fuhrmann, Manfred, *Poetices Libri Septem. Sieben Bücher Über Die Dichtkunst / Iulius Caesar Scaliger; Unter Mitwirkung Von Manfred Fuhrmann Herausgegeben Von Luc Deitz Und Gregor Vogt-Spira* (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1994-2011) and at others from the 1561 edition of the text; this inconsistency is due to restricted library access and will be remedied as soon as possible. In each case, a footnote indicates which edition has been used.

Classical texts (throughout)

All quotations of the Greek bucolic poets, Vergil, Livy and Ovid are taken from the Oxford Classical Text editions:

Theocritus, Bion, and Moschus, *Bucolici Graeci*, ed. A. S. F. Gow (Oxonii: e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1952).

Vergil, *P. Vergili Maronis opera /recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit R.A.B. Mynors*, ed. R. A. B. Mynors (Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1969).

Livy, *Titi Livi Ab Urbe Condita*, ed. Robert Seymour Conway and Charles Flamstead Walters, vol. 2, Libri VI-X (Oxonii: e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1919).

Ovid, *P. Ovidi Nasonis Metamorphoses /recognovit brevique adnotatione critica instruxit R.J. Tarrant.*, ed. R. J. Tarrant (Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 2004).

BL Royal MS 12 A XXX (Chapter 1)

All citations and translations are taken from David Money, 'Verses Addressed to the Queen at Windsor by Eton Scholars, 19 September 1563', in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, edited by Elizabeth Goldring, Faith Eales, Elizabeth Clarke, and Jayne Elisabeth Archer, Vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

Giles Fletcher the Elder, 'Hatfield Eclogues' (Chapter 2)

All citations are taken from Cecil Papers MS 298.1-5.

Phineas Fletcher (Chapter 3)

All citations from Phineas Fletcher's work in Chapter 3, unless otherwise noted, are

from the early modern printed editions of his *Sylva Poetica* (1633) and *The Purple Island, or The Isle of Man together with Piscatorie Eclogs and Other Poeticall Miscellanies* (1633).

Jacopo Sannazaro, *Piscatoriae* (Chapter 3)

All citations and translations are taken from: Jacopo Sannazaro, *Latin Poetry. Translated by Michael C.J. Putnam*. I Tatti Renaissance Library, 38 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009).

John Milton (Chapter 3)

All quotations and translations of Milton's verse have been taken from: John Milton, *Complete Shorter Poems*, ed. Stella Purce Revard (Malden, MA: Wiley-Blackwell, 2009).

BL Harley MS 6947 (Chapter 4)

All quotations of verse which is included in Harley MS 6947 have, unless otherwise noted, been cited in the form in which it appears in that manuscript, even where that may differ from published versions.

All translations are my own unless stated otherwise.

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First and foremost, I would like to thank my main supervisor, Dr Victoria Moul. She is an inspiration and I could not have wished for a better mentor throughout this process. I am so grateful for everything I have learned from her, both when working on the thesis and as a team member of her Leverhulme project 'Neo-Latin Poetry in English Manuscript Verse Miscellanies, c. 1550-1700'. I am also truly grateful to my second supervisor Dr Hannah Crawforth, who was always more than willing to help, for her support and insightful comments.

I would like to thank the other team members of the Leverhulme project team, Dr Bianca Facchini, Dr Edward Taylor and Raffaella Colombo for their support and friendship and their help with palaeography, transcription and research queries.

I am grateful to the Classics departments at King's College London and University College London and to the Society for Neo-Latin Studies and its members for their support and the opportunities they have offered me. I would like to thank Professor Gesine Manuwald especially for her help and enthusiasm and my fellow PhD student Katherine Shields, for her friendship and for working together online and providing some structure at the start of the pandemic.

I am also indebted to the British Library and Hatfield Archives for providing the images included in this thesis and to Janet Portman at the British Library, Dr Tony Trowles at Westminster Abbey Library and Dr Patricia McGuire at King's College Library, Cambridge, for responding to my queries about archival material. I would like to thank Professor Dana F. Sutton and Dr David K. Money for providing extra information about and access to their work, respectively.

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Overview – The Eclogues of Giles Fletcher the Elder

Title	Likely date of composition	Subject	Circulation (MS/print)
<i>Epigramma. 10. Dicolon Distrophon. Ecloga interloquutores Elisabetha Regina, et Angligenæ.</i>	1563	Elizabeth's elevation to monarch by God and her just rule.	BL Royal MS 12 A XXX
<i>Epigramma. 59. Dicolon Distrophon. Ad Reginam victoriæ amissæ consolatio. Ecloga interloquutores Angli milites & Regina.</i>	1563	A consolation for the defeat of the English at Le Havre in France earlier in 1563.	BL Royal MS 12 A XXX
<i>Æcloga Daphnis Inscripta sive Querela Cantabrigiæ in obitum doctissimi Viri D. Nicolai Carri</i>	1568-71	The death of Nicholas Carr (1522/3-1568)	BL Harley MS 6947 Published in: Carr, Nicholas. <i>Demosthenis, Graecorum Oratorum Principis, Olynthiacae Orationes Tres, & Philippicae Quatuor</i> . Londini: Apud Henricum Denhamum, 1571.
<i>Ægloga Tertia, De Morte Boneri. Thestilus. Palæmon.</i>	c. 1569	The death of Edmund Bonner, 'Bloody Bonner' (d. 1569)	Published in: William Dillingham, <i>Poemata Varii Argumenti</i> (London, 1678)
<i>Æcloga I. De Literis antiquæ Britanniae, præsertim Cantabrigiæ, & qui singula Collegia statuêrunt, ac amplificârunt Æcloga LYCIDAS.</i>	c. 1571-2 for MS version. Printed version dates from the 1590s.	The history of Cambridge (a contribution to the debate about which university is more ancient, Oxford or Cambridge)	Cecil Papers MS 298.1-5 Published in: Phineas Fletcher, <i>Sylva Poetica</i> (Cantabrigiae: Ex Academiae Celeberrimae Typographeo, 1633).
<i>In nuptias clarissimj virj d. Edouardj Veri</i>	1571-2	The marriage of the Earl of Oxford	Cecil Papers MS 298.1-5

<i>Comitis Oxoni, & Annæ Cecilæ optimæ ac illustrissimæ Fæmin. Æcloga Callianissa.</i>		and Ann Cecil, December 1571.	
<i>Querela de obitu Clerj Haddonj maximæ spej adolescentis, sibi què coniunctissij: qui in amne Cantabrigiensi submersus extinctusque est mense Maio. 1570. Æcloga Adonis.</i>	1571	The death of Clere Haddon (son of Walter Haddon), who drowned in the river Cam.	Cecil Papers MS 298.1-5 Published in: Walter Haddon, <i>Poematum Gualteri Haddoni, Legum Doctoris, Sparsim Collectorum, Libri Duo</i> (Londini: Apud Gulielmum Seresium, 1576).
<i>Æcloga de contemptu ministrorum quj verbo diuino pascunt. Celadon: Myrtilus.</i>	c. 1570	The treatment of Protestant clergy during the reign of Mary.	Cecil Papers MS 298.1-5 Published in: William Dillingham, <i>Poemata Varii Argumenti</i> (London, 1678)
<i>Queræla Colegij Regalis sub. D.P.B. Æcloga Telethusa. Melibœus. Ægon.</i>	c. 1570	The troubles of King's College Cambridge with its Provost Philip Baker.	Cecil Papers MS 298.1-5 Published in: William Dillingham, <i>Poemata Varii Argumenti</i> (London, 1678)

Introduction

This thesis is the first complete study of the nine eclogues of Giles Fletcher the Elder (c. 1546-1611). It situates the poems both in terms of their allusions to earlier Latin verse, but also in terms of their own circulation, reception and connections to contemporary and later poetry in English and Latin. Fletcher has predominantly been considered as a marginal figure in literary history, worth mentioning, firstly, as the uncle of the playwright John Fletcher (1579-1625) and father of the poets Phineas Fletcher (1582-1650) and Giles Fletcher the Younger (1585/6-1623), and, secondly, as the first poet to write a coherent Latin collection of eclogues in Renaissance England; five of Fletcher's eclogues were gathered together in a manuscript volume dedicated to Lady Burghley, known as the Hatfield eclogues.¹ Discussion of Fletcher in work on pastoral has tended to be brief, ranging from a few lines to a few pages at most, and to dismiss his eclogues as conventional, similar to earlier continental pastoral.² Yet there are hints in previous criticism that Fletcher may be more innovative and significant than is usually assumed; Sukanta Chaudhuri mentions his 'truly imaginative transformation of the Cambridge scene' and Lawrence Ryan praises his 'light, graceful and antique' style.³ Lee Piepho suggests there is a connection between his eclogues and those of Edmund Spenser, as does Leicester Bradner, who elsewhere points out the likely influence of Fletcher's eclogue *De Literis Antiquae Britanniae* on Milton's *Comus* and *Lycidas*.⁴ Warren Austin similarly discusses the connections between Milton's *Lycidas* and two of Fletcher's Latin poems.⁵ This thesis takes up these hints, arguing that Fletcher's eclogues are works which deserve to be studied, both in their own right, as ambitious examples of neo-

¹ Frank S. Kastor, *Giles and Phineas Fletcher*, Twayne's English Authors Series ; TEAS 225 (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1978), 13–17; Lee Piepho, 'The Latin and English Eclogues of Phineas Fletcher: Sannazaro's "Piscatoria" among the Britons', *Studies in Philology* 81, no. 4 (1984): 461–62. Grant incorrectly suggests that Fletcher wrote the first Anglo-Latin pastoral epicedium: W. Leonard Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1965), 328.

² Leicester Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1940), 57; Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 328; Sukanta Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and Its English Developments* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1989), 113–16.

³ Lawrence V. Ryan, 'The Shorter Latin Poem in Tudor England', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 26 (1977): 128; Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and Its English Developments*, 114.

⁴ Piepho, 'The Latin and English Eclogues of Phineas Fletcher: Sannazaro's "Piscatoria" among the Britons', 470; Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925*, 39, 57.

⁵ Warren B. Austin, 'Milton's "Lycidas" and Two Latin Elegies by Giles Fletcher, the Elder', *Studies in Philology* 44, no. 1 (1947): 41–55.

Latin pastoral, and because of their significant role in the tradition of Anglo-Latin pastoral and their influence on later Latin and English verse.

Most of the existing scholarship on Fletcher's Latin verse is by Lloyd E. Berry.⁶ Berry's work focuses on the information that can be gathered from the poems themselves about the reason for their creation and on the description of manuscripts and printed books in which Fletcher's verse has survived; this is important foundational work, but it does not discuss all of Fletcher's eclogues and does not consider the relation of these works to contemporary literature, or their position in the Anglo-Latin and English pastoral tradition. In the introduction to his online edition of Fletcher's *Carmina*, Dana F. Sutton says that it looks as if Fletcher's eclogues were innovative, but that his exact position in the history of the English neo-Latin eclogue, and his importance for its development, cannot be ascertained, as this would require a survey of a large number of Latin eclogues, many of which exist only in manuscript and have yet to be properly examined.⁷ Responding to Sutton's claim about the impossibility of such a task, this thesis attempts to establish Fletcher's place in the history of Anglo-Latin pastoral, drawing on data gathered as part of the Leverhulme project 'Neo-Latin Poetry in English Manuscript Verse Miscellanies, c. 1550-1700', led by Dr Victoria Moul.⁸ The survey of pastoral verse I created as part of the

⁶ Lloyd E. Berry, 'Giles Fletcher, the Elder: A Bibliography', *Transactions of the Cambridge Bibliographical Society* 3, no. 3 (1961): 200–215; Berry, Lloyd E., 'Five Latin Poems by Giles Fletcher, the Elder', *Anglia - Zeitschrift Für Englische Philologie*, no. 79 (1961): 338, <https://doi.org/10.1515/angl.1961.1961.79.338>; Lloyd E. Berry, 'Three Poems by Giles Fletcher, the Elder, in "Poemata Varii Argumenti" (1678)', *Notes and Queries* CCIV, no. apr (1 April 1959): 132–34, <https://doi.org/10.1093/nq/CCIV.apr.132>. He also edited Fletcher's English works and wrote two other articles on him: Giles Fletcher, *The English Works of Giles Fletcher, the Elder*, ed. Lloyd E. Berry (Nijmegen: University of Wisconsin Press, 1964); Lloyd E. Berry, 'Giles Fletcher, the Elder, and Milton's A Brief History of Moscovia', *The Review of English Studies* 11, no. 42 (1960): 150–56; Lloyd E. Berry, 'Phineas Fletcher's Account of His Father', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 60, no. 2 (1961): 258–67.

⁷ Dana F. Sutton, 'Introduction. Giles Fletcher the Elder, *Carmina*', n.d., <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/fletcher/intro.html>.

⁸ This research was developed within the wider context of this project, which surveys for the first time neo-Latin poetry in the surviving manuscript miscellanies of early modern England. The project as a whole has identified and recorded basic generic, metrical and contextual information on c. 28,000 individual neo-Latin verse items, ranging from single lines to epic poems, in 1238 individual manuscript sources from 37 English archives. It therefore offers the first representative survey of the role of post-medieval Latin verse in early modern English literary culture, as reflected in manuscript circulation of all kinds. Contributing to the project's survey and transcription work, I was exposed to, and given an awareness of, early modern Latin poetry well beyond my immediate PhD project. The wider knowledge of Latin literary culture which I obtained as part of the project and my work on pastoral in particular allow me to contextualise Fletcher's work in a way that has previously been impossible.

project, which consists of 34 eclogues (in addition to those of Fletcher) dating from between 1547 and 1723, suggests that Fletcher's pastoral is indeed unique. In all but one manuscript (Nottingham Pw V 1499) the eclogues we found were individual poems; they include 12 pastoral elegies and three nativity eclogues, as well as a verse-dialogue without a pastoral setting which is called an *ecloga* (CUL Add. MS 8915, f. 112^v, discussed in relation to Fletcher's earliest eclogues in Chapter 1). Unlike Fletcher's eclogues, none of these poems represent a sustained effort at sophisticated European style pastoral in a British setting. As well as considering the position of Fletcher's eclogues within (British) neo-Latin pastoral, the thesis explores in detail the connections between Fletcher's eclogues and landmarks of English pastoral, which have previously been hinted at, in particular Spenser's *Shepherdes Calender*, Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis* and *Lycidas* and Phineas Fletcher's *Piscatorie Eclogues*. It thus engages in retelling the story of early modern Anglo-Latin and English pastoral, as well as of Fletcher himself.

Methodology and critical approaches

This is primarily a historical and text-based study, which seeks, firstly, to establish the full corpus of Fletcher's Latin eclogues; secondly, to clarify the contexts of their composition; and thirdly, to contextualise both their composition and their reception within the tradition of Latin and vernacular pastoral verse read and written in early modern England. The thesis can be divided in two halves: the first two chapters consider the poems in their literary and historical context and their relation to contemporary Latin and English verse; the last two are concerned with the reception and influence of these eclogues in the early to mid-seventeenth century. Therefore, historical research, reception and questions of allusion and imitation are methodologically central to the thesis as a whole.

Chapter 1 discusses Fletcher's earliest extant verse, his contributions to an Eton manuscript presented to Queen Elizabeth in 1563. It considers how elements of his grammar school education which are visible in these poems, shaped his later work. Two of Fletcher's contributions to the volume are titled *Ecloga*, but they are not traditional pastorals; the chapter therefore also examines the use of the term *ecloga*

for verse-dialogues in the latter-sixteenth century. Chapter 2 examines the context for the composition of Fletcher's main pastoral work, the Hatfield Eclogues, and discusses the collection as a whole, demonstrating that it is a sophisticated European-style Latin pastoral collection, which is in several respects also distinctly English: it has a Cambridge setting and uses allegory to discuss ecclesiastical politics in a way which was typical of contemporary English pastoral but not wider Continental Latin pastoral by the mid-sixteenth century. It then considers the significance of the collection for Spenser, who started work on his *Shepheardes Calender* (1579) a few years after Fletcher completed this manuscript collection of Cambridge Protestant pastoral. Chapter 3 is concerned with the reception of Fletcher's pastoral from the 1590s to the 1630s. It discusses the revisions made to Fletcher's unusual eclogue *De Literis Antiquæ Britannicæ* in the early 1590s and the renewed interest in Fletcher in the 1630s caused by the engagement of his son, Phineas Fletcher, with his father's work, which included the publication of the *De Literis* with Phineas's *Sylva Poetica* (1633) and his imitation of those of his father's eclogues which use political and religious allegory. The chapter argues that the reception of Giles Fletcher the Elder has been mediated by Phineas and cannot be understood without considering the pastoral of both poets together. The reception of Giles Fletcher the Elder's pastoral as shaped by his son, is then further explored in a section on Milton's allusions to the work of both Fletchers in his pastoral elegies. Chapter 4 focuses on the inclusion of two of Fletcher's occasional poems in a manuscript sequence from the 1650s in BL Harley MS 6947, which suggests they were still seen as useful and impressive literary models decades after they were composed. Furthermore, this sequence, which was composed at the time of the Interregnum, has a distinctly Royalist flavour and effectively recontextualises pre-Civil War material, making Fletcher's poems politically meaningful in a later context. This has implications for our understanding of neo-Latin occasional verse as a whole, which is frequently dismissed as relevant only to a particular moment; it suggests that ongoing manuscript circulation of such verse needs to be taken more into account to fully understand its cultural role.

Many aspects of the project are historical: it has involved identifying individuals mentioned in or addressed in Fletcher's Latin eclogues, and establishing the date of

composition, publication and manuscript circulation of these poems. Seven of Giles Fletcher's eclogues were not printed during his lifetime, and three were not published in print at all. One of the discoveries of the thesis is that the shape of Fletcher's achievement changes when he is studied as a manuscript rather than a print poet: until now critics have focused on his printed eclogues, particularly the three in William Dillingham's *Poemata Varii Argumenti* (1678). This has meant Fletcher's pastoral has been mistakenly portrayed as dominated by religious allegory and it has caused confusion about the number of eclogues that can be attributed to him.⁹ It also means that some of Fletcher's verse has not previously been translated, including the manuscript version of the *De Literis Antiquæ Britanniae*, a poem of 697 lines which is substantially different (and 76 lines shorter) in the printed version, and the *Æcloga Daphnis*, written on the death of Nicholas Carr (d. 1568). Indeed, there is no modern edition of this latter poem, either in print or online, having been overlooked as it is not included in the Hatfield collection or Dillingham's volume.¹⁰ Although the *Æcloga Daphnis* is included in Berry's bibliography of Fletcher's works and Chaudhuri mentions it, Dana F. Sutton denies its existence, calling it 'a bibliographical phantom', and it is not included in his online edition.¹¹ This is an omission deriving probably from a scanning error: the poem was printed with Carr's posthumous Latin edition of the *Olynthiacs and Philippics* of Demosthenes (1571),

⁹ Bradner discusses the *De Literis* and the three eclogues in Dillingham's *Poemata varii argumenti*, which he strangely suggests were presented to Lady Burghley in manuscript sometime after Spenser was at Cambridge (Spenser left the university in 1576); Bradner shows no awareness that the Hatfield MS includes other eclogues as well. He also briefly mentions the *Æcloga Adonis* on the death of Clere Haddon, published in 1576. Grant confusingly refers to the *De Morte Boneri* as Fletcher's first eclogue and the *Æcloga Adonis* as his fourth, while Ryan says that three of Fletcher's eclogues follow the Renaissance fashion of using pastoral conventions to discuss current religious issues and the others commemorate the deaths of Walter Haddon and his son Clere. See: Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925*, 38-9; 56-7; Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 328; Ryan, 'The Shorter Latin Poem in Tudor England', 128.

¹⁰ Royal MS 12A XXX, the Eton manuscript presented to Queen Elizabeth in 1563, which contains two eclogues by Fletcher (*Epigramma* 10 and *Epigramma* 59), is transcribed and translated by David K. Money in: Elizabeth Goldring and John Nichols, *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources / General Editors, Elizabeth Goldring ... [et Al.]*, vol. 1, *Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I* (Oxford: Oxford : Oxford University Press, 2014), 259–368. Berry has transcribed the Hatfield eclogue collection (Cecil Papers MS 298.1-5): Berry, Lloyd E., 'Five Latin Poems by Giles Fletcher, the Elder', 344–77. Sutton has chosen to include later printed versions of the eclogues in his edition where possible, seeing these as 'the final, finished product' (Dana F. Sutton, 'Notes. Giles Fletcher the Elder, Carmina.', accessed 27 August 2019, <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/fletcher/notes.html#a13.83>). He also does not include the *Æcloga Daphnis*, arguing it does not exist (on this, see Ch. 4, pp. 193-4).

¹¹ Sutton, 'Introduction. Giles Fletcher the Elder, Carmina' n. 4.

but the scan of this work digitised by *Early English Books Online* is incomplete and omits these pages.¹² Restoring this poem to Fletcher's canon adds an additional pastoral elegy set in Cambridge and strengthens its link with Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis* in particular.

Historical research was the starting point for each of the chapters; it enabled me to establish when Fletcher's poems were composed, read, transcribed, published or imitated and why this may have been the case. Archival and text-based work provided insight into the circulation and reception of Fletcher's work in the seventeenth century, illustrating how our sense of Giles Fletcher as a poet is shaped in part by the seventeenth-century reception and presentation of his work rather than his sixteenth-century career. In the final chapter, both types of research were involved in demonstrating how manuscript circulation of a poem can itself serve as an act of reception, giving it new meaning through recontextualisation.

A related kind of interaction is foregrounded in the allusions in and to Fletcher's work; meaning flows both chronologically backwards and forwards creating multiple layers of reception.¹³ Fletcher's eclogues look back to recent Latin eclogues written on the Continent, such as those of Petrus Lotichius (1528-60) and George Buchanan (1506-82), showing his awareness of contemporary developments in the genre. Yet he is also forging a distinctive British pastoral, which anticipates the pastoral poems of Spenser and Milton and likely influenced them directly. An awareness of his allusions to earlier pastoral shapes our perception of those texts and demonstrates the international nature and interconnectedness of neo-Latin verse, while later allusions to Fletcher's eclogues in turn indicate the significance of his own poems as models. Both Fletcher's own poems and those alluding to his work include reflexive annotations signposted by verbs of speaking or remembering which are integrated in

¹² Carr, *Demosthenis, Græcorum Oratorum Principis, Olynthiacæ Orationes Tres, & Philippicæ Quatuor, è Gr[a]eco in Latinum Conuersæ, a Nicolae Carro, Anglo Nouocastriensi, Doctore Medico, & Gr[a]jecarum Literarum in Cantabrigiensi Academia Professore Regio. Addita Est Etiam Epistola de Vita, & Obitu Eiusdem Nicolai Carri*. This work is STC 6577. I checked several copies of it (Syn. 7.57.67, Pet. Sp. 68, Dd.3.49 (E)) at the Cambridge University Library, all of which included the poem on Aaiij' – Bj'. The eclogue is, in fact, followed by another poem in elegiacs from Fletcher's hand, entitled *Eiusdem in eundem*, which is also missing from Sutton's edition.

¹³ Craig Kallendorf, 'Allusion as Reception: Virgil, Milton, and the Modern Reader', in *Classics and the Uses of Reception* (John Wiley & Sons, Ltd, 2008), 70, <https://doi.org/10.1002/9780470774007.ch6>.

the narrative context.¹⁴ This type of intertextual relationship in particular suggests Fletcher was consciously inserting himself in a European tradition of pastoral and was perceived by later poets as having shaped the British strand of this tradition in ways that have not hitherto been recognised.

Pastoral is often referred to as a 'convention', meaning that the poems self-consciously share a certain outlook and formal similarities.¹⁵ On the surface, this seems to cause difficulties for the study of allusion: how does one distinguish between a convention and a specific allusion? There are, however, several stages between what can be identified as purely conventional and the kinds of highly sophisticated verbal allusion which have been the focus of most studies of intertextuality by classical Latinists.¹⁶ For instance, a particular pastoral motif – such as an emphasis upon water nymphs – belongs to the pastoral tradition as a whole, but is particularly characteristic of sixteenth-century pastorals such as those by Lotichius and Fletcher, which take inspiration from late antique epithalamia and the contemporary development of chorographical literature – so when Milton imitates this aspect in his pastoral poems we might feel that he is invoking a convention with strong sixteenth-century connotations rather than pastoral as a whole, even if he does not seem to be making specific allusions to a given passage. In order to realise that this may be the case, we have to attend seriously to what is characteristic of sixteenth-century neo-Latin and English pastoral and cannot simply dismiss it as conventional, collapsing it with classical pastoral as a whole.

A related theoretical question is how useful models developed for 'classical reception' are for a thesis of this kind and for the study of neo-Latin more generally. While the thesis analyses the use of classical authors such as Theocritus, Vergil, Ovid and Livy in Fletcher's verse, its main concern is the place of Fletcher's

¹⁴ Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry*, 4.

¹⁵ Ellen Zetzel Lambert, *Placing Sorrow: A Study of the Pastoral Elegy Convention from Theocritus to Milton*, University of North Carolina Studies in Comparative Literature, no. 60 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1976), xiii; Paul Alpers, 'Convening and Convention in Pastoral Poetry', *New Literary History* 14, no. 2 (1983): 299, <https://doi.org/10.2307/468687>. Alpers also explains the term as indicating that earlier poems in the pastoral tradition convene or are present in later ones (p. 289).

¹⁶ Such works include: G.B. Conte and A. Barchiesi, 'Imitazione e Arte Allusiva. Modi e Funzioni Dell' Intertestualità', in *Lo Spazio Letterario Di Roma Antica. I.*, ed. Guglielmo Cavallo, Paolo Fedeli, and Andrea Giardina (Rome: Salerno Editrice, 1989), 81–114; Hinds, *Allusion and Intertext: Dynamics of Appropriation in Roman Poetry*.

eclogues in relation to neo-Latin pastoral poetry and their connections to contemporary and later poetry in English and Latin. Work focused specifically on the reception of classical literature in neo-Latin therefore does not provide the most useful methodological approach for this study.¹⁷ Recent work which is concerned specifically with literary imitation in early modernity offers a more helpful model. Examples of such work include Colin Burrow's *Imitating Authors: Plato to Futurity* (2019) and Peter Auger's *Du Bartas' Legacy in England and Scotland* (2019). The first of these, which includes but is not limited to discussion of classical texts, focuses on different kinds of imitation and the way metaphors and discussions of imitation informed new developments, becoming part of the practice of imitating; the latter concentrates on how later authors, including James I, shaped the reception of Du Bartas and, using his work as a model, creatively recontextualised elements of it. Like these recent books, this study is concerned with the practice of imitation and reception in the early modern period, discussing both Giles Fletcher's imitation and reception of other authors and the later reception of his own work.

For this reason, while the thesis considers significant allusions to classical texts in Fletcher's verse, it is mostly concerned with the poems' relationship to earlier, contemporary and later neo-Latin and English pastoral. The chapters concerned with the reception of his work focus on how he shaped British pastoral, considering his possible influence on Spenser, one of his contemporaries at Cambridge, and his seventeenth-century reception in the eclogues of his son, Phineas Fletcher, and in the pastoral laments of John Milton. Phineas Fletcher's *Piscatorie Eclogs* were inspired by the eclogues of his father; he chose not, however, to imitate the occasional eclogues (the pastoral elegies and pastoral epithalamium), but only those that use political and religious allegory. This reinforced the idea of elder Fletcher as a

¹⁷ Such an approach would mean leaving out of consideration the influence of neo-Latin verse on the work of Giles Fletcher the Elder, including such widely read pastoral texts as the eclogues of Petrarch, Mantuan and Sannazaro (which are discussed below). More generally, a classical reception approach to early modern Latin risks overlooking the difference between the modern classics syllabus and texts read in the early modern classroom, which would for example include work by the late antique poets Claudian and Prudentius. Prudentius was a model for the versification of biblical stories, see: James W. Binns, 'John Parkhurst and the Traditions of Classical Latin Poetry in Sixteenth-Century England', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 1, no. 1 (1994): 57–58. On the use of Claudian in early modern education, see: Victoria Moul, 'England's Stilicho: Claudian's Political Poetry in Early Modern England', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition*, 13 May 2019, <https://doi.org/10.1007/s12138-019-00529-z>.

Protestant and a Cambridge poet, aspects which may have attracted the young Milton to his work, and was probably the reason William Dillingham chose to print three of his religious eclogues in the 1670s.

Biographical and intellectual context

Fletcher produced all his surviving Latin verse in educational settings and some information about educational context can therefore aid our understanding of them. The mindset created by the use of commonplace books in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century education, in which students wrote down striking sentences or paragraphs from their reading and organised them under headings, may explain the middle ground between a convention and a specific allusion referred to above. The practice of creating a commonplace book structured students' receptivity as readers of texts and provided them with models for imitation.¹⁸ It gave students lots of detailed material for allusion gathered under one heading, emphasising similarities rather than differences in the texts cited. Entries under a particular heading in a commonplace book would include authors from different periods. A section on 'water nymphs' would probably start with the most famous catalogues of nymphs in Vergil's *Eclogues* and Claudian's epithalamia, but might then include many sixteenth-century examples. Commonplace culture had as its aim to enable pupils to deploy in new contexts both what they conceived and what they read.¹⁹ It may therefore also have played a role in conventional elements themselves acting as a thematic shorthand. For example, because of the strong association between pastoral and political allegory, a pastoral poem could be read as political in a later context, even if it does not contain any explicit political content. In Chapter 4, I consider how Fletcher's pastoral elegy for Nicholas Carr gains political meaning when it is included in a manuscript sequence from the 1650s.

¹⁸ Ann Moss, *Printed Commonplace-Books and the Structuring of Renaissance Thought* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1996), 136, 152.

¹⁹ Angus Vine, *Miscellaneous Order: Manuscript Culture and the Early Modern Organization of Knowledge* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2019), 37, <https://doi.org/10.1093/oso/9780198809708.001.0001>.

Commonplace books also had a role to play in verse composition, another important aspect of the grammar school and university education which Fletcher received. At the start of the seventeenth century, John Brinsley writes in his *Ludus Literarius* that before they are ready for verse composition pupils need to ‘read some poetry first; as at least these books or the like, or some part of them: viz. Ovid *de Tristibus* or *de Ponto*, some pease of his *Metamorphosis* or of Virgil, and be well acquainted with their Poeticall phrases.’²⁰ Then they should select verses from these texts for their commonplace books: ‘Take *Flores Poetarum* [a Latin verse anthology], and in every Common place make choise of Ovids verses, or if you find any other which be pleasant and easie’.²¹ He then explains how these verses can be turned into prose and back into verse by pupils, to improve their verse composition skills.²² Verse composition became an increasingly significant part of the curriculum as a boy moved through grammar school. In the upper forms composition was required every week in elegiacs, hexameters, or sapphics.²³

Chapter 1 discusses the evidence of Fletcher’s own experience of school composition, which can be found in BL Royal MS 12 A XXX, the Eton manuscript presented to Queen Elizabeth when she visited the school in 1563, for which 23 schoolboys contributed 73 poems. The contributions made here are in an even wider range of metres, which may have been encouraged by the schoolmaster William Malim to demonstrate the skills of the boys.²⁴ Sarah Knight explains how collections

²⁰ John Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius: Or, the Grammar Schoole Shewing How to Proceede from the First Entrance into Learning, to the Highest Perfection Required in the Grammar Schooles* (London: Printed for Thomas Man, 1612), 192.

²¹ Brinsley, *Ludus Literarius*, 193.

²² On the practice of turning verse into prose and vice versa in different grammar schools including Eton, see also: Thomas Whitfield Baldwin, *William Shakespere’s Small Latine and Less Greeke Vol. 1*, 1944, 133, 372, 399.

²³ Baldwin (1944) 398-399; Clarke (1959) 16-17.

²⁴ The metres included are: elegiacs, hexameters, sapphic stanzas, sapphic hendecasyllable, alcaic stanzas, phalaecian hendecasyllables, iambic dimeters, iambic trimeters, first archilochian, first asclepiad, second asclepiad, adoneans. In addition, two of the poems included are in unusual metres; *Epigramma* 27, consisting of couplets of alternating phalaecian hendecasyllables and sapphic hendecasyllables, with a final adonean, and *Epigramma* 44, in alternating sapphic and asclepiad lines.

For more detail on the metrical experimentation which is typical of Anglo-Latin verse in the latter sixteenth century and of which this volume is a markedly early example, see Chapter 2 on ‘Metrical variety and the development of Latin lyric poetry in the latter sixteenth century’ in: Victoria Moul, *Latin and English Poetry in England, c. 1550-1700: The Poetics of Bilingualism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press (forthcoming), 2021). I am grateful to the author for giving me access to this work in advance of its publication.

of this sort exemplify ‘institutional efforts at character-building, offering varied (if not always scintillating) perspectives from young men writing as responsible citizens and obedient subjects.’ The poetry is ‘occasional, public, intended to commemorate events important to an institution’s life’ – it reflects ‘a kind of ideological orthodoxy.’²⁵ Most of the poems in the Eton volume do indeed fit this description with respect to their contents, including the majority of Fletcher’s contributions. The astonishing metrical variety of the collection, including metres which cannot be found elsewhere, suggests, however, an element of experiment rather than orthodoxy. Furthermore, one of Fletcher’s contributions, his *Epigramma* 59, a verse paraphrase of a passage from Livy’s *Ab Urbe Condita*, is quite subversive; the longest poem in the volume at 314 lines, it dwells at length on the defeat of the English at Le Havre earlier in 1563, a very sensitive topic. Verse paraphrases were frequently set as school exercises, allowing schoolboys to experiment with intertextuality in a sustained manner;²⁶ it is possible that *Epigramma* 59 was initially such an exercise which was then adapted for the volume. This is an early example of Fletcher’s use of verse to address current political events: he would later use his Cambridge eclogues to address both religious conflict in English society and college politics. There was a competitive element in the composition of poems for a presentation volume such as this one, which suggests that the talent of Fletcher was recognized by his teachers: with his 11 poems, he contributed more verse than anyone else. He wrote the two longest compositions, several of the most technically challenging ones and the closing poem.

This collection is typical in that it functions as a showpiece demonstrating the poetic skill of the schoolboys and much of Fletcher’s verse is conventional panegyric for Queen Elizabeth which uses the same tropes as other contributions, such as wishing the queen a long life and comparing her to a gem and a rose. Yet at other times he demonstrates his self-awareness and experiments; for example, in *Epigramma* 5, he refers to his lack of authority as a schoolboy addressing the queen. His *Epigramma* 68 and 69, which express classical and Christian beliefs of the afterlife, respectively,

²⁵ Sarah Knight, ‘How the Young Man Should Study Latin Poetry’, in *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature*, ed. Victoria Moul (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 55, <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781139248914.004>.

²⁶ Jaime Goodrich, ‘Conclusion’, in *Faithful Translators, Authorship, Gender, and Religion in Early Modern England* (Northwestern University Press, 2014), 190, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctv3znxvx.10>.

show Fletcher exploring and contrasting these views. As mentioned above, *Epigramma* 59 discusses a difficult topic at length; while the moral of the *consolatio* is that the defeated can become victors, addressing the recent defeat at Le Havre is a bold move. Neither this poem, nor Fletcher's *Epigramma* 10, which are both referred to as *Ecloga* in the title, are typical pastoral poems: they do not feature shepherds or a pastoral landscape and are not written in hexameters. While Fletcher's later Cambridge eclogues do have these features and are more directly recognisable as pastoral, the elements of formal and tonal experiment in Fletcher's Eton verse foreshadow his adult use of Latin verse, being both highly conventional and socially situated but also a vehicle for literary innovation.

Most of Fletcher's Latin verse was written during his time as a student and fellow at Cambridge University. It was common for young men to produce such verse at universities or in other educational contexts, such as the Inns of Court; as Gesine Manuwald and Luke Houghton point out a proficiency in the production of verse in different metres marked an individual as a man of learning, taste and accomplishment. Not only those with literary aspirations wrote verse of this kind – it could lead to, or contribute to, patronage and preferment in other fields and throughout the cultivated circles of Europe.²⁷ Phineas Fletcher depicts his father as a Cambridge poet in the second of his *Piscatorie Eclogs* and describes the disappointments of his (poetic) career and his frustrations with the university, which suggests Giles Fletcher the Elder did have literary aspirations. Yet the Latin language skills he displays in his verse and the connections he made whilst at university also stood him in good stead in his later role as an ambassador for Queen Elizabeth; his writings, including his Latin verse, demonstrated his commitment to the Elizabethan commonwealth and to reformed religion.²⁸

Given the important role of Latin verse in university culture, friendships and networks often manifested themselves in the writing of poems, especially liminary or

²⁷ L. B. T. Houghton and Gesine Manuwald, eds. *Neo-Latin Poetry in the British Isles* (London: Bristol Classical Press, 2012), 1.

²⁸ Felicity Jane Stout, *Exploring Russia in the Elizabethan Commonwealth: The Muscovy Company and Giles Fletcher, the Elder (1546-1611)* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2015), 60–65.

dedicatory verses for publications.²⁹ Fletcher wrote three dedicatory poems, two of which were published with influential Protestant texts: Foxe's *Acts and Monuments* (1576) and *Petri Baronis . . . in Jonam prophetam prælectiones* (1579), the other with an influential work of English history: *Holinshed's Chronicles* (1577). Two of his eclogues, *Æcloga Daphnis* and *Æcloga Adonis*, both pastoral elegies, appeared in a collection of funerary verse published with work of the subject of the poem (or in the case of the *Æcloga Adonis*, his father).³⁰ Commemorative university volumes can also reveal networks of poets; Fletcher's contribution to the Cambridge *Lachrymae* (1587), marking the death of Sir Philip Sidney, shows he was still closely connected to the university after he left it in 1580. Like other volumes he contributed to, it confirms his support for the English Protestant cause.

Pastoral

By the early modern period, the idylls and eclogues from antiquity that we are familiar with were all known. The Greek bucolic poets were rediscovered by Italian humanists in the fifteenth century and the works of these poets had spread throughout Italy by the 1490s.³¹ The works of Theocritus, Moschus and Bion were frequently published together in early modern editions, and are discussed together in the *Emendationes ad Theocriti, Moschi et Bionis Idyllia* (1596) by Joseph Justus Scaliger and Isaac Casaubon.³² It is clear from college statutes that Theocritus was read at universities; for instance, Nicholas Carr, Regius Professor of Greek at

²⁹ J. W. Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England: The Latin Writings of the Age*, Arca Classical and Medieval Texts, Papers and Monographs 24 (Leeds: Francis Cairns, 1990), 6.

³⁰ They were published with: Carr, *Demosthenis, Græcorum Oratorum Principis, Olynthiacæ Orationes Tres, & Philippicæ Quatuor, è Gr[a]Eco in Latinum Conuersæ, a Nicolae Carro, Anglo Nouocastriensi, Doctore Medico, & Gra[e]Carum Literarum in Cantabrigiensi Academia Professore Regio Addita Est Etiam Epistola de Vita, & Obitu Eiusdem Nicolai Carri*; Walter Haddon, *Poematum Gualteri Haddoni, Legum Doctoris, Sparsim Collectorum, Libri Duo* (Londini: Apud Gulielmum Seresium, 1576).

³¹ Giovanni Gioviano Pontano 1429-1503, *Giovanni Pontano, Églogues: Étude Introductive, Texte Latin, Traduction et Annotation*, ed. Hélène Casanova-Robin, *Eclogae* (Paris: Belles Lettres, 2011), L.

³² E.g. *Theocriti Aliorumque Poetarum Idyllia* (Geneva: Excudebat Henricus Stephanus, 1579); Davide Whitfordo, *Musæi, Moschi & Bionis, Quæ Extant Omni Quibus Accessere Quædam Selectiora Theocriti Eidyllia* (Londini: Typis Thoma Roycroftij, 1655). In both these editions the Greek text is accompanied by a Latin translation. They also appeared together in a school anthology published in London in 1667: *Anthologia Deutera: Sive Græcorum Epigrammatum Florilegium Novum* (Londini: Ex officina J. Redmayne, 1667).

Cambridge and the subject of one of Fletcher's eclogues, lectured on him.³³ It is thus likely that Fletcher, who was a Greek lecturer, was familiar with Theocritus's *Idylls*. In his influential *Poetices Libri Septem* (1561) the critic Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558), father of Joseph Justus Scaliger, cites Theocritus, the earliest known poet of pastoral, more often than any other in his chapter on the origins of the genre.³⁴

Early modern classical anthologies include extracts from eclogues by Vergil, Titus Calphurnius (i.e. Calpurnius Siculus) and Nemesianus.³⁵ Whilst twelfth and thirteenth century manuscript witnesses of the eclogues of Calpurnius Siculus and Nemesianus exist, there was a renewed interest in these works in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, when they were copied repeatedly in Florence, Rome and north-east Italy, perhaps Padua.³⁶ An anthology of pastoral poetry published in Frankfurt in 1539 includes verse by these three Latin poets as well as the piscatory eclogues of Sannazaro, which were first published in 1526.³⁷ This demonstrates how quickly his

³³ M. L. (Martin Lowther) Clarke, *Classical Education in Britain, 1500-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1959), 27, 32.

³⁴ Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem* (Genève: Apud Ioannem Crispinum, 1561), I.iv. He reserves the highest praise for Vergil though (sig. B.iii.'): *Sane veterum monumentorum, praetercaeteros mortales, scientissimum vbique diuinum illum virum praedicauiimus, atque ita verum est. Quo enim quis doctior est, eo maiorem in eius scriptis deprehendit eruditionem.* 'Well have we said that of all the men of old that divine man was the most learned, for such is the case. Indeed, the more learning a man has himself, the more he appreciates the erudition of Virgil.' (Transl. Padelford)

³⁵ See, for example: Octavianus Mirandula, *Illustrium Poetarum Flores per Octavianum Mirandulam Collecti, et à Studioso Quodam in Locos Communes Nuper Digesti, Ac Castigati. Cum Indice Locupletissimo.* (Strasbourg: ex aedibus Wendelin Rihel, 1538); Josephus Langius, *Anthologia, Sive Florilegium Rerum et Materiarum Selectarum* (Typis VVilhelmi Christiani Glaseri, Academiae Typographi, 1631).

³⁶ M. D. Reeve, 'The Textual Tradition of Calpurnius and Nemesianus', *The Classical Quarterly* 28, no. 1 (1978): 223–38; Heather J. Williams, 'The Manuscripts of the Eclogues' (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 1986), 9–24, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004328235_003. It is worth noting that several of these attributed the eclogues of Nemesianus to Calpurnius.

³⁷ It is entitled: *Insunt in Hoc Libello Ad Instrvendum Primae Aetatis Sermonem Ac Linguam, Recens Collectae, Atque in Unum Coniunctae, Rerum Bucolicarum p. Virgilii Maronis Eclogae X. T. Calphurnii Siculi Eclogae VII. Aurelii Nemesiani Olympii Eclogae IIII. Rei Piscatoriae Actii Synceri Sannazarii Eclogae V.* (Francoforti: Christianum Egenolphum, 1539).

Continental volumes, such as this one, are relevant to English pastoral as book trade in the early modern period, especially of Latin texts, was international in nature. On this see: Andrew Pettegree, 'North and South: Cultural Transmission in the Sixteenth-Century European Book World', *Bulletin of Spanish Studies* 89, no. 4 (1 June 2012): 507–20, <https://doi.org/10.1080/14753820.2012.684920>. England imported the vast majority of its books. See: Margaret Ford, 'Importation of Printed Books into England and Scotland', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume 3: 1400–1557*, eds. J. B. Trapp and Lotte Hellinga (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 179–202, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521573467.010>; Julian Roberts, 'The Latin Trade', in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain: Volume 4: 1557–1695*, eds. D. F. McKenzie and John Barnard (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 141–73, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CHOL9780521661829.008>.

work was admitted into the canon of pastoral literature.³⁸ Other neo-Latin pastoral poems were included in collections of such verse as well: *En Habes Lector Bucolicorum Autores xxxviii* (1546) printed in Basel, includes the eclogues of Petrarch, Boccaccio, Pontano and Mantuan in addition to the Latin works mentioned above, but demonstrates especially the prolific production of pastoral verse in the first half of the sixteenth century. In addition to the eclogues of Sannazaro, it includes verse by such poets as M. Hieronymus Vida, P. Faustus Andrelinus, D. Erasmus Roterodamus, Ioanus Secundus, H. Eobanus Hessus, Georgus Sabinus and Ioachimus Camerarius.³⁹

Whilst the precedence of Theocritus was acknowledged, Latin bucolics were read far more widely than Greek;⁴⁰ perhaps for this reason, Fletcher draws predominantly on these works in his own Latin eclogue collection. Among the first Latin texts Fletcher and his contemporaries studied as schoolboys after they had been taught the basics of grammar, were the classical *Eclogues* of Vergil and neo-Latin eclogues (*Adulescentia*) of Mantuan (the moralizing pastorals of Mantuan sometimes preceded those of Vergil in the curriculum).⁴¹ They would have read these eclogues with the aid of commentaries, including both the late antique Servian commentary on Vergil and contemporary commentaries, such as those by Jodocus Badius Ascensius (1462-1535) on both Vergil and Mantuan.⁴² According to Aelius Donatus and after him Servius, Vergil's aim in the *Eclogues* was to imitate Theocritus and to praise Caesar for helping him regain his belongings; later commentators, including Antonio Mancinelli (1452-c.1505) and Badius Ascensius agreed that the poems

³⁸ Nicholas Smith, 'The Genre and Critical Reception of Jacopo Sannazaro's "Eclogae Piscatoriae" (Naples, 1526)', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 50 (2001): 213.

³⁹ The poets in this volume are noticeably not in chronological order, although this seems to have been the intention.

⁴⁰ Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and Its English Developments*, 9.

⁴¹ David Scott Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance* / David Scott Wilson-Okamura. (Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 2010), 67; Syrithe Pugh, *Spenser and Virgil: The Pastoral Poems* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2016), 3–4.

⁴² Pugh, *Spenser and Virgil: The Pastoral Poems*, 44; Lee Piepho, 'Mantuan's Eclogues in the English Reformation', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 25, no. 3 (1994): 631, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2542638>. For Badius's editions of these poets see, for example: Vergilius Maro, *Bucolica et Georgica, Cum Commentariis, Unacum Jodoci Badii Ascensii Perquam Familiari Explanatione Necnon et Rerum Verborumque Cognitu Dignissimorum Indice*. His edition of Mantuan was also published in England: Mantuanus, *Bucolica Seu Adulescentia in Decem Aeglogas Divisa*; Mantuanus, *Expliciunt Bucolica Fratris Baptistæ Mantuani*.

praise the emperor.⁴³ Servius also emphasises the allegorical nature of the collection, pointing out that even the eclogues concerned with love are as allegorical and political as *Eclogues* 1 and 9, which refer to the land confiscations.⁴⁴ Based on this understanding of Vergil, Petrarch and Mantuan used the eclogue genre to comment on contemporary affairs and to criticize the church, further entrenching the allegorical use of the genre.⁴⁵ This political and allegorical approach to pastoral is evident in Fletcher's eclogues as well, especially his *De Morte Boneri*, *De Contemptu Ministrorum*, and the *Æcloga Telethusa*. The first two are concerned with religious conflict in the Marian and Elizabethan church and the poem on the death of Bonner includes praise of Queen Elizabeth; the *De Contemptu* also addresses college politics, which is the main concern of the *Æcloga Telethusa*. The third poem in Barnabe Googe's English eclogue collection, which was published in 1563, makes a similar use of Mantuan to that of Fletcher: Googe uses sustained allegory of the type found in Mantuan to criticize the Marian persecutions, suggesting that Fletcher may also have been drawing on the English tradition when discussing religious conflict in his eclogues.⁴⁶

Fletcher's first eclogue in the Hatfield collection, the *De Literis Antiquæ Britannicæ*, is didactic in nature; it is modelled on Vergil's *Eclogue* 6 and Sannazaro's *Eclogue* 4. Silenus in Vergil's poem begins to sing about the origins of the world in a natural-philosophical didactic passage, Lucretian in style (ll. 31-40), and then relates myths starting from the beginning of the world to his own time; the poem here develops into a *Kataloggedicht* with a chronological structure similar to the *De Literis*. Vergil's poem is a learned composition, which shows the poet's knowledge of literature, integrating material from Hesiod, Callimachus and Lucretius; it has poetry as its subject and pushes the limits of the pastoral genre.⁴⁷ Fletcher's poem, as the title

⁴³ Donatus 64 and Servius's introduction to the *Eclogues* in Publius Vergilius Maro, *Opera nunc recens accuratissime castigata. Cum XI acerrimi iudicii virorum commentariis* (Venezia, apud haer. Lucantonio I Giunta, 1544).

Wilson-Okamura, *Virgil in the Renaissance*, 56–57.

⁴⁴ Pugh, *Spenser and Virgil: The Pastoral Poems*, 42–43.

⁴⁵ William A. Oram, ed., *The Yale Edition of the Shorter Poems of Edmund Spenser* (New Haven: Yale, 1989), 4–5; Pugh, *Spenser and Virgil: The Pastoral Poems*, 42.

⁴⁶ Barnabe Googe, *Eglogs, Epytaphes, and Sonettes*. (London: Thomas Colwell, 1563).

⁴⁷ Wendell Clausen, *A Commentary on Virgil: Eclogues* (Oxford: Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994), consulted online-check paper copy for page numbers; Aaron M. Seider, 'Genre, Gallus, and Goats: Expanding the Limits of Pastoral in Eclogues 6 and 10', *Vergilius* (1959-) 62 (2016): 6–7.

suggests, is also concerned with literature, including references to Gildas, Bede, Geoffrey of Monmouth and Polydore Virgil and similarly demonstrates his learnedness telling the mythical history of Britain and Cambridge, showing their importance as a home for the Muses. Sannazaro's fourth eclogue, which is itself indebted to Vergil's *Eclogue* 6, is an even closer model for Fletcher as it includes a historical survey; in this poem, Proteus, a sea-god, speaks of the history of Naples from the Titanomachy to the death of the last Aragonese king of Naples. Fletcher has the river-god Chamus, representing the river Cam, narrate the history of Britain in his poem. Both these poets also include panegyric for royalty: Sannazaro praises Ferdinando of Aragon, in exile in Spain, and his father Frederick, the last king of Naples, who died in 1505, and Fletcher eulogises the deceased Edward VI and Queen Elizabeth.⁴⁸ Thus, while Fletcher's long and generically ambitious first eclogue (discussed in more detail in Chapter 2) may at first sight seem out of place in an eclogue collection, its concerns are not without pastoral precedent.

Another of the eclogues in Fletcher's collection is a pastoral epithalamium; while Theocritus's *Idyll* 18 is an epithalamium situated at the wedding of Menelaus and Helen, which includes several of the elements characteristic of this kind of poem, it does not have a pastoral setting.⁴⁹ Pastoral epithalamia cannot be found in ancient eclogue collections. They are, however, commonly included in neo-Latin ones.⁵⁰ Pastoral epithalamia or poems with characteristics of this genre in which river imagery and nymphs play a role are particularly relevant to Fletcher's pastoral, for which these elements are characteristic. Examples of such poems include *Lepidina*, the first eclogue of Giovanni Pontano (c. 1424-1503), who was the mentor of Sannazaro. It is a kind of pastoral masque, consisting of a prologue and seven *Pompae* celebrating the marriage of the nymph Parthenope (Naples) and the god Sebethus (the river Sebeto). *Lepidina* and Macron, who are recently married, observe the festivities. The processions feature Nereids, various other types of

⁴⁸ Sannazaro, *Ecl.* 4.7-14,81-91; Fletcher, *Aecl. Lycidas* 597-654 (Cecil Papers MS 298.1, line numbers added by me). As we saw above, Sannazaro was included in anthologies of Latin pastoral by the mid-sixteenth century.

⁴⁹ It refers to a specific day of the wedding festivities, it includes praise of the bride, it implies a social context with guests – the girl's companions – taking part in the ceremonies. For these and other characteristics of epithalamia, see: Thomas M. Greene, 'Spenser and the Epithalamic Convention', *Comparative Literature* 9, no. 3 (1957): 218–20, <https://doi.org/10.2307/1769017>.

⁵⁰ See: Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 294–305.

nymphs, representing geographical places, and the sea-deity Triton.⁵¹ The epyllion *Sarca*, which has been attributed to another influential Italian humanist, Pietro Bembo (1470-1547), tells an etiological myth about the wooing of the nymph Garda by the river Sarca and their ensuing marriage. Part of the poem is an epithalamium with a description of the bridal bed and the singing of wedding songs by attendant nymphs.⁵² A corresponding focus on river imagery can be found in French sixteenth-century epithalamia, such as Remy Belleau's *Epithalame de Monseigneur le Duc de Lorraine, & de Madame Claude Fille du Roy* (1558), in which the speakers are the nymphs of the Meuse and the nymphs of the Seine.⁵³ These vernacular and neo-Latin epithalamia and Fletcher's eclogues more generally, seem to draw on the non-pastoral epithalamia of Statius and Claudian, which include lavish descriptions of Venus's palace and paradise, respectively; in Statius's poem the goddess is transported by swans, in Claudian's, Triton transports her while she is surrounded by other sea-deities and Nereids.⁵⁴

Similarly, the German neo-Latin poets Joachim Camerarius (1500-1574), Georg Sabinus (1508-1560) and Petrus Lotichius Secundus (1528-1560), who were part of the same Wittenberg circle, each included a pastoral epithalamium among their eclogues.⁵⁵ Chapter 2 argues that Fletcher was familiar with the verse of Sabinus and Lotichius, modelling the first two Hatfield eclogues on the pastoral epithalamia of

⁵¹ See: *Pompa Secunda Nereidum, Pompa Tertia* and *Pompa Quarta*. *Pompa Sexta* opens with a dialogue between Dryads and Oreads (tree and mountain nymphs).

⁵² Charles Fantazzi, 'Bembo, Pietro', in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World* (Brill, n.d.), 925, https://referenceworks.brillonline.com:443/entries/encyclopaedia-of-the-neo-latin-world/bembo-pietro-B9789004271029_0004.

⁵³ Remy Belleau, *La Bergerie / Remy Belleau ; Texte de l'édition de 1565 Publié Avec Une Introduction, Des Notes et Un Glossaire Par Doris Delacourcelle.*, ed. Doris Delacourcelle (Genève: G. Droz, 1954). On the frequent inclusion of river nymphs in French epithalamia, see: James A. S. McPeck, 'The Major Sources of Spenser's "Epithalamion"', *The Journal of English and Germanic Philology* 35, no. 2 (1936): 192; Virginia Tufte, *The Poetry of Marriage: The Epithalamium in Europe and Its Development in England*, University of Southern California Studies in Comparative Literature. v. 2 (Los Angeles: Tinnon-Brown, 1970), 108.

Another example is Pierre Poupo's *Sonnet* 14, which is an epithalamium entitled *De J. Lect C. de G. & de Esther Chrestienne Guillaud, Dame de Tramayes* (1591). It includes an image in the first tercet of the Rhone embracing the Saone, which is seen as foretelling the couple's happy marriage.

⁵⁴ Statius *Sylvae* 1.2.140-6 and Claudian's *Epithalamium de Nuptiis Honorii Augusti*, l. 122-181. Tufte says of sixteenth-century French vernacular epithalamia: 'Popular motifs from Catullus and Theocritus fuse with a few favorites from Statius, Claudian and the neo-Latin poets'. Tufte, *The Poetry of Marriage*, 105.

⁵⁵ Stephen Zon, *Petrus Lotichius Secundus : Neo-Latin Poet* (Berne: Peter Lang, 1983), 146. Camerarius, *Eclogue* 18; Lotichius, *Eclogue* 6. Sabinus only wrote two eclogues, the second of which is an epithalamium.

these poets and using Lotichius's eclogues as a model throughout the collection. The *Poemata* of Sabinus and Lotichius were first published in 1544 and 1563, respectively; Piepho has convincingly argued that Edmund Spenser owned a volume in which the works of both poets were bound together and was familiar with their contemporary Continental Latin poetry.⁵⁶ That Fletcher draws on their verse as well, suggests they were more widely read in England than has been acknowledged. The popularity of these German poets in England has implications for our understanding of early modern pastoral and indeed early modern poetry as a whole, as it demonstrates that English poets were part of a bilingual literary culture, which not only means that Anglo-Latin and English poetry could influence each other, but that the contemporary international Latin literary culture in which Anglo-Latin verse participated also influenced English verse.

Two of Fletcher's eclogues are written in a subgenre of pastoral which is now called pastoral elegy; this term was first used by Edmund Spenser to refer to his *Astrophel* (1595) and was not immediately adopted by other poets – it is thus anachronistic as a description for classical and Renaissance funeral laments.⁵⁷ I have decided to use the term here as it is widely used in modern criticism and refers to a distinct convention within the pastoral tradition for which there is no unifying early modern term.⁵⁸ Pastoral elegies draw on the tradition of poems lamenting the death of a named (though often somewhat mythologised) individual, beginning with Theocritus *Idyll* 1, Bion's *Lament for Adonis*, Moschus' *Lament for Bion* and Vergil's *Eclogues* 5 and 10. They have a pastoral setting and mourn the death of a fellow shepherd, who often represents a colleague, friend, or patron.⁵⁹ The tradition thus has its roots in antiquity, which is not the case for pastoral epithalamia; yet it flourished in the Renaissance and an especially high number of pastoral elegies in both Latin and

⁵⁶ Georgius Sabinus, *Georgii Sabini Brandeburgensis Poëmata*. (Strasbourg: Apud Kraft Müller, 1544); Petrus Lotichius 1528-1560, *Petri Lotichii Secundi Opera Omnia*. (Heidelberg: Gotthardi Voegelini, 1563).

Lee Piepho, 'The Shepheardes Calender and Neo-Latin Pastoral: A Book Newly Discovered to Have Been Owned By Spenser', *Spenser Studies* 16 (1 January 2002): 77–103, <https://doi.org/10.1086/SPSv16p77>.

⁵⁷ Lambert, *Placing Sorrow*, xx.

⁵⁸ Fletcher's pastoral elegies each simply have the word *Ecloga* in their title, but poems of this kind are also referred to as *Epitaphia* (e.g. *Epitaphium Iolae* by Helius Eobanus Hessus and Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*) and 'Monody' (e.g. Milton's *Lycidas*).

⁵⁹ This identification of the dying shepherd with a friend or relation occurs first in Moschus' *Lament for Bion* and then in Vergil's *Eclogue* 10. In both these instances, the deceased is a fellow-poet.

vernacular languages was written in the sixteenth century.⁶⁰ Fletcher chooses to represent the subjects of his poems as the shepherd-singer Daphnis and the youth Adonis, who are the first and central figures in the tradition of pastoral elegy.⁶¹ Daphnis is the subject of Theocritus' *Idyll* 1 and Vergil's *Eclogue* 5 and Adonis is the youth Venus fell in love with, who she mourned following his death in a hunting accident; he became worshipped as a dying and reviving god of vegetation. Mentioned in Theocritus *Idyll* 1.109-10 in a reproach to Venus, because the goddess mourned him but is not mourning Daphnis, he is also the subject of Bion's *Lament for Adonis*, which, as we have seen, was published with Theocritus's works in the Renaissance.

While ideas of pastoral change in the early modern period as further discussed below, many of the conventions of pastoral elegy remain the same from Theocritus to the modern day. This is not to say that developments in pastoral cannot be seen in this subgenre: allegory can be found to a lesser or greater extent in many such poems and becomes more prominent in Renaissance pastoral, starting with Petrarch's *Argus*, his poem on the death of King Robert of Naples. When pastoral becomes Christianised, so does the apotheosis in pastoral elegy. Milton even introduces ecclesiastical satire, normally found in other types of eclogues, into his *Lycidas*. The form for pastoral elegy is, however, consistently hexameter verse and most of the elements that make it recognisable as a convention are there throughout the tradition; they include nature lamenting the deceased (known as a 'pathetic fallacy'), nymphs being questioned about the death, repeated invocations of the muses, and, from Vergil onwards, an apotheosis of the subject. The familiarity of these conventions means that authors can be innovative with them by combining or departing from them, as readers will recognise this change and its effect. For example, in his *Æcloga Adonis*, the lament for his friend Clere Haddon (d. 1571) who drowned in the River Cam, nature does not join in the lament of *Lycidas*, who

⁶⁰ Jay Reed, 'The Pastoral Lament in Ancient Greek and Latin', in *The Cambridge History of Gay and Lesbian Literature*, ed. E. L. McCallum and Mikko Tuhkanen (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 51, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CHO9781139547376.005>.

⁶¹ Jay Macpherson, 'The Pastoral Landscape', in *Spirit of Solitude: Conventions and Continuities in Late Romance* (Yale University Press, 1982), 14, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt211qxcj.6>.

represents Fletcher. He reproaches the nymphs of the river and thus the river itself, saying (ll. 12-23):

*Supprime ô paulum currentes murmura (Lymphæ)
Dum queror, & quamuis nil proficientia vobis
Verba loquor, frustrà mœsto tamen alloquor ore.
Vos ego vos (vndæ) testor, vos (flumina) ripas
Quæ colitis, gelidique imis conuallibus (Amnes)
Sic puerum informj potuistis perdere Letho?
Nec uos noster amor, nec vos spes illa mouebat
Ingenij, generisque decor, neque forma, nec ætas,
Crudeles, nec quód venatu lassus, & æstu,
Sæpius hic mecum vestras requieuit ad vndas?
Sed quid ago? non illa preces, neque iurgia curant,
Nec quid sint lachrymæ, nec quid sint gaudia nôrunt.*

Restrain your murmur a while, o running nymphs of the springs, while I lament, and although the words I speak cannot help you at all, nevertheless I speak in sorrow and in vain. I call you (waves) as a witness, you (streams) who dwell in banks, and icy rivers in the deepest valleys. Could you thus destroy the boy in an ugly death? Did our love not move you, nor the promise of his talent, nor the honour of his family, nor his beauty, nor his age, cruel ones, nor the fact that, when tired by the hunt and by the heat of the day, he quite often rested here with me near your waves? But what am I doing? These streams do not care for prayers, nor for reproaches, and they do not know what tears or joys are.

The natural attributes of the river, its roaring noise and cold temperature, come to represent its emotional indifference and coldness. He knows his words will be in vain (*frustrà*) as he is accusing the waters and nymphs who he wants to act. Because the Cam caused Haddon's death, the lack of pathetic fallacy creates pathos more effectively than if the river had lamented him: it allows the speaker to express his anger and despair at the loss of his friend.

The changing nature of the eclogue

The thesis thus shows how Fletcher's work draws on and enriches the pastoral tradition; it also sheds new light on the changing nature of the eclogue as a formal category during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. As mentioned above, Fletcher's use of the term *ecloga* does not always coincide precisely with that of 'pastoral'. Chapter 1 considers for the first time the use of this term for mid- to late sixteenth-century verse dialogues in school and university volumes, including the two

eclogues which Fletcher wrote as a schoolboy at Eton for the 1563 volume presented to Queen Elizabeth. In a different way, Fletcher's Hatfield collection is also generically ambitious, in particular his *De Literis Antiquae Britanniae*, which has characteristics of epic. It demonstrates that the boundaries of the genre were flexible in this period; this is evident also from the eclogue collections of contemporary poets, both in England and on the Continent. Examples include the second eclogue of Marco Girolamo Vida (1485-1566) in which Corydon tells several myths, first that of Narcissus, then of Arion and then *centum addit amores Nereidum* (he adds a hundred loves of the Nereids (l. 59-60)), the seventeenth *Idyll* of the German poet Helius Eobanus Hessus (1488-1540), a panegyric celebrating the city of Nuremberg, and *Amyntas* (1585) and *Amintae Gaudia* (1592), eclogue collections by Thomas Watson (1555/6-1592) which are influenced by Roman love elegy and include Ovidian metamorphoses, a dream about the reception of Sir Philip Sidney into heaven and a poem in which the gift of a set of chessmen is used to describe a battle.⁶² Chapter 3 touches on the better-known development of new forms of pastoral throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, when the range of possible characters and settings for an eclogue expanded. The new types of eclogues created in this way, included, amongst others, hunting eclogues (an example of which can be found in Fletcher's Hatfield collection) and piscatory and marine eclogues (of which the first example was that of Sannazaro, the model for Phineas Fletcher's *Piscatory Eclogues*).⁶³

Fletcher's eclogues are representative of the neo-Latin pastoral tradition because they play with generic boundaries, including aspects of epithalamia, epic and topographical verse. Furthermore, he set his eclogues in Cambridge and the focus is frequently not on the traditional shepherds and cowherders but on the river Cam and water nymphs – his characters also include shepherds who go fishing and a hunter.

⁶² Sukanta Chaudhuri, 'Paulo Maiora Canamus: The Transcendence of Pastoral in the Neo-Latin Eclogue', ed. Philip Ford and Andrew Taylor, *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 33, no. 1–2 (2006): 93–94; Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 144; Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925*, 46–48. The *Amintae Gaudia* is in two parts: the first half consists of epistles, the second of eclogues.

⁶³ On this development, see: Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 205–44. In addition to the types of eclogue mentioned here, he discusses three others dependent on the introduction of a new set of characters: garden eclogues, vine-grower's eclogues and plowman's eclogues. A contemporary awareness of this development can be seen in John Leech's *Musae Priores* (1620), which includes four different types of eclogues (bucolic, piscatory, marine, and vinitory).

Several of his eclogues are occasional; he wrote two pastoral elegies, a subgenre which flourished especially in the sixteenth century, and a pastoral epithalamium, a type of eclogue which can only be found in neo-Latin eclogue collections. The poems are also influenced by earlier and contemporary continental neo-Latin pastoral, in particular the eclogue collections of Mantuan and Petrus Lotichius Secundus.

Fletcher's eclogues shape the tradition to which they belong in important ways; they are self-aware learned literary works, which are both as sophisticated as Continental pastoral and concerned with British affairs. Using a Cambridge setting, and religious allegory concerned with the English church, Fletcher created a distinct mode of British Protestant pastoral, which enriched the pastoral tradition, playing an important role in the development of the genre in England. His eclogues likely influenced Edmund Spenser, one of his contemporaries at Cambridge. They remained influential in the 1630s through Phineas Fletcher's imitation and dissemination of his father's works. The Fletchers emphasised their role as Cambridge poets and their pastoral continued to have a strong afterlife in Cambridge circles, which included the poet John Milton. The presence of two poems by Giles Fletcher in a 1650s Cambridge manuscript, suggests they served as literary models and gained new political meaning long after they were composed. Fletcher's place in the Anglo-Latin tradition is confirmed further by the inclusion of some of his eclogues in two of William Dillingham's anthologies of neo-Latin verse in the 1670s.⁶⁴ The thesis thus transforms our understanding of the pastoral genre in which Fletcher participates and demonstrates that his eclogues deserve to be studied alongside the great landmarks of early modern English pastoral – especially Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* and Milton's *Lycidas* and *Epitaphium Damonis* – for which they offer a new context, situating them within both British and wider European Latin literary culture.

⁶⁴ The *Poemata Varii Argumenti* (1678), also mentioned above, was published and greatly influenced the modern reception of Fletcher; the other anthology exists only in manuscript. BL Sloane MS 1766; William Dillingham, *Poemata Varii Argumenti Partim E. Georgio Herberto Latinè (Utcunque) Reddita, Partim Conscripta, a Wilh. Dillingham ... ; Adscitis Etiam Aliis Aliorum* (Londini: Typis E. Flesher, prostant apud R. Royston Bibliopolam Regium, 1678). The role of Dillingham in the reception of Fletcher is discussed further in the Afterword.

CHAPTER 1 - Fletcher's First Eclogues: Occasional Verse in the 1560s

The first poems of Giles Fletcher the Elder that have been preserved can be found in BL Royal MS 12 A XXX, a presentation volume given to Queen Elizabeth I when she visited Eton College in 1563.¹ This chapter will argue that elements of formal and tonal experiment in Fletcher's Eton verse foreshadow his adult use of Latin verse, being both highly conventional and socially situated but also a vehicle for literary innovation. Furthermore, it considers the Eton manuscript in the wider context of school and university volumes from the mid- to late sixteenth century and provides new insights into the importance of school exercises for Fletcher's development as a poet. Fletcher addresses a sensitive political topic through allegory in his *Epigramma* 59, anticipating the use of political allegory in his later verse. Focusing on this poem and Fletcher's *Epigramma* 10, dialogues between Queen Elizabeth and the English soldiers and Queen Elizabeth and the English, respectively, I will also consider why, in the mid- to late-sixteenth century, the term *ecloga* is used for verse-dialogues such as these which do not share the features of traditional pastoral.

As Fletcher's eclogues in this volume, unlike later examples, are not pastoral in character, this chapter stands to some extent apart from the rest of the thesis, which is concerned with the seven eclogues which Fletcher wrote at Cambridge University in the late 1560s and early 1570s, and their reception. As we shall see, in these later poems, he forges a distinct mode of British Protestant pastoral. His school verse and particularly the verse-dialogues he calls eclogues, do, however, warrant a full

¹ This manuscript has been digitised by the British Library and can be found here:

http://www.bl.uk/manuscripts/FullDisplay.aspx?ref=Royal_MS_12_a_xxx

A modern edition and translation of this MS by David K. Money can be found in: John Nichols, *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring et al., vol. 1 (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014), 259–368.

This edition does not offer a specific interpretation of the volume, but is very helpful as a starting point for work on this text. It includes an introduction to the manuscript, explanatory notes and a translation. The introduction contains: a detailed physical description of the manuscript; a comparison with BL Royal MS 12 A LXV (the Eton manuscript presented to the Queen in 1560), which touches on arrangement and presentation, the number of contributors, metrical variety and the use of acrostics in both volumes; some information about Eton in this period, mentioning its connection with King's College Cambridge and its problems in 1563 due to students running away because of excessive flogging; some more general historical context, explaining why 1563 was a difficult year for England, with the defeat at Le Havre and the plague.

discussion, not least because Fletcher titles them as eclogues. While eclogues as verse-dialogues can be found in several presentation volumes of the latter sixteenth century and Fletcher is thus following a trend, these poems and the context in which they were created provide an insight into Fletcher's ideas of an *ecloga* and how they developed. The eclogues, especially the long, unusual *Epigramma* 59, which tells the historical narrative about the victory of the Samnites from Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* book 9, also demonstrate that Fletcher's idea of an eclogue is flexible. It thus puts Fletcher's even longer and generically ambitious *De Literis Antiquæ Britannniæ*, the first eclogue in his Hatfield Eclogue collection, in which he tells the history of Cambridge, in a new perspective both within Fletcher's work and within the wider context of the Latin poetry of the period.

Royal MS 12 A XXX is written in a single elegant hand with the number of lines per page varying from 12 to 28. Coloured ink is used most noticeably on the title page; red ink is used throughout for capitals and for the two ruled lines which mark the margins at the top, bottom and sides of each page, for an example, see figure 1.1.² The manuscript contains 75 Latin poems, as well as a Greek epigram by the schoolmaster, William Malim (1533-94), and two texts in prose: a dedication at the start and a prayer at the end. 73 of the poems are students' contributions, each of which is numbered and bears the heading 'epigramma'. Of the 23 contributing students, Fletcher contributed the largest number of items: 11 poems in total.³

² Nichols, *Progresses*, 1: 259. Interestingly, the contemporary binding of the manuscript is made of vellum, richly decorated with the royal insignia in gold. This is striking because Queen Elizabeth is known to have had a marked distaste for vellum, although it is unclear whether she already felt this distaste in the early 1560s. See: Sarah Knight, 'Texts Presented to Elizabeth I on the University Progresses', in *A Concise Companion to the Study of Manuscripts, Printed Books, and the Production of Early Modern Texts: A Festschrift for Gordon Campbell*, ed. Edward Jones (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2015), 28.

³ Only the surnames of the poets are given in the MS. The names of the others and their number of contributions are: Boughan (5), Bounde (9), Broune (1), Driwood (3), Dunninge (3), Flemminge (4), Forthe (1), Francklinne (2), Gibson (1), Hardelowe (1), Henson (2), Hilles (1), Hixon (1), Hunt (2), Ihonson (2), Kinge (3), Kirkham (7), Lakes (2), Lane (1), Longe (4), Standleye (1), Watts (6). The high number of contributions by Bounde, Kirkham and Watts make it evident that Munro's assertion in the ODNB that Fletcher contributed 'more than double the number written by any other pupil', is incorrect. See: Lucy Munro, *Fletcher, Giles, the Elder (Bap. 1546, d. 1611), Diplomat and Author* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9726>.

Fletcher's contributions are *Epigramma* 4, 5, 10, 13, 38, 45, 56, 59, 68, 69 and 73. Note that *Epigramma* 4 and 68 are missing from Dana Sutton's online edition of Fletcher's Latin poetry: <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/fletcher/text.html>.

Another distinguishing feature of the verse in the volume is the use of acrostics, which occur in 15 of the poems, including three of Fletcher's. The high frequency of this type of composition suggests it may have been particularly encouraged by Malim.⁴

Looking at this volume in the context of contemporary school and university anthologies – of which no one has previously been able to provide an overview – reveals that the manuscript, and Fletcher's contribution to it, is quite unusual in multiple respects. Firstly, the number of poems per volume and number of contributions per poet varies significantly for each of the 13 volumes considered, suggesting that there was no set formula for this.⁵ For example, Royal MS 12 A XX includes 28 poems written by 25 contributors, while Royal 12 A XLI includes 121 poems by 21 contributors. Fletcher's high number of contributions was unusual: only Westminster Abbey MS 31 and Royal MS 12A XLI include a similar number of contributions for some students, though these contributions are shorter on average.⁶ The inclusion of such a poem as *Epigramma* 59, a long verse paraphrase of an

⁴ It also reflects the general popularity of acrostics in this period, see: Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, 46–47. Ben Jonson shows their prevalence in his *An Execration upon Vulcan*, when he inveighs against various types of verse, saying that the fire which destroyed his house in 1623 would have been justified if he had written silly poetry, including (l. 39-41):

Acrostichs, and *Telestichs*, on jumpe names,
Thou then hadst had some colour for thy flames,
On such my serious follies;

Benjamin Jonson, 'The Underwood', in Ben Jonson, Vol. 8: The Poems; The Prose Works, ed. C. H. Herford, Percy Simpson, and Evelyn Simpson, 1947, 203–4,
<http://oxfordscholarlyeditions.com/view/10.1093/acrade/9780198113591.book.1/acrade-9780198113591-book-1>.

⁵ These volumes are BL Royal MS 12 A XXXIII (1552); Royal MS 12 A XX (1554); Royal MS 12 A LXV (1560); Royal MS 12 A XXX (1563); CUL Add. MS 8915 (1564); Royal MS 12 A XLVII (1566); Royal MS 12 A LXVII (1573); Westminster Abbey MS 31 (1587); Harley MS 6211 (1594); Royal 12 A XLI (1597); Royal MS 12 A XXVIII (1610-2); Royal MS 12 A LVIII (1633) and Royal MS 12 A LX (1636). At least seven of these manuscripts were created on the occasion of a royal progress and one (Royal MS 12A XXVIII) invites a visit from Henry, Prince of Wales. Progresses were one of the last vestiges of the peripatetic tradition of Europe's medieval courts. They often took place in the summer when the risk of plague and other diseases was typically greatest in the cities. The Tudors and Stuarts used them as a tool of government, allowing the monarch to lay claim, both physically and symbolically, to the places they were visiting. Elizabeth made royal progresses and public ceremonial central to her government, going on 23 progresses in her 45-year reign. Perhaps she recognised the need to court and sustain her subjects' loyalty as an unmarried female monarch in a society still divided by religious conflict following the reformation. Siobhan Keenan, *The Progresses, Processions, and Royal Entries of King Charles I, 1625-1642* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2020), 1–7. I would like to thank Professor Sarah Knight for the reference.

The visit to Eton in 1563 was not part of a progress; it took place when the queen was staying at Windsor to avoid the plague in London – see p. 56.

⁶ In Westminster Abbey MS 31, these students are: Henricus Child (11), Rogerus Derhamus (15) and Richardus Marche (14). In Royal MS 12 A XLI: G. Hancock (14) and E. Gunter (13). See Appendix A.

episode from Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, is unique to the Eton volume; neither a contribution of this length (314 lines) nor a verse paraphrase can be found in the other school anthologies.

The use of the term eclogue for verse-dialogues is chronologically limited; the closest parallel for its use in the Eton volume can be found in CUL Add. MS 8915, a Cambridge manuscript dating from 1564 which was also presented to Queen Elizabeth. It consists of 167 folios and includes contributions by different colleges. On f. 112v, there is an *Ecloga* in hexameters, which has no pastoral features – it is a dialogue between *Academia* and *Alumnus*, who discuss the visit of the queen to their university. Whilst there are only a few examples, these are striking – there are no pastoral eclogues in most of the volumes and eclogues as verse-dialogues can also be found in the two earliest printed university volumes, which date from the mid-sixteenth century.⁷ Dialogues or poems in which a particular character speaks are a more common feature, included in four of the manuscripts.⁸

⁷These university volumes are: John Cheke, *De Obitu Doctissimi et Sanctissimi Theologi Doctoris Martini Bucerii Regij in Celeberrima Cantabrigiensi Academia apud Anglos Publice Sacrarum Literarum Praelectoris Epistolae Duae. Item, Epigrammata Varia Cum Graecae Tum Latinae Conscripta in Eundem Fidelissimu[m] Diuini Uerbi Ministrum*. (Londini: In officina Reginaldi Vuolfij, 1551), Mjv (a dialogue between Anglia and Germania in hexameters); Thomas Wilson, ed., *Vita et Obitus Duorum Fratrum Suffolciensium Henrici et Caroli Brandoni* (Londini: In aedibus Richardi Graftoni, Typographi Regii, 1551), Gijr (a dialogue between Affectus and Ratio in elegiacs). Two eclogues can be found in Royal MS 12 A LVIII, a Westminster School manuscript which is much later, dating from 1633. It was written on the occasion of Charles I's return from Scotland. These eclogues are more pastoral in nature. The *Ecloga* on ff. 8v-9v is a dialogue between Eudoxus and Philanax (names familiar from Spenser's *View of the Present State of Ireland* (1596) and Sidney's *Arcadia* (1590), respectively). It is mostly written in elegiacs but includes 8 lines in hexameter and has some pastoral features. On ff. 10v-11r there is a typical *Ecloga* in hexameters with a pastoral setting. The speakers here are Tityrus, who expresses the happiness of the English at the return of the king, and Meliboeus, who expresses the grief of the Scottish because he has left.

⁸ CUL MS Add. 8915 includes 8 dialogues in addition to the *Ecloga*, see: f. 31r, f. 45v, f. 70v, f. 113r, ff. 121r-122v, f. 125v, f. 148v, f. 160r; Westminster Abbey MS 31 includes 12 dialogues: f. 1r, f. 3v, f. 13r, f. 20r, f. 21v, f. 34r, f. 45v, f. 47v, f. 51v, f. 73v, f. 77r, f. 82r. Royal MS 12 A XXVIII: a dialogue in which each of the Muses speak once, f. 13v, and a poem in which England addresses Wales - *Anglia Walliam alloquitur*, ff. 10r-13v. Apart from the three *eclogae* in Royal MS 12 A XXX, two of which are by Fletcher (*Epigramma* 10 and *Epigramma* 59) and one of which is by Kinge (*Epigramma* 44, a dialogue between Eton and Windsor), there are no dialogues in the volume. There are, however, eight other poems in which there is a speaker – see Appendix B.

Metre

With regards to metrical variety, Royal MS 12A XXX is representative of school collections created in the mid- to late-sixteenth century; as in other school presentation volumes from this period, a range of metres is employed by its contributors to show their poetic skills. Considering the metrical data for this volume, the relatively high number of iambic and lyric metres is striking. 24 of the poems are in elegiacs (32%), 16 in hexameters (21.3%), seven in iambic metres (9.3%) and 28 in lyric metres (37.3%).⁹ Looking at the other school presentation volumes found as part of the Leverhulme project 'Neo-Latin verse in English Manuscript Verse Miscellanies' led by Dr Victoria Moul, it appears that there is generally a high proportion of various lyric metres in volumes dating from the period 1560-1600.¹⁰ Royal MS 12 A LXV, the 1560 Eton volume, the most similar to Royal MS 12 A XXX in terms of metrical variety, contains 23 poems in elegiacs (36.5%), one in hexameters (1.6%), six in iambic metres (9.5%) and 33 in lyric metres (52.4%). Although the lack of hexameter poems in this manuscript is striking, the proportion of iambic metres is almost identical to that in the 1563 volume and the number of lyric metres is even higher, suggesting that the use of a variety of lyric metres was encouraged in schools at this time.¹¹ A clear example of prescribed metrical variety can be found in Harley MS 6211, created at Ludlow School in 1594. For this volume, boys were given a diagram of asclepiads, sapphics and choriambes to help them with their compositions. They each wrote a poem in elegiacs and then one in each of these three lyric metres in turn.

⁹ The iambic metres are: iambic dimeter, iambic trimeter and iambic distichs. The lyric metres are: Adonics, Alcaics, Asclepiadic lines, Asclepiadic stanzas, Second Asclepiad, Hendecasyllables, Sapphic lines, Sapphic stanzas, Archilochians and polymetric poems consisting of a combination of these (hendecasyllables and sapphic lines, with final adonic (Epigr. 27) and sapphic and asclepiadic lines (Epigr. 44)).

¹⁰ Victoria Moul, 'Neo-Latin Metrical Practice in English Manuscript Sources, c. 1550-1720', in *Neulateinische Metrik: Formen Und Kontexte Zwischen Rezeption Und Innovation*, ed. Stefan Tilg and Benjamin Harter (Tübingen: Narr Francke Attempto Verlag, 2019), 257–76.

¹¹ It is worth noting, however, that Royal MS 12 A LXVII, which was created at St Paul's in 1573 when William Malim was the headmaster there, is a bit of an outlier compared to the other school presentation manuscripts from this period. It only contains 17 poems: 11 in elegiacs, four in hexameters and two in lyric metres. Although the schoolmaster's instructions may have contributed to the metrical variety of the earlier manuscript, other factors seem to have played a role as well. Indeed, the 1560 Eton manuscript which resembles the 1563 volume the most, was created under a different headmaster.

School presentation volumes earlier than 1560 and later than 1600 tend to have a higher number of poems in elegiacs and a lower number of lyric poems.¹² Among the 13 manuscript presentation volumes which I analysed were two University volumes, CUL Add. MS 8915 and Royal MS 12 A XLVII, which both date from the 1560s and were created at Cambridge and Oxford, respectively; these also include a high percentage of poems in elegiacs. This may indicate that students had more freedom to create their own compositions at university and chose to write in elegiacs, because it was the metre they practised most at school and they were therefore most comfortable with it.¹³

Fletcher's poems in the volume also display more metrical variety than his other works, although eight of the 11 poems are written in elegiacs or hexameters (72.7%) like his later poetry. Nevertheless, three of his contributions, *Epigramma* 4, 38 and 45, are in lyric metres (Alcaic stanzas, Sapphic hendecasyllables and Sapphic stanzas), which he did not employ again later in life and therefore seem to have been used in this instance to show off his metrical skills, perhaps under specific instruction from his schoolmaster.¹⁴ Furthermore, one of his poems in elegiacs (*Epigramma* 56) consists of Sotadean verses, an intricate form which is discussed in detail below.

In his contributions to this presentation manuscript, Giles Fletcher demonstrates his facility in school exercises such as verse composition, paraphrases and impersonations; like most other contributors, he shows his ability to employ lyric metres and he also contributes some of the acrostic poems which are characteristic of the volume: *Epigramma* 13, 45 and 69. He creatively draws on classical sources: for example, in *Epigramma* 73, the closing poem of the volume, he echoes Vergil's *Eclogue* 3; the imagery of the composition of the volume as a journey by sea seems to have been inspired by a prefatory poem commonly included with Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae*. Several of the boys' contributions to the volume address sensitive topics: *Epigramma* 39 and 72 encourage the queen to marry in line with the

¹² See Appendix A.

¹³ Philip J. Ford, 'Neo-Latin Prosody and Versification', in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World* (Brill, n.d.), 63, https://referenceworks.brillonline.com:443/entries/encyclopaedia-of-the-neo-latin-world/neo-latin-prosody-and-versification-B9789004271012_0005.

¹⁴ See: Dana F. Sutton, 'Commentary notes. Giles Fletcher the Elder, Carmina.', accessed 17 January 2019, <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/fletcher/notes.html#1sources>.

dominant ideas in public discourse at the time and *Epigramma* 25, in which Mars praises Elizabeth's skill in battle, touches on the relationship of England and France, blaming the recent defeat at Le Havre on unfair Juno and fickle fortune (*iniqua Iuno | obstitit, sors et varians refluit*, l. 13-4). Fletcher's use of political allegory in his longest contribution, *Epigramma* 59, is bolder and particularly stands out: he employs a verse paraphrase of a passage from book 9 of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*, the story of the Samnite victory over the Romans, as a parallel for France's victory over England at Le Havre, dwelling on Rome's humiliation and thus England's recent loss. In his *Epigramma* 5, he shows an awareness of the lack of authority schoolboys such as himself have, when praising the queen. While such humility is common in panegyric and adds to the praise of the subject, it may shed some light on the strange dynamic of a schoolboy advising the queen on a sensitive topic.¹⁵ In Royal MS 12 A XXX, Fletcher not only shows his ability to create conventional panegyric verse, but also creatively uses classical sources and experiments with the innovative use of literary conventions for political purposes. In this respect, it anticipates his later Latin verse, which is in many ways conventional but adapts conventions to address political and religious issues in an innovative way.

¹⁵ On the frequent use of the humility topos in sixteenth-century panegyric, see for example: Wayne Erickson, 'The Poet's Power and the Rhetoric of Humility in Spenser's Dedicatory Sonnets.', *Studies in the Literary Imagination* 38, no. 2 (2005): 100–102.

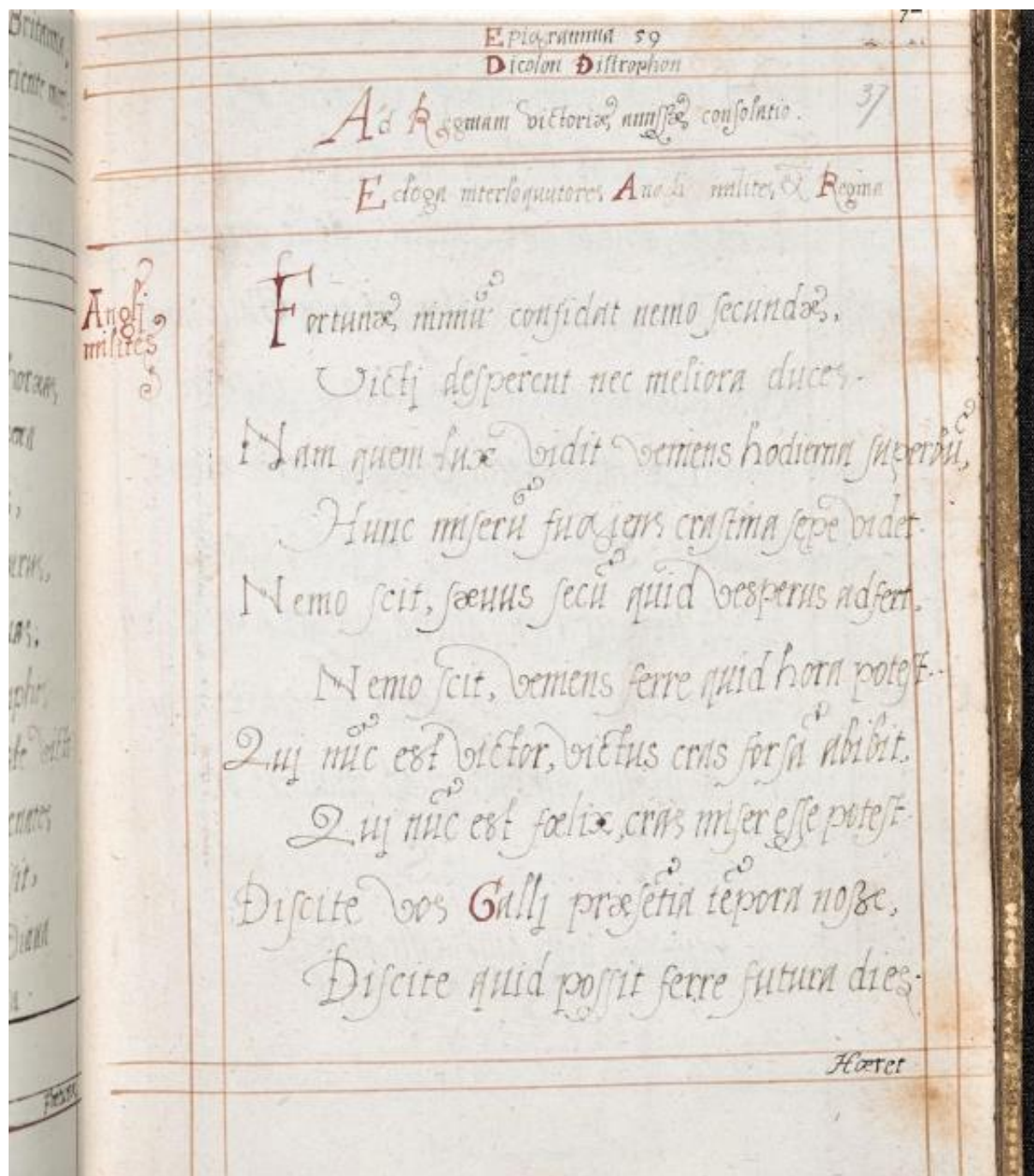


Figure 1.1 - © British Library Board: Royal MS 12 A XXX, f. 37r

Fletcher's Poetry in Royal MS 12 A XXX

Fletcher's contributions are socially situated; they show his facility with school exercises, including, for example, alliteration, parallelism and variations on vocabulary. Several use the same tropes as contributions by others in the volume. There are some noticeable similarities between Fletcher's verse and contributions made by his fellow student Alexander Bound (1547/8-1622), who, with nine poems, made the second largest contribution to the volume. Fletcher's *Epigramma* 4, which consists of two sapphic stanzas, is rather repetitive: it lists Greek, Roman and Hebrew heroes as the glory (*decus*, l. 1,2,3,5) of their respective cities or countries, referring to Elizabeth as the *summum decus* (l. 6) for the Britons.¹⁶ In *Epigramma* 11, an acrostic poem written in elegiacs, Bound likewise lists individuals (gods, leaders and poets) as the glory (*decus/gloria*, l. 1,2,3,4) of their various cities and countries and calls Elizabeth the glory of the world (*Tu decus es mundo*, l. 18).¹⁷ Fletcher's *Epigramma* 10, a dialogue in elegiacs between Elizabeth and the English and one of the eclogues mentioned above, expresses some of the same sentiments as Bound's *Epigramma* 48, which is written in sapphic stanzas and entitled *Elisabetha loquitur*. In both poems, Elizabeth makes it clear that she was chosen by God to rule and wants to do so fairly, rewarding the good and punishing the bad.¹⁸

In Fletcher's *Epigramma* 38, written in five alcaic stanzas, the personified Windsor (*Vindesora*) speaks. In the first three stanzas she tells ancient cities to yield to her;

¹⁶ There are no line numbers in: Nichols, *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*. I have added these for reference.

¹⁷ Other poems in which Elizabeth is compared favourably with famous Classical and/or Biblical figures (poets, rulers and leaders) are: *Epigramma* 32, *Epigramma* 52 and *Epigramma* 57.

¹⁸ See *Epigramma* 10, l. 7-10 and l. 21-6; *Epigramma* 48, l. 1-8 and 11-12.

Compare, for example, *Epigramma* 10, l. 23-6:

*Nam si vos virtus, si vos delectat honestas,
Pro plagis miseris, præmia quisque feret:
Sin vos impietas delectet, & horrida facta,
Pro donis magnis, verbera quisque feret.*

'For if virtue and honesty please you, each will receive rewards instead of sad blows. But if impiety and horrid deeds please you, each will receive blows instead of gifts.'

With *Epigramma* 48, l. 11-2:

*Præmium sancti, capientque plagas,
Facta nefanda.*

'the holy will take their reward, and evil deeds will earn blows.'

All translations of poetry in Royal MS 12 A XXX are taken from: David Money, 'Verses Addressed to the Queen at Windsor by Eton Scholars, 19 September 1563', in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I*, ed. Elizabeth Goldring et al., vol. 1, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

the cities listed (*quas* | *Cultiloqui cecinere vates* (which the religious bards have sung about)) serve to demonstrate Fletcher's knowledge of Greek mythology and ancient topography. In the remaining two stanzas, in which all the lines start with the letter I and I.13-5 and 17-9 with the words *In me*, we are told why the cities should yield (I. 13): *In me manet nam gemma relucida* | *In me smaragdus perspicuus nitet* (For in me there remains a bright gem, in me there shines a clear emerald). Elizabeth is frequently called a gem in the volume; the vocabulary used here emphasises her resplendence.¹⁹ In the last stanza, the image shifts slightly (I. 17-8): *In me relucet Sol sapientiæ*, | *In me relucet flos, rosa seculi* (In me the sun of wisdom shines forth, in me a flower shines, the rose of the age (Transl. adapted from Money)). Here the motif of the queen's shining is transferred to the beauty of the sun and of a rose.²⁰ The poet links this image to her nourishing qualities, which make justice and piety flourish. In *Epigramma* 4, 10 and 38, Fletcher thus uses conventional themes to create fitting contributions for the presentation volume. He also demonstrates his learning and his skill in school exercises by successfully combining several conventional elements. Speaking in the 'persona' of Windsor in *Epigramma* 38, Fletcher demonstrates his own learning while also depicting Eton as a place of learning; the praise for Elizabeth is also related to her erudition: its learning is what makes Windsor the equal of the famous cities of ancient literature.

¹⁹ The queen is also called a *gemma* in *Epigramma* 2, 18, 22, 28, 42 and 61. Spenser refers to Elizabeth as 'The pearle of peerlesse grace and modestie' in I. 471 of *Colin Clouts Come Home Again*. An emerald, like a pearl, represents chastity. Gems emphasise the Queen's worth and can also be found in portraits of her. Donald Cheney, A. C. Hamilton, and David Richardson, *The Spenser Encyclopedia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2016), 673–74, <https://doi.org/10.3138/9781442680104>; Henrietta McBurney and Christine Slottved Kimbriel, 'A Newly Discovered Variant at Eton College of the Queen Elizabeth I Sieve Portrait', *The Burlington Magazine* 156, no. 1339 (2014): 642–45.

²⁰ Elizabeth is also called a flower or a rose in *Epigramma* 20, 22, 24, 27, 32. The queen was frequently referred to as a rose: the image is related to the virgin rose used in medieval religious art to celebrate the Virgin Mary. Roses are the flower of the goddess Venus, who is frequently used to represent Elizabeth in panegyric, and as a Tudor queen, Elizabeth as a (double) rose is also representative of the union between the white rose of the house of York and the red of Lancaster. The image of the monarch as the sun, is also conventional; it can for example be seen in the famous Iris portrait (c. 1600) attributed to Marcus Gheeraerts (d. 1635), in which the queen is the sun who brings the rainbow: *Non sine Sole Iris*. In Spenser's *April*, she is depicted as 'The Redde rose medled with the White yfere' (I. 68) and the goddess of the moon, Phoebe, who Phoebus looks at: 'But when he sawe, how broade her beames did spredde, | it did him amaze. | He blusht to see another Sunne belowe' (II. 75-7). John Davies's panegyric and acrostic *Hymnes of Astræa* (1599) include both a hymn 'To the Rose' and 'To the Sun'. Roy Strong, *The Cult of Elizabeth: Elizabethan Portraiture and Pageantry* (Berkeley: Berkeley: University of California Press, 1986), 47, 68–69; John N. King, 'Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen', *Renaissance Quarterly* 43, no. 1 (1990): 54–56, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2861792>.

Fletcher's *Epigramma* 5, written in elegiacs and consisting of 46 lines, is the second longest poem in the volume. The first 20 lines are concerned with the motive of those writing panegyric, urging them to praise only the worthy, since the poet who praises those who do not deserve it, is doing it for his own benefit (ll. 11-8):

Cum facit hoc etenim, proprio facit istud honore,
Monstret & vt nobis, quid sua Musa potest.
Ast ego non illos, non has laudauero versu,
Qui, vel quæ, laudis commeruere nihil:
Vox mea sed summis attollet laudibus illam,
(Vllum si pondus vox puerilis habet)
Cui nunquam fuerat, cui non est, aut erit vnquàm,
Digna satis factis fama tributa suis.

For when he does this, he does it for his own honour and so that he can show us what his Muse is capable of. But I shall not have praised in verse those men or those women who have not deserved any praise: but my voice will raise up with the highest praises that woman (if my boyish voice has any weight) for whom no fame offered as tribute to her deeds has ever been sufficiently worthy, nor is now, nor ever will be.

While Fletcher is using a humility topos here, which is common in panegyric, it is striking that he considers his lack of authority as a schoolboy addressing the queen, because his *Epigramma* 59 is quite subversive, dwelling at length on England's recent defeat at Le Havre. The passage also shows his awareness of the volume's function as a showpiece which demonstrates the skill of the schoolboys. In the rest of the poem, he compares the queen with Lucretia (d. ca. 510 BC), the Roman noblewoman legendary for her chastity, who committed suicide after being raped by Sextus Tarquinius, the son of Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, the last king of Rome.²¹ Her virtue was proverbial; other contributors also compared Elizabeth to her.²²

Fletcher also contributed three of the 15 acrostic poems in the volume. The only two poems which contain multiple acrostics (*Epigramma* 13 and 69) are both by Fletcher. In an acrostic poem, the first letter of each line forms a name or message; in a multiple acrostic, one or more letters from the start, middle and end of a line serve

²¹ See: Livy, *A.U.C.* 1.57-8; Ov. *Fasti* 2.721-852. The story is also told by Shakespeare in his *The Rape of Lucrece* (1594).

²² See: *Epigramma* 30 and 33. Money, 'Verses Addressed to the Queen at Windsor by Eton Scholars, 19 September 1563', 278–81, 323.

this function.²³ Composing an acrostic requires great inventiveness, and writing multiple acrostics is more challenging than writing a single or double one, since having to fit in letters of a specific phrase in various places in a poem, rather than just at one or both ends of a line, very much restricts the poet. *Epigramma* 13 is a riddle instructing the reader how to create the acrostic ELISABETHA GRATA REDISTI ('Beloved Elizabeth, you returned').²⁴ *Epigramma* 69 wishes Queen Elizabeth a long life; in line 4 the poet wishes that when she does die, she may be *Inclyta Sydereo Renitescens denique coet V* (finally shining famously in the assembly of stars). Fittingly, the acrostic created by the capitalized letters reads: VIVITO MORS VT LVCRVM SOLVAT ('May you live, so that death may pay a profit'). *Epigramma* 45, written in Sapphic hendecasyllables, is one of three double acrostics in the manuscript. Fletcher's skill is evident in this 16-line poem, which, unlike many examples of such poems, does not seem obviously restricted by the acrostic form. It starts by describing the peace under Elizabeth's rule (l. 1-7); the word order reflects the balance it has created, with good forces keeping vice in check. See, for example, ll. 1-4, in which the first and last letters of each line are capitalized and separated to create the double acrostic:

V eritas quándó tenebras repelli T
 Inclyta stultos sophia fugant E
 V ana dum veris penitus premunt R
 E fferum Martem resecante pac E

When truth repels darkness, with illustrious wisdom putting fools to flight,
 while false things are quite trampled down by the true, with peace restraining
 wild war ...

²³ On single acrostics, see: Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, 47. Apart from single and multiple acrostics, double acrostics are also included in the volume, see the discussion of *Epigramma* 45 below. In these, a letter from the start and end of each line create a message. The definition of double and multiple acrostics can be found in: Money, 'Verses Addressed to the Queen at Windsor by Eton Scholars, 19 September 1563', 327, 359; Dag Norberg, Grant C. Roti, and Jacqueline de La Chapelle Skubly, 'Acrostics, Carmina Figurata, and Other Poetic Devices', in *An Introduction to the Study of Medieval Latin Versification*, ed. Jan Ziolkowski (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 2004), 48–50, <https://doi.org/10.2307/j.ctt2853zk.9>. I have followed Money's use of these terms, though the chapter by Norberg, Roti and de La Chapelle clarifies that a multiple acrostic such as the one created by Fletcher in *Epigramma* 69, is a combination of acrostic, mesostich and telestich. Examples of single and double acrostics are included as no. 52 and 57 in: Richard Willes, *Ricardi Willeii Poematum Liber Ad Gulielmum Bar. Burghleium Auratum Nobiliss. Ordinis Equitem Sereniss. Reg. Consiliarium Ac Summum Angliae Quaestorem*. (Londini: Ex Bibliotheca Tottellina, 1573), Sig. D.iiij.^r, D.iiij.^v.

²⁴ In Money's modern edition this is translated as 'Elizabeth, you are welcome in your return'. I have changed the translation to avoid ambiguity about what is meant by 'in your return' here.

In the first line the position of *veritas* emphasises that truth is the agent, whilst the suggestion of parallelism with *tenebras* shows the contrast between the two forces. The second line juxtaposes the opposites *stultos* and *sophia*, line three makes use of alliteration to underline the balance, and the parallelism in line four again highlights the antithesis between war and peace. In the second half of the poem, this happy state of Britain is attributed to the blessings of the Queen and the poem concludes with the wish that she may live a long life. The dependence of Britain on her monarch is made even more explicit in the acrostic, which reads: VIVENTE TE VIVIMUS TE REMOTA MORIEMUR ('With you alive, we live: with you removed, we shall die').

Together, the acrostic poems show Fletcher's poetic skill at a young age, fitting elegiac and hexameter verse with the demands of a multiple acrostic, to create a riddle and a more conventional panegyric poem respectively. His double acrostic also demonstrates his facility using rhetorical figures taught in school including parallelism, alliteration and chiasmus. These forms were highly fashionable in sixteenth-century Anglo-Latin and English poetry and are unclassical in multiple respects; the young Fletcher was operating within the conventions of his time. The use of rhetorical figures is typical of this period; whilst alliteration, parallelism and chiasmus may occasionally be encountered separately in classical verse, they would not all be found within a few lines of each other. Furthermore, there are no cities speaking in classical verse – the personification of places may be linked to a local pride in Anglo-Latin poetry; it demonstrates that England, or a particular place in it, in this case Eton/Windsor, can produce the most learned verse.²⁵ Fletcher's concern with demonstrating that British places and affairs deserved to be part of a learned transnational Latin literary culture is discussed further in Chapter 2.

²⁵ There are examples of Roma speaking in the late antique verse of Claudian, Prudentius and Rutilius. Roma is, however, both a goddess and a city. See: Michael Roberts, 'Rome Personified, Rome Epitomized: Representations of Rome in the Poetry of the Early Fifth Century', *The American Journal of Philology* 122, no. 4 (2001): 535–41.

Another of Fletcher's contributions is also written in a very intricate form: *Epigramma* 56 is the only Sotadean poem in the volume, meaning that this poem in elegiacs can be read and scanned backwards – each entire pentameter taken with the last word of the preceding hexameter themselves form a hexameter; the rest of the hexameter then forms a pentameter. This type of poetry is also referred to as 'retrograde' verses in the early modern period.²⁶ As Money points out, writing in this verse form required much ingenuity; nevertheless it may not have been as unusual as he suggests.²⁷ An example of this type of poem is included in Richard Willes's *Poematum Liber* (1573) and we have come across other instances of retrograde verse as part of our

²⁶ See Patricia Parker, 'Spelling Backwards', in *Rhetoric, Women and Politics in Early Modern England*, ed. Jennifer Richards and Alison Thorne (Abingdon: Routledge, 2007), 31. As Parker points out, in John Florio, *A Worlde of Wordes, or Most Copious, and Exact Dictionarie in Italian and English, Collected by Iohn Florio* (London: By Arnold Hatfield for Edw. Blount, 1598), Dd4, *retrogrado* is defined as 'that goeth backward. Also that which is to be read backward'. The use of the term Sotadean by modern classicists is different from its early modern usage. They use it to refer to the Sotadean metre; see for example D. S. Raven, *Latin Metre: An Introduction* (London: Faber, 1965), 131–32: 'Another Hellenistic form, known as Sotadean, makes occasional appearances in Latin poetry. One possible analysis of it is as a 'normal' ionic dimeter + anacreontic, but with the line docked of its opening two short syllables (. . .) It is however, more fashionable to regard the Sotadean as exemplifying the use of the 'major ionic' foot - ~ ~, whose reality as a basis of rhythm – at least in Classical Greek verse – has been much disputed. (. . .) Sotadeans are occasionally found in the fragments of Ennius and Varro, in Petronius and in Roman comedy'. A similar definition is offered for the use of this metre in Greek in M. L. (Martin Litchfield) West, *Greek Metre* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 144. He adds the following information: 'It was cultivated by Sotades in the 280s and 270s, and enjoyed a considerable vogue for several centuries, being associated with low-class entertainment, especially of a salacious sort, though also used for moralizing and other serious verse.' The association of Sotades's verse with crude entertainment also explains the appearance of the term *sotadica* in the title of Nicolas Chorier's pornographic dialogues, the *Satyrice sotadica de arcanis amoris et Veneris*. See: Ingrid A.R. de Smet, 'Satire', in *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*, eds. Sarah Knight and Stefan Tilg (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 211. The reason that the term 'Sotadean' is used both for the Hellenistic metre and for retrograde verses can be found in Quintilian 9.4.90: *Quo fit ut isdem uerbis alii atque alii uersus fiant, ut memini quendam {non} ignobilem poetam talis exarasse:*

'astra tenet caelum, mare classes, area messem.'

Hic retrorsum fit sotadeus, itemque sotadeus [adiu] retro trimetros:

'caput exeruit mobile pinus repetita.' (Citation taken from: Quintilian, *M. Fabi Quintiliani Institutionis Oratoriae Libri Duodecim /Recognovit Brevique Adnotatione Critica Instruxit M. Winterbottom.*, vol. II (Oxonii: E. Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1970).

'This is why different forms of verse can be made out of the same words. I remember a well-known poet writing lines like: *astra tenet caelum, mare classes, area messem*. Read in reverse, this becomes a Sotadean; and a trimeter can also be made out of a Sotadean in reverse: *Caput exeruit mobile pinus repetita*.' (Transl. Quintilian, *The Orator's Education*, trans. D. A. (Donald Andrew) Russell, vol. 4, 5 vols (Cambridge, Mass., London: Harvard University Press, 2001)).

A further explanation of Quintilian's examples is offered by Christine Luz, *Technopaignia, Formspiele in der Griechischen Dichtung* (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 201. She explains that Sotadean verse can easily be converted into another metre, because the metrical schema allows for many varieties; Sotadeans can be formed in many different ways.

²⁷ Money, 'Verses Addressed to the Queen at Windsor by Eton Scholars, 19 September 1563', 294.

manuscript survey.²⁸ Yet the fact that Fletcher was asked, or decided, to contribute such verse, is an indicator of his talent.

Fletcher does not only use the poem to advertise his metrical skills, however. Here he combines imagery from both classical and Christian sources, as he does in several of his contributions to the volume and indeed in his later poetry. He asks the English to give thanks for Elizabeth by performing Christian rites, because God has given her to them to protect them. Fletcher concludes with the promise that Elizabeth's glory will exist as long as the world does (l. 9-12):

*Velivolum mare cum terris tunc ergò peribunt
Ante, decus labes fert (pia) sordidulas:
Lanigeram leo tunc horrescet feruidus agnam,
Comprimet & vulpes tum capra carnivoros.*²⁹

The sail-covered sea will perish along with the land, before your glory, pious Queen, bears sordid spots: the fierce lion will then be frightened of the woolly lamb, and the goat will then defeat carnivorous wolves.

He is using an *adynaton*, a rhetorical figure frequently employed in pastoral, but found also in scripture, which represents something as unimaginable or uniquely horrible by relating it to impossibilities in nature.³⁰ In the last two lines he draws in particular on Vergil, *Ecl.* 8.52, *nunc et ouis ultro fugiat lupus* ('Now let the wolf flee from the sheep').³¹ Fletcher does not just depict the predators and prey as living side by side peacefully; as in Vergil's poem, the predators are afraid of the prey or are

²⁸ The example of 'retrograde' or Sotadean verse is in Wills's volume referred to as a *Carmen reciprocum*. It is example no. 78 and can be found on f. Eiiij^r. Other examples of 'retrograde verses' can be found e.g. in BL MS Add. 15227 (early 17th c.), f. 90^v *retrogradum* and in CUL MS Gg.4.13 (early 17th c.), f. 24^r *Mens bona non vaga sors virtus non gratia Regis*. The latter poem is found also on f. 41^r of the same manuscript, where it is entitled: *Verses retrograde, made upon the Duke of Buckingham.* 1628.

²⁹ The adjective *velivulus*, -a, -um ('winged with sails') is normally a poetic epithet for a ship (Lucr. 5. 1442; Ov. *Ex P.* 4.5.42). It is also applied to the sea, for example in Verg. *Aen.* 1.224 and Ov. *Ex P.* 4.16.21, where the adjective qualifies *mare* as it does here. *Lewis and Short*, s.v. "velivulus, a, um, adj." Note that in Ov. *Ex P.* 4.5.42, the adjective, qualifying *rates*, is, as in Fletcher's poem, included in an *adynaton* which is part of a panegyric (for an explanation of this device, see below).

³⁰ 'Le poète, pour représenter un fait ou une action comme impossibles, absurdes ou invraisemblables, les met en rapport avec une ou plusieurs impossibilités naturelles.' Ernest Dutoit, *Le Thème de l'Adynaton Dans La Poésie Antique* (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936), ix. See for example: Theocr. *Id.* 1.132-6; Verg. *Ecl.* 1.59-63, *Ecl.* 8.52-6; Nem. *Ecl.* 4.51-4. A well-known scriptural example is Isaiah 11:6.

³¹ Translations of Vergil's *Eclogues* have been taken from: Virgil, *The Eclogues of Virgil / Translated with Introduction, Notes and Latin Text by A.J. Boyle.*, trans. A. J. (Anthony James) Boyle (Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1976).

defeated by them. While the *adynata* in eclogue 8 are used to emphasise the inappropriateness of a romantic match, their use here is more reminiscent of that in Vergil's *Eclogue* 1.59-63, where they have a political connotation: Tityrus says nature will be upended before he forgets what he owes to Octavian (the 'youth' at Rome). An *adynaton* is typically part of pastoral elegy and is employed in a similar way by Fletcher in his *Æcloga Daphnis*, included in his Hatfield eclogue collection, to show that the fame of the deceased will always survive. Fletcher combines classical and Christian references to create learned verse which can serve as successful panegyric for the Protestant Queen Elizabeth; such combinations are typical of the period.

Epigramma 68, a 12-line poem written in elegiacs, is a reflection on the power of death, which no one can escape. It is unique in the volume in that it does not single out Elizabeth for special treatment after death or speak of a Christian afterlife (ll. 5-8):

Tam Rex, quam pauper, tam Dux, quam miles inermis,
 Prudens, quam stultus, morte subactus erit.
 Quod fuit ante cinis, cinerem redigetur in atrum,
 Et nihil id fiet, quod fuit ante nihil.

The king like the pauper; the commander like the unarmed soldier; the prudent man like the fool, will be conquered by death. What was once ashes, will be returned to black ashes; and that will become nothing, which was nothing before.

'Quod fuit ante' (8) is a Lucretian formula.³² The *De Rerum Natura* was not widely read in grammar schools, however, as its Epicureanism, specifically its materialism and denial of the soul, meant it was seen as dangerous or, at least, unsuitable for schoolboys who should become virtuous men.³³ It is thus more probable that the use of Lucretian language in school verse such as this reflects the secondary influence of Lucretian style upon texts which were widely read at grammar-school level, such as

³² For the phrase *quod fuit ante nihil*, see: Lucretius, *DRN* 2.999 (*quod fuit ante* – where he discusses the cycle of life and death explaining that what came from the earth returns to it) and 3.521 (*continuo hoc mors est illius quod fuit ante* – where he explains death in relation to immortality). See also Quintilian, *Institutio* 10.2.5 (*quod ante non fuerit* – the orator here encourages people to discover things which did not exist before). Maximianus, *The Elegies of Maximianus*, ed. A.M. Juster (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2018), 138.

³³ Ada Palmer, 'Reading Lucretius in the Renaissance', *Journal of the History of Ideas* 73, no. 3 (2012): 397–98.

Palingenius's *Zodiacus Vitae* (1536).³⁴ The outlines of Lucretius' beliefs, and of Epicurean teaching, were also readily available in the period, including in Palingenius's text.³⁵ Yet the doctrine that something can become nothing is rejected by Lucretius;³⁶ this particular line may therefore be drawing on the first elegy of Maximianus, a sixth-century poet, whose work depicts the Augustan elegiac lover as an old man reflecting on his closeness to death and his youthful love affairs.³⁷ Line 222 of Maximianus' poem alludes to Lucretius and reads: *Et redit ad nihilum quod fuit ante nihil* ('and it returns to nothing which was nothing before', translation mine). Fletcher may have thought he was alluding to the Augustan elegiac poet Cornelius Gallus in this case, since the poems of Maximianus were frequently reprinted under his name in the sixteenth century, after Pomponius Gauricus attributed them to him in 1502.³⁸ Fletcher's line 7 would have had Christian connotations for his contemporaries, reminding them of the service for the burial of the dead in the Book of Common Prayer, which includes the line: 'earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust'.³⁹ Fletcher here echoes liturgical and Lucretian articulations of the same idea.

³⁴ Bianca Facchini, 'The Reception of Italian Neo-Latin Poetry in English Manuscript Sources, c.1550-1720: Literature, Morality, and Anti-Popery', *The Seventeenth Century*, 24 July 2020, 6, <https://doi.org/10.1080/0268117X.2020.1785324>; Yasmin Haskell, 'Poetic Flights or Retreats? Latin Lucretian Poems in Sixteenth-Century Italy', in *Lucretius and the Early Modern*, eds. David Norbrook, Stephen Harrison, and Philip Hardie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 119, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780198713845.003.0005>. Lucretius is also cited several times by Scaliger (Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem* (Genève: Apud Ioannem Crispinum, 1561), sigs. b.i.^r, z.iii.^r-z.v.^r).

³⁵ In book 3 of the *Zodiacus Vitae*, the poet speaks to Epicurus about pleasure. In 1533, Erasmus published his dialogue *Epicureus*, which explores the compatibility of Epicurean ethics with Christian humanism. See: Reinier Leushuis, 'The Paradox of Christian Epicureanism in Dialogue: Erasmus' Colloquy The Epicurean', *Erasmus Studies* 35, no. 2 (2015): 113–36. On the rediscovery of Lucretius in 1417 and his reception in early modern Europe, see: David Butterfield, 'Lucretius in the Early Modern Period: Texts and Contexts', in *Lucretius and the Early Modern*, eds. David Norbrook, Stephen Harrison, and Philip Hardie (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015). In addition to the *Zodiacus Vitae*, several other Latin Lucretian poems were published in sixteenth-century Italy, including Lodovico Parisetti Junior, *De immortalitate animae* (Reggio Emilia: Antonio Viotti, 1541), Scipione Capece, *De principiis rerum* (Venice, 1546) and Giordano Bruno, *De triplici minimo et mensura*, *De monade numero et figura*, and *De innumerabilibus, immenso, et infigurabili* (Frankfurt: Wechel, 1591). See: Haskell, 'Poetic Flights or Retreats? Latin Lucretian Poems in Sixteenth-Century Italy'.

³⁶ Lucretius, *DRN* 1.215-6.

³⁷ James Uden and Ian Fielding, 'Latin Elegy in the Old Age of the World: The Elegiac Corpus of Maximianus', *Arethusa* 43, no. 3 (2010): 439.

³⁸ Pomponius Gauricus, ed., *Cornelii Galli Fragmenta* (Venetiis: Per Bernardinum Venetum de Vitalibus, 1501 [=1502]). The USTC shows 16 volumes printed between 1501 and 1592 include Maximianus's elegies as *Cornelii Gallii Fragmenta*. On the reception of Maximianus as Gallus in the Renaissance, see: Paul White, *Gallus Reborn: A Study of the Diffusion and Reception of Works Ascribed to Gaius Cornelius Gallus* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2019), 1–37.

³⁹ The line 'earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust' can be found in the service for the burial of the dead in all the editions of the Book of Common Prayer (1549, 1552, 1559, 1604 and 1662) with some

Epigramma 68 is the only contribution to the Eton manuscript which does not describe death from an explicitly Christian perspective; *Epigramma* 69, which follows and is also by Fletcher, does refer to the Christian afterlife but uses classical imagery to do so, depicting Christ on Olympus (*Christus Olympo*, l. 2). Fletcher is moving from the Old to the New Testament and from classical to Christian views of death in these poems, while merging classical and Christian sources and imagery. These same contrasts can be seen in the laments he writes later in life. The *Æcloga Daphnis*, written on the death of Nicholas Carr (d. 1569), the regius professor of Greek at Cambridge, does not include any mention of the Christian afterlife, focusing instead on the survival of Carr's fame in future generations.⁴⁰ Yet his *Æcloga Adonis*, written on the death of his friend Clere Haddon (d. 1571), addresses the subject in heaven and refers to a future reunion.⁴¹ Finally, the elegy which Fletcher contributed to the Cambridge volume on the death of Philip Sidney (d. 1586), also combines classical and Christian imagery (ll. 37-41):

Denique quicquid erat generosum et amabile, deflet

variations in spelling. See: Brian Cummings, ed., *The Book of Common Prayer: The Texts of 1549, 1559, and 1662* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 82, 172, 455; Anonymous and Church of England., *The Booke of Common Prayer, and Adminystracion of the Sacramentes, and Other Rytes, and Ceremonies in the Church of Englande* (London, in officina Edovardi Whitchurche, 1552), sig. P2^v, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/2240864676?accountid=14511>; Anonymous and Church of England., *The Booke of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and Other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England* (London: Robert Barker, 1604), sig. P8^r, <https://search.proquest.com/docview/2240924172?accountid=14511>.

⁴⁰ Ll. 114-9:

*Sed tua, quæ primo tecum pubescit ab ævo
Gloria, maturis compensat frugibus annos,
Gloria, quæ canis spirat florentior annis.
Daphni, tuæ mecum laudes, victurâque semper
Ingenij monumenta manent, tibi serviet omnis
Posteritas ventura, nec ulla redarguet ætas.*

But your glory, which has developed with you from childhood, makes up for [your short] years with ripe fruits [of glory], glory which flourishes more beautifully than white-haired old age. Daphnis, your praise and monuments of your talent will remain with me and will endure forever; every future generation shall serve you and no age to come shall refute it.

⁴¹ See ll. 68-72:

*(Fortunate puer) tu nunc super alta quiesces
Sydera, nec dubios rerum sectabere casus.
Fælix illa dies quæ nos simul æthere iunctos
Accipiet, pariterque loco meliore fouebit
Et veniet*

(Fortunate boy) you now will rest above the high stars, and not will you pursue the uncertain occurrence of things. Happy that day which will receive us united at the same time in heaven, and will cherish [us] equally in a better place, and it will come.

*Et Te séque tuo confossum vulnere, solus⁴²
Te decus ereptum terris, belloque peremptum,
Non moriens, æternum et non mutabile mentis
Hospitium, sedesque tuæ lætatur Olympus.*

And finally, whatever was noble and lovable weeps both for you and for itself, pierced alike by your wound. Glory alone, undying, the eternal and unchangeable lodging of the mind, is happy that you have been snatched from the earth, and have been slain in war, and Olympus your abode.

Having described Sidney's military prowess in the poem, Fletcher speaks of his undying glory and calls pagan Olympus his abode, but the image of those lamenting him being pierced by his wound, makes him seem Christ-like. In the Eton volume, Fletcher experiments with the use of classical and biblical references, both consciously contrasting and combining them to demonstrate his learning and create panegyric for a Christian monarch. In later life, he successfully uses these same contrasts to lament a Greek scholar in classical fashion and find consolation for the death of a close friend by looking forward to a reunion in heaven. By combining classical and Christian elements in his lament for Sidney, who died in Zutphen fighting the Catholic Spanish, Fletcher depicts his subject both as an epic hero and as a martyr for the Protestant cause.

The final poem in the Eton volume, *Epigramma 73*, was also contributed by Fletcher; it is conventional in that it meets the expectations for a school anthology, but at the same time uses classical sources creatively and anticipates the use of water imagery in his Hatfield eclogues. Written in elegiacs, it stands in a long tradition of self-conscious poems addressing the book and sending it out into the world, which are concerned with the reception of the book after publication; examples can be found in the work of Horace, Ovid and Martial.⁴³ *Epigramma 73* refers back to the opening

⁴² The text is somewhat obscure here, but seems to be correct; it appears in this form in both the MS and the printed volume. A semi-colon after *vulnere* would help.

⁴³ Examples include Hor. *Ep.* 1.20, Ov. *Trist.* 1.1, 3.1 (a dialogue between the book, who asks for directions, and a reader), Martial 1.3, 1.70, 3.2, 3.4 and 3.5. Related to verse apostrophising the book, are poems addressing the Muses, such as Tib. 3.1, addressing the patron or reader, such as Catullus 1 and Ov. *Am.* 2.1, and addressing the person delivering the book, such as Hor. *Ep.* 1.13 and Martial 4.10. For further reading on these kinds of verse, see e.g.: Mario Citroni, 'Le Raccomandazioni Del Poeta: Apostrofe al Libro e Contatto Col Destinatario', *MAIA: Rivista Di Letterature Classiche* 38 (1986); G.D Williams, 'Representations of the Book-Roll in Latin Poetry: Ovid, Tr.1,1,3-14 and Related Texts', *Mnemosyne* 45, no. 2 (1992): 178–89; Ellen Oliensis, 'Life after Publication: Horace, "Epistles" 1.20', *Arethusa* 28, no. 2/3 (1995): 209–24; John Geyssen, 'Sending a Book to the Palatine: Martial

poem *Ad Libellum*, written by Watts, which also apostrophises the book; together they frame the collection. The poem addresses both the Muses and the book itself, depicting the writing of the volume as a journey by sea.⁴⁴ The first four hexameter lines begin with the word *claudite*, a repetition which makes the start of the poem seem like a spell or incantation. Fletcher tells the Muses to close the banks of the river Parnassus, the little fountains and the gates of Helicon. He is drawing on the closing line of Vergil's *Eclogue 3*: *claudite iam riuos, pueri; sat prata biberunt* (Close the stream now, lads; the meadows have drunk enough).⁴⁵ In Vergil Palaemon, who is the judge in a singing contest between Menalcas and Damoetas and has declared it a draw, indicates the competition is over. Similarly, Fletcher uses the image of streams closing to show the singing match between the schoolboys contributing to the volume for Elizabeth is coming to an end.⁴⁶ The babbling fountains come to represent *garrulitas* (l. 6), now that their journey, and therefore the volume, is complete. He then points out the importance of rest, saying (l. 7-8): *Claudite, non semper studiis est inuigilandum, | Curis sollicitis est comes alma quies* (Close them: one should not always stay up late in studies; quiet is a kind companion for troubled cares). Fletcher's later eclogue on the death of Nicholas Carr makes related use of this conventional motif, though there he describes how Carr could not be prevailed upon to interrupt his studies in order to sleep.⁴⁷ The last three couplets are used to

1.70 and Ovid', *Mnemosyne* 52, no. 6 (1999): 718–38; P. J. Connor, 'Book Despatch: Horace Epistles 1.20 and 1.13', *Ramus* 11, no. 2 (1982): 145–52, <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0048671X00003817>.

⁴⁴ The metaphor may have been inspired by the prefatory poem to Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae*, which was typically included with the epic in the *Liber Catonianus*, a medieval school anthology. It depicts the poet's work as a sea-journey, during which he becomes braver as he goes along and leaves the coast behind. The *De Raptu* continued to be taught in the sixteenth century. See: Rita Copeland, 'The Curricular Classics in the Middle Ages', in *The Oxford History of Classical Reception in English Literature* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 27–28, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199587230.003.0002>; Moul, 'England's Stilicho: Claudian's Political Poetry in Early Modern England'.

⁴⁵ On this point see also Raffaella Colombo, *Latin Liminary Verse in English Presentation Manuscripts 1550-1650* (PhD thesis in progress at UCL as part of the same Leverhulme project), which includes a discussion of *Epigramma* 73. I am grateful to the author for sharing this with me.

⁴⁶ On the competitive nature of verse composition in grammar schools, see Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925*, 3–4; Knight, 'How the Young Man Should Study Latin Poetry', 55.

⁴⁷ Fletcher, *Æcloga Daphnis*, ll. 109-12:

*Nec te grata quies munus cæleste Deorum,
Bruma nec attonitos quæ frigore concutit artus,
Quæve monent blandos viventia sydera somnos
Suadebant vigiles sub noctem abrumpere curas*

send the book into the world and the poem concludes with the wish that the manuscript will bring glory to its contributors and to the boys' teacher, expressing the overall aim of the volume. That he was asked or permitted to write the closing poem of the school collection is an indication of considerable prestige, and this is reflected both in the technical range of the shorter poems which Fletcher contributed (discussed above) and in the very unusual *Epigramma* 59.

Epigramma 59

Fletcher's *Epigramma* 59 is the longest poem in the volume and, like his *Epigramma* 10, an (unpastoral) 'eclogue'. It appears to be the only verse paraphrase included in the collection, telling the story of the Second Samnite War (326-304 BC) from the beginning of Book IX of Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita*.⁴⁸ The first extended allegory written by Fletcher, it demonstrates an innovative use of classical sources which we have also seen in his other contributions, the importance of verse paraphrase as a school exercise, and the interest in Livy at this time.

In the poem, Fletcher draws parallels between the story of the Samnite victory over the Romans at the Caudine Forks and the defeat of the English at Le Havre in France earlier in 1563. This was a sensitive topic; England supported the Huguenots in the first French war of religion out of Protestant solidarity, but also in order to reclaim Calais, England's last foothold on the continent, which Elizabeth had been unsuccessful in securing in the 1559 negotiations to end the French war, following the fall of the city in 1558.⁴⁹ The plan was to occupy Le Havre in the Protestant interest and to exchange it for Calais when the war was over. It became impossible when the Huguenots and Catholics made peace in 1563 and abandoned their differences to besiege the English, led by the Earl of Warwick, at Le Havre. Then plague struck the city and eventually the demoralized and depleted English troops

Neither pleasing sleep, the heavenly gift of the gods, nor winter which shakes astonished limbs with cold, or the living stars which advise sweet sleep, [none of these] persuaded you to break off your wakeful pains at night.

For a detailed discussion of this poem, see chapter 4.

⁴⁸ Appendix C shows similarities in phrasing in the two texts.

⁴⁹ Penry Williams, *The Later Tudors: England, 1547 - 1603*, Reissued in paperback, New Oxford History of England (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2002), 237-38, 241.

tried to escape by sea. The winds were unfavourable and Warwick lost control of the harbour; on the 26th of July he surrendered on honourable terms and the fleet returned to Portsmouth.⁵⁰ As a consequence of this humiliating loss, it took more than two decades before Elizabeth agreed to send forces to the continent again.⁵¹ Furthermore, Elizabeth had withdrawn to Windsor and was thus visiting Eton because of the plague. The presence of this disease in England was closely connected to the defeat at Le Havre because the survivors of the siege brought the disease with them when they returned to England.⁵²

This raises the question why Fletcher chose to write a poem concerned with this loss, especially such a long one in which the story of the Samnite victory takes up 235 lines and the later Roman victory appears to have been added as an afterthought (ll. 267-8): *Ast (ô virgo nitens) rem nos omisimus, vnam | quam decuit certé nos recitasse prius* (But (O shining maiden) we have omitted one matter, which we should certainly have recited earlier).⁵³ The moral of the *consolatio*, that the defeated can become victors, is, however, made clear from the outset (ll.1-2): *Fortunæ nimium confidat nemo secundæ, | Victi desperent nec meliora duces* (Let no one place too much confidence in good fortune, nor should defeated leaders despair of better things). It is also made evident early on how the story relates to current affairs (ll. 15-8):

*Speramus certé fulmen te tale manere,
Et talem sortem Galle superbe nimis,
Qualem Samniti victori Romula terra,
Turpiter (heu) quondam sub iuga missa dedit.*

We certainly hope that such a thunderbolt awaits you, too-proud Frenchman, and such a fate, as the land of Rome gave to the Samnite victor, who had shamefully (alas!) once forced the Romans under the yoke.

Such declarations early on mediate the sensitive nature of the topic and the same is perhaps true for Fletcher's decision to compose the poem in dialogue-form. He did

⁵⁰ David Loades, 'The First Decade of Elizabeth', in *The Making of the Elizabethan Navy 1540-1590*, NED-New edition, From the Solent to the Armada (Boydell and Brewer, 2009), 110, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/10.7722/j.ctt14brst9.11>; Williams, *The Later Tudors*, 241.

⁵¹ Wallace T. MacCaffrey, 'The Newhaven Expedition, 1562-1563', *The Historical Journal* 40, no. 1 (1997): 21.

⁵² MacCaffrey, *The Newhaven Expedition*, 18.

⁵³ The story of the Samnite victory is related in lines 31-266.

not have to address the queen directly, but could take on the role of English soldiers to do so. Yet it remains odd that the soldiers are using the story to lecture their queen, who is very passive, only speaking briefly in lines 19-24, 269-72 and 311-2. First, she encourages the soldiers to tell her the story of the Samnites, then, after they have told the whole story of the Samnite victory and have said to her that they have omitted something, she calls the story a fine one and asks them to tell her about the one matter they passed over. Finally, when the English soldiers have revealed how the Samnites were eventually defeated and have explained that the English should be compared with the Romans and the French with the Samnites, she responds with a prayer (ll. 311-2): *Det Deus vt tandem gens victrix victa recedat, | Victa ac vt victrix (si velit) esse potest* (May God grant that at last the victorious nation may go away defeated, and that the defeated one can be victorious (if it is His will)). The *consolatio* thus leaves room for insecurity and the queen is not depicted as the strong leader we see in many of the other contributions. This may in part be explained by the composition process of the poem; most of this verse paraphrase was likely first written as a school exercise. Both the practice of paraphrase and Fletcher's interest in Livy require some contextualisation.

Verse paraphrases

Verse paraphrases, whether of classical or biblical texts in prose or verse, recast works into (different) verse forms, frequently inspired by classical Latin verse.⁵⁴ As Green points out, the term paraphrase itself, although widely used for this type of text, is misleading, as it might seem to imply expanding or even departing from the original. The relation is generally a close one, and although Latin is usually both the original and the target language, it is helpful to think of these works as following the methods and encountering the problems of translation.⁵⁵ In the *Schoolmaster*, Roger Ascham uses the terms *paraphrasis* and *metaphrasis* to distinguish prose renditions

⁵⁴ This definition is based on Green's definition of Psalm paraphrases and Moul's description of verse paraphrases in the introduction to her forthcoming book. See: Roger P.H. Green, 'Poetic Psalm Paraphrases', in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*, ed. Philip Ford, Jan Bloemendal, and Charles Fantazzi (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, 2014), 461; Moul, *Latin and English Poetry in England, c. 1550-1700: The Poetics of Bilingualism*. I am grateful to the author for the opportunity to see this work in advance of publication.

⁵⁵ Green, *Poetic Psalm Paraphrases*, 461.

from those putting verse into prose or vice versa.⁵⁶ He defines the first as ‘not only to express at large with more words, but to strive and contend (as Quintilian saith) to translate the best Latin authors into other Latin words, as many, or thereabouts.’⁵⁷ His description of *metaphrasis* includes what is here referred to as verse paraphrase: ‘This kind of exercise is all one with *Paraphrasis*, save it is out of verse either into prose, or into some other kind of metre; or else out of prose into verse’.⁵⁸ This distinction was not generally accepted however; the terms paraphrase and metaphrase could be used interchangeably in Renaissance England.⁵⁹

Latin poetry was central to early modern education and was read, written, imitated, paraphrased, translated, analysed and dissected by pupils.⁶⁰ Verse paraphrases found their origin in school exercises; the principal forms of Latin composition in grammar school were letters and themes. The term ‘theme’ designated both the subject set, usually a moral topic, and the composition itself.⁶¹ Boys were given moral themes to write on in both Latin verse and prose throughout the upper school.⁶² These themes were composed in preparation for more advanced exercises, including verse paraphrase. The first curriculum we have of St Paul’s, which dates from the second half of the seventeenth century, but is similar to Wolsey’s 1528 curriculum at Ipswich and therefore seems to have changed little over the years, indicates that boys in the fifth form ‘had to turn the Psalms into Latin verse for themes’ on Monday and Tuesday.⁶³ This statement allows us to make a direct connection between themes and Psalm paraphrases, which were very popular in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶⁴ Students would not only create scriptural verse paraphrases, but also classical ones. They would, for instance, be asked to rewrite an Ode of Horace in various metres.⁶⁵ Although Fletcher’s *Epigramma* 59 has many of the characteristics

⁵⁶ Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, 83.

⁵⁷ John Allen Giles, *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, vol. 3 (London: John Russell Smith, 1864), 181.

⁵⁸ Giles, *The Whole Works*, 3:192.

⁵⁹ Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, 84.

⁶⁰ Knight, ‘How the Young Man Should Study Latin Poetry’, 52.

⁶¹ Peter Mack, *Elizabethan Rhetoric Theory and Practice* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge, UK, 2002), 24.

⁶² Baldwin, *William Shakespeare’s Small Latine and Less Greeke Vol. 1*, 121–22.

⁶³ Baldwin, *William Shakespeare’s Small Latine and Less Greeke*, 118–20.

⁶⁴ Green, ‘Poetic Psalm Paraphrases’, 461.

⁶⁵ Dirk Sacré and J. (Jozef) IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, 2nd. entirely rewritten ed. (Leuven: Leuven University Press : Peeters Press, 1990), 109. There is a printed example of Vergil’s *Eclogue* 1 translated into Sapphics: Augustine Richardson, *Ecloga Virgilii prima Sapphico carmine* (London, s.n., 1600). Examples of Horatian odes rewritten into other metres are included in BL Sloane

of such an exercise, it is rather unusual as he is turning prose into verse and is using a classical rather than a Biblical source.

It is also worth noting that not all poems of this kind were school exercises – many poets wrote them later in life.⁶⁶ The psalm paraphrases of the Scottish poet George Buchanan (1506-1582), which were first published in 1565-66, are among the most famous compositions of this kind, and were probably partly responsible for the enduring popularity of Latin psalm paraphrase in the later sixteenth century and throughout the seventeenth century.⁶⁷ He worked on them over many years, especially when he was imprisoned in Portugal by the Lisbon Inquisition in the period 1549-52.⁶⁸ A very large number of scriptural verse paraphrases were composed and published in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including verse paraphrases of prose texts.⁶⁹

Interest in Livy

Fletcher's choice to contribute a verse paraphrase of a story told by Livy to the Eton volume, may be related to the sixteenth-century popularity of the Roman historian. Peter Burke has shown, using the number of print editions of works by Greek and Roman historians published in Europe, that Livy was among the three most published ancient historians in the period 1450-99 and 1550-99.⁷⁰ The writings of

MS 2832, a late seventeenth-century school exercise book in Latin and Dutch, and in Hertford MS DE/P/F66, which the catalogue suggests was written by William Cowper, first Earl Cowper (1665-1723) in c. 1680. If this is correct, he wrote them as a boy.

⁶⁶ Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, 83; Sacré and IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, 109.

⁶⁷ See: Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, 100–101; Green, 'Poetic Psalm Paraphrases', 466–69.

⁶⁸ D. M. Abbott, *Buchanan, George (1506–1582), Poet, Historian, and Administrator* (Oxford University Press, 2006), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-3837>; Roger Green, 'George Buchanan's Psalm Paraphrases in a European Context', in *Scotland in Europe*, ed. Tom Hubbard and R.D.S. Jack (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 2006), 25,32. For evidence that Buchanan composed Psalm paraphrases at this time, see James M. Aitken, *The Trial of George Buchanan before the Lisbon Inquisition, Including the Text of Buchanan's Defences along with a Translation and Commentary by James M. Aitken*. (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1939), xxiv.: *hoc maxime tempore Psalmorum Davidicorum complures vario carminum genere in numeros redegit*.

⁶⁹ For a partial list, see Victoria Moul, 'Abraham Cowley's 1656 Poems in Context', in *Royalists and Royalism in 17th-Century Literature: Exploring Abraham Cowley*, ed. Philip Major (New York: Routledge, 2019), 150-79 (note 11, pp. 168-9).

⁷⁰ Peter Burke, 'A Survey of the Popularity of Ancient Historians, 1450-1700', *History and Theory* 5, no. 2 (1966): 137, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2504511>. Burke took the data for his survey from: F. L. A. (Franz Ludwig Anton) Schweiger, *Handbuch der classischen Bibliographie*, 3 vols (Leipzig: Leipzig: Freidrich Fleischer, 1830). It is worth noting that the first edition of Livy printed in England was not

influential literary critics and educators in this period confirm there was a particular interest in Livy in the mid-sixteenth century. Erasmus calls Livy the first of all the Latin writers in his preface to the 1531 publication of the *Ab Urbe Condita*.⁷¹ Scaliger also admired Livy, seeing his work as an example of poetic potential in prose:

*Quin equidem Livium potius poetae nomen meruisse quam Lucanum amisisse censeo. Nam quemadmodum tragici rem ipsam denarrant veram, personis actiones et dicta accommodant, sic Livius et Thucydides interserunt contiones, quae numquam ab iis quibus sunt attributae cognitae fuerunt.*⁷²

But indeed I judge that Livy rather earned the name of poet than Lucan lost it. For just as the tragic poets narrate a true subject, and fit the actions and words to the characters, so Livy and Thucydides add speeches, which were never known to them to whom they have been attributed.⁷³

The nature of Livy's speeches, specifically, make him like a (tragic) poet; the importance given to discourse here, fits in well with the rhetorical emphasis of Elizabethan grammar schools discussed below and with the fact that Fletcher's poetic paraphrase of Livy's story is part of a dialogue. It seems that, like Scaliger, Fletcher saw the poetic quality of Livy's writing, both in narrative and speeches, for he stays very close to the original throughout.⁷⁴ The soldiers' speech to the queen paraphrases a mixture of dialogue and direct speech in Livy, but Livy's original

published until 1589; it was a reprint of a 1588 continental edition (See: Peter Culhane, 'Philemon Holland's Livy: Peritexts and Contexts', *Translation and Literature* 13, no. 2 (2004): 269, <https://doi.org/10.3366/tal.2004.13.2.268>). Up to this point, English readers of Livy were reliant on continental editions.

⁷¹ Pierre Maréchaux, 'The Transmission of Livy from the End of the Roman Empire to the Beginning of the Seventeenth Century: Distortion or Discovery, a Story of Corruption.', in *A Companion to Livy*, ed. Bernard Mineo, Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley/Blackwell, 2015), 444. See: Titus Livius, *T. LIVII PATAVINI LATINAE HISTORIAE PRINCIPIS QVICQVID HACTENVIS* (Basel: Johann Froben, 1531).

⁷² Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem: Sieben Bücher über die Dichtkunst. Bd. 1: Buch 1 und 2*, ed. Luc Deitz et al., vol. 1 (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1994), 88. It is worth noting that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries several of the prose scriptures (Job, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes and the Song of Solomon in addition to the Psalms, as well as canticles from the New Testament (e.g. the *Magnificat* and *Nunc Dimittis*)) were thought to have been written in verse; these were also frequently paraphrased in verse (See: Barbara Kiefer Lewalski, 'Biblical Genre Theory: Precepts and Models for the Religious Lyric', in *Protestant Poetics and the Seventeenth-Century Religious Lyric* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1979).

⁷³ Transl. John-Mark Philo, 'An Ocean Untouched and Untried': *Translating Livy in the Sixteenth Century*, 2015, 29.

⁷⁴ For an overview of similarities in phrasing in the two texts, see Appendix C.

speeches are still marked out; in these cases, the soldiers make clear that they are reporting the words of a particular individual.⁷⁵

Livy's *Ab Urbe Condita* was also admired and used by the English royal tutor Roger Ascham (1514/15-1568). Ascham became the tutor of Elizabeth in 1548 and although he resigned in 1550, he maintained his connection with her; Queen Mary allowed him to visit Hatfield House occasionally during her reign. In December 1568, shortly before his death, he wrote a Latin poem of thanksgiving about the first decade of Elizabeth's reign.⁷⁶ It must be pointed out, however, that most of his works were published posthumously and therefore not widely available at the time Elizabeth visited Eton. Like Erasmus and Scaliger, Ascham admired Livy's style; in his *Schoolmaster* (1570) he writes that the commentaries of Caesar and the orations of Livy show 'the unspotted propriety of the Latin tongue'.⁷⁷ Furthermore, his *Report of Germany*, published in the same year, explains that Livy writes history in such a way the reader feels present at the events he describes.⁷⁸ Most significantly, in a letter to the German educator Johann Sturm, dated April 1550, he says about Elizabeth: *Perlegit mecum integrum fere, Ciceronem, magnam partem Titi Livii. Ex his enim propemodum solis duobus auctoribus Latinam linguam hausit* ('She read through almost all of Cicero with me, [and] a large part of Titus Livius. Indeed it was

⁷⁵ Fletcher does render some indirect speech in Livy's text as direct speech in his poem: Compare Livy, AUC 9.3.11 *Cum filius alique principes percontando exsequerentur, quid si media uia consilii caperetur, ut et dimitterentur incolumes et leges iis iure belli uictis imponerentur*. 'His son and the other leading men pressed him to tell them what would happen if they took a middle course and let the Romans go unhurt, but imposed terms on them as defeated men according to the laws of war.' and Fletcher ll. 147-50:

*Cum natus dixit, nobis anné impedimento
Consilium medio si capiatur, erit,
Scilicet incolumes vt dimittantur ad ædes,
Iuraque iam victis bellica dentur eis?*

'When his son said, 'Would it cause difficulties for us, if a middle course were taken, such that they might be sent home unharmed, but that the laws of war should be given to the defeated.'

⁷⁶ Rosemary O'Day, *Ascham, Roger (1514/15–1568), Author and Royal Tutor* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-732>.

⁷⁷ Giles, *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, 1864, 3:168–69.

'Caesar's commentaries are to be read with all curiosity, wherein especially (without all exception to be made either by friend or foe) is seen the unspotted propriety of the Latin tongue, even when it was, as the Grecians say, in ἀκμῇ, that is, at the highest pitch of all perfectness; or some Orations of Titus Livius, such as be both longest and plainest.'

⁷⁸ Giles, *The Whole Works*, 3:6.

'The style must be always plain and open, yet sometime higher and lower, as matters do rise and fall: for if proper and natural words, in well-joined sentences, do lively express the matter, be it troublesome, quiet, angry, or pleasant, a man shall think not to be reading, but present in doing of the same. And herein Livy, of all other in any tongue, by mine opinion, carrieth away the praise.'

almost from these two authors alone that she imbibed the Latin language', translation mine).⁷⁹ The importance of Livy for Elizabeth's education may well have been known at Eton, given Malim's praise for the queen in the dedication: alluding to Livy, *A.U.C.* 26.22.6, he says she rules with her own eyes – something of which Livy approves.⁸⁰ If this is the case, it may also explain why Fletcher made the unusual choice to make or adapt his *Epigramma* 59, a verse adaptation of a story by Livy, for the presentation volume.

Livy's *A.U.C.* was not just regarded as an educational text, it was also read as a military, moral and political guide from which counsel could be derived.⁸¹ It is thus not surprising that the English soldiers in Fletcher's poem use one of his stories to counsel and console the queen. Although I have not been able to find contemporary examples of adaptations of the story of the Samnite victory at the Caudine Forks from book 9 of Livy's *A.U.C.*, it is clear that stories from Livy and other ancient historians were frequently used to comment on the most pressing affairs of church and state in the sixteenth century.⁸² For example, Anthony Cope's *The history of tvvo the most noble capitaines of the worlde, Anniball and Scipio, of theyr diuers battailes and victories* (1544), a translation of the third decade of Livy's *Ab urbe condita libri*, served as a contribution to England's wars against Scotland and France in the mid-1540s by recasting the Carthaginians as the Scots.⁸³ As in *Epigramma* 59, the opponents of Romans are used to represent the opponents of the English. By

⁷⁹ John Allen Giles, *The Whole Works of Roger Ascham*, vol. 1 (London: John Russell Smith, 1865), 191.

⁸⁰ Money, 'Verses Addressed to the Queen at Windsor by Eton Scholars, 19 September 1563', 262, 316. He opens with an allusion to Plato's philosopher kings and then says: *in qua vestra celsitudo tuis omnino non alienis oculis cernens, quod vehementer sané Liuius probat, quasi nauclerus in puppi clauum tenens* – 'in it [the monarchy] your Highness looks entirely with your own eyes, not anyone else's, a method which Livy vehemently approves'. Livy approves because in *A.U.C.* 26.22.6, Manlius, who he holds up as an example, says: *impudentem et gubernatorem et imperatorem esse qui, cum alienis oculis ei omnia agenda sint, postulet sibi aliorum capita ac fortunas comitti*. 'Shameless, he said, was a pilot and a general too, who, though he must use other men's eyes for everything he did, demanded that the lives and fortunes of others be entrusted to him.' (Transl. F. Gardner Moore). It is worth noting that *A.U.C.* 26.22.14 also refers to Plato's city-state of sages (*sapientium civitas*).

⁸¹ Lisa Jardine and Anthony Grafton, "'Studied for Action": How Gabriel Harvey Read His Livy', *Past & Present*, no. 129 (1990): 30–78.

⁸² Philo, 'An Ocean Untouched and Untried': *Translating Livy in the Sixteenth Century*, 92.

⁸³ Philo, 92; Fred Schurink, 'War, What Is It Good for? Sixteenth-Century English Translations of Ancient Roman Texts on Warfare', in *Renaissance Cultural Crossroads: Translation, Print and Culture in Britain, 1473–1640* (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2013), 123, <https://brill.com/view/book/edcoll/9789004242036/B9789004242036-s008.xml>.

comparing the English to the Romans, both texts predict the victory of the English, despite the difficulties of the war they are fighting.

Fletcher's *consolatio* is the most political of the contributions to the Eton manuscript, although other poems also advise the queen, encouraging her to marry.⁸⁴ It raises the question why schoolboys addressed political topics in presentation volumes. Part of the answer lies in the close connection that existed between politics and poetry in the early modern period. Poetry was seen as related to rhetoric, serving a practical social function and '[poetry's] devices of formal distancing – parody, allusion, irony, genre, metre – helped to form an imaginative distance from the everyday discourses of public life which could facilitate political and intellectual independence.'⁸⁵ Volumes presented to the queen during her University Progresses in the 1560s were often didactic in nature, not only complimenting her but also implicitly or explicitly giving advice.⁸⁶ Although the boys in the 1563 manuscript were following the ideas prominent in public discourse rather than giving their own opinions, it seems the queen was used to receiving advice in the poetry presented to her.⁸⁷ Furthermore, as Fletcher suggests in *Epigramma* 5, the voice of a schoolboy did not carry much weight. He had not yet finished his education and was no threat to the monarch; he could thus safely try his hand at poetry addressing different topics.

Given the likely influence of the headmaster Malim, mentioned above, it is worth considering whether Fletcher was speaking in part on Malim's behalf in this poem. Malim probably saw the presentation volume as a means to obtain preferment.⁸⁸ He takes on the voice of the schoolboys to ask in its prose dedication that the queen attribute it to their young age and inexperience if she does not like the poems, but

⁸⁴ These poems are *Epigramma* 39 and 72. The latter supports a marriage with Robert Dudley. See: Money, 'Verses Addressed to the Queen at Windsor by Eton Scholars, 19 September 1563', n. 285.

⁸⁵ H. R. Woudhuysen and David Norbrook, *The Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse / Selected and with an Introduction by David Norbrook*, Penguin Book of Renaissance Verse, 1509-1659 (London: London: Penguin Books, 1993), 12–13.

⁸⁶ Knight, 'Texts Presented to Elizabeth I on the University Progresses', 32, 38. Not all texts that were performed for or presented to the Queen were politically correct: Knight mentions that during Elizabeth's 1566 visit to Oxford, she heard ardent praises of her sister Mary by Thomas Neale (c. 1519 – 1590), professor of Hebrew.

⁸⁷ In the 1560s the queen was expected to marry and the lesson from Fletcher's poem that England would eventually be victorious was not controversial from an English perspective, even if he does dwell on the victory of the Samnites (i.e. French) for a long time.

⁸⁸ Money, 'Verses Addressed to the Queen at Windsor by Eton Scholars, 19 September 1563', 260.

that she should show favour to their teacher if she does like it.⁸⁹ It is thus possible Malim, aware of the importance of Livy for Elizabeth's education, encouraged Fletcher to write on the topic of the Samnite Wars to comment on the situation at Le Havre. The nature of the presentation volume means it is unclear to what extent the schoolboys were steered and to what extent they had agency in composing their poems. Nevertheless, several of Fletcher's contributions suggest he had some poetic agency as they include features unique to the volume (such as the multiple acrostic) and also anticipate some of his later verse in several respects, including their tendency to allude to Vergil's *Eclogues*.

Poetry as discourse

The volume includes three poems that are referred to as eclogues in the title: *Epigramma* 10 and 59, which were written by Fletcher, and *Epigramma* 44, written by Kinge. None of these are typical pastoral poems, as they do not feature any shepherds or pastoral landscapes. They also seem uncharacteristic in terms of metre, as they are not written in hexameters; Fletcher's eclogues in the volume are both in elegiacs, while the metre of Kinge's poem is even more unusual, consisting of alternating sapphic hendecasyllable and lesser asclepiad lines.⁹⁰ The only aspect of these poems that is shared with many other eclogues is their dialogue-form. In Fletcher's *Epigramma* 10 Elizabeth and the English are the speakers, in *Epigramma* 59 Elizabeth and English soldiers; in Kinge's eclogue Eton and Windsor speak. It is

⁸⁹ *tum hoc abs te (excellentissima Princeps) ad vnum omnes suppliciter efflagitamus, vt Præceptorī charissimo nostro cuius beneficio ac summis diurnis nocturnis vigiliis ad tantum nos paruo temporis anfractu in literis vtilitatem aspirauimus, impensius fauere digneris*

then we all humbly beg (most excellent monarch) that you may deign to favour more lavishly our most dear teacher, by whose kindness and hard work by day and night we have aspired to such literary skill in a short space of time.

Money, 'Verses Addressed to the Queen at Windsor by Eton Scholars, 19 September 1563', 264,318. The dedication then emphasises Malim's hard work during the last 23 (!) years, going back to the start of his own schooldays, and asks that he may now enjoy the munificence of the queen and taste the fruit of his labours.

⁹⁰ We have so far not identified another example of this metre in any of the 1876 lyric poems we surveyed as part of the Leverhulme project, though it is similar to the alternating couplets of sapphic hendecasyllable and glyconic used by Buchanan (Psalms 33, 70, 121 and 142) and found also in Boethius (2 *met.* 3) (I am indebted to Victoria Moul for these near-parallels). Metrical variety is not acknowledged as a feature of neo-Latin eclogues in modern scholarship. W. Leonard Grant mentions some eclogues written in elegiacs (see n. 102 below) but regards these as exceptions.

worth noting however, that, although the eclogues are the only dialogues in the manuscript, it contains eight other poems in which there is a single speaker, and in which the poem is titled so as to emphasise the speaking voice.⁹¹ *Epigramma* 38, in which Windsor speaks, is also by Fletcher. I will argue below that the prominence of dialogue form in late classical and Renaissance eclogues, and an emphasis on the use of allegory in commentaries on these poems which were widely read in the early modern period, such as those by Servius and Badius Ascensius mentioned in the introduction, meant that the presence of these features, even without a pastoral setting, was seen as enough justification to label a poem an *ecloga*.

In the Eton manuscript there is also a consistent sense of a 'speaking voice' even in those poems in which there are no speaking 'characters' as such. Of the 73 student contributions, 49 address Elizabeth directly; eight of these also address someone else.⁹² Of the remaining poems, six address God and/or Britain, one addresses Windsor, and the final poem, written by Fletcher, addresses the Muses and the book.⁹³ Additionally, in *Epigrammata* 30, 49 and 58, which do not address anyone in particular, the poet speaks for a group, creating an effect similar to that of a chorus.⁹⁴ As we have seen, it is not unusual for discourse with one or multiple speakers to play an important role in presentation volumes. A reason for this may be that visits and progresses were occasions for dialogue between a monarch and their subjects.⁹⁵ It may also be related to the focus on dialogue and impersonation in a sixteenth-century grammar school education. From the very start of a boy's school career, the teaching method used seems to have been question and answer.⁹⁶ *Vulgaria*, English sentences which illustrated the rules of grammar and which pupils translated into

⁹¹ These are epigramma 12 – *Anglia loquitur*, 25 – *Mars loquitur*, 26 – *Mercurius loquitur*, 27 – *Pietas loquitur*, 38 – *Vindesora loquitur*, 47 – *Anglia loquitur*, 48 – *Elisabetha loquitur* and 50 – *Britannia loquitur*.

⁹² See Appendix B. *Epigramma* 37 and 39 address Elizabeth and Britain, 42 addresses Elizabeth, Eton and Windsor, 46 Elizabeth and England, 47 Elizabeth and God, 55 Elizabeth, God and Britain, 56 Elizabeth and England, 61 Elizabeth and nations.

⁹³ *Epigramma* 16, 18, 19, 39, 45 (written by Fletcher) and 48 address Britain and/or God. *Epigramma* 43 addresses Windsor.

⁹⁴ In *Epigramma* 30, the poet speaks for the people, in *Epigramma* 49 and 58 he represents the pupils of Eton.

⁹⁵ Keenan, *The Progresses, Processions, and Royal Entries of King Charles I, 1625-1642*, 2, 133.

⁹⁶ Leonard Barkan, 'What Did Shakespeare Read?', in *The Cambridge Companion to Shakespeare*, ed. Margreta de Grazia and Stanley Wells, Cambridge Companions to Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 35, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL0521650941.003>.

Latin to practise their composition, also gave them a scripted part to play.⁹⁷ These exercises are indebted to Erasmus's *Colloquies* (1522), a school text which taught students the art of conversation, using short monologues and longer dialogues.⁹⁸ The emphasis on impersonating other voices continued as boys progressed through grammar school: they took on a variety of personae for exercises in letter-writing, and the workbooks of rhetoric studied in the upper school, such as the *Progymnasmata* of Aphthonius, directed pupils to place themselves in historical or imaginative situations and to take on a character to create their own Latin text.⁹⁹ *Prosopopoeia* was even used in the advanced exercise of declamation.¹⁰⁰ What Sullivan says in his article on *vulgaria*, can therefore be applied to grammar school exercises more widely: 'These [...] exercises required acts of impersonation in a broad variety of social roles and promulgated a strange mix of cultural discipline and social license.'¹⁰¹ It is understandable that boys used to completing such exercises would have felt more confident taking on another character whilst writing poetry addressing, and at times advising, the queen.

Eclogues as verse-dialogues

The prominence of dialogue in education may also have played a role in the way the term *ecloga* is used in this manuscript and in a number of other mid- to late-sixteenth-century volumes. The term in this period is repeatedly used to refer to poems which are not traditional pastorals: they do not have a pastoral setting and in several cases are not composed in hexameters; the only similarity between these and other eclogues, is the use of dialogue.¹⁰² There are contemporary examples of

⁹⁷ Paul Sullivan, 'Playing the Lord: Tudor "Vulgaria" and the Rehearsal of Ambition', *ELH* 75, no. 1 (2008): 185; Lynn Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion*, 1st ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012), 8. For the definition of *vulgaria*, see: Nicholas Orme, *Education and Society in Medieval and Renaissance England* (London: London: Hambledon, 1989), 67.

⁹⁸ Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom: Rhetoric, Discipline, Emotion*, 81.

⁹⁹ Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom*, 83; Barkan, 'What Did Shakespeare Read?', 36.

¹⁰⁰ Enterline, *Shakespeare's Schoolroom*, 83–84.

¹⁰¹ Sullivan, 'Playing the Lord: Tudor "Vulgaria" and the Rehearsal of Ambition', 180.

¹⁰² David Money observes that 'the title 'Ecloga' or 'Carmen Pastorale' could be attached to poems that bore little in common with traditional pastorals. Sometimes it merely indicates a verse dialogue with two or more interlocutors; (...) this approach was fully alive in the mid-sixteenth century'. Yet the only example of this phenomenon he mentions is Fletcher's *Epigramma* 59. Money, David, 'Eclogues

Italian neo-Latin eclogues written in elegiacs, but these have a pastoral setting.¹⁰³ Although most poets contributing to commemorative volumes chose alternative forms, and eclogues do therefore not occur that frequently, it seems that the practice of referring to verse-dialogues as eclogues is associated especially, though not exclusively, with school and university volumes of this period.¹⁰⁴ That Fletcher wrote two such eclogues, suggests he may have had a particular interest in verse-dialogue, even at this early age.

Why the word *ecloga* was used for verse-dialogues is not completely clear; the word itself derives from the Greek *eklogai*, 'selections', and could in antiquity be used to describe any collection of short poems.¹⁰⁵ Because the term was used for Vergil's collection of pastoral poems, it became associated with this genre, but Vergil himself called the poems *Bucolica*.¹⁰⁶ The dialogue-form has played an important role throughout the pastoral tradition. Although it is hard to know which poems of Theocritus are genuine and there is no agreement on which of his poems can be classified as bucolic, of the poems Gow believes to be genuine poems in Doric (Idylls 1-7, 10, 11, 14, 15, 18 and 26), six are dialogues.¹⁰⁷ In Vergil's *Eclogues*, half

and the English Universities', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature*, Neo-Latin and the Pastoral, 33, no. 1-2 (2006): 173.

¹⁰³ For example, the poem *Galatea* written by Niccolò d' Arco (1479-1546) is an eclogue in elegiacs, and so is Girolamo Amalteo's (1507-74) poem 14. See: Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 150,295.

¹⁰⁴ Examples of university volumes which include such eclogues as verse-dialogues can be found in the manuscript CUL MS Add. 8915, f. 112v (a dialogue in hexameters between Academia and Alumnus), and in the printed volumes: John Cheke, *De Obitu Doctissimi et Sanctissimi Theologi Doctoris Martini Bucerii Regij in Celeberrima Cantabrigiensi Academia apud Anglos Publice Sacrarum Literarum Praelectoris Epistolae Duae. Item, Epigrammata Varia Cum Graecae Tum Latinae Conscripta in Eundem Fidelissimu[m] Diuini Uerbi Ministrum*. (Londini: In officina Reginaldi Vuolfij, 1551), Mjv (a dialogue between Anglia and Germania in hexameters); Thomas Wilson, ed., *Vita et Obitus Duorum Fratrum Suffolciensium Henrici et Caroli Brandoni* (Londini: In aedibus Richardi Graftoni, Typographi Regii, 1551), Gijr (a dialogue between Affectus and Ratio in elegiacs). Dr Moul alerted me to the existence of a volume by an individual, which includes 6 verse dialogues written in hexameters entitled *Eclogae*, all of which seem to be inspired by scripture: Jakob Falckenburg, *Britannia, Siue De Apollonica Humilitatis, Virtutis* (Londini: Typis Richardi Graphei, 1578).

¹⁰⁵ Paul J Alpers, *The Singer of the Eclogues: A Study of Virgilian Pastoral, with a New Translation of the Eclogues* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), 2; Brian W. Breed, 'Time and Textuality in the Book of the Eclogues', in *Brill's Companion to Greek and Latin Pastoral*, ed. Marco Fantuzzi and Theodore D. Papanghelis (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2006), 333, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789047408536_015.

¹⁰⁶ Vergil, *Le Bucoliche /Publio Virgilio Marone*, ed. Andrea Cucchiarelli, trans. Alfonso Traina (Roma: Carocci, 2012), 27.

¹⁰⁷ See: Theocritus, *Theocritus / Vol.1, Introduction, Text and Translation /Edited with a Translation and Commentary by A.S.F. Gow*, 2nd ed, Introduction, Text and Translation (Cambridge: Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1952), lxxii; R. L. (Richard L.) Hunter, *Theocritus and the Archaeology of*

the poems are dialogues.¹⁰⁸ After Vergil, the form becomes even more central to the genre: the eclogue collections of Calpurnius Siculus and Nemesianus only contain one monologue each.¹⁰⁹ Considering Renaissance models, we find that all of Petrarch's and Mantuan's *Eclogues* are dialogues; in Boccaccio's *Buccolicum Carmen*, his second eclogue *Pampinea* is the only exception. Of these texts, Mantuan's eclogues became a standard text book in grammar schools.¹¹⁰ Thus, for a Renaissance reader, who read much more late classical and post-classical pastoral than modern classicists and often read Mantuan's eclogues before any others, the link between eclogue and dialogue would have seemed much stronger than it does to us.

The focus on allegory in Renaissance eclogues discussed in the introduction, meant that the pastoral setting frequently became a metaphor for an urban setting or court.¹¹¹ Using Vergil's phrase *paulo maiora canamus* (*Ecl.* 4.1), Chaudhuri explains that because pastoral was seen as dealing with graver matters than shepherds and their flocks, the integrity of the pastoral world on its own in such poetry was not as important in the Renaissance. He argues that this made the possibilities of the genre as allegory more important than the charms of its bucolic setting.¹¹² This argument can perhaps be taken a step further in the current context, to explain the existence of verse-dialogues referred to as *eclogae*. For schoolboys studying Mantuan's eclogues, who were taught about pastoral in an explicitly allegorical way, the bucolic settings and its inhabitants may not have seemed essential to the genre, but rather the dialogue form of these poems and their discussion of matters under the guise of allegory.

Greek Poetry (Cambridge: Cambridge : Cambridge University Press, 1996), 38. The dialogues are *Idyll* 1, 4,5, 10, 14 and 15. *Idyll* 6 describes a singing match.

¹⁰⁸ Verg. *Ecl.* 1, 3, 5, 7 and 9. *Eclogue* 8 describes a singing-match.

¹⁰⁹ Calp. Sic. *Ecl.* 5; Nem. *Ecl.* 3. Piepho states that dialogue is by far the most common form in post-classical Latin pastoral (Lee Piepho, 'Introduction', *Adulescentia: The Eclogues of Baptista Mantuanus* (1498), accessed 15 March 2019, <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/mantuanus/intro.html>).

¹¹⁰ David Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, Rev. ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002), 53.

¹¹¹ Chaudhuri, 'Paulo Maiora Canamus: The Transcendence of Pastoral in the Neo-Latin Eclogue', 92.

¹¹² Chaudhuri, 91–92; Philip Ford and Andrew Taylor, 'Introduction: Neo-Latin and the Pastoral', *Canadian Review of Comparative Literature* 33, no. 1–2 (2006): 9.

Contemporary texts classifying poetry do not however seem to explain the existence of this particular type of eclogue. In his influential *Poetices Libri Septem* (1561), the critic Julius Caesar Scaliger (1484-1558) discusses *pastoralia*; within this category he includes verse on various rural activities (cow herding, ploughing, harvesting, mowing, woodcutting, travelling, goat herding, sheep herding and gardening) and adds Sannazaro's *piscatoria* as well as pastoral depicting a country-estate (*villica*). He does not refer to these poems as *eclogae*, however, and emphasises that they must have a rural setting:¹¹³

*Quorum omnium argumenta inter se sunt varia; commune autem illud habent, ut cuiuscumque generis negotium semper retrahant ad agrorum naturam. Idcirco praeter nemora et agros si quid ex urbe oblatum canant, ita tractent, ut quasi in agro ortum aut inventum actum dicant.*¹¹⁴

Of all of which the contents are varied; but this they have in common, that they bring back the matter of whatever kind to the order of the country. For that reason, if they sing about anything from the city shown by forests and fields, they should discuss it just as if they are speaking about something that originated or was found or done in the country.

This point seems essential to him, as he repeats it later.¹¹⁵ Although this cannot be confirmed, it is possible that he is so emphatic because he is responding to the phenomenon of eclogues in which a pastoral setting is lacking.¹¹⁶

¹¹³ He does refer to individual pastoral works by Vergil and Sannazaro, who are both mentioned in this chapter, as *ecloga* elsewhere. See Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem*, chap. 4.1, 4.32, 5.5 and 6.4.

¹¹⁴ Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem*, 3.98 (Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem: Sieben Bücher über die Dichtkunst. Bd. 3: Buch 3, Kapitel 95 - 126. Buch 4*, ed. Luc Deitz et al., vol. 3 (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Frommann-Holzboog, 1994), 58.)

¹¹⁵ *Quemadmodum vero dicebamus, quodcumque processerit, sub agresti persona comparandum est.* Scaliger, 3:60. 'As we were saying however, all that has happened must be depicted under the guise of a rustic character.'

¹¹⁶ Scaliger also explores the origin of dialogue in the genre, but his argument does not seem relevant here, as he links this feature specifically to love poetry. He summarizes:

Primum itaque omnium μοῦνον λόγον ἀμωρικόν. Huic proximum οἰριστὺς in quibus proci et puella de amore vel disputant mutuo vel contendunt inaequali. Cuiusmodi est idyllium mollissimum atque candidissimum Theocriti. Post haec famae ambitione aut praemiorum cupiditate aut obtrectatione exorta contentio impulit eorum cantilenas in colloquia. (Scaliger, *Poetices libri septem: Sieben Bücher über die Dichtkunst. Bd. 1: Buch 1 und 2*, 1:98.)

'First of all, then, there was the amorous monologue. Next came the oaristys (Greek ὀαριστύς, familiar converse, fond discourse), in which a lover and maiden either told of their love for one another, or complained of unreciprocated love. Such are the Idylls of the most graceful and exquisite Theocritus. Afterward, either desire for fame, greed of reward, or envious detraction, prompted the use of the poetic dialogue.' (Transl. Frederick Morgan Padelford, *Select Translations from Scaliger's Poetics*, Yale Studies in English (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1905), 23.)

While Scaliger's explicit classification does not exemplify that eclogues in the sixteenth century did not always have a rural setting, Richard Willes' influential compendium of examples does. The eclogue in his *Poematum Liber* (1573) is not a traditional pastoral. It is not a straightforward verse-dialogue either, but discourse does play a significant role in it; the poem reports the address of the bard Theleon to Jesus, with the speaker addressing Theleon directly at times.¹¹⁷ Theleon is offering a religious confession and has apparently been converted, but the narrator accuses him of being dishonest.¹¹⁸ Although the poem includes a briefly sketched rural landscape, there is no such setting throughout and the characters are not shepherds.¹¹⁹ It is probably related to the tradition of *Eclogue* 4 as a Messianic eclogue and to contemporary Christianized eclogues concerned with biblical stories.¹²⁰ The example confirms that in the early modern period, the label *ecloga* could be used to refer to poetry which we would not associate with the term.

To conclude, Fletcher's two verse-dialogues, which he calls eclogues, reveal that the early modern idea of what makes an eclogue was more flexible than we would expect. They also show Fletcher's interest in the dialogue form, which he would later use in several of his more traditional pastoral eclogues (*Aegloga allegorica contra praedicatorum contemptum*, *Querela Collegii Regalis*, *Aegloga de Morte Boneri*). The importance of dialogue and impersonation is also reflected in his other eclogues

¹¹⁷ This address takes the form of a song. See l. 23 *Psallo quæ cecinit*. 'Which he sang in a Psalm' (translation mine). Richard Willes, *Ricardi Willeii Poematum Liber Ad Gulielmum Bar. Burghleium Auratum Nobiliss. Ordinis Equitem Sereniss. Reg. Consiliarium Ac Summum Angliae Quaestorem*. (Londini: Ex Bibliotheca Tottellina, 1573), Dviiij^v-Eiv. Willes includes a different example of a verse-dialogue (no. 88), which is written in elegiacs on Evi^{r-v}. It is also worth noting that the work includes an example of Prosopopæiae (no. 29) on Ciiij^{r-v}.

The name Theleon does not occur elsewhere in pastoral or classical mythology and seems to be derived from the Greek adjective θέλεος, meaning 'willing, voluntary'. See: Liddell and Scott.

¹¹⁸ See l. 44: *Improbis es, Theleon, tua dona haud quærit Iesus*. 'You are dishonest, Theleon, Jesus does not want your gifts.'

¹¹⁹ See ll. 8-11: *Tunc etiam nemorum frondes, & gramina terræ,
Tunc teneros etiam sensus arbusta iuuabant,
Pluribus ac studiis defesso gratior amnis
Dilia [sic], castellumq; iocos præbebat inanes.*
'Then too the leaves of the trees and the grass of the earth,
Then even the orchards were pleasing tender senses,
And a stream is more pleasant to one tired from many studies
[Riches?], and a refuge offered empty pleasures.'

In line 11, 'Dilia' might be a typographical error for 'Ditia' ('riches', 'rich things') but then one would expect *præbebant* rather than *præbebat*. It is possible that 'Dilia' could refer to a particular place, which I have not been able to identify. I am grateful to Professor Philip Hardie for this suggestion.

¹²⁰ Sacré and IJsewijn, *Companion to Neo-Latin Studies*, 109; Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, 82–83.

as one or more characters speak in each of these: in the *De Literis Antiquae Britanniae* Lycidas, who represents Fletcher himself, asks the River Cam to tell the history of Cambridge; Callianissa sings a marriage song in the *Aecloga Callianissa*, a pastoral epithalamium; in his *Aecloga Adonis*, the lament for Fletcher's friend Clere Haddon, who drowned in the river Cam, Lycidas himself is the speaker addressing the river in his grief; in the *Aecloga Daphnis* the nymph Ocyroe laments the subject.

Fletcher's verse plays an important role in Royal MS 12 A XXX; some of his contributions are similar to those of his fellow students, but he contributed more verse than anyone else, wrote the two longest compositions, several of the most technically challenging ones and the closing poem. *Epigramma* 59 is the most remarkable: it demonstrates Fletcher's ability to address political issues under the guise of allegory, whilst making creative use of classical sources; skills he also employs in the Hatfield Eclogues. Furthermore, the poem shows the influence of school practice because of its similarity to verse paraphrases. Fletcher's choice to turn prose into verse, instead of rewriting verse into a different metre is quite unusual, as is his choice to recast the work of Livy. It suggests that he was aware of the popularity of Livy amongst educators and politicians and perhaps also of the special importance of the *A.U.C.* for Elizabeth's education. The soldiers in the *ecloga* tell the story of the Samnites to offer the queen counsel, using Livy's text as a guide in the same way scholars serving the Elizabethan nobility did. In the poem, the grammar school emphasis on rhetoric, intellectual fashions and current events all come together.

The Eton manuscript is not 'Fletcher's' collection, but it is more strongly shaped by his poetic voice than that of any other pupil. His contributions are diverse, and many show his poetic talent. While the poems are not closely related to Fletcher's later work, his experiments with tone and form in the volume foreshadow his adult use of Latin verse, and his tendency to allude to Vergil's *Eclogues*, as well as his use of the term *ecloga*, anticipate his later development of Latin pastoral.

CHAPTER 2 – The Hatfield Eclogues

Giles Fletcher the Elder's Hatfield manuscript collection of Latin eclogues, which is addressed to Lady Burghley, dates probably from the early 1570s and has the distinction of being the first Latin eclogue collection written in Renaissance England.¹ When briefly discussing Fletcher's eclogues in his book on Renaissance pastoral, Chaudhuri concludes that they contain nothing that cannot be found in continental poets.² This is incorrect, but Fletcher did draw on continental pastoral – his book is a sophisticated European-style Latin pastoral collection. Although it has not previously been noted by scholars, Fletcher was influenced in particular by the verse of the German neo-Latin poets Georgius Sabinus (1508-1560) and Petrus Lotichius Secundus (1528-60), who each wrote eclogues published with their *Poemata* in 1558 and 1563, respectively.³ He was thus importing features of contemporary continental Protestant pastoral, but he was also creating a collection which is in several respects distinctly English: it has a Cambridge setting and uses allegory to discuss ecclesiastical politics in a way which was typical of contemporary English pastoral but not wider Continental Latin pastoral of the period. It also has aspects of topographical verse, a genre which became popular in Elizabethan England, reaching its zenith with Camden's *Britannia* (1586). Furthermore, Fletcher's work is significant because he was part of the same Cambridge milieu as Edmund Spenser and can therefore cast new light on his contemporary's work. Fletcher's eclogue collection and Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* (1579) share many characteristics; I will consider the connections between the two works. Overall, Fletcher's work is highly indicative of – and influential in – its moment in various ways, showing how responsive, inventive and fashionable Latin poetry could be.

¹ Cecil Papers MS 298.1-5. Piepho, 'The Latin and English Eclogues of Phineas Fletcher: Sannazaro's "Piscatoria" among the Britons', 461. Piepho here briefly discusses the eclogues of Phineas's father.

² Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and Its English Developments*, 116.

³ The eclogues of Lotichius were published individually or in part publications before this date, for details see: Petrus Lotichius 1528-1560, *Die Hirtengedichte von Petrus Lotichius Secundus, 1528-1560: Text, Übersetzung, Interpretation: Inaugural-Dissertation Zur Erlangung Der Doktorwürde*, ed. Bernd Henneberg (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1985), 26.

The Hatfield manuscript consists of a prose dedication to Lady Burghley (ff 1^r-3^r) and five Latin eclogues, in two different hands. The dedication and *Æcloga 1. DE LITERIS antiquæ Britanniae* (ff. 4^r-22^r) on the history of Cambridge, are written in the same hand (see figure 2.1); the *Æcloga Callianissa* (ff. 23^r-27^r) on the marriage of Anne Cecil and the Earl of Oxford in December 1571, is written in a second hand which is used for the rest of the MS. For an example, see figure 2.2, the first page of the *Æcloga Adonis* (ff. 28^r-30^v) on the death of Clere Haddon (d. 1571) a contemporary of Fletcher's at King's College Cambridge, who was the son of Walter Haddon, the civil lawyer and Latin poet. The last two poems in the collection, *Æcloga de contemptu ministrorum* (ff.31^r-37^v) and *Æcloga Telethusa* (ff.39^r-47^v), are both allegorical: the first is concerned with religious conflict and the latter with college politics.⁴

Some scholars who refer to Fletcher's pastorals are unclear or incorrect about the role of this manuscript collection. Three influential scholarly accounts that discuss Fletcher's work make no mention of this manuscript at all.⁵ Two other scholars have

⁴ Fletcher, *The English Works of Giles Fletcher, the Elder*, 8. An overview of these poems, including details on if and when they were published in print, is included in the overview at the start of the thesis. In addition to the Hatfield Eclogues, Cecil Papers MS 298 includes 3 other items: Item 6, *NOVEMBRES GRATVLATIONES* (. . .) *CARMINA GRATVLATORIA A Regijs Alumnis Westmonasteriensibus*, consisting of poems on the accession of Queen Elizabeth; and two prose items, Charles Paschal's *De Morte Christi Dialogi decem* and John Paman's *Oratio gratulatoria et consultioria in adventum Jacobi Regis Britanniae in Angliam anno 1602*. When the items were bound together, leaves 18-21 were misfolded and the present order is 20, 21, 18, 19. See: Berry, Lloyd E., 'Five Latin Poems by Giles Fletcher, the Elder', 338. There are no folio numbers in the manuscript; the folio references used in this chapter follow my own foliation, which matches Berry's.

⁵ Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925*, 56-57; Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 328; David Marsh, 'Pastoral', in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World*, ed. Philip Ford, Charles Fantazzi, and Jan Bloemendal (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 435-36. Both Bradner and Grant focus instead on those pastorals appearing in later printed works, such as the version of *Eclogue 1* included in Phineas Fletcher's *Sylva Poetica* (1633), with a separate title page, and the three eclogues published by William Dillingham in his *Poemata varii argumenti* (1678), one of which is not, in fact, in the Hatfield manuscript. Neither of these scholars mentions the manuscript. Bradner lists the three eclogues published by Dillingham saying that Fletcher wrote them in his student days, but he discusses the *Æcloga Adonis* separately, as 'a further example of Fletcher's work in the pastoral form' and suggests the *De Literis Antiquæ Britanniae* was composed later than the other eclogues 'in mature life'. Grant briefly discusses two of Fletcher's epicedia, the *Æcloga de Morte Boneri*, only included in Dillingham's 1678 volume, and the *Æcloga Adonis*, written on the death of Clere Haddon, which is part of the Hatfield collection. He mistakenly concludes that the speaker Lycidas in the latter poem represents Walter Haddon lamenting the death of his son; in fact, Walter died four months earlier than his son. Citing Grant, David Marsh states that Giles Fletcher the Elder left two Latin eclogues.

While Stevenson acknowledges the existence of Giles Fletcher's Hatfield MS, she mistakenly attributes the *Querela Collegii Regali* to Phineas Fletcher, apparently unaware that it is included in the manuscript as the *Æcloga Telethusa*. She also calls this eclogue 'the first Latin pastoral to be written in England', somehow dating it earlier than the (other) eclogues by Giles Fletcher the Elder and

acknowledged the significance of the manuscript, but focus on the use of allegory in each of the poems. While they recognise the Cambridge setting and Protestant allegiance of Fletcher's eclogues, they neglect the importance of the manuscript as a text in its own right by treating the poems as separate units, not as a collection.⁶ I will explore what unites the poems as a sequence and consider their place in it, arguing that the manuscript was conceived as an integrated collection and functions as such. There are several themes that recur throughout the collection, which in addition to Cambridge and Protestantism include the imagery of water and rivers, the role of poetry and praise for Queen Elizabeth. Fletcher approaches pastoral conventions innovatively in the eclogues and shows his keen awareness of contemporary literary developments in Continental Latin pastoral, English pastoral and chorographical literature.⁷ Whether or not Fletcher's conception of an eclogue collection influenced Spenser directly, Fletcher's Cambridge-oriented, explicitly Protestant book of eclogues is important context for understanding the project of the *Shepherd's Calendar* and other contemporary texts.

Date of the manuscript

In his prose dedication to Lady Burghley at the start of the manuscript, Fletcher praises her patronage, her learning and her family. He then writes (f. 2^v):

Itaque volui meum studium erga te, et erga familiam vestram, quantum esse potest in tam mediocri homine summum studium, ac observantiam observare, simul & has Æclogas tibi offerre, quas valde Adolescens conscripsi. Vides (clarissima Domina) quam necesse sit, vt hoc mihi persuadeam, te non solum litteras amare, sed & hoc genere valde delectari, qui meas Nugas tuæ dignitati non dubitem offere.

ignoring the existence of earlier individual Latin eclogues in manuscript. See: Jane Stevenson, *Women Latin Poets: Language, Gender, and Authority, from Antiquity to the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005), 264.

⁶ Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and Its English Developments*, 113–16; Stout, *Exploring Russia in the Elizabethan Commonwealth: The Muscovy Company and Giles Fletcher, the Elder (1546-1611)*, 61–63.

⁷ In the introduction to his online edition of Fletcher's *Carmina*, Dana F. Sutton suggests Fletcher may have had a significant role in the Anglo-Latin pastoral tradition, without offering any concrete arguments: 'Truth to tell, at this point Fletcher's exact position in the history of the English Neo-Latin eclogue, and his importance for its development, cannot be ascertained with certainty. To do so, one would no doubt have to examine a fairly large number of such eclogues written in previous decades, which would probably entail unearthing a good deal of unpublished and unedited material that has yet to be properly examined. But [it] certainly looks as if he was an innovator, perhaps a radical one.' See: Dana F. Sutton, 'Giles Fletcher the Elder, *Carmina*.' accessed 22 July 2019, <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/fletcher/intro.html>.

And so I wished that you might observe my devotion towards you and towards your family (in so far as the utmost devotion may reside in so middling a man), and my deferential regard; at the same time I also wanted to offer you these Eclogues, which I wrote as a very young man. You see (most renowned Lady) how necessary it should be that I persuade myself of this – that you not only love literature, but that you are also very much delighted by this genre – so that I should not be anxious about offering my trifles to your excellence.

This passage implies that Fletcher sent the manuscript to Lady Burghley some time after he composed the poems, as he says he wrote them *valde Adolescens*; but in fact this is not the case. For three eclogues, the date of composition can be certainly established as 1570-1, as the events they describe took place in those years: Edward de Vere, the Earl of Oxford, married Ann Cecil in December 1571, Clere Haddon's death is the subject of Eclogue 3 and the title of the eclogue dates this event to May 1570; the last two poems in the MS are concerned with the problems of King's College Cambridge with its provost Philip Baker, who was deprived of his provostship in 1570.⁸ The remaining eclogue can plausibly be dated to the same period.⁹ Fletcher was in his mid-twenties in the early 1570s, when the eclogues were composed, and it is clear that the volume cannot have been presented very long after 1571; as Berry points out in his pioneering article on the manuscript, which includes a transcription of the poems, Anne Cecil's marriage with the Earl of Oxford was not a happy one.¹⁰ The first significant signs of trouble appeared as early as 1575, when Anne fell pregnant and Oxford denied he was the father of the baby. Burghley persuaded him to acknowledge the child and Anne gave birth to a girl, Elizabeth, in July, while her husband was travelling in Europe. Nevertheless, the Earl avoided meeting his wife at Gravesend upon his return in 1576 by taking a river-wherry to London and the couple lived apart until 1582.¹¹ In 1581 there was a further

⁸ On the dispute between King's College Cambridge and Philip Baker, see: Margaret Lucille Kekewich, *Baker, Philip (1522/3–1590?), College Head* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1130>.

⁹ The first eclogue, a history of Cambridge, does not include any mention of Emmanuel College, and must therefore date from before 1584.

¹⁰ Berry, Lloyd E., 'Five Latin Poems by Giles Fletcher, the Elder'.

¹¹ Steven W. May, *Vere [Née Cecil], Anne de, Countess of Oxford (1556–1588), Courtier* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-46899>; Alan H. Nelson, 'Exploration', in *Monstrous Adversary*, 1st ed., vol. 40, *The Life of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford* (Liverpool University Press, 2003), 123, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vjkc.11>; Alan H. Nelson, *Vere, Edward de, Seventeenth Earl of Oxford (1550–1604), Courtier and Poet* (Oxford University Press, 2008),

scandal, when it became clear that Oxford had impregnated the 15-year-old Anne Vasavour, one of Queen Elizabeth's gentlewomen of the bedchamber. The Queen was furious when she discovered it following the birth of the child. Both were imprisoned in the Tower; it is unclear how long Anne was imprisoned, but she was not allowed to return to the court. Oxford was there for three months and was banned from court for several years afterwards.¹² The Earl was also infamous for squandering his resources. Although William Cecil used his influence and his finances to support his son-in-law, both for the sake of his reputation and his daughter's financial position, he disapproved of the Earl's spending and the way he treated his daughter and granddaughters.¹³ Although there is no direct evidence, these events were well known and as part of the intellectual circle around the Cecils, it is likely that Fletcher was aware of at least some of these difficulties; it would therefore not have been appropriate for him to send an epithalamium on Anne's marriage to Lady Burghley after 1575, and certainly not after 1581. Like Berry, it seems we can assume that the manuscript was created not long after the poems were composed, in the early to mid-1570s, and that Fletcher's distancing device (*valde adolescens*) is a modesty trope which in fact represents a gap of only a few years at most between composition and presentation.¹⁴ The date of the manuscript is

<https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-28208>.

¹² J. Rickman, *Love, Lust, and License in Early Modern England: Illicit Sex and the Nobility*, Women and Gender in the Early Modern World (Taylor & Francis, 2016), 30. Susan Doran, *Elizabeth I and Her Circle* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 210.

¹³ Berry, Lloyd E., 'Five Latin Poems by Giles Fletcher, the Elder', 340; Alan H. Nelson, 'Reiteration', in *Monstrous Adversary: The Life of Edward de Vere, 17th Earl of Oxford*, 1st ed., vol. 40 (Liverpool University Press, 2003), 304, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt5vjkc.16>. For further detail on Burghley's frustration with Oxford and his perpetual financial difficulties, see e.g.: Nelson, 300–335.

¹⁴ His use of the adverb *valde* may imply that he is still something of an *adolescens* (if no longer *valde*) at the time of writing. Indeed, it is worth noting that the definition of the Latin term *adolescens* is vague; in both Roman times and in the early modern period, it was used for those from about age 14 to 30, but it could be used to create an argument about immaturity as well. It is thus plausible Fletcher's use of the term here also serves to express modesty.

In the 1645 poems, Milton would present himself as a youthful poet, although he was 38 at the time the work was published. Colin Burrow, 'Poems 1645: The Future Poet', in *The Cambridge Companion to Milton*, ed. Dennis Danielson, 2nd ed., Cambridge Companions to Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 54–69, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL052165226X.004>. 'For a poet in the early modern period, describing himself as a young man allowed the excuse of inexperience for work that is incomplete or of a lesser quality. Alternatively, it could make him come across as a prodigy.'

On the use of the term *adolescens* in Roman and early modern literature, see: Christian Laes and J. H. M. Strubbe, *Youth in the Roman Empire: The Young and the Restless Years?* (Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014), 23–30; Ilana Krausman Ben-Amos, *Adolescence and Youth in Early Modern England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 11.

especially significant in relation to Spenser, whose *Shepherd's Calendar* was published in 1579. Scholars agree that Spenser worked on it after leaving Cambridge in 1576, since the *January* and *June* eclogues refer to his sadness about leaving the university.¹⁵ Fletcher's Hatfield eclogues were thus almost certainly written and presented either before Spenser started work on his *Shepherd's Calendar*, or, at least, while he was working on it.

One further remark about dates should be made; the title of Eclogue 3 contains the only date in the manuscript itself. It is the date of Clere Haddon's death, which appears to be incorrect. The title reads: *Queræla de obitu Clerj Haddonj maximæ spej adolescentis, sibiquè coniunctissimj: quj in amne Cantabrigiensi submersus, extinctusque est Mense Maio. 1570. Æcloga Adonis*. Walter Haddon, Clere Haddon's father, died in January of the same year in which his son drowned in the river Cam; Clere Haddon wrote an elegy for his father. There is some confusion about the exact year they died, with scholars either using 1571 or 1572, or moving between them.¹⁶ The manuscript reads 1570, but it is not possible Walter Haddon died in January of that year, as the queen leased him the manor of Hatcham Barnes in 1570 and on the 28th of July he wrote to Cecil, complaining that he was suffering from kidney stones.¹⁷ The most likely year is 1571, because on the 8th of May 1571 a decree was issued by Provost Goad of King's College Cambridge, evidently in response to Clere Haddon's death by drowning, which prohibited all members of the

¹⁵ Andrew Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser: A Life* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 86–87; Gary M. Bouchard, *Colin's Campus: Cambridge Life and the English Eclogue* (Selinsgrove, PA: London: Susquehanna University Press, 2000), 20–21.

¹⁶ For the 1571 date, see: Gerald Bray, *Haddon, Walter (1514/15–1571), Civil Lawyer* (Oxford University Press, 2015), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11851>; S.T. Bindoff, 'HADDON, Walter (1514/15–71), of London and St. Mary Cray, Kent.', in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1509–1558* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1982), <http://www.historyofparliamentonline.org/volume/1509-1558/member/haddon-walter-151415-71>; Lawrence V. Ryan, 'Walter Haddon: Elizabethan Latinist', *Huntington Library Quarterly* 17, no. 2 (1954): 99–124, <https://doi.org/10.2307/3816213>. For the 1572 date: Walter Haddon, *The Poetry of Walter Haddon*, ed. Charles J. Lees (Berlin/Boston: Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, Inc., 1967), <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111391526>. Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500–1925*, 21–23; Ryan, 'The Shorter Latin Poem in Tudor England'.

¹⁷ Gerald Bray, *Haddon, Walter (1514/15–1571), Civil Lawyer* (Oxford University Press, 2015), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-11851>; Walter Haddon, *The Poetry of Walter Haddon*, ed. Charles J. Lees (Berlin/Boston: Berlin/Boston: De Gruyter, Inc., 1967), 33, <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783111391526>. See: Robert Lemon, *Calendar of State Papers Domestic*, LXXI (London, 1881), 385.

College from swimming in rivers or streams.¹⁸ Looking closely at the title, the year appears to be written in a slightly smaller hand, and there is also a smudge behind it (see figure 2.2). It is possible that it was added at a later date, by someone who had a rough, but not quite correct, idea of the year in which Clere Haddon died.

As mentioned, Fletcher dedicated his eclogue collection to Lady Burghley, Mildred Cooke Cecil. She was the eldest of the daughters of Anthony Cooke, tutor of Edward VI, who were reputed for their learning. She became the second wife of William Cecil, who was Secretary of State from 1558-71.¹⁹ Many works were dedicated to Lord Burghley; in fact, the STC shows that as secretary of state, he was one of the three most prominent dedicatees of printed books – the other two were the Queen and the Earl of Leicester.²⁰ Women were not very commonly chosen as dedicatees, but Fletcher's choice to address Lady Burghley was not that unusual; all the Cooke sisters were influential intermediaries for their husbands and brothers-in-law and as such received many dedicatory verses.²¹ It is likely that Fletcher sent his volume of poems to the Burghleys in the early or mid-1570s to aid his advancement at Cambridge University, of which William Cecil was the Chancellor from 1559 till his death in 1598. Indeed, at the start of his prose dedication he emphasises the importance to scholars at Cambridge of both Burghley and his wife.²² The eclogues'

¹⁸ For the decree, see MS KCAC/2/1/1/212 at King's College, Cambridge. Charles Henry Cooper, F.S.A. and Thompson Cooper, *Athenae Cantabrigienses*, vol. 1 (Cambridge: Deighton, Bell & Co., 1858), 295; Austin, 'Milton's "Lycidas" and Two Latin Elegies by Giles Fletcher, the Elder', 43 n. 6.

¹⁹ Hans Eworth, *Cecil [Cooke], Mildred, Lady Burghley (1526–1589)* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-1006789>.

²⁰ van Dorsten, 'Literary Patronage in Elizabethan England', 194.

²¹ Gemma Allen, *The Cooke Sisters: Education, Piety and Politics in Early Modern England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2013), 210. George Buchanan wrote several verses describing the sisters. Most famously, in his epigram *Ad Antonium Cucum Equitem Anglum, et filias doctissimas*, he wrote: *Cucides Aonidae mihi erunt, pater alter Apollo*. See: George Buchanan, *Georgii Buchanani Scoti, Poemata Omnia Innumeris Penè Locis, Ex Ipsius Autographo Castigata & Aucta. Addito Insuper Ex Eodem, Miscellaneorum Libro, Nunc Primùm in Lucem Editio*. (Edinburgi: Ex officina Andreae Hart, 1615), G5-6. Fletcher also praises the sisters in his dedication, calling their learning second only to that of the Queen: 'Quò fit, vt cum inter eruditos (id quod fieri solet nonnunquam) de fæminis doctis sermo inciderit, post illustrissimam Principem, tu cum tuis lectissimis sororibus, optimis, atque clarissimis Fæminis, in eo numero primum locum tenere soleatis.' (f. 1^v).

²² 'Multa sunt, (illustrissima Domina) cur tibi suum studium, ac obseruantiam debeant, qui literas, et Academiam profitentur. Honoratissimi Burliensi Cantabrigienses Academicj sic omnes debemus, vt ne filij quidem Parentibus magis. Itaque fieri non potest, quin ex hoc cumulo officij, quod eidem debetur, etiam aliquid in tuum honorem, ac obseruantiam redundet. Nequè solum eius beneficio tibi deuincti sumus, sed etiam tuo. Nouimus enim & quid cum D. Greshamo non ita pridem egeris de Academia commodis augendis, & quoties id commode fieri potest, quemadmodum reliquorum studia soleas, ac beneficentiam erga nos prouocare.' (f. 1^v)

concern with Cambridge and its affairs as well as with learning and literature would have made them suitable for his purpose.

Elizabethan Cambridge

Fletcher's collection is concerned with Cambridge politics; as mentioned, the first eclogue tells the history of the university, while the final eclogue is concerned with the issues of King's College Cambridge with its provost, Philip Baker, who was accused of favouring papists and managing the affairs of the college badly.²³ Both these poems and the *De Contemptu Ministrorum* also address religious conflict, taking a Protestant stance, with two of these pieces even creating Protestant religious allegory. Some information on Protestantism in Elizabethan Cambridge is therefore essential to understanding the political and religious aspects of the collection.

In the Tudor period, the connection between the universities and the court became increasingly significant as many university men became part of the court and the university sought patronage from important figures at the court.²⁴ The familiar image of Cambridge as Protestant and then Puritan has some truth in it²⁵ – it had contemporary roots as many influential Protestant figures were or had been students or fellows of the university and created networks there. Yet in Cambridge, as elsewhere, the reformation was a contested and contradictory process; there was an enormous diversity within the developing reformed tradition as well as conservatism; consequently, there was a wide range of reactions to centrally commanded religious

²³ Kekewich, *Baker, Philip (1522/3–1590?)*, *College Head*. On Baker, see also pp. 106-7 below.

²⁴ The background is the dissolution of the monasteries in the 1530s, which had meant that the universities, which had lost their friaries and monastic houses, were also at risk. Yet in the 1540s the significance of university support became evident to Henry VIII, as its members wrote learned justifications for his divorce from Catherine of Aragon. Victor Morgan and Christopher Brooke, *A History of the University of Cambridge. Vol.2, 1546-1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 1–12.

²⁵ Cambridge is often contrasted with Oxford, which tends to be depicted as conservative; the Puritanism of Elizabethan Oxford has been consistently underestimated. See: Patrick Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, Clarendon Paperbacks (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1990), 129–30.

change.²⁶ Elizabeth I was very aware of the importance of the universities, especially Cambridge, for staffing her church and court. That the university was a priority is demonstrated by the fact that Elizabeth's new secretary of state, William Cecil, was nominated and installed as chancellor of Cambridge University as early as February 1559, and in May of that year a visitation of the university took place.²⁷ The letters patent of 1561 established the rights and privileges of the University of Cambridge as a jurisdictional and administrative enclave in relation to the outside world; around the time Fletcher wrote his Hatfield collection, significant changes were being made to the constitutional framework of the university.²⁸ This was at least in part in response to Thomas Cartwright, the newly-elected Lady Margaret professor of divinity, who had given a series of lectures on the Acts of the Apostles in the spring of 1570, advocating for presbytery.²⁹ While Cartwright's presbyterian views were not new, he was expressing them at a time in which the episcopacy was important to Elizabeth I as an essential component of what was an insecure monarchy.³⁰ Furthermore, he was speaking at the University of Cambridge, the institution which was the main breeding ground for Elizabeth's bishops and which had grown significantly over the last few decades;³¹ this had already lead to concerns about religious dissent and social control. There were anxieties about the ability of the heads of the colleges to control the university's 'youth'.³² Therefore, the statutes of 1570 concentrated responsibility and influence in the hands of the heads of houses and took power away from the body of regent masters, young fellows of the university who were MAs of not more than three years standing.³³ These increased powers and the ways in which the heads of houses exercised them, led to a marked

²⁶ Ceri Law, *Contested Reformations in the University of Cambridge, c. 1535-84* (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2018), 2–3; 17–18; Morgan and Brooke, *A History of the University of Cambridge. Vol.2, 1546-1750*, 446–47.

²⁷ Morgan and Brooke, *A History of the University of Cambridge. Vol.2, 1546-1750*, 63–65.

²⁸ Morgan and Brooke, 73–75.

²⁹ Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 112.

³⁰ They were Calvinist views inspired by the reformer Theodore Beza (1519-1605), which were expressed in London in the 1560s by the clergymen Robert Crowley (1517/9-1588) and John Bartlett (fl. 1562-7). Collinson, 109–10; 113–15; Morgan and Brooke, *A History of the University of Cambridge. Vol.2, 1546-1750*, 451.

³¹ Morgan and Brooke, *A History of the University of Cambridge. Vol.2, 1546-1750*, 116–19; 451.

³² Law, *Contested Reformations in the University of Cambridge, c. 1535-84*, 125.

³³ The statutes of 1570 extended this period to five years. Morgan and Brooke, *A History of the University of Cambridge. Vol.2, 1546-1750*, 65; 79–81.

antagonism towards the heads, which likely also played a role in Fletcher's response to Baker's treatment of King's College.³⁴

The Protestant and anti-Marian sentiments Fletcher expresses in his eclogues and his depiction of Baker as a papist, in combination with his antagonism against Baker as head of King's College, suggest he may have been among those young men at Cambridge who believed that the Elizabethan settlement was too much of a compromise and that further reformation was needed.³⁵ In spite of the anxiety caused by a lack of control over these young men, the Protestantism of Fletcher and others like him did not make them opponents of the Elizabethan regime. A decade earlier, Cambridge men especially helped to shape the formulation of major policies on Elizabeth's accession, and many promoted a more radical version of religious settlement.³⁶ Fletcher's choice of Lady Burghley, the wife of Elizabeth's secretary of state, as dedicatee of his eclogues, and his praise of and advice to Elizabeth in the poems, suggest his poetry was both defending and trying to shape the Protestantism of the Elizabethan commonwealth.³⁷

³⁴ Morgan and Brooke, 73. That this antagonism remained a significant force in Cambridge in the succeeding years can arguably be seen a few years later in his career; in 1576 Fletcher joined other junior fellows in protest against the new provost, Roger Goad, who was accused of usury, corruption and bribery. Munro, *Fletcher, Giles, the Elder* (Bap. 1546, d. 1611), *Diplomat and Author*; Stout, *Exploring Russia in the Elizabethan Commonwealth: The Muscovy Company and Giles Fletcher, the Elder* (1546-1611), 62-63.

³⁵ Morgan and Brooke, *A History of the University of Cambridge. Vol.2, 1546-1750*, 102; Collinson, *The Elizabethan Puritan Movement*, 122-30.

³⁶ Morgan and Brooke, *A History of the University of Cambridge. Vol.2, 1546-1750*, 103. They included such figures as Sir John Cheke, Roger Ascham and indeed William Cecil. This has been called 'the Cambridge Connection', see: Winthrop Still Hudson, *The Cambridge Connection and the Elizabethan Settlement of 1559* (Durham, N.C: Duke University Press, 1980).

³⁷ Examples include Fletcher's praise of Elizabeth and the golden age she brings about in *De Literis*, ll. 629-47, his desire in *De Contemptu*, ll. 185-90, that the English church (as Phyllis) likes his songs and his depiction of Elizabeth as Aegle, who orders that the wolf (Bonner) is restrained in the *De Morte Boneri*, ll. 176-85.

Fletcher's ardent Protestantism in the 1560s and 70s is not unlike that of his son, Phineas Fletcher, in the early seventeenth century. On the Fletchers' changing perspectives on James I, see pp. 146-8.

Æcloga 1

DE LITERIS

antiqua Britannia, præsertim Canta
brigia, & quæ singula Collegia statu
erunt, ac amplificârunt Æcloga
LYCIDAS.

*aius Oxoniensis
quod multa fringat
bus eius Academi
antiquitatem as
erat.*
MYTHICVS & NICIAS, quorum prior Isidis amnem.
Alter ad irriguas habitabat Thamesis undas.
Certabant ætate pares, pugnamque ciebant.
Eius locus Oceani populos, & nostra petentes
Littora, cum fugerent steriles Permessidos undas,
Ceperat hospitio Musas. non illa palestræ,
Armorumque fuit, sed æuæ pugna sonantis.
*aius Cantabrigiæ
victoria*
Maior erat Niciæ facundæ gratia vocis,
Maior honos, tumuloque sedens maiora canebat.
Candida cæsaries, et candida Barba canens
Pendeat, niueæque ferens insigne senectutis,
Longior a mento pectus veneranda decebat.
Illos ad patrij certantes flumina riuus
Audierat LYCIDAS, Grantæ qui pascua circum

Figure 2.1 – Cecil Papers MS 298.1, f. 4^r (foliation my own). Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

3
Querela de obitu Cleri Haddoni maximæ spei
adoleſcentis, ſibi quæ coniunctiſſimi: qui in
annæ Cantabrigienſi ſubmerſus, extim
duſq; ^{est} menſe Maio. 1570.

Eſloga Adonis.

Extinctum Lycidas nuper deſtebat Adonim
venator, lacrymiſq; locum, gemituſq; replebat.
Iſtum etenim æſtiuſ dum vitans ſumma ſolis
membra lauat, riguiſq; puer ſe verſat in undis,
Crudelis torrens ſmuantibus abſtulit undis.
Iſte ſuper ripam recubans, vñ ſtebile corpus
viderat, & triſtiſpectans flumina vultu,
(Flumina, pater, tenero nimium dilecta ſodalij)
Implebat elamore locum, ceſereſq; ſagittas,
Atq; habilem ponens humeris quæ geſſerat arcum.

Figure 2.2 – Cecil Papers MS 298.3, f. 28^r (foliation my own). Reproduced with permission of the Marquess of Salisbury, Hatfield House.

De Literis Antiquæ Britanniae

In the first eclogue in the collection, *De Literis Antiquæ Britanniae*, Father Cam tells the history of Cambridge to the hunter Lycidas, who represents Fletcher. The title suggests the poem is solely concerned with the history of British literature, but this is not quite true: though it does allude to a number of British poets and focuses regularly on Cambridge's role as a home for the Muses, this aspect of the narrative fades into the background at times, when it reads like a history of the kings of Britain. As mentioned above, the eclogue was later printed in Phineas Fletcher's *Sylva Poetica* (1633) with a separate title page. There are significant differences between the printed poem and the manuscript version: 60 percent of the printed work consists of revised or new material. The changes suggest the eclogue was updated stylistically and chronologically in the 1590s.³⁸ I will focus here on the manuscript poem dating from the early 1570s. The printed version will be discussed more fully in chapter 3, which is concerned with the renewed interest in Giles Fletcher the Elder in the 1630s which was in part brought about by the publication of this eclogue in edited form.³⁹

The poem is generically ambitious and demonstrates further what we have also seen in the previous chapter, namely that the definition of an 'eclogue' is somewhat flexible in the latter sixteenth century. It is an exceptionally long eclogue of 697 lines, which, as discussed in the introduction, serves as a didactic eclogue similar to Vergil's *Eclogue* 6 and Sannazaro's *Eclogue* 4; it most closely resembles two neo-Latin epithalamia, however: Sabinus's *De Nuptiis Sigismundi Augusti et Elyssae*

³⁸ The poem consists of 697 lines in the manuscript and 621 lines in the printed version; Fletcher cancelled 372 lines of the earlier version in the later one and added 296 lines. See: Berry, Lloyd E., 'Five Latin Poems by Giles Fletcher, the Elder', 342–43. Appendix D shows how the two versions compare; the words in bold are basically the same as those in the 1633 version, allowing for small editorial changes. The printed version was last revised in the 1590s, as is evident from its mention of Sidney Sussex College, which Fletcher starts to discuss by saying (l. 532): *Haec inter media aspicias mox surgere tecta* (Soon you will see arise in the middle among these dwellings...). The future tense makes it clear that the revision took place between 1594, when the college received its charter, and 1599, when its first buildings were completed. Berry, 'Phineas Fletcher's Account of His Father', 259–60. Elsewhere Berry dates the revision to c. 1594 and Munro uses the same date in her entry on Giles Fletcher the Elder in the ODNB. Fletcher, *The English Works of Giles Fletcher, the Elder*, 9; Lucy Munro, *Fletcher, Giles, the Elder (Bap. 1546, d. 1611), Diplomat and Author* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-9726>.

³⁹ See pp. 126–33.

(1543) and Lotichius's sixth eclogue *In Nuptias Illustrissimi Principis, Iohannis Guilielmi, Ducis Saxoniae, ac inclytæ Susannæ Dorotheæ* (1560). Like Fletcher's first eclogue these poems tell the history of kings in the relevant area (where the groom rules) up to the present time; they also include rivers as speakers and elaborate descriptions of nymphs. At the start of Fletcher's poem, Lycidas asks the river Cam to tell about the past (l. 19-31):

*Tu mihi quj molli (vitreus) petis æquora cursu
 (Chame pater) Nymphisque sacro das iura sub amne
 Dicit, (**quandoquidem** nostros **ab origine Mundi**
 Alluis, æternisque secas erroribus Agros)
 Quid priscj coluere viri, quibus artibus æuum
 Ducere præteritæ Gentes, & prisca solebant
 Tempora, cùm totum populo crescente per Orbem
 Ista nouis cœpit Tellus florere colonis?
 Et, (si qua est non vana Fides) quis nostra petentes
 Littora, Mæonidas⁴⁰ peregrina per æquora secum
 Vexerit, hospitiumquè tuas erexit ad vndas?
Nam potes, &, proauos per quos hæc tanta Minores
 Inuisunt benefacta, decet memorare Nepotes.*

You who make for the sea (glassy one) with your mild current (father Cam) and under your sacred stream lay down the laws for the Nymphs, say (since from the beginning of the world you water our fields, and you divide them with your eternal wanderings) what men of old inhabited them, with which skills/arts the people that have gone before led their generation, and what they were used to in earlier times, when with the people increasing through the whole world, this land began to flourish with new inhabitants? And (if there is any credibility that is not in vain) who brought with him over foreign seas the Muses, when they made for our shores, and built a guest-chamber near your waves? For you are able [to say it] and it is right that offspring should remember the ancestors from whom they now see so many great benefits.

⁴⁰ This is an allusion to the flight of the Muses from the tyrant Pyreneus in Ov. *Met.* 5.273-93. The Muses are called *Mnemonidas*, 'daughters of Memory' in Ov. *Met.* 5.268. This story is again alluded to in ll. 449-52 of Fletcher's poem, where Pyreneus is referred to as *Pirantus* (see Appendix D). Given the puzzling form *Mæonidas*, it seems plausible Fletcher was reading the *Metamorphoses* in an edition in which *Mnemonidas* was corrupted to this more familiar word. I have not been able to identify the exact edition, but an edition published about a decade after Fletcher composed the *De Literis* does indeed read *Meonidas* for *Mnemonidas* (*Ouidii Nasonis Metamorphoseon Libri XV Ab Andrea Naugerio Castigati & Vict. Gisellini Scholijs Illustrati*. Londini: Excudebat Thomas Vautrollerius typographus, 1582). I am grateful to Philip Hardie for suggesting this explanation.

This description and the passage which describes the river Cam as surrounded by his nymphs (l. 39-63), cited below, bear a close resemblance to the description of rivers in the epithalamia of Sabinus and Lotichius.⁴¹ These German neo-Latin poets were Protestants and belonged to the circle around the reformer Philip Melanchthon (1497-1560); they were well-known internationally and, I believe, more widely read in England than is generally acknowledged.⁴² The similarities between Fletcher's and Lotichius's eclogue collections are particularly striking. Rivers play a prominent role in Lotichius's work; in his pastoral epithalamium, the river Nicer is asked to speak because he knows about the past (l. 302-8):

*Tu mihi nunc, qui culta rigas spumantibus vndis
Arva Nicer (nam te veterum nec facta parentum
Nobile nec patriæ decus ignorare putandum est)
Quandoquidem hos prima colles **ab origine mundi**
Alluis, ipse genus Sponsæ, patrumque recense.
Facta, Ducesque ataus, prohibeque silentia famæ.
Nam potes, et gratum est canere et meminisse voluptas.*

For me now you, Nicer, who irrigates the cultivated fields with foaming waves (for you it is thought noble neither to ignore the deeds of the ancients nor the virtues of the fatherland) since you wash these slopes from the first beginning of the world, tell of the descent of the bride, and of her forefathers. [Tell of]

⁴¹ Compare *De Literis*, l. 39-42:

*Quum Pater ignotæ subita formidine vocis
Attonitus, summa **madidum caput extulit** vnda.
Cæruleus tergo dependet carbasus, aures
Canna tegit, patulis fluit humida naribus vnda.*

With Lotichius, *In Nuptias*, l. 312-4:

*Sic ego : cum lato **madidum caput extulit** antro
Cæruleus Nicer, & molli viridantia musco
Tempora concutiens.*

See also Sabinus, *De Nuptiis*, ll. 11-8:

*Forte sub undosi muscoso gurgitis antro
Istula cæruleus tumidarum rector aquarum
Nymphis iura dabat, qua vertice Carpathus alto
Frigida Sarmatiæ prospectat iugera: cuius
Montis adusta rigent canis iuga summa pruinis.
Carbaseæ glauco pallæ uelatus amictu:
Naiades circum fontanaque numina stabant
Quæque lacus, amnesque colunt, udasque paludes.*

⁴² Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser : A Life*, 103; Manfred P. Fleischer, 'Melanchthon as Praeceptor of Late-Humanist Poetry', *The Sixteenth Century Journal* 20, no. 4 (1989): 561, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2541287>; Zon, *Petrus Lotichius Secundus : Neo-Latin Poet*, 76, 379. Lotichius became known as the *Princeps Poetarum Germanorum* shortly after his death.

their deeds, and ancient leaders, and prevent the silence of fame. For you are able [to do it] and it is agreeable to sing and pleasing to remember.

Fletcher's clear allusions to this passage suggest that his choice to make the river Cam the narrator of the history was inspired by Lotichius's collection.⁴³ Both poets use the argument that the rivers are ancient and have thus witnessed everything that has happened. Furthermore, the layout of Fletcher's poem in the manuscript, is very similar to that of the epithalamia of the German poets as printed in *Georgii Sabini Brandenburgensis Poëmata. Ab authore recens aucta & recognita* (1544) and *Poemata Petri Lotichii Secundi Solitariensis* (1563). The names of the kings in the history are capitalized in Fletcher's work as they are in Lotichius's; the kings are also mentioned in the marginalia with the occasional brief description to aid the reader in quickly finding a particular king/passage, as they are in Sabinus's poem. The influence of these German neo-Latin poets on Fletcher confirms the importance of their verse for English readers.⁴⁴

Other parallels with Lotichius's eclogue collection can also be found in Fletcher's poem. Near the end of the *De Literis*, Fletcher celebrates the return of a peaceful golden age with the rule of Queen Elizabeth.⁴⁵ In Lotichius's third eclogue, entitled *Nicer*, the river Neckar which flows past Heidelberg similarly proclaims the coming of peace, looking to the university's protector, Otto Heinrich, as the prince who will

⁴³ Fletcher's work anticipates Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* (1612), a chorographical poem in which England's history is told by personified places – rivers, hills and woods. Rivers, personified as nymphs, are therefore prominent in the work. See: Jack B. Oruch, 'Imitation and Invention in the Sabrina Myths of Drayton and Milton', *Anglia* 90, no. Jahresband (1 January 1972): 60–70, <https://doi.org/10.1515/angl.1972.1972.90.60>; Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 139–40.

⁴⁴ The influence of Lotichius and Sabinus on Spenser has also recently been discovered (see: Lee Piepho, 'The Shepheardes Calender and Neo-Latin Pastoral: A Book Newly Discovered to Have Been Owned By Spenser', *Spenser Studies* 16, no. 1 (1 January 2001): 77–103, <https://doi.org/10.1086/SPSv16p77>; Hadfield, *Edmund Spenser: A Life*, 103–4.) and is discussed further below.

⁴⁵ See for example, ll.643-8:

*Qua Principe, sceptrum virorum
Virginibus cessare, solumque optata reuisit
Religio, humani generis Decus, optima Custos
Imperij, quam sancta Fides comitatur euntem,
Et circum lætis crescit Pax aurea terris.
O Decus, ô. nullos VIRGO reticenda per annos.*

restore his people's greatness after years of war.⁴⁶ The fourth eclogue of the German poet has the same title as this poem: *Lycidas*. Lotichius's poems are hunting eclogues and Fletcher's *Lycidas* is a hunter, like Lotichius's character of this name.

Although Fletcher is drawing on the contemporary continental pastoral of Lotichius for certain elements of the poem, these have all been adapted to a Cambridge setting and are used to tell the history of Britain, for which he draws on the work of British authors. Much of the early, mythical, history of Britain in the poem is taken from the *Historia Regum Britanniae* of the twelfth-century chronicler Geoffrey of Monmouth, which was popular with Tudor historiographers.⁴⁷ It includes the tale of Britain's foundation by the Trojan Brutus and shows that there was already a pure British Church in pre-Saxon times, which was helpful for demonstrating Britain's superiority to Rome following the reformation.⁴⁸ Fletcher's poem also contains aetiological myths which originate in Monmouth's work, such as that of Sabrina (ll. 236-44). Associated with the River Severn, her story was frequently told in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century works about the past.⁴⁹

*At verò thalamj⁵⁰ violantem iura Locrinum,
Ardentemquè nouos Sabrinæ virginis Ignes.
Occidit armatas ducens Regina Cohortes,
Vicinoquè nouam submersit gurgite sponsam.
Vltà scelus, thalamiquè fidem, ruptosquè Hymenæos,*

⁴⁶ Piepho, 'The Shepherdes Calender and Neo-Latin Pastoral: A Book Newly Discovered to Have Been Owned By Spenser', 1 January 2001, 81–82.

⁴⁷ On the popularity of Monmouth in the 16th and 17th centuries, see: Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, 178–87.

⁴⁸ Philip Schwyzer, *Nationalism in the Renaissance* (Oxford University Press, 2016), <https://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199935338.001.0001/oxfordhb-9780199935338-e-70>.

⁴⁹ Erin Murphy, 'Sabrina and the Making of English History in Poly-Olbion and A Maske Presented at Ludlow Castle', *Studies in English Literature, 1500 - 1900* 51, no. 1 (2011): 87. Most relevant here is its inclusion in Camden's *Britannia* (1586), Bb7, and Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* II.x.19. In the 17th century, it is told in Drayton's *Poly-Olbion* I.6.129-178 and Milton's *A Mask Presented at Ludlow Castle*. Sabrina plays a pivotal role in the *Mask*, where she frees the chaste Lady from the spells of the wicked Comus. She is summoned in a song (l. 859-89), which begins:

Sabrina fair
 Listen where thou art sitting
Under the glassie, cool, translucent wave,
 In twisted braids of Lillies knitting
The loose train of thy amber-dropping hair,
 Listen for dear honours sake,
 Goddess of the silver lake,
 Listen and save.

⁵⁰ *thalamj* is probably an error for *thalamij*.

*Quam tamen acceptam placidis amplexibus Amnis
Abstulit in vitreas sedes, vbi regia Nymphis
lura dedit, thalamiquè libens in honore locauit,
Virginis & mersæ dixit de nomine Flumen.*

But indeed the queen leading armed troops, killed Locrinus for violating the laws of the bed-chamber (and) kindling a fresh passion for the virgin Sabrina, and she submerged his new bride in the nearby stream, avenging the sin, [defending] faith in marriage, and the broken nuptials. The river bore her [Sabrina] off, however, into his glassy residence having received her with gentle embraces, where he laid down royal laws for the Nymphs, and gladly he placed her in the beauty of his chamber, and named the river after the submerged virgin.

The story is concerned with the theme of chastity, which also plays a significant role in the panegyric for Elizabeth included in the poem.⁵¹ It is followed by the tale of another virtuous woman from Monmouth's history, called Cordelia, for whom Fletcher invents an Ovidian metamorphosis. She kills herself after being deprived of her kingdom and is changed into a yellow flower (ll. 274-92). The foundation myth of Cambridge is reminiscent of the *Aeneid*: the wandering Spanish Cantaber chooses the banks of the river Cam to erect a city, fulfilling a prophecy, and marries the daughter of the local king Gurguntius (ll. 329-60).⁵² The poem also includes several mentions of battles and bloodshed, which further contribute to its epic character. Furthermore, when the river Cam tells about the recent kings and queens of England, he laments the death of Edward VI at length, in a way reminiscent of the eulogy for Marcellus in Vergil's *Aeneid*. In *Aeneid* 6.878-886, we read:

*heu pietas, heu prisca fides inuictaque bello
dextera! Non illi se quisquam impune tulisset
obuius armato, seu cum pedes iret in hostem*

⁵¹ See, for example, ll. 624-8:

*Quam blanda serenos
Gratia tranquillat vultus? Vt temperat oris
Maiestas augusta vices? Quam Virgine dignus.
Et color, & facies, sed Virgine maius acumen
Ingenij, fragilemquè supra Prudentia Sexum?*

⁵² Cantaber was a creation of Nicholas Cantelupe, who early in the fifteenth century produced a history of the University of Cambridge, entitled: *Historiola de antiquitate et origine almae et immaculatae Universitatis Cantabrigiae*. The character was inspired by and grafted onto Monmouth's history. See: A. Putter, 'King Arthur at Oxbridge: Nicholas Cantelupe, Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Cambridge's Arthurian Foundation Myth', *Medium Ævum* 72, no. 1 (2003): 71–73, <https://doi.org/10.2307/43630634>.

seu spumantis equi foderet calcaribus armos.
heu, miserande puer, si qua fata aspera rumpas,
tu Marcellus eris. manibus date lilia plenis
purpureos spargam flores animamque nepotis
his saltem accumulem donis, et fungar inani
munere.

Alas his piety! Alas for his old-fashioned truthfulness and that right hand undefeated in war! In arms none would have faced him unscathed, whether he marched on foot against his enemy or dug with spurs the flanks of his foaming steed. Alas poor boy, if only you could shatter the cruel barrier of fate! You are to be Marcellus. Give lilies from full hands, grant me to scatter purple flowers, to heap at least these gifts on my descendant's shade and perform a useless office. (Transl. adapted from the translations of West and Fairclough)

Compare this with Fletcher's *De Literis* (ll. 595-9, 604-12):

Purpureos addam **flores**, & *aquatica* spargam
Lilia cum *Menthis*, & **munere fungar inanj.**
Nec te (CHARE PVER) qui sceptrā nouissjma Regum
Gestabas, tacitum linquam, dum talia plango
Funera;
 (. . .)
O Pietas, ô sancta Fides, & *amabile terris*
Ingenium, grauitasque decens, & grandior annis
Maiestas. Non te tumidj vis naufraga Ponti
Bellaque, quæ magnos rapiunt Mauortia Reges
Nascentem rapuere, nec aspera tela, nec Ensis,
Sed Probitas, sed sancta Fides, *maturaque Cœlo*
lam Pietas, virtusque æuj sub flore senescens,
Heu miserande Puer, *Cœlo foelicior alto,*
Sed terris miserande tamen

I will add purple flowers, and I will scatter aquatic Lilies with mint, and I will perform a useless office. And not you (DEAR BOY) who were most recently carrying the sceptre will I leave having been passed over in silence, while I lament aloud such funerals; (...) O [his] Piety, o [his] holy Faith, and [his] loving disposition towards his land, his fitting dignity, and a Majesty greater than his years. Not the power of the swelling sea that causes shipwreck or wars of Mars, which seize great Kings, seized you, just as you were beginning life; nor harsh weapons, nor a sword, but Honesty, holy Faith and Piety already ripe for Heaven, and virtue growing old in the bloom of life. Alas poor Boy, happier in high Heaven, but nevertheless lamentable for us on earth.

For Fletcher's readers, the similarities between these two passages would immediately bring to mind Vergil's epic. The verbal echoes of the *Aeneid*, with words often taking the same position in the hexameter, allow Fletcher to depict Edward as a Marcellus: a promising young man lost prematurely, who was the hope of the nation. The passages express the grief of the speakers by addressing the deceased with the same vocative *miserande puer* and calling the funeral rite of scattering lilies and purple flowers useless, as it is unable to change anything. Yet there is a difference in emphasis in the two passages: Fletcher's *pietas* is not that of the *Aeneid*, where the abstract concept is used to represent the duty to gods, family and patriotic mission, although this meaning is implied too; the *pietas* of King Edward VI is firstly a Christian piety.⁵³ Fletcher is creating protestant panegyric in which the *prisca fides* of Marcellus becomes *sancta fides* in the case of Edward VI, perhaps also reflecting the influence of Lutheran theology with its doctrine of *sola fide* on Edwardian Protestantism.⁵⁴ Marcellus died because of cruel fate, but Edward was taken too soon because his faith and piety were already exemplary – greater than his years – at his young age.

As mentioned above, the lavish descriptions of the water nymphs, which can be found in different places throughout the poem, are reminiscent of the genre of epithalamium. A catalogue of Naiads is also included, for which the primary model is Vergil, *Georgics* 4.334-44, which is in turn modelled closely on Homer, *Iliad* 18.37-49. It can be found when Father Cam appears (ll.39-63):

*Quum Pater ignotæ subita formidine vocis
Attonitus, summa madidum caput extulit vnda.
Cæruleus tergo dependet carbasus, aures
Canna tegit, patulis fluit humida naribus vnda.
Innumeræ circùm Nymphæ, Regemquæ secutæ
Naiades denso circùm sese agmine fundunt.
Thespio Drymoquæ, Lygæaquæ, Cymodicequæ,
Eurynomequæ, Thoequæ soror, Nomolæaquæ Virgo,
Flaua genas, et flaua comas, sed candida vultu.
Et niueo Leuce et croceo velamine Xantho
Colla relaxantes nitidos per eburnea crines.
Cumquæ Diodoria Themis, Oceantides olim,*

⁵³ Michael C. J. Putnam, *Virgil's Aeneid: Interpretation and Influence* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 135.

⁵⁴ Lucy R. Nicholas, 'Roger Ascham's Defence of the Lord's Supper', *Reformation* 20, no. 1 (22 May 2015): 26, 36, <https://doi.org/10.1179/1357417515Z.00000000035>.

*Nunc fluuij Nymphæ. Graijs et nota Berose,
 Inter & Assyrias eadem celeberrima Nymphas.
 Quà celer Euphrates Eoïs voluitur vndis.
 Insignis facie, sed plusquàm nubilis æuo.
 Et Melane, & Crocale, cumquè Æmone discolor Anthos.
 Chrusonequè simul gemmis insignis, et auro.
 Omnes indigenæ: similisque per omnia Dino
 Ora rosis, et labra fauis, et colla ligustris.
 Quamquè peregrinis genuit sub fluctibus Arnon,
 Sed nunc Angligenas degens Polydora per amnes.
 Carmine quæ Reges cecinit, populosquè Britannos.
 Omnes carminibus seriem percurrere doctæ
 Annorum, & longis deducere tempora fastis.*

Then the father, astonished by sudden fear of the unknown voice, lifted his wet head in the highest wave. A blue linen garment hangs down from his back, reed covers his ears, a wet wave flows from his open nostrils, countless nymphs [are] around [him] having followed their King, and the Naiads pour themselves out in a close band around him. Thespio and Drymo, and Lygaea and Cymodice and Eurynome and her sister Thoe, and the maiden Nomolaea, golden in her cheeks, golden with regard to her hair, but white in her face. And Leuce with the snow-white and Xantho with the yellow veil, loosening their shining hair along their ivory necks. And Diodoria and Themis, Oceanids once, now nymphs of the river and Berose well-known to the Greeks, the same is also most celebrated among the Assyrian nymphs, where the swift Euphrates rolls along with its eastern waves. Distinguished because of her face, but more than that for her marriageable age. And Melane and Crocale, and Anthos of a different colour with Aemone. And at the same time Chrusone [comes] beautiful with gems and with gold. All [are] native: and like their master with roses on all their faces, and honey-combs on their lips and with privets along their necks. And she whom the Arno begat under foreign waves, Polydora, but is now living in the presence of English rivers. She who sang about Kings in a song, and about the English people. All know how to run through a series of years in their songs, and to spin out the times in their long annals.

Fletcher's passage is, however, more than just a description of a river god and a catalogue of his companions; these learned nymphs represent historians and in some instances texts. From the marginalia in the MS we learn, for example, that Thespio represents Bede, Diodoria is Diodorus Siculus, Chrusone is Gildas and Polydora, whom the Arno begat, is Polydore Vergil.⁵⁵ The emphasis upon historical,

⁵⁵ The other nymphs represent historians and texts less well known today: Drymo is Syluester; Lygæa, Cymodice, Eurynome, Thoe and the maiden Nomolæa are the Saxon Laws (*Leges Saxonicae*); Leuce is St Alban; Xantho is Flauianus; Themis is Justin; Berosa is Berosus, a Syrian

antiquarian and literary achievement in this passage emphasises the presence of generations of learned men and texts in Cambridge. This is one of the ways in which the eclogue, which contributed to the debate between Oxford and Cambridge about which university is the more ancient, demonstrates both the importance and antiquity of Cambridge as a place of learning.⁵⁶ The main contributors to this debate at the time the poem was composed were Thomas Caius, head of University College, Oxford (1561-72), and John Caius, refounder and master of Gonville and Caius College (1559-73), who are represented by the competing Mythicus and Nicias at the start of the poem, respectively.⁵⁷ Mythicus and Nicias are speaking names: Mythicus deals in (false) myths, Nicias is victorious. Thomas Caius had written the *Assertatio antiquitatis Oxoniensis academiae* in 1566, in response to a speech made by Cambridge's orator claiming that the university had been founded by King Cantaber, a contemporary of the Trojans. John Caius then published the *De antiquitate Cantabrigiensis academiae libri duo* (1568) to renew Cambridge's claim of being the older institution.⁵⁸ This work explains why in the manuscript version of Fletcher's poem, John Caius (as Nicias) is depicted as living near the Thames rather than the river Cam; the title page of the volume refers to him as 'Londinensi Authore'.⁵⁹

mathematician who taught in Athens; Melane is one Radulphus Niger; Crocale is one Richardus Crocus; Anthos is *Flos historiarum*; Dino is Dion Syracusanus. The names of the nymphs reflect attributes also suggested by the English names of the authors they represent: for example, Thespio comes from the Greek word θέσπις, which means sacred and refers to Bede's epithet of 'venerable'; λευκός, ἡ, ὅν means white in Greek as *albus*, *a*, *um* does in Latin, which is why St Alban is represented by Leuce; χρυσός is Greek for gold, hence Gildas, whose name suggests 'gilded' in English, becomes Chrusone. Several of the nymphs' names are also borrowed from Vergil.

⁵⁶ The founder of Cambridge does not arrive until line 330 of the eclogue.

⁵⁷ The marginal notes in the manuscript identify these figures as 'Caius Oxoniensis' and 'Caius Cantabrigiensis'. Although they both chose the Latin surname Caius, there is no evidence John and Thomas Caius were related and it is unclear what their English surnames were exactly (the ODNB gives 'Kay, Key' for Thomas Caius and 'Keys or Kees' for John Caius). Vivian Nutton, *Caius, John (1510–1573), Scholar and Physician* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4351>; Damian R. Leader, *Caius [Kay, Key], Thomas (c. 1505–1572), Antiquary and College Head* (Oxford University Press, 2006), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-4352>.

⁵⁸ Thomas Caius responded with *Examen iudicii Cantabrigiensis*, which circulated in manuscript until it was printed in 1730 as *Vindiciae antiquitatis academiae Oxoniensis contra Johannem Caium Cantabrigiensem*. John Caius also wrote *Historia Cantabrigiensis Academiae* (1574). See: Nutton, *Caius, John (1510–1573), Scholar and Physician*; Leader, *Caius [Kay, Key], Thomas (c. 1505–1572), Antiquary and College Head*.

⁵⁹ *De Literis*, ll. 1-2:

*Mythicus & Nicias; quorum prior Isidis amnem.
Alter ad irriguas habitabat Thamesis vndas.*

In the 1633 edition this is changed to:

Throughout the Hatfield collection and in this poem especially, Fletcher displays a detailed knowledge of intellectual history and of Greek learning. He is demonstrating that he, and therefore by extension England and Cambridge, can produce the most learned kind of Latin poetry, equal to anything being produced on the Continent. His allusions to fashionable Continental poetry in a work concerned with local pride are a part of this; they suggest that Cambridge is a worthy participant in the international *respublica litterarum*.

The final part of the poem includes a description of Cambridge colleges, which is dismissed by Dana F. Sutton, who says that at this point the work ‘morphs into a kind of tourists’ walking guide to Cambridge’.⁶⁰ In fact, this section connects the poem with English chorographical verse and is very much of its moment, or even ahead of it. Chorographical literature tells the story of a journey through the territory it describes.⁶¹ As Helgerson explains, the journey of the chorographer is not realistic; it does not focus on his experience and there are no impediments – he encounters no bad weather or impassable roads, for example. Instead, it serves as an expository device.⁶² Furthermore, Fletcher does not just describe the Cambridge Colleges, he explains who founded them, connecting this section with his history of Cambridge.

Historical chronicles and chorography were frequently combined and were seen as necessary complements of each other; in these texts, the descriptions of place usually serve as an introduction to the chronicles.⁶³ Both types of literature were closely connected to the emergent nationhood of England or ‘Britain’ following the reformation.⁶⁴ As William Rockett explains, the topographical character of Britain was

*Mythicus et Nicias (quorum Isidis alter ad amnem,
Alter ad irriguas Chami consederat undas)*

⁶⁰ Sutton, ‘Notes. Giles Fletcher the Elder, Carmina.’

⁶¹ I have decided to follow Helgerson in speaking of ‘chorographical’ rather than ‘topographical’ literature here as this is a term used in the titles of several works of this kind in the sixteenth century, most notably in the full title of Camden’s 1586 *Britannia*, which is: *Britannia siue Florentissimorum regnorum, Angliæ, Scotiæ, Hiberniæ, et insularum adiacentium ex intima antiquitate chorographica descriptio*.

⁶² Richard Helgerson, *Forms of Nationhood: The Elizabethan Writing of England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 151.

⁶³ Examples of this include Ranulf Higden’s *Polycronicon* (1482), Harrison’s *Description* in Holinshed’s *Chronicles* (1577) and John Speed’s *The Theatre of the Empire of Great Britain* (1611). Helgerson, 132–33. It is worth noting that Fletcher’s *De Literis* and Camden’s *Britannia* follow the same structure; both begin with the history of the place they are concerned with, before moving on to a description of it.

⁶⁴ Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, 178.

discovered in the endeavour of seeking and explaining the ancient origins of the nation's institutions.⁶⁵ The chorography celebrates the land, which speaks of British ancient history through the etymology of its names and was a witness of it. This history, told in the chronicles, proves Britain's pre-eminence to Rome.

The *De Literis* was written at a time when historical and chorographical literature was starting to flourish. The antiquarian works of John Leland (1503-52), many of which were unpublished when he died but were influential and circulated widely after his death, aimed to recover the old glory of Britain.⁶⁶ In 1545 he published his hendecasyllabic *Cygneae Cantio*, in which a flock of swans travels down the Thames from Oxford to Greenwich, giving him the opportunity to describe the towns and residences along the river's banks.⁶⁷ The prose *Commentarioli Britannicae descriptionis fragmentum* (1572) by the map maker Humphrey Llywd (1527-68), published at around the time Fletcher sent his Hatfield manuscript to Lady Burghley, is the first historical and geographical description of Britain as a whole, which defends Geoffrey of Monmouth's history and argues for the integrity of the early British church.⁶⁸ Furthermore, William Camden (1551-1623), who like Fletcher was connected to the Cecils, started touring the British provinces for his famous *Britannia* (1586) in 1571.⁶⁹ In his descriptions of the different counties, Camden cites many relevant passages of verse, taken from a range of classical, late antique, medieval and contemporary sources, and what is now widely considered his own chorographical verse: fragments of a poem entitled *De Connubio Tamae et Isis*, of which more is added in later editions.⁷⁰ Inspired by Leland's *Cygneae Cantio*,

⁶⁵ William Rickett, 'Historical Topography and British History in Camden's Britannia', *Renaissance and Reformation/Renaissance et Réforme* 14, no. 1 (1990): 72.

⁶⁶ James P. Carley, *Leland, John (c. 1503–1552), Poet and Antiquary* (Oxford University Press, 2006), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16416>; Cathy Shrank, *Writing the Nation in Reformation England, 1530–1580* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004), 69, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199268887.001.0001>.

⁶⁷ Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925*, 27; Carley, *Leland, John (c. 1503–1552), Poet and Antiquary*.

⁶⁸ R. Brinley Jones, *Llywd, Humphrey (1527–1568), Antiquary and Map Maker* (Oxford University Press, 2014), <https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-16867>. It appeared in a translation by Thomas Twyne entitled *The Breviary of Britayne* in 1573.

⁶⁹ Rickett, 'Historical Topography and British History in Camden's Britannia', 73.

⁷⁰ The classical and late antique verse cited includes Ovid, Lucan, Juvenal, Claudian and Ausonius. The medieval Latin verse is taken from English works, such as the *Antiocheis* of Josephus Iscanus (fl. c. 1180-94) and the *Historia Anglorum* of Henry of Huntingdon (1088–c. 1157). The most frequently

Camden's work describes the course of the rivers Thame and Isis, their joining in "marriage" at Dorchester-on-Thames, and then their progress as the river Thames to London.⁷¹ The extensive 1607 edition of the *Britannia* also includes 20 chorographical poems taken from the *Urbes Britanniae* of the Scottish John Johnston, more than half of which were concerned with Scottish cities.⁷²

By modelling his first eclogue on Vergil's *Eclogue* 6, Sannazaro's *Eclogue* 4 and the contemporary pastoral verse of Lotichius, Fletcher has rooted the poem in the pastoral tradition, while also drawing on other genres and contemporary developments in literature. His allusions to epic add to the prestige of the history of Cambridge/Britain and show it was predestined. Taking elements from the genre of epithalamium, such as the imagery of (local) nymphs and the inclusion of genealogies, and tapping into the budding interest in historical and chorographical literature in Britain, he adds to the distinctively British nature of the work. A combination of generic conventions and approaches, the innovative eclogue contributes both to the national celebration of the country and its Protestant monarch and to the more local debate about which British university is the more ancient. Written at a time when antiquarianism was on the rise, it anticipates Camden's *Britannia*.⁷³

cited work is the *Laus sapientiae divinae* of Alexander Neckam (1157-1217). It also includes verse by John Leland. On the attribution of the *De Connubio* to Camden, see: Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925*, 40-42; Jack B. Oruch, 'Spenser, Camden, and the Poetic Marriages of Rivers', *Studies in Philology* 64, no. 4 (1967): 609-11; George Burke Johnston and William Camden, 'Poems by William Camden: With Notes and Translations from the Latin', *Studies in Philology* 72, no. 5 (1975): 36-39; Pat Rogers, *The Symbolic Design of Windsor-Forest: Iconography, Pageant, and Prophecy in Pope's Early Work* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2004), 124.

⁷¹ Oruch, 'Spenser, Camden, and the Poetic Marriages of Rivers', 612-13.

⁷² They may have been added in response to criticism that the work lacked in its description of Scotland. See: Angus Vine, 'Restoring Britain: Courtesy and Collaboration in Camden's *Britannia*', in *In Defiance of Time: Antiquarian Writing in Early Modern England* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2010), 99-106, <https://doi.org/10.1093/acprof:oso/9780199566198.003.0004>.

⁷³ Like Fletcher, Camden also includes information about the founders of Cambridge's Colleges in his description of the city. Compare, for example, Fletcher's and Camden's descriptions of Peterhouse, Cambridge.

De Litteris, l. 508-10:

Hanc primam tepidos sedem quæ spectat ad Austros
BALSAMIVS posuit, quj cincta palustribus vndis
Elidis obtinuit Præsul bifluminis Arua.

Camden, *Britannia*, T1v:

Primú verò Collegium (quod S. Petri domus vocatur) Hugo Balsham Episcopus Eliensis anno 1280, extruxit & dotauit.

Æcloga Callianissa

The next eclogue in the collection is a pastoral epithalamium, which stands in a long tradition of epithalamia, going back to fragments by Sappho.⁷⁴ The eclogue is connected to the previous poem because it opens with a troop of Naiads (*Naiadum agmen*, l. 2) meeting at the river Isis and leaving for the city of London; thus, nymphs play an important role in this poem as in the first eclogue and the poem shares aspects of topographical verse as well. They pass the place where the Thame and Isis meet, symbolic of the marriage.⁷⁵ A lavish description of the water nymphs is also included (l. 5-14):

*Par color, & facies illis, decor omnibus idem.
Ex humeris (brumæ suadebant frigora vestem)
Candida pendebant croceo mantilia lympo.
Vittaque Nympharum laxos de more capillos
Legerat in nodum, quos intertexta decebant
Lilia, secretis quæ nutrit Hamadrias vndis
Iamque propinquabant vrbj, fluctusque secabant,
Cum reliquas inter pulcherrima Callianissa
Connubiale refert carmen, quam deinde sequutæ
Alterno reliquæ comitantur carmine Nymphæ.*

They all had the same aspect and hue, they all had the same beauty. From their shoulders (the winter chills compelled them to wear clothing) hung bright, yellow-bordered mantles. And a riband bound the locks of the Nymphs, falling loose in the usual way, into a knot, and interwoven lilies adorned their hair, which a Hamadryad grew in her secret waters. And now they approached the city, cleaving the water, when Callianissa, the fairest among the rest, uttered a marriage-song which the rest of the nymphs followed up with their refrain. (Transl. adapted from Sutton)⁷⁶

⁷⁴ The epithalamia are frs. 27, 30, 107-117 and perhaps frs. 104-6. Holt N. Parker, 'Sappho Schoolmistress', in *Re-Reading Sappho: Reception and Transmission*, ed. Ellen Greene (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 168. The tradition includes Theocritus *Idyll* 18, Catullus *Carmen* 61, 62 and 64, Statius *Sylvæ* 1.2, Ausonius's *Cento Nuptialis*, Claudian's *Epithalamium de Nuptiis Honorii Augusti* and *Epithalamium dictum Palladio V.C. tribune et notario et Celerinae*, and Pontano's *Lepidina*, alongside many more recent neo-Latin examples of the form, such as Niccolò d'Arco's *Galatea* (1545), George Buchanan's *Francisci Valesi et Mariæ Stuartæ, Regum Franciæ et Scotiæ, Epithalamium* (1558) and Joachim Camerarius's *Ecloga XVIII. Carmen epithalamium* (1563). For more examples of (mostly sixteenth-century) pastoral epithalamia, see: Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 294–305. On neo-Latin epithalamia in general, see: Tufte, *The Poetry of Marriage*, 88–93.

⁷⁵ This may be significant in the light of William Camden's later poem *De Connubio Tamæ et Isis*.

⁷⁶ Sutton, 'Giles Fletcher the Elder, Carmina.'

The most beautiful among the Naiads, who sings a marriage song surrounded by her companions, is the Callianissa of the title. The very similar Greek name Καλλιάνασσα is the name of one of the Nereids Homer lists in *Iliad* 18.46.⁷⁷ The name means ‘beautiful ruler’, a good name for a nymph who seems to represent Queen Elizabeth. Callianissa is also the name of one of the nymphs mentioned in l. 26 of Sabinus’s *De Nuptiis Sigismundi Augusti et Elyssae* (1543). The image of Elizabeth surrounded by nymphs can be found in Spenser’s *April* eclogue, ll.118-126 and the description of the nymphs themselves is reminiscent of a stanza from Spenser’s *Epithalamion*, where nymphs of the rivers, the forests and the sea bring (ll. 42-4):

Another gay girland
For my fayre loue of lillyes and of roses,
Bound trueloue wize with a blew silke riband.⁷⁸

‘Trueloue wize’ means ‘into a love knot’; the bride with her riband, knot and flowers, thus looks very much like Fletcher’s nymphs.⁷⁹ Both English poets are likely drawing on contemporary French epithalamia, in which nymphs play an important role; James McPeck has argued that the passage in Spenser is modelled on Marc Claude de Buttet’s *Aux Muses pour Immortalizer la Vertu de Madame Marguerite* (1559), in which the Muses of mountains, rivers and forests make garlands for the lady.⁸⁰ He also mentions Spenser’s extensive scholarship in the *Epithalamion*, saying that the poet was employing ‘a repository of images and ideas derived from many sources’, but he ignores the influence of neo-Latin epithalamia, such as those of the German poets Sabinus and Lotichius and, possibly, Fletcher.⁸¹ Piepho has shown that

⁷⁷ It is plausible that Fletcher, as a lecturer in Greek at King’s College Cambridge, was familiar with Homer’s *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Greek editions, Latin translations, and scholarly commentaries on Homer were widely available north of the Alps after 1515. See: Jessica Wolfe, *Homer and the Question of Strife from Erasmus to Hobbes* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2015), 8.

⁷⁸ All citations of Spenser are taken from: Edmund Spenser, *The Shorter Poems*, ed. Richard A. (Richard Anthony) McCabe (London: Penguin Classics, 1999).

⁷⁹ Spenser, *The Shorter Poems*, 699.

⁸⁰ McPeck, ‘The Major Sources of Spenser’s “Epithalamion”’, 189–91.

⁸¹ McPeck, *The Major Sources*, 183. Formal epithalamia of this kind were part of an established neo-Latin genre across Europe; other examples include Sir Thomas Craig’s *Henrici illustrissimi . . . epithalamium* (1565), Hadrianus Junius’s *Philippeis* (1554) and George Buchanan’s *Francisci Valesi et Mariae Stuartae Regum Franciae et Scotiae, Epithalamium* (1558). Victoria Moul discusses these and other examples in Chapter 10 of Moul, *Latin and English Poetry in England, c. 1550-1700: The Poetics of Bilingualism*. I am grateful for the opportunity to see this chapter in advance of publication. As discussed in the introduction, pastoral epithalamia were commonly included in neo-Latin eclogue collections.

Spenser owned a copy of both Sabinus's and Lotichius's *Poemata* and argues that the epithalamic strain of their eclogues makes Spenser's *April* less surprising.⁸² That Fletcher too was familiar with the eclogues of these German poets, suggests their poetry may have had more influence on English poets than has thus far been recognised.

Fletcher's choice to surround Callianissa, representing the queen, by nymphs, rather than the bride seems to be derived from the epithalamia of Statius and Claudian, where Venus is depicted accompanied by sea-deities and water nymphs; this imagery could easily be applied to Queen Elizabeth, who in panegyric was frequently praised as Venus, Juno or Cynthia/Diana.⁸³ It is fitting for the occasion as the Queen and many of her courtiers were present at the wedding which took place at Westminster Abbey on the 19th of December 1571.⁸⁴ There is usually a poet-speaker in epithalamia, who represents himself as taking part in the ceremony as chorus leader or master of ceremonies.⁸⁵ Here Callianissa/Elizabeth takes on this role. The poem is about the marriage of two people closely connected with the court of Queen Elizabeth: the Earl of Oxford was one of her courtiers and Anne Cecil was one of the women who attended upon the queen, but her role as speaker emphasises the significance of her presence at the ceremony and directly connects the work with the monarch.

The eclogue is in many ways a conventional epithalamium, including some of the aspects which Scaliger recommends should be included in a poem of this type: it opens with a request for favourable omens, includes praise of the bride and groom, focusing on her beauty and his skills at the tilt, and concludes with the promise of offspring.⁸⁶ Conveniently, some of these elements allow Fletcher to include praise of

⁸² Piepho, 'The Shepheardes Calender and Neo-Latin Pastoral: A Book Newly Discovered to Have Been Owned By Spenser', 1 January 2001.

⁸³ See: King, 'Queen Elizabeth I: Representations of the Virgin Queen'. In the Hatfield collection, Elizabeth is praised as VENIOVNOPALLADA in lines 629-34 of Fletcher's *De Literis*: the judgement of Paris is described in which the prize awarded to the queen, because the best aspects of the three goddesses are united in her. In Spenser's *Epithalamion*, l. 372-389 the goddess Cynthia is asked not to be envious and to bless the marriage with offspring. Cynthia elsewhere represents Queen Elizabeth (e.g. *SC, April*, l. 82); Spenser thus evokes the queen's blessing.

⁸⁴ May, *Vere [Née Cecil], Anne de, Countess of Oxford (1556–1588), Courtier*.

⁸⁵ Greene, 'Spenser and the Epithalamic Convention', 219–21.

⁸⁶ It is an example of what Scaliger calls the third type of epithalamium, in which the ceremony itself is described. The examples he includes of this type are Musaeus's poem about Leander, Ovid's about the marriage of Orpheus, Statius's about Stella, Claudian's about Honorius and Maria and Ausonius's

William Cecil. When the bride has been praised for her beauty, the speaker mentions her virtue and says (ll. 93-8):

*te virtus clara parentis
Adiuuat & populj promittit læta fauorem.
Hinc tam multa tuo debens Brytanna parentj
Has tibj fælicj lucentes omine tædas
Accipit applaudit titulis, gratatur honorj,
Ipsa (licet toto iam ver tibj floreat anno)*

You are helped by your father's excellent virtue, happily promising you popular favor. Hence Britain, owing your father so much, receives these marriage torches which shine for you with happy omen, cheers for your titles, and congratulates you on this honor, for you let springtime flourish throughout the year. (Transl. adapted from Sutton)

When the promise of offspring is made at the end of the poem, Cecil is mentioned again: it is said that the child 'will surpass the virtue of his father and the prudence of his grandfather' (*Et patrem virtus & auum prudentia vincet*, l. 117).

There is a recurring refrain in the epithalamium which is similar to many others in the tradition: *Hæc ait: at reliquæ repetito carmine Nymphæ | Hymen, ô Hymenæe, Hymen, Hymenæe canebant*. Its second line is an exact echo of line 37 in Lotichius's wedding eclogue: *Hymen ô Hymenæe, Hymen, Hymenæe canebant*.⁸⁷ Just before the final refrain at the end of the eclogue, the nymphs of the river Cam make an appearance joining those of the Isis, presumably because of William Cecil's connection with the University of Cambridge (l. 119-20): *Isidis hæc nymphæ, sed quas sub gurgite Chamus | Edocuit, vobis faelicia vota precantur*. ('For these things the nymphs of the Isis pray, but [the nymphs] whom the Cam has instructed beneath his water [also] pray favourable prayers for you.' Transl. adapted from Sutton). The epithalamium is well-positioned in the collection following the *De Literis*; as we have

Cento Nuptialis. Julius Caesar Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem* (Genève: Apud Ioannem Crispinum, 1561), Book 3, Ch. 101, sigs. o.i.v-^o.o.iii.f; Heather Dubrow, *A Happier Eden: The Politics of Marriage in the Stuart Epithalamium* (Ithaca, N.Y: Cornell University Press, 1990), 273-75, 290. Greene's discussion of the epithalamic convention also mentions these elements: Greene, 'Spenser and the Epithalamic Convention', 218-20.

⁸⁷ This refrain is a traditional one similar to that used by Catullus in Carmen 61 (*o Hymenæe Hymen, | o Hymen Hymenæe*) and Carmen 62 (*Hymen o Hymenæe, Hymen ades o Hymenæe*), which Pontano also draws on for the refrain in his *Lepidina*. 'Pompa Tertia' (*Dicimus: O Hymenæe, Hymen ades o Hymenæe, | Felix o Hymenæe, Hymen felix Hymenæe*) and 'Pompa Septima' (*Dicimus: O Hymenæe, io Hymen, Hymenæe!*).

seen, that poem also has elements of a wedding song. Furthermore, like the ambitious opening eclogue, it has links with Oxford (as the groom is the Earl of Oxford) and Cambridge (as the father of the bride is the Chancellor of Cambridge University). The epithalamium is connected to the rest of the collection through the themes of Cambridge and Cecil, as well as the role of rivers in its setting and its praise of Queen Elizabeth.

Æcloga Adonis

Eclogue 3 is a pastoral lament written on the death of Clere Haddon; it is part of a tradition which finds its origin in Theocritus *Idyll* 1, Bion's *Lament for Adonis* and Moschus *Lament for Bion*, as well as in Vergil's *Eclogue* V, often said to lament Julius Caesar, and *Eclogue* X, written on the figurative death of the elegiac poet Gallus. Fletcher places the lament at the heart of his collection, in a position similar to Vergil's *Eclogue* V. It seems Fletcher was close to the Haddons; the poem appeared in print in 1576, in a volume consisting of Walter Haddon's poetry, followed by seven commemorative poems for both Walter and his son Clere, six of which were written by Fletcher.⁸⁸ Some likely models for the eclogue can be found in the Italian neo-Latin tradition, such as Basilio Zanchi's *Meliseus*, written on the death of the poet Giovanni Pontano (1429-1503), and Castiglione's *Alcon* on the death of Domizio Falcone (d. 1505). As Lambert explains, in classical pastoral laments there is not usually a particular man mourning the deceased. 'But the Renaissance elegist, especially if he is lamenting the death of some personal friend or loved one, wants a mourner at the centre of his stage. So he often begins his poem as Castiglione in 'Alcon' and Basilio Zanchi in his 'Meliseus' begin theirs, with a description of a solitary mourner lamenting his loss, disconsolate while all of nature flourishes around

⁸⁸ Walter Haddon, *Poematum Gualteri Haddoni, Legum Doctoris, Sparsim Collectorum, Libri Duo* (Londini: Apud Gulielmum Seresium, 1576), L3-M6^v. The other poem is on L7^v and is entitled *In Cleri Haddoni de patre censuram, responsio Osmundi Lakesij*. It is by Osmund Lakes, who matriculated at Cambridge in 1562. He is not to be confused with the Lakes who contributed *Epigramma* 32 and 43 to BL Royal MS 12 A XXX. This is probably Stephen Lakes, who, like Fletcher, started at King's College Cambridge in 1565. See: John Venn and John Archibald Venn, eds., *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900: Volume 1: From the Earliest Times to 1751*, vol. 1, part 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1924), 35, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139093910>.

him.⁸⁹ It is only later in the poem that nature joins in the lament. But nature does not join in the lament at all in this poem (*non illa preces, neque iurgia curant,| Nec quid sint lachrymæ, nec quid sint gaudia nôrunt*. 'These streams do not care for prayers, nor for quarrels, and they do not know what tears or joys are.'). The cold river does not care that Adonis, a young man of promise, died prematurely, and there is no pathetic fallacy forthcoming. Like Castiglione's Iolas, Lycidas explains his usual activities no longer delight him after the death of his friend (ll. 26-31):⁹⁰

*Iam piget & nemorum, iam me nec dulcia riuis
Arua iuuant, iaculumuè manu, grauidasuè pharetras
Ferre, nec assuetos indagine claudere montes,
Aut celeres nutrire canes, quis **retia** mecum,
Quis iuga, quis tenso cinget nemora auia lino,
Longa vel **è teretj** stringet **venabula quercu**?*

Now I am tired even of the woods, and now the pleasant fields with streams do not delight me, nor does it thrill me to bear a javelin or a full quiver in my hand, nor beset the hills in the enclosure of a hunt, as I used to do, or to feed my swift dogs. Who will prepare the nets with me, who will encircle the summits, who the untrodden groves with stretched net or (who) will pluck the long hunting-spears off the smooth oak?

Fletcher may thus be taking aspects from Italian neo-Latin pastoral laments and adapting them, but he is here more directly inspired by Lotichius' pastoral elegy *Sarnis*, in which the speaker, who is also called Lycidas, similarly indicates he no longer finds joy in activities now that his friend has died (l. 32-6):⁹¹

⁸⁹ Lambert, *Placing Sorrow*, 84.

⁹⁰ Compare lines 68-77 in Castiglione's *Alcon*:

*Non ego te posthac, pastorum adstante corona,
Victorem aspiciam volucris certare sagitta;
Aut iaculo, aut dura socios superare palaestra:
Non tecum posthac molli resupinus in umbra
Effugiam longos aestivo tempore soles:
Non tua vicinos mulcebit fistula montes,
Docta nec umbrosae resonabunt carmina valles:
Non tua corticibus toties inscripta Lycoris,
Atque ignis Galatea meus nos iam simul ambos
Audierint ambae nostros cantare furores;*

⁹¹ Fletcher is also drawing on Lotichius's fifth eclogue which is entitled *Adonis* as well. It is a lament for a learned young man who drowned in a river when crossing the Alps, just like the young Clere Haddon drowned in the river Cam. The speakers in the poem are called Myrtilus and Celadon; the same names are used by Fletcher for the speakers in his fourth eclogue *De Contemptu Ministrorum*.

*Omnia tecum una fugerunt gaudia nostra,
Sarni, nec e **tereti** sine te **venabula quercu**,
Nec pharetras gestare libet: cui nostra laborent
Retia? quis pariles aetate lavabit ad amnem
Capreolos, texetque novos per cornua flores?*

All our joys fled with you, Sarnis, and without you it is not pleasing to carry hunting spears of elegant oak nor quivers: for whom should our nets work? Who will bathe roebucks equal in age at the river, and weave fresh flowers among their horns?

Here both poets movingly convey the personal loss of the hunter, who wonders who will join him in his activities now. Another parallel with Lotichius can be found later in the poem. Lycidas describes how Adonis used to go hunting and speaks of the high hopes for this young man. Then he remembers (l.58-9):

*Iamque **tuâ captæ formâ**, specieque decorâ,
Dulcia **sperabant lætæ connubia Nymphæ***

And now captivated by your beauty and by your graceful appearance, the happy Nymphs were hoping for pleasant marriage.⁹²

In Lotichius's first eclogue the nymphs are equally hopeful of marrying the hunter Sarnis (l. 74-5):

***Sperabant** hîc **læta** sibi **connubia Nymphæ**
SARNI, **tua captæ forma**, & florentibus annis*

The Nymphs here were hoping for happy marriage for themselves, Sarnis, captivated by your beauty and by your blooming years.

The verbal echoes are clear and *tua captæ forma* and *connubia Nymphæ* have been given the same position in the hexameter.

In the passages from Fletcher's poem cited above, the emphasis is on the speaker's experience of hunting with his lost friend; the setting is therefore the woods. The main focus throughout the poem is on the river, however, as is clear from the

⁹² Compare also these lines in Fletcher's panegyric for Edward VI in the *De Literis*, which are drawing on the same passage from Lotichius (l. 615-6):
*Quæquæ **tua captæ forma**, et florentibus annis
Dulcia **sperabant** Regum **connubia Natæ**.*

frequent use of the words *flumina*, *amnes* and *undae*.⁹³ This shows Lycidas' inconsolable grief, who blames the river for Haddon's death by drowning. The only consolation lies in the fact that Adonis is now at peace and Lycidas will join him one day (l. 68-71).⁹⁴ His obsession with the river is evident when he uses an *adynaton* at the end of the eclogue. This rhetorical figure represents something as impossible, absurd or implausible by comparing it to one or more impossibilities in nature.⁹⁵ *Adynata* are frequently used in pastoral laments to show that the fame of the deceased will endure. The first is found in Vergil's *Eclogue* 5.76-8:

*dum iuga montis aper, fluuios dum piscis amabit,
dumque thymo pascentur apes, dum rore cicadae,
semper honos nomenque tuum laudesque manebunt.*

While boars love the mountain-heights, while fish the streams,
While bees feed on thyme, while cicadas on the dew,
Always your honour and name and praises will remain.
(Transl. A.J. Boyle)⁹⁶

Here the examples of impossibilities in nature are varied; in Fletcher's poem, both examples are related to the river (ll.75-7):

*Amnis vt hic arescit, & hæc vt lympa recurrit,
Et refluo primos inuiset gurgite fontes,
Sic etiam nostro de pectore cedet Adonis.*

As this stream dries up, and as those waters run back and will visit the first sources with the stream flowing back, so also will Adonis go from our heart.

The *adynaton* is reinforced by the lack of a pathetic fallacy in the poem; the river does not respond to the tragedy of Haddon's death, so it is unlikely to change its

⁹³ Forms of *flumen* are used six times, in l.7,8,15,24,38 and 64, forms of *amnis* are included five times in the title and l. 16, 24, 47 and 75, as are forms of *unda* in l.4, 5, 15, 21 and 39.

⁹⁴ This too can be found in Lotichius, compare Fletcher, *Adonis* l.66,70-1:

Hûc (puer ô formose) redj (...)

Fælix illa dies quæ nos simul æthere iunctos | Accipiet

With Lotichius, *Sarnis* l. 62,67:

Huc puer o formose redi (...)

Felix illa dies, qua tu mihi redditus olim

⁹⁵ Ernest Dutoit, *Le Thème de l'adynaton Dans La Poésie Antique*. (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1936), ix. For another discussion of this motif, see Chapter 1.

⁹⁶ Virgil, *The Eclogues of Virgil / Translated with Introduction, Notes and Latin Text by A.J. Boyle*.

course in response to any future event. Therefore Adonis/Haddon will always be remembered.

Like Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*, this is the most personal of Fletcher's eclogues, and deserves its central place in the collection.⁹⁷ The work is a pastoral elegy, which draws on Italian neo-Latin pastoral laments, but is modelled more closely on Lotichius' *Sarnis*. It is connected to the other Hatfield Eclogues by its river theme and concern with Cambridge; Fletcher has adapted some of the conventions of pastoral elegy to create an emphasis on the cruel indifference of the icy river in which his friend drowned.

College politics: Æcloga de Contemptu Ministrorum and Queræla Collegij Regalis

The last two eclogues in the collection are religious allegories, as are the final two of Mantuan's eclogues, *Adulescentia* 9 and 10. Mantuan's ecclesiastical eclogues are not, however, Fletcher's main models; instead, the *De Contemptu Ministrorum*, in which Myrtilus complains to Celadon because shepherds are scorned by the people and the life of a shepherd is hard, is modelled on Mantuan's *Eclogue* 5, in which a shepherd called Candidus complains about the stinginess of patrons to a potential patron called Silvanus.⁹⁸ The fifth eclogue is a *pharmaceutria* eclogue, in which a sorceress is using magic rites, like Theocritus's *Idyll* 2, Vergil's *Eclogue* 8 and Sannazaro's *Eclogue* 5. Both poems allude to the problems King's College Cambridge had with its provost Philip Baker, and I will focus here on these college politics. It is only a small part of the fourth eclogue, however, which is also concerned with religious conflict in the wider world.⁹⁹ This religious allegory will be discussed further at the end of this chapter in relation to Mantuan's and Spenser's ecclesiastical eclogues.

⁹⁷ The eclogue has significant connections with both Milton's *E.D.* and his *Lycidas*, which are discussed further in Chapter 3.

⁹⁸ In his *Acta Romanorum Pontificum* (1558), John Bale regards Mantuan's *Eclogue* 5 as an attack on the papal court, so it is possible Fletcher also saw it as a religious allegory. See: Piepho, 'Mantuan's Eclogues in the English Reformation', 626.

⁹⁹ In his discussion of the poem, Berry focuses too much on the allusion to Philip Baker, which takes up only a small part of it (l. 127-30 and l. 163-5). Berry, 'Three Poems by Giles Fletcher, the Elder, in "Poemata Varii Argumenti" (1678)'.

Philip Baker was appointed as provost of King's College Cambridge by Queen Elizabeth in 1558. He was deprived of the position in February 1570 following various complaints: it was said he had papist leanings and did not do his duty; he was idle and did not preach even though he was a Doctor of Divinity. Furthermore, charges were made that he had appropriated college funds.¹⁰⁰ In the *De Contemptu Ministrorum* Celadon explains that shepherds are not respected by the people anymore because so many of them are greedy and unskilled. Corydon represents Philip Baker in the eclogue; he is depicted as one of the unskilled shepherds, which is understandable given the charges that were made against him (ll. 124-30):¹⁰¹

*Sæpe tamen nulla fretos hos arte, videbis
Inter Hamadryadas festum celebrare puellas,
Et stipula miserum stridentj spargere carmen.
Talis erat Corydon, Corydon generatus Amynta.
Quem nôstj patrij linquentem munus aratrj,
Et stimulos, quibus ante boues vrgere solebat,
Et iam pascit oues vicinj ad pascua Nisj.*

Yet you will often see them, relying on no art, celebrating a festival in the company of the Hamadryad maidens, and with a grating straw they scatter a wretched song. Such a man was Corydon, Corydon fathered by Amyntas, whom you know to have abandoned the task of his father's plough and the goads with which he used to prod cattle. And now he grazes his sheep at the pastures of neighbouring Nisus. (Transl. adapted from Sutton)

¹⁰⁰ Kekewich, *Baker, Philip (1522/3–1590?)*, *College Head*; Berry, 'Three Poems by Giles Fletcher, the Elder, in "Poemata Varii Argumenti" (1678)'. Unlike what Berry argues based on textual evidence, I do not think the exact date of composition can be established for this poem. Quoting lines 114-5 (*Me quoque dum nuper cælebs sine coniuge vixj, | Innumerj petière procj, peterentque vicissim.*), he dates the poem to the period when Baker had left and the new provost Roger Goad had not been appointed yet. But Telethusa is complaining about her husband Daphnis and wants to be released from his bonds because she is still married. She is here reminiscing about the time before she met him. Meliboeus and Aegon are recounting Telethusa's complaints a little while after she has made them. See e.g. ll.44-6: *Sed neque me Dryades tantum, neque Phyllidis ignes, | Flumineææue mouent plangentes littora Nymphæ, | Grantigenas quantum nuper Telethusa per vndas*. Furthermore, the narrator says her spells were in vain (l. 242-4: *Talia nequicquam cæco Telethusa sub antro | Fundebat, largoque oculos humore rigabat, | Daphnidos aggrediens cantando figere mentem*), but this only suggests something about the time the speakers in the poem are having the dialogue, it does not clarify whether the poem itself was composed before or after Daphnis/Baker left.

¹⁰¹ Berry, 'Three Poems by Giles Fletcher, the Elder, in "Poemata Varii Argumenti" (1678)'.

When he left the college, Baker fled to Louvain; many Catholic English scholars went there following the accession of Queen Elizabeth.¹⁰²

The choice of the name Corydon underlines the provost's incompetence. In Theocritus's *Idyll* 4, Corydon is a servant of Aegon who has been temporarily put in charge of his cattle. The poem is a dialogue between Battus and Corydon; they talk about the reason for Aegon's departure and Corydon argues that the cattle miss their master when Battus points out what a bad herdsman Aegon's departure has brought. Corydon does not understand the insult (l.12-4):

KO. ταῖ δαμάλαι δ' αὐτὸν μυκῶμεναι αἶδε ποθεῦντι.

BA. δείλαιαί γ' αὖται, τὸν βουκόλον ὥς κακὸν εὔρον.

KO. ἦ μὰν δείλαιαί γε, καὶ οὐκέτι λῶντι νέμεσθαι.

Corydon: The heifers are lowing and longing for him.

Battus: Well, they *are* wretched. What a poor herdsman they've found!

Corydon: Wretched they certainly are, and they don't want to graze any more.
(Transl. Neil Hopkinson)¹⁰³

When Battus laments the absence of Aegon's poetry (l. 28: χά σῦριγξ εὐρῶτι παλύνεται, ἄν ποκ' ἐπάξα. – 'And the pipe you once made is spotted with mold.' (Transl. Hopkinson)), Corydon boasts that he is a worthy heir of his master and then shows his lack of talent in an impromptu song in praise of Aegon (l.29-37). He later removes a thorn from Battus's foot and tells him to wear shoes when going into the hills. In response, Battus seems to praise Corydon, but he does so by comparing him to Pans and Satyrs, emphasising he is uncultivated (l.62-3: εὔ γ' ὠνθρωπε φιλοῖφα. τό τοι γένος ἦ Σατυρίσκοις | ἐγγύθεν ἦ Πάνεσσι κακοκνάμοισιν ἐρίσδει. – 'Well done, old lecher! Your sort are not far behind the race of Satyrs and ugly-legged Pans.'

¹⁰² Kekewich, *Baker, Philip (1522/3–1590?)*, *College Head*. C. J. Fordyce, 'Louvain and Oxford in the Sixteenth Century', *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*, 1933, 645–47. Louvain is here referred to as the pastures of Nisus. In Vergil's *Eclogue* 6, Nisus is mentioned as the parent of Scylla (l. 74). Scylla fell in love with King Minos, who was attacking her city, Megara. She betrayed her father Nisus, the king, by cutting the purple lock of his hair, which made the city invincible (see e.g., *Ov. Met.* 8.1-151). Although the comparison is not completely clear, it seems to imply that the city of Louvain, which was part of the territory of Philip II of Spain, was under threat.

¹⁰³ Theocritus, Moschus, and Bion, *Theocritus. Moschus. Bion.*, ed. Neil Hopkinson, Loeb Classical Library 28 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2015).

(Transl. Hopkins)). In Vergil's *Eclogue* 2, Corydon is the shepherd who unsuccessfully tries to woo Alexis. As he acknowledges himself in l. 56-7: *Rusticus es, Corydon; nec munera curat Alexis, | nec, si muneribus certes, concedat lollas.* ('You are a rustic, Corydon; and Alexis does not care for gifts, nor, if you vied with gifts, would lollas give way.' (Transl. adapted from Boyle)). Erasmus advises teachers in his *De Ratione Studii* (1512) to deflect pupils' attention from the erotic desire between Corydon and Alexis in the eclogue; he says they should explain the relationship between the two men as too weak to hold, because they are dissimilar.¹⁰⁴ Contrasting them, he too paints a picture of Corydon as unattractive and uneducated:

*Corydon rusticus, Alexis vrbanus; Corydon pastor, Alexis aulicus; Corydon indoctus (nam huius carmina vocat incondita), Alexis eruditus; Corydon aetate prouectus, Alexis adolescens; Corydon deformis, hic formosus. Breuiter dissimilia omnia.*¹⁰⁵

Corydon is from the countryside, Alexis from the city. Corydon is a shepherd, Alexis a courtier. Corydon is unsophisticated (for Virgil calls his songs artless), while Alexis is widely read. Corydon is advanced in years, Alexis in his early manhood. Corydon is ugly, Alexis handsome. In short, they differ in every respect. (Transl. Betty I. Knott).¹⁰⁶

Corydon is also the name of one of the singers competing in *Eclogue* 7. Here he appears to be the more pleasant of the two herders and he wins the contest, but since Fletcher depicts his Corydon as an unskilled shepherd, he is associated more with the singer of *Eclogue* 2.¹⁰⁷

In the final poem of the collection, two shepherds called Meliboeus and Aegon are exchanging songs. They sing about a nymph called Telethusa, representing King's College Cambridge, who complains about the way her husband Daphnis, who

¹⁰⁴ Anthony Grafton, *Defenders of the Text: The Traditions of Scholarship in an Age of Science, 1450-1800* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991), 38.

¹⁰⁵ Erasmus, *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi*, ed. J. C. Margolin and P. Mesnard (Amsterdam: Huygens instituut/Brill, 1971), 142.

¹⁰⁶ Desiderius Erasmus, *Collected Works of Erasmus. 24, Literary and Educational Writings 2: De Copia /De Ratione Studii*, trans. Betty I. Knott (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1978), 686.

¹⁰⁷ For an explanation why Corydon wins the competition in Vergil's *Eclogue* 7 and is the less coarse of the two singers, see: Stephen V. F. Waite, 'The Contest in Vergil's Seventh Eclogue', *Classical Philology* 67, no. 2 (1972): 121-23.

represents Philip Baker, treats her.¹⁰⁸ The poem is an example of a *pharmaceutria* eclogue – the name of this type of eclogue comes from the Greek word φαρμακεύτρια, which means sorceress, and is frequently used as the title for Theocritus's *Idyll* 2. In eclogues of this kind, which include Vergil's *Eclogue* 8 and Sannazaro's *Eclogue* 5, a woman usually recites incantations and performs magic rites to bind a neglectful lover to her, as in Theocritus's poem: Telethusa does not use rites to recall a lover who has lost interest in her; instead, she tries to use them to drive him away.¹⁰⁹ This reflects how badly the college wanted to get rid of the provost according to Fletcher. The poem's structure is in some ways similar to that of Vergil's *Eclogue* 8 and Sannazaro's *Eclogue* 5; there are two different singers who each perform a song: one laments the cruelty of a deceitful lover, the other tells of spells and magic rites used with the aim of bringing about a change in a lover. Furthermore, it appears to be a dialogue, but is in fact a monologue with a narrator recounting the songs of two others. On the other hand, while the songs in most *pharmaceutria* eclogues are about two unrelated couples, both parts of this eclogue are concerned with Telethusa and Daphnis.¹¹⁰

At the start of the poem, the narrator explains that the speakers were recounting tales of love; these are the stories of Io, Hyacinthus, Narcissus and Echo, Procris, and Phyllis, which can all be found in the works of Ovid and do not end well.¹¹¹ Then they decide to add a new tale: the complaint of Telethusa. The description of this

¹⁰⁸ As is evident from the poem's full title in the manuscript: *Queræla Collegij Regalis sub D.P.B. Æcloga Telethusa*. In Dillingham's *Poemata Varii Argumenti* it is simply entitled *Querela Collegij Regalis* and there is a brief, incorrect explanation that Daphnis represents Millington, who was the first Provost of the College (1443-7): *In Daphnide videtur Poëta perstringere Millingtonum, primum hujus Collegij Præpositum*. . . See also Berry, 'Three Poems by Giles Fletcher, the Elder, in "Poemata Varii Argumenti" (1678)', 134.

¹⁰⁹ Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 150. Although there are exceptions; in one of the songs in Sannazaro's *Eclogue* 5, for example, Herpylis wants to punish Maeon and even goes so far as to wish him dead. As Grant mentions, in the *Pharmaceutria* of Girolamo Amalateo (1507-74), the poet is unsuccessfully trying to rid himself of his love for Hyalê. Jacopo Sannazaro, *Latin Poetry*, ed. Michael C. J Putnam (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2009), 133–41; Janus Broukhusius, *Actii Sincerii Sannazarii Patricii Neapolitani, Opera, Latine Scripta. Ex Secundis Curis. Jani Broukhusii. Accedunt. Gabriellis Altillii, Danielis Cereti, & Fratrum Amaltheorum Carmina* (Amstelaedami: Gerardi onder de Linden, 1728), 346–48.

¹¹⁰ Theocritus *Idyll* 2, which is about Simaetha and Delphis throughout, is an exception. This poem is not a dialogue either; Simaetha is the speaker.

¹¹¹ *Æcloga Telethusa*, l. 1-35. For the story of Io, see Ov. *Met.* 1.568-688, 713-746 - she does eventually regain her human form; for Hyacinthus, Ov. *Met.* 10.162-219; for Narcissus and Echo, Ov. *Met.* 3.339-510; for Procris and Cephalus, Ov. *Met.* 7.661-865; for the complaint of Phyllis to Demophoon, Ov. *Her.* 2.

exchange provides an interpretative framework which leads us to anticipate an unfortunate ending for Telethusa and Daphnis (l. 34): *Usque adeo ratione carens dolor urit amantes* ('thus sorrow, lacking in reason, continuously inflames lovers'). It underlines the grief brought by the problems of King's College Cambridge with its Provost Baker and perhaps suggests no resolution was in sight at the time the poem was composed. Furthermore, the eclogue has elements of a pastoral elegy, which will be discussed below.

The refrain in Aegon's song is similar to that of the second song in Vergil's *Eclogue* 8, where a woman also uses a spell to influence a husband called Daphnis, repeating the words: *Ducite ab urbe domum, mea carmina, ducite Daphnin*. ('Lead him home from the city, my songs, lead Daphnis.' (transl. Boyle)). Compare this to Telethusa's incantation: *Soluite coniugij noua vincula, soluite Daphnin*. ('Set free the new bonds of my marriage, set free Daphnis' Transl. Sutton). In both refrains, the imperatives and the name Daphnin take the same place in the hexameter. What they are trying to bring about is the reverse: while the enchantress in Vergil's poem orders her songs to bring her husband home, the nymph in Fletcher's eclogue orders that the bonds of her marriage are released.

The theme of literature and learning, which is important to Fletcher's first eclogue, also plays a role here. The nymph Telethusa represents an institution of learning; she explains her husband is scorning both her and the Muses, preferring the company of the Dryads (ll. 69-72):

*Nunc tamen ingratus duro me lumine spectans
Effugit, & spretis ipsa cum coniuge Musis,
(Ah) procul infandos Dryadum sectatur amores,
Illic vel canibus lepores, vel arundine damas
Insequitur*

He now fled, regarding me with a harsh eye, the ingrate, and, the Muses scorned along with his spouse, ah far away he consorts with the unspeakable love of the Dryads. There he either pursues the hares with dogs or the deer with a spear. (Transl. adapted from Sutton)

This is a reference to Philip Baker's neglect of the college.¹¹² The love triangle is a common motif in pastoral, with a disinterested or deceitful partner pursuing someone else in most, if not all, eclogues concerned with love.¹¹³ Here he pursues not a single individual as a lover, but the Dryads. Nymphs are often the object of desire in mythology;¹¹⁴ the Dryads are forest nymphs and seem to have been chosen here to symbolise the region outside Cambridge (unlike Naiads they cannot be found in the city). The 'love of the Dryads' appears to be an allegory for love of hunting: Daphnis/Baker spends all his time hunting, rather than attending to college business.¹¹⁵ The physicality of the Dryads contrasts with the more abstract inspiration of the sophisticated Muses. Telethusa explains that she kept asking her husband to sing or to blow the pipes, but he did not care; even the Muses themselves tried to persuade him not to flee to the fields and to sing songs, but he refused (ll. 77-100). The poem has elements of a pastoral elegy, which can in part be explained by its full title *Queræla Collegij Regalis sub D.P.B. Æcloga Telethusa* – it is a complaint or a lament. When Aegon concludes his song, he shows how Telethusa's words bring about a pathetic fallacy (ll. 131-40):

*Talia dicentj, lachrymasque per ora cientj,
 Tristior extremam cepit cum murmure vocem
 Amnis, & attonitas torquebat molliús vndas.
 Quin etiam facilj visæ se flectere nutu
 Vimineæ salices, et flumina tangere ramis.
 Ceu mœstæ cuperent lachrymas adhibere dolorj.
 Ast ego tum sortem Nymphæ miseratus acerbam,
 Vix me continuj quin affectusque meique
 Proditor, acceptos testarer voce dolores,
 Daphnidis et verbis crudelia facta notarem.*

As she was saying such things, and stirring tears upon her cheeks, the rather sorrowful river received her last words with a murmur and was whirling its

¹¹² While this personification may seem strange to us, the personification and even eroticization of the institution is not that uncommon in neo-Latin texts concerned with the university. For example, in one of his letters written as Cambridge University Orator, George Herbert uses both the image of a mother and children and that of a wife and husband to represent the university and its students. See: Victoria Moul, 'Introduction', in *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature*, ed. Victoria Moul (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 8–9, <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781139248914.001>. The letter can be found here: George Herbert, *The Works of George Herbert / Edited with a Commentary by F. E. Hutchinson*, Corr. [ed.] (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1945), 461–62.

¹¹³ In Vergil's collection alone, the motif can be found in *Eclogues* 2, 8 and 10.

¹¹⁴ Both Io and Echo, who are mentioned at the start of the eclogue, are nymphs and many other examples can be given; Dryads play important roles in the story of Pan and Syrinx (Ov. *Met.* 1.689-712) and Sannazaro's *Salices*.

¹¹⁵ I would like to thank Professor Philip Hardie for this suggestion.

astonished waves more gently. And even the twiggy willows were seen to bend themselves with a friendly nod and touch the river with their branches, as if in their sadness they wished to summon tears for her pain. But I, taking pity then on the nymph's bitter lot, could scarce restrain myself from bearing witness with my speech to the sorrows I had overheard, a traitor to myself and my emotion, and from remarking with my words the cruel deeds of Daphnis. (Transl. adapted from Sutton)

Nature laments with her, mourning the state of King's College Cambridge under Baker. Frequently in pastoral elegy all of nature, animate and inanimate, joins in with the lament, but here the pathetic fallacy is restricted to the river Cam and the trees on its banks, emphasising the Cambridge setting, and, perhaps, the sorrow of the University at the state of the college. At the same time, the speaker is here at first not lamenting himself, but is witnessing the scene and is then implicated in the pathetic fallacy, testifying to the force of Telethusa's song. Nevertheless, the magic rites the nymph performs in the second half of the eclogue are ineffective.¹¹⁶ This is also emphasised at the end of the poem, when Meliboeus concludes (l. 242-6):

*Talia nequicquam caeco Telethusa sub antro
Fundebat, largoque oculos humore rigabat,
Daphnidis aggrediens cantando figere mentem.
Omnia quae rigidae signans in **cortice fagi**
Seruabam, vocisque modum numerosque loquentis.*

Telethusa vainly poured forth such things beneath the dark cavern, watering her eyes with many a tear, attempting to capture Daphnis' mind with her singing. All of which I have preserved, inscribing it on the bark of a stiff beech tree, the tunes of her voice and the measures of her address. (Transl. Sutton)

In spite of this, Meliboeus considers her song worth preserving, using a tree trunk to do so; Fletcher is here drawing on the pastoral motif of writing on trees found in Vergil's *Eclogue* 5.¹¹⁷ In line 245, the poem echoes *Ecl.* 5.13-15 directly:

*Immo haec, in uiridi nuper quae **cortice fagi**
Carmina descripsi et modulans alterna notauī,
Experiar; tu deinde iubeto ut certet Amyntas.*

¹¹⁶ l. 150: *Incassum magicas nuper tentauerit artes* - she recently in vain attempted the magical arts.

¹¹⁷ Peter Kruschwitz, 'Writing On Trees: Restoring a Lost Facet of the Graeco-Roman Epigraphic Habit', *Zeitschrift Für Papyrologie Und Epigraphik* 173 (2010): 49–50. The motif is also found in relation to the writing of love poetry. In *Eclogue* 10, Gallus in despair records his elegies of hopeless love on trees. Other examples of the motif in this context include Propertius 1.18.19-20; Ovid, *Her.* 5.21-30; Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia (the Old Arcadia)*, ed. Jean Robertson (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1973), 198–99; Spenser's *Faerie Queene*, 4.7.46.

I'd rather try these verses I wrote down the other day
On green beech bark and set to music, marking
Alternate parts. Then you tell Amyntas to compete. (Transl. Boyle)

The song Mopsus has written down is his lament for Daphnis; the name of this shepherd is used to represent Philip Baker in Fletcher's poem. In both passages the songs are not written on the bark on their own, but they are accompanied by instructions on how they should be performed. The inclusion of this motif thus also reminds the reader of a pastoral lament.

The *Æcloga Telethusa* is an unusual *pharmaceutria* eclogue, because it is an allegorical poem about college politics and includes some of the conventions of pastoral elegy. Making a local Cambridge matter the topic of an innovative poem which is part of and builds on the pastoral tradition, Fletcher here again demonstrates that such matters can be addressed in learned and fashionable verse. This local pride may also explain why the principal concern of the eclogue is the impact Baker had on King's College as an institution of learning, evident from its frequent mention of the Muses: even though the troubles of the college with Baker were in part religious, Fletcher does not focus on this, so he can depict King's, and Cambridge more generally, as a place destined as a home of the Muses, a place where poetry flourishes.

As we have seen, Fletcher blends the continental material from Lotichius and Sabinus, with its epithalamic strain, with specifically English themes and motifs in his eclogue collection. The same has been said of Spenser.¹¹⁸ It is possible that Spenser was inspired by Fletcher to draw on the epithalamia of Lotichius and Sabinus; as we will see, his practice with regard to ecclesiastical eclogues may also have been indebted to Fletcher, who wrote two such eclogues. Piepho points out that ecclesiastical satire sets the work of Spenser apart from that of the German poets: Pastoral poets in England, following in the footsteps of Petrarch and Mantuan, continue to write satirical ecclesiastical eclogues throughout the sixteenth century, but such allegory seems to disappear from Continental Latin pastoral by the mid-

¹¹⁸ Piepho, 'The Shepherdes Calender and Neo-Latin Pastoral: A Book Newly Discovered to Have Been Owned By Spenser', 1 January 2001, 77.

sixteenth century.¹¹⁹ The element of religious satire in Fletcher's eclogues is thus part of a distinctly English pastoral tradition, which builds on the eclogues of Alexander Barclay (c. 1484–1552) and Barnabe Googe (1540–1594), but takes it in a new direction. His ecclesiastical eclogues, *De Contemptu Ministrorum* and *De Morte Boneri*, are discussed further below in relation to Mantuan's and Spenser's examples of the form.

De Morte Boneri

The eclogue *De Morte Boneri*, though not included in the Hatfield collection, has been widely attributed to Fletcher.¹²⁰ It is concerned with Mary's rule, since it is a satiric poem about the death of Edmund Bonner (d. 1569), the Marian bishop of London. It is included in William Dillingham's *Poemata Varii Argumenti* (1678) under the heading *Incerti Autoris Æglogæ tres*, with two other eclogues that are definitely by Fletcher, as they are the allegorical eclogues 4 and 5 from the Hatfield collection.¹²¹ The poem dates from the same period as Fletcher's other eclogues, but there is no further circumstantial evidence to confirm the attribution.¹²² Textual

¹¹⁹ Piepho, 84–85. Piepho actually mentions the pastorals of Giles Fletcher to demonstrate the role of religious allegory in Cambridge humanist verse: 'Here it is worth reminding ourselves that not only the polemics of mid-century English Protestant writers like Bale, William Turner, and Hugh Latimer but the pastoral poetry of Cambridge humanists like Giles Fletcher functioned to sustain a fusion of pastoral and ecclesiastical satire in England through the time that Spenser began writing.'

¹²⁰ All the scholars I have found who discuss Fletcher's eclogues include this poem (A.B. Grosart, *Licia and Other Love-Poems and Rising to the Crowne of Richard the Third, by Giles Fletcher, LL.D.*, Miscellanies of the Fuller Worthies' Library (Printed for Private Circulation, 1871), 56–57; Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925*, 57; Berry, 'Three Poems by Giles Fletcher, the Elder, in "Poemata Varii Argumenti" (1678)'; Berry, 'Giles Fletcher, the Elder: A Bibliography', 210; Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 328; Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and Its English Developments*, 114; Lee Piepho, *Holofernes' Mantuan: Italian Humanism in Early Modern England*, vol. 103, Currents in Comparative Romance Languages and Literatures (New York: Peter Lang, 2001), 108–9; Stout, *Exploring Russia in the Elizabethan Commonwealth: The Muscovy Company and Giles Fletcher, the Elder (1546-1611)*, 60; Sutton, 'Giles Fletcher the Elder, Carmina.'). Due to its inclusion in Dillingham's volume it is much better known than some of the Hatfield eclogues.

¹²¹ These poems are the last two eclogues in the manuscript collection, here entitled *Contra Prædicatorum contemptum* and *Querela Collegii Regalis*.

¹²² Phineas Fletcher alludes to several of his father's poems in the first of his *Piscatorie Eclogues* (1633), including his *Æcloga Telethusa*, *Æcloga de contemptu ministrorum* and *De Literis Antiquae Britannia*, but does not mention Thestylus and Palaemon, the speakers in the *De Morte Boneri*. See St. 9-10:

Too much enclin'd to verse, and Musick playes;
So farre credulitie, and youth had brought me,
I sang sad *Telethusa's* frustrate plaint,

evidence from the eclogue seems to confirm it, however. It uses imagery of the Thames familiar from Fletcher's eclogues, depicts Elizabeth in a way reminiscent of his epithalamium and is in line with the anti-Marian stance expressed by Fletcher in his *De Contemptu Ministrorum*, similarly employing ecclesiastical allegory inspired by Mantuan, with Bonner depicted as a ravaging wolf.¹²³

Palaemon's attention to the river Thames in his description of London seems to fit in with the focus on rivers in Fletcher's work; he makes a reference to London as a reborn Troy (l. 24-8) which is also made in Fletcher's *De Literis Antiquæ*, where we read that Brutus founded a new city of Troy on the banks of the river Thames (l. 206-11). The imagery used for the description of Queen Elizabeth in lines 176-8 of the poem is almost identical to the description of her at the start of Fletcher's *Callianissa*: Here, the queen, called Ægle, a name which like Callianissa is taken from Sabinus's *De Nuptiis Sigismundi Augusti et Elyssæ*, is also depicted as the most beautiful of a group of nymphs; although here they are Nereids rather than the Naiads of the epithalamium.¹²⁴ We can be sure she represents the queen as she tells the other nymphs to restrain the wolf (i.e. Bonner), who is put in prison for ten years, until his death (ll. 179-85). Fletcher occasionally uses the same names in different eclogues and some of the names used in the *De Morte Boneri* feature in the Hatfield collection as well: in this eclogue, the names Myrtilus and Celadon refer to Thomas Cranmer and Nicholas Ridley, two of the Oxford martyrs burned during Mary's reign; the speakers in Fletcher's *De Contemptu Ministrorum* have the same names, although

And rustick *Daphnis* wrong, and magicks vain restraint:

And then appeas'd young *Myrtilus*, repining
 At generall contempt of shepherds life;
 And rais'd my rime to sing of *Richards* climbing;
 And taught our *Chame* to end the old-bred strife,
Mythicus claim to *Nicias* resigning:
 The while his goodly Nymphs with song delighted,
 My notes with choicest flowers, & garlands sweet requited.

Phineas Fletcher, *The Purple Island, Or, the Isle of Man Together with Piscatorie Eclogs and Other Poeticall Miscellanies* / by P.F. (Cambridge: Printed by the Printers to the Universitie of Cambridge, 1633), A2.

As not all of Giles Fletcher the Elder's eclogues are referred to in the poem, this does not confirm whether the attribution of the *De Morte Boneri* is correct or incorrect.

¹²³ For the image of a wolf in Mantuan, see: Ecl. 9.141-52, 167-8.

¹²⁴ Sabinus, *De Nuptiis* l. 28

they do not seem to represent the same individuals.¹²⁵ There is also an allusion to Phyllis in both poems (*De Morte*, l. 39; *De Contemptu*, l. 193-5). She is identified as the English church (*Ecclesia*) in the marginalia of the Hatfield manuscript and probably also represents the institution in the poem about Bonner. All in all, there is no reason to doubt the attribution of the *De Morte Boneri* to Fletcher; the poem is of interest in relation to the Hatfield Eclogues because it contributes to our sense that Fletcher was developing a coherent and distinctive mode of British Latin pastoral.

Mantuan, Fletcher and Spenser

As mentioned above, Fletcher's eclogue collection was composed several years before Spenser started work on *The Shepheardes Calender*. Fletcher was more senior than Spenser and had started to establish himself as a scholar and poet by the time the latter came to Cambridge.¹²⁶ Although there is no evidence for direct contact between the two poets, they belong to the same moment and it is worth looking at their eclogue collections together. Piepho suggests, without exploring textual evidence, that Spenser is most indebted to Fletcher's ecclesiastical eclogues, especially the *Æcloga de contemptu ministrorum* and *De morte Boneri*, the influence of which can be seen in the *May*, *July* and *September* eclogues of the *Shepheardes Calender*.¹²⁷ As we shall see, this statement is probably true, but he does not mention that many of the features which Fletcher's and Spenser's eclogues share can also be found in Mantuan's *Adulescentia*, which were widely read in grammar

¹²⁵ Piepho, *Holofernes' Mantuan : Italian Humanism in Early Modern England*, 103:108. Grosart incorrectly states that Myrtilus and Celadon are the interlocutors of both the *De Contemptu* and the *De Morte Boneri*. Grosart, *Licia and Other Love- Poems and Rising to the Crowne of Richard the Third, by Giles Fletcher, LL.D.*, 497. The Myrtilus and Celadon of the fourth eclogue allude to the troubles King's College Cambridge had with its provost Philip Baker in 1570 as well as speaking of persecutions during the reign of Mary and religious conflict in their own time and thus seem to represent individuals who are alive at the time the poem was composed.

That Fletcher is using these names to represent different individuals in different poems is also evident from one of his elegies for Walter Haddon, where he says:

*Non ego te (Celadon) ultrà sub tegmine fagi,
Teue canam placidas (Myrtille) propter aquas.*

Here Celadon and Myrtilus seem to represent Walter and Clere Haddon.

Haddon, *Poematum Gualteri Haddoni, Legum Doctoris, Sparsim Collectorum, Libri Duo*, sig. L4^r.

¹²⁶ Spenser matriculated at Pembroke College in 1569, graduated with a BA in 1573 and an MA in 1576. Fletcher was admitted to King's College as a scholar in 1565, he graduated with a BA in 1569-70 and was made a lecturer at King's in 1572. He became a lecturer in Greek and started his MA in 1573.

¹²⁷ Piepho, *Holofernes' Mantuan : Italian Humanism in Early Modern England*, 103:113.

schools in the latter sixteenth century.¹²⁸ Allegorical eclogues which draw on Mantuan are typical of sixteenth-century English pastoral: Alexander Barclay and Barnabe Googe each model an eclogue on one of Mantuan's, and both Fletcher and Spenser use his work repeatedly. Fletcher and Spenser are inserting themselves in this English tradition, but they do so in a different way than the earlier poets. Mantuan's ecclesiastical ninth and tenth eclogue are the most significant models for Fletcher and Spenser; as we will see, Barclay and Googe do not focus on these poems, drawing instead on other eclogues by Mantuan. The similarities between Fletcher and Spenser in their use of Mantuan are themselves suggestive of influence or a connection between them.

Mantuan's *Eclogue 5* inspired eclogues by Barclay, Fletcher and Spenser. This poem is about the relationship between a poet and a patron: Candidus used to enjoy life as a shepherd but now he complains to Silvanus about his hard life, as he gets nothing but empty praise in return for his songs (*vanas laudes et inania verba*, l. 11) and therefore cannot sustain himself. Mantuan's poem includes an attack on Rome and its riches (ll. 111-124), which appealed to Protestant writers. Alexander Barclay's fourth eclogue is modelled on it; it is a conversation between the rich Codrus and the poor Minalcas. As mentioned above, the interaction between the shepherds in Fletcher's fourth eclogue was also inspired by Mantuan's fifth eclogue. Fletcher has adapted elements of it to create religious allegory: in his poem Myrtilus complains, not because there is a lack of support for his poetry, but because shepherds are scorned by the people. Finally, Mantuan's *Eclogue 5* is the model for Spenser's *October*, in which Cuddie complains he cannot maintain himself with his verse and discusses with Piers the contempt for poetry and what brought it about. Concerned with the right conditions for creating poetry, Mantuan's *Candidus* was imitated in English pastoral by Barclay; Fletcher and Spenser signal they are part of the English tradition by creating eclogues based on the same poem. Yet unlike Barclay and Spenser, Fletcher is not concerned with patronage in his *De Contemptu*, but addresses religious conflict.

¹²⁸ On the use of Mantuan's eclogues as a school text, see the introduction and Chapter 1.

The allegory which is concerned with this conflict in the *De Contemptu* draws on the last two poems of Mantuan's collection. Mantuan's antipapal *Eclogue* 9 criticises the greed of Rome (ll. 120-8) and uses the motif of wolves killing the sheep, see for example ll.141-7:

*Mille lupi, totidem vulpes in vallibus istis
Lustra tenent et, quod dirum ac mirabile dictu est,
Ipse homines (huius tanta est violentia caeli)
Saepe lupi effigiem moresque assumere vidi
Inque suum saevire gregem multaque maderē
Caede sui pecoris; factum vicinia ridet
Nec scelus exhorret nec talibus obviat ausis.*

A thousand wolves and as many foxes dwell in dens in those valleys there. And—what's dreadful and wondrous to tell—I myself have often seen men (so great is the violence of this region) assume the shape and ways of a wolf and rage among their own flocks, drenching themselves with the slaughter of their sheep. Their neighbors laugh at what is done, neither trembling at the crime nor preventing such bold acts. (Transl. Lee Piepho)¹²⁹

Inspired by Mantuan, both Fletcher and Spenser depict Catholics as wolves in their eclogues. In Fletcher's *De Morte Boneri*, the Catholic Bonner is depicted as a wolf. In ll. 65-6, Thestylus asks: *Ille lupus, similem cui secula nulla tulerunt, | Occidit, (ah!) nostri quondam populator ovilis?* (Has that wolf, the like of which no century has borne, died, once (ah) the ravager of my flocks?). When the nymph Aegle, representing Elizabeth, arrives, she tells her companions to restrain him (ll. 179-80). In Piers's historical sketch in Spenser's *May Eclogue*, we also find devouring wolves (ll. 121-9):¹³⁰

Tho gan shepheards swaines to looke a loft,
And leaue to liue hard, and learne to ligge soft:
Tho vnder the colour of shepeheardes, sometime
There krept in Wolues, ful of fraude and guile,
That often deuoured their owne sheepe,
And often the shepheards, that did hem keepe.

¹²⁹ All translations of Mantuan's *Eclogues* are taken from: Baptista Mantuanus, *Adulescentia: The Eclogues of Mantuan*, ed. Lee Piepho, World Literature in Translation 14 (New York: Garland, 1989).

¹³⁰ Anthea Hume, *Edmund Spenser: Protestant Poet* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 19, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511553127>.

The imagery of wolves may not have been used in English pastoral before Fletcher. In *Eclogue* 3 of his 1563 collection, Barnabe Googe uses religious allegory to refer to the Marian persecutions, the same topic Fletcher is in part concerned with in his *De Contemptu*. Googe is drawing mostly on Mantuan's *Eclogue* 6, however, and while there is a cruel shepherd, who may represent Stephen Gardiner, there are no wolves (ll. 123-31):¹³¹

O cruel clownish Coridon!
 O cursèd carlish seed! –
 The simple sheep constrainèd he
 Their pasture sweet to leave,
 And to their old corrupted grass
 Enforceth them to cleave.
 Such sheep as would not them obey,
 But in their pasture bide,
 With cruel flames they did consume
 And vex on every side.

The image of the ravenous wolf is biblical, drawing on Matthew 7:15, which in the Vulgate translation reads: *Adtendite a falsis prophetis qui veniunt ad vos in vestimentis ovium intrinsecus autem sunt lupi rapaces*. 'Watch out for false prophets. They come to you in sheep's clothing but inwardly they are ferocious wolves.' (Transl. NIV)¹³² There was a long tradition of depicting heretics as wolves, but the image of devouring wolves became especially prominent in Protestant discourse on the Marian prosecutions, where the wolves represent Catholics. In his *De Morte Boneri*, Fletcher may also have been drawing on contemporary religious polemics which include the image of Catholics as wolves and of Bonner more specifically, such as the famous *Foxe's Book of Martyrs* (1563), John Bale's *Declaration of Bonner's Articles* (1561) and the engraving 'The Lambe Speaketh' (1555), in which bishop Stephen Gardiner and other Catholic clerics are depicted with wolves' heads;

¹³¹ Barnabe Googe, *Eclogues, Epitaphs, and Sonnets*, ed. Judith M. Kennedy (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989), 147.

¹³² Mantuanus, *Adulescentia*, 126. The edition of the Vulgate used is: Robert Weber 1904-1980 et al., eds., *Biblia Sacra : iuxta Vulgatam Versionem / Adiuvantibus B. Fischer [and Others] Recensuit et Brevi Apparatu Critico Instruxit Robert Weber.*, Editionem quintam emendatam retractatam / praeparavit Roger Gryson, *Biblia Sacra Vulgata* (Stuttgart: Deutsche Bibelgesellschaft, 2007).

Bonner is also present and the carcasses of the lambs bear the names of the most famous Marian martyrs, including Latimer, Cranmer and Ridley.¹³³

Another characteristic which the ecclesiastical eclogues of Fletcher and Spenser share, is that they attack both the Roman Church and address contemporary abuses in the English church. In the *De Contemptu*, Fletcher explains that now the greedy Catholic shepherds have gone there are still deceitful shepherds, contemporaries of Fletcher (*Adde quód in nostris vitium pastoribus insit* – ‘Add that there is a fault in our shepherds’ (l.115)). In Spenser’s *September*, there are not only wolves, but also foxes, who here represent corrupt clergy in the English Church. See for example ll. 150-7:

HOBINOLL

Fye on thee Diggon, and all thy foule leasing,
Well is knowne that sith the Saxon king,
Neuer was Woolfe seene many nor some,
Nor in all Kent, nor in Christendome:
But the fewer Woolues (the soth to sayne,)
The more bene the Foxes that here remaine.

DIGGON.

Yes, but they gang in more secrete wise,
And with sheepes clothing doen them disguise

In Spenser’s *Maye*, the fox in the cautionary tale of the fox and the kid also represents crypto-Catholic clergy. Mantuan mentions foxes once together with wolves in his *Eclogue* 9 (see line 141 quoted above); it is clear that they, like the wolves, cannot be trusted, but they do not represent a particular group in the allegory of that eclogue. The imagery of foxes can also be found in sixteenth-century polemical Protestant discourse, perhaps inspired by Mantuan. Hume points out that in the influential *The Huntynge of the Romysh Wolfe* (1555) by William Turner (1509/10-1568), wolves represent Roman Catholic priests, while foxes (as in the

¹³³ John N. King, *Voices of the English Reformation: A Sourcebook* / Edited by John N. King. (Philadelphia, Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 293; Malcolm Jones, ‘The Lambe Speaketh... An Addendum’, *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 63 (2000): 292, <https://doi.org/10.2307/751531>.

fable included in Spenser's *Maye*) are clergy in the Church of England who favour Roman Catholic doctrines.¹³⁴

In *Eclogue* 10 Mantuan includes imagery of unskilled shepherds. In that poem, Batrachus, who represents a reformer of the wayward ways of the Carmelite order, accuses Myrtilus and Bembus of not looking after the flock properly and lacking knowledge of how to be a good shepherd. He begins (l. 83-7):

*Pastor es, et cura pecoris male sane relictā
Sermonem de vite facis quasi legibus isdem
Grex et vitis eant, nec quod discrimen in undis
Gramineque et ventis nosti et quam noxius Auster
Sit pecori; disce a Roma si noxius Auster.*

You are a shepherd, and yet, having rashly abandoned the flock's care, you speak of the vine as if the same rules governed the flocks and vineyards. You haven't learned the distinctions of waters, grass, and winds or how injurious the south is to sheep—learn from Rome whether the south wind is harmful.

He then speaks more about the neglect of the sheep (l. 96-109): they were not shorn when they should have been and got sick with ulcers spreading throughout their bodies; now their normally white fleeces have even turned black. In Fletcher's *De Contemptu* it is explained that good shepherds are now scorned, because there have been so many unskilled ones; people do not trust them anymore. One of the reasons for this is that Cerebus invaded the fields and brought companions with him from the river Tiber (ll. 100-6). The dog represents Cardinal Pole, the papal legate who served as Archbishop of Canterbury during Mary's reign, and those who came with him are others who held high positions within the church.¹³⁵ They were greedy and did not know how to care for the flock (ll. 109-14):

*Illj nec curare gregem, nec pascere doctj,
Nec cantare modos, aut respondere peritj,
Sed pauidum tondere pecus, vacuumque coactj
Velleris, ad gelidæ ventos esponere brumæ.
Hinc vetus antiquæ remanens infania¹³⁶ culpæ,*

¹³⁴ Hume, *Edmund Spenser: Protestant Poet*, 21.

¹³⁵ Piepho, *Holofernes' Mantuan: Italian Humanism in Early Modern England*, 103:109.

¹³⁶ *Infania* is a variant of *infamia*.

Immeritis etiam labem pastoribus infert.

They were not schooled to care for their flock or to feed them, nor skilled at singing tunes or engaging in singing-matches, but to shear the frightened sheep and expose it, denuded of its extorted fleece, to the icy winter winds. Hence the old infamy of this ancient guilt places a blot even on undeserving shepherds. (Transl. Sutton)

A similar depiction of Catholics can be found in Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, for example when Thomalin speaks of Rome in the *Julye* eclogue, ll. 185-196:

For shepeheardes (sayd he) there doen leade,
as Lordes done other where,
Theyr sheepe han crustes, and they the bread:
the chippes, and they the chere:
They han the fleece, and eke the flesh,
(o seely sheepe the while)
The corne is theyrs, let other thresh,
their hands they may not file.
They han great stores, and thriftye stockes,
great freendes and feeble foes:
What neede hem caren for their flocks?
theyr boyes can looke to those.

In Mantuan and Fletcher's poems the shepherds are unskilled. But while Mantuan's Myrtilus and Bembus are incompetent, Fletcher's shepherds are actively malicious; they extort the flock. Spenser takes the allegory a step further. His shepherds also extort their flocks, but there is no mention of their lack of skill, which sharpens the passage still further.

A shared element in Fletcher's and Spenser's religious eclogues that has not been derived from Mantuan, however, is the objection to festivals: it reflects the contemporary conflict between those who believed that traditional games and festivals preserved harmony, and those Protestant reformers who felt they undermined discipline, encouraged popery and subverted morality.¹³⁷ In the *De Contemptu*, Fletcher speaks about deceitful shepherds, among whom is Corydon, who represents Philip Baker, the provost of King's College Cambridge, deprived of

¹³⁷ Williams, *The Later Tudors*, 451–52. For a strong objection to festivals, plays and other pleasures, see for example: Philip Stubbes, *Anatomie of Abuses* (1583).

his position in 1570 because of papal leanings (see ll. 124-7, cited earlier in this chapter).¹³⁸ These shepherds are not doing any work, but are celebrating festivals and playing music. That they can be seen celebrating festivals, may identify them as conservative Anglicans or even Catholics from a Protestant perspective. This association also plays an important role in Spenser's *May* eclogue, where the Catholic Palinode invites the Protestant Piers to celebrate May Day.¹³⁹ Piers says of the celebrants (ll. 39-44):

Those faytours little regarden their charge,
While they letting their sheep runne at large,
Passen their time, that should be sparely spent,
In lustihede and wanton meryment.
Thilke same bene shepeheardes for the Deuils stedde,
That playen, while their flockes be vnfedde.

The use of religious allegory in both Fletcher and Spenser, in particular this idea of the celebration of festivals leading to the neglect of the flock, demonstrates a strikingly similar outlook in these two contemporary Cambridge poets. Taken together, the similarities between their classicising eclogue collections suggest Fletcher's eclogues influenced Spenser's: both draw on the Latin eclogues of the German poets Lotichius and Sabinus, use material from Mantuan's *Adulescentia* in similar ways, attack the Catholic church and address division in the English Church. While the earlier English eclogues of Barclay and Googe both echo several of Mantuan's eclogues, they do not use his *Eclogue* 9 and 10, which are particularly important for Fletcher and Spenser. If Fletcher was the first English poet to draw on these ecclesiastical eclogues of Mantuan, he may have played a role in shaping English pastoral to include ecclesiastical allegory, which eventually led to Milton's attack on the clergy in *Lycidas*.

¹³⁸ Berry, 'Three Poems by Giles Fletcher, the Elder, in "Poemata Varii Argumenti" (1678)'.

¹³⁹ It opens with the lines:

*Is not thilke the mery moneth of May,
When loue Lads masken in fresh aray?
How falls it then, we no merrier been,
Ylike as others, girt in gawdy greene?*

Starting from this point, Palinode argues that shepherds should enjoy the pleasures of life. Piers advises against this, as shepherds who do this cannot look out for their flocks properly. He then warns against the infiltration of Catholics with the story of the Kid and the Fox.

Conclusion

To conclude, Fletcher draws on continental pastoral in his Hatfield eclogues, but also creates a collection which is in many ways distinctly British. The poems are significant because they shaped the tradition of Anglo-Latin and English pastoral and deserve to be considered as a collection, since they are thematically unified and contain the various elements one would expect in a neo-Latin eclogue collection of this period.

The first eclogue is a generically ambitious poem, in which the River Cam narrates the history of Cambridge. Reminiscent of epic, but including aspects of epithalamium and topographical verse, genres which flourished in the sixteenth century, it serves as a microcosm for the collection as a whole, touching on all its significant themes. Rich in river imagery, it focuses on the Muses, emphasising the importance of learning and literature. It also suggests the importance of religion for peace and contains panegyric for Queen Elizabeth. The epithalamium which follows is connected to the rest of the collection through the themes of Cambridge and Cecil, but with its topographical description and praise of Queen Elizabeth is most closely associated with *Lycidas*. The *Æcloga Adonis* is the most personal of the Hatfield Eclogues. Fletcher's innovation is evident in this lament for his Cambridge friend Clere Haddon, which he places at the heart of his collection. He adapts some of the conventions of pastoral elegy in the poem, which lead to his moving and unrelenting focus on the river in which his friend drowned. The last two eclogues are again closely connected to each other, as they are both concerned with college politics. The ecclesiastical allegory of *De Contemptu Ministrorum* is also concerned with religious conflict in society at large and draws on Protestant polemics of the 1550s and 60s. In the *Æcloga Telethusa*, the theme of learning and literature is the most prominent; the neglect of Daphnis/the papist Baker causes Telethusa /King's College Cambridge to neglect her purpose of tending to the Muses. As in the first eclogue, Fletcher plays with generic boundaries here, but on a smaller scale. Setting the scene with allusions to sad love stories, taken mostly from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, he has created an unusual *pharmaceutria*, which includes elements of pastoral elegy.

This is a balanced and varied collection, which is very much of its moment: it draws innovatively on contemporary literature and likely had a thus far unacknowledged influence on Spenser. Not only does Fletcher's work include occasional verse, it also addresses topical issues, such as the debate about which of the two universities is the more ancient and the religious conflict in the Elizabethan church. The Hatfield Eclogues draw in particular on the contemporary Latin eclogues of the German Protestant poet Petrus Lotichius Secundus and the earlier eclogues of Mantuan; Fletcher's use of Mantuanesque ecclesiastical allegory is typical of English sixteenth-century eclogue collections. The Hatfield collection shows that Fletcher's role in the pastoral tradition is much more significant than has been previously acknowledged: it is a European style collection which forges a distinct mode of British Protestant pastoral and influenced Spenser's *Shepheardes Calender*. Furthermore, it served as an important source and model for Phineas Fletcher's *Piscatorie Eclogues* and Milton's *Lycidas* and *Epithaphium Damonis*, as we will see in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3 – Fletcher and the Legacy of Cambridge Pastoral from the 1590s to the 1630s

Giles Fletcher the Elder had a demonstrable readership following his death in 1611, associated to a large extent with the work of his son, Phineas Fletcher (1582-1650). A revised version of his *De Literis Antiquis Antiquae Britanniae* is printed in Phineas Fletcher's Latin *Sylua Poetica*, a volume including verse the younger Fletcher composed largely or wholly at Cambridge in the period 1600-1615, though not published until 1633. This chapter will first discuss the revisions of the *De Literis* and their effect, arguing that they were made by Giles Fletcher himself in the 1590s. The relationship between the work of Phineas and his father Giles is not, however, limited to Phineas's republishing of the *De Literis* in his 1633 collection. Giles's literary achievement is reflected in Phineas's poetry in several ways: for example, Giles Fletcher the Elder is represented by a character called Thelgon in three of his son's English *Piscatorie Eclogs* which were published in the volume *The Purple Island, or The Isle of Man together with Piscatorie Eclogs and Other Poeticall Miscellanies* published in the same year as the *Sylua Poetica*. Both this Latin and English volume include eclogue collections; these build on Giles Fletcher the Elder's interest in Sannazaro and include two poems modelled on eclogues in his Hatfield collection. Overall, Phineas Fletcher's publications led to a renewed interest in the verse of his father, creating a 1630s readership which, I will argue, included Milton, given the contextual similarities and verbal parallels in Fletcher's and Milton's pastoral elegies. This chapter suggests that the use which Phineas Fletcher and Milton made of Giles' work shaped how he was perceived in the seventeenth century.

Revised: De Literis Antiquae Britanniae

The version of his father's first eclogue which Phineas Fletcher published in his *Sylua Poetica* is substantially different to the manuscript version of the poem in Cecil Papers MS 298, which dates from the early 1570s. It seems the poem was revised between 1594 and 1599, because the later version refers to Sidney Sussex College by name, but describes it as not yet built; the college received its charter in 1594 and

its first buildings were completed in 1599.¹ At this time Giles Fletcher the Elder, now in his late 40s or early 50s, had returned to England after his mission as ambassador to Moscow (1588-9) and was working as remembrancer to the City of London and extraordinary master of requests, posts which he held from 1586 and 1596 respectively.² It seems he had a renewed interest in his literary career at this time, as he published his *Licia* and *Rising to the Crown of Richard III* together in 1593.³ Phineas himself (b. 1582) is unlikely to have made this revision of the *De Literis* as he was not admitted to Cambridge until 1600. The revision history of the poem could be quite complex, as it is possible that Phineas made further revisions either when he was writing his own Latin and English eclogues in the first decade of the seventeenth century or before the poem was published in 1633. There is, however, no clear evidence for this, and given the admiration he expresses for his father's work in the prefatory poem cited above, it is perhaps unlikely that he made any significant changes.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the *De Literis Antiquæ Britanniae* is an ambitious historical and chorographical work which celebrates Britain and the English Church and contributes to the contemporary debate about whether Oxford or Cambridge is the older university. It consists of 621 lines in print and 697 lines in manuscript, but the similar overall length conceals considerable differences. According to Berry, 372 lines are cancelled in the printed version, while 296 lines have been added; this means the printed version contains approximately 60 percent new or revised material.⁴ In many instances, one or two lines have simply been rephrased, or only part of a line has been changed, without a significant change of meaning. There are, however, also several major cancellations and changes, some of which appear to be

¹ Berry, 'Phineas Fletcher's Account of His Father', 259–60; Munro, *Fletcher, Giles, the Elder* (Bap. 1546, d. 1611), *Diplomat and Author*.

² After returning from Russia, Fletcher published his *Of the Russe Common Wealth* (1591). On diplomacy and the role of Latin in the Russian context, see: Jan Hennings and Edward Holberton, 'Andrew Marvell in Russia: Secretaries, Rhetoric, and Public Diplomacy', *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 50, no. 3 (1 September 2020): 565–86. While this article is concerned with embassies which took place in the 1660s, many of its observations on protocols and the role of Latinity would also have been relevant in the sixteenth century.

I am grateful to Professor Sarah Knight for the reference.

³ This is also suggested by a letter he wrote to Burghley in November 1590 requesting if he could write a Latin history of Elizabeth's reign. Munro, *Fletcher, Giles, the Elder* (Bap. 1546, d. 1611), *Diplomat and Author*.

⁴ Berry, Lloyd E., 'Five Latin Poems by Giles Fletcher, the Elder', 342–43.

politically motivated or to have been made to update the eclogue stylistically and chronologically. It thus seems that Giles Fletcher the Elder revised the poem in the 1590s to bring it up to date both historically and politically, possibly with a view to publishing it in print. Appendix D maps the main changes between the manuscript and printed versions of the *De Literis*.

Two of the revisions are particularly striking; in lines 115-241 of the MS version, Fletcher starts by describing the mythical kings of the golden age, when there was peace and all kinds of learning flourished. When deceit and arrogance rear their heads (l. 180), Brutus comes from Italy and destroys the savage people – an age of wars follows in which the kings Locrinus, Camber and Albanactus rule England, Wales and Scotland respectively; Fletcher takes the opportunity here to include some chorographical description of the different parts of Britain. Then he tells the story of Sabrina. This passage is condensed from 127 lines in the manuscript to 87 lines in the printed version, where the description of the golden age is more concise, focusing on the Muses and song. Two of the golden age kings (Longho and the second Bardus) mentioned in the earlier version are left out, there is less detail about the origins of Brutus and while the three brother kings are mentioned, there is no chorographical description of Britain. There is, however, an aetiological myth about the Humber which is not in the earlier version, in which king Humber who had fought Camber and Albanactus, the kings of Wales and Scotland respectively, is drowned by a river which is named after him (ll.140-52); the myth of Sabrina is also told in more detail (compare ll.236-44 in the MS version with ll. 157-86 in the print version). The stories of Humber and Sabrina can be found in book 2 of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae*, which as we have seen was the source text for much of the mythological history in this poem.⁵ The inclusion of these passages fits with the aims of chorographical literature, using the etymology of personal names to connect the ancient history of Britain with its landscape. That they were added in the 1590s could, however, also be linked to the late sixteenth-century fashion for Ovidian metamorphoses. While there is no clear metamorphosis here, as there is in

⁵ Monmouth, *Historia Regum Britanniae* 2.23-5. All references to Monmouth are taken from: Geoffrey of Monmouth, *The History of the Kings of Britain : An Edition and Translation of De Gestis Britonum (Historia Regum Britanniae)*, ed. Michael D. Reeve and Neil Wright (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 2007).

the story of Cordelia who turns into a flower, which is told in both versions of the *De Literis* (ll. 279-92 in the MS version and ll.225-37 in the print version), the Humber and Sabrina, who give their names to rivers, seem to become the rivers themselves.⁶ Short narrative poems deriving plot elements from Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, which critics now refer to as 'epyllia', were very popular in the 1590s; whilst the stories of Humber and Sabrina are not as erotic as most epyllia, they are similar to poems of this kind in that they are constructed out of aetiological myths and end with a metamorphosis of sorts.⁷

Lines 629-47 from the MS, which are part of an extensive passage in praise of Queen Elizabeth, are removed in the printed version.⁸ The cuts in the panegyric for Queen Elizabeth are particularly striking; a section describing the judgement of Paris, in which he gives the golden apple to a queen (that is, Elizabeth) described as embodying Venus, Iuno and Pallas together (l. 629-34), has been removed entirely, and so has the following description of the golden age she brings about (l. 635-47). The passage urging her not to stay a virgin and to have children, however, though certainly an impossibility by the time of the poem's revision in the 1590s, has surprisingly been left in (l. 648-54 in the MS; l.588-94 in the printed version). Perhaps it serves as a reproach, reflecting the weariness with Elizabeth's government and anxieties about the succession in the last decade of her rule.⁹ In the printed version the account of the golden age kings is thus slimmed down and there is less emphasis compared to the manuscript poem on the Elizabethan period as a golden age – these two features seem to be linked and may reflect a disillusionment with the Elizabethan regime, possibly related to a personal rejection: Fletcher wrote to William Cecil in 1590 to tell him of a history of Elizabeth's reign he wanted to write

⁶ For example, after King Humber has drowned, we read in ll. 150-1: *et regali tardior Humber|incessu* (and the Humber slower with its royal gait).

⁷ Colin Burrow, 'Re-Embodying Ovid: Renaissance Afterlives', in *The Cambridge Companion to Ovid*, ed. Philip Hardie, Cambridge Companions to Literature (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 304, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CCOL0521772818.020>; Georgia Brown, ed., 'Literature as Fetish', in *Redefining Elizabethan Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004), 107, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511483462.003>. Shakespeare's *Venus and Adonis* (1593) and Marlowe's *Hero and Leander* (1598) are among the most famous examples of epyllia.

⁸ Berry, Lloyd E., 'Five Latin Poems by Giles Fletcher, the Elder', 343.

⁹ Williams, *The Later Tudors*, 387–88; Susan Doran and Paulina Kewes, eds., *Doubtful and Dangerous: The Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2014), <http://www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt1mf7234>.

and to ask for access to public documents; it seems his request was turned down.¹⁰

In the later version there is also more of an emphasis on the history of the Muses in Britain, which makes the detailed historical material fit better with the focus of the work upon the intellectual and literary achievements of the university of Cambridge.

Lines 660-77 of the MS version are removed and replaced by just two lines in the printed text, reading: *Felix illa solo, felix & divitis usu | Æquoris, at populo fortunatissima tellus* ('Happy this land in its soil, happy also in its employment of wealthy waters, moreover most happy in its people.', ll. 600-1). This is a shortened version of lines 660-4 in the MS, where the blessings listed also include the gifts of kings and the enjoyment of the Muses. Yet in the lines that follow in the manuscript, Cambridge is compared unfavourably to Kent; it is too focused on the production of crops, not leaving space for the dense woods with their satyrs and dryads, which inspire (pastoral) poetry.¹¹ In search of such woods, the satyrs and dryads fled to Cranbrook in Kent, where the Fletchers had their family home (ll. 672-77):

*Dum fugerent nemorum raptas cum frondibus vmbras
Diuersis posuisse locis, vbi proxima solj
Densior innumeris horrescit Cantia syluis,
Notaquè se tollit nemorum Cranbrochia Nymphis,
Ex illo syluis agri spoliuntur, & vmbra
Tonsaquè vix raros emittunt Pascua dumos.*

While they [satyrs and wood-nymphs] fled the ravaged shades of the woods with leafy branches that they placed in diverse places, where, next to the sun, Kent bristles more thickly with its countless woods, and Cranbrook rises, well-known to the nymphs of the groves; since that time the fields are stripped of woods and shade, and the shorn pastures barely send forth scattered brambles.

¹⁰ Abram Barnett Langdale, *Phineas Fletcher. Man of Letters, Science and Divinity* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), 17–18; Munro, *Fletcher, Giles, the Elder (Bap. 1546, d. 1611), Diplomat and Author*.

¹¹ Horace in Odes 1.1.30-2 already expressed the ideal poetic existence metaphorically through the image of the dance of nymphs and satyrs, a pastoral scene of untouched nature and poetic inspiration: *me gelidum nemus | Nympharumque leves cum Satyris chori | secernunt populo*. These lines influenced Renaissance ideas about the nature of poetry, as can be seen in a number of texts, including Boccaccio's *Genealogie deorum gentilium*, XIV.4, 11 and Cristoforo Landino's commentary on Horace (1482). See: Christoph Pieper, 'Lamenting, Dancing, Praising: The Multilayered Presence of Nymphs in Florentine Elegiac Poetry of the Quattrocento', in *The Figure of the Nymph in Early Modern Culture*, ed. Karl A. E. Enenkel and Anita Traninger (Leiden: Brill, 2018), 196–99, <https://brill.com/view/book/edcoll/9789004364356/BP000017.xml>.

This passage does not seem fitting at the end of Father Cam's speech, as it shows the shortcomings of Cambridge and casts a rather negative light on the current status of the university as a home for the Muses, which has been one of the main concerns of the poem. Perhaps this is the reason why these lines were later removed; as we have seen, much of the verse of both Giles Fletcher the Elder and his son Phineas was composed at Cambridge. If this cancellation is part of Giles Fletcher's revisions in the 1590s, perhaps his view of the university, which he left in 1580, had mellowed.¹² Although it is impossible to know whether Milton was familiar with the earlier version of *De Literis*, the sentiment expressed here is very similar to that of Milton when he writes about preferring London to Cambridge in his *Elegia* 1.14-5: *Nuda nec arva placent, umbrasque negantia molles, | Quàm male Phœbicolis convenit ille locus!* – 'Stripped fields without gentle shade displease. That place, | how poorly it suits followers of Phoebus!' Both poets depict Cambridge as inhospitable to poetry.

There are also several additions to the later version of the *De Literis*. Lines 533-37 and 543-6, which describe Sidney Sussex and Emmanuel College, respectively, have been added to bring the chorographical part of the poem up to date. Some new information is also included earlier in the poem in the river Cam's historical account of Britain:

*Tum quoque Marte potens Borealia sceptrā tenebat
 Alphredus, quā pinguis agros interfluit Humber.
 Ille reversuri motus prædicere solis,
 Stellarūque polo casus cognovit, & ortus:
 Idem Marte potens, studiis clarissimus idem.
 Proximus huic ævo, sceptri virtutibus idem
 Proximus, Humbricolæ gentis Celoulphus habenas
 Accipit; insignem Musis, bellōque potentem
 Quem cecinit quondam nostro de flumine Nympha
 Thespio, quæ facta canens, & prælia gentis
 Christicolæ, veteres decoravit carmine Reges:
 Posteritas patrio dixit de nomine Bedam.
 Aspice pennigeris quæ nunc habitata columbis
 Pastor arundineo stravit mapalia culmo;
 Hæc domus, hinc nostras carmen resonabat ad undas.*

¹² The negative view of Cambridge expressed here fits in well with Phineas Fletcher's view of the university in the second of his eclogues, which he composed last (1611-15), suggesting that these lines were not cut by him. The poem, which mentions the death of the elder Fletcher (d. 1611), discusses Cambridge's rejection of his father and himself.

(396-410)

Then, too, Aldfrith, mighty in war, held the sceptres of the North, where the rich Humber flows through the fields. He knew how to predict the movements of the sun, destined to return, and the risings and settings of the stars in the heaven, both mighty in war and most distinguished in science. Next to him in time, and likewise next to him in the virtues of the sceptre, Ceolwulf took over the reins of the Humber-dwelling race, a man whom once the nymph Thespio sang from my stream as being distinguished at the Muses' arts and mighty in battle, Thespio, who, singing the achievements and battles of the Christ-worshipping folk, honored ancient kings in her song, and posterity called her after her father's name, Beda. See these huts, now inhabited by feathery doves, and a shepherd has roofed them with thatch. This was her house, from here her song resounded to my waves. (Transl. adapted from Sutton)

Bede is represented by the nymph Thespio earlier in the poem, but this is the only mention of Aldfrith (d. 704/5), king of Northumbria, who is praised by Bede for his learning, and also the only mention of Ceolwulf (d. 764), who was not in fact Aldfrith's immediate successor, as this passage suggests, but the fourth ruler after him.¹³ Both these kings are mentioned in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*, and are also listed with other Northumbrian kings in the *Anglica Historia* of Polydore Vergil (c. 1470–1555), another literary figure who is represented by a nymph (Polydora) at the start of Fletcher's poem.¹⁴ As these authors feature earlier in the *De Literis*, this new section seems to be relying on the same sources as the rest of the poem. Early medieval Northumbria was of interest because the kingdom was perceived as the earliest to unify England; the focus on this area in the north is in line with the addition of the story of the Humber, mentioned above, as this river

¹³ For Bede as Thespio, see line 45 of the manuscript and line 41 of the printed version. On the learnedness of Aldfrith, see: Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People/ The Greater Chronicle / Bede's Letter to Egbert* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994), 222, 257.

Rosemary Cramp, 'Aldfrith (d. 704/5), King of Northumbria', 23 September 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/306>; David Rollason, 'Ceolwulf [St Ceolwulf] (d. 764), King of Northumbria', 23 September 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/5002>.

¹⁴ For the nymph Polydora, see ll. 59-61 in the MS and ll.50-1 in the printed version. Aldfrith and Ceolwulf are mentioned in book 4.28 of the *Anglica Historia*. It was first published in 1534 with versions revised by the author coming out in 1546 and 1555. This work attacks Geoffrey of Monmouth's mythical history of Britain, much of which, including the story of Brutus, is included in Fletcher's poem. It caused controversy, with authors including Bale and Leland vilifying Polydore and defending the mythical history. See: Binns, *Intellectual Culture in Elizabethan and Jacobean England*, 178–86.

marked the southern border of Northumbria.¹⁵ It is possible Phineas Fletcher added these lines at the beginning of the seventeenth century, as the description of Aldfrith ruling in the north and the emphasis on the learnedness of both these kings, could associate them with James I, as scholar king. On balance, however, it seems more likely that this addition was also made by Giles in the 1590s, returning to the sources he used originally, and perhaps containing a hint of anticipation of a possible Scottish succession.¹⁶

All in all, the revisions in the printed version of the *De Literis* make the poem seem more positive about Cambridge and the role of Cambridge in the intellectual and literary history of the nation, but less positive about the rule of Elizabeth (both by cutting panegyric material and by leaving in advice on marriage which, appropriate in the 1570s, must seem like a reproach by the 1590s). Finally, there is a hint perhaps – in both the anxiety about succession and the Northern emphasis upon the Humber and Aldfrith – of anticipation of James I.

The republication of this poem by Phineas suggests that he considered it a particularly impressive work, which could represent his father and frame his own achievement: a poem concerned with the history and importance of Cambridge as a place of learning fits with Phineas's close identification with his father as a Cambridge poet, who speaks for the city. This identification is evident from the dedicatory poem he writes for his father's work and from his *Piscatorie Eclogs*, in spite of his disenchantment with Cambridge, and is discussed further below. Furthermore, as I will argue, the *De Literis* was in part modelled on Sannazaro's *Eclogue 4* and Sannazaro's *Piscatoriae* were an important source for Phineas's Latin and English eclogues – the connection of both his father's work and his own Latin

¹⁵ Barbara Yorke, 'The Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms 600–900 and the Beginnings of the Old English State', in *Der Frühmittelalterliche Staat - Europäische Perspektiven*, ed. Walter Pohl and Veronika Wieser, vol. 16 (Austrian Academy of Sciences Press, 2009), 73–86, www.jstor.org/stable/j.ctt3fgk28.11.

¹⁶ While James was certainly not the only possible heir and his position was insecure, he was the main Protestant candidate and Elizabeth repeatedly assured him that his mother's treason would not affect his title to the English throne (Mary Queen of Scots was executed in 1587). She also made sure that the illegitimacy of Katherine Grey's sons, who were the other Protestant candidates, was not revoked, briefly imprisoning the Earl of Hertford in 1595 when he wanted to challenge this. Doran and Kewes, *Doubtful and Dangerous: The Question of Succession in Late Elizabethan England*, 4–5.

eclogues in the *Sylva Poetica* to Sannazaro's collection may have played a role in Phineas's decision to publish the *De Literis* here.

Phineas Fletcher

Given the inclusion of the *De Literis* with Phineas Fletcher's work and the influence of Giles Fletcher the Elder on his son's pastoral verse, it is remarkable that the relationship of Phineas Fletcher's verse to that of his father is not usually considered.¹⁷ Lloyd E. Berry has written an article on the biographical information about Giles Fletcher the Elder that can be found in the first two *Piscatorie Eclogs*, while Lee Piepho has pointed out that Phineas 'continued his father's heritage' with the four Latin eclogues he composed at Cambridge and hints at a connection between Giles Fletcher's *De Contemptu Ministrorum* and Phineas's fourth English eclogue, *Chromis*.¹⁸ He also, however, argues that the eclogues of the two poets are fundamentally different:

The Latin pastorals of Giles Fletcher the Elder, Phineas' father, are largely dominated by religious allegory and satiric attacks on corruption within the clergy. Their models are the Mantuan of the ninth and tenth eclogues, and after him Petrarch and Boccaccio. With the publication of Thomas Watson's *Amintas* (the predecessor of *Amintae gaudia*) in 1585 Latin pastoral in England took a new turn, however, towards the exclusively, obsessively amatory (...) In subject matter, Phineas Fletcher's eclogues generally follow Watson's model.¹⁹

While it is true that three of Phineas Fletcher's four Latin eclogues are love complaints, he is wrong to state that religious allegory dominates the elder Fletcher's pastoral, which also includes a pastoral epithalamium, two pastoral elegies and a long didactic poem. Furthermore, one of Phineas' Latin eclogues, *Nisa Ecloga*, imitates an eclogue by his father and uses political allegory, and the fourth of his English *Piscatorie Eclogs* is modelled much more closely on his father's *De Contemptu Ministrorum* than Piepho acknowledges, using sustained religious

¹⁷ The works of Phineas Fletcher and his brother Giles Fletcher the Younger have however been studied in combination: Frederick S. Boas, ed., *Poetical Works of Giles and Phineas Fletcher*, 2 vols (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1908); Kastor, *Giles and Phineas Fletcher*.

¹⁸ Berry, 'Phineas Fletcher's Account of His Father'; Piepho, 'The Latin and English Eclogues of Phineas Fletcher: Sannazaro's "Piscatoria" among the Britons', 461, 470.

¹⁹ Piepho, 'The Latin and English Eclogues of Phineas Fletcher: Sannazaro's "Piscatoria" among the Britons', 461–62.

allegory and including strong attacks on the corruption of the clergy. In fact, it is likely that Piepho's view of Giles Fletcher the Elder as a poet attacking the clergy was itself shaped by the way Phineas chose to edit and imitate his father's eclogues in the seventeenth century, focusing on his religious and political rather than his occasional verse.²⁰ The reception of Giles Fletcher the Elder has been mediated by Phineas and cannot be understood without considering the pastoral of both poets together.

Phineas Fletcher's English verse is mentioned briefly by several scholars in relation to other English poetry; only his epic *The Purple Island* has been studied in its own right.²¹ His Latin verse has received very little attention, and what work has been done mostly focuses on his *Locustae*, an epyllion on the Gunpowder Plot, which is singled out for its (perceived) connections to Milton's *In Quintum Novembris*.²² While some discussions of his English *Piscatorie Eclogs* exist, the parallel Latin eclogues have been mostly ignored.²³ His Latin *Sylva Poetica* and English *The Purple Island, or The Isle of Man together with Piscatorie Eclogs and Other Poeticall Miscellanies*, both published in 1633, include a number of corresponding poems.²⁴ Although they

²⁰ Piepho may also have been influenced by the inclusion of three of Giles Fletcher the Elder's allegorical eclogues in a late seventeenth-century anthology by William Dillingham, which are now his best-known poems. Dillingham's choice for these poems in itself suggests Phineas may have successfully reframed his father's career to focus on his allegorical political and religious eclogues. (Dillingham, *Poemata Varii Argumenti Partim E. Georgio Herberto Latinè (Utcunque) Reddita, Partim Conscripta, a Wilh. Dillingham ... ; Adscitis Etiam Aliis Aliorum*.) Dillingham's role in shaping the reception of Fletcher's verse is discussed further in the Afterword.

²¹ On *The Purple Island*, see e.g.: Healy, 'Sound Physic: Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island* and the Poetry of Purgation'; Mark Bayer, 'The Distribution of Political Agency in Phineas Fletcher's "Purple Island"', *Criticism* 44, no. 3 (2002): 249–70; Yvette Koepke, 'Allegory as Historical and Theoretical Model of Scientific Medicine: Sex and the Making of the Modern Body in Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island*', *Literature and Medicine* 27, no. 2 (2008): 175–203; Phineas Fletcher, *The Purple Island, or, The Isle of Man / Phineas Fletcher*, ed. Johnathan H Pope (Leiden: Brill, 2017).

²² David Quint, 'Milton, Fletcher and the Gunpowder Plot', *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 54 (1991): 261–68, <https://doi.org/10.2307/751498>; E. Haan, ed., *Phineas Fletcher. Locustae Vel Pietas Iesuitica* (Leuven University Press, 1996).

²³ In his book on Renaissance pastoral, Chaudhuri does not mention Phineas Fletcher's eclogues, focusing instead on *The Purple Island*: Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and Its English Developments*, 191–93. Grant dismissively discusses only two of the four Latin eclogues in: Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 215–16. The eclogues are discussed in more detail here: Piepho, 'The Latin and English Eclogues of Phineas Fletcher: Sannazaro's "Piscatoria" among the Britons'; Gary M. Bouchard, 'Phineas Fletcher: The Piscatory Link between Spenserian and Miltonic Pastoral', *Studies in Philology* 89, no. 2 (1992): 232–43. Bouchard is only concerned with English poetry, but Piepho also considers all four Latin eclogues.

²⁴ Both volumes include liminary verse, eclogues and miscellaneous verse. The English volume includes an epic (*The Purple Island*) while the Latin volume includes Giles Fletcher the Elder's *De Literis Antiquae* which is reminiscent of the genre. The order of items in each of the volumes differs, however. *Sylva Poetica: De Literis Antiquis*, liminary verse, miscellaneous verse, eclogues. English volume: Liminary verse, *The Purple Island*, eclogues, miscellaneous verse.

were not bound together, in this respect they are similar to Milton's 1645 *Poems, both English and Latin*. Giles Fletcher the Elder's *De Literis* and Phineas Fletcher's eclogues which are included in these volumes, are most relevant for this chapter.

Like his father, Phineas Fletcher attended Eton and King's College Cambridge, where he matriculated in August 1600. He graduated BA, MA and BD before being ordained in 1611. He then obtained a fellowship and stayed on at the university until 1615. In this period at Cambridge, he wrote all his major poetic works, including *The Purple Island*, *The Apollonyists* and *Locustae*, *Brittain's Ida* and the *Piscatorie Eclogues*.²⁵ Whilst it can be established when first versions of some of these works must have circulated using textual evidence, it is hard to determine which work was started first; Fletcher worked on his poems simultaneously throughout this period and edited all of them later in life.²⁶ Having composed most of his verse at Cambridge, his poetic identity remained closely connected to the university after he left. All Fletcher's poetry was printed in Cambridge apart from two works which seem to have been pirated: *Brittain's Ida*, which was attributed to Spenser on the title page, and *Sicelides*, which was published anonymously.²⁷ These works were published in London, as were his theological prose tracts. Most of his poems are not occasional and seem to have been intended to launch a literary career.

Phineas Fletcher was a prolific poet, creating a varied body of works, similar in size to the canons of Spenser and Milton; it includes an epic, an epyllion, a drama,

²⁵ Langdale, *Phineas Fletcher. Man of Letters, Science and Divinity*, 40.

²⁶ See: Langdale, 51–52.

The opening of *The Purple Island*, for instance, suggests that this work is Fletcher's second poetic endeavour after *The Piscatorie Eclogs* (St. 4-5):

A gentle boy thus 'gan to wave their choice;
Thirsil, (said he) though yet thy Muse untri'd
Hath onely learn'd in private shades to feigne
Soft sighs of love unto a looser strain,
Or thy poore *Thelgon*'s wrong in mournfull verse to plain;

Yet since the shepherd-swains do all consent
To make thee lord of them, and of their art;
And that choice lad (to give a full content)
Hath joyn'd with thee in office, as in heart;
Wake, wake thy long- (thy too long) sleeping Muse,
And thank them with a song, as is the use:
Such honour thus conferr'd thou mayst not well refuse.

²⁷ P. G. Stanwood, 'Fletcher, Phineas (1582–1650), Poet', 24 May 2008, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/9738>.

several medium-length verse narratives, pastoral eclogues, verse epistles, epithalamia, hymns, psalms, translations, various songs, occasional pieces, lyrics and devotional poems.²⁸ The latter were posthumously published in *A Fathers Testament* (1670) which consists of both prose and verse and contains 20 English religious poems; this work demonstrates he was active as a poet later in life, but was not able to, or chose not to, publish his work.²⁹

Kastor suggests that Fletcher's desire to be a poet can be seen in the fact that he models himself, like Spenser, on Vergil: he starts by writing pastoral and moves to epic.³⁰ It is clear that Fletcher admired Spenser both from the style and metres he uses and his allusions to the earlier poet.³¹ Both poets wrote pastoral works and an epic, but unlike Spenser's verse, neither Fletcher's manuscript poems, which were written between 1600 and 1615, nor his printed works, which were published between 1627 and 1633, appeared in a Vergilian order. The first work he published in print was his epyllion on the gunpowder plot in Latin and English, entitled *Locustae* (in Latin) and (in English) *Apollonyists* (1627), while his eclogues were published last – his Latin eclogues can be found in the *Sylva Poetica* (1633) and his English eclogues in *The Purple Island, or The Isle of Man together with Piscatorie Eclogs and Other Poeticall Miscellanies* (1633).³² The Vergilian career does therefore not seem to be a helpful model for what Fletcher was doing, as he was working in

²⁸ Kastor, *Giles and Phineas Fletcher*, 77–78.

²⁹ Phineas Fletcher, *A Fathers Testament. Written Long since for the Benefit of the Particular Relations of the Authour, Phin. Fletcher; Sometime Minister of the Gospel at Hillgay in Norfolk. And Now Made Publick at the Desire of Friends*. (London: Printed by R. White, for Henry Mortlock, and are to be sold at his shop, at the sign of the White Hart in Westminster-Hall, 1670). Nine of the poems in this work are verse paraphrases of Boethius.

³⁰ Kastor, *Giles and Phineas Fletcher*, 78.

³¹ His *Brittain's Ida* (1628), which is attributed on the title page to 'that Renowned Poët, Edmond Spencer' was included in Spenser's literary corpus for two centuries after its publication before being attributed to Fletcher in the early 20th century. Phineas Fletcher, *Venus & Anchises (Brittain's Ida) and Other Poems*, ed. Ethel Seaton, *Brittain's Ida* (London: H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1926); Langdale, *Phineas Fletcher. Man of Letters, Science and Divinity*, 94–95.

³² The other published works are: Phineas Fletcher, *Brittain's Ida. Written by That Renowned Poët, Edmond Spencer* (London: Printed by Nicholas Okes for Thomas Walkley, and are to be sold at his shop at the Eagle and Child in Brittaines Bursse, 1628); Phineas Fletcher, *Sicelides a Piscatory, as It Hath Beene Acted in Kings Colledge, in Cambridge* (London: Printed by I[ohn] N[orton] for VVilliam Sheares, and are to be sold at his shoppe, at the great south doore of St. Pauls Church, 1631); Phineas Fletcher, *Ioy in Tribulation. Or, Consolations for the Afflicted Spirits. By Phinees Fletcher, B.D. and Minister of Gods Word at Hilgay in Norfolk* (London: Printed [by J. Beale] for Iames Baker, dwelling at the signe of the Marigold in Pauls Church-yard, 1632); Phineas Fletcher, *The Way to Blessednes a Treatise or Commentary, on the First Psalme. By Phinees Fletcher, B. in D. and Minister of Gods Word at Hilgay, in Norfolk*. (London: Printed by I. D[awson] for Iames Boler, and are to be sold at the Marigold, in Pauls Churchyard, 1632).

multiple genres at the same time and does not chronologically move through them to reach the heights of epic.

Richard Helgerson classes Phineas Fletcher in his category of ‘amateur poets’, defined as those who write poetry in their youth and then abandon it for public service, or, more rarely, write in the interstices between business.³³ I would argue that Fletcher does not fall in this category, but was seriously considering a literary career and later, for one reason or another, had to partly abandon that aspiration. It is true that the dedications to both Phineas’ 1633 miscellanies depict the works as products of his youth: in the *Sylva Poetica* he calls himself a budding poet (*nascenti vati*), and at the start of his English miscellany, which includes his epic *The Purple Island*, he speaks of the poems as ‘raw *Essayes* of my very unripe yeares’. As we have seen in the previous chapter, however, such self-depreciation was conventional.³⁴ Furthermore, Fletcher did not publish these works until he was in his early fifties, had left Cambridge and had become a clergyman; it thus certainly made sense for him to present his university verse in the framework of ‘the poet as a youth’, but it seems he planned to dedicate himself to poetry throughout his life when he was younger.

The question of how Fletcher imagined his poetic career is related to another question: Why did he only publish works between 1627 and 1633? Fletcher speaks of his motivations for writing verse in the dedications he wrote for his poetic works in both manuscript and print. His dedications to manuscript versions of the *Locustae*, suggest he published the poem for financial reasons following his father’s death.³⁵ In

³³ Richard Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates: Spenser, Jonson, Milton and the Literary System* / Richard Helgerson (Berkeley: Berkeley, 1983), 26–29; 254–55.

³⁴ Helgerson, *Self-Crowned Laureates* 29–30; 58–60.

³⁵ The first MS version of the poem (BL Sloane MS 444, c. 1611) was dedicated to James Montague, the Bishop of Bath and Wells. It includes the text:

Nuperrime nobis pater, vir tibi notissimus, periit; periit quidem nobis, sibi nunc tandem vivit. Viduae reliquit quos sustentaret liberos decem; quo sustentaret plane nihil. In hac orbitate patrisque desiderio ad illum patriae patrem confugimus.

Very recently my father, a man well known to you, died; or rather, he died as regards us; now at last he lives as regards himself. He left to his widow ten children for her to support but clearly nothing with which she might support them. In this state of deprivation and longing for a father, we flee to that father of our country. (transl. De Haan)

His dedication of the same poem to a royal patron, Henry, Prince of Wales (d. 1612), shortly afterwards, and to Thomas Murray, tutor of Prince Charles, between 1612 and 1621 seem to confirm his financial motivation, although he here also emphasises his identity and future as a poet. These dedications can be found in BL Egerton MS 2875 and BL Harley MS 3196, respectively. For the

his printed works, there is no suggestion of financial need, but this may be explained by the more public nature of the printed medium. His dedication to the *Sylva Poetica* reveals that Fletcher still had poetic aspirations in 1633 (ll. 31-3, 45-51):

*Ah! mihi muscosos fontes, lucosque sonantes
Inter, & errantes tutis sub vallibus agnos
Contingat pigram lentè properare senectam!*

(. . .)

*Det Deus in sylvis cantando amnesque gregesque
Inter deficiam, & media inter pascua solvar:
Sylva mihi tantùm vita esto, sylva sepulchrum.
Sic pigra Mæandri morituro ad flumina cantu,
Eridanive sedens violenti gramine, carmen
Postremum albus olor, vitam cum carmine fundit ;
Exequiâsque canens felicem illabitur urnam.*

Ah, let it be my lot to hasten slowly to an idle old age amidst mossy fountains, resounding groves, and lambs straying beneath safe walls. (. . .) God grant that I die in the woods by singing among streams and flocks, and expire amidst my pastures. Let only the grove be my life, let the grove be my tomb. Thus with song about to die, by the streams of the idle Meander or nesting in the grass of boisterous Eridanus, at the end the white swan pours forth its life with a song; singing its own dirge it glides into its happy urn. (Transl. adapted from D.F. Sutton)

His wish to be a poet in old age suggests Fletcher's poetic ambitions played a role in the publication of his works between 1627 and 1633. Using pastoral imagery to express this wish, he creates a fitting opening for a work which includes his Latin eclogues. Financial support was required to make publication a possibility; Edward Benlowes (1602-1676), a very generous patron of the arts, seems to have been a key figure in this respect.³⁶ He was the dedicatee of both the *Sylva Poetica* and *The Purple Island*. Langdale goes so far as to suggest Benlowes knew Fletcher from 1625 and persuaded him to publish all his poetic works, but this cannot be verified.³⁷ The *Locustae*, which appeared in 1627, when Fletcher had been in Hilgay for six years, is dedicated to Sir Roger Townshend (1595-1637). A member of a well-to-do

dating of the Harley MS, see: Boas, *Poetical Works of Giles and Phineas Fletcher*, xvi–xvii; Haan, *Phineas Fletcher. Locustae Vel Pietas Iesuitica*, lxxix.

³⁶ P. G. Stanwood, 'Benlowes, Edward (1602–1676), Poet', 26 May 2016, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2097>.

³⁷ Langdale, *Phineas Fletcher. Man of Letters, Science and Divinity*, 93.

Norfolk family, Townshend's uncle was Francis Bacon; he was living in Stiffkey, Norfolk, at the time the work was published and had been educated at Trinity College Cambridge, where his tutor was Giles Fletcher the Younger, Phineas's brother.³⁸ Benlowes also had a Cambridge connection, having been educated at St John's College Cambridge from 1620 to 1622. There thus seems to have been a connection between Fletcher's Cambridge network and his publications. It is possible he published his verse once he was established at Hilgay because it was much harder for him to circulate his manuscripts in Cambridge at this time.

Phineas's pastoral and his Cambridge predecessors

In the dedication to the *Sylva Poetica* cited above, Phineas Fletcher characterises his poetic identity as a pastoral one, and a consideration of his poetry as a whole indeed demonstrates that his corpus is much more pastoral in nature than has been noted. Furthermore, from the start of his career Phineas seems to shape his poetic identity in relation to the works of Spenser and those of his father. In 1603, he published poems in both university volumes on the death of Queen Elizabeth and accession of James I, which suggests he had poetic aspirations early on in his Cambridge career. The English volume is entitled *Sorrowes Ioy* and its Latin equivalent *Threno-thriambeuticon*.³⁹ Fletcher's contribution to the English volume (sigs. D2^r-D3^v) is a pastoral poem in which the speaker is 'Coridon, a cruel heardgroomes boy' (l. 10); the poem shows its indebtedness to Spenser's *The Faerie Queene*, book VI, 9-11 where Coridon is Calidore's rival vying for the beautiful Pastorella. While allusions to *The Faerie Queene* in commemorative verse for Queen Elizabeth were common, Fletcher's poem stands out because it does not just allude to imagery from Spenser's epic in general, but to a specific passage.⁴⁰ The

³⁸ Chris Kyle, 'TOWNSHEND, Sir Roger, 1st Bt. (1595-1637), of the Barbican, London and Stiffkey, Norf.; Later of Raynham Hall, Raynham, Norf.', in *The History of Parliament: The House of Commons 1604-1629*, ed. Andrew Thrush and John P. Ferris (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

³⁹ Anonymous, *Sorrowes Ioy. Or, A Lamentation for Our Late Deceased Sovereigne Elizabeth, with a Triumph for the Prosperous Succession of Our Gracious King, James, &c.* (London: Printed by Iohn Legat, printer to the Vniversitie of Cambridge, 1603); Anonymous, *Threno-thriambeuticon Academiae Cantabrigiensis ob damnum lucrosum, & infœlicitatem fœlicissimam, luctuosus triumphus.* (Cambridge: Ex officina Iohannis Legat, 1603).

⁴⁰ See: Ray Heffner et al., 'Spenser Allusions in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries', *Studies in Philology* 68, no. 5 (1971): 94-96.

term 'heardgroomes' is used by both Calidore and Coridon in *FQ* VI.xi.39 when the Brigants, who have stolen their sheep, ask them who they are:

To whom they aunswer'd, as did appertaine,
That they were poore heardgroomes, the which whylere
Had from their masters fled, and now sought hyre elsewhere.⁴¹

The Brigants hire them and when Calidore has rescued Pastorella, who was kidnapped by the thieves, he gives the sheep to Coridon. While Calidore, who represents courtesy, is brave – he has earlier killed the tiger which was chasing Pastorella while his rival fled – unlike Coridon he is not a real shepherd and he leaves the pastoral world. If Coridon in Fletcher's poem represents the poet himself, as seems to be the case, he may have chosen the character to reflect his investment in pastoral. The idea that joy and sorrow are mixed in the world, which can be found in *The Faerie Queene* VI.xi.1 seems to have been the inspiration for the title of the university volume and plays an important role in Fletcher's poem. The imagery of water and nymphs in the poems is reminiscent of Giles Fletcher the Elder's pastoral.⁴² See for example ll. 19-24:

Ye goodly nymphes that with this river dwell,
All daughters of the yellow-sanded Chame,
Which deepe in hollow rockes frame out your cell,
Tell me ye nymphes, for you can surely tell;
Is death the cause of life? or can that same
Be my great'st blisse, which was my great'st annoy?

The poet here calls on the nymphs of the river to share their wisdom about the conflicted feelings caused by Elizabeth's death and James's succession. The passage is not unlike those where his father, as the hunter Lycidas, asks the Cam itself to speak of the history of Cambridge (*De Literis*, ll. 19-31 in the MS, ll. 18-27 in the printed version) or addresses the nymphs of the river Cam when he reproaches the water for the death of Clere Haddon (*Æcloga Adonis* ll.12-23). Phineas Fletcher contributed three poems to the Latin volume; two of these, written in iambics and asclepiad metre, whilst fashionable, are conventional in their emphasis and play on

⁴¹ Edmund Spenser, *The Faerie Queene*, vol. 2 (London: Everyman's Library, 1965).

⁴² The poem Giles Fletcher the Younger contributed to *Sorrowes Ioy*, entitled *A Canto upon the death of Eliza*, is also a pastoral. Here Ocyroe laments the queen's death; the same nymph laments Nicholas Carr's death in his father's *Ecloga Daphnis*.

the mingling of grief and joy brought about by the death of Elizabeth and accession of James. The other poem, written in hexameters, refers to the same sentiments, but stands out because the speaker in this poem is the River Thames. It opens (ll.1-6):

*Flebilis Elizam deserta Thamesis vnda
Ingemuit, virides tollens è gurgite crines,
Quà pater Oceanus solitum bibit ore tributum
Impiger, extremasque tridente reuerberat vndas.
Crebraque cum verbis immiscens verbera, nocte
Elizam veniente, Elizam abeunte canebat.*

The desolate wave of the mournful Thames has lamented
Eliza, as it lifts its green locks from its channel,
Where its tireless father, the ocean drinks
The accustomed tribute, and with his trident makes the farthest waves
resound.
And, mingling frequent blows with his words, he sang of Eliza
As night came on, and of Eliza as the night departed.⁴³

Here the Thames lifts his head from the waves to lament, in the same way the river Cam lifts its head from the waves in his father's *De Literis Antiquæ Britanniae* (ll. 35-8, 58-60).⁴⁴ In the *De Morte Boneri*, the Thames is described lamenting the death of the martyrs Thomas Cranmer and Nicholas Ridley, killed by Bonner (ll. 157-60):

*Ipse suum lacrymis augens et fletibus amnem,
Limosusque vadis, et pullo cinctus amictu,
Flevit, et infestas turbavit Thamesis undas,
Thamesis argutos qui flumine gignit olores.*

⁴³ Text and translation have been taken from: Felicity Henderson and Lawrence Green, eds., '1603B: Cambridge Verses on the Death of Queen Elizabeth, 1603', in *John Nichols's The Progresses and Public Processions of Queen Elizabeth I: A New Edition of the Early Modern Sources*, trans. Martin Brooke and Dana F. Sutton, vol. 4, 5 vols (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

⁴⁴ *Tum Pater ignotæ subitâ formidine vocis
Attonitus, madidum summâ caput extulit undâ:
Cæruleus tergo dependet carbasus, aures
Canna tegit, patulis fluit humida naribus unda
(. . .)
Hunc replicans, veterûmque petens exordia rerum,
Plenâque concutiens fluviali tempora mosco,
Talâ sedatis memorans cantabat ab undis.*

Then the father, astonished by sudden fear of the unknown voice, lifted his wet head in the highest wave. A blue linen garment hangs down from his back, reed covers his ears, a wet wave flows from his open nostrils (. . .) Opening up this book, and seeking the beginnings of ancient things, and shaking the river moss out from the times/ages [i.e. book of history] that had become filled with it, recounting such things he was singing by the calm waves.

Thames himself, muddy with his swamps and girded with mourning weeds,
wept, swelling his stream with his tears and by wailing, and threw into disorder
his disturbed waters, Thames who fathers the shrill swans in his stream.

In both these passages the Thames mourns, weeping and beating or disturbing his waters. Inspired by his father's verse, Phineas has also made river-imagery central to his pastoral.

Fletcher's Latin and English *Eclogues* demonstrate most fully the pastoral influences on his work, including that of his father, and will be discussed in detail below. Yet all his major later works, apart from the *Locustae*, contain pastoral or piscatory elements, featuring shepherds or fishermen and Cambridge (or Kent) as a pastoral or piscatory setting. A manuscript version of *Brittain's Ida* opens with two pastoral stanzas which make it evident that the author of the work is Phineas Fletcher.⁴⁵ In these stanzas the poet is sat on the banks of the river Cam and refers to himself as Thirsil, the name he also uses for himself in *The Purple Island* and some of the *Piscatorie Eclogs*, as well as in a number of short poems.⁴⁶

In his epic *The Purple Island*, the allegorical account of the human body and of the English church and state – the aspect of the poem which has attracted most critical attention – sits within a pastoral framework. Here Thirsil is a shepherd rather than a fisherman, part of a group of shepherd-boys sitting on the banks of the River Cam. Stanzas 1-33 of Canto I are fully pastoral, and the pastoral framework is returned to repeatedly in the odd stanza at the start or end of a Canto.⁴⁷ It has been pointed out that the pastoral setting seems incongruous with the topic of the epic, but that the poet creatively uses different aspects of the convention; for example when retelling the Orpheus legend in Canto V and by using a pastoral epithalamium to celebrate the union of Eclecta (the English Church) with her bridegroom, who represents both

⁴⁵ The poem can be found in Sion MS Arc. L. 40.2/L.40 with Fletcher's *Epithalamium, To Mr Jo Tomkins* and four of his English *Piscatorie Eclogs*. It is entitled *Venus and Anchises* in the MS. In the 1920s, Ethel Seaton identified the poem as *Brittain's Ida* and Fletcher as its author. She dated this section of the MS to c. 1616-1628. Fletcher, *Venus & Anchises (Brittain's Ida) and Other Poems*, xli.

⁴⁶ Fletcher, xvi–xvii.

⁴⁷ Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and Its English Developments*, 191–92.

Christ and James I (Canto XII, stanza 87).⁴⁸ The framework furthermore serves important functions: for example, by using a distinctively English setting, it helps to create a creation epic in which England is pre-eminent; it shows the work's didactic purpose and provides a structure for the seven days of the epic, as night and day naturally feature in pastoral.⁴⁹

In addition to the *Piscatorie Eclogs*, Fletcher included six other pastoral poems with the miscellaneous verse in this volume: *To Master W.C.*; *To my ever honoured Cousin W.R. Esquire*; *To E.C. in Cambridge, my Sonne by the Universitie*; *To my beloved Thenot in answer of his verse*; *To Mr. Jo. Tomkins.*; *To Thomalin*.⁵⁰ Whilst some of these poems to his friends have been discussed individually, mostly to identify the shepherds and fishermen of Fletcher's eclogues, it has not previously been pointed out how much of the verse in the miscellany is in a pastoral form.⁵¹

Sicelides, the only surviving drama written by Phineas Fletcher, is *A Piscatory* which is set in Sicily; drawing on Sannazaro as he does in his eclogues, Fletcher here uses the dramatic elements of pastoral to create a full-scale drama.⁵² The work opens with a *Prologus Chamus*, in which the river Cam guides the audience to consider Sicily as an allegory of Britain (ll. 9-12):

Then let me here intreate your minds to see,
In this our England, fruitfull Sicely,
Their two twinne Iles; so like in soyle and frame,
That as two twinnes they'r but another same.

Phineas Fletcher's pastoral works thus resemble those of his father in that they have (or – in the case of the *Sicelides* – are connected to) an explicitly English setting, in which rivers feature prominently. Furthermore, as we will see, Phineas's use of

⁴⁸ Sukanta Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and Its English Developments*, 191–92; Thomas Healy, 'Sound Physic: Phineas Fletcher's The Purple Island and the Poetry of Purgation', *Renaissance Studies* 5, no. 3 (1991): 343–44, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-4658.1991.tb00246.x>.

⁴⁹ Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and Its English Developments*, 193; Healy, 'Sound Physic: Phineas Fletcher's The Purple Island and the Poetry of Purgation', 343–44.

⁵⁰ Thenot and Thomalin are both characters that can be found in Spenser's *The Shepheardes Calender*, in *February*, *April* and *November*, and *March* and *July*, respectively. In stanza 2 of *To my beloved Thenot in answer of his verse*, Fletcher humbly discusses his relationship to Spenser, saying he should not be called Colin: 'Colin's high stile will shame me'. *Thomalin*, who represents his friend John Tomkins, is one of the speakers in the second, sixth and seventh of *The Piscatorie Eclogs*.

⁵¹ For these identifications, see: Langdale, *Phineas Fletcher. Man of Letters, Science and Divinity*, 42–47; Kastor, *Giles and Phineas Fletcher*, 80–83.

⁵² Haan, *Phineas Fletcher. Locustae Vel Pietas Iesuitica*, xiii.

religious allegory is similar to that of his father; he includes Protestant polemic in his *Purple Island* and Latin and English eclogues, and some of his eclogues are modelled closely on Giles Fletcher the Elder's.

The politics of the 1633 publications

The opening of *The Purple Island* implies this work was written well after *The Piscatorie Eclogs*; yet Giles Fletcher the Younger's *Christs Victorie, and Triumph* (1610) refers to the wedding song for Eclecta, the climax of the epic.⁵³ This suggests a complete version of the poem existed in 1610, composed in the first decade of the seventeenth century.⁵⁴ It is thus an early Jacobean poem that was later edited and published in 1633, the year in which William Laud was appointed Archbishop of Canterbury and Charles I had been ruling several years without parliament. Several

⁵³ See *The Purple Island* 1.4-5:

Thirsil, (said he) though yet thy Muse untri'd
Hath onely learn'd in private shades to feigne
Soft sighs of love unto a looser strain,
Or thy poore *Thelgons* wrong in mournfull verse to plain;

Yet since the shepherd-swains do all consent
To make thee lord of them, and of their art;
And that choice lad (to give a full content)
Hath joyn'd with thee in office, as in heart;
Wake, wake thy long (thy too long) sleeping Muse,
And thank them with a song, as is the use:
Such honour thus conferr'd thou mayst not well refuse.

Christs Victorie and Triumph 4.48-9:

But let the Kentish lad, that lately taught
His oaten reed the turmpets siluer sound,
Young *Thyrsilis*, and for his musique brought
The willing sphears from heav'n, to lead a round
Of dauncing Nymphs, and Heards, that usng, and crown'd
Eclectas hymen with ten thousand flowrs
Of choycest prayse, and hung her heav'nly bow'rs
With saffron garlands, drest for Nuptiall Paramours,

Let this shrill trumpet, with her siluer blast,
Of faire Eclecta, and her Spousall bed,
Be the sweet pipe, and smooth Encomiast:
But my greene Muse, hiding her younger head
Vnder old *Chamus* flaggy banks, that spread
Their willough locks abroad, and all the day
With their owne watry shadowes wanton play,
Dares not those high amours, and loue-sick songs assay.
Giles Fletcher, *Christs Victorie, and Triumph in Heauen, and Earth, Ouer, and after Death*
(Cambridge: Printed by C. Legge, 1610).

⁵⁴ Langdale, *Phineas Fletcher. Man of Letters, Science and Divinity*, 52; Fletcher, *The Purple Island, or, The Isle of Man / Phineas Fletcher*, 23.

scholars have mentioned the anti-Catholic nature of Fletcher's poems, which can, however, like Spenser's eclogues, also be seen as addressing intra-Anglican issues.⁵⁵ The anti-Catholic message of *The Purple Island* was not outdated in the 1630s, even if it took on a different significance; the threat of continental Catholicism was not yet over, but now the poem could also be read as objecting to the policies of Charles and the Laudian moment in particular.⁵⁶ The allegory of the epic could be seen as a critique of the increasingly absolutist monarchy of the Stuarts. As Bayer explains, the Stuarts favoured the model of the body politic which assigns priority to the head (God and indirectly the monarch). Fletcher's description of the body emphasises, however, that the head is reliant on other bodily parts and systems. Bayer suggests that Fletcher's focus on the many tributaries on the Isle of Man, descriptions of blood circulating throughout the body, shows the importance of small organs and their agency for the human body, perhaps representing the citizens.⁵⁷ Yet the poem does not just offer one view of the Stuarts; the Poet-Shepherd-King of Canto XI, the groom who marries Eclecta (the Church of England) in Canto XII, represents both Christ and James, with the allegory at times ambiguous enough to refer to both, at other times shifting from one to the other.⁵⁸ The image of James as the bridegroom of the English Church reflects the hope of more militant Protestants at the start of his reign, when *The Purple Island* was first composed, who wanted the new king to establish an uncompromising Protestant identity for England.⁵⁹ These different views of the monarch and monarchy could reflect the work's process of composition; a first version was created by 1610, but it was edited until 1633. They are in line with the contrasting sympathies Fletcher must have had in the 1630s as a Protestant with Puritan leanings who was also a royalist.⁶⁰ Furthermore, as we have seen above, political nuance can be changed when a passage composed in one context is read in another; in the *De Literis*, the advice to the queen to have children

⁵⁵ Herbert E. Cory, 'Spenser, the School of the Fletchers, and Milton.', *University of California Publications in Modern Philology* 2, no. 5 (1912): 358; Norbrook, *Poetry and Politics in the English Renaissance*, 180–81.

⁵⁶ Healy, 'Sound Physic: Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island* and the Poetry of Purgation', 345.

⁵⁷ Bayer, 'The Distribution of Political Agency in Phineas Fletcher's "*Purple Island*"'.

⁵⁸ For the shifting of the allegory, see for example 12.51–52, where the imagery, including 'thy calm streams of blood' and 'thy wounded side', shows the spouse is Christ, and 12.55, where the 'Angel full of heav'nly might' who wears three crowns and comes from the north is identified in the marginal note as 'Our late most learned Sovereigne in his remonstrance and comment on the Apocal.'

⁵⁹ Healy, 'Sound Physic: Phineas Fletcher's *The Purple Island* and the Poetry of Purgation', 349.

⁶⁰ Healy, *Sound Physic* 351–52.

was conventional at the time of its composition but reads quite differently when left *in situ* after the poem's revision in the 1590s.

The political and religious convictions of Edward Benlowes, the dedicatee of both 1633 publications, may also be relevant; he was part of a well-to-do Catholic family, but became a Protestant in the early 1620s, and from then on railed passionately against his old faith. Sutton suggests that Benlowes may have been so impressed by Fletcher's anti-Catholic *Locustae* that he decided to contact the poet.⁶¹ Like Fletcher, he was, however, a royalist and while he deeply distrusted the Laudian Church, he was certainly not a Puritan, enjoying Church ceremonial.⁶² In addition to serving as a patron for Phineas Fletcher's poetry, he also sponsored Francis Quarles's *Emblemes* (1635), a Protestant work for which he may have provided the Jesuit emblem books to which it is indebted.⁶³

Another aspect of the Fletchers' relationship with the monarch is addressed in the first of *The Piscatorie Eclogues*, where James I is Amyntas, the shepherd about whom Thelgon complains. James had promised Giles Fletcher the Elder patronage when he was in Scotland, but had not given it to him as is evident from an extant letter which the poet wrote to Robert Cecil in 1609.⁶⁴ Parts of the poem are modelled on a love complaint, see, for example, stanza 15:

Yet once he said, (which I, then fool, beleev'd)
(The woods of it, and *Damon* witnesse be)
When in fair *Albions* fields he first arriv'd,
When I forget true *Thelgons* love to me,
The love which ne're my certain hope deceiv'd;
The wavering sea shall stand, and rocks remove:
He said, and I beleev'd: so credulous is love.

As the first eclogue of the collection, in some ways it seems to be a reversal of Vergil's *Eclogue* 1, in which Tityrus, unlike Meliboeus, has not been affected by the land appropriations. He explains that he has petitioned a powerful young man

⁶¹ M.T. Anderson and Dana F. Sutton, eds., 'Introduction', in *Phineas Fletcher's Sylva Poetica* (1633), 1999, <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/sylva/intro.html>.

⁶² Langdale, *Phineas Fletcher. Man of Letters, Science and Divinity*, 90; P. G. Stanwood, 'Benlowes, Edward (1602–1676), Poet'.

⁶³ P. G. Stanwood, 'Benlowes, Edward (1602–1676), Poet'; Fletcher, *The Purple Island, or, The Isle of Man / Phineas Fletcher*, 26.

⁶⁴ Berry, 'Phineas Fletcher's Account of His Father', 261–63. Hatfield, Cecil Papers 127.89.

(Octavian), who has offered him protection (l. 44-5: *hic mihi responsum primus dedit ille petenti*: | *pascite ut ante boues, pueri; summittite tauros.* – Here he first gave answer to my petition: ‘Pasture cattle as before, children; breed your bulls.’).

Octavian has kept his promise, but James has not (Stanza 16: ‘*Amyntas* hath forgot his *Thelgons* quill; | His promise and his love are writ in sand;’). This is not fitting for the Poet-Shepherd-King and may reflect that this eclogue was written later than *The Purple Island*, when the hopes of the Fletchers for James as a Protestant king had waned. It would thus date from around the same time as Phineas’s second English eclogue, which was composed after Giles Fletcher the Elder’s death in 1611, to which it refers. The political implications of the religious allegory which can be found in *Eclogue III (Chromis)* are discussed further below in relation to Giles Fletcher the Elder’s *De Contemptu Ministrorum*.

Piscatory eclogues – Sannazaro and Fletcher

Sannazaro’s *Eclogae Piscatoriae* (1526) were highly respected by his contemporaries and had a wide influence on later European literature in both Latin and the vernacular; they were read at least as widely as Vergil’s eclogues in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁶⁵ In his *Poetices Libri Septem*, Scaliger shows he has a high opinion of them, describing Sannazaro as: *In carmine quoque pastorali solus legi dignus omnium qui post Virgilium scripsere.* – ‘In pastoral poetry also the only one worthy to be read of all those who wrote after Virgil.’⁶⁶ Sannazaro himself claimed to be the first to write piscatory eclogues, for example in *Ecl.* 2.45-5, where he has Lycon recount what a shepherd said to him (“*Puer, ista tuae sint praemia Musae, | quandoquidem nostra cecinisti primus in acta.*” – “Boy let these be the rewards for Muse, since you were the first to sing along our shore.”) and again in *Ecl.* 4.17-20, where he says to his addressee, Fernando of Aragon:⁶⁷

⁶⁵ Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 206; Smith, ‘The Genre and Critical Reception of Jacopo Sannazaro’s “*Eclogae Piscatoriae*” (Naples, 1526)’, 199–200.

⁶⁶ Jacopo Sannazaro, *The piscatory eclogues of Jacopo Sannazaro / edited, with introduction and notes, by Wilfred P. Mustard* (Baltimore: Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1914), 19; Smith, ‘The Genre and Critical Reception of Jacopo Sannazaro’s “*Eclogae Piscatoriae*” (Naples, 1526)’, 212; Scaliger, *Poetices Libri Septem*, 315 (Book VI).

⁶⁷ He also mentions it in his *Elegia* 3.2.57 ([. . .] *salsas descendi ego primus ad undas, | ausus inexpertis reddere verba sonis.* – ‘I was the first to make my way down to the salt waters, having dared to render words in untried melodies.’) – see: Smith, ‘The Genre and Critical Reception of Jacopo Sannazaro’s “*Eclogae Piscatoriae*” (Naples, 1526)’, 206; Sannazaro, *Latin Poetry*, xiii–xiv. All citations of Sannazaro’s eclogues have been taken from: Sannazaro, *Latin Poetry*.

[. . .] *nunc litoream ne despice Musam*
Quam tibi post silvas, post horrida lustra Lycae
(si quid id est) salsas deduxi primus ad undas
ausus inexperta tentare pericula cymba.

For now do not scorn the Muse of the seashore
whom, after the forests, after the rugged wilds of Lycaeus
(if that counts for anything), I was the first to bring to the salt waves for you,
daring to risk their dangers in my untested bark.

Theocritus *Idyll* XXI is also, however, a dialogue between two fishermen; the two men stay in a cabin on the shore overnight and one tells the other of a dream he has had of catching a golden fish. Whilst the poem is quite different from those in Sannazaro's collection in setting and topic, it nevertheless seems to have inspired the Italian poet to create his piscatory collection.⁶⁸ In addition to fishermen protagonists it includes a list of items they used for their trade, which Sannazaro exchanges for the instruments of the shepherd's trade throughout his collection.⁶⁹

Sannazaro was certainly however the first to create a piscatory collection in a Vergilian style and his claim to innovation was widely accepted in the early modern period, as is evident from the *testimonia* of various poets included in editions of

⁶⁸ Discussing the reputation of Theocritus in the Renaissance, Halperin states, without citing textual evidence, that 'Sannazaro was well acquainted with the Greek text'. David M. Halperin, *Before Pastoral, Theocritus and the Ancient Tradition of Bucolic Poetry* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 2. I agree he must have been familiar with Theocritus, given the allusion to *Idyll* 21 in Sannazaro's *Eclogue* 3 (see n. 69). Kennedy and Smith underplay the importance of Theocritus for Sannazaro. The former says: 'While it is difficult to find direct traces of Theocritus in either *Arcadia* or the *Piscatoriae*, *Idyll* XXI may have had at least an indirect bearing on the latter.' William J. Kennedy, *Jacopo Sannazaro and the Uses of Pastoral* (Hanover [N.H.]: University Press of New England, 1983), 149. Smith argues that Sannazaro does not allude to Theocritus's *Idyll* 21 and that his contemporaries did not consider his eclogues to be derived from the *Idyll*. Smith, 'The Genre and Critical Reception of Jacopo Sannazaro's "Eclogae Piscatoriae"' (Naples, 1526)', 207–9.

⁶⁹ See II. 8-12:

ἐγγύθι δ' αὐτοῖν
κεῖτο τὰ ταῖν χειρῶν ἀθλήματα, τοὶ καλαθίσκοι,
τοὶ **κάλαμοι**, τὰ γκιστρά, τὰ φυκιδέοντα δέλγητα,
ὀρμιαὶ κύρτοι τε καὶ ἐκ σχοίνων **λαβύρινθοι**,
μήρινθοι κῶπαι τε γέρων τ' ἐπ' ἐρείσμασι λέμβος·

Near them lay the tools of their trade – baskets, rods, hooks, seaweed-covered bait, lines, weels, traps made from rushes, cords, oars, an old boat on props (Transl. N. Hopkinson)

Compare Sannazaro *Ecl.* III.11-12:
ante pedes cistaeque leves hamique iacebant
*et **calami** nassaeque et viminei **labyrinthi**.*

Before our feet lay our delicate baskets and hooks, our rods, weels, and osier traps.

Sannazaro's eclogues, and the statements of poets imitating his work or claiming they have also invented a new type of eclogue.⁷⁰ For example, in the *Musae Priores* (1620) of the Scottish John Leech, which includes four different types of eclogues (bucolic, piscatory, marine, and vinitory), the poet claims originality by saying that only Sannazaro had previously written piscatory eclogues, only Grotius had written a *nautica ecloga* (a seamen's eclogue entitled *Myrtilus, sive Idyllium Nauticum* and included in his *Poemata*, 1617) and that he is the first to write of vine-growers.⁷¹

Sannazaro's popularity explains Fletcher's choice to create a piscatory eclogue collection, especially in combination with the importance of water imagery in his father's eclogues. It is also possible that he was writing at a time when there was a particular interest in north-west Europe in extending the boundaries of pastoral to include a variety of eclogues, although earlier and later examples of such eclogues can be found. In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, there were several publications including innovative eclogues in addition to the mentioned works of Grotius and Leech; the eclogues of Petrus Stratenius of Goesa (1616-1640) published posthumously in his *Poemata* (1641) include a piscatory, the third eclogue *Milcon*. Two hunter eclogues can be found among the eclogues of Petrus Lotichius, published in his *Poemata* (1563), and arguably among the works of Giles Fletcher the Elder; another eclogue of this kind is included in Raphael Thorius's *In Obitum Io. Barclaii Elegia* (1621). Of the twenty eclogues of Joachim Camerarius (1500-1574), the fifteenth is a vinitory.⁷²

Although Sannazaro's eclogue collection inspired Fletcher's Latin and English eclogue collections, both Piepho and Bouchard argue that Sannazaro's influence on the English poet is not as profound as the direct or indirect influence of Vergil.

⁷⁰ Smith, 'The Genre and Critical Reception of Jacopo Sannazaro's "Eclogae Piscatoriae" (Naples, 1526)', 208. On the Vergilian nature of Sannazaro's verse, see also: Sannazaro, *Latin Poetry*, ix–xxi; Erik Fredericksen, 'Jacopo Sannazaro's Piscatory Eclogues and the Question of Genre', *New Voices in Classical Reception Studies*, no. 9 (2014).

⁷¹ Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925*, 184–85; John Leech, *Joannis Leochaiei Scoti, Musæ Priores, Sive Poematum Pars Prior* (Londini, 1620). A2^v in the section *Idyllia, sive Eclogae: quis oro praeter Sannazarium, Piscatorias Eclogas? quis praeter Hugonem Grotium Nauticas tentavit?* As Bradner points out, Grotius was not in fact the first to write such an eclogue; the Italian poet Lorenzo Gambara (c. 1506-86) had published a collection of *Nautica* in 1552.

⁷² Grant provides a useful overview of 'New Forms of Pastoral' – it includes all these eclogues apart from those by Giles Fletcher the Elder and Raphael Thorius. He also includes earlier and/or later examples for each subgenre. See: Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 205–43.

Piepho argues that Fletcher only picks surface details for his allusions to the work of the Italian poet.⁷³ This statement is too limited: Sannazaro created the subgenre Phineas Fletcher chose to write in, the English poet at times borrows directly from Sannazaro, and Fletcher's Latin collection, with its love complaints and singing contests may have been modelled on the *Eclogae Piscatoriae*. Grant goes to the other extreme, when he says that in the *Myrtillus Ecloga*, Fletcher 'borrows very freely from Sannazaro, so freely as to amount in part almost to a paraphrase of recognizable passages from the first, second and third piscatories.'⁷⁴ The structure of this poem is most similar to that of Sannazaro's *Eclogue 2*, in which Lycon has been rejected by Galatea, as Myrtillus has been rejected by Daphne. In both poems the heartbreak experienced leads the protagonist to think of drowning himself. Both speakers call on the nymphs for help when they realise there is no escape from love but drowning:

Sannazaro, *Ecl. 2.71-76*

*Vitantur venti, pluviae vitantur et aestus,
Non vitatur amor; mecum tumuletur oportet.
Iam saxo meme ex illo demittere in undas
Praecipitem iubet ipse furor. Vos o mihi, Nymphae,
Vos maris undisoni, Nymphae, praestate cadenti
Non duros obitus saevasque exstinguite flammās.*

Winds can be avoided, rains and sweltering heat avoided, but love is not avoidable. It should go to my grave with me. Now its very madness commands me to plunge headlong into the waves from the rock there. O you Nymphs, you Nymphs of the wave-resounding sea, grant me as I fall an easy passing and quench my savage flames.

Fletcher, *Ecloga Myrtillus 19-26*

*Nulla mihi tanti, nymphae, solatia luctus.
Aut levet ipsa meos Daphne quos intulit ignes,
Aut si adeo indigni sumus, atque irascaris usque,
Usque adeo crudelis Amor sub pectore saevis,
Has precor, has tumulum, nymphae, concedite lymphas:*

⁷³ Piepho, 'The Latin and English Eclogues of Phineas Fletcher: Sannazaro's "Piscatoria" among the Britons', 463–65; Bouchard, 'Phineas Fletcher: The Piscatory Link between Spenserian and Miltonic Pastoral', 236. Bouchard argues that Fletcher inherited his Vergilian themes, motifs and images chiefly through Spenser.

⁷⁴ Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 216.

*His ego inextinctos (sinitis modo) fluctibus ignes
Immergam, si fors tantos mare ceperit ignes,
Nec liquido aequoreas inter caream aequore lymphas.*

There is no consolation for such great grief, nymphs. Either let Daphne herself assuage the fires she has kindled or, if I am so unworthy and, cruel Love, you are still angry and still rage in your heart, then, nymphs, pray grant me these waters as my tomb. If you will only allow, I shall drown the unextinguished fires in these waters, if perchance the sea will contain such great fires and I should not lack for water in the midst of these watery waves. (Transl. D.F. Sutton)

Both Fletcher's and Sannazaro's eclogues are love complaints which include elements of pastoral elegy. In pastoral elegy nymphs are frequently questioned about their absence or lack of intervention at the time the subject died; here both poets address water nymphs to ask if they can die in the waves, hoping that the waters will extinguish the fire of love.⁷⁵ But while Sannazaro's Lycon does not act on his empty vows (*irrita vota*, l. 84), Fletcher's Myrtillus repeatedly tries to drown himself and is saved. Then Myrtillus tells the nymphs what to inscribe on his funeral mound; the inclusion of an inscription is another characteristic of pastoral elegy, first included in Vergil's *Eclogue* 5.42-4.⁷⁶ Here it does not praise the deceased, but incriminates Daphne (ll. 95-6) – it may be inspired by Mantuan's *Eclogue* 3, where Amyntas, dying of love, imagines a funerary inscription for the girl he loves which speaks of her cruelty to him (ll. 123-4). As Myrtillus leaves on his skiff at the end of the poem, there is a pathetic fallacy, another convention of pastoral elegy: the winds, the oars, the kingfisher, the coots and the nets weep for him (ll. 98-101).

While several of the names Fletcher uses for the characters in his eclogues have been taken from the works of Vergil and Sannazaro, most of these have been chosen because they are traditional names in pastoral poetry (e.g. Lycidas, who is mentioned once in *Nisa Ecloga*, can be found in Verg. *Ecl.* 9 and Sann. *Ecl.* 1; Chromis, one of the speakers in an English ecclesiastical eclogue of the same name, in Verg. *Ecl.* 6.13 and Sann. *Ecl.* 3) or because they represent a certain character

⁷⁵ Fletcher's *crudelis Amor* is a reference to Vergil's *Eclogue* 10.29, where Pan explains to Gallus, dying of love, that love does not care for his distress.

⁷⁶ An inscription for a tomb can also be found in Sannazaro's first eclogue, a lament for Phyllis, although it is different in nature, linking the deceased to Sebeto, the stream which flows through Naples (l. 104-5).

(such as Nisa, the unworthy mistress of Mopsus in Vergil's *Eclogue* 8.26 and of Iolas in Sannazaro's *Eclogue* III, who is equally as undeserving in Fletcher's first Latin eclogue). These names can thus be considered 'surface details', in Piepho's phrase. The name Thelgon, which represents Fletcher's father in his eclogues, is borrowed from Sannazaro's eclogue 5, where Thelgon has been rejected by Galatea and summons Triton to carry his complaints to Nereus; when he realises he cannot have her back he lets her go. This seems to have further significance, as Thelgon has been rejected by Cambridge in Phineas Fletcher's eclogues, and then leaves the city.

In Sannazaro's *Eclogue* 4, the unnamed speaker recounts how Proteus sang to the breezes recounting the history of the region from the Titanomachy down to the death of the last Aragonese King of Naples. Although unnoticed by previous scholars, this poem probably stands behind Giles Fletcher the Elder's unusual chorographical eclogue, the *De Literis*, about the history of Britain from the creation of the world to the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Like Fletcher's poem, it includes mythology and history as well as panegyric and advice for the royal descendant. Near the end of Sannazaro's eclogue, the poet summarizes Proteus account, saying (ll. 79-80): *Postremo reges regumque ex ordine pugnas | Enumerat, bellique artes et praemia narrat.* – 'In conclusion he catalogues kings and the battles of kings in order, and explains the arts and prizes of war.' Much of Fletcher's poem is taken up by Chamus narrating the history of Cambridge using a catalogue of kings; he speaks not only of the battles they fought, but also of other characteristics of their reigns, especially the state of learning (ll. 73-449 in the printed version; ll. 95-502 in the MS). Its similarity to one of the poems from Sannazaro's collection may be the reason why Phineas decided to publish the *De Literis Antiquae Britanniae* with his *Sylva Poetica*, which includes his piscatory Latin eclogues. Just as Phineas's self-fashioning as a Spenserian poet takes place alongside his imitation of and identification with his father, so his imitation of Sannazaro is also related to his understanding of his father's achievement.

The figure of Proteus, who is first described in Vergil's *Georgics* and then features in Sannazaro's *Eclogue* 4, also appears in Giles Fletcher the Elder's *De Literis*

Antiquae Britanniae, two of Phineas Fletcher's eclogues and Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*. The reason he features repeatedly in Cambridge pastoral deserves further consideration. In *Georgics* IV.391-5, Cyrene says to her son Aristaeus that:

*Hunc et Nymphae veneramur et ipse
Grandaevus Nereus; novit namque omnia vates,
Quae sint, quae fuerint, quae mox ventura trahantur;
Quippe ita Neptuno visum est, immania cuius
Armenta et turpis pascit sub gurgite phocas.*

To him we Nymphs do reverence, and aged Nereus himself ; for the seer has knowledge of all things – what is, what hath been, what is in train before long to happen – so hath it seemed good to Neptune, whose monstrous herds and unsightly seals he pastures beneath the wave.

His identity as a seer with knowledge of past and future makes him particularly suited to be a symbol of both tradition and innovation. Furthermore, in *Georgics* IV.432-7, Proteus is even more explicitly compared to a shepherd; this comparison explains why from Sannazaro's *Eclogae Piscatoriae* onwards he becomes a pastoral, or piscatory, figure.⁷⁷ The figure of Proteus in the work of the Fletchers and Milton seems to signal an awareness of a distinct tradition of 'blue pastoral'.⁷⁸

In the *De Literis*, Giles Fletcher the Elder shows his awareness of Proteus's role in the literary tradition (l. 284-9 in the printed version):⁷⁹

⁷⁷ *sternunt se somno diversae in litore phocae;
ipse velut stabuli custos in montibus olim,
vesper ubi e pastu vitulos ad tecta reducit
auditisque lupos acuunt blatibus agni,
considit scopulo medius, numerumque recenset.*

The seals lay them down to sleep, here and there along the shore; he himself – even as at times the warder of a sheepfold on the hills, when Vesper brings the steers home from pasture, and the cry of bleating lambs whets the wolf's hunger – sits down on a rock in the midst and counts their number. (Transl. H. Rushton Fairclough. Revised by G.P. Goold)

⁷⁸ I use the term 'blue pastoral', to refer to both piscatory eclogues and other pastorals, such as Giles Fletcher the Elder's and Milton's, in which waters feature prominently. It is inspired by the attention that has been paid to Milton's use of the word blue; Bouchard contrasts Spenser's green pastoral world with Milton's blue one (James F. Forrest, 'The Significance of Milton's "Mantle Blue"', *Milton Quarterly* 8, no. 2 (1974): 41–48; Bouchard, *Colin's Campus: Cambridge Life and the English Eclogue*, 100). Furthermore, personifications of rivers, sea deities and protagonists in these poems frequently wear blue garments. For example, the river Cam in Fletcher's *De Literis* is wearing blue linen (l. 37) and Proteus is called the blue prophet (l. 285), the fisher-boys in Phineas Fletcher's sixth eclogue 'came driving up the stream| themselves in blue' (st. 4.2-3) and Milton's narrator is wearing a 'mantle blew' (l.192).

⁷⁹ These are lines 343-8 in the MS:

*Nam, memini, quondam mihi talia fata canebat
Cæruleus pelagi vates, quj flumina Proteus
Temperat, Oceanj primis ubi misceor undis;
Egregium rutilo venturum lumine sidus
Finibus Hesperiae, sacro quod vertice flammæ
Funderet; & nostrum radiis aspergeret amnem.*

For, I recall, once upon a time, when I was mingling with the first waters of the Ocean, this blue prophet of the sea, Proteus who governs the rivers, sang such destinies to me: that a bright star with a brilliant light would come here from the climes of Hesperia, which would pour flames on my holy head and shower my stream with its rays. (Transl. Sutton)

Here the River Cam remembers Proteus predicting the arrival of Brutus in Britain. The water speaks of its memory of the seer, drawing attention to the fact that in Sannazaro's *Ecl.* 4, the waters are said to be familiar with him (l. 21-3):

*Quæ vada non norunt, quis nescit Protea portus?
Illum olim veteris pascentem ad saxa Minervæ
Mulcentemque quas divino **carmine phocæ**,
E puppi sensere Melanthius et Phrasidamus,
Ut forte a Capreis obscura nocte redibant.*

What waters do not know, what harbor is ignorant of Proteus? Melanthius and Phrasidamus, when chance had it that they were returning from Capri in the night's darkness, awhile ago noticed him from their ship feeding his seals by the rocks of ancient Minerva and soothing them with godlike song. (Transl. Putnam)

*Atque equidem meminij mihi talia fata canebat
Cæruleus Pelagi Vates, quj flumina Proteûs
Temperat, Oceanj primis vbi misceor vndis,
Egregium rutilo venturum lumine sydus
Finibus Hesperiae, sacro quod vertice flammæ
Funderet, & totum tradijs aspergeret Orbem.*

This passage (especially in the printed version, given above) draws on another work by Sannazaro, the *De Partu Virginis* 3.334-6, where the river Jordan remembers a prophecy of Proteus about the coming of Christ:

*Ipse mihi hæc quondam, memini, dum talia mecum
saepe agitat repetitque volens, narrare solebat
caeruleus Proteus;*

I recall that once upon a time sea-blue Proteus himself used to tell me the history of these matters when in my presence he regularly touched on such things and was silling to pass them in review.

I am grateful to Professor Philip Hardie for alerting me to this.

Phineas Fletcher draws on this passage from Sannazaro when he sets the scene for his *Myrtillus Ecloga* (l. 8-10):⁸⁰

*Saepe illic nymphae furtivos leniit ignes
Triton; saepe greges illic, armentaque cogens
Sopitas Proteus **mulcebat carmine phocas.***

In that place Triton often assuaged a nymph's furtive ardours, and Proteus, often driving his flocks and herds there, used to soothe his drowsy seals with a song. (Transl. adapted from Sutton)

The line about Proteus soothing his seals in the respective passages, with *carmine phocas* in the same place of the hexameter, makes the allusion unmistakable. By using the image of the singer Proteus from Sannazaro's eclogue at the start of his *Myrtillus* and changing the participle *mulcentem* to the imperfect tense, Phineas Fletcher alludes to an earlier poetic moment, inserting himself into the tradition of piscatory eclogues. Proteus also features in the first of Fletcher's *Piscatorie Eclogs*; when Thelgon tries to persuade Amyntas to reside with him/support him with his patronage, we read:

Here with sweet bayes the lovely myrtills grow,
Where th' Oceans fair-cheekt maidens oft repair;
Here to my pipe they dancen on a row:
No other swain may come to note their fair;
Yet my Amyntas there with me shall go.
Proteus himself pipes to his flocks hereby,
Whom thou shalt heare, ne're seen by any jealous eye.
(Stanza 20)

The last line can be explained by Proteus being caught and shape-shifting in Vergil's *Georgics* (l. 405-14, 437-46); he does not want to be seen by any jealous eye because he does not want to be caught to tell shepherds about their fate, as he is

⁸⁰ Proteus is mentioned again later in the poem (l. 37-9), when Myrtillus explains he wants to drown himself and is not afraid of the sea:

*Non me monstra maris terrent, immania cete
Corpora, non curvi delphines, non tua, Proteu,
Imperia, informes passim per littora phocae.*
He serves as a symbol of the waters here.

there. Yet the presence of Proteus where Thelgon plays also suggests something about the quality of his verse. Amyntas can hear Proteus when he listens to Thelgon.

In his *Epitaphium Damonis*, a pastoral elegy, Milton uses the image of Proteus in a passage where he contrasts the companionship of animals with that of humans (ll. 96-105):

*Nec magis hunc alio quisquam secernit amicum
De grege, sic densi veniunt ad pabula thoes,
Inque vicem hirsuti paribus junguntur onagri;
Lex eadem pelagi, deserto in littore Proteus
Agmina Phocarum numerat, vilisque volucrum
Passer habet semper quicum sit, & omnia circum
Farra libens volitet, serò sua tecta revisens,
Quem si fors letho objecit, seu milvus adunco
Fata tulit rostro, seu stravit arundine fossor,
Protinus ille alium socio petit inde volatu.*

One's no more than the other, whoever picks a friend out of the herd. Thus wolves come to their food in packs and so the hairy donkeys mate in pairs by turns. The sea's law is the same – along the wild shore, Proteus counts off the ranks of seals. The common flitting sparrow always has someone to be with and with whom he may fly freely round heaps of grain, returning home at evening. He's pleased to hover, returning to his home late. If death has struck his mate, whether a hook-billed kite brought fate or some clod with a limed twig laid him out, he instantly finds another companion for his flight.

Whilst animals can replace a dead companion with another, *vix sibi quisque parem de millibus invenit unum* (Each of us scarcely finds a single equal in thousands (l.108)). One of the reasons why Milton includes Proteus and his seals here is to show that the same law applies to beasts of all three world-divisions: land, sea, and air. Scholars have noted that this passage departs from the conventions of pastoral elegy, as it shows that there is no pathetic fallacy: Thyrsis is alone in his grief for his friend, who offered him the connection so rare for humankind.⁸¹ The figure of Proteus, with his knowledge of past, present and future, counting his seals as he has done in the poetry of Vergil, Sannazaro and Phineas Fletcher, emphasises that

⁸¹ Lambert, *Placing Sorrow*, 161–62; Bruce Boehrer, 'Animal Love in Milton: The Case of the "Epitaphium Damonis"', *ELH* 70, no. 3 (2003): 788.

everything goes on as usual in spite of the loss, even in the kingdom of the sea which killed Damon.

The figure of Proteus, who signals the continuity of a poetic tradition in the work of Sannazaro and the Fletchers, comes in Milton's poem to represent the persistence of the rhythms of nature in spite of his friend's death. Yet by alluding to Proteus, he too uses the figure of the seer to draw on and continue the tradition of 'blue pastoral'. As we have seen in chapter 2, Giles Fletcher the Elder introduced new features in British pastoral from Continental poetry; this includes the figure of Proteus from Sannazaro's *Eclogue* 4. Phineas's imitation of Sannazaro in his Latin and English eclogues is widely acknowledged but has not been considered in the context of his father's allusions to the poet in the *De Literis Antiquæ Britanniae*, which Phineas decided to publish with his *Sylva Poetica*. Given the importance of rivers in the elder Fletcher's work, Phineas's close identification with his father and the significant role he has as Thelgon in the *Piscatorie Eclogues*, Phineas's imitation of Sannazaro could also be closely connected to his father.

Eclogues of Father and Son

Phineas Fletcher wrote a prefatory poem for his father's first eclogue, the *De Literis Antiquæ Britanniae*, which was printed with his *Sylva Poetica* (1633). The poem demonstrates the similarities in the careers of father and son, addressing Aquaduna, i.e. Eton, the *Aonidum dulcissima nutrix* and the Muses of the river Cam. Then the poet speaks of his desire to follow in his father's footsteps (ll. 18-27):⁸²

*Nota etiam veteris Chamus vestigia cantûs
Agnoscet: fòrs ipse Pater, fòrs accinet ipse.
Ast ego tanta minor longè vestigia Patris
Colligo, difficilisque sequor non passibus æquis.
Hïc ego perstreperos culices, udásque paludes
Inter, & æternâ tectum caligine coelum
Disperdo ætatem: gelidus præcordia sanguis
Occupat, & letas abigit de pectore Musas.
Hic mihi desuetæ torpent sub corde Camœnæ,
Et solidam gracili vix optant voce salutem.*

⁸² Giles Fletcher the Elder himself uses the term 'Aquaduna' in *De Literis* when he speaks of Henry VI founding Eton (l. 494).

Chamus will also recognise the well-known footsteps of ancient song: perhaps the Father himself, perhaps he will sing along. But I, the younger, track the so great footsteps of my father at a distance, and I follow with difficulty with unequal steps. Here I squander my youth among noisy mosquitoes, and wet fens, and a sky covered with an everlasting fog: ice-cold blood takes possession of my heart, and drives the cheerful Muses away from my breast. Here for me the disused Muses are sluggish near my heart, and they scarcely wish a solid health with a slender voice.

Not only is he in Cambridge among the marshy fens, like his father, he also has made the choice to write two collections of Cambridge pastoral, which are at least in part inspired by his father's collection.⁸³ Phineas Fletcher's choice to include his father's ambitious first eclogue with his *Sylva Poetica* also helped to shape Giles Fletcher the Elder's reputation in the seventeenth century. The poem reinforces the idea of Fletcher as a Protestant poet and, in particular, a Cambridge poet. Whilst not as stridently Protestant as his *De Contemptu Ministrorum*, the Protestant nature of the *De Literis* is evident in several places: the legendary king Lucius who converted to Christianity is included in the history (l. 351-66). He is also mentioned by Bede and Geoffrey of Monmouth, according to whom he wrote to Pope Eleutherius to be received into the Christian faith.⁸⁴ This is not mentioned here and Fletcher emphasises that Christianity came to Britain from Jerusalem (l.347-50); following the Reformation, Lucius' conversion and founding of an English Church was used in Protestant polemic to demonstrate the primacy of British Christianity and to support the idea of the king as head of the Church.⁸⁵ When the river Cam describes Jesus College, which was founded on the site of a Benedictine nunnery by John Alcock (1430-1500), he says (ll. 539-40): *Inque quibus, dum res pretio Romana manebat, | Lenta cuculligeri ducebant otia fratres* – 'in which (as long as the Romish state of affairs prevailed) hooded friars spent their sluggish idleness' (transl. Sutton). While Fletcher thinks the site was a monastery rather than a nunnery, his idea of monastic

⁸³ The description of Cambridge here, as the one in the earlier version of the *De Literis*, is reminiscent of Milton's description of the town in his *Elegia* 1. In line 89, he says *Stat quoque juncosas Cami remeare paludes* – 'It's settled too, that I go back to Cam's reedy bogs'. As Milton's poem was composed in 1626 and this poem presumably composed closer to 1633, it is likely that the poets are here drawing on the same motif rather than directly influencing each other.

⁸⁴ Bede, *Hist. Eccl.* 1.4; 5.24; Monmouth *Historia Regum Britanniae* 4.72-3.

⁸⁵ On the story of Lucius and how both Catholics and Protestants used it in their polemics following the reformation, see: Felicity Heal, 'What Can King Lucius Do for You? The Reformation and the Early British Church', *The English Historical Review* 120, no. 487 (2005): 593–614.

life as *lenta otia* shows his opposition to it. Finally, having completed his description of the colleges, the river Cam says he does not want to overlook king Edward VI, *doctarum Edovarde sororum* (l. 557) and a panegyric for him and Queen Elizabeth follows. The Catholic Mary is passed over in silence, however. Having spoken of the grief following king Edward's death, the poem continues (l.576-8): *Sed spes illa redit, postquam soror altera regno, | Altera fraternis etiam virtutibus hæres, | Successit* – 'but that hope returns, after your second sister, the second heiress also to her brother's virtues, succeeded to power.' Mary deserves no place in this account of the history of the Muses in Britain and Cambridge as she crushed the hope of the Protestant nation. Given that the poem contributes to a debate between Oxford and Cambridge about which university is the more ancient and the river Cam is the speaker for most of the poem, this work does not just have a Cambridge setting, like most of Fletcher's other eclogues, but represents the university. It presents Giles Fletcher the Elder first and foremost as a Cambridge poet, which, as we shall see, fits in well with Phineas Fletcher's aim to depict himself as sharing this aspect of his father's identity.

Phineas Fletcher discusses the disappointments of his father's (poetic) career and his frustrations with Cambridge in his first *Piscatorie Eclog* and uses the second to connect them with his own failure to secure a permanent position at the university, closely identifying with his father.⁸⁶ Thelgon (Giles Fletcher the Elder) is the speaker in the first eclogue, which includes considerable biographical information about him, mentioning his time at Eton and Cambridge (stanzas 5-7), referring to four of his poems, three of which are eclogues from the Hatfield collection (stanzas 9 and 10), and his journeys to Germany, Russia and Scotland as an ambassador (stanzas 11-13). The focus of this poem is the elder Fletcher's relationship with and disappointment in James I as a potential patron, the main subject of the remaining stanzas (14-21).⁸⁷ In the second eclogue, the reason for Phineas Fletcher's

⁸⁶ Piepho, 'The Latin and English Eclogues of Phineas Fletcher: Sannazaro's "Piscatoria" among the Britons', 469.

⁸⁷ The poems referred to are *Æcloga Telethusa*, *De Contemptu Ministrorum*, *The Rising to the Crowne of Richard the Third* and *De Literis Antiquæ Britannicæ*.

preoccupation with his father's life becomes more evident when Thirsil compares the way Cambridge has treated and rejected him to the way it treated Thelgon:

The Muses me forsake, not I the Muses,
Thomalin, thou know'st how I them honour'd ever:
Not I my *Chame*, but me proud *Chame* refuses:
His froward spites my strong affections sever;
Else, from his banks could I have parted never.
(. . .)
(stanza 6)

Too fond my former hopes! I still expected
With my desert his love should grow the more:
Ill can he love, who *Thelgons* love rejected,
Thelgon, who more hath grac'd his graceless shore,
Then any swain that ever sang before.
(stanza 9)

Cambridge has rejected Phineas as it rejected his father. Thomalin's words in stanza 8 emphasise the shared identity of father and son as Cambridge poets:

Ungratefull *Chame*! how oft hath *Thirsil* crown'd
With songs and garlands thy obscurer head?
That now thy name though *Albion* doth sounds.
Ah foolish *Chame*! who now in *Thirsils* stead
Shall chant thy praise, since *Thelgon*'s lately dead?

Thus, it is not just the experiences of both that are similar: Phineas Fletcher's identity as a Cambridge poet is closely linked to that of his father. This also shows in the direct influence of some of Giles Fletcher the Elder's Cambridge eclogues on those of his son.

Allegorical eclogues as models

The eclogues that Phineas draws on are not the occasional poems (the pastoral elegies and pastoral epithalamium), but those that use political and religious allegory. Phineas Fletcher's Latin *Nisa Ecloga* is reminiscent of his father's *Æcloga Telethusa*. It is a love complaint in which Wiliulmus complains about his wife Nisa, who has spread lies about him. It seems to be an allegory addressing how an

institution mistreated one of Fletcher's friends, reversing the roles of the *Æcloga Telethusa*, which is concerned with the way Philip Baker treated the institution of King's College Cambridge. Whilst Telethusa wants to divorce her husband, Wiliulmus is mourning his failed marriage (l.3-4): *Disruptum fidei vinculum, versosque hymenaeos* | *Flebat, coelum amens et conscia sidera questus*. The focus on marriage is also evident from the refrains in each of the poems. Telethusa says: *Solvite coniugii nova vincula, solvite Daphnin*, while Wiliulmus pleads: *Nisa redi, thalamosque fugax ne desere pactos*. Unlike the poem from the Hatfield collection, the *Nisa ecloga* cannot be described as a *pharmaceutria* eclogue, but the refrain is evocative of the genre.

Like Corydon in Vergil's *Eclogue 2* and Lycon in Sannazaro's *Galatea*, the speakers of both these eclogues list the assets that make them attractive for marriage. In Giles' poem, Telethusa (King's College Cambridge) mentions the dowry of two hundred acres which her father gave her, her beauty and the fact that she is descended of royal blood (l. 104-9, 119). In Phineas' imitation, Wiliulmus too speaks of his beauty, and, like Lycon who talks about the girls who used to be attracted to him, he boasts about the exceptional individuals who used to woo him, including beautiful nymphs and the Muses (33-43). Then he boasts of the properties he has: one near the Thames in the city of London, the other in the Thames valley (l. 61-71):

*Hic nobis Thamo generatus, & Iside Nymphâ
Thamisis ingenti Ludduni mœnia fluctu
Alluit, & penitus firmatum ad Tartara pontem
Indignatus, aquis furit; atque immania late
Concitât undarum violento murmura lapsu:
Summâ longus aquâ spumarum defluit ordo.
Aut, si rura animum, riguique in vallibus amnes,
Si sylvae capiunt; mihi rus, mihi sylva redundat;
Atque idem minor, atque idem jam mitior unda
Thamisis ipse pater felicia dividit arva,
Et quæ multa pecus surgentes tondeat herbas.*

Here, born for us of the Thame and Isis the nymph, the Thames with its great current bathes London's walls, and indignant at the bridge strengthened deep down to Tartarus, rages with its waters, and stirs up far and wide huge roars with the violent flow of its waters: a long trail of foam flows down from the highest waves. Or if the country, and streams abounding in water in the

valleys, if woodlands charm my spirit: I have countryside, I have woodland in abundance; and the same smaller, now milder father Thames divides the fertile fields and much cattle crops the rising grasses.

Whilst he is speaking about his riches he provides a chorographical description; the focus on streams and rivers is reminiscent of Giles Fletcher the Elder's eclogues, and the meeting of the Thame and Isis, which was the topic of Camden's *De Connubio Tamae et Isis* included in his *Britannia* (1586), is also mentioned by Giles at the start of his *Callianissa*, which predates Camden's work.⁸⁸

The influence of Giles Fletcher the Elder on the work of Phineas can be seen even more than in the *Nisa Ecloga* in his English *Eclogue III*. One of the speakers here is Chromis, who complains that fishermen are scorned and their lives are hard, just as Myrtilus complains about the shepherds' life in Giles Fletcher's *De Contemptu Ministrorum*. The poem is, in fact, closely modelled on this poem of his father, but events have moved to a piscatory setting; the other speaker in the poem is, appropriately, Thelgon.⁸⁹

The first stanza opens with Thelgon asking:

*Chromis my joy, why drop thy rainie eyes?
And sullen clouds hang on thy heavie brow?
Seems that thy net is rent, and idle lies;
Thy merry pipe hangs broken on a bough:
But late thy time in hundred joyes thou spen'st;*

Compare this with Celadon's first words in *De Contemptu Ministrorum* (ll. 15-8):

*Vnde tibi tristis demisso lumine vultus,
Myrtille (dicebat) nec enim (velut ante solebant)
Iam tua lasciuas gaudent spectare capellas*

⁸⁸

Lines 1-4:

*Isidis occiduj ripas, natiuaque linquens
Flumina, Naiadum nuper conuenerat agmen,
Vicanos adiens fluctus, vbi Tamus, & Isis
Cum fluuio nomen, cum nomine flumina miscent.*

Leaving the banks of the western Isis and their native streams, the bevy of Naiads lately convened, visiting the waters nearby where the Thame and the Isis mixed their names with their currents, their currents together with their names. (Transl. Sutton)

⁸⁹ Piepho, 'The Latin and English Eclogues of Phineas Fletcher: Sannazaro's "Piscatoria" among the Britons', 470.

Lumina, speque nouj salientes graminis agnos.

‘Why the sad face and downcast eye, Myrtilus’ (said he)? For your eyes do not now delight in watching your frisking nannies (as was their wont) and your lambs leaping in hope of new grass.’ (Transl. adapted from Sutton)

Both Myrtilus and Chromis are sad and do not enjoy pastoral/piscatory life as they used to. They are not suffering from a broken heart, but from the scorn of the people for shepherds/fishermen (*De Contemptu*, ll.27-33, 42-44; *Chromis*, st. 4-5). Many other parallels between the two eclogues can be found throughout; Celadon and Thelgon both tell their colleague not to lament his position as shepherd and fisherman, respectively, as they are following in the footsteps of important biblical figures. *De Contemptu* refers to Moses in lines 76-7 as *Corniger Isacidum ductor, per flumina Nilj | Pascebat pecudes, et rubri littora pontj*. – ‘The horn-bearing leader of Isaac’s children cared for his flock along the streams of the Nile and the shores of the Red Sea.’⁹⁰ ‘The Prince of fishers’ in *Chromis*, stanza 6, is Christ. Rome is attacked for its greed in both poems. See *De Contemptu*, ll. 93-4, 98-9, 109-12:

*Nam modo cum nostros latrans inuaderet agros
Ille sub Hesperidum latitans canis horridus antris
(. . .)
Nescio quos tecum comites à Tybride ducens
Stirpe Licaonia, nostris præfecerat aruis.
(. . .)
Illj nec curare gregem, nec pascere doctj,
Nec cantare modos, aut respondere peritj,
Sed pauidum tondere pecus, vacuumque coactj
Velleris, ad gelidæ ventos exponere brumæ.*

‘For just now, when the barking one invaded our fields, that horrible dog hiding in the caves of the Hesperides (. . .) bringing with him I know not what companions from the Tiber, belonging to Lycaon’s race, and placed them in charge of our fields. (. . .) They were not schooled to take care of their flock or to feed them, nor to sing songs or engage in singing-matches, but to shear the frightened sheep, and devoid of their collected fleece, to expose them to the winds of icy winter.’ (Transl. adapted from Sutton)

⁹⁰ In the printed version of this poem, included with Dillingham’s *Poemata Varij Argumenti* (1678), a few lines have been added here, adding two more examples. It is not completely clear who the Daphnis in l. 75 represents: *Et formosus oves Daphnis Iberas*. Perhaps this refers to Christ and *Iberas* should read *Hebraeas*. The other figure (*Ipse Deus Vatum*, l. 80) is Apollo.

A similar accusation is made in *Chromis*, stanza 22, although unlike his father Phineas does not refer back to the Marian persecutions; the Roman fishers do not invade the English landscape:

Where *Tybers* swelling waves his banks o'reflow,
There princely fishers dwell in courtly halls:
The trade they scorn, their hands forget to row;
Their trade, to plot their rising, others falls;
 Into their seas to draw the lesser brooks,
 And fish for steeples high with golden hooks.

The speakers also complain about the incompetence of those who pretend to be shepherds or fishermen (*De Contemptu*, l. 122-33; *Chromis* st. 16-18) and explain that the greedy Catholic shepherds/fishers and those who are unskilled are to blame for the disdain in which their professions are held (*De Contemptu* l. 166-7; *Chromis* st. 11-12, 27). Phineas Fletcher's choice to imitate his father's poem about religious conflict and to include his attack both on the Roman Catholic Church and on a faction within the English church, demonstrates that he felt these conflicts were still relevant both when he composed the eclogue in the first decade of the seventeenth century and when he published it in the 1630s.

To summarize, the Cambridge poetry of Phineas Fletcher, which was written in the early seventeenth century and published in the late 1620s and early 1630s, played a key role in creating renewed interest in the eclogues of his father. The Hatfield eclogues, together with Sannazaro's *Piscatoriae Eclogae* seem to have been a main source of inspiration for the younger poet's predominantly pastoral corpus. Phineas's use of his father's work focuses on the religious and political eclogues in the Hatfield collection and changes our impression of the elder Fletcher's achievement: making him a more specifically allegorical and political poet than he appears if we consider all his Cambridge eclogues, which show he was also a poet of occasional verse. His father's influence can be seen most clearly in Phineas Fletcher's own Latin and English eclogue collections: he published his father's long first eclogue with his *Sylva Poetica*; he chose to model two of his eclogues on poems from the Hatfield collection which employ religious and political allegory; one of the characters in the *Piscatorie Eclog*s represents Giles Fletcher the Elder; in his second *Piscatorie Eclog* Phineas closely identifies with his father's experiences as a Cambridge poet; he also imitated

the elder Fletcher's work by creating eclogues in which river imagery plays an important role and the setting represents Cambridge. Thus, Phineas Fletcher's dissemination and imitation of his father's verse demonstrates that he felt this British pastoral was still relevant in the early seventeenth century, especially its political and religious allegory. For readers in the 1630s, which as we shall see likely included Milton, this ecclesiastical allegory seems to have been an important part of its appeal.

The Fletchers and John Milton

Many scholars have pointed out the richly intertextual nature of Milton's pastorals.⁹¹ Both Milton's *Lycidas* and *Epitaphium Damonis* are firmly rooted in the tradition of the pastoral elegy, imitating the ancient laments of Theocritus, Bion, Moschus and Vergil, while also drawing on postclassical Latin and vernacular pastoral. Scholarship on these poems has acknowledged the importance of Italian neo-Latin pastoral for Milton, showing he was drawing on one or more eclogues by Petrarch, Boccaccio, Sannazaro, Mantuan and Castiglione.⁹² The similarities between Castiglione's *Alcon* and Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis* have received most attention: both are personal poems lamenting the death of a schoolfriend, which gives them an intimate tone that sets them apart from most other pastoral laments of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.⁹³ The interest in Italian neo-Latin pastoral is unsurprising, as pastoral has a strong Italian history; furthermore, Milton wrote the *Epitaphium Damonis* when he had just returned from a period in Italy (1638-9) and the subject of the poem, Charles Diodati, was part Italian. Discussions of *Lycidas* have also focused on the influence

⁹¹ The focus has been on *Lycidas* in particular, for which Kirkconnell created a catalogue of 102 analogues: Watson Kirkconnell, 'Analogues of A Monody (*Lycidas*, 1638)', in *Awake the Courteous Echo*, The Themes Prosody of Comus, *Lycidas*, and Paradise Regained in World Literature with Translations of the Major Analogues (University of Toronto Press, 1973), 77–246, www.jstor.org/stable/10.3138/j.ctt1vxmcdh.6.

⁹² James Holly Hanford, 'The Pastoral Elegy and Milton's *Lycidas*', *PMLA* 25, no. 3 (1910): 403–47, <https://doi.org/10.2307/456731>; Stella P. Revard, 'Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*: The Debt to Neo-Latin Poets', *The European Legacy* 17, no. 3 (1 June 2012): 309–16, <https://doi.org/10.1080/10848770.2012.672183>; Estelle Haan, 'Pastoral', in *A Guide to Neo-Latin Literature*, ed. Victoria Moul (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 163–79, <https://doi.org/10.1017/9781139248914.011>.

⁹³ T. P. Harrison, 'The Latin Pastorals of Milton and Castiglione', *PMLA* 50, no. 2 (1935): 480–93, <https://doi.org/10.2307/458152>; Revard, 'Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*: The Debt to Neo-Latin Poets'. Some other parallels in the two laments pointed out by these scholars: When the subject of Castiglione's poem died, the poet was away in Rome, like Milton was away in Italy when Diodati died. Nature does not delight the speakers in these poems anymore; they wander alone, remembering the lost companionship of their friend.

of various vernacular eclogues, in particular those of Marot, Ronsard and Spenser.⁹⁴ Both pastorals are, however, also profoundly English: rooted in English places and British myths. Despite this, there has not been much attention to Anglo-Latin poetry as a source for Milton's verse.⁹⁵ Connections between Phineas Fletcher's *Locustae* and *The Purple Island* and Milton's *In Quintum Novembris* and *Paradise Lost* have already been established. Considering circumstantial and textual evidence, I will argue that Milton was also familiar with the Latin and English eclogues of Phineas Fletcher and the Cambridge eclogues of his father, which formed the first Latin eclogue collection written in Renaissance England and played an important role by introducing several features now seen as typical of English pastoral from continental sources. Milton's allusions to the Fletcher eclogues in his own Cambridge pastorals demonstrate he is inserting himself into a specifically Anglo-Latin tradition as well as a wider humanist one in these works.

As we have seen, Phineas Fletcher's *Sylva Poetica* and *The Purple Island, or, the Isle of Man together with Piscatorie Eclogs* were both influenced by his father and helped to bring his father's work back into currency. Scholars have long considered Phineas Fletcher as an influence on Milton; in the early twentieth century, Cory went so far as to argue that 'apart from the great Greek and Latin poets and from the great books of philosophy and religion, Milton's literary lineage is to be traced from his master Spenser and from (. . .) the School of the Fletchers. (...) the Fletchers and their crew (. . .) turned Milton from his dreams of Arthur to write audaciously of God and Satan'.⁹⁶ The weaker argument that derives from this is that Fletcher's *The Purple Island* provides a link between *The Faerie Queene* and *Paradise Lost*.⁹⁷ Phineas Fletcher's debt to Spenser is evident and many examples of parallel passages in the works of the poets have been listed by scholars.⁹⁸ He was hailed as

⁹⁴ E.g. Hanford, 'The Pastoral Elegy and Milton's Lycidas'; Lambert, *Placing Sorrow*, 154–86; Paul Alpers, 'Lycidas and Modern Criticism', *ELH* 49, no. 2 (1982): 468–96, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2872992>. Thomas K Hubbard, *The Pipes of Pan: Intertextuality and Literary Filiation in the Pastoral Tradition from Theocritus to Milton* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1998), 316–41. Hubbard's analysis focuses on the poem's relationship to Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*.

⁹⁵ Milton, *E.D.* I. 3, 149, 162–8, 175–8; *Lycidas*, I. 53–5, 103–6.

⁹⁶ Cory, 'Spenser, the School of the Fletchers, and Milton.', 344.

⁹⁷ Cicely Veronica Wedgwood, *Seventeenth-Century English Literature*, 2nd ed. (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 54.

⁹⁸ See for example: Appendix B in Langdale, *Phineas Fletcher. Man of Letters, Science and Divinity*; Bain Tate Stewart, 'A Borrowing from Spenser by Phineas Fletcher', *Modern Language Notes* 56, no.

the 'Spencer of this Age' by Francis Quarles in a liminary poem included in *The Purple Island, or, the Isle of Man together with Piscatorie Eclogs*, and, as mentioned, his *Brittain's Ida* was attributed to Spenser for two centuries after its publication.⁹⁹

Recently, textual evidence has been used convincingly to establish the influence of Phineas Fletcher's *Locustae* and *The Purple Island* on Milton's work, but the importance of his eclogues for the later Cambridge poet has received little consideration.¹⁰⁰ This can in part be explained by the absence of pastoral elegies in Phineas Fletcher's English and Latin eclogue collections, in which love complaints predominate. As we have seen, however, Fletcher's third Latin eclogue, *Myrtillus*, includes elements of pastoral elegy – Myrtillus complains about the rejection of the cruel nymph Daphne, which has made him despair so much that he wishes to die. Twice, Myrtillus has tried to drown himself, but has been unsuccessful; first, the waves carry him back to the shore. The second time, he is saved by a dolphin (ll. 52-5):

*Quin me crescentes iterum restinguere flammās
Tentantem humanus medio tulit æquore delphin;
Attonitūmq̃ue vehens, meritam illi, carmina, nāulam
Excepit, laetūsq̃ue oneris prope littora vexit.*

Then, when again I tried to extinguish the growing flames, a merciful dolphin carried me from mid-ocean; carrying me, astonished, it received a well-deserved song as fee for my passage, and glad of its cargo, brought me to shore. (Transl. M.T. Anderson and D.F. Sutton)¹⁰¹

4 (1941): 273–74, <https://doi.org/10.2307/2910437>; Ray Heffner et al., 'Spenser Allusions: In the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries: Part II: 1626-1700', *Studies in Philology* 69, no. 5 (1972): 173–351.

⁹⁹ Langdale, *Phineas Fletcher. Man of Letters, Science and Divinity*, 94–95.

¹⁰⁰ Quint, 'Milton, Fletcher and the Gunpowder Plot'; Haan, *Phineas Fletcher. Locustae Vel Pietas Iesuitica*, lii–lv; Fletcher, *The Purple Island, or, The Isle of Man / Phineas Fletcher*, 34–36.

Although it should be noted that one of the motifs used for this purpose, namely that of a Satanic Council, derives from Claudian's *In Rufinum* and is a standard feature of poems in the Claudianic tradition, including Sannazaro's *De Partu Virginis* and Alabaster's *Elisaeis*. See: Moul, 'England's Stilicho: Claudian's Political Poetry in Early Modern England'. Bouchard pays attention to Phineas Fletcher's English *Piscatory Eclogues*, calling them the 'link between the green world of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* and the blue world of Milton's *Lycidas*', but he uses no textual evidence to support this claim; he focuses instead on the shared Cambridge setting of all three pastoral works and argues that Milton found the water imagery of Fletcher's piscatory world suitable for his *Lycidas*. He does not seem aware that the same setting and imagery can be found in the Latin eclogues of Giles Fletcher the Elder.

See: Bouchard, *Colin's Campus: Cambridge Life and the English Eclogue*, 100-1, 131.

¹⁰¹ Dana F. Sutton and M.T. Anderson, 'Phineas Fletcher's *Sylva Poetica* (1633). A Hypertext Critical Edition.', 1999, <http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/sylva/>.

The motif of dolphins carrying individuals to safety occurs a few times in classical literature, firstly in Herodotus 1.23-4, where the poet Arion is carried to safety by a dolphin after he is forced to jump overboard; in Pausanias 2.1.3 Palaemon is mentioned, who drowned and whose body was brought to shore by a dolphin. These passages may have inspired the use of the motif in Fletcher's *Myrtilus* as well as in Milton's *Lycidas*, where the speaker wishes dolphins would carry the deceased (l. 164): 'And, O ye *Dolphins*, waft the haples youth.'¹⁰² In both poems there is an elegiac context as the protagonist wishes to die/has died; furthermore, both Myrtilus and Lycidas are themselves poets. Nevertheless, it seems that the main significance of Phineas Fletcher in relation to Milton's pastoral verse lies in serving as a link between his father and the later poet. Included in the eclogues of Giles Fletcher the Elder are two pastoral elegies; circumstantial and textual evidence suggests that these laments and his eclogues more generally served as an intertext for Milton's pastoral elegies.

Fletcher was well-known as a poet in Cambridge circles, as he contributed at least 12 commemorative and dedicatory poems to six different volumes, including the Cambridge University volume on the death of Sir Philip Sidney.¹⁰³ Furthermore, there are several indications that following the renewed interest in his verse created by the *Sylva Poetica* (1633), his poetry was read and transcribed till at least the 1670s, a century after it was composed. BL Harley MS 6947 includes Fletcher's *Aecloga Daphnis* and *In Obitu optimi et praeclarissimi Iuvenis, Philippi Sidnæi Equitis aurati*

¹⁰² It occurs also in the myth of Icadius preserved in a note by Servius to *Aen.* 3.332, where Apollo appears in the form of a dolphin to save Icadius from shipwreck and waft him to Parnassus. For a fuller discussion of these allusions, see: John Milton, *The Poems of John Milton*, ed. John Carey and Alastair Fowler (Harlow: Longmans, 1968), 252 n.164.

¹⁰³ The volumes are: Carr, *Demosthenis, Græcorum Oratorum Principis, Olynthiacæ Orationes Tres, & Philippicæ Quatuor, è Gr[æ]co in Latinum Conversæ, a Nicolae Carro, Anglo Nouocastriensi, Doctore Medico, & Gra[ec]arum Literarum in Cantabrigiensi Academia Professore Regio Addita Est Etiam Epistola de Vita, & Obitu Eiusdem Nicolai Carri*; Haddon, *Poematum Gualteri Haddoni, Legum Doctoris, Sparsim Collectorum, Libri Duo*; John Foxe, *The First Volume of the Ecclesiasticall History Contayning the Actes and Monumentes of Thinges Passed in Euery Kinges Time, in This Realme, Especially in the Church of England* (London: Printed by Iohn Daye, dwelling ouer Aldersgate, 1576); Raphael Holinshed, *The Firste Volume of the Chronicles of England, Scotlande, and Irelande* (London: Imprinted for Iohn Hunne, 1577., 1577); Peter Baro, *Petri Baronis Stempiani, Sacrae Theologiae in Academia Cantabrigiensi Doctoris Ac Professoris, in Jonam Prophetam Prælectiones* (Londini: Apud Joannem Dayum typographum, 1579); *Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymae Tumulo Nobilissimi Equitis, D. Philippi Sidneij Sacratae per Alexandrum Nevillum* (Londini: Ex officina Ioannis Windet impensis Thomae Chardi, 1587). Of the seven commemorative poems in the Haddon volume, Fletcher contributed six – an indication of his attachment to the Haddons. He contributed two poems to the volume by Carr and one to each of the other publications.

in a sequence copied in the the latter-1650s. Most of the material in the sequence, however, dates from the 1620s and 1630s, suggesting that it may be based on an earlier sequence from the 1630s; this volume is discussed further in **Chapter 4**. William Dillingham (c. 1617–1689), an editor, anthologist and Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge University, also included verse by Giles Fletcher the Elder in at least two of his anthologies: his volume *Poemata Varii Argumenti* (1678), the first English anthology of neo-Latin verse, includes three eclogues by Fletcher. Although followed directly by Phineas Fletcher's *Locustae*, these three poems are oddly listed on the contents page as *Incerti Autoris Æglogae tres*.¹⁰⁴ Furthermore, Dillingham's *Poemata selecta* in BL Sloane MS 1766, probably compiled after the publication of the *Poemata Varii Argumenti*, includes a print version of the *De Literis Antiquae Britanniae* cut from the 1633 edition by Phineas Fletcher.¹⁰⁵

From Milton's *A Brief History of Moscovia*, we know that he was familiar with Fletcher's *The Russe Commonwealth*. He writes: '1588. Dr. *Giles Fletcher* went Ambassadors from the Queen to *Pheodor* then Emperour; whose Relations being judicious and exact are best red entirely by themselves.'¹⁰⁶ The influence of this text on Milton's history has long been recognised, and, as Berry suggests, a description of clergy in the work may have influenced Milton's denunciation of the clergy in *Lycidas*.¹⁰⁷

All this mischief commeth from the clergie, who being ignorant and godlesse themselues, are very warie to keepe the people likewise in their ignorance and blindness, for their liuing and bellies sake. (Sig. O₃)

Milton, *Lycidas*, ll. 114-5, 119-21:

Anow of such as for their bellies sake,
Creep and intrude, and climb into the fold?
Of other care they little reck'ning make,

¹⁰⁴ These eclogues are: *De Contemptu Ministrorum* (here entitled: *Contra Praedicatorum contemptum*), *Querela Collegii Regalis* and *De morte Boneri*.

¹⁰⁵ On Dillingham's reception of Fletcher, see the Afterword. For the suggestion that BL Sloane MS 1766 was created after the publication of *Poemata Varii Argumenti*, see: W. H. Kelliher, 'Dillingham, William (c. 1617–1689), Latin Poet and Anthologist', 23 September 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/7651>.

¹⁰⁶ Milton, *A Brief History of Moscovia* (1682).

¹⁰⁷ Austin, 'Milton's "Lycidas" and Two Latin Elegies by Giles Fletcher, the Elder', 49; Berry, 'Giles Fletcher, the Elder, and Milton's *A Brief History of Moscovia*'. Berry suggests that Milton wrote the history whilst at Horton (1632-8).

Then how to scramble at the shearers feast,
And shove away the worthy bidden guest.
Blind mouthes! that scarce themselves know how to hold
A Sheep-hook, or have learn'd ought els the least
That to the faithfull Herdmans art belongs!

Bouchard has pointed out that this passage also resembles Phineas Fletcher's *Chromis*, 18.1-6:

Some teach to work, but have no hands to row:
Some will be eyes, but have no light to see:
Some will be guides, but have no feet to go:
Some deaf, yet eares; some dumbe, yet tongues will be:
Dumbe, deaf, lame, blinde, and maim'd; yet fishers all:
Fit for no use, but store an hospital.¹⁰⁸

He argues that Milton's 'Blind mouthes!' summarizes two lines from Phineas Fletcher's eclogue, with the poets emphasising the uselessness of the shepherds and fishers respectively.¹⁰⁹ Giles Fletcher the Elder's prose text is a closer source, however, including not only a reference to blindness, but also speaking of the clergy acting for their 'bellies sake'. It thus seems more plausible this passage inspired the attack on the clergy in *Lycidas*, but Milton may have had both in mind.

Lycidas then continues (ll. 122-4):

What recks it them? What need they? They are sped;
And when they list, their lean and flashy songs
Grate on their scrannel Pipes of wretched straw.

As commentaries on *Lycidas* point out, line 124 is a reference to Vergil, *Ecl.* 3.27 ***stridenti miserum stipula disperdere carmen*** ('to strangle a wretched song on screeching straw').¹¹⁰ In line 133 of *De Contemptu Ministrorum*, where the shepherd Celadon describes the clergy, Fletcher almost reproduces this line of Vergil (ll. 131-3):

¹⁰⁸ Citations of the Phineas Fletcher's *Piscatorie Eclogs* are taken from: Fletcher, *He Purple Island, Or, the Isle of Man Together with Piscatorie Eclogs and Other Poeticall Miscellanies* / by P.F.

¹⁰⁹ Bouchard, 'Phineas Fletcher: The Piscatory Link between Spenserian and Miltonic Pastoral', 240–41.

¹¹⁰ E.g. John Milton, *John Milton: The Minor Poems in English*, ed. A. D. Nuttall and Douglas Bush (London: Macmillan, 1972), 290; John Milton, *Complete Shorter Poems*, ed. John Carey, 2nd ed. (Harlow: Longman, 1997), 251–52.

*Saepe tamen nulla fretos hos arte videbis
Inter Hamadryadas festum celebrare puellas,
Et stipula miserum stridenti spargere carmen.*

Yet you will often see them, relying on no art, celebrating a festival in the company of the Hamadryad maidens, and with a screeching straw they scatter a wretched song.

In both poets this allusion to Vergil is used as part of the imagery to discuss ecclesiastical politics. As discussed in Chapter 2, from Mantuan onwards the motif of unskilled and/or cruel shepherds, which appears in his tenth eclogue, is a recurring one in pastoral attacking Catholic or conservative Anglican clergy. It occurs also, for example, in Googe's third eclogue and Spenser's *Maye, Julye and September*; there are unskilled fishermen in Phineas Fletcher's *Chromis*. These eclogues do not, however, describe the song these incompetent men create on their pipes. While the classical source for this image is evident, it is striking that Fletcher and Milton use it in a similar context.

There are further parallels when we compare Milton and Giles Fletcher's pastoral laments; some of these are contextual. Fletcher wrote his *Æcloga Adonis* on the death of Clere Haddon, who drowned in the river Cam in May 1571. The poem mourns a fellow Cantabrigian, a youth of great promise who has met an untimely death by drowning, as does Milton in *Lycidas*, his poem for Edward King who drowned in the Irish Sea in 1637. Nicholas Carr and Charles Diodati, the subjects of Fletcher's *Æcloga Daphnis* and Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*, respectively, both practised medicine; the poets use the image of gathering herbs to convey this.¹¹¹

Milton's and Fletcher's poetry are part of the same tradition and draw on the same sources. For example, in the *Æcloga Daphnis*, the nymph Ocyroe, who laments the deceased, says that the shepherd could still have been with her if he had not worked so hard; she then exclaims (ll. 102-3):

*O quoties dixi, seros, fuge Daphni, labores:
Effuge Nocturnos cantus: Nox invida Musis.*

O, how often did I say, flee, Daphnis, late labours; avoid nocturnal songs: Night is unfavourable to the Muses.

¹¹¹ See Fletcher, *Aecl. Daphnis* ll. 76-84 and Milton, *E.D.* ll. 150-2.

In Fletcher's *Æcloga Telethusa* the nymph of the reminisces how often she encouraged Daphnis to take an interest in (making) music (ll.77-9):

O quoties dixi, vitreas hîc Daphnj per vndas
Cantantes, mecum poteris audire sorores,
Aonidas, diuisque tuos coniungere cantus.

O how often I did I say, here, Daphnis, by the glassy waters you can listen with me to the singing Sisters, the Muses, and join your songs to the divine.

As the complaint makes clear, Daphnis/Baker never responded to this. In using the phrase 'O quoties dixi', Fletcher was probably himself alluding to *Desiderium Lutetiae*, a poem by George Buchanan (1506-1582), which he wrote about his desire for Paris when he was in Portugal; it is included in Buchanan's *Liber Sylvarum* (1567).¹¹² In ll. 28-32, the Scottish poet writes:

O quoties dixi Zephyris properantibus illuc,
Felices pulchram visuri Amaryllida venti:
Sic neque Pyrene duris in cotibus alas
Atterat, & vestros non rumpant nubila cursus,
Dicite vesanos Amaryllidi Daphnidos ignes.
O quoties Euro leuibus cùm raderet alis
Æquora, dicebam felix Amaryllide visa.
Dic mihi num meminit nostri? num mutua sentit
Vulnera? num veteris viuunt vestigia flammæ?

O how often did I say to the West winds rushing to that place,
Lucky winds about to see beautiful Amaryllis:
In this way neither the Pyrenees should rub your wings in harsh crags,
Nor clouds interrupt your journey,
Tell Amaryllis about the raging fires of Daphnis.
O how often I was saying, when with his wings he brushed
The seas, happy one having seen Amaryllis,
Tell me, does she remember me? Does she feel a mutual
Wound? Do the footprints of an old flame live in her?

¹¹² George Buchanan, *Elegiarum Liber I. Sylvarum Liber I. Endecasyllabon Liber I* (Paris: ex officina Robert Estienne (II), 1567) sig. C8^r. Buchanan may in turn be alluding to Ovid who uses a similar phrase at the start of the *Ex Ponto*, when he considers how confident he used to feel that his verse was not insulting to anyone (Book 1.7-8):

a, quotiens dixi 'certe nil turpe docetis: | ite: patet castis versibus ille locus!' Ovid, *P. Ovidi Nasonis: Tristium Libri Qvinque Ibis Ex Ponto Libri Qvattvor Halievtica Fragmenta*, ed. S.G. Owen (Oxonii: e Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1915).

Buchanan/Daphnis is envious of the winds, because they can see Amaryllis/Paris while he cannot. The wishes he has made, that the winds convey his desire to be with Amaryllis and ask her how she is, were in vain; the winds got angry and flew away (l. 37-9). The wishes of the nymphs in Fletcher's eclogues are similarly ineffective; Daphnis/Carr did not heed Ocyroe's warning and Telethusa was not able to persuade Daphnis/Baker to make music. These eclogues by Fletcher date from c. 1569; his allusion to verse by Buchanan published two years earlier is an indication of his awareness of contemporary Latin poetry.

In Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*, Thyrsis uses an almost identical phrase when he reproaches himself for imagining what Damon was doing, when in fact he had already passed away (ll. 142-3):

*Ah quoties dixi, cūm te cinis ater habebat,
Nunc canit, aut lepori nunc tendit retia Damon*

Ah, how often did I say (when the black ash already had you),
'He's singing' or 'Damon is laying the nets for hares'

Scholars have pointed out the influence of Buchanan's work on Milton, but as far as I am aware this specific parallel has not yet been discussed.¹¹³ The significance of the verbal echo in both Fletcher and Milton lies in the nature of the phrase 'quoties dixi', which could be described as an Alexandrian footnote. This phenomenon draws attention to an allusion through seemingly general appeals to tradition or report by using words of speaking or singing, such as 'fama est' (the story goes) or 'dicitur' (it is said) or, as here 'dixi' (I said).¹¹⁴ What is remarkable in this instance is that the phrase 'quoties dixi' emphasises repetition. Milton and Fletcher both use it to signal their allusion to Buchanan; if Fletcher's eclogues served as an intertext for Milton as well, he may have used the phrase to indicate he was drawing on more than one literary predecessor in the neo-Latin pastoral tradition. This Alexandrian footnote

¹¹³ See, for example: Estelle Haan, 'Two Neo-Latin Elegists: Milton and Buchanan', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 46 (1997): 266–78; Steven Berkowitz, 'Buchanan, George (1506-1582)', in *The Milton Encyclopedia*, ed. Thomas N. Corns (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 44–45.

¹¹⁴ Stephen Hinds, 'Reflexive Annotation in Poetic Allusion', *Hermathena*, no. 158 (1995): 41–42.

furthermore creates, or draws attention to, a specifically British pastoral tradition, including Buchanan, Fletcher and Milton.

The work of the Fletchers adds a specifically *Cambridge* layer to this tradition. Giles Fletcher the Elder gives the river Cam a role in six of his eclogues; Phineas Fletcher's identity as a Cambridge poet is equally important, as shown not only by the prominent role of the river Cam in his Latin and English pastorals, but also by the fact that he published all his poetry with the Cambridge University press. The river Cam (as 'Chamus') is likewise a prominent character in Milton's *Lycidas*, where we read in l. 103: 'Next Camus, reverend Sire, went footing slow,' and Milton too represents himself as a Cambridge poet in the 1645 poems. Pastoral has been called 'the art of the backward glance' and ever since Vergil's *Eclogues* in which 'there is not a single *Eclogue* in which intimations of mortality in the form of loss of love, defeat or death do not intrude', the theme of loss has been central to pastoral.¹¹⁵ Both the Fletchers and Milton felt resentful towards Cambridge. As we have seen, Phineas Fletcher's second *Piscatorie Eclog* is concerned with Cambridge's rejection of his father and himself and the loss they suffer as a consequence. The city is thematised as a lost or impenetrable landscape here, as it is to a lesser extent in Edmund Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar*, written when the poet had left Cambridge and his friend Gabriel Harvey (Hobbinol) behind.¹¹⁶ This thematization is relevant to Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*, where Milton experiences a personal loss closely associated with Cambridge, which he could not reach because he was in Italy (ll. 113-120).

As we have seen the circumstances in which *Lycidas* was composed resemble those of Giles Fletcher's *Aecloga Adonis*, since the subjects in both those poems died by drowning. The depiction of the close personal friendship between Haddon and Fletcher in the latter poem is, however, more like the relationship between Diodati and Milton as described in the *Epitaphium Damonis* and it is again here that we find the clearest indication Milton may have been reading Fletcher. Both the speaker in *Adonis* and in the *Epitaphium Damonis* explain they are no longer able to take

¹¹⁵ Peter Vincent Marinelli, *Pastoral* (London: Methuen, 1971), 9; Bernard F. Dick, 'Vergil's Pastoral Poetic: A Reading of the First Eclogue', *The American Journal of Philology* 91, no. 3 (1970): 281, <https://doi.org/10.2307/292952>.

¹¹⁶ Bouchard, *Colin's Campus: Cambridge Life and the English Eclogue*, 20–21.

delight in things they used to enjoy. The speaker in Fletcher's poem wonders who will be his companion and do his daily activities with him, now that his friend is gone (ll.29-31):

quis *retia mecum,*
Quis *iuga, quis* *tenso cinget nemora auia lino,*
Longa vel è teretj stringet venabula quercu?

Who will surround the nets with me, who the summits, who the untrodden groves with stretched net or (who) will pluck the long hunting-spears off the elegant oak?

This also happens in the *E.D.*, ll. 37-44:

quis *mihi fidus*
Hærebit lateri comes, ut tu sæpe solebas
Frigoribus duris, & per loca foeta pruinis,
Aut rapido sub sole, siti morientibus herbis?
Sive opus in magnos fuit eminùs ire leones
Aut avidos terrere lupos præsepibus altis;
Quis *fando sopire diem, cantuque solebit?*

What faithful friend will stay beside me as you often used to in lasting cold, through territories filled with frost, or under the fierce sun, the grasses dying of thirst, whether our task were to ward off enormous lions at a distance or frightening greedy wolves from the high folds. Who now will lull the day to rest with talk and song?

The motif used is the same, but Milton's appeal is the more emotional as he depicts the problems he and his friend faced together and he does not just worry about who will do his work with him, but also with whom he will relax, wondering in the next few lines to whom he can trust his heart and who will soothe his worries (ll. 45-47).

In Castiglione's *Alcon*, likely a source text for both these poems, the speaker also reflects on the work and leisure he shared with his friend (ll. 78-82), as the speaker does in both Fletcher's *Adonis* and Milton's *Epitaphium Damonis*. But Castiglione does not employ rhetorical questions of this kind, in which the speaker asks who will share his activities with him now. Thus, it seems that in addition to Castiglione's poem, Milton had Fletcher's *Adonis* in mind when writing this passage.

Conclusion

To conclude, Giles Fletcher the Elder's work remained influential in the 1630s through Phineas Fletcher's dissemination of his *De Literis Antiquis Britanniae* with his *Sylva Poetica* and through his references to, and imitations of, his father's eclogues, in particular those addressing political or religious concerns. This and the emphasis both poets place on their identity as Cambridge poets, meant their Protestant pastoral had a strong afterlife, particularly in Cambridge circles. These same aspects likely also attracted the young Milton to their work. Textual evidence from *Lycidas* and the *Epitaphium Damonis* suggests that Giles Fletcher's pastoral elegies for Nicholas Carr and Clere Haddon may have served as a model for Milton, who was inserting himself in an Anglo-Latin pastoral tradition as well as a wider humanist one. In the next chapter we will see how verse by Giles Fletcher the Elder, originally included in a manuscript sequence apparently dating from the 1630s, became part of a sequence from the 1650s and gained political meaning in this new context.

CHAPTER 4 – Harley MS 6947, ff. 2^r-21^r: Fletcher's poems recontextualised in the 1650s

Fletcher's *Æcloga Daphnis* on the death of Nicholas Carr (d. 1568), who had been Regius Professor of Greek at Cambridge (1551-64), was originally published in Carr's posthumous Latin edition of the *Olynthiacs and Philippics* of Demosthenes (1571) and dates from the same period as the Hatfield eclogues. It can also be found, however, in BL Harley MS 6947 in a section of the manuscript dating probably from the mid-1650s, a section which is politically royalist and appears to originate from Cambridge. This chapter explores Fletcher's allusions to classical texts in the poem and his use of allegory, considering its role both in the 1571 publication and in a sequence consisting mostly of material from the 1620s and 1630s copied out and read in the 1650s. Fletcher's appearance in this later sequence demonstrates the ongoing relevance of his Latin verse, especially but not only of his innovative pastoral poems, in terms of both form and content: they are useful and impressive literary models, but also poems on themes – such as the premature deaths of Sidney, the poet and soldier, and Carr, the Greek scholar – which remained politically meaningful in the very different contexts of the 1630s and the latter 1650s. This case-study has implications for our understanding of the role of occasional Latin verse more widely, as it shows that such verse can be significant outside of the event for which it was composed, circulating in manuscript years later.

The section of Harley MS 6947 which I am interested in may be described as a miscellany, because it is a sequence of 22 Latin poems by various authors, written in a single seventeenth-century hand which does not appear elsewhere in the manuscript; it covers ff. 2^r-22^r.¹ The sequence of poems on these pages will from now on be referred to as the 1656/8 sequence, for reasons explained below. The manuscript within which the sequence is found is a composite volume, a folio consisting of 408 leaves in 44 gatherings. It is described in the catalogue as: "a very

¹ For the use of the term 'miscellany' and its meanings both in the early modern period and in modern scholarship, see the introduction to Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith, *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England*, Material Readings in Early Modern Culture (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014).

large collection of poems in Latin & English in many different hands & collected originally by different persons, united here probably by the care of Mr. Wanley".² Laura Estill, who focuses on the dramatic extracts included in the MS, calls it a late seventeenth-century composite volume, and states, more confidently than the catalogue: "Humphrey Wanley (1672-1726), who catalogued much of the Harleian library, gathered and bound these pages, spanning multiple decades, languages and genres."³ Existing scholarship mentioning this manuscript, by Estill and others, has focused on Andrew Marvell's *Bludius et Corona* (f. 74^r), on Katherine Philips's *Rosania to Lucasia on her Letters* (f. 270^r), on poems concerned with the death of Robert Cecil (*Passer by know heere is interr'd; Heere Hobbinoll lies our Shepheard while ere; Here lies buried for wormes meat*, all f. 211^r), on John Hoskyns's *A Dreame* (ff. 252^r-3^r), on a copy of the argument of Ben Jonson's *Masque of Queens* (f. 143^{r-v}), on the extracts of Francis Beaumont's and John Fletcher's *A King and No King* (ff. 163^r-4^v) and on John Dryden's *Prologue To the Rival-Ladies* (f. 264^r).⁴ Of the

² *A Catalogue of the Harleian Manuscripts in the British Museum*, vol. III (London: George Eyre and Andrew Strahan, 1808), 451.

³ Laura Estill, *Dramatic Extracts in Seventeenth-Century English Manuscripts: Watching, Reading, Changing Plays* (Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2015), 171.

⁴ Beal, Peter. "Harley MS 6947.", *CELMS* accessed 26-10-2018. <http://www.celm-ms.org.uk/repositories/british-library-harley-6000.html>, lists all the mentioned poems and includes other texts as well, such as *A Poem made on the Earle of Essex (being in disgrace with Queene Eliz): by mr henry Cuffe his Secretary*, composed c. 1600-28 (ff. 230^r-1^v) and Marvell's *A Dialogue between the Two Horses* composed in 1674 (f. 247^{r-v}). On Katherine Philips's poem, which is autograph in Harley 6947 and was written in the mid-late 17th c. and first published in 1667, see also: Elizabeth H. Hageman, "Making a Good Impression: Early Texts of Poems and Letters by Katherine Philips, the 'Matchless Orinda'," *South Central Review* 11, no. 2 (1994): 40, 62. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3189988>. On Marvell's *Bludius et Corona* (composed 1671), see: Andrew Marvell and Nigel Smith, *The Poems of Andrew Marvell*, Longman Annotated English Poets (London: Pearson Longman, 2003). p. 411. On Jonson's *Masque* (composed 1609): JnB 686 "Catalogue of Jonson Manuscripts," accessed 23-09-2018, https://universitypublishingonline.org/cambridge/benjonson/static/pdf/catalogue_of_manuscripts.pdf. Estill *Dramatic Extracts* 171; she also mentions Dryden's *Prologue* (composed 1664) and the extracts from *A King and No King* (composed 1611) as well as the extracts of three Margaret Cavendish plays on ff. 337^r-339^v. On Hoskyns *A Dreame* (composed 1614) see David Colclough, "'The Muses Recreation': John Hoskyns and the Manuscript Culture of the Seventeenth Century," *Huntington Library Quarterly* 61, no. 3/4 (1998): 383. <https://doi.org/10.2307/3817774>; *Freedom of Speech in Early Stuart England*, Ideas in Context (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005), 235. G2 in "Early Stuart Libels: An Edition of Poetry from Manuscript Sources," Early Modern Literary Studies Text Series I, 2005, accessed 23-09-2018, <http://purl.oclc.org/emls/texts/libels/>. On the poems concerned with Cecil (d. 1612): Steven W. May and Alan Bryson, *Verse Libel in Renaissance England and Scotland*, First edition. ed. (Oxford University Press, 2016), 118; Andrew McRae, "The Literary Culture of Early Stuart Libeling," *Modern Philology* 97, no. 3 (2000): 365. D1, D15, D19 in "Early Stuart Libels: An Edition of Poetry from Manuscript Sources," accessed 16-12-2020, http://www.earlystuartlibels.net/htdocs/indices/ms_all.html#BL. The website also discusses two other libels included in the MS: one on Laud and Wentworth composed in 1640 (R8), which can be found

many Latin poems in the manuscript, including the sequence discussed here, only Marvell's *Bludius et Corona*, which is in any case accompanied in the manuscript by an English version, has received any scholarly attention.⁵

Of the 22 poems in the 1656/8 sequence, 21 are certainly occasional poems, which served to commemorate an important individual and/or were liminary verses in a published book.⁶ Based on the events they discuss, their dates of composition can be established as ranging from c. 1568, the date of the death of Nicolas Carr (1522/3-1568), commemorated in the eclogue *Daphnis* (ff. 11^v-14^r), which is the main focus of this chapter, to 1656. The manuscript contains two poems datable to 1656: an epicedium on the death of Joseph Hall (1574-1656) on ff. 18^v-19^r and a dedicatory poem for Isaac Barrow's edition of Euclid, which appeared in early 1656 on ff. 20^v-21^r.⁷ The latter is the final poem in the 1656 sequence, although the poems are mostly not arranged in chronological order.⁸ The hand is the same throughout and there is no clear evidence that the scribe made later additions; for an example of the hand, see figure 4.1.⁹ In other words, this seems to be a selection and

on f. 210^{r-v} and 'Watt I wot well thy over weaning witt', composed c. 1603, attributed to Raleigh (B4), which can be found on ff. 212^r-213^r.

⁵ Harley MS 6947 contains 248 verse items (both entire poems and verse quotations): 100 of these are English verse, 41 are English songs (with musical annotation), 99 are Latin, 7 are Italian and 1 is Greek. The sequence I am concerned with consists entirely of Latin poems.

⁶ The only poem for which I have not yet been able to decide whether it was written for a specific event is Matthew Wren's *Convivium Ventae Belgarum* (ff. 9^r-10^r). I am continuing to work on this unusual poem, which includes quite difficult Latin. It is also in Trin. Cam. B.14.22 and BL Add. 61481.

⁷ The epicedium for Hall was published with his funeral sermon and two other commemorative poems in: John Whitefoote, *Israea Agchithanes, Deaths Alarum, or, the Presage of Approaching Death Given in a Funeral Sermon, Preached at St. Peters in Norwich, September 30, 1656, for the Right Reverend Joseph Hall, D.D. Late Bishop of Norwich, Who Upon the 8 Day of Septem. 1656, Anno Aetatis Suae 82. Was Gathered to the Spirits of the Just That Are Made Perfect. By John Whitefoote M.A. And Rector of Heigham near Norwich.* (London: printed by W. Godbid, for Edward Dod, at the Gun in Ivy-lane, 1656). The edition of Euclid is: Isaac Barrow, *Euclidis Elementorum Libri Xv. Breviter Demonstrati, Operâ Is. Barrow, Cantabrigiensis, Coll. Trin. Soc.* (Cantabrigiae: ex celeberrimae Academiae typographeo. Impensis Guilielmi Nealand Bibliopolae, 1655).

⁸ The page range and date for the poems is as follows: ff. 2^r-5^r 9 poems on Bacon's *Novum Organum* (1620) dating from the early 1620s – at least one of Herbert's poems dates from 1621 or later, as it refers to Bacon as Viscount Alban, which he became in that year; ff. 5^v-6^r two poems on death of Bacon (1626), ff. 6^v-7^r E. King's poem on Charles I (1632/3), ff. 7^v-8^v epicedium on the death of Richard Cosin (1597), ff. 9^r-10^r date uncertain, ff. 10^v-11^r epicedium for Philip Sidney (1587), ff. 11^v-14^r eclogue on the death of Carr (1568), ff. 14^v-16^v epicedium for E. King (1637), ff. 17^r-v Goad on Casaubon's book (1621), ff. 17^v-18^r Goad on Hall's sermon (1623), ff. 18^v-19^r epicedium for Hall (1656), ff. 19^v-20^r congratulatory poem for Ent (1636), ff. 20^v-21^r on Barrow's edition of Euclid (1656). See also Appendix E.

⁹ There are no additions in a later ink, the hand is consistent throughout and there are very few corrections, most of which change, add or clarify a single letter.

transcription of Latin verse made by an individual at a single time, probably in or shortly after 1656.

Early in the 1656/8 sequence (ff. 2^r-6^r) is a sub-sequence of 11 poems concerning Francis Bacon (1561-1626); it includes eight commemorating the publication of his *Novum Organum* in 1620, one panegyric for him as a patron, and a further two which mark his death in 1626. There are two other poems in the sequence as a whole that can be dated with certainty to the 1620s and one that is likely to be from this decade, as well as three that were composed in the 1630s, meaning that 17 out of 22 poems in the manuscript were written in the 1620s and 1630s.¹⁰ Furthermore, it includes three poems from the second half of the sixteenth century. Although 16 of the poems in this sequence were published in print at some point, several apparently were not. Of the poems which were printed, those written in or before the 1620s/30s were all published shortly after they were composed, apart from the three poems by Herbert and the poem by Sir John Borough (see discussion below and Appendix E). Thus, poems that were not published in print in the 1630s but circulated in manuscript, appear in the sequence next to poems from the same period, or even on the same topic, that did appear in print. Therefore, it seems likely that the 1656/8 sequence may be based on an earlier manuscript sequence from the 1630s.

That topical and apparently 'occasional' Latin verse was being read, copied and studied decades after it was written raises questions about the context in which the manuscript was compiled and about the reasons for its creation. Looking more closely at its contents, a few aspects that unite the collection become evident: each of the poems has a Cambridge connection; the collection has a royalist flavour; and there are intellectual interests that connect various individuals in it, namely Greek scholarship and natural science.

English manuscript verse miscellanies were compiled primarily at the two universities of Oxford and Cambridge, at the Inns of Court, at the royal court and as family

¹⁰ The only poem which cannot be dated with certainty is Matthew Wren's *Convivium Ventæ Belgarum*. As this poem is entitled 'The Banquet of Winchester', it may have been composed in 1623, when Wren was granted a prebendal stall at Winchester by Bishop Andrewes. A date from the 1620s is also in line with the context of the poem in Trinity MS B.14.22, where it is surrounded by sermons and poems from the 1610s and 1620s. For this manuscript, see: M.R. James, "B.14.22," *The James Catalogue Of Western Manuscripts* (<http://trin-sites-pub.trin.cam.ac.uk/james/viewpage.php?index=167>).

collections in gentry and aristocratic households.¹¹ This particular collection appears to originate from Cambridge. Seven out of 10 subjects are alumni or lecturers of the university.¹² For the poets, the number is 10 out of 12.¹³ Three of the poems on Bacon were written by George Herbert (1593-1633) when he was University Orator at Cambridge (1620-28).¹⁴ In the two instances where the subject is an Oxford graduate, the poem still clearly has a Cambridge connection. Fletcher, who matriculated at King's College Cambridge in 1565 and was a Fellow there from 1568 to 1580, composed the epicedium on the death of Philip Sidney (d. 1586) for the Cambridge commemorative volume.¹⁵ Two other poems that were published in

¹¹ James Daybell, "Early Modern Letter-Books, Miscellanies, and the Reading and Reception of Scribally Copied Letters," in *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England*, ed. Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith, *Material Reading in Early Modern Culture* (Abingdon: Routledge, 2014), 59. H. R. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts, 1558-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), 157.

¹² Of the remaining subjects, two are Oxford alumni (Philip Sidney and Meric Casaubon (1599-1671)), the third is King Charles I (1600-1649). Wren's *Convivium* is not about an individual or a book by a specific author.

These are the Cambridge subjects: Francis Bacon was at Trinity College 1573-5 and returned to take his MA degree in 1594; Richard Cosin matriculated as a pensioner at Trinity College in 1561 and became a fellow in 1566; Nicholas Carr was one of the original fellows of Trinity College in 1546 and Regius Professor of Greek 1551-1564; Edward King matriculated at Christ's College in 1626 and was a fellow there from 1630 until his death in 1637; Joseph Hall matriculated at Emmanuel College in 1589 and held the university lectureship in rhetoric 1596-1598; George Ent entered Sidney Sussex College in 1624 and graduated BA (1627) and MA (1631) there; Isaac Barrow matriculated at Trinity in 1646 and was Regius Professor of Greek from 1660-1663.

¹³ The two Oxford poets are John Greaves and Sir John Borough. The latter only became Doctor of Civil Law in Oxford in 1643 and worked for Francis Bacon before 1618. The MS indicates that he was made a knight after writing the poem, which must therefore date from before 1624. For the poem on the death of Joseph Hall, the provenance of the poets cannot be established. It was written by a group of his friends and is signed 'J.W.M.D.C.L.'. These are the Cambridge poets not mentioned in the text: William Alabaster (1568-1640) was admitted to Trinity College in 1583, graduated BA in 1587/8 and became a Fellow. He was briefly incorporated at Oxford after he received his MA in 1591, but returned to Cambridge and was created DD there in 1614; Thomas Vincent matriculated at Trinity College in 1618 and became a Fellow in 1624; Andrew Downes (c. 1549-1628) was Regius Professor of Greek (1585-1625); Matthew Wren (1585-1667) was admitted as a Greek scholar at Pembroke College in 1601 and became the president of the college in 1616; for Edward King, see n. 12; N. Felton is probably the Nicholas Felton who was born in 1619 and matriculated at Pembroke in 1634 (Edward Le Comte, 'SPECIAL ISSUE: Justa Edovardo King', *Milton Quarterly* 35, no. 3 (2001): 219. John Venn and John Archibald Venn, eds., *Alumni Cantabrigienses: A Biographical List of All Known Students, Graduates and Holders of Office at the University of Cambridge, from the Earliest Times to 1900*, vol. 1, part 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1922), <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9781139093903>); Charles Robotham was a University Lecturer in Maths 1648-9 and 1652-3.

¹⁴ These poems are: *In Autorem Instaurationis*, f. 3^r; *De eodem*, f. 3^r; *Comparatio Cancellariatus et Libri*, f. 3^v.

¹⁵ University of Cambridge, *Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymae Tumulo Nobilissimi Equitis, D. Philippi Sidneij Sacratae Per Alexandrum Nevillum* (Londini: Ex officina Ioannis Windet impensis Thomae Chardi, 1587), 33-4. Two other poems in the 1656/8 sequence were also published in Cambridge University volumes, see n. 16.

Cambridge university collections are also included in the sequence.¹⁶ Thomas Goad (1576-1638) who matriculated at King's College Cambridge in 1592 and was a Fellow from 1595 to 1611, wrote the poem on ff. 17^{r-v} on Meric Casaubon's *Pietas Contra Maledicos Patrij Nominis* (1621).¹⁷ That so many of the subjects and poets in this manuscript are connected to the university, makes it plausible the miscellany was created in Cambridge.

If a date of compilation of c. 1656 is correct, then most, if not all, of the poems included in the manuscript appeared in print before it was compiled: 16 of the 22 poems in the 1656/8 sequence were printed in commemorative volumes or as dedications in other works between 1571 and 1658.¹⁸ For 12 of the published poems

¹⁶ The poem by King on Charles I's recovery from the smallpox (ff. 6^v-7^r) was included in: Cambridge, University of. *Anthologia in Regis Exanthemata: Seu Gratulatio Musarum Cantabrigiensium De Felicissimè Conservata Regis Caroli Valetudine*. Cantabrigiae: Ex Academiae Cantabrigiensis typographeo, 1633. The poem on the death of Edward King (ff. 14^v – 16^v) was published in: *Justa Edouardo King Naufrago, Ab Amicis Moerentibus, Amoris & Mneias Charin*. Cantabrigiae: Apud Thomam Buck, & Rogerum Daniel, celeberrimae Academiae typographos, 1638.

¹⁷ Meric Casaubon, *Merici Casauboni Is. F. Pietas Contra Maledicos Patrij Nominis, & Religionis Hostes* (Londini: [W. Stansby] Ex officina bibliopolarum, 1621); Elizabeth Allen, *Goade [Goad], Thomas (1576–1638), Theologian* (Oxford University Press, 2008), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/10848>.

¹⁸ George Herbert's poems on Bacon (ff. 3^{r-v}) circulated in manuscript from 1620-1 and were first published in a printed volume in 1658, where, as in the MS, they are followed by Borough's poem *Viro omni laude majori Francisco Bacono Patrono mihi* (ff. 4^r-5^r), c. 1620-4. Of all the poems that appeared in print, these are the only ones that probably had not been published at the time the MS was compiled. See: Bacon, Francis, *Opuscula Varia Posthuma, Philosophica, Civilia, et Theologica Francisci Baconi, Baronis de Verulamio, Vice-Comitis Sancti Albani, Cura & Fida Guilielmi Rawley* (Londini: Excudebat R. Daniel, impensis Octaviani Pulleyn, 1658), sigs. **8^r-***2^r. The poems by T. Vincent on ff. 5^v-6^r can be found in: William Rawley, *Memoriae Honoratissimi Domini Francisci, Baronis De Verulamio, Vice-Comitis Sancti Albani Sacrum* (Londini: In officina Iohannis Haviland, 1626), sig. B2^{r-v}. For E. King's 'Exanthemata Regia Caroli I' (ff. 6^v-7^r), see: University of Cambridge, *Anthologia in Regis Exanthemata*, sig. F2. For A. Downes's 'In Obitum Richardi Cosini V. Cl. Carmen funebre' (ff. 7^v-8^v), see: William Barlow, *Vita Et Obitus Ornatissimi Celeberrimiq[ue] Viri Richardi Cosin Legum Doctoris, Decani Curiae De Arcubus, Cancellarij Seu Vicarij Generalis Reuerendissimi Patris Ioannis Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, & C. Per Guilielmum Barlowum Sacrae Theologiae Baccalaureum, Amoris Sui & Officij Ergo Edita*. (Londini: Excudebant deputati Christopheri Barker, Regiae Maiestatis typographi, 1598), sigs. G3^r-G4^r. For Fletcher's poem on Sidney (ff. 10^v-11^r), see: *Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymae Tumulo Nobilissimi Equitis, D. Philippi Sidneij Sacratae per Alexandrum Nevillum* (Londini: Ex officina Ioannis Windet impensis Thomae Chardi, 1587), sig. E1^{r-v}. For his eclogue on Carr, which is on ff. 11^v-14^r, see: Nicholas Carr, *Demosthenis, Graecorum Oratorum Principis, Olynthiacae Orationes Tres, & Philippicae Quatuor, È Gr[ae]co in Latinum Conuersae, a Nicolae Carro, Anglo Nouocastrienti, Doctore Medico, & Gra[E]carum Literarum in Cantabrigiensi Academia Professore Regio Addita Est Etiam Epistola De Vita, & Obitu Eiusdem Nicolai Carri, & Carmina, Cum Graeca, Tum Latina, in Eundem Conscripta*. (Londini: Apud Henricum Denhamum, 1571), sigs. Aaiij^r - Bbj^r. For the epicedium on the death of King (ff. 14^v – 16^v), see: *Justa Edouardo King Naufrago*, sig. A3^r-A4^v. For Goad's poem on Meric Casaubon's book (ff. 17^{r-v}): Casaubon, *Merici Casauboni Is. F. Pietas Contra Maledicos Patrij Nominis*, sig. A5^v. For Goad's poem on Hall's sermon (17^v-18^r): Joseph Hall, *Columba Noae Oliuam Adferens lactatissimae Christi Arcae. Concio Synodica, Ad Clerum Anglicanum (Prouinciae Praesertim Cantuariensis) Habita, in Aede Paulina Londinensi. Feb. 20. 1623. A. Ios. Hallo, S.T.D. Decano Wigorniensis*. (Londini: Per Guil.

the date of publication follows closely on the date of composition. Herbert's and Borough's poems on Bacon, which were composed in the early 1620s and published in William Rawley's *Opuscula Varia Posthuma, Philosophica, Civilia, et Theologica Francisci Baconi, Baronis de Verulamio* (1658), are the only exception to this rule. George Herbert's poems on the *Novum Organum* certainly circulated in manuscript before this date, and indeed are found in the same order in two other manuscripts.¹⁹ It is striking, however, that these three poems by Herbert are also followed by the one by Sir John Borough in the Rawley volume (ff. **8^r-***2^r). It is not clear what the link is here: the compiler of the manuscript sequence might have been transcribing these four poems from a copy of Rawley's book (thus dating the sequence to 1658 or after); there may be a connection between this sequence, which certainly post-dates 1656, and the preparation of the Rawley volume; or there may be a common source. Since the evidence on this point is less conclusive than the inclusion of poems dating certainly from 1656, I have referred to the sequence throughout as '1656/8'.

Stansby impensis Guillelmi Barret, 1624), A (no signatures/page numbers until B). For the poem on Hall's death (ff. 18^v-19^r), see: Whitefoote, *Israea agchithanes*, sigs. G7^r-G8^r. For the poem on Ent's graduation in Padua (ff. 19^v-20^r), see: *Laureae Apollinari, Praeside Illustrissimo Atque Amplissimo Viro D.D. Benedicto Sylvatico Eq. Medicinae Practicae Ordinariae Profess. Primario, I.N.G. A. Protectore Meritissimo, Promotore Perillustri & Excellentissimo Viro D.D. Joan. Dominico Sala Medicinae Theoricae Professore Primario. V.C. D. Georgio Ent Anglo in Celeberrimo Lyceo Patavino Xxviii. Aprilis Mdcxxxvi. Collatae Amicorum Applausus.*, (Patavii: Typis Julii Crivellarii, & Jacobi Bortoli, *Superiorum Permissu.*, 1636), no pagination. For Robotham's poem on Barrow's Euclid (ff. 20^v-21^r): Barrow, *Euclidis Elementorum*, sig. A7^v.

¹⁹ All three poems ('In Autorem Instaurationis', 'De eodem' and 'Comparatio Cancellariatus et Libri') appear in the same order as in the 1656/8 sequence in Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet. 246, ff. 46^{r-v} (c. 1648-60) and in BL, Add. MS 73541, f. 19^{r-v} (c. 1620s). The latter MS shows they circulated well before they appeared in print in 1658. Two of the poems also appear individually in other manuscripts. 'In Autorem Instaurationis' can also be found in: Yale, Osborn MS b197, pp. 26-7 (c. 1639). 'De eodem', also known by the title 'In Honorem Illustr. D.D. Verulamij, Sⁱ Albani, Mag. Sigilli Custodis post editam ab eo Instaurationem Magnam', can be found in the following manuscripts: University of London, Senate House Library, Special Collections [D.-L.L.] (XVII) Bc (Bacon – Poetical Works – 1625) Strong Room; Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet. 206, f.58 (c. 1630s); BL Harley MS 4931, f. 16^r (c. 1640s); The Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth House, MS Hardwick 72A, f. 1^r (Mid-17th c.). See: Peter Beal, 'George Herbert (1593–1633)', *CELMS*, accessed 05-11-2018.

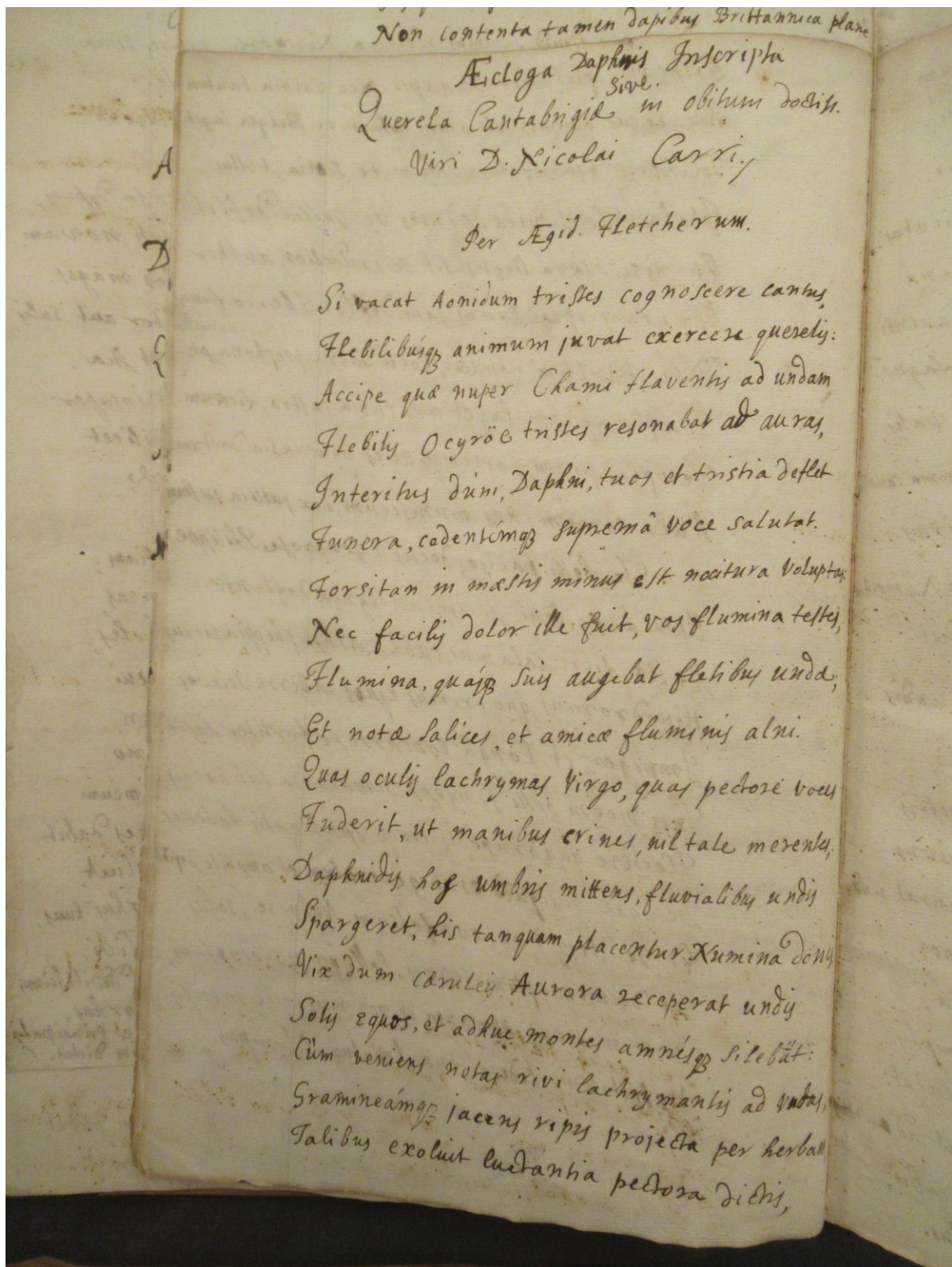


Figure 4.1 - © British Library Board: Harley MS 6947, f. 11v

Politics of the 1656/8 sequence

In addition to the Cambridge links, the sequence is also united by its politics: in the context of the 1650s, several features of the sequence suggest a royalist perspective. Assuming that it dates from 1658 at the latest and thus from before the Restoration, as there is no evidence for a later date, it is telling that King's poem 'Exanthemata Regia Caroli I' is included, which was part of the 1632 Cambridge volume celebrating the recovery of Charles I from smallpox.²⁰ The poem on Barrow's edition of Euclid is also significant, since Barrow entered Trinity on 25th February 1646 as subsizar under the tutorship of James Duport, who, after the expulsion of Royalist and Anglican fellows, was virtually the only tutor at Trinity College holding Royalist views.²¹ Furthermore, as Feingold points out, certainly by 1651, but probably earlier, Barrow had become a beneficiary of a fund that had been established by Henry Hammond to assist deprived Anglican ministers and that was expanded to include promising and loyal scholars, such as Barrow. In return, he taught the sons of Royalists and served as a go-between for the more senior Anglicans, who included Matthew Wren (1585-1667).²² Wren's poem *Convivium Ventæ Belgarum* (*The Banquet of Winchester*) is also included in this part of the Harley MS (ff. 9^r-10^r). Wren, a Laudian, was imprisoned in the Tower from 1642-1660; it is thus likely that this collection was compiled while he was imprisoned.²³ Meric Casaubon, whose book *Pietas Contra Maledicos Patrij Nominis* is the subject of the poem on ff. 17^{r-v}, was a clergyman and Royalist who was forced by parliament to resign his parish in Monkton in 1643; John Greaves (1602-1652), who wrote the poem on George Ent's graduation in Padua on ff. 19^v-20^r, was banished from Oxford in 1648 by parliamentary visitors; Sir John Borough (d. 1643), who wrote one of the poems on

²⁰ *Anthologia in regis exanthemata* (Cambridge, 1632), STC 4475.

²¹ Mordechai Feingold, ed., *Before Newton: The Life and Times of Isaac Barrow* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 4, 10.

²² Feingold, *Before Newton*, 23.

²³ Nicholas W. S. Cranfield, "Wren, Matthew (1585–1667), Bishop of Ely," (Oxford University Press, 2008).

Bacon on ff. 4r-5r, followed the king to Oxford in the Civil War, and died there in October 1643.²⁴

The explicitly Royalist element of the manuscript might also influence how the material in the sequence dating from before the Civil War is read or understood.²⁵ For example, the poem on the death of Richard Cosin on ff. 7^v-8^v, entitled *In Obitum Richardi Cosini V. Cl. Carmen funebre*, dates from 1597. Cosin was an ecclesiastical lawyer who took part in major proceedings against leading Puritans and wrote books such as *An Answer to the Two First and Principall Treatises of a Certeine Factious Libell* (1584) and *An Apologie: of, and for Sundrie Proceedings by Jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall* (1591) defending the church against Puritan critics.²⁶ Thus it seems plausible that his views were regarded as royalist at this later point. Whilst the division between Parliamentarians and Royalists did not map neatly onto the religious divide between Puritans and their opponents in the church, these religious positions did become associated with political views as they tended to overlap; Cromwell indeed introduced Puritan policies during the Interregnum. As mentioned above, three poems by George Herbert are included in the volume. Herbert had also defended the English church, satirizing the Puritanism of Andrew Melville in his *Musae Responsoriae*, a sequence of forty epigrams completed in the early 1620s, in which he proclaims his love for Anglican rites.²⁷ Although some epigrams may have

²⁴ R. W. Serjeantson, *Casaubon, (Florence Estienne) Meric (1599–1671), Scholar and Divine* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4852>; Francis Maddison, *Greaves, John (1602–1652), Astronomer and Orientalist* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11371>; S. A. Baron, *Borough, Sir John (d. 1643), Antiquary and Herald* (Oxford University Press, 2011), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2913>.

²⁵ As Starza Smith points out in relation to Donne's *Satyres*: "The manuscript miscellany can (...) function as an archival cocoon, producing new interpretative possibilities by releasing its contents into new contexts." See: Daniel Starza Smith, "Before (and after) the Miscellany: Reconstructing Donne's *Satyres* in the Conway Papers," in *Manuscript Miscellanies in Early Modern England*, ed. Joshua Eckhardt and Daniel Starza Smith, *Material Readings in Early Modern Culture* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2014), 36.

²⁶ Ingram, Martin (2004) "Cosin, Richard (1548?–1597)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6373> Richard Cosin, *An Answer to the Two First and Principall Treatises of a Certeine Factious Libell, Put Foorth Latelie, without Name of Author or Printer, and without Approbation by Authoritie, Vnder the Title of An Abstract of Certeine Acts of Parlement: Of Certeine Hir Maiesties Iniunctions: Of Certeine Canons, &c.* (London: Henrie Denham for Thomas Chard, 1584); Richard Cosin, *An Apologie: Of, and for Sundrie Proceedings by Jurisdiction Ecclesiasticall of Late Times by Some Challenged, and Also Diuersly by Them Impugned.* (London: By the deputies of Christopher Barker, 1591).

²⁷ This work was a response to Melville's *Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria*, written in defence of the Millenary Petition of 1603. Melville's poem, consisting of 51 sapphic stanzas, is addressed to the king and mocks the features of English worship to which the petitioners had objected, such as the use of the cross at baptism, confirmation and the use of elaborate music to accompany worship. See: James

been composed earlier, the majority were almost certainly written while Herbert was at Cambridge between c. 1619 and 1622; the dedicatory poems address King James, Charles as Prince of Wales and Lancelot Andrewes as Bishop of Winchester, a position the latter received in 1619.²⁸ The sequence also seems to be addressing Melville, who died in 1622, as a living author. They were thus written at about the same time as Herbert's poems on Francis Bacon in Harley MS 6947. Since Herbert had defended church ceremonies and his work was dedicated not just to the king, but also to Andrewes, who was Laud's predecessor and an early proponent of what are now called Laudian views, the poet could be associated with royalism in the 1650s.²⁹

The only two figures in the volume whose religious and political affiliations are ambiguous are the theologian Thomas Goad (1576-1638) and the bishop Joseph Hall (1574-1656). Goad initially held Calvinist, anti-Arminian views and in 1619 he attended the Synod of Dort in the place of Bishop Joseph Hall, because illness prevented the latter from participating. Later in life, however, he enforced the use of the prayer book by non-conformists and referred distastefully to the Puritans.³⁰ Joseph Hall was the chaplain to Prince Henry until he died in 1612. He accompanied the king to Scotland in 1617 in an attempt to impose prelacy on the kirk and was received warmly in Edinburgh, since he was sympathetic to many of the views of the Scottish clergy. As a consequence, the others in the Anglican delegation (including Laud) became suspicious of him and he travelled back to England. He later had an audience with the king to explain that he was a loyal Episcopalian and published

Doelman, *King James I and the Religious Culture of England* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 2000), 64; George Herbert, *The Complete Poetry*, ed. John Drury, trans. Victoria Moul (London: Penguin Books, 2015), 496–97; Robert Cummings, '6 Andrew Melville, the "Anti-Tami-Cami-Categoria", and the English Church' (Leiden, The Netherlands: Brill, 2017), 163, https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004330733_008. Melville's poem was not published until 1620, but it was written in 1604 and almost certainly circulated in manuscript well before this date. It was eventually published in: David Calderwood and Andrew Melville, *Parasynagma Perthense Et Iuramentum Ecclesiae Scoticae Et A.M. Antitamicategoria* (Holland?, 1620).

²⁸ Doelman, 'The Contexts of George Herbert's "Musae Responsoriae"', 42-3, 52. Herbert, Drury and Moul, *The Complete Poetry*, 497.

²⁹ P. E. McCullough, Andrewes, Lancelot (1555–1626), Bishop of Winchester (Oxford University Press, 2008), <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-520>.

It is worth noting though, as Wilcox does, that Herbert's devotional English poems were popular with readers on both sides of the political and religious spectrum during the Civil War. They were read by Charles I in prison before his execution and recommended to Cromwell by his chaplain.

³⁰ Allen, *Goade [Goad], Thomas (1576–1638), Theologian*.

what he had said during this meeting.³¹ Yet he was also accused of papistry: his book *The Olde Religion* (1628) offended radical protestants by asserting that the Church of Rome remained 'a true visible Church' despite its perceived corruption.³² He wrote *An Answer to Pope Urban his Inurbanitie* (1629), an open letter to Urban VIII, to reinforce his anti-papal credentials.³³ As bishop of Exeter, he only required outward conformity of those in his congregation, something which again made him suspect to the Laudian party. He was in favour of episcopacy and later in life was criticised by Puritans, including Milton, who viciously attacked both his beliefs and his character in his *Animadversions upon the Remonstrants Defence Against Smectymnuus* (1641).³⁴ Given that both Goad and Hall were seen as leaning towards Arminianism at the time of the Civil War, Goad's poems about Hall do not seem out of place in the sequence.³⁵ The Royalist nature of the sequence, which includes poetry from Milton's contemporaries at Cambridge, may also explain the absence of any verse by Milton himself.

Intellectual interests

In terms of intellectual interests, it is striking that the manuscript is concerned with Greek scholarship and natural science. Many of the subjects in this miscellany, and

³¹Tom Fleming Kinloch and Joseph Hall, *The Life and Works of Joseph Hall, 1574-1656. [with a Portrait.]* (London ; New York: Staples Press, 1951), 27-8.

³² Joseph Hall, *The Olde Religion a Treatise, Wherin Is Laid Downe the True State of the Difference Betwixt the Reformed, and Romane Church; and the Blame of This Schisme Is Cast Vpon the True Authors. Seruing for the Vindication of Our Innocence, for the Setling of Wauering Minds for a Preseruatiue against Popish Insinuations. By Ios. Hall, B. Of Exon.* (London: Printed by W. S. for Nathaniell Butter and Richard Hawkings, 1628), 7. Richard A. McCabe, "Hall, Joseph (1574–1656), Bishop of Norwich, Religious Writer, and Satirist," (Oxford University Press, 2008).

³³ *An Answer to Pope Vrbān His Inurbanitie, Expressed in a Breue Sent to Lowis the French King, Exasperating Him against the Protestants in France. Vvritten in Latine by the Right Reverend Father in God, Ioseph Lord Bishop of Exeter. Translated into English by B.S.* (London: By William Iones for Nicolas Bourne, at the south entrance of the Royall Exchange. , 1629). McCabe, *Hall, Joseph*

³⁴ John Milton, *Animadversions Upon the Remonstrants Defence, against Smectymnuus.* (London: Printed for Thomas Underhill, and are to be sold at the signe of the Bible in Woodstreet, 1641); Richard A. McCabe, "Hall, Joseph (1574–1656), Bishop of Norwich, Religious Writer, and Satirist," (Oxford University Press, 2008).

³⁵ As Atkin explains, Hall's behaviour is in line with that of other Calvinist bishops who received appointments to bishoprics from Charles. "While the church's Arminian hierarchy excluded the Calvinist bishops from the center of church government and, in the 1630s, drove some Puritans to presbyterianism, Calvinist bishops continued to support the rest of the episcopacy and the king; most of them sided with Royalists and Arminians during the Civil War." Atkins, Jonathan M. "Calvinist Bishops, Church Unity, and the Rise of Arminianism." *Albion: A Quarterly Journal Concerned with British Studies* 18, no. 3 (1986): 412.

White mentions that it appears Thomas Goad returned from the Synod of Dort disillusioned with Calvinism. Peter White, 'The Rise of Arminianism Reconsidered', *Past & Present*, no. 101 (1983): 44.

some of the poets, were scientists. Francis Bacon was a natural philosopher, Isaac Barrow (1630-77) a mathematician and both Nicholas Carr and George Ent (1604-89) were medical doctors. John Greaves, who wrote the poem on Ent's graduation in Padua in 1636, was an astronomer; the poem on Barrow's Euclid was written by Charles Robotham, a university lecturer in Mathematics in 1648-9 and 1652-3, who taught Barrow.³⁶ Three scholars who held the position of Regius Professors of Greek at Cambridge appear in the volume, either as subjects or as poets, and two others were also known as Greek scholars. Those who held the Professorship are: Nicholas Carr, from 1551-1564; Andrew Downes, from 1585-1625 and Isaac Barrow, who took on the role after the manuscript was completed, from 1660-1663, but must already have been known as a Greek scholar as well as a mathematician at the time of compilation. The other Greek scholars are Fletcher, who was made a lecturer in Greek at King's College in 1573 and Matthew Wren, who was admitted to Pembroke College as a Greek scholar in 1601.

Although much remains unclear about the volume and its purposes, its likely date of composition, royalist nature and concern with both scientists and Greek scholars suggest that its compiler may have been someone in Isaac Barrow's circle, since he was a Royalist, a scientist and a Greek scholar, who would become Regius Professor of Greek in 1660, following his tutor Duport's refusal to take up the post again after he had been forced to relinquish it in 1654.³⁷ Consulting autograph manuscripts by James Duport (Trinity MS R 1.47) and Isaac Barrow (Trinity MS R 4.42) reveals that the sequence is not, however, in the hand of either of these men.

Occasional verse revisited

The poems in the volume are occasional, in that they were all certainly or probably written to commemorate specific events.³⁸ David Money points out that occasional

³⁶ Feingold, *Before Newton*, 20-1, 40

³⁷ Feingold, *Before Newton*, 55

³⁸ There are two poems for which the occasion cannot be established with certainty. One of these is John Borough's *Viro omni laude majori Francisco Bacono Patrono mihi unicè observando*. Since it was eventually published with Herbert's poems on Bacon's *Novum Organum* (1620), I think it likely that this poem was also written in response to this work. The other one is Matthew Wren's *Convivium Ventum Belgarum*; given that Winchester is mentioned in the title, it may have been composed on the occasion of Wren receiving a prebendal stall at Winchester from bishop Andrewes. All the other

verse forms a significant part of the overall picture of European neo-Latin culture and that the English experience is distinctive since so many official and very substantial university collections were published in England.³⁹ Yet neo-Latin occasional verse has often been dismissed as formulaic, and artistically insignificant, since it is inherently referential and 'of the moment'.⁴⁰ As this collection shows, however, occasional poems can be relevant at different times; many of the poems in the 1656/8 sequence were still read and copied decades after they were written. This was not only because they were perceived as applicable in a later moment, but also because they served as models of a form. The high number of funerary verses and prefatory poems in the volume suggests it may have been created to offer examples of these specific genres. Occasionality and conventionality are not exclusive categories.⁴¹ Indeed, poets normally use generic conventions to make sure their occasional verse suit a specific occasion, but can do so creatively; we have already seen in Chapters 1 and 2 how this is true for Fletcher's occasional verse.

Thus, it seems the poems in the 1656/8 sequence of Harley MS 6947 were assembled as examples of Latin occasional verse, but with an awareness of their original occasion and context, which (in the case of earlier poems) also made them relevant to current affairs for a particular Royalist Cambridge community. Therefore, the manuscript shows that occasional verse was not just relevant for one moment, but could have an afterlife, where, juxtaposed with other poems, it could serve both as an example of a genre and to encode the values of a particular group.

Giles Fletcher and the 1656/8 sequence

The presence of Giles Fletcher's poem on the death of Carr at the heart of the sequence (ff. 11^v-14^r, of ff. 2^r-21^r), one of only three sixteenth-century poems included, is particularly striking. In the rest of this chapter, I will explore why this eclogue was given such a central place in a collection of English neo-Latin made in

poems were written either on the publication of a book, on the occasion of a specific sermon/gathering, or on someone's death.

³⁹ Money, D. (2012) 127 in G. Manuwald and L. Houghton (eds.) (2012) "Neo-Latin Poetry in the British Isles" (Bristol)

⁴⁰ De Smet (2014) 1144-5 in Ford, P., Bloemendal, J., & Fantazzi, C. E. (Eds.), (2014), *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World* (2 vols.) (Leiden).

⁴¹ "Renaissance epithalamium could still form part of actual occasions, in spite of the fact that its conventions were well understood." Alastair Fowler, *Kinds of Literature : An Introduction to the Theory of Genres and Modes* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 162.

the 1650s, and how it is recontextualised by the compiler. I will also briefly discuss both the other poem by Fletcher in the sequence, written on the death of Sir Philip Sidney, which immediately precedes the eclogue, and the poem on the death of Edward King, which follows it. The first was published in the Cambridge *Lachrymae* (1587) for Sidney, the latter in *Justa Edouardo King Naufrago* (1638), the volume which also includes Milton's *Lycidas*. All three are elegies mourning the loss of a man who has died too soon. The poem for Carr is the only specifically pastoral elegy, but the three poems share some features, such as a procession of mourners and a concern with fame. Furthermore, the order may be intended to recall that the subjects of the poems surrounding the eclogue are also connected to pastoral: Sidney wrote the *Arcadia*, a pastoral romance, and, as mentioned above, Edward King is the subject of Milton's pastoral elegy *Lycidas*.

Extant versions of Æcloga Daphnis

In *Æcloga Daphnis*, Fletcher commemorates an important individual within the framework of a pastoral elegy, as he does in the *Æcloga Adonis*, his lament for Clere Haddon. The eclogue was composed following the death of the classical scholar Nicholas Carr in 1568, who was the successor of John Cheke as Regius professor of Greek in Cambridge.⁴² In Sutton's online edition of the complete works of Giles Fletcher the Elder, the eclogue for Carr is missing, and in fact Sutton adds a note:

In at least one handlist of Fletcher's writings it is alleged that he contributed a liminal poem for Nicholas Carr's 1751[sic, an error for 1571] *Demosthenis Graecorum Oratorum Principis Olynthiacae Orationes Tres Philippicae Quatuor e Graeco in Latinum Conversae a Nicolao Carro Anglo Novocastrensi Doctore Medico Graecarum Literarum in Cantabrigiensi Academia Professore Regio* ("T. C."s article in the original *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. 19 p. 301), so some readers may be surprised not to find that item included here. But here we have a bibliographical phantom: this book contains nothing by Fletcher.

Yet the eclogue is listed as part of this volume in Berry's bibliography of Fletcher's works and in the 'Memorial introduction' in Grosart's edition of Fletcher's poems;

⁴² Michael H. Crawford, *Carr, Nicholas (1522/3–1568)*, *Classical Scholar* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/4751>.

Chaudhuri also indicates it can be found there.⁴³ Looking for the poem in the scan of the edition of Demosthenes available on EEBO, I could not find it, as the last pages of the volume are not included in the scanned material, but the full title of the work here is longer and telling; it continues: *Addita est etiam epistola de vita, & obitu eiusdem Nicolai Carri, & carmina, cum Graeca, tum Latina, in eundem conscripta*.⁴⁴

All three copies of this volume at Cambridge University Library, however, include the eclogue on sigs. Aaiij^r-Bbj^r.⁴⁵ It is included in a sequence of commemorative poems with its own separate title page on sig. Tiiij^v, reading: *Finis Epistolae [...] Sequuntur Carmina varia cùm Grēcè, tum Latinè, in eiusdem obitum conscripta*. Fletcher's eclogue is followed by another poem by him in elegiacs, with the simple heading *Eiusdem in eundem* (sigs. Bbj^r-Bbij^r).

Sources for the Æcloga Daphnis

In the eclogue, 'Daphnis' (representing Carr himself) is lamented by Ocyrœe, a minor figure in Greek and Roman mythology. The poet starts his eclogue by asking the audience to accept the lament which *flebilis Ocyrœe tristes resonabat ad auras* ('tearful Ocyrœe was resounding recently to sad breezes').⁴⁶ She is offering the lament while standing on the banks of the river Cam. As we have seen in Chapter 2, the eclogue collection of the German poet Petrus Lotichius was an important model for Fletcher; Ocyrœe can also be found in Lotichius's *Lycidas*. The hunter is in love with her in this poem and laments her cruelty. Fletcher probably chose the name Ocyrœe because in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 2.633–75 she is the daughter of Chiron, who is known for his medical skills, which she mastered. In Ovid's story she is also associated with Apollo and Asclepius, which makes her a fitting character to lament Carr, who was a medic. As a Greek scholar, Fletcher may also have been aware that

⁴³Alexander Balloch Grosart, *Poems by Giles Fletcher, LL.D. (1593)* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1876), xxxvi-xxxvii; Berry, 'Giles Fletcher, the Elder: A Bibliography', 203–4; Chaudhuri, *Renaissance Pastoral and Its English Developments*, 113–15.

⁴⁴I have alerted EEBO to this. At the moment of writing, the scan is still incomplete.

⁴⁵The copies I examined are: Syn. 7.57.67, Pet. Sp. 68 and Dd.3.49 (E).

⁴⁶Fletcher, *Daphnis*, l. 4. All translations of poems in BL Harley MS 6947 are my own. For a full transcription and translation of the *Æcloga Daphnis* see Appendix F.

Ocyröe is one of the daughters of Ocean, listed in Hesiod's *Theogony*.⁴⁷ She is mentioned as the penultimate daughter and paired with the river Styx, the famous river of the Underworld (l. 360-1: Ὠκυρόη τε | καὶ Στύξ 'Ocyröe and Styx'). According to Hesiod, these river-spirits have the task of looking after young men, a task they have been given by Zeus (l. 346-348). The fact that Daphnis is a young man in the pastoral tradition as a whole and here (Carr was in fact 45 when he died, but the poem focuses on the idea of a life cut short) and Ocyröe was a river goddess, may explain Fletcher's choice further. Waters play a prominent role throughout the poem: *flumina*, *rivi* and *undae* are together mentioned 17 times.⁴⁸ Although the presence of various streams is not unusual in pastoral, it is something to explore further; it may perhaps have inspired the scribe to position this eclogue before the epicedium for Edward King which follows it: King, who also died prematurely, was drowned at sea. The river Cam (*Chamus*) is the only named water in the pastoral, indicating that its setting is Cambridge; the river features prominently in each of Fletcher's Hatfield eclogues as well. As we have seen in Chapter 3, *Chamus* is also a significant character in Milton's *Lycidas*, which, like the epicedium which follows Fletcher's *Æcloga Adonis* in the manuscript sequence, was printed in the *Justa Eduardo King* volume of 1638.⁴⁹

Textual similarities make it clear that Fletcher draws on Vergil's *Eclogues* in the poem. The speaker in ll. 8-10 names various parts of nature as witnesses to Ocyröe's grief: **vos flumina testes**, | *Flumina quasq; suis augebat fletibus undæ*, | *Et notæ salices, et amicæ fluminis alni* ('you streams are my witnesses, you streams and the waters which she added to by her weeping, and you familiar willows, and

⁴⁷ Citations of Hesiod's *Theogony* have been taken from Hesiod et al., *Hesiodi Theogonia / Opera Et Dies Scutum Fragmenta Selecta*, Editio tertia ed., Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis (Oxonii: E Typographes Clarendoniano, 1990). Ocyröe is also mentioned in line 420 of the Homeric Hymn to Demeter as one of the girls who is in the meadow with Persephone before she is abducted by Hades (See Homer and Jean Humbert, *Hymnes*, Collection Des Universités De France (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1951).) Furthermore, she features in Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 2, the book which includes the story of Phaethon, discussed below. Here she is the daughter of the centaur Chiron and the nymph Chariclo and has prophesying powers. She foretells the fate of Coronis, Apollo's son and the fate of her father. Jupiter transforms her into a mare (Ovid *Met.* 2.633-75).

⁴⁸ There are 6 uses of 'flumen': 'flumina' (l. 8, 9, 54 and 94), 'fluminis' (l. 10) and one adjectival use 'flumineæ' (l. 127). Forms of 'rivus' are used twice: 'rivi' (l. 17) and 'rivus' (l. 59). There are 9 mentions of 'unda': 'undam' (l. 3), 'undæ' (l. 9 and 127), 'undis' (l. 13, 15, 33, 56 and 60) and 'undas' (l. 17).

⁴⁹ 'Next *Chamus* (reverend Sire) went footing slow,' l. 103. Citation has been taken from the 1638 volume, f. l'.

alders, [dear] companions of the river). These lines draw on *Ecl.* 5.21, where the nymphs are lamenting Daphnis with ***uos coryli testes et flumina Nymphis*** ('You hazels and streams are witness for the Nymphs.').⁵⁰ Fletcher does not mention hazel-trees, but includes willows and alder trees instead. These fit the setting better, since they grow near rivers, as Vergil points out in *Georgics* 2.110: *Fluminibus salices crassisque paludibus alni* ('Willows grow by river banks, alders root in swampy depths' (Transl. Peter Fallon)).⁵¹ Willows still grow in abundance on the banks of the Cam.

Verbal echoes of Vergil can also be found in other places. In line 69, nymphs and goddesses of the forest are implored to take part in the rites for Daphnis: *Floraque Sylvarúmque Deæ Dryadésque puellæ* ('and the goddess Flora and the goddesses of the groves and the wood-nymph girls'). Vergil's *Ecl.* 5.59 ends with the almost identical *Dryadasque puellas*, here part of a description of the rural gods rejoicing because Daphnis is on Olympus. Line 106: *Et Phœbus Cytharas et **amant alterna Camenæ*** ('And Phoebus loves lyres and Camenae love their turns'), alludes to Vergil's *Ecl.* 3.59, an encouragement to two shepherds to sing: *alternis dicetis; **amant alterna Camenae*** ('You will sing in turn; Camenae love alternate song'). In Fletcher's eclogue there are no alternating speakers; instead, the borrowed phrase is included when Daphnis is reproached for his own death, because he worked too hard in his desire for praise. The suggestion seems to be that while Apollo and the Muses love music and poetry, unlike Daphnis they do not take it to the extreme of pursuing them all night long.

Yet the main text Fletcher draws on in this lament is not an eclogue, but the story of Phaëthon, an episode from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* 2. Ovid recounts that when

⁵⁰ All translations of Vergil's *Eclogues* are taken or adapted from: Virgil, *The Eclogues of Virgil / Translated with Introduction, Notes and Latin Text*, trans. A. J. Boyle (Melbourne: Hawthorn Press, 1976).

⁵¹ Virgil, *Georgics*, ed. Elaine Fantham, trans. Peter Fallon (Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2006). Replacing country plants with plants that grow near water, Fletcher is furthermore following the example of Sannazaro, who used plants of the sea-shore in his piscatory eclogues; in a different work by Sannazaro, entitled *Salices*, which tells of the metamorphosis of Nymphs into willows, alder trees are mentioned in line 21 as part of the setting (See: Sannazaro, *Latin Poetry*). Both trees are also mentioned repeatedly in Vergil's *Eclogues*, but not as witnesses to mourning and not together in the same poem. For *salix* see: *Ecl.* 1.78; 3.65; 3.83; 5.16 and 10.40. For *alnus* see: *Ecl.* 6.63; 8.53; 10.74.

Phaëthon died: *pater obductos luctu miserabilis aegro, | **condiderat uultus** et, si modo credimus, unum | isse diem sine sole ferunt;* ('the wretched father, sick with grief, had hidden his face; and, if we are to believe the report, one whole day passed without the sun', ll. 329-31). In the pastoral, Ocyroe is angry with the sun for not mourning Daphnis's death like the death of his son (ll. 21-6):

*Sol qui purpureis altè regis ignibus orbem,
Sol, decus astrorum niveum, cui fistula curæ,
Carminâque, et medicæ (quas Daphnis amaverat) artes,
Siccine tam lætas cælo vibrantia flammæ
Ora moves, nec te radijs sublime micantem
Daphnidis interitus, et tristia funera tangunt?*

Sun, you who on high direct the world with purple fires, sun, snow-white glory of the stars, in whose care is the shepherd's pipe and songs, and medicinal skills (which Daphnis loved). Is it thus that you set in motion a countenance brandishing happy flames in the sky to such a degree, and do the death of Daphnis and the sad funeral rites not touch you, shining on high with your rays?⁵²

What happens when the sun hides in Ovid's story, is recounted at length in the poem for Carr (ll. 29-34):

*Tunc etenim viduas, amisso lumine, terras,
Insolitâq; orbem damnatum nocte relinquens,
Horridus obscurâ vultum sub nube tegebas;
Et lachrymis tempus quærens, modo senior euro
Surgebas, solitôq; cadens maturior undis,
Tristia funereo **condebâs** lumina **vultu**.*

Then indeed leaving destitute fields, because the light was lost, and leaving the world condemned to an unusual night, frightful you were hiding your face under a dark cloud; and seeking time for tears, soon you were rising later in the east, and setting earlier than usual in the waves, hiding your sad lights with a dismal face.

The words 'condere' and 'vultus' in line 34, echo Ovid's text; while there is a third-person narrator in Ovid, Ocyroe addresses the sun and her description of what happened is much more detailed. In this way, she reinforces her reproach, as the

⁵² The implied reproach in these lines that the subject, who loved medicine, could not be saved by it, is also made in Milton's *E.D.* ll. 153-4 and is more explicit there: *Ah pereant herbæ, pereant artesque medentûm | Gramina, postquam ipsi nil profecere magistro.* ('Ah, damn the herbals, damn the healer's skills and plants | since none of them have helped their master.') On the parallels between Milton's pastoral elegies and Fletcher's eclogues, see Chapter 3.

various changes in the sun's behaviour which she describes contrast with its current inaction. She proves Daphnis is just as worthy of grief as Phaëthon (if not more), by saying how charming and lovely he was. She then argues (ll. 35; 38-9): *Nunc quoque (...)/ Debueras flexos in nube **recondere vultus**, | Daphnidis et mecum crudelia plangere fata* ('Now also you should have concealed your altered countenance in a cloud and lamented the cruel fate of Daphnis with me'), echoing again the vocabulary of the Ovidian passage. When the sun unexpectedly responds to Ocyroe's reproaches, there is an unusual pathetic fallacy, which is an endorsement of Daphnis/Carr's importance; as in the *Æcloga Adonis* and *Æcloga Telethusa*, discussed in Chapter 2, Fletcher here uses a convention of pastoral elegy in an innovative way (ll. 40-3):

*Sed quid habet, subito cur se novus extulit horror?
Nigra repercussum rapuerunt nubila solem,
Daphnidis inferias cerno, jam lumina Phœbus
Ipse negat, tumultoque novos meditatur honores.*

But what is happening, why did a new dread suddenly bring itself forth? Black clouds seized the sun which has been driven back, I perceive the sacrifices in honour of Daphnis, now Phoebus himself refuses the light, and he considers new honours for the tomb.

The sun finally mourns with the speaker, taking her by surprise. Fletcher's idea to reproach the sun with the motif from Ovid's story may have been inspired by Lotichius's *Viburnus*, in which the sun is asked to respond to the speaker's exile (ll. 8-12):

*Sol qui luciferos tollis de gurgite vultus;
Purpureoque rigas diffusum lumine mundum,
Abde caput, Sol magne, nigrescant omnia circum
Dum queror infandos casus, & acerba meorum
Exilia, & divos suprema comprecor hora.*

Sun, you who lift your light-bringing face from the sea and bathe the wide world in purple light, hide your face, great sun, let things all around grow dark, while I lament the abominable events and my bitter exile, and pray to the gods at my final hour.

In both poems the reproach is an expression of grief. In Lotichius's eclogue the sun with its purple light is asked to hide so that all things grow black; in Fletcher's poem this indeed happens: black clouds hide the sun with its purple fires (*purpureis ignibus*, l. 21).

The importance of Ovid's story for Fletcher's lament is also evident from other imagery inspired by it. Further parallels with Ovid can be found when Fletcher describes Daphnis's knowledge of constellations. He says that Daphnis knew *Cur piger oceano metuat sua plastra Bootes* | *Mergere* ('why lazy Bootes could be afraid to immerse his wagons in the ocean', ll. 91-2). Bootes also occurs in the story of Phaëthon; when the latter could not contain his father's horses, we read: *te quoque turbatum memorant fugisse, Boote, | quamvis tardus eras et te tua plastra tenebant*. ('They say that you also, Boötes, fled in terror, although you were slow, and held back by your cart.' *Met.* 2.176-7). Fletcher does not explain why Bootes is afraid, but the answer is in Ovid *Met.* 2.527-30. Here Juno calls on Thetys and Ocean to ban any constellation from entering their waters.⁵³

Fletcher's description of Bootes as *piger* is probably inspired by Ovid, *Fasti* 3.405: *sive est Arctophylax, sive est piger ille Bootes*. ('(the constellation) whether it is the Bearward or that sluggish Bootes' (transl. adapted from J.G. Frazer)).⁵⁴ Bootes is a large constellation, visible for up to ten months of the year in the northern hemisphere, which explains why from *Odyssey* 5.272 on he was described as 'late' or 'slow' to set or to move the wagon.⁵⁵ The same description can also be found in book 2 of Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinæ*. When the earth opens for the abduction of Proserpina, we read (ll. 190-1): *praecipitat pigrum formido Booten*. | *horruit Orion*; ('Terror hurried sluggish Boötes to his setting; Orion trembled' (Transl. M.

⁵³ There is a chronological inconsistency in Ovid here, as the story of Phaëthon can be found earlier in book and in line 172 it is already mentioned that the sea is barred to constellations: *et vetito frustra temptarunt aequore tingi* ('and they tried in vain to be bathed in the sea which was forbidden to them').

⁵⁴ Ovid, *Fasti*, trans. James George Frazer, The Loeb Classical Library 253 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 2007).

⁵⁵ Ovid, *Fasti. Book 3*, ed. S. J. Heyworth, Cambridge Greek and Latin Classics (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2019), 163. In *Od.* 5.272, Bootes is described as ὀπὲ ὀύοντα (late-setting).

Platnauer)).⁵⁶ Orion makes an appearance in Fletcher's poem as well, as Daphnis also knows (ll. 92-3): '*quidve fero **minitantem** Scorpion ictu | Effugiat pavitans cursu venator Orion?* ('or why the hunter Orion, trembling in his course, should flee threatening Scorpion with its wild sting?'). The knowledge conveyed in these lines is that Orion goes down in the western sky as Scorpion appears in the Eastern sky. The reason for this is the story that the hunter Orion was killed by a Scorpion found in Ovid *Fasti* 5.539-44; he thus continues to fear the constellation. There is another parallel here with the story of Phaëthon, who was so scared when he saw the constellation Scorpio that he dropped his reins (ll. 198-200):

*hunc puer ut nigri madidum sudore ueneni
uulnera curuata **minitantem** cuspide uidit,
mentis inops gelida formidine lora remisit.*

As the boy sees this creature moist with black poisonous sweat, threatening injuries with his curved sting, bereft of wits from chilling fear, he let go of the reins.

In both passages the adjective *minitantem* ('threatening') is used in the same metrical position.

Interestingly, Bradner suggests that Fletcher has a preference for drawing on Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, when discussing his *De Literis Antiquæ Britanniae*: 'The legendary history of ancient Britain appealed to him, since it provided events that could be treated in the familiar pattern of the Ovidian metamorphosis.'⁵⁷ As we have seen in Chapter 2, the poem indeed includes several metamorphoses. Yet it seems that for Bradner Fletcher's *De Literis* is most closely connected with Ovid's epic because it tells the history from the beginning of the world. He discusses Fletcher as one of the historical and topographical poets and concludes his section on them by saying: 'Such works as Leland's, Fletcher's and Camden's all owe a vague but none the less certain debt to Ovid, the classical poet in whom rivers were most frequently made the subject

⁵⁶ The citation of Claudian's *De Raptu Proserpinae* has been taken from: Claudius Claudianus, *Claudian, De Raptu Proserpinae*, ed. Claire Gruzelier (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993). For the translation, see: Claudius Claudianus, *Claudian*, trans. Maurice Platnauer, vol. 2, Loeb Classical Library (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1922).

⁵⁷ Leicester Bradner, *Musæ Anglicanae : A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925* (New York: Modern Language Association of America, 1940), 39.

of poetry. The personifications, the metamorphoses, and the decorative style often remind one of him.⁵⁸ Whilst some influence of Ovid on the work is undeniable, as we have seen in Chapter 2, it also has other models; the most significant of these are Vergil's *Eclogue* 6 and Sannazaro's *Eclogue* 4 and the pastoral epithalamia of Lotichius and Sabinus. The *Æcloga Daphnis* shows the influence of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* on Fletcher much more clearly: it is evident from textual analysis that his debt to the Augustan poet is (here) certainly not vague.⁵⁹

In Bion's *Lament for Adonis*, Aphrodite reproaches the deceased: τί γάρ, τολμηρέ, κυνάγεις; | καλὸς ἔων τί τοσοῦτον ἐμήναο θηρὶ παλαίειν; ('Rash one, why were you hunting? Fair as you were, were you so mad as to wrestle a wild beast?').⁶⁰ In Fletcher's poem, the subject is also blamed for his death. The passage in which Carr is reproached runs from lines 98-112, beginning:

*Atq; utinam primis esses moderatior annis,
Nec te præcipitem laudis tam dira cupido
Immodicos animi suasisset adire labores;
Forsitan hic mecum poteras cantare sub umbrâ.*

And if only you had been more moderate in the first years and such a terrible desire for glory had not persuaded you, rash one, to undertake excessive labours of the mind; perhaps you could sing here with me under the cover of the shade.

Carr, like Adonis in Bion's poem, is depicted as being rash; he undertook the labours *præcipitem*. The suggestion of how things could have been if he had not creates pathos. Yet Carr's yearning for praise, which made him work so hard, also contributed to him receiving fame *primo ab ævo* ('from the first period of life', l. 114) and Fletcher explains that for this reason Carr will always be remembered. He also mentions that glory balances the years with ripe fruits, however, implying that Carr would have had even greater renown had he worked less hard (and thus lived longer).

⁵⁸ Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae*, 42.

⁵⁹ Fletcher also alludes to five love stories from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* at the start of his *Æcloga Telethusa*. On this, see Chapter 2.

⁶⁰ Bion, *Ep. Ad.* 60-61, transl.: Reed (1997), *Bion of Smyrna: The Fragments and the Adonis* (Cambridge).

The Story of Phaëthon: An Allegory for Over-Ambition

Considering this view of Daphnis's work, Fletcher seems to use the many allusions to the story of Phaëthon to imply that Daphnis/Carr, like Apollo's son, was too keen and took on tasks that were too difficult, which contributed to his death. This is in line with the contemporary understanding of the Phaëthon episode in Ovid, which was seen as an allegory for over-ambition. Though it was most commonly applied to the overweening ambition of rulers, it could also have a more general application. In book 2 of his *De Copia*, Erasmus writes:

Quis enim non intelligit (*nam de his quae ad mores attinent magis libet exempla ponere*), *Icari in mare delapsi figmentum admonere ne quis altius efferatur quam pro sorte sua? Sic nimirum fabula Phaethontis monet ne quis munus administrandum suscipiat maius quam pro viribus.*⁶¹

Who indeed does not understand (for with regard to these things, which concern morals, it is more pleasant to cite examples), that the image of the fall of Icarus warns that no one should be exalted higher than in proportion to his lot? So it is not surprising the story of Phaëthon warns that that no one should undertake to perform a task greater than his powers.

Erasmus takes the stories of Icarus and Phaëthon as obvious examples of allegory. Interestingly, the poem 'Watt I wot well thie overweeninge Witte', which appears in a different hand on ff. 212^r-213^r of Harley MS 6947, and is usually attributed to Walter Raleigh, seems to draw on Erasmus's comments about these myths. Walter Raleigh was arrested in 1603 on suspicion of involvement in two related plots against James I and uses the story of Phaëthon as an acknowledgement that he overstepped the mark.⁶² Judging by the hand, this transcription of the poem dates from the mid- to late seventeenth century, and offers a roughly contemporary instance of the use of the Phaëthon myth as an allegory of over-ambition. It was widely circulated; there are at least 10 other extant manuscript copies of the poem.⁶³ Though the Latin sequence I am focusing on in this chapter is in one hand and clearly belongs

⁶¹ Desiderius Erasmus, *Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi*, ed. Betty I. Knott, vol. 6, Opera Omnia Desiderii Erasmi 1 (Amsterdam: Brill, 1988), 236.

⁶² Walter Raleigh, 'Watt I Wot Well Thy over Weaning Witt', in *Early Stuart Libels: An Edition of Poetry from Manuscript Sources*, ed. Alastair Bellany and Andrew McRae, Early Modern Literary Studies Text Series I, 2005, B4, <<http://purl.oclc.org/emls/texts/libels/>>.

⁶³ These copies can be found here: Bodleian MS Don. c.54, f. 9v; Bodleian MS Eng. Hist. c.272, f. 46v; Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 172, f. 14r; BL Add. MS 38139, f. 192v; BL MS Harley 3910, f. 14r; BL Add. MS 22601, ff. 64r-65v; BL MS Stowe 962, f. 84r; Folger MS V.a.339, f. 211v; Folger MS V.a.345, p. 177; Folger MS X.d.241, f. 1v. See: *Early Stuart Libels*, B4.

together, there are generic and thematic links between this sequence and other parts of the composite manuscript. Raleigh's poem may have been included in the volume because of its connection with the Carr eclogue. The manuscript also includes two English eclogues, 12 other epicedia beyond those in the 1656/8 sequence and at least eight poems with a connection to either Trinity College or King's College, Cambridge.⁶⁴ Furthermore, in addition to Thomas Goad's poems on Hall discussed above, it includes another poem by him on f. 105^r, which begins *Quo nemo in Boreis Pastor dilectior oris*.⁶⁵

In the first two stanzas of Raleigh's poem we read:

Watt I wot well thie overweeninge Witte
 lead by ambition, nowe hath wrought thy fall
 Lyke phaeton which didd presume to sitt
 in Phebus chaire to rule the golden ball
 Which overturned didd sett the Worlde on fyre
 and burnt himselfe in prime of his desyre.

So thou that didest in thought aspire to highe
 to mannage the affayres of Englands Crowne
 And didest like Icarus attempt to flie
 beyonde thy lymmitts, nowe [] turned downe
 Thy Waxen Wings are moultten by the sonne
 and in thy fall, thy thred of lyfe is sponne.

Like Erasmus and Raleigh, Carolus Stephanus interprets the story of Phaëthon as an allegory for overambition in his *Dictionarium* (1595).⁶⁶ After summarising it,

⁶⁴ For poems connected to Cambridge, see: f. 28^r, a poem signed J.B. Trin: Coll. Soc. (dated 1655); f. 83^r, *In S.S. Trinitatem*; ff. 101^r-2^v *In Publicam Trinitatis Collegij Cantabr. Cameram reaedificatam.*; ff. 103^r-104^v *D.D. Thomæ Baronetto*. For funeral poems: f. 62^r, *Petri Gassendij Philosophorum sui seculi facile Principis Tumulus.*; f. 63^r, *Doctissimi Viri Valesij. Tumulus.*; f. 84^v, *In obitum D:D: Cowley + In eundem*; f. 113^r, *In Obitum Nobilissimi et Angelico vix satis praeconio praedicandi viri Domini Jacobi Hamiltonij*. And on the same topic: *Aliud elegiac* and *Aliud hexasticon*; ff. 183^r-184^v, *Upon the Death of that most worthy Knight Sr Thomas Lucas. A funerall Triumph*. These are epicedia for fellows of Trinity and King's College Cambridge: f. 111^r, *Ad Nobilissimum & Ornatissimum Virum Johannem Montague DD M^{rum} Collegij Trinitatis Cantabrigiæ, In obitum fratris sui gemelli. An: D: 1689.*; f. 114^r, *In obitum Eldredi Gale A.M. Coll. Regal. Soc.*; ff. 115^r-116^v, *In Obitum ornatissimi Doctissimi Viri M[...] Chari S.S. Trinitatis Socij. Ode.*; ff. 117^r-118^r, *In Obitum ornatissimi Viri Edmundi Vintener, M:D: Coll. Regal: nuper sociis & senioribus*.

⁶⁵ The English eclogues can be found on ff. 190^r-191^r and on ff. 218^r-224^v. They are entitled *A Pastoral: Mopsus. Menalcas. Apollo.* and *An Eglogue vppon the death of the Ladie Marquesse Hamilton Betweene Amarillis & Clovis*, respectively.

⁶⁶ Carolus Stephanus, *Dictionarium, Historicvm, Geographicvm, Poeticvm* (Lugduni: sumptibus Thomae Soubbron, et Mosis a Pratis, 1595).

Stephanus concludes (sig. Vu8^v): *Fabula ad mores relata exprimit imaginem temerarij & ambitiosi principis, qui gloria & regnandi cupiditate incensus cogitat sublimia, & concipit aethera mente* ('The story that has been told with regards to morals portrays the image of a rash and ambitious ruler, who having been incensed by fame and a desire of ruling, plans exalted things and imagines heaven in his mind'). This interpretation is furthermore evident in wider English versions of the myth and references to it. In Act 3, Scene 1 of *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, Shakespeare has the duke of Milan call Valentine a Phaëthon who "aspires to guide the heavenly car | And with thy daring folly burn the world | Wilt thou reach stars, because they shine on thee? | Go, base intruder! overweening slave!".⁶⁷ Valentine has revealed he wants to elope with the duke's daughter and is here accused of being over-ambitious, wanting to go beyond his proper station.

Perhaps most directly relevant is the translation of book 2 of the *Metamorphoses* by Thomas Hall, published in 1655, with the telling title: *Phaeton's Folly, or, The Downfall of Pride*.⁶⁸ Hall was a staunch supporter of Cromwell and dedicated his work to Colonel Richard Greaves of Moseley Hall, who fought in the New Model Army.⁶⁹ Hall had been curate at Moseley from 1635-1640 and Greaves became his patron.⁷⁰ The text is aimed at school children: Hall was master of the grammar school at King's Norton from 1629 to 1662.⁷¹ Thus he tells Greaves that he can use the text to instruct his son and in his address 'To the reader' offers advice on what makes a good schoolmaster, as well as directions for versifying.⁷² However, the publication also has a strong political connotation; the first moral of the story of

⁶⁷ Il. 153-7; Thomas Whitfield Baldwin, *William Shakespeare's Small Latine & Lesse Greeke* (Urbana: University of Illinois press, 1944), 195; In Shakespeare's *Richard II*, Richard himself identifies with Phaëthon - Merrix argues that although the theme of overambition is relevant to this play, the main connection between the two figures is their search for identity. Robert P. Merrix, "The Phaëton Allusion in Richard II: The Search for Identity," *English Literary Renaissance* 17, no. 3 (1987): 277. For other references to Phaëthon, see: Marlowe, *Tamburlaine I* 4.2.49-52; Shakespeare, *Romeo & Juliet*, 3.2.3; Shakespeare, *3 Henry VI* 1.4.33, 2.6.12.

⁶⁸ Richard F. Hardin, "Ovid in Seventeenth-Century England," *Comparative Literature* 24, no. 1 (1972): 50. <https://doi.org/10.2307/1769381>.

⁶⁹ David Masson, *The Life of John Milton in Connexion with the Political, Ecclesiastical, and Literary History of His Time: 1643-1649.*, vol. III (London: MacMillan and Co., 1873). Gilbert, C.D. (2015) "Hall, Thomas (1610-1665)." *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/11990>

⁷⁰ Gilbert, C.D., *Hall, Thomas*.

⁷¹ Gilbert, C.D., *Hall, Thomas*.

⁷² Hall, *Phaeton's Folly*, sigs. A1^r-A7^r.

Phaëthon is described as follows: 'This fable sets forth to the life, the Nature of rash, ambitious, inconsiderate Rulers, who being inflamed with a desire of Government, aim at things above their reach to their own ruin and downfall. Many rash, young Phaetons, which want experience, take upon them the ruling of the Commonwealths, yet cannot rule themselves; [...] Let these Phaetons remember Phaeton.' In the note printed in the margin, we read: 'If every Phaeton that thinks himself able, may drive the chariot of the Sun, no wonder if the world be set on fire: this hath brought those Heresies and confusions into the Nation, which have overspread it like a Leprosie.'⁷³ Given Hall's background, it is interesting that this reading of the myth does not explicitly refer to Charles I: writing at the time of the Interregnum, the ambiguity about the subject allows him to appeal to a divided public. The mention of rash, ambitious and inconsiderate rulers who bring about their own downfall could be a reference to the king and his fate, but it could also be read as an indictment of Cromwell. Hall furthermore links such overambition directly to heresies and confusions in England, thus referring to the religious conflict of the Civil Wars without picking a side. Hall's translation of the story of Phaëthon, like the inclusion of Raleigh's poem in Harley MS 6947, shows that the story of Phaëthon was still regarded as an allegory for overambition in the 1650s, when Fletcher's poem for Carr was chosen to be included in a selection of Cambridge poems. This suggests that Fletcher's eclogue may have had political connotations for its readers in the 1650s, who would have recognised its allusions to the second book of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*.

Fletcher's eclogue in its original context: The commemorative volume for Carr

Why was Fletcher asked to contribute to the volume for Carr in the late 1560s/early 1570s and why did he depict the deceased as over-ambitious? At the time of Carr's death in 1568, Fletcher was not a significant figure at Cambridge. He had not yet obtained his BA, and he had only just received it the year before by the time the volume was published in 1571.⁷⁴ He was perhaps asked to contribute because of his promise as a poet. As we have seen in Chapter 1, in 1563 he had contributed 11 poems, more than any other pupil, to Royal MS 12 A XXX, the Eton manuscript

⁷³ Hall, *Phaeton's Folly*, sigs. B1^v-B2^r.

⁷⁴ Munro, *Fletcher, Giles, the Elder* (Bap. 1546, d. 1611), *Diplomat and Author*.

presented to Queen Elizabeth. Furthermore, scholars of all ages and disciplines contributed to university commemorative volumes; they were a means for young poets to attract notice and gain a reputation.⁷⁵ For Fletcher, contributing to the commemorative volume published with Carr's posthumous edition of Demosthenes may have been an important first step in his poetic career at Cambridge, just as contributing to the Cambridge commemorative volume *Sorrowes Ioy* (1603) on the death of Queen Elizabeth and accession of King James I would later be for his sons Phineas Fletcher and Giles Fletcher the Younger.⁷⁶ The poem for Carr was composed at around the same time as the eclogues in the Hatfield manuscript, which were sent to Lady Burghley in the early 1570s (and are discussed in Chapter 2).

The other paratextual material in the edition of Demosthenes may help us understand why Fletcher depicted Carr in the way he did. Bartholomew Dodington, who succeeded as Regius Professor of Greek and published the edition, wrote a life of Carr, which precedes the commemorative poems included in the work. In it, he emphasizes how talented and hard-working Carr was. For example, he says on sigs. Sij^v-Siiij^r that he did his work: *ad imitationem Demosthenis*, [...] *non modo antelucana industria, sed etiam priusquam somnum carperet longis vigilijs uteretur* ('to imitate Demosthenes [...] not only with activity before daybreak, but even before sleeping he would make use of long wakefulness') and that *cum hoc effecerit tùm admirabili bonitate ingenij, tùm summa studij contentione, vt quod alij, nisi otio longiore concesso, præstare non poterant, id ille αὐτοσχεδιάζων subitò, & nullo negotio expediret* ('when both with admirable excellence of talent, and with the greatest effort of study, he completed that work, he dashed off almost as if he were improvising, and without any particular difficulty, a task which others could not have finished without a much longer period of free-time in which to do so').⁷⁷

⁷⁵ Harold Love, *Scribal Publication in Seventeenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1993), 223; John K. Hale, *Milton's Cambridge Latin: Performing in the Genres, 1625-1632* (Tempe, Arizona: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 129.

⁷⁶ On their contributions to *Sorrowes Ioy*, see Chapter 3.

⁷⁷ All translations of material included with Carr's Latin edition of Demosthenes's *Olynthiacs and Philippics* are my own. Interestingly, the Greek αὐτοσχεδιάζω, here translated as 'improvising', often has a pejorative implication: 'to speak or act rashly or inadvisedly'.

Yet it becomes clear that Carr did not just work too hard as an academic. On sig. Tj^r, we read: *Paucis annis pòst professionem Græcam à se susceptam, vxorem duxit, atq; ita familiam alere cogebatur, quam cùm stipendio suo se sustenare nisi parcè, & tenuitèr posse videret, medecinæ dedit operam* ('A few years after he had taken up the Greek professorship, he married and so was compelled to support his family; when he saw he could sustain them only sparingly and inadequately with his stipend, he gave his attention to medicine'). Dodington then explains that in his medical studies, Carr again did more than was required of him. Near the end of the biography (sigs. Tj^v-Tij^r), we are told what the deceased's own opinion of this work was: *imprimis paulo antè morte[m] deplorare se significauit vitæ suæ conditionem, qua coactus fuerit àd familiæ sustentationem aliò ingenij aciem deflectere* ('In particular, a little before his death he indicated that he lamented the circumstances of his life, by which he was compelled to divert the force of his talent to a different field for the maintenance of his family'). He resented the fact that he was forced to turn his attention to medicine, which took time away from the field where he felt his talents lay. Like the biography, many of the poems in the volume emphasise that Carr's work is of a unique quality and that death snatched him away before his time.

Given that Carr is depicted in this way in the other paratextual material, Fletcher's reproach that he was over-ambitious and his death at least partially caused by overwork does not seem out of place. In Fletcher's poem in elegiacs, which follows the eclogue in the printed book and is simply entitled *Eiusdem in eundem*, there is a statement which makes the reasoning behind the reproach even more evident and offers insight into its relation to the other texts (sig. Bbj^v): *Forsan & hunc virtus, illis maturior annis, | Emeritum morti suaserat esse senem* ('And perhaps his virtue, more mature than his years, had persuaded Death that he was an old man who had served out his time'). There is a pun on the word *emeritum* here. Death has mistaken Carr for an old man because he completed so much work. As we have seen in Chapter 2, Fletcher uses the same motif when describing Edward VI in his *De Literis*, saying that he died not because of a shipwreck or war, *Sed Probitas, sed sancta Fides, maturaque Cœlo | Iam Pietas, virtusque æuj sub flore senescens* ('but

Honesty, holy Faith and Piety already ripe for Heaven, and virtue growing old in the bloom of life' (ll. 609-10 in the MS version)).⁷⁸

Taking into account the use of a reproach in Bion's *Lament for Adonis* mentioned above, it seems that Fletcher is following the pastoral convention by blaming Daphnis/Carr for his own death and that his reproach reflects the way Carr is depicted in the other paratextual material in the edition.

Fletcher's eclogue in Harley MS 6947

The question that remains is why the eclogue was included in the verse miscellany compiled in the 1650s. First of all, it may have been included because its subject was a Greek scholar. In light of this, it is also worth remembering that Giles Fletcher the Elder himself was appointed lecturer in Greek in 1573, as mentioned above.⁷⁹ If the 1656/8 sequence is based on a sequence from the 1630s, the inclusion of the poems by Giles Fletcher the Elder could also be related to the popularity of his son Phineas Fletcher, who published various works, including his *Piscatorie Eclogs*, alongside work by his father, in the late 1620s and early 1630s (see Chapter 3).⁸⁰ The compiler certainly seems to have recognised Giles Fletcher the Elder's skill as a poet, since he included two of his poems.

The answer may also lie in the political nature of the printed text the poem was published with: Carr's translation of Demosthenes. This text was closely connected to Thomas Wilson's English translation, published in 1570. The connection becomes clear from the prefatory material in Carr's volume; the poems by John Fryer, William

⁷⁸ A similar sentiment can be found in ll. 568-9 of the printed version: *Sed pietas, sed vera fides, quæ grandior annis | creverit, & primo virtus in flore senescens*. 'But his piety, and his true faith, which had grown greater than his years and virtue growing old in the first bloom.'

⁷⁹ Munro, *Giles Fletcher the Elder*

⁸⁰ Giles Fletcher the Elder and Phineas Fletcher, *De Literis Antiquae Britanniae Regibus Praesertim Qui Doctrinâ Claruerunt, Quisque Collegia Cantabrigiae Fundârunt. Sylva Poetica*. (Cantabrigiae: Ex Academiae celeberrimae typographeo, 1633); Phineas Fletcher, *Locustae, Vel Pietas Iesuitica. Per Phineam Fletcher Collegii Regalis Cantabrigiae*. (Cambridge: Apud Thomam & Ioannem Bucke, celeberrimae Academiae typographos, 1627). *Ioy in Tribulation. Or, Consolations for the Afflicted Spirits. By Phinees Fletcher, B.D. And Minister of Gods Word at Hilgay in Norfolke* (London: Printed [by J. Beale] for Iames Baker, dwelling at the signe of the Marigold in Pauls Church-yard, 1632); *The Purple Island, or the Isle of Man Together with Piscatorie Eclogs and Other Poeticall Miscellanies. By P.F.* (Cambridge: Printed by the Printers to the Universitie of Cambridge, 1633).

Malim and Thomas Hatcher praise the quality of both translations.⁸¹ Furthermore, Wilson contributed his own dedicatory verses to Carr's work celebrating the arrival of Demosthenes' wisdom to British shores and he is the addressee of Thomas Bing's dedicatory epistle at the start of Carr's edition of Demosthenes.⁸² This connection is significant because, as Blanshard and Sowerby show, Wilson's translation was a political one, which served as anti-Spanish propaganda with marginal glosses offering advice to statesmen and advocating intervention in the Netherlands.⁸³ The choice of Demosthenes's *Philippics* and *Olynthiacs* as a model for political polemic was a logical one; Cicero had composed his own *Philippics* to attack Mark Antony, and more recently the texts had been used to inspire people to oppose their invaders. Cardinal Bessarion, for example, had published a Latin translation of the *First Olynthiac* a century earlier, because he wanted to encourage the Italian states to oppose the Turks.⁸⁴ Furthermore, at this time, England was under threat from a Philip II, just like Greece had been and Wilson encouraged his readers to compare "the time past with the time present, and even when he heareth Athens, or the Athenians, to remember Englande and Englishmen".⁸⁵

The association of Carr's text with Wilson's suggests a similar political significance; Fletcher's contribution to a commemorative volume published with a text that had these associations is in line with his contribution to the Cambridge *Lachrymae* for Sidney, since the latter died fighting the Spanish in the Netherlands. The compiler of the MS, perhaps aware of this, has included Fletcher's Sidney poem before his eclogue for Carr. If the sequence is based in part on material compiled in the 1620s and 30s, this anti-Spanish aspect may have been topical. The failure of the Spanish

⁸¹ J. W. Binns, 'Latin Translations from Greek in the English Renaissance', *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 27 (1978): 151; Alastair J. L. Blanshard and Tracey A. Sowerby, 'Thomas Wilson's Demosthenes and the Politics of Tudor Translation', *International Journal of the Classical Tradition* 12, no. 1 (2005): 68. The poems can be found in Carr (1571), C2v-C3v.

⁸² Carr, *Demosthenis, Græcorum Oratorum Principis, Olynthiacæ Orationes Tres, & Philippicæ Quatuor, è Gr[a]Eco in Latinum Conuersæ, a Nicolae Carro, Anglo Nouocastriensi, Doctore Medico, & Gra[e]Carum Literarum in Cantabrigiensi Academia Professore Regio Addita Est Etiam Epistola de Vita, & Obitu Eiusdem Nicolai Carri*, A2. Binns, *Latin Translations*, 151-2; Blanshard and Sowerby, *Thomas Wilson's Demosthenes*, 68.

⁸³ Blanshard and Sowerby, *Thomas Wilson's Demosthenes*, 46, 58.

⁸⁴ Blanshard and Sowerby, *Thomas Wilson's Demosthenes*, 51.

⁸⁵ Wilson (1570) B1^r; Blanshard and Sowerby, *Thomas Wilson's Demosthenes*, 61-2.

match occupied the nation then; negotiations for it broke down in 1623, which created a new risk of war with Spain.⁸⁶

Fletcher's poem on the death of Sidney

Fletcher's epicedium on the death of Sir Philip Sidney in 1586 (ff. 10^v-11^r) is, unlike the poem for Carr, not an eclogue and was written almost two decades later. The epicedium focuses on Sidney's bravery in war, and his virtues. It is worth noting that both of Fletcher's poems in the sequence were printed during his lifetime. The epicedium for Sidney was originally published in the Cambridge commemorative volume on Sidney's death, entitled *Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymae Tumulo Nobilissimi Equitis, D. Philippi Sidneij Sacratae* (ed. Alexander Neville), which was published in February 1587 and was the first such volume to appear. It was dedicated to Leicester, as was the Oxford volume *Exequiae illustrissimi Equitis, D. Philippi Sidnaei, gratissimae memoriae ac nomini impensae* (ed. William Gager), which appeared in November of the same year. In the case of the Cambridge volume, the dedication to the Earl of Leicester, chancellor of the University of Oxford, rather than to the chancellor of Cambridge, Lord Burghley, is striking. It suggests the volume was part of a scheme to publicize the policy of direct intervention in the Netherlands, envisioned as part of the war of a Protestant league against Spain: unlike Burghley, Leicester had pan-Protestant ambitions.⁸⁷

At the start of the poem, Fletcher tells us that Sidney's virtue was making him favour the work of Mars; he then vividly paints the scene of Sidney amidst despondent Belgians in the battlefield at Zutphen (l.3-5):

*Iamque per afflictos peregrino milite Belgas
Militiae documenta dabas, ubi Zutphenis arva
Alluit irriguo decurrens Isela fluctu*

⁸⁶ Seeing the anti-Spanish sentiment of the poem as related to the Spanish match, also fits in with the Cambridge context: George Herbert, the University orator, delivered a speech to welcome King James and Prince Charles to Cambridge in October 1623 and addressed the sensitive topic of the wooing of the Infanta of Spain. See: John K. Hale, *Milton's Cambridge Latin : Performing in the Genres, 1625-1632* (Tempe, Ariz.: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2005), 72-5.

⁸⁷ Dominic Baker-Smith, "Great Expectation": Sidney's Death and the Poets', in *Sir Philip Sidney : 1586 and the Creation of a Legend*, ed. J. A. van Dorsten, Arthur F. Kinney, and Dominic Baker-Smith (Leiden: Leiden : published for the Sir Thomas Browne Institute by Brill/Leiden University Press, 1986), 89-90.

And now, amongst the Belgians crushed by foreign soldiers, you were providing examples of soldiery, where the IJssel, running down, washes the fields of Zutphen with a refreshing stream.

In line 9, the poet exclaims: *heu fortis nimium in tua fata ruebas* ('too brave you were rushing to your death') and tells us how he was hit by a bullet. It may seem that Fletcher is blaming Sidney here for his recklessness and his death, as Aphrodite blames Adonis in Bion's poem and Fletcher blames Carr in his eclogue. Yet it seems that Fletcher's exclamation is expressing regret, rather than an accusation, since the view of fame expressed in this epicedium is significantly different from the one in the Carr eclogue. Fletcher concludes the poem with these lines (ll. 37-41):

*Denique quicquid erat generosum et amabile, deflet
Et Te séque tuo confossum vulnere, solus
Te decus ereptum terris, belloque peremptum,
Non moriens, æternum et non mutabile mentis
Hospitium, sedesque tuæ lætatur Olympus.*

And finally, whatever was noble and lovable weeps both for you and for itself, pierced alike by your wound. Glory alone, undying, the eternal and unchangeable lodging of the mind, is happy that you have been snatched from the earth, and have been slain in war, and Olympus your abode.

Here, Glory is depicted as rejoicing in Sidney's death, since he died heroically and will now always be remembered. There is no suggestion that Sidney's fame would have increased had he lived longer, as there is in the eclogue for Carr. Yet he was younger than the Greek scholar at the time of his death and was shot in the thigh at the battle of Zutphen because he did not wear thigh armour; he could therefore be blamed for his own death in a much more concrete way than Nicholas Carr. There is a plausible reason why Fletcher may have decided not to use this motif: Sidney is celebrated as a protestant martyr in the volume and such a depiction would thus not have fitted in with its political aims.⁸⁸ This idea is reinforced by the Christ-like imagery employed in lines 37-8: what is noble and lovable has itself been pierced by Sidney's wound ('seque tuo confossum vulnere').⁸⁹ The emphasis here is on Sidney as a hero rather than a writer; the contributions to the Cambridge volume therefore do not

⁸⁸ Baker-Smith, *Great Expectation*, 90.

⁸⁹ For a discussion of this image, see also Chapter 1.

lament a young poet who could have written even greater works had he lived longer, but a military hero.⁹⁰

Most of the rest of the poem is taken up by a list of people, places and abstract concepts mourning Sidney's death. Abstract concepts such as piety, candour and modesty are first depicted as grieving for him (ll. 11-6) and then people, including the leaders of war and peace and the queen (ll. 17-20). Various European nations are listed as mourning him, even Spain (ll. 20-5) and then other places with which Sidney was associated, make an appearance (l. 26-9):

*Nec tantum populi; loca sacra, prophana, peremptum
Templa, forum luget, rus, curia, castra, Licæum.
Templa pium, fortémque acies, gymnasia doctum.
Aula comem,⁹¹ Rus munificum, lex publica justum.*

And not only the people (weep); the sacred places, profane places, temples, the forum, (all) lament the slain one, the country, the court, the military camps, the lyceum. The temples lament the loss of a pious man, and the battlefield the loss of a brave man, the schools the loss of a learned man. The court laments the loss of a gracious man, the country the loss of a generous man, the public law the loss of a just man.

Baker-Smith points out that the Latin commemorative pieces for Sidney in general 'translate Sidney's personal drama into a public discourse designed to unite the three estates of court, college and camp in a poetical statement of the Protestant cause.'⁹² This is something Fletcher is clearly doing here; he is taking it even further to show Sidney's importance to society, including also the grief of the church as this is fitting for a protestant hero, and the grief of the countryside. Finally, the tokens of war and peace are said to lament him, objects used in study and in war, and the lists are among them. Fletcher then describes how Sidney used to compete bravely in jousting, giving us another image of the military bravery which we have seen he also displayed in battle. The list of people and objects lamenting Sidney is reminiscent of

⁹⁰ Other contributions to commemorative volumes for Sidney from the 1580s also tended to mourn Sidney the public figure and patron, rather than Sidney the poet, as his contribution to the literary tradition was not widely recognised until the 1590s. See: Gavin Alexander, *Writing after Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney 1586-1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006), 56-75.

⁹¹ *Comem* is the adjective, 'gracious, elegant, cultured', with a false quantity (it should be *cōmem*).

⁹² Baker-Smith, *Great Expectation*, 88-89. Baker-Smith discusses Fletcher's poem for Sidney at the end of this chapter.

a funeral procession, which is frequently included in funeral elegies.⁹³ In this case, it may have brought to mind the actual funeral procession for Sidney, famously depicted in Thomas Lant's engravings.⁹⁴

Fletcher's poems and the epicedium for Edward King

In the 1656/8 sequence, Fletcher's two poems are immediately followed by an epicedium in 105 iambic trimeters for Edward King (ff. 14^v-16^v), printed anonymously as the opening poem in the Cambridge volume *Justa Edouardo King Naufrago* published in 1638.⁹⁵ The poem argues that King cannot receive proper funeral rites, and that panegyric poems are empty and cruel, as they cannot replace such rites and do not do him justice (he will be *versu in omni naufragus* – 'shipwrecked in every line' (l. 34)).⁹⁶ The poet is not just saying this about other contributions to the volume; he concludes the poem in lines 103-5: *Hæc musa impotens, | Majora cùm non possit imbellis lyra, | Dat, Edovarde, Justa virtuti et Tibi* ('These funeral rites an impotent muse gives, Edward, for your virtue and for you, since the feeble lyre could not play greater things'). The words *Edovarde, Justa* in the final line refer to the title of the volume.

This poem, like the two that precede it, laments that its subject has died young. (Edward King was only 25 when he died; Sidney was 31; Nicholas Carr died age 45). This similarity may explain why the poems are placed together in the sequence. As

⁹³ When discussing the list of mourners in Milton's *Lycidas*, Pigman points out its connection to the procession of mourners in Theocritus's *Idyll* I, on the death of Daphnis, and in Vergil's *Eclogue* X, written on the death of the elegiac poet Gallus; he refers to it as one of the conventions of pastoral. See: G. W. Pigman III, *Grief and English Renaissance Elegy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 5, 119, <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511519703>. It is worth noting though, that funeral processions were part of Roman burial rites and that the Roman love elegists also include them in their poems describing funerals. See, for example: Ovid, *Amores* 3.9 on the death of Tibullus, or Propertius 2.13, where the poet imagines his own burial and says he wants a procession of 3 volumes of his poetry.

⁹⁴ Ronald Strickland, 'Pageantry and Poetry as Discourse: The Production of Subjectivity in Sir Philip Sidney's Funeral', *ELH* 57, no. 1 (1990): 19–20, 29–30. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2873244>. As Strickland points out, elaborate funerals were common among the English aristocracy in the sixteenth century, but Sidney's was especially lavish. The expenses were so high they ruined Sidney's father-in-law, Francis Walsingham. See also: John Buxton, 'The Mourning for Sidney', *Renaissance Studies* 3, no. 1 (1989): 46–56.

⁹⁵ It is unclear who edited the volume, but Le Comte suggests that Henry King, Edward's younger brother, may have been its instigator (Le Comte, 'SPECIAL ISSUE: Justa Edovardo King', 127). If this is the case, it is likely he composed the opening poem.

⁹⁶ I am quoting from the manuscript copy, but apart from some (occasional) differences in orthography, it is identical to the print edition.

in the commemorative volume for Carr, the poet here expresses regret that his subject will not be able to fully develop his talents as he matures (l. 43-4): *Ille, ille, quantus juvenis! heu quantus senex | Olim futurus! (at futurum hoc transijt)* ('That one, that one, how great a young man! Alas how great an old man he would have become once! (But that future is gone)').

The epicedium makes use of several motifs often associated with pastoral elegy. Whereas in Fletcher's poem for Carr, Ocyroe asks for the sun to withdraw to honour the death, in the poem for Edward King, his death is itself compared to the setting of a sun that will not rise again (l. 6-7): *Soli occidenti, nec orituro, secula | damnata tenebris* ('With the sun setting and not about to rise, ages have been condemned to darkness.'). In the same commemorative volume, Milton's 'Lycidas', by contrast, assures us that the sun, and King, will rise again.⁹⁷

The author of the King poem evokes the pointlessness of poetry in the face of his loss by telling any and thus every poet, to break his pipe (l. 16-20):

*Facesse, vates; obsequia tam tenuia
Nec tanta clades postulat nec accipit:
Abi, Poeta, quisquis es; **frange calamum**,
Frange imparem malesane: quem tam frigido
Encomio celebras, trucidas, improbe*

Be off with you, bard; so great a loss neither calls for nor accepts obsequies so trifling: Go away poet, whoever you are; break your pipe, break the uneven pipe, badly sounding one: whom you are celebrating with such a cold eulogy, you (in fact) destroy, impudent one

This image has several well-known parallels; it can also be found in Calpurnius Siculus's *Eclogue IV*, where Meliboeus recounts what Corydon, who now has high poetic aspirations, used to say to his brother (l. 23-27):

⁹⁷ See ll. 168-73: So sinks the day-star in the Ocean bed,
And yet anon repairs his drooping head,
And tricks his beams, and with new-spangled Ore,
Flames in the forehead of the morning sky:
So *Lycidas* sunk low, but mounted high,
Through the dear might of him that walk'd the waves;

«**Frangere**, puer, **calamos** et inanes desere Musas.
I, potius glandes rubicundaque collige corna,
duc ad mulctra greges et lac uenale per urbem
non tacitus porta. Quid enim tibi fistula reddet,
quo tutere famem?»⁹⁸

Break your pipes, boy, and forsake the vain Muses. Rather go gather acorns and red cornelian cherries, lead herds to the milking-pails and not silent carry milk for sale through the city. For what will the pipe deliver to you, with which you could guard against famine?

Meliboeus points out that Corydon is inconsistent, because he used to despair about the ability of poetry to achieve anything. Although the context is different in each of the poems, in both the motif conveys the idea that poetry is powerless. It is not unique to pastoral poetry; the epicedium for King may also be alluding to Juvenal, who uses it for a similar purpose in his *Satire* 7. He argues that society is so corrupt, there is no point in singing/writing poetry anymore (l.27-9):

Frangere miser **calamum** uigilataque proelia dele,
qui facis in parua sublimia carmina cella,
ut dignus uenias hederis et imagine macra.⁹⁹

Break your pen, wretched one, and delete the battles which have kept you awake, you who make sublime poetry in your little room so that you are worthy of ivy and a poor statue as favours.

Nonetheless, it seems especially significant that the lovesick Colin in the January eclogue of Spenser's *Shepherd's Calendar* also breaks his pipe. As the argument explains: 'fynnding himselfe robbed of all former pleasuance and delights, hee breaketh his Pipe in peeces, and casteth him selfe to the ground.'¹⁰⁰ Like the speaker

⁹⁸ The citation of Calpurnius Siculus *Eclogues* has been taken from: Titus Calpurnius Siculus, *Bucoliques*, ed. Jacqueline Amat (Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1991).

⁹⁹ The citation of Juvenal's *Satires* has been taken from: Juvenal and Persius, *A. Persi Flacci et D. Iuni Iuvenalis Saturae* / ed. Wendell Clausen (Oxonii: E Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1959). The motif of a broken pipe can also be found in another satirical text, Martial *Epigram* 9.73.9: **Frangere** leves **calamos** et scinde, *Thalia, libellos*. In this poem, a shoemaker has inherited the wealth of his patron; the speaker tells the muse to break his pens and destroy his little books because the world is unfair: his learning has not brought him anything like the riches the shoemaker is now enjoying. See: Martial, *M. Val. Martialis Epigrammata* /, 2a ed (Oxonii: e typographeo Clarendoniano, 1929).

¹⁰⁰ Spenser, *The Shorter Poems*, 35. Colin breaks his pipe in lines 67-72:

Wherefore my pype, albee rude *Pan* thou please,
Yet for thou pleasest not, where most I would:
And thou vn lucky Muse, that wontst to ease
My musing mynd, yet canst not, when thou should:

in the poem for King, Colin Clout is motivated by grief. This suggests Spenser's eclogue may have served as an intertext for the epicedium.

Additionally, it is worth noting, especially in the context of the 1656/8 sequence, that the poem – like several others in the *Justa* volume – puns on the name 'King'. First in lines 45-51, where we read that he was a leader in many aspects of life and controlled his own desires:

*Kingus obijt; rex artium, Princeps togæ,
Scholæ Imperator, et (quod est omni altius
Regno) suorum affectuum Tyrannus, atque
Animi monarcha (ditis et lati imperi,
Quo Cæsar aquilas non tulit, nec Barbarus
Signa Macedo, victor orbe non compos sui)
Obijt.*

King has died; the king of the arts, the foremost in toga, the leader of the school, and (what is greater than every authority) a ruler of his desires and a monarch of his mind (of a rich and extensive empire, in which Caesar did not carry the Eagle standards, nor the savage Macedonian his banners, having conquered the world he was not the master of himself) he died.

Starting with his name, this passage depicts the young Edward King as an excellent scholar and as someone who was humble and disciplined, using the imagery of kingship. Then, in lines 86-90, the speaker blames the sea for his death:

*Tu tanti rea
Peragenda sceleris, Regibus inimica aqua,
Fergusianæ cædis olim conscia,
Quæ navigantes allicis sub vindicis
Et sospitatoris Georgi nomine;
[. . .]
Tuâ peremptum cecidit infidâ manu
Apollini musisque dilectum caput.*

You defendant of so great a crime to be prosecuted, water hostile to Kings, an accomplice once of the killing of Fergus, you who draw to yourself those sailing under the name of the protector and safe-keeper George; [. . .] by your unfaithful hand the head, beloved of Apollo and the muses, fell, having been slain.

Both pype and Muse, shall sore the while abyẽ.
So broke his oaten pype, and downe dyd lye.

The sea is said to be hostile to kings. One of these is Fergus, a legendary king of Scotland, who drowned in the Irish sea in c. 330 BC;¹⁰¹ the other one is the subject of the poem. A poem on the death of a 'King' who died prematurely having had his head slain, and for whom no commemorative verse can be adequate, must have had different connotations in the 1650s than it did in 1638.¹⁰² Whilst the sea is addressed here, these lines could be read more generally as a condemnation of the regicide: St George is both the protector of seafarers and the patron saint of England; the king, who was murdered, was meant to be under the protection of England (St. George).

Conclusion

The inclusion of two of Fletcher's poems in the 1656/8 sequence at the start of BL Harley MS 6947 demonstrates that his work was still being read and transcribed as late as the latter 1650s. While poems on the death of Sidney continued to circulate quite widely in the seventeenth century, the Carr poem, which was missed by Sutton, is more obscure; this suggests that it had particular significance for the compiler. One of the reasons for this may be that the aspects which unite the sequence overall, are all visible in Fletcher's eclogue for Carr. Both poet and subject were prominent figures in Cambridge and scholars of Greek. Furthermore, Carr was a medical doctor, meaning the poem may also be connected to the interest in natural science seen in the sequence.

The 1656/8 sequence tells us about the reading and circulation of 'occasional' Latin verse in the seventeenth century. It has some elements of an anthology of models for commemorative verse and shows that poems could have a long life as models of a form; that Fletcher's poems served such a function in the Cambridge sequence, could be due to his identity as a Cambridge poet, his reputation for generic innovation and the revisiting of his work in conjunction with that of his son in the 1630s. The place this eclogue has in the manuscript would also have made sense in the 1650s. Written by Giles Fletcher, a poet known for writing pastoral, it is placed

¹⁰¹ Le Comte, 'SPECIAL ISSUE: Justa Edovardo King', 219.

¹⁰² *Dilectum caput* is a Hellenism – the idiom is used to refer to a 'beloved person' rather than 'head' but must have had a particular resonance in the context of the regicide.

between a poem for Sidney, then known as author of the *Arcadia*, and a poem for Edward King, the subject of Milton's *Lycidas*.

The sequence also demonstrates how occasional verse could be given political and historical force in a new context: there is a strong feeling in this manuscript, with Carr and 'King' at its heart, that Latin commemorative verse in general, and especially verse for fairly young men lost too young, is being recontextualised in a specifically royalist way, even where the poems themselves significantly predate such a political context.

Afterword

When modern critics refer to Fletcher's pastoral verse, they frequently refer to the poems that can be found in the *Poemata Varii Argumenti* (1678) of William Dillingham (c. 1617-89), and as a result Fletcher has been represented first and foremost as a poet of allegorical eclogues on matters of politics and religion.¹ The modern reception of Fletcher's Latin verse has effectively been shaped by Dillingham's choice of three of Fletcher's allegorical eclogues. My thesis has sought to look behind Dillingham's shaping act of reception to consider all of Fletcher's eclogues, the circumstances of their composition, and the history of their circulation and reception in the first century after they were written. It has shown that Fletcher wrote several occasional eclogues as well as those addressing religious conflict through allegory and that his work played a significant role in shaping Anglo-Latin and English pastoral. Drawing on continental Latin eclogues, he created a distinct British mode of Protestant pastoral which was influential in Cambridge circles: the form and content of Fletcher's eclogues served as a model for Phineas Fletcher and John Milton in the 1630s, and his occasional Latin verse continued to be meaningful in the different political context of the 1650s. A discussion of Dillingham's work is a fitting conclusion to the story of the thesis, given the significance of his anthology for Fletcher's later reception and the way Dillingham presents British neo-Latin verse alongside Continental neo-Latin, recognizing it as both distinct and connected to Continental developments.

William Dillingham was a Latin poet and anthologist. The first 68 pages of his *Poemata Varii Argumenti* are dedicated to his own work, including Latin versions of poems by George Herbert and a verse paraphrase of Erasmus's *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium* written for his son Thomas, as well as five of his own poems.² The second

¹ Grosart, *Licia and Other Love-Poems and Rising to the Crowne of Richard the Third*, by Giles Fletcher, LL.D., xxxvi–xl. Grosart here discusses Fletcher's Latin poems, mentioning his contribution to Royal MS 12A XXX and all the poems that appeared in print, but not his Hatfield Eclogue collection (Cecil Papers MS 298.1-5). Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925*, 57; Grant, *Neo-Latin Literature and the Pastoral*, 328; Ryan, 'The Shorter Latin Poem in Tudor England', 128.

² Kelliher, 'Dillingham, William (c. 1617–1689), Latin Poet and Anthologist'; Estelle Haan, 'Sporting with the Classics: The Latin Poetry of William Dillingham', *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* 100, no. 1 (2010): 1–2.

half of the work consists of Latin verse by other authors, ranging from Vergil to Thomas More (1478-1535), Theodorus Beza (1519-1605) and Hugo Grotius (1583-1645). Dillingham's inclusion of three of Giles Fletcher the Elder's eclogues in his anthology, the only unattributed works in the volume, shows he regarded these poems as important examples of sixteenth-century Anglo-Latin poetry.

Dillingham's volume was a new kind of Latin verse anthology; it was not connected to a particular event or occasion and not related to a university, but collected neo-Latin poetry for its own sake.³ Dillingham's decision to include British neo-Latin poetry alongside Continental examples, may in part have been inspired by the *Delitiae* volumes, which were published in the early seventeenth century by the Heidelberg professor and librarian Janus Gruterus (1560-1627) to showcase the best Latin verse produced by nation, including an Italian, French, German and Dutch volume.⁴ Dillingham's anthology is itself the precursor of another volume, the *ANΘΟΛΟΓΙ'Α Seu Selecta Quaedam Poemata Italorum Qui Latine scripserunt* (1684); its anonymous editor is widely acknowledged to be Francis Atterbury.⁵ Atterbury's anthology consists of four sections containing eclogues, didactic verse, odes and miscellaneous verse and contains predominantly but not exclusively the work of Italian poets: it also includes an eclogue each by the Dutch poets Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655) and Hugo Grotius and two by the Scottish poet George Buchanan (1506-82).⁶ The fact that the only non-Italian pieces are all eclogues perhaps suggests that Atterbury understood the Protestant, post-Reformation Latin

³ Haan, 'Sporting with the Classics: The Latin Poetry of William Dillingham', 1.

⁴ The *Delitiae* volumes are: Janus Gruterus, ed., *Delitiae Carminum Italorum Poetarum Huius Superiorisque Aevi* (Frankfurt: Prostant in officina Ioniae Rosae, 1608); Janus Gruterus, ed., *Delitiae Carminum Poetarum Gallorum Huius Superiorisque Aevi* (Frankfurt: Prostant in officina Ioniae Rosae, 1609); Janus Gruterus, ed., *Delitiae Carminum Poetarum Germanorum Huius Superiorisque Aevi* (Frankfurt: Excudebat Nicolaus Hoffmannus, sumptibus Iacobi Fischeri, 1612); Janus Gruterus, ed., *Delitiae Carminum Poetarum Belgicorum Huius Superiorisque Aevi* (Frankfurt: Typis Nicolai Hoffmanni, Sumptibus Iacobi Fischeri, 1614).

In 1637, a *Delitiae poetarum Scotorum*, edited by the poet Arthur Johnston (c. 1579-1641), was printed in Amsterdam: Arthur Johnston, ed., *Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum Hujus Aevi Illustrum* (Amsterdam: Apud Iohannem Blaeu, 1637).

⁵ Estelle Haan, 'The British Isles', in *The Oxford Handbook of Neo-Latin*, ed. Sarah Knight and Stefan Tilg (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 430; D. W. Hayton, *Atterbury, Francis (1663–1732), Bishop of Rochester, Politician, and Jacobite Conspirator* (Oxford University Press, 2004), <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/871>. Alexander Pope later re-edited and expanded this anthology, publishing it in two volumes as *Selecta Poemata Italorum qui Latine scripserunt* (1740).

⁶ *Danielis Heinsii Thyrsis. Ecloga VIII*, sigs. D1^r-D3^r; *Hugonis Grotii Myrtilus sive Idyllium Nauticum*, sigs. D3^r-D5^r; *Georgii Buchanani Desiderium Ptolemaei Luxii Tastaei. Ecloga X*, sigs. D5^r-D6^r and *Desiderium Lutetiae. Ecloga XI*, sigs. E1^r-E2^r.

pastoral tradition of Northern Europe to be a particularly important contribution to the Latin literary tradition. The slightly later *Musarum Anglicanarum Analecta* (1692), published in Oxford, is similar to Dillingham's volume in that it was compiled to demonstrate the quality of British neo-Latin verse. It differs from it, however, because it does not include neo-Latin verse by poets from other countries or time periods.⁷ The introductory note suggests it was conceived as an English equivalent for the *Delitiae* volumes.⁸ Furthermore, unlike Dillingham's and Atterbury's volumes, it is closely connected to the university where it was produced – of the 34 contributions, 32 are by Oxford men.

The three eclogues of Giles Fletcher the Elder which Dillingham included in his anthology are his ecclesiastical eclogues, two of which, *Contra Prædicatorum contemptum* (*De Contemptu Ministrorum*) and *Querela Collegii Regalis* (*Æcloga Telethusa*), appeared in Fletcher's Hatfield collection. The third, entitled *De Morte Boneri*, has not been found elsewhere in manuscript or print; as discussed in Chapter 2, I see no reason to doubt the attribution of this poem to Fletcher.⁹ The poems are not, in fact, attributed to Fletcher in the volume, but are listed in the index as *Incerti Autoris Æglogæ tres* ('three eclogues of an unknown author'). This is particularly striking because the poems are directly followed by Phineas Fletcher's *Locustæ*. There are no other surviving printed instances of these poems and in the Hatfield manuscript the author is clear. The inclusion of these poems in Dillingham's collection without the name of the author thus implies that they circulated independently in manuscript in the mid-seventeenth century. Probably at around the same time he compiled his *Poemata Varii Argumenti*, Dillingham included an attributed version of the elder Fletcher's *De Literis Antiquæ Britanniae* in an anthology he prepared in manuscript but never printed – entitled *Poemata selecta ex*

⁷ These volumes are also compared by: Bradner, *Musae Anglicanae: A History of Anglo-Latin Poetry 1500-1925*, 213.

⁸ In his *Ad Lectorem*, an introductory note addressed to the reader, the anonymous editor states: *Cum in medium ubique afferantur selectiores Italorum Scotorumque Musæ, & apud cæteras, pene quotquot sunt, Europæ gentes, Suas pariter edendi, mos obtinuit: Hâc te, Lector benevole, Anglia donat Anthologia, ne ipsam a Literato etiam orbe penitus divisam putes.* ('Since in public everywhere the Muses were brought selections of the Italians and the Scottish, and among the other European people, almost as many as there are, the custom prevailed of likewise publishing their own: This way, kind reader, England gives you an Anthology, lest you should think that she is herself also completely cut off from the learned world.')

⁹ All three of these poems are discussed in Chapter 2.

auctoribus qua veteribus, qua neotericis, it is now Sloane MS 1766.¹⁰ This manuscript provides an insight into Dillingham's practices when compiling anthologies, consisting of both manuscript poems and verse cut out of printed texts. The *De Literis* falls in the latter category, having been taken from the 1633 edition of Phineas Fletcher's *Sylva Poetica*.

The unattributed poems in Dillingham's 1678 volume have not confused scholars, however, whose discussion of Fletcher's pastoral verse in the 19th and 20th century centred on these allegorical poems, and some of his other printed eclogues.¹¹ Taken out of the context of Fletcher's manuscript eclogue collection, the focus on these poems has contributed to the perception of his pastoral verse as dominated by religious allegory. Dillingham's choice of the three works of religious allegory for this volume and his inclusion of the 1633 version of the *De Literis* in Sloane MS 1766 reflect the way that Phineas Fletcher imitated, republished and wrote about his father's pastoral verse, focusing on his allegorical political and religious eclogues. Dillingham's practice thus suggests the lasting influence of Phineas's framing on the reception of his father's work.

As mentioned, the *Poemata Varii Argumenti*, which was printed in London, is not officially connected to a university. On the title page, however, it is made clear the volume was created 'A WILH. DILLINGHAM S.T.D. Cantabrigiensi'. Dillingham was a prominent Cambridge figure and a moderate Presbyterian Calvinist: he was admitted sizar at Emmanuel College Cambridge in 1636, became the master of the college in 1653 and vice-chancellor of the university in 1659. Following the Restoration, he forfeited his posts in 1662 because he refused to reject his obligations to the Solemn League and Covenant.¹² In addition to his own identification with Cambridge, the volume suggests the significance of the university for Dillingham in other ways: a large part of it is taken up by his translations of the

¹⁰ Kelliher, 'Dillingham, William (c. 1617–1689), Latin Poet and Anthologist'. Kelliher says the manuscript is later than the *Poemata Varii Argumenti*, but I have not been able to find evidence for this. My suggestion that it was created at around the same time as the printed anthology is based on a letter (Bodl. MS Tanner 44, f. 274), which Dillingham wrote to his friend William Sancroft (1617–93) about this volume in 1671, see: Haan, 'Sporting with the Classics: The Latin Poetry of William Dillingham', 8.

¹¹ For details, see note 1.

¹² Kelliher, 'Dillingham, William (c. 1617–1689), Latin Poet and Anthologist'.

verse of George Herbert, who was Cambridge University Orator from 1620-8; like Dillingham himself, Phineas Fletcher is identified as ‘Cantabrig.’ in the volume. Furthermore, the Cambridge setting in two of the three eclogues by the elder Fletcher must have been evident to Dillingham, even if he was unsure of their author.

Compared to the Latin verse anthologies mentioned above, Dillingham’s volume is a markedly Protestant version of this kind of project. Whilst work by the Italian Catholic neo-Latin poets Marcus Hieronymus Vida (1485-1566) and Famianus Strada (1572-1649) and by the English Catholic Thomas More is included, verse by Protestant poets such as George Herbert (1593-1633), Andrew Melville (1545-1622), Theodorus Beza, Guillaume du Bartas (1544-90), George Buchanan, Hugo Grotius and the Fletchers predominates.¹³

Dillingham seems to have had a specific interest in Protestant pastoral; in 1653, he edited from manuscript Theodore Bathurst’s Latin verse-translation of Spenser’s *The Shepheardes Calender* and published the work with his own introduction, in which he says of Spenser: *indutus idem Romanâ togâ* (‘the same is dressed in a Roman toga’) and emphasises that Bathurst is *Poeta non minùs elegans, quàm gravis idem postea Theologus* (‘a poet not less elegant than serious thereafter as a theologian’).¹⁴ Moreover, a manuscript of William Bedell’s *A Protestant Memorial*, a pastoral dialogue about the Gunpowder Plot which was likely composed between 1605 and 1607, was included in Dillingham’s papers and he encouraged its publication; it was eventually published in 1713.¹⁵ It is an imitation of *The Shepheardes Calender* which uses archaic language and pastoral allegory – Guy

¹³ The two poems by Du Bartas are included in a Latin translation by Gabriel de Lerm.

¹⁴ Edmund Spenser, *Calendarium pastorale, sive, Aeglogae duodecim totidem anni mensibus accomodatae / Anglicè olim scriptae ab Edmundo Spensero; nunc autem eleganti Latino carmine donatae a Theodoro Bathurst.* (London, Impensis M.M.T.C. & G. Bodell, 1653), A3^v–4^r. The earliest manuscript of this poem, written partially in Bathurst’s hand, dates from c. 1608 and can be found at Pembroke College, Cambridge [no shelfmark]. See: Leicester Bradner, ‘The Latin Translations of Spenser’s “Shepheardes Calender”’, *Modern Philology* 33, no. 1 (1935): 24–25; Peter Beal, ‘Edmund Spenser (1554?–1599)’, *CELM*, accessed 16 December 2020, https://celm-ms.org.uk/authors/spenserredmund.html#pembroke-college-cambridge_id353358. The translation must have been popular as Beal records eight extant early seventeenth-century manuscript copies.

¹⁵ Kelliher, ‘Dillingham, William (c. 1617–1689), Latin Poet and Anthologist’; William Bedell, *A Protestant Memorial: Or, the Shepherd’s Tale of the Pouder-Plott. A Poem in Spenser’s Style.* (London: Printed for J. Roberts, 1713).

Fawkes is the 'false Fox'.¹⁶ Giles Fletcher the Elder's Protestant Cambridge eclogues thus fitted in with Dillingham's interests in Cambridge verse and pastoral and his religious convictions.

Dillingham includes the eclogues as examples of a distinctively British poetry which he juxtaposes with classical Latin and Continental Neo-Latin verse, suggesting he sees these eclogues as a significant contribution to transnational Latin literature.¹⁷ This thesis has shown this is justified, by considering both Fletcher's allusions to earlier Latin verse and their connections to contemporary and later poetry in English and Latin, demonstrating that Fletcher was the creator of a British Protestant mode of pastoral. Given that Fletcher's Latin verse was widely read and was influential in the century after it was written, further work needs to be done to make it more widely accessible; an annotated edition of his Latin eclogues and other poems with translation would allow all those interested in early modern literature to study the relation of his Latin verse to developments in this period, and his significance for Anglo-Latin and English pastoral in particular.

Future studies of Anglo-Latin manuscript verse will uncover many more literary works which influenced contemporary printed works. Hopefully, they will also lead to the discovery of a manuscript copy of the *De Morte Boneri* which can confirm its author. It is moreover possible that such work would bring to light further eclogues by Fletcher. Other findings of the thesis also open avenues for further research. It has demonstrated that the idea of an eclogue was flexible in the early modern period: in the late sixteenth century, the term could be used to refer to verse-dialogues which do not have a pastoral setting and are not always written in hexameters.

Furthermore, new subgenres of pastoral were developed in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, including eclogues on fishermen, sailors, huntsmen and vine-growers. As Latin verse tends to be approached from a classical perspective, further research on the difference between classical and neo-Latin examples of pastoral and

¹⁶ Rachel E. Hile, *Spenserian Satire: A Tradition of Indirection* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2017), 72–78. On foxes representing Catholics in Spenser's work, see Chapter 2.

¹⁷ Haan, 'The British Isles', 427. Of the 29 Latin poems included in the anthology four are classical (one of these is the *Moretum* from the *Appendix Vergiliana*, which Dillingham describes as 'P. Virgilii Maronis (ut vulgò habetur) Moretum'), 15 are Continental and 9 (including the three unattributed Cambridge eclogues by Giles Fletcher the Elder) are British. There is one poem of which the origin is unclear – it is entitled *Hippodromus* and can be found on p. 155.

other genres could greatly contribute to our understanding of early modern Latin poetry. The thesis also illustrates the significance of manuscript verse: most of Giles Fletcher the Elder's eclogues did not appear in print during his lifetime but were nevertheless very influential. The final chapter showed that occasional verse was not just of one particular moment, but could be read, copied and circulated in other contexts; while occasional verse has received some attention in recent studies, the later reuse of such verse has not yet been discussed.¹⁸ As so much occasional verse was produced in the early modern period, the point that poems originally written for a specific occasion can be reinterpreted or gain new layers of meaning in a different context, will have a profound impact on our views of early modern Latin literary culture. In this field where a wealth of material remains unexplored, the detailed study of poems in a single genre by a single author, such as this one, can produce significant insights of this kind of much wider applicability.

¹⁸ Harm-Jan Van Dam, *Chapter Five. Taking Occasion By The Forelock: Dutch Poets And Appropriation Of Occasional Poems*, vol. 178 (Leiden: Brill, 2009), <https://doi.org/10.1163/ej.9789004176836.i-248.21>; Ingrid A. R. De Smet, 'Poetic Genres—Occasional Poetry: Theory', in *Brill's Encyclopaedia of the Neo-Latin World* (Brill, 2014), 1144, http://referenceworks.brillonline.com/entries/encyclopaedia-of-the-neo-latin-world/poetic-genresoccasional-poetry-theory-B9789004271029_0110; Susanna de Beer, 'Poetic Genres—Occasional Poetry: Practice' (Brill, 2014), https://doi.org/10.1163/9789004271296_enlo_B9789004271029_0109; Sarah Knight, Stefan Tilg, and David Money, *Epigram and Occasional Poetry*, 1st ed. (Oxford University Press, 2015), <https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199948178.013.5>.

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Appendix A: Sixteenth- and Early Seventeenth-Century School and University Anthologies

MS	Date	School/University	Event	Total number of poems	Number of named contributors	List of contributors with total number of poems each	Metrical data (Latin only)
Royal MS 12 A XXXIII	1552	Winchester College	The progress of Edward VI through Hampshire	44	43	Joannes Foulerus 2 Robertus Fennus 1 Rodolphus Reatus 1 Arthurus Byddlecomus 1 Joannes Chaundlerus 1 Antonius Fortescuus 1 Henricus Barcleius 1 Edmundus Harendenus 1 Thomas Stapletonus (1 Latin and 1 Greek, which is at the end of the volume) Joannes Harringtonus 1 Joannes Redingus 1 Robertus Fernbarrius 1 Robertus Bollerus 1 Edoardus Harrisus 1 Henricus Fauknerus 1 Christophorus Jonsonus 1 Robertus Pointz 1 Gulielmus Shellius 1 Mattheus Myres 1 Arthurus Alderlaius 1 Thomas Bekinsauus 1 Georgius Martinus 1 Joannes Hamptonus 1 Joannes Randallus 1	29 elegiacs, 8 hexameters, 4 hendecasyllables, 2 iambics

						Henricus Kirtonus 1 Antonius Strangeus 1 Georgius Belfrius 1 Michael Haidochus 1 Joannes Bisshoppes 1 Christophorus Martinus 1 Richardus Osbornus 1 Joannes Nobleus 1 Stephanus Whitus 1 Gulielmus Dybbinsus 1 Edoardus Tychburnus 1 Ambrosius Edmundus 1 Lucas Atsloous 1 Gulielmus Palmerus 1 Joannes Hardius 1 Edoardus Middletonus 1 Leonardus Matonus 1 Christophorus Bodleius 1	
Royal MS 12 A XX	1554	Winchester College	'CARMEN NVPTIALE': Latin verses by the boys of Winchester College, addressed to Philip and Mary on their marriage	28	25	The first three poems in elegiacs are anonymous; each of the named contributors therefore contributed one poem. They are: Gabriel Whitus Edwardus Middeltonus Nicolaus Hargraus Richardus Whitus Lucas Atslous Gulielmus Dibbimus Joannes Nobleus Edwardus Tichbornus Henricus Twichenerus Philippus Daelus	16 elegiacs, 7 hexameter, 2 hendecasyllables, 2 iambic dimeters, 1 iambic trimeter

						Ambrosius Edmundus Gulielmus Palmerus Richardus Harrisuis Joannes Merickus Lodouicus Owenus Joannes Satwelus Arkenwoldus Willobœus Thomas Morus Thmoas Reduigus Nicolaus Hodsonus Thomas Darellus Henricus Harendenus Thomas Wrightus Edmundus Thomas Rodolphus Griffinus Seven of these students also contributed to the 1552 volume	
Royal MS 12 A LXV	1559/6 0	Eton College	A new year's gift to Queen Elizabeth	63	45	Anonymous 2 Georgius Langhton 2 Richardus Pickeringe 1 Matthæus Alley 1 Eduardus Scott 1 Johannes Crampton 1 Henricus Hayes 2 Thomas Oranus 1 Michael Hassall 2 Ambrosius Forde 2 Georgius Gilson 1 Richardus Wylloghbie 1 Thomas Panley 2 Nicholaus Colpotts 3 Baldwynus Collins 2	23 elegiacs, 12 sapphics, 8 asclepiadeans, 6 archilocheans, 6 hendecasyllables, 4 iambic trimeters, 2 iambic distichs, 1 hexameter, 1 stichic adoneans

						Henricus Harfordus 2 Gulielmus Norris 2 Robertus Holbeame 2 Richardus Craswell 1 Robertus Cimney 1 Andreas Trollope 1 Thomas Belfilde 1 Ezechiel Harlowe 3 Phillipus Maruin 1 Gulielmus Bruinstede 1 Robertus Aldrydge 2 Matthæus Bust 1 Richardus Wylde 1 Johannes Archer 1 Nicolaus Horne 1 Johannes Vuet 1 Thomas Gillinghame 2 Thomas Lodge 1 Johannes Sturley 1 Robertus Woolfall 1 Stephanus Wotton 1 Thomas Foster 1 Thomas Anton 1 Johannes Maruin 1 Thomas Woodnet 1 Osmundus Lakes 1 Johannes Inerye 1 Richardus Valente 2 Antonius Ellis 1 Robertus Draper 1 Eduardus Butcher 1	
Royal MS 12 A XXX	1563	Eton College	The visit of Elizabeth I.	76	24	Malim 3 (at start and end of volume – one in Greek)	25 elegiacs, 17 hexameters, 13

						Watts 6 Bounde 9 Fletcher 11 Kirkham 7 Longe 4 Hilles 1 Henson 2 Francklinne 2 Kinge 3 Dunninge 3 Ihonson 2 Lane 1 Broune 1 Boughan 5 Driwood 3 Hixon 1 Hardelowe 1 Gibson 1 Lakes 2 Hunt 2 Forth 1 Flemminge 4 Standley 1	sapphics, 6 asclepiads, 2 iambic dimeters, 3 iambic trimeters, 1 iambic distichs, 3 alcaics, 2 hendecasyllables, 1 archilochian, 1 stichic adoneans, 2 other metres
CUL Add. MS 8915	1564	University of Cambridge	Queen Elizabeth's visit to the university. Includes contributions by different colleges.	295	255	Greek poems: Bartholomaiou Dodingtonou 1 Robertou Pamodenou 1 Richardis Kosunou 1 Ioannis Kopkotou 1 Ilermou Gitacharou 1 Ilermou Muffetsou (?) 1 Richardus Msoags (?) 1 Ioannis Iakobou 1 Martinou Perkinosiu 1	195 elegiacs, 40 hexameters, 27 sapphics, 4 asclepiad, 1 iambic dimeter, 1 alcaic, 1 polymetric, 1 hendecasyllables

					Davidos Poellou 1 Nathanaelos Bachonou 1 Ilermou Boddallou 1 Thomas Krachou 1 Leonardou Chambesou 1 Gualterou Trabersou 1 Thomas Smythou 1 Edoardou Barnerou 1 <i>Trinity College</i> Thomae Leggi 1 Martini Perkinsoni 1 Davidis Powellii 1 Ioanni Coci 1 Thomae Smithi 1 Thomae Aldrichi 1 Rodulphi Wilkinsoni 1 Henrici Cockrofti 3 Nathanaelis Baconi 1 Gulielmi Lyfi 2 Gulielmi Farrandi 1 Thomae Wilks 2 Gulielmi Wadi 2 Edmundi Hownde 1 Roberti Thackeri 2 Roberti Lessci 1 Gulielmi Barwicki 1 Henrici Aldrichii 1 Roberti Ionsoni 1 Richardi Hunti 1 Richardi Smythi 1 Rogeri Druræi 1 Roberti Rumsdemi 1 Hugonis Boothei 1	
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					Ioannis Disberonsi 1 Thomae Wari 1 Joannis Motthi 1 Gulielmi Mentfordi 1 Georgij Sclateri 1 Gulielmi Harti 1 Richardi Woodi 1 Joannis Copcoti 1 Richardi Wheleri Senioris 1 Richardi Wheleri Junioris 1 Cornelij Welles 1 Gullielmi Pettingeri 1 Joannis Studdeni 1 Petri Sterlingi 1 Henrici Nantoni 1 Gulielmi Muffetti 1 Oliveri Godfrei 1 Thomae Adami 1 Antonij Irbi 1 Ioannis Armitadgi 1 Ioannis Dropi 1 Georgij Walli 1 Edwardi Gilberti 1 Gulielmi Whiticari 1 Gulielmi Woddalli 1 Roberti Bennetti 1 <i>St John's College</i> Anonymous 1 (Greek) Richardus Coortsius 1 Humfridus Bohum 1 Thomas Jeffeidus 1 Gulielmus Fulco 1 Galfridus Johnsonus 1	
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						Antonius Woodwardus 2 Eduardus Burkleius 1 Oliverus Carterus 2 Thomas Dranta 1 Joannis Beconus 3 (2 Greek) Laurentius Riheus 2 (1 Greek) Gulielmus Clarkus 1 Michael Henneage 1 Emundus Lewckuerus 2 Ioannes Quar[k]es 1 Franciscus Garthsydus 1 Robertus Rhodus 1 Thomas Wottius 1 Robertus Hollandus 1 Richardus Faucetus 1 Humfridus Hammerus 2 Henricus Medfordus 1 Petrus Innernus 1 Matthaeus Hulmus 1 Thomas Clerus 1 Gulielmus Hambeus 1 Gulielmus Colus 1 D. Thornell 1 Ambrosius Copinger 1 Richardus Remington 1 (Greek) Henricus Blaxtonus 1 Ioannes Bellus 1 Persiuallus Woodroffus 1 Gulielmus Quarles 1 Philippus [J]ofildus 2 Thomas Southus 1	
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					<p> Jacobus Jeterus 1 Roberti Catlini 1 Nicolaus Bondus 2 Moritius Fauknerus 1 Ioannes Stockwodus 2 (1 Greek) Christophorus Wakus 1 </p> <p> <i>Christ's College</i> Gulielmus Lewen 1 Gulielmus Chathertonus 1 Gulielmus Power 2 Johannes Robertes 1 Johannes Still 1 Johannes Pickarde 1 Richardus Reynoldus 1 Gualterus Mildmay 1 Henrycus Myldmay 1 Richardus Kingus 1 Matheus Shafto 1 Gualteri Allini 1 Ricahrdus Farr 3 (1 Greek) Gulielmus Tompsonus 1 Jossias Birdus 1 Thomas Meadus 1 Nicholaus Todd 1 Guilihelmus Boethus 1 Rodulphus Siracheus 1 Robertus Halisius 1 Robertus Swettus 1 Barlous 1 Reginaldus Whitfeildus 1 Georgius Fortesone 1 </p>	
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						Guilihelmus Todd 1 Johannes Mortonus 1 Ra[]x 1 Johannis Hedworthe 1 Ni. Lovell 1 Adamus Collinson 1 Richard Willoughbye 1 Jo. Willoughbye 1 Augusti. Withom 1 Roland Bulkeley 1 Fran Browne 1 T. Woode 1 Charolus Bonaham 1 Richardus Bancrofte 1 Robertus Bradshare 1 La. Lomas 1 T. Wrighte 1 Thomas Darellus 1 H. Belletus 1 Edward Ninge 1 Tho. Langton 1 T. Tayler 1 Petrus Birchetus 1 Edmundus Rockre 1 Rob: Linford 3 (1 Greek) Robertus Tower 1 Willius Soole 1 Thomas Sihlemorus 3 Nicholaus Challoner 1 Joannes Sorbaeus 3 Rodulphus Iones 1 Richardus Vaughan 2 Thomas Whitfelde 1 T. Robarts 1	
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					<p>E. Houellius 2</p> <p><i>Peterhouse</i> Thomas Laton 1 Rumpe 1 Christianus Machabene 2 Edmundus Simpronus 6 Antonius Mildmaius 1 Gardnerus 1 Johannes Machellus 1 Gulielmus Chareus 1 Gulielmus Stantonus 1 James Pressus 1 Rob. Andreas 1 Richardus Pernus 1 Thimoteus Ergerionus 1 Degorius Nicolls 1 Gulielmus Jacobus 1 William James 1 Thomas Lakes 1</p> <p><i>Jesus College</i> H. Woorley 1 J. Randallus 1 Roberti Lansdale 2 Ludovicus Groyn 2 W. Raius 1 P. Coppleus 1 W. Taber 1 Rodulphus Coolten 1 J. Lanton 1 J. Barnwellus 1 E. Patrickus 1 J. Daye 1</p>	
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					M. Warde 1 R. Stockewell 1 R. Sadlington 1 E. Powell 1 G. Beste 1 J. Wilbore 1 E. E[lowes 1 R. Lancaster 1 R. Langton 1 J. Webb 1 R. Conwayne 1 <i>Pembroke College</i> Thomae New[] 1 Rodolphus Sartaine 1 Rodolphus Hetherington 1 Richardus Jackson 1 Baldwinus Easdall 3 Joannes Granett 1 Gulielmus Butler 1 Gulielmus Marche 1 Gulielmus Hankins 1 Samuel Newse 1 Hugo Brinthurst 1 Henricus Tripp 1 Hugo Cloner 1 Robertus Byshop 1 (anonymous 2) <i>Corpus Christi College</i> Robertus Wyllan 1 Robertus Prudens 4 Iohannes Crowe 1 Johannes Lentus 1	
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						<i>St Clare's</i> G. Clericus 1 Joannes Welles 1 Franciscus Murdenus 2 G. Smithus 3 Mathaeus Mathew 2 Johannes Burmannus 1 Gulielmi Butleri 1 Willius Bigges 1 Foelix Lewys 1 Gu. Hawes 1 Daniell Gardener 1 Edwardus Lewys 1 Giulihelmus Speghte 2 Th. [J]arnamus 2 Thomas Churchens 1 Georgius Webbe 1 Johannes Higginsonus 1 Thomas Jenkinsonus 1 Richardus Burton 1 Richardus Pooley 1 G. [W]eniff 1 Thomas Underdonamus 1 Giuli. Smithus 1 Georgius Nothey 1 Jo. Caius 1 Francisci Doringtoni 1 Tho. Sutton 1 Robert Carre 1 Johannes Mey 1 Willius Howgrave 1 Johannes Maplet 1	
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Royal MS 12 A XLVII	1566	University of Oxford	Queen Elizabeth I's visit to Woodstock and Oxford, 31 Aug. 1566.	21	10	Laurentius Humfredus 3 Edwardus Russellus 1 Joannes Russellus 2 Gulielmus Lanus 3 Edwardus Wottonus 2 Edmundus Lilye 1 Henricus Bust 2 Samuel Colus 4 (1 Greek) Gulielmus Ludford 1 Robertus Temple 2	17 elegiacs, 2 sapphics, 1 stichic adonean
Royal MS 12 A LXVII	1573	St Paul's School	Celebration of Queen Elizabeth's Accession Day. ¹	21	12	Gulielmus Malim 2 Gualterus Nethercott 3 (1 Greek) Martinus Readus 3 (1 Greek) Joannes Pratt 3 (1 Greek) Richardus Clercus 3 (1 Greek) Edmundus Winchus 1 Thomas Sandersonus 1 Nicolaus Walrond 1 Ioannes Caterus 1 Joannes Smithus 1 Christophorus Moorus 1 Franciscus Perus 1	11 elegiacs, 4 hexameters, 2 hendecasyllables
Westminster Abbey MS 31	1587	Westminster School	New year gift for Queen Elizabeth	111	16	Richardus Irelandus 3 (1 Greek) Petrus Smartus 6 (1 Greek) Henricus Child 11 (3 Greek)	48 elegiacs, 39 hexameters, 4 sapphics, 3 asclepiads, 2 hendecasyllables.

¹ The catalogue entry for this volume reads: 'Complimentary verses to Elizabeth I on the beginning of her reign.' Given that the volume dates from 1573 (when Malim became headmaster at St Paul's) and the tenses in some of the poems make it clear that the accession of the queen is in the past, it seems the volume was used to mark the queen's Accession Day, which was widely celebrated.

						Rogerus Derhamus 15 (9 Greek) William Driwood 5 Iohannes Matthaëus 5 (1 Greek) Carolus Prattus 4 (1 Greek) Richardus Marche 14 (1 Greek) Johannes Packer 9 Johannes Whitgift 9 Jasperus Swift 2 Hugo Roberts 8 Gualterus Newton 5 Gulielmus Boilus 4 Thomas Owen 7 Richardus Johnsonus 4	
Harley MS 6211	1594	Ludlow School	The 37 th anniversary of Queen Elizabeth's reign.	56	14	Each of the contributors contributed 4 poems: 1 in elegiacs, 2 in asclepiads, 1 in sapphics. They are: Franciscus Garbettus Edward Cornwallis Thomas Marstonus Davidus Williams Carolus Bailius Robertus Ruscollus Robertus Harleius Henricus Bailius Franciscus Richardus Richardus Cornewailus Richardus Foxus Gulielmus Marstonus Richardus Edwinus Richardus Blewus	14 elegiacs, 28 asclepiads (14 each in two different asclepiad metres), 14 sapphics

Royal 12 A XLI	1597	Westminster School	Complimentary verses to Elizabeth I by boys of Westminster School	121	21	T. Aylesbury 6 T. Kempe 4 (2 Greek) W. Negose 4 (1 Greek) G. Hamden 3 (1 Greek) F. James 2 E. Martin 2 (1 Greek) H. Mompesson 16 (4 Greek) J. Wibarne 2 W. Maxey 2 T. Harlowe 4 (1 Greek) H. Floyde 6 P. Price 4 G. Hancock 14 (2 Greek) P. Privell 7 (2 Greek) F. Sheires 7 E. Gunter 13 (2 Greek) R. Blower 4 I. Blaxton 10 (3 Greek) R. Lawson 4 T. Ellis 5 R. Twist 1 Anonymous 1	55 elegiacs, 19 hexameters, 6 hendecasyllables, 7 asclepiads [three different types], 6 sapphics [stanzas and stichic], 3 alcaics, 3 iambics [distichs and catalectic dimeters], 3 polymetric [three different metres]
Royal MS 12 A XXVIII	1610-2	Winchester College	Verses inviting a visit from Henry, Prince of Wales, by members of Winchester College	99 (incl. 11 Greek)	None	No names given.	86 elegiacs, 1 iambics, 1 hexameters

Royal MS 12 A LVIII	1633	Westminster School	King Charles I's return from Scotland in 1633	29	27	R Meade 1 W. Herbert 1 Abr. Cowley 2 (both English) Ge. Croyden 1 H. Greifly 1 J. Nicholas 2 (incl. 1 English) P. Samnayes 1 W. Croyden 1 T. Morecocke 1 H. Ramsay 1 G. Younge 1 W. Towers 1 (English) N. Ducke 1 R. Lydall 1 S. Jackson 1 T. Isham 1 N. Nelson 1 R. Sandys 1 H. Goldwell 1 P. Drinkewater 1 W. Smith 1 E. Haward 1 L. Phillipps 1 T. Cauldwal 1 D. Williams 1 T. Welsitt 1 T. Hoskins 1	15 elegiacs, 6 hexameters, 3 alcaics, 1 polymetric
Royal MS 12 A LX	1636	Winchester College	King Charles I's visit to Winchester.	84 (incl. 4 Greek)	None	No names given.	51 elegiacs, 10 hexameter, 4 hendecasyllables, 2 iambic dimeter, 5

							iambic trimeters, 1 pythiambic, 2 sapphics, 1 carmen figuratum, 1 asclepiad, 1 unknown metre, 1 pentameter, 1 polymetric
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Appendix B – BL Royal MS 12 A XXX

* The named speaker or dialogue column indicates poems spoken in a specific persona (rather than that of the schoolboy author) or in which two or more named speakers are in conversation.

Poem	Poet	Title	Metre	Acrostic	Named speaker or dialogue*	Notes
	W. Malim	<i>De aduentu gratissimo ex maxime exoptato Elizabethæ nobilissimæ ac illustrissimæ Reginæ Angliæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ, fidei defensatricis, ad has arces Vindesorenses suas Ætonensium scholarium maximè triumphans ouatio.</i>	Elegiacs			This poem is in Greek and also contains a Greek title, which simply reads 'To the most honoured and revered Queen of Britain, Elizabeth'.
		<i>In allusionem nominis Elizabethæ Reginæ</i>	Elegiacs			A poem on the Hebrew etymology of Elisabeth's name (note in Money's edition points out mistakes in the Hebrew transcription of her name).
Epigramm a 1	Watts	<i>Ad Libellum</i>	Elegiacs			Connection with closing poem, <i>Epigramma 73</i>
Epigramm a 2	Bounde		Two alcaic stanzas			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 3	Bounde		Hexameters			
Epigramm a 4	Fletcher		Two sapphic stanzas			Addresses Elizabeth

Epigramm a 5	Fletcher		Elegiacs			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 6	Kirkham		Hendecasyllables			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 7	Kirkham		Elegiacs			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 8	Kirkham		Iambic trimeters			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 9	Kirkham		Eight sapphic lines and one adonic			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 10	Fletcher	<i>Ecloga Interloquutores Elisabetha Regina, et Angligenæ.</i>	Elegiacs		Dialogue	Elizabeth and the English are the speakers
Epigramm a 11	Bounde		Hexameters	Acrostic		Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 12	Watts	<i>Anglia loquitur.</i>	Elegiacs		Speaker (England)	
Epigramm a 13	Fletcher		Elegiacs	Multiple acrostic		Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 14	Longe	<i>Rex velit integra, nemo non eadem volet sectarier.</i>	Elegiacs	Multiple acrostic		Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 15	Henson		A normal sapphic stanza, followed by an unusual five-line one.			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 16	Watts	<i>Ad Angliam mœstam consolatio.</i>	Hexameters			Note that although there is no character as speaker here, this poem addresses England.
Epigramm a 17	Francklinne		Iambic dimeters			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 18	Kinge		Hexameters			Addresses Britain
Epigramm a 19	Kinge		Iambic trimeters			Addresses Britain
Epigramm a 20	Dunninge		First Archilochian (as Horace 4.7) hexameters			Addresses Elizabeth

			and dactylic hemistichs			
Epigramm a 21	Dunninge		Hexameters			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 22	Ihonson		Four sapphic stanzas			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 23	Ihonson		Iambic trimeters			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 24	Broune		Asclepiadic lines (first asclepiad, as in Horace 1.1)			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 25	Boughan	<i>Mars loquitur</i>	Four sapphic stanzas		Speaker (Mars)	On the queen's skill in war. Like epigramma 59, this poem discusses Anglo-French relations; it is more subtle though!
Epigramm a 26	Boughan	<i>Mercurius loquitur</i>	Second asclepiadic		Speaker (Mercury)	On Elizabeth's skill in speaking
Epigramm a 27	Boughan	<i>Pietas loquitur</i>	An unusual lyric form: phalaecean hendecasyllables and sapphic lines, with final adonic. (cf. Boethius 3.10)		Speaker (Piety)	Logically, on Elizabeth's piety
Epigramm a 28	Driwood		Hexameters			
Epigramm a 29	Driwood		Iambic trimeters			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 30	Hixon		Hexameters			Not addressing anyone specifically, but clearly speaking for the people 'our safety is in her, and we all fled to her protection'
Epigramm a 31	Hardelewe		Elegiacs	Acrostic		Addresses God

Epigramm a 32	Lakes		Elegiacs			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 33	Hunt		Hexameters			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 34	Forthe		Iambics			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 35	Flemming e		Four sapphic stanzas			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 36	Flemming e		Asclepiadic lines (first asclepiad, as in Horace 1.1)			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 37	Watts		Hexameters			Addresses Elizabeth (and Britain in l.16)
Epigramm a 38	Fletcher	<i>Vindesora loquitur</i>	Five alcaic stanzas		Speaker (Windsor)	
Epigramm a 39	Bounde		Elegiacs			Addresses Elizabeth and Britain; encourages the queen to marry.
Epigramm a 40	Bounde		Elegiacs			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 41	Kirkham		Hexameters			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 42	Longe		Elegiacs			Addresses Elizabeth and Eton and Windsor
Epigramm a 43	Lakes		Elegiacs	Acrostic		Speaker addresses Windsor at the start, wishing for it to look like a pastoral scene: 'Let painted images of the nymphs of wooded valleys stand around the famous buildings, leaping together on multi-coloured grass. Let Dryads tire out the deep groves with

						deeply resounding song, let the rough shepherd's pipe breathe out sweet melodies. Let Faunus breathe rustic notes on his reed pipe; hold out your arms in happiness, goddesses of the countryside.' He tells Windsor how to address Elizabeth and in this address to the queen alludes to the loss of Le Havre.
Epigramm a 44	Kinge	<i>Ecloga interloquutores Ætona & Vindesora</i>	Unusual metre: Sapphic and asclepiadic lines (similar to sapphic + glyconic in Boethius and Buchanan)		Dialogue between Eton and Windsor	At the end of the dialogue both address God (l. 29-30) 'O Poli rector Deus alme summi Qui das omne bonum, et cum placet eripis,...'
Epigramm a 45	Fletcher		Sapphic hendecasyllables (stichic) – found in Seneca and Boethius	Double acrostic		Addresses Britain and God.
Epigramm a 46	Dunninge		Hexameters			Addresses Elizabeth and England
Epigramm a 47	Bounde	<i>Anglia loquitur</i>	Six sapphic stanzas		Speaker (England)	Addresses Elizabeth and God

Epigramm a 48	Bounde	<i>Elisabetha loquitur</i>	Three sapphic stanzas		Speaker (Elizabeth)	Content very similar to Fletcher's <i>Epigramma 10</i> Addresses Britain and God
Epigramm a 49	Standleye		Iambic dimeters			Does not address anyone, but again the speaker is speaking for all pupils: 'Therefore we rejoice greatly that she has come to this house.'
Epigramm a 50	Hilles	<i>Britannia loquitur</i>	Four asclepiadic stanzas	Acrostic	Speaker (Britain)	Similar in sentiment to <i>Epigramma 38</i>
Epigramm a 51	Lane		Hendecasyllables			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 52	Gibson		Hexameters			
Epigramm a 53	Hunt		Adonics (as in Boethius 1.7)	Acrostic		Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 54	Henson		Elegiacs	Acrostic		Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 55	Flemmyng e		Six asclepiadic stanzas	Acrostic (text formed is English)		Addresses Elizabeth, God and Britain
Epigramm a 56	Fletcher	<i>Carmina Sotadea quæ retró metiuntur, si á Pentametro incipias.</i>	Elegiacs (Sotadean verses which also scan backwards – see title)			Addresses Elizabeth and England
Epigramm a 57	Boughan		Elegiacs			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 58	Longe		Sapphic lines			Does not address anyone, but again the speaker is speaking for the pupils: 'Let each person now happily

						celebrate lively dances (...) because our happy Queen has sought our homes and household gods...'
Epigramm a 59	Fletcher	<i>Ad Reginam victoriæ amissæ consolatio. Ecloga interloquutores Angli milites & Regina.</i>	Elegiacs		Dialogue (between the English soldiers and Elizabeth)	
Epigramm a 60	Drywoodde		Eight sapphic stanzas			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 61	Kirkham		Seven asclepiadic stanzas			Addresses Elizabeth and peoples/nations
Epigramm a 62	Bounde		Hexameters	Acrostic		Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 63	Boughan		Elegiacs	Acrostic		Addresses Elizabeth. The speaker wishes the queen the presence of figures which could be regarded as 'pastoral': Philomela and other birds, Diana, Latonia (guardian of the groves), a chorus of nymphs, Dryads, Satyrs, deer
Epigramm a 64	Longe		Hexameters			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 65	Wattes		Ten alcaic stanzas			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 66	Francklinne		Hexameters	Double acrostic		Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 67	Flemmyng		Sapphic lines	Double acrostic		Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 68	Fletcher		Elegiacs			Addresses Elizabeth

Epigramm a 69	Fletcher		Hexameters	Multiple acrostic		Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 70	Kirkhamm e		Elegiacs			Addresses Elizabeth
Epigramm a 71	Bounde		Sapphic lines with final adonic			Addresses Elizabeth. Also mentions the French enemy.
Epigramm a 72 – erroneous ly labelled 71 in MS	Watts		Elegiacs			Addresses Elizabeth and advocates a marriage with Robert Dudley.
Epigramm a 73	Fletcher		Elegiacs			Addresses the muses and the book.
			Elegiacs			The poem concerns the Eton arms. It follows the prose at the end of the volume, presumably written by Malim; a prayer asking for preservation from the plague, which is concluded with the word 'finis'. Addresses Elizabeth.

Appendix C – Comparison of Fletcher’s *Epigramma 59* with Livy’s *Ab Urbe Condita, Liber IX*.

This document demonstrates similarities in phrasing. In other places, Fletcher has so creatively rephrased Livy’s story that no verbal similarities remain.

Giles Fletcher the Elder, <i>Epigramma 59</i>	Livy, <i>Ab Urbe Condita</i> Lib. 9
<p>Legatos Romam transmittit Pontius acer Ad res dedendas, et repetenda bona. (l.43-4)</p> <p>Ob fœdus pacis ruptum, legatio nostra Adversus nobis expiat ista Deos. (l. 47-8)</p> <p>In præda illorum res captas nempe remisi, Quas nostras belli iure fuisse, scio. (l. 51-2)</p> <p>Vltrá quid Romane tibi? Ioue iudice? vel quid Debeo nunc demum fœderis ipse tibi? (l. 57-8)</p> <p>Bella priora quidem Diis gessimus hostibus ipsis, Auspice sed fient bella futura Deo. Haec non læta magis quam prospera vaticinatus, Educit totam in prata decora manum. Mox ad Caudinas furcas sua castra latenter Ponit, et insidias hoc struit ille modo. Pastorum ornatu bis tres et quatuor ornat Tyrones, ouium tradit et hiisce gregem. Ac Romanorum fuerant vbi castra locata Illic hosce suas pascere iussit oues. Omnibus ac etiam sermo constaret vt idem In prædatores cum cecidere, iubet. Iamque per id tempus vulgatus is antea rumor Ad Romanorum regia castra venit: Samnites falsos in Apulis finibus esse Et Lucerinos obsidione premi. Ast auxere fidem pastores antea capti Præcipuè, sermo quòd fuit vnus eis: Haud dubium fuerat sociis quin Romula terra Tum Lucerinis ferre volebat opem: (l. 65-84)</p>	<p><i>Is, ubi legati qui ad redendas res missi erant pace infecta redierunt</i> (9.1.3)</p> <p>‘Ne nihil actum’ inquit ‘hac legatione censeatis, expiatum est quidquid ex foedere rupto irarum in nos caelestium fuit.’ (9.1.3)</p> <p>Res hostium in præda captas, quae belli iure nostrae videbantur, remisimus; (9.1.5-6)</p> <p>Quid ultra tibi, Romane, quid foederi, quid dis arbitris foederis debeo? (9.1.7)</p> <p>Proinde, cum rerum humanarum maximum momentum sit quam propitiis rem, quam aduersis agant dis, pro certo habete priora bella aduersus deos magis quam homines gessisse, hoc quod instat ducibus ipsis dis gesturos. Haec non læta magis quam uera uaticinatus, exercitu educto circa Caudium castra quam potest occultissime locat. Inde ad Calatiam, ubi iam consules Romanos castraque esse audiebat, milites decem pastorum habitu mittit pecoraque diuersos alium alibi haud procul Romanis pascere iubet praesidiis; ubi inciderint in prædatores, ut idem omnibus sermo constet legiones Samnitium in Apulia esse, Luceriam omnibus copiis circumsedere, nec procul abesse quin ui ciant. Iam is rumor ante de industria uulgatus uenerat ad Romanos, sed fidem auxere captiui eo maxime quod sermo inter omnes congruebat. Haud erat dubium quin Lucerinis opem Romanus ferret, bonis ac fidelibus sociis, simul ne Apulia omnis ad praesentem terrorem deficeret: (9.1.11-2.5)</p>

<p>Ad Lucerinos via se findebat in ambas Partes: prima patens, arcta secunda fuit. Artem sed Natura locis ostendit in istis (In multis aliis sicut amica) suam. Saltus angusti, syluosi, montibus inter Se iuncti multis, sunt ibi nempe duo. Et iacet inter eos herbosus, apertus, et altus, Inclusus medio campus aquosus ibi. Herbosum campum hunc ast ingrediare priusquam. Angustos multos ingrediare locos. Ac eadem qua tu tete insinuaueris á te Est retró rursus vel repetenda via, Vel tibi per saltum magis arctum, difficilemque, Est euadendum, hac si cupis ire tamen. (l. 87-100)</p> <p>Huc cum Romani venerunt, illaqueatos Se cernunt hostis fraude doloque malo. Mox dolor illorum mentes inuadit acerbus, Torpor et insolitus pectora mœsta tenet. (l. 101-104)</p> <p>Tum senio lassum, longa tardumque senecta, Forté habuit sæuus Pontius iste patrem: Consult hunc ergó legatis illicò missis, Quid primum faceret rebus in hiisce suis. Ille senex tardus quamuis, in corpore lasso Vis animi fuerat, consiliique tamen. Qui postquàm ad Furcas Caudinas audiit omnes Clausos Romanos asperitate loci, Mox dimittendos hos censuit inuiolatos, Ad Romæ patriæ, mœnia celsa suæ. (l. 121-30)</p> <p>Is cum consultum rursus se vidit ab illo, Multandos omnes censuit esse nece. Hæc responsa duo cum Pontius audiit acer, Discordi pacto dissimilique data: Corpore in affecto quanquam cum viribus, vná Rebatur mentem consenuisse patris, Consensu tamen est cunctorum victus, vt ipsum Abscissis remoris in sua castra vocet. Mox venit ecce senex grandæuus Herennius ille (Hoc docet vt Liuius nam sibi nomen erat) Aduectus plaustro in Samnitum castra superba Ac ità tum fatus dicitur esse feré, Nil responsorum mutaret vt ille priorum, Aut hoc, aut illo vellet at esse modo. (l. 133-46)</p>	<p>Duae ad Luceriam ferebant viae, altera praeter oram superi maris, patens apertaque se quanto tutior tanto fere longior, altera per Furculas Caudinas, breuior; sed ita natus locus est: saltus duo alti angusti siluosique sunt montibus circa perpetuis inter se iuncti. lacet inter eos satis patens clausus in medio campus herbidus aquosusque, per quem medium iter est; sed antequam uenias ad eum, intrandae primae angustiae sunt et aut eadem qua te insinuaueris retro uia repetenda aut, si ire porro pergas, per alium saltum artiore impeditiore euadendum. (9.2.6-8)</p> <p>Cum fraus hostilis apparuisset, praesidium etiam in summo saltu conspicitur. (. . .) Sistunt inde gradum sine ullius imperio stuporque omnium animos ac uelut torpor quidam insolitus membra tenet (9.2.9-11)</p> <p>Itaque uniuersi Herennium Pontium, patrem imperatoris, per litteras consulendum censent. Iam is grauis annis non militaribus solum sed ciuilibus quoque abcesserat muneribus; in corpore tamen adfecto uigebat uis animi consiliique. Is ubi accepit ad Furculas Caudinas inter duos saltus clausos esse exercitus Romanos, consultus ab nuntio filii censuit omnes inde quam primum inuiolatos dimittendos. (9.3.5-7)</p> <p>Quae ubi sprete sententia est iterumque eodem remeante nuntio consulebatur, censuit ad unum omnes interficiendos. Quae ubi tam discordia inter se uelut ex ancipiti oraculo responsa data sunt, quamquam filius ipse in primis iam animum quoque patris consenuisse in adfecto corpore rebatur, tamen consensu omnium uictus est ut ipsum in consilium acciret. Nec grauatus senex plaustro in castra dicitur aduectus uocatusque in consilium ita ferme locutus esse, ut nil sententiae suae mutaret, causas tantum adiret: (9.3.7-9)</p>
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<p>Cum natus dixit, nobis anné impedimento Consilium medio si capiatur, erit, Scilicet incolumes vt dimittantur ad ædes, luraque iam victis bellica dentur eis? Hæc inquit nullos sententia nutrit amicos, Aut odii pellit dira venena tetri. Gens ea Romana est quæ victa quiescere nescit, Quos irritasti (nate) tuere Duces. Semper enim memores fuerint huiusce pericli Hos etiam scio par reddere velle pari. Illis cum verò placuit sententia neutra Linquit grandæuus castra superba senex. (l. 147-58)</p> <p>Legatos mittunt peterent vt foedera pacis Æqua piæ primum: sin minus hocce cadat, Scilicet impetrent vt pacis foedera iustæ Vt possint pariter conseruisse manus. Sed debellatum respondit Pontius esse Viribus et victos clamitat esse suis. Et quia ne victi sortem sciuere fateri Hos se missurum sub iuga sæua fore. Legatis ait ac instantibus, vt vel amicam Pacem, vel Martem vellet inire truce Victo ac victori sunt cætera pacta futura Æqua, at vos mittam sub iuga sæua prius. Agro Samnitum decedite, Samnis et æquo Vobiscum viuet foedere, more suo. Si vobis placeant hæ pacis conditiones, Vobiscum feriam foedera pacis ego: Sin minus, ad memet nolite redire, nec vnâ Vobiscum feriam foedera pacis ego. (l. 163-80)</p> <p>Cum siluere diu Lucius cum Lentulus, inter Spemque metumque manens sic sua verba facit. Audiui ô socii patrem sæpissimè charum Dicentem quod non author is vnus erat, Urbis fœdifragis á Gallis ære luendæ Obsidione fera cum propè victa fuit. (l. 185-90)</p> <p>Certé pro patria clarum est succumbere morti, Et clarum est certè vt, salua sit illa, mori. Ac ego pro patria vel me deuouero chara Maiorum vt famæ par mea fama siet, Solus cum solo vel nostris obuius ibo Hostibus, in medios mittere meque volo. Hic patriam ast video, legionum quicquid et heu est,</p>	<p>Cum filius aliquæ principes percontando exsequerentur, quid si media uia consilii caperetur, ut et dimitterentur incolumes et leges iis iure belli uictis imponerentur, 'ista quidem sententia' inquit 'ea est, quæ neque amicos parat nec inimicos tollit. Seruate modo quos ignominia inritaueritis; ea est Romana gens, quæ uicta quiescere nesciat. Viuet semper in pectoribus illorum quidquid istuc praesens necessitas inusserit neque eos ante multiplices poenas expetitas a uobis quiescere sinet.' Neutra sententia accepta Herennius domum e castris est auectus. (9.3.11-13)</p> <p>Et in castris Romanis cum frustra multi conatus ad erumpendum capti essent et iam omnium rerum inopia esset, uicti necessitate legatos mittunt, qui primum pacem aequam peterent; si pacem non impetrarent, uti prouocarent ad pugnam. Tum Pontius debellatum esse respondit; et, quoniam ne uicti quidem ac capti fortunam fateri scirent, inermes cum singulis uestimentis sub iugum missurum; alias condiciones pacis aequas uictis ac uictoribus fore: si agro Samnitium decederetur, coloniae abducerentur, suis inde legibus Romanum ac Samnitem aequo foedere uicturum; his condicionibus paratum se esse foedus cum consulibus ferire; si quid eorum displiceat, legatos redire ad se uetuit. (9.4.1-5)</p> <p>Cum diu silentium fuisset nec consules aut foedere tam turpi aut contra foedus tam necessarium hiscere possent, L. Lentulus, qui tum princeps legatorum uirtute atque honoribus erat, 'patrem meum' inquit, 'consules, saepe audiui memorantem se in Capitolio unum non fuisse auctorem senatui redimendae auro a Gallis ciuitatis (9.4.7-8)</p> <p>Equidem mortem pro patria praeclaram esse fateor et me uel deuouere pro populo Romano legionibusque uel in medios me immittere hostes paratus sum; sed hic patriam uideo, hic quidquid Romanarum legionum est; quæ nisi pro se ipsis ad mortem ruere uolunt, quid habent quod morte</p>
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<p><i>Hic Romanorum lumina nostra vident.</i> Quæ nisi per semet patientur spicula mortis Quidnam morte sua quod tueantur habent? Vrbis tecta aliquis fortassè, et moenia dicat, Et Capitolinæ fortia tecta domus: Immò magis miseram minitantur cuncta ruinam Si deleta siet forsitan ista manus. Hæc quis enim poterit tutari? scilicet ægra Imbellis, labens, languida, fracta cohors. (l. 191-206)</p> <p>Seruamus patriam legiones hasce tuendo, Dedendo ad mortem, prodimus hêu sed eam. Deditio ac foeda est ignominiosaque semper, Dedecus est sæua turpius atque nece. Is sed amor patriæ est, vt tam seruemus eandem Nostra ignominia, quàm nece, si sit opus. Ergo necessariò quod nobis sit subeundum Nos animo forti iam subeamus idem. I Consul, patriam redimas et fortibus armis, Quam quondam Patres ære luere tui. (l. 207-16)</p> <p>Aduentus luctum ac in castris innouat eius, Mœstitiæ causas et dedit ille nouas. In foueam clamant missos se more ferarum, Mœrent quòd fuerat dux sibi nemo viæ Et quàm venissent abituros foedius indè, Se dicunt, magni hoc causa doloris erat. Aspiciunt tradenda suis mox hostibus arma, Et denudandas ense nitente manus. Ante oculos hostile iugum, vultusque superbos Victoris, victi mœstitiamque locant. Agminis inde viam miserandam turpis, et ægri, Per socias vrbes, mentibus vsque librant. Saepè recordantur qui iam sint, quique fuere, Atque per armatos, hostis inermis iter Mœrant se solos sinè ferro, et vulnere victos, Hostes vlscisci nec potuisse suos. Non licuisse sibi gladios hêu stringere mœrent, Et mœrent se non conseruisse manus. Arma sibi frustrá, frustrà data robora dicunt, Et maior vero (vah) dolor ille fuit. (l. 225-44)</p> <p>Hora ignominiae fatalis venit acerbæ, Ac hêu Romanos ad iuga sæua vocat. Imprimis omnes exire iubentur inermes, Extra valla, petunt perniciemque suam. Summi tumque duces propè nudi exercitus huius Sub iuga sunt missi, vt plurima scripta docent.</p>	<p>sua seruent? Tecta urbis, dicat aliquis, et moenia et eam turbam a qua urbs incolitur. Immo hercule produntur ea omnia deleto hoc exercitu, non seruantur. Quis enim ea tuebitur? Imbellis uidelicet atque inermis multitudo. (9.4.10-13)</p> <p>Hic omnes spes opesque sunt, quas seruando patriam seruamus, dedendo ad necem patriam deserimus [ac prodimus]. At foeda atque ignominiosa deditio est. Sed ea caritas patriæ est ut tam ignominia eam quam morte nostra, si opus sit, seruemus. Subeatur ergo ista, quantacumque est, indignitas et pareatur necessitati, quam me di quidem superant. Ite, consules, redimite armis ciuitatem, quam auro maiores uestri redemerunt.' (9.4.14-16)</p> <p>Redintegrait luctum in castris consulum aduentus, ut uix ab iis abstinerent manus, quorum temeritate in eum locum deducti essent, quorum ignauia foedius inde quam uenissent abituri: illis non ducem locorum, non exploratorem fuisse; beluarum modo caecos in foueam missos. Alii alios intueri; contemplari arma mox tradenda et inermes futuras dexteras obnoxiaque corpora hosti; proponere sibimet ipsi ante oculos iugum hostile et ludibria uictoris et uoltus superbos et per armatos inermium iter, inde foedi agminis miserabilem uiam per sociorum urbes, reditum in patriam ad parentes, quo saepe ipsi maioresque erorum triumphantes uenissent: se solos sine uolnere, sine ferro, sine acie uictos; sibi non stringere licuisse gladios, non manum cum hoste conferre; sibi nequiquam arma, nequiquam uires, nequiquam animos datos. (9.5.6-10)</p> <p>Haec frementibus hora fatalis ignominiae aduenit, omnia tristiora experiundo factura quam quae praeceperant animis. Iam primum cum singulis uestimentis inermes extra uallum exire iussi; (...) Primi consules prope seminudi sub iugum missi; tum ut quisque</p>
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<p><i>Tunc vt quisque fuit magè nobilitatus honore, Sic ignominæ spicula sæua tulit.</i> (l. 247-54)</p> <p><i>Fertur & Offilius quidam tum nomine dictus Et virtute sacra, et nobilitate potens: Dixisse, has aures solatia ad omnia surdas, Ac illa in terram lumina fixa grauem: Irarum ingentem molem indicia esse cientis, Ex altis animis magnanimisque simul. Dixit et ingenium vel se nescire Quiritum, Vel tum Samnites magna manere mala.</i> (l. 277-84)</p>	<p><i>gradu proximus erat, ita ignominiae obiectus; tum deinceps singulae legiones.</i> (9.5.11-12;6.1-2)</p> <p><i>dicitur [Ofillius] A. Calaius Oui filius, clarus genere factisque, tum etiam aetate uerendus, longe aliter se habere rem dixisse: silentium illud obstinatum fixosque in terram oculos et surdas ad omnia solacia aures et pudorem intuendae lucis ingentem molem irarum ex alto animo cientis indicia esse; aut Romana se ignorare ingenia aut silentium illud Samnitibus flebiles breui clamores gemitusque excitaturum, Caudinaeque pacis aliquanto Samnitibus quam Romanis tristiores memoriam fore;</i> (9.7.2-5)</p>
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Appendix D – Versions of the *De Literis Antiquæ Britanniae*

The copytext is Fletcher's first eclogue transcribed from the Cecil Papers MS. The column on the right shows passages in the printed version of the poem, included with Phineas Fletcher's '*Sylua Poetica*' (1633), which are not included in the MS. Words in **bold** are basically the same as in the printed edition; **highlighted** words are the same or similar, but have been moved in the later version.

Line nos.	Cecil Papers MS	<i>Sylua Poetica</i> (1633)
	Æcloga I. DE LITERIS antiquæ Britanniae, præsertim Cantabrigiæ, &, quj singula Collegia statuêrunt, ac amplificârunt Æcloga LYCIDAS.	De LITERIS ANTIQUÆ <i>Brittaniæ</i> , Regibus præsertim qui doctrinâ claruerunt, quique Collegia <i>Cantabrigiæ</i> fundârunt.
	Mythicus & Nicias; quorum prior Isidis amnem.	
	Alter ad irriguas habitabat Thamesis vndas.	Chami consederat
	Certabant ætate pares , pugnamquè ciebant.	
	Quis locus Oceani populos, & nostra petentes	
5.	Littora, cum fugerent steriles Permessidos vndas,	
	Ceperat hospitio Musas. Non illa palestræ, Armorumquè fuit, sed auenæ pugna sonantis.	ille <i>Isidis</i> amnem
	Maior erat Niciæ facundæ gratia vocis;	Prætulerat; <i>Grantæ Nicias</i> bifluminis agros.
	Maior Honos, tumuloquè sedens maiora canebat.	
10.	Candida cæsaries, et candida Barba canentj	
	Pendebat, niveæquè ferens insigne Senectæ,	
	Longior á mento pectus veneranda decebat.	
	Illos ad patrij certantes flumina riuoj	
	Audierat LYCIDAS, Grantæ quj pascua circùm f. 4v	
15.	Quinquè per hybernos, totidemquè æstate micantes	
	Vixerat aucupio Soles, dubiusquè sequendj	
	Dum gelidas Chamj frigus captabat ad vndas,	
	Talibus alloquitur vicinium gurgite Riuum.	
	Tu mihi quj molli (vitreus) petis æquora cursu	
20.	(Chame pater) Nymphisque sacro das iura sub amne	
	Dicto, (quandoquidem nostros ab origine Mundi	

25.	<p>Alluis, æternisque secas erroribus Agros) Quid priscj coluere viri, quibus artibus æuum Ducere præteritæ Gentes, & prisca solebant Tempora, cùm totum populo crescente per Orbem Ista nouis cœpit Tellus florere colonis? Et, (si qua est non vana Fides) quis nostra petentes Littora, Mæonidas peregrina per æquora secum Vexerit, hospitiumquè tuas erexit ad vndas?</p>	<p>Unde genus veteres quondam duxere <i>Britanni</i>; Quique patres priscique duces, quo tempore primùm</p>
30.	<p>Nam potes, &, proauos per quos hæc tanta Minores Inuisunt benefacta, decet memorare Nepotes. f. 5r</p>	<p>Vexit, et hæc vestras posuit monumenta per undas.</p>
35.	<p>Sic tibi, quæ ramis superimpendentibus vmbras Præbeat, accrescens in margine floreat Alnus. Nec tibi, quæ crebris limosa paludibus Elis Cingitur, informes addant se fluctibus vluæ. Hæc ait, & manibus LYCIDAS ter flumina libans Populea totidem percussit arundine ripam Cum sonitu, magnoquè locum clamore repleuit:</p>	
40.	<p>Quum Pater ignotæ subita formidine vocis Attonitus, summa madidum caput extulit vnda. Cæruleus tergo dependet carbasus, aures Canna tegit, patulis fluit humida naribus vnda. Innumeræ circùm Nymphæ, Regemquè secutæ</p>	
45.	<p>Naiades denso circùm sese agmine fundunt. Thespio Drymoquè, Lygæaquè, Cymodicequè, Eurynomequè, Thoequè soror, Nomolæaquè Virgo, Flaua genas, et flaua comas, sed candida vultu. Et niueo Leuce et croceo velamine Xantho f.5v</p>	<p>Et simul emersae vitreo de gurgite nymphe</p>
50.	<p>Colla relaxantes nitidos per eburnea crines. Cumquè Diodoria Themis, Oceantides olim, Nunc fluuij Nymphæ. Graijs et nota Berose, Inter & Assyrias eadem celeberrima Nymphas. Quæ celer Euphrates Eois voluitur vndis. Insignis facie, sed plusquàm nubilis æuo.</p>	

55.	<p>Et Melane, & Crocale, cumquē Æmone discolor Anthos. Chrusonequē simul gemmis insignis, et auro. Omnes indigenæ: similisquē per omnia Domino Ora rosis, et labra fauis, et colla ligustris.</p>	
60.	<p>Quamquē peregrinis genuit sub fluctibus Arnon, Sed nunc Angligenas degens Polydora per amnes. Carminē quæ Reges cecinit, populosquē Britannos. Omnes carminibus seriem percurrere doctæ Annorum, & longis deducere tempora fastis. Ipse tenens vnam manibus, sceptrumquē decorum</p>	
65.	<p>Pellibus inclusum nigris, et laspide librum f. 6r Extulit; hoc illi dederat venerabile munus Mnemosyne, quam longa penes custodia famæ. Mnemosyne Aonidum mater longæua sororum.</p>	
70.	<p>lussit et hos pitij veteris monumenta referre, Prima quod ad Chami flauentes cæperat vndas, Quum peteret fines natis comitata Britannos. Illic Argolicis, Latijquē instructa Camanis Scripserat alma parens, quicquid memorabile terris Contigit, Antiquas vrbes, et nomina Regum,</p>	
75.	<p>Et priscos habitus gentis, moresquē Britannæ, Et quodcunquē iuuēt seros meminisse Nepotes. Hunc replicans, veterumquē petens exordia rerum, Plenaquē concutiens fluuijalj tempora musco, Talia sedatis memorans cantabat ab vndis.</p>	
80.	<p>Hæc primū Oceani circunsona fluctibus arua Indigenæ coluere viri, quj gurgite vecti Cæruleo ignotas pelagi venēre per vndas, f. 6v Lustrabantque solum ratibus, cælestia postquā Flumina cæperunt iterum se condere Ponto;</p>	
85.	<p>Humanumque genus rediuiuis crescere terris. Senior his ætas nomen dedit acre Gygantum.</p>	Hinc alii indigenas, alii dixēre Gigantes:

90.	<p>Quandoquidem primis Mundi florentibus annis Intemerata diù seruantes semina rerum, (Semina posterior vires quibus abstulit ætas) Ingentem valido referebant corpore molem. Nec minor bis animi virtus et purus honestj Ardor erat, manuumquæ regens vis altera vires, Arrectiquæ Polo sensus, plenæquæ Deorum Numine, spirabant altæ sublimia Mentes.</p>	<p>Quippe vicens mundi, nec adhuc incesta juvenus</p>
95.	<p>Primus sceptrâ nouæ tenuit regalia gentis SAMOTHEUS, regni quj clausos æquore fines Extulit, et magna Celtas dititione tenebat.</p>	
100.	<p>Arduus huic animi Vigor, et vis ardua mentis Dijs similis, magnaquæ sedens grauitate docebat Iustitiam, rectumquæ sequi, nec spernere Cælum. f. 7r</p>	<p>Hinc quoque <i>Disceltas</i> cognomine dictus <i>Ibero</i>.</p>
105.	<p>Hinc quibus hæc primùm Tellus atquæ arua patebant Samothei, tumidisquæ maris quæ clauditur vndis Insula, Samotheæ tenuit per secula nomen. Proximus huic, præstans animis, et corpore MAGUS Additur. Europæ primas quj finibus Vrbes Condidit, et nondum bellis assueta moueri Parua suburbanis circundedit Oppida fossis.</p>	<p>Emicuit, magnaquæ sedens gravitate verendas Justitiæ leges, & summi jura Tonantis</p> <p>Sancta docens, validis lapsos retrahebat habenis, Et memori sanos figebat pectore mores.</p>
110.	<p>Qui vigor ingenij, quantus sub pectore feruor Iustitiæ et pietatis amor? quibus artibus idem Florebat? sed Fama virum mutabilis æui Ire per ætates vetuit, perquæ ora nepotum Additur huic SARRON regni possessor auiti, (Altera Samotheo sceptri quem diuidit ætas) Relligione sacer prisca; Quj sponte sequuto</p>	<p>Et studiis sceptrisque potens successit auitis. Quanta viri virtus!</p>
115.	<p>Imposuit leges populo; gentemquæ renatam Artibus instruxit varijs. quas ceperat ipse</p>	<p>qui fræna paterni Accipiens, virtute pari moderatur, & arte:</p> <p>Castaliis abduxit aquis, & <i>Pæone</i> Musas, Atque urbes habitare dedit, tutosque penates;</p>

	A puero, primoquē tener cum lacte bibisset. Non illo quisquam imperium tractante solebat Tardus, et inuitam præbere docentibus aurem. f. 7v	Exosas nemorum Divas, turbæque procacis Qui syluà errabant petulantia numina <i>Panum</i> : Vix clausa intactum servant etiam arce pudorem.
120.	Idem omnes ardor diuinæ mentis agebat. Ipsæ adeo syluas artes, et dura colebant Rura, nec indoctum virtus temnebat aratrum. Et facilem ducj formabat ad omnia Gentem. Nec minus egregia Populos sub pace regebat,	Hunc pius et regno <i>Druis</i> , & virtute paterna Insequitur, <i>Druidasque</i> suo de nomine vates Instituit, (<i>Druidas</i> sanctum genus:) ipse ferinos Lenibat monitis cultus; astra ipse, polosque (Nativas animæ sedes) patriamque docebat Cœlestam, & semper crescentia secula mentis.
125.	Sequana quos inter refluo se gurgite fundit, Quiquē Ararm Rhenumquē bibunt, flauumque Visurgin. Quosquē lauat vitreo formosus gurgite Mosa. Inde DRVYS viridi redimitus tempora quercu. Insequitur, cuius varijs sapientia regnis	Successit patri <i>Bardus</i> , justusque regebat Arbiter, & populo, & Musis gratissimus idem. Ille lyra heroas solitus, divosque sonare, (Felices animas) & fortia condere facta. Scriptorum meritos nobis invidit honores Livor edax, livor, Musisque inimica vetustas.
130.	Claruit, et totum famâ perrexit in orbem. Quâ videt Auroram Phœbus, diuersaquē lustrat Æquora, quâquē Polum Tellus prospectat vtrumquē. Hinc Dryades prisco referentes nomine Regem. Abdita qui semper scrutantes semina rerum	Vsque tamen nomen <i>Bardi</i> manet, usquē poëtis Cantandum, et tanti haud indebita gloria regis. Fortunata nimis tali sub principe talis Insula, cum veræ populo virtutis amanti Dux, comes, & merces princeps fuit ipse! canebat Ipse heros heroas, & ipse canetur ab illis;
135.	Montibus errabant patrijs, lucosquē colebant Frondebis horrentes nemorum, quâ plurima Quercus Surgeret, ingentiquē timorem spargeret umbra. f. 8r Sæpius hic stridens squamis ardentibus Anguis Pectora terrebat monitu, vox sæpè volucrum	Instituitque sacras (pars ipse haud ultima) Musas. At mox deterior paulatim incedere terris, Decolor, & ferro propior iam cœperat ætas. <i>Samotheam</i> invadit vastos feras <i>Albion</i> artus, <i>Neptuni</i> soboles; Illi simul improbus ibat <i>Mars</i> comes, horrendoque furens <i>Bellona</i> flagello: Quos lacerà infelix sequitur discordia palla, Et furor, & cædes: pulsæ secedere Musæ In latebras cœpère procul; procul impia vitant Bella, iterumque umbras turbatæ atque otia captant.
140.	Præscia, venturos cantabat ab ilice casus. Sæpius à veteri sumentes omina quercu, Quærenti populo non irrita fata canebant. Maxima hos sequitur BARDVS, quj carmina pinus Et numeros docuit concordibus addere neruis.	Ille ferox domitam victoris nomine gentem Induit, <i>Albionisque</i> haud longo nomine dixit.
145.	Hinc Bardi prisco Regis cognomine Vates, Cantantes, mirata prior quos audijt ætas. Hij varios cæli motus, Solisquē labores, Nocturnosquē Polo tractus, et cornua Lunæ Cantabant, tremulisquē micantia Sydera flammis,	

150.	Arcturum, mæstasquè Hyadas, cæloquè uaganter Oriona truemquè Canem, geminosquè Triones. Vnde ruant Venti, quæ vis Maria alta fatigat, Vt modò subsidant placidé freta, littora rursus Horribilj clamore petant; vbi nubila diues	Mox infelici <i>Troianus</i> origine <i>Brutus</i> Fatis appulsus venit, monitisque <i>Dianæ</i> . Ille manu sævam <i>Albionis</i> de semine gentem Fundit, & immanes (informia monstra) Gigantes Dejicit; is populo leges noménque <i>Britanno</i> , Dulciaque immoriens florentibus otia natis,
155.	Gignat Hyems gelidæquè rigescant grandine Nubes. f. 8v Vnde habeant tantas horrenda tonitrua voces, Quidue petant, qua mota tremat formidine Tellus. Præcipuè gentes, pugnataquè prælia Regum Solemnes inter Epulas, Mensasquè canebant;	Imperiúmque suis, divisáque regna reliquit. At <i>Scythicâ</i> fessus glacie, <i>Rhodopéque</i> nivali, Bella ferens, cladésque <i>Humber</i> , <i>Nomadumque</i> phalanges, <i>Cambrum</i> acie, juvenémque ferox domat <i>Albanactum</i> ; (Heu fortes nequicquam animas!) quos sanguine victor Mox <i>Scythico</i> , hostilique piabat cæde <i>Locrinus</i> . Ast Aquilis <i>Humber</i> pulsus, fractisque manipulis, Cedere paulatim, & lento vestigia gressu Ad fluvium (turgens irâ) impropere referre: Acrius incumbunt <i>Britones</i> , turbantque, premúntque Ictibus: is tectus telisque undisque <i>Britanno</i> Infelix vitam, noménque reliquerat amni. Jamque etiam tumet, & Regali tardior <i>Humber</i> Incessu, nunquam placidis irascitur undis: <i>Marte</i> perit victus, <i>Neptunóque</i> obrutus <i>Humber</i> . At <i>Scythico</i> captus vultu, fletúque decoro, Captivam implorat victor; lacrymisque <i>Locrinus</i> Fœmineis cessit, (madidis immersus ocellis)
160.	Sextus LONGHO potens, quem maximus alter ab illo Insequitur BARDUS; præstantes artibus ambo. Nondum sanguinej vesana licentia ferri Creuerat, aut clausas bello Mars terruit vrbes. Sed patriæ memores pænæ, veterumquè malorum	
165.	Humida cùm rupto stagnaret ab æquore Tellus Terribiljquè horrore Polus noua flumina Cœlo Spargeret, et prisci sobolem submergeret æuj, Sponte sua Gentes pulchro se more tenebant, Crebraquè mactantes solennes dona per aras	
170.	Numinis agresti placabant sanguine dextrâm, Pace virens gaudebat Humus, Pax læta per agros Ludebat, nostras coluit Pax aurea ripas. Quisque suos tantum fontes; sua flumina quisquè f. 9r Nouerat, hæc raræ stabant ad littora Puppæ.	
175.	Nec Reges, manibus Gladios, sed sceptrâ gerebant. Inquè feras tantùm conuertere prælia nôrant, Sylvarum spolijs læti, rigidisque ferarum Exuuijs placidis iidem venatibus æuum Ducebant, seraquè domum sub nocte redibant.	Mox exoravit, thalâmicque in parte locavit. At miser implexæ (miser, & suspensus amator) Fraude domus, saxóque tegens mala furta doloso, (Ah!) miseram illicito <i>Sabrinam</i> sustulit igne. Jámque decem virgo septémque reliquerat annos Nubilis, uxori tandem cùm læsa patebant Fœdera vesanæ, & spreti perjurâ lecti. Nec queritur, lugétve; acri furit, æstuat ira; Seráque corde viri pressans, animóque volutans
180.	Donec paulatim decrescere mentibus ardor Numinis ac spreti cæpit reuerentia Cœlj. Iamquè Nefas iterùm, vasto sub gurgite Ponti	

185.	<p>Quod priùs obruerat Pater, et vis Frausque, Dolusque Contemptorque Polj Fastus, cui naufragus Error It comes, in liquidas audax irrepserat auras. Nil illj purgasse solum cælestibus vndis Profuit, aut scelerum mersisse sub æqore stirpes. Creuerat Impietas, veterumquè oblita malorum Extulit infaustam pænâ fæcundior Herbam.</p>	<p>Crimina, <i>Marte</i> fero mendacem, armisque virago Aggreditur Regem, quâ plenus ditia culta Irrigat, & tumidâ <i>Severnus</i> volvitur undâ. Ille acies bello fractas, captósque maniplos Indignatus, atrox stricto sibi pectora ferro (Fœmineis bis jam domita armis pectora) rupit. Regem fida comes pellex (miserabile corpus) Procubuit super, & tepidos misera induit enses. At matris fato infelix exterrita virgo,</p>
190.	<p>Tum Pietas niueis fugiens trans æqora pennis Flebilis has primùm Terras, et littora liquit. f. 9v Priscaquè Relligio profugam comitata Sororem; Diuersas petijt terras, vbi flumina voluit Iordanus, cælo quondam gratissimus Amnis,</p>	
195.	<p>Iam (ne tale aliquid frustra finxisse putetur Posteritas) meritò poteras dixisse Gygantes, (Seu quid peius habes) quos hæc tulit Insula ciues. Arbiter hanc æquj, et scelerum iustissjmus vltor Constituit Gentem terris abolere nefandam;</p>	<p>Dum fugit ultricis vultum <i>Sabrina</i> novercæ, <i>Severni</i> insistens ripis, ubi plena <i>Vitorgum</i> Unda lavat; <i>Severne</i> pater, <i>Severne</i>, ciebat, Cujus ego ripis solita olim, & flumine curvo Ludere; si meritos tuleram tibi semper honores, Si tua flore libens raptò, violisque, rosisque Æquora, si lauro nexis, myrtóque coronis Aspersi, miserere pater morientis & istam (Siqua via est) animam tristi defende novercæ Audiit, & miserans pallentem morte futurâ</p>
200.	<p>Et dimensa nouis transmittere Regna colonis. Iamque viros, et tela ferens vltricia BRVTVS Venerat, Ausoniæ fines, Tiberinaquè linquens Ostia, dum occiduum quærit noua regna per æqor Ille trahens aciem Pelago, clypeataquè secum</p>	
205.	<p>Agmina, quæ patrijs eduxit finibus HEROS, Abstulit immanem Gentem; Troiæquè renatam Auspicijs iterum fœlicibus extulit vrbem, Effinxitquè domos, simulataquè Pergama vinxit, f. 10r</p>	
210.	<p>Et veteris Xanthi dixit cognomine flumen, Nunc vbi cæruleas conuoluit Thamesis vndas, Isidis & Tami cum flumine nomina miscet. Ferrea iam Mundo succrescere cœperat ætas. Omnia Vis poterat. Pietas, virtusque artesque iacebant. Hoc igitur quoniam studijs melioribus æuum</p>	

215.	Posthabitis, ferro penitus, bellisque vacabat, Præteream. Tu, si qua tibi mox digna relatu Occurrent, Regum dum nomina persequor audi. Maximus hinc æuo Natorum maximus armis Fratribus, accepit consortia Regna LOCRINVS	
220.	Ipse regens Loghum citrá, fontesque Sabrinæ, Extulit ad Tuedæ porrectum flumina sceptrum. CAMBER ad Occiduum spectantia littora Solem Antiquosquè suo dixit cognomine Cambros, Quos Dea cæruleus generosis circuit vndis,	
225.	Quique Mothum, Veiumquè colunt, quorumque per agros Spumeus vndoso deuoluitur amne Sabrina. Nunc Wallj tenuere locum pars vltima Gentis, Nec minús Angliseam, sparsasque per æqora Gentes. f. 10v Accipit, Oceani tumidis vbi tunditur vndis	
230.	Mona, sagittiferosque aduerso littore Pictos Prospicit, Euboniam quondam dixere priores. Mænaliden propiùs subit ALBANACTUS ad Arcton, Regnaquè possedit quæ flumine separat Humber, Notus & Oceani Nymphis, & fluctibus Humber,	
235.	Nunc Scotos dixere Ducis de nomine Gentem. At verò thamalamj violantem iura Locrinum, Ardentemquè novos Sabrinæ virginis Ignes. Occidit armatas ducens Regina Cohortes, Vicinoquè nouam submersit gurgite sponsam.	
240.	Vltæ scelus, thalamiquè fidem, ruptosquè Hymenæos, Quam tamen acceptam placidis amplexibus Amnis Abstulit in vitreas sedes, vbi regia Nymphis lura dedit, thalamiquè luibens in honore locauit, Virginis & mersæ dixit de nomine Flumen.	
245.	Hinc MADANVS, nemorumque colens MEMPRICIUS vmbras Venator, qui dum vacuis in montibus errans Tela gerit, rigidisque furens irascitur Apris	Dixit et immersâ <i>Sabrinam</i> a virgine flumen.

250.	<p>Occidit agresti laniatus dente ferarum, f. 11r Sceptraque vix habili gestanda reliquit EBRANCO. Ille nouos populos sumptis maturior armis Addit imperio, placido quos flumine Sueuus Alluit, ingentiquè fouet Germania tractu.</p> <p>Additur his viridis Clypej uelamina gestans BRVTVS, et armorum gaudens splendore LEYLLVS.</p>	<p>Hinc rediens Boreæ populates mœnia <i>Pictas</i> Vicit, ubi pelago nondum confunditur <i>Osa</i>:</p> <p>& à domito rediens Aquilone <i>Leillus</i>, Victor ad Axeas qui condidit oppida ripas,</p> <p>ille novam circumdat mœnibus urbem, Quà piger Eoum versus mare <i>Sturius</i> amnem Dirigit, & refluas nequicquam exturbat arenas.</p>
255.	<p>Hos sequitur pacis studijs insignis, & armis LVDDIVS, imperium varijs his vrbibus auxit. Quos inter præclara nouos Cantuaria muros Extulit, olim ingens, nunc interrupta minantur Mœnia: sic adeo consumit cuncta vetustas.</p>	
260.	<p>Accipit extincto regnum genitore BLADVDVS. Dulcia post habitis quj tractans otia bellis, Artibus ingenij Proauos, studijsquè præibat. Ille Puer, teneri cùm flos adolesceret æuj, Argolicûm populos, magnasquè petebat Athenas.</p>	
265.	<p>Inde peregrina rediens ex vrbe paterno Clarior imperio, studijs clarissimus ibat. Ipsa suas illj Natura recluserat artes, Et Cœlj, Pelagiquè vias, viresquè potentes Herbarum, Quid OLUS, quid læta Sysimbria possint</p>	orbe
270.	<p>Et Casiæ molles, et odoriferæ Calaminthæ. f. 11v Stellarumque Polo certos describere cursus Nouerat, atquè agilj numeros percurrere motu, Immensumquè suis distinguere finibus Orbem.</p>	<p>Et terræ</p> <p>Herbarum; varios idem describere cursus Astrorum, & celeri Nouerat, & magnum distinguere finibus orbem. Ille etiam (horrendum!) trepidantes ignibus undas Nubere sulphureis iussit; Placidam ille salutem Amplexu parere infando, quà turgidus <i>Avon</i> Defluit & medicas jactat <i>Bathonia</i> thermas.</p>

275.	Illius infœlix sequitur post fata LEYRVS, Quem Cordelia, trahens Gallorum è finibus Agmen, Restituit regno profugum, geminasque Sorores Vita Patrem virgo dotalibus expulit agris, Ipsaquè susceptas Regni molitur habenas.	
280.	Ast vbi ter victj tandem vicere Nepotes, Et teneros vinclis onerarent Virginis artus, Non tulit infœlix, miseroquè euicta dolore Dum super alta nouæ fastigia constitit arcis Secretas animæ sedes, morituraquè ferro	et duri tandem pertæsa dolorem Carceris, (ah virgo infelix!) innoxia ferro
285.	Pectora, purpureoquè habitantem sanguine vitam Conscia virtutis, sexusquè oblita, reclusit. Alma sed insontem Tellus miserata Puellam Protinùs è calida manantem cæde cruorem Excepit, solisquè nouos vt sensit amores, Luteolum tepidas florem submitit in auras.	
290.	Nunc quoquè per muros passim, perquè inuia crescens f. 12r Mænia, tectorumquè super fastigia nomen Virginis extinctæ patrio sermone reseruat. At verò solitos Regni dum poscit honores	veteres crescens cordelia muros, Et super alta domus passim
295.	CONDAGIUS, sceptriquè nequit diuortia ferre, Arma mouet, Cambrisquè quater fugientibus, instat, Wallorumquè replens cognato sanguine campos Occupat imperium, Quid non mortalia cogis Pectora, regnandi studio succensa Libido?	Sabrinæque ripas, spes regni, sceptrique insana cupido?
300.	Hinc RIVALLO potens opibus, quem deinde sequitur GVRGVSTVS, rigidusque IAGO, pulcherquè SYSILLVS. CHYNIMACVSquè puer; cui turpis inertia primis Hæserat à cunis, Patriquè similima proles GORBODVS, ignauum ducens inglorius æuum. Additur his curua præcinctus acynace PORREX.	
305.	In Fratrem qui bella mouens, ciuilia sparsit Funera, germanoquè repleuit sanguine campos.	Quem furor, & sceptri rabies vesana nefandas Impulit in cædes: is dum civilia tractat

	<p>Nulla sed Impietas sceleratæ conscia cædis Authorem senibus canescere vidit in annis.</p> <p>Hunc etenim Genitrix fraterna cæde tepentem Occupat, & stricto iugulum mucrone resoluit. Heu scelus, & diræ pietas scelerata Parentis. f. 12v Crudelis Mater, quæ Nati sanguine, Nati Vlta necem, sceleriquè scelus crudelius addens, Et mater facto fuit, & non Mater eodem.</p> <p>315. Subdita post varijs parebant Regibus arua. Quos inter, reliquis præstantior omnibus, armis Vendicat imperium MALMVCIVS, aruaquè solus Possidet, & (nostris ignotum Regibus vsum) Crinibus imposuit primùm victricibus aurum.</p> <p>320. Vltima sed postquam Naturæ debita Fatum Exigeret, Populj Belino fræna reliquit. Sed quid ego Reges memoro, quibus aspera cordj Prælia semper erant, Martemque lacessere ferro. Scilicet ætates, elapsaquè tempora Regni</p> <p>325. Per veterum poteris deducere nomina Regum, Cum quondam Oceanum Patrem gentesque petentes Occiduas, famamquè locj, Gentisquè secutæ, Has primùm Aonides Terras, hæc Regna petebant. Proximus his etenim sese GVRGVNTIVS offert,</p> <p>f. 13r</p> <p>330. Belino genitore satus, quo sceptrā tenente CANTABER has primùm terras, & littora vênit, CANTABER, Hesperidum quj natus origine regum, Oceani lustrabat aquas, fractisquè requirens Nauibus hospitium; plusquàm tamen hospita iunxit</p> <p>335. Fædera, Regalisquè tulit connubia Nataæ. Hunc ego per ripas; & adhûc ignota vagantem Littora, quærentemquè locum, quo figeret vrbem,</p>	<p>Prælia, fraterno fœdavit sanguine dextram. Cædis at auctori rarò veneranda senectus Canitiem, extremumve dedit sine cæde sepulchrum.</p> <p>Cædi animos, animis dextram, dextræ arma ministrans, Occupat, & stricto jugulum mucrone resolvit. Hinc iterum varii miscebant prælia Reges, Donec <i>Brutingenas</i> inter victricia tollens Signa duces, solus regni <i>Mulmucus</i> honores Occupat: hic</p> <p>Scilicet hinc seriem poteris cognoscere gentis <i>Brutigenæ</i>, regnique vices, quo tempore primùm <i>Aones</i> hanc nostras sedem posuère per undas.</p> <p>Et <i>Belinigenæ</i> meruit connubia nataæ. Flumina, lustrantémque</p>
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340.	<p>Talibus aggredior dictis; (sate sanguine Regum Hesperidum luuenis) post tot iam secula votis Exoptate meis; vt te nunc gurgite læto Accipio, libansquè nouj præsagia casus Lætitiæ dulces moueo sub pectore flammæ, Atque equidem meminij mihi talia fata canebat Cæruleus Pelagi Vates, quj flumina Proteûs</p>	Excipio! neque vana movent præsagia mentem.
345.	<p>Temperat, Oceanj primis vbi misceor vndis, Egregium rutilo venturum lumine sydus Finibus Hesperiaë, sacro quod vertice flammæ f. 13v Funderet, & totum radijs aspergeret Orbem. Antè per ignotas iactans mea flumina valles</p>	amnem.
350.	<p>Errabam, nunc Tueda mihj, nunc Humber, & ipse THAMESIS, Angligenum surget Regnator Aquarum. Atquè peregrinos ibit mea Fama per Amnes, Iamquè meum Doris, iam Thetis regia nomen Audiet, applaudentquè meis Nereïdes vndis.</p>	
355.	<p>Quâ refluas inter Pelagi confundor arenas. Quare age prima pedum signans vestigia, muros Aggredere, & captam molire penatibus vrbem, Hic tibi certa Domus, crebris hic Mænia tectis Assurgent, referentquè tuum per secula nomen,</p>	
360.	<p>Doctaquè longinquas spargent monumenta per vrbes. Vos quoquè iam primùm terris saluete Britannis Pierides, Cœlj diuum Genus; otia vobis Certaue venturi promittunt tecta Nepotes. Ille nouo signans fatalem vomere terram</p>	
365.	<p>Extulit ingentem spatijs, & mœnibus vrbem f. 14r Altaquè iactantem sublimes tecta per auras. Hîc locus vrbis erat; vix iam vestigia tantj Apparent operis: sic improbus omnia Mauors Diruit, & seclîs inimica prioribus Ætas.</p>	Effinxitque domos:
370.	<p>Sic iterum insolitas populum traduxit ad artes,</p>	

375.	<p>Constituitquē viros, rigidæ quj pectora Gentis Formarent studijs vitæ melioris ad vsum, Quos secum patrijs HEROS eduxerat aruis. Hæc vestræ (nequē vana fides) natalis origo Vrbis, & à primis infantia ducitur annis. Iamquē nouo VIRTUS herbescens flore virebat, Lætaquē cantantes peragebant otia Musæ.</p>	<p>ad has olim posuit quam <i>Cantaber</i> undas; <i>Cantaber Hesperidūm</i> prognatus origine Regum. Jamque per has passim (veluti <i>Pernessida</i>) ripas, <i>Naiadum</i> plaudente choro, coepēre sorores <i>Pierides</i> resonare modos, & carmina lætæ Cantabant, placidæ cum munere pacis ovantes: Undique collectæ juvenūque senūque catervæ Huc ultrò fluere incipiunt: mox quarta sororum <i>Eumenidum Bellona</i> (dolens cessisse <i>Britannis</i> Finibus ejectam, quam Nox tulit horrida Marti</p>
380.	<p>Donec Barbariem (quam Nox tulit inuida Marti) Alecto patrijs expulsam finibus esse Indignans, stygijs ardens se misit ab vndis. Arma manu, Lethumquē ferens, pauidasque sorores, Terruit, et crebris immiscuit omnia Bellis. Hinc etenim varij tractantes prælia Reges f. 14v Dulcia ciuili, dirimebant otia ferro.</p>	<p><i>Barbariem</i>) trepidāsque Camœnas</p>
385.	<p>Hinc SCOTI celeres, et acutis PICTONES armis, Infestæque acies, his passim finibus olim</p>	<p>dum scepra petunt divisa <i>Britanni</i>,</p>
390.	<p>Indomito quas Marte satus Romanus habebat Omnia vastabant ferro, dum signa reposcunt Euersasquē vlciscj vrbes, quas agmine fuso Vicit Hamadryadas inter VOADICA sorores, Bellatrix: non illa colos, calathasque solebat Sed ferrum versare manu, leuibusque rotarum</p>	<p>Hinc Scotus, & longis innixi Pictones hastis Finibus infusi, retulerunt annua genti Prælia, ducentesque novā cum messe colonos, Impositum plaustri Autumnum ad proxima <i>Tuedæ</i> Flumina captivum secum abduxēre quotannis. Hinc <i>Hybernicolæ</i> ducebant agmina gentes; Hinc & ab ejectis victricia castra <i>Seleuris</i>,</p> <p>Captivósque infensa duces, quos</p> <p>currúque volantes Quadrijugos medios audax inferre per hostes;</p>

395.	Cursibus, ardentes in prœlia ducere Turmas. Aut si compositis florerent otia bellis Figere spumantem longis palaribus Aprum. Frendentesque ciere lupos, assueta laborj, Aptior vt pugnas, redituraque bella moueret. Sic pauidæ siluere diù, solitosque Camœnæ Continuere modos; donec melioribus annjs	Aut pedes
400.	Christiadum toto cœpit Gens crescere mundo, Et Cœli germana Fides, atquè optima rerum Relligio, Auroram, Solymæaque templa relinquens Oceanj populos, gelidamquè reuiseret Arcton. Antiquum hospitium repetens desertaque quondam f. 15r	sparsasque per æquora gentes
405.	Littora: sic magni voluit Deus arbiter æuj. LVCIVS hanc primo per littora nostra vagantem Horrentemquè diù miseræ contagia Gentis Excepit, meritoque Deum veneratus honore Nequitiam posuit vitæ cultusquè prioris.	Viserat;
410.	Ante sacras etenim Quercus, vmbrasque comantes Altorum Nemorum, et cultos formidine lucos Indigenæ coluere, sacrataquè flumina Nymphis, Fixaque per ripas veterum simulachra Deorum Mercurium imprimis, venatricemquè Dianam,	Ante per excelsi sacrata cacumina montis, Pérque lacus, cultósque sacrâ formidine lucos, Imáque frondosas inter labentia valles Flumina <i>Brutigenæ</i> divûm simulachra colebant;
415.	Thetida, Gradiumquè Patrem, cuj prœlia curæ. Ille sacris igitur postquam se merserat vndis, Protinùs infandos ritus abolere sacrorum Incipit, & veterum contemnere numina Diuûm. Excindiquè iubet Lucos, simulachraquè tollj	Protinus auferri veterum simulachra deorum Jussit, & à templis ritus abolere nefandos.
420.	Plurima, quem Templis coluit delira vetustas. Ille suas etiam laudes, & præmia Musis Reddidit, egregiasquè animos accendit ad artes, Lapsaquè per nostras reparauit mœnia ripas, Sed melior Fortuna brevis: nec larga beatis	
425.	Tempora debentur rebus. Vijd, horrida vijd f. 15v	

<p>430.</p> <p>435.</p> <p>440.</p> <p>445.</p> <p>450.</p>	<p>Prœlia, cùm patrij linquentes flumina Sueuj Saxones hos denso complerent agmine Campos. Quas ego tum cædes, quæ tandem funera vidj Attonitus; quoties hæc subter flumina vultus Occuluj, tepidoquè rubentem Sanguine Riuum Stragibus artatus, vix tardus ad æquora mecum Voluebam? quoties posito noua prœlia ferro, Æratasquè micare acies, fractosquè videbam Collatis iterum populos concurrere signis? Hij cupidj nomen penitùs delere Britannum Mœnia vastabant, priscæquè annalia Gentis,</p> <p>Scriptaquè tradebant immitibus omnia flammis. Sic iterum crebris ceciderunt omnia bellis. Non secus, ac quando placidj sub sydere Taurj Cùm primùm in tepidos audent se credere soles Gramina, Plüiades Cœlo lachrymante refusas Præcipitant nubes, & cùm iam plurima Cœlo Tempestas pluuiâ ruit illætabilis vnda. Illa ferens dirum rebus nascentibus omen Sternit agros, viridemquè nouj spem proruît annj. f. 16r Et modò respirat, modò fortius agmine facto Verberat imbre solum, glomerataque flumina voluens Tristia prosternit plorantibus arua colonis, Tunc iterùm (nusquam vestigia tuta patebant) Mæonides sumptis fugêre per aëra pennis. Nostraquè linquebant, ceû quondam Phocidos arua, Daulica vastaret cum barbarus arua Pirantus. Quas tamen antiquam reuocans Sygibertus ad vrbem, Restituit, tectisquè Deas, opibusquè refecit.</p>	<p>arva <i>Vesevi</i></p> <p>Heu! Ego tum quoties Quoties arctatas stragibus undas, Et simul arma ferens,</p> <p>Victricesque volare acies, disiectaque vidi</p> <p>(Heu crudele nefas! Heu dira licentia ferri!)</p> <p>Sic iterum bello incepti periêre labores.</p> <p>Semina) rursus hyems Zephyris ruit horrida pulsus,</p> <p>rursus, velut</p> <p>Tum quoque <i>Marte</i> potens Borealia sceptrâ tenebat <i>Alphredus</i>, quâ pinguis agros interfluit <i>Humber</i>. Ille reversuri motus prædicere solis,</p>
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		<p>Stellarúmque polo casus cognovit, & ortus: Idem <i>Marte</i> potens, studiis clarissimus idem. Proximus huic ævo, sceptri virtutibus idem Proximus, <i>Humbricolæ</i> gentis <i>Celoulphus</i> habenas Accipit; insignem Musis, bellóque potentem Quem cecinit quondam nostro de flumine Nympha <i>Thespio</i>, quæ facta canens, & prælia gentis <i>Christicolæ</i>, veteres decoravit carmine Reges: Posteritas patrio dixit de nomine <i>Bedam</i>. Aspice pennigeris quæ nunc habitata columbis Pastor arundineo stravit mapalia culmo; Hæc domus, hinc nostras carmen resonabat ad undas.</p>
455.	<p>Sed nec adhûc dubiæ sperabant certa Camœnæ Otia, maiorem spondebant sydera cladem. Cum graue longinquas veniens è finibus Agmen Horrendas tulit hinc clades, vbi spumeus alto Labitur amne Tyras, properansquè rapacibus vndis Sarmaticos, Dacosquè inter fluit arbiter agros.</p>	<p>Iamque novum veniens patriis</p>
460.		
	<p>Sanguine tum rursus, multaquè in cæde rubentes Fluximus, Angligenis quotcunque è montibus ortj Irriguas inter valles decurrimus Amnes. Se vidisse negat tam multa Britannica Tellus Funera, quid præter cædes, & funera vidit, f. 16v Dicere mens horret, nil non immane videbat. Sic inter clypeos, & tela sonantia longam Duximus ætatem miseri, cantusque Tubarum Bellantumquè sonos, lamentaquè tristia vulgi Sub trepidis semper mœrentes hausimus vndis. Donec magna ferens NORMANNICUS agmina victor Composuit causas Bellj, regnoquè potitus Opportuna dedit lætantibus omina Musis. Filius hîc etenim primus virtute, sed æuo</p>	<p>Tunc iterum variâ immiscebant prælia gentes Sorte diu; neque <i>Mars</i> semper victoribus idem, Eventusve fuit: bellis &</p>
465.		
470.		<p>Prima dedit pacis Nempe minor, sed forte prior, regnóque paterno</p>

475.	Posterior, doctas studium traduxit ad artes; HENRICUS, fratri contraria fata sequutus, Ille etenim Marti primis assuetus ab annis Militiam coluit, non illo doctior alter Castra per extensos metiri candida funes,	Filius huc nostras hospes concessit ad undas, Dum sequitur fratri contraria castra <i>Roberto</i> .
480.	Vel peditum cuneos, vel Equestres ducere Turmas. Quoque foret melius ducendus in ordine miles Nouerat, & magnis hortari in prœlia verbis. Hunc Syriæ stupuere duces, stupuere niuosum Strymona potantes, gelidique Boristhenis vndas. f. 17r	
485.	Cum luuenis reliquis Heroibus agmina iungens Palmiferi colles Libanj, montemque Sionis Phœbeamquæ Rhodon, Solymæque reposceret urbem. Hunc etiam fractis Tinæ bifrontis ad amnem	
490.	Stragibus, abiectis fugerunt Pictones armis. At minor Aonidum miles melioribus armis Contulit ætatem, pacataquæ castra colebat. Ex illo afflictis melius confidere rebus Mæonides, Regum studijs, opibusque refectæ Cæperunt, poterantquæ, sibi si fata dedissent,	Dum ruit, adversique prior vada fluminis hosti Præripit,
495.	Inuidia vt melior posset fortuna carere. Nam meminij, subito ferrum poscente Tumultu, Mæonides vt tela manu gestare coacta Armaquæ virgineis infesta repellere dextris, Mœnia dum solus, nostrosquæ reposceret agros	stabilémque sibi promittere pacem.
500.	Faunus, et in Musas Nymphas armaret agrestres, Cunctaquæ vastasset, nisj tutæ Palladis armis Fregissent Satyros nequicquàm in bella ruentes, Sed nec adhuc nostras quæ consita cernis ad vndas f. 17v	
505.	Atria Mæonides, turritaque tecta colebant. Exigujs Diuæ contentæ sedibus, olim	

	<p>Flumineas inter Salices, vmbrasquè canebant. Tectaquè arundineis habitabant horrida culmis. Hanc primam tepidos sedem quæ spectat ad Austros</p>	<p>Hæc igitur si fortè tibi monumenta priorum Noscere, <i>Pieridumve</i> bis octo tecta sororum Scire vacat, quibus exurgunt autoribus ædes; Accipe quæ seros deceat meminisse nepotes. Atria prima vides Austrum spectantia, quorum Fida datur tutela Deo, sed nomina Petro?</p>
510.	<p>BALSAMIVS posuit, quj cincta palustribus vndis Elidis obtinuit Præsul bifluminis Arua. Proxima foemineos ostentant atria sumptus, Flebilis Audomari coniux has condidit ædes. Penbrochiæ quj rura cælens Comes Wallosquè regebat Quos videt extremo decedens Vespere Phœbus.</p>	<p>jactant sacraria Uxor <i>Adomari</i> Musis hæc struxit <i>Eliza</i>;</p>
515.	<p>Tertia, quæ gelidis Aquilonibus atria pandunt, HENRICUM memorat, quem fertilis vbere glebæ Et pecorum diues genuit Lancastria fœtu.</p>	<p><i>Henricum</i> autorem memorant, quem fertilis agro,</p>
520.	<p>At quæ culminibus, valuisquè patentibus Euros Aspiciunt, primiquè orientia lumina Solis, MARGARIS infoelix Henricj cæperat Vxor, Dum melior fortuna fuit, nec foemina frustrà Aspera captiuo pro coniuge bella moueret, Post opus incæptum victrix perfecit ELISA. Coniugis auxilio, & fatis melioribus vsa.</p>	<p>Quarta vides nostris quæ surgunt proxima ripis Mœnia? Reginâ domus hæc authore superbit: <i>Margaris, Henrici</i> conjux, hæc condidit olim,</p>
	<p><i>When the MS was bound in with other items, leaves 18-21 were misfolded so that the present order is 20,21,18,19. I have reorganised the pages for this transcription, so they are in the right order.</i></p>	<p>At cùm victa domus tandem <i>Lancastria</i> regno Cederet, & cæso fugeret <i>Regina</i> marito,</p>
525.	<p>f. 18r (f.20r in MS) Altera, nocturno nuper quam percutit igne Vulcanus, mediaquè vlulantes nocte penates Terruit, agnoscit tectj Regalis honorem.</p>	<p>Æmula, non hostis victæ virtutis <i>Eliza</i> Inceptum perfecit opus. Vicina mariti Nónne vides ut jactet opes & nomina Regis?</p>

530.	<p>Regius hæc Musis VODOLARCVS tecta sacrabat, Aspice ceu prono veneratur regia culmo Limina, ceu templis supplex agnoscit honores.</p> <p>At quæ marmoreo se proxima vertice tollit Altaquæ vicinos Templo circumspicit agros Regales ostentat opes, Hæc atria SEXTVS Condidit HENRICVS, templi sub mœnibus ingens Conditur inscriptum regali nomine saxum, Læuus ad Arctoam quâ prospicit Angulus Vrsam.</p> <p>Hoc Regis posuere manus, cum nobile primò Cœpit opus, fœlix opibus, si cætera primis Æqua forent, Musis inuidit cætera Mauors, Aspice quæ moles, & quæ fundamina primi Interrupta manent operis; vix ista feruntur Victoris flexisse minas, cùm feruidus irâ Et nondum positis spiraret classica telis.</p>	<p>Hæc sextus, cum regna senex infida teneret, Astruit</p> <p>Fortunata domus nimium,</p> <p><i>Edvardi flexisse minas</i>; quin victor ab hoste Cùm redit, infestis ducens hostilia signis Agmina, nil meritis inferret bella Camœnis, Innocuósque furens incenderet igne penates.</p>
545.	<p>Addit & Musis aliud nascentibus idem Hospitium, placidis vbi currens lenitèr vndis f. 20v (= f. 18v) Isis Aquadunæ foecundat flumine Campos, Altaque vicinos Vinsoria despicit agros. O nimium deflende Senex, tibi regia Sceptra Abstulit, & vitam bellj fortuna caducam.</p>	
550.	<p>Sed tua, quæ melius tranquilla per otia Virtus Claruit, vtilior nobis; tibi noxia solj Viuet, & in nullo tua fama tacebitur æuo,</p>	
555.	<p>Proxima, quæ muro, tectoquæ obscura, sed ipso Nomine Clara vides, nostras BADÆVS ad vndas Constituit; Quorum confinia tecta seueris</p>	<p>En verò qui tecta colunt vicina penates; Regius hæc Musis <i>Vodolarsus</i> dona sacrabat: Aspice ut agnoscant tecti regalis honorem, Altaque submisso venerentur mœnia culmo.</p>

<p>560.</p> <p>565.</p> <p>570.</p> <p>575.</p> <p>580.</p> <p>585.</p>	<p>BATMANUS legum studijs, operæque forensi Despondit, regnat nunc ista Bartholus Aula. Illa Domus, cuius veteres pars vna caminas Ostendit, fumumquè vomit, pars altera primis Cruda focus, nondum Vulcanum in tecta recepit, GONELLUM memorat, quj nulla prole suprema Fata sequens, Musis hæredibus ista reliquit. Hanc meus exornat (quem propter Thamesis vndas Audisti calamos nostro pro iure sonantem) Longæuus NICIAS, viden' vt noua mœnia iactet? f. 21r (= f. 19r) Et patulas Zephyro det adhuc inflare fenestras? Quattuor inde nouis quæ turribus alta minantur Lataquè disparilj circundunt atria tecto, Nomine postremus, primus virtutibus, auxit HENRICVS, triplicesquè vnà cùm iungeret ædes Imposuit nomen facto. Quæ proxima cernis Coctilibus muris, parilique rubentia Saxo, Quæ (super alta sedens portarum limina Custos Arduus auratis tutatur cornibus Hircus) MARGARIS erexit, niueo quam Derbia partu Edidit, & Monæ Reginam ad littora misit. Plumbea quâ gestant paruj diademata Reges. Addidit & nostris quæ disiunctissima ipis Cernis, & auspicijs Christi tutanda reliquit. Hanc autem alterius quam sustinet area ripæ AVDELVS posuit, tectis, & mænibus auxit. Egregius virtute Heros, quem protulit olim Ductorem maribus regio celeberrima Damis</p> <p>Vltima quæ Campos prospectant tecta patentes Inquè quibus (dum res pretio Romana manebat) f. 21v (= f. 19v)</p>	<p>At cuius pars una novo stat candida muro, Pars melior veteri saxo constructa, <i>Gonellum</i> Autorem memorat domus (hic sine prole suprema Fata sequens, Musis hæredibus omnia liquit:) Auxit agro nuper <i>Caius</i>, duplicique penates Disposuit muro. Vidén' ut nova mœnia jactet, <i>Pieridumque</i> choro, & tecto crescente superba?</p> <p>Et nivea immenso diffundunt atria circo, Ordine postremus, sed non</p> <p>hæc etiam quæ proxima cernis ad ortus Atria, jam moriens <i>Christo</i> sacrata reliquit, Quæ ponti vicina vides, <i>Audelius</i> olim Cœpit, & aduersi posuit fundamina muri: At cœptum perfecit opus <i>Staffordius</i> Heros, Quem genuit maribus regio celeberrima damis. Hæc inter media aspicias mox surgere tecta Culminibus niveis, roseisque nitentia muris: Nobilis hæc doctis sacrabit fœmina Musis, (Conjugio felix, magno felicior ortu) Insita <i>Sussexo</i> proles <i>Sidneia</i> trunco. Ultima quæ nostris hinc cernis dissita ripis,</p>
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	<p>Lenta cuculligeri ducebant otia Fratres, Transtulit ALCOCIVS, Musisque sacrata reliquit, Alcocius bifidum Præsul Regnator Aquarum. Insignes animæ, quæ vestris gratia factis</p>	
590.	<p>Debetur? memores vobis quæ præmia Musæ Persoluent? Quibus ipse modis meditabor honorem? Gramineum in Ripa viridj de Cespite Bustum, Exequiasquæ noua Salicum de fronde quotannis Constituam, mæstæ cantabunt funera MVSÆ.</p>	<p>Tuque etiam, <i>Mildmaie</i> senex, tu candida Christo Atria felici, tu sanctas omine Musas Institues, fuscis <i>Clarius</i> quâ surgit ab <i>Indis</i>, Eoisque auctam claudit mihi finibus urbem. Quæ verò, quæ jam meritis par gratia vestris, Laúsve erit, insignes animæ? Quæ munera vobis Persolvet patria? en vobis quæ præmia Musæ, En quibus ipse modis vestros meditabor honores:</p>
595.	<p>Purpureos addam flores, & aquatica spargam Lilia cum Menthis, & munere fungar inanj. Nec te (CHARE PVER) qui sceptrâ nouissjma Regum Gestabas, tacitum linquam, dum talìa plango Funera; quj quondam nostris spes altera rebus 600. Post lachrymis, lachrymis nec tantum causa fuistj Quanta meas olim luuenis monumenta per vrbes Liquisset, quantis auxisset honoribus Artes Sj quam Fata moram vitæ meliora dedissent. O <i>Pietas</i>, ô sancta Fides, & amabile terris 605. Ingenium, grauitasque decens, & grandior annis f. 18r (= f. 20r) Maiestas. Non te tumidj vis naufraga Ponti Bellaque, quæ magnos rapiunt Mauortia Reges Nascentem rapuere, nec aspera tela, nec Ensis, Sed Probitas, sed sancta Fides, maturaque Cœlo 610. Iam <i>Pietas</i>, virtusque æuj sub flore senescens, Heu miserande Puer, Cœlo foelicior alto, Sed terris miserande tamen, Te Thamesis ingens Te nostri fleuere Lacus, tonsæquæ capillos</p>	<p>mœsto stantes circùm agmine Musæ Carmina lugubri plangent funebria cantu:</p> <p>Sed neque te, venerande puer, cùm talia plango, Non te præteream, doctarum <i>Edoarde</i> sororum, Et patriæ, sceptrique decus; qui gaudia regnans Tanta tuis dederas, lamentâque tanta <i>Britannis</i> Jam moriens. Ah! quanta meas monumenta per undas</p> <p>Heu pietas! Heu sancta fides! & grandior annis</p> <p>Nec quæ magnanimos Prælia nascentem nobis rapuère, nec hostis; Sed pietas, sed vera fides, quæ grandior annis Creverat, & primo virtus in</p>

615.	<p>Ingemuere diù Nymphæ Isides, Isides Vndæ. Quæquæ tua captæ forma, et florentibus annis Dulcia sperabant Regum connubia Natæ. Sed reparat peritura Dies, Spes illa cadendo Altior excreuit, postquam Soror altera Regno (Altera fraternis etiam virtutibus Hæres.)</p> <p>620. Successit, magnoque ardens virtutis amore Grantanos inuisit Agros, ceu Daulida quondam Ruraquæ Mæoniæ aut Parnassia flumina Pallas:</p> <p>625. Cætera quàm sceptri fortunam æquantia? Quantus Doctrinæ cælestis Amor? Quam blanda serenos Gratia tranquillat vultus? Vt temperat oris f. 18v (= f. 20v) Maiestas augusta vices? Quam Virgine dignus. Et color, & facies, sed Virgine maius acumen Ingenij, fragilemquæ supra Prudentia Sexum?</p> <p>630. Arbiter hîc Phrygius, quoquo sententia cedat, Inueniet, cui dona ferat, seu Pallada malit, Junonemuè sequi, certat cum Pallade luno. Siue dabit Veneri, Venerj quod donet, habebit. Nec victam metuat Iudex, dabit omnibus, vni Quod dedit, hanc vnam VENOIVNOPALLADA dicet.</p> <p>635. Ecce tibi, quales poterit, de fronde virentes Emittit Saliunca rosas tibi florida rident Pascua, quæque tuj foecundant Pascua Regni Exultant tremulæ lymphis salientibus vndæ, Ipsa tibi Tellus flores, & roscida sudat.</p> <p>640. Mella, coronati arrident tibi frugibus Agri. Nec tantum Tellus, refluo circumsona fluctu Tethis, & in medijs Nymphæ Oceanitides vndis Applausere tibi. Qua Principe, sceptra virorum Virginibus cessere, solumque optata reuisit</p> <p>645. Relligio, humani generis Decus, optima Custos f. 19r (=f. 21r)</p>	<p>passim captæ dulcedine formæ</p> <p>Sed spes illa redit, postquam soror altera regno,</p> <p>Successit: memini vultus, & verba loquentis, Promissique fidem; memini, neque pectore nostro Excederit, cùm tecta novem (decima ipsa) sororum Viseret, & Musas <i>Latio</i> sermone vocaret.</p> <p>Et pudor, & species formæ! Sed virgine majus</p>
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650.	<p>Imperij, quam sancta Fides comitatur euntem, Et circum lætis crescit Pax aurea terris. O Decus, ô. nullos VIRGO reticenda per annos. Fortunata nimis Virgo, nisi semper ELISA VIRGO fores, stabiliquè Pudor virtute noceret, Dum roseum Veris sinit emarcescere florem. Jungere nec socium thalamis, hymenæaquè curat Fœdera, non dulces natos, neque debita lecti Pignora, nostra quibus regnanda relinqueret arua,</p>	
655.	<p>Sed nunc cœruleam visurus Thetida Phœbus Pronus in Oceanum cursus deuoluit Equorum. Luce minor, magnoquè rubens augustior orbe, Quæquè diem finit, finem monet Hora loquendj. Hæc igitur rerum series, hæc nomina Regum,</p>	
660.	<p>Ætatumquè vices, per quas caput inclyta Cælo Extulit, hæc doctis sedes gratissima Musis. Fœlix muneribus Regum, foelicior vsu Aonidum, ingenijs fortunatissima Sedes Et laticum venis, & fertilis vbere glebæ</p>	
665.	<p>Si non se nimium campis iactaret atrarj f. 19v (= f. 21v) Imperium, solisquè locum dum poscit Aristis Ambitiosa Ceres, Satyris sua rura negaret, Aruaquè vix raris præberent ligna salictis. Nescio quid densis spoliârit compita Syluis.</p>	
670.	<p>Fama refert Satyros olim, Dryadasque puellas Aonas infensos ad nos venisse sorores. Dum fugerent nemorum raptas cum frondibus vmbra Diuersis posuisse locis, vbi proxima solj Densior innumeris horrescit Cantia syluis,</p>	
675.	<p>Notaquè se tollit nemorum Cranbrochia Nymphis, Ex illo syluis agri spoliantur, & vmbra Tonsaquè vix raros emittunt Pascua dumos. Finierat, solitisque Pater se Chamus in vndis Abdidit, & manibus, sceptroque liquentia pellens</p>	<p>Felix illa solo, felix & divitis usu Æquoris, at populo fortunatissima tellus.</p>

680.	<p>Flumina, Nympharum secum Pater agmina traxit. Tum verò tremulo compellans murmure Ripam Vnda valedicit Regi, salicesquè recuruæ Humida declinant flexos ad flumina ramos. Protinùs allabens Cygnorum læta per amnem</p>	
685.	<p>Turba perorantem sublimi carmine Diuum f. 22r Insequitur, vitreisquè immersi fluctibus omnes, Crebraquè iactantes alternas rostra sub vndis, Cedentem prono venerantur corpore Regem. Arrectiquè iterum gratantibus aëra plumis</p>	<p>Nec minùs repetito carmine Regem corpora lymphis,</p>
690.	<p>Excutiunt, geminantquè alis plaudentibus ictus. Ipsæ iterum plausere vndæ, sonitumque dedere. At LYCIDAS, noctisquè memor, veterumque laborum, Surgit humj, tectumque petit, comitantur euntem, Venatu soliti volucres excire fugaces</p>	<p>cavis sub vallibus amnes. At Lycidas humeris arcum pharetrámque reponens,</p>
695.	<p>Elpidewn, Talaphrwñque canes, celeresque vocati Accurrunt Domino, collisquè ad mutua iunctis, Obseruant pariles famulo vestigia gressu. Licydæ finis</p>	<p>FINIS.</p>

Appendix E – Poems on ff. 2^r-21^r of Harley MS 6947

Page	Title	Date of composition	Poet	Occasion	Published in	Notes
f. 2 ^r	'Ingenij acumen'	1620	William Alabaster (1568-1640).	Publication of Francis Bacon's <i>Novum Organum</i>	Apparently unpublished, also found in this sequence in Bodleian MS Rawl. Poet. 62 (f6r-v). Sutton's edition collates Rawl. Poet. 62 against copies in Bodleian Rawl. D283 and D293.	A transcription and translation of this epigram by Alabaster and the four following can be found here as item XXI: http://www.philological.bham.ac.uk/alabpoems/
f. 2 ^r	'Iudicij maturitas'	Idem	Idem	Idem	See above	See above
f. 2 ^r	'Inventionis copia'	Idem	Idem	Idem	See above	See above
f. 2 ^v	'Dictionis elegantia'	Idem	Idem	Idem	See above	See above
f. 2 ^v	'Ingenij moderamen'	Idem	Idem	Idem	See above	See above
f. 3 ^r	'In Autorem Instaurationis'	1620	George Herbert (1593-1633)	Idem	Bacon, Francis. <i>Opuscula Varia Posthuma, Philosophica, Civilia, et Theologica Francisci Baconi, Baronis de Verulamio, Vice-Comitis Sancti Albani, Cura & Fida Guilielmi Rawley</i> . Londini: Excudebat R. Daniel, impensis Octaviani Pulleyn, 1658. This poem and the two Herbert poems that follow, appear in the same order in two other manuscripts: Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet. 246, ff. 46 ^{r-v} (c. 1648-60) and BL, Add. MS 73541, f. 19r-v (c. 1620s). The latter MS shows they circulated well before they appeared in print in	A transcription and translation of this poem and the two below can be found here: John Drury, and Victoria Moul (eds.), <i>George Herbert: The Complete Poetry</i> . Penguin Classics. London: Penguin Books, 2015.

					1658. 'In Autorem Instaurationis' can also be found in: Yale, Osborn MS b197, pp. 26-7 (c. 1639). See: Peter Beal, 'George Herbert (1593–1633)', <i>CELMS</i> , accessed 05-11-2018.	
f. 3^r	'De eodem'	1621	Idem	Idem	Idem As well as being included in the two manuscripts mentioned above, 'De eodem', also known by the title 'In Honorem Illustr. D.D. Verulamij, S ^{ti} Albani, Mag. Sigilli Custodis post editam ab eo Instaurationem Magnam', can be found in the following manuscripts: University of London, Senate House Library, Special Collections [D.-L.L.] (XVII) Bc (Bacon – Poetical Works – 1625] Strong Room; Bodl. MS Rawl. Poet. 206, f.58 (c. 1630s); BL Harley MS 4931, f. 16 ^r (c. 1640s); The Duke of Devonshire, Chatsworth House, MS Hardwick 72A, f. 1 ^r (Mid-17 th c.). See: Peter Beal, 'George Herbert (1593–1633)', <i>CELMS</i> , accessed 05-11-2018.	See above
f. 3^v	'Comparatio Cancellariatus et Libri'	1620	Idem	Idem	Idem This poem appears in two other manuscripts (both also include the other poems by Herbert in this sequence). See above.	See above

ff. 4^r-5^r	'Viro omni laude majori Francisco Bacono Patrono mihi unicè observando'	Before 1624	Sir John Borough (d. 1643)	A panegyric for Bacon, his patron (may have been inspired by the <i>Novum Organum</i> ?)	Idem	The manuscript indicates that John Borough was made a knight after writing this poem. Date of his knighthood: 1624. See: Baron, S. (2011, May 19). Borough, Sir John (d. 1643), antiquary and herald. <i>Oxford Dictionary of National Biography</i> . https://www.oxforddnb.com/view/10.1093/ref:odnb/9780198614128.001.0001/odnb-9780198614128-e-2913 .
f. 5^v	'In Obitu Honoratissimi Domini Francisci Baconi, magni nuper totius Angliae Cancellarij &c.'	1626	Thomas Vincent (became a Fellow at Trinity College in 1624)	The death of Francis Bacon (1561-1626)	Rawley, William. <i>Memoriae Honoratissimi Domini Francisci, Baronis De Verulamio, Vice-Comitis Sancti Albani Sacrum</i> . Londini: In officina Iohannis Haviland, 1626.	
f. 6^r	'In Eundem'	Idem	Idem	Idem	Idem	
ff. 6^v-7^r	'Exanthemata Regia Caroli I'	1632/3	Edward King (1611/12-1637)	Charles I's recovery from smallpox	Cambridge, University of. <i>Anthologia in Regis Exanthemata: Seu Gratulatio Musarum Cantabrigiensium De Felicissimè Conservata Regis Caroli Valetudine</i> . Cantabrigiae: Ex Academiae Cantabrigiensis typographeo, 1633.	For a transcription and translation of this poem, see: Postlethwaite, Norman and Gordon Campbell (eds.), 'The Latin Poems of Edward King', <i>Milton Quarterly</i> 28, no. 4 (December 1994): 87, https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1094-348X.1994.tb00831.x
ff. 7^v-8^v	'In Obitu Richardi Cosini V. Cl. Carmen funebre'	1597	Andrew Downes (c. 1549-1628)	The death of Richard Cosin (1548?-1597)	Barlow, William <i>Vita Et Obitus Ornatissimi Celeberrim[us] Viri Richardi Cosin Legum Doctoris, Decani Curiae De Arcubus, Cancellarij Seu Vicarij Generalis Reuerendissimi Patris Ioannis</i>	

					<i>Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis, &C. Per Guilielmum Barlowum Sacrae Theologiae Baccalaureum, Amoris Sui & Officij Ergô Edita.</i> Londini: Excudebant deputati Christopheri Barker, Regiae Maiestatis typographi, 1598.	
ff. 9^r-10^r	'Convivium ventae Belgarum'	1620s?	Matthew Wren (1585-1667)	Unclear, but it is likely to be a kind of satire, as elaborate descriptions of food in Roman literature often are (See, e.g.: Gowers, Emily, <i>The Loaded Table: Representations of Food in Roman Literature.</i> Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992.)	Apparently unpublished. This poem can also be found in Trin. Cam. MS B.14.22 and BL Add. MS 61481.	This poem may have been composed in or shortly after 1623, when Wren was granted a prebendal stall at Winchester (<i>Ventae Belgarum</i>) by Bishop Andrewes. A date from the 1620s is also in line with the context of the poem in Trinity MS B.14.22, where it is surrounded by sermons and poems from the 1610s and 1620s. The BL manuscript includes texts dating from 1604 to 1686, which do not seem to be in any particular order; it is therefore less helpful when it comes to dating the <i>Convivium Ventae Belgarum</i> . That said, it does include texts from the 1620s and does therefore not contradict my hypothesis.
ff. 10^v-11^r	'In Obitum optimi et præclarissimi Iuvenis, Philippi Sidnæi Equitis aurati, qui in	1587	Giles Fletcher the Elder (bap.	The death of Sir Philip Sidney (1554-1586)	Cambridge, University of. <i>Academiae Cantabrigiensis Lachrymae Tumulo Nobilissimi Equitis, D. Philippi Sidneij Sacratae Per Alexandrum Nevillum.</i> Londini:	

	Zutphensi proelio (quod nuper ad Iselam Commissum est inter Anglos et Hispanos) glande sulphureâ ictus interiit.'		1546, d. 1611)		Ex officina Ioannis Windet impensis Thomae Chardi, 1587.	
ff. 11 ^v - 14 ^r	'Æcloga Daphnis Inscripta sive Querela Cantabrigiæ in obitum doctissimi Viri D. Nicolai Carri'	c. 1568	Idem	The death of Nicholas Carr (1522/3- 1568)	Carr, Nicholas. <i>Demosthenis, Graecorum Oratorum Principis, Olynthiacae Orationes Tres, & Philippicae Quatuor, Ë Gr[a]Eco in Latinum Conuersae, a Nicolae Carro, Anglo Nouocastriensi, Doctore Medico, & Gra[E]Carum Literarum in Cantabrigiensi Academia Professore Regio Addita Est Etiam Epistola De Vita, & Obitu Eiusdem Nicolai Carri, & Carmina, Cum Graeca, Tum Latina, in Eundem Conscripta.</i> Londini: Apud Henricum Denhamum, 1571.	
ff. 14 ^v - 16 ^v	'In Obitu Eruditissimi Viri Edvardi King, C.C. Socij in mari Hibernico submersi.'	1637	Anonym ous	The death of Edward King (1611/12- 1637)	<i>Justa Edouardo King Naufrago, Ab Amicis Moerentibus, Amoris & Mneias Charin.</i> Cantabrigiae: Apud Thomam Buck, & Rogerum Daniel, celeberrimae Academiae typographos, 1638.	.
f. 17 ^r - v	'In libellum cui Titulus Merici Casauboni Is. Fil: Pietas,	1621	Thomas Goad (1576- 1638)	The publication of Meri Casaubon's	Casaubon, Meric. <i>Merici Casauboni Is. F. Pietas Contra Maledicos Patrij Nominis, & Religionis Hostes.</i>	

	Contra maledicos patrij Nominis et Religionis Hostes'			first book in which it is included.	Londini: [W. Stansby] Ex officina bibliopolarum, 1621.	
ff. 17^v- 18^r	'In Jos. Halli Decani Wigorniensis Concionem Synodicam ad Clerum Provinciæ Cantuariensis. Habitam Feb. 20 1623.'	1623	Idem	Hall's sermon at St Paul's	Hall, Joseph. <i>Columba Noae Oliuam Adferens lactatissimæ Christi Arcae. Concio Synodica, Ad Clerum Anglicanum (Prouinciæ Praesertim Cantuariensis) Habita, in Aede Paulina Londinensi. Feb. 20. 1623. A. Ios. Hallo, S.T.D. Decano Wigorniensis. Londini: Per Guil. Stansby impensis Guillelmi Barret,</i> 1624.	
ff. 18^v- 19^r	'In Obitu Amplissimi Patris Jos. Halli Episcopi Norvicensis'	1656	Friends: 'Instanti bus amicis extemp ore profudit ur J.W.M. D.C.L./	The death of Joseph Hall (1574-1656)	Whitefoote, John. <i>Israea Agchithanes, Deaths Alarum, or, the Presage of Approaching Death Given in a Funeral Sermon, Preached at St. Peters in Norwich, September 30, 1656, for the Right Reverend Joseph Hall, D.D. Late Bishop of Norwich, Who Upon the 8 Day of Septem. 1656, Anno Aetatis Suae 82. Was Gathered to the Spirits of the Just That Are Made Perfect. By John Whitefoote M.A. And Rector of Heigham near Norwich. . London: printed by W. Godbid, for Edward Dod, at the Gun in Ivy-lane, 1656.</i>	
ff. 19^v- 20^r	'V.Cl. D. Georgio Ent M.D. Anglo.'	1636	John Greave	The graduation of George Ent	<i>Laureae Apollinari, Praeside Illustrissimo Atque Amplissimo Viro D.D. Benedicto Sylvatico Eq.</i>	

			s (1602-1652)	(1604-1689) as M.D. in Padua.	<i>Medicinae Practicae Ordinariae Profess. Primario, I.N.G. A. Protectore Meritissimo, Promotore Perillustri & Excellentissimo Viro D.D. Joan. Dominico Sala Medicinae Theoricae Professore Primario. V.C. D. Georgio Ent Anglo in Celeberrimo Lyceo Patavino Xxviii. Aprilis Mdcxxxvi. Collatae Amicorum Applausus. Patavii: Typis Julii Crivellarii, & Jacobi Bortoli, Superiorum Permissu, 1636.</i>	
ff. 20^v-21^r	'Ad Amicissimum Virum Js. Barrow de Euclide contracto Euphumismós'	1655/6	Charles Robotham	The publication of Barrow's edition of Euclid.	Barrow, Isaac. <i>Euclidis Elementorum Libri Xv. Breviter Demonstrati, Operâ Is. Barrow, Cantabrigiensis, Coll. Trin. Soc. Cantabrigiae: ex celeberrimae Academiae typographeo. Impensis Guilielmi Nealand Bibliopolae, 1655.</i>	

Appendix F – Transcription and translation of *Æcloga Daphnis*

As there is no transcription or translation available of this eclogue, which is missing from Sutton's online edition of Fletcher's Latin verse, I am including it here. The transcription is taken from Harley MS 6947, but is, apart from some small differences in orthography and punctuation, practically identical to the printed version which was published with Nicholas Carr's 'Demosthenis, Græcorum Oratorum Principis, Olynthiacæ Orationes Tres, & Philippicæ Quatuor' (1571).

f. 11^v

Æcloga Daphnis Inscripta sive. Querela Cantabrigiæ in obitum doctiss. Viri D. Nicolai Carri./

Per Ægid. Fletcherum.

Si vacat Aonidum tristes cognoscere cantus,
Flebilibusque animum juvat exercere querelis:
Accipe quæ nuper Chami flaventis ad undam
Flebilis Ocyroë tristes resonabat ad auras,

5. Interitus dùm, Daphni, tuos et tristia deflet
Funera, cedentemque supremâ voce salutat.
Forsitan in mæstis minus est nocitura voluptas:
Nec facilis dolor ille fuit, vos flumina testes,
Flumina, quasque suis augebat fletibus undæ,
10. Et notæ salices, et amicæ fluminis alni.
Quas oculis lachrymas Virgo, quas pectore voces
Fuderit, ut manibus crines, nil tale merentes,
Daphnidis hos umbris mittens, fluvialibus undis
Spargeret, his tanquam placentur Numina donis.
15. Vix dum cæruleis Aurora receperat undis
Solis equos, et adhuc montes amnésque silebant:
Cùm veniens notas rivi lachrymantis ad undas,
Gramineamque jacens ripis projecta per herbam,
Talibus exoluit luctantia pectora dictis,

f. 12^r

20. Ausa suis etiam solem accusare querelis.
Sol qui purpureis altè regis ignibus orbem,
Sol, decus astrorum niveum, cui fistula curæ,
Carmináque, et medicæ (quas Daphnis amaverat) artes,
Siccine tam lætas cælo vibrantia flammæ
25. Ora moves, nec te radijs sublime micantem
Daphnidis interitus, et tristia funera tangunt?
At non Oebalidis pueri te fata gementem
Terra gemens vidit, nec non Phaetonta dolebas;
Tunc etenim viduas, amisso lumine, terras,
30. Insolitâque orbem damnatum nocte relinquens,
Horridus obscurâ vultum sub nube tegebas;
Et lachrymis tempus quærens, modo serior euro
Surgebas, solitôque cadens maturior undis,
Tristia funereo condebas lumina vultu.
35. Nunc quoque (quandoquidem Daphnis florentibus annis,
Quicquid erat dulcisque ævi, solidæque juventæ,
Pæonias olim juvenis referebat ad artes)
Debueras flexos in nube recondere vultus,
Daphnidis et mecum crudelia plangere fata.
40. Sed quid habet, subito cur se novus extulit horror?
Nigra repercussum rapuerunt nubila solem,
Daphnidis inferias cerno, jam lumina Phœbus
Ipse negat, tumulôque novos meditatur honores.

f. 12^v

- Et vos, Pierides, Daphnin defletis ademptum,
45. Seu vos Mæoniæ tellus habet, et juga Pindi,
Aones aut montes, et pinguia culta Pelori.
Daphnis et Argolicas vobiscum inflare cicutas

- Noverat, et Latiâ deducere carmen avenâ.
 Testis erit, toties umbram quæ grata canenti
50. Præbuit, hoc ipso crescens in gramine fagus,
 Sub quâ Mæonij repetebat Carmina vatis,
 Errantem quibus Ille ducem, quibus arma canebat,
 Bellâque, et heroum flammis ingentibus iras.
 Et quæcunque colunt hæc passim flumina Nymphæ,
55. Quà fluvio Chamus Musis notissima cernit
 Atria, mobilibusque strepens delabitur undis,
 Quæ vocis, cantúsque sui dulcedine captæ,
 Sæpius hic tacitis exultavêre sub antris.
 Quale per Æstatem decurrens gurgite rivus
60. Dum fluit, innocuisque strepens admurmurat undis
 Suaviter inspirat molles in pectore somnos,
 Dulce viatori riguâ solamen in umbrâ,
 Milléque dans ripæ ludentibus oscula lymphis
 Indigenas sonitu Nymphas, campósque salutat:
65. Tale tuum nostras carmen veniebat ad aures
 Nec deerat magnis etiam vis insita verbis,
 Dulcibus interdum miscebas grandia rebus.
- f. 13^r
- Vos quoque quæ Nemorum colitis vicina, Napææ,
 Floraque Sylvarúmque Deæ Dryadésque puellæ,
70. Arva quibus saltúsque et florea pascua cordi,
 Daphnidis exequias viridi de cespite bustum
 Construite, et manibus ferulas thymbrásque comantes,
 Chrysanthúmque hederámque, et acanthi nobile gramen
 Injicite, et Veneris crines, florémque marini
75. Roris, et hunc titulum superaddite, Daphnidis umbris.
 Nam memini quondam vestris ut solus in agris

- Erraret dum prima rotis lux prævia solem
Orta tulit, madidos nec adhuc ros linqueret agros.
Utque manu passim medicas decerperet herbas.
80. Non illum latuit quicquid genialibus hortis
Crescit, et ingenitos herbarum noverat usus.
Quas vires melilothus habet, quibus Intyba morbis
Convenient, quid agat folijs bicoloribus Arus;
Rutáque serpillumque, soporiferúmque papaver.
85. Nec minus occultas morborum pellere causas
Novit, et herbarum succos miscere salubres.
Daphnis et astrorum varios describere cursus,
Stellarúmque polo casus cognovit, et ortus,
Sydera quâque forent cæli statione locanda.
90. Quid lyra, quidve ferat volucer Tegeaticus ortu,
Cur piger oceano metuat sua plaustra Bootes
f. 13^v
Mergere, quidve fero minitantem Scorpion ictu
Effugiat pavitans cursu venator Orion?
Sed neque jam tantum plangentes flumina Nymphæ,
95. Quæque per has habitat passim Dea rustica Sylvas,
Quantum, quæ viridi tecum crescebat ab ævo
Ocyrœe mesto celebrat tua funera planctu.
Atque utinam primis esses moderatior annis,
Nec te præcipitem laudis tam dira cupido
100. Immodicos animi suasisset adire labores;
Forsitan hic mecum poteras cantare sub umbrâ.
O quoties dixi, seros, fuge Daphni, labores:
Effuge Nocturnos cantus: Nox invida Musis.
Immodicam neque pasce sitim, nocet acer habendæ
105. Laudis amor, pretiôque nocet fama emptâ dolore.

- Et Phoebus Cytharas et amant alterna Camenæ.
Tu tamen infelix ipsâ sub nocte solebas
Ducere nocturnos per amica silentia cantus.
Nec te grata quies munus cæleste Deorum,
110. Bruma nec attonitos quæ frigore concutit artus,
Quæve monent blandos viventia sydera somnos,
Suadebant vigiles sub noctem abrumpere curas:
Úsque adeo fertur laudum vesana cupido.
Sed tua, quæ primo tecum pubescit ab ævo
115. Gloria, maturis compensat frugibus annos,
f. 14^r
Gloria, quæ canis spirat florentior annis.
Daphni, tuæ mecum laudes, victurâque semper
Ingenij monumenta manent, tibi serviet omnis
Posteritas ventura, nec ulla redarguet ætas.
120. Daphni vale: Quid tum nobis si longa negentur
Tempora? quæ melior, bene fertur longior ætas.
Dulce mori, cum fata viros et sydera poscunt.
Talia nequicquàm surdas effudit ad auras
Ocyrœe, gemitúque animam suspirat inani
125. Daphnidis, et lachrymis humectat grandibus ora.
Illam amnes mirati, illam vicina domorum
Pascua, flumineæque ipsis in vallibus undæ,
Et circumfusus strepuerunt Naiades antris.
Tum verò manibus jungentes agmina musæ,
130. Tecta relinquebant mæstæ, templumque petebant
Purpureis omnes velatæ corpora pallis,
Daphnidis et mæsto celebrabant funera cantu,
Qua pater irriguo decurrens gurgite Chamus,
Alluit Aonidum bis septem tecta sororum.

f. 11^v

Eclogue inscribed Daphnis, or: Lament of Cambridge on the death of the most learned man Nicolas Carr.

By Giles Fletcher.

If there is time to learn the sad songs of the Muses and [if] it gives pleasure to engage the mind with tearful laments: accept the one which tearful Ocyroe was recently re-echoing to the sorrowful breezes by the waters of the yellow river Cam, [5] as she lamented your death, Daphnis, and the grim funeral rites, and hailed you for the last time, [just] as you were departing. Perhaps in times of sorrow, pleasure is destined to be less harmful: and not was that grief easy [to bear], as you, streams, are my witnesses, you streams and the waters that she added to by her weeping, [10] and you familiar willows, and alders, [dear] companions of the river. What tears the virgin poured forth from her eyes, what cries from her breast, and how she scattered her hair (quite undeserving of such treatment) with her hands in the waves of the river, sending it with the shade of Daphnis – as if the Gods are ever appeased by such gifts. [15] Aurora had scarcely yet received the horses of the sun in the blue-green waves, and the mountains and streams were still silent: when she came to the familiar waters of the weeping river, and, lying stretched out on the banks among the lush grass and daring to reproach even the sun in her lament,

f. 12^r

[20] expressed her grieving heart in the following words: O Sun, you who from on high rule the world with purple fires, o Sun, snow-white glory of the stars, in whose care are the shepherd's pipe and songs, and arts of medicine (which Daphnis loved) – are you truly now setting your countenance in motion, a face that is hurling such joyful flames into the sky? [25] Do the death of Daphnis and the grim funeral rites not touch you [at all], glittering on high with your rays? But the grieving earth did not see you grieving over the death of the boy descended from Oebalus, though you did mourn for Phaëthon; indeed you then left the fields destitute, their light lost, [30] and the world condemned to an unusual night, as you covered your face, dreadful one, with a dark cloud. To make time for your tears, you soon began to rise later in the east, and set earlier than usual in the waves, hiding [the light of] your sad eyes with a dismal expression. [35] Now, too (since Daphnis once as a young man in the bloom

of his age brought back something of the sweetness and strength of youth to the Paeonian arts) you should have concealed your altered countenance in a cloud and lamented the cruel death of Daphnis with me. [40] But what is happening; why has a new dread suddenly arisen? The sun has been pushed back and black clouds have snatched it away; I can see the funeral rites [in honour] of Daphnis, and now Phoebus himself is refusing the light and considering new honours for the tomb.

f. 12^v

And you, Muses, are weeping for lost Daphnis, [45] whether the land of Maeonia holds you, and the ridges of Pindus, or the Boeotian mountains and the rich fields of Pelorus. Daphnis too knew how to blow the Argolic shepherd's pipes with you, and how to compose a song on the reed-pipe of Latium. And she will be my witness – the pleasing one who so often offered shade to Daphnis as he sang, the beech growing [50] in this same grass, beneath which he used to repeat the songs of the Maeonian bard, singing tales of the wandering leader, of weapons and wars, and of the mighty flames of heroic anger. And all the Nymphs who inhabit these streams all around here, [55] where Cam from his river beholds halls so well-known to the Muses, and glides murmuring down in rapid waves – captured by the sweetness of his voice and of his song, they have very often rejoiced here in the silent caves. Just as a river in the summer [heat] while it flows running down with a swirl, [60] humming and rumbling with its harmless waves, sweetly breathing gentle sleep into [our] hearts, a pleasant consolation for the traveller in the well-watered shade, and giving a thousand kisses to the water-goddesses playing on the bank, as it greets the local Nymphs and the fields with its sound: [65] such was your song as it came to our ears. Nor did it even lack natural power, [a gift] for mighty words, as you mingled great matters with sweet.

f. 13^r

You also who dwell in the vicinity of the groves, dell-nymphs, [goddess] Flora and the goddesses of the woods and the Dryad girls, [70] to whom the cultivated land, the woodlands and the flowery meadows are dear, construct in honour of Daphnis a burial mound from green turf, and with your hands cast upon it fennel stalks and shaggy savory, the chrysanth and ivy, the noble stem of the acanthus, the locks of Venus and the rosemary flower, [75] and add also this inscription: 'for the shade of

Daphnis'. For I remember how once he wandered in your fields alone, when the first glimmer of light rose and heralded the chariot of the sun, though the dew had not yet left the moist fields. And [I remember] how he everywhere plucked medicinal herbs by hand. [80] Nothing that grows in fertile gardens was unknown to him, and he knew the innate uses of herbs. [He knew] what powers the sweet clover has, which illnesses chicory is good for, and what the Arus with its two-coloured leaves can do; [he knew] rue, and wild thyme, and the sleep-bringing poppy. [85] He knew too how to drive out the hidden causes of diseases and to mix plant-juices to make cures. Daphnis knew how to trace the various courses of the constellations, [he knew] where the stars set in the heaven and where they rise and in which position in heaven the constellations are to be found. [90] What is [the constellation] Lyre, or what does the winged Arcadian relate at its rising? Why is lazy Bootes afraid of sinking his wagon in the ocean,

f. 13^v

or why should the hunter Orion, trembling in his chase, flee Scorpion threatening with its ferocious sting? But now not even the river-nymphs [95] and all the rustic goddesses who live scattered among these woods are grieving for you as much as Ocyroe, who grew up with you from the greenness of your youth and now marks your funeral rites with a sad lamentation. If only you had been more moderate in your early years and such a terrible desire for glory had not persuaded you, rash one, [100] to undertake excessive labours of the mind; perhaps you could have been singing here with me under [the cover of the] shade. O, how often did I say, "avoid, Daphnis, working late into the night; forget nocturnal songs: Night is unfavourable to the Muses. Do not nourish unrestrained thirst: a keen [105] desire for winning praise can [only] damage you, and fame purchased with the price of pain does you harm. Phoebus also loves lyres and Camenae love alternate songs. You, however, unhappy one, had the habit of composing nocturnal songs under the cover of night itself amid the friendly silence [of that time]. Neither pleasing sleep, the heavenly gift of the gods, nor winter which shakes limbs struck with cold, or the living stars which advise sweet sleep, [none of these] persuaded you to break off your wakeful pains at night: so overwhelming was your furious longing for praise [that you ignored all these things]. But your glory, which has developed with you from childhood, [115] makes up for [your short] years with ripe fruits [of glory],

f. 14^r

glory which flourishes more beautifully than white-haired old age. Daphnis, your praise and monuments of your talent will remain with me and will endure forever; every future generation shall serve you and no age to come shall refute it. [120] Farewell, Daphnis. What then [does it matter] if we are denied a long life together? Better than longevity is a long youth well lived. For men it is sweet to die when the fates and constellations demand. Such things Ocyröe poured out in vain to deaf breezes; in her empty lament she sighs for the soul of Daphnis, [125] and her cheeks grow wet with great tears. The streams marvelled at her, as did the pasture around the homes nearby, and the waters of the rivers in the valleys themselves, and the Naiads in scattered caves stood still in astonishment. Then indeed the Muses, joining hands in a train, [130] left their houses in sorrow and made for the temple, all of them having veiled their bodies in purple cloaks, and they marked the funeral rites of Daphnis with a song of grief, where father Cam flows down with swirling waters and washes against the twice seven abodes of the Boeotian sisters.