

To Feed on Hills or Dales:

Raleigh's *Cynthia* Reconsidered*

Shoichiro SAKURAI

Introduction

Cynthia is an abridgment of the long title of the 522-line poem of Sir Walter Raleigh, also known as *The Ocean to Cynthia* and *The Ocean's Love to Cynthia*. Cynthia was one of the names of the moon goddesses, while "Water", the Queen affectionately so called him. Therefore, the title reminds the readers of the happiest time in Sir Walter's life, when the Queen's highest favors were bestowed on him. However, the title also reminds them of the second, implicit conclusion of the poem; "the queen is lost, the queen is found".

In fact, in the view of this article, the poem has two conclusions; one, "my woe must ever last"; and the other, "she is lost, she is found". Are these two conclusions after all the same one? Or do they coexist independently? Which one is more fitting for the purpose of the poem? Which one more implies the inner faith of the poet? The poem was written in 1592, when the sonnet sequence was in its boom. Had this poem something to do with that boom? These are the questions ultimately to be solved.

Of course, some critics and scholars, especially Robert Nye, found the whole poem to be "fragmented" or a collection of "fragments" (*A Choice of Sir Walter Raleigh's Verse*, 19, et al.); but this is not the view of the present article. The cumulative poem *Cynthia* is a semi or pseudo-sonnet sequence, a series of usually 12-lined units lacking a closing couplet of English sonnet (4+4+4). To propose this view constitutes the main point of

* This article presents a revised, more systematic discussion, adding further evidence, of the thesis first published in my Japanese language book of 2022. The ideas are published here in English for the first time for overseas readers. I would like to thank Dr John Roe, Professor Emeritus, University of York, and Dr Glenn Black of Oriel College, Oxford, both of whom read the text and gave the comments helpful and considerate; I also offer my thanks to Dr John Constable, formerly Senior Research Fellow, Magdalene College, Cambridge, for his kind permission to publish numerical data, and *Albion's* referees, for their attentive and constructive observations.

this article. Meanwhile, initially, a sonnet sequence did not tell a coherent story but brought together independent sonnets or series of short fiction. Given their fragmentary aspect, the small sequences often went off into excursions but always returned to their main themes. Just so in *Cynthia*, where the many excursions in the long roundabout ways returned to the main road.

It is important to note that metaphors or images such as “sorrow-sucking bees” (415) and “flocks (of sheep)” (497) had an effective influence on the hidden or transparent meanings of the poem as a whole. Therefore, the phrase telling of the flocks finds itself in the title of this present article; “to feed on hills or dales” (498).

Raleigh’s *magnum opus*, *Cynthia* was discovered by C. J. Stewart, a clerk at the Hatfield House Library, together with Raleigh’s four shorter poems, and his letter addressed to the first owner of that palatial house, Sir Robert Cecil. All of them were holographs, written by Raleigh’s hand. *Cynthia* was soon edited and published in 1870, by John Hannah at Lincoln College. In that year Oxford was already the largest centre for Raleigh studies in England, since in Oxford the last collected Works of Raleigh had been published in 1829. Young Walter himself was likely connected to Oriel College.

Cynthia was sometimes conjectured to be “His song”, which Spenser mentioned in his ‘Colin Clout’s Come Home Again’ (1587):

His song was all a lamentable lay
Of great unkindness and of usage hard
Of Cynthia, the Lady of the Sea,
Which from her presence faultless him debar’d (164-167).

However, today, *Cynthia* is no more taken to be “His song”, because, after many discussions, the poem was found to have been written definitively in 1592. Not only “His song” but also Raleigh’s all poems on the Queen could have been called ‘Cynthia’: in fact, his all poems about her were called the same by his contemporary Gabriel Harvey; all the poems of Roman poet Catullus about his lady Lesbia were called ‘Lesbia’. Therefore, in the original full title of the poem;

‘The 21th (and last) Book of the Ocean to Cynthia’

“21th” (pronounced ‘one and twentieth’) designated the numbers of the poems he wrote about the Queen, which were different from one another.

1. The Poem as a Semi-Sonnet Sequence

In 1998, in Kyoto, John Constable tabled his research and gave me in my office the following, in which he at present rounds the figures:

1. Number of Syllables in a Line:

	9	10	11	12
<i>Cynthia</i>	5%	72%	21%	2%
Shakespeare's <i>The Sonnets</i>	3%	81%	14%	1%

2. Number of Syllables in a Word:

	1	2	3	4
<i>Cynthia</i>	75%	20%	4%	0.4%
Shakespeare's <i>The Sonnets</i>	80%	16%	3%	0.5%

He informs me that both Shakespeare's and Raleigh's word length frequencies (Table 2) are close to that found on average in all texts down to the present day. It seems significant, on the other hand, that in *Cynthia* the typical line is decasyllabic, although less regularly so than the line of *The Sonnets* (Table 1); a difference probably arising from the higher frequency of polysyllables in Raleigh's poem. In spite of this degree of variation, we can safely say that *Cynthia* is composed in decasyllabic lines, a fact at least consistent with the sonnet form, and a sonnet sequence.

In the original manuscripts of *Cynthia*, all the lines were written successively, by Raleigh's hand, with no divisions given until the end. However, all editors of the poem, except Gerald Hammond and Michael Rudick, introduce a division every four lines. It is noted that these four lines form a unit (quatrain) of an English Sonnet (abab, ...) and that these three units (abab, cdcd, and efef) form a larger unit of a semi or pseudo English sonnet, which lacks a closing couplet (gg). It is also noted that, in the whole of *Cynthia*, the regular unit of the semi-sonnet (4+4+4) occurs 28 times, whereas the irregular shorter (4+4+2, and others) and longer (4+4+4+4, and others) units occur 14 times. All the semi-sonnets, regular and irregular, are exhibited in their independent units in my book, *Raleigh's Cynthia: Sorrow-Sucking Bees* (73-222). Some irregular units might have been lengthened or shortened to form regular ones if the poet had had time to do so. Therefore, it seems that *Cynthia* intended to form a semi-sonnet sequence.

Furthermore, the complete structure of *Cynthia* is as follows:

- I. Prologue (as Epitaph): a quatrain of English sonnet (1-4):

Sufficeth it to you, my joys interred,
In simple words that I my woes complain,
You that then died when first my fancy erred,
Joys under dust that never live again.¹⁾
- II. A sequence of 28 regular and 14 irregular semi-sonnets (lines 336 and 176), (5-516).
- III. Conclusion: an English sonnet sestet, including the closing couplet (lines 4+2), (517-522):

To God I leave it, who first gave it me,
And I her gave, and she returned again,
As it was hers. So let His mercies be
Of my last comforts the essential mean.
But be it so, or not, th'effects are past.
Her love hath end; my woe must ever last.

It is noticeable that parts I, II, and III equate to a single sonnet if part II should be shortened to a quatrain. This may suggest that the poem was intended to be something like a sonnet sequence.

When *Cynthia* was written from July to August 1592, the boom of sonnet sequence was just sailing on. The boom was launched in June 1592, when Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella* was first printed in an unauthorized version, after years of significant circulations of the manuscripts. Therefore, the poets Arthur Gorges (Raleigh's cousin) and Robert Sidney (Philip's brother), who met Raleigh in the Tower and read the part or the whole of the poem, might easily discern that the poem was largely formed as a semi-sonnet sequence.

However, semi-sonnets themselves were rarely seen even at the height of the sonnet sequence boom. It was more than 25 years later that they began to assert themselves as an established literary form: in 1616 and 1618 respectively, many semi-sonnets were included in Ben Jonson's *Epigrammes*, and John Harington's *Elegant and Witty Epigrammes*, although those semi-sonnets did not form sequences. Those poems by

1) Raleigh's poems are taken from G. Hammond, *Sir Walter Raleigh, Selected Writings*, with spellings modernized.

those poets were not called semi-sonnets but called epigrams, because those poets and their time abhorred the thoughts and ideas of courtly love, contained in the traditional sonnets in and after Petrarch's.

Now, it must be noted that the normal sonnet sequence during Sidney's time never told coherent stories, but rather brought together many independent sonnets or series of short fictions. It was not the sonnets but the songs, contained in Petrarch's sequence *Canzoniere* and Sidney's *Astrophil and Stella*, for example, that just tacitly told fictional stories of what had happened to the protagonists. That initial character of the normal sonnet sequence made for a kind of "fluctuation of feeling" (Greenblatt, *Sir Walter Raleigh*, 93). Namely, the sonnet sequence, in a roundabout way, eventually generated the poet's mind which was seen as full of change.

"Fluctuation" and others were also generated by another form of semi-sonnet. This form lacks the concluding couplet, therefore it encourages the following semi-sonnets to change not their subjects but their contents. The same is true of what has been described variously as "fragments", "fragmented", "fragmental", and "fragmentary" (Nye, 19, et al.). In summary, it was these forms, the sequence and the semi-sonnet, which helped to bring about "fluctuation" and "fragments".

2. Two Conclusions of the Poem

It appears that the poem has two conclusions. The second conclusion "She is gone, she is lost, she is found, she is ever fair" (493) was abruptly hinted, in the first line of the prologue in the concluding section; yet, in its many preceding lines (376-412, 438-442, ff.), it was dwelled on and on, in the following ways:

Which never change to sad adversity, [which: "the essential love"]
 Which never age, or nature's overthrow,
 Which never sickness, or deformity,
 Which never wasting care, or wearing woe (400-403)...

"Can so dissolve, dissever, or destroy . . ." (409). It was still more dwelled on in the long lines: "she", enclosed in the poet's soul, ever nourishes his "woe"; "the more (his) woe", the longer "she" nourishes his life; therefore, "she" is "as the moisture (i.e., water) in each plant, as the sun into the frozen ground, as the sweetness (i.e., fragrance) to the rose, etc." (426-437). It is found that, in those ways, the second conclusion is carefully foretold, often in the languages formal and ritual. Therefore, the two conclusions, the first concerning the woe, the second concerning the reunion, are

found conjoined indeed.

It should be noticed that the two metaphors or images are spotted in those preceding lines. The one is “a perrie” (392), a jewel stone: Walter Oakeshott, on C. S. Lewis’s interpretation, changed “a pearl” of Lathan’s, for “a perrie” (*The Queen and the Poet*, 196). That jewel stone is initially the metaphor, not a visual one, for the Queen’s heart, which keeps the poet’s soul in custody. The other metaphor is “sorrow-sucking bees” (415), which are admitted in the poet’s sorrowful soul, so that the bees may suck his sorrow. Although these two metaphors are briefly displayed, their effects will be long-standing as follows. While the second conclusion is being realized, the “perrie stone” is transformed to a more appropriate metaphor, this time a visual one, for the Queen’s soul, which is enclosed and kept in the custody of the poet’s soul; just as a jewel is kept in a case. And then, the “bees”, who are enclosed in the poet’s soul, are now transferred into the elements of the Queen’s soul; an analogy to the ecosystem that a queen bee is always among “bees”. The two metaphors are found at first foreshadowing, and then confirming, the second conclusion that “the queen is found, the queen is ever fair”. Possibly, the poet initially cherished his idea in his mind that the two initial metaphors would be thereafter transformed into the new ones, which are in fact found more beautiful and convincing than the old ones.

Next, why was the second conclusion so understated in the prologue? Before Raleigh started writing, he had no fixed thoughts of his own about the conclusion(s). Therefore, he tried to mold his thoughts after the examples which were inherited from the literary conventions. By molded thoughts, he primarily intended to invoke pity in the readers. If a molded thought was found unlikely to invoke pity, it was left understated. Instead, if that thought had been spoken loudly, it would have offended Sir Robert Cecil, to whom the poem was sent. He would have protested, saying “If the Queen is already found, why then do you venture to ask me to intercede with her?”

The reason why the second conclusion remained reticent was once suggested indirectly by Philip Edwards, who remarks that “the successful translation of emotions in accepted conventions does not make the poem less genuine” (*Sir Walter Raleigh*, 109). Edwards there suggests that “translation” might form the poet’s own “genuine” thought. However, “accepted conventions” in *Cynthia* shall be nominated in the subsequent section of this article. Now, the famous ballad ‘Walsingham’ might be more than an “accepted convention”, as the ballad is supposed to have been written mainly by Raleigh himself. The ballad runs closely parallel with *Cynthia* both in its thought and in its languages (Oakeshott, 57, et al.) (see above, 5). The ballad concludes in this way:

But true love is a durable fire,
 In the mind ever burning,
 Never sick, never old, never dead,
 From itself never turning.

This conclusion goodly annotates the thought of the second conclusion, here cited again to its full hoping it may linger in our memories:

She is gone, she is lost, she is found, she is ever fair.

This thought sounds exactly like what Edwards suggested it to be, that is, “genuine”. The thought might from the poet’s faith in love; moreover, it might be similar to the faith of the Protestants, although Sir Walter was twice accused as being Catholic. However, this line remains so transient, that it resembles a rainbow in the sky, which lingers in readers’ memories over time.

3. Many Genres of the Poem

The genres or conventions “accepted” in *Cynthia* may amount to as many as six.

The first was the lover’s complaint, which provided the poem with its prevailing dark and heavy moods. Many overdrawn and exaggerated descriptions were displayed of the rejected poet’s “weary soul and heavy thought” (336). In the first flush of that genre, the poet might be involved in making his complaint so overdrawn and exaggerated.

The next genre was the praise of the Queen: “She is a virgin; she is a goddess; she is the sun, the moon Cynthia”. Hymning such adorations of the Queen was in the general moods of the Elizabethan period, which looked forward to having perfections amid the moods of mutability and decline. And then, what is particular and individual in those adorations in *Cynthia*, is the gushing ejaculations of joy, when the poet quite suddenly turns to declaiming his adorations. However, it must be remembered that these radical switches do not occur casually, but by the writer’s careful motivation. Such outpourings are invariably preceded by his sense, that the conventional poetic process has come to a dead end, where he can no longer write complaints, no longer pretend away greatest miseries. These sudden turns constitute the unique moments in this poem when the violence for destruction and the ecstasy in restoration come together.

The third genre, satire, was directed at the Queen. The fact that those two genres, the praise and the satire of the Queen co-existed in the same poem, reflected the general attitude to the Queen in the late Elizabethan period. Indeed, in the poem, the Queen was

once described as one of the merciless “tyrants that in fetters tie / Their wounded vassals, yet nor kill nor cure, / But glory in their lasting misery” (196-198). However, that harshest satire was twice softened into, finally, the poet’s acceptance of what the merciless Queen had done with him (181-221). On the other hand, the most dexterous were those satires that were told in a moment, with their meanings so concealed that they might be discovered, like these in the following. In the line “(the poet was) lost in the mud of those high-flowing streams” (17), the Queen was identified with the streams, whose basis was, “mud”! In another line “the firm and solid tree both rent and rotten” (256), the Queen as that “tree” was observed to be already “rotten”, and soon to be getting “rent”; with “rotten” inverted, its meaning “morally or politically corrupt” (*POD*) left concealed, so that its meaning, once it is deciphered, might be emphasized!

The fourth genre, epigram, is most evident, first in the prologue of the poem (see above, 4). There, the simple words and the composition of the epigram are, so early in the poem, manifested, first, in the line “In simple words that I may complain” (2). The line indicates that the words employed in this poem are simple ones of epigram, here those of epitaph also. The phrase “In simple words” precedes the clause “that I must complain”, rather than occupying its usual place after it, to bring out the epigrammatic character of the sentence. Similarly, with “under dust”, in the line “Joys under dust that never live again” (4). Furthermore, the epigrammatic is most evident, in the lines of the two conclusions, “my woe must ever last” and “she is lost, she is found”; where, happenings of supreme importance are told in the simplest words and the humble epigram.

The fifth and most exuberant in the poem is the genre of pastoral. The pastoral starts just after the prologue, then nearly occupies the more central passages of the poem (5-492), and then forms its concluding section (493-522). The fact that the pastoral constantly dominates the whole poem, proves to be just as significant as the other fact, that the persona’s (protagonist’s) mind is constantly changing. And then, in what is called ‘pathetic fallacy’, it is usual for nature to express spontaneous compassion for the sorrows of mankind. However, in *Cynthia*, it was unusual for the ‘pathetic fallacy’, that the poet exacts nature to do so for his sorrows. On the other hand, over the wide fields of pastoral in the poem, several impressive pastoral metaphors or images can be seen, such as “a wheel” (81), “icicles” (132), “bees”, “flocks (of sheep)” (497), etc.; some of them literary, but all of them cherished in the poet’s own actual life. After all, among the prevalent contemporary pastorals, Raleigh’s was a much more urgent, indispensable one, for the poet’s innermost mind.

Finally, the several sections of varying dimensions in the poem exemplify the genre of

epic. Epic-like grand characteristics were rendered to the hero-like Queen, and the same descriptions were employed to the strongest powers of violence and destruction in the forces of Time and Nature (132-152, 275-276, 450-461, ff.). Those drives for destruction in *Cynthia* were predecessors of the drives in that grand Satanism in Milton's *Paradise Lost*, published in 1667, although the former drives in *Cynthia* were often more "fragmented", more impulsive, and less premeditated, than those in *Paradise Lost*. The differences between the two drives and between their compositions were attributable basically to the different atmospheres of the two periods, the late Elizabethan and the Restoration.

After all, the reason why Raleigh employed multiple genres, was that, again, he was prepared to formulate his thoughts after the many examples inherent in those conventions. The other reason was perhaps that he would like to attract the attention and interest of the readers of the poem, Arthur Gorges, and Robert Sidney included. Before they read *Cynthia* in the Tower, Walter, Arthur, and other poets had enjoyed poetic combats by writing mock epitaphs to each other (Carlo M. Bajetta, *TLS*, Aug. 5, 2022). In the lights of those writings, *Cynthia* looks like a collection of many mock genres; mock epigram (epitaph), mock praise of the Queen, mock pastoral, and others.

Raleigh lived in an era when the traditional genres were "creating the levels of literacy not matched in any previous era" (John Carey, 280). "The levels of literacy" included the levels of his thoughts and his languages which Raleigh in *Cynthia* obtained from many traditional genres listed above.

4. The Poetry of *Cynthia* Qualified

How can the poetry and thoughts of *Cynthia* be characterized? Moreover, to what kinds of literary tradition do they belong?

Agnes M. C. Latham, who solidified Exeter, the centre for Raleigh studies, described the poetry of Raleigh in general as remarkable not only for its "gravity", but also for such tacit qualities as "restraint", "reticence", "terseness", "shyness", and "silence" (*The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, 'The Muses Library', xxvii ff.). It is of no doubt that "gravity" describes both epic poetry and some portions of the lover's complaint in the poem. On the other hand, "restraint" and "reticence" precisely explicate the poetry of the epigram in the first conclusion, "my woe must ever last"; "terseness" and "shyness" beautifully illustrate also the poetry of the epigram in second conclusion, "she is lost, she is found"; "shyness" and "silence" well elucidate the way how the several metaphors like "bees" were abruptly presented in the poem.

These tacit qualities indicate that the significant portions of *Cynthia* belonged among

the poems written by the 'drab' school of poetry in the English Renaissance (C. S. Lewis, *English Literature of the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama*). In the 20th century, the poetry of the 'Movement' was a kind of revival of that 'drab' school (Richard Hoffpanir, *The Art of Restraint: English Poetry from Hardy to Larkin*). Therefore, it can be noted that Raleigh is one of the ancestors of the 'Movement' poets. Should a single poet be selected out of the immediate ancestors, Edward Thomas would be the correct choice. There is of no doubt that the "unobtrusive signs" that F. R. Leavis found in Thomas's poetry (*New Bearings in English Poetry*, 55) were the same with the signs of "restraint" and "reticence". Thomas's love of pastorals in "South Country" was derived from the humiliations he and his father suffered in the modern civilization in England. His father had been the first in his family to move from Wales to England. Correspondingly, Raleigh had been of minor gentry stock in the far South West, in Devon; at court, he was disdained by such powerful enemies like the Howards. Under those similar awkward situations, both Raleigh and Thomas were compelled to eternalize such small pastoral objects like "bees", and "a blackbird" among Thomas's many other objects: those two small objects were extending themselves in time and space respectively.

Toward the end of *Cynthia*, the poet directs his persona "my minds", to leave this world, by employing several imperatives; "stay" (474), "seek not" (482), "strive" (491), and "do" (496). By frequently directing them, the poet was forcing the poem to leave and to return to the main road of progress. The poet further directs his other persona, the shepherd, to do the same, by employing still other imperatives:

Unfold thy flocks and leave them to the fields
 To feed on hills or dales, where likes them best,
 Of what the summer or the springtime yields,
 For love and time hath given thee leave to rest (497-500).

The shepherd is "unfolding his flocks (i.e., the shepherd's soul)" from the closure (i.e., the shepherd's body), so that the flocks may live hereafter in "the fields to feed on hills or dales". Of course, according to Christianity, the poet's soul is to live on in another place, the heavens. However, in this poem, that soul appears to live on in this place, on the Earth. Moreover, this place must be in the particular "fields" of Devon, the poet's birthplace; as "hills or dales" designates those of Devon. Devon is often described as the county of "hills and dales", whereas Kent is described as that of "hills and forests". Devon is also rich in "flocks", "icicles" in cold winter, and "bees" of village keeping since

old ages; that keeping Sylvia Plath joined while she lived in North Tawton, the North Devon village.

Again, the poet was settling his persona's place in his afterlife to be in "hills or dales" on this earth, in his own country. Nevertheless, the contrast implied there was not exclusively between this earth and the heavens, but, rather, significantly, between his home country and the court. In the court, Raleigh had been assailed by his antagonists, while in his home country, he was thereafter to be "best liked (i.e., loved)" by "hills or dales", which were the poet's paradise derived from the innermost recesses of his mind. Indeed Raleigh's Virgilian longing there to return to his home country was touching—"Fresh woods and pastures new".

Still again, "hills or dales" were those on this earth. The same is true of the places where Sir Philip Sidney's soul lives on in Raleigh's highly reputed eulogy, "An epitaph upon the Honourable Sir Philp Sidney Knight: Lord Governor of Flushing". In this eulogy, after Sidney's soul ("kingly mind") has left his body, elements of his soul such as "valour", "sorrow", "want", etc. are distributed not to the heavens, but to many particular places, people, and years to come, all of them definitely on this earth:

... Flanders (doth hold) thy valour, where it last was tried;
 The camp thy sorrow, where thy body died;
 Thy friends, thy want; the worlds, thy virtue's fame;
 Nations, thy wit; our minds lay up thy love;
 (Men of) Letters, thy learning; thy loss, years long to come;
 In worthy hearts sorrow hath made thy tomb; (46-51).

These lines allocate many specific places spread out in this wide world, where Sidney's soul lives on ever after. In contrast, the places in *Cynthia*, where the soul of Raleigh's persona is to be "held", are strictly limited to somewhere in the hills or vales only, likely of Devon. That was because Raleigh was aware of the fact that his fame in his lifetime did not match Sidney's. That narrowness did constitute the grand self-fashioning of Sir Walter Raleigh.

In these two poems, the body replaced the soul. The same was evidently true of many poems on the First World War. Indeed, Raleigh was the father of such poets as Edward Thomas and the First World War poets, whose poems have been much loved as they are typically English.

Finally, in brief, *Cynthia* resembles a modern poem. Both poems require readers to participate in creating their essential meanings. Agnes Latham, in her notes to *Cynthia*,

gave no interpretations of her own at all to “difficult passages”, declaring that these interpretations should be left to readers (*The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*, ‘The Muses Library’, 127). Indeed, it is by the association of the poet and reader that the second conclusion is realized.

5. A Short History of the Critical Readings

Continuing from the preceding section, how the poetry of *Cynthia* was characterized in the recent interpretations of the poem? This section is included also for its own purpose of introducing that history.

John Hannah’s edition of the poems (1870) was at last replaced by Latham’s two editions, published with a long interval in between (1st ed., 1929; 2nd ed., in the U.S., 1951, in ‘The Muses Library’, 1962). Its second edition initiated a considerable number of the critical readings.

Philip Edwards described *Cynthia* as “extraordinary”; firstly, in the explicit sense that the poem was full of perplexities, contradictions, and extreme changeability; secondly, in the implicit sense in his intuition, that the conclusion of the poem was nonetheless authentic and successful (Edwards (1953), 102, 123–124). Edwards then elucidated the poem’s essential method of “borrowing its notion of love from a poetic convention” (107, 109) (see above, 7).

Oxonian C. S. Lewis described Raleigh in *Cynthia* as an “amateur” poet, complaining that “what is unfinished is more impressive, certainly more exciting, than what is finished” (*English Literature of the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama* (1954), 520). His view might be a veiled opposition to Exeter-based scholar Latham’s. She took “reticence”, “silence”, and the others as the accomplished merits of the poem (‘The Muses Library’, xxvii f.); whereas Lewis took them simply as “what (are) unfinished”. Lewis, on the other hand, in 1942, illuminated Milton’s intention in *Paradise Lost* (*A Preface to Paradise Lost*): just the same did he, in 1954, to the intention in *Cynthia*, however briefly, as just above quoted.

Canterbrigian Donald Davie’s reading was an unveiled opposition to another Canterbrigian Edwards’ reading. Davie, opposing Edwards, considered *Cynthia*’s absurd qualities, not the demerits but its indispensable elements. Moreover, Davie, still opposing Edwards, would not retrace the poem’s progress toward the conclusion(s), nor would he mention the conclusion(s) at all. On the other hand, Davie was in full praise for Raleigh’s language in *Cynthia*, defining it as “scrupulous”, a nicely exact word (‘A Reading of *The Ocean’s Love to Cynthia*’ (1960), 89). However, Davie’s “scrupulous” may have meant more than its dictionary definition. When he was back in Cambridge as a graduate

student from 1946 to 1950, F. R. Leavis' *Scrutiny* was "(his) bible and Leavis (his) prophet" (*These the Companions Recollections* (1982), 79). On the other hand, he found Leavis's canon of approved reading, "rigorously narrow" (78). On good terms with Davie for years, Yvor Winters also highly praised the language of Raleigh's poems, defining it as "serious" (*Forms of Discovery* (1967), 22 ff.). Davie's "scrupulous" and Winters's "serious" were not on a par with Edwards's "genuine" (Edwards, 109); as both "scrupulous" and "serious" referred primarily to the aesthetic value of Raleigh's language, whereas Edwards's "genuine" referred to the moral value of the thoughts which poets obtain from the conventions.

Walter Oakeshott's meticulous monograph *The Queen and the Poet* (1962), the only one as yet published on Raleigh's poems, proposed the view, that the largest and most significant portion of his poems consisted of the poems on the Queen. Oakeshott resided at Lincoln College.

Stephen J. Greenblatt then entered the stage of the critical readings (*Sir Walter Raleigh: The Renaissance Man and His Roles* (1973)). Raleigh the man and his writings provided Greenblatt with a valid inspiration in forming his idea of self-fashioning. He insisted, "Raleigh attempted to fashion his own identity as a work of art" (ix). Greenblatt's reading provides us with a suitable opportunity to be acquainted with the difference between the two readings, those by new historicists, and those by scholar critics and historicists. For Greenblatt, and in this while also for Davie, "the conclusion ("my woe must ever last") is far less significant than the process of the poem, its constant fluctuation of feelings". Then Greenblatt, in a departure from Davie, declared: "The old style ... could not represent the isolation and the turbulent flux of his consciousness. And so Raleigh moves on his own, falteringly, brilliantly, toward a new mode of self-representation" (93), that is, toward the poet's self-fashioning. Whereas, for Philip Edwards, a scholar critic, the conclusion is not only "significant", but also "deeply moving", because the poet "ends the poem with a gesture of helplessness ... What other conclusion can there be other than the simple expression of fact?" (123-124). Edwards took the conclusion as honestly confessing "helplessness" (i.e., "fact"); whereas Greenblatt took it as bravely professing "helplessness" in the way of manifest role-playing.

Emrys Jones's *The New Oxford Book of Sixteenth Century Verse* (1991) includes many of those poems which were in the moods not only changeable and fluctuating but also "grotesque, ugly, difficult, obscure" (xxvii), all of which compose the large portions of *Cynthia*. Jones was raised in London, nearly within hearing distance of the bell of St. Mary-le-Bow Church, so he loved the changeable and other moods above mentioned

(John Carey, 'Emrys Lloyd Jones', 273). Jones declared that those absurd moods in *Cynthia* were "historically circumstantiated", and represented the "social moods" of the late 16th century (xxvii, f.). Jones, adherent to those moods, devoted in his new anthology as many as 28 pages to Raleigh's poems; on the contrary, spared as few as 23 pages for the poems of that major poet Philip Sidney, for the reason, Jones declared, that Sidney's poems did not give any powerful treatment to those "social moods". By comparison, Greenblatt appreciated *Cynthia* because, he thought, the poem contained what he by himself deemed the dominant "mode" of the age; whereas, Jones did the same because, in his view, the poem reflected "historically circumstantiated" "social moods" of that age. And then, Oxonian Jones, a scholar in history, was eager to confirm that the post-Pleiad poets revitalized the French poetry by rediscovering the natural world and that those French poets brought that world into the late Elizabethan poems. Indeed, "bees", "icicles", "flocks in hill or dale", etc., were removed from the fields to the sheets of *Cynthia*. Jones lovingly told of the beauties of those natural objects in those poems, of that happy period in which those living objects were removed to the poems, in contrast with the unhappy period of Wyatt and Surrey's (xxxii, f.).

Oxford and Exeter, the two centres for the Raleigh studies in England, have been mentioned many times directly and indirectly. *The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh* (1999) was published by Exeter University Press, in an exemplary annotated edition, by the two memorable scholars of the Exeter University English Faculty, Agnes Latham and Joyce Youings. Whereas, the newly collected Works of Raleigh in 9 vols. are being conducted in Oxford University Press. It would be wonderful if Oxford University Press could emulate Exeter University Press's that splendid edition, in any future edition of the Poems of Raleigh. How many commentaries will be made out of new historicist criticism in the notes of that new annotated edition of the Poems?

New historicist Michael Rudick's edition of Raleigh's poems proposes a "socially constructed canon, not at all an "authorized" body of work" (*The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh: A Historical Edition* (1999), xviii). His canon is made mainly of the texts Raleigh alone did not write. Rudick contends that, in an attempt to build a new canon, it is necessary for the attempt to "examine the sources with an eye toward several factors within Raleigh's historical moment, the position of poets with respect to their audiences, the different forms of verse publication, and the uses of poetry" (xix). Rudick's edition and others' works have been connected with another centre for Raleigh studies in North Carolina: that centre is being expanded drastically. All of those works have encouraged new readings of *Cynthia*, of which some are contained in Christopher Armitage, *Literary and Visual Raleigh* (2013). The new historicist criticism demands texts to be treated

mainly within many historical contexts.

However, this present article sticks to a text—mainly, not to say a text-only approach, based on traditional historicist criticism, while taking in new historicist criticism as much as possible.

Works Cited

- Armitage, Christopher M. edited. *Literary and Visual Raleigh*. Manchester UP, 2013.
- Bajetta, Carlo M. “Shilling rhymes: Newly discovered mock epitaphs by Sir Walter Raleigh and other Elizabethan courtiers”. *TLS*, Aug. 5, 2022.
- Carey, John. ‘Emrys Lloyd Jones, 1931–2012’, *Biographical Memoirs of Fellows of the British Academy*, XIII. The British Academy, 2014.
- Davie, Donald. ‘A Reading of *The Ocean’s Love to Cynthia*’, *Elizabethan Poetry*. ‘Stratford-Upon-Avon Studies’, Edward Arnold, 1960.
- . *These the Companions Recollections*. Cambridge UP, 1982; selected ed., *My Cambridge; from These the Companions Recollections*. edited with notes by S. Sakurai and M. Hashimoto, Apollon-sha, Kyoto, 1984.
- Edwards, Philip. *Sir Walter Raleigh*. Longmans, Green and co., 1953.
- Greenblatt, Stephen J. *Sir Walter Raleigh: The Renaissance Man and His Roles*. Yale UP, 1973.
- Hammond, Gerald. *Sir Walter Raleigh, Selected Writings*. ‘Penguin Classics’, Penguin Books, 1984.
- Hannah, John. *The Courtly Poets from Raleigh to Montrose*. Bell and Daldy, 1870.
- Harrington, John. *Epigrams, 1616*. Scholar Press, 1970.
- Hoffpanir, Richard. *The Art of Restraint: English Poetry from Hardy to Larkin*. U of Delaware P, 1991.
- Jones, Emrys. *The New Oxford Book of Sixteenth Century Verse*. Oxford UP, 1991.
- Jonson, Ben. *Epigrams*. The Cambridge Edition of the Works of Ben Jonson, vol. 5. Cambridge UP, 2012.
- Latham, Agnes M. C. *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*. Houghton Mifflin, 1929.
- . *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh*. 2nd ed., Harvard UP, 1951; ‘The Muses Library’, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1962.
- and Joyce Youings. *The Letters of Sir Walter Raleigh*. Exeter UP, 1999.
- Leavis, F. R. *New Bearings in English Poetry: A Study of the Contemporary Situation*. Penguin Books, 1967.
- Lewis, C. S. *A Preface to Paradise Lost*. Oxford UP, 1942.
- . *English Literature of the Sixteenth Century Excluding Drama*. Oxford at the Clarendon Press, 1954.
- Nye, Robert. *A Choice of Sir Walter Raleigh’s Verse*. Faber and Faber, 1972.
- Oakeshott, Walter. *The Queen and the Poet*. Faber and Faber, 1960.

- Rudick, Michael. *The Poems of Sir Walter Raleigh: A Historical Edition*. Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies in conjunction with Renaissance English Text Society, 1999.
- Sakurai, Shoichiro. *Raleigh's Cynthia: Sorrow-Sucking Bees*. Suiseisha, Tokyo, 2022; written in Japanese.
- Winters, Yvor. *Forms of Discovery: Critical and Historical Essays on the Forms of the Short Poems in English*. Alan Swallow, 1967.