

TIME / MUTABILITY

in

THE LATE ELIZABETHAN POETRY

with special reference to

SIR WALTER RALEGH

by

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Submitted in partial fulfillment of the Requirements  
for the Degree of Master of Arts

Lakehead University  
Thunderbay

May, 1978

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M.A

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The painful warrior famoused for fight,  
After a thousand victories once foiled,  
Is from the book of honour razed quite,  
And all the rest forgot for which he toiled.

( Shakespeare, Sonnet XXV)



## P R E F A C E

This thesis was originally conceived while writing a term paper on Sir Walter Raleigh during my studies at Lakehead University for the Master's degree. Earlier, my readings in the sixteenth-century English poetry had led me to believe that the theme of Mutability was a great obsession with Elizabethan writers and thinkers and as I read more of Raleigh I felt that he was no exception. In fact, further studies suggested that Raleigh was the most representative and active protagonist in dealing with problem of Time/Mutability in the Elizabethan period. These thoughts took the shape of an M.A. thesis in discussions first with Dr. R.M. Brown and subsequently with Dr. F.M. Ishak who very kindly consented to guide the venture.

The "Introduction" sets out the range and scope of this dissertation and the notes to each chapter appear after the text. A selected bibliography is given at the end and it lists only those works which have been cited in this study. The only "Illustration" (Frontispiece of Raleigh's History) has been gratefully taken from

C.A. Patrides' edition of Raleigh's History of the World. The epigraph on page ii is from Shakespeare (sonnet twenty-five) and it is said that Shakespeare had Raleigh in mind when he wrote these lines.

No amount of thanks will be sufficient for the Christian charity shown by Dr. F.M. Ishak in spending a major part of his summer vacations over my writings. Without the benefit of his critical advice and monumental patience it is hardly conceivable that this work would have been possible. I should also like to express my gratitude to Dr. G.J. Merrill and Dr. R.M. Brown for the assistance and encouragement I received from them.

Thanks are also due to the departmental staff of the English Department and to the Library Staff of the Lakehead University for their unfailing readiness to help whenever approached by me.

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## INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this study is to trace Sir Walter Raleigh's concern about Time/Mutability in his literary writings and particularly in his extant verse. Time permeates all human experience. It has always been a source of wonder and puzzlement to all thinking men since time immemorial. Philosophers from Aristotle to Bertrand Russell have debated over its nature and ~~the~~ scientists have tried to analyse its reality or unreality. This study is not concerned with the philosophical or scientific analyses of Time. It is concerned with the human experience of Time as reflected in literature.

But this human experience of and response to Time is also very complex and thus Time has a variety of aspects ~~to~~ <sup>to</sup> of laymen as well as literary writers. Frederick Turner in his valuable study Shakespeare and the Nature of Time enumerates nine aspects. This study is concerned with only one, i.e., Time as an agent or Time as a creator or destroyer. This aspect of Time has been commonly known as Mutability in literature — particularly in Renaissance Literature. An attempt has been made to distinguish this aspect of Time from other aspects and <sup>to</sup> define it.

It will be shown that this aspect of Time is closely connected with the age-old concepts of eternity and temporality or immortality and mortality. This study, therefore, starts with ~~the~~ ancient times and briefly draws attention to the concern of some of the important Greek and Roman philosophers about Mutability and then goes on to show how medieval Christian theologians tried to synthesise the ideas of the Greek and Roman philosophers with their own ideas regarding Providence and human destiny. It is not to be claimed here that a detailed study of this subject has been made. It ~~was~~<sup>is</sup> not necessary either for the purpose of this study to go into details and no originality is claimed. Only an attempt has been made to trace the concern of thinking men about Time/Mutability from ancient times to the Medieval ~~A~~ge and then down to the Renaissance period showing the inter-connection and inter-dependence of ideas.

It will, further, be shown that the Renaissance men became more acutely conscious of the problem of Mutability and for the first time in human history tried to devise active solutions to the ravages of Time. This study is much indebted to Ricardo J. Quinones who in his admirable work The Renaissance Discovery of Time (1972) has made an intensive study of Renaissance response to Time. Again, this study does not take into account the continental

Renaissance writers about Time/Mutability but concentrates on the English writers and particularly the English poets. Further, the attention is confined only to the contemporaries of Sir Walter Raleigh because the aim of this treatise is to study Raleigh's pre-occupation with Time/Mutability in his verse in the context of the contemporary poetic writings on the same theme. Although The Mirror for Magistrates (1559) was, perhaps, the first work in English poetry which was completely devoted to the theme of Time, Mutability and Fortune, it was towards the last decade of the sixteenth century that the Elizabethan poets became more acutely conscious of the problem of Time and Mutability. Sir Philip Sydney is, therefore, excluded from this study as he died in 1586 and belongs to an earlier generation. Another significant omission is John Donne as the study of his poems would have much enlarged the scope of this essay which was not considered desirable. For the same reason no reference has been made to Marlowe's poems.

Illustrations from Spenser, Shakespeare and other minor poets have been given to show their concern with Time. Again, no detailed study or analysis of this is provided because the purpose of these illustrations is only to provide a background to Raleigh's view of Time/Mutability in his verse. But it was necessary to provide this setting

in order to compare and contrast Raleigh's views with <sup>those</sup> ~~that~~ of his contemporaries and, thus, to arrive at a reasonable estimate of Raleigh's position.

The study of Raleigh's verse has been done with a single object in view, viz., to trace his concern about Time/~~x~~Mutability and to have a reasonable assessment of his responses. It was felt necessary to take recourse to the study of his prose-writings--mainly his <sup>the</sup> History of the World (1614) in order to ascertain his views of Time, Fortune and Providence. A detailed study of his History in all aspects is not being claimed, but the passages referring to the above-mentioned topics have been analysed and studied in detail. It is also necessary to refer to The History of the World because critics like C.A. Patrides, Christopher Hill <sup>and</sup> F. Smith-Fussner have observed that the purpose of the History is to show God's Providence at the centre of all things in the world.

This study while agreeing with the views of the above writers also emphasizes Raleigh's view of human role in the context of Time, Fortune and Providence as seen in The History of the World and his verse. It is further shown that this view is not completely pessimistic as some critics claim. Critics like S.J. Greenblatt <sup>and</sup> Philip Edwards have generally emphasized Raleigh's pessimism and



despair in his response to Time, although they have also hinted at Raleigh's heroic will and his Renaissance spirit in different contexts. This problem will be discussed in depth. Noticeable is the fact that Raleigh's personal poems show intensity and a vehement and bitter tone whereas, in his non-personal poems, he also displays a quiet ~~attitude~~ and a neutral though harsh tone in dealing with the blows of Time and Fortune. It is, <sup>e</sup> further, suggested that Raleigh was not without solutions to the problem of Mutability. What his solutions are and in what way they are similar to and different from his contemporaries, have also been noted. Finally, an attempt has been made to show that Raleigh was neither an optimist nor a pessimist but a realist in his responses to and solutions of the intricate problems of Time and Mutability. This response was not only realistic but also a very complex one. At one time, Raleigh goes to the extreme and sees no hope; at another, he affirms the constancy and immutability of certain things like human values and God's Providence. An effort has been made to analyse this complex and seemingly contradictory response and the reasons that led to it.

As there is much controversy regarding Raleigh's authorship of some poems, only those poems which have been authenticated by Miss A.M.C. Latham, have been selected

for discussion. All references to Raleigh's verse are, therefore, from her invaluable edition of Raleigh's poems. The extracts from Raleigh's History of the World refer to C.A. Patrides' edition (1971) of the History which is not only the latest but is also very well edited and it provides <sup>much of</sup> ~~all~~ the valuable material for this study. For < Raleigh's biographical details, several biographies have been consulted, but for the authenticity of the facts of his life Philip Edwards' Sir Walter Raleigh (1953), A.M.C. Latham's Sir Walter Raleigh (1964), and Robert Lacey's Sir Walter Raleigh (1973) have been chiefly relied upon.

## I

### TIME AND MUTABILITY : THE RENAISSANCE VIEW

Time has been a perennial source of interest and perplexity to man. Augustine's famous lament, "What then, is time? If no one asks me, I know: if I wish to explain it to one that asketh, I know not,"<sup>1</sup> sums up man's knowledge of and bewilderment at Time's operations in this world. The brilliant analyses of Time by modern philosophers and scientists like McTaggart, Bergson, Whitehead, and Russell have not much helped in solving the mystery of Time.<sup>2</sup> Time is still a puzzle, a paradox. We can conceive of time in a dynamic or tensed way, as indicating flux, change or transiency and we can also think of time having a static structure or spatial dimension in which all things happen and pass away. There are various scientific and philosophic theories of time, e.g., Einstein's theory of Relativity of Time and Space, Bergson's theory of the

Snowball of Time or Heidegger's theory of Time as a temporal field and so on. But these theories are of little use to a layman who has his own notion and idea of time.<sup>3</sup>

Fortunately, we are not concerned with the highly technical, scientific or philosophical theories of time in this study. Our main concern here, is with the popular notion of time as expressed in literature. Of course, this notion is also a very complex one and not without its puzzlements. This is evident by the multifarious turns of speech by which we describe time. Besides such idiomatic expressions as "in the nick of time," "the time of one's life," "hell of a time," "have a good time," "the time is ripe," and several others, we also have the notion of time as something dynamic or passing away. We say, time flies or marches; years roll and hours pass or time flows by like a river. We also talk of time as a process through which we can determine the relations between the happening of one event and that of another. This notion of time involves the conceptions of past, present and future. Further, we think of time as a sequence, like a moving picture film which is constantly winding itself before us, and finally another very popular notion of time is that of time as an agent which makes things grow and ripen or which destroys everything.

Such are the popular notions of time with which we are concerned here and which usually find place in literature. These notions, however, show that even in popular imagination and thinking Time has several aspects<sup>4</sup>. The most obvious aspect is, of course, the clock-time or, on a wider level, natural time which is denoted by the cycle of seasons and the movement of the planets. But Time has also an objective as well as a subjective aspect for us. It is objectively conceived when we think of it as a space or a road along which events take place. It is subjectively thought of when a personal experience is involved, e.g., to a lover waiting for his beloved, time may be creeping very slowly, but to a man waiting for execution it may be flying very fast. But the most important aspect of time, from our point of view here, is Time as an agent or as the medium of cause and effect as we commonly know and call it.

The present study is, therefore, concerned with this aspect of Time in Sir Walter Raleigh's literary writings. This aspect of Time, however, is not a simple one as we will presently see. It involves various other concepts. For instance, Time as a medium of cause and effect also carries along with it the concept of fate and fortune because if we believe that Time causes everything in this world, the concepts of Determinism, Freewill, and Fate also <sup>appear</sup> ~~crop~~ up.

Therefore, sometimes the term "time" is used by poets and thinkers in the context of fate and fortune. Again Time as the creator or destroyer brings in the idea of mortality and immortality, temporality and eternity, or mutability and immutability. Mutability is the word most commonly used by the Elizabethan writers and for them it stood for all the aspects of Time noted above.<sup>5</sup> Mutability means disposition or liability to change, or variableness or inconstancy and incidentally it also covers the idea of decay, death and mortality. In another context the term "mutability" also applies to fickleness of fortune and ravages of Time. What is mutable and what is not mutable, determinism or freewill, fortune or Providence, have always been subjects of debate and concern to all thinking men in all ages. But it appears that Elizabethan writers and thinkers were almost obsessed with these ideas and significantly, the theme of Time and Mutability is a very common one in the literature of this period. Time the Revealer and Time the Destroyer are found in The Mirror for Magistrates (1559). Spenser wrote the "Ruines of Time" and appears to have planned a whole book of The Faerie Queene around the problem of mutability. Time is probably Shakespeare's single most pervasive subject in his sonnets. The nature and meaning of Time was a matter of fascination to Donne

in his love poems and Anniversaries<sup>7</sup>. Almost all the minor poets of this period express their concern about mutability.

This concern for Time and Mutability was not confined to the late Elizabethan period alone. It was a part of the continental Renaissance thinking. The Renaissance continental writers like Dante, Petrarch, Rabelais, and Montaigne show their great awareness of the problems of Time and Mutability and suggest their individual solutions<sup>8</sup>. Another French scholar, Louis LeRoy wrote in 1577 a scholarly treatise on Mutability which was translated into English by Robert Ashley in 1594 and which aroused great controversy at that time.<sup>9</sup> Father Time with a scythe was a very popular symbol for the Renaissance men. They felt that man had to contend with this mighty foe. Time was personified and addressed and challenged in many ways. As Frederick Turner says, "the objective impersonal<sup>a</sup> forces of Time become humanized and subjectivized in the Renaissance."<sup>10</sup>

This complex literary response to Time in the Renaissance owes its origin to the medieval theologians' ideas about Time and Eternity and the problem of mortality and immortality and freewill and determinism. In fact, it even goes back to the ancient times because the medieval theologians were only trying to synthesise the ideas of the ancient Greek and Roman philosophers like Plato,

Aristotle, Plotinus, Antoninus and others.<sup>11</sup> It is not our intention here to offer a detailed discussion of the Greek and Roman philosophers' view of Time or the medieval thinkers' idea of eternity and temporality. But it would be certainly useful to have a brief look at their view<sup>5</sup> of <sup>T</sup>Time and Eternity in order to appreciate the legacy of ideas about Time which the early Renaissance thinkers inherited and further passed on to the late Elizabethan poets and writers.

Plato (427 - 347 B.C.), who is rightly called the first of the great idealistic philosophers of the Western world, makes the following distinction between Time and Eternity when he observes:

Now the nature of the ideal being was everlasting, but to bestow this attribute in its fullness upon a creature was impossible. Wherefore he resolved to have a moving image of eternity and when he set in order the heaven, he made this image eternal but moving according to number, while eternity itself rests in unity; and this image we call time.<sup>12</sup>

Thus to Plato time is the moving image of eternity and, whereas eternity has an incorruptible pattern, its



image is corruptible or changeable. This explains why the world of becoming is subject to change or flux.

While Plato tried to explain the origin of time or change in the world, Aristotle (384-322 B.C.) grappled with the definition and nature of time. He discusses time and motion in his work "Physics" and connects in a general way the idea of motion with time. We are not concerned here with his philosophical analysis, although Richard M. Gale assures us that it is "the first serious attempt to analyze the concept of time."<sup>13</sup> What is of interest to us is his recognition of the destructive nature of time in the following lines:

All things grow old through time, and there is oblivion owing to the lapse of time, but we do not say the same of getting to know or of becoming young or fair. For time is by its nature the cause rather of decay, since it is the number of change, and change removes what is.<sup>14</sup>

Time is, therefore, a "number" of change and change always removes what exists and in this, time is the cause of decay or removal according to Aristotle. Plotinus (A.D. 205?-270), however, objected to this analysis of

time by Aristotle. According to him time is not number but is what is numbered. He follows Plato in accepting time and eternity as two separate concepts and he further goes on to say that "time is the life of the soul in movement as it passes from one stage of act or experience to another."<sup>15</sup> Thus time to Plotinus is a subjective phenomenon and it "is not to be conceived as outside of soul."<sup>16</sup> But his notion of soul's passing from one stage to another involves time and in this way indirectly he does suggest that time is involved in the process of change.

Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (A.D.121-180),<sup>7</sup> The Roman philosopher, however, stresses the ethical aspect of time. In his "Meditations" time is something which human beings have to reckon with and which requires moral adjustments:

That is the whole matter: see always how ephemeral and cheap are the things of man -- yesterday, a spot of albumen, tomorrow, ashes or a mummy. Therefore, make your passage through this span of time in obedience to Nature and gladly lay down your life, as an olive, when ripe, might fall, blessing her who bore it and grateful to the tree which gave it life.<sup>17</sup>

Here was perhaps the beginning of Christian theologians' moral concern with time. Life is short and is only a sojourn; time "fleeteth" quickly; therefore one must make use of time in the cause of "holiness and justice" — this is the essence of Antoninus' teachings.

St. Augustine of Hippo (A.D. 345-430) applies the Platonic division between time and eternity to the city of man and the city of God. Whereas the world of man exists in time, the world of God exists in eternity. In eternity there is no past or future. It is always present; but time cannot be present all at once. St. Augustine says:

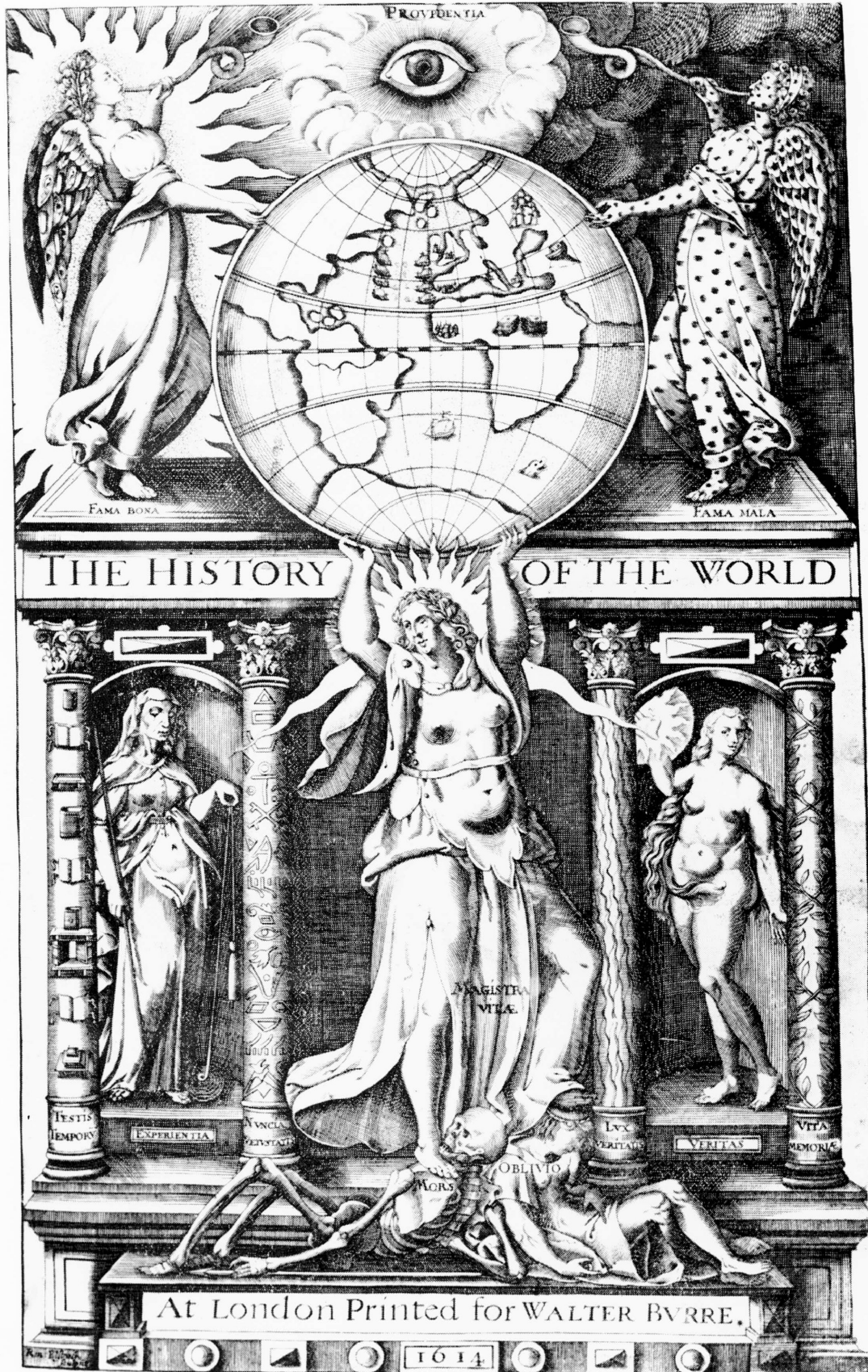
All time which is past is driven away by that time which is to come; and that all time which is to come follows upon that which is past; and that all which is both past and future is created, and doth flow out from that which is always present. Who shall hold fast the heart of a man that it may stand and see how that eternity which ever standeth still, doth dictate the times both past and future, whilst yet itself is neither past nor future?<sup>18</sup>

From this distinction between time and eternity, it was only a natural corollary to think in terms of a "secular" or "temporal" world on the one hand and the "eternal" or "spiritual" one on the other. The secular or temporal world was subject to time, whereas the eternal or spiritual transcended time. It was furthur<sup>t</sup> easy and logical for medieval thinkers to think that all decay or change in the secular world was because of the interplay of time, but the eternal or the spiritual was not a victim of any corruption because it was above time. The problem still remained whether this change was in anyway predetermined or something that could be done with and Boethius (A.D. 480?-524?) brought about the idea of fate and providence. As Frederick Turner says:

It is this model of the philosophical universe, divided into the 'secular' or 'temporal' on one hand, and the eternal and spiritual on the other, which formed the centre of medieval theology. After Augustine it remained only for Boethius to discuss and define the forces which mediate between the two worlds -- Fate and Providence; and to refine the stoic ethic of co-operation with one's appointed destiny into Christian collaboration with Providence.<sup>19</sup>

Thus, Augustine and Boethius provided the philosophical and theological bases of the medieval attitude to time. In his commentaries on the Psalms, Augustine displays "his awe at the notion of eternity, his terrible sense of human transience, and his thrill at the possibilities of spiritual renewal."<sup>20</sup> The entire medieval attitude towards time and its ravages can almost be summed up like this : change and death are the painful facts of human life. Not only human life but the entire temporal world is subject to time. Only the spiritual life is eternal. Man, therefore, should think of his brief span of life as a pilgrimage and this world as a highway. Just as a pilgrim is not detracted by the things that surround him but constantly has his attention directed towards the terminus, in the same way, man must have an attitude of alienation towards worldly affairs and think of spiritual life as the only thing that matters and abides.

Again, a cosmic setting was provided by the medieval theologians to this transience of and alienation from temporal life. Boethius and Theuseus both think of God's providence working in all mundane matters. Fortune is fickle and undependable, but God's providence is all-encompassing and is available to all. Providence is "a Prime Mover ordering all things to their better end."<sup>21</sup>



The title page of *The History of the World* (1614) engraved by Renold Elstracke from a design by Raleigh (see page 93)

*Reproduced by permission of the Trustees of the British Museum*

If man has the attitude of alienation towards the temporal world, retains faith in Providence and concentrates on what continues and what abides, he can still survive, although his survival can only be apprehended on the spiritual plane.

This vision of man's existence does not involve any heroic efforts on the part of man to challenge or overcome mutability or transience. Rather, it presupposes that mutability is the nature of temporal existence and has to be accepted as such with patience, and as stated above, with an attitude of alienation towards this world, and faith in Providence.

The thinking men of the Renaissance inherited all these traditional concepts of temporal life, and time's role in it but with certain subtle modifications in their conception of time and in their response to its destructive aspect. On the one hand, time is <sup>seen</sup> ~~see~~ as "a precious commodity through the effective use of which man can elevate his life and preserve his identity;"<sup>22</sup> on the other, time is seen as a menacing and destructive agent which can be countered by a militant heroic response. As Quinones notes :

Associated now with saturn, time takes on a more menacing and destructive aspect.

And on man's part the attitude becomes one of militancy, of the need to make response. New ideals emerge to form the arsenal of human possibility. Children, fame, fidelity in love, all those areas that lend continuance to human life are endorsed as hopeful responses to devouring time.<sup>23</sup>

But as far as the general conception of time is concerned, the Renaissance thinkers still had the same notions as their predecessors. Time was still a religious rather than a scientific idea. They believed, like their predecessors, that there were only three important landmarks in world history: the creation, the coming of Christ, and the end of the world along with the day of judgment. In the same way, for them, the history of man on earth was divided into three equal periods: the 2000 years from the creation to Moses, the 2000 years of the Mosaic Law up to the birth of the Christ, and the 2000 years of Christian dispensation.<sup>24</sup>

This was a very limited conception of a very short period of time as compared to our modern vast, though vague conception of millions and billions of years of the past as well as the future. But the Renaissance people



seriously believed in this division of world history. Consequently some of them also believed that theirs was the "setting part of time" as Sir Thomas Browne chose to call it. As Douglas Bush observes:

With this religious belief in a limited future could be associated the more scientific belief that all the energies of nature, in and outside man, were flagging, sinking towards the ultimate dissolution.<sup>25</sup>

The deterioration and the ultimate dissolution of the world was a theme in which many Renaissance people believed seriously.<sup>26</sup> The ancient times were the Golden Age. In religious terms, the corruption that had set in was due to the Fall and the sin of man, but they also tried to explain it in scientific terms. For instance, Spenser employs a scientific argument, i.e., the altered position of the sun since Ptolemy's time, to explain the idea of decline from the Golden Age in the Proem to Book V of the Faerie Queene.

But there were other Renaissance thinkers like Montaigne and Bacon who did not believe in the degeneration of the world since ancient times. They were optimistic about man's future and believed in progress. As Harry Levin points out that during the sixteenth century a debate

was going on about the degeneration or progress of the world. The conflicting opinions on this debate are summed up in two important volumes -- one written by Godfrey Goodman and the other by George Hakewell. Goodman in his work The Fall of Man or The Corruption of Nature refers to the moral corruption as well as the biological degeneration in the world, but Hakewell defends the moderns and condemns the pessimistic view in his reply An Apologie of the Power and Providence of God in the Government of the World.<sup>27</sup>

Although the Renaissance mind was divided on the issue of degeneration or progress, it was unanimous on two things about Time. First, it was believed that the chief characteristic of Time was mutability; that every thing was subject to decay in time and nothing was permanent in this transient world. Secondly, it was man's duty to accept the challenge of Time and overcome it. The heroic ideals of the Renaissance thinkers made it difficult for them to accept mutability without a murmur and without a heroic response. As stated earlier, the medieval response to Time was that of acceptance, acceptance with resignation. The only solution could be faith in Providence. It was useless to strive against the Providential plan. That is why, to them, man's life was the life of a pilgrim.

But this was no solution at all to the Renaissance thinkers. The Renaissance idealists and humanists had a strong faith in man's capabilities and his heroic virtues. They believed in human knowledge and human power and they also felt that progress and improvement are possible by the use of human reason. Man was given free-will by God and he was capable of heroic action. He could make or mar his destiny.<sup>28</sup> This does not imply that the Renaissance thinkers had no faith in Providence. Actually they had such a faith, but at the same time they gave a role to man to perform, a heroic role. Many continental humanists and Elizabethan theorists believed in the vigorous and virtuous action on the part of man. This is set side by side with their firm belief that man had the capability to mould his destiny. They admired Prometheus, Ulysses or Hercules as men of action. As Douglas Bush observes, "The Renaissance hero was not merely of lofty station; his moral stature, his personality, was commonly enlarged to something like superhuman dimensions."<sup>29</sup>

Because of such a conception of man's abilities and his role in the world, the Renaissance thinkers could not accept the idea of passive resignation to the ravages of time. Rather, they believed that man could, by his choice and by effective use of time, sublimate himself.

As Quinones says:

In the Renaissance, when time comes to be a precious, individual commodity through the effective use of which man can elevate his life and preserve his identity, then energies and possibilities are aroused that force abandonment of the older, contained universe and simple acquiescence.<sup>30</sup>

The Renaissance response to time, therefore, was an active response. The men of the Renaissance suggested that time must be properly utilised and not a moment was to be wasted. The human life was still brief to them as it was to the medieval thinkers, but this fact gave them further incentive to make the best use of this brief period allotted to man. Not only this, the Renaissance thinkers further continued their search for some constants in this inconstant world. Progeny and Fame were suggested by some of them as alternatives to Mutability. They believed that children and fame were the tools with which Time could be subdued. As Quinones observes, "In the Renaissance ~~was~~ war against time even a biological factor like procreation could become a conscious ideal, energetically espoused."<sup>31</sup> This is not to say that immortality through progeny was a

Renaissance discovery. As early as 400 B.C. Plato had said the same thing in his Laws:

Children represent man's share in immortality. A man shall marry between the ages of thirty and thirty-five, considering that the human race naturally partakes of immortality, of which all men have the greatest desire implanted in them; for the desire of every man that he may become famous and not lie in the grave without a name, is only the love of continuance. Now, mankind are coeval with all time, and are even following, and will ever follow, the course of time; and so they are immortal, inasmuch as they leave children behind them, and <sup>a</sup>partake of immortality in the unity of generation.<sup>32</sup>

But the Renaissance mind heroically responded to mortality by emphasizing the value of and affirming the significance of man's dignity through the tools of progeny and family. That is why so much emphasis was laid on the proper education of children in the Renaissance period so that they may honourably fulfil their functions as adults.

Like progeny, the value of and desire for fame was another "distinctive part of the Renaissance mentality."<sup>33</sup> This can also be traced back to the Roman era of conquest and universal empire and is similar to the medieval conception of honour and glory. But the significance of fame in the Renaissance mind lies in the fact that fame could be a bulwark against the onslaughts of time and its agent, mutability. Here was something which time could not lay his hands on. This desire for fame was also compatible with heroic action and energetic activity in which Renaissance men so ardently believed. Thus Dante is aroused by Virgil in canto XXIV of Divine Comedy:

"Now must thou cast off all sloth, "said  
the Master, "for sitting on down or under  
blankets none comes to fame, and without  
it he that consumes his life leaves such  
trace of himself on earth as smoke in air  
or foam on the water."<sup>34</sup>

To Renaissance minds, fame not only consisted in heroic actions and achievement of ambitious projects but also in creation of great works of art. Triumph of great poetry over time is a recurrent theme in Renaissance thinking. The custom of the laureation and the belief

that poetry and art can confer fame and glory made their reappearance. Petrarch in his "Coronation Oration" reproduced the Latin sentences on time and reaffirmed Roman boasts of the triumph of art over time. In this revival of faith in the triumph of art over time Petrarch's role is quite important and he is perhaps of greater historical importance than Dante as Renaissance writers and thinkers, in following Petrarch, reaffirmed their faith in the glory of art. As Ricardo J. Quinones aptly observes:

From Petrarch, fanning throughout Europe to the belated renaissances of other nations, this faith in the permanence of great poetry and the underlying glory it confers will spread. Immortality through verse for poet and subject — this was the generating force and "apologia" that filled the "springtides" of Renaissance poetry, the "Pleiade" in France and the young writers of Elizabethan England. In all three periods we find young poets moved by the same spark, and, moreover, defending their art by its power to transcend time.<sup>35</sup>

Thus, we have seen, that the Renaissance response to time was more heroic and asserting than the medieval

response to it. If the earlier world tried to solve the problem of mortality or transience through a passive acceptance, a nonchalant attitude towards the phenomenon of mutability, the Renaissance mind daringly sought to contend with it by reviving and attaching new significance to the age-old concepts of progeny and fame. Moreover, as Time had a fleeting nature and life was short, the Renaissance men advocated a greater sense of urgency, a proper scheduling and utilisation of short time that was available to man. The invention of mechanical clocks was a very important event from this point of view. Now man could keep an account of each minute. With the invention of the mechanical clock, the tempo of life also became faster. To the Renaissance men, to sleep and feed oneself only was to be like a beast; therefore, all men are exhorted to use actively and energetically the short spell of time which is called Man's life. To them, as already noted, Ulysses, the never-tiring man, is the hero, the ideal spokesman of the Renaissance spirit. Similarly, as Erasmus points out, Prometheus is a figure to be imitated or admired.<sup>36</sup>

But inspite of these heroic efforts to conquer time and to reaffirm man's dignity "there were concrete evidences of the workings of time and mutability that no one could miss."<sup>37</sup> People had seen the wheel of fortune



elevating the lowliest and destroying the mightiest. Courtly intrigues, violence and tyranny did not spare any, however great he might be. The fall of mighty empires in the past, the decay of majestic edifices and even the great works of art falling into oblivion were too evident to be ignored. Thus a sense of tragedy also emerged as an important feature of Renaissance thinking. A sense of futility, a feeling of awe at the working of "Time's fell hand" and a sense of uncertainty<sup>in</sup> also became part and parcel of the complex Renaissance mind. Whether optimistic or pessimistic, one thing is certain that Renaissance thinkers contemplated time with high tension and intensity. Some pessimistically affirmed that all the energies of nature, in and outside man, were flagging, sinking towards the ultimate dissolution. The belief in the Golden Age, the wheel of fortune and "tickle, trustless" state of man seemed to obsess many. The term, "mutability" itself was a very commonly used word for fickleness of fortune, ravaging time, decay, death or mortality by Renaissance writers.

So far, we have tried to understand the Renaissance response to time and how it differed from the medieval response which was perhaps not a response at all but a passive acceptance of what time offered and did. We have

also seen that although Renaissance response was heroic and energetic in nature, a tragic doubt also formed a part of this response. It remains to be seen now how this response or these responses are reflected in the late sixteenth - century English poetry and particularly in Sir Walter Raleigh's poems.

Notes to Chapter I

<sup>1</sup>St. Augustine, Confessions, trans. E.B. Pusey (Chicago : Henry Regnery Co., 1948), Book XI, Section X, p.230.

<sup>2</sup>Richard M. Gale, ed. The Philosophy of Time (New York : Anchor Books, 1967), pp.1-8.

<sup>3</sup>Hans Meyerhoff, Time in Literature (Berkeley and Los Angeles : University of California Press, 1968), pp. 26-35.

<sup>4</sup>Frederick Turner, Shakespeare and the Nature of Time (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1971), pp.3-6.

<sup>5</sup>Hallett Smith, Elizabethan Poetry (Cambridge [Massa.] Harvard University Press, 1966), p.206.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p.102.

<sup>7</sup>G.F. Waller, "John Donne's changing attitudes to Time", in Studies in English Literature, Vol.XIV, 1974, pp.79-89.

<sup>8</sup>Ricardo J. Quinones, The Renaissance Discovery of Time (Cambridge [Massa.] : Harvard University Press, 1972), pp. 1-27.

<sup>9</sup>Katherine Koller, "Two Elizabethan Expressions of the Idea of Mutability", in Studies in Philology, Vol. 35, 1938, p.229. See also Chapter II for detailed discussion of Miss Koller's arguments.

<sup>10</sup>Frederick Turner, Shakespeare and the Nature of Time, p.183.

<sup>11</sup>Herschel Baker, The Race of Time (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1967), pp.59-50.

<sup>12</sup>Plato, <sup>e</sup>Timaeus, trans. B. Jowett (New York : Liberal Arts Press, 1949), p.37.

<sup>13</sup>Richard M. Gale, ed. The Philosophy of Time (New York : Anchor Books, 1967), p.1.

<sup>14</sup>Aristotle, "Physics", Works, Vol. II, trans. R.P. Hardie and R.K. Gaye, ed. J.A. Smiths and W.D. Ross (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1930), p.221.

<sup>15</sup>Plotinus, Enneads, trans. S. Mackenna and B.S. Page (Chicago : Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1955), III 7, 11.p.126.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Marcus Aurelius, Antoninus, The Meditations, ed. and trans. A.S.L. Farquharson (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1944), Vol.I, p.71.

<sup>18</sup>St. Augustine, The Confessions, trans. Tobie Mathew, rev. D.R. Hudleston (London : Orchard Books, 1954), p.334.

<sup>19</sup>F. Turner, Shakespeare and the Nature of Time (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1971), p.180.

<sup>20</sup>Ricardo J. Quinones, The Renaissance Discovery of Time (Cambridge[Mass.] : Harvard University Press, 1972), p.14.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p.15.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p.16.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., pp.15-16.

<sup>24</sup>Douglas Bush, Prefaces to Renaissance Literature (Cambridge [Massa.] : Harvard University Press, 1966), pp.65-90.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid., p.70.

<sup>26</sup>See A.L. Williams, "A Note on Pessimism in the Renaissance", in Studies in Philology, XXXVI (1939), pp.243-46.

<sup>27</sup>Harry Levin, The Myth of the Golden Age in the Renaissance (Bloomington : Indiana University Press, 1969), pp. 148-49.

<sup>28</sup>Maurice Evans, English Poetry in the Sixteenth Century (London : Hutchinson University Library, 1967), pp.12-14.

<sup>29</sup>D. Bush, Prefaces to Renaissance Literature, p.95.

<sup>30</sup>Quinones, Renaissance, p. 16.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid, p.17.

<sup>32</sup>Quoted by Quinones, in his Renaissance Discovery of Time, p. 17.

<sup>33</sup>Quinones, Renaissance, p. 24.

<sup>34</sup>Dante Alighieri, Divine Comedy (New York : Random, 1950) p.129.

<sup>35</sup>Quinones, Renaissance, pp. 23-24.

<sup>36</sup>G.K. Hunters, "Humanism and Courtship" in Elizabethan Poetry : Modern Essays in Criticism, ed. Paul J. Elpers (London : Oxford University Press, 1967), p.8.

<sup>37</sup>D. Bush, Prefaces, p.68.

## II

### ELIZABETHANS AND MUTABILITY

The sixteenth-century English writers, poets and thinkers, inherited the Renaissance optimism as well as its pessimism in regard to time. They also had their share in the controversy regarding mutability -- whether it denoted progress or degeneration. Noticeable, above all, is that this response to time and mutability has gathered momentum and has become more acute in the late sixteenth-century and the early seventeenth-century writings. The optimistic note, that time can be triumphed over through progeny, fame and true love and lofty poetry can be heard in the sonnets of Shakespeare, Spenser's "Epithalamion" and later on in Donne's Love poems. But it seems that the pessimistic note was louder and more striking and affecting a larger number of poets and writers. A melancholy awareness of the destructive power of time and the transitory character of everything in this world

not only colours the poetry of Raleigh, Drayton, Dyer, Bolton, Greville, Daniel and even Spenser and Shakespeare but also constantly appears in sermons, tracts and works on natural sciences during this period. Katherine Keller brings out this point clearly in her article "Two Elizabethan Expressions of the idea of Mutability."<sup>1</sup> According to her mutability did not mean progress to the Elizabethan mind; it only meant decay and degeneration. She makes her point by directing our attention to the translation of the work of a French Scholar, Louis LeRoy by Robert Ashley in 1594 entitled Of the Interchangeable Course or Variety of things in the whole World. LeRoy had written the original in 1577 and it was very popular with the Renaissance optimistic thinkers. LeRoy in this book after surveying "the affairs of men, the changing universe, and the rise and fall of nations comes to the conclusion that all things work to the final glory of God; that nature is a permanent force and that the present age may look with pride on its advance over the ancients."<sup>2</sup>

Thus for LeRoy the mutability or the vicissitudes of life indicated progress and he voiced with optimism his faith in his own age. But Miss Koller points to another publication six years after Ashley's translation of LeRoy entitled "Vicissitudo Rerum, an Elegiacall Poeme of the

interchangeable courses and variety of things in this world," a poem by John Norden, an Oxford scholar. This poem was based entirely on Ashley's LeRoy and borrowed heavily from LeRoy's ideas but significantly it ends on a highly pessimistic note. The climax in the poem, however, shows only the "pitiabile state of man, the victim of chance, change and corruption."<sup>3</sup>

Miss Koller raises the question here why Norden after basing his poem on LeRoy should change the end and finish on a pessimistic note. LeRoy had seen the change as progress towards a better world according to the Divine plan. He had acknowledged the role of Mutability in nature and life but concluded on an optimistic note. Norden, on the other hand, in his poem while relying heavily on LeRoy's ideas on Mutability, concludes on a pessimistic note. According to Miss Koller, either the idea of progress through mutability was unacceptable to Norden or he felt that this idea would not be popular with his contemporaries. In Miss Koller's opinion, the latter reason is more true. She believes that John Norden accepted the facts and evidences about Mutability as given in LeRoy's treatise translated by Robert Ashley, but rejected his triumphant declaration of the idea of progress through change because he (Norden) wanted to give his public what they wanted. In



the words of Miss Koller:

John Norden ... accepting the evidence and failing to accept the conclusion, presents to his public what they all believed, and joins the great crowd who saw only the "whirling wheels of change, the which all mortall things doth sway," and who felt "how mutability in them doth play Her cruell sport to many mens decay."<sup>4</sup>

One might pause here and say that Miss Koller's conclusion that LeRoy's message of progress through mutability met little response in the Elizabethan mind and that John Norden's melancholy was the accepted one, is too sweeping a statement based on a minor piece of evidence. But unfortunately there are other pointers in the same direction that the Elizabethans were more pessimistic in terms of mutability. Don Cameron Allen in his essay "The Degeneration of Man and Renaissance Pessimism" reaches the conclusion that "the hopeless ephemerality of life obsessed and oppressed more than one sensitive mind of the age of Elizabeth."<sup>5</sup> He points out that Sydney, Spenser and even Shakespeare, all suffer from "the same ague of mortality."<sup>6</sup> He further observes that even the

philosophical tracts of the times dealing with the dignity and fortunes of man are full of references to the pitiable nature of human life. Comparing the medieval and the Renaissance attitude towards man and his life, Allen says:

The man of the Middle ages contemplated the pangs of earth to enhance the pleasures and glories of Heaven; the man of the Renaissance, who was a doubter and to whom the classics had given new values of the world, considered the discomforts of this life to ask "Why?" or to seek an answer to "What shall man do?"<sup>7</sup>

This is, then, the major difference between medieval and Renaissance thinking. The Elizabethans were asking the same question and seeking an answer to the same problem "What shall man do?"

Douglas Bush is also of the opinion that the Elizabethan man was too obsessed with "the contemplation of time."<sup>8</sup> After discussing the religious and scientific ideas about time prevalent in the Elizabethan period, he observes that there were "concrete evidences of the workings of time and mutability"<sup>9</sup> too glaring to be missed by Elizabethan men. The Elizabethan age was an age of

intrigue, foreign wars and absolute Royal authority. The working of the wheel of fortune in the case of such prominent men as Essex and Raleigh could be easily seen by people. The Mirror for Magistrates (1559) had already shown how great men fall from high estate suddenly. The Wars of the Roses, absolute royal despotism and the religious persecution were the reminders of the hopeless and transitory character of human life. Conspiracies, treason and broken allegiance, the block or the stake were the common features of the day in sixteenth-century England. Thus Mutability or mortality troubled the Elizabethan mind.<sup>10</sup>

It is not necessary to repeat, as Douglas Bush says, that "all that lives must die/passing through nature to eternity."<sup>11</sup> People have known this fact always and in all ages, but the point here is that the Elizabethans knew it first hand and were, therefore, more conscious of this than other things. And if literature is the mirror in which all the fears, hopes, ambitions and aspirations of a society are reflected, the Elizabethan literature, particularly in the later part of the sixteenth century, is full of references to mutability in its various aspects.

As we are concerned with only the English poetry of the late sixteenth century, it will be quite in order

to give a few illustrations from some of the representative poets of that period. The range of this study does not allow any detailed discussion of their attitudes to time and mutability and for our purpose a few examples from Spenser, Shakespeare, Daniel and a few other poets will suffice to illustrate the point we are making.

Spenser who is the most representative poet of the period should be the subject of our first enquiry. One of his early works, translation of Du Bellay's "The Ruines of Rome," shows the power of the universal forces of time and change against Rome's grandeur. Spenser holds time responsible for the ruins of Rome:

Behold what wreake, what ruine, and what wast,  
And how that she, which with her mightie power  
Tam'd all the world, hath tam'd herself at last,  
The pray of time, which all things doth devoure.<sup>12</sup>

The poet feels sorry that the mighty Rome which had conquered the entire world should herself fall a prey to time. Further,<sup>13</sup> even the ruins will not be spared by "injurious time" as he says in the following lines:

And though your frames do for a time make warre  
Gainst time, yet time in time shall ruinate

Your workes and names, and your last reliques marre,  
 My sad desires, rest therefore moderate :  
 For if that time make ende of things so sure,  
 It also will end the paine, which I endure.<sup>14</sup>

The poet is sad because even the last relics of this great city will disappear in due course of time but has one consolation that as time spares nothing, it would also put an end to his sadness or "paine." He asserts this once again forcefully in these lines :

I say not, as the common voyce doth say,  
 That all things which beneath the Moone have being  
 Are temporall, and subject to decay :  
 But I say rather, though not all agreeing  
 With some, that weene the contrarie in thought;  
 That all this whole shall one day come to nought.<sup>15</sup>

It is not only the mundane things which are subject to decay but this entire universe or cosmos will also "come to nought" one day. Thus, according to Spenser, the city of Rome which was built out of wilderness, after achieving great heights of glory, is again returning to wilderness :

This Citie, which was first but shepherds shade,  
 Uprising by degrees, grewe to such height,

That Queene of land and sea herselfe she made.  
 At last not able to beare so great weight,  
 Her power disperst, through all the world did vade;  
 To shew that all in th'end to nought shall fade.<sup>16</sup>

The power of this mighty city declined to "shew" that nothing is durable and that "all things turne to their first being."<sup>17</sup>

Another poem "The Ruines of Time" written by Spenser also has the same theme -- the decay of earthly forms:

O vaine worlds glorie and unsteadfast state  
 Of all that lives on face of sinful earth.<sup>18</sup>

There is also a warning which one can miss only at one's peril:

And who so els that sits in highest seate  
 Of this worlds glorie, worshipped of all,  
 Ne feareth change of time, nor fortunes threate,  
 Let him behold the horror of my fall,  
 And his owne end unto remembrance call;  
 That of like ruine he may warned bee.<sup>19</sup>

In the prologue to the fifth book of that monumental work Faerie Queene, the poet compares the "state of present time" with the "Image of the antique world." The ancient times were noted for freshness and virtuous living but the

present times are marked only by degeneration and corruption. Spenser exclaims :

Such oddes I find twixt those, and these which are,  
As that, through long continuance of his course,  
Me seemes the world is runne quite out of square,  
From the first point of his appointed sourse,  
And being once amisse growes daily wourse and wourse.<sup>20</sup>

The world is becoming worse daily as it has deviated from its original course and the deviation is because of "long continuance" of its course. Thus, in a way, time is responsible for this deflection. The poet now finds that what was virtue in the "Golden Age" is now called vice and what was wrong then is now right :

For that which all men then did vertue call,  
Is now cald vice; and that which vice was hight,  
Is now hight vertue, and so us'd of all :  
Right now is wrong, and wrong that was is right,  
As all things else in time are chaunged quight.<sup>21</sup>

Everything changes in time and even moral truths do not remain unaffected. The "Golden Age" has become now a "stonie one" and the present corrupted world is moving towards its dissolution :

.....for the heauens revolution  
 Is wandred farre from where it first was pight,  
 And so doe make contrarie constitution  
 Of all this lower world, toward his dissolution.<sup>22</sup>

The Garden of Adonis in the third book of <sup>The</sup> Faerie  
Queene is an earthly paradise. Everything is perfect here  
 but again subject to time :

Great enemy to it, and to all the rest,  
 That in the Gardin of Adonis springs,  
 Is wicked time, who with his scyth adrest,  
 Does mow the flowring herbes and goodly things,  
 And all their glory to the ground downe flings,  
 Where they doe wither, and are fawly mard :  
 He flyes about, and with his flaggy wings  
 Beates downe both leaues and buds without regard,  
 Ne euer pittty may relent his malice hard.  
 (III. 6.39)

Not content with frequent references to time and mutability, Spenser planned to devote a whole book of his poem "Faerie Queene" to the phenomenon of mutability. Only two cantos are however extant but these are sufficient to illustrate that "all things under the sunne, are subject to casualtie, mutabilitie, and corruption,"<sup>23</sup> as Gabriel Harvey,



a prominent Cambridge don and contemporary of Spenser, observed.

In these cantos, Mutability, who is the daughter of the rebellious Titans, symbolises change, decay and even sin and death. She challenges Jove and claims her supremacy over the whole creation. According to the poet, she is "analogous" to the Fall. She has altered and perverted the laws of Nature. She is responsible for the degeneration and chaos of the world. She has destroyed man's earthly paradise.<sup>24</sup> The poet says :

For, she the face of earthly things so changed,  
 That all which Nature had established first  
 In good estate, and in meet order ranged,  
 She did pervert, and all their statutes burst :  
 And all the worlds faire frame (which none yet durst  
 Of Gods or men to alter or misguide)  
 She alter'd quite, and made them all accurst.  
 (F.Q. VII,6,5)

If the above lines show that Mutability is responsible for physical changes and disorder in Nature, the following lines hold her responsible for moral and spiritual degeneration :

e  
 Nø shee the lawes of Nature onely brake,  
 But eke of Justice, and of Policie;

And wrong of right, and bad of good did make,  
 And death for life exchanged fo<sup>o</sup>llishlie :  
 Since which, all li<sup>w</sup>ving wights have learn'd to die,  
 And all this world is woxen daily worse.  
 ( F.Q.VII.6.6)

These illustrations may create an impression that Spenser had no optimistic creed to offer as regards Mutability and he could only pathetically utter :

O pittious worke of M<sup>v</sup>utabilitie !  
 By which, we all are subject to that curse,  
 And death in stead of life have sucked from our Nurse.  
 (F.Q.VII.6.6)

But this impression would be far from the truth and we shall be doing an injustice to Spenser and his heroic conception of life if we were to conclude on such a sombre note. With his faith in the potentiality of human accomplishments, particularly in the works of art, in the ideal of cultural continuity, in progeny and fame (the two ways, in which man can resist Time and ensure continuity), Spenser can not be declared as a lost soul to "Mutabilitie."<sup>25</sup> Time is a threatening force but man, who has the divine element in him, has the freedom to withstand its hostility, if not completely, at least in some measure. Spenser believed that man must strive for such stability as may be won by

the strength of his virtues. In "The Ruines of Time" he says :

But fame with golden wings aloft doth flie,  
 Above the reach of ruinous decay,  
 And with brave plumes doth beate the azure skie,  
 Admir'd of base-borne men from farre away ;  
 Then who so will with vertuous deeds assay  
 To mount to heaven, on Pegasus must ride,  
 And with sweete Poets verse be glorifide.<sup>26</sup>

Fame is durable and can be achieved by virtuous deeds glorified in verse. Spenser, further, holds that even when the noble deeds and great thoughts decay, poetry is the one permanent monument of human greatness :

For deeds doe die, how ever noblie donne,  
 And thoughts of men do as themselves decay  
 But wise wordes taught in numbers for to runne,  
 Recorded by the Muses, live for ay ;  
 Ne may with storming showers be washt away,  
 Ne bitter breathing windes with harmfull blast,  
 Nor age, nor envie shall them ever wast.<sup>27</sup>

Moreover, Mutability is itself the servant of Divine Providence as the poet asserts in the later part of the "Mutability Cantos." She is only the means through

which the Divine plan works. Things do change :

But by their change their being doe dilate :  
 And turning to themselves at length againe,  
 Doe worke their owne perfection so by fate :  
 ( F.Q.VII.7.58)

Thus change is only a part of the Divine scheme because it is through change that things reach their perfection. Further, Spenser feels that though man desires stability in this world of unceasing change, he should realise that in the last resort the only permanence is with God. Spenser reaches this conclusion in the last lines of the "Mutability Cantos" :

For, all that moveth, doth in change delight :  
 But thence-forth all shall rest eternally  
 With <sup>H</sup>him that is the God of Sabbath hight.

Similarly, in the Garden of Adonis in Canto VII of the Third Book of the Faerie Queene, Time is "wicked" and he strikes at everything with his scythe or with his "flaggy wings" beats down everything because of his "hard malice," but later on, in the same canto, Spenser affirms that form changes while the substance remains constant according to universal law. Thus Adonis is "eterne in mutabilitie."

Sometimes we even find Spenser responding to the ravages of Time in a Carpe Diem fashion. For example, in sonnet seventy, Elizabeth, the heroine, is warned :

Tell her the Joyous time will not be staid  
Unless she doe him by the forelock take :

.....

Make haste therefore, sweet love, whilst it is prime,  
For none can call again the passed time.<sup>28</sup>

But mostly, Spenser very seriously takes up the theme of Time and Mutability and shows how they can be transcended through marriage and procreation as in the "Epithalamion," through cultural continuity and immortality of verse as in "Ruins of Time" and "Ruins of Rome," and through faith in an evolutionary process under the control of Divine law as the conclusion of the "Mutabilitie Cantos" shows.<sup>29</sup>

As with Spenser, so with Shakespeare, the most shining luminary of the Elizabethan skies. He shares with Spenser the acute consciousness of the argument of time and the need for a heroic response. Like Spenser, he also expresses his horror at the nothingness that results when man does not adequately respond to time's destructive power. If Spenser talks of procreation and cultural

continuity and fame, Shakespeare also speaks of true love, immortality of verse and racial continuity as adequate responses to time. In this, both represent the typical Renaissance attitude to time and as Ricardo J. Quinones observes "they differ from their fourteenth-century predecessors in that their response is more directly historical, involving government, or children, or fame, and less directly religions."<sup>30</sup>

Thus, like Spenser, Shakespeare shows great awareness of the ravages of time and is in search of a solution. In his sonnets, poems, and plays there are frequent references to time as a destroyer and also the affirmation that progeny, fame and true love can withstand the onslaughts of time. We will take a glance at some typical examples from his sonnets and poems only, excluding his plays from this study with a regret, although the temptation to illustrate from his plays is too great as his histories, tragedies, comedies as well as the last plays characteristically show the working of time in the temporal world in relation to man.

To take up his sonnets first, Shakespeare sees time as the great enemy of all that is beautiful and lovely. As Douglas Bush says :

In Shakespeare's Sonnets ... the thought of time broods darkly over all experience; he rings

the changes on the brevity of life and beauty,  
 the insecurity of friendship and love and faith  
 and hope.<sup>31</sup>

Thus, according to Shakespeare time is a great  
 destroyer, destroying everything. The much popular image  
 of time with a scythe is found in sonnet sixty :

Time doth transfix the flourish set on youth  
 And delves the parallels in beauty's brow,  
 Feeds on the rarities of nature's truth,  
 And nothing stands but for his scythe to mow.<sup>32</sup>

When the "lofty towers" are not spared by "Time's  
 fell hand," the poet is doubtful whether his "love" will  
 ever be constant as in sonnet sixty-four :

When I have seen by Time's fell hand defaced  
 The rich proud cost of outworn buried age;  
 When sometime lofty towers I see down-rased,  
 And brass eternal slave to mortal rage;  
 When I have seen the hungry ocean gain  
 Advantage on the kingdom of the shore,  
 And the firm soil win of the wat'ry main  
 Increasing <sup>s</sup> store with loss, and loss with store;  
 When I have seen such interchange of state,

Or state itself confounded to decay;  
 Ruin hath taught me thus to ruminare —  
 That Time will come and take my love away.

The transitoriness of wordly riches or greatness  
 is hinted at in sonnet twenty-five :

Great prince's favourities their fair leaves spread  
 But as the marigold at the sun's eye,  
 And in themselves their pride lies buried,  
 For at a frown they in their glory die.  
 The painful warrior famoused for fight,  
 After a thousand victories once foiled,  
 Is from the book of honour razed quite,  
 And all the rest forgot for which he toiled.

Phrases and expressions like "Time's injurious  
 hand,"<sup>33</sup> "Sluttish time,"<sup>34</sup> "Old Time,"<sup>35</sup> "fools of Time,"<sup>36</sup>  
 "Time's fool,"<sup>37</sup> "never-resting time,"<sup>38</sup> "Devouring Time,"<sup>39</sup>  
 "Swife-footed time,"<sup>40</sup> lie scattered all over in Shakespeare's  
 sonnets not to pass unnoticed even by a casual reader.  
 But Shakespeare, like Spenser, also affirmed that there  
 could be an adequate answer to the problem of time. The  
 earlier sonnets point out progeny as one answer; the later  
 ones indicate that true love and <sup>the</sup> power of poetry could also  
 be sufficient to withstand the destructive nature of time.



Sonnet seven concludes that the man with progeny can have a future :

So thou, thyself outgoing in thy noon,  
Unlook'd on diest unless thou get a son.

In sonnet three the argument is more direct :

Thou art thy mother's glass and she in thee  
Calls back the lovely April of her prime,  
So thou through windows of thine age shall see,  
Despite of wrinkles, this thy golden time.  
But if thou live remembered not to be  
Die single and thine image dies with thee.

Sonnet eleven repeats the same idea with a fresh argument :

Let those whom nature hath not made for store,  
Harsh, featureless and rude, barrenly perish :  
Look, whom she best endowed she gave the more,  
Which bounteous gift thou shouldst in bounty cherish:  
She carved thee for her seal, and meant thereby  
Thou shouldst print more, not let that copy die.

Those who were favoured with nature's gift had a duty not to "let that copy die" and save themselves from time or

death through succession. Sonnet two also implies the same thought :

How much more praise deserved thy beauty's use  
 If thou couldst answer 'This fair child of mine  
 Shall sum my count and make my old excuse'  
 Proving his beauty by succession thine !  
 This were to be new-made when thou art old  
 And see thy blood warm when thou feel'st it cold.

Thus, one answer to the devouring time could be reproduction. But Shakespeare, not content with this, tries to suggest other solutions. The power of poetry could be another. Sonnet nineteen illustrates this point in such a forceful manner that it deserves to be quoted in full :

Devouring time, blunt thou<sup>u</sup> the lion's paws,  
 And make the earth devour her own sweet brood;  
 Pluck the keen teeth from the fierce tiger's jaws,  
 And burn the long-lived phoenix in her blood;  
 Make glad and sorry seasons as thou fleet'st  
 And do whate'er thou wilt, Swift-footed time,  
 To the wide world and all her fading sweets :  
 But I forbid thee one most heinous crime --  
 O, carve not with thy hours my love's fair brow,  
 Nor draw no lines there with thine antique pen;

Him in thy course untainted do allow  
 For beauty's pattern to succeeding men.

Yet do thy worst, old Time : despite thy wrong,  
 My love shall in my verse ever live young.

In sonnet sixty the poet reaffirms the same idea:

Time doth transfix the flourish set on youth  
 And delves the parallels in beauty's brow,  
 Feeds on the rarities of nature's truth,  
 And nothing stands but for his scythe to mow :  
 And yet to times in hope my verse shall stand,  
 Praising thy worth, despite his cruel hand.

In both these sonnets the poet begins by acknowledging the macabre power of Time over the wide world but ends by asserting the immutability of his verse.

And finally the constancy of true love can also defy time. The poet challenges time and says :

Thy registers and thee I both defy,  
 Not wondering at the present nor the past,  
 For thy records and what we see doth lie  
 Made more or less by thy continual haste :  
 This I do vow and this shall ever be,  
 I will be true despite thy scythe and thee.  
 (Sonnet, 123.)

Lastly, one of the best sonnets written by Shakespeare is an "impassioned definance of time"<sup>41</sup> through love :

Love's not Time's fool, though rosy lips and cheeks  
 Within his bending sickle's compass come;  
 Love alters not with his brief hours and weeks,  
 But bears it out even to the edge of doom :  
 If this be error and upon me proved,  
 I never writ, nor no man ever loved.  
 (Sonnet, 116.)

Thus we notice that time is an important concern in the sonnets. As A.L. Rowse remarks, "Shakespeare's concern with Time, as a destroyer of youth and beauty is a fundamental theme of the Southampton sonnets."<sup>42</sup> Frederick Turner also observes :

In the sonnets as a whole, there are two great themes : love and time. Love is associated by Shakespeare with all <sup>that</sup> ~~this~~ is warmest and most physically present in life.... Time is the great enemy of all these beautiful things; it seems to question their validity or to give a pessimistic answer to the questions they raise.<sup>43</sup>

Not only the sonnets but the two long poems

"Venus and Adonis" and "The Rape of Lucrece" also give evidence of Shakespeare's concern with time. In "Venus and Adonis" the Carpe Diem motif is used by the poet :

Make use of time, let not advantage slip;  
 Beauty within itself should not be wasted.  
 Fair flowers that are not gathered in their prime  
 Rot and consume themselves in little time.<sup>44</sup>  
 (ll. 129-132)

In the "Rape of Lucrece," however, the notes are too sombre :

Misshapen Time, Copesmate of ugly Night,  
 Swift subtle post, carrier of grisly care,  
 Eaſter of youth, false slave to false delight,  
 Base watch of woes, ſin's pack-horſe, virtue's ſnare  
 Thou nurseſt all and murd'reſt all that are  
 O, hear me then, injurious, ſhifting time !  
 Be guilty of my death, ſince of my crime.  
 (ll. 925-931)

Furthermore, time is responsible for all that goes on in the world, good or bad. Its job is :

To fill with wormholes ſtately monuments,  
 To feed oblivion with decay of things,  
 To blot old books and alter their contents,

To pluck the quills from ancient raven's wings,  
 To dry the old oak's sap and cherish springs,  
 To spoil antiquities of hammered steel,  
 And turn the giddy round of Fortune's wheel.  
 (ll. 946-952)

Thus we have seen that Shakespeare is very much preoccupied with time and its various aspects like his other contemporaries. The references to time are to be found not only in Shakespeare and Spenser but also in many other poets of the late sixteenth century. As already stated, it seems that time was a great preoccupation with the poets in the last two decades of the sixteenth century. This is not to say that time lost its fascination for the seventeenth-century writers. From Donne down to Milton there are references to time but that is not our concern in this brief study. Let us see what the poets like Fulke Greville, Daniel and a host of other contemporary minor poets have to say about time.

Fulke Greville (1554-1628), the poet and scholar who began writing poetry in the late fifteen-seventies refers to mutability or change in his poems. In his famous "Caelica" poems, one comes across such passages :

The world, that all contains, is ever moving ;  
 The stars within their spheres for ever turned;

Nature, the queen of change, to change is loving,  
 And form to matter new is still adjourned.<sup>45</sup>

Love is not constant according to Fulke Greville :

And who entreats, you know entreat in vain,  
 That love be constant, or come back again.  
 (Caelica, no.53)

Time destroys everything but infamy as Fulke  
 Greville says in these lines :

Unconstant thoughts where light desires do move  
 With every object which sense to them shows,  
 Still ebbing from themselves to seas of love,  
 Like ill led kings that conquer but to lose,  
 With blood and pain these dearly purchase shame,  
 Time blotting all things out but evil name.  
 (Caelica, no.67)

Time not only plays havoc with the temporal world  
 but also modifies human values :

When love doth change his seat from heart to heart,  
 And worth about the wheel of fortune goes,  
 Grace is diseased, desert seems overthwart,  
 Vows are forlorn, and truth doth credit lose,  
 Chance then gives law, desire must be wise,  
 And look more ways than one or lose her eyes.  
 (Caelica, no.69)

According to the poet, the wheel of fortune is responsible for the degeneration of moral values and the rule of chance and desire in human affairs. Fulke Greville further laments pathetically :

My age of joy is past, of woe begun,  
 Absence my presence is, strangeness my grace,  
 With them that walk against me is my sun;  
 The wheel is turned, I hold the lowest place,  
 What can be good to me since my love is,  
 To do me harm, content to do amiss?  
 ( Caelica, no.69)

The poet feels that his "age of joy" is gone and with the turning of the wheel of fortune, he now finds himself at the lowest rung, but in the following lines he directly refers to time and declares that time has deprived him of everything he possessed :

My food, the time that was; the time to come, my fast;  
 For drink, the barren thirst I feel of glories  
 that are past;  
 Sighs and salt tears my bath; reason, my looking glass,  
 To show me he most wretched is, that once most happy was  
 Forlorn desires my clock to tell me every day,  
 That time hath stol'n love, life, and all  
 but my distress away. (Caelica, no.83)



Finally, the poet exhorts his readers to good deeds and to prepare for Eternity in the following lines :

You that seek what life is in death,  
 Now find it air that once was breath.  
 New names unknown, old names gone;  
 Till time end bodies, but souls none.  
 Reader ! then make time, while you be  
 But steps to your eternity.  
 (Caelica, no. 82)

Samuel Daniel, another poet of this period, refers to time and mutability several times in "Delia" (1592), a sonnet sequence. In sonnet six, the poet invokes time to teach a lesson to his cruel mistress but in the end changes his mind and asks Time not to lay his hands on her :

Time, cruel time, come and subdue that brow,  
 Which conquers all but thee; and thee too stays,  
 .....  
 Yet spare her, Time, let her exempted be;  
 She may become more kind to thee or me.<sup>46</sup>

The Carpe Diem motif is present in the following lines :

Swift, speedy Time, feathered with flying hours,  
 Dissolves the beauty of the fairest brow.

Then do not thou such treasure waste in vain,  
 But love now, whilst thou mayst be loved again.  
 (Delia, viii)

The unwilling mistress is warned to make use  
 of time before it is too late :

And, Delia, think thy morning must have night,  
 And that thy brightness sets at length to west,  
 When thou wilt close up that which now thou show'st.  
 (Delia, ix)

Yet art may make his mistress immortal who other-  
 wise must die :

Then take this picture which I here present thee,  
 .....  
 These colours with thy fading are not spent;  
 These may remain when thou and I shall perish.  
 (Delia, xi)

Alas, Beauty must perish as the poet says :

Beauty, Sweet love, is like the morning dew,  
 Whose short refresh upon the tender green  
 Cheers for a time, but till the sun doth shew,  
 And straight 'tis gone as it had never been.  
 (Delia, xiii)

Like Shakespeare, Daniel also aims at making his  
 beloved immortal through the power of poetry. The lines  
 he wrote in praise of Delia will protect her "against the  
 dark, and Time's consuming rage," (Delia, xv).

One comes across many more such examples of concern with time in other poets of this period as well. Ephemerality of life, beauty compared to a short-lived flower, time moving in cycles or time as destroyer are very common themes to be found in the pages of any anthology dealing with the late sixteenth-century verse. For instance, Robert Southwell broods over death in the following lines:

My ancestors are turned to clay,  
 And many of my mates are gone;  
 My youngers daily drop away,  
 And can I think to 'scape alone?  
 No, No, I know that I must die,  
 And yet my life amend not I.

Not Solomon, for all his wit,  
 Nor Samson, though he were so strong,  
 No king nor person ever yet  
 Could 'scape, but death laid him along:  
 Wherefore I know that I must die,  
 And yet my life amend not I.<sup>47</sup>

There is another significant poem "Time" by Thomas Watson (1557-1592) included in "Hekatompathia" (1582), a collection of poems by the same writer :

Time wasteth years, and months, and hours,  
 Time doth consume fame, honour, wit, and strength,

Time kills the greenest herbs and sweetest flowers,  
 Time wears out youth and beauty's looks at length,  
 Time doth convey to ground both foe and friend,  
 And each thing else but love, which hath no end.<sup>48</sup>  
 (Time, 11.1-6)

The next two stanzas also repeat the same thing but the poet acquires a note of confidence in his love against the destructive power of time in these concluding lines :

And yet no time prevails in my behove,  
 Nor any time can make me cease to love.<sup>49</sup>  
 (Time. 11.17-18)

There is another poem "Pluck the fruit and taste the pleasure"(1591) by Thomas Lodge (1557-1625) with a Carpe Diem motif :

Here on earth nothing is stable,  
 Fortune's changes well are known;  
 Whilst as youth doth then enable,  
 Let your seeds of joy be sown:  
 After death, when you are gone,  
 Joy and pleasure is there none.<sup>50</sup>  
 (11.7-12)

In Michael Drayton's historical poems there is the same emphasis on Mutability and Fortune. In the "Tragical Legend of Robert," he introduces a long discussion between Fame and Fortune. The swiftness of time is hinted at in

these lines from a sonnet written by Michael Drayton :

Stay, speedy Time, behold before thou pass

From age to age what thou hast sought to see.<sup>51</sup>  
(Sonnets to Idea, Sonnet 2, ll.1-2)

Giles Fletcher (1549-1611) in his collection of poems "Licia" (1593) says this about time in one of his sonnets :

In time the strong and stately turrets fall,  
In time the rose and silver lilies die,  
In time the monarchs captive are, and thrall,  
In time the sea and rivers are made dry;<sup>52</sup>  
(Time, ll.1-4)

Thomas Nashe (1567-1601) was perhaps too acutely conscious of the transitoriness of summer, beauty or pleasure as these lines show :

Fair summer droops, droop men and beasts therefore;  
So fair a summer look for never more.  
All good things vanish, less than in a day,  
Peace, plenty, pleasure, suddenly decay.<sup>53</sup>  
(Waning Summer, ll.1-4)

Or the following famous lines :

Beauty is but a flower  
Which wrinkles will devour;  
Brightness falls from the air,  
Queens have died young and fair,

Dust hath closed Helen's eye.

I am sick, I must die.

Lord, have mercy on us !

(In Plague Time, ll.15-21)

These few examples taken at random show that time was an important concern with the major as well as the minor poets of the last quarter of sixteenth-century England. This concern begins to show up as early as 1559 with the publication of the Mirror for Magistrates with its theme of Time the Revealer and Destroyer. This does not mean that there are no references to the destructive aspect of Time in Wyatt and Surrey or Sidney, but as the sixteenth century advanced, the concern for Time and Mutability became more acute. The controversy about the progress or degeneration of mankind continued unabated throughout the later half of the sixteenth century and the earlier part of the seventeenth century. Elizabethan writers referred to the "Golden age" and many opined that time or mutability was responsible for decline in nature. As Hallett Smith says, "the theme of the Golden age is one of the great commonplaces of Elizabethan literature."<sup>55</sup> The doctrine of the fickle Fortune's wheel bringing about the fall of mighty men was another popular theme. Further, time as mutability is the most important subject for the poets of this period. Spenser deals with it in detail and

advances the theory of eternity in mutability. There is much in Shakespeare's sonnets on the subject of "Devouring Time" and the conflict between Time and Beauty and Time and Love. Almost all the minor poets echo the sentiments expressed by Spenser and Shakespeare about Time and Mutability.

These poets, however, have offered various solutions. Spenser, as already stated, looks on Mutability as an agent of Divine law and further suggests cultural continuity, fame and procreation as the possible alternatives. Shakespeare emphasizes more the constancy of love, usefulness of progeny and immortality of poetry against the onslaughts of Time. Daniel, Fulke-Greville, Southwell, Watson, Lodge, Drayton, Nash and many other poets, while acknowledging the power of Time, sometimes affirm the constancy of love and immortality of poetry and some time express the pathetic helplessness of man against Time. Carpe Diem or "seize the opportunity" motif is another favourite solution advocated by many poets of this period.

This is the background and the milieu in which Sir Walter Raleigh wrote his poems. That he is the most time-conscious and concerned with Mutability will be discussed in the chapters to follow.

## Notes to Chapter II

<sup>1</sup>See Katherine Koller, "Two Elizabethan Expressions of the Idea of Mutability," Studies in Philology, Vol. 35, 1938.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p.229.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p.230.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid., p.236-37.

<sup>5</sup>D.C. Allen, "The Degeneration of Man and Renaissance Pessimism", Studies in Philology, XXXV(1938), p.202.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p.203.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid., p.205.

<sup>8</sup>D. Bush, Prefaces to Renaissance Literature (Cambridge [Mass.]: Harvard University Press, 1966), p.68.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid.

<sup>10</sup>Ibid.

<sup>11</sup>Hamlet, I, ii, 72-73.

<sup>12</sup>Spenser, "The Ruines of Time", The Poems of Spenser, ed. J.C. Smith and E.D. Selincourt (London : Oxford University Press, 1961), p.509. All subsequent references from Spenser's poems are from this source.



<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p.513, l.370.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p.510, ll.92-97.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p.510, ll.121-26.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p.512, ll.275-80.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p.511, l.252.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid., p.472, ll.43-44.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid., p.476, ll.463-68.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid., p.276, ll.5-9.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p.276, ll.28-31.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p.276, ll.33-36.

<sup>23</sup>"Pierces Supererogation", Works (A. Grossart, London, 1884), II, 45. Quoted by D.C. Allen in his article "Degeneration of Man and Renaissance Pessimism", in Studies in Philology, XXXV, 1938. p.217.

<sup>24</sup>For fuller discussion of this theme see Sherman Hawkins, "Mutability and the Cycle of the Months", in The Prince of Poets : Essays on Edmund Spenser, ed. John R. Elliott, Jr. (New York : New York University Press, 1968), pp. 294-303. Also see C.S. Lewis, The Allegory of Love (Oxford : University Press, 1958), p.354. Lewis equates Mutability with sin and corruption. Quinones finds Mutability analogous to the Fall. See Quinones, The Renaissance Discovery of Time, p.277.

<sup>25</sup>See Stampfer, Judah L., "The Cantos of Mutability : Spenser's Last Testament of Faith", University of Toronto Quarterly, XXI (1951-52), pp.140-56.

<sup>26</sup>Spenser, The Poems, p.476, ll.421-37.

<sup>27</sup>Ibid., p.475.ll.400-06.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p.574.

<sup>29</sup>W.L. Renwick, "Spenser's Philosophy", in The Prince of Poets, ed. John R. Elliott, Jr. (New York : University Press, 1968), pp.78-81.

<sup>30</sup>Quinones, Renaissance, p.254.

<sup>31</sup>D. Bush, "English Poetry : Time and Man", Prefaces to Renaissance Literature (Cambridge[Massa.] : Harvard University Press, 1966), p.71.

<sup>32</sup>This and subsequent quotations are taken from Shakespeare's Sonnets, ed. A.L. Rowse (London : Macmillan, 1964).

<sup>33</sup>Sonnet 63.

<sup>34</sup>Sonnet 1.

<sup>35</sup>Sonnet 19.

<sup>36</sup>Sonnet 124.

<sup>37</sup>Sonnet 116.

<sup>38</sup>Sonnet 5.

<sup>39</sup>Sonnet 19.

<sup>40</sup>Sonnet 19.

<sup>41</sup>D. Bush, Prefaces, p.71.

<sup>42</sup>A.L. Rowse, ed. Shakespeare's Sonnets (London : Macmillan, 1964), p.41.

<sup>43</sup>Frederick Turner, Shakespeare and the Nature of Time (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1971), pp.7-8.

<sup>44</sup>This and subsequent extracts from the Rape of Lucrece are taken from Shakespeare's Poems, The Folger edition (New York : Washington Square Press, 1969).

<sup>45</sup>Caelica, no. 7. All Quotations from Fulke Greville's poetry are taken from Five Courtier Poets, ed. Robert M. Bender (New York : Washington Square Press, 1969).

<sup>46</sup>This and subsequent references from Daniel are quoted from The Oxford Book of Sixteenth Century Verse, ed. E.K. Chambers (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1966).

<sup>47</sup>Robert Southwell, "Upon the Image of Death", The Oxford Book of 16th Century Verse, p.241.

<sup>48</sup>The Oxford Book of Sixteenth Century Verse, ed. E.K. Chambers (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1966), p.350.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid. p.402.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid. p.596

<sup>52</sup>Ibid. p.633.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid. p.427.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid. p.430.

<sup>55</sup>Hallett Smith, Elizabethan Poetry (Cambridge, [Mass.] : Harvard University Press, 1966), p.13.

### III

#### SIR WALTER RALEGH : THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD

We have already seen in the foregoing chapter that a concern for the processes of Time forms one of the most prevalent preoccupations with the majority of the English poets of the late sixteenth century. We have also noted that either they are just bemoaning their helplessness against the onslaughts of time like Daniel, Fulke-Greville and others or suggesting heroic solutions, for example, fame, progeny, and immortality of poetry as in the case of Shakespeare and Spenser. Sir Walter Raleigh, who was one of the most prominent figures of this period, is no exception to this. He was not only a soldier, seaman, courtier, explorer, and one of the founders of the British empire, but also a poet, a philosopher, a historian and a man with scientific interests<sup>1</sup>. This is not to claim here that he was an original thinker or philosopher; most of the Elizabethans were not; but his varied occupations do suggest that he was deeply interested in the problems

which his contemporaries faced. Thus, on the one hand, his subject matter and style owe much to the contemporary intellectual and poetic climate of his age; on the other, he is original in his emphases, his solutions, and his stylistic devices. To what extent he is similar to his contemporaries in his responses to the Time/Mutability concept and in what way he treads his own path will be our concern in this and the subsequent chapters.

Devouring time, changeable fortune, decay and degeneration, and death -- these topics dominate Raleigh's prose as well as his poetic writings.<sup>2</sup> Now and again, he reverts to the theme of mortality or mutability even while dealing with other topics. It seems as if he could never leave this theme alone. It is, perhaps, because he had personally experienced the sting of fickle Fortune. His own life seems to be an illustration of the powers of Mutability over mortal man. In the words of one of his contemporaries, Sir Robert Naunton, "Sir Walter Raweleigh was one that it seems fortune had picked out of purpose, of whom to make an example, and to use as her Tennis-Ball, thereby to show what she could do."<sup>3</sup> At one time he was acclaimed as one of the brightest jewels of Queen Elizabeth's court and her greatest favourite, but he soon lost that position and landed in the Tower. He was freed

after some time but was not allowed to attend the court for several years. Towards the end of the Queen's reign, it seemed that he had regained her favour but with the accession of King James he was again in trouble. He was accused of conspiracy by James and at a shameful trial<sup>4</sup> was convicted of treason and condemned to death. But this was not to be the end; he had yet to live for thirteen long years in the Tower to be released for a brief period to go on that ill-fated expedition to Guiana. On his return, he was rearrested and convicted again. Thus, when the end came in 1618, he had lost his son, his estates and all his former glory. But ironically enough his death made him a hero and his countrymen "canonised him as the principal martyr of royal authoritarianism, repression and injustice."<sup>5</sup>

But he did lead a very active life, even in prison. When he was out of it, he was either attending the court, or fighting with Spain or taking part in Irish campaigns or planning voyages to the "new world" and laying down the foundations of the British empire, or attending Parliament and engaging himself in its activities.<sup>6</sup> Out of this busy life he could also find time to write his verses, the accounts of his fightings and his explorations and even when he was cut off from

life in the Tower and was "civilly dead," he would not sit idle. His long poem "Cynthia" and his monumental work the History of the World were written while he was in prison. It is also said that he spent lots of time in conducting scientific experiments in his prison cell and studied "Bookes on antiquitie."<sup>7</sup>

Because of this full and active life till the last day at scaffold, Raleigh, naturally, had first hand experience of what life had to offer. No wonder then that he was keenly aware or rather too conscious of the turning wheel of fortune, the brevity and insecurity of friendship, love and honour. It is perhaps "just because he threw himself so wholeheartedly into all life had to offer, he was almost morbidly aware of its transience."<sup>8</sup> It is no surprise then that his writings richly reflect his deep concern with the various projects he undertook, his preoccupation with his successes and failures and his views and ideas about human existence vis-a-vis Time, Fortune and Providence. He wrote because he had something important and urgent to communicate and "his intimate personal urgency is one of the dominant characteristics of his work."<sup>9</sup> No man during that turbulent period of the history of England had experienced such ups and downs of life as Raleigh had. It is natural, therefore, that

his writings, prose as well as verse, should reflect this.

Although the main concern of this study is Raleigh's preoccupation with Time and Mutability as evidenced in his verse, it would not be inappropriate to find out what precisely Raleigh <sup>~</sup>ment<sub>^</sub> by time and its related concepts of mutability, degeneration and mortality. For his beliefs and his ideas on these concepts there is no better source than his own History of the World (1614), published in his own life-time<sup>10</sup> and known as his Magnum Opus.<sup>11</sup> Designed to affirm that history is nothing but a record of divine judgments, it interprets history "as a progressive manifestation of the divine purpose in a linear movement extending from the first creation to the Last Judgment."<sup>12</sup> Beginning with the Creation and the Fall, Raleigh follows the fortunes of man from Biblical history or Jewish history to the times of the Persians, the Greeks and the Romans, demonstrating the history of man "as a series of inter-locked parallel movements orchestrated by God but performed by man himself."<sup>13</sup> While God's Providence is shown to be working in and guiding the entire creation, man is also granted freewill to do good or evil deeds; thus inviting the award or the punishment as the case may be.<sup>14</sup> The "Preface" of the History.



of the World is a class by itself and is popularly known as "A Premonition to Princes." It illustrates the saying that "ill-doing hath always been attended with ill-success."<sup>15</sup> King James was so much displeased with it that he called it "too saucie in censuring princes"<sup>16</sup> and banned the entire book.

The History of the World, thus, illustrates Raleigh's views on man, nature, fate, fortune, and God's Providence. It is not surprising, therefore, that it contains many references to time and mutability. Time is the devourer; it does not spare the high or mighty; there is uncertainty of worldly glory; the world should be treated as an inn; fortune is fickle and good luck is short-lived; life is transitory; the beauty of youth is as ephemeral as the beauty of a flower; only sorrow remains; there has been gradual degeneration because of the defection and falling away from God — such ideas and expressions are very common in the pages of the History of the World. In the words of Greenblatt, "Raleigh's preoccupation with time dominates the History."<sup>17</sup>

Even in the very beginning of the book Raleigh starts by lamenting that he is taking up this great task in the evening of his life. He is troubled by the gap between the magnitude of the work he is undertaking and

the brief period of life left to him. He feels that if he had taken up this work in his younger age, he would have been more confident of accomplishing it. He is old now enfeebled by the onslaughts of Time and Fortune and is doubtful about the completion of the work undertaken by him. He says :

With my first dawne of day, when the light  
of common knowledge began to open it selfe  
to my younger years : and before any wound  
received, either from Fortune or Time :  
I might yet well have doubted, that the  
darknesse of Age and Death would have covered  
over both It and Mee, long before the  
performance.<sup>18</sup>

Raleigh in the above lines worries about the "darknesse of Age and Death" descending upon him and his work (History of the World) before the "performance" is over. It was no coincidence then that this unfinished work ends also with comments on Death. According to Raleigh, Death not only destroys man, it also enables man to know himself correctly. It humbles the proud and insolent and makes them realise the worthlessness of their "forepassed happinesse." In Raleigh's own words:

He [Death] takes the account of the rich,

and proues him a begger; a naked begger,  
 which hath interest in nothing, but in the  
 grauell that filles his mouth. He holds a  
 Glasse before the eyes of the most beautifull,  
 and makes them see therein, their deformitie  
 and rottennesse; and they acknowledge it.<sup>19</sup>

Finally, Raleigh ends the first part of his History  
 with a magnificent evocation to Death :

O eloquent, just and mightie Death ! whom  
 none could aduise, thou hast persuaded;  
 what none hath dared, thou hast done; and  
 whom all the world hath flattered, thou only  
 hast cast out of the world and despised:  
 thou hast drawne together all the farre  
 stretched greatnesse, all the pride, crueltie,  
 and ambition of man, and couered it all ouer  
 with these two narrow words, Hic iacet.<sup>20</sup>

Not only is Death the end of all wordly glory and  
 pomp, to Raleigh it is also a synonym to oblivion. "Man  
 walketh in a shadow, and disquieteth himselfe in vaine :  
 hee heapeth vp riches, and can not tell who shall gather  
 them."<sup>21</sup> Or again, "but there of wee are assured, that the

long and darke night of death: (of whose following day we shall neuer behold the dawne, till his returne that hath triumphed over it) shall couer vs ouer, till the world bee no m<sup>o</sup>re."22

Again, if Fortune hits a few, Death strikes all without any distinction. The world is only a "Play."  
 "For seeing Death, in the end of the play, takes from all, whatsoever Fortune or Force takes from anyone : It were a foolish madnes in the shipwracke of wordly things, where all sinkes but the sorrow, to save it."23

Can man have any hope against such a mighty and inevitable foe? No, not much. But Raleigh in whom the medieval and renaissance elements combined and who had faith in the dignity of man<sup>24</sup> does affirm :

Onely those few black swannes I must  
 except : who having had the grace to value  
 wordly vanities at no more than their owne  
 price; doe, by retayning the comfortable  
 memorie of a well-acted life, behold death  
 without dread, and the grave without feare;  
 and embrace both, as necessary guides to  
 endlesse glorie.

These lines are significant because they sum up Raleigh's final and comprehensive views on Death. According to

Raleigh, Death and grave can be faced without dread or fear by a man who has led a well-acted life. It does not mean that Death can be overcome by such a man. In fact, Raleigh has very forcefully declared at several places that none can escape Death. But he also believes that Death can be approached without fear and accepted as a "necessary" guide to "endless glorie." He, however, knows that only a few great persons are capable of this attitude towards Death and they have this capability because of their well-acted life.<sup>26</sup>

As "the life of man is nothing else but digression"<sup>27</sup> and death is the end of all efforts the world should be treated as only an "inne or place, wherein to repose our selves in passing on towards our celestiall habitation."<sup>28</sup> Man's life is transitory and he "hath so short a time in the world, as hee no sooner beginnes to learne, than to die."<sup>29</sup> The beauty of youth is compared to "the flowers of the spring, which, either in a very short time, or with the Sunnes heat drie up, and wither away, or the fierce puffes of wind blow them from the stalks."<sup>30</sup>

This is all true, as we have always known and as noted earlier, to the extent that Elizabethan poets repeated these same ideas again and again. But what is distinctive about Raleigh is an insistent and vehement done

he uses while dealing with Time and its ravages. Time is the great devourer. It does not spare even the high and mighty, Raleigh declares in the Preface :

For who hath not observed, what labour, practice, perill, bloudshed, and cruelty, the Kings and Princes of the world have undergone, exercised, taken on them, and committed; to make themselves and their issues maisters of the world? And yet hath Babylon, Persia, Egypt, Syria, Macedon, Carthage, Rome, and the rest, no fruit, flower, grasse, nor leafe, springing upon the face of the Earth, of these seedes : No; their very roots and ruines doe hardly remaine.<sup>31</sup>

Even the "all powerful" gods and goddesses of antiquity could not survive and were eaten up by Time. One is tempted to quote the passage dealing with mutability in full. Raleigh declares :

But all these are again vanished : for the inventions of mortall men are no lesse mortall then themselves. The Fire, which the Chaldeans worshipped for a God, is crept

into every mans chimney, which the lacke of fewell starveth, water quencheth, and want of aire suffocateth : Iupiter is no more vexed by Junoes jealousies; Death hath perswaded him to chastitie, and her to patience; and that Time which hath devoured it selfe, hath also eaten up both the bodies and images of him and his : yea, their stately Temples of stone and durefull Marble. The houses and sumptuous building erected to Baal, can no where bee found upon the earth; nor any monument of that glorious Temple consecrated to Diana. There are none now in Phaenicia, that lament the death of Adonis; nor any in Lybia, Creta, Thessalia, or elsewhere, that can aske counsaile or help from Jupiter. The great God Pan hath broken his pipes, Apolloes Priests are become speechlesse; and the Trade of riddles in Oracles, with the Devils telling mens fortunes therein, is taken up by counterfeit Aegyptians and cousening Astrologers.<sup>32</sup>

Though conventional these ideas may be, one cannot fail to note the forceful tone, the vehement sincerity

with which Raleigh, whenever an opportunity arises, devotes space to the role of Time in the world. Again, it is not only the tone which makes him distinctive from his contemporaries but also his emphasis on the insufficiency of fame or progeny against devouring Time which is quite surprising. Spenser, Shakespeare and many other poets were thinking of these alternatives against oblivion or mortality. Raleigh, astonishingly, affirms just the opposite. For instance, he declares that Fame is of no use to the dead, while it is dangerous to the living :

Now these great kings, and conquering nations  
 ... powerful Princes, and other mightie men  
 have complained against Infidelitie, Time,  
 Destinie, and most of all against the  
 Variable successe of worldly things, and  
 Instabilitie of Fortune. To these under-  
 takings, the greatest Lords of the world  
 have beene stirred up, rather by the desire of  
 Fame, which ploweth up the Aire, and soweth in  
 the Winde; than by the affection of bearing  
 rule, which draweth after it so much vexation,  
 and so many cares....And certainly, as Fame  
 hath often beene dangerous to the living,  
 so is it to the dead of no use at all;  
 because separate from knowledge.<sup>33</sup>



According to Raleigh, desire for fame motivates people more than desire for power but fame is dangerous for the living and superfluous for the dead. Therefore, fame is of no use because the dead have no knowledge and also because fortune is fickle and one cannot be sure of fame or good fortune always as Raleigh again observes in the following lines :

For there is no man so assured of his  
honour, of his riches, health or life;  
but that hee may be deprived of either or  
all, the very next houre or day to come.  
...What the evening will bring with it, it  
is uncertaine. And yet yee can not tell  
(saith Saint James) what shalbe tomorrow.  
Today he is set up, and tomorrow hee shall  
not be found; for hee is turned into dust,  
and his purpose perisheth.<sup>34</sup>

As one is not certain about the continuity of fame because of fickle fortune, so one can not be sure about the means to earn fame. The path of virtue is supposed to lead to fame but that is not always the case, again because of fortune. This we learn from the following lines :

For seeing it is a thing exceeding rare, to  
distinguish vertue and fortune : the most

impious (if prosperous) have ever been  
 applauded; the most vertuous (if unprosperous)  
 have ever been despised. For as Fortunes man  
 rides the Horse, so Fortune her-selfe rides  
 the Man. Who, when hee is descended and on  
 foote : the Man taken from his Beast, and  
 Fortune from the Man; a base groom beates the  
 one, and a bitter contempt spurns at the other,  
 with equall libertie.<sup>35</sup>

So fame depends not upon virtuous conduct but upon fortune  
 and fortune is capricious and therefore undependable. The  
 conclusion is that Fortune and Time might serve man for  
 sometime but ultimately it is only the sorrow "that abideth"  
 as Raleigh makes abundantly clear in the following passage :

So as who-so-ever hee bee, to whome Fortune  
 hath beene a servant, and the Time a friend :  
 let him but take the accompt of his memory  
 (for wee have no other keeper of our pleasures  
 past) and trulie examine what it hath reserved,  
 either of beauty and youth, or foregone delights;  
 ...and he shall finde that all the art  
 which his elder yeares have, can draw no  
 other vapour out of these dissolutions, than

heavie, secret, and sad sighes. Hee shall  
finde nothing remaining, but those sorrowes,  
which grow up after our fast-springing youth;  
over-take it, when it is at a stand; and  
over-top it utterly, when it beginnes to wither.<sup>36</sup>

Man is, no doubt, "the last and the most excellent"<sup>37</sup>  
of God's creatures according to Raleigh. He is "an abstract  
or modell, or brief storie of the universall"<sup>38</sup> and "in the  
little frame of mans body there is a representation of the  
universall, and (by illusion) a kind of participation of  
all the parts thereof."<sup>39</sup> Thus the seven ages of man  
represent the seven planets --Moon, Mercury, Venus, Sun,  
Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. It is significant for Raleigh  
that the last or the seventh represents Saturn "wher<sup>e</sup> in our  
days are sad and over-cast, and in which wee finde by deere  
and lamentable experience, and by the losse which can never<sup>u</sup>  
be repaired, that of all our vaine passions, and affections  
past, the sorrow onely abideth."<sup>40</sup> It is in this age "when  
Time hath made (us) unsociable to others, we become a  
burthen to ourselves"<sup>41</sup> and "in the end, by the workmanship  
of death, finish the sorrowful business of a wretched life,  
towards which we always travaile both sleeping and working."<sup>42</sup>  
Man's life, therefore, according to Raleigh, can be compared

to a tide —but a tide which once ebbs never flows again :

For this tide of mans life, after it once  
turneth and declineth, ever runneth with a  
perpetual ebbe and falling streame, but never  
floweth againe : our leafe once fallen,  
springeth no more, neither doth the sunne, or  
the summer adorne us againe, with the garments  
of new leaves and flowers.<sup>43</sup>

There is a deep pathos in these lines over the sad  
destiny of man and the poet in Raleigh quotes with approval  
some passages from ancient writers to enhance the effect.  
For example, these lines from Albinovanus :

The plants and trees made poore and old  
By winter envious,  
The spring-time bounteous  
Covers again, from shame and cold :  
But never Man repair'd againe  
His youth and beautie lost,  
Though art, and care, and cost  
Doe promise Natures helpe in vaine.<sup>44</sup>

Or this passage from Catullus :

The Sunne may set and rise :  
But we contrariwise

Sleepe after our short light  
 One everlasting night.<sup>45</sup>

Both these passages quoted by Raleigh illustrate effectively the fatal power of Time.

As we have already noted in the previous chapter, the Renaissance thinkers and the contemporaries of Raleigh were engaged in a controversy regarding the degeneration of man and nature since the ancient times.<sup>46</sup> Some believed that man and nature were both decaying, but others like Bacon held the view that it was not correct and their age was as good as any other period in the ancient times. Raleigh as a thinker and historian could not remain aloof from such an important issue.<sup>47</sup> But surprisingly, instead of committing himself to one view, he deals with both sides. At one time, he states that Man's "defection and falling away from God...tooke such effect, that thereby (the liberall grace of God being withdrawn) all the posteritie of our first Parents were afterwards borne and bred in a world, suffering a perpetual Eclipse of spiritual light."<sup>48</sup> This defection also caused "imperfection and harmefull qualitie"<sup>49</sup> in the natural world and "the same defection hath had continuance in the very generation and nature of mankinde."<sup>50</sup> He, further, affirms

in another context the same view that in the beginning "the earth itselfe was then much lesse corrupt."<sup>51</sup> Nature was bountiful and its products had no "harmful qualitie"<sup>52</sup> but on account of "the curse of God for the crueltie of mans heart brought on it and mankinde... a qualification and harmful change."<sup>53</sup> Time is also responsible for this, Raleigh declares as in these lines :

And as all things under the Sunne have one time of strength, and another of weaknesse, a youth and beautie, and then age and deformitie : so Time itselfe (under the deathfull shade of whose winges all things decay and wither) hath wasted and worne out that lively vertue of Nature in Man, and Beasts, and Plants....<sup>54</sup>

At another place Raleigh observes that the Devil is more active now and the evening of mankind and the world is very near. He says :

And as the Devill our most industriousemie was ever most diligent : so he is now more laborious than ever : the long day of mankinde drawing fast towards an evening, and the worlds Tragedie and time neare at an end.<sup>55</sup>

The passages quoted above may create an impression that Raleigh was on the side of those who believed that the world had become sufficiently degenerated and it was coming to an end. But Raleigh as a scholar could see the other side of the argument as well. In Book I chapter IX of the History of the World he discusses the "Golden Age" and points out that the ancient times are called "Golden" only because life was easy, nature was bountiful and ambition and coveteousness had no place in man's life as he led a simple way of living. In his own words :

And sure if we understand by that age (which was called Golden) the ancient simplicity of our forefathers, this name may then truly bee cast upon those elder time : but if it be taken otherwise, then, whether the same may be attributed more to any time then to another, ( meane to one limited time and none else) it may be doubted. For good and golden Kings make good and golden Ages : and all times have brought forth of both sorts.<sup>56</sup>

Thus, the term "Golden Age" cannot be confined to the ancient times only; any age can be good and golden and it

depends upon the "good and golden kings." Moreover, according to Raleigh, it is in man's nature to extol the past and show dissatisfaction with the present. Raleigh quotes Tacitus, Solomon and Seneca to prove his point that the present is always condemned and the past is always glorified by human beings, but he then holds Time responsible for this attitude in man. He observes :

For our younger yeares are our golden Age;  
 which being eaten up by time, we praise those  
 seasons which our youth accompanied : and  
 (indeede) the grieuous alterations in our  
 selves, and the paines and diseases which  
 never part from us but at the grave, make the  
 times seeme so differing and displeasing :  
 especially the qualitie of mans nature being  
 also such, as it adoreth and extolleth the  
 passages of the former, and condemneth the  
 present state how just soever.<sup>57</sup>

Therefore, because whatever is new becomes old in time, Raleigh advises his readers "not to stand in much admiration of these first times, which the discontentments of present times have made golden."<sup>58</sup>



At first glance, it would be concluded here that Raleigh is contradicting himself by affirming on the one hand the degeneration of the world and nature and discounting the myth of the "Golden Age" on the other. But this view will be a superficial one. Actually, he is trying to balance the arguments on both sides. He accepts the purity of life in ancient times and, as a devout <sup>C</sup>hristian, he also accepts the defection and falling away from God. But, as a realist, he also tries to look for the reasons which make men think of ancient times as a "Golden Age" and attributes them to the nature of man and Time. He believes as a <sup>C</sup>hristian that man has fallen from the Grace of God but as a Renaissance humanist he has also faith in the dignity of man, in his "immortall and spirituall"<sup>59</sup> heritage and in his free will to mould his destiny.<sup>60</sup> Therefore, as he accepts the theory of degeneration, he also asserts that any age can be good and golden provided it is ruled by "good and golden kings."

We have thus seen that according to Raleigh, Time plays a very important role in human life and in the world as illustrated above from his History of the World. Time began since the very inception of Creation as Raleigh observes, "God appointed the light to be united, and gave it also motion and heat, which heat caused a continuance of those severall species, which the Earth (being made

fruitfull by the Spirit) produced, and with motion begat the time, and times succeeding."<sup>61</sup> Time comes after the Creation or the Beginning because "before that beginning, there was neither primary matter to be informed, nor forme to informe, nor any being, but the eternall."<sup>62</sup> Everything in this world floats "in the great gulfe of time."<sup>63</sup> Age and Time "harden and shrinke the openest and most joviall hearts."<sup>64</sup>

It is true that Raleigh affirms all this and gives examples from the past history whenever an opportunity presents itself but the question here arises whether he offers any alternatives or solutions to "the consuming disease of Time."<sup>65</sup> A careful reading of the History suggests that he does. Shakespeare and other poets believed in the immortality of poetry; Raleigh credits History with triumphing over time. Among the many benefits of History one is that "it hath triumphed over time, which besides it, nothing but eternity hath triumphed over : for it hath carried our knowledge over the vast and devouring space of so many thousands of years."<sup>66</sup> The frontispiece on the title page of the first edition of the History of the World (1614) amply illustrates this conception of History.<sup>67</sup> In this, History supports the earth in her hands and tramples on Death and Oblivion. Over the top is the

omniscient eye of Providence "which gazes downwardly into the composition and outwardly into the historical process."<sup>68</sup>

Thus the historical process, or in other words, the succession of ages or Time is constantly under the watchful eye of God's omniscient Providence. The frontispiece thus beautifully and very cleverly sums up Raleigh's conception of Time or the historical process, fate or fortune vis-a-vis God's Providence as affirmed all over the pages of the History. Raleigh asserts that God's Providence permeates the entire universe; it "fore-seeth and careth for, and hath respect to all creatures, even from the brightest Angels of heaven, to the unworthiest wormes of the earth."<sup>69</sup> Destiny "is subsequent to God's Providence."<sup>70</sup> Fortune or chance are not independent of God's Providence. They are part of the eternal scheme. But also according to Raleigh the stars or fate cannot control man's will and, moreover, the "proper education may do much to offset any unfavourable influences."<sup>71</sup> Thus, in a way, man, himself is responsible for his good or bad fortune. If sometime we find the wicked prosperous and the learned and virtuous men in "poore and dejected states" the reason lies in "the fashioning and not fashioning of ourselves according to the nature of the time wherein we live."<sup>72</sup> The worldly success, therefore, depends upon moving according to the

times in which we live. In Raleigh's own words :

...for whosoever is most noble, and best sufficient to discerne, and hath withall an honest and open heart and loving truth, if Princes, or those that governe, endure no other discourse then their owne flatteries, then I say such an one, whose virtue and courage forbiddeth him to be base and a dissembler, shall evermore hang under the wheele, which kind of deserving well and receiving ill, wee alwaies falsly charge Fortune withall.<sup>73</sup>

Thus, a person who is noble, virtuous and courageous will come to grief if he does not stoop to flattery because the <sup>temporal</sup> powers ~~that~~ ~~he~~ encourage only sycophants and the times are such that only dissemblers and dishonest persons can prosper. The dissemblers prosper because they act according to the fashions of time. Raleigh, therefore, advises his readers to be worldly-wise and declares :

...so as whosoever will live together out of himselfe, and studie other mens humours, and observe them, shall never be unfortunate....

It is also a token of a wordly wise man, not to warre or contend in vaine against the nature of times wherein he liveth : for such a one is often the authour of his owne miserie.<sup>74</sup>

To sum up, according to Raleigh, man can make or mar his own fortune by "fashioning" or "not fashioning" himself according to the nature of time. Time is powerful; it has destructive and degenerating powers. But it is a part of the eternal scheme of things, an agent of God's Providence.<sup>75</sup> Time operates at universal level and makes everything old and corrupt, but is triumphed over by History which is a record of divine judgments. At a more personal level a worldly-wise man can escape Time's wrath by moving according to the "nature of times." As far as adversities of life are concerned, "a wise Christian man ought to know them, and beare them, but as the tributes of offending. He ought to bear them man-like, and resolutely."<sup>76</sup> The change of fortune on this great theatre of the world "is but as the change of garments on the lesse."<sup>77</sup> And finally, the faith in God and Providence can sustain a man in all circumstances howsoever adverse they may be.<sup>78</sup>

This is Raleigh's view of Time or Mutability or Fortune. As we have already noted, he is similar to his

contemporaries in his appreciation of time's corrosive powers, but he treads his own path in suggesting solutions. Some time he is medieval in his approach following St. Augustine and other <sup>C</sup>hristian theologians when ~~the~~ emphasises the vanity of worldly glories, terming the world as an inn and calling for an implicit faith in God's Providence. But often he is also suggesting to be worldlywise, to move according to times (in a narrower context) and to lead a well-acted life. In this he seems to be a Renaissance man upholding the dignity of man and giving him freedom to act his life well. Matthew Arnold called him quite "ancient," <sup>79</sup> but that was in another context. But Christopher Hill places him among the moderns.<sup>80</sup> The controversy arises because it is difficult to label Raleigh who is a complex personality and who could say different things at different times, and who had a very lively mind. We will revert to this theme again in the last chapter, but one thing clearly emerges from the pages of History that Raleigh is concerned with Time and its various aspects like Mutability and Fortune and he is independent in his solutions.

### Notes to Chapter III

<sup>1</sup>See John Aubrey, Brief Lives, ed. O.L. Dick (London : Secker and Warburg, 1958), p.254.

<sup>2</sup>S.J. Greenblatt, Sir Walter Raleigh (London : Yale University Press, 1973), pp.128-31.

<sup>3</sup>Quoted from Fragmenta Regalia (1641), p.33, in C.A. Patrides, ed. The History of the World (London : Macmillan, 1971), p.11.

<sup>4</sup>Harry L. Stephen, "The Trial of Sir Walter Raleigh", in Transactions of the Royal Historical Society, IV.2.(1919), pp.172-87.

<sup>5</sup>C.A. Patrides, ed. The History of the World, p.13.

<sup>6</sup>John Aubrey, Brief Lives, ed. O.L. Dick, p.253.

<sup>7</sup>J.W. Shirley, "The Scientific Experiments of Sir Walter Raleigh", Ambix, IV(1949), pp.52-56.

<sup>8</sup>A.M.C. Latham, ed. The Poems, p.XXVII.

<sup>9</sup>A.M.C. Latham, Sir Walter Raleigh (London : Longman, 1971), p.5.

<sup>10</sup>For the circumstances of the publication of The History see John Racine Jr., "The Early Editions of Sir Walter Raleigh's The History of the World", in Studies in Bibliography, (Virginia), 17(1964), pp. 199-209.

<sup>11</sup>M. Irwin, That Great Lucifer (London : Penguin, 1960), p.219.

<sup>12</sup>Patrides, ed. The History, p.20.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., pp.15-16. For full discussion see also The Phoenix and the Ladder : The Rise and Decline of the Christian View of History (Los Angeles : University of California Press, 1964), a monograph by the same author.

<sup>14</sup>F. Smith Fussner, The Historical Revolution : English Historical Writing and Thought (N. York : Columbia University Press, 1962), pp.191-210.

<sup>15</sup>Patrides, ed. History of the World, p.33.

<sup>16</sup>Quoted in Patrides, ed. The History, p.18.  
Source not given.

<sup>17</sup>Stephen J. Greenblatt, Sir Walter Raleigh (New Haven and London : Yale University Press, 1973), p.129.

<sup>18</sup>Walter Raleigh, The History of the World, ed. C.A. Patrides (London : Macmillan, 1971), p.45. Hereafter all subsequent references to the History of the World will be from this edition.

<sup>19</sup>Patrides, ed. The History, p.396.

<sup>20</sup>Ibid.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p.64.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p.65.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p.71.

<sup>24</sup>For detailed discussion of this see Chapter V.

<sup>25</sup>Patrides, ed. The History, p.69.



<sup>26</sup>See more about "well-acted life" in another context in Chapter V.

<sup>27</sup>Patrides, ed. The History, p.78.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid., p.62.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p.73.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., p.127..

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p.50.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p.152.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p.395.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid., p.68.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid., p.64.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid., p.69.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p.126.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p.128.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Albinovanus, "Elegia II" in Obitum Maecenatis, 113-14. Quoted by Raleigh in The History, ed. Patrides, p.129.

<sup>45</sup>Catullus, Carmina, V 4-6. Quoted by Raleigh in The History, ed. Patrides, p.129.

<sup>46</sup>See Chapter II. Also see D.C. Allen, "The Degeneration of Man and Renaissance Pessimism", in Studies in Philology XXXV (1938), pp.202-207.

<sup>47</sup>For a detailed discussion of Raleigh's position in the controversy, see Victor Harris, All Coherence Gone (Chicago : University of Chicago Press, 1949), pp.133-35.

<sup>48</sup>Raleigh, The History, ed. Patrides, p.147.

<sup>49</sup>Ibid.

<sup>50</sup>Ibid.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p.144.

<sup>52</sup>Ibid.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p.154.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p.160.

<sup>57</sup>Ibid., p.161.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p.161-162.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p.119.

<sup>60</sup>C.F. Tucker Brooke, "Sir Walter Raleigh as Poet and Philosopher", in A Journal of English Literary History, V (June 1938), pp.104-05.

<sup>61</sup>Raleigh, The History, ed. Patrides, p.102.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., p.88.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p.78. Raleigh quotes this from Virgil.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p.161.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p.78.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid., p.48.

<sup>67</sup>Ernest A. Strathman, Sir Walter Raleigh : A Study in Elizabethan Skepticism (New York : Columbia University Press, 1951), p.109.

<sup>68</sup>The History, ed. Patrides, p.XV.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p.113.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p.114.

<sup>71</sup>E.A. Strathman, "Raleigh on Natural Philosophy", in Modern Language Quarterly, I (1940), p.56.

<sup>72</sup>Raleigh, The History, ed. Patrides, p.116.

<sup>73</sup>Ibid., p.117.

<sup>74</sup>Ibid.

<sup>75</sup>E.A. Strathman, "The History of World and Raleigh's Skepticism", in Huntington Library Quarterly, III(1940), p.270-71.

<sup>76</sup>Raleigh, The History, ed. Patrides, p.70.

<sup>77</sup>Ibid.

<sup>78</sup>Ibid., p.118.

<sup>79</sup>Matthew Arnold, "On the Modern Element in Literature", in On the Classical Tradition, ed. R.H.Super (Ann Arbor : University of Michigan Press, 1951), pp.26-28.

<sup>80</sup>Christopher Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1965), pp.187-88.

#### IV

### SIR VALTER RALEGH : HIS VERSE

Raleigh, the Queen's lover, the soldier, the explorer, the Renaissance courtier, the free-thinker and historian was also known among his contemporaries as an excellent poet. They regarded his poetry as "most loftie, insolent, and passionate"<sup>1</sup> or as "the most passionate among us to bewaile and bemoane the perplexities of love."<sup>2</sup> Modern critics, however, tend to accord a mixed reception to his extant verse. He is dismissed as an "amateur" by C.S. Lewis and Peter Ure points out that he wrote poetry "partly because he belonged to the tradition of Spenser's 'gentleman or noble person,' the Renaissance courtier and man of action, of the kind most finely exemplified in Sir Philip Sydney."<sup>3</sup> But M.C. Bradbrook calls his verse "extraordinary by any standards"<sup>4</sup> and Philip Edwards puts him "very high among the poets of his day."<sup>5</sup> Be that as it may, most of the modern critics are unanimous in acknowledging the power and force of his straightforward and almost unadorned verse.

It is surprising, however, that the verse of a poet who ranked very highly among his contemporaries has survived only in stray pieces. About forty short poems sifted from the anthologies of the time and a long poem "Cynthia" are the only ones credited to Raleigh by modern scholars.<sup>6</sup> It is unfortunate that Raleigh took no pains to preserve or publish his poetic work, although he devoted considerable time to getting his prose-work, the History of the World published during his life-time. Perhaps, he followed Castiglione's advice to "keep his poems close, lest he make other men to laugh at him,"<sup>7</sup> and adopted a courtier-like discretion which is responsible for much uncertainty in his canon.<sup>8</sup>

Anyway, Raleigh's poetic voice, as we hear in his small collection, is particularly marked by a peculiarly insistent and poignant consciousness of devouring time. As we have noted earlier, preoccupation with mutability was an important feature of Renaissance thought and Raleigh as a typical Renaissance man shows a great awareness of the ravages of Time and Mutability in almost all his poems including "Cynthia." His themes are nearly all concerned with the concepts of ephemerality of beauty and human love, fortune's cruelty, decay of institutions and changes brought by time and age. In the words of Philip Edwards,

"Raleigh's verse always returns to the same few themes, most of which can be included within the single title mutability."<sup>9</sup> Even such poems like a commendatory sonnet, e.g., "A <sup>V</sup>ision upon this conceit<sup>^</sup> of the Faery Queene" or an epitaph on Sir Philip Sydney contain references to time or mutability. Thus, in the poem "A Vision," Spenser's Faerie Queene is extolled at the cost of Petrarch's works but Raleigh seems to be more concerned with the displacement of Petrarch's Laura <sup>t</sup>han with the installation of the Faerie Queene in the "temple." Raleigh's complimentary sonnet, thus, apparently celebrating the appearance of a great new work of art, in reality seems to be more concerned with Petrarch's weeping soul and the cruel "oblivion" laying "him downe on Laura's hearse." In the words of Peter Ure, "he (Raleigh) seems more moved to pity by the fate of the displaced poets than pleased because a new one has out <sup>(</sup>classed them."<sup>10</sup>

Similarly, in "An Epitaph upon the right Honourable Sir Philip Sidney knight" Raleigh praises Sydney for overcoming "tedious age" and "base fortune's might" in the following lines :

There didst thou vanquish shame and tedious age,  
 Griefe, sorrow, sicknes, and base fortunes might ;  
 Thy rising day, saw neuer wofull night,  
 But past with praise, from off this wordly stage.<sup>11</sup>  
 (11.33-36)

Again, while commending The Steele Glasse written by George Gascoigne and published in 1576, Raleigh points out that only that life is pure which does not change or deflect from its path. He says, "the life likewise were pure that never swerved."<sup>12</sup> After a few lines in the same poem he further affirms emphatically that fame or renown in shortlived :

For whoso reapes renowne aboue the rest,  
With heapes of hate shal surely be opprest.<sup>13</sup>  
(ll. 11-12)

In these poems cited above, there are obvious references to Time, Fortune and transience of fame; but <sup>there</sup> that are other poems which seem to have only one single theme, i.e., Time. In that famous poem "The Nymphs reply to the Sheepheard," which is supposed to be a rejoinder to Marlowe's "The passionate Sheepheard to his love," the poet's entire argument is concentrated in mutability. Marlowe's lyric is written in a very light romantic vein and who could reject such a passionate and tempting invitation made by the Shepherd but Raleigh's nymph? She doubts every word uttered by Marlowe's Shepherd not because the Shepherd is insincere but because she has known that youth does not last, joys become dated and the pleasures mentioned by the Shepherd are shortlived. Not



only this, she knows too that the beauties of nature, the pleasant seasons come to an end :

The flowers doe fade, and wanton fieldes,  
 To wayward winter reckoning yeeldes,  
 A honny tongue, a hart of gall,  
 Is fancies spring, but sorrowes fall.<sup>14</sup>  
 (11.9-13)

Marlowe's Shepherd invites the nymph to come and enjoy with him the beauties of a pastoral life — the Shepherds feeding their flockes and the singing of the melodious birds by the river falls — but Raleigh's nymph knows better :

Time driues the flocks from field to fold,  
 When Riuers rage, and Rocks grow cold,  
 And Philomell becommeth dombe,  
 The rest complaines of cares to come.<sup>15</sup>  
 (11.5-9)

Again, the Shepherd in Marlowe's poem tempts the nymph with the "beds of Roses", "a thousand fragrant poesies", "a cap of flowers, and a kirtle", "a gowne", "fayre lined slippers" and many other fineries which are normally sufficient to gain the heart of any woman in any age, but Raleigh's nymph is too time-wise :

Thy gownes, thy shooes, thy beds of Roses,  
 Thy cap, thy kirtle, and thy poesies,

Soone breake, soone wither, soone forgotten:  
 In follie ripe, in reason rotten.<sup>16</sup>  
 (11.13-16)

Thus, Raleigh's nymph is too mature a woman, a realist who knows that nothing lasts and that youth, love and joys are transient. She could be inclined to accept the Shepherd's invitation if the world were not subject to change and time and therefore she concludes :

But could youth last, and loue still breede,  
 Had ioyes no date, nor age no neede,  
 Then these delights my minde might moue,  
 To <sup>live</sup> ~~lieu~~ with thee, and be thy loue.<sup>17</sup>  
 (11.21-25)

"The Nymphs reply" is a very significant poem from our point of view. It brings out the difference between the attitude of those Elizabethan poets who were trying to shut their eyes to the realities of life by writing lovely ditties and the attitude of a serious poet like Raleigh who "saw life steadily and saw it whole."<sup>18</sup> It also shows that Raleigh was a realist. Surprisingly, Raleigh's poem does not show any bitterness which usually goes hand in hand with pessimism. Raleigh has been called a pessimist by many critics,<sup>19</sup> but this poem demonstrates that Raleigh could rise above pessimism and state the facts

as he knew and experienced them. Surely a statement of facts, however unpleasant it may be, can not be called a pessimistic venture. It would be no exaggeration to say that it is here that Raleigh scores over other pessimistic writers of the period. This poem, thus also, illustrates the point that Raleigh is more a realist than a pessimist.

This is not to say here that Raleigh never wrote in a pessimistic vein. He did quite often. For example, in "Nature that washt her~~h~~ hands in milke", Raleigh employs a vehement tone in describing what Time did to Nature's finest creation. Love requests Nature to make a lovely mistress possessing light eyes, violet breath, "lips of jelly", hair not overbright and having "wantonness and wit". Nature creates such a specimen with milk and snow and silk to please "love's fancy" but here Time intervenes:

But Time which nature doth despise,  
 And rudely giues her~~h~~ loue the lye,  
 Makes hope a foole, and sorrow wise,  
 His hands doth neither wash, nor dry,  
 But being made of steele and rust,  
 Turnes snow, and silke, and milke to dust.<sup>20</sup>  
 (ll. 19-20)

Not content with this, Time disfigures Nature's creation and even destroys the "wantonness and wit" in her :

The Light, the Belly, lipps and breath,  
He dimms, discolours, and destroyes,

.....

Yea Time doth dull each liuely witt,  
And dryes all wantonnes with it.<sup>21</sup>  
(ll. 25-30)

The poet is really sad that it should be so and the poem ends on a note of bitter resignation with an apostrophe to Time :

Oh, cruell Time ! which takes in trust  
Our youth, our joyes, and all we have,  
And payes us but with age and dust,  
Who in the darke and silent graue  
When we haue wandred all our wayes  
Shutts up the story of our dayes.<sup>22</sup>  
(ll. 32-37)

Raleigh, here, is conscious of the power of Time in nature. Time's cruelty is declared in an impassioned tone and in a stanza man's life is summed up. But at times Raleigh can also adopt a neutral tone in dealing with the theme of the sad brevity of human life. For instance, in the poem "On the life of Man" the poet looks at life as a

"short Comedy" :

What is our life? a play of passion,  
 Our mirth the musicke of diuision,  
 Our mothers wombes the tyring houses be,  
 Where we are drest for this short Comedy.<sup>23</sup>  
 (11. 1-4)

Heaven or God is the judge — "the judicious sharpe spectator" — of this comedy of life; our graves are the "curtaynes when the play is done" and finally death is the only reality :

Thus march we playing to our latest rest,  
 Onely we dye in earnest, that's no Iest.<sup>24</sup>  
 (11.9-10)

"The Lie" is another poem which is entirely devoted to the theme of mutability, but here mutability is shown as corruption or degeneration of all human ideals and institutions. It is one of the strongest indictments of worldly institutions and human life as it is and not as it ought to be. The poet examines the court, the church, the potentates, the aristocrates, and finds them all degenerated. The court only "glows/And shines like rotten wood"; the church only "shows / What's good, and doth no good". The potentates "live acting by other's

action," and the nobility's purpose is only "ambition" and their practice is "only hate." The poet further goes on to show how all human values and ideals are not what they are supposed to be. Zeal wants devotion; love is only lust; flesh is only dust; age daily "wasteth;" honour changes; favour <sup>ℓ</sup>flatters; wit only "wrangles/ In tickle points of niceness;" wisdom "entangles / Herself in overwiseness;" charity is coldness; law is contention; fortune is blind; friendship is unkind; justice delays; arts have no soundness; schools lack profoundness and so on.

Raleigh, here, is stating the bitter facts of human life. Human beings created certain institutions and affirmed certain ideals and values to rise above a brutish existence, but these institutions and ideals have all degenerated into their opposites. They no longer serve the purpose for which they were created or imagined. Such a view might be termed pessimistic, but this is a fact of life even after thousands of years of the so-called civilization. Raleigh is only stating a profound and sad truth and that too in a matter-of-fact and neutral manner although the tone is sometimes harsh.

The same tone is maintained in a few "advice"

poems that Raleigh wrote. For example, in the poem titled as "The Advice" Raleigh asks the lady<sup>25</sup> to be constant and not allow anyone except the deserving man "to win the Fort of thy most constant will." The poet says :

Therefore take heed, let fancy never swerve  
 But unto him that will defend thee still.  
 For this be sure, the fort of fame once won,  
 Farewell the rest, thy happy days are done.<sup>26</sup>  
 (11.3-6)

However, the fact remains that Raleigh could not always maintain this neutral tone while dealing with time and mutability whenever his own self was involved. Thus, in poems relating to his own personal life, his tone changes and becomes emotional and impassioned. This is quite evident in the lyrics dealing with his personal life and the long poem "Cynthia."<sup>27</sup> It is here that the poet shows his acute pain at the disappearance of past joys and love and his ill-treatment at the hands of fortune and time. For example, in the poem "Farewell to the Court" the poet repeats at the end of each stanza "the sorow onely staies." The past seems to be only a dream:

Like truthles dreames, so are my ioyes expired,  
 And past returne, are all my dandled daies :

My loue misled, and fancie quite retired,  
 Of all which past, the sorow onely staies.<sup>28</sup>  
 (11.1-4)

The poet feels that all his delights are gone and he is left all alone and is completely in the grip of fortune:

My minde to woe, my life in fortunes hand,  
 Of all which past, the sorow onely staies.<sup>29</sup>  
 (11.7-8)

The country where he wanders now is a wasteland "whose sweete springs spent, whose sommer well nie don"<sup>30</sup> and with everything gone "the sorow onely staies."

In another poem "My boddy in the walls captived" the poet finds "tymes" and "destinies" responsible for the aggravation of his miseries. His mind was already enthralled with his mistress and it was further "fast fettered in her ancient memory," but now his body is also a prisoner behind the "walls captived" with the difference that his previous keeper, i.e., his mistress is gone and therefore without her love there is nothing left for him but despair :

Butt tymes effects, and destinies dispightfull  
 Haue changed both my keeper and my fare,  
 Loves fire, and bewties light I then had store,



Butt now close kept, as captives wounted are,  
 That food, that heat, that light I finde no more,  
 Dyspair\$ bolts up my dores, and I alone  
 Speake to dead walls, butt thos heare not my mone.<sup>31</sup>  
 (11.8-14)

In another moving poem "As you came from the holy land" the poet laments that his heavenly mistress has left him all alone, but, when asked about the cause of her desertion, he ascribes it to his old age; thus, in a way, blaming Time. The poet says :

I haue loude her all my youth,  
 Butt now ould, as you see,  
 Loue lykes not the fallyng frute  
 From the wythered tree.<sup>32</sup>  
 (11. 25-28)

Love has no enduring quality and is subject to change or mutability :

His desyre is a dureless contente  
 And a trustless ioye  
 He is wonn with a world of despayre  
 And is lost with a toye.<sup>33</sup>  
 (11. 33-36)

It is in these lyrics that Raleigh gives vent to his poignant grief for the blows he received from Time

and Fortune; but his long poem "Cynthia" reveals even in a much greater measure his discomfiture at the hands of Time. It is a long poem of sorrow, unrelieved by any light moods of hope. It has now been established that it was written in prison to win back the favour of Queen Elizabeth.<sup>34</sup> There is disagreement among critics whether it expresses genuine grief or it was only a device to win back the Royal favour.<sup>35</sup> But there is no doubt that Raleigh bemoans the past and holds Time and Fortune responsible for his present misery. Thus, for the poet, joys are "under dust" and will "never live again." The fire of love is extinguished and the trees are bare :

The blossomes fallen, the sapp gon from the tree,  
 The broken monuments of my great desires,  
 From thes so lost what may th' affections bee,  
 What heat in Cynders of extinguisht fiers?<sup>36</sup>  
 (11.13-16)

The poet remembers the days when he enjoyed the "full crop," but now he only seeks "faire floures amid the brinish sand." He is now forsaken and friendless and possesses only a "forsaken heart" and a "withered mind" because of love, time and fortune :

So my forsaken hart, my withered mind,  
 Widdow of all the ioyes it once possest,  
 My hopes cleane out of sight, with forced wind  
 To kyngdomes strange, to lands farr off adrest.

Alone, forsaken, frindless onn the shore  
 With many wounds, with deaths cold pangs inebrased,  
 Writes in the dust as onn that could no more  
 Whom love, and tyme, and fortune had defaced.<sup>37</sup>  
 (11.86-92)

Again, the poet hates life and curses destiny and the "thoughts of passed tymes" are "like flames of hell" to him.<sup>38</sup> He remembers his glorious past and his many achievements then and tries to think of the cause of his present misery. He learns from "strong reason" that everything in this world is subject to decay and so is he and his state. He says that he should have been warned by "reason" that passion must decay as beauty decays :

And though strong reason holde before myne eyes  
 The Images, and formes of worlds past  
 Teachinge the cause why all thos flames that rize  
 From formes externall, cann no longer last,

Then that thos seeminge bewties hold in pryme  
 Loves ground, his essence, and his emperye,  
 All slaues to age, and vassalls vnto tyme  
 Of which repeta<sup>n</sup>nce writes the tragedye.<sup>39</sup>  
 (11.173-180)

So Raleigh if time is the giver, it is also the  
 devourer. There is a time when the fields are "clothed  
 with leues and flouers"<sup>40</sup> and the banks of roses smell  
 sweet, but they have "ther bewties date and tymely hours"  
 and are soon blasted by winter cold :

So farr as neather frute nor forme of floure  
 Stayes for a wittnes what such branches bare,  
 Butt as tyme gave, tyme did agayne devoure  
 And chandge our risinge ioy to fallinge care.<sup>41</sup>  
 (11.245-48)

Everything decays and even the hardest steel is  
 subject to rust :

All droopes, all dyes, all troden vnder dust  
 The person, place, and passages forgotten  
 The hardest steele eaten with softest ruste,  
 The firme and sollide tree both rent and rotten.<sup>42</sup>  
 (11.253-56)

The same idea is repeated in the lines 269-274  
 that the streams that were clear once are only "standinge

puddelles;" the "Ocean seas" are only "tempestius waves" now and all things that were "blessed" in the past have become "base" in the present. In lines 501-504 the poet furthur says :

Thy hart, which was their folde, now in decay  
 By often stormes, and winters many blasts  
 All torne and rent, becumes misfortunes pray,  
 Falce hope, my shepherds staff, now age hath brast.<sup>43</sup>  
 (11.501-4)

So the age has broken his shepherd's staff and his heart has been blasted by storms and cold winter and therefore can no longer harbour the warm feelings of love.

It is significant that Raleigh repeats these sentiments towards the end of "Cynthia." He says pathetically :

Thus home I draw, as deaths longe night drawes onn.  
 Yet every foot, olde thoughts turne back myne eyes,  
 Constraynt mee guides as old age drawes a stonn  
 Agaynst the hill, which over wayghty lyes  
 For feebell ames, or wasted strenght to move.  
 My steapps are backwarde, gasinge on my loss.<sup>44</sup>  
 (11.509-14)

This is the end now according to Raleigh. Death's long night is drawing near but the poet is still tormented by

"olde thoughts." He has feeble arms and his strength is wasted. His steps are now backward and he gazes over his loss which seems to be irrevocable.

There are also a few lines available to us from the next book of "Cynthia" entitled as "Beginning of the 12 Boock, entreatinge of Sorrow."<sup>45</sup> This is only a fragment containing about 21 lines. Just as the XI book of "C<sup>n</sup>thia"<sup>^</sup> is devoted to mutability, in the same way, this fragment also consists of a statement of the poet's suffering at the hands of time and his present state of woe. He says :

My dayes delights, my springetyme|ioies fordvnn,  
 Which in the dawne, and risinge soonn of youth  
 Had their creation, and weare first begunn,  
 Do in the yeveninge, and the winter sadd,  
 Present my minde, which takes my tymes accompt,  
 The grief remayninge of the joy it had.<sup>46</sup>  
 (11.1-6)

In another short poem known as "S.W.Raghlies Petition to the Queene" (1618) and which is supposed to be one of the few last poems that he wrote while in the tower waiting for execution, Raleigh again brings up the theme of the mutability of fortune :

For what wee somtyme were wee are no more,  
 Fortune hath chang'd our shape, and Destinie  
 Defac'd the vearye forme wee had before.<sup>47</sup>  
 (11.7-9)

Moreover, it does not seem to be a coincidence that the last following lines, supposedly written by Raleigh the night before his execution, should refer to nothing else but Time :

Even such is tyme which takes in trust  
 Our yowth, our loyes, and all we haue,  
 And payes vs butt with age and dust :  
 Who in the darke and silent graue  
 When we haue wandred all our wayes  
 Shutts up the storye of our dayes.  
 And from which earth and graue and dust  
 The Lord shall rayse me up I trust.<sup>48</sup>

This is not an original poem. Raleigh takes these lines from his earlier poem, "Nature that washt her hands in milke" but introduces some modifications. "Oh Cruell Time" is substituted by "Even such is tyme" and two more lines are added towards the end.<sup>49</sup> Greenblatt rightly says that this last poem written by Raleigh shows his sole preoccupation with Time and nothing else. It is Time the Destroyer that is executing Raleigh and not the King. "The King, the gold mine, the empire, and the axe have all dropped away, leaving time, the poet and God."<sup>50</sup>

But Greenblatt seems to be incorrect in his interpretation of the poem when he observes further that Raleigh shows anguish and "bitterly resents" the role of Time.<sup>51</sup> A careful interpretation of the modifications and additions made by Raleigh shows that whereas the earlier stanza beginning with "Oh Cruell Time" expressed the poet's anguish and bitterness, the later modified version beginning with "Even such is tyme" only shows the acceptance of the facts of life and a spirit of <sup>c</sup>hristian resignation and faith in God. The modifications themselves suggest that Raleigh has travelled a long way in his attitude to Time since he wrote the poem "Nature that Washt" and he is no longer bitter and resentful. In the earlier poem Raleigh calls Time "Cruell" which shows a bitter and resentful tone, but in the later version he no longer feels that Time is cruel. He only says that Time is such as takes away all our youth and joys. The bitterness is gone and the harsh realities of life are accepted. The poet no longer blames Time because he has come to the realisation that Time has a function in this world and it only performs its role as guided by Providence. This realisation has naturally taken away the sting of the injuries of time. The poem, thus, further illustrates Raleigh's realism in facing the adversities of fortune. Moreover, the addition of the



last two lines to the original stanza in the poem "Nature that Washt her hands in milke" further confirms that Raleigh did not suffer from the feeling of overwhelming despair and bitterness in seeing a mutable world. There is a consolation and calmness of mind displayed in these last two lines :

And from which earth and grave and dust  
The Lord shall rayse me up I trust.

It is a <sup>c</sup>christian faith which he also showed in his History of the World by maintaining that the universe is guided by Divine Providence and Time is only an agent. It is resignation to the will of God based on humble recognition of the fact of human life as it is.

Thus all is not lost, Raleigh seems to say in these lines and, it is not only in these lines, but <sup>in</sup> ~~at~~ many other places, Raleigh seems to be hinting that man can still be certain of a few things even though everything is uncertain and subject to mutability. Mutability can be countered by a heroic man who holds steadfast to his values and who refuses to be cowed down by the "slings of fortune." Thus, he exhorts to the translator of Lucan :

Change not, to change thy fortune tis too late.  
Who with a manly faith resolves to dye,

May promise to himselfe a lasting state,  
 Though not so great, yet free from infamy.<sup>52</sup>  
 (11.9.12)

Again, in "Cynthia" he affirms that his love and  
 faith are not subject to decay :

My love is not of tyme, or bound to date  
 .....  
 My bound respect was not confinde to dayes  
 My vowed fayth not sett to ended houres.<sup>53</sup>  
 (11.301-5)

So, his love is like Shakespeare's true love which is  
 constant in this mutable world. Raleigh declares :

A love obscurde, but cannot be forgotten,  
 Too great and stronge for tymes Iawes to devour;<sup>54</sup>  
 (11.383-3)

*Or,*  
~~Or,~~ Oh love it is but vayne, to say thow weare,  
 Ages, and tymes, cannot thy poure outrun....<sup>55</sup>  
 (11.436-37)

Not only his love is constant, it also gives him  
 comfort against the ravages of time as in these lines :

The wynde of woe hath torne my Tree of Truste,  
 Care Quenchde the Coales, whych did my Fancy warme,  
 And all my Hellp Lyes buryed in the Duste.

But yett amonges those Cares, which Crosse my Rest,  
Thys Comfort Growes, I thynke I love thee Beste.<sup>56</sup>  
(11.14-18)

Shakespeare said the same thing in sonnet thirty :

But if the while I think on thee, dear friend,  
All losses are restored and sorrows end.<sup>57</sup>

Moreover, for Raleigh, Love has the power to mitigate woes and cares and to defend against the onslaught of fortune. Cynthia's love has that power :

Her regall lookes, my rigarus sythes suppressed,  
Small dropes of ioies, sweetned great worlds of woes,  
One gladsume day a thowsand cares redressed.  
Whom Loue defends, what fortune overthrowes?<sup>58</sup>  
(Cynthia, 11.49-52)

If Raleigh acknowledges the sway of Time and Mutability over everything in this world, he is also emphatic in asserting that Time or Adversity can not take away the essence of love which has its place in the soul. His love and his loyalty are not subject to decay or change. His mistress might have deserted him, but the memory of the past and his gratefulness for the comforts of love which are no more, will always last as we see in these

lines from "Cynthia" :

A lastinge gratfullness, for thos cumforts past  
 Of which the cordiall sweetness cannot dye.  
 Thes thoughts, knitt vp by fayth, shall ever last,  
 Thes, tyme assayes, butt never can vntye;<sup>59</sup>  
 (ll.388-91)

His loyalty is immutable and is not subject to "sad  
 aduersetye"<sup>60</sup> or "age, or natures overthrow."<sup>61</sup> And finally  
 the poet declares emphatically that nothing under the sun  
 can destroy the "essentiall love, of no frayle parts  
 cumpounded."<sup>62</sup>

It should be, however, kept in mind here that  
 Raleigh makes a distinction between true love or "the  
 essentiall love" and "affection." True love is not  
 subject to change as Shakespeare also affirmed in his  
 sonnets; but "affection" or false love is subject to  
 mutability. Thus, in the poem "A Farewell to false Love"  
 Raleigh declares that false love is not permanent. It is  
 "a substance like the shadow of the Sunne."<sup>63</sup> In another  
 poem "A Poesie to prove affection is not love" (popularly  
 known by its first line "Concept begotten by the eyes")  
 Raleigh says :

Affection followes Fortunes wheels;  
 And sonne is shaken from her heales;  
 .....

For all affections have their change,  
 And fancie onely loves to range.<sup>64</sup>

Similarly, Raleigh draws a line between true and false love in the poem "As you came from the holy land." According to him false love is nothing but childish desires in which women indulge :

Of women kynde suche indeed is the loue  
 Or the word Loue abused  
 Vnder which many chyldysh desyres  
 And conceytes are excused.<sup>65</sup>  
 (11.37-40)

But true love is something different. It is an ever-burning fire which never becomes dim and always remains steadfast as Raleigh declares in the following concluding lines of the poem :

Butt true Loue is a durable fyre  
 In the mynde euer burnynge;  
 Neuer sycke, neuer ould, neuer dead,  
 From itt selfe neuer turnynge.<sup>66</sup>  
 (11.41-44)

Besides "true" love, which is constant in this mutable world, Cynthia or Diana is also immutable according to Raleigh. She is not subject to time or mortality. Thus

in the poem "Praised be Dianas faire and harmles light"  
 the poet believes that "Eternity in hir oft chaunge she  
 beares."<sup>67</sup> He further declares :

Time weares hir not, she doth his chariot guide,  
 Mortalitie belowe hir orbe is plaste.<sup>68</sup>

Moreover, Cynthia's appearance holds control over  
 time as in the following lines :

Such force her angellike aparance had  
 To master distance, tyme, or crueltye.<sup>69</sup>  
 (11.112-13)

Lines 183-191 of the poem "Cynthia" are almost  
 a hymn to the immutable divinity of Cynthia :

A bewty that cann easely deseave  
 Th' arrest of yeares, and creepinge age outclyme,  
 A springe of bewties which tyme ripeth not  
 Tyme that butt workes onn frayle mortallety,  
 A sweetness which woes wronges outwipeth not,  
 Whom love hath chose for his devinnitye,  
 A vestall fier that burnes, but never wasteth,  
 That looseth nought by gevinge light to all  
 That endless shines eachwher and endless lasteth.<sup>70</sup>

This is praising Cynthia in the highest terms but the significant thing to note here is that all the terms of perfection attributed to Cynthia are concerned with her durability in eternity. Hers is a beauty that can not be touched by age or years. Time has no function in her case. She has sweetness uncorrupted by "woes wronges;" and lastly, hers is the "vestall fire" that shines and lasts endlessly.

Even in the small fragment entitled as "The end of the bookes, of the Oceans love to Scinthia, and the beginnige of the 12 Boock, entreatinge of Sorrow," Raleigh refers to Cynthia's virtue of transcending over time :

...she cann renew, and cann create  
 Green from the grounde, and flowers, yeven out  
 of stone,  
 By vertu lastinge over tyme and date.<sup>71</sup>

Cynthia is compared to the sun<sup>f</sup> in this poetic fragment. Just as sun creates new life, in the same way she can also recreate and renew what time has destroyed.

The above-mentioned illustrations clearly show that Raleigh believes in the immutability of "true love" and "Cynthia." There are two things more which Raleigh thinks can help a man in his struggle against time or

fortune. These are skilfulness on the one hand and virtuous conduct on the other. To a man of action success is possible despite fortune and a skilful man can advance himself in life as Raleigh says in his poem "Sweete ar the thoughtes, wher Hope persuadeth Happe" :

Thus Hope bringes Hap; but to the worthy wight,  
 Thus Pleasure comes; but after hard assay,  
 Thus Fortune yelds, in manger oft for spight,  
 Thus happy state in none without delay.  
 Then must I needes advance my self by Skyl,  
 And lyve to serve, in hope of your goodwyll.<sup>72</sup>  
 (11.7-12)

Raleigh said almost the same thing in the History of the world that a wordly-wise man could be successful if he acted according to the times in which he lived.<sup>73</sup> Moreover, it is the virtues of a man that remain even after he is dead as Raleigh says in the poem "Vertue the best monument":

Not Caesars birth made Caesar to suruiue  
 But Caesars vertues, which are yett aliue.<sup>74</sup>  
 (11.1-2)

Thus, we have seen that Raleigh is acutely conscious of time or mutability or fortune in almost all his poems including "Cynthia." Everything is subject



to mutability; fortune and destiny do not spare anyone; time is enemy to Nature and her finest creations are disfigured by him; aging is inevitable and can result in the loss of love. Again and again he refers to the past that no more exists. The long poem "Cynthia," as we have seen, is full of such references. He could write about these things in a passionate and sincere tone because he himself had been a "fortune's plaything."<sup>75</sup> In his personal poems, particularly "Cynthia," some time he shows even bitterness and pain while dealing with his present love-lorn and forsaken condition and expresses a wistful longing for the glorious past.

Even the imagery employed by Raleigh shows that he was constantly thinking of decay and degeneration.<sup>76</sup> It is not within the scope of this thesis to make an intensive study of Raleigh's imagery, but a few examples will suffice to show that Raleigh's mind is constantly thinking of corruption and decay. Such expressions as "fallen blossoms", "under dust", "day and night", "ripened fruits", "evening or twilight" are very common in Raleigh's poems. He also uses contrasting images, for example, high-flowing streams with mud; fair Sun days with shade; fruitful trees with withered leaves; fair flowers with brinish sand; fertile fields with arid landscapes; bright fire with quenched coals; the rising day with the woeful night; bright summer

and cold winter, etc. There are also images of change occurring everywhere, e.g., fruit, when ripe, falling to the ground, time driving the flocks from field to fold, living creatures going to rest, and setting of Sun.

Similarly the words connoting "misfortune" and "adversity" are used again and again, e.g., forsaken, wounds, pangs, dust, deface, sighs and groans, woe or sorrow, waste, are very common words to be found anywhere in Raleigh's poems.

All this suggests that Raleigh was overwhelmingly conscious of Time's processes and effects on this world and particularly ~~an~~ man's life. He is bitter and impassioned when he is subjective, but he could be neutral though harsh when he was generalising about the theme of time. Such solutions like fame or progeny are of no use to him, although contemporary Elizabethan poets like Spenser and Shakespeare made use of them. He has his own solutions and these are — trust in God, faith in true love and in man's virtues like honour. Practical or <sup>worldly</sup> ~~wordly~~ wisdom can also help against fortune's might; but Raleigh mainly believes in man's dignity and virtues and above all in God's Providence.

## Notes to Chapter IV

<sup>1</sup>George Puttenham?, The Art of English Poesie, ed. G.D. Willock and Alice Walker (Cambridge : The University Press, 1963), p.63.

<sup>2</sup>Frances Meres, Palladis Tamia, ed. Arthur Freeman (New York : Garland Pub., 1973), p.284.

<sup>3</sup>Peter Ure, "Two Elizabethan Poets : Daniel and Raleigh", in The Age of Shakespeare : The Pelican Guide to English Literature, ed. Boris Ford (Baltimore : Penguin Books, 1955), p.131.

<sup>4</sup>M.C. Bradbrook, The School of Night (New York : Russell and Russell, 1965), p.87.

<sup>5</sup>Philip Edwards, Sir Walter Raleigh (London : Longmans, 1953), p.173.

<sup>6</sup>For discussion of Raleigh's authorship and his canon see A.M.C. Latham, The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), pp.87-92. See also Walter Oakeshott, The Queen and the Poet (London : Faber and Faber, 1960), pp.131-209. In this study only those poems will be considered which are authenticated by Miss Latham in her edition of Raleigh's poems.

<sup>7</sup>Castiglione, The Book of the Courtier, trans. Charles Singleton (New York : Anchor Books, 1959), p.249.

<sup>8</sup>In Miss Latham's opinion the chief reason of Raleigh's shrinking from publicity is that his poetry was intimately connected with his courtship of the Queen. See A.M.C. Latham, The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), p.XLIV.

<sup>9</sup>Philip Edwards, Sir Walter Raleigh (London : Longmans, 1953), p.123.

<sup>10</sup>Peter Ure, "The Poetry of Sir Walter Raleigh", in A Review of English Literature, Vol.I (1960), p.23.

<sup>11</sup>Walter Raleigh, The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh, ed. Agnes M.C. Latham (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962), p.6. All subsequent references from Raleigh's poems will be from this edition which will be referred to as "The Poems, ed. Latham."

<sup>12</sup>Ibid., p.3.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p.16.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p.17.

<sup>18</sup>Matthew Arnold, Poetical Works, ed. Tinker and Lowry (London : Oxford University Press, 1961), p.2.

<sup>19</sup>For a detailed discussion of Raleigh's realism and pessimism see the last chapter.

<sup>20</sup>The Poems, ed. Latham, p.21.

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., pp.21-22.

<sup>22</sup>Ibid., p.22.

<sup>23</sup>Ibid., p.51.

<sup>24</sup>Ibid., p.52.

<sup>25</sup>For the identification of the lady and the occasion of the writing of this poem, see The Poems, ed. Lathams, p.110.

<sup>26</sup>The Poems, ed. Latham, p.14.

<sup>27</sup>See Walter Oakeshott, The Queen and the Poet (London : Faber and Faber, 1960) for a detailed discussion of the circumstances in which "Cynthia" and other poems touching Raleigh's personal life were written.

<sup>28</sup>The Poems, ed. Latham, p.12.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., p.24.

<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p.23.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>See Walter Oakeshott, The Queen and the Poet (London : Faber and Faber, 1960), pp.133-38.

<sup>35</sup>See Donald Davie, "A Reading of 'The Ocean's Love to Cynthia,'" in Elizabethan Poetry, ed. J.R. Brown and B. Harris (London : Arnold, 1960), pp.71-77.

<sup>36</sup>The Poems, ed. Latham, p.25.

<sup>37</sup>Ibid., p.28.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid., p.31, ll.165-66.

<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p.31.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid., p.33.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p.34.

<sup>42</sup>Ibid.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid., p.43.

<sup>44</sup>Ibid.

<sup>45</sup>For the circumstances and the authorship of this fragment see Latham, ed. The Poems, p.128.

<sup>46</sup>The Poems, ed. Latham, p.44.

<sup>47</sup>Ibid., p.70.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p.72.

<sup>49</sup>See page 111 for the original stanza of "Nature that washt her hands in milke."

<sup>50</sup>Greenblatt, Sir Walter Raleigh (London : Yale University Press, 1973), p.9.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid.

<sup>52</sup>The Poems, ed. Latham, p.54.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p.36.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p.38.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid., p.40.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., p.5.

<sup>57</sup>Shakespeare's Sonnets, ed. A.L. Rowse (London : Macmillan, 1964), p.62.

<sup>58</sup>The Poems, ed. Latham, p.27.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., p.39.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid., p.39, l.400.

<sup>61</sup>Ibid., l.401.

<sup>62</sup>Ibid., l.410.

<sup>63</sup>Ibid., p.8, l.17.

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p.17, ll.13-18.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p.23.

<sup>66</sup>Ibid.

<sup>67</sup>Ibid., p.11, l.11.

<sup>68</sup>Ibid., p.11, ll.13-14.

<sup>69</sup>Ibid., p.29.

<sup>70</sup>Ibid., p.31-32.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid., p.44, ll.16-18.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid., p.4.

<sup>73</sup>See Chapter III.

<sup>74</sup>The Poems, ed. Latham, p.53.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid., p.XXVII.

<sup>76</sup>Pierre Lefran<sup>c</sup> has made an admirable and detailed study of the patterns of imagery in Raleigh's poems. See Pierre Lefranc, Sir Walter Raleigh, Ecrivain (Quebec : University of Laval Press, 1968), pp.509 ff.



## CONCLUSION : RALEGH THE REALIST

We have seen that Raleigh's poetic works are almost an illustration of his views about Time and Mutability as expressed in his History of the World. <sup>That</sup> ~~The~~ he was acutely conscious of the ravages of Time can be seen from his private correspondence as well. It is not our purpose here to go through his entire correspondence, but a few prominent letters written by him to his wife and others <sup>at</sup> critical hours in his life also reflect the same concern about Time. A few examples here will suffice to confirm further what we have been trying to emphasize. Thus, in a letter written to his wife from the Tower in December 1603, he laments the loss of honour and fortune :

All my services, hazardes, and expenses, for my Countrie plantings, discoveries, fights, Councells, and whatsoever ells, malice hath nowe covered over, I am nowe made an enimie and traytor by the word of an unworthie man...he hath slaine my honour, my fortune....<sup>1</sup>

There is great grief expressed in the above lines — grief at the loss of everything and change of fortune. The memory of the past haunts Raleigh and torments him so much that he invokes death in the same letter towards the end :

O death hasten thee unto me, that thowe  
maiste destroye the memorie of theis, and  
laye me up in darke forgetfullness.  
O death destroye my memorie which is my  
Tormentour, my thoughts and my life can  
not dwell in one body.<sup>2</sup>

Similarly, in another letter written to his wife in 1603 when he was waiting for execution in the Tower, he bids farewell to his wife in these words :

I can say noe more, tyme and death call me  
away.<sup>3</sup>

In the same way, in the letter of advice which Raleigh wrote for his son and which is popularly known as "Instructions to his son,"<sup>4</sup> Raleigh warns his son about the fickleness of affections, decay of beauty and alteration in love. Men forget any services done to them because "the fancies of man change and he that loves today hateth

tomorrow."<sup>5</sup> The son is advised not to marry for beauty's sake because :

...if thou marry for beauty thou bindest thyself for all thy life for that which perchance will neither last nor please thee one year; and thou hast it, it will be unto thee of no price at all, for the desire dieth when it is attained and the affection perisheth when it is satisfied.<sup>6</sup>

At another place Raleigh again exhorts his son not to rely on "affections" which "do not last."<sup>7</sup> The son is finally warned that "liking" or "love" is not permanent by giving a practical example :

Remember when thou wert a suckling child that then didst love thy dry nurse and didst forget the other; after that thou didst also despise her; so will it be with thee in thy liking in elder years; and therefore thou canst not forbear to love, yet forbear to link, and often a while thou shalt find an alteration in thyself and see another far more pleasing than the first, second, or third love.<sup>8</sup>

"Instructions to his son" shows Raleigh a worldly wise person cautioning a young man not to put too much trust in the continuance of affection, love or the loyalty of men. They are what Mr. W. Lee Ustick calls, "the prudential maxims of a cautious, disillusioned man, to whom the sweet of life turned to sour."<sup>9</sup>

The same concern for change and mutability can be seen in his other writings, for example, in "The Epistle Dedicatory"<sup>10</sup> to the Discovery of Guiana published in 1596, he cannot help thinking of the past and calls the present as the winter of his life :

...if aught might have been deserved  
in former times to have counterpoised any  
part of offences, the fruit thereof (as  
it seemeth) was long before fallen from  
the tree, and the dead stock only remained.  
I did therefore even in the winter of my  
life, undertake these travels, fitter for  
bodies less blasted with misfortunes.<sup>11</sup>

It appears that Raleigh even in his letters and other writings could never forget the imagery of falling fruits, dead stock and the winter of life.

It would be quite relevant here to seek the reasons for Raleigh's disillusionment, his obsession with time and fortune defacing everything and his emphatic affirmation :

And what we some tyme were we seeme noe more,  
 Fortune hath changed our shapes, and Destinie  
 Defac'd our very forme we had before.<sup>12</sup>

One

One reason could be that he was a typical Elizabethan, a representative of that age which "shuddered at the thought of time and its unflagging work of demolition."<sup>13</sup> Raleigh's varied activities and his interest in everything from navigation and shipbuilding to his inquiries into the natural world and the existence of soul make him the most representative person of that period. The Elizabethan age, particularly the later part of the sixteenth century and the earlier part of the seventeenth century was marked with great tension.<sup>14</sup> It is a period of transition— transition from the old to the new modern world. Sir Walter Raleigh belonged to this period and he shared this tension with his contemporaries. One significant cause of this tension was the concern for stability in things mundane. A study of the past was the chief feature of the

times and this only revealed that even the mighty empires and the magnificent monuments were subject to time and decay. The Mirror for Magistrates (1559) was one of the earliest works to depict the fall of great men from high estate and the inconstancy of Fortune.<sup>15</sup> There were many similar works in prose, poetry and drama of the period which show their concern with Time's ravages. We have already noted in the second chapter how the Elizabethan poets were conscious of mutability and how the debate regarding progress or degeneration continued unabated throughout this period. A doubt about the worthwhileness of human efforts in the face of all-conquering mutability lingered on to trouble the minds of the thinking men. If Bacon expressed faith in the future, there were others who felt that the world was coming to an end with the golden age already receding. Sir Walter Raleigh, who was not only a man of action but also a thinker and scholar, could not remain unaffected by this controversy regarding mutability.

But it is very difficult to label or categorise Raleigh. His sombre tones, his obsession with decay and mutability, his preoccupation with the past in his works may tempt one to label him a pessimist. But his faith in the permanence of human values and his trust in God and

Providence and his belief in human efforts and freewill show that he cannot be termed as a lost soul and, therefore, cannot be outrightly condemned as a pessimist. Thus, on the one hand, he could write such despair-ridden lines :

Oh cruell Time which takes in trust  
Our youth, our Joyes and all we haue.<sup>16</sup>

Affection followes Fortunes wheeles  
And soone is shaken from her heeles.<sup>17</sup>

So fraile is all thinges as wee see,  
So subject vnto conquering Time.<sup>18</sup>

All slaues to age, and vassalls vnto tyme  
of which repentance writes the tragedye.<sup>19</sup>

All droopes, all dyes, all troden vnder dust  
The person, place, and passages forgotten  
The hardest steele eaten with softest ruste,  
The firme and sollide tree both rent and rotten.<sup>20</sup>

On the other hand, Raleigh could also challenge Time and affirm that there are certain things which Time could never touch like, for example, his view of love :

My love is not of tyme, or bound to date  
 My harts internall heat, and livinge fier.<sup>21</sup>

A love obscurde, but cannot be forgotten,  
 Too great and stronge for tymes Iawes to devour;<sup>22</sup>

Thes thoughts, knitt vp by fayth, shall ever last,  
 Thes, tyme assayes, butt never can vntye;<sup>23</sup>

Oh love it is but vayne, to say thow weare,  
 Ages, and tymes, cannot thy poure outrun.<sup>24</sup>

The same is true about his faith and loyalty :

My bound respect was not confinde to dayes  
 My vowed fayth not sett to ended houres.<sup>25</sup>

Again, if in the History of the World, history triumphs over time and God's Providence is eternal, in "Cynthia", it is Cynthia herself who is immutable. Allegorically Cynthia is Queen Elizabeth, the Queen of England, and Raleigh as a great patriot had faith in the destiny of his nation and the Queen of England was a symbol of that destiny. Cynthia, for Raleigh, could also be ideal womanhood, the mother of all creation who :

...Cann renew, and cann create

Green from the grovnde, and floures, yeven  
 out of stone

By vertu lastinge over tyme and date.<sup>26</sup>



Such passages show that Cynthia or Diana as Raleigh calls her in another poem "Praised be Dianas faire and harmless light" is not a mortal woman but a power or force. It is not the object of this study to establish that Raleigh was a mystic poet, but if we read "Cynthia" carefully, there is a great temptation to interpret some of the passages in mystic terms. For instance :

Oh, princely forme, my fancies adamande,  
 Devine consayte, my paynes acceptance,  
 Oh, all in onn, Oh heaven on earth transparent  
 The seat of joyes, and loves abundance.<sup>27</sup>  
 (11.41-44)

Or,  
 A vestall fier that burnes, but never wasteth,  
 That looseth nought by gevinge light to all  
 That endless shines eachwher and endless lasteth  
 Blossumes of pride that cann nor vade nor fall.<sup>28</sup>

Or take these lines from "Praised be Dianas faire and harmless light":

In heaven Queen she is among the spheres,  
 In ay she Mistres like makes all things pure,  
 Eternity in hir oft chaunge she beares,  
 She beautie is, by hir the faire endure.

Time wears hir not, she doth his chariot guide  
 Mortalitie belowe hir orbe is plaste,  
 By hir the vertue of the starrs downe slide,  
 In hir is virtues perfect image cast.<sup>29</sup>  
 (11.9-16)

Such passages do bring Raleigh very close to mysticism or the <sup>S</sup>sufi poets of the East who believed in worshipping the divine form through love poetry. But there is always a danger of being charged with reading too much in an innocent poem which, according to some critics, is nothing but a repetit<sup>i</sup>ous lament of a love-lorn lover written for a particular occasion. Greenblatt calls it "abandoned Lover's gestures of despair"<sup>30</sup> and observes that theatricalism was a part of Raleigh's nature and "his verses were only one such gesture."<sup>31</sup> But it would be an injustice to Raleigh's poetic spirit to call it only a part of his theatrical nature. One cannot fail to note the sincerity of grief and the intensity of emotions in many lines of "Cynthia".

Be that as it may, the passages quoted above may create an impression that Raleigh is contradicting himself by saying on the one hand that time spares none and then declaring that there are things which are beyond Time. But a careful study will reveal that these statements are

not contradictory but complementary. Of course, Raleigh could see the arguments on both sides. His was a complex personality. He was a man of action as well as thought. It is said that even when he went on exploratory voyages, he carried a trunkful of books. He had a very independent and questioning mind. His sharpness of tongue and free expression of his ideas brought him into conflict with many a closed mind of the day. He was called an atheist<sup>32</sup> and it was said that he participated in the activities of the "school of Night!"<sup>33</sup> It is now an established fact that he conducted experiments and believed that man is entitled to pry into the secrets of the natural world. His distinction between sorcery or devilish crafts and the natural and therefore desirable attempts to learn the secrets of nature for man's mastery over nature is significant. But surprisingly, this man, who was almost modern in outlook, also held medieval beliefs and implicit faith in scriptural authority. It is difficult to reconcile these two contradictory streaks in his thought. On the one hand, he is modern in his emphasis on a questioning spirit, objectivity and experimentation; on the other, he shows blind faith in Providence and scriptural dogma.<sup>34</sup> Greenblatt is right when he says that these contradictory and "deeply antagonistic views of human nature"<sup>35</sup> were behind his

"dramatic sense of life."<sup>36</sup>

Perhaps Raleigh had to assume such contradictory postures because of the exigencies of the situation in which he found himself. He was a man of the world, inordinately ambitious, one who wanted to ride the world. Whatever he really thought or believed could not be expressed unequivocally if it came in the way of his ambition. There are many instances when he was forced to act a part because the circumstances demanded it.<sup>37</sup> His pretended madness, his faked fits of rage, his feigned illness at different occasions could make one suspect that in his writings also he could strike a pose to gain an objective. It has been suggested that his outbursts of passion and moods of despair in "Cynthia" were intended for regaining the favour of his royal mistress. Again, he could not have a good opinion of the weakling King James, but he uses highly flattering terms verging on sycophancy for the King because practical considerations forced him to do so. He was in the Tower, "a bird in the cage," as Prince Henry called him, and he needed freedom more than anyone else to carry out his projects, his explorations and to fulfil his life-long dreams and ambitions. Freedom was important to him and he had to use all means at his disposal, even sycophancy, to <sup>get</sup> go <sub>^</sub> it.

There could be another explanation for this seeming contradiction in his thoughts. As observed earlier, he was a complex man. He could live at various levels of life and believed<sup>38</sup> in a "well-acted life." He said in his History of the World that a "well-acted life" alone helped in facing Death boldly and accepting it as a necessary guide to "endless glorie." That Raleigh was ambitious to reach "endless glorie" is an accepted fact of history. He, therefore, treated life as a stage where he was expected to act well.<sup>39</sup> Life was a play, a "short comedye" and he was supposed to play his role, whatever it was, at different stages of life and at different periods. That he played his roles well, there is no doubt about it. In this he was a typical Renaissance man as Greenblatt calls him.<sup>40</sup> He could play the role of a courtier, a soldier, an innovator, as well as that of a thinker, philosopher and historian. In addition to this, he could also act out the role of a Petrarchan lover, sighing his soul away when the occasion demanded it.<sup>41</sup>

To some extent this explains why he makes seemingly contradictory statements about Time and Mutability in his works. As stated earlier, they are not really contradictory but complementary. Just as his contemporaries,

conscious of the ravages of time, suggest alternatives, similarly, Raleigh also shows his awareness of the problem and recommends his own constants. Spenser devised a complete theory about Mutability and Raleigh defines the role of Time and Providence in his History. Christopher Hill points out that Raleigh and Spenser had similar ideas about Providence and fortune. Hill says, "Between Spenser and Raleigh the links are obviously close, of ideas as well as in politics. The Preface and Conclusion to Raleigh's History seem to echo the Mutability Cantos."<sup>42</sup>

This is true in many respects. For Spenser also "Mutabilitie" holds sway over the entire world and change is the law of nature. But for him this change is "both cyclical and not cyclical."<sup>43</sup> Change occurs but continuity is also present. This is the conclusion reached at in the last few lines of the "Mutability Cantos" :

All things stedfastness doe hate  
 And changed be : yet being rightly wayd  
 They are not changed from their first estate;  
 But by their change their being doe dilate :  
 And turning to themselves at length againe,  
 Doe worke their owne perfection so by fate:

Then over them Change doth not rule and raigne;  
 But they raigne over change, and doe their states<sup>44</sup>  
 maintaine. (VII.7.58)

To Raleigh Time is an agent, an instrument of God's Providence as we have seen in his History, but he does not mention any continuity and, therefore, for him change is not cyclical. He unequivocally favours a linear view of history in which everything is moving towards a final consummation in God. Patrides rightly calls his History "orthodox"<sup>45</sup> because it represents the Christian view of history in which "Time could be reduced to limits, and change could be ascribed to god's own purpose and control."<sup>46</sup>

Again, with Spenser and Shakespeare, children, fame and poetic accomplishments are the counter<sup>1</sup>measures to devouring time. Surprisingly, Raleigh nowhere mentions these alternatives. History, of course, triumphs over time according to Raleigh. Virtue, human values and faith in God and man's heroic spirit, these seem to be the only reliable things in this otherwise changing world. One almost feels tempted to say that Raleigh shows more realism in his solutions than his contemporaries. There is no intention to affirm here that Raleigh was a greater poet than Shakespeare or Spenser. As a matter of fact,

he was not. But as the turn of the century and the Jacobean politics showed unreliability of fame and progeny, Raleigh's solutions seem to be the only valid constants which are true at all times and in all ages against mutability.

There is another significant difference between Raleigh's and his contemporaries' response to Time and Mutability. We started our discussion in this chapter with the reasons of Raleigh's concern with mutability and so far we have seen that Raleigh as a typical Elizabethan shows his obsession with mutability. But it seems that his concern went deeper than that of, say, Spenser, Shakespear, Daniel or other writers. It is more poignant and impressive. It appears that it was his greatest concern. It can be safely affirmed without any fear of contradiction that he shows greater awareness of the destructive power of Time and it is not difficult to understand why. The reason is simple. As stated earlier he had personally and very acutely experienced in his own life what perhaps others knew only from hearsay. No contemporary poet or writer had those experience<sup>s</sup>—the ups and downs of life, the buffets of fortune—as Raleigh had.<sup>47</sup> No other person had such cause for frustration and disappointments as he had. At one time, he was the Queen's lover, the captain of the Guard and then he was



imprisoned and even after his release was not allowed to attend the court for a long period. It is said that he regained the Royal favour to some extent, but soon after the death of Queen Elizabeth, he was almost permanently incarcerated in the Tower except for a brief period of release when he was allowed to go on that ill-fated expedition to Guiana. His grand plans for the colonisation of the "new world" and his search for gold mines all came to nought although today he is acknowledged as the founder of the British Empire. His scientific experiments could not yield the desired "elixir" or the "cordial" although his concoction did help Prince Henry in rallying for a brief period just before his death. He was once the owner of the great estates of Sherbourne and a magnificent residence in London, but he was shorn of all this by the spiteful King James. Though a true follower of the Church of England and a faithful believer, yet he was dubbed as an atheist. He was a sworn enemy of Spain till the end, but was executed on the charges of being in complicity with Spain. In addition to this, he had personal experience<sup>s</sup> of disloyalty of friends like Cecil and Cobham and treachery of his own kinsmen, like Stukeley and he had valid grounds to doubt all the protestations of loyalty, faithfulness and friendship.

This explains why Raleigh had far greater reasons to be acutely conscious of fortune and mutability. He was a living illustration of mutability. He had known personally how a minor event or error could ruin an entire career :

Onn houre deverts, onn instant overthrowes

For which our liues, for which our fortunes tharale<sup>48</sup>  
(Cynthia, 11.231-32)

He knew from his personal experiences how failures greet a person in spite of the best careful plans and how adversity can dog a man throughout his life.

It, however, goes to his credit that he never lost hope and never submitted. Any ordinary man would have completely broken down under the hardships to which Raleigh was subjected. But he never allowed hopeless despair to overpower him. Hoping against hope, he went on making efforts after efforts to secure freedom and to pursue his ambitious projects. When he did not succeed in this he made best use of his time in writing his masterpiece the History of the World, in conducting his scientific experiments, in writing his treatises on navigation and on matters concerning State, and in discourses on scholarly and scientific matters with the greatest minds of the day.<sup>49</sup>

The same seems to be his response to mutability in his written works. No doubt, at times his poetic voice and his utterances in the History or in his letters seem to be despair-ridden. Too often he talks of the past that will be no more and joys that are under dust. His imagery is all suggestive of decay, corruption, darkness, and withering of everything. This has been observed earlier in these pages and it is no use repeating them again. But this is also true that his voice is not always that of despair and his utterances do not always suggest doom. Many critics have called him a pessimist,<sup>50</sup> but a true pessimist is one who has lost all hope and who sees only the darker side of life. Raleigh does not seem to fulfil this criterion. We have already seen in the discussions of his History and his poems that he has his own solutions, his own constants which can counter mutability. He has faith in the immutability of "true love." Obviously, he makes a distinction between "true love" and "false love." While false love is subject to time and change, true love is not. In the poems "Concept begotten by the Eyes" and "As you came from the Holy Land" and above all in "Cynthia" this distinction between true and false love is very clearly brought out.<sup>51</sup>

Similarly, honest devotion, duty, loyalty and faithfulness are the human values which can be depended upon in this otherwise changing world. In his "Petition to the Queen" he affirms the constancy of these virtues in himself :

If I have sold my duetye, sold my faith,  
 To strangers, which was only due to one,  
 No thing I should estimate <sup>so</sup> ~~to~~ deare as Death. <sup>52</sup>  
 (11.27-30)

There are many other examples of his faith in these constants which we have already noted in the foregoing pages of this study. We have also seen how Cynthia or Diana is also immutable for Raleigh, and it has been argued before that the immutable Cynthia might not be a woman of flesh and blood but an ideal or an essence of all that is beautiful or perfect in this world as Raleigh affirms, "She beautie is, by hir faire endure."<sup>53</sup> This ideal was incorruptible for Raleigh.

It can now be clearly perceived what was mutable and what was immutable in this world to Raleigh. All that is external, that is born, that grows, that is concrete, is mutable, but all that is abstract or ideal, is constant or immutable. Marlow<sup>e</sup>'s shepherded offers the nymph all that is mutable and that is why Raleigh's nymph rejects them as unworthy of attention. Therefore, the mundane world, nature or human institutions may decay because of time, but this is in accordance with God's

Providence which is eternal and immutable. Thus, a man's physical condition, his worldly fortunes may be subject to decay, but his values, his ideals and his faith in God's Providence may remain unshaken. His virtues survive as he says in "Vertue the best monument" :

Not Caesars birth made Caesar to suruiue  
 But Caesars vertues, which are yett aliue.<sup>54</sup>  
 (11.1-2)

It is not fame that could survive time as Spenser and other Elizabethans believed. To Raleigh, fame involved the admiration of the people — the multitude — and Raleigh had no high opinion of their judgment, let alone their acclamation. He was himself at one time the most hated man in England. But virtues do survive, according to him. And by virtuous life he does not mean a hermit's life secluded from the world but a life full of action based, of course, on virtues as he declares in the same poem "virtue the best monument":

Actions crowne vertues, and like pulses proue  
 Whither the soule of's greatnes sweetlie moue  
 With natures harmony : which standing still  
 Or faintlie beateinge shew them dead or ill.<sup>55</sup>  
 (11.5-9)

Thus, Raleigh's response to Time and Mutability is more sombre, graver in tone and more vehement in expression than that of his contemporaries. His solution also show his independent spirit and are to some extent different from Spenser, Shakespeare, Daniel, Fulke Greville and other Elizabethan poets. Of course, like them he believes in the immutable character of true love, but there the similarity ends. He does not speak of fame or progeny or immortality of verse which are so important to Spenser and Shakespeare as counter-measures to mutability. Also he does not usually advocate a Carpe Diem motif as many Elizabethan poets suggest.<sup>56</sup> He had perhaps too serious a temper<sup>e</sup>ament for such flippant solutions.

It has been suggested before that it would be more appropriate to call Raleigh a realist than a pessimist in his response to mutability. In fact, he was too much in love with life to be a hard-core pessimist. In his "Instructions to his son," he says :

I feel no more perturbation within me to depart this world than I have done in my best health to arise from the table when I have well-dined and then to retire to a pleasant walk. I have had my part in this

world and now must give place to fresh  
gamsters. Farewell. All is vanity and  
weariness yet such a vanity and weariness  
that we shall ever complain of it and love  
it for all that.<sup>57</sup>

These lines show his love<sup>of</sup> life even though life  
is full of "vanity and weariness." Moreover, he does  
not believe in the degeneration and end of the world or  
in the myth of the "Golden World" or in the passivity of  
a hermit seeking refuge from the turmoils of the world.  
He sees life and describes it as he finds it to be.  
His is a realistic view without any illusions. In his  
personal poems his utterances are undoubtedly too  
impassioned and sometimes painful<sup>ly</sup> bordering on despair,  
but that is because he had really suffered a lot and  
experienced the bitter harsh realities of life and, there-  
fore, he has a right to be vehement in expression. But  
let us also not forget that some of these poems were  
sometimes written with an object in view, viz., to regain  
the favour of his royal mistress or to secure freedom from  
the prison walls. But this does not make these poems the  
insincere expressions of an artificial grief. He could be  
objective and free from bitterness, though harsh in

impersonal poems like "The Lie" or "Nature Wash'd here." He was aware of the decay and degeneration of the world, but he also believed in the constancy of abstract ideals. To call him a Platonist or a mystic would require a fresh in-depth study of his works, but his faith in the ideal has led some critics to suggest that he was influenced by Plato or Plotinus.<sup>58</sup>

To sum up, Raleigh's poetic concerns were the common ones of the period in which he lived : time, mutability and love. They are central in Spenser's poetical works and are an important feature of the sonnet sequences of Shakespeare, Daniel, Drayton and the lyrics of many other writers of the day. Raleigh's individuality comes in part from the intensity of his obsession with the devouring time, in his unconventional approach to the problem of mutability and his bold affirmation of the constancy of human values, of faith in Providence and man's ability to act out his role however tragic it might be. His poetry is that of a man who dreams of the highest achievements but who is also aware that all comes to dust. His is the voice of the romantic who never forgets reality; of the idealist who lived too much aware of change, decay and death; of the realist who avoids cynicism only by a narrow margin.



Notes to Chapter V

<sup>1</sup>Sir Walter Raleigh, Selections from his writings and Letters, ed. G.E. Hadow (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1917), p.178.

<sup>2</sup>Ibid., p.180

<sup>3</sup>Ibid., p.184.

<sup>4</sup>For a detailed discussion of Raleigh's authorship see A.M.C. Latham, "Sir Walter Raleigh's Instructions to his Son", in Elizabethan and Jacobean Studies Presented to F.P. Wilson, ed. H. Davies and H. Gardner (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1959), pp. 198-218.

<sup>5</sup>Advice to a Son : Precepts of Lord Burghley, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Francis Osborne, ed. Louis B. Wright (New York : Cornell University Press, 1962), p.20.

<sup>6</sup>Ibid., p.21.

<sup>7</sup>Ibid.

<sup>8</sup>Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>W. Lee Ustick, "Advice to a Son : A type of Seventeenth Century Conduct Book", in Studies in Philology (1932), XXIX, p.437.

<sup>10</sup>See A.M.C. Latham, ed., Sir Walter Raleigh : Selected Prose and Poetry (London : Athlone Press, 1965), p.102.

- <sup>11</sup>Ibid., p.103.
- <sup>12</sup>The Poems, ed. Latham, p.70, ll.7-9.
- <sup>13</sup>H. Baker, The Race of Time (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1967), p.52.
- <sup>14</sup>Philip Edwards, Sir Walter Raleigh (London : Longmans, 1953), p.46.
- <sup>15</sup>F.J. Levy, Tudor Historical Thought (California : Huntington Library, 1967), pp.213-218.
- <sup>16</sup>Poems, ed. Latham, p.22, ll.31-32.
- <sup>17</sup>Ibid., p.17, ll.13-14.
- <sup>18</sup>Ibid., p.20, ll.10-11.
- <sup>19</sup>Ibid., p.31, ll.179-80.
- <sup>20</sup>Ibid., p.34, ll.253-56.
- <sup>21</sup>Ibid., p.36, ll.301-02.
- <sup>22</sup>Ibid., p.38, ll.381-82.
- <sup>23</sup>Ibid., p.39, ll.390-91.
- <sup>24</sup>Ibid., p.40, ll.436-37.
- <sup>25</sup>Ibid., p.36, ll.304-05.
- <sup>26</sup>Ibid., p.44, ll.16-18.
- <sup>27</sup>Ibid., p.26.
- <sup>28</sup>Ibid., p.32.

<sup>29</sup>Ibid., p.11.

<sup>30</sup>Greenblatt, Sir Walter Raleigh (London : Yale University Press, 1973), p.76.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>Prof. E.A. Strathman has investigated the charge of atheism levelled against Raleigh in his study of Raleigh. See Strathman, Sir Walter Raleigh : A study of Elizabethan Skepticism (New York : Columbia University Press, 1951), pp.61-97.

<sup>33</sup>For Raleigh's relation to the "School of Night" see M.C. Bradbrook, The School of Night : A Study in the Literary Relationships of Sir Walter Raleigh (New York : Russell and Russell, 1965).

<sup>34</sup>F.J. Levy hesitates to call Raleigh a conservative because of his interest in Machiavelli and in science and exploration. See F.J. Levy, Tudor Historical Thought (California : The Huntington Library, 1967), pp.288-89.

<sup>35</sup>Greenblatt, Sir Walter Raleigh (London : Yale University Press, 1973), p.44.

<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>See A.L. Rowse, Raleigh and the Throckmortons (London : Macmillan, 1962), pp.163, 182, 304.

<sup>38</sup>Bradbrook calls him "a myriad - minded man" having "an unconscious flexibility." See Bradbrook, The School of Night (New York : Russell and Russell, 1965), pp.43-49. See also F.P. Wilson, Elizabethan and Jacobean (Oxford, 1936) pp.12-14.

<sup>39</sup>See the History, ed. Patrides, p.69. Also see the discussion on page 79.

<sup>40</sup>Greenblatt, Sir Walter Raleigh, p.31. Greenblatt observes that Raleigh's "self-assertive theatricality" had its origin in Renaissance writings.

<sup>41</sup>Robin Grave, "Raleigh's Courteous Art", Melbourne Critical Review, V.7 (1964), p.107.

<sup>42</sup>Christopher Hill, Intellectual Origins of the English Revolution (Oxford : Clarendon Press, 1966), p.137.

<sup>43</sup>Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>Spenser, The Poetical Works, ed. Smith and Selincourt (London : Oxford University Press, 1961), p.406. See also discussion on p.44.

<sup>45</sup>G.A. Patrides, The Grand Design of God (London : Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1972), p.76.

<sup>46</sup>H. Baker, The race of Time (Toronto : University of Toronto Press, 1967), p.53.

<sup>47</sup>For Raleigh's biography, which seems to be a perennial source of interest to writers, the following works have been consulted and only those details have been taken which are generally agreed upon by scholars : P. Edwards, Raleigh (London : Longmans, 1953); W. Wallace, Raleigh (Princeton University Press, 1959); Margaret Irwin, That Great Lucifer (Hammondsworth : Penguin, 1960); A.L. Rowse, Raleigh and the Throckmortons (London : Macmillan, 1962); N.L. Williams, Raleigh (Hammondsworth : Penguin, 1962); J.H. Adamson and H.F. Holland, The Shepherd of the Ocean (Boston : Gambit, 1969).

<sup>48</sup>The Poems, ed. Latham, p.33.

<sup>49</sup>See A.L. Rowse, Raleigh and the Throckmortons (London : Macmillan, 1962), pp.249-60.

<sup>50</sup>F.J. Levy observes that Raleigh had moved from optimism to "a pessimism" because of his strong faith in God's Providence. But a strong faith in Providence does not indicate pessimism. On the contrary, it could be called pious quietism or realism if not optimism. See Levy, Tudor Historical Thought (California : Huntington Library, 1967), pp. 289-90. Similarly, Greenblatt also overemphasizes Raleigh's pessimistic side although he concedes "an ethic of heroism and strenuous endeavour" to Raleigh. See Greenblatt, Sir Walter Raleigh (London : Yale University Press, 1973), pp. 155-58.

<sup>51</sup>See Chapter iv.

<sup>52</sup>The Poems, ed. Latham, p.71.

<sup>53</sup>Ibid., p.11.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., p.53.

<sup>55</sup>Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>"Now, Serena bee not coy" is the only poem written by Raleigh in Carpe Diem fashion. The poet in this poem asks his mistress not to be coy because everything is "so subject unto conquering Time." See poems, ed. Latham, p.20..

<sup>57</sup>Advice to a Son : Precepts of Lord Burghley, Sir Walter Raleigh, and Francis Osborne, ed. Louis B.Wright (New York : Cornell University Press, 1962), p.21.

<sup>58</sup>For a fuller discussion of Raleigh's Platonism see the chapter on "Raleigh's Religion" in R.W. Battenhouse, Marlowe's "Tamburlaine" (Nashville : Tenn., 1941). Also see E.A. Strathmann, Sir Walter Raleigh, p. 128. According to Strathman both Platonic and Aristotelian traditions are represented in Raleigh's thought. Also see V.T. Harlow, ed. The Discovery of Guiana (London, 1928), pp.XXXII-XXXVIII. Harlow believes that Raleigh had a neo-platonic concept of God.

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