

THE PICKERING MASTERS

Continuations to Sidney's *Arcadia*, 1607–1867

Edited by
Marea Mitchell and Ann Lange

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1607-1867

CONTENTS OF THE EDITION

VOLUME 1

General Introduction

Gervase Markham, *English Arcadia Part 1* (1607) and *Part 2* (1613)

William Alexander, Supplement (1617)

Richard Bellings, *A Sixth Booke to the Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1624)

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[Anon.], 'The Historie of Arcadia; or an Addition to: and a Continuance of
Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia' ([c. 1649])

VOLUME 2

Mrs D. Stanley, *Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, Moderniz'd* (1725)

Books 1 and 2

VOLUME 3

Mrs D. Stanley, *Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, Moderniz'd* (1725)

Books 3 and 4

VOLUME 4

Sir Philip Sidney, *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*, ed. Hain Friswell (1867)

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GENERAL EDITOR
Marea Mitchell

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CONTENTS

General Introduction	vii
Acknowledgements	xxi
Bibliography	xxiii
Chronology	xxxi
Introduction	xxxv
Gervase Markham, <i>English Arcadia Part 1</i> (1607) and <i>Part 2</i> (1613)	1
William Alexander, Supplement (1617)	151
Richard Bellings, <i>A Sixth Booke to the Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia</i> (1624)	177
James Johnstoun, Supplement (1638)	251
[Anon.], 'The Historie of Arcadia; or an Addition to: and a Continuance of Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia' ([c. 1649])	277
Editorial Notes	463
Silent Corrections	487
Textual Variants	489

For
Robert Mackie
'e quindi uscimmo a riveder le stelle'

GENERAL INTRODUCTION

Continuing *Arcadia*

This four-volume set contains seven continuations of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*. In chronological order, which this edition and these volumes follow, they are: Gervase Markham's *English Arcadia*, published in two separate parts in 1607 and 1613; William Alexander's Supplement (1617); Richard Bellings's *A Sixth Booke to the Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia* (1624); James Johnstoun's Supplement (1638); the anonymous manuscript 'The Historie of Arcadia; or an Addition to: and a Continuance of Sir Phillip Sydney's Arcadia' (c. 1649); Dorothy Stanley's *Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, Moderniz'd* (1725), and Hain Friswell's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia Written by Sir Philip Sidney* (1867).

Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* was extremely popular in the early period of its appearance in print, and some parts of the story were extracted and rewritten many times, and reproduced in different forms and modes. Particular strands of the story were rewritten time and time again. Notably, the stories of Argalus and Parthenia, and Helen and Amphialus clearly struck a chord with writers and readers, and the tales of these troubled lovers appear in poetry, drama and prose, in different depictions of selfless and tragic lovers. There are many different kinds of 'borrowings' from Sidney's text.¹

The plethora of rewritings of subsections of stories in *Arcadia* is one testament to the popularity of parts of the text, and a story yet to be told in detail. The number of editions of *Arcadia* is another. In the seventeenth century, the nine editions between 1605 and 1674 by different printers and publishers, in England and Ireland, attest to a market of readers for Sidney's work, carried under the title of *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia written by Sir Philip Sidney*.² Other kinds of evidence of interest in the work come from the number of sustained adaptations or rewritings of it: texts that take as their starting point the whole of Sidney's original rather than one particular strand or pair of characters, and rework it. It is this last group of texts with which this series of continuations is concerned.

There are two obvious absences from this edition of continuations of Sidney's *Arcadia*: Anna Weamys's *A Continuation of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia*

(1651), and Mary Wroth's *Urania* (1621). Both of these texts have been well served in editions and critical commentary in the last thirty years. Mary Wroth's *Urania* exists both in facsimile and reprint editions, both initiated by Josephine A. Roberts.³ Similarly, Weamys's text appears in two editions: a reprint and modernized edition by Patrick Colborn Cullen,⁴ and a facsimile edition for the Early Modern Englishwoman series.⁵ In many ways the work done on these two women writers is exemplary of the new energy brought to Sidney studies through a focus on women's writing and the role of gender in theories of reading and studies of the book. Focusing on gender, and actively seeking out women writers, has added great depth and richness to our understandings of Sir Philip Sidney's work. Furthermore, the focus on the Sidney family, which has often overlapped with the focus on gender, has widened and deepened understandings not only of Sidney but of early modern cultural practices.⁶ The work on familial relationships and on non-literary exchanges, such as the role that letters played in formal and informal communication, has been invaluable in enriching the study of the early modern period.⁷ As well as printed criticism, commentary and editions of material connected with Sidney, we now also have extensive digital resources provided by websites such as Donald Stump's *Sir Philip Sidney World Bibliography*,⁸ and *Mary Wroth's Poetry: An Electronic Edition* produced by Paul Salzman.⁹

This edition seeks to add to this discussion of Sidney, his works and early modern studies through returning attention to the continuations of *Arcadia*. Here it is appropriate to comment on the work that was done in the twentieth century on precisely this topic. In particular, it is important to note the work of two PhD theses. First, A. G. D. Wiles's 'The Continuations of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*', was produced in 1934 at Princeton University. Wiles published parts of his thesis on Alexander and Johnstoun in article form.¹⁰ More recently, Jennifer Klein Morrison's PhD thesis, 'Readers Turned Writers: The Dynamics of the Sequels to Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*', was awarded in 1997 by Yale University. The particular significance of Klein Morrison's work is in its account of the anonymous manuscript, 'The Historie of Arcadia.'¹¹ Unfortunately, none of Klein Morrison's work seems to have been published. Both of these theses have provided invaluable material for the editors of the present series. Each is clearly marked by the scholarly style and fashion of its time, and each creates an awareness of how much more might be done on the continuations and their continuers. Aside from these theses, there is little sustained published commentary on the continuations included in these volumes, although Paul Salzman, Denis Kay, Martin Garrett and Gavin Alexander all refer to some of them in their over views of Sidney's legacy.¹²

These volumes provide access to the continuations and modernizations that has not previously been available. None of the texts reproduced here is currently in print elsewhere in any edited form. Bringing these previously inaccessible texts together allows for examination and analysis of the individual texts, but

also encourages direct comparison and analysis of the texts with each other as continuations of *Arcadia*. The volumes also aim to set up a dialogue between the texts. Putting these volumes together has provoked questions that we hope other readers might want to take up. How might these texts be reread? Each text has its own individual merits. The five longer texts by Markham, Bellings, the anonymous author, Stanley and Friswell clearly have a stand-alone status. While readers who had read Sidney's *Arcadia* might come to any one of these five texts with a specific platform for understanding them, a reader who had not read Sidney's *Arcadia* would still find meanings in them. The meanings that these two different kinds of readers might make would be different, but each would find the works accessible. Even the two texts that are most dependent on Sidney's *Arcadia*, the two bridging sections by William Alexander and James Johnstoun, which were never meant to be read on their own, contain material that can be understood and enjoyed on its own merits. Alexander's description of the death of Philisides, who is understood to figure for Sidney himself, and Johnstoun's account of the near-death of Dametas and Miso both benefit from the knowledge of these characters in Sidney's *Arcadia*, but are not meaningless without it.

Gervase Markham's *English Arcadia* and Bellings's *Sixth Booke*, while drawing on characters and themes from Sidney's *Arcadia*, can still be read as autonomous stories of their own. As Ann Lange suggests, for some critics Bellings was the closest imitator of Sidney's prose style and use of metaphors, but he does more than simply repeat what Sidney has already done (p. 180). As for Markham, as the introduction to his text in this volume suggests, there is a distinctly different presiding narrative genius controlling the actions and fate of his characters than is seen in Sidney's *Arcadia* (p. 4).

By the time we get to Stanley's and Friswell's work we have the paradox of work that is at one and the same time replicating Sidney's *Arcadia*, not introducing new characters or new themes, unlike all the other continuations, and yet reorienting the material for new audiences. They are both closer to Sidney's *Arcadia* and yet farthest away, both chronologically and in their direct admission that measures need to be taken to amend *Arcadia* for new audiences.

As these brief remarks suggest, each text can stand on its own, and clearly did in the experience of many readers. Taken together, they illustrate the variety of ways in which *Arcadia* could be interpreted. Each continuation shows how one reader chose to refigure the same text. In that sense these continuations offer a rare opportunity to review one sixteenth-century text, in three different centuries, with a wide variety of different writers from different backgrounds. Part of the richness of Sidney's afterlife is registered through what these authors have done with his text as interpretations multiplied through the years in infinite variations of shimmering differences.

Another angle of interest in thinking about these continuations, explored in the introductions and notes, is how each continuation fits into the life and profile of its author. Why did each person engage with *Arcadia*? What part did it play in their writing and in their life more generally? Here we have a range of differences. For some of our authors redoing *Arcadia* was a part of a life of writing and publishing. Markham, Bellings, Alexander and Friswell were all accomplished and at least moderately successful writers by the time they took up *Arcadia*. Interesting biographies could be written of each of these figures that situate their versions of *Arcadia* as part of their output, part of their stories, as well as part of *Arcadia*'s. One thing that emerges from the work begun here is how, for each of these writers, writing and politics are interrelated. All of these figures had active public political or military lives. Each of them had explicitly articulated views and plans of public engagement of which writing was part, and *Arcadia* only a small part of that.

We do not know much about Johnstoun or the author of 'The Historie', and it looks as if though the *Arcadia* modernization was Stanley's only work, but for each of them, continuing *Arcadia* takes particular forms and patterns that speak to the circumstances in which they found themselves, as a 'Scoto-Brit' (p. 251), as a member of a leading family on the wrong side of the civil war, as a woman trying to 'enterprize', respectively (Vol. 2, p. viii).

Answers to questions raised by these texts involve understanding their individual merits as pieces of writing. What impact did they have at the time of their release? What might they tell us about changes in attitudes and tastes of reading and writing? What were the authors' personal motivations for writing? What do they indicate about changing attitudes to Sidney's own *Arcadia*, and to Sidney himself? Their absence from any sustained analysis in the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries also alerts us to our own critical fashions. We do not know the sex of the author of 'The Historie', but all the other neglected additions to *Arcadia* included here, with the exception of Dorothy Stanley's, are by male writers. More can be understood about them by exposing them to the rigours of recent thinking in literary studies, including feminism.

In terms of the criterion of the influence they themselves might have had, Alexander's and Bellings's works have little attention in modern analysis, though they were often included in editions of Sidney's work. While it might be difficult to assess the effect of Alexander's and Bellings's work in terms of impact calculated in numbers of readers, it is likely to have been significant in the seventeenth century. The inclusion of these two texts in publications of Sidney's works post 1621 and 1624 respectively makes them the continuations that any reader of *Arcadia* would have seen. In many ways they are more closely associated with Sidney's *Arcadia* than any of the other continuations. So, part of the claim of each of these works to renewed critical attention includes their availability to

seventeenth-century audiences. How Markham's *English Arcadia* sits in relation to this principal of influence and availability is less clear. It seems only to have been printed once and does not exist in multiple copies like Alexander's and Bellings's texts, so is relatively rare. The first part was printed by Edward Alde in his busiest period of work, between 1604 and 1610, and R. B. McKerrow points out that almost all of Alde's books are 'exceedingly scarce'.¹³ Perhaps Markham's *English Arcadia* went the way of other Alde publications that 'were thumbed to death'. We do not know, but we do know that Markham himself was a very prolific and popular author.¹⁴

At the opposite end of the scale, in the middle of the seventeenth century we have a text that was probably less well known than Sidney's *Arcadia* was in Sidney's lifetime. It is not possible to estimate how many readers the manuscript of 'The Historie of Arcadia' had, yet it is at least possible that its original reception might be closer to that of Sidney's own text, possibly circulating in manuscript form among family and friends.¹⁵ Its claim to attention cannot be based on its availability or popularity, but rather on its idiosyncrasy and its blatant piggy-backing on Sidney's *Arcadia* to pursue very specific lines and themes of its own in relation to the English civil wars. For this anonymous author, the chance to explore critical events in the author's own lifetime comes from linking those events to Sidney's *Arcadia*'s interest in government, leadership and what makes a good ruler. While we cannot know for sure as there is little comment by the author on Sidney himself, it is possible to hypothesize that Sidney's own life and his political and religious ambitions would have had some resonance for a Protestant royalist supporter of Charles I in 1649.

Stanley's *Arcadia* as a subscription text in a sense bridges the gap between something produced for an audience personally known to the author and a commercially driven text, as Osland explores (Vol. 2, p. x). It certainly intrigued enough people at the time to sign up for subscription copies of it, and it has had an impact since, even if some of that can be measured in negative terms. Friswell's text was produced as part of a series of books by a successful author for a commercially successful publisher, perhaps more like Markham's *English Arcadia* than any of the other texts.

Stanley's and Friswell's editions are major works of interpretation of *Arcadia* that have never been analysed in any detail, partly because they were not available in print, other than in not always reliable print-on-demand scanned versions. Furthermore, up until now there has been little biographical information about Stanley or Friswell. The introductions to Volumes 2 and 4 bring out the extent of the biographical material on these figures that is currently available.

Each of the four volumes contains material relevant to the rewriting of *Arcadia* in a particular century. Volume 1 contains the major rewritings of *Arcadia* in

the seventeenth century, Volumes 2 and 3 contain Stanley's eighteenth-century modernization, and Volume 4 reproduces the nineteenth-century text edited by James Hain Friswell. Each individual volume should be of interest to scholars of that historical period. Each volume indicates what writers (as readers) felt needed to be changed in a sixteenth-century text to make it palatable and relevant to a later period. It is also hoped that the ability to compare and contrast the versions of *Arcadia* across time will provide new insights into how one text fired the imagination and interest of later readers and writers, and that cumulative observations will be able to be made.

Continuations, Modernizations and Editions

Gavin Alexander has persuasively argued that incompleteness and aposiopesis are fundamental characteristics of Sidney's *Arcadia* and his life, summoning the various spirits that engaged with *Arcadia* after Sidney's death.¹⁶ Each author of a continuation expresses some sense of what he or she is doing, necessarily praising Sidney and declaring themselves inadequate to the task that they have set themselves. Headnotes and volume introductions take account of how an individual author negotiates the delicate task of declaring his or her belief in the merits and the fitness of the project while not being presumptuous in claiming an equality with a figure who in the seventeenth century had become mythologized as the 'compleat man'. Like Hamlet, Sidney was seen as 'the courtier, scholar, soldier', a man almost too perfect for the inadequate times. As Donald Stump puts it, shortly after Sidney's death, Sidney acquired a particular reputation: 'He was the most illustrious English example of what we now call the "Renaissance man", cultivating excellence in a remarkable range of intellectual, artistic and athletic pursuits.'¹⁷

While all of the texts included here share common ground in springing from Sidney's *Arcadia* and are continuations in a broad sense of following on from that text, there are key differences between them. Alexander and Johnstoun take on the specific task of bridging the two parts of *Arcadia*, between what Sidney himself had revised and the text that Fulke Greville, Hugh Sanford and Mary Sidney had reworked. The aim of these supplements is to provide the reader with an easy transition from one side of the *Arcadia* to the other. Bellings, Markham and the anonymous author of 'The Historie' pick up on characters or plot from Sidney's work and take them in directions of their own. Their continuations, like those of Weamys and Wroth, convey a strong sense of *Arcadia* continued in different shapes or guises. Stanley and Friswell effectively edit and modernize the text, not adding new characters or plots but reshaping the existing ones through language and context.

Stump, Kay, Alexander and Garrett all provide analyses, with variations, on the chronological shifts in appreciation of Sidney's works in general and of

Arcadia in particular.¹⁸ There is general agreement that, immediately after Sidney's death up until the late seventeenth century, there was an enthusiasm for Sidney's writings that then diminished in the eighteenth century, re-emerged in the nineteenth century, and finally had an explosive re-energization in mid-twentieth-century academic criticism. How might these general trends relate to the reception of these continuations over time?

When Sidney's *Arcadia* returns to the light of publication and criticism in the nineteenth century, after a period of decline from 1674 onwards, it does so with some reincarnation of values from the sixteenth century. The biographies by Zouch (1802) and Fox Bourne (1868) both resurrect Sidney as a heroic figure relevant to new times.¹⁹ Early in the twentieth century, Wiles, the first person to take the continuations seriously, did so with a strong sense of the 'falling off' that occurs between Sidney the originator and all his various continuers. Johnstoun, like Bellings, Markham and Alexander, lacked the 'great refinement of Sidney ... And no one less a cultivated gentleman than Sidney and less a poet will ever attain that final, subtle sheen which marks the *Arcadia* style at its best.'²⁰ From this perspective imitations can only ever be pale, where success would be to replicate the sensibilities of the original as understood through the refinement of the character of the author. Wiles boldly articulated his sense of what constitutes a successful continuation: 'among a continuator's foremost objectives must be successful continuations of plot and character.'²¹ To this standard Wiles finds the continuers inadequate. Measured by the man, so many figures fail. Wiles is not striking a new pose here as much as returning to a position taken by Sidney's first biographer and friend Sir Fulke Greville: 'Fulke Greville's most-widely known work, *The life of Sir Philip Sidney*, is predicated on the idea that literary texts are enmeshed with biographical detail, and that Sidney's works are of value precisely because they reflect Sidney's life.'²² This kind of approach has contributed to condemning the continuers of *Arcadia* to the shadows of criticism.

The Alexander and Johnstoun texts are, of course, shorter than the others, and have been primarily considered in terms of how well they perform the necessary evil of filling a gap left in the narrative, with the work of Markham and Bellings receiving little sustained criticism of their own.²³ The Stanley and Friswell texts are generally unknown or ignored. Although the manuscript of 'The Historie' has been in the Beinecke Library since 1970, in the Osborn collection established by one of the earlier twentieth-century biographers J. M. Osborn,²⁴ and has been catalogued and known about for over forty years, it received only passing reference as a kind of historical novelty, until Klein Morrison's thesis in 1997. The fact that this text seems only to exist in one manuscript, unlike many of the other continuations by Alexander, Johnstoun and Bellings, has, of course, contributed to its relative neglect.

While the effect of feminism and gender studies in the disciplines of literature and history contributed to the rediscovery of Mary Wroth, Mary Sidney and Anna Weamys, this has not been sufficient so far to gain Dorothy Stanley much attention.²⁵ While her *Arcadia* is currently slightly better known than Friswell's, we can partly blame the syndrome of a bad name sticking to a dog for her relative absence from Sidney studies. As Osland argues, 'the eighteenth century in fact had very little to say about Mrs Stanley's modernization of Sidney, and almost nothing good' (Vol. 2, p. xiii). In part this is because from some perspectives not only can someone who is not Sidney not contribute anything appropriate to his work, but also because the specific task that Stanley claims to be performing is modernization. While modernization is a slippery term, it carries connotations of change for reasons of fashion and taste that have accumulated derogatory associations (Vol. 2, p. xi). While providing supplements, additions and histories to *Arcadia*, or even Englishing *Arcadia* might be provocative or presumptuous, these pretensions pale in comparison with the attempt at modernization.

We can, then, note with some irony that whatever Friswell thought he was doing in 1867 in pruning *Arcadia*, in particular by removing the poetry to make it more palatable for audiences increasingly more comfortable with prose than poetry, he certainly did not think he was modernizing it. Referring to William Stigant's claim that Sidney was "the first writer of good English prose", Friswell agrees and therefore deplores the work of Mrs Stanley yet again:²⁶ 'He is so, and he needs no modernization, like that which the facile Mrs. Stanley attempted on him, who removed not only all the quaintnesses and conceits, but the sweet bloom of diction, and every innocent grace of art' (Vol. 4, p. xvi). Yet Friswell's continuation of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, through producing an edition of it that has glosses, notes and cross-references and removes those elaborations of courtly wit and rhetoric that are the eclogues, seems to sail perilously close to the winds of modernization. When is a text a continuation, an addition, a modernization, an edition?

The texts edited and presented here are all continuations 'of' Sidney's *Arcadia* rather than necessarily continuations to it. Some do continue the stories, plots and characters that Sidney began, however peremptorily they might launch themselves into new dimensions once the energy from the connection has given them sufficient force. The seventeenth-century texts in Volume 1 are, fairly unproblematically, continuations 'to' *Arcadia* as well as 'of' it, however tenuous their point of connection is, and however appropriate their aesthetic executions may be judged to be. Stanley's and Friswell's texts are birds of different feathers in that they do not continue *Arcadia* in the sense of pick up from it and augment it in some way as much as comprehensively redo it. Stanley's text is modernized, as it explicitly states, and both it and Friswell's texts can be seen as editions of radically different kinds. The first expends an enormous amount of energy rewriting *Arcadia* in every line, while the second works through a process of omitting materials deemed

likely to be arcane and unpopular, and adding notes that clarify obscure passages and link *Arcadia* to a tradition of English literature. Each text is a continuation 'of' Sidney's *Arcadia* into its own time and context.

The continuers sometimes give explicit accounts of why they decided to revisit *Arcadia*, with explanations varying in plausibility. These are explored in the headnotes to each text, and in Volume 1 in relation to the seventeenth-century texts' paratextual matter. Stanley's statement of filling in idle hours, 'a Waste of Time I had upon my Hands' (Vol. 2, p. 3), would have to be one of the more extravagant claims for producing a work of over five hundred pages that did not spring directly from one's own imagination. As Osland points out, it is also a claim in contradiction to the idea that the work might have had at least some financial motivation (Vol. 2, p. 8). Lange suggests that for Bellings, writing a continuation might have been seen as a

reasonable way for a young man to demonstrate the benefits even one of the 'vile' rebellious Irish could gain from a London education, and a particularly appropriate homage from an Irish gentleman to a family that had done a comparatively better job of understanding and governing Ireland than others, and that recognised the honour in which poets were held in Ireland. (p. 180)

Sir William Alexander had published other matter, seems to have worked with King James himself and, given his political and colonial ambitions, might have seen himself as in some ways following Sidney's pattern. Certainly, some commentators have made large claims for Alexander's significance as a Renaissance figure (p. 151).²⁷ Given the lack of information about Johnstoun and the author of 'The Historie', we can only surmise from the texts what the interests of the authors might have been, although certainly the latter's flag is nailed very firmly to the mast.

It is dangerous to tidy these disparate texts into one neat bundle, given that only Friswell directly engages with the continuations that have gone before. However, one aspect of how they all work at appropriating Sidney's *Arcadia* for their own ends can be highlighted by looking at the first and last examples in these volumes. Gervase Markam was a highly successful writer in the first part of the seventeenth century, with many publications to his name and a strong reputation for producing useful, readable and constructive books. By 1631 he could even be considered 'a well-known brand name'.²⁸ His works were intentionally aimed at a wide range of readers, intending to engage the gentleman rather than the aristocrat. In the early stages of his writing and publishing, in 1598, he directly raised the issue of his audience in *A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Seruingmen: or, the Seruingmans Comfort*:

Therefore gentle gentlemen, since curtesie is alwayes the companion of true Gentilitie, courteously I pray yow consider of me and my doings. And now Reader, if you by degree deserue the name of the Yeoman, submissuely without hautiness of hart I pray you patience in pursuing this my first practice, for I hold your calling no lesse com-

mendable, and your profession no lesse pertinent to the supportyng of this humane societie, then them of higher dignities and degree: For, What is the Prince without the Plough? Or the Potentate without the Pasture? Doth not the one afforde them Corne, the other Kine, with all other prouision for their bodily sustenance?²⁹

Strikingly, at the other end of the 260 years in which the continuations included in these volumes were produced, we have Friswell again pleading the interests of 'gentlemen' readers who have qualities he sees as generally lacking in the nineteenth century, qualities that need to be reacquired.

[T]here are but a few steps from that quality, which all those of us who are good desire to possess, to that gentle bearing, both of mind and heart, which when once seen is always loved. We cannot all be lords and ladies ... But all, from the highest to the lowest, can be gentle men and women, and we none of us can be more.³⁰

Like all the published authors in these volumes, Friswell and Markham took into serious account the audiences for whom they were writing, adapting Sidney's *Arcadia* with that in mind. What becomes clear from Friswell's and Markham's work, in looking at how *Arcadia* fits into the profile of their other writings, is that their uses of *Arcadia* are specifically tailored to fit their broader writing and publishing agendas. As critics have argued, Markham reconfigures the emphases his characters receive, pushing into the spotlight not the Princess Melidora, direct descendant of Sidney's Pamela and Musidorus, but Nerina and Apheleia, nymphs and servants (p. 4). Friswell, returning to the trope that we have seen begin with Greville, takes up *Arcadia* as demonstrating the characteristics of its aristocratic author that he thinks can be transferred to the nineteenth-century 'gentleman' (Vol. 4, pp. xiii–xiv). Without drawing too long a bow, or homogenizing approaches to *Arcadia* that are simply quite different, we can see connections between Friswell and Markham that exemplify the needs and concerns that drove them to continue *Arcadia*. Both are interested in writing for a particular section of society and both assert the merits of that group against their social superiors. Both seek, in different ways, not only to harness *Arcadia* to their own ends, but to transmute the basically aristocratic tone of *Arcadia* into values that might be prized by a different class of society and a different class of reader. We might note as an ironic aside that there is little evidence that either Markham's or Friswell's *Arcadias* were ever as popular as the rest of their writing. Current information suggests that Markham's books on husbandry, and Friswell's *The Gentle Life: Essays in Aid of the Formation of Character* were much more popular than their *Arcadias*.

A specific reproof to the critic seeking tidy, schematic accounts of how reading and writing have functioned throughout history occurs in a singular absence from one of our continuations. The anonymous 'The Historie' is intimately concerned with the events and culmination of the English civil wars, ending with the heroic and stoic death of Aristanax/Charles I. Given that the author grounds this account in Sidney's *Arcadia* and finishes it with Charles's death, it would have been delightfully tidy to see it incorporate Pamela's prayer from Sidney's *Arcadia*, which Charles was supposed to have recited close to his death.³¹ It does not happen.

It is inevitable that anyone who has spent as much time as the editors of the present volumes have in reading, rereading, analysing and editing these texts necessarily has a vested interest in finding them worthy. However, whatever their differences, however highly they were once regarded, however little note has been taken of them recently, it is hoped that creating access to these texts will provide useful materials for Sidney scholars specifically, and for early modern studies more generally. We hope that more productive work might be forthcoming as a result of these volumes along the lines suggested here and beyond.

Editorial Principles of This Edition

The intention of this four-volume series was to produce texts *ad litteram*. In all cases we have tried to present the texts in a form that is as close to the original as possible, with minimal unseen editorial intervention. Obvious and simple typographical errors that obscure meaning have been silently corrected to improve readability and reduce ambiguity. A list of such changes is included. Inconsistencies in spelling, punctuation, use of capital letters and characters' names have been left as they are, unless there is a likelihood of confusion, in which case a note is provided. Particular issues surrounding the transcription of the anonymous manuscript, which was never printed or published, are addressed in the headnote to that text (this volume, pp. 279–80).

The original pagination of the text is indicated by the inclusion of / within the text at the exact point of the page break. Any sections omitted from the text are indicated by [...]. Assuming a scholarly audience, we have not glossed or changed standard contractions, such as 'whē' for when, 'thē' for then, for example. Punctuation has been retained as in the original. In the case of 'The Historie', while there are very few full stops in the approximately ninety-thousand word text, the syntax is remarkably easy to follow, and the story flows in a fluent and comprehensible way. Any attempt to refashion it in standardized modern punctuation would have been heavy handed, destroying the alterity of the text, and would probably have produced a very clunky, hard-to-read printed version.

In two cases, Alexander and Bellings, there are a considerable number of textual variants that have been considered, indicating some significant changes in printing and composition in the seventeenth century. The central issues here have been noted in the relevant headnotes (this volume, pp. 153–4 and pp. 184–7).

Explanatory notes and glosses have been provided for each text. Notes on each text are provided for words, allusions and references that are not self-explanatory, and were not included in Sidney's text. Where possible, these seek to give a sense of how the reference fits into the specific context. Quotations and allusions are identified, where it has been possible to do so, giving information that can be followed up by readers. Consideration has also been given to identifying editions of textual references to which a particular author might have had access.

The bibliography contains all references included in this introduction, volume introductions and the headnotes. Each headnote canvasses specific information relating to that individual text. While it is impossible to include all dates that might be considered important in a chronology for a series that covers 260 years, we have included events that are directly relevant to our texts.

Frequent reference has been made to *The Oxford National Dictionary of Biography* (ODNB), *The Oxford English Dictionary* (OED) online versions and to *The Oxford Classical Dictionary*.³²

Notes

1. See D. Kay (ed.), *Sir Philip Sidney: An Anthology of Modern Criticism* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1987), pp. 1–41.
2. B. Juel-Jensen, 'Sir Philip Sidney, 1554–1586: A Checklist of Early Editions of His Works', in Kay (ed.), *Sir Philip Sidney*, pp. 289–314. See also P. Lindenbaum, 'Sidney's *Arcadia* as Cultural Monument and Proto-Novel', in C. C. Brown and A. F. Marotti (eds), *Texts and Cultural Change in Early Modern England* (Houndmills: Macmillan, 1997), pp. 80–94, on p. 90.
3. M. Wroth, *Mary Wroth: The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works*, ed. J. A. Roberts, vol. 10 (Aldershot: Scolar Press, 1996); M. Wroth, *The First Part of The Countess of Montgomery's Urania*, ed. J. A. Roberts (Binghamton, NY: Renaissance English Text Society, 1995); M. Wroth, *The Second Part of The Countess of Montgomery's Urania*, ed. J. A. Roberts, completed by S. Gossett and J. Mueller (Tempe, AZ: Renaissance English Text Society in conjunction with Arizona Center for Medieval Renaissance Studies, 1999).
4. A. Weamys, *A Continuation of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia*, ed. P. C. Cullen, mod. edn (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1994). See also, most recently, the special issue on Mary Wroth, *Sidney Journal*, 31:1 (2013).
5. A. Weamys, *The Early Modern Englishwoman: A Facsimile Library of Essential Works, Series II Printed Writing, 1641–1700: Part 3 Volume 7 Anna Weamys*, ed. M. Mitchell (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).
6. M. E. Lamb, *Gender and Authorship in the Sidney Circle* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990); G. Waller, *The Sidney Family Romance: Mary Wroth, William Herbert, and the Early Modern Construction of Gender* ((Detroit, MI: Wayne State University, 1993).
7. Most recently see *The Correspondence of Sir Philip Sidney*, ed. R. Kuin (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).
8. *Sir Philip Sidney World Bibliography*, at bibs.slu.edu/sidney/ [accessed 4 October 2013], principal author and editor, D. Stump, with co-authors C. S. Hunter and J. S. Dees.
9. *Mary Wroth's Poetry: An Electronic Edition*, ed. P. Salzman, at www.latrobe.edu.au/index.html [accessed 4 October 2013]. Salzman's edition of Wroth's *Love's Victorie* is in preparation.
10. A. G. D. Wiles, 'Parallel Analyses of the Two Versions of Sidney's *Arcadia*', *Studies in Philology*, 39 (April 1942), pp. 167–206; A. G. D. Wiles, 'The Date of Publication and Composition of Sir William Alexander's Supplement to Sidney's *Arcadia*', *Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*, 50 (1956), pp. 387–92; A. G. D. Wiles, 'Sir William Alexander's Continuation of the Revised Version of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*', *Studies*

- in *Scottish Literature* (University of South Carolina) (April 1966), pp. 221–9; A. G. D. Wiles, 'James Johnstoun and the *Arcadian* Style', *Renaissance Papers* (1957), pp. 72–81.
11. See also N. Simonova, 'Fan Fiction and the Author in the Early Seventeenth Century: The Case of Sidney's *Arcadia*', *Transformative Works and Cultures*, 11 (2012), at <http://journal.transformativeworks.org> [accessed 23 January 2012].
 12. M. Garrett, (ed.) *Sidney: The Critical Heritage* (London: Routledge, 1966); G. Alexander, *Writing After Sidney: The Literary Response to Sir Philip Sidney 1586–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); Kay (ed.), *Sir Philip Sidney*; P. Salzman, *English Prose Fiction, 1558–1700: A Critical History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1986).
 13. R. B. McKerrow, 'Edward Allde as a Typical Trade Printer', *Library*, 4th series, 10:2 (September 1929), pp. 121–62, on p. 132.
 14. *Ibid.*, p. 135. For the list of Markham's publications and commentary on his prolific output see F. N. L. Poynter, *A Bibliography of Gervase Markham 1568?–1637* (Oxford: The Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1962).
 15. For discussion of Sidney's *Arcadia*'s original reception see H. Woudhuysen, *Sir Philip Sidney and the Circulation of Manuscripts 1558–1640* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).
 16. Alexander, *Writing After Sidney*. See also S. B. Dobranski, *Readers and Authorship in Early Modern England* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).
 17. Stump, *Sir Philip Sidney World Bibliography*.
 18. *Ibid.*; Alexander, *Writing After Sidney*; Kay (ed.), *Sir Philip Sidney*, and Garrett, *Sidney: The Critical Heritage*.
 19. T. Zouch, *Memoirs of the Life and Writings of Sir Philip Sidney* (York: Thomas Wilson and Son, 1808); H. R. Fox Bourne, *A Memoir of Sir Philip Sidney* (London: Chapman and Hall, 1862).
 20. A. G. D. Wiles, 'The Continuations of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*' (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1934), p. 114.
 21. *Ibid.*, p. 84.
 22. M. Steggle, 'Fulke Greville: Life and Works', in *Sidney Journal*, 'Fulke Greville: A Special Double Issue', guest editors M. C. Hansen and M. Woodcock, 19:1–2 (2001), pp. 1–10, on p. 1.
 23. Apart from Garrett, Kay and Salzman, W. R. Davis did look at Markham's *English Arcadia* in *Idea and Act in Elizabethan Fiction* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1969). Interestingly, outside of Sidney studies Markham has received considerable recent attention in relation to his other publications, particularly in relation to domestic and agricultural treatises. See, for example, A. L. Prescott, 'Du Bellay's Roman Whore Goes North', *Renaissance Quarterly*, 42:3 (Autumn 1989), pp. 397–419; W. Wall, 'Renaissance Husbandry: Gervase Markham and the Publication of England', *Sixteenth Century Journal*, 27:3 (Autumn 1996), pp. 767–85; J. Mylander, 'Early Modern "How-To" Books: Impractical Manuals and the Construction of Englishness in the Atlantic World', *Journal for Early Modern Studies*, 9:1 (Spring/Summer 2009), pp. 123–46; E. Tebeaux, 'English Agriculture and Estate Management Instructions, 1200–1700: From Orality to Textuality to Modern Instructions', *Technical Communication Quarterly*, 19:4 (2010), pp. 352–78.
 24. J. M. Osborn, *Young Philip Sidney 1572–1577* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1972).
 25. C. Kinney's article 'The Gentlewoman Reader Writes Back: Mrs Stanley's Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* Moderniz'd', *Sidney Journal*, 27:2 (2009), pp. 39–52 is an exception.

26. W. Stigant, 'Sir Philip Sidney', in A. J. B. Hope, R. A. Ahafo Adair, W. Stigant, C. C. Graham, W. M. Champion and C. W. Goodwin (eds), *Cambridge Essays, Contributed by Members of the University* (London: John W. Parker, 1858).
27. T. H. McGrail, *Sir William Alexander: First Earl of Stirling, a Biographical Study* (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1940).
28. See Mylander, 'Early Modern "How-To" Books', p. 139.
29. G. Markham, *A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Seruingmen: or, The Seruingmans Comfort* (London: Imprinted for W. W., 1598), A3.
30. J. H. Friswell, *The Gentle Life: Essays in Aid of the Formation of Character* (London: Sampson Low, Son and Marston, 1870), pp. 13–14.
31. For discussion of the controversy about Charles I's reputed use of Pamela's prayer and John Milton's possible involvement in this issue see C. W. Durham and K. E. Pruitt (eds), *Reassembling Truth: Twenty-First Century Milton* (Danvers, MA: Rosemount Publishing and Printing Corp., 2003), p. 81–2; R. Wood, "'The Representing of So Strange a Power in Love': Philip Sidney's Legacy of Anti-Factionalism", *Early Modern Literary Studies*, special issue 16 (October 2007), pp. 1–20; M. Y. Hughes, 'New Evidence on the Charge that Milton Forged the Pamela Prayer in the *Eikon Basilike*', *Review of English Studies*, new series, 3:10 (April 1952) pp. 130–40.
32. S. Hornblower and A. Spawforth (eds), *The Oxford Classical Dictionary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996).

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CHRONOLOGY

- c. 1568 Birth of Gervase Markham
- c. 1576 Birth of William Alexander
- 1599 Birth of Oliver Cromwell, Lord Protector of England, Scotland and Ireland (Diabolotuchos in 'The Historie of Arcadia').
- 1600 Birth of Charles, later King Charles I.
- 1601 Marriage of Markham to Mary Gelsthorp.
Trial and execution of Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex, of significance to Markham and the anonymous author in particular.
Marriage of William Alexander to Janet, daughter of Sir William Erskine.
- 1602 Establishment of the Dutch East India Company.
- c. 1603 Birth of Richard Bellings
Death of Elizabeth I, accession of James I and VI.
- 1605 Year of the Gunpowder Plot, referred to in 'The Historie of Arcadia'
- 1607 Publication of Part 1 of Markham's *English Arcadia*.
- 1613 Publication of Part 2 of Markham's *English Arcadia*.
- 1614 Alexander appointed Master of Requests for Scotland, part of his interest in advancing Scottish interests.
- 1616 Death of William Shakespeare.
- 1617 Markham has to agree not to write about various topics, such as horses and cattle, on which he has already published.
- 1621 William Alexander 'Supplement' printed with Sidney's *Arcadia*.
- 1624 Bellings's *Sixth Booke* published for the first time, in Dublin.
- 1625 Death of King James I and VI, accession of Charles I.
- 1626 Alexander made Scottish Secretary of State.
- 1627 First appearance of Bellings's *Sixth Booke* in an edition of Sidney's *Arcadia*.
- 1630 Birth of Charles, later King Charles II.
- 1631 Probable year of Bellings's marriage to Hon. Margaret Butler, daughter of Richard Butler, third Viscount Mountgarret. The marriage produced four children.

- 1634 Publication of William Alexander's 'Anacrisis', which includes brief discussion of Sidney's *Arcadia*.
- 1635 Death of Bellings's wife, Margaret.
- 1637 Bellings wrote congratulatory poem for the 1637 Dublin performance of the play *The Royal Master* by James Shirley.
Death of Gervase Markham.
Publication of *The Book of Common Prayer*.
- 1638 James Johnstoun 'Supplement' printed with Sidney's *Arcadia*.
- 1640 Death of William Alexander.
- 1641 Bellings replaced Edward Wharton as MP for Callan.
- 1642 Bellings became secretary of the Confederate Supreme Council.
- 1645 Bellings acted as ambassador to various Continental powers from early 1645 until October 1645.
- 1646 Bellings imprisoned (along with other proponents of the Ormonde peace) by the clerical faction of the supreme council on 15 September. They were released on 23 November.
- 1649 Execution of Charles I, date after which 'The Historie of Arcadia' was written.
Publication of *Eikon Basilike*.
- c. 1652 Dorothy Stanley's father, John Milborne, born.
- c. 1656 Dorothy's Stanley's mother, Emma Bishop, born.
- 1658 Death of Oliver Cromwell.
- 1660 Restoration of the Monarchy under Charles II.
- 1660s Bellings was back in Ireland and again politically active, helping to draft the Remonstrance (oath of loyalty for Catholics) in 1661.
- 1662 The Act of Settlement of 1662 restored part of Richard Bellings's lands to him.
- 1670s Bellings probably commenced writing his history of the Irish confederation early in the 1670s.
- 1676 John Milborne and Emma Bishop marry 26 (or 29) December 1676.
- 1677 Death of Bellings in September at Crehelpe in Co. Wicklow.
Bellings was buried in Mulhuddart, Co. Dublin.
- 1685 Death of Charles II.
- c. 1694 Dorothy Milborne born at Wonastow, Monmouthshire.
- 1701 Act of Settlement, preventing a Catholic inheriting English crown.
- 1702 Anne becomes queen following death of her brother-in-law William III.
- 1707 Act of Union results in Kingdom of Great Britain, merging England, Scotland and Wales.

- 1710 Britain's Statute of Anne, effectively the first copyright legislation, is passed.
- 1713 Dorothy Milborne and Edward Stanley marry on 18 July 1713 at Gray's Inn Chapel.
- 1714 George, Elector of Hanover, becomes George I.
- 1715 Jacobite uprising in Scotland.
Alexander Pope publishes first part of his translation of Homer's *Iliad* (completed 1720).
- 1716 Publication of *Euphues and Lucilla*, a modernization of John Lyly's *Euphues*.
- 1719 Publication of Daniel Defoe's *Robinson Crusoe*.
- 1720 South Sea Bubble bursts, with significant impact on many, including Sir George Caswell, Dorothy Stanley's brother-in-law.
- 1721 Robert Walpole becomes Chief Minister.
- 1723 Proposals for printing an Imitation of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* by subscription are published in the *Daily Courant* on 18 January 1723.
- 1725 *Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, Moderniz'd* by Mrs Stanley announced ready for delivery on 19 June 1725.
'Mrs Stanley, on Her New Edition of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*' is published in the *London Journal* on 21 August 1725.
Three-volume edition of the *Works of Sr Philip Sidney, Knt* advertised for sale in December 1725.
- 1726 Mrs Dorothy Stanley and Thomas West, of the Middle Temple, marry on 11 December 1726 at St Edmund the King and Martyr, London.
Publication of Alexander Pope's annotated translation of the *Odyssey*.
- 1740 Publication of Samuel Richardson's *Pamela*.
- 1811 Birth of William Thackeray, who became a powerful influence on Hain Friswell.
- 1812 Birth of Charles Dickens.
- 1813 Publication of Jane Austen's *Pride and Prejudice*.
- 1825 Birth of James Friswell.
- 1837 Birth of Victoria, later queen of England.
- 1847 Friswell marries Emma Rumley.
- 1848 Publication of Thackeray's *Vanity Fair*, and Karl Marx and Frederick Engels's *The Communist Manifesto*.
- 1852 Publication of Karl Marx's 'The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte'.
- 1856 Death of Friswell's father.

- 1859 Publication of Charles Darwin's *The Origin of Species*.
1863 Death of William Thackeray.
1867 Publication of Friswell's *The Countess of Pembroke's Arcadia*
Written by Sir Philip Sidney.
1869 Publication of Matthew Arnold's *Culture and Anarchy*.
1870 Act to Provide for Elementary Education in England and Wales
that started to provide a structured general education as
opposed to piecemeal philanthropic measures.
Death of Charles Dickens.
1871 Sala sues Friswell.
1878 Death of James Hain Friswell.

INTRODUCTION

Marea Mitchell

Rewriting Sidney's *Arcadia* in the Seventeenth Century

The five texts included in this volume cover a period of a little over fifty years, from sometime in the second half of the 1590s when Markham said he wrote the first part of Book 1 of *The English Arcadia* (see this volume, p. 8) to sometime after the execution of Charles I in 1649 with which the anonymous 'The Historie of Arcadia' ends. While all the texts might be described as seventeenth-century, given that they were all published within that period, and all proclaim that they spring from the same source, Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, the themes and ideas they pursue are as diverse as the ways in which they pursue them. They were all produced in the period of what Donald Stump calls Sidney's 'Initial Fame 1587–1674'.¹ We have here a unique collection of texts united in origin, diverse in execution, published at a point of growth in printing and the emergence of keen interest in narrative prose.²

All of the authors explicitly articulate their relation to Sidney's work, and sometimes to Sidney himself. One of the things that can be seen from this collection of rewritings is that attitudes to Sidney are complex and variable. A key point that links all of these continuations and their relation to their point of origin is ambiguity about originality and authority. Each text negotiates a space of writing that has its roots and integrity in an already valued work. There are explicit discussions of the influence of that original text alongside intentions of achieving something different. Each text's relationship to Sidney is experienced in subtly different ways by its author. While what the authors say cannot necessarily be taken at face value, or literally, all of these authors provide an insight into how they are prepared to present themselves and their work.

Gervase Markham essentially has two bites at the cherry of explaining his purpose in writing *The English Arcadia*. He begins by suggesting that it was fear of censure that held him back from publishing this work earlier.

The innumerable tortures wherewith seuer censures will torment and whip me, their pewes, their pysbes, their wrye lookes, Apish iestures, and vtunable pronuntiations, haue not so much retained me anytime this halfe-score yeares from the publication of this morall Historie, as the imputations of arrogancie imitation, affectation, and euen absurd ignorance, which I euer feared Enuie would vniustly lay vpon me. (p. 8)

Yet even here, right at the beginning of what becomes a tradition of continuing Sidney's *Arcadia*, we can see the signs of ambivalence towards the original author that never disappear. In these first lines of *The English Arcadia* it is not the fear of failing Sidney's pattern that is the biggest obstacle, but the fear of public criticism, and that fear is expressed in terms that carry a certain high-mindedness about the validity of the criticism, as expressed in the use of terms such as 'pewes ... pysbes ... Apish iestures, and vtunable pronuntiations'. There is a self-confidence here that undercuts the sense of a new author intimidated by an old one. Furthermore, these constraints of expectations are next described by Markham as 'shadowie fetters', again suggesting the insubstantiality of the criticism from which he has liberated himself. Can we even identify a sardonic tone in his description of the merit of the author whom he follows in his use of phrasing that imitates Sidney's ambivalently regarded habit of repetition? 'First for the Title, thogh it be only excellēt in the most excellēt creature that first taught vs the sound of excellent writing' (p. 8). Finally, in this first explication of his position in relation to his work, there is also a sense in which, by defending his own imitation, he puts himself on the same plane not only as Sidney himself, but Virgil, Ariosto and Spencer to boot:

mine excuse must onely bee the / worthinesse of former presidents, as Virgill from Homer, Ariosto from Baiardo, famous Spencer from renowned Chaucer, and I with as good priniledge from the onely to be admired Sir Philip Sydney ... who were our age but blest with his liuing breath, he would himselfe confesse the bonie hee drew both from Heli-odorus, and Diana. (p. 8)

In the prefatory material to the second part of *The English Arcadia* in 1613, Markham continues his antagonistic stance against potential critics, again ventriloquizing Sidney himself on the subject of imitation: 'were he / on the earth, he would repine at their curiosity, and tell them, that his contemplatiue labour first brought him to actiue worthinesse' (p. 89). Addressed to 'To the vnunderstanding Reader, For hee which hath knowledge needes not my wordes', Markham's paratextual apparatus is far from a self-effacing abnegation in the face of either Sidney or his readers:

O you then of little learning and great boast, be fauourable to this poore fragment of paper, and though it receiue some buffets from your lips, yet out of the charity, with which you are not acquainted, let not your enuies finde more faults then are uisible, so shall the Authour, heree-after, extoll your patience, and no more laugh at your wants of iudgement. (p. 89)

Sir William Alexander's supplement is not accompanied by any similar announcement of his own intent. There is only one paragraph of Alexander's own voice on the matter of his attempt to bridge the two parts of *Arcadia*. In it he modestly describes his work as a 'little essay' serving as 'shadow to giue a luster to the rest'. Yet there is a curious ambiguity in including

the death of Philisides, making choise of a course, whereby I might best manifest, what affection I beare to the memorie of him, whom I tooke to be alluded vnto by that name, and whom I onely by this imperfect parcell (designing more) had a minde to honour. (p. 176)

The death of Philisides is a tribute to the death of Sir Philip Sidney, but there is also a sense in which Alexander gets to kill the author on whom he relies. Alexander later writes in 'Anacrisis' that 'the *Arcadia* of S. P. Sidney (either being considered in the whole or in several Lineaments) is the most excellent Work that, in my Judgement, hath been written in any Language that I understand'.³ It is interesting to reflect that if this was published in 1634, as J. E. Spingarn suggests,⁴ then by this stage Alexander's work was itself firmly part of the 'several Lineaments' he describes. Alexander's work was initially included as an addendum separately paginated, then incorporated within *Arcadia* itself in every edition after 1621. Alexander both gets to describe the death of Sidney's avatar, and then to become part of Sidney's work himself.

Richard Bellings's text comes accompanied by two addresses, one to an honourable patron, Elizabeth Cary, Viscountess of Falkland, and one to the general reader. The first closely aligns Bellings's text with the virtue of the patroness, suggesting that as it was always designed for her and that as she is its origin, the Viscountess can do no other than value it. So here Cary replaces Sidney as the *primum mobile*. Sidney's role is taken into account in the second address to the reader, where Bellings denies that he sees himself as channelling Sidney ('I am well assur'd divine *Sidney's* soule is not infus'd into me, whose Judgment was only able to finish, what his Inuentiō was only worthy to undertake', p. 195). His address finishes with the most obsequious of remarks that the continuers have yet used: 'let it suffice I place Sir *Philip Sidney's* desert (even in mine owne esteeme) as farre beyond my endeavours, as the most fault-finding censor can imagin this assay of mine, to come short of his *Arcadia*' (p. 195).

However, while Markham's and Alexander's paratextual comments seem to convey stronger senses of their own capacities than Bellings articulates here, nevertheless Bellings shows a certain degree of confidence in labelling his work 'A Sixth Booke' to *Arcadia*. Neither Markham's nor Alexander's writing is as directly aligned with Sidney's work as this.

Johnstoun's choice of dedicatee is the most ambitious, given that it was James I and VI himself, though as this supplement was not published until 1638 and James died in 1625, the question arises as to whether James ever actually saw it. We do not know what kind of relationship Johnstoun may have had with James

or whether they knew each other. Johnstoun does refer to James's own writing abilities, suggesting that he would have been a better continuer of *Arcadia* himself, 'if at least so much time were permitted to your Majesty, from other serious and important affaires of your Realme, as to peruse the same' (p. 255). It is from Johnstoun that we get the strongest sense that the act of reading *Arcadia* has driven the need to add to it. Having for 'some idle houres, oft and oft evolved the worke of Sir Philip Sidney, intituled his *Arcadia*, I was carried with such pleasure in perusing the same, that I could never find an end of reading' (p. 255), Johnstoun's involvement with *Arcadia* is active and engaged, a participatory practice evident in the use of the word 'evolved', suggesting that the act of reading has necessitated the act of writing.

Johnstoun's dedication to James and his explanation of his intentions in adding to *Arcadia* also picks up on the theme announced by Greville that from the merit of the author flows the merit of the work: 'True it is, that whatsoever is wanting in him, can no more be filled up but by himselfe, than one man can invest anothers mind' (p. 255). The idea evident here is that 'Sidney's works are of value precisely because they reflect Sidney's life.'⁵ This theme is to emerge more strongly again in the nineteenth century, in criticism, biographies and in James Hain Friswell's 1867 edition of *Arcadia*. Johnstoun also asserts the primacy of Sidney's narrative itself. It demands a response. It requires someone to demonstrate how the princesses can be liberated from their capture. The story thus makes its own demands on this particular reader whose reading compels him to become the writer to bring about a resolution to the narrative that Sidney was unable to provide: 'that if he any wayes could be absented from the assertion of the Ladies liberty, it was needfull, because he left in the midst; that by that want his want should be livelier deciphered' (p. 255).

Of all the continuations in this volume, the only one not published was 'The Historie of Arcadia; or an Addition to: and a Continuation of Sir Philip Sydney's Arcadia', yet it does begin with an address to 'the courteous reader' whom the author seeks to distinguish, as did Markham fifty years before, from indiscriminate readers. These discourteous readers are discouraged because they, like 'venomous spiders, can gather poison out of the most exquisite, and delectable flowers of ingenuity' (p. 289). For this author, like Johnstoun, the necessity of writing and of continuing *Arcadia* is attributed to a sense of compulsion arising from the act of reading *Arcadia*. The task of writing the addition occurs during youthful immaturity, the author says, which would not have been undertaken

if I had not bene incited thereto, by the Author, of the Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia; who in the close of his History, doth seeme to invite some other, to the continuance of relating those occurrences, which, his greater employments did abridge him of time to consummate. (p. 289)

There are repeated references to the young age of this author, but whoever the person and whoever the imagined reader might have been, there is nevertheless a confidence of assertion that this might be the first of more writings. There is also a strong sense of merit in 'my presumption in transgressing S^r Phillip Sidney's desire' (p. 290). In particular, what this author has the confidence to do and to directly articulate doing, is to transform *Arcadia* from the court of Venus to the court of Mars, from bucolic pastoral settings to scenes of urban and rural warfare. The act of transgression is clear and intentional in this continuation.

Gender, Class and Character in *Arcadia* Rewritten

Arcadia's gender politics have undergone much scrutiny in recent literary criticism. One particular area of interest has been the sympathetic treatment received by Gynecia in comparison with that of her husband Basilius in their adulterous fantasies for Pyrocles. Gynecia's ability to see through Pyrocles's disguise as Zelmane makes her both more dangerous and more interesting as a character, while Basilius is limited and rendered foolish by his inability to see through to the true nature of things. Pamela and Philoclea are princesses of character and wit, subsumed though they may be at the end of *Arcadia* through marriage and the tidy production of children who represent a neat balance of both parents, Meliodora (Musidorus and Pamela) and Pyrophilus (Pyrocles and Philoclea).

The works of the two women continuers of *Arcadia* in the seventeenth century have specifically been examined for the treatment of gender and politics. As critics have argued, Weamys's *Continuation* has been linked with specifically royalist interests.⁶ Mary Wroth's *Urania* conspicuously rewrites *Arcadia* around issues of gender, centring from the very beginning on the female characters, giving the absent, idealized Urania voice and space.⁷

The authors in this volume of continuations also perform various kinds of translations of gender, treating Sidney's characters and plots with varying degrees of latitude. Four of the continuers in the seventeenth century included here were men writing under male monarchs: Markham, Alexander, Bellings and Johnstoun,⁸ writing under James I and VI. The 'Historie' author, sex unknown, was writing sometime after the execution of Charles I, with events leading up to that sharply in the mind. Johnstoun specifically dedicated his supplement to James, while Alexander's 'essay', like the first part of Markham's work, had no explicit sponsor, an absence Markham remedied with the second part, dedicating it to his friend Francis Darlow. Bellings drew Elizabeth Cary, Viscountess of Falkland to his side, while 'The Historie' simply addresses a generic 'courteous reader'. Apart from Bellings and Johnstoun, our continuers seemed not to think that their work needed any authority other than Sidney himself. Weamys invoked aid from Lady Anne and Lady Grace Perpoint in her dedication and Wroth styled her work the Countess of Montgomeroy's *Urania*, perhaps illustrating the greater vulnerability of women's writing and the advisability of bringing aristocratic support on board.

As Lange points out in her headnote to the Bellings text, some female characters in his text, notably Gynecia and Pamela, are sidelined (p. 182), whereas Alexander's supplement continues the attention Sidney originally gave to Gynecia, providing an extra passage of self-examination that is sympathetic to her position ('O what a monster of miserie am I?', p. 161). Alexander also continues the exploration of female friendship in the relationship between the two princess-sisters ('This made Pamela forget her other grieffe without any comfort: transferring her affection from her friend to her more than friendly sister', p. 163). In Alexander's text there is also an awareness of Pamela's very female dilemma of needing to say less than she thinks to retain her modesty. She needs to express a pretend anger against Musidorus to prevent him from any taking any encouragement from her that might lead to presumptuous advances ('borrowing a maske from hate, wherewith to hide loue, she thus charged him, who alreadie had yielded', p. 165).

Johnstoun seems relatively less interested in issues of gender than Alexander although, like Alexander, he does renew occasions for Gynecia's self-criticism: 'O miserable Gynecia! miserable, in that thine owne bowells shall assuredly bereave thee of thy blisse' (p. 266). Nor is 'The Historie' particularly interested in the representation of female characters, aside from Pamela, who as queen and clearly representing Elizabeth I is more marked by her ability to govern strategically and wisely than by any specifically feminine virtue. In any case, having used Pamela to set up the characters and events leading to the accession of Irenicus and Aristanax, Pamela's role in the new story is over.

Alexander and Bellings have little truck with the Damestas/Miso/Mopsa triumvirate, keeping the emphasis on the central heroic characters. Johnstoun adds the humorous episode of hemlock mistaken for parsnips (p. 271), while much of Markham's humour is at the expense of Meliodora, in particular with near-pantomime moments where readers hear her express one point just before she directly contradicts herself. Charged by Nerina to beware Mysantropos's shape-changing capacities, and not to believe her own eyes at risk of endangering Thirsis, whose liberty she is trying to achieve, Meliodora is inclined to be annoyed with the warning,

for shee was neuer composed of such a weake inconstant humour, as to engage her selfe in so worthy an affaire, and then to let it faile through the feeblenesse of a little self-beliefe, then which, there was nothing more vaine or imperfect. (p. 111)

She condemns herself out of her mouth before the event. Immediately after this she is deceived by the vision of Mysantropos disguised as Thirsis – exactly as she was warned not to be – and casts aside the spear that would have saved them both. Meliodora's inflated belief in herself renders her susceptible where her fellow women of lower social rank are not.

Poor Melidora, condemned to be a cipher of her illustrious parents, receives even rougher treatment at the hands of the author of ‘The Historie’, whose narrative has no place for this princess: ‘the young lady Melidora, who as it were disdainig, that any of Pamelas children should be lesse than a prince immediately after her brothers birth fell most desperately sike, wherefor after shee died’ (p. 338). Melidora is one character inherited from Sidney’s *Arcadia* that the author was stuck with, but has no compunction in easing out of the picture. Her brother Irenicus needs to take centre stage so he can in turn father Aristanax, and get the story where it needs to be, in lament for the execution of a king. Lest we blame the author here for a rather callous approach to female characters forced upon him by Sidney, the attitude to Musidorus is similarly opportunistic and strategic. Characters and plot lines not conducive to the main theme of regicide are straightforwardly disappeared, not without adding to the idea of malevolent forces at work against legitimate monarchs.

He soone found the inconveniencie of lying upon the cold grounde, in such an heate, for a burning violent feaver, furiously assailed him, whereupon Kaladulus sent a messenger to Pamela with this sadd newes, but to small purpose, for within a day after this messengers departure towards Mantinea, Musidorus his sikeness was so violent, that his unconquerable spirit, was forced for to quitt the fraile mansion of his body; and so he died, though not without suspition of poisoning. (p. 339)

Characters in ‘The Historie’ tend to fall into groups, to be types rather than clearly individuated. Certainly there is an interest in the logistics of government and the justification of the actions of its legitimate leaders. Time after time the legitimate ruler is shown rationally and calmly seeking to avoid confrontation. Pamela, pestered with ‘Latine’ superstitions in *Arcadia* has the ‘pious intentions of freing her kingdome from the Latine innovations’, but knows that rashness in this context will cause more trouble. A wise ruler takes advice:

because shee conceived it a matter of dangerous consequences, to attempte things of high concernment, especially in points of conscience without most mature advice; therefore shee caused a diet of the Arcadians states to be assembled, with whose advice and assistance, she intended to perfect her pius resolution, yet to avoide all calumnies, which princes in such cases are usually liable unto; shee first caused a competente number of learned priests, to dispute with as many of the Latin seminaries, about those questions which were most controverted betwixt them, in which disputation the seminaries were worsted, and convinced, whereupon Pamela, haveinge not only the tradition of her progenitors, but also undeniable reason on her side, shee thought it unreasonable for any to withstand her pious undertakings, and haveing them/ Fortified with antiquity, and reason, shee in person acquainted them, that shee conceived, it might be the occasion of greate and dangerous inconveniencies, to suffer her kingdome, to be a subterfuge for the unreasonable superstitions, of the Latines, and therefore she desired them to assist her, in eradicating, those enormous errors ... this resonable request, could not in reason be denied, neither was it by any of

that assembly, but some few whose mindes were so infatuated by the Latines insinuations ... for the assembly not onely approved the Queenes proposals, but also assured her of their first assistance in performing them ... Pamela beyond expectation, thus without the least disturbance of her kingdomes peace, expelled the errors, that were brought in by the Latine seminaries, and reduced the Arcadiane Temples to their pristine purity. (p. 342)

Similarly, the newly crowned Irenicus faces a number of plots by different religious factions, but rather than beginning his reign with bloody demonstrations of his power he strategically uses intelligence to unmask the plots. The aphorisms that attend a ruler's wise actions in 'The Historie' associate them with traditional truths of tried and trusted wisdom:

but their plotts were soone discovered, before they came to any maturity, and the formentors of them being apprehended, were liable to the severe hand of Justice, and but that the mercy of Irenicus, (who well knew, that compassion is the chiefe pillar of regality) reserved them, to a more peaceable end, and continued Arcadia in its peacefull fælicity. (p. 392)

The majority of the inhabitants of Arcadia and the other locations in 'The Historie' are generally aggregated mobs, irresponsible and motiveless, led by the nose by unscrupulous religious, military or political opportunists. Misocalus, for example, is initially unable to fulfil his role as general under Aristanax when he

had his former reputation somewhat darkened, by the calumnious slaunders cast upon him, by these wicked men, who easily perswaded the guidy multitudes, who are alwaies as inconstant as the winde, to exclaime against him, with the same breath, they knew not for what. (p. 413)

Part of the agenda of 'The Historie' is a considered attempt to conceive of the English civil wars not as large-scale acts of disillusionment with absolutist monarchy, but as a sorry misunderstanding of a benevolent and paternalist king, egged on by self-serving schemers who mislead the guileless people. The politics of Sidney's *Arcadia* had included notions of benign democracy, where the heroic fortitude of Musidorus and Pyrocles is tested against pirates, giants and their own passionate natures. However, this kind of Protestant royalism plays out quite differently in the civil war text. It is not surprising that 'The Historie' was not published when it was written. While it begins with a number of characters drawn straight from Sidney's *Arcadia*, the intention expressed in the address to the reader to move from the court of Venus to the court of Mars is quickly and convincingly carried out. From then on character, gender and class are swiftly harnessed to the depiction of the events that will culminate in the death of the king and the end of the story, terminations that have an inevitable finality. History has determined this Arcadian ending. End King, end country, end all.⁹

the grandees at Mantinea sett an edicte which they strictly charged all men, upon paine of death, not to propose Elpistos or any man else, king of Arcadia; where they turned the fabricke of Monarchiale government, into a confused chaos of Democracy and fulfilled the tenoure of what the oracle to Basilius delivered [at] Delphos by the end both of the king, and kingdome of Arcadia wherewith this my history also, of Arcadia shall have an end. (p. 461)

Politics, Religion and Warfare

Much has been written about Sir Philip Sidney's own political and religious ambitions in relation to both domestic and international relations.¹⁰ *Arcadia* itself can be seen as a politically conservative text in the sense that it upholds the ethos of divine government carried out by men of reason and conscience, and has a quietly propagandist role. Its religion is a providential Protestant humanism, a belief in the capacity of human beings to exercise free will and to come to reasonable conclusions, albeit not without struggle. Sometimes characters act against their own better judgement, and some characters seem to lack good judgement altogether. As Lange argues, Bellings's Basilius undergoes a character recovery 'into an altogether more wise and reverend figure' (p. 183), aligning him with the other male authority figures and removing him from the category of pantaloons. His reconciliation with Amphialus, the direct and indirect cause of so much chaos in Sidney's *Arcadia*, is an act of gracious forgiveness in Bellings's work: 'Nephew ... did I retaine the memorie of your youthfull oversights, this your vertuous acknowledgment were sufficient to beare them away' (p. 213). He goes on to present Amphialus to Musidorus and Pyrocles, and his daughters, as family and friend.

Most obviously the list of characters in 'The Historie' quite clearly favours royalists and Protestants against 'schismaticall' Diathesianes, 'Latine superstitions' and Anarchians under Diabolotuchos. It is a blatantly royalist text, driven by the point at which it ends, the execution of the king. Aristanax approaches his death with a heroic stoicism:

esteeming it an honoure, to suffer in the defence of his peoples liberties; for whome chiefly, he most magnanimously suffered martyredome, by the handes of a cruel regicide, who at a blow, deprived Arcadia of the most admirable, and incomparable king, that ever rained in it. (p. 461)

'The Historie' provides picture after picture of a wise and benign monarch struggling with domestic and foreign turmoil, beginning with Pamela (Elizabeth), continuing through Irenicus (James I and VI) and ending with Aristanax (Charles I). Aphorisms on government abound. Faced with internal religious divisions, Pamela decides on a restrained course of action:

shee therefore resolved to restraine and extirpate those enormities out of her kingdome, but wisely / Considering that for a prince to lay the foundation of his power with the unhewed stones of severity is the next way to bring the whole fabricke of a commonweath, to ruine, shee would neither rashly, or suddainely, endeavoure the utter subversion of these Latin innovations. (p. 342)

Requested by the Thessalians to provide aid against the Iberians, Pamela bears in mind that to resource them would amount to supporting rebels of a reigning monarch. She declines to do so:

Pamela, who knowing that since the Iberians, were countenanced with the queene regents authority, it would be a badd example, and a matter of dangerous consequence, to aide subiectes against the regall power, though under never so faire pretēces. (p. 345)

All stages of the narrative of ‘The Historie’ are underpinned by the determination of the author to run a manifesto of royalism and anti-regicide arguments.

In terms of actual battle scenes, some comparisons can be made between ‘The Historie’ and Johnstoun’s descriptions.¹¹ In the former, as the headnote to that text suggests, there is a real interest in and some knowledge of the logistics and mechanics of battle:

because it would take up much time, to starve a place so well provided, they tried more speedy wayes, by raisinge batteries, and with their greate ordnance played furiously againste the towne, which did small hurte against those walls, which were cannon prooffe; thereupon they attempted to gaine the towne by storme, but when they came to the walls their ladders were to short, therefore they were forced for to retreat; with some losse: which bred some grounds for the suspicion of those officers fidelity, who were employed to provide scaling ladders. (p. 346)

Similarly, Johnstoun provides some details in the attempt to rescue the princesses from the siege in which they are held:

Whereby *Dorus* no lesse enraged, than for the imprisonment of the Ladies, without respect of perill, did flye with the wings of fury to the forcing of the walls; first appointing who should carry the wounded Knight from the campe, and next applying the Ladders: where hee had a terrible rencounter, not of weapons (wherewith they were fenced) but stones, and materials whatsoever fit for fire, scalding water, boiling oyle, pitch, brimstone, and such like; all the elements, as it were, concurring to the overthrow of mankinde. Yet their strength was rather in the Lake, which was now passable, than any great height of the walls, which every where might have been measured with ladders, which though quickly applied, were courageously repulsed by the valour of the besieged. (p. 260)

By complete contrast, Alexander's descriptions of fights sometimes sound more like ritualized medieval tilts than seventeenth-century warfare. Sometimes we can hear the echoes from descriptions in Sidney's *Arcadia*:

the first whom he [Anaxius] encountred, lifting vp his hand to strike and withall opening his mouth, as if intending some speech: his proposition was preuented by an actiue answere, cutting him from the lips to the eares, so by opening his mouth restraining his speech. (p. 157)

a butcher ... a butcherly chuff indeed ... lifted up a great leauer, calling *Zelmane* all the vile names of butcherly eloquence. But she (letting slippe the blow of the leauer) hitte him so surely vpon the side of his face, that she left nothing but the nether iaw, where the tongue still wagg'd, as willing to say more, if his masters remembrance had serued.¹²

Curiously, the author and continuer of *Arcadia* who had arguably the greatest experience of war, fighting for Essex in Ireland, and in the Netherlands, has the most romantic and least realistic descriptions. A staged conflict between Diatassan/Pyrophilus and Thirsis/Thamastus, a 'Pastorall combat with Sheepe-heards-crookes' ends with:

Pyrophilus offering to yeeld his weapon vp to *Thamastus*, and *Thamastus* as earnest to resigne his to *Pyrophilus*, both, in this conquest, willing to be conquered, and neither content to rise as a victor, Which accident, driuing all the people into a strange amazement, one of the Stickleres was commanded to demand of them which was the victor, and they both with one voyce replied, hee, and hee, and then throwing their weapons from them, they ranne and embraced each other, with so much loue that friendship neuer bare a better countenance then at present. (p. 147)

It is not only fifty years that separates Markham's *English Arcadia* from the anonymous author's 'The Historie', but seismic shifts in political and religious understandings. Sidney's own *Arcadia* could cope with its dubious leader Basilus because it was in itself a peaceful place ('Here dwelleth and raigned this Prince ... by name *Basilus*, a Prince of Sufficient skill to gouerne so quiet a cuntry').¹³ By 1649 England, the English *Arcadia* indeed, cannot be saved by even the best of kings.

Beyond Continuations

One of the constraining aspects of positioning the works collected here as continuations is that this asserts their continued dependency on the text they cite as their source. Their status as continuations of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia* has given them their outing in the twenty-first century, forever and inextricably weighted by their connection to that primary text. While this is inevitable, perhaps their re-emergence from relative obscurity will give them a new lease of life for readers who can explore their independent and individual characteris-

tics. Perhaps it may not always be thought that they 'do not achieve much for themselves, and do not want to'.¹⁴ There is a world of difference between the epigraphs to Bellings's work, '*Sat, si bene; si male, nimium*' ('Enough if good; if bad, too much'), and Markham's '*Amant alterna Camene*' ('The Muses love songs that alternate'). The first is a modest request to be considered good enough, the latter a statement that the author's work is worthy of attention of the Muses. Each of these seventeenth-century continuations engages with Sidney, readers and the business of writing that can also make claims on a twenty-first-century readership. Each begins with a relationship to Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*, but continues with an individual engagement and play with narrative, character and tone that cannot entirely be subsumed within that relationship.

Notes

1. Stump, *Sir Philip Sidney World Bibliography*.
2. One critic has positioned *Arcadia* and its continuations as a moment of origination for fan studies, see Simonova, 'Fan Fiction and the Author in the Early Seventeenth Century'. This thought-provoking argument does not, however, quite take into account differences between the manuscript of 'The Historie' and the other printed continuations, which had a paying audience. See also P. Parker, *Inescapable Romance* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1979).
3. Sir W. Alexander, 'Anacrisis: or, A Censure of Some Poets Ancient and Modern', in J. E. Spingarn (ed.), *Critical Essays of the Seventeenth Century* (London: Oxford University Press, 1908), vol. 1, pp. 180–9, on p. 187.
4. *Ibid.*, p. 180.
5. Steggle, 'Fulke Greville: Life and Works', p. 1.
6. See E. A. Spiller, 'Speaking for the Dead: King Charles, Anna Weamys, and the Commemoration of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*', *Criticism*, 42:2 (Spring 2000), pp. 229–51; E. Wilson, 'New Biographical Information on the Author of *A Continuation of Sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia*', *Sidney Journal*, 26:1 (2008), pp. 57–64; H. Hackett, *Women and Romance Fiction in the English Renaissance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).
7. For work that established the focus on issues of gender in Wroth's *Urania*, see the editions edited by J. A. Roberts: *The First Part of The Countess of Montgomery's Urania*, *The Second Part of The Countess of Montgomery's Urania*, completed by S. Gossett and J. Mueller, and the extensive bibliography in M. P. Hannay, *Mary Sidney, Lady Wroth* (Franham, Surrey: Ashgate, 2010).
8. While Johnstoun's supplement was not published until 1638, the dedication to James I, who died in 1625, indicates that it must have been written sometime before that.
9. For a discussion of politics, romance and literary form, see A. Patterson, *Censorship and Interpretation: The Condition of Writing in Early Modern England* (Madison, WI: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1984).
10. Irving Ribner was an early critic in the field of understanding Sidney's specifically political ambitions in writing, building on Fulke Greville's sense of Sidney's purpose, I. Ribner, 'Sir Philip Sidney on Civil Insurrection', *Journal of the History of Ideas*, 13:2 (1952), pp. 257–65.
11. It does have to be said, however, that neither Johnstoun nor 'The Historie' author show the graphic details of seventeenth-century warfare that are described in M. Rabb, 'Part-

- ing Shots: Eighteenth-Century Displacements of the Male Body at War', *ELH*, 78:1 (Spring 2011), pp. 103–35.
12. *The Countesse of Pembrokes Arcadia Written by Sir Philip Sidney Knight* (London: Imprinted by H. L. For Mathew Lownes, 1613), p. 199.
 13. *Ibid.*, p. 9.
 14. Alexander, *Writing After Sidney*, p. 282.



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*THE ENGLISH ARCADIA, ALLUDING HIS
BEGINNING FROM SIR PHILIP SYDNEYS
ENDING* BY IARUIS MARKHAM, PART 1 (1607)
AND PART 2 (1613)

Marea Mitchell

G. Markham, *The English Arcadia, Alluding his Beginning from Sir P. Sydneys Ending* (London: E. Allde, sold by H. Rockett, 1607).

—, *The English Arcadia, Alluding his Beginning from sir P. Sydneys Ending. The Second and Last Part of the First Booke* (London: N. Okes for T. Saunders, 1613).

Gervase Markham: ‘The Earliest English Hackney Writer’¹

Gervase Markham (c. 1568–1637) has the distinction of being the first person to write a continuation of Sir Philip Sidney’s *Arcadia*. It was published in two parts in 1607 and 1613, though he suggests that it was written some ‘halfe-score yeares’ (p. 8) before 1607. Son of a ‘member of parliament and former high-sheriff’, first cousin to the Babington family and Sir John Harington, the writer and translator, Markham’s background is, then, one of the ‘well-connected gentry.’² However, as a middle son Markham’s life was not one of idle wealth, and his written output attests to a character and personality that strove to make money through a huge variety of written genres. There is little concrete detail about Markham’s education or life at the time he wrote *The English Arcadia*, but it does seem that he spent time as a soldier in the Netherlands and in Ireland as a captain under the Earl of Essex sometime between 1595 and 1603.

Two things are particularly striking about Gervase Markham’s works. First is the astonishing quantity of it. F. N. L. Poynter’s *Bibliography* (1962) is still the most inclusive listing of his works, demonstrating both the quantity and the variety of his publications. Early items on that list include the works most often republished, such as *A Discourse of Horsemanshippe* (1593), a manual or guide on the breeding, training and riding of horses. Further gentlemen’s recreational guides follow, with *The Gentlemans Academie* (1595), and a series of ‘how-to’ books for both men and women on household and land management such as

The English Husbandman ... Contayning the Knowledge of the True Nature of Every Soyle Within this Kingdome (1613), and *The English House-Wife Contain- ing the Inward and Outward Vertues Which Ought to be in a Compleate Woman* (1631). In between and around these most popular volumes are scattered items such as the translation from French into English of *Devereux: Vertues Teares for the Losse of the Most Christian King Henry, Third of that Name, King of France* (1597), plays such as *The Dumbe Kinght: A Historical Comedy* ((1608) and *The True Tragedy of Herod and Antipater with the Death of Faire Marriam* (1622).

The second very striking aspect of Markham's critical legacy is that, as Jennifer Klein Morrison put it '[t]o Gervase Markham critics have not been kind'.³ Her nuanced and smart reading of Markham's work begins by outlining the number of critics from Markham's own time and onwards who have associated his prolific output with a denigration of its quality, labelling him a hack, a label that has stuck. If Sir Philip Sidney's work is regarded as quality work, because he wrote more sparingly, sometimes supposedly not to be published at all, then Markham is the popularizer, publishing for profit. Clearly at times Markham's output was driven by profit. Any glance at the titles of his publications suggests what a deeper perusal of the content confirms, that some of the same material reappears under slightly different names. In 1617, Markham was effectively forced to cease and desist from publishing virtually the same book at the same time under different labels by the Stationers' Company, in a passage worth quoting for its reminder that authors in the seventeenth century worked under very limiting conditions:

Memorandum, that I Geruase Markham of London, gent, Do promise hereafter neuer to write any more book or books to be printed of the deseases or Cures of any Cattle, as Horse, Oxe, Cowe, Sheepe, Swine, Goates, etc.

In witnes whereof I have hereunto sett my hand the 14th day of Julie 1617.⁴

Yet the economic forces of publication in the early seventeenth century encouraged multiple releases, given that authors generally received one-off payments rather than ongoing royalties and, as Poynter suggests, there was clearly competition between printers for Markham's work. The offending book that kicked off the dispute between publishers was *Markham's Farewell to Husbandry and Horseman- shippe*. It was not published until 1620, minus the material on horses. Where some see a hack at work, driven by market forces to make a living through writing, others might see a creative entrepreneur, one who understood quite well the market in which he worked and was prepared imaginatively to supply it with his products.

Markham's *English Arcadia*

A. G. D. Wiles, one of the few critics to spend much time on Markham in the twentieth century, continues the disparaging tone of assessors of Markham's work, specifically in relation to *The English Arcadia*. While what constitutes

the success or failure of a continuation depends on the criteria established, as discussed in the General Introduction to this volume (p. xiii), Wiles criticizes Markham's representation of characters, arguing of Helen and Amphilaus that he 'has profaned these noble characters',⁵ and further argues that his continuation of various aspects of the narrative of *Arcadia* was 'an utter failure'.⁶ 'The general impression of Markham's style is that he may have regarded the *Arcadian* style as a bag of tricks to be imitated at will rather than as the reflection of a complex and cultured personality.'⁷

This is one way of seeing Markham's work, as inevitably inferior because produced by an inferior personality, mind and background. No one but Sidney could produce the quality of Sidney's work. This kind of remark was also to be made about James Johnstoun's imitation of Sidney.⁸ In Wiles's terms, Markham 'may just have desired to capitalize on the reputation of Sidney and the *Arcadia*,'⁹ and he is tainted with an association of chicanery, of having, again in Wiles's words, 'bigger rabbits in his hat than ever Sidney'.¹⁰

Some of this kind of criticism was countered by Markham himself in his introductory remarks to the two parts of *Arcadia*. In particular, Markham fought back against the criticism that he was somehow fraudulently imitating more profound material by linking his practice of imitation and continuation to Sidney's own. 'To the Reader' in the first part of the first book of *Arcadia* places Markham in a tradition of honourable precedents of imitation that includes such luminaries not only as Sidney but also Virgil and Homer (p. 8). As Gavin Alexander notes: 'Markham wants to see Sidney not as an unapproachable monument, self-created and inimitable, but as a writer among writers, taking his place in a continuum of reading and writing and encouraging Markham to do the same.'¹¹

Where Sidney's writing had didactic ends in relation to *Arcadia*, in attempting to fashion virtuous men, argues Alexander, 'what it makes Markham do is not live the life of a virtuous hero, but create an imitative text that is very much a text about imitation.'¹²

Thus recent criticism has begun to think of Markham in more positive terms, perhaps starting with Dennis Kay's brief but insightful reconsideration, seeing Markham's *Arcadia* as 'the most substantial and impressive continuation, with a dark and at times menacing Arcadia, intelligent working out of plot elements in a universe toyed with by uncertain Fortune, and an ironic attitude to the conventions it follows'.¹³

Markham's *Arcadia* is imitation with a spin. Klein Morrison provides a nice sense of how Markham's audience has brought about significant changes in the focus of the story, providing a sense not that Markham got the tone wrong or misunderstood Sidney's work, but that he deliberately reinterpreted it.

Markham's *English Arcadia* is a pastoral romance not for the privileged ears of the Countess of Pembroke, but for the common reader; his innovation is in allowing the non-elite an important place in a pastoral romance, an aristocratic genre filled with princesses, and it is a crucial place as well.¹⁴

Klein Morrison argues that Ethera, for example, is rather quicker to pick up on key points in the narrative than her rather stolid mistress Melidora, a direct descendant of Sidney's heroes. Melidora can also be prone to tantrums and be incapable of seeing true value beneath a disguise, unlike her mother Pamela and her aunt Philoclea. As Klein Morrison points out, Melidora clearly does not understand the visions that the hermit Eugenio shows her. But far from getting something wrong in this representation of character, Markham is, from Klein Morrison's point of view, doing something quite original in creating an *Arcadia* 'for the English Gentry'.¹⁵

Kay's sense of the ironic quality of Markham's work comes into play here too, given that much of the story is recounted to prince Adunatus/Pyrophilus by a hermit, 'a most decreeped and aged old man' who appears from an arch in a thicket: 'his bald-head circled with a few milk-white hairs, and his long gray beard girdling his withered cheekes, like the flakes of snow vppon the Alpes' (p. 44). Dedicated to the God Pan, this hermit, Eugenio, has uncanny narrative powers, and a truly remarkable knowledge of events. While a reader might forget at times who the major narrator is, there are amusing incidents and encounters between him and other characters such as Ethera, who, for purposes of her own, encourages him to take a potion that 'will quicken the frost of old age, and make the spirit of youth reuiue in thy bosom, and drinke of it an heartie draught', to which he responds that 'it did not befit the life I had vndertaken, either to make proude the flesh, or fill my emptie veines with new heat of glowing youthfulness' (p. 82).

The denouement itself is full of startling revelations of identity, rather more in keeping with dramatic comedies than Sidney's *Arcadia*, where readers are generally privy to characters' true identities. So Thirsis is Thamastus, Apheleia is Clarastella and Diatassan is Eustatio, the latter proclaiming that as 'Diatassan, hee was subiect to much mutability; but as Eustatio, hee was euer constant' (p. 149). Furthermore, as some of the notes on the text in this edition suggest, it is also possible to see irony or playfulness in the way that Markham uses classical references throughout the narrative, rather than to see him as an unskilful or unsophisticated reader and writer.

A further plank in the platform for reviewing Markham's *Arcadia* as a more ironic, less incompetent text, comes from a reconsideration of *Arcadia* in the context of his other works. In 1598 Markham had published *A Health to the Gentlemanly Profession of Servingmen: or, The Seruingmans Comfort: With Other Things not Impertinent to the Premises, as well Pleasant as Profitable to the Courteous reader* and later *A Schoole for Young Souldiers Containing in Breife the Whole Discipline of Warre, Especially So Much as is Meet for Captaine to Teach, or the Souldier to Learne, that is to Trayne or to be Trayned: Fit to be Taught Throughout England* (1615). Markham clearly had a canny eye for different kinds of readerly markets, yet all of them are located in the middle social ranks, and all of his 'how-to' manuals worked as 'ideological tools that shaped England's social landscape'.¹⁶

Furthermore, other critics have identified connections between Markham's personal soldierly activities for Essex and parts of his literary output. Lesel Dawson argues for a reading of his play *The Dumble Knight*, the poem 'Devoreux' and *The Most Honourable Tragedie of Sir Richard Grinville, Knight* (1595) (to which Markham refers in his *Arcadia*, p. 24) as 'profoundly political ... associating the virtues of martial heroism and militant Protestantism specifically with the Essex faction'.¹⁷ Other critics have highlighted the profound sense of Englishness that pervades Markham's work: 'Markham figures Englishness as productive labour and, as he promises to make land more productive through the use of English practices, suggests that the land will be made more English as well';¹⁸ 'Markham's works are unusual ... because they reveal how Englishness, a concept continually in production, was, among other things, a residue of how books were identified in the marketplace, a function of the new business of Englishing print'.¹⁹ Markham's *English Arcadia* might, then, be English not because of its setting, which is as resolutely pastoral (rather than agricultural) and Greek as Sidney's *Arcadia*, but precisely because of its ironic tone and cheeky irreverence towards its aristocratic foreign characters, and its ambiguous use of foreign classical references. Written and published in the first decades after Sidney's death and the publication of *Arcadia*, Markham's text rides the wave of interest in Sidney's name and work, giving *Arcadia* new colours and rhythms.

Note on the Text

The two parts of Markham's *Arcadia*, published six years apart, were printed by two different printers. It is noticeable that the first part, printed in 1607 by Edward Allde,²⁰ contains more errors and is less carefully printed than the second part printed in 1613 by Nicholas Okes for Thomas Saunders. The first part has patches of faintly printed text, cropped spacing with words run together, and frequent errors such as 'u' for 'n'. Letters are often transliterated, for example 'conutenance' (p. 51) and 'countenacne' for 'countenance' (p. 55). These typographical errors have only been noted where there is ambiguity of meaning. The differences in printing standards and levels of consistency have been allowed to show. There is also an inconsistent use of symbols to indicate contractions, sometimes a superscript tilde, sometimes acute accents, sometimes macrons. Since there seems to be no particular logic to these differences, they have been standardized to macrons, for example ā, ē and ō. A few words are illegible because of ink blotching.

Notes

1. Poynter, *A Bibliography of Gervase Markham*, p. 1, citing *The Dictionary of National Biography* entry by Markham's relative, Sir Clements Markham, in 1893.
2. *ODNB*.
3. J. Klein Morrison, 'Readers Turned Writers: The Dynamics of the Sequels to Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*' (PhD dissertation, Yale University, 1997).

4. Poynter, *A Bibliography of Gervase Markham*, p. 23, and *ODNB*.
5. Wiles, 'The Continuations of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*', p. 125.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 123.
7. *Ibid.*, p. 131.
8. See this volume, p. xiii.
9. Wiles, 'The Continuations of Sir Philip Sidney's *Arcadia*', p. 131.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 124.
11. Alexander, *Writing After Sidney*, p. 271.
12. *Ibid.*
13. Kay (ed.), *Sir Philip Sidney*, p. 22. See also Garrett (ed.), *Sidney: The Critical Heritage*, p. 272.
14. Klein Morrison, 'Readers Turned Writers', p. 74.
15. *Ibid.*, pp. 67, 74.
16. J. Munroe, 'Gender, Class, and the Art of Gardening', *Prose Studies: History, Theory, Criticism*, 28:2 (2006), pp. 197–210, on p. 198.
17. L. Dawson, 'The Earl of Essex and the Trials of History: Gervase Markham's "The Dumb Knight"', *Review of English Studies*, new series, 53:211 (August 2002), pp. 344–64, on p. 349.
18. Mylander, 'Early Modern "How-To" Books', p. 125.
19. Wall, 'Renaissance Husbandry', p. 770.
20. Edward Allde (1555–1627) seems to have been a controversial figure in the world of printing, according to *ODNB*. See also McKerrow, 'Ewarde Allde as a Typical Trade Printer', for distinctions between trade printers such as Allde and printer-publishers.

*The English Arcadia, Alluding his beginning from
Sir Philip Sydneys ending* By Iaruis Markham, Part 1
(1607) And Part 2 (1613)

THE
ENGLISH
ARCADIA,
Alluding his beginning from Sir *Philip Sydneys* ending.

By Iaruis Markham.

LONDON.
Printed by *Edward A'lde*, and are to bee solde by *Henrie Rocket*, at his shop
vnder Saint Mildreds Church in the Poultrye 1607.¹ /

To the Reader.

The innumerable tortures wherewith seuerer censures will torment and whip me, their pewes, their pyshes, their wrye lookes, Apish iestures, and vntunable pronuntiations, haue not so much retained me anytime this halfe-score yeares from the publication of this morall Historie, as the imputations of arrogancie immitation, affectation, and euen absurd ignorance, which I euer feared Enuie would vniustly lay vpon me: but hauing by custome, and the weaknesse of detraction loosed my selfe from such shadowie fetters, and with a more airie spirit freed my soule from such insubstantiall feares, I haue aduentured to cast into the world this Orphan, which how-euer it was once begot by noble parents, and bosomed in the most celestiall eares that euer was worthie to retaine noble mysteries, is now like a vagabond inforst to begge, and liue vpon miserable charitie: yet for vertues sake, whom I euer desire to satisfie with my best powers, before I, be araigned at the barre of bitterness, I am willing to make this defence for the crimes which crueltie may suggest against me. First for the Title, thogh it be only excellēt in the most excellēt creature that first taught vs the sound of excellent writing, yet hath it likewise beene used by others in sundrie pamphlets, without either pride or ostentation, men taking libertie to lay their hystories in Countries by them most affected: next for mine allusion and imitation, which beareth a colour of much greater vain-glorie: mine excuse must onely bee the / worthinesse of former presidents,² as Virgill from Homer, Ariosto from Baiardo,³ famous Spencer from renowned Chaucer, and I with as good priuiledge from the onely to be admired Sir Philip Sydney, whose like, though neuer age hath or shall present to memorie, yet shall it be renowne to the meanest that indeuour to liue by the crummes of his Table: who were our age but blest with his liuing breath, he would himselfe confesse the honie hee drew both from Heliodorus, and Diana.⁴ For other faults I must answer with Maister France,⁵ if there were a bond to compell men to read, there should then be an authoritie likewise, to bind vs that write, to delight: But since both haue free will, my counsell is to reade no longer then till your appetite be either cloyed, or filled, and so by preservation of your stomackes, make them apt to taste others better labours: to which, and to your owne content

I commit you.

I. M. /

THE
FIRST PART OF THE FIRST BOOKE
of the Morall English Arcadia,
alluding his beginning from
Sir *Philip Sidneyes* ending.

AT such time as the flowers appearing vpon the earth, had summoned the ayrie quiristers⁶ to entertaine the first Embassadors of the Spring, and that Nature (deliuered frō the barraine wombe of Winter) had shewed her selfe lyuelie as the morning, faire as the nightes Gouvernesse, pure as the Sunne, and as almighty as an armye of inuincible fortune: The vnhappy and forlorne Shepheard *Credulo* being come to the foot of the mountaine *Tagetus*, from whose large distributed skirts, ranne an euen and wel leuiled plaine, through which the siluer-flowing *Erimanthus* had made many curious and enter-changeable windinges, till she deliuered the abundance of her tribute into the bosome of the Oceās vnruely treasurie: and being arryued at the vtmost of the earths prospecte, he encountred with his companion (both in fortunes and desires) the forsaken *Carino*, whose eyes (long / before that time drown'd in their owne teares) were now ouer earlie awaked to bathe them-selues in the tearye sea of others more deere afflictions: And being mette in that alone lonelinesse (which extreamest of all miseries had chosen out as a plat-forme whereon to build that day a stage for an immortal Tragedie) they sate downe, & casting their eies vpon the waues (whose vast solitarines presented to their mindes the liuely *Ideas* of their vnaccompanied lamentations) began bitterly to complaine, that hauing ouer-laden hearts, broke & deluded with complaints (which by incessant bemoanings they sought how-erly to disburden) foūd neither case nor respet, but rather a more augmentation of their continuall child-bearing mischiefes: where-upon *Credulo* commenting in the sadnesse of his coūtenance, more large volumes of grieffe then his weake tongue could deliuer, thus spake:

Ah *Carino* (said he) hither are we come to behold not the last act (though as bleedingly pitious as the latest can be) of Infortunes worst Tragedie, presented to the stony eyes of creatures insensible, because barbarous: and acted by the greatest

Beautie that euer before this day arose in the skie of anie womans countenance: Alas that miserie should be so Imperious, as to dare to take possessiō in the Pallace of Vertue; or vertue so fearfull, as for any disaster in-fortune, to forgoe the habitation of Beautie: Will the Almighty Iustice in his Diuine prouidence create excellēt frames to ignoble vses? or Nature spend the golden treasure of her workmāship, in a receptacle for greatest imperfections? It is impossible, it is impossible!

The Arts-masters of this lowe rounds nations, striue in their works exquisite, to portrait their owne vertues; the best of which endeouours remaine after them, liuing / remembrances of dead worthines: And shall the master of them, and their knowledges, make his goodliest pyramed, a monument for vnblushing shamefulness? It is too preposterous to imagine, and irreligious to beleue; only to thee and mee (whose care-consumed imaginations direct all their leuells against the marke of mis-fortunes, as hauing our hopes giuen ouer into the handes of Disdaine, our vowes inrespected; our loues fruitles, our torments pittiles, & our deaths Tomblesse) to vs I say these accidents of inhumane aduersitie, are but awaking thunders, or Night-Rauen cryes to our laboring remēbrances, drawing in them and before them, the models of those mishappes where-with our owne soules are attainted. How oft haue thou and I (my *Carino*) from the top of yon Mountaine sent our eyes with the imbassage of our heartes, conueying in blood-drawing sighes, (speedy messengers of dispaire) the occurrents of our dying hopes? How oft vpon this Plaine haue wee in darke *Eglogues* discoursed the pure intent of our honest seruices? How oft vpon these Sandes haue wee wrtten her name with our Sheep-hookes, which the iealous Sea in loue with, hath greedily snacht into his bosome? And how oft from yon aspiring Rocke haue wee wisht (so she would beare witnes to our wish) to fal head-long into the Sea, as a scale to the great deed of our induring affection, and yet haue found neither hope in our desires, comfort in our loues, nor end in our dispaire? Haue we at any time desisted from the violēce of our first passion? Hath there euer been seen coolenesse in the burning Feuer of our desires? Haue our mindes slept at all in the shade of a reputed obliuion? Or hath the Historie of her praises at any time found an end in our speaches? the / gods forbidde. O *Cinthia*, *Cinthia*, our Fieldes Garland, our Winters spring, our Sommers shade, our Haruests fruit, and the liuing cause of all Creatures happy liuings be thine eyes the witnesses of our vowes; and our owne deedēs the testimonies of our faithes: be thine admiration as great as our loues; for our loues shall be as boundles as the infinite world of thy perfections: Continue the miracle of time, as thou art the wonder amōgst women; that when Enuy after this day shall boast Queene *Hellen* of *Corinth* was vertue, yet thy vertue succeeding all ages, may still ingraft (in remembrance) an induring and vnblotted excellence.

Heere an extreame violence to speake much in the praises of deuine *Cinthia* (whom with equall ardor they both most sincerely adored) ouer came the power of much speaking, and with dumbe Oratorie conuerted his language to dumbnesse; whilst *Carino* thus replied.

What needs (my *Credulo* said he) this inditement against the hope of our contentment, whose desperate resolution long since hath pleaded guiltie before the greatest iudge of our Fortunes? To reckon our cares, were to number the starres: to measure our loues, were to make a circle greater then the greatest either is or can bee: and to vnclade our affectionate desires, were by spoonfulls to conuay the Sea into some contrary Channell: what they are we feele, and when they shall determine, the all-seeing all-things only hath knowledge: as easie can the Sunne be remooued from his diurnall passage, as our thoughts from her remembrance, or our hearts from the loue of her vertues: Haue not we succeeded both in our loues and admirations, the truely louing *Strephon* and *Claius* whose induring constancies, & forlorne indurances, / heaued their *Vrania* beyond the degree of superlatiue? And is there likelyhood we will either seeke the abridgement of our woes (which is the badge of our sufferance) or the end of our loue (which is the heauen of our cogitations) no, no my *Credulo*, it was Vertue that brought foorth wonder, wonder knowledge, knowledge loue, and loue the eternitie of our neuer to be slaine affection: Be then the world by vs fil'd full of the praises of deuine *Cinthia*, and euery Mothers child taught to adore the Starre can lead to so heauenly perfections. But whither are we carried with the force of her remembrance, and the violence of our owne duties? arose wee thus early for this? came we to complaine to the Ocean for this? wette we our vn-dride checkes with new tears for this? or are our moanes sencelesse to all be moanings but this only? Indeed as euery place is for ornamēt beholding to this subiect; so is this subiect indebted to euery place for a gratefull relenting, and inticing acceptance. But we came as I remember, to remember that being the Vassails; & bōdslaues to Beauty; we owe some rent of greife to the ouerthrow of a rare Beauty. Ah *Hellen*, faire *Hellen*, vnhappy happy in thy fairenes, who hauing al the possible meanes of alluremēt in thy perfections, findest nothing but impossibilitie in attaining the meanest of thy wishes! thou art vnhappy, thou art vnhappy.

And as he would haue further pursued the agony of his passion, which euen then *Credulo* was ready to secōd with an hoste of most bleeding arguments; they were both interrupted with an extraordinary noise (full of terror & amazement) which to the first apprehension, they imagined to be a peale of Thunder, running post before the violence of an insuing storme: But more consideratly / beholding the marble cleernes of the well disposed skye; and attentiuely hearing the continuance of the former rumor; they found the error of that conceit; where-vpon comparing with the suruay of their eyes, (cast vppon euery adioyned obiect) the hollownes of the sound, and hard distinguishment of the clamors, both which gaue testimonie of a farre cōming exclamation: they cast their sightes to the Seaward, euen so farre as the deuision of the ayre would giue limitte to their seeing; and at the furthest end of that prospect, they might perceiue like a small duskie cloud rising from the water, which by little and little creeping more neere the leuel of their iudgements, they saw increase both in quantitie & affright to their

eyes (vnaccustomed to such spectacles) for as if *Ioue* and *Neptune* had bene in combat for their birth-rightes,⁷ either striuing with the predominant qualities of his kingdome to annoy each others habitation; so might one see through the clouds-thicknes, flames of fire dauncing vpon the waters, and immediatly mountaines of water rise vp to sporte with those fires: there was to be seene by the eye of imagination, a combate without weapons, yet many times weapons and no combate: a feare with-out danger, yet more danger then feare could comprehend: at last what with the helpe of the windes, which comming from the Sea-ward, blew directly (with a recoyling force) against the shoare, they might plainly discern a Galley & a Gallioon,⁸ like an *Eliphant* and a *Serpent* graped together in an austere and reuengefull contention; the fury of the fight augmenting with the continuance of the fight, as if strength were to be-gotten by stroakes, or freshnes by wearinesse; so power-full were the handes of those actors, and so pure the spirites which / then commaunded the vse of such handes: But amongst the rest, and aboue all that then were without rest, they might perceiue two, in whom as it seemed a vindicatiue resolution, had made them the wrathfull ministers of an inexpiable malice; so the manner of exercising, attested an incomparable vertue both in the dexteritie of their valours, and in the vn Timered pursuite of their reuenges satisfaction: for as it seemed, they two contended against all, or all sought the ouer-throwe of those two: many handes being erected agaynst one head; and yet many heads cut off by one hand. This fight continued in the viewe of the Sheapheards by the space of two howres, with no lesse terrour to them (who arm'd with so spacious a distance as might giue assurance from any assailement, had notwithstanding through their eyes receiued the wound of feare vpon their hearts) then repentant sorrow in those that vnderwent the reuenge of so haughty courages: But by and by they sawe the Ships which till then had as it were kist one an other, & hung together by an vnfriendly & boystrous imbracement, disseuer themselues, & the Gally, what with the force of her Oares, and a little helpe of a quarter winde which breath'd vpon her Sayles, made her way directly foorth into the Sea, with such eagernesse of speede, as many times we see a Pirate when he hath in chase a rich and well laden home-returning Marchant; but contrary to that; the Gallyoon with al the canuasse she could put forth, boare before the wind as euen vpon the shoare as might be imagined, yet might they still beholde (as long as the vertue of their sightes could hold the knowledge of any obiect) one of the fore-noted Champions in the Gally, not onely continue, but in more mortall and desperate manner; continue the vnspeakable / bloudines of the first combat, till the length or distance had depriued their eyes of that spectacle: The other in the Gallioon with no lesse but rather a more inauspicious had of death ouer his incoüterers,⁹ by how much more neer he grew vnto the iudgemēt of the beholders, augmented both his owne rage, & their opinions touching the excellency of his rage; distributing such

vnresistaable blowes, that his sword was seen sildom or neuer fall with his hand, but a body deuided from a soule fell dead at his foote; so that as it was most likely to be imagined the poore in-habitants of that vessell, growne to the desperate willfullnesse of absolute desperatenes (which is by death to shunne death) willfully ran the ship against the Rocks, whose armed brest of too hie prooffe for so slender timber, split her in one instant into many thousand disioyned peeces; the suruiuing remnant more willingly offering vp their liues into the hands of the mercilesse Sea, whose mercy they had not tasted; then to the subiection of his sword, whose vigor in punishing their breathles companions bodies, in their floating witnessed. But neither did the daring of their dispaire (which was the vnexpected entrance to this euill, neither the danger it selfe (wherein the preciousnes of his deare life was imballanced) neither the inacquaintance of the soyle whereon he was ship-wrackt, neither his many wounds, the losse of Fortune, Hope, Honour, Wealth, or other expectation breed in him either amazement, feare, or desistance from the continuance of that reuenge, which from the begining he with so great vertue pursued; for being now left to struggle with the vnruely waues, whole imperious billowes (many times counter-checking his desires) gaue him a feeling remembrance of his mortall constitution, / he gathered new life; by the hazard wherewith the oldlife stooode indangered: and swimming with such beautifull cōlinesse as *Triton*¹⁰ is feined to do, whē he vsuers *Neptune* to *Venus* banquets, with his sworde in his hand, which often ensigne-like he flourished about his head, as who should say, Danger is but the hand-maid to Vertue, or as if he would haue challenged moe perils then those, imputing the escape of this no worthie reputation; without turning his eie backe vpon his owne safetie, he followed on still the ruine of those to whome was left no comfort but in ruinous perishing, and made such slaughter, that not a breathing soule was left to complaine, that so manie by one were become breathlesse; But hee had no sooner finished the effect of what hee hoped for: And Furie (wanting a subiect whereon to worke more fury) had giuen place to the feeling of other passions, when instantly his ouer-laboured bodie grew weake and able-lesse to deliuer him a liuing soule, made free from those perils; yet with an vnyeelding vertue that was euer (or euer seemed to be) strongest in his weakest fortune, he many times mounted vp himselfe, and sprang vpon the waues, ioyning both Arte & courage together as means for his deliuerance. But euen at the last pinch, when strength had as it were finished the need of strength, vnkindly strength forsooke him, and he sunke downe, vnable any longer to preserue that life, which still then had preserued the life and estate of many kingdomes: but the guilty waters (ashamed to bee guiltie of so execrable a murther) opened their bosoms, & brought him vp again into the aire, where by the force of the siege of the Sea he was borne vpon the sands, and lay to the iudgement of the Shepherds (who till then vpon their knees, were / adoring him as a cæsterial deitie, breathlesse and

without motion, in-so-much that with all their powers they ranne and recouered him ere the siege could come againe, which as appeared, greedie of another imbracement, made more then vsual haste to ouer-take him: and when daungerlesse they had laid him vpon a neighbour banke vnto the shore, they behelde a person of so rare and vnmatchable proportion (in whom all the beauties of the worlde were most liberally dis-iested) that prodigall Nature in the worke seemd vtterly to haue beggerd herselfe, and becom'd penurious to all succeeding ages: It was not long before they had brought him to life and the knowledge of the daunger whereunto his life was ingaged; when sodainly he start vpon his feete, and gazing like a wounded Deere vpon his concealed persecutor, he cried; *O Thamastus, Thamastus*, liuest thou with men or Angels? vnhappie that I am, shal I liue to inquire if thou liue? I will not, I will not, my breath is not mine owne if thou be breathlesse, nor shall my dayes bee augmented an houre after thy destruction, forsaken *Pyrophylus*, deiected *Pyrophylus*: with that he wilfully would haue throwne him-selfe into the Sea againe, as in loue with the perill which he hated, or the death which with such difficultie hee escaped. But the amorous Shepheards hearing him name those two names, which kept the world both in awe and admiration, ranne hastily vnto him, and folding him in their armes, with the vttermost of their force, (which the loue of those names had stretched to the highest scale of their puissance) stayed him from the vnnaturall selfe-killing combatte; and with the best oratorie that the simplicitie of their bringing vp could then instruct their tongues, they / perswaded him from impouerishing the world of those excellent hopes which his verie presence promised in most admirable aboundance: and coniuring him by those two rarely beloued and praise-worthie names, (which with such feeling sorrow hee hat¹¹ vttered, and all the Nations of the worlde with vnspeakable reuerence entertained) not to let that day bee registred in misfortunes calender, as the day of greatest misfortune, by the losse of so diuine an expectation; assuring him by those especiall tokens which they had noted during the conflict, that if his friend whom he bewailed, were that vncōquered spirit which in the gally had done such matchlesse feats of chiuallrie; that then there was no feare of his perishing, inasmuch as they had seene him make himself Lord of the Gally, ere the wind or Oares had caried her beyond the cōpasse of their sights. Further they humbly vpon their knees besought him, that if he were eyther of those two Princes, whose sweete names were resweetned by his vtterance, that it would please him not to conceale it from their knowledges, who all be they were but Shepheards, yet had that vertuous feeling of noblenesse, which taught them a seruiceable duty to the incōparable greatnes of such dignified states, The Prince *Pyrophylus* (for such was his name) a little pacified, and hoping by this hope in their speeches to kill his hopelesse Dispaire, was content to be ouer-ruled; though manie times the feruencie of his loue had almost ouercom'd that not

certainly grounded resolution: in the ende, calling to minde that their fight was both begun and occasioned vpon the *Hellespont*, and that this place was altogether beyonde the bounde of his knowledge, fearing the *Sestian* lawe, which for the losse of the two faithfull louers / *Hero* and *Leander*, adiudged present death to the approach of any neighbour-bordering straunger; and not forgetting the contract betwixt him and *Thamastus*, that they should neuer be knowne where euer they were disioyned; answered the Shepheards, that how euer they might mistake his vtterance, or his vtterance beguile the intent of his owne meaning, it was so that hee was called *Adunatus*, Prince of *Iberia*, who from the beginning of his first knowledge, had held in singular admiration the memorie of *Thamastus* Prince of *Rhodes*, and *Pyrophilus* Prince of *Macedon*; so that if hee had spoke of them, it was but like a dreaming man, whose braine from the superfluitie of his thoughts apprehends diuers remote and farre distant imaginations; but for his own part, at that instant hee said, he was both carelesse and worthlesse, and worthis to bee so vnworthily carelesse, sith his fortune had lost him that rich blessing, which in any but the selfe same thing, could by no Fortune be againe restored; and therewithall desired to knowe of them, vpon what coast he was shipwracked, to the intent he might make the spediest search was possible to recouer the great losse hee had sustained: to which the Shepheards replied, that the Country in which he now was, was called *Laconia*, a Prouince in *Peloponessus*, adioyning to the Frontiers of *Arcadia*; which hauing beene long time gouerned (all be with many insurrections, and rebellious commotions) by the renowned *Basilus*, was after his discease, by the power of his testament (and as a man fit to curbe so vnruely a generation) giuen to the noble and famous *Amphyalus*, his sisters sonne: a man so excellently seasoned with the salt of all vertuous vnderstanding, that excepting the hope of / *Thamastus* and *Pyrophylus* he stood in the eie of the world vnmatch-able and beyond comparison; *Pirophylus* hearing them name *Amphyalus* (whom he had euer respectfully reuerenced for the rariety of his perfections) demaunded where he kept his Court, and how long hee had hung his easefull armour by the walles to meditate more safely vpon the actions of other Nations? They answered, that his Court was abandoned, desolate, and forsaken of all, in whō griefe by the greatnes of his birth-right challeng'de not a fee-simple inheritance,¹² and for the place of his residence, it had bene vnknowne to his subjects by the space of these three yeares, at what time he departed thence with as great a burthen of insupportable discontentment, as *Atlas* or *Olimpus* with their ioyntlesse shouldrs could stand vnder; the reason wherof being (though many times suspitiously coniectured) neuer sufficiently vnderstood or daringly entred into by any deuining or all-knowing iudgement, was (they said) now at last (but heauen knowes how long they wil last, which calles such excellencie to the last account of life-lasting) both knowne, censured, and to many iniudiciall eares malitiously deliuered, to the disgrace of the worlds

best beautie, & the destruction of a most famous queene, euer till then wondred for a wonderfull vnblemisht reputation, euen *Hellen* Queene of *Corinth*, that harmles faire, and faire harmles hurt creature, a Lady of a mightie humblenes and an infinite mightines; vertuously alluring, because she was vertuous, and that vertue married to all euer-adored beautie; Of a maiestic fit for such greatnes, and a gracefulness answerable to a pure wisdome: in truth such she was, as such they should bee that haue so great perfections as such a celestially *Hellen*; / This name of *Hellen*, thunder-strooke *Pirophylus*, and as if his passion¹³ had had a metamorphosing deity, stonelike he stood without sence or motion, till reason the ensigne of the soules holynes called backe his spirites to their vsuall attendance, and hee earnestly besought the Shepheards as wel for the bettering of his knowledge (to whose taste he euer coueted to present the nourishing milke of discourse) as for a burning ardor he had to make his fortune the relief-master to a forlorne and & distressed Ladies afflictions, to vnfold vnto him euen from accident to accidēt al that had befallne to that most beautiful Queen of *Corinth*, of whō thogh in the coolnes of his intreaties he gaue no shew either of familiarity or acquaintāce (as indeed there was not, hauing neuer in their liues seen one the other) yet almost frō there childhoods they had married one to another a vertuous opinion of honorable estimation; being by aliance of blood nearely conioyed together, but especially and aboue all for the neare nearnesse both of affinitie and loue, twixt her and *Melidora*, the only Goddess, to whose feet he laid al the sacrifices of his swords honor or dutie. *Carino* who euer more and more gathered out of the rarenesse of his carriage, and sweet disposeure of his gestures, a height or exaltation of honour beyond the comprehensieue conceit of his vnderstanding, both to be found dutifull to his cammandements, and to beget a further continuance of so wished a presence (after the Prince by the Sunnes aid which then shined hotly against the rockes, had both dried his apparel, and refresh'd his halfe drowned spirits) thus set the key of his harmonious tongue in true, to tell the vtmost of his knowledges.

Although (most excellēt Prince said he) frō the cloudy / darknesse of our little knowing remembrances, can arise no expectfull matter of memorable cōsequence, the qualitie of our obscured estates depriuing vs the mean wherby Princes affairs should be vnfolded vnto so vnworthy eares, as well because the weaknesse of our iudgements cannot looke into the causes of their fortunes, as the insufficiency of our counsels that can preuent no effect of fortune (how aduerse soeuer) proceeding frō those causes; yes inasmuch as the worlds rumor is many times retained for an Oracle, and the liberal tongue of Fame wil in the most respectlesse eares couer the worlds publique counsels; I wil declare vnto your excellent wisdom what the inuenomed instrument of Enuyes tongue to all this whole nation most bytterly hath declared.

At such time as the noble *Amphyalus* (who being loues true prisoner) kept imprisoned the truest loue, and the truest beauty that euer had power to com-

maund loue, I meane the incomparable Princesses *Pamela*, & *Phyloclea*, with the *Macedonian Pyrocles*, at that time the *Amazonian Zelmane* had got the absolute vnderstanding of his mothers flint-hearted crueltie against those immortall Paragons of the worlde, to whom he had euen slaued the subiection of his diuine soule, & sawe by the Characters of their misfortunes, the desperate euil wherunto the lothsomnes of his life (growne vgly with the deformed disdain which had mangled his thoughts in peeces) would headlong conuey the wretcednes of his hopes, & when he had with a selfe-killing hand made that sworde wherewith he had ouerthrowne so many Kings conquerours, and invincible Gyants, giue a deadly aslault vnto the bosome of his hearts Cabanet, seeking by vntimely death to ruinate that glorious worke of Nature, / wherein the excellencie of the first workmaster had showed the best power of his artes working. This beautifull Queene of *Corinth* (of whose dolours my braine is now euen great in laboure withall) hearing not of that but of another most daungerous wound he had receiued in a former combate betwixt him and the excellent *Musidorus*; after a tedious and wearie iourney (wherein only loue tooke away the bitter feeling of wearines) she ariued in those parts of *Arcadia*, with assured hope of his recouery by meanes of a most excellent Surgion whom then in her country she retained; But in such an inauspicious hower of vnluckines, that finding the feare of danger, taken from the daunger she feared; there was now an inrecourable perrill wedded to a desperat fearefulness; for the foe was his owne hande, and that hand guided by so hopeless a loue, that hating all thinges which the loue he loued would not pittie, he himselfe had vsed against himselfe that violence, which else no violence could haue vsed: In briefe when she came to his presence, she found him bathing in his owne selfe-spilling bloode; and if not absolutly dead, yet so neare the confines of deathes Kingdome, that not the seuerest iudgement could say or hope he liued. To describe the liuely sorrow which assending from her dying hearte appeared in the watry Sun-shine of her eyes; how oft she swounded, reuiued, and againe and againe re-dyed; what bloode-wasting sighes she vttered, what groanes shee disburdened, how lamentably she bewailed, how desperatly she raged, the war betwixt her faire handes and her bosome, betwixt her torne haires and the windes motion, her teares burning in the beautie of her cheekes, and her beautie drowned in the Channell of her teary / Oceane her cōfusiō, in sorow making an vniformity in heauines, yet that heauy vniforme, a barbarous Chaos of miserie: to describe this, I say, were labor infinite and innecessarie, the rather sith it stands, in a memoriall by the most memorable pen that euer recorded matter worthie of memorie: But at last when sorrow had as it were (in the iudgement of all her beholders) called to so straite an account all the sorrowes of her remembrance, that there was no other matter left saue onely sorrow in her imaginations, and that so full of imperious commaund, as it was high treason against her soule, to thinke it was not eternall: euen then the eye of

wisdome (cleared by those afflicting clouds which muffled her affections) began to discover the error in her forgetful passions; her weeping making her neglect the meanes should bring her to not weeping; and her complaints drawing on a certaine end to worke in her endlesse complaining; whereupon turning from the dead reputed coarse, that her returning might adde more violent extremitie to her compassionate languishment; and a little depriuing her eies the blessednesse of their sights, that with the same sight they might bee more diuinely endeared; shee humbly threw herselfe at the feete of those Princes, whose heauie eyes not without abundant teares were spectators of that immortally bemoaned tragedy, but especially she conuerted all her speeches to the world, contemning *Anaxius*, a man whose selfe-louing opinion had drawne into him a beleefe of impossible atchieuements, and to him shee declared the olde age of her tedious dispised loue; the vnremouable constancie of her confident affection; and the world-wondring end her sorrow would consumate as soone as her hopes were depriued the / blisse of their expectation, euer and anon mingling amongst her compassionate bemoanings, such an intyre adoration to the name of *Anaxius*, preferring it before Angells, and recording it first of all in the mightie inrolment of God-heades; that he whose blindnesse could apprehend nothing but his owne greatnesse, grew now great with childe of imaginarie diuinitie: and though for the death of *Amphyalus* he had vowed a detestation of all women, yet in loue with his owne glorie, hee was content (with a deformed smile) to commend her, that thereby he might backe againe call to minde his owne commendations; and swoare by himselfe (for greater than himselfe, his great heart would neuer acknowledge) that the royall humour of her greatnesse, gaue her an excellent inspection, and a determinate meane of wel iudging the singularitie of others perfections: but yet he who had neuer accustomed himselfe to condescende to any desire of vertue, because his Religion was grounded vppon this heresie, that honour was got by contradiction, and greatnesse most feared by a perticular deniall of a generall intreatie, not withstanding all the dartie Launces of her well tempred Oratorie, would haue vtterly withstood her sute (which was onely to haue the cōueyance of the body of *Amphyalus* into her own countrey) had not his two brothers, called *Zoylus* and *Lycurgus*, (to whom ambitious Nature had not beene full out so prodigal, though by a great deal too much, much too liberall in the same humor of oftentation) taken a more liuely taste of bitternesse from her teares, and ioyned in the approbation of her reasonable demaund, drawing the strength of their arguments from this ground, that sith hee was a desperate forsaken patient, whom no / Phisition or Surgion in those parts, durst in the least hope giue a light of suruiuing, if any other part there were an insearchable skill vnreuealed, it was necessarie to approue it, because nothing could draw the daunger to a greater height then it was alreadie raysed: besides they boasted what honour it would be to them, to conduct the dead bodie to the bordering skirts of

Basilius armie (which of necessitie they must doe) as it were in despite without eyther controlment or damage, to the intents they purposed; This last speech (though the other auailed) found a more insinuating acceptance in the Sunne-scalding ayme of *Anaxius*, so that he agreed to all her desires, giuing her leaue to embalme the body with such preseruatiues, as for that purpose she had brought with her: and tolde her, that as well for the vertues hee found in her (of which himselfe could better iudge then any other creature) as for a carefull hope he had of his frends recouerie, she should haue that day not onely her wish, but also a God (meaning himselfe) to be her sanctuarie defendant; and one who would in such safetie conduct her through the tents of his enemies; that to her well seeing iudgement should appeare the terror of his greatnes. The comfortlesse Lady to whom the want of comfort serued as a comfortable companion, taught by her grieffe a politike cariage in grieffe, soothed vp his vanities by amplifying vpon his vaine grounds, and with heartie humblenesse offered to kisse his hand as a testimonie of the assurance she reposed in his magnanimitie.

All things being prepared fit for so great a solemnitie, *Anaxius* and his traine attending on the hearse; and the faire Queene *Hellen*, issued in a most solemne & tragicke manner from the Castle of *Amphialus*, and so / conducted her to the banks of the swift-falling riuier *Ladon*, without either impeachment or disturbance: where after many confused shewers of vncontrollable teares, seeming as if they would ioyne with the riuier to ouerflow and drowne the neighbour plaines: *Anaxius* and his brothers *Zoylus* and *Lycurgus*, tooke their leaues of the Queene, and the dead reputed *Amphyalus*, and so returned backe to the place from whence they were departed.

The Queene left alone to accompany her dead Lord, (sauing that she had onely twentie horsemen, and sixe Laides which had beene her gardians in that wofull voyage) commanded the coffin to bee set downe vpon a faire banke of flowers by the riuers side, and then taking her Lute, to the delicacie of whose sound she married a more delicate voyce, sung this funeral Sonnet.

*Strong heart, my strong cares vnconsumed throne,
How bigge thou swellst with euer feeding grieffe,
I hop'd that worne to nothing with my mone,
Nothing to nothing would haue brought relieffe.
And you mine eyes that enuie these faire streames,
Because they flow not ouer like your teares,
Learne by this riuier to abate extreames,
Sith coolest woes breede longest liu'd dispaire.
But O mine Eyes you haue immortall springs,
Fed by a heart which feedes vpon distresse,
And thou my heart art wed to sorrowing,
Sorrow, that sorrows-selfe cannot expresse.
Then heart grieue still, and Eies augment your fountaines
Till one make Seas, the other cloud-hie Mountaines. /*