II. THE MISCELLANIES ANALYSED
It has been explained above that the problem of devising a fitting medium of expression for poetry was a dominant concern of the writers of the renaissance England. For the purpose of poetic expression the writers adopted the 'eloquent' mode which was derived from the scholastic tradition of medieval ages. Eloquence involved the use of rhetorical ontrivances like, 'aureation', 'exornation', 'embellishment', 'amplification' etc. which implied augmentation and refinement of the poetic vocabulary. As lyric is more susceptible to rhetorical qualities the

1. The contents of this chapter are largely an adaptation from Vere L. Rubel's Poetic Diction in the English Renaissance (1966), Chapters IV, V, VI and, Peterson Douglas L.'s The English Lyric from Wyatt to Donne, 1967. Chapters II & III

Only significant points have been noted in the references & notes References to poem Nos. are from H.E. Rollins's edition of Tottel's Miscellany Vol. I unless otherwise indicated.

contribution of lyrical verse in the general movement to refine and improve the language is significant. The verse of Tottel’s Miscellany and the major miscellanies that followed fully illustrate the efforts by the poets by means of lyric to make English capable of imaginative writing and render it as a rival to the languages of the great nations of Europe.

Before Wyatt the early Tudor poets of whom Hawes and Skelton are typical used words frequently so aureate that their glitter obstructs the idea behind them. With them, it looks the indiscriminate importation of words that had been going on reached final stage; and poetry found itself in a verbal cul de sac, and there was nothing for the later poets to do but search for new sources of refinement and improvement. After Skelton and Hawes a reaction set in and 'exornation' through the lavish use of alien words and forms ceased to be the fashion in serious poetry. The impulse which produced their verbal monstrosities, under the influence of Humanism now was deflected into other modes, at times

3. Rubel, Chapter III
just as artificial, but more rational, more comprehensible, more serviceable. Luckily for English poetry the needed refinement could be possible after the return of Wyatt from Italy, for he explicitly embodied the new humanistic impulse.

With Wyatt began an entirely new idiom. He preferred to go to native sources, and in this he was aided by Pynson's edition of Chaucer, which appeared opportunely in 1526. Chaucer had used two kinds of poetic diction: borrowings from Romance languages and native and naturalized archaisms. Lydgate, then Skelton and Hawes, adopted the first means; Wyatt adopted the other. When he analysed to reproduce in English the poems of Petrarch and others, he did not import and adapt the language of his originals. It is surprising that there are so few conspicuous Romance words in his poetry. Miss Foxwell shows that Wyatt was not only reading Chaucer at the same time as he was working on the translation, but he had also come under the influence of Il Cortegiano. Frederico's defense of antique Tuscan

4. Rubel, Chapter IV.
words as giving grace and authority to writing and his insistence that it is the duty of a gentleman not to allow the mother tongue to suffer by low, are clearly reflected in Wyatt's poetry. Cortegiano and Pynson's edition combined to supply the incentive in Wyatt's choice of diction.

The striking features of Wyatt's verse are his 'archaisms', certain 'locations', construction as figures of ornament and interplay of figures of speech. A study of words and phrases in Wyatt's poetry as Miss Foxwell points out reveals that many of them either are to be found in Chaucer or could have been derived from him. So, too, with certain locations and constructions. But it is Wyatt's artistry in the interplay of his verbal figures which deserves special mention because it can scarcely be questioned that he influenced later poets in this respect.

First, selecting some of the most interesting words which Chaucer had used, we have the words 'alowe' (admire) No. 125 'avisynge' (considering) No. 51, 'besprent' No. 62, 'boordes' No. 53, 'distayne' No. 47, 'gled' No. 47, 'iape' No. 124 'playneth' No. 51

5. The Poems of Sir Thomas Wyat (London, 1931)
'refrayne' (curb, check) No. 62, 'riueld' No. 126, 'wan-hope' No. 80 'weleaway' No. 124, 'yelden' No. 84, and possibly 'araced' No. 64; the phrases 'all and some' No. 124, 'no manner wyse' No. 64, 'yore ago' No. 57; optional forms: 'astart' (start, getaway) No. 61, 'aist' = against (No. 84), 'ayen' (again) 64, 'bene' (of) No. 60, 'for because' No. 124, 'for cause' (because) No. 78, 'cure' (care) No. 62, 'eyen' (eyes) No. 47, 'fro' (from) No. 83, 'mo' (more) No. 65, 'afore' (before) No. 64 'in vre' (in use) No. 58, 'withouten' (without) No. 118.

Words and phrases which may have been derived either in form or meaning are 'a seance' No. 124, 'crisped' No. 127, 'dight' No. 124, 'disease' (vexation) No. 124, 'hue' (color) No. 267, 'gadling' No. 55, 'sweltyng' No. 80, and 'welworthy' No. 44; past participles prefixed by y; 'stemyng eyes' No. 124; all to-combinations, like 'all to breake' No. 73, 'all to rathe' No. 81; 'for' with infinitive; compounds; 'downflowed', No. 63, 'ifurth sprong' No. 71, 'gaineward' No. 121, 'out start' No. 48 'vpflie' No. 64.
There are, besides, certain locutions which Wyatt uses that may have been an outgrowth of his study of Chaucer. In this connection, we do not need to consider the adjective following the noun, such as 'misschappes vnhappy' (No. 43), since this arrangement had become common in English poetry; but it is possible that Chaucer did serve for an example in placing the noun between two adjectives, as 'weighty matters great' (No. 101). Chaucer, too, could have inspired the adjectives ending in -y: 'hugy oxes' (No. 59), 'tarry eyn' No. 47, 'starry skie' No. 64, 'waky nightes' No. 64—there are many of them. Another characteristic of Wyatt's verse which one finds commonly in Chaucer is the combination of words of the same sound within the line or in adjacent lines with curious and, to modern eares, rather unpleasant effect:

To lese these words, and all the rest, (No. 56)
From my swete weale: one onely hope hath stayed my life apart (No. 104)

Finally, Chaucer's use of 'doon' construed with the infinitive was a precedent for such archaic lines: 
Made her owne weapon do her finger blede (No. 67)

For since thunhappy hower, that dyd me to depart
(No. 104)

In Chaucer, too Wyatt would have found examples of a number of constructions which Puttenham was later to list among his figures of ornament; rabbate: 'not'

(know not) No. 40, stroyed' No. 124, 'tane' No. 63;
surplus: 'asken' No. 125, 'yelden' No. 84; homoeote-leuton, or "the, like loose": 'from her - other' No. 56, 'fearth - dreadeth' No. 61; antistrophe, or "the counter turn", of the antanaclasis: best ... beast (No. 126);
enallage: "The first eschue is remedy alone, No. 63;
hysteron proteron, or 'the preposterous" "To sodain hope reuiued I" No. 86, "In nede of succour most when that I am" No. 48.

6. Rubel gives the following reasons for preferring Puttenham's Work:

"Firstly, because his work is one of the latest
Second, it is more inclusive than other rhetori-cians. The Art of English Poesie is a book generally available to modern students".
op. cit. Foreward P. VIII
The middle and later Tudor poets used the 'Songes and Sonettes' as exemplar and guide, and it offers vernacular illustration of practically every important figure which was authorised by the rhetorics of the time. Where the earliest poets about whom reference has been made relied more and more upon aureation of diction to give their compositions an elevated tone, the later poets led by Wyatt, depended not along upon archaisms, but upon conscious and sometimes graceful use of figures. Figures served the threefold purpose, of furnishing delightful decoration, of giving order to the expression, and of distinguishing the syntax of verse from that of ordinary prose. In this connexion it can be stated that one has only to consider the number of rhetorics written after the appearance of Tottel's Miscellany to serve as a guide to aspiring poets to realize the expanding concern with rhetorical figures as the century progressed. First as it would be in the nature of the things, the rhetorics aimed at definition and differentiation and treated the figures singly, both in
definition and illustration, and gave no idea of the manner in which figures might be combined and modified. Subsequently once the single figures were understood the subtleties of the "art of rhetoric" could be observed in the poetry of the masters. Here again, a native poet, father Chaucer had demonstrated how rhetoric could be woven into a poetic fabric; the outstanding Tudor poets demonstrated increased complexity; and from Wyatt and Surrey to Sidney, Warner and Spenser the skill and wit if the design were in direct proportion to the artisti powers of the poet.

Wyatt's poems offer illustrations of most of Puttenham's classifications. Certain outstanding and most frequently imitated figures in addition to those already mentioned above may suffice to illustrate Wyatt's artistry. The important fact to remember is that the list of figures here is merely indicative of Wyatt's ingenuity in manipulating language. The "colours" that were usually taken up and used by the later poets are:

7. Vide note 6 above.
Synathroesmus, Antithetan, Hirmus, Parison, Erotema,
Auxesis, Hendidiadys, Eclipsis, Liptote, Merismus,
Dialysis, Epiphonema, Epimone, Antonomasia, Periphrasis,
Anaphora, Epizeuxis, Synoeciosis, Syllepsis; and there
are many instances of ploce or, "the doubler", prosonoma-
masia, and traductio. In the following lines from poem
(No. 65) these three figures and others are intricately
interwoven:

But yet, per chance from chance (Syllepsis; traduc-
tio
My chance to change my tune: (Prosonomasia
  antistrophe, Syllep-
  psis)
And, when (souch) chance doth chance: (traductio
Then shall I thank fortune? (erotema
  And if I have (such) chance: (Syllepsis
  Perchance ere it be long: (Andiplosis
  (ploce Syllepsis)
For (souch) a pleasant chance, (antistrophe
To sing some pleasant song. (Ploce

Other constructions which the later critics generally were
to enlist as vices are also to be found in his poems,
and it is reasonable that Wyatt's example helped to nullify
the censure of the critics and passed them off as accepted
uses of poetic diction. Wyatt is sometimes guilty of barbarismus, or "forrein speech", not only in the liberties he takes with accentuation of words but also in the form of the words:

Alas I tread an endless maze:
That seek taccord two contraries:
And hope thus styll, and nothing base
(No. 58)

Pleonasmus)

It was my choyse it was no chance (Prosonomasia
That brought my heart in others holde (Syllepsis
Wherby ytt hath had sufferance
Longer perde than Reason wold
Syns I yt bownd where ytt was free
Me thinks ywys of ryght yt shald
    Accepted be.
    Accepted be withowte refuse, (anadiplosis

Another vice sometimes found in Wyatt's poetry is tautologia, or "the figure of self saying". This is naturally more likely to occur in the poems with hexametre lines or those in pouiter's measure, as in No. 104:

It stumbleth straite, for feble faint; my fear
    hath such excesse,
and in No. 269:

Where power dothe want will must be wonne by welth.
Wyatt's poems show some other verbal mannerisms which influenced later poetic diction. He has a preference for certain words: egal, feruent, lese, mought, pleasant sweet, sparkelyng, that, and hap in all its forms. Besides his tendency to adjectives ending in -y, he has many participial adjectives: desired sight (No. 104), sparkelyng voice (No. 98), falsed faith (No. 66), false fained grace (No. 42), feruent raging yre (No. 109), fierly burning flame (No. 64); he uses "most" in the sense of "greatest" - my most desire No. 86; and he has a number of instances of an adjective ending in -full where the sense refers not to the substantive which is modified but to the subject: carefull cry (No. 102), fearfull tragedy (No. 61). He sometimes repeats a pronoun after a noun: "My pleasant daies they flete away and paese" (No. 95). And in No. 125 we find the first instance of repetition of the pronoun, a construction which, as Professor Rollins notes, became an Elizabethan commonplace: "I can not, I, no, no, ii will not be."
Some typical examples of the figures commonly employed by him may further be noted:

Synthroesmus, or "the heaping figure", combined with the favourite anti-the-ton, or "the quarreler":

Therefore, farewell my life, my death,
My gayn, my losse : my salue, my sore (No. 66)

Hirmus, or "the long loose":

If waker care : if sodayn pale colour :
If many sigbes, with litle speach to plaine :
Now loye, now wo : if they my chere distayne
(No. 44)

Parison, or "the figure of even": Nos. 106 and 107 depend almost entirely upon this figure for their effect.

Auxesis, or "the avancer":

She hath in hand my wit, my will, and all (No. 44)

Hendiadys, "the figure of twinnes", followed by pleonasmus, or "too ful speech":

Leauying his enterprise with paine and crye,
And there him hideth and not appeareth. (No. 37)

Eclipsis, "the figure of default":
You shall another man obtayn :
And I mine owne, and yours no more. (No. 53)
Liptote, or "the moderatour":
Within my brest I neuer thought it gain,
Of gentle mynde the fredom for to lose (No. 76)

Merismus, or "the distributer": No. 79 is built upon
this figure, and the whole ends in a most graceful
example of what Puttenham calls "the collectour", a
modification of Synathroesmus.

Dialysis, or "the dismembre":
Answer hym fayer with yea, or nay.
If it be yea: I shall be faine.
If it be nay: frends, as before. (No. 53)

Epiphenema, or "the surclose"; many of the lyrics close
with this figure, as for example:
Lo, thus displease th me both death and life.
And my delight is canser of this strife. (No. 49)

Epimone, or "the loue - burden" as in the use of the
refrain in No. 58.

Antonomasia, or "the surnamer", in line 9 of No. 127
which refers to the earth:
Firme, round, of lining things, the mother place
and nourse.

Periphrasis, or "the figure of ambage": (No. 96)
He may wander from his naturall kinde (i.e. die)
Anaphora, "the figure of report", combined with 'Prolepsis' or "the propounder": (No. 64)

He hath me hasted, thorough divers regions:
Through desert wodes, and sharp hye mountaines:
Through froward people, and through bitter passions:
Through rocky seas, and over hilles and plaines.

Epizeuxis, or "the quicked spel":
(No. 95) Eke that is now, and that that once hath been;
Spite of thy hap, hap hath well hap. (No. 50)

Synoeciosis, or "the crosse-copling", a popular figure with the poet

The sweet disdaines, the pleasant wrathes, and (No. 104)
eke ye louely strife.

Syllepsis, or "the double supply": (No. 87)
Think not alone under the sunne
Unquite to cause thy lovers plain:
Although my lute and I hanedone.
Here "unquite" means "without stay" and also "unrequitted".

Certain poetic conceits, in addition to already mentioned, that persist throughout the century, Wyatt unquestionably helped to fix:

(a) Combinations of sweet and bitter, honey and gall (Nos, 64, 101, 194 etc)

(b) The amatory ague: (No. 51)
Wherby then with him self on love he playneth,  
That spurs wyth fire, and brydleth eke with yse.  
In such extremity thus is he brought:  
Frosten now cold, and now he standes in flame.

(c) Sighs and tears. It is note worthy that the 
ingenuity that the Tudor poets showed in expressing these 
two manifestations of anguish becomes increasingly 
wondrous as the century progresses. Wyatt has these 
sighs: forced sighes (No. 50), stormy sighes (No. 104), 
burning sighes (No. 103), so ready sighes (No. 48), and 
sighes that boyle, No. 101. The second prologue of the 
penitential Psalms has the line: "With vapord Iyes ne 
lokyth here and there", (Foxwell No. 216), and in the 
Fourth Prologue he quite rivals some of the effects of 
the later poets:

> But who had bene without the Cavis mowth,  
> And herd the terys and syghs that he (David)  
> did strayne,  
> He wold have sworne there had, out of the sowth,  
> A lwek warm wynd, broght forth asmok, rayne.  
> But that so close the cave was and unkowth,  
> That nore but God was record off his payne,  
> Elles had the wynd blowne in all Israelles erys,  
> The wofful plaint, and of their kyng the terys.

(Foxwell, I, 229)

8. Not included in the Tottel's Miscellany.
Henry Howard, the Earl of Surrey, was confessedly Wyatt's disciple. Not only was Wyatt the acknowledged dean of courtly makers during the years of Surrey's youth, but the young nobleman, at the impressionable age of nine, probably came into possession of the MSS containing the first versions of Wyatt's poems. Also, Wyatt was considered the lineal descendant of Chaucer; and by the time Surrey began to write Chaucer had emerged from the bygone age to assume pre-eminence.

It is natural, accordingly, to find Surrey's poems containing many verbal echoes of both Chaucer and Wyatt. Some of these appear to be direct result of his study of Chaucer. Others he could have found, of course, in either. There is a third group for which Wyatt seems to have been the sole source.

Of the first sort - those expressions taken directly from Chaucer - are 'abode' (endured) (No. 19), 'avale' (flow down) No. 30, 'bane' (death) No. 16, 'berayne' No. 15, 'can' (Know) No. 4, 'distrains' No. 16, 'fers' (the Queen in Chess) No. 21, 'ioly woes' No. 11, 'rede' No. 21, 'soote' No. 2, 'vnneath' No. 19, 'Ver' No. 5, and the
inflected infinitive 'dare well sayen' (No. 20). Of the second class - words and phrases, common both to Chaucer and to Wyatt - are as 'adowne' (No. 16), 'all and some' (No. 5), 'be' (been) No. 18, 'domes' (judgments) (No. 14), 'for because' (No. 21), 'lenger' (No. 18), 'lesse' (No. 25), 'mo' (No. 26), 'niyght mought' (No. 13) 'refrain' (No. 6), 'sith' (No. 13), 'wist' (No. 264), 'withouten' (No. 4), 'wo worth' No. 18, 'yelden' (No. 4) 'ywis' No. 26; phrases with for and infinitive (No. 8) 'all to' combinations No. 3; some compounds; past participles with why y - ; and the suffixen. Of the third kind - words and phrase strongly reflecting Wyatt are: fervent rage (Nos. 3, 16), to false my faith (No. 265), 'pleasant swete' (No. 265), 'vapored eyes (No. 11), 'repugnant' (Nos. 7, 127).

Here it is worth emphasising that a number of these words and expressions were already considered poetic diction when Surrey began to write. But their presence not only in Chaucer's work but also in the poems of Wyatt and Surrey which were included in the
'Songes and Sonets' served to establish them more firmly in the vocabulary of poetry.

As one could expect from a writer with a linguistic consciousness better than Wyatt, Surrey introduced several innovations and archaic words. Among the innovations are the following words which Rollins's Glossary shows are the first instances in the O.E.D.:

'cornet' No. 13, 'to malice' No. 5, 'a neck' (move to cover cheek) No. 21, 'over the wants' No. 28, 'rakehell' No. 11, 'rashly' (quickly) No. 18, 'referred' ("refarde"—conveyed back, a Latinism), 'sickless' No. 4, 'unclothed' (shed leaves) No. 18, 'inar 'warble' (sb.) No. 5. Another large group of Surrey's words antedate first instances in the O.E.D.: 'amends' (favourable change of fortune) No. 26, 'foot' (in the phrases "step in your foot", "set your foot") No. 19, 'hateless' No. 11, 'overblown' (blown away) No. 34, 'plage' (a suare) No. 23, 'worn' (past) No. 2. There are two archaisms to which Rollins calls attention: 'compressed' No. 5, and 'hoarish' No. 33.

More important, however, are the archaisms which were
accorded a renewed existence through Surrey's use of them in the poems of this group: 'halseth' (embraeeth) No. 28, 'hent' (laidhold of) No. 5, 'hove' (linger) No. 15, 'row' (group of persons) No. 26, 'salueth' (salutes) No. 19, 'spilt' (lost) No. 4, 'to wit' (to blame) No. 25.

Surrey's poems are noticeably free from soraismus, or mangle - mangle'. With the possible exception of 'bayne' (No. 3), there are none. He is not free, however, from 'caçozelia', but it is Latinism of the new sort, different from the polysyllabick affectations of the earlier poets: 'plege' and 'refarde', and the already established and naturalized 'redueth' (leads back) No. 1, 'rep: est' (pressed back) No. 1 and 'repugnant' (hostile) No. 7.

Like Wyatt, Surrey refines his verse with conceited phrases of various types; there are: 'carefull song' (No. 1) 'doubtfull hope' (Nos. 6, 17, 10'), a kind of traductio 'wilfullwill' (Nos. 24, 25), and the stock
examples of synoeciosis: 'swete fo!' (No. 17). He enlarges the store of sighs and tears (Nos. 18, 15, 3, 11, 30, 265) - the last being an illustration of periphrasis, or 'the figure of ambage' and antanaclasis or "rebound".

Two other conceits make their first appearance in English poetry in Surrey's poems: 'the perfect mould cracked' after one impression had been taken, and the 'stricken deer'. The first one Surrey used twice in the poems which Tottel put into his 'Songes and Sonets', Nos. 20, and 31. The second which he got from Douglas, he used not only in Aeneid, but also in No. 265.

Surrey, like Wyatt, resorts to elisions and enallage, forms which occur frequently, as well as to types of expressions that Puttenham grouped under "vices": barbarisms (No. 11) and tautologia (No. 11), extreme hystron - proteron, and intollerable' homoeoteleuton (No. 1) in all of which he was doubtless following the elder poet. Wyatt unquestionably inspired the repetition of the pronoun in:
With wringing hands howe she dyd cry,  
And what she said, I know it, I (No. 20)

Surrey's poems also furnish illustrations of many other figures, among which are asyndeton (No. 10), hirmus, (No. 16), merismus (No. 12), and parison (No. 65); epiphonema (No. 25), a: figure that was to become especially popular with the sonneteers: of antimetabole;

For I will so provide,  
That I will have your ferse  
And when your ferse is had. No. 21

of place:

Layd in my quiet bed, in study as I were,  
I saw within my troubled head, a heape of thoughts appere  
And euery thought did shew so liuely in myne eyes,  
That now I sighed, & then I smilede, as cause of thought doth ryse.  
I saw the lytle boy in thought, ... (No. 33)

Of traductio, "Methink within my thought I se right plaine appere" (No. 265). There is one simple example of a figure that was soon to assume most ingenious forms—climax, or "the marching figure":

From pensiuenes to plaint, from plain to bitter tears,  
From tears to painful plaint again: and thus my life it wears (No. 265)
Next important literary figure, Nicholas Grimald, was a teacher of rhetoric, and famous for his classical scholarship. His distinction lies in being an ardent advocate of the old language "Saxon" wherever possible. Consequently the diction of his verse illustrates that English poetry was achieving a language of its own based mainly on native or naturalized stock. In his prose where he did much translation, like his humanist predecessors he deliberately sought to bar any affectation; but his poems reveal a remarkable native vocabulary uttered by a "filed tongue". There are few Latinisms in the sense of inkhornisms, but he has a remarkable way of using "Saxon" or long-naturalized words with Latin implications:

If to my prayer all deaf, you dare seye, no:
Stright of my death agilted shall you go; (No. 129)
To slender buildyng, bed : as bad, to grosse : (No. 150)
And Ioue desires a neew haauensman to make; (No. 166)
Myrrour of matrones, flowr of spouslike loue
(No. 159)
And (though a route in dayly daungers worn)
With forced face, the shipmen held theyr teares worn : experienced in (L. exercitus) (No. 166)

As with Surrey, there are few words of French form that were not already accepted as elegant English, like 'egall' (No. 150) and 'vere' (No. 128), but some of the native words which he uses, were by his time, peculiarly Northern, and hence would have been considered 'sorais-mus', or the 'minglemangle', by Puttenham. He has an amazing collection of words for "man": 'frekes' (No. 156), 'goom' (No. 150), 'renk' (Nos. 133, 165), and 'seg' (No. 165) all but the last of which were definitely Northern by sixteenth century. Of the adjectives there are 'gryzely' (No. 166), 'naamkouth' (N. 137), 'shinand' (No. 165), and 'vqsoom' (No. 160). Another interesting word that came in by way of the North and was first used in England by Grimald is "brals" (Nos. 131, 151). Like its first user, Dunba", Grimald employed it contem- ptuously, but two poets in the next generation attempted unavailingly, to give it dignity: stany-hurst and Gmscoigne.
A number of Grimaldi's archaisms Wyatt or Surrey — and in some cases both — also used, and doubtless the continued reiteration of such words in poems to be collected by Tottel helped to fix them in the poetic vocabulary: endures, (no. 163), 'feres' (No. 133), 'mo' (No. 142), 'mought', (No. 129), 'pight' (No. 162), 'soote' (No. 166), 'ure' (No. 135), vnthirled (No. 143), 'ween' (No. 141), 'welkin' (No. 162, 266) 'wonne' = dwell (No. 129, 131). Grimald, too, sometimes adds y — to his past participles, but he does NOT use the-en suffix for archaic effect.

There is a fairly long list of words, most of them archaisms, which Grimald revived in these poems. Some had been used by Skelton, Hawes, and Berelay, but not, apparently, but by Wyatt and Surrey, and therefore it was Grimald's use of them that gave them currency for poetic practice. Such are 'adrad' (No. 156), 'blee' (No. 132), 'fone' (Nos. 165, 166), 'greeted' (mourned) (No. 157), 'kouth' (No. 141), 'ynkouth' (No. 166), 'lean' (No. 138), m mell (mingle) (No. 142), 'ruddy' (No. 155),
'yeuen' (No. 163), and one that was to take the fancy of the later poets, particularly, Trewervile: 'dumps' (Nos. 138, 155, 133) - probably first used by More in the sense of 'melancholy'. Another phrase that first appeared in Tottel's Miscellany with Grimale is 'bathe in blisse' (No. 154), and the alliteration kept it current throughout the century. He has other words as well which the poets were to take over. Some remained in obscurity until Spenser used them, but all appear again more or less frequently and more or less conspicuously:

'grauenesse' (No. 163), 'massy gold' (No. 128), 'stalworth staunch' (No. 154), 'stours' (conflict) (No. 166), 'stounds' (pains, trials) (No. 160) and 'stownde' (position) (No. 140). In No. 139 he speaks of his "rurall poets ryme" in 9 sense for which the O.E.D. gives no English entry until The shephardes Calonder - not "rustic" but "unpolished".

It is a temptations to dwell on Grimalds remarkable power of forming compounds. There are more than forty different ones in the poems ascribed to him in Tottel's Miscellany, and most of them are "Saxon". And most of them are effective, often vivid: 'afterdays'
(No. 163), 'dartthirling death' (No. 162), 'double faced' (No. 149), 'hertgripyn greef' (No. 163),
"hertpersyng" (No. 166), 'people pesterd' (No. 129),
'prey seeker prouyd' (No. 129), and 'swanfeeder Temmes
(No. 162).

But individual as Grimald's diction is he
could not rely obviously entirely on words alone to
give his lyrics art. They are consciously, at times
elaborately rhetorical. Most of the verbal figures
made current by Wyatt and Surrey are found again in
Grimald's poems. The exception, however, is in the case
of "homoesactuloton" or "the like loose", and, except
in a few places, the concurrence of sounds within the
line so noticeable in the poems of Wyatt and Surrey;
(Nos. 140, 130). In poems such as Grimald's that
abound in 'gnome", or the "director" it is to be expected
that there will be much 'asyneton' and 'parison'; and
his fondness for alliteration, particularly in his
favoured hexametre line and 'poulters' measure, leads
almost to "tautologin". Moreover, his effort to write with compression results not only in such approved figures as synonymia and synathroesmus but also in extreme hysteron - proteron, which is at times obscure, at others even ludicrous. Most frequent of the "witty" figures are traductio of all sorts and, prosonomasia. A few of the many verbal figures may be cited as examples:

Antonomasia, or "the surnamer", (No. 130)
Here I behold dame ceres ymp in flight;
      (i.e. proserpine).
Tautologia, or "the figure of self-saying", to the wellnigh record-breaking number of six:
      (No. 140)
Of my fast fixed fansiefourm first moouing cause I finde.
Brachylogia, or "the cutted comma", (No. 158)
Blod, frendship, beauty, youth, attire, welth, worship, helth & al.
Asyndeton, or "loose language", (No. 165)
He dieth, hee is all dedd, bee pants, he rests.
Epizeuxis, or "the coocko spel' (No. 139)
Wherfore theglory got maintayne, maintayne the honour sreat.
Traductio, or "the tranlacer" (No. 138)
Enioye we then our ioyes, and in the lorde rejoyce.
Faith makyng fast eternall ioye, of ioyes we have cnoyce.
No. 130, a lyrical compliment is one of the most subtle examples of rhetorical complexity.

Syllepsis, or "the double supply", and traductio
or, "the tranlacer":

What boots it then to flee, sythe in nightyde,
And daytyme to, my Day is at my side?
A shade therefore, mayst thou be called, by ryght:
But shadowes, derk, thou, Day, are ever bright.

Antanaclasis, or "the rebound":

Next day, my Day, to you I coom my way.

Epanalepsis, or "the echo sound", combined with pro-
sonomasia, or "the nicknamer".

In fyne, where mater wants, defautes I fayn.

No. 140 is conspicuous in containing another note —
worthy instance of prosonomasia:

In frenships lace with such a lasse, doth knit,
and faest combine:
Which lace no threatening fortune shall, no —
length of tyme untwine.

The lover entangled in the lady’s, lace and so bound
had been used by Surrey, (Tottel’s Miscellany) No. 1
and is met again in the verse of the early, Elizabethan
lyricists.
Wyatt, Surrey, and Grimald, the triumvirate, can be credited for carrying forward three main tendencies in poetic diction. Firstly, revival of native archaisms in preference to importing affected borrowings. Secondly, disarranged syntax commonly hysteron proteron and not uncommonly cacosyntheton. Thirdly, ornamentation by the interweaving of rhetorical figures. In Wyatt's poetry, rhetoric achieved an importance and a complexity that had never previously been demonstrated. Unquestionably, Wyatt's Italian models did much to influence him in this respect. Use of rhetorical figures was there earlier, too, but "humanism gave further sanction to rhetoric as a means of imparting dignity and regularity to the language". Surrey carried in the movement which Wyatt had began; and Grimald, classicist as he was, continued the building of his native tongue on what he considered to be a "Saxon" foundation that yet paralleled the classical. Wyatt and Surrey, and occasionally Grimald, did use some foreign words; but as was natural

9. Rubel, op. cit. P. 88
10. Ibid
under the influence of humanism, these were discreetly employed and generally adapted to English. All three, moreover, used elisions and other forms of rhabate and extra syllables—surplus; and they all compounded words, though Surrey rarely and Grimald obti. .

It is advisable to group the remaining poems by "Uncertain Authors", rather illogically, because generally it is not possible to assign them dates. The writers who followed used the great Miscellany as a guide: the dates of composition and authorship did not matter much. For the post-Tottel poets the words, the figures, constructions, conceits mattered; and they were there; and that was enough.

With all the heterogeneity there is a considerable unanimity in the use of language. Certain alternative forms have become established poetic diction—for the sake of variety, regularity, rime, and remoteness: 'cure' (care) No. 181. 19, don & done (do) No. 197. 3 & 16, egal, 168.9, 'eyen' No. 208.6, fro No. 182.21
'lenger' No. 180.17, 'lese' No. 187.6, *Mos.* 2.13, 19.38, mought (might) Nos. 12.5, 45.3, 'ne' Nos. 94.5, 96.11, 'sith' No. 11.35, 'tho' (then) No. 16.38, 'vnethe' vannethes (in difficult circumstances) No. 224. 34, No. 19.13 (Scarcely), *Ure* (use, practice) Nos. 160. 16, 14.39, ween Nos. 32.34, appear side by side with their modern forms: 'can' No. 6.26, 'could' No. 121. 35, as well as 'wete' No. 195.37, 'wot' No. 6.25, 'wist' No. 88.32, are alternatives of know, knew, known; there are many participles with -en suffixes and y - prefixes; many elisions; not a few adjectives with - y, ('hugy waves' No. 190, 'heapy doubtes' No. 283, 'pitchy iuyce', No. 288, 'strawie corne' No. 307) and several with - ish: 'Greakish' No. 214 & 270. Of archaic inflections we find 'to doon' No. 189, 'to sene' No. 259, 'haue I be' No. 276, and frequent instances of 'for' plus infinitive. Compound words of various sorts are not unusual; the most common are all to - combinations, the
anticipatory fore-, and the intensive for -; in addition there are those with prefixed adverbs such as 'further throw' No. 239, 'over-goeth' No. 240, and the noun - plus - participle 'home hastyng' No. 253, and 'honger steruen' No. 179. Of the adjectives in - full which refer to the subject rather than to the word modified, there are numerous examples, but half of them carefull as 'carefull knell' No. 212 and 'carefull trappe' No. 198.

Many archaisms which Wyatt, Surrey, or Grimald had introduced are used again: 'besprent' Nos. 181 & 211, 'bewray' No. 195, 'boisteous' No. 247, 'dome' No. 197, 'dure' No. 171, 'grate' (mourn) No. 184, 'griesly' No. 197, 'hight' No. 254, 'pight' Nos. 260, 292, 'sote' No. 251, 'tene' No. 244, 'wades' (Moves) No. 183, 'woon' No. 278, 'wo worth' No. 198. To these are added 'apaide' Nos. 278 & 288, 'blyn' No. 222, 'daweth' No. 171, 'drent' No. 196, 'shent' Nos. 284 & 286, 'shrowde' No. 259, 'stound' (a short time) No. 297, 'yede' No. 195. Of the words and phrases not archaic but already associated with
poetry we find 'dompes' No. 278, 'accoy' No. 241,
'false my faith' No. 283, 'feruent' Nos. 188 & 310 &
234, 'joly wo' No. 248, 'pleasant sweet' No. 210,
'ruddy' No. 260, 'slipper' No. 169, and 'vaileth' No. 239,
and constructions such as 'my most will' No. 301,
'chaunges strange No. 278, 'hory heades expert' No. 196.

It is worth noting that the diction of these poems is definitely archaic in the main as Wyatt's or as Surrey's is at times, certainly not so much, as Grimald's. These three were consciously selecting old words inspired by their study of Chaucer and the Northern poets, whereas the Uncertain Authors generally were not striving so much for an archaic as for a poetic effect. But if their contributions to the list of revived words are comparatively few, their words from Latin or French are even fewer, and are of no importance to the later poetry.

In the use of verbal figures, these poems vary greatly. Taking the poems as a whole one finds almost every figure either commended or condemned in Puttenam's
long list, and generally without the subtlety with which the figures were used by Wyatt and Surrey. Thus it is that the rhetoric in some of the poems is starkly apparent: indeed, it would seem at times that the sole purpose of the writing was rhetorical display, so obtrusive are the figures and so inconsequential and stereotyped is the content. On the other hand, there are poems among this group that are almost devoid of rhetoric, as No. 202, and others that are nothing but a collection of rimed apothegms — what Puttenham calls gnome, or "the director" — No. 178, for example. Where the rhetoric does become stylised, it is more often through the use of figures that rather depend on construction than on those which are word plays, and rarely are they interwoven into a closely knit fabric underlying the thought.

As would be likely in poems, so sententious or conventional, the most common among the conscious figures of construction are syn-a-throesmus (No. 185), synonymia (No. 184), hirmus (No. 251), parison (No. 220), antitheton (No. 224), 'polysyndeton (No. 226), and
epiphonema (No. 211).

One of the most conspicuous figures among these poems is paroemion. So common are alliterating words in pairs and even in threes - that phrases in the 'like letter' often become stereotyped: 'winds' are 'whisking'; 'blasts' are 'blustering'; 'panges' are 'painful'; 'payne' is 'pining'; 'seates' are 'slippery'; 'wights' are 'wofull', 'wounded' or wretched; and so forth. This feeling for alliteration frequently, indeed, breaks over into tautologia, sometimes to the extent of six and occasionally even seven alliterated syllables.

Of more artful figures of construction, the commonest is anaphora, or 'the figure of report'. The most extensive example of use of this figure is No. 251 wherein 25 lines with only one intermission begin with the word "suck". No. 180 is built entirely on merismus, or "the distributor". Another figure that becomes exceptionally noticeable among these poems is 'climax', or 'the marching figure'. Earlier poets had used 'climax'
with restraint, as Surrey in the lines quoted earlier, but here it parades itself with the pounding regularity of a goose-step. Indeed, Nos. 174 and 206 are constructed entirely on this figure. No. 174 is especially ingenious, for while the basic pattern is climax, there is an unusual amount of interweaving of other figures:

The longer lyfe, the more offence:
The more offence, the greater payn:
The greater payn, the less defence (antistrophe)
The less defense, the lesser gayn. (traductio)
The losse of gayn long yll doth trye (prosonomasia epimone) Wherefore come death, and let me dye (traductio)
The shorter life, less count I fynde (anti-the-ton)
The less account, the sooner made (syllepsis)
The count soon made, the meryer minde : (Ploce)
The mery (er) minde doth thought evade.
Short lyfe in truth this thing doth trye:

Another not uncommon figure is 'antistrophe', or "the counter-turne", of all kinds, particularly, however, on
that involving 'antanaclasis':

For when in welth will did me leade
Of libertie to hoyse my saile:
To hale at shete and cast my leade
I thought free choise would still preuaile.
(No. 198)

Rare, however, is the combination of antistrophe with anaphora, which results in the figure of symplece, or "the figure of replie"

When power lackes care and forceth not:
When care is feable and may not:
When might is slouthfull and will not:
Wedes may grow where good herbes cannot. (No. 284)

Occasionally among these poems one comes upon the more compact figures of anadiplosis, or "the redouble", and of epanalepsis, "or the eccho sound":

But sins that I shall die her slaue
Her slane and eke her thrall (No. 181)

Rede well thyself that others well canst rede
(No. 238). Of the figures that depend on the word-plays, the most recurrent are ploce, prosonomasia, and traductio.

Some of the poems are made up of little else but these figures, their attraction evidently depending wholly
on the ingenuity they display. For instance, No. 273, written on the death of Sir Thomas Wyatt, is all traductio on the words 'death' and 'life', with the obvious antithesis. Nos. 195 and 291 are almost all traductio and prosonomasia, with other subordinated figures interspersed. No. 82, an elaborately rhetorical poem, has an instance of place combined with the more unusual figure of metanoia, or "the penitent";

My wastefull will is tried by trust:
My fond fansie is mine abuse.
For that I would refrayne my lust:
For mine awayle I can not chuse,
A will, and yet no power to use.
A will, no will by reason iust,
Sins my will is at others'lust.

Nearly as frequent as the foregoing three figures is 'antanaclasis' or "the re-wound". It has already been noticed how often this appears in the rime, in combination with antistrophe. The following two illustrations show the figure in an internal position:

But farde as one that fearde none yll, nor forst

(No. 277) no defence
No minde of meane, but heat of braine
Bred light loue : like heate, hate againe
What hurld your hart in so great heat? (No.290)
Even so subtle a figure as syllepsis, or "the double supply" appears at times among these anonymous poems.

Two examples may be chosen: first one because the play on the word "kind" was so obvious that it became conventional, the second because it is particularly neat and witty use of the figure:

The Hart he fedeth by the Hynde
The Bucke hard by the Doo,
The Turtle Doue is not vnkinde
To him that loues her so. (No. 161)

A student at his book so plast
That welth he might have wonne:
From boke to wife did flete in haste,
From wealth to wo to runne.
Now, who hath plaied a feater cast,
Since inglyng first begoon?
In knitting of him selfe so fast
Him selfe he hath vndoon. (No. 193)

The anonymous poems in Tottel's Miscellany are already repeating some of the conceits which had first appeared among the earlier poets as well as adding new ones. The 'stricken dere' occurs in No. 210 and the conceit of the 'broken' or 'lost mould' appears in Nos. 172 and 199.
Nos. 183, 200, and 251 have the 'swete' 'sower'. There are two new figures of importance. In No. 199 appears for the only time in this collection a conceit which later poets delighted in: the 'maked boye' who smiles out of each of the lady's 'two cristall eyes'. In No. 212 which is by Vaux, is the figure of 'age with stelyng steppes'. The conceits of agues, sighs, and tears are frequent among this group and at times exceedingly elaborate and periphrastic. No. 237, which depicts Troilus' woe combines all three, and these lines add to Tottel's Miscellany the conceit which was a commonplace in Italian and French sonnets—eyes which have become fountains.

The most fanciful of all the descriptions of sighs is No. 278, in which the lover sends his sigh upon the wind, wishing it would reach to where his lady 'woons',

   For then I know you would soone finde,
    By sent and sauour of the winde.
    That even a martirs sigh it is,
     Whose joy you are and all his blis.

As for the tears they are equally varied: they "trickle", "spinkle", or "boyle"; the lover in 201 bathes in tears,
and he of 277 weeps tears the bitter taste of which is
token "that they were forgde of care". But the most
lamentable is the lady of No. 222, who will weep until
her tears"moist the earth in such degree" that she "may
drown therein".

The foregoing illustrations are but samples
to show what a repository of poetic rhetoric Tottel's
Miscellany was. It is significant that no stigma
was attached to conscious, even artificial, rhetoric.
Such giants as Virgil and Horace had through rhetoric,
brought classical poetry to the summits of immortality.
And the great poets of Italy had demonstrated how
applicable was that same rhetoric to their vernacular.
Chaucer had shown that English poetry, too, was capable
of refined and ordered expression. Wyatt and Surrey
Successfully followed. The trail had been blazed, and
subsequent poets continued as far as their powers
permitted.

11. Rubel, vide Note * 1
The question of the language as an instrument of literary thought cannot remain confined to the same sort of themes and techniques. In order to extend its possibilities it must embrace new varieties of subject-matter and new kinds of structural patterns. Although most of the poems in the Tottel's Miscellany retain old stereotyped subjects and structural forms, there are several poems which indicate concern for new modes of themes and new ways of working out the themes for further augmenting the linguistic powers of expressions. As for the sake of dictional matters the poets went to the late medieval handbooks that had come down so for the rules and formulae of discovering and arranging the matter of themes the authors could turn to the exercises devised by Harmogenes and Aphthonius, later adopted by Richard Rainolde in The Foundation of Rhetoric (1563). If for 'eloquence' the poets went to that part of rhetorical treatises designated as "elocutio", for structural patterns they resorted to the
part known as "dispositio". At least twenty poems in the Miscellany show the deliberate cultivation of the methods of praise and dispraise (a common theme of courtly verse) outlined by Aphthonius and adopted by Cox, Rainolde, and Wilson. Introduction of sonnet by Wyatt after his return from Italy added to the scope of the structure of the verse which as we know is one of the major lyrical achievements of the 16th century.

Some of the poems in the Miscellany, such as Surrey's Sonnet "OfSardanopolis" (No. 32) or Grimald's praise of laws (No. 153), merely suggest in choice of subject and attitude a dependence on the general disciplines of conventional deliberative oratory and show

12. The contents of the pages 207 ff are mostly adapted from Peterson's *The English Lyric from Wyatt of Donne* Chapter II.

13. Deliberative oratory / 'Oracion Demonstrative' implies the inclusion of all forms of either praise or dispraise. "There be the maners of oracions Demonstrative... The first conteyneth the prayse or dysprayse of persones... The seconde kynde of an orcion demonstrative is: wherein is prayed or dyspraysed not the persone but the dede... The thyrde kynde is: wherein is landed or blamed nother person nor dede/ but some other thynge as vertue/vice/justice/inuire/charite/ envice/wrathe/and suche lyke". (Leonard/Cox in *The Art or craffe of Rhetoryke* (1532) quoted by Peterson op cit. P. 54.)
not attempt to follow literally the schemes of organisation prescribed in the rhetorics as most expedient for purposes of praise and dispraise. Others, such as Nos. 144 & 145 by Grimald are only brief notes of salutation based upon commonplaces suggested by the hand books as convenient and fitting to-pics of compliment. Still others - Surrey's sonnet to Geraldine (No. 8), the longest of his elegies in Wyatt (No. 31), Grimald's praise of a garden (No. 155) and of friendship (No. 154) follow rhetorical instructions to the letter.

The majority of poems employing methods of praise fall into the two subdivisions of the praise of men: of the living (poems of compliment), and of the deceased (elegies of lament). The simplest form of praise, verse of complimentary salutation, as represented by Grimald's Nos. 139 to 147. Nos. 142, 145, and 146 are occasional poems sent as notes of greeting on New Year's Day. Nos. 143 and 144 apparently served a similar purpose, being sent in remembrance of the receivers' birth days. The display of learning in No. 142 is stylistically
characteristic of the others:

Now flaming Phebus, passing through his heavenly regions bye,
The vttrest Ethiopiam folk with feruent beams doth frye:
And with the soon, the yere also his secret race doth room:
And Ianus, with his double face, hath it again begun:
O thou, that art the hed of all, whom mooneths and yeres obey:
At whose commaund bee bothe the sterres, and surges of the sea:
By powr divine, now prosper vs this yere with good success:
This well to lead, and many mo, vs with thy favour bless.

Graunt, with sound soll in body sound that here we dayly go:
And, after, in that countrey lyue, whence banni-sht is all wo:
Where hoonger, thirst, and sory age, and sicknesse may not mell:
No sense perceius, no hert bethinks the ioyes, that there do dwel.

Nos. 140 and 141 are written in the same style, but reveal specific debt to the rhetoricians in both the attributes singled out for praise and their arrangement.

According to Cox, Wilson, and Raino 'praise of persons,
living or deceased may be devoted to all or any of the following topics. Here are Rainolde's instructions:

First, for the entryng of the matter, you shall place a 'exordium', or beginnyng.

The second place, you shall bring to his praise, Genus eius, that is to saie: Of what kinde he came of, whiche dooth consiste in fower poinctes

Of what nation.
Of what countree
Of what auncetours.
Of what parentes.

And that you shall declare, his education; the education is in three poinctes:

Institucion
In Arte
Lawes

Then put there to that, which is the chief grounde of all praise:

his actes doen, which doe procede out of the gifts, and excellencies of the mind, as the fortitude of the mynde, wisedome, and magnanimitee.
Of the bodie, as a beautifull face, amiable countenance, swiftnesse, the might and strength of the same, the excellencies of fortune, as his dignitee, power, authoritee, riches, substaunce, frendes.

In the fifte place use a comparison, wherein that whiche you praise, maie be aduaunced to the uttermoste.

Laste of all, use the Epilogus, or conclusion.

(Foundation of Rhetoric Fol. xI r.)

There can be no doubt that Grimald's two poems quoted below have been composed with similar instructions in mind.

No. 140

What cause, what reason moueth me : what fansy fils my brains
That you I minde of virginal, whom Britan soile sustains.
Bothe when to lady Mnemosynes dere daughers I resort,
And eke when I the season slow deceaue, with glad disport?
What force, what power have you so great, what charms have you late found
To pluck, to draw, to rauish hartes, & stirre out of ther stownd ?
To you, I trow, Ioues daughter hath the louely gyrdle lent,
That Cestos hight : wherein there bee all maner graces blent,

14. Quoted, Peterson op. cit. P. 56
Allurementes of conceits, of wordes the pleasurable 
taste:
That same, I gease, hath she giuen you and girl
about your waste
Beset with sute of precious pearl, as bright as sunnyday.
These causes lo do not so much present your image prest,
That will I, will night and day, you lodge within this brest:
Those gifts of your right worthy minde, those golden
gifts of mind
Of my fast fixed fansie fourn first moouing cause I finde:
Loue of the one, and threefold powr:faith sacred, sound, 
sincere:
A modest maydens mood: an hert, from clowd of enuy clere:
Wit, fed with Pallas food diuine: will, led with louely lore:
Memorie, conteining lessons great of ladies fiue, and fowr:
Woords, sweeter, than the sugar sweet, with heauenly nectar dresty
Nothing but coomly can they carp, and wonders well exp-
rest.
Such damsels did the auncient world, for poets penns, 
suffise:
Which, now a dayes, welnye as rare, as poets fyne, aryse.
Wherfore, by gracious gifts of god, you more than thrise yeb-lest:
And I wel blest myself suppose: whom chastefull loue 
imprest,
In friendships lace, with such a lasse, doth knit, and fast combine:
Which lace no threatenig fortune shall, no length of tyme wntwine:
And I that daye, with gem snow white, will mark, & eke depaint
With pricely pen: which, Awdley, first gan mee with you acquaint.

No. 141

DESerts of Nymphs, that auncient Poets showe, 
Ar not so kouth, as hers: whose present face, 
M ore, than my Muse, may cause the world to knowe 
A nature nobly giuen: of woorthy race: 
S o trayned vp, as honour did oestowe. 
C yllene in sugerd speech, gaue her a grace. 
Excell in song Apollo made his dere, 
No finger feat Minerue hid from her sight. 
E xprest in look, she hath so souerain chere, 
A s Cyprian once breathed on the spartan bright. 
Wit, wisdon, will, woord, woork, and all, I ween, 
D are no mans pen presume to paint outright. 
L o luster and light: which if old tyme had seen, 
E nthroned, shyne she should, with goddesse Fame 
Y eeld, Enuie, these due prayses to this dame.

In No. 140 the opening sixlines constitute the 'exordium' in the form of two rhetorical questions as to the cause of the poet's admiration and poetic inspiration (the "matter" to be "entered"). The next five lines, containing the ornate description of the girdle, suggest that the lady's physical and social graces are the cause of his admiration. But these are not fundamental causes; the poet admits he had digressed:
But what? I am beguilede, and gone (I wene) out of the way.

These causes lo do not so much present your image prest,
That will I, nill I, night and day, you lodge within this preest:

The 'first mouing cause' is "Those gifts of your right worthy mind". These are then catalogued: modesty, lack of envy, wit, will guided by learning, memory well stocked by the Muses, and eloquent or sugred speech.

Having catalogued the virtues which form "the chief grounde of all praise", the poet next introduces, according to precept, a brief comparison before the conclusion. No. 141 is less ambitions than the No. 140, but it is equally indebted to rhetorical precept. Grimald is content here simply to catalogue Mistress Awdley's virtues and accomplishments. He manages to include each of the six "places" which according to the rhetoricians make up the biographical method of praise: (1) the exordium, lines 1-3; (2) Genus eius, line 4; (3) education, line 5; (4) acts done "which doe proced out of the
giftes, and excellencies of the minde", lines 6 through 14; (5) comparison, lines 9 and 10; and (6) Epilogus, line 15.

One might expect to find Grimald adhering closely to the precepts of rhetoric in his verse, since he was a teacher of rhetoric. But the topics and schemes he employs continue to be exploited throughout the century, and by poets whose reputation in their own times as well as in our own were much greater than his. They form a poetic convention employed by Creville, Googe, Turberville - as late as Milton (Milton's sonnet IX, beginning "Daughter to that good Earl, once president") and at least as early as Surrey. And Surrey's well-known sonnet to Geraldine, which seems to have been the source of the Renaissance myth concerning his famous love, follows exactly the biographical method of praise:

From Tuskone came my Ladies worthy race:
Faire Florence was sometyme her auncient seate:
The western yle, whose pleasant shore dothe face

15. Peterson, P. 60
Wilde cambers clifs, did geue her liuely heate:
Fostered she was with milk of Irishe brest:
Her sire, an Erle: her dame, of princes blood.
From tender yeres, in Britain she do-th rest,
With kingses childe, where she tasteth costly food.
Honsdon did first present her to mine yien:
Bright is her newe, and Geraldine she hight
Hampton me taught to wishe her first for mine:
And windsor, alas, dothe chase me from her sight
Her beauty of kind her vertues from aboue.
Happy is he, that can obtaine her loue.

In the concluding line the poet actually is directing his intentions to 'Geraldine's' parents, because it is impossible to take it seriously that he desires the love of the nine-year old child. It is pertinent here to quote Thomas Wilson's suggestion on the importance of lineage in an aristocratic society in his treatment of the biographical method of praise:

"The house whereof a noble personage came, declares the state and natures of his auncestors, his alliance, and his kinsfolke. So that such worthie feates as they have heretofore & done, & al such honors as they have had for such their good seruice, redounds wholly to the increase and amplifying of his honour, that
is how liuing.

"The Realme declares the nature of the people
So that some countrey bringeth more honour with it,
then an other doeth.

"The Shire or Towne helpeth some what, towards
the encrease of honor : As it is much better to bee
borne in Paris, then in Picardie : in London then in
Lincolne ..."

"Now, for the bringing up of a noble personage, his muse must be considered, his play fellowes
observed, his teacher and other his seruants called in
remembrances" (Art - PP. 12-13) 16

It is of course impossible that Surrey had ever seen
Wilson's treatise, which first appeared in 1553, but the
parallels between the poem and the passages from Wilson
are indicative of a common tradition which was familiar
to both men.

The closeness with which Surrey and Grimald
follow rhetorical precept means that they were endeavou­
ring to introduce into verse schemes and topdcs which

16. Peterson, P. 61
would be valuable as disciplines for the discovery and arrangement of material suitable to the purposes of eulogy. The poems produced as a result are often awkward and mechanical in their strict adherence to rhetorical instructions, but their importance justified the close attention that has been given them. Ways of discovering what to say about a given subject and ways of making coherent the material discovered were precisely what the verse tradition was then most urgently in need of. Before the poets went to the hand-books of rhetoric they were more or less limited in the composition of a long poem to conventions of narrative. In the rhetoricians Grimald and Surrey and their contemporaries found new structures, such as those implicit in the topics of praise, which were equally suited to the confines of the sonnet or to a poem of several hundred lines.

Of the twenty odd elegies in Tottel commemorating the death of friends and famous personages, Grimald contributed eight and Surrey five. The same methods used for praising the living are also used in the elegy
of lament. Grimald and Surrey, the two, can be said to be chiefly responsible for the vogue of the elegy and its characteristic conventions among the imitators of Tottel's Miscellany during the third quarter of the century. Grimald's poems are undistinguished, but interesting nevertheless for the care with which they follow rhetorical models. "Many of them lead one to suspect" tells, Prof. Peterson, "that he had Wilson's or some other rhetorician's text before him while writing?" It is Wilson, for instance, who identifies the two methods of comforting the bereaved which Grimald most frequently uses 18 "They (the wise) use two ways of cherishing the troubled mindes. The one is, when we shewe that in some cases, and for some causes, either they should not lament at all or else be sorie very little the other is when we graunt that they have just cause to be sad, and therefore, we are sad also in their behalfe, and would remedie the matter if it could be, and thus entering into fellowship of sorowe, we

17. Peterson, P. 62.
18. Ibid
seeke by a little and little to mitigate their greefe". Continuing, Wilson affirms that "Those harmes should be moderatly borne, which must needs happen to every one, that haue chance to any one. As Death, which spareth none, neither King nor Kaisier, neither poore nor riche". Wilson then provides an "example of comfort" expanding the following Christian commonplaces: "The cause why God taketh away the most worthiest"; "where necessitie ruleth, sorrow is needlesse"; "The folly of such as sorrow the want of their frendes"; "Death common to all"; "Evill to live among the euill"; "To die happily, is great happinesse"; "Life; the right way to death. "Death purs - chaseth rest;" "Death more frendly, the soner it commeth"; "Lent goods must be restored at the owners will". "Immo - derat sorrow, not naturall". "Time, a remedie for fooles to take awaie their sorrow". "The great miserie of this worlde, makes weariness of life"; "Trees, not cursed, because Apples fall from them". "Ripe things last not long". "Pacience praise worthy in adversitie". 
Grimald's two "epitaphs" on Sir James Wilford, Nos. 156 and 157, represent "the two waies of cherishing illustrates the second way: "When we graunt that they have just cause to be sad, and therefore we are sad also in their behalfe". After recording Wilford's feats as a soldier, the poem concludes with the statement that all of England mourns his death:

Crye Mussel-borough: prayse Haddington thy lord,  
From thee that held both scots, and frekes of Fraunce:  
Fare wel, may England say, hard is my chance.

No. 157 consists of an elaborate hyperbole emphasizing Wilford's death is mourned:

For Wilford wept first men, then ayr also,  
For Wilford felt the wayters wayfull wo.  
The men so wept: that bookes, abrode which bee,  
Of moornyng meeters full a man may see  
So wayld the ayr: that, clowds consumde, remaynd  
No dropes, but drouth the parched erth sustaynd.  
So greeted floods; that, where ther rode before  
A ship, a car may go safe on the shore.  
Left were no mo, but heauen, and erth, to make,  
Throughout the world, this greef his rigor take.

But all this wil and woe is foolish ... "since the heauen this Wilford's ghost do the keep, / And eartn, his corps: saye mee, why shold they weep"? Nos. 158 and 160
through 163 illustrate either one or the other of the two methods of consolation distinguished by Wilson. They show also that Grimald was familiar with a number of the Christian commonplaces expanded by Wilson in his sample oration. No. 158 develops "Lent goods must be restored at the owner's will" and "To die happily is great happiness:

For with good will I dare well saye, her waye to his she sped:
Who claymed, that he bought: and took that erst he gaue:
More meet than any worldly wight, such heauenly gems to haue.

Nos. 160 and 161 develop "death purchaseth rest" and "the great miserie of this world, makes weariness of life". And Nos. 162 and 163 dilate "death common to all" and "to die happily is great happiness".

Christian commonplaces are also evident in the anonymous elegies, Nos. 169, 205, and 248. In No. 169 "master Deuerox's lineage, virtues, and services to the King are enumerated:
His birth of auncient blood: his parents of great fame:
And yet in vertue farre before the formost of the same.
His King, and countrye bothe he serued to so great gaine:
That with the Brutes record doth rest, and euer shall remain.
No man in Warre so mete, an enterprise to take:
No man in peace that pleasurd more of enmies trends to make.
A Cato for his counsell: his head was surely such.

(II. 11-17)

The conclusion of the poem cites commonplaces which are also listed by Wilson:

A man sent us from God, his life did well declare:
And now sent for by god again, to teach vs what we are.
Death, and the graue, that shall accompany all that liue,
Hath brought his heuen, though somewhat sone, which life could never liue
God graunt well all, that shall professe as he profest:
To liue so well, to dye no worse: and send his soule good rest.

(II. 21-27)

No. 205 also recapitulates the subject's virtues, deeds, and education. The final consolation is again one listed by Wilson:
Thus long he liued loued of all as one mislikt of none,
And where he went who cald him not be the gentle peragon.
But course of kind doth cause eche frute to fall when it is ripe,
And spitefull death will suffer none to scape his greucris gripe

(The parallel passage in The Arte of Rhetorique: "Among fruite we see some apples are sone ripe, and fall from the Tree in the middest of sommer, other be still greene and tary til Winter, and hereupon are commonly called Winter fruite: euena so it is with man, some die young, some die old, and some die in their midle age" (Art... P. 83). No. 248 offers similar parallels with Wilson:

But now (vntanke to our desert be geuen, Which merite not a heauens gift to kepe)
Thou must with me bewaile that fate hath reuen,
From earth a ie well laied in earth to slepe.

("He forgetteth much his duetie, that boroweth a Jewell of the Kings Maiestie, and will not restore it with good will, when it shall please his Grace to call for it" (Wilson P. 75))
Well sayd therfore a heauens gift she was,
Because the best are sonest hence bereft :
And though her selfe to heauen hence did passe,
Her spoyle to earth from whence it came she left.

(II. 17-20)

"Assuredly, whom God loueth best, those he taketh sonest
according to the saying of Salomon : The righteous... is
sodainly taken away, to the intent, that wickedness
should not alter his understanding, and that hypocrisy
should not begile his soule". (Wilson, P. 73)

The poems initiate what eventually becomes a rich
tradition of Christian elegy. By borrowing from the
rhetoricians the two ways of assuaging grief mentioned
by Wilson, they introduce an affective purpose into
consolatory verse which distinguishes the genre as spe­
cifically Christian and identifies the poet's role with
that of the Christian rhetorician. He must square the
fact of death with the idea of an infinitely just and
merciful deity in order to persuade those who grieve the
deceased that, as Claudius reminds Hamlet, it is natu­
ral "for some term / To do obsequions sorrow. But to
preseiere / In obstinate condolement is a course / Of impious stubbornness. The writer of Christian consolation must, in short, justify the ways of God to man in order to bring the grief-stricken to an acceptance of God's will. Spenser in all but one of elegies commemorating Sidney's death assumes that obligation (in "To praise thy life, or waile thy death", he also follows the biographical topics), concluding each, in a way which violates the classical conventions of pastoral, with an affirmation of Sidney's immortality. Milton, too assumes the burden in "On the Death of a Fair Infant", and "Lycidas". In "Lycidas" an awareness of how that affective burden imposes a principle of order upon the materials presented within the pastoral convention is essential to an understanding of how the pastoral elements operate.

The use of rhetorical methods of praise by Tottel's contributors is not the only indication of
their indebtedness to the rhetoricians for means of discovering and arranging matter. Nos. 131 and 132, both apparently by Grimald, argue the "thesis", whether it is good to marry, a subject of written debate popularized by Erasmus, cited as a suitable subject for the exercise of thesis by Rainolde, and later forming the substance of Shakespeare's "marriage sonnets". Grimald's treatment of the question is purely sophistic. His arguments hinge on questions of possibility and probability - two of the four points which the rhetoricians agree must be established in deliberative oratory.

The two poems might be having in view the practice of "mooting" which Thomas Elyot describes in The Governor: "... in the lernyng of the lawes of this realme there is at this daye an exercise, wherein is a maner, a shadowe, or figure of the auncient rhetorike. I meane the plead-yhge used in courte and chauncery called motes; where fyrst a case is appoynted to be moted by certayne yonge men, contaynyng some douctfull
controversie, which is instedes of the head of a
declamation called theme. The case being known, the
whiche be appoynted to mote, do examine the case, and
investigate what therin can espie, whiche may make
a contention, wherof may ryse a question to be argued...

"Also they consider what places on euery
parte ought to be made, and howe the case maye be
reasoned ..." (I, 148-49)" 19.

No. 131 argues that happiness in marriage is impossible
and No. 132 attempts to answer the argument by proving
that not only is happiness in marriage possible but
that marriage is profitable and virtuous. No. 131
poses a dilemma: your wife will either be ugly or
common; or she will be beautiful. But either case she

19. Ibid. P. 72
will afford you no pleasure. It is impossible that one ugly wife would please you; and since it is improbable that she will remain to you if she is beautiful, her beauty will only prove a source of unrest. Moreover, if you have children, you are simply bringing upon your self more woe. The second poem (No. 132) meets these arguments by admitting that a "fair" wife is preferred, but beauty is not all one should look for in a woman, and that the question of children is irrelevant. Moreover, since all pleasures are accompanied with displeasures, the question of pleasure in marrying is also irrelevant. The deciding point is whether marriage is on "vertues path".

The frequent recurrence of such exercises in later Miscellanies suggests that they were commonly practised in schools. Undoubtedly, they helped to develop
the potentialities for closely reasoned analysis and argument present in the sonnets of Sidney and Shakespear and in the short poems of Greville, Donne, and Jonson. As Grimald's two examples indicate, the exercise of developing a refutation or confirmation within the confines of short verse forms forced the writer not only to order his argument carefully, but also to work out a syntax capable of carrying it.

"Ethopoeia" a structural device found in the treatises is apparent in a number of poems. It is defined as "a certaine Oracion made by voice, and lamentable imitation, vpon the state of any one". Nos. 17, 116, 222 and 299 resemble exercises in ethopoeia, Surrey in No. 17 imagines how a woman might feel and what she might say while awaiting the return of her lover. Raineld identifies it as "imitation passive". No. 222 is similar. No. 166, on the other hand, is an example of an "imitation mixed" in which Grimald imagines what Cicero's actions, as well as his thoughts and feelings, might have been at the time of his death.

20. Ibid P. 73
No. 299 is of special interest. It seems to have been conceived to move pity according to methods suggested by Thomas Wilson. Wilson observes that "we may exhort men to take pitie of the father-less, the widowe, and the oppressed innocent, if we set before their eyes, the lamentable afflictions, the tyrannous wrongs, the miserable calamities, which these poor wretches do sustaine". The exhortation of pity, to be most effective, must concentrate on following: "the weight of the matter must be set forth, as though they (men) sawe it plaine before their eyes, the report must be suæ, and the offence made so hainous, that the lik hath not bene seen heretofore, and all the circumstance must thus be heaped to-gether: The naughtiness of his nature that did the deede, the cruell ordering, the wicked dealing, and malicious handle, the tyme, the place, the maner of his doing, and the wickednesse of his will to have done more"... (Art... P.131). Wilson is referring to ethopoeia when he discusses the figure most effective in setting the matter "before the eyes of
men" - the figure wherein "we imagine a talke for some one to speake, and according to his person, we frame the Oration". (Ibid P. 179). The anonymous author of 299 may or may not have been familiar with The Arte of Rhetorique, but there is no doubt as to what his intentions were in writing the poem, or as to the techniques he employed. He was exhorting men to pity through the use of ethopoeia:

A Cruell Tiger all with teeth bebled,
A bloody tirantes hand in eche degre,
A lecher that by wretched lust was led,
(Alas) deflowred my virginitie.
And not contented with this villainie,
Nor with thouragious terour of the dede,
With bloody thirst of greater crueltie:
Fearing his haynous gilt should be bewrayed,
By crying death and vengeance openly,
His violent hand forth with alas he layed
Vpon my guiltes sely wilde and me,
And like the wretch whom no horrour dismayede,
Drownde in the sinke of depe iniquitie:
Misusing me the mother for a time,
Hath slaine us both for clocking of his crime.

The closeness of the paralleled is obvious. Wilson's instructions are clearly illustrated in the poem: the
"tyrannous wrongs", and the "miserable calamities"
sustained by the "oppressed innocent", the "hainous
offence" and the "circumstance", the "naughtiness" of
the offender's nature, his "wicked dealing"; "malicious
handling" and his "will to have done more". But of chief
importance is the fact that the poem illustrates again
how verse composition in the Tudor period was dominated
by rhetorical experimentation.

There are many other poems in Tottel's Misce-
llany indicating how extensively the contributors expe-
rimented with rhetorical modes: No. 241, in which the
lowes of Apollo and Jove are briefly recounted, suggests
an exercise in "Narracion". Nos. 273 and 172 also employ
narration, but in conjunction with comparison. The
former retells the tale of Troilus and Cressida that the
poet may compare Troilus' miseries with his own; and in
the latter the tale of Pigmalion is retold for a similar
purpose. Commonplace, Chria, and Fable are also represented
but they are didactic modes by definition and therefore
will be discussed while dealing with the "plain" poems.
Comparison (by which the Renaissance also understood
contrast) also appears frequently, usually in the form of similes heaped together and occasionally, as in O.S., as a means of praising a virtue.

A fact in connection with eloquent lyric in the Miscellany should not be lost sight of. The eloquent lyric here remains medieval in conception and predominantly medieval in technique. Its purpose as demanded by the hand-books of rhetoric remains principally stylistic. Structure, language, and versification remain subordinate to style. What is new in the way of technique, besides obvious improvements in verse and language is absorbed by the prevailing theory of style as inherited from the late medieval ages. 22

Some of the innovations - the sonnet & structural schemes - are of considerable importance, but in no way can they be said to indicate the beginning of a revolution in poetics. The lyric was affected primarily by the general movement to make the English language capable of literary excellence. That movement, and lyric as it was implicated in that movement, was given direction

22. Ibid. PP. 75-76
by the critical theory inherited from the preceding age, theory which identified literary excellance with copious treatment, learned and mellifluous ornament, and ingenious invention.

The traditional 'plain' style - was meant to instruct the popular audiences in the common places of Christian religion and Christian morality and distinguished by what was understood as unadorned, rude, bare, plain and simple expression - is clearly identifiable in the Miscellany. Mostly the poems are in the old medieval mode. But as said above by the time of Wyatt with the emergence of the anti-courtly sentiment the plain style expanded its scope and non-courtly or contemplative concerns were added to it. 23

The author of No. 177 is content to amplify and illustrate a moral common-place after the fashion of his medieval predecessors:

O Euyll longes, which clap at euery winde:
Ye slea the quick, and eke the dead defame:
Those that live well, som faute in them ye fynde.
Ye take no thought, in slaundering theyr good name.

23. Peterson, P. 34 & Chapter III.
Ye put iust men oft times to open shame,
Ye ryng so loude, ye sound unto the skyes;
And yet in proofe ye sowe nothyng but lyes.
Ye make great warre, where peace hath been of long,
Ye bring rich realmes to ruine, and decay.
Ye pluck down right; ye do enhance the wrong
Ye turne swete myrth to wo, and wel a way -
Of mischiefes all ye are arounde, I say.
Happy is he, that liues on such a sort:
That nedes not feare such tonges of false report.

The poet's intention is clearly didactic. No personal implication emerges from the theme he treats. Only loosely ordered series of conventional examples illustrating the effects of slander make up the structural scheme. And the poem is ended with a formulary and didactic statement which is often found in pulpit oratory.

Several poems in the collection indicate various structural methods that were stock-in-trade of the medieval 'plain' mode. Nos. 286, 183, 225 are written in the simplest measure close to the poem No. 177 just discussed. These merely expand the commonplaces of long standing by examples. No. 286 expands the commonplace that is developed in "see much, sey lytill, and Lerne
to suffer in Time (Robbins No. 181). After a conventional beginning, which introduces the commonplace as worthwhile advice to those "who list to lead a quiet life", some thirty proverbs are listed only in the loosest order. Similarly No. 183 "Of the wretchedness in this world", lists a number of obvious particulars and concludes with the commonplace that resignation is the only means of accepting existence in a miserable world. No. 225, "when adversity is once fallen, it is too late to beware", is repetitions treatment of the familiar medieval theme", beware of had I wist".

There are also examples of 'doctrinal' structure. Nos. 184 and 270, employ respectively doctrines of penance, and of the Christian psychology of reason, will and the emotions. And No. 184, "Of the mutabilities of the world", uses the structure of the medieval dream narrative. The poem begins:

By fortune as I lay in bed, my fortune was to fynde
Such fansies, as my careful thought had brought in to my minde.

25. cf. Peterson, Chapter I, Plain style.
And when eche one was gone to rest, full oft
in bed to lye:
I would haue slept: but then the water did flow
still myne eyes.
And sodeinly I saw a sea of wofull sorowes prent
Whose wicket wayes of sharp repulse bred myne
unquiet rest.(II. 1-6)

The rest of the poem after this enumerates the details
of mutability, employing personification and metaphor
for the purpose of instruction. Following the same
technique is No. 285. It is short enough to be quoted in
full:

Do all your dedes by good advise,
Cast in your mind alwaies the end.
Wit bought is of to dere a price.
The tried, trust, and take as frend,
For frendes I finde there be but two:
Of countenance, and of effect.
Of thone sort there be inow:
But few ben of the tother sect.
Be ware also the venym swete
Of crafty words and flattery.
For to deceive they be most mete,
That best can play hypocrisy.
Let wisdome rule your dede and thoughte:
So shall your wordes be wisely wrought.

No. 284 anticipates Raleigh's "The Lie". The author
introduces the theme, "much is amisse" in the opening
four lines and then proceeds to justify his assertion by devoting a stanza each to what is "amisse" in duty, learning, political power, law, and so on. Raleigh's poem, of course, differs in employing the added structural device of the summary refrain but we have already seen that the summary refrain was one of the several methods employed by the 14th & 15th century didactic poets.

There is also some indication in Tottel that the didactic poets too consulted the hand-books of rhetoric and thus added new techniques to those they had inherited from the Middle Ages. Grimald's (No. 135) on "Marcus Catões comparison of man's life with yon" suggests an exercise in Chria. Chria means a rhetorical term in which a theme is based upon some act or saying of some famous person. His poems in praise of mirth (No. 138) and friendship (No. 154) follow close the methods of "comparison" discussed by the rhetoricians. The use of "fable" is of course illustrated by Wyatt's first-
satire addressed to John Poins (No. 124) and by the anonymous No. 279. The structural scheme of the 279 closely follows Rainold's instructions on how to develop on oration by means of Fable. Those instructions are as follows:

"These notes must be observed, to make an oracion by a fable.

1. Firste, ye shall recite the fable, as the authour telleth it.
2. Then in the second place, you shall praise the authour who made the fable.
3. Then thirdlie place the morall, which is the interpretation ancred to the Fable, for the Fable was inuented for the moralles sake.
4. Then orderlie in the fowerth place, declare the nature of thynges conteined in the Fable, either of man, fishe, foule.
5. In the fifthe place sette forthe the
thynges, reasonyng one with another ...

3. Then in the vi place, make a similitude of the like matter.

7. Then in the seuenth place, induce an example for the same matter to bee proued by.

8. Laste of all make the Epilogus, which is called the conclusion ... (The Foundation ...

Fol. III ) 26.

The ioem is a statement of the need for man to put his trust only in God (although the editor entitles the poem "of the troubled commonwelth restored to quiet by the mighty power of God"). The poet in retelling the tale of the Trojan horse, has not, of course, followed the instructions to be letter. He has not praised the author as Rainolde and Aphthonius suggest; and he has combined places one, three, and four (II. 1-3). But the rest of the "places" are all included. Stanzas, four, five and six are devoted to "the setting fort the

26. Quoted, Peterson P. 32.
of thynges, reasonyng one with an other"; that is, to the developing of the moral that misplaced trust is disastrous:

But all to long such wisdome was in store, To late came out the name of traytour than, When that their king the author lay before Slain there alas, that worthy noble man. Illium on flame, the matrons crying out, And all the stretes in streames of blood about. But such was fate, or such was simple trust, The king and all should thus to ruine roon...

(11. 19-26)

Next appears (6) "a similitude of the like matter", in which the poet compares the catastrophe at Troy with a contemporary catastrophe. Two stanzas are used to expand the lines, "Like to our time, wherin hath broken out, / The hidden harme that we suspected least" (11. 27-28) after which another four stanzas expand the contrary and proper alternative to the topic of faith and trust in God. The following lines establish the basis of contrast:

Of treason marke the nature and the kinde, A face it beares of all humilitie. Truth is the cloke, and frendship of the minde, And depe it goes, and worketh seretly ...
But he on hye that secretly beholdes
The state of thinges : and times hath in his hand...

As in the case of the eloquent mode, most of the poems in the 'plain' tradition have the same characteristics which are typical of the didactic lyric in the 14th and 15th centuries. Though quite some poems reflect various refinements of structure and style they are written in the "rude", as opposed to the "sugred", style: the language is plain, syntax is simple and aphoristic. Generally, the plainness and directness of the didactic style is reinforced by a somewhat heavy and unvaried rhythm. Except for Wyatt, the contributors who write in the plain style are heavily didactic. There occur only occasionally among their works poems of genuine merit. Vaux's "I lothe that I did loue" (No. 212) from which Shakespeare borrowed and adapted three stanzas for the grave-diggers in Hamlet (v.l. 69 ff), is sufficiently well-known to need little comment. Its effectiveness is the result of the song-like rhythm and the realistic description of the old age:
The wrinkles in my brow,
The furrowes in my face:
Say limpyng age will hedge him now,
Where youth must gome him place.

The harbinger of death,
To me I see him ride:
The cough, the colde, the gaspyng breath,
Dothe bid me to prouide.

A pikeas and a spade,
And eke a shrowdyng shete,
A house of claye for to be made,
for such a gest most mete. (sts. 6-8)

"Brittle beautie, that nature made so fraile" (NO.9),
along with Wyatt's Farewell, Loue, and all thy laws
for euer" (No.99) is one of the first of series of
repentance sonnets to appeare which includes Sidney's
"Leave me O love which reachest but to dust", "Thou
blind man's mark, thou fool's self-chosen snare", and
Shakespeare's "The expense of spirit in a waste of
shame". No. 297 is not only the best of the three Tottel
poems, but is also of particular interest, since
rhythmically it looks forward to Googe and Gascoigne.
The subject is again commonplace, and there is nothing
new in the way in which it is developed. But the atten-
tion given to the possibilities of rhythmic variations
set the poem off from didactic treatments of the same and related themes:

VAine is the fleting welth
Where on the world stayes:
Sithe stalking time by priuy selth,
Encrocheth in our dayes.

And elde which creepeth fast,
To tayute vs with her wounde:
Will turne eche blysse vnto a blast,
Which lasteth but a stounde,
Of youth the lusty floure,
Which whylome stoode in price:
Shall vanish quite within a houre,
As fire consumes the ice.

Where is become that wight,
For whose sake Troye towne:
With stode the grekes till ten yeres fight,
Had rasde their walles adowne.

Did not the wormes consume,
Her caryon to the dust?
Did dredfull death forbeare his fume
Fir beauty, pride, or lust?

There is nothing in the method by which the common-place is developed that is not found in 15th century didactic verse. The truism is first stated as an inevitable consequence of mortality; then, after the generalized statement that age is the destroyer of pleasures, youth and beauty are developed as qualifying examples...
of the truism. What is new is the realization of the possibilities inhering in the elements of style for the qualification of feeling. It is the personal feeling defined by the connotative elements of style, particularly by the rhythm, which reveals the poet's own understanding, evaluation, and consequent attitude toward the truism. There is nothing original in the stylistic conventions employed. The allusions are familiar, the language is plain, and the structure is, as has been shown, common in both the didactic and eloquent lyric. But these conventions are put to contemplative use; the poem contains neither allusions for the sake of ornament, nor excessive and repetitions expansion for persuasive emphasis. The rough song rhythm is effectively employed for rhetorical stress and to reinforce the dignity of the feeling of resignation for an unalterable fact of human existence. The initial foot in the opening line of stanzas one and four, for instance, is inverted to stress, respectively, an important statement and question; and in the second
line of the first and fourth stanzas consecutive heavy accents are used for a similar purpose. But these are only obvious characteristics. The poem deserves to be read and studied carefully if its stylistic subtleties are to be comprehended. They are subtleties more fully realized by Sir Thomas Wyatt.

The fusion of the plain & eloquent styles which ultimately resulted in the great lyrical poems in the last decades of the 16th century, apart from Wyatt whose outstanding genius by rising above contemporary time achieved somewhat pre-mature fusion of the two, is found in the poems of the Miscellany which attempt at consolation, clumsy though they often are. Consolation is effected with contemplative & didactic modest through rhetorical means. The writer's intention in these poems is basically didactic, and contemplative sometimes; but to realize that intention they have appropriated techniques from the rhetorical treatises which has resulted in consolatory effects. Perhaps the best examples of this
practice of borrowing that can be found in Tottel's collection are two elegies by Surrey: the longest and certainly the best of his three elegies on Wyatt (No. 31) and his elegy commemorating the death of his childhood friend, the Duke of Richmond (No. 15).

No. 31

W. resteth here, that quick could never rest:
Whose heavenly giites encreased by disdayn,
And vertue sank the deper in his brest.
Such profit he by enuy could obtain.

A hed, where wisdom misteries did frame:
Whose hammers bet styl in that liuely brayn,
As on a stithe: where that some work of fame,
Was dayly wrought, to turne to Britaines gayn.

A visage, stern, and myld: where bothe did grow,
Vice to contemne, in vertue to reioyce:
Amid great stormes, whom grace assured so,
To lyue vpright, and smile at fortunes choyce.

A hand, that taught, what might be sayd in ryme:
That reft Chaucer the glory of his wit:
A mark, the which (vnparfited, for time)
Some may approche, but neuer none shall hit.

A toung, that serued in forcin realms his king:
Whose courteous talke to vertue did enflame.
Eche noble hart: a worthy guide to bring
Our English youth, by travaile, vnto fame.

An eye, whose judgement none affect could blinde,
Trends to allure, and foes to reconcile:
Whose persing loke did represent a mynde
With vertue fraught reposed, voyd of gyle.
A hart, where drede was neuer so imprest,
To hyde the thought, that might the trouth auance:
In neyther fortune loft, nor yet represt,
To swell in wealth, or yeld vnto mischance.

A valiant corps, where force, and beawty met:
Happy, alas, to happy, but for foes:
Liued, and ran the race, that nature set:
Of manhodes, shape where she the molde did lose.

But to the heauens that simple soule is fled:
Which left with, as couet Christ to know,
Witness of faith, that neuer shall be ded:
Sent for our helth, but not receiued so.

Thus, for gilte, this iowel haue we lost:
The earth his bones, the heauens possesse his cost.

At first sight it looks like the employment of the
'catalogue' method. But unlike the description as it is
in conventional 'catlogue' scheme the emphasis here is
on the virtuous deeds that proceeded from 'the ned',
hart, 'hand', 'eye' of Wyatt. With superb subtlety the
'catalogue' scheme has been superseded by the biographi­
cal method from rhetorical treatises.

The poem begins and concludes with two of the
consolatory common places listed by Wilson; the deceased
has found in heaven the rest which life did not permit
him; he has been taken away for man's sins. Wilson in
his sample oration to Lady Suffolk on the death of her sons, writes: "But wherefore did God take two such away, and at that time? Surely, to tell the principall cause, wee may by all likenesse affirm, that they were taken away from vs for our wretched sinnes, and most vile naughtinesse of life, that thereby wee being warned, might be as ready for God, as they now presently were, and amend our liues in time, whom God will call, what time wee know not" (Art: PP. 68-69).

The affective purpose of elegy identified by Wilson—that of assuaging grief by affirming Divine Justice—is not present, but the idea of Divine Justice is present as the controlling idea. By Wyatt's death God has punished us "for our guilt". Also evident is the most important of the "six places" identified by Wilson as constituting the biographical method; in concentrating on Wyatt's virtues as a man, Surrey has concentrated in "his actes done, which doe procede out of the giftes, and excellences of the mind". Evidence in the poem, therefore, that Surrey had been to school with the rhetoricians is considerable, but the style, the seriousness
of intent, and the moral tone of the poem are just as surely signs of the 'plain' style. By avoiding rhetorical descriptions of grief and enumerating Wyatt's accomplishments and his unyielding commitment to virtue in a language that is plain, the poem conveys a real sense of loss and an equally convincing arraignment of a society in which compromise and expediency are the rule.

The superiority in this instance of the plain style over the eloquent can perhaps be more fully appreciated by selecting for comparison another of Surrey's elegies to Wyatt, No. 30, a sonnet which clearly bears the marks of the eloquent tradition:

Dyuers thy death doe diversly be mone.
Some, that in presence of thy liuelihed
Lurked, whose brests enuy with hate had swolne,
Yeld Ceasars teares vpon Pompeius bed.
Some, that watched with the murders knife,
With egre thirst to drink thy giltlesse blood,
Whose practise br ake by happy ende of lyfe,
Wepe emious teares to heare thy fame so good
But I, that knew what harbred in that hed :
What vertues rare were temperd in that brest :
Honour the place, that such a iewell bred,
And kisse the ground, whereas thy corse doth rest,
With vapord eyes : from whence such streams 
auyl,
As pyrmundyd on thisbes breast bewail.

The "invention", consisting of a contrast between unjust
and "just causes" for sorrow, might conceivably have
produced a more satisfactory poem if it had been realised
through the use of precise detail. But the brevity of
the sonnet form here works against that kind of particularity
and forces the poet to rely on general statement,
hyperbole, classical allusion, and the elevated connotations
of the eloquent manner. The result is a tone of
lament which is supported only in the most general way
by the content. One needs to be told more than that
Wyatt was good and that he was hated and envied before
one can take seriously the concluding declaration of
sorrow.

Traces of the literary manner are even evident
in what is probably the best elegy in the entire
Miscellany, Surrey's poem on the death of Richmond
(No. 15). The opening lines bear evidence of the defect
in the radical departure in the first line— and half
from normal word order, in the poet's extravagant claim that the years he spent at Windsor as a child were spent "In greater feast than Priam's sonnes at Troy", and in the way in which manner prevails over matter in the easy "sweet-sour" antithesis of the lines following:

So cruell prison how coulde betide, alas,  
As proude Windsor ? where I in lust and ioye,  
With a kinges sonne, my childishe yenes did passe,  
In greater feast than Priam's sonnes of Troy :  
Where eche swete place returns a taste full sower (11, 1-5)

But the literary manner of these opening lines is dropped, and the details (suggested by the biographical topic of childhood) which Surrey recalls from those Windsor days are presented with a simplicity that is extremely effective. The diction here (ll. 6-22) is plain and the word order close to that of prose. The reminiscences of adolescent days spent in such innocent pleasures are fittingly concluded by a short section in which Surrey recalls the evenings and the night time
confidences that he and Richmond had once exchanged:

The secret thoughtes imparted with such trust:
The wanton talke, the diuers change of play:
The frendship sworne, eche promise kept so iust:
Wherwith we past the winter might away

(ll. 37-40)

Unfortunately, the final lines (41-55) resume the eloquent manner. The sudden shift from a language which is styleless in its simplicity, and therefore fresh, to the diction of eloquence is curious and interesting in what it reveals about the state of English verse at this early date. The shift coincides exactly with the poet's shift from his reminiscence over the particular details of how he and his friend once passed their time to his of how he now feels. The sudden shift in manner (ll. 41-55) is an indication of the general inadequacy, at this early date, of the vernacular. It is simply not upto the demands Surrey places upon it. He wants to describe his grief, and he is forced to turn to the diction and phraseology of the courtly love poets; specifically, to the verse in which the lover
describes the melancholia of unrequited love. The borrowed phraseology is unmistakable: "sobbyng sighs l (alas)" (line 43) "teares berayne my chekes" (line 42), "O place of blisse, renuer of my woes" (line 45), and so on.

The inadequacy which prevents Surrey in achieving uniformity and coherence of manner as indicated here in the Elegy on Richmond (No. 15) is overcome in Wyatt in his later poetry. But Wyatt's achievement was due to the superiority of his innate qualities as a poet and could be stated as pre-mature in the history of the development of the vernacular because it could not be repeated by other poets who followed until the last decades when the vernacular had shed away all its inadequacies as a medium of poetic expression.

However, one point about Wyatt's characteristic achievement needs be stressed. His temperament, primarily moral, led him to adopt the 'plain' style for the most part. But his successful poems while retaining the

27. Peterson, Chapter III. Pp. 87-119
'simple' diction employ the structural technique of the rhetorical mode for achieving their full effectiveness. Such "plain" poetry in Wyatt becomes for the first time consistently associated with an anticourtly attitude, an attitude it will continue to be identified with throughout the century. In the next generation of poets the irony of Wyatt's manner in the satires on the court will be reasserted and sustained by Googe and Turbervile, and especially by Gascoigne and Raleigh. Even as late as Donne and George Herbert, by which time the plain style will have undergone extensive modifications, it retains its reputation for honesty and continues to be the medium of expression for those who for one reason or another are opposed to the social, ethical, and literary norms represented by the court as the cultural centre of London. Satirical, devotional, and contemplative poets alike will continue also to exploit its anticourtly associations when affirming ethical and religious commitments that involve rejection of the world, court preferment, and courtly love, as in Greville (Coelica) and Donne.  

28. Vide Note 23 above.  
29. Peterson, PP. 252-348