

A REATTRIBUTION OF MUNDAY'S "THE PAINE OF PLEASURE"

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WHILE researching material for a novel about the Shakespeare authorship controversy, I came across an interesting poem, "The Paine of Pleasure," traditionally ascribed to Anthony Munday. The attribution seems unlikely; the poem is not like his contemporary work in style and scope.

Internal evidence suggests that it was probably written by someone more familiar with the Court and its culture than Munday. Prof. Steven May's list of courtier poets and those associated with the Court cuts the number of likely identifiable authors to slightly more than forty (*Courtier* 4-5). Of those, the best candidate is Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford, Munday's employer and patron at the time "The Paine of Pleasure" was published.

Some (limited and tentative) conclusions may be drawn from "The Paine of Pleasure" to the Shakespeare authorship controversy. We will not find in it a major new "Shakespearean" work; for the most part "The Paine of Pleasure" is a fairly typical late mid-century poem. However, the poem is important for its size, if for no other reason; it runs 1200 lines, thirty-six printed pages. If it is Oxford's, it is a significant addition to his work.

The two surviving copies

"The Paine of Pleasure" forms the major part of a collection also called *The Paine of Pleasure*. This collection survives in two known copies, one imperfect, the other apparently complete. The imperfect copy, now in the British Library,¹ (endnotes begin on page 95; the poem itself on page 100) comprises only the two long poems, "The Paine of Pleasure" and "The Author's Dream." This fragment is bound in a single volume with copies of *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* and *The Gorgeous Gallery of Gallant Inventions*, a volume that once belonged to the antiquarian Anthony à Wood. It was in this copy of *The Paradise* that Wood jotted down the important information that the "E.O." poems were the work of the Earl of Oxford. In *The Paine of Pleasure* he noted that the author was Munday and the date, 1585.

The other (perfect) copy is in the Pepysian Library in Cambridge.² Besides the two poems, it includes the title page, two short dedications (one to Lady Douglas Sheffield, one to the reader), and "Amorous Epistles," a sixteen-page selection of letters and riddles in prose and verse. These two copies have sometimes been taken to represent two editions; however,

a comparison of the two copies of "The Paine of Pleasure" shows them to be identical, so it is likely that the two books represent two copies of a single issue.³

The date on the single surviving title page of *The Paine of Pleasure* is October 17, 1580. It was printed for Henrie Car by an unnamed printer, who may be Henrie Denham or John Charlewood.⁴ A book called *The Paine of Pleasure*, described as a compilation by Nicholas Breton,⁵ appears in a Stationers' Register entry for September 9, 1578, as licensed to Richard Jones; it is unclear what relationship that book has to the book printed for Car.⁶ It is possible the poem was written much earlier; conservatively, though, it cannot be dated earlier than 1580, and that is the assumption I use here.

Pleasure vs. pain

In many ways "The Paine of Pleasure" is a representative mid-century *vanitas vanitatum* poem: Vanity, vanity, all is vanity, and every joy is but a toy. It is written in ABABCC rhyme and iambic pentameter, the *Venus and Adonis* pattern and meter, common to the period. It is divided into an introduction and twenty-three chapters ranging from less than a page to several pages; and, in a thoroughgoing case of *amplificatio*, every chapter but the last argues that the pleasures of this world yield nothing but pain.

It is more accurate, however, to say that the vanity of worldly pleasure is the *ostensible* subject of "The Paine of Pleasure." While the pleasures of divinity are described more than adequately, much of the energy of the poem goes to descriptions of secular pleasures and vigorous portraits of disappointment. The usual thrust of a mid-century vanities poem is toward abstraction and didacticism; the thrust of "The Paine of Pleasure" is secular, concrete, and interested in the psychology of self-indulgence.

After the first abstractions (beauty, riches, honor, love), the poet's toys are a surprisingly specific mix of sports and learning. His sports are riding and horse-training, hawks, dogs, music, dancing, wrestling, climbing, fencing, tennis, archery, bowling, fishing, and fowling—many of them sports of the upper classes. His studies are physic, law, astronomy, physiognomy, cosmography, philosophy, arithmetic, logic, rhetoric, and, the only lasting pleasure, the study of divinity: the mental and physical training of a very well-educated man.

The author of "The Paine of Pleasure" paints attractive pictures of these "toys":

What sport it is to see an arrow fly,
A gallant archer cleanly draw his bow.
In shooting off, again how cunningly
He hath his loose, in letting of it go;
 To nock it sure, and draw it to the head,
 And then fly out, hold straight, and strike it dead . . . ("Shooting")⁷

But he is conscious they always go wrong:

And that one shot is even enough to make
Him sell his coat for store of bow and shafts,
The cost whereof will make his heart to ache
And make him draw but few delightful drafts. (*ibid.*)

In “The Paine of Pleasure” climbers fall, horses and dancers go lame, and hawks escape; those who play with toys play with fire:

Perhaps again you have your eye thrust out,
Or catch a scratch cross overthwart your face,
Or else be swaddled roughly round about,
Both shoulders, sides, arms, legs, and every place.
At parting now, Sir when you feel the smart,
Will you not think Fencing a joyful Art? (“Fencing”)

.....

Even so in ship the boy that seeks to climb
By cords and lines, if either rope do slip,
Or hand or foot, as many do sometime,
Then down amain he falls into the ship
Or in the Sea, where hundred then to one
He never ’scapes; there’s one young Sea-man gone. (“Climbing”)

And the psychological dangers are as great as the physical ones. The man who has found riches becomes a miser; the fencer becomes quarrelsome; the beautiful person becomes beauty’s victim:

In Riches now, another kind of joy,
In which both youth and age have great delight,

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Were it well weighed, and it were but a toy,
 Which many ways do breed their great despite
 In getting first with labour, care and pain;
 In keeping too, as great unrest again. ("Riches")

.....

Beauty in some doth cause a kind of pride,
 And pride must be maintained all by cost ("Beauty")

.....

Besides, sometime in dancing we do see,
 Quarrels arise, yea, betwixt friend and friend,
 Which once begun, God knows but seldom be
 Without great hurt, brought unto quiet end.
 Consider then [how] great and dire despite
 In dancing grows, in midst of most delight. ("Dancing")

The poet balances delight and ruefulness, pleasure and an inability to take pleasure in pleasure. In general, the poem seesaws too fast to allow time for a sustained effect, but the poetic immaturity is combined with unusual psychological acumen and complexity. From internal evidence, "The Paine of Pleasure" seems to have been tossed off very quickly. (Music is written about twice; the pleasures of "Dogs" are promised but not performed.) The poem was not extensively copyedited before printing; several lines are garbled. It may have been set from a manuscript in secretary hand, since one possible misprint ("stands upon no ground" for "stamps upon the ground") would have been easy to make in secretary hand.

It is possible that the poem was written by two men. If so, one was more interested in repentance, the other in pleasure. The first writer-voice is moralistic—every joy is but a childish toy. The second voice silently subverts the moralistic tags; instead of repeating the joy-toy rhyme, he rings changes on it; instead of dismissing the pleasurable world, he ruefully celebrates it and mourns it. The quality of the verse changes drastically as well, sometimes very regular "rocker" verse, sometimes far more rhythmically experimental.

Could Munday have written it?

Externally, the evidence for Munday's authorship comes from two sources. The first is Wood's annotation of his imperfect copy, now in the British Library, stating that the author

is Munday. However, Wood is writing a century after the fact, and he is wrong about the date of the book; there is no reason to consider his evidence more than hearsay. The second is the evidence of the complete copy in the Pepysian Library. In this copy, Munday's name is on the dedications, but only his motto is on the title page. This is strong evidence that Munday compiled the collection, but not that he was the author of all the material in the book. Anthologizers, translators, or even printers commonly signed dedications; it is not a reliable proof of authorship. Since Munday was known to be doing anthologies (and/or contributing prefaces and/or poems to them) during this period, we may reasonably conclude that he could have been the compiler of *The Paine of Pleasure* without having to infer that he wrote the title poem.⁸

Other parts of the collection are probably not his. The "Amorous Epistles," letters in mixed prose and poetry included in *The Paine of Pleasure*, do not resemble anything that Munday is known to have done. Harvard catalogs these as by Nicholas Breton, a far more reasonable attribution of that part of the book.⁹

A comparison of Munday's style, content, and use of rhythm in the poems included in *The Mirror of Mutabilitie*, published the previous year and known to be his, also suggests he did not write "The Paine of Pleasure." Like "The Paine of Pleasure," the *Mutabilitie* poems are didactic poems in ABABCC rhyme. Beyond that, they are fairly dissimilar. Munday is a rather generalized and abstract writer. In the liveliest of his *Mutabilitie* poems there is a strong strain of Scriptural allegory; he portrays the lives of Great Sinners of History (Nebuchadnezzar, Ptolemy, Jezebel, Samson, Judas) whose sins come back to haunt them:

Think not to live as Gods upon the land,
Remember still that Pride will have a fall:
Consider you are Subject to God's hand,
And in a moment pass away you shall.
Live still to die, that you may ready be
When God shall call each one in his degree.

See how my Pride was quickly laid in dust,
Behold you may my Mutability:
My Princely rule whereon I whole did trust,
Did naught avail my state to fortify.
He set me up, again, he brought me low,
That I to you a warning plain might show. (*Mut.*, "Nebuchadnezzar")¹⁰

Munday is expert at bringing abstractions such as Pride and Avarice to life as dire warnings. He is clearly the happy inheritor of the mystery play tradition, and is comfortable with the limitations of character portrayal and psychology it imposes.

The author of "The Paine of Pleasure" is much more interested in the secular, psychological consequences of sin; when he speaks of joy, he uses it in an emotional sense, contrasting it with not only *toy* but *woe*. He makes very little distinction between Hell and the hell in the mind; the pains of pleasure are very close to being the pains of life itself. He is not interested in abstract characters; his abstractions, such as fleeting joys, turn instead into extended Lyly-like metaphors, feathers in a mental tempest:

And for the joys that in our life we find,
Which are but few, and yet not free from woe,
What are they all, but Feathers in the wind
Which every tempest tosseth to and fro?
Which tempests so, are rising every day
As in short space blow all our joys away. ([Introduction])

Approach to rhythmic style also differentiates Munday from the author of "The Paine of Pleasure." Munday writes "rocker" verse, the regularly stressed verse popular in the mid-century. Writing regularly stressed verse was a skill much admired at the time, and Munday is good at it; still, given a choice between meter and sense, he is inclined to choose meter:

O seely [helpless] Samson now deprived of joy,
Where is the life that thou didst lead of yore?
Is comfort turn'd to direfull dark annoy,
Is all thy fame now dead thou had'st before?
Why? Is it thou that burnt thy enemy's Corn?
Behold thyself (alas) thou art forlorn. (*Mut.*, "Samson")

In contrast, one of the great strengths of "The Paine of Pleasure" is its modern use of rhythm. Rhythm serves sense; rhythm is graceful and varied; rhythm even successfully mimics the cadence of the ordinary speaking voice:

Lie here, lie there, strike out your blow at length,
Strike and thrust with him, look to your dagger hand,
Believe me sir, you bear a gallant strength,
But choose your ground, at vantage where to stand.
And keep aloof for catching too much harm.
Beware the button of your Buckler arm. ("Fencing")

.....

. . . "Tush," says another, "he may be excused,
 Since the last mark, the wind doth greater grow."
 At last he claps in the white suddenly,
 Then "Oh well shot" the standers-by do cry. ("Shooting")

The poet often uses irregular stresses and half-stresses. He has a showman's sense of rhythm, and rhythm is gracefully married to meaning. The highly irregular line "At last he claps in the white suddenly," with its two strong stresses—"white suddenly"—begs to be read with a little pause at the moment when the novice archer stops dead and realizes he has actually hit the target. In "Music," the line "Ut, re, me, fa, sol, la and back again," almost a whole line of half-stresses, glides like a singer's voice up the scale. Regular lines, describing vanities, are followed by one beautiful and extremely irregular line that escapes both vanity and its rhythm:

Divinity doth number out our days,
 And shows our life still fading as a flower:
 Bids us beware of wanton wicked ways,
 For we are sure to live no certain hour.
 Arithmetic doth number worldly toys,
 Divinity innumerable joys.

Where Munday's rhythmic practice looks back, that of "The Paine of Pleasure" looks forward to the end of the century.

Finally, both Munday and the author of "The Paine of Pleasure" give implicit clues about their social class and their background in their work; and their backgrounds appear to be different. Munday, for example, refers offhandedly to the notion of working for wages:

They traitorlike mine eyes pulled from my head,
 And in the Mill did use me like a slave.
 Behold my Wife, what Courtesy she bred,
 See for my love what recompence I have.
 Now grind, poor wretch, thy living for to get
 To find thee clothes, and also bread and meat. (*Mut.*, "Samson")¹¹

In contrast, the poet of "The Paine of Pleasure" refers equally offhandedly to buying jewels and to having a choice between training one's own horse and having it trained for one:

What gem so rare may please their mistress' eye,
 Cost lands and life, but Lovers daily buy. ("Love")

.....

As first, behold the stately stamping Steed,
That snuffs and snorts, and [stamps upon the ground],¹¹
I must confess a joyful sight indeed.
But he that hath the toil and labor found
 In bringing him unto that pass at first,
 Will think of joys, the joy in horse the worst.

Now he again that never takes the pain
To break him so, but have him broke to hand,
I think indeed hath more joy of the twain,
In stately sort to see him stamping stand. . . . ("Horses . . .")

The essential subject of "The Paine of Pleasure" is an upper-class education and the author writes with such specificity that he seems to have done most of the things he writes about. He speaks authoritatively about training hawks, singing, dancing, fencing, playing tennis, shooting at archery, bowling, and listening to courtly music, as well as acquiring what seems to be a comprehensive course of Renaissance studies:

Some love to see the Goshawk roughly rush
Thorough [through] the woods, and perch from tree to tree,
And seize upon the Pheasant in the bush,
And sure it is a pretty sport to see. . . . ("Hawks")

.....

What sport is it to cut a Ball in kind,
Or strike a Ball into the hazard fine,
Or bandy Balls, to fly against the wind,
Or strike a ball low level o'er the line,
 Or make a Chase or hazard for a game,
 Then with a brickle wall to win the same. ("Tennis")

.....

How some delight, to see a round Bowl run
Smoothly away, until he catch a rub. . . . ("Bowling")

The casual references to upper-class concerns and circumstances (owning at least one horse, owning musical instruments, listening to courtly music, playing at bowls, and reading extensively) suggest that the author comes from the upper classes.

In summary, the style of “The Paine of Pleasure” does not resemble Munday’s in the near-contemporaneous *Mutabilitie* poems. The experience described and implied in the poem seems to be that of a writer of the upper classes; though Munday was secretary to an earl and so perhaps familiar with upper-class experience, from the *Mutabilitie* poems he does not seem to have written about upper-class experience in the same natural way as does the poet of “The Paine of Pleasure.” The traditional attribution of the poem to Munday does not rest on any strong external evidence, and has been previously questioned.

It is possible that Munday wrote part of the poem; but if so, he probably collaborated with another poet. Internal and external evidence suggests that the other poet was not only upper-class, but frequented the Court.

What poets frequented the Court?

Not all men who were at Court (and the Court was mostly male) were courtiers. May defines a courtier as someone who had access, not only to the semi-public Presence Chamber, but to the Queen’s Privy Chamber, the suite of private apartments where only her closest friends and favorites were allowed to go (*Courtier 4 et seq.*). Nothing in the poem itself allows us to pinpoint the identity of the poet, but it does suggest that we are most likely to find him (if he *can* be found) by examining May’s list of courtier characteristics:

- Courtiers exchanged gifts with Queen Elizabeth at New Year’s.
- They are known to have had lodgings, food, and candle allowance (“chambers, diet, and bouge of court”) from the crown.
- Elizabeth gave them or their children wedding or christening gifts.
- They had rewards or patronage from the crown.
- The male courtiers participated in Court tournaments. (*ibid.*)

There are no references to wedding or christening gifts in “The Paine of Pleasure,” but there are hints that suggest the other four characteristics. Several times the author refers to courtiers’ “climbing” after patronage. He casually mentions Hertford Castle in a way that suggests an obscure Court in-joke:

Why, if there be some such odd fiddling Clown,
As plays at Hertford on the Holidays. . . . (“Music”)

The material on training horses connects skill in riding with "falling" and "sitting fast"; not clearly references to jousting, but not incompatible with it:

For such a joy may hap to breed such woe,
By jollity in riding without skill,
That he by fall may catch so sore a blow
As down on ground may make him lie there still;
Where broken bones, limb lam'd, or bruises sore
Will make him joy in prancing horse no more.

And if again he chance to sit him fast ("Horses . . .")

And, most interestingly, the most readily identifiable precursor to "The Paine of Pleasure" is a poem that would have been known almost exclusively by persons who were at Court in the period 1577-80.

Gascoigne's *The Grief of Joy*

The Elizabethan age produced many, many *vanitas vanitatum* poems; there is and can be no proof that the author of "The Paine of Pleasure" was specifically imitating any one of them. However, an almost contemporary poem, George Gascoigne's *The Grief of Joy*, is strikingly similar in title, in content, and—most important for a poet—in rhythmic sophistication and voice. George Gascoigne presented *The Grief of Joy*, his last major work, to Queen Elizabeth on New Year's Day 1576/7.¹² It consists of a preface and four "songs," "The Grievs or Discommodities of Lusty Youth," "The Vanities of Beauty," "The Faults of Force and Strength," and "The Vanities of Activities."

The content of *The Grief of Joy* overlaps to a significant degree that of "The Paine of Pleasure." Both poets talk about beauty, riches, fencing, leaping, riding, and other activities, seldom seen together in *vanitas* poetry. Both use (indeed overuse) the words *joy* and *toy*. One is in ABABCC mode; the preface to the other is. Both paint attractive, specific pictures of Court life. Both create vivid, secular, contemporary portraits. Gascoigne may even provide "The Paine of Pleasure" with its title; "no pleasure free from pain," he writes (Gascoigne 294, 301). Moreover, *The Grief of Joy* has a subtlety of rhythmic effects and energy of diction that closely resemble those in "The Paine of Pleasure":

The heavens on high perpetually do move
By minutes-meale [piecemeal] the hour doth steal away
By hours the day, by days the months remove
And then by months the years as fast decay

Yea, Virgil's verse and Tully truth do say
 That time flies on and never claps her wings,
 But rides on clouds, & forward still she flings. . . .

What said I? Days? Nay, not so many hours.
 Not hours? No, no, so many minutes not
 The bravest youth, which flourisheth like flowers,
 Would think his hue to be as soon forgot,
 As tender herbs cut up to serve the pot.
 And then this life, which he so thought to climb,
 Would show itself but tumbling under time. . . .

True joy cannot in trifling toys consist
 Nor happiness in joys which soon decay
 Then look on youth, and mark it, he that list
 Sometimes both born and buried in a day.
 Yea, though it should continue green away,
 I cannot find what joy therein doth grow,
 Which is not stayed with undertwigs of woe. (265-67)

Gascoigne is a strong poet: homely metaphors (“tender herbs cut up to serve the pot”), energetic abstraction (“time . . . rides on clouds, and forward still she flings”), varied rhythm, and above all a human speaking voice: “What said I? Days? Nay, not so many hours./Not hours? No, no, so many minutes not. . . .”

Gascoigne was one of the leading poets of his time and *The Grief of Joy* is one of the best poems of his late period; one would think that the audiences who heard it read at Elizabeth's Court, or read it in manuscript, must have found it very good indeed. But the poem was apparently not popular. Gascoigne did not publish it before his death the following November, and it was not printed until Hazlitt's edition of the *Works* in 1868-70. It does not appear to have had wide circulation in manuscript.¹³ For this reason, if the poet of “The Paine of Pleasure” was imitating *The Grief of Joy*, it is likely that he either saw it in Gascoigne's papers, read it in manuscript, or heard it during a reading at Court.

Thus the poet of “The Paine of Pleasure” is likely to be either one of Steven May's courtier poets or some other poet at Court sometime between January 1577 and October 1580.¹⁴ We cannot definitively identify him; but starting from May's list of less than forty poets and their biographical data, we are closer to speculating who he might be.

Steven May's courtier poet candidates

May lists thirty-two known courtier poets, plus non-courtiers who are known to have presented "Courtly poetry" to Elizabeth or to have been resident at Court. Many of these can be knocked out of contention for one or more of several reasons:

- They are female. The poet speaks from male experience, therefore Lady Elizabeth Cooke Hoby Russell and Lady Mary Sidney are unlikely candidates.
- They collected their poetry, which did not include this poem. Sir Walter Raleigh and Fulke Greville, for example, had leisure to edit their own literary works; if "The Paine of Pleasure" was written by either, neither claimed it. Sir Arthur Gorges' poetry was collected in manuscript; if he wrote this substantial poem by his twenty-third year, it did not find its way into his collection.¹⁵ Mary Sidney edited her brother Sir Philip Sidney's poetry and did not include it, nor did Thomas Churchyard claim it in any of his abundant publications.
- Many of these poets, of course, can also be dismissed on stylistic grounds, e.g. John Lyly, George Puttenham, and George Peele.
- Some poets may be dismissed because all their known poetry is in another language, such as Dr. Thomas Wilson and Sir John Wolley (Latin) or Petruccio Ubaldini (Italian).
- Some poets must be dismissed simply because we have none or almost no specimens of their work. They may have written "The Paine of Pleasure," but if so, we will never know it. Among these are George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland; Gilbert Talbot, tenth earl of Shrewsbury; Sir Thomas Heneage, Lord Chamberlain; Sir Walter Mildmay; and Sir Edward Hoby. Heneage's longest known poem is less than twenty lines; though it is in ABABCC form and iambic pentameter, it is virtually impossible to compare with "The Paine of Pleasure," and so he too must be considered at most a non-proven. For other poets, we have specimens, but in different genres or written at substantially different periods of their lives; thus we have nothing to compare this poem with directly. Of Sir Christopher Hatton, though he is known to have written verse to Queen Elizabeth, we have only the fourth act of *Gismond of Salern* (c. 1567). The extant poems of St. Philip Howard, Earl of Arundel, all date from after his conversion to Catholicism.¹⁶ Sir Thomas Sackville's only identified extant poem is a verse epistle dated c. 1566-74. Sir John Harington Sr. wrote little after 1558; Sir Edward Dyer's nine poems are all love lyrics. On the evidence of their extant work, none of these men wrote "The Paine of Pleasure."

Biographical details eliminate some candidates:

- Since writing a substantial poem takes energy, it is unlikely the poet was an old man by 1580, thus neither Sir William Cordell (d. 1581) nor Sir John Harington Sr. (d. 1582) are likely candidates.
- Since the poem describes a Renaissance education of a fairly modern sort, the poet is

more likely to have been born in the 1540s or later than in the 1530s or earlier; thus Sir Henry Lee (b. 1533), Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset (b. 1535), and Thomas Churchyard (b. 1520) are not likely candidates.

If the poet of “The Paine of Pleasure” imitated Gascoigne and wrote the poem between 1577 and 1580, we can infer additional biographical details about him:

- He must have been born by about 1560 since he has to be both old enough to be at Court by 1579 at the latest (preferably by 1577), and old enough to complete a substantial poem by 1580. Essex, born in 1565, is too young; Sir Robert Sidney, born in 1563, is known not to have attended Court until 1581 (May, *Courtier* 368).
- He must have had leisure to compose a substantial poem after January 1577 and to approve, if not oversee, its publication in 1580. Sir Francis Drake and Henry Neel had embarked on Sir Humphrey Gilbert’s voyage of exploration in 1578 and did not return until October 1580, the month of the poem’s publication.
- He is likely to have had the reputation of writing substantial pieces, or substantial pieces of his must be known to exist; “The Paine of Pleasure” was not his first work.

We have deduced that the author was a male member of the upper classes, born by about 1560, with a good Renaissance education, interested in upper-class sports, possibly with experience of the tiltyard.¹⁷ He may have been present at Court sometime between 1577 and 1580, and have had access to manuscripts in the Queen’s library or have attended readings of Gascoigne’s manuscript *Grief of Joy*. He had the time and energy to compose a substantial poem before October 1580. By 1580 he had the reputation of composing significant work, none of which survives under his name.

There is one final piece of biographical information that might make us question all our other thinking: the context in which the poem was published. There was, of course, no stricture against writing poetry—it was one of a gentleman’s talents—and none against circulating it in manuscript or reading it aloud at Court. As Holinshed reported in 1587:

the stranger that entereth into the Court of England upon the sudden, shall rather imagine himselfe to come into some publike schoole of the universities, where manie give eare to one that readeth, than into a princes palace. . . . (as qtd. in Hackel 148)

Nor, Steven May has argued, was there a stricture against publishing poetry. Lady Mary Sidney published her brother’s poetry not long after his death. Fulke Greville published his own work.¹⁸

But with *The Paine of Pleasure* we are dealing with a rather special case. First, it is early. Sidney’s poetry was published in 1591, Greville’s not until the seventeenth century. Second,

it was not published alone, as were Sidney's and Greville's poems. The other participants in *The Paine of Pleasure*, apart from our hypothetical Court poet, were the bourgeois Anthony Munday and possibly Nicholas Breton. In the period around 1580, only two noble poets are known to have appeared in a collection with bourgeois authors.¹⁹ One is Thomas, Lord Vaux, some of whose poems appeared in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* in 1576; however, he can hardly be said to have participated enthusiastically, since he was dead by 1556 (so certainly could not have written "The Paine of Pleasure" after 1577).

The only living poet of noble birth who is known to have allowed his poems to appear in a collection with bourgeois authors before 1580 is also the only one of May's courtier poets whom we have not eliminated on other grounds as the poet of "The Paine of Pleasure." Of May's listing of Court poets—based on his examination of over 32,000 printed and manuscript Elizabethan poems—the man who is most likely to have written "The Paine of Pleasure" is the man whose early poetry appeared with Lord Vaux's in *Paradise*: Edward de Vere, Earl of Oxford. And, in 1580, Oxford was also Anthony Munday's employer.

The case for Oxford

Nothing in Oxford's life or work is inconsistent with his having written "The Paine of Pleasure." By May's definition he qualifies as a courtier through his lineage alone; he was the seventeenth earl of Oxford, hereditary Lord Great Chamberlain, and, after the execution of the Duke of Norfolk in 1572, the senior nobleman of England. He exchanged gifts with Elizabeth, was frequently at Court between 1577 and 1580, received wedding and christening gifts from her, participated in Court tournaments, and requested and received patronage from the Crown.

Oxford's biographical data is also consistent with everything the poet says or implies about himself. These details are not smoking guns—most Elizabethan gallants lived on the edge of financial ruin, knew how to sing and dance, and had studied the law and astronomy. On the other hand they do not argue against him. Let us examine the relevant points:

- Vanity of all earthly things: At the time the poem was published, Oxford had ample reason to consider earthly joys vain. He was thirty years old and separated from his wife, whom he suspected of having foisted another man's child on him.²⁰ The theme of vanity may have resonated with him because of the early death of his parents, his marital reverses, and the deaths of his cousin Norfolk and in 1577 of his old tutor, Sir Thomas Smith.

- The study of divinity: Oxford studied theology under Sir Thomas Smith, Thomas Fowle, and Laurence Nowell.²¹

- Financial reverses and the exorbitant expense of pleasure: Oxford, once considered one of the richest men in England, had suffered increasing financial difficulties since the time of his European tour in 1575-76.

- Age: Born in 1550, Oxford was both old enough and young enough to write it.
- Presence at Court: Oxford had been at Court regularly since 1562.
- Leisure to write 1577-80: Oxford had leisure to write, and is hypothesized to have been writing extensively during this period.
 - Acquaintance with Queen Elizabeth: Oxford was rumored to have been Elizabeth's lover. He was one of her favorites, close enough to have his own nickname, her "Turk."
 - Acquaintance with Gascoigne: Oxford could well have been acquainted with Gascoigne through the Cecils. George Gascoigne's wife was related to Sir William Cecil's wife's sister; Gascoigne himself had served Cecil as an agent in France and Flanders in 1576.²² Gascoigne had been in Gray's Inn in 1566, the year before Oxford took up his studies there.²³
 - Education: Oxford had an extensive, well-documented modern education. He had access to several of the best libraries in England, Sir Thomas Smith's (400+ volumes); Sir William Cecil's (appx. 2000 vols); and those of friends such as the Earl of Rutland and Lord Lumley (Lumley's books are said to have numbered upwards of 3000).²⁴
 - Literary interests: Oxford was both a poet and a patron of other writers, including Munday. His connection with his cousin Henry Howard was not only religious, familial, and political but also literary. John Lyly and Munday were both in his household at this period.
 - Significant works: Meres, in *Wit's Treasury* (1598), called him "best for comedy."
 - Collected works: Oxford did not collect his own works, though it is possible that they were collected by his daughter and her family after his death.²⁵
 - Music: Oxford was an accomplished performer and a patron of other musicians.²⁶
 - Dancing: Oxford was known for his dancing; Elizabeth ordered him to dance to amuse the French envoy in 1578.
 - Bowling: John Stow mentions bowling alleys among the amenities of Fisher's Folly, a house Oxford had purchased by 1580.
 - Tennis: Among Oxford's known poems is one comparing love to a game of tennis; Oxford's family seat, Castle Hedingham, was provided with a tennis court (Anderson 122), and he quarreled with Sir Philip Sidney during a game of tennis at Court in 1579.
 - Knowledge of law: Oxford's early tutor, Sir Thomas Smith, was the Regius Professor of Civil Law at Cambridge. Oxford finished his education at Gray's Inn, where England's lawyers were trained, and throughout his life would be involved in legal questions. Existing letters from him deal with legal issues (Chiljan, Nelson).
 - Knowledge of astronomy and cosmography: Sir Thomas Smith, Oxford's early tutor, had a strong and lifelong interest in astronomy and astrology; in 1572 Oxford also studied with John Dee. Oxford invested in several voyages of exploration.
 - Horses: Oxford would have been familiar with the training of horses as would most men of his class, perhaps more so since he was a champion joustier.

- Oxford had not only allowed himself to be published previously in his lifetime, but had let his work appear in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* with a man who had actually worked for him, Thomas Churchyard.²⁷

Oxford's connection with Munday is worth discussing at some length. Oxford had been Munday's patron since the mid-1570s.²⁸ According to Munday, it was at Oxford's suggestion that he had gone to Rome to study the Renaissance (financing the trip by pretending to Catholics that he wanted to convert and possibly also by spying for Cecil). On his return from Rome, Munday functioned as one of Oxford's secretaries, and may have been responsible for one of his troupes of players (DNB). In 1579, Munday dedicated the *Mutabilitie* poems to Oxford, taking the trouble to compose two anagrams on his name and motto. The hero of his novel *Zelauto* (1580) was apparently based on Oxford as well. If Oxford wrote "The Paine of Pleasure," it would have been natural for him to entrust its publication to Munday.²⁹

The literary case for Oxford

Oxford's characteristics as a poet are similar to those of the poet of "The Paine of Pleasure." As enumerated by Steven May, they include copiousness or amplification, rhetorical questioning, the ABABCC rhyme scheme, alliterative phrasing, and unusual variety of subject ("Context"). None of these is distinctive but the last—indeed, May can find no tag that distinctively marks a poem as Oxford's—and copiousness, rhetorical questions, alliteration, and the ABABCC rhyme scheme are common in verse of the 1560s and 1570s. However, all of these are found in "The Paine of Pleasure."

Copiousness or *amplification* is the basic rhetorical strategy of "The Paine of Pleasure": one pleasure after another is hollow and false. And within each pleasure, the point is also repeated and amplified:

In getting first, the brain is busied,
With deep device to cast a plot to gain:
Then arms, hands, legs and feet, are occupied,
For cankered coin, their strongest joint to strain. . . .

This is (alas) a wicked way to gain,
Yet not the worst, for some, oh cursèd they,
That seek the means to have their parents slain,
And Friends and kinsfolk closely make away
 To gain their goods; but oh, ill-gotten gain,
 Whose getting breeds the soul eternal pain.

Rhetorical questions appear frequently in the poem:

For beauty first breeds liking in the mind,
Liking breeds lust, lust lewdness, lewdness, what?

Alliterative phrasing is very common in “The Paine of Pleasure” (as it is in much mid-century verse):

But wealth so won doth breed no little woe. . . .

.....

As in such sort doth settle our delight,
As doth our wits withdraw from wisdom quite. . . .

Themes of honor and revenge May notes that Oxford is unusual among Elizabethan poets in writing on honor and revenge, the theme of two of the “Pleasures”:

Which joy to tell, by name is Honour high,
Which noblest minds account the greatest joy,
Which first obtained by deadly jeopardy,
They do God knows, with care enough enjoy.
Oh man most mad to love so vain a thing,
As with small joy doth thousand sorrows bring. (“Honour”)

.....

And let me but demand this question now:
Will you be pleased with him that broke your pate?
Or will you not, almost you care not how,
Seek your revenge, and bear him deadly hate,
Until you be revengèd in like sort?
And tell me then, is not this pretty sport? (“Fencing”)

Lack of didacticism: Although didactic poems form a full quarter of all surviving Elizabethan printed verse, Oxford is not known to have written any.³⁰ “The Paine of Pleasure” attempts to be didactic, but constantly slips back toward a psychological secularism. It celebrates the pleasures of life; it acknowledges their mutability; but, unlike Munday’s *Mutabilitie* poems, it does not offer a way out. Even the pleasure of the study of divinity, one feels, is celebrated as the pleasure of study and as a “soul’s salve” more than as an escape from the wheel of change.

Divinity doth number out our days,
 And shows our life, still fading as a flower,
 Bids us beware of wanton wicked ways,
 For we are sure to live no certain hour.
 Arithmetic doth number worldly toys,
 Divinity innumerable joys.

Then judge, I pray, which yields the more delight.
 Divinity? Then choose it for thy joy.
 Study that chief, and labour day and night
 By that to learn to shield thee from annoy,
 And thou shalt find it salveth every sore,
 And saves the soul, and what joy can be more?

The pervasive secularism, and the valorization of psychological experience over didacticism, are as characteristic of Oxford as they are of the poet of "The Paine of Pleasure."

Variety of subjects: The subjects of Oxford's verse are more varied than those of other poets. If *The Grief of Joy* is actually the inspiration of "The Paine of Pleasure," we may ascribe part of the poem's variety of subject to Gascoigne's influence. However, "The Paine of Pleasure" treats many more subjects than *The Grief of Joy*, in more detail, and with at least equal originality.

Stylistic similarities: Oxford's surviving verse uses the ABABCC rhyme scheme and iambic pentameter more than any other form. His known verse shows the same interest in quantitative and irregular stress as does "The Paine of Pleasure":

/ / / / /
 Framed in the front of forlorn hope

"The Paine of Pleasure" contains an unusual number of enjambed lines:

And Friends and kinsfolk closely make away
 To gain their goods . . . ("Riches")

By sacred Laws, we can confute in kind
 The unjust cause . . . ("Divinity")

Now see how far this study doth surpass
 All studies else . . . (*ibid.*)

Some men thereby perhaps do take delight
To make wrong right . . . (“Law”)

Oxford’s poetry contains fewer enjambed lines, but does contain them (and in this period enjambed lines are rare).

Even as the wax doth melt, or dew consume away
Before the sun. . . (Chiljan 168)

A crown of bays shall that man wear
That triumphs over me. . . (164)

Fram’d in the front of forlorn hope, past all recovery
I stayless stand. . . (162)

And since my mind, my wit, my head, my voice, and tongue are weak
To utter, move, devise, conceive, sound forth, declare and speak. . .
(162)

In summary, Oxford’s identified poems show strong similarities to “The Paine of Pleasure.” Stylistically it resembles his work. The circumstances of his life match what can be inferred of the author’s circumstances. Though “The Paine of Pleasure” is longer and more accomplished than any of his previously identified poems, nothing in it is startlingly different from his previous work. Oxford is known to have been acquainted with both George Gascoigne, whose work may have inspired “The Paine of Pleasure,” and with Anthony Munday. Finally, alone among identified Court poets at this period, Oxford had previously allowed his work to be published in a book with “commoner poets,” as was “The Paine of Pleasure.” No other identified poet is as likely to have written the poem as Oxford. We may reasonably conclude that the poem is his.

Is “The Paine of Pleasure” Shakespearean?

What can we mean by “Shakespearean” in this context? As Michael D. Bristol has perceptively said, Shakespeare’s readers have made him into a myth:

Shakespeare’s works, together with various ways which people have invented to interact with them, have become durable features in the cultural landscape of contemporary society. The myth of Shakespeare appears as a complex narrative that orients and guides the social activity generated by these remarkable artifacts.

. . . Believing in Shakespeare is not altogether different from believing in Santa Claus; such belief articulates a deep sense of affiliation with a tradition of expressive forms and institutional practices. (489-90)

Shakespeare's work—that is, the work published under the name "William Shakespeare"—stands on a peak, not only of its own quality, but of its readers' mythmaking attention. However accomplished "The Paine of Pleasure" is for its time, however delightfully some of its lines may sing, however historically important it may be, it has not woven itself into its readers' mythmaking as the Shakespeare canon has, and is unlikely to do so. In that sense it can never be "Shakespearean."

Nor does it speak in the tones of the mature poet. But no poem of the 1570s or '80s could. The first datable poem in the Shakespearean canon was not published until 1593. Between "The Paine of Pleasure" and *Venus and Adonis* stretch all of Sidney's work, Spenser's *Shepherds' Calendar* and *The Faerie Queene*, and Marlowe's entire career.³¹ By the time of *Venus and Adonis* we are in the Golden Age of the new poetics; in "The Paine of Pleasure" we are barely at its beginnings. So, much as we would like to claim the poem for the Shakespeare canon, it is impossible. We can only consider what elements of "The Paine of Pleasure" might have similarities with later poems published as by Shakespeare.

We have already mentioned the ABABCC rhyme scheme, which Shakespeare shares with many other poets, including Oxford. The rhythm of the poem is iambic pentameter, not as common as it would be later in the century, but not uncommon. The size of the poem is slightly more distinctive. Though one may argue that the poem is essentially a set of shorter poems, the sheer bulk of it is characteristic of a playwright or writer of long poems.

The poem is more distinctive in its attitudes towards the lower classes. Walt Whitman notoriously remarked that Shakespeare's sympathies were with "the wolfish earls." Critics have disagreed, but Shakespeare's work undeniably draws its principal characters almost exclusively from the upper classes. The peasantry provide clowns and rustics—treated with Shakespeare's generous humanity, but essentially seen from the outside and used to decorate a landscape. The author of "The Paine of Pleasure" also sees country "louts" from the outside:

Some lusty Simon on a Sunday too
Will climb a May-pole for his Susan's sake,
And on the top will hang a handkirchoo,
For him that dare down thence again to take.
But if both he and handkircher fall down,
He likes no more of climbing for a crown. ("Climbing")

.....

But leaving louts (*ibid.*)

More distinctively, the poem has a similar sympathy with them:

Even so in ship, the boy that seeks to climb
 By cords and lines, if either rope do slip,
 Or hand or foot, as many do sometime,
 Then down amain he falls into the ship
 Or in the Sea, where hundred then to one
 He never 'scapes; there's one young Sea-man gone. (*ibid.*)

Both the poet of "The Paine of Pleasure" and Shakespeare speak of spending money freely and suffering the consequences. Both live uneasily between the secular and the spiritual. Both are concerned about the efficacy of prayer. Both connect good humor and a good heart, a sullen mood and an evil nature. Shakespeare prefers Falstaff's heart to Malvolio's mind; similarly the poet of "The Paine of Pleasure" trusts good nature over fallible mind:

For wantonness and wickedness are two. . . .
 A merry mind a gentle nature shows
 When sullen looks are signs of surly shrows. ("Music")

The content of "The Paine of Pleasure" shows no inconsistencies with Shakespeare's outlook and experience, as far as these can be inferred from his work. Shakespeare appears to have had experience of the law and medicine, as does the author of "The Paine of Pleasure." Shakespeare's astronomy is educated and exact; the author of "The Paine of Pleasure" takes pleasure in studying astronomy.

Music is a common reference in Elizabethan poetry and plays, but Shakespeare shares with this poet slightly more specific preferences. Neither likes "fiddlers":³²

And there I stood amazed for awhile,
 As on a pillory, looking through the lute,
 While she did call me rascal fiddler
 And twangling Jack, with twenty such vile terms,
 As she had studied to misuse me so. (*Shrew* 2.1)

But both men care deeply for good music; the poet of "The Paine of Pleasure" "cannot well reprove" courtly music even to prove his point.

Shakespeare's works contain many references to hawking and metaphors relating to hawking; the poet of "The Paine of Pleasure" not only uses the Elizabethan commonplace hawking terms (*eyas*, *haggard*) but makes educated distinctions among long- and short-winged hawks, falcons, terrels, lanners, lannerets, sparhawks, and merlins.

Both poets know the sports of the nobility. Shakespeare sets scenes on tennis courts and has casual tennis references; "The Paine of Pleasure" contains a section on tennis. Bowling was a relatively new sport in England (the first OED reference dates from the time of King Henry VIII), and, as Shakespeare indicates, it was an expensive sport played principally by the nobility. But Shakespeare knows the terminology and rules as intricately as does the author of "The Paine of Pleasure."

Cloten: Was there ever man had such luck! When I kiss'd the jack,
 upon an up-cast to be hit away! I had a hundred pound on't;
 and then a whoreson jackanapes must take me up for
 swearing, as if I borrowed mine oaths of him, and might not
 spend them at my pleasure. (*Cym.* 2.1)

Shakespeare is known for the size of his vocabulary and the numerous words he introduced into English or first used in their modern sense. In part this is a phenomenon of Shakespeare's eminence—the compilers of the OED paid more attention to Shakespeare than to, say, Thomas Churchyard—and the popularity of the plays has made some of his words popular. But the phenomenon is real: Shakespeare made up words, or found them around him, and used them in his poetry. So does the poet of "The Paine of Pleasure."

Indeed, "The Paine of Pleasure" is as much about words as it is about pleasure. The author revels not only in fencing and archery, but in the rich heritage of "terms" they offer:

What sport it is to see an arrow fly,
A gallant archer cleanly draw his bow,
In shooting off, again how cunningly
He hath his loose, in letting of it go;
 To nock it sure and draw it to the head,
 And then fly out, hold straight, and strike it dead,

With other terms that archers long have used
As: blow wind, stoupe,³³ ah, down the wind a bow . . . ("Shooting")

.....

By Fencing grows our terms of the Bravado,³⁴
 Our foins and thrusts, the deadly stab, and all,
 Which some more finely call a Stabbado,³⁵
 And some a blow a cleanly wipe can call.
 And some a rake, that crosseth both the shins,
 Now with such stuff this joyful sport begins. ("Fencing")

 With other terms that were too long to tell. . . . (*ibid.*)

Implicitly, words are a secular pleasure. In some of the sports poetry, notably "Fishing" and "Fowling," the author confesses himself to be unsympathetic to the sport itself: but, oh, the words! The author of "The Paine of Pleasure" uses every one of his terms accurately, and he takes a collector's pleasure even in listing them. From "Fishing" come *trammel*, *drag*, *bow line*, *shotterel*,³⁶ *weel*³⁷ and the early use of *gentle* to mean a maggot or bluebottle larva used as bait.³⁸ "Fowling" produces *snipe*,³⁹ the distinction between *snipe* and *snite*,⁴⁰ and "shooluerd" (*shovelard*: a spoonbill). "Bowling" brings in *bias*, *rub* and *crank*, as well as an Euphuistic metaphor taken from bowling:

How some delight, to see a round Bowl run
 Smoothly away, until he catch a rub.⁴¹
 Then hold thy bias,⁴² if that cast were won,
 The game were up as sure then as a club.
 Then upright Bowls, that need not any bank,
 And for a game, a fine throw in the crank.⁴³

 But if they marked⁴⁴ their money run away,
 Their coin to cross quite bias from their purse,
 T'would make them leave that costly kind of play. . . .⁴⁵

"Music" takes in a rich haul of terminology:

By Larges and Longs, by Briefes and Semibriefes.⁴⁶
 Minims, Crochets, Quavers, Sharps, Flats, to feign:
 Ut, re, me, fa, sol, la, and back again.

Brickle wall, from "Tennis," is one of the more interesting examples, since it provides another possible link with Oxford. The OED quotes Cotgrave's definition, 1611: a brick-wall is "a side-stroke at Tennis wherein the ball goes not right forward, but hits one of the walls of the court, and thence bounds towards the adverse party." It is also used figuratively. The term

existed in French and Italian before it came (briefly) into English; the OED cites Florio, 1598, who still uses the Italian term *briccola*.⁴⁷ The first cited use of the English term *brickwall* dates from the same year as "The Paine of Pleasure," 1580, in Claudius Hollyband's *Treasury of the French Tongue*.⁴⁸ We can thus deduce the poet of "The Paine of Pleasure" might have played tennis in France or Italy and/or might have known Hollyband. Hollyband appeared in *The Paradise of Dainty Devices* with Oxford in 1576. Oxford spent time in both France and Italy, where tennis was popular with the continental nobility.⁴⁹

One can go on: *capri*⁵⁰ and *cross point*⁵¹ from "Dancing," *swasher*⁵² from "Fencing"; but more examples are unnecessary. The poet of "The Paine of Pleasure" does not use neologisms as frequently as Shakespeare; however, like Shakespeare, he has a large vocabulary of new and modern words and of specialized terms, and he likes to use metaphors from sports.

Like Shakespeare, the poet of "The Paine of Pleasure" is a dramatic poet. Lyric poetry is thick on the ground in the Elizabethan age, but true dramatic voices are rare. Gascoigne can make his own voice into poetry; Marlowe and Webster, occasionally, will reach heights of pure dramatic voice: "I'll burn my books--ah, Mephistophilis!"; "Cover her face. Mine eyes dazzle. She died young." But the effect of transcribing the ordinary voices of human beings, in prose or verse, almost belongs to Shakespeare. "Put up your bright swords, or the dew will rust them," Othello says wryly to the young soldiers. It is a spare, intense poetry that rises from the way people talk, from sabotaging the regular ratchet of iambic pentameter in the interest of bringing characters to life.

The poet of "The Paine of Pleasure" can (just barely) be mentioned in Shakespeare's company. Occasionally we can hear voices, and for a moment a character rises out of the lines. We hear an Elizabethan fencing master:

Lie here! Lie there! Strike out your blow at length!
Strike and thrust with him, look to your dagger hand!
Believe me, Sir, you bear a gallant strength,
But choose your ground at vantage where to stand.
 And keep aloof [from] catching too much harm.
 Beware the button of your Buckler arm.

or a group of bystanders at an archery shoot:

"Tush," says another, "he may be excused,
Since the last mark, the wind doth greater grow."
 At last he claps in the white suddenly,
 Then: "Oh, well shot!" the standers-by do cry. . . .

This taste for voices is closely related to the poet's taste for enjambed lines, quantitative meter, and rhythmic experimentation, also characteristic, of course, of Shakespeare.

In summary

We cannot say that "The Paine of Pleasure" is by the "Shakespeare" of the Sonnets and the First Folio. Too many years and too many literary questions separate this poem from the canon. There is, however, nothing internal to the poem that would prevent this from being an early poem by the same man who wrote Shakespeare's works in his maturity.

Theoretically, "The Paine of Pleasure," if it was written in 1580, could even be by William Shakespeare of Stratford. It is hugely unlikely that a sixteen-year-old poet, who in 1580 was living in Stratford or Lancashire as an apprentice or servant, could have produced twelve hundred lines that could be taken for Court verse. But genius is unlikely, and so—at least theoretically—he could have written this.

However, it is simply impossible that Anthony Munday could have published it. On the basis of any known facts about Shakespeare's or Munday's life, one cannot explain how an early poem by an unknown teenager from a small town located far from London could become the title poem of a collection edited by an experienced London-based anthologist.

If, however, "The Paine of Pleasure" is Oxford's—as I believe it is—its appearance in an anthology published by his secretary and fellow writer is hardly surprising. Moreover, it indicates Oxford's goals as a poet. His appearance in two anthologies addressed to the common reader suggests that he had a continuing interest in addressing this audience, an interest that might have led him to write plays for the common theater.

Reattributing "The Paine of Pleasure" is significant. We can no longer consider Oxford the author only of a handful of early poems. As the author of "The Paine of Pleasure," Oxford is a substantial poet, whose extant verse is not incompatible with the claim that he may have written Shakespeare. _____ ©



NOTES

1 BL MS: C.57.d.49.(3.); ESTC S126004.

2 No. 1434; ESTC S94255. My thanks to the British Library, and to Anastasia Cox of Random House UK, for providing me with photocopies of both of these. I am grateful also to Widener and Houghton Libraries and to the Countway Library of Medicine, Harvard University.

3 *The Paine of Pleasure* has been reprinted by UMI (Ann Arbor MI, 1988) as Early English Books, Tract Supplement D33 (C.57.D.49[3]); the reprint apparently contains only the two poems. The poem has had a modern reprint on LION, but is not yet reproduced in EEBO. In Spring 2003, I will post an edition of the poem on the Web site associated with the novel: <http://www.chasingshakespeares.com/>

4 Munday's works c. 1580 were printed by one of three printers, Charlewood, John Alde, or Henry Denham. At this period Denham and Charlewood both used a black-letter typeface in which double O was an infinity-shaped ligature and double E was always printed with an acute accent over the first E, as in the line here, shown twice normal size:

In further yæeres, we wander fo and fro,

Denham had used this typeface regularly since his earliest printing jobs in 1568. Charlewood used it in other books, e.g. "T.T.'s" (Thomas Twyne's?) *A View of Certain Wonderful Effects* (1578), Munday's *A Courtly Controversy between Love and Learning* (1581), and Munday's *Watch-woord to England* (1584). I have also seen it in two books published by Richard Jones and ascribed to Nicholas Breton: *The Works of a Young Wit* and *A Flourish upon Fancy* (both 1577).

This typeface had a long, distinguished career; from about 1588 it formed part of the stock of Jacqueline Vautrollier's and Richard Field's shop, and the remnants of it were used as an "antique" font in both editions of *The Treasure of Auncient and Moderne Times . . .*, ascribed to Thomas Milles. The first edition of 1613 [STC 17936] is reproduced in EEBO; the second edition, published 1619 and retitled *Archaio-Ploutos*, is in the collection of the Countway Library, Harvard. (As Roger Stritmatter has noted, *Archaio-Ploutos* is dedicated to the Earl and Countess of Montgomery—one of the "incomparable Brethren" of the First Folio, and his wife, Oxford's youngest daughter, Susan de Vere.)

5 Celeste Turner points out that Jones had a reputation for foisting publications on Breton (9).

6 "Rice [i.e. Richard] Jones. Item Lycenced unto him a booke intituled the payne of pleasur[e] compiled by N. BRITTEN" (Arber 2.152).

7 From: "'The Paine of Pleasure'; *The Paine of Pleasure*; Profitable to be perused of the wise, and necessary to be followed by the wanton; Reade with regard; *Honos alit Artes*; Imprinted at London for Henrie Car, and are to be solde at his shop in Paules Churchyarde, next to the signe of the holy Lambe; 17. October. 1580." The copy I use here is the one from the British Library, augmented by the unique title page at Cambridge. Spelling and punctuation in the text of "The Paine of Pleasure" and quotations from Munday and Gascoigne have been modernized; only the original capitalization has been retained.

8 The DNB entry on Munday considers that Munday's name on the dedications is not sufficient proof of his authorship. They may base this on the Stationers' entry of 1578, which also may indicate that the book was a compilation (if this entry, in fact, refers to the book we have).

9 Stylistically, “The Paine of Pleasure” itself might in part be Breton’s; it resembles some of his work in *The Works of a Young Wit* and *A Flourish upon Fancy*, especially a poem on dancing in the former collection. But Breton does not write poems of this length; his poetry does not show an upper-class attitude or experience, or the same breadth of education; he does not use rare or unusual words, or metaphors from sport; he writes rocker verse; and he shows no interest whatsoever in psychology.

10 From the *Literature Online* version of the *Mutabilitie* poems; henceforth referred to in parentheses in the text as *Mut*. The *Mutabilitie* poems and “Paine” share one rather unusual characteristic, a fondness for extremely heavy punctuation, particularly colons at the ends of lines, arguing that Munday may have physically written the text of “Paine” (as he would probably have done as Oxford’s secretary). However, any argument from punctuation in Elizabethan times is a slim reed, and the idiosyncrasies of particular compositors must be taken into consideration as well.

11 In the text, “stands upon no ground.”

12 William Kittle believes that this must be New Year’s Day 1577/8—by which time Gascoigne was dead—and concludes that Oxford wrote all or most of Gascoigne. But Kittle’s argument is untenable with respect to other of Gascoigne’s works, for example “The Spoils of Antwerp,” and his argument by dating is not sufficiently strong.

13 For his edition of 1910, Cunliffe could find only two manuscripts, one of which, Royal MS.18.A.lxi, was the presentation copy to Elizabeth.

14 Or, if the Stationers’ entry represents a finished poem, September 1578.

15 And in any case it is unlike his other work of the period; Gorges wrote almost exclusively love lyrics. See *The Poems of Sir Arthur Gorges* (ed. Helen Estabrook Sandeson. Oxford: Clarendon, 1953).

16 Arundel is also a dedicated practitioner of rocker verse; see Steven W. May (*Courtier* 352-53).

17 “Nearly all of the known tilters can be connected with the court in some way, although it is not clear that all of them belonged to the queen’s immediate circle” (May, *Courtier* 26).

18 [Ed: Like most orthodox critics, May does not recognize the nature of the constraints that clearly prevented living aristocrats of the mid-to-late sixteenth century from publishing, or at least, from publishing under their own names. (See Editorial and Robert Detobel’s article in this issue.)/ SHH]

19 I leave aside the question of who wrote the poems in *An Hundreth Sundrie Flowres*.

20 One of the portions of *The Grief of Joy* that does *not* appear in “The Paine of Pleasure” is the praise of Oxford’s wife.

21 See also Roger Stritmatter, *The Marginalia of Edward de Vere’s Geneva Bible: Providential Discovery, Literary Reasoning, and Historical Consequence*. Northampton MA: The Oxenford Press, 2001.

22 Gascoigne was also the stepfather of Nicholas Breton. (See C.T. Prouty, *George Gascoigne, Elizabethan Courtier, Soldier, and Poet*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1942.)

23 Gascoigne also mentions Oxford in one of his poems, and *The Grief of Joy* mentions both Oxford’s sister Mary Vere and his estranged wife Anne Cecil among the beauties of the Court. Gascoigne’s *Supposes*, performed at Gray’s Inn in 1566, is a source for *Taming of the Shrew*.

24 [Ed: During the period when Oxford lived with Cecil, from 1563 until about 1566 or '67, he had access to a number of ancient manuscripts gathered together at Canterbury during the purge of the monasteries under Henry VIII, and in Oxford's time, in the possession of Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. During 1562-65, these manuscripts were on loan to Oxford's tutor Laurence Nowell, for his work on Anglo-Saxon law. Among these manuscripts were *Beowulf* and others that have come to be known as the *Anglo Saxon Chronicles*. / SHH]

25 Under another name . . .

26 He may also have composed music, e.g. "The Earl of Oxford's March."

27 It is perhaps significant that the British Library copy of *The Paine of Pleasure* is bound together with a copy of *The Paradise of Dainty Devices*.

28 Celeste Turner speculates on the dates of Munday's acquaintance with Oxford and trip to Italy in *Anthony Munday* and decides that Munday was in Rome from fall 1578-July 1579 (23-5); but her facts can be unreliable.

29 Since "The Paine of Pleasure" formed the principal part of a volume from which Munday would have got some financial gain, it may have been an act of generosity as well as trust. If so, it would fit in with Oxford's other generous acts toward literary men, such as his dedicatory preface to Thomas Bedingfield's *Cardanus Comfort* (1573).

30 Data from Steven May, *ibid*. In conversation with me, Steven May noted that Oxford may have written didactic poetry; we know only that none of his identified surviving poetry is didactic.

31 [Ed: The reader must keep in mind that accepted dates for these works are usually based on the dates of publication or entry in the Stationers' Register; some of them may have existed in manuscript form for years before being registered or printed. / SHH]

32 The Elizabethan term was usually used, derogatorily, of musicians for hire; Shakespeare uses it as a general term of dislike. OED s.v. *fiddler*.

33 Perhaps Elizabethan slang for "down, boy," addressed to the arrow. Not recorded in OED in any sense related to archery.

34 First recorded use in English of this term in this sense (see OED s.v. *bravado*, definition 1b).

35 Not recorded in OED. May be sixteenth-century Italian.

36 The OED finds this obscure word used previously only in Gascoigne's *Supposes*, 1566.

37 The OED finds this word used previously only in Anglo-Saxon and in Scottish prose and poetry; this is its first appearance in modern English. The OED does not cite any appearances of this word outside works produced in Scotland and Lancashire. E.A. Honigmann suggests that William Shakespeare of Stratford worked for the Houghton family in Lancashire, from which some of his Scottish/Northern coinages may come. (Oxford did a few months of military service in Scotland when he was nineteen.)

38 First OED cited use is 1578, in Lyte's *Dodoes*.

39 Used both to mean a woodcock and in its modern sense of snipe-hunt or “hunting fools with a mirror”: “And for wild Fowl, even like a peaking mome,/ To catch a Snipe, and bear a tame fool home” (“Paine”); compare: “For I mine own gain’d knowledge should profane, If I would time expend with such [a] Snipe” (*Oth.* 1.3).

40 The OED knows that there is a distinction, but not what it is: OED *snite* n1.

41 OED cites first use 1586, so this is first known use.

42 Shakespeare is the second cited user of this word; see OED s.v. *bias*, definition 2.a.

43 OED cites first use 1572.

44 First OED use in the sense of “keep score” is not until the nineteenth century, but the author may be using it here in that sense, as a pun. The figurative senses of *cross* and *bias* in the next line would tend to support that reading.

45 Compare Shakespeare’s use of similar terminology, above.

46 Earlier than any cited OED use; see OED s.v. *semibreve*. “Feign” is also a technical term, which means “to hum softly” or “to sing with due regard to the accidentals” (OED).

47 OED s.v. *bricole*.

48 OED s.v. *brickwall*.

49 Compare Shakespeare’s use of tennis terms. He refers casually to tennis or uses tennis metaphors in six plays: *Pericles*, *King Henry VIII*, *Much Ado about Nothing*, *Hamlet*, *Henry IV part 2*, and *Henry V*:

When we have match’d our rackets to these balls,
We will in France, by God’s grace, play a set
Shall strike his father’s crown into the hazard.
Tell him he hath made a match with such a wrangler
That all the Courts of France will be disturb’d
With chaces

50 In OED, Robert Greene is the first cited person to use *caper* as a term in dancing, in 1592; Shakespeare is the second.

51 Before first cited use in OED; Nicholas Breton uses *cross* as a dancing term in *The Works of a Young Wit*, 1577, p. 36—but this poem is almost the only time Breton uses technical terms.

52 Before first cited use in OED.

WORKS CITED

ABBREVIATIONS

- BLMS British Library Manuscript
DNB Dictionary of National Biography
OED Oxford English Dictionary

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