Thesis Approved

By

Robert Beam

Major Advisor

A. G. Urrutia

Dean
FULKE GREVILLE'S CAELICA:
THE WORK OF AN ELIZABETHAN

BY
JAMES WINFIELD NEWCOMB

A THESIS

Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of the Creighton University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts in the Department of English.

Omaha, 1965
To my parents
William J. Newcomb
Winifred J. Newcomb
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INTRODUCTION

In 1633, Fulke Greville's sonnet sequence, Caelica, was posthumously published. In 109 sonnets of varying length, Greville addresses his poems to the woman of the title as well as to "Myra," "Cynthia," and "Cala." The names of these women were used, it seems, quite arbitrarily, and may possibly have been interchangeable with one another. Because the sonnet tradition was at its zenith during Greville's lifetime Caelica should naturally be studied in this tradition.

Were many of the characteristics of this tradition less stylized, Greville's departures from the established forms might not be as emphasized as they have been in modern scholarship. Because Elizabethan sonneteers most generally adhered strictly to the strictures of the sonnet convention, Greville's relatively minor departures from the convention are often quite exaggerated. Not only does Greville move in his later sonnets away from the love motif which was paramount in his early sonnets, but within the love motif itself he treats of love from a great many viewpoints. Such manifestations of Greville's individuality have caused modern criticism to view him as the precursor of a later age.
To compound the errors of such a bias, undue attention has been given to Caelica's similarity to Sidney's Astrophil and Stella. The first commentaries about Caelica that were attempted on any kind of scholarly basis were quick to note these similarities, and subsequent researches have continued to follow this concern with Greville's relationship to Sidney. There can be no doubt that the two were quite close while the latter was alive. Greville was Sidney's biographer and one of his literary executors. From these and other facts, scholars have made a rather unscholarly leap to certain conclusions about Greville. Since these conclusions originate for the most part from a biographical basis, it is necessary at this point to review briefly the known facts of Greville's association with Sidney. This should prove helpful in understanding why in the past certain conclusions have been drawn about Greville. At the same time this superficial sketch is intended to provide a background for observations made in various parts of this paper.

Born in 1554, Sidney and Greville attended

\[I\text{I have accepted the spelling arrived at by William A. Ringler in The Poems of Sir Philip Sidney (Oxford: at the Clarendon Press, 1962). Its etymological significance is obvious.}\]
Shrewsbury school together in 1564. There is no evidence to show that these young men were together before that time. Some thirteen years later, in 1577, they were together again on a mission of state to the Protestant princes on the continent. Greville was introduced at court by Sidney's uncle, the Earl of Leicester. He was constantly in the company of Sidney, but he was restrained by Elizabeth from going to the wars in the Low Countries with Sidney and Leicester. It was in these wars that Sidney was mortally wounded at the age of 32.

Sidney's death was a great loss to Greville. He was unable to purge himself of the grief he felt. Although it is this time in his life from which his ascent to power and wealth is marked, it is unwise to assign to Sidney's death a great role in Greville's development unless it can be established how this may be discerned in Greville's writings. Such an endeavor does not come within the scope of the present paper.

For this and the following information I am indebted to Geoffrey Bullough (ed.), Poems and Dramas of Fulke Greville (Edinburgh: Oliver and Boyd, 1939), I, 2-3.

Bullough, p. 6.
a close relationship between these two men is the very existence of their two sonnet sequences. The resemblances between the two cannot be just coincidental. In no wise is it suggested in this paper that this relationship is of small proportions. Nor is an attempt made here to minimize the importance of this relationship. However, as will be shown later, the existence of this relationship is more often than not a hindrance to a full understanding and appreciation of Greville's work. Because of this, little comment will be made on the relationship aside from that necessary to show how it has been a dominant force in Grevillean scholarship.

The limited scope of the present paper is divided into two main parts. The first of these deals with selected studies that have been made on Caelica. A brief review will be made of three works in particular. These include the 1901 doctoral dissertation of Morris W. Croll, an article written in 1935 by J. M. Purcell, and an independent study published by William Frost in 1942. Other references to Caelica will be cited less extensively. These three publications are treated because of their great influence on modern opinion of Greville's sonnets.
This paper was originally begun with the intention of expanding the work of previous scholars on the similarities and parallels between Greville and Sidney. The plan proved futile since existing studies in this area were complete. Indeed, one scholar was overzealous in his desire to draw parallels between the two sequences. Because such an investigation required a close look into previous studies of this kind, certain conclusions presented by these scholars were carefully noted. Some of these conclusions seemed to be influenced by carelessly documented biographical data and others seemed to be motivated by a desire to support or refute biographical contentions made by others. It is for this reason that the direction of this thesis was altered to its present course.

The second division of this thesis is not a complete refutation of what is reviewed in the first part. Rather it seeks to place Greville in a slightly different light. Where previous studies of Caelica have emphasized Greville's relationship with Sidney and have proceeded with such a bias as the basis for further study, it is the purpose here to show how Greville's sonnet sequence reveals the man to be a product of his age. This is accomplished by enumerating
qualities that should be found in an Elizabethan poet and demonstrating how Greville embraces these qualities.

Such a study may seem, at first, to be an exercise that belabors the obvious. It would certainly be superfluous were it not for the fact that existing studies make it necessary. Had these earlier studies not moved in other directions, the need to clearly demonstrate that Fulke Greville is an Elizabethan who reflects the thinking of his age would not exist. Since this is not the case, the problem must be dealt with. To place this study in a recognizable perspective the previous Grevillean scholarship is reviewed first. Only when the existing directions in which critical opinion of Greville has moved are seen can any new direction have meaning.
FULKE GREVILLE'S CABALICA
THE WORK OF AN ELIZABETHAN
CHAPTER I

CROLL'S THESIS

The first thorough examination of Caelica was made by Morris W. Croll.¹ In his work he was the first scholar to notice one of the most basic similarities between Astrophil and Stella and Caelica. Commenting on the number of sonnets in both sequences (which he mistakenly thought was identical) Croll says that this reveals in Caelica "the symbolic means by which Greville expressed his veneration for Sidney's memory."² This conclusion sets the tone for further comparisons of the two sonnet sequences. This is not to say, however, that Croll's research is valueless. The groundwork he did on Caelica is of great value even though the judgments he renders about his findings are, at times, colored by the attitude expressed in the quotation above.

Croll was also first in significant work on the metrical characteristics in Caelica. The classifications he devised for organizing the poems into categories is most helpful in understanding the structure

²Ibid., p. 10.
of the entire sequence. Oroll agrees that Greville was justified in varying the length of his sonnets, noting the Elizabethan custom of interpreting the term quite loosely.

A great part of Oroll's study of meter in Caelica is devoted to establishing the date of composition. Dividing the sequence into groups of 16 poems, Oroll shows how the percentage of eleven-syllable lines decreases as the sequence progresses. What he does establish is that hendecasyllabic lines are less frequent as the sequence progresses. The conclusion he draws from this fact is not quite as logical although it is not without merit. Oroll feels that this decreasing use of a certain metrical pattern is substantial enough evidence to posit that the entire sequence was written over a number of years. Feeling that the subject matter of the poems supports this, he divides Caelica into three parts. The first 40 sonnets are assigned to the year 1586 or before. The second group, sonnets 41 through 84 are felt by Oroll to have been written in the period 1586-1600. The remaining sonnets he holds to have been written after 1600.

The concern of this paper is not Oroll's method

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\(^3\)Ibid., p. 13.
of dating. In fact, his research on this matter is, in part, the basis for almost all later work seeking to ascertain the dates of composition in Greville's work.\(^4\)

More important to the present study, however, is Croll's discussion of the various qualities, good and bad, he sees in two of the portions of the sequence. Comment here more properly belongs in the second part of this paper, but the particular points made by Croll about these sections require discussion as they are brought up.

Croll sees four general characteristics in the first 40 sonnets. Briefly, these are: 1. frequent classical allusion, 2. poverty of subjects, 3. artificiality, and 4. poems obviously written in competition with Sidney.\(^5\) Again, Croll's research is thorough, but his conclusions are not completely sound. He contends that the qualities enumerated indicate an immature poetic mind.

Exception must be taken to the conclusions drawn about the second and third of these characteristics. On the lack of subjects, Croll says that this is "shown


\(^5\) Croll, p. 21.
in numerous variations of the same devices. One cannot be completely certain what is meant by this statement. Assuming it to refer to the rhetorical devices used by Greville, Croll seems to have seriously misconstrued the role of such devices in Elizabethan poetic. As the established vehicles of poetic expression the formal schemes of rhetoric which Greville must have learned at Shrewsbury school were the most natural and fitting means by which to express the content of his sonnets. Although the strict employment of these devices may well indicate a young poet, they do not necessarily indicate an immature poetic ability. Their legitimacy as a mode of proper poetic expression should not be questioned.

Croll's feeling that the first 40 sonnets of Caelica belike immaturity in their artificiality betrays a misconception common in early scholarship of the Renaissance. Croll says that this characteristic is demonstrated by "the larger number of the poems being in the class of exercises on the set themes of sonneteers." The late sixteenth century was not so far removed from the medieval lays of love that it could

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6Ibid.  
7Ibid.
forget them entirely. Also, stock themes were very much a part of any sonnet sequence. This is evident from the plethora of comment made on Greville's departure from these set themes in his late sonnets. Undoubtedly the influence of Petrarch often resulted in defective poems in Elizabethan love sonnets, but the stock themes were not esthetically deficient of themselves. Certainly these sonnets are artificial, but they are so in the sense that they are artifacts. Greville must have been aware of the artifacts he was creating, but the Elizabethan mind was given to employing proven devices to carry whatever meaning they wished to convey. Originality was not equated with novelty, and it seemed never to have been of primary importance. Croll suggests, however, that since Sidney's—and by implication, Petrarch's—influence was great in the first 40 sonnets, they are inferior to the rest of the Caelica sequence. The significance of Croll's opinion here will be discussed later at length.

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8 Some of the more noteworthy conventions in love sonnets and their sources are discussed at length in Lisle Cecil John, The Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences (New York: Columbia University Press, 1938) esp. pp. 81-134.

9 For further comment on this subject see Hugh N. Maclean, "Greville's 'Poetic.'" SP, LXI (April, 1964), 170-192.
Croll reserves his praise of Caelica for the second division of his sonnets. Again in this section he cites four characteristics worthy of critical attention. These characteristics are: 1. a less frequent use of classical allusion, 2. the use of images "drawn from real life," 3. a more simple and definite vocabulary, and 4. shorter periods. Of the third of these points, Croll says

The emotional power of bare unadorned words in expressing intense convictions and deep feeling is one of the secrets of his impressiveness, and, like the plainness of his images, his use of such diction is a sign of his effort for incisiveness and expressiveness, rather than for decorative beauty.  

Again Croll mistakes the role of ornate diction in Elizabethan poetic. Also, the diction used in these poems is not quite as plain as Croll would see it. Not only is the ambiguity of the earlier sonnets sustained, but the words here seem to be more carefully chosen for their beauty and appropriateness.

Sonnets 85-109, elicit little more than standard critical commentary from Croll. In style and structure, they appear to him to be similar to the second group. He does take note, however, of the tendency toward

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\(^{10}\) Croll, pp. 22-25.

\(^{11}\) Ibid., p. 23.
longer periods. The absence of references to a woman and the overall religious nature of these poems are also noted as unElizabethan. In this, he compares Greville to Donne, saying that both "departed...from prevailing Elizabethan modes."  

Croll quite wisely holds that Greville was a poet of merit in his own right, but his reasons for holding this position are not always well-founded. Croll's study is of great value for much of the groundwork it provided for later scholarship. This value is best seen when it is considered alongside these later works. The underlying contention that Greville is less Elizabethan than Jacobean pervades Croll's scholarship, and this attitude seems to have left its mark on subsequent studies.

13 Ibid., p. 30.
14 Ibid., p. 28.
CHAPTER II

PURCELL'S ARTICLE

The second significant research on Caelica was made by J. M. Purcell in 1935. His study is concise and lucid, and it is one of the most widely cited articles on Greville's relationship to Sidney. Purcell's is the first study to enumerate the many parallels between the two sonnet sequences. In his study he points to similar themes, images, and lines. In most instances (particularly in the earliest poems) the parallels cited may be found in the sonnet numbered the same in both sequences. The resulting study's significance lies in its valid claim to being the first research of this kind. On the whole, however, Purcell's work is faulty. His main problem is that he is over-zealous in his search for similarities. One must go beyond charity to accept all of his reported parallels as legitimate reflections one of the other. Some subsequent writers have viewed Purcell's work as definitive on the question of parallels between the two poets. As recently as this year (1964) a scholar has

15J. M. Purcell, "Sidney's Astrophel and Stella and Greville's Caelica" PMLA, L (June 1935), 413-422.
stated that "Croll and Purcell have done all that needed doing by way of pointing out parallels of imagery with *Astronomel* and *Stella*.*16 Although this is not a wholehearted embrace of Purcell's article it does suggest that his scholarship can be trusted on parallel imagery. If these parallels are accepted as valid, unsound conclusions may be drawn as to Greville's dependence on Sidney. Another result of Purcell's study is that it is quite possible to infer more than Purcell intended in his study. Purcell made few judgments of his own aside from the parallels. Except for an introduction and afterword, his article contains little more than the list of comparisons. At the end of the list he makes a statement that will probably never be a model of style in literary scholarship. He says of the list of parallels:

...this implies, I believe, that Greville and Sidney were in communication at the time of composition of the first half of their sequences, and each diverged to follow his own bent after he had got into the swing of things.**17

Such a statement as this might be what led one biographer to suggest that "...two of them, perhaps sitting at the same table, and writing on the same

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16Maclean, p. 171.

17Purcell, p. 421.
The parallels Purcell noted that seem to be acceptable are a service to further critical comment. Typical of his findings is the thematic parallel he points to in Sidney's tenth sonnet with that in Greville's ninth. Of the former, Purcell says: "there is no kinship between love and reason," while of the latter he says that "love can tyrannize over counsel."\(^{19}\) A brief look at the lines to which he alludes will adequately demonstrate the reason for pointing out a parallel here. Where Sidney's sonnet says, in part:

Reason, in faith thou art well served, that still Wouldst brailing be with sense and love in me\(^{20}\)

The reflection of this thought is found in Greville's sonnet where, addressing the apostrophized love, he says:

Tyrannie counsell out of feare doth borrow
To thinke her Kingdom safe in feare, and sorrow\(^{21}\)

Purcell was not familiar with the rhetorical figures known to both Sidney and Greville or he would have


\(^{19}\)Purcell, p. 414.

\(^{20}\)Ringler, p. 169.

\(^{21}\)All citations from *Caelica* are from Bullough. Here, sonnet 9.
undoubtedly supported this comparison by pointing to the fact that both sonnets begin with the apostrophe. Sidney addresses his poem to reason and Greville addresses his to Love. Had Purcell's article been more complete in this respect, Greville's place as a true Elizabethan might have begun to be firmly established.

Purcell does seem to have a bit of a grasp on rhetorical figures because he does point out their use in the parallel initial sonnets of each sequence. There he notes the "reduplication [sic] of key words." This parallel as well as the first mentioned was most obvious. Purcell has done journeyman's work in this scholarship. The chief value of his study, however, lies in some of the more obscure, but still valid parallels that he found. Most of these parallels were found, however, because they were in sonnets that are correspondingly numbered. Such is the case with the sonnets numbered 33 in both sequences. Purcell points out the use of imagery dealing with famed lovers from antiquity. The parallel seems to go no further than the inclusion of this image, but even this much tends

\[22\text{Purcell, p. 413.}\]
\[23\text{Ibid., p. 417.}\]
to aid the scholar's comprehension of the Greville-Sidney poetic relationship.

The similarities in the two works that Purcell found in correspondingly numbered sonnets are probably the very things that led him astray in his investigation. Typical of some of his more unrealistic comparisons are the comments Purcell makes on the 37th sonnets in both sequences. In Caelica, Purcell sees a riddle in the first four stanzas of the 37th sonnet.\(^{24}\) This is, no doubt, an opinion colored by Sidney's explicit references to a riddle in his 37th sonnet. In truth, however, Greville does not employ a riddle in his poem. He begins by relating an anecdote about a boy who steals from a thief. He then applies his own experience analogously to this story. Purcell seems to be stretching the meaning of riddle if he would include this sonnet in the same classification. Sidney's sonnet is misconstrued even worse. Purcell understands that it is a riddle, but then says "the answer to the riddle is not given;"\(^ {25}\) Sidney's riddle is about a lady who has a wealth of beauty, treasure, and character

\(^{24}\)Ibid., p. 418.

\(^{25}\)Ibid.
who thought most rich in these and everie part
which make the patents of true worldly blisse
hath no misfortune but that Rich she is. (12-14)
The pun in these lines is obvious to anyone who is
reasonably familiar with Sidney's background. Since
Stella is often, in this sequence, a thin disguise for
Penelope Devereaux, the wife of Lord Rich, the reference
in the final line is Sidney's bemoaning of the fact
that she is married and unattainable. Thus, Sidney
has answered his own riddle. Such oversights as this
tend to detract from whatever authority Purcell may
have in the rest of his investigation. A good many—
indeed, too many—of Purcell's 59 parallels are too
far-fetched to be of great value. The influence of
Purcell's article is still widespread, however.
CHAPTER III

FROST'S STUDY

Only seven years after Purcell's article was published, a thin volume of Croll's errors. Unfortunately, this volume by William Frost was privately printed, and its circulation apparently has not been great because it is seldom mentioned in footnotes for the contributions it makes to scholarship on Caelica. Its significance lies in its attempt to view Caelica as an entity and not in the light of what Sidney may or may not have done. Frost should be commended for maintaining such an objective view.

Following a brief background sketch of the milieu in which Greville wrote, Frost gives some technical information on the sequence as a whole. After this he devotes the greater part of his study to a detailed commentary of Caelica. In this commentary he indicates what he believes to be some general characteristics of Greville as found in his sonnets. Most interesting in this section of Frost's work are the comments he makes

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in various places about Greville's point of view. When culled from the body of his work they form a picture of Greville that has not been delineated in such a form elsewhere.

Some of the insights Frost offers lead to a better understanding of Greville as a poet. One of these is his amendment to Croll's observation that classical imagery declines as the sequence progresses. Frost notes that this is replaced by a more frequent reference to Biblical figures.27 This quality is pointed to as one of the many examples of departure from established sonnet conventions which mark Greville as a poet whose poetry reflects a quite different age from that in which these poems were written. These qualities are mentioned in conjunction with the 38th sonnet, which begins

Caelica, I ouernight was finely vsed.

Among the other qualities which Frost sees as atypical of Elizabethan sonneteers are the guilty feelings exhibited after a seduction, the "note of bitterness; and...a simple direct poetic diction."28 Because other sonneteers adhere so strictly to the Petrarchan mode, Frost has difficulty comparing Greville to them without

27 Ibid., p. 11.
28 Ibid.
seeing more differences than similarities.

In numerous places Frost refers to Greville's brooding melancholy. The reason for this, Frost maintains, is twofold. It might stem from the evangelical fervor that was beginning to gain hold in England in this time. Frost feels it is more likely to have been the result of Greville's realization that love is transitory, but he says, "it goes much deeper than that." Whereupon he quotes from various sonnets that exhibit life as well as love bemoaned as mutable.

In a separate section, Frost deals with the sonnets in Caelica which depart from the love theme. In this section, the subject matter of these poems is commented upon briefly. As they exemplify Greville's political and religious views, certain sonnets are quoted. As a summation Frost points to sonnet 109 as an example of how Greville may be considered the connecting link between the Sidneyan circle and the Metaphysicals. Noteworthy in this sonnet is Greville's "power over language," says Frost. The sonnet itself is a religious poem of 30 lines which is a plea to God not to visit his wrath on a sinful people.

29 Ibid., pp. 24, 26.
31 Ibid., p. 38.
In the concluding chapter of his study Frost, with a due amount of scholarly caution, compiles a list of the parallels in Greville's and Sidney's sonnet sequences. In this compilation Frost omits many of the spurious comparisons suggested by Purcell. In addition he sheds a new light on many things that were puzzling to the author of the earlier list of parallels. This new list places these similarities in a perspective that shows them to be little more than one would expect from the association of one poet with another. This perspective shows that they are necessary to a complete understanding of Greville's relationship with Sidney, but as such, the relationship is only an auxiliary to a comprehensive picture of Greville as a poet.

The above commentaries for the major portion of significant scholarship on *Caelica*. Croll's dissertation has in all but a few respects been the shaping force of modern scholarly opinion on Greville. Purcell's study is too widely known to be helpful in understanding Greville. Frost's book is valuable, but it is limited in scope despite the intense treatment

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Bullough's notes to *Caelica* might be considered to be a significant contribution to scholarship on Greville. The greater part of them, however, are explications of Greville's obscure phrasing.
of Caelica in it. There seems to be only one major fault and relatively few minor flaws in Frost's evaluation. He has a tendency to allow his perception of Greville as a pre-Metaphysical and a Calvinist to color his interpretation of him in some respects. One cannot escape the fact that Greville did live and write at least the majority of his sonnets in the reign of Elizabeth. Because of this, a need exists to see Greville in a way he has not previously been presented. Therefore, the following portion of this paper endeavors to show Greville to be a true Elizabethan.
PART II

PRESENT CONSIDERATION
CHAPTER IV

GREVILLE'S ELIZABETHAN CHARACTERISTICS

In the remainder of this paper the aim is to show by examples how Caelica is the product of the age in which its author lived. To do this, fundamental characteristics that may be expected of any Elizabethan literary figure will be discussed, and it will be demonstrated how Greville comes well within the purview of these characteristics. These characteristics may be divided roughly into two types. The first of these is comprised of the attitudes which would be taken for granted by the poet. The second of these two types includes the discernible aspects of his poetic which were more consciously employed by him. These two types and the characteristics they demonstrate are discussed in the order mentioned.

One of the outstanding hallmarks of the Elizabethan age is the view of order that prevailed in that time. A heritage of the medieval thought, this concept was a backdrop for Elizabethan thought in all literary genres. It is not necessary here to give in great detail the reasons for this passion for order that marks all things Elizabethan. E. M. W. Tillyard does
this admirably in his work on the Elizabethan outlook.¹ It should suffice here to give a superficial glance at the general attitude toward order that prevailed in Greville's day. Basically, the Elizabethan concept of order revolved around the idea that each thing in existence, whether animal, plant, mineral, or spirit was created to operate in a certain place in the overall scheme of existence. Since this was an assumption that was not open to question, the greatest imaginable evil was a disruption of this order that had been established by the Creator. The chaos that resulted from disorder was intolerable. No good could come from such chaos except resumption of right order. Since order was the very nature of a smooth uninterrupted scheme of existence, a disruption was against nature and thus unnatural. Only dissolution could result from usurpation of the power of nature.

It is upon this background of nature that Fulke Greville wrote Caelica. So ingrained was this idea that order must always prevail that it is not explicitly spelled out in most creative works of the day, but rather must be inferred from the works themselves.

¹E. M. W. Tillyard. The Elizabethan World Picture (London, 1943). Much of this section is based on Elizabethan habits of mind noted or suggested in Tillyard.
There is no chance, however, of failing to see Greville as a devoted patron of the Elizabethan notion of order. Greville is quite explicit about the nature of each creature's position in nature's scheme of order. In his 107th sonnet he does not equivocate about the lesson he wishes to impart to his reader. The first of the two stanzas in this sonnet describe the goddess Isis sitting upon an ass. The second stanza continues

So as this Beast, forgetting what he beares, 
Bridled and burdend by the hand of might, 
While he beholds the swarmes of hope and feares, 
Proud of the glorious furniture hee weares, 
Takes all to Isis offer'd, but his right; 
Till wearinessse, the spurre, or want of food, 
Makes gilded curbs of all beasts understood. 

(11. 9-16)

The meaning here is quite clear. To be certain there will be no ambiguity as to his meaning, Greville calls Isis "the Goddesse of Authority." (1. 2). The beast mistakes his place and seeks to rise higher and be something which due to the cosmic order of nature is beyond him. The analogy to real life is reached quite logically. The goddess, of course, is of a much higher station. The ass is one who is of a lower order. For him to aspire to be more than he can be is a disruption of established order. This may not seem very democratic, but it is a mistake to attempt to interpret Greville, or for that matter any Elizabethan, in terms
of modern attitudes. Nor is the 107th sonnet an indication that Greville is partial to tyranny. He does not relegate the ass to a low station that is totally ignominious. In line 14 he says that the animal is attempting to take unto himself everything "but his right." The beast (person or creature of lower station) is not a mere slave to higher authority. "His right" is his to be enjoyed to the full. His sin is not the evil of aspiring to a high place so much as it is the disorder that is caused by this aspiration. In this respect Greville is truly an Elizabethan. He would by no means deny the lower creatures their rights, but he would have them know their place in the cosmos. To make this "moral" the subject of an entire poem is not so typically Elizabethan. Customarily, it was assumed that all men would know this without being reminded. Greville, perhaps, is more forthright than his fellow sonneteers in some instances. He is given to such directness only in his later, more pensive sonnets.

More often Greville uses this theme of order as a background upon which other thoughts are more prominently displayed. The assumption that order is of prime necessity for the well being of all may be seen in sonnet 79. Bullough calls this a description of
"how good government is suspected of evil by fallen human nature." In the first four lines of this sonnet Greville describes how the appearance of a comet is mistaken by the populace to foreshadow an imminent change of government. The poet then says

   Yet be but horrors, from vaine hearts sent forth,
   To prophesie against Annointed worth:
   (11. 5-6)

In these two lines, Greville shows his scorn for those who predict disorder. Their prophecies are "horrors" and they hold them against "Annointed worth." Any other metaphor might have been used here had not Greville desired to show that these who looked for an ensuing disorder were prophesying the downfall or death of a ruler whose position was a part of the appointed order ordained by the Divinity. Implicit in the first four lines also is the idea that a lower order by its nature seeks to comprehend that which is beyond it, viz., the reason for established order. This presumption is sustained to the end of this 12-line sonnet. Applying the metaphor of the first stanza to the real world in the second, Greville concludes by saying that those who see the leadership of their nation in a bad light are laboring under delusions:

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2 Bullough, I, 272.
The use of "Supreames" to signify the rulers is no mere accident. The Elizabethan attitude toward order assumes that the higher orders are of a higher quality also. These rulers are, to the Elizabethan, naturally superior to those they rule.

In the 77th sonnet Greville explores another facet of the conditions that result from disorder. This sonnet deals with the harm that results when the legal relationships of man are overturned. At the beginning Greville tells how the gods of ancient times kept "Stations betweene heauen, and earth" (1. 3). From this exposition the poet goes on to tell how laws have usurped and overthrown the healthy relationships of the past. The sin is compounded because it is done in the name of law. The concluding stanza points to the result of a change in the natural relationships that are required by the cosmic order:

For when Power once hath trod this path of Might,  
And found how Place aduantagiously extended 
Waines, or confoundeth all Inferiors right  
With thinne lines hardly seen, but never ended;  
It straight drownes in this gulfe of vast affections,  
Faith, truth, worth, law, all popular protections.  
(11. 25-30)

The most cherished virtues of mankind are rendered useless by such usurpation. Those necessary attributes
of a civilized society are damaged by disorder. Greville does not blame his own age for the new attitude, nor does he commend the ancients for maintaining order. His sonnet is more of a sermon than an entertainment. There is a prevailing tone to this sonnet, however, which seems to bear out Frost's remark \(^3\) that Greville is a transition between the Elizabethan age and the age which followed. Greville seems to be pointing more toward a state of disruption that was factual than one which was hypothetical. He seems to be pointing to what exists rather than to what might be in the future. Bullough notes that this sonnet is heavily revised.\(^4\) Perhaps the thought is more in keeping with the Greville of the 1620's than with the Elizabethan courtier.

All the sonnets cited above could have possibly been written by Greville in his later years. The chronology is not a matter of great concern in this paper. Greville could and did put this Elizabethan concept to use in work that was at least begun in his youth. In the 30th sonnet of Caelica the theme of order is used, as is customary in Elizabethan sonnet sequences, to demonstrate an aspect of his love for his

\(^3\) Frost, p. 38.

\(^4\) Bullough, I, 269
mistress. In the first two quatrains of this sonnet Greville tells of Rome's wise government which declined once the "proud legions gave thee laws" (1. 5) because Authority her owners did not know. (1. 3). Comparing this to Myra's condition, he says to her

But after flattering Change did give thee lawes, That her false voices did thy faith bestow, Worthinesse no more was of affection cause, Desire did many heads like monsters show; Thus Rome and Myra acting many parts, By often changes lost commanding arts. (11. 9-16)

The dissipation of authority brought about by disorder is shown here to display Myra's plight. The analogy was not simply pulled out of thin air; it is most fitting in this context. This passion for order and aversion to the things that disorder brought about were always in the thoughts of the Elizabethan.

One aspect of the notion of the cosmic order exerts a great influence in the sonnet just quoted. Greville speaks of change as the manner of disorder which caused the decline of Rome's power and Myra's attractiveness to suitors. This fact of change may be found in most of the world's literatures, but it is all the more noteworthy here because as Tillyard says of the Elizabethans, "They were obsessed...by the fact of mutability; and this obsession was powerful.
in proportion as their faith in the cosmic order was strong.\textsuperscript{5} Greville represents his age in this respect as much as almost any of his contemporaries. Although the degree of his faith in the cosmic order may at times be questioned, the instances in \textit{Caelica} which bear out Greville's concern with mutability strengthen the argument that he is a product of his age. If Tillyard's statement is valid, the instances cited below seem to be convincing evidence in support of this thesis.

Before proceeding further a word is necessary on nature of the Elizabethan attitude toward mutability and its relationship to the cosmic order. There is no contradiction between these two general characteristics of the Elizabethan view of the world. The concern with mutability was a more or less accepted phenomenon depending on the individual writer. This obsession was a curiosity of sorts. Mutability was a facet of order that worked within the cosmic order. Such things as age and death made mutability a necessary part of the cosmic order. These things were inescapable. Their inevitability was obvious. Indeed, death was an everyday occurrence that the Elizabethan faced with more

\textsuperscript{5}Tillyard, p. 13.
genuinely healthy emotion than most ages have done. In addition a world without death or time passing would be a world quite different than the one in which a cosmic order was established. Therefore, these types of mutability were not only free from any stigma of disorder, they were requisite to natural cosmic order. This may seem to be rather faulty logic, but it did not seem so to the people living during the English Renaissance. The Elizabethan explained the world in terms with which he could live, and this was how he explained mutability. Once he admitted the need for mutability in his world his curiosity was aroused. He did not seek to enumerate which changes were good and which were bad as the modern man might be inclined to do. The Elizabethans seem to know instinctively which mutations worked for the good and which worked against right order. Nevertheless, the desire to turn the fact of mutability over in his mind was irresistible to the Elizabethan.

Greville reflects the prevailing spirit of his age when he writes of mutability. With a diversity that is characteristically Elizabethan he examines many sides of this theme. The very nature of it is scrutinized in his 76th sonnet. This sonnet comes
from Cupid's mouth. It is addressed to fortune. A
great deal of Greville's personal interpretation of
mutability may be discerned in this poem. The first of
the three stanzas reads:

Fortune, art thou not forc'd sometimes to scorne?
That seest Ambition strive to change our state?
As though thy Scepter slave to lust were borne?
Or Wishes could procure themselves a fate?
(11. 1-4)

As in many other poems, some of which were cited under
the section on order, Greville points to ambition as
the great villain that seeks a change. In the total
attitude of Caelica again and again the one fault that
is instrumental in creating disorder is ambition or
some form of it. Greville ends this sonnet with the
epigrammatic comment

I smile to see Desire is never wise,
But wars with Change, which is her paradise.
(11. 13-14)

In this instance mutability is a good. This seems to
be the general attitude Greville takes. Change itself
is not evil. Too often, however, that which motivates
change, or results from it is evil, whereas change
itself is only the agent of such evil.

An even more complete picture of Greville's view
of change may be seen in the seventh sonnet. Whether
betraying a simple faith in the cosmic order or a
reluctance to refer to the newer concept of the world in poetry, Greville gets to the very essence of the nature of change in this sonnet. In the first stanza he acknowledges the cosmic order, especially in its relation to the changes in the world where he says

Nature (the Queene of Change) to change is loueing.  
And Forme to matter new, is still adiourned.  
(11. 3-4)

The paradox of change is seen in lines 15 and 16

Man made of earth, and for whom earth is made,  
Still dying liues, and liuing euer dyeth;

The observations made in the poem are similarly paradoxical. In the final couplet these observations are applied to his mistress

Onely like fate sweet Myra neuer varies,  
Yet in her eyes the doome of all Change carries.  
(11. 17-18)

The significance of the Elizabethan tendency to fear change is represented in the "doome" of the final line.

The inevitability of gradual change is explored somewhat in the 48th sonnet. Greville says

Mankinde, whose liues from houre to houre decay,  
Lest sudden change himselfe should make him feare  
For if his blacke head instantly wast gray,  
Doe you not thinke man would himselfe forsweare?

Caelica, who ouernight spake, with her eyes  
"My Loue complaines, that it can loue no more,"  
Shewing me shame, that languisheth and dyes,  
Tyrannis'd by loue, it tyrannis'ã before;  
If on the next day Cynthia change and leaue,  
Would you trust your eyes, since her eyes deceaue?  
(Sonnet 48)
The first stanza is a statement of fact followed by a rhetorical question. Greville, of course, is stating the fact to provide a setting for what follows. Taking the first stanza alone for a moment, the reader is struck by the attitude expressed. This is a thought that would not greatly concern the modern man. To Greville, however, this is a profoundly important matter. He is not being poetic here for the sake of a clever effect. The diction is straightforward and the choice of "decay" in the first line sets the tone for the entire poem. It heralds a poem about change that is moving in one direction—downward. In effect the question seems to ask "Do you deny the existence of real change, this sign of irrevocable mutability?"

The second stanza is the practical application of the first stanza to the subject of the sequence. The language here is obscure, but the point Greville makes is clear enough. The lover is forsaken of a sudden, and he, too, asks a rhetorical question. The point of his argument seems to be that change is complex and inevitable, but that it can be known fully. The case such as that described in the second stanza is an instance of how change is known fully. In this particular instance the change comes all at once. The effect
of a sudden reversal in the fortunes of love leave the mind stunned and unbelieving as if time were to do its work all at once. In neither case is there any recourse, and even if there were, the mind is too shocked to act.

Greville also shows how mutability must be taken seriously. In a sonnet addressed to a man and probably the putative work of Myra, the foolishness of failing to recognize and acknowledge the existence of mutability is depicted. The portion of the poem that is of concern here is the thought expressed in the first eight lines of the 73rd sonnet. The speaker says:

Myraphill, 'tis true, I lou'd, and you lou'd me,
My thoughts as narrow as my heart, then were;
Which made change seeme impossible to be,
Thinking one place could not two bodies beare.
This was but earnest Youths simplicitie,
To fadome Nature within Passions wit,
Which thinks her earnestnesse eternity,
Till selfe-delight makes change looke thorough it:

The experience related in this sonnet is quite common with lovers, and it may be a weak argument to hold that this is a part of Greville's position on change. This sonnet certainly does not seem to conflict in any way with the Elizabethan curiosity with mutability. It seems, however, that the foolishness is predicated on an inability to comprehend that time moves on and change comes with it. Greville here is subtle and indirect in employing the theme of mutability. The
content of the poem covers this theme well. The directness of the speaker does not add to the poetic worth of the piece as it might were the theme as well concealed but better defined.

Mutability in relation to a love affair is the subject of a sonnet in which still another side of Greville's Elizabethan character may be seen. Sonnet 51 has the lover telling his mistress that he is constant in their separation despite the rumors she might hear to the contrary. This poem is of interest because it shows the lover remaining unchanged, but the state of his relationship with his mistress being endangered by rumors. Even if a man would keep what he can from changing, the danger or fact of change is not obliterated if others change or attempt to change his situation. The poem is apologetic in tone and seems to suggest that there is a fine line between that which can be changed by man's will and that which cannot be.

In a still different vein, Greville speaks of the result of change in the lover. In sonnet 69 he mourns the ruin that time has left upon him. In this sonnet the lover is out of favor because he is old. He says, in part,

My age of ioy is past, of woe begunne,
Absence my presence is, strangenesse my grace,
With them that walke against me, is my Sunne:
The wheele is turn'd, I hold the lowest place,
(11. 13-16)

These lines follow a series of metaphors which describe inversions of the natural order. Among these are "the Seas doe burne," (1. 4) "the Sunne becomes a night," (1. 5) and "Vowes are forlorne and truth doth credit lose." (1. 10). The examples of nature against itself in these images suggest that the poet feels that his own mutation is a violation of the natural order and is contrary to the dictates of right order. He seems to be calling on nature to witness this evil change. Even the syntax of the lines quoted, which is inverted more than usual, seems to demand attention to the disruption that has taken place. This kind of plea is not typical of Greville, and it may merely be the emotional outburst of a man whose age is beginning to weary him.

The more typically restrained Greville is better seen in a sonnet of a similar theme. In the 94th sonnet the poet is seen in a mood of acceptance. Here he seems to have compromised the changes that take place on this earth. The first two stanzas of this poem present examples of change that are found in the world. The first example is that of a man who must relinquish
congeniality to accept responsibility fully. The second stanza is about a young girl who finds that her desire to gather too great a number of flowers leaves the first-picked withered under the weight of the many. The third stanza draws the first two together by commenting on the lesson that can be learned from the two examples. The poet advises

Fixe then on good desires, and if you finde
Ambitious dreames or feares of ouer-thwart;
Changes, temptations, bloomes of earthly minde,
Yet wake not, since earth change, hath change of smart.
For lest Man should thinke flesh a seat of blisse,
God workes that his joy mixt with sorrow is.

(11. 13-18)

Greville instructs the reader to not only have "good desires," but he also tells him why these "good desires" must be fostered. Ambition is the villain once again. A desire for a change of state may bring good, but this is not sure to follow if it is willed from ambitious motives. If ambition is the basis for change then sorrow will of necessity accompany this change. The authority for this phenomenon is clearly stated in the last two lines. Change is not discounted as an existing fact in the world, but its conditions are clearly (in Greville's mind) set down by the instigator of the cosmic order.

This last example from Caelica may seem to express
a thought by the poet that is too specific in its application to reflect accurately the general Elizabethan fixation with the fact of mutability. This instance clearly shows, however, that the preoccupation with mutability that characterized the Elizabethan habit of thinking also acts upon Greville's mind. Assuredly, Greville does not fit a mould that might be used to stamp out Renaissance poets. Greville's individual personality most certainly shapes this theme to conform to his own poetic bent. In this respect he is no exception to what is generally considered to be Elizabethan.

The Elizabethan qualities of Caelica which Greville included purposely are easier to demonstrate than those which are present because he lived in that age. The characteristics discussed above are involuntary. They are the hallmark of any Elizabethan writer who was not completely divorced from the prevailing mode of thought in his day. The characteristics discussed below are those that the poet would be more likely to include in a poem of his own volition.

Many other qualities of Greville's poetry mark him as an Elizabethan. Among these is the religious thought that is so strong in his later sonnets.
Tillyard believes that one of the most fundamental misconceptions that must be rectified if the Elizabethan age is to be understood is the idea that it was a secular world. Greville was a Calvinist, and thus the fervor of his religion could well be expected to be found in his sonnets. Some of his later sonnets do reflect these Calvinist tendencies. Sonnet 99 shows Greville in a contemplative mood. The Calvinist reliance on faith is explicit in this poem where the poet dwells upon the nature of redemption. Another sonnet which is openly Calvinistic is the final sonnet. The tone of Greville's religious leanings is readily seen where he says

Wee, who for earthly Idols, haue forsaken
Thy heauenly Image...

(11. 20-21)

These two sonnets both show that Greville appears to be grounded in an age other than the Elizabethan. The decidedly fundamentalist tone of these poems cannot be presented as evidence of Greville's religious thought except when he is so openly didactic. It is when Greville is speaking as a poet without the purpose of religious exposition that he may be viewed at home as a poet operating within a world that influences its

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6 Tillyard, p. 1.
literature less directly. In the 39th sonnet Greville is employing an allusion that while pertaining to religion is not from the New but rather from the Old Testament. Less concrete and theological than his later sonnets, this sonnet deals with pride and the downfall resulting from it. In this poem Greville is concerned mainly with the love theme of his sequence. The image of Babylon is employed here as a means to an end and is not the end itself. This end is his design to say how pride caused him to be rebuffed by his mistress. The image is an example of the imaginative tools with which Greville worked. The Elizabethan spirit is evident in this reference to Babylon. Because the reference is not unduly emphasized, Greville seems to be using this image merely as a convenient metaphor. The convenience of this Biblical allusion as an image that was widely known may be seen in line 11 of this sonnet, where Babylon is used as a verb. Because Greville's audience must have been aware of the significance of such allusions, Greville himself was free to use them. The sonnet preceding this one, sonnet 38, also employs a casual Biblical image. In this sonnet "Honour...stands Ceraphim" (11. 11-12). The knowledge that this choir of angels had a custodial
role seems to have had wide currency, and Greville reflects this in his use of it. In this respect, Greville seems to be typically Elizabethan, especially since the 38th and 39th sonnets are preceded and succeeded by many sonnets that are laden with classical imagery.

Such serious thoughts as those presented in the above mentioned poems would seem to classify Greville as a stern Puritan whose mind could only be occupied with the sublime. Almost as if to preclude any such thoughts, Greville included in his sequence a poem that is unabashedly bawdy. Sonnet 50 is an anecdote. It is about a man named Scoggin, apparently a common character in anecdotes of the day. The story is about a cuckold's revenge. Since he has overheard his wife tell a lover that only her posterior belonged to her husband, Scoggin feels justified to clothe only that part which belongs to him. Appended to the anecdote is the poet's comment that

*If Husbands now should onely decke their owne, Silke would make many by their backs be knowne.*

The attached moral lends a degree of cohesion to the 50th sonnet in keeping it from seeming out of character.

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*Bullough, I, 254.*
with the rest of *Caelica*. Even with the final couplet this poem seems to verify Greville's reputation as a representative of the Elizabethan rather than any other age. His ability to allow his thought to roam throughout the range of human experience is typical of the age in which he lived and wrote.

Sonnet 50 shows Greville in a jocular mood. The poem is ribald in nature. Greville was also capable of a less humorous thought that borders on the vulgar. Frost points out\(^3\) that sonnet 65 contains an image that falls below the modern standards of good taste. In lines seven and eight of this sonnet, Greville says of love in absence

\[
\text{Ye a sex did scorne to be imprisoned so,}
\text{But fire goes out for lacke of vent, we see.}
\]

The sexual connotation is unmistakable in these lines. The importance of these lines to this paper lies in the aspect of Greville's character they exhibit. Good taste is quite another question. These lines do show, however, that Greville was not above employing a vulgar image to convey his meaning. The Elizabethan freedom in this respect needs no demonstration. The image is used not to excite the senses and in this respect seems

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\(^3\)Frost, p. 51.
to follow established Elizabethan convention. In this convention, the erotic did not prevail, but rather was only used as an auxiliary to help portray a particular thought.

One of the most obvious and much discussed conventions in Caelica is the Anacreontic imagery found in such profusion. Croll states that there are 17 sonnets in the "'Anacreontic' style prevalent in all early Renaissance poetry." The figure used by Croll includes only those poems which have a central theme that is carried forth wholly by the Cupid image. In all there are 33 sonnets in Caelica in which Cupid is referred to or named outright. These poems containing Anacreontic imagery begin with the fifth sonnet and continue intermittently to the 84th where Greville bids Cupid farewell and turns to themes that are not directly connected with love. In all the instances Cupid plays a role that conveys meanings that stood as part of a tradition. Although the Cupid tradition covers a great span of time in the history of literature its meaning in Elizabethan sonnet sequences had a special significance. In this sub-genre it was a tradition that was not only understood, it was expected.

9Croll, p. 9. cf. also Frost, p. 17.
in a series of poems treating of love. Greville's farewell to Cupid is the 84th sonnet which ends

_But Cupid now farewell, I will goe play me,  
With thoughts that please me lesse, & lesse betray me._

(11. 13-14)

These lines indicate that Greville was not unconscious of the role played by the Cupid motif. His desire to move to more serious thoughts dictates a formal leave-taking from the love poems represented in the figure of Cupid.

Perhaps the most important aspect of _Gaelic_ that demonstrates Greville's Elizabethan basis may be found in his attitude toward the subject of his poems. The Petrarchan convention and, less often, the Neo-Platonist position, are quite common in Elizabethan poetry. The age following was notably anti-Petrarchan. Greville's sonnets, especially the love sonnets, exhibit again and again the many outstanding conditions of the Petrarchan convention. The overall tone of the Petrarchan mode may be described as one of self-pity. This is the position of the lover who bemoans his fate. This dominant tone is set early in Greville's sequence. In the second sonnet Greville asks the "Faire Dog" (love) to
Kill therefore in the end, and end my anguish,  
Give me my death, me thinks euen time vpbraideth  
A fulnesse of the woes, wherein I languish:  

(11. 9-11)

The pity of self is obvious in these lines. The extravagance of the thought expressed here goes beyond the restraint usually found in Greville. There can be no mistaking the mood of the poet in the context of this convention. This self-pitying mood is even more explicit in the eighth sonnet, which begins

Selfe-pitties teares, wherein my hope lyes drown'd,  
With this tone established Greville moves fully through the other qualifications of the Petrarchan convention.

The subject of the sonnets coincides with the beautiful, unattainable lady of the courtly love tradition that lies behind the Petrarchan mode. Of course, the lady is not so unattainable in many of the later sonnets, but in these, Greville's writing seems to be unPetrarchan rather than anti-Petrarchan.¹⁰ The variety of the entire sequence requires variance from the strict limits set down by the convention that Greville, for the most part, follows. The poet is asking the lady explicitly to give his suit her consideration early in the sequence.

¹⁰Sonnets 50, 61, and 74 are notably so. Others exist.
In the ninth sonnet, Love is asked to
Move her to pitty, stay her from disdaine,
(1. 23)
The lady, under many names, is cruel and fair. The combination is found in many places in Caelica. In the 14th sonnet, the poet speaks of "Myra's eyes, glasses of joy and smart," (1. 5). Again in sonnet 35 Myra's eyes reflect a beauty that the poet describes ecstatically
(Whence I thought joy and pleasure tooke their name)
(1. 7)
The woman sought is irresistible. At another point, Greville says of her
Neither may I depart, nor yet enjoy.
(1. 40, sonnet 37)
True to the convention, the poet is obsessed with the woman to whom he addresses his poems. Her attitude toward him is marked by disdain, scorn, and outright cruelty. In sonnet 43 he says
Caelica, when you looke downe into your heart,
And see what wrongs my faith endureth there,
Hearing the groanes of true loue, loth to part,
You thinke they witness of your changes beare.
(11. 1-4)
So I because I cannot choose but know,
How constantly you have forgotten me,
(11. 9-10)
I, like the child, whom Nurse hath overthrowne,
Not crying, yet am whipt, if you be knowne.
(11. 13-14)
Greville here fulfills the conditions of the Petrarchan mode that require such a situation. When writing within this convention, he departs from the prescribed qualifications in only one particular. His mistress's hair is not blonde. To be completely faithful to the courtly love tradition, Caelica's hair must be blonde. She has even worn a wig (sonnet 58) to become a blonde, but her hair is darker. In sonnet 75 her hair is "aborne" (auburn). This seems to be a rather minor point in view of the many departures Greville takes from the established mode, but Greville confines these departures to entire poems. When he is writing within the convention of courtly love, he remains faithful to the dictates of the mode. Evidence supporting this is ample in regard to the poet's suffering and melancholy.

Unrequited love must be sorrowfully brooded over. Frost notes that in his melancholy Greville "stands alone among all English sonneteers up to his time."¹¹ He ascribes this to either Calvinistic outlook or to the "dichotomy he felt in love."¹² Overlooked is the general characteristic of Petrarchan sonnets that show the lover hopeful, but melancholy. The mood of the

¹²Ibid.
frustrated lover is expressed in sonnet 27 where the poet says to Cupid of his mistress

She tyranniz'd thy Kingdome of desire.

(1. 8)

Again desire is the motivating force. This is emphasized more in Greville, perhaps, than in other sonneteers, but it is nonetheless a part of the Petrarchan tradition.

The traditional lament closely approached in sonnet five where the poet says

Who trusts for trust, or hopes of love for love.  
Or who belou'd in Cupids lawes doth glory;  
Who ioyes in vowes, or vowes not to remoue,  
Who by this light God, hath not been made sorry;  

(11. 1-4)

Although Greville does not sustain the Petrarchan sonnets over the length of his poems dealing with love, it is erroneous to think that he is departing from the convention as the sequence progresses. In two late sonnets, the Petrarchan mode is employed at length. In the 75th sonnet Greville weaves a sort of pastoral for 228 lines. Despite the rustic quality of this poem, none of the normal Petrarchan ideas are violated. The lover is not successful and is put down by the woman. As if to make one last pronouncement on love, Greville in his 83rd sonnet allows his mind to range widely before the change of subject that occurs near this point in the sequence. In this poem he contemplates
the nature of all the love or lack of it that the poet has experienced in the course of the sequence. Despite the handling of the couplets which leaves something to be desired, the feeling here is more intense than in any poem in the entire sequence. This sonnet seems to intensify Petrarchan melancholy to a degree not reached in any other place by Greville. As if to impart finality to this sonnet as his last word on love, Greville affixes his cryptic signature to the final line:

For Greiv-Ill, paine, forlorne estate doe best decipher me.

(1. 98)

Whether consciously or unconsciously writing in a manner that is by comparison Elizabethan, Fulke Greville exemplifies traits and habits of mind that marked the zenith of the English Renaissance. The characteristics cited above have attempted to demonstrate this. Together these qualities of an age present a portrait of a man that can only be complete when it stands alongside the portraits drawn by others. This study's usefulness will increase only as it is used in conjunction with other Grevillean scholarship. It is hoped that it has filled a need in defining more precisely Fulke Greville's place in the literature of England.
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