

Silencing the Sirens: Patronage and the New World in Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare

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For her encouragement, her patience, and her unwavering faith in me, I thank my wife, Beth. Though certainly not a siren, you are, after all, the only temptation I shall ever pursue.

Dedication

To Beth, Eleanor, and Abigail: the inspirations for my songs.

Abstract

The sirens' place within the reason/passion antithesis has been the subject of several important scholarly inquiries about Early Modern English literature. While scholars have considered how early modern authors used sirens to explore the dangers of poetic expression, they have largely ignored the siren's place within the era's ideas about the New World. As early modern poets explored the sirens' ability to incriminate their poetry's capacity to please the senses, they also encountered the sirens' newest abode, Virginia, England's foothold in the New World. This study argues that the New World context for sirens creates unexpected resonances within the works of early modern authors who explore the siren songs' criticism of sensual pleasure within their works. This project expands the understanding of sirens in early modern English texts by suggesting that they often reveal the poet's uncertainty about the sensual and passionate nature of poetry, and that they also frequently include a connection with England's imperial expansion in the Americas. In particular, this study focuses on close readings of three authors: Edmund Spenser, Samuel Daniel, and William Shakespeare.

The study is based on cross-disciplinary scholarship that includes literary analysis, historical research, and musical analysis to examine several genres ranging from lyric poetry to drama and from epic poetry to the Elizabethan air. After establishing an Early Modern context for sirens, this text explores book II of *The Faerie Queene*, "Ulysses and the Syren," and *The Tempest*. This dissertation argues that Spenser's New World praise of Queen Elizabeth self-critically reveals itself as sirenic flattery, and in a

sense might act as Spenser's own poetic pursuit of temperance; that Daniel's poem, with its eloquent ability to please patrons with contrasting attitudes about the New World displays an eloquence that silences itself, and that this silencing reflects Daniel's concern over poetry's appeal to the senses; and that Shakespeare reveals how his play might be read as a sirenic temptation that acts as propaganda for English imperial expansion in America.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	i
Abstract	iii
List of Figures	vi
Introduction: Peter Pan's Neverland and Early Modern Mermaids	1
Chapter 1 "We Mermayden's Clepe Hem Here": Sirens in Early Modern England	10
Chapter 2 "Where Many Mermayds Haunt": Flattery and Vanity in Book II of <i>The Faerie Queene</i>	56
Chapter 3 Samuel Daniel, Lady Margaret's Privateer, and a Prince: Silent Eloquence	106
Chapter 4 "The Clouds Methought Would Open and Show Riches": Shakespeare, A New World Siren	151
Conclusion	221
End Notes	214
Works Cited	231

List of Figures

- Figure 1: Sirens, illustration from Geoffrey Whitney's
A Choice of Emblems (London, 1586) 13
- Figure 2: Siren on shield, illustration from John Bossewell's
Workes of Armorie Devyded into Three Bookes (1572) 20
- Figure 3: Title page from *The Decades of the Newe Worlde
or West India* (1555) 46
- Figure 4: Adam and Eve Before the Fall, from *A Brief and True
Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590) 49
- Figure 5: Map of Virginia, from *A Brief and True Report of the
New Found Land of Virginia* (1590) 51
- Figure 6: "Full Fathom Five," from *Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads
First Composed for One Single Voice, and Since Set for
Three Voices*. (1660) 187-188
- Figure 7: "Where the Bee Sucks," from *Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads
First Composed for One Single Voice, and Since Set for
Three Voices*. (1660) 204

Introduction

Peter Pan's Neverland and Early Modern Mermaids

Overhearing me talking about mermaids, my three-year-old daughter asked, “Daddy, you mean Peter Pan’s mermaids?” The mermaids I mentioned were the five sisters Edmund Spenser described plying their “continuall trade” in *The Faerie Queene* (II.xii.30). At the time, wanting to avoid an elaborate explanation that included a topic I hoped there would be no need to address with my daughter for years, I smiled and told her she was very smart, and that yes, of course, I was talking about Peter’s mermaids. Retrospectively, my glib response to her innocent question seems to reveal a common lineage between the mermaids inhabiting the imaginations of twentieth-century authors like Sir James Mathew Barrie and early modern authors like Spenser.

In Barrie’s famous novel *Peter and Wendy* (1911), Wendy begs Peter Pan to postpone his return to Neverland with a simple promise: “‘Don’t go, Peter,’ she entreated, ‘I know such lots of stories’” (42). Considering this promise the narrator claims, “There can be no denying that it was she who first tempted him” (42). Peter Pan in turn entices Wendy with his own promise: “‘Wendy, there are mermaids.’” To which Wendy replies, “‘Mermaids! With tails?’” (43). With Wendy and Peter’s reciprocal enticements, Barrie’s novel includes a thread of inquiry that has resurfaced again and again within literary works. This inquiry revolves around the topos of the traveler’s encounter with the sirens and what such an encounter implies about the moral value of “lots of stories.” In the initial exchange between Peter and Wendy, it is difficult to discern who is being tempted and who is tempting. Wendy’s stories entice Peter, and Peter’s Mermaids, with

their “tails,” entice Wendy. Both Wendy and Peter are drawn by the siren call of “stories.” Wendy is attracted to Peter because he presents as real the literal “tails” of mermaids that make up Wendy’s imagined tales. Peter is attracted to Wendy because her imagination helps create his Neverland.

Wendy and Peter’s mutual enticement reflects a concern over the sensual pleasure created by stories and the words that form them. Such a concern dwells in the danger that a sensual pleasure in words might eclipse reason. Peter’s Neverland represents the ability of the senses to overthrow reason. Looking back on her first encounter with Peter Pan as an old woman who has forgotten how to fly, Wendy recalls that Peter, “flew us all away to the Neverland and the fairies and the pirates and the redskins and the mermaid’s lagoon” (236). Peter Pan’s Neverland, a realm where stories and words overcome reason, brings together seemingly disparate strands that were interwoven by authors long before Barrie.

Barrie’s works have sometimes been compared to Shakespeare’s. For instance, R. D. S. Jack claims, “Between 1901 and 1904 Barrie produced three major plays [*Quality Street, The Admirable Crichton, and Peter Pan*] all of which followed the pattern of...Shakespearian romances.” Jack continues, making a direct link to Shakespeare’s *The Tempest*: “Once the central issue has been defined these plays test it out imaginatively in their equivalent of Prospero’s island in *The Tempest*.” Jack’s comparison points to similarities between Peter’s Neverland and the Neverland Shakespeare created on Prospero’s Island 300 years earlier. Prospero’s Island, as many scholars have noted,¹ clearly reflects a topic that was difficult to ignore in Shakespeare’s

day: England's place in the New World. As Barrie's Neverland juxtaposes fairies, pirates, redskins, and mermaids within a land that consists more of imagination than reason, he echoes early modern English authors like Shakespeare who explore the tensions created by the reason/passion antithesis in an era being redefined by exploration and settlement in the Americas. Mermaids, or sirens as they were first named in Homer's *Odyssey*, are the traveler's perpetual foes, but they are also embodied representations that show the power of sensual pleasures to overcome reason. These sirens mediated the crossroads created in early modern England by New World exploration and anxiety about the poet's place within England's New World encounters.

The close relationship between the sirens' tempting song and poetry in early modern England created a problematic situation. Those who defended poetry, like Sir Philip Sidney in *The Defense of Poesy*, continually claimed that poetry could teach through its ability to please the senses. For example, Sidney claims that poetry can "teach goodness, and delight the learners of it" (30). Sidney's argument in favor of poetry conversely serves to emphasize the criticism he argues against: the criticism that poetry could incite sensual passions and thwart reason. Revealing this criticism while simultaneously attempting to dismiss it, Sidney claims that important classical thinkers like Herodotus borrowed from poetry its "passionate describing of passions" (7). Sidney's revelation of the link between poetry and its potential to sensually overpower reason seems remarkably similar to the trope of dangerous siren music. Both the sirens and poetry are accused of being able to overwhelm man's reason by appealing to his senses.

The connections between poetry and the sirens become even more explicit when early modern English attitudes towards the relationship of poetry and song are considered. In *The Defense of Poesy*, Sidney proclaims that poetry is “the only fit speech for music” (31) and argues that the poet “cometh to you with words set in delightful proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared for, the well-enchanting skill of music” (23). Through these sentiments, Sidney suggests that music and poetry are inextricably entwined since poetry can be called music and it alone is capable of expressing music’s meaning.

If, following Sidney’s example, early modern poets wished to justify their poetry by invoking its ability to teach morality, they must confront the reason/passion antithesis since this belief was embedded in their culture and linked to their craft, yet one of the main allegorical stories used to illustrate this antithesis and the dangers of the passions is the enduring story of the traveler’s encounter with the sirens. The need to confront poetry’s appeal to the senses compels poets to include sirens in their poetry. Each time a siren enters into a poem or play, though, it has the potential to remind the reader of the similarities between poetry and the singing sirens. The siren reminds the reader that poetry can destroy reason through an appeal to sensual passion. The siren problem was particularly important for early modern English poets because during this time the poet was still attempting to carve out a place of respectability for himself. Richard Helgerson sums up this idea nicely: “If Elizabethans understood poetry to be merely a fugitive and licentious toy—and, however loudly poetry was sometimes praised, such a view was wide spread—then the laureate might have no way to both distinguish himself and to

retain his title to poetry” (32) My dissertation will examine the different ways that early modern English poets react to the problem posed by the sirens’ myth and its reminder of poetry’s potentially dangerous appeal to the senses.

The sirens’ place within the reason/passion antithesis has been the subject of several important scholarly inquiries. For instance, Steven Buhler in his essay “The Sirens, the Epicurean Boat, and the Poetry of Praise” explores how early modern English poets used sirens to “confront and explore the possibility that poetic expression could be harmful to the commonwealth” (176). While scholars have considered how early modern authors have used sirens to explore the dangers of poetic expression, they have largely ignored the siren’s place within the era’s ideas about the New World. Linda Austern tantalizingly suggests this important relationship: “With the colonial and materialist impulses of the early modern era came a renewed interest in describing, identifying, categorizing, and mapping the territory of sirens and their kin” (71). As early modern poets explored the sirens’ ability to incriminate their poetry’s capacity to please the senses, they also encountered the sirens’ newest abode, Virginia, England’s foothold in the New World. My study will argue that the New World context for sirens creates unexpected resonances within the works of early modern authors who explore the siren songs’ criticism of sensual pleasure within their works. Through this project, I hope to expand the understanding of sirens in early modern English texts by suggesting that they often reveal the poet’s uncertainty about the sensual and passionate nature of poetry, and that they also frequently include a connection with England’s imperial expansion in the Americas. In particular, I will focus my study on close readings of three authors:

Edmund Spenser, Samuel Daniel, and William Shakespeare. My methodology will be based on cross-disciplinary study that includes literary analysis, historical research, and musical analysis to examine several genres ranging from lyric poetry to drama and from epic poetry to the Elizabethan air.

In order to contextualize Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare's ideas about sirens, my first chapter will examine early modern English ideas about sirens. This chapter will consider a wide variety of texts that deal with sirens including poetry, drama, heraldry, sermons, treatises, bestiaries, and travel literature. A close examination of these various texts helps develop a concept of how Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare understood the siren myth. This chapter will draw mainly on early modern English texts, but it will also deal briefly with a few important predecessors such as Geoffery Chaucer's *Romaunt of the Rose* and John Gower's *Confessio Amantis*. The focus of this chapter will be to reveal the siren's various and sometimes conflicting guises and how these guises fit within allegorical moralizations familiar to early modern authors and readers. The chapter will also begin to address the siren's place within English conceptions of the New World.

In chapter two, I will begin to apply this contextualization of the siren to Spenser's epic poem *The Faerie Queene*. *The Faerie Queene*, like Barrie's *Peter and Wendy*, places fairies and mermaids side by side in the New World, a land where the "redskins" roam. I will create a close reading of the many mermaids in *The Faerie Queene*'s second book. This reading will center on Guyon's role as the Ulyssean right reader who encounters various sirenic figures that radiate throughout Book II, including Phaedria and Acrasia, the arch villain of Book II. I will examine how Spenser, while

pursuing the didactic aim of imparting the virtue of temperance, engages moralizations of sirenic flattery and vanity. The virtue of temperance seems to be directly at odds with the siren's appeal to the senses and poetry's similar appeal, so it is little surprise that Spenser's book of temperance deals with sirens. Ultimately, my argument will reveal how Spenser's New World praise of Queen Elizabeth self-critically reveals itself as sirenic flattery, and in a sense might act as Spenser's own poetic pursuit of temperance.

For chapter three, I will turn to Samuel Daniel's lyric poem "Ulysses and the Syren." I will examine this short lyrical poem through the lens of Daniel's other literary works. In particular, I'll use Daniel's works to argue that Daniel has a particularly virulent suspicion of poetry's eloquence. I'll also use it to show Daniel's conflicting representations of England's New World interests. I'll argue that Daniel uses the siren topos because it allows him to address his concerns about poetry's eloquence while simultaneously creating a poem that can please patrons with contrasting views of English exploration and expansion in the New World. While Spenser's *The Faerie Queene* resonates with Barrie's juxtaposition of fairies and mermaids, Daniel's poem "Ulysses and the Syren" engages the topic of pirates since in part it touches on English privateering in the New World. I'll argue that "Ulysses and the Syren" uses eloquence in a manner that allows it to be read as a poem that supports the militant New World dreams of Henry, Prince of Wales, as well as the New World anxieties of Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, who suffers because of her husband George Clifford's continual privateering. Finally, I'll argue that Daniel's poem, with its eloquent ability to

please patrons with contrasting attitudes displays an eloquence that silences itself, and that this silencing reflects Daniel's concern over poetry's appeal to the senses.

Chapter four will deal with Shakespeare's play *The Tempest*. This chapter will address the difficulties created by a text that includes real music as well as musical poetry. My argument about *The Tempest* will first focus on showing how Ariel resonates with early modern depictions of sirens. After establishing Ariel's sirenic nature, I'll argue that Shakespeare reveals how his play might be read as a sirenic temptation that acts as propaganda for English imperial expansion in America. Through this revelation, Shakespeare's metatheatrical description of Prospero and Ariel transforms into a criticism of Shakespeare's pro-Virginian propaganda. Ariel's role within this metatheatrical lens, a siren on Prospero's island, links the play closely to Peter Pan's Neverland and its mermaids just as Jack's claim that Neverland is a testing ground for *Peter Pan's* central question reveals Neverland as the "equivalent of Prospero's island in *The Tempest*." My metatheatrical argument about Prospero and Ariel's roles will create a close reading of three songs within the play: "Come Unto these Yellow Sands," "Full Fathom Five," and "Where the Bee Sucks." For "Full Fathom Five" and "Where the Bee Sucks" my analysis will depend on reading the contrasts between the poetry's prosodic meaning and musical elements such as rhythm, pitch, and melody. My close reading of these songs within the metatheatrical frame of *The Tempest* will suggest that Shakespeare felt a poet/playwright's role should be to encourage his audience to question a blind acceptance of the New World's benefits. Throughout my Ulyssean voyage in this study, my goal will be to listen for the voices of the sirens within Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare's

works in order to hear how their songs and their silences reveal the poets' concerns with both the sensuality of their own art and how this sensuality relates to the New World.

Chapter 1

“We Mermayden’s Clepe Hem Here”: Sirens in Early Modern England

In *Romaunt of the Rose*, Geoffery Chaucer clarifies the English habit of using the word mermaid instead of siren: “Though we mermaydens clepe hem here/ In English, as is our usance,/Men clepen hem sereyns in Fraunce” (lines 682-4). Chaucer’s explanation of a peculiar English heritage linking mermaids to Homer’s sirens points out a uniquely English sirenic context. Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare’s use of sirens in their works is founded on a rich early modern English tradition begun in part by earlier English authors like Chaucer who interpreted, paraphrased and embellished classical predecessors. In order to understand how Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare use sirenic myths in their works, it is essential to contextualize their sense of sirens. Since, as Wilfred Mustard points out, initially the Homeric sirens “are somewhat vaguely described as two creatures that sit in an island-meadow, and enchant men with their clear song,” (21) the collection of ideas related to sirens available to early modern English authors is amazingly diverse

As Mustard indicates, the most obvious source to consider when examining an early modern sirenic context is of course Homer’s *Odyssey*. The first description of the sirens occurs in Circe’s warning to Ulysses;

First you will raise the island of the Sirens,
those creatures who spellbind any man alive,
whoever comes their way. Whoever draws too close,
off guard, and catches the Sirens’ voices in the air—
no sailing home for him, no wife to meet him,
no happy children beaming up at their father’s face.

The high, thrilling song of the Sirens will transfix him,
lolling there in their meadow, round them heaps of corpses,
rotting away, rags of skin shriveling on their bones (12.44-52)

In Robert Fagles' translation, the closest to Homer's Greek, several important details about the sirens come to the fore. The sirens clearly have the capacity to lure a voyager away from both familial obligations and the pleasure of family through a song that employs a "thrilling" sensual enticement that will "transfix" the male voyager. The sirens are also described as "lolling" in a meadow surrounded by the rotting corpses of their treacherously enticed victims. Fagles' translation of Homer describes the sirens' treacherous and lethal nature quite clearly, but it also hints at the sirens' links to lazy inaction since they are described as "lolling." A list of the qualities Homer ascribed to the sirens would include musical, alluring, treacherous, and lazy. While Homer's text gives a rich description of the sirens' qualities, it is also quite ambiguous. For instance, it gives no description of their physical appearance. This ambiguity accounts for Mustard's claim that Homer describes the sirens only vaguely. Despite Homer's vagueness, or perhaps because of it, Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare had many other sirenic traditions to inform their ideas. Homer's incomplete description of the sirens was transformed by later writers into a rich and complex description of anthropomorphic beings with a variety of wonderful powers.

Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare's works drew on and contributed to a complex conception of sirens drawn from and created by poetry, drama, heraldry, sermons, treatises, and travel literature. These works provided conflicting descriptions of the sirens' appearances and abilities and used these descriptions to create various sirenic

moralizations. In this chapter, I want to create a brief overview of the siren and her potential significance for early modern English writers like Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare. In particular, this significance is centered in her feminine, piscine, and avian guises; her associations with hair, mirrors, and combs; her power to treacherously allure with flattering song and the promise of sensual delights; and her ties to winds, wrecks, sleep, and cannibalism. The sirens' significance is also rooted in moralizations which use the siren to warn against the intemperate pleasures of poetry. Finally, the sirens' significance is entangled in early modern English ideas about the New World, since the border between imagination and reality is challenged as early modern descriptions and images of sirens and sirenic moralizations found their way into accounts of New World exploration.

“The Resemblance of Fishes: Some Others Give Them Wings”

While Homer's description of the sirens leaves their appearance largely to the imagination, Spenser, Daniel and Shakespeare faced a sirenic tradition that had fully fleshed out the sirens' potential appearance. In fact, they would have had several images of the sirens to engage. Chaucer's aside about the English nomenclature for sirens and a transition to the term mermaid points out one of these images.² This image paints the siren as half woman and half fish. John Gower's *Confessio Amantis* describes the fish-like siren;

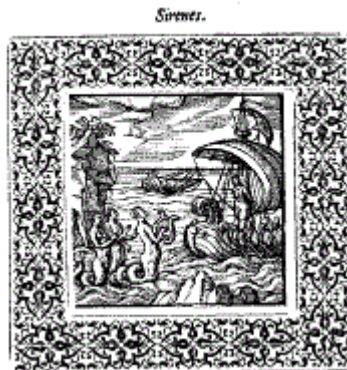
Syrenes of a wonder kynde
Ben monstres as the bookes bellen
And in the greete see they duellen
Of body bothe & of vysage

Lyke to the women of yong age
Vp fro the nauyl on highe they be
And doune bynethe as men may see
They bere of fysshes the figure (I, 484-491)

Gower's description of the siren precisely limits her fish-like aspects below her navel and her womanly attributes above it. Such a description might account for Chaucer's vernacular name for the siren: mermaid. The name mermaid suggests a type of anthropomorphic being belonging to land and sea and consisting partly of woman and partly of fish.

Gower's written description of piscine sirens is given a more explicit visual representation in Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblems* (1586). Whitney's book includes two stanzas moralizing the sirens' lures beneath a picture showing Ulysses tied to a ship's mast while sailing towards three fish-tailed sirens which visually embody Gower's descriptions of a siren which is both fish and flesh.

Fig. 1. Sirens, illustration from Geoffrey Whitney's *A Choice of Emblems* (London, 1586). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.³



Whitney's emblem reveals three sirens that have women's torsos and fish-like tails. They swim in the sea exposing their naked torsos and holding instruments to accompany their

song. This illustration shows explicitly one visual idea of the “fysshes figure” which lurks “doune bynethe” the “women of yong age” in Gower’s description of the sirens. Whitney’s verses accompanying this image emphasize the siren’s animalistic fish-like qualities as it moralizes Ulysses’ escape:

With pleafaunte tunes, the Syrenes did allure
Ulyffes wife, to listen to their fonge:
But nothinge could his manlie harte procure,
 Hee sailed awaie, and fcap’d their charming ftronge,
 The face, he lik’de: the nether parte, did loathe:

Which fhewes to vs, when Bewtie feeke to fnare
The careleffe man, whoe dothe no daunger dreede,
That he fhould flie, fhoulde in time beware,
And not on lookes, his fickle fancie feede:
 Suche Mairemaides lieu, that promife onelie ioyes:
 But hee that yelds, at lengthe him felffe diftroies. (10)

Whitney’s verse description of the sirens is close to that in the *Odyssey* since it dwells on details such as the siren’s musical treachery, but it stresses the sirens’ beast-like nature by showing Ulysses’ strong distaste for the siren’s “nether parte.” Ulysses’ loathing of the sirens’ piscine tails encompasses both the sirens’ non-human attributes included in the illustration as well as their amoral and concupiscent sexual appetites that “promife onelie ioyes.” Furthermore, since Whitney’s verse seems to question the authority of appearance or “looks,” it emphasizes the visual depiction of the fish-tailed sirens in the illustration.

Whitney’s focus on the visual appearance of a piscine siren is also emphasized through his contrast between classical and vulgar terminology. Whitney reveals this contrast by replacing the more classical term siren at the beginning of his verse with the

more vernacular term mermaid at the verse's close. Sean Keilen points out that Whitney's emblems often reveal a vulgar impulse that is "as powerful as [his] affinity for classical texts" (76). In this instance, Whitney's competing impulses serve to highlight the sirens' fish-like tails in the accompanying illustration as Whitney replaces the term siren with mermaid. The term mermaid is implicitly linked to the sirens' marine appearances within the illustration, but it also echoes the sirens' piscine anthropomorphism through its position at the end and therefore the bottom of the emblem's verse. The term mermaid, positioned at the verse's close, imitates the sirens' anthropomorphically piscine form; just as the name which implies a piscine form is at the bottom of the poem, so too is the fish-like portion of the mermaid at the bottom of the siren's body. The marine name and the fish tail are both submerged beneath poetry and body. Clearly, Whitney's illustration and verse enhance the importance of the siren's piscine appearance.

While Chaucer's name, Gower's description, and Whitney's emblem reveal an important tradition of the siren as a fish-like mermaid, Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare would also have been very familiar with another image of the siren. This image combined elements of a woman with those of a bird. Several sixteenth-century texts cite Isidore of Seville as the source for an avian siren. For instance, John Bossewell, who published a book of heraldry in 1572, claims, "Isidore saith where he treateth *De Portentis*, that there be three *Syrenes* somedeale Maidens, and somedeale foules, with wings & clees" (50). Anglicus Bartholomaeus' thirteenth-century bestiary, republished with new additions by Stephen Batman in 1582, includes several paragraphs describing

sirens which basically imitate the language in Boswell's text to describe the sirens' bird-like features: "Isidore saith where hee treateth of wonders, in this wise, some men faine yt ther are three *Sirenes* some deale maidens, and some deale Fowles with claws and wings" (409). Both of these sixteenth-century descriptions of sirens use Isidore's authority to stress that sirens have wings and claws as well as a woman's form.⁴

Not all early modern descriptions of sirens depended on Isidore's authority. For instance, in 1602, Samuel Rowlands, describing a courtesan in *Greenes Ghost Haunting Conie-Catcher*, claims, "these night birdes [are] not vnlike the Syrens, [t]he more you frequent them, the more you shall be intangled." Rowlands' description compares sirens with courtesans to emphasize the courtesans' abilities to entangle and destroy men, but it also pairs sirens with "night-birdes." Since Rowlands' idea of a courtesan is represented by a bird, and the courtesan is also described as a siren, both courtesan and bird become mingled within the idea of a siren. Rowlands' brief allusion to sirens reveals an early modern conception of an anthropomorphically avian siren that links her with prostitution.

Other early modern authors attributed an avian siren to Ovid. In 1592, Abraham Fraunce describes an avian siren: "grief was lately resolued/ Into a siluer streame; and all those sweetly resounding/ Syrens, made to be birds in part, in part to be maydens" (26). This description fails to specify which parts of the sirens are bird-like but makes it plain that the sirens are part women and part bird. Fraunce partially amends his omission of delineating woman and bird elsewhere in his text when, citing Ovid, he explains, "Ouid maketh them [sirens] Proserpinaes companions, who losing their Lady and Queene, were thus made birds in part, and yet reteigned their former face and beautie" (22). Through

Ovid's authority, Fraunce makes it clear that his avian siren retains at least a woman's beautiful face. Fraunce, avoiding any attribution, also suggests that avian sirens have wings and hen's feet: "some others giue them [sirens] wings, and scraping feete, like the feete of hens" (22). The addition of hen-like qualities, especially hen's feet, to the siren serves to flesh out the avian siren even further. Considering Bossewell, Bartholomaeus, Rowlands, and Fraunces' texts, the early modern avian siren seems to have a woman's face, wings, and claws or hen's feet.⁵

Although the piscine and avian forms of the siren might at first seem to exclude each other, both ideas of the siren seemed to be available to early modern authors simultaneously. While Bossewell, Bartholomaeus, and Fraunce all describe avian sirens, they do so in the same breath as they describe piscine sirens. Bossewell writes, "The Mermaide is a sea beast, wonderfully shapen" (50) and then continues in the next sentence to cite Isidore's description of avian sirens. Similarly, Bartholomaeus first claims, "Some men say, that they [sirens] are fishes of the sea in likeness of women" (409) and then two sentences later describes the sirens as having wings and claws. Fraunce's description of sirens includes the piscine and avian attributes of sirens within the same sentence: "Among other sea-borne monsters the Mermaides must not be forgotten, they had the face and proportion of women to the waste, & thence downewards, the resemblance of fishes: some others giue them wings, and scraping feete, like the feete of hens" (22). Based on the presence of piscine and avian sirens in close proximity with one another within these authors' works, it seems clear that early modern thinkers held both ideas of the siren in mind at the same time.⁶

Besides mentioning piscine and avian sirenic features in close proximity to each other as in Bossewell, Bartholomaeus, and Fraunce's works, some early modern references actually mixed the piscine and avian guises of the siren within a single being. In John Lyly's *Love's Metamorphosis*, Protea pretending to be the ghost of Ulysses, describes the siren as "this hag who onely hath the voice and face of a Virgine, the rest all fish and feathers, and filth" (4.1.64-65). This description of the siren, while vague, clearly mixes the features of a woman, fish, and bird together in a single filthy monster. The flexibility of early modern thinkers to simultaneously keep both a fish-like and a bird-like siren in mind might be explained well by Linda Austern's modern conflation of the siren: "Whether fish, seaside bird, maiden, or some strange mixture of all three, the siren belongs essentially to the aquatic realm" (55). Perhaps because of the sirens' aquatic realm, it is probable that Spenser, Daniel and Shakespeare, like Bossewell, Bartholomaeus, Fraunce, and Lyly could also have held both of the sirens' guises in mind simultaneously or in various combinations.

"Leaue Out Nothing That May Allure, Thy Golden Lockes, Thy Entising Lookes"

In addition to describing sirens as part fish and part fowl, early modern English writers often described sirens as having long hair, mirrors, and combs. In his study of sirens, Rachewiltz claims that the classic siren of the middle age includes "conspicuously long hair curling over her shoulders" (93). Rachewiltz claims that the sirens' long hair is part of her allure: "her long floating hair, loosely waving down her bare shoulders, stands in sharp contrast to the restrained and decorous hairdo of saints and pious ladies" (95).⁷

The medieval trend of alluring sirenic hair seems to have continued on into the early modern period. Numerous early modern authors emphasize the sirens' hair. For instance, in *Mamillia. A Mirrour or Looking-Glasse for the Ladies of Englande* (1583), Robert Greene shows the association of sirens with their hair as Pharicles describes Mamillia to himself:

“her beautie is the goale thou must seeke to get: her fayre face, her golden lockes her coral cheeks... surpassing beautie is the Syren” (7). Pharicles description of Mamillia includes her “golden lockes” and then compares her with a siren. Through this comparison, Greene shows Pharicles's sirenic allure through her golden hair. Sirenic hair is emphasized in a quite different way by Gabriel Harvey when he criticizes Thomas Nash in *Pierces Supererogation or A New Prayse of the Old Asse* (1593). Harvey claims that Nash's pamphlets are written so terribly, that a reader, “shall neuer finde three sentences together, worth any allowance” (181). Then, while Harvey continues to deride Nash's inability to write a dainty or pithy sentence in the vein of Socrates or Xenophon, Harvey suggests that Nash is unable to write a sentence that represents even a “periwig of a Siren” (181). Harvey seems to imply that Nash lacks a siren's eloquence, but notably this eloquence is figured as sirenic hair. In particular, Harvey suggests Nash can't even match the sirens' false eloquence. Harvey implies that the sirens' alluring hair is only a wig, but despite the wig's counterfeit nature, or perhaps because of it, it is still much more appealing than Nash's writing. Harvey's insult to Nash serves to underline the strongly appealing effects that early modern author's attributed to sirenic hair.

Pictorial representations of the sirens in early modern England also depict her with long flowing hair. One such example appears in a work on heraldry written by John Bossewell.

Fig. 2. Siren on shield, illustration from John Bossewell's *Workes of Armorie Devyded into Three Bookes* (1572). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.⁸



Bossewell's siren, while taking on the piscine form, displays flowing locks draped over her shoulder. His siren is positioned partially profiled to make the most of her long hair. If the siren were shown facing the reader more directly, her hair would be hidden. In Bossewell's illustration, the siren's hair is positioned prominently near the center of the shield because of her stance. This placement turns the siren's hair into a focal point of the illustration. Furthermore, her hair is unbound and reaches down to her waste suggesting her allure as it fails to conceal her frontal nudity and increases the sense of her promiscuous promise.

In addition to her long hair, the early modern siren is also frequently coupled with a mirror. Michael Drayton's *Poly Olbion* (1612) depicts sirens holding a mirror. In his fifth song, as Drayton catalogues the river Queene Sabine's beauty, he describes it as reflected in a mirror held by mermaids. Describing Sabine, Drayton writes, "To whom [Sabrine] the Mermaids hold her Glasse" (75). In this description, Drayton shows the sirens holding a mirror up to Sabine's beauty. Drayton's description of sirens here

works partially by the way he glosses over the reported beauty of the sirens' womanly aspects to focus instead on Sabrina. Sabrina's beauty is shown by the fact that the alluring sirens serve it by allowing Sabrina to witness her own appearance. Drayton reveals the beauty of his sirens obliquely through his use of their reported beauty as a tool to reflect Sabrina. In effect, the sirens' mirror is an essential part of showing Sabrina's appeal, but this revelation works only because the sirens' allure is such strong competition.

Sirenic hair and mirrors are also closely connected to associations between sirens and combs. In his work on sirens in the middle ages, Leofranc Holford-Strevens suggests that the increasingly popular piscine siren is depicted with mirror and comb because her long hair requires grooming (36). The tradition of sirenic grooming continued into the early modern period; an early modern siren, equipped for the grooming suggested by Holford Strevens, is presented in John Marston's *Histrion-Mastix* (1610). In Marston's work, a feminine Pride urges "brave minds" to search the far seas in order to bring her "Mermaides combes, and glasses" (3.1.4). Pride's request requires those who seek glory to show their bravery and worth by retrieving sirenic artifacts: combs and mirrors. These artifacts emphasize one of the sirens' great dangers, their alluring beauty. However, these artifacts also suggest another of the sirens' temptations, their appeal to pride. While combs and mirrors are signs of the sirens' own beauty, as Pride requests these items, she does so in a peculiar fashion. When she requests them she says they are "for my gaze" (3.1.4). One way to look at this request is that Pride will be looking into the sirens' mirror as she combs her own hair: she will embody the sin she represents by proudly

gazing at her own reflection. While the sirens' hair, mirror, and comb serve to illustrate the danger of their beauty, these accoutrements also represent the sirens' connection to pride.

The sirens' hair, mirror, and comb are all described as part of her prideful allure in John Lyly's *Loves Metamorphosis* (1601). As Lyly's siren attempts to snare Petulius, she describes her own allure: "Here commeth a braue youth, Now Syren, leaue out nothing that may allure, thy golden lockes, thy entising lookes, thy tuned voice, thy subtile speeche, thy faire promises" (4.1.31-32). Lyly's siren suggests that one of her most important tools to attract Petulius is her hair. She lists her hair first among her charms. Immediately after cataloguing her allure, and as she seeks to tempt Petulius, Lyly's stage directions for his siren read, "Sing with a Glasse in her hand and a Combe." Lyly's siren displays her hair by combing it and admiring her own beauty in a mirror as she attempts to lure Petulius. This display shows the pivotal role early modern authors assigned to the sirens' hair, mirror, and comb, but it also serves to suggest the links between these elements and the idea of prideful vanity. Lyly's siren seems to display vanity as she lists the attributes she will use to snare Petulius. Her list seems to become something like vain bragging since she is listing her own attractive qualities. Her self-address increases a sense of her vanity by suggesting her high opinion of her own importance, and the mirror and comb contribute to this sense by suggesting the sirens' self-centered focus on her own beautiful attributes: she reflexively admires her own beauty displayed back to herself in the reflection of a mirror. Unlike Marston's connection between sirenic mirrors, combs and pride, Lyly's connection between these

elements also suggests that sirenic vanity is part of the siren's allure since the siren's prideful catalogue of her charms seem to work well on Petulius who once exposed to them declares, "What diuine goddesse is this?" (4.1.34).

Greene, Harvey, and Bossewell's works all reveal the emphasis that early modern English authors placed on the sirens' hair and its beautiful allure while Drayton shows how the allure of sirenic hair is coupled with the sirenic mirror. Marston links sirenic hair and mirrors to combs and also reveals how these accoutrements are related to the idea of pride. Finally, Lyly's works suggest that sirenic hair, mirrors and combs seem to represent two important aspects of the siren for early modern English authors: beauty and vanity. Lyly's text also suggests that both the siren's beauty and her vanity work together to create her appeal. Clearly, early modern authors frequently incorporated sirenic hair, mirrors, and combs to help reveal the ideas of the sirens' alluring beauty, pride, and vanity.

"With Pleafaunte Tunes, the Syrenes Did Allure": Flattering Song and Treacherous Delight

Homer's initial description of the sirens explicitly shows the sirens' ability to attract men by singing a "high," "transfixing" song that can "spellbind" men and then keep them from their wives and families. This idea was taken up and elaborated by many early modern writers as the sirens' song became a complex song that included voices and

instruments. For instance, Abraham Fraunce describes the sirens' music with these words, "the one sang, the other sounded a trumpet, the third played on a lute, so sweetely, that such as sayled, were enticed thereby" (24). Fraunce's description follows Homer since it describes sirenic song as enticing, but it also adds the idea of instrumental music as part of the sirens' song. While the description of the sirens' music in Bartholomaeus' bestiary is reminiscent of Fraunce's, Bartholomaeus describes the sirens as playing different instruments, "one of them [sin]geth with voy[ce], and another Pipe, and the third with an Harpe" (409). Fraunce's and Bartholomaeus's descriptions of the sirens' music shows it to be a polyphonic music that encompasses both the voice and various wind and string instruments.

Fraunce's and Bartholomaeus's description of the sirens as instrumentalists can be seen in early modern illustrations. Whitney's emblem presents a good example of an illustration that shows sirens playing instruments (see figure 1). In Whitney's emblem, the siren in the foreground seems to be playing a harp-like instrument, and the siren just behind her shoulder is playing a wind instrument reminiscent of a pipe or shawm. Whitney's illustration echoes Fraunce's and Bartholomaeus's description since it includes two sirens playing instruments and one who seems only to sing. Though the sirens are shown playing different instruments in each text, Fraunce, Bartholomaeus, and Whitney all suggest that the siren's song is instrumental as well as vocal. Bossewell's heraldic illustration of a siren partially follows Whitney (see figure 2). Bossewell's illustration depicts a single siren playing harp. Whitney's and Bossewell's illustrations

suggest that early modern thinkers imagined siren song as incorporating voices and instruments such as trumpets, pipes, shawms, lutes, and harps.

The sirens' polyphonic choral and instrumental music is at the center of their family-ruining and concupiscent temptations. An early modern attitude opposing female musicianship helps explain the connection between the sirens' music and their ruinous allure. In *The Mirrhor of Modestie* (1579), Thomas Salter makes this connection explicit. Salter, considering female musicianship, states, "vnder the shadowe of vertue...it [music] beareth a swete baite, to a sowre and sharpe euill" (n. pag.). He continues with a request for maidens to refrain from making music: "Therefore I wishe our Maiden, wholie to refrain from the vse of Musicke, and seeyng that vnder the couerture of Uertue, it openeth the dore to many vices, she ought so muche the more to be regarded, by how muche the more the daunger is greate, and lesse apparent" (n. pag.). Salter suggests that the evil associated with music is its capacity to turn maidens into lewdly wanton temptresses:

It [music] is conuerted to a poison, for it is onely at bankettes and feastes, to whiche as if the delicious and sweete meates, did not sufficiently effeminate the myndes of men and women: the excellentest Musicians are called, where to the sweete accordes of sondrie Instrumentes, often tymes artificiall lasciuious songes are adioyned therby, no other wise, then as dried wood beyng laied on the fire with little blowyng, will kindle and burne, to kindle in their hartes the flames of leude affections, that are not yet strongly staid vp by vertue, and by suche newe deuises to burne them. It is saied, that from the false sweetnesse of the Sirens songes, Ulisses a Prince famous among the Grekes, and saied to be nourished with heauenly foode, in the verie bosome of Sapiens Jupiters daughter, could hardly escape, and shall wee then without feare, giue so muche trust to a young Maiden, daintely and tenderly trained vp, that she not onely by hearyng, but by learnyng so wanton an Arte, will not become wanton and effeminate. (n. pag.)

Salter's text suggests that listening to and performing music will transform young women into beings aflame with "leude affections" who are "wanton and effeminate." Salter compares these lewd maidens to sirens, beings who are able to test the wisdom and reason of even the most heroic, divinely-guided men (men like Ulysses) with their music. Salter overtly marks the sirens' feminine music as a music that attracts through its lewd and wanton nature. Salter's maidens recast themselves as lewd sirens when they choose to become musicians. Their music turns them into monstrous beings who wantonly allure men.⁹ This transformation shows the power of the sirens' feminine music to entrap with promises of sensual delight.

The nature of the sensual delight offered by sirens is made quite explicit in Samuel Rowlands' *Greenes Ghost Haunting Conie-Catcher* as noted in the discussion above about the sirens' avian appearance. Rowlands describes the siren as a courtesan, someone who exchanges sex for personal gain. Rowlands's work follows a tradition that connects sirens to prostitution. For instance, Stephen Buhler notes, "Fraunce's initial commentary on the sirens reflects the tradition of reading them as sensual temptresses" (185). Buhler's claim seems to be born out since Fraunce claims that "they [the sirens] signifie the cosning tricks of counterfeit strumpets" (n. pag.). By using the terms "cosning tricks" and "strumpets," Fraunce suggests that sirens represent the dangers of prostitutes who defraud their clients by offering the pretext of a relationship for their own gain. Bartholomaeus describes the sirens as "strong whoores, ye drewe men that passed by them, to pouertie & mischief" (410). This description of the sirens paints them as prostitutes who demand money for their sexual services. Bartholomaeus' text becomes

even more explicit as it describes how a siren treats her captured prey. Bartholomaeus writes that the siren “maketh him... lye by her, and doe the deede of lechery” (410). The word lechery implies excessive sexual activity and reveals Bartholomaeus’s siren as a prostitute who revels in her sexual allure and forces her prey to engage in wanton behavior. Rowlands, Fraunces, and Bartholomaeus all suggest that early modern English literature presents the siren’s song as one that promises the sensual delight of an illicit sexual encounter.

While the allure of the sirens’ song is based in part on a promiscuous temptation, the tempting promises offered by the sirens’ song are also framed by early modern writers to be promises that work through flattery. Thomas Rogers alludes to the sirens’ connections to flattery in his philosophical discourse *The Anatomie of the Minde* (1576). When Rogers describes magnanimity, which he defines as “a certain excellencie of minde, placing before her eyes at all times virtue and honor” (140), he makes it clear that someone who possesses magnanimity deals with others in a straightforward fashion: “He is no hipocrite nor flatterer, he cannot abide to curry any mans fauour, and he wil tel the troth at all times boldely without fear. And to be found with a false tale, it gréeues him at the hart” (140). After making it clear that a person possessing magnanimity is unwilling to curry favor through flattery, Rogers compares those willing to flatter for their own advancement to sirens: “He wil not be compared to the mermaid[s] which sing swéetly, but for a pray” (140). The sirens described by Rogers are sweetly singing songs of flattery that include “false tales” in order to “curry favor.” In a sense, Rogers’ text draws a connection between men telling “false tales” and sirens wearing “false tails.”

Fraunce links the sirens' song and flattery together in *Amintas Dale* by citing the authority of Xenophon and Cicero:

Xenophon is of this minde, that the Sirenes did learnedly and sweetely extoll the famous acts of renowned men: and that therefore Homer maketh them entertain Vlysses with their pleasing voyce, who indeede was for politick stratagemes the chiefe ornament of Greece: and no doubt, these sweete and glorious commendations of great mens exploits, are the most effectuall charmes, to worke any impression in an heroicall minde, and with this conceite of Xenophon, Cicero doth also agree. (22)

Fraunce's text suggests that the sirens alluring song works through its ability to praise the great deeds of great men. According to Xenophon and Cicero the sirens' song is composed of "sweet and glorious commendations" that serve to feed men's egos and their desire for celebrity and renown. Fraunce's text also supports this idea later when he describes the various dangers faced by Ulysses crew: "Lastly, a number of them drawn away with ambition and vayn-glorie, would haue yeilded to the deceitfull sweetnes of the Syrenes" (48). Fraunce implies that Ulysses' crew was susceptible to flattery which would fuel their ambition and vainglory. Fraunce's representation of the sirens focuses on the way their song appeals to those who covet fame. Furthermore, when Fraunce initially mentions Xenophon and Cicero's ideas about sirenic flattery, he includes these ideas immediately after he labels the sirens "counterfeit strumpets." The proximity of the sirens' sexualized allure to their ability to flatter in Fraunce's text shows the connections early modern thinkers made between these sirenic traits. While the early modern English tradition shows the sirens singing a song of sexual allurement, the same song also takes on an association with flattery.

Though Fraunce's text shows the sirens' capacity for flattery and links it to sexual allurements, another early modern expert on mythology wrote specifically of the sirens' ability to flatter leaders. John Mulryan and Steven Brown claim that Natale Conti's "reputation as an authority on classical mythology and classical literature...was firmly established in renaissance England, as well as on the continent" (xv). Natale Conti's *Mythologiae*'s ideas about the sirens' flattery focus specifically on rulers:

Other writers identified the Sirens with the voices of flatterers, for they are the sweetest but also the most degrading type of infection that can poison the minds of leaders and other ambitious men. The sirens hypnotize leaders until they are in a really deep sleep, because most of those leaders might as well be sleeping if they can't tell the difference between a friend and a flatterer. Because of the slick rhetoric of the flatterer sounds much sweeter in the ear than the earnest speech of a friend, they're perfectly willing to take the more comfortable route. Naturally, however, once the flatterers figure out what type of person their prince is, they make up speeches that they think he'll like. And they'll get excited about anything he does. (vol. II 648)

Conti's text implies sirenic flattery is a particular problem for sleeping rulers who are "willing to take the more comfortable route." For Conti, it seems clear that Kings and Queens are frequently the victims of sirenic flattery.

The association of sirenic song with flattery is often shown through the siren's mirror. While the siren's mirror certainly shows her own pride and vanity, her mirror is also a sign of her flattering song and its ability to fuel pride and vanity in others. Michael Drayton reveals this relationship clearly in *Poly Olbion*. When Drayton's sirens hold a mirror up to Sabrina, they do so, "that she may see/ Before all other Floods how farre her beauties bee" (75). Sabrina's beauty is shown by the sirenic mirror to surpass the beauty of all other rivers or floods and implicitly the alluring sirens who hold the mirror. In this

instance, the sirens' mirror serves to fuel Sabrina's vanity as it launches a laudatory catalogue that describes her as "most profoundly wise" in order to cement her status "as a Queene, miraculouſlie faire" who "Is abſolutelie plac't in her Emperiall Chaire" (75). In this ſequence, the ſirens' mirror ſeems to represent their ability to flatter Sabrina. By looking at herſelf in the ſirenic mirror, Sabrina is able to ſee her own ſplendor, but ſince this mirror is held by the deceptive ſirens, the reflection has the potential to ſhow Sabrina only ſirenic flattery.

The ſirens' promiſcuous and flattering ſong is alſo represented repeatedly as a ſong that has the ability to maſk treacherous intents. The verſe from Whitney's emblem makes the ſirens' treacherous intent obvious as he claims, "he that yeldes, at lengthe him ſelffe diftroies" (10). The ſelf-deſtruction preſented in Whitney ſeems to come directly from Homer's initial deſcription of the ſirens who ſit in a meadow ſcattered with "heaps of corpeſes,/ rotting away, rags of ſkin ſhriveling on their bones" (12.52-3). Fraunce makes the connection between the ſirens' ſong and their murderous treachery even more overt: "The mermaidſes rockſ are all ouer ſpread with boneſ of dead men, whoſe deſtruction their deceaueable allurements had procured" (22). Whitney and Fraunce, following Homer, emphasize how the ſirens' allure leads to the treacherous deſtruction of thoſe who follow her call.

The relationship between the ſirens' flattering, promiſcuous ſong and her treachery comes to the fore as ſhe is preſented in John Lyly's *Loves Metamorphoſis*. Deſcribing a ſiren, Lyly's Protea, ſtill pretending to be the ghhoſt of Ulyſſes, ſays, "From the top of this Rocke whereon ſhee [the ſiren] ſitteth, will ſhee throw thee headlong into

the Sea, whose song is the instrument of her witchcraft, neuer smiling but when shee meaneth to smite, and vnder the flatterie of loue, practiseth the sheading of blood” (5.4.54-57). Protea’s description of a siren shows that her enchanting song creates a “flatterie of loue” that leads to shedding blood: to murder. Protea’s description of the siren suggests that the siren’s alluring song promises love through flattery and this promise enables her to treacherously kill her victims. The siren’s voice in Lyly’s play seems to support Protea’s charges. As the siren entices Petulius, she makes promises of sensual love that suggest Petulius will be god-like if he accepts them: “I am a goddesse, but a Ladie and a virgine, whose loue if thou embrace, thou shalt liue no lesse happie, then the gods in heauen” (4.1.44-45). Through her alluring promise, the siren suggests that as soon as Petulius embraces her he will become god-like, sharing the god’s happiness by enjoying her body. The siren’s song mixes flattery with the promise of sensual delight to lure Petulius. The siren seems to reinforce the idea that she means Petulius some harm when she addresses the disguised Protea: “I shrinke my head for shame. O Vlisses, is it not enough for thee to escape, but also to teach others?” (4.1.69-70) Since the siren claims that Petulius “escapes” her, she seems to signal her evil intent towards him. Lyly’s siren, as described by Protea, and through her own actions, sings a song promising sensual delight that works through flattery and allows her treachery.

The association of sirens with treachery also takes on a less defined form for early modern English writers. For example, in his poem *A Dutiful Inuectiue, against the Moste Haynous Treasons of Ballard and Babington with Other Their Adherents, Latelie Executed* (1587), William Kempe compares Mary Queen of Scots to a siren: “Yet you be

witched wights, her [Mary Queen of Scots] Siren songes did hear” (n. pag.). In the same poem, Kempe claims the sirenic Queen of Scots has a “treacherous minde.” In his poem, Kempe seems to conflate siren song with treachery since Mary Queen of Scots, a figure associated with the treachery of treason, is depicted as a siren. In Kempe’s poem, Mary lures subjects who should be loyal to Queen Elizabeth to murder their sovereign through “secret treacherie.” In this fashion, Kempe’s siren, Mary Queen of Scots, while clearly treacherous in her own right, is able to use her song to lure others to cause their own destruction through treachery. Kempe’s poem shows how early modern English writers used the sirens’ song as a way to signal the idea of treachery.

A wide range of early modern English texts, encompassing bestiaries, sermons, heraldry, and verse show that the traditions surrounding the sirens’ song emphasize its polyphonic nature, its links to a promiscuous allure promising sensual delights, its ties to flattery, and its relationship to destructive treachery. These interrelated ideas seem to permeate the sirenic texts available to Spenser, Daniel and Shakespeare.

Sirenic Treachery: Sleep, Winds, Wrecks, and Cannibalism

While sirenic treachery is linked to the sirens’ flattering and alluring song, it is also symbolized by the siren’s ability to lull her listeners to sleep. John Jewel stresses the siren’s ability to lull her victims into a sleepy idleness in his *An Apologie or Answere in Defence of the Church of Englande with a Briefe and Plaine Declaration of the True Religion Professed and Vsed in the Same* (1564). Jewel, while preaching about the necessities of personal encounters with the scriptures writes:

Whosoeuer...the Diuell hathe deceiued and enticed to fall a sleepe as it were with the sweete & deathly enchaūtements of y^e marmajds the Sirenes, those persones doth Gods worde awake vp, sayinge vnto them: Arise thou that sleepest, lifte vp thy selfe, and Christ shall giue the light. (n. pag.)

Jewel's use of the siren myth specifies that the sirens' "sweete & deathly enchaūtements" cause her victims to fall into an idle sleep. Jewel presents a demonic siren wielding enchantments that are both pleasant, "sweete," and destructive, "deathly." The combination of a death-like sleep and a sweet enchantment suggests the siren's sleep-inducing powers are a symbol of her treachery. The delightful promises offered by the siren create a deadly slumber that destroys the victim's ability to counteract the siren's harmful intentions. Bartholomaeus and Jewel both show how early modern thinkers conceived the sirens' soporific abilities as symptomatic of their treachery.

Early modern writers frequently described the siren as being associated with winds and storms. This association, like the sirens' soporific nature, also seems connected to the sirens' treachery. In Thomas Howell's poem "A Friendly Admonishment to Freinde to Choose a Wife" he advises suitors "let reason rule thy choice:/ so shalt thou weare: Ulisses eare, to shun the Syrens voice,/ Beware and care: before thou stare, on womens painted eyes" (1-3). In these opening lines, Howell warns the suitor against the "painted eyes" of women who might be potential wives and compares these women to sirens. The false promises implied by Howell's description of cosmetically-enhanced beauty clearly suggest treachery. Later in his poem this sirenic treachery is joined to the idea of uncontrolled winds: "In womens minds: are diuers winds, which stur their Aspin funge,/ to prate and chat, they know not what, by that much strife is sprong" (9-10). Howell describes the winds of a woman's mind as diverse,

emphasizing their contrary nature, and then suggests that the loose speech these winds create leads to discord. In quick succession, Howell shows the disarray caused by treacherous sirenic winds by comparing vociferous women to sirens.

While Howell's poem shows connections between sirenic winds and treachery through a series of loose associations, Bartholomaeus' bestiary describes the sirens' love of winds and storms much more directly. Bartholomaeus' claims, "this wonderful beast [the siren] is gladde and merrie in tempest, and sadde and heauie in fayre weather" (380). The significance of the sirens' joy in adverse weather seems to speak to her desire for destruction. She revels in the storms' potential to destroy her prey. As she allures passing sailors with her flattering songs and promiscuous promises, the siren finds happiness in the weather that will destroy these sailors.

The early modern association of wind and storms with the siren and its use as a sign of treachery is reinforced with the idea of the sirens' potential to cause shipwrecks. The illustration in Whitney's emblem (see figure 1) depicts Ulysses' ship approaching dangerously close to rocks that are partially submerged beneath the waves. The picture shows that the sirens swimming among the rocks are luring the ship forward to an imminent shipwreck. Fraunce's consideration of the sirens suggests that the sirens might be the name of rocks that cause shipwrecks: "They [sirens] were certain blinde and dangerus rocks, which by the breaking and beating of the billowes, did make such a sweetely resounding murmur, that it allured the passenger thither, to their own destruction" (22). Fraunce continues by claiming that sirens cause "the undoubted shipwrack of all affectionate yonkers" (22).

Robert Greene's *The Second Part of Conny-Catching* (1583) describes sirenic dangers as potential shipwrecks:

If anie warie Ulisses passe by and stop his eares against their [the sirens'] inchauntments, then haue they most delightfull iewels to shewe him, as glorious obiectes to inueagle his eie with such pleasant vanities, that comming more nie to beholde them, they may dash their shippe against a rocke and so vtterly perish. (n. pag.)

The connections Whitney, Fraunce, and Greene make between sirens and rocks as well as the metaphorical use of Fraunce's moral shipwreck reveal the sirenic association with shipwrecks and the concept of treachery behind these wrecks. The sweet songs of sirens, the gentle murmurs of surf on rocks, the affection of "yonkers," and the allure of delightful jewels all cause a ship's literal or metaphorical destruction. Each of these instances shows the sudden exchange of something appealing and pleasant for utter destruction. These sudden changes from pleasure to destruction illustrate the sirens' capacity for treacherous betrayal. Whitney, Fraunce, and Greene's descriptions each connect sirens to the potential for shipwrecks, and these shipwrecks seem to symbolize the treacherous destruction that lurks below the sirens' allure.

Perhaps the most disturbing early modern description of the sirens' treachery suggests their truly monstrous nature. While Homer's description of "heaps of corpses, rotting away" (12.51-52) around the sirens might have helped contribute to the idea that sirens destroy passing sailors by wrecking their ships on dangerous rocks, these same lines might also be responsible for spawning a much more sinister idea of the sirens as beings who consume human flesh. In the 1582 version of Bartholomaeus' bestiary, the siren is described not only as lecherous and soporific but also cannibalistic:

With swéetnesse of song this beast [the siren] maketh shipmen to sleepe, and when she seeth that they be a sleepe, she goeth into the ship, and ravisheth which she may take with her, and bringeth him into a drye place, and maketh him first lye by her, and doe the deede of lechery, & if he will not or may not, then she slaieth him and eateth his flesh. (381)

Bartholomaeus' description of the siren's soporific powers clearly connects them to her destructive treachery since only through an enchanted sleep is the sailor trapped in the sinful act of bestial coitus. Bartholomaeus' siren lulls sailors to sleep in order to destroy their virtue through rape. After raping the sailor, the siren commits the ultimate treachery by killing and eating him.

Richard Linche, in his *The Fountaine of Ancient Fiction* (1599), while leaving out the sirens' rape of sailors, describes their cannibalism:

And it is read, that they sing so melodiously, and with such a sence-besotting sweetnesse, that the suspectlesly inchaunted sea-trauellers are infinitely beguiled and lulled asleepe with the harmony and pleasing blandishment thereof, and by that meanes are murdered and deuoured by them. (n. pag.)

Linche's sirens, like Bartholomaeus' engage in cannibalism since they devour the sailors they entice. Through the cannibalistic process described by Bartholomaeus and Linche's texts, the siren is able to destroy the sailor entirely by turning him into a monster; she literally turns his flesh into her own. As the sailor becomes the siren, as he becomes his own destroyer, he falls prey to the ultimate sirenic treachery.

Jewel, Howell, Whitney, Green, Bartholomaeus and Linche's texts all illustrate how early modern English depictions of sirenic treachery are frequently shown by suggesting the sirens' soporific nature, her love of winds and storms, her association with

shipwrecks, and her cannibalism. Each of these sirenic traits reinforces the sirens' potential to exchange the promise of pleasure for terrible destruction.

Ulyssean Wax and Sirenic Poetry

In order to understand how Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare use moralizations of Ulyssean travelers' encounters with the sirens, it is essential to consider these moralizations' early modern contexts. Perhaps one of the most pervasive contexts of this moralization, as Melinda J. Gough points out, is as an exemplum of literature's, and more specifically poetry's, ability to seduce its reader (41). Gough suggests that Plutarch's "How the Young Man Should Study Poetry," while defending poetry's ability to instruct through allegory, nevertheless presents poetry as a siren song. Buhler notes that Plutarch's treatise was translated into English by Philemon Holland in 1603. Holland titles the essay "Reading and Hearing of Poems and Poets" (Buhler 181).¹⁰ At one point in his translation, Holland renders Plutarch's concerns about poetic seduction with the following questions:

What is then to be done? Shall we constraîne our youth to goe aboard into the Brigantine or Barke of Epicurus, to saile away and flie from Poetrie, by plastring and stopping their eares with hard and strong waxe, as Vlisses sometimes served those of Ithaca? or rather by environing and defending their judgement with some discourse of true reason, as with a defensative band about it, to keepe and guard them, that they be not caried away with the allurements of pleasure, unto that which might hurt them: Shall we reforme and preserve them? (19)

In these questions, poetry is figured as a sirenic song which young men must plug their ears with wax to avoid. Through this comparison, Ulysses' deafening wax is one method to counteract an alluring and superfluously passionate, rather than reasonable, poetry. At

one extreme, the solution to avoid the pleasurable allurements of poetry is to flee it. In Holland's rendering of Plutarch, poetry is clearly understood as excessive siren song even if Plutarch ultimately suggests that reasonable judgment might also be a plausible defense. After all, Ulysses, through reasonable judgment, by tying himself to the mast of reason, was able to safely hear the sirens' song without plugging his ears. Ulysses' ability to safely hear the sirens' song shows his role as the right reader who bound to the mast of reason can withstand poetry's allures. Despite the fact that Plutarch presents the choice of plugging or unplugging the ears, he still creates a connection between poetry and the dangers of the destructive pleasures masked by siren song. This connection is adopted in several different ways by early modern writers.

A conflation of siren song with poetry can be found in Roger Ascham's diatribe against Italians in *The Schoolmaster* (1570). In the midst of explaining the best way to teach children Latin, Ascham warns fathers against sending their sons to Italy. Ascham claims that "Some Siren," encountering an English son in Italy, will sing him "a song, sweete in tune, but sownding in the ende, to his vtter destruction" (24). Ascham continues to subtly deride Italians by conversely praising a few strong Englishmen: "I know diuerse noble personages, and many worthie Ientlemen of England, whom all the Siren songes of Italie, could neuer vntwyne from the maste of Gods word: nor no inchantment of vanitie, ouerturne them, from the feare of God, and loue of honestie"(24). In these two statements, Ascham reveals how he compares the Italians to sirens to show the appropriate English restraint against an excessively "sweete" Italian siren song. This song is referred to specifically as an "inchantment of vanitie." Ascham makes it clear

that in part the Italian sirens' song is "sweete in tune" because it works through flattery to appeal to its hearer's vanity.

Ascham's fear of an excessively "sweete" and flattering Italian siren song is important because he follows Plutarch by connecting this song to poetry. He clearly figures siren song as poetry when he claims that the Italian allurements reach their worst in English translations of bawdie Italian books:

Therefore, when the busie and open Papistes abroad, could not, by their contentious bookes, turne men in England fast enough, from troth and right iudgement in doctrine, than the sutle and secrete Papistes at home, procured bawdie bookes to be translated out of the Italian tonge, whereby ouer many yong willes and wittes allured to wantonnes, do now boldly contemne all seure bookes that sounde to honestie and godlines. (27)

In his diatribe against "Papistes," Ascham follows Plutarch using siren song to represent the ability of poetry to misguide its reader. Ascham suggests that like siren song, bawdy books will allure young men to wantonness as they turn from the reasonable ideas of books that support honesty and godliness.

Arthur Golding, in the preface to his 1576 translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, clearly echoes Plutarch's use of this Ulyssean trope while he attempts to displace any blame for his translation's ability to lead its readers astray:

If any stomache be so weak as that it cannot brooke,
The lively setting forth of things described in this booke,
I give him counsel too absteine vntill he be more strong,
And for too vse Vlysses feat ageinst the Meremayd's song.
Or if he needs will here and see and willfully agree
(Through cause misconstrued) vntoo vice allured for too bee,
Then let him also marke the peine that dooth therof ensue,
And hold himself content with that that too his fault is due. (A4r)

Golding makes it plain that a reader who fails to replicate Ulysses' ability to counter the siren's song may be "allured" to "vice."¹¹ Though Golding implies that the blame for wrong reading rests with the reader who "willfully agrees...vntoo vice allured...too bee" and not the poet, his disclaimer nevertheless still equates poetry to excessive siren song. Golding also reminds his reader that poetry, like siren song, can lead the listener to "peine."

Stephen Gosson's famous attack on poets and players in *The Schoole of Abuse* (1579), is clearly opposed to poetry, so it comes as little surprise that Gosson seizes on a comparison of poetry and siren song. Gosson claims,

I must confesse that Poets are the whetstones of wit, notwithstanding that wit is dearly bought: where hony and gall are mixed, it will be hard to seuer the one from the other. The deceitfull Phisition giueth sweete Syrropes to make his poyson goe downe the smoother: The Juggler casteth a myst to worke the closer: The Syrens song is the Saylers wrack. (2)

Gosson's attack on poets depends on the conflation of poems with dissembling siren song. In his drawn out comparison, Gosson suggests that doctors, jugglers, and sirens, like poets, mix honey and gall. In this equation, the siren's song, like the poet's ability to sharpen his reader's wit, is the honey; in contrast, the sirenic shipwreck, like the poet's poetry, is the gall. Gosson's poetic metaphors work to criticize poetry by comparing it to destructive siren song.

Robert Greene suggests that Ulyssean wax is necessary to counter rhetorical tropes and figures. In *The Second Part of Conny-Catching* (1591), Greene, criticizing Englishmen who prey on wealthy but unsophisticated country farmers by cheating at cards, compares these dishonest "connie-catchers" to sirens. Then he warns, "if anie

warie Ulisses passe by and stop his eares against their [the sirenic connie-catcher's] inchauntments, then haue they most delightfull iewels to shewe him, as glorious obiectes to inueagle his eie with such pleasant vanities" (n. pag.). Green then suggests that these delightful jewels are the "rethorical tropes and figures" used by connie-catchers the "better to drawe their hearers with the delight of varietie." Greene, using the trope of Ulysses' wax, suggests that the rhetorical tropes and figures common to early modern poetry are comparable to siren song. His emphasis on the delight these tropes and figures creates fits into the early modern pattern in which the sirenic myth links sirens with intemperate poetry.

Sir Philip Sidney's *The Defence of Poesy* (1595) responds to Gosson's earlier attack on poetry. In responding to Gosson's anti-poetry rhetoric, Sidney lists four points that are frequently made by poetry's detractors. The third point he mentions is that some see poetry as, "the nurse of abuse, infecting us with many pestilent desires, with a siren's sweetness drawing the mind to the serpent's tail of sinful fancies" (32). Sidney acknowledges that detractors like Gosson see poetry as capable of drawing its readers towards destructive desires; Sidney equates these desires to the siren's satanic serpent tail; however, Sidney also suggests there is a simple solution to this potential misuse of poetry. Sidney suggests that poetry can be separated from its potential to lead towards sinful fancies if "they that delight in poesy itself should seek to know what they do and how they do; and especially look themselves in an unflattering glass of reason" (41). Sidney's solution to the sensual pleasure that poetry can arouse in those that "delight in poetry itself" reverses the trope of the siren's flattering mirror. Instead of linking poetry

to the siren's flattering mirror, Sidney proposes that the careful reader should have his own unflattering mirror. Sidney's work supports poetry's positive qualities, but it does so by blaming poetry's potential dangers on the weakness of men. This argument maintains the metaphor of sirenic poetry and even strengthens it to a degree by connecting poetry to the siren's most satanic physical quality; in contrast, Sidney subverts the sirenic mirror of flattery to a Ulyssean mirror of reason. By reversing the trope of the sirenic mirror, Sidney argues that readers can hear poetry safely without stopping their ears with Ulysses' wax.

Theatrical poetry is also singled out by early modern authors as especially sirenic. In Michael Drayton's *Englands Heroicall Epistles* (1597), "The Epistle of Shore's Wife to King Edward the Fourth" includes passages decrying feminine limitations. Shore's Wife particularly mentions woman's exclusion from public theatres. She laments the fact she can't go to the theatre "To heare the smooth-tongu'd Poets Syren vaine,/ Sporting in his lasciuious Comick scene" (21-22). The wife's desire to hear "smooth-tongu'd Poets Syren vaine" suggests that theatrical poets are similar to the sirens in their vanity; however, since the poet writes a "lasciuious Comick scene" he also takes on the sirens' wanton nature. Drayton's description of the pleasure the wife will take in the theatre clearly links theatrical poets and poetry with the sirens and their alluring songs.

Frequently figured through the trope of Ulyssean wax, early modern authors seem to follow Plutarch in equating poets and poetry with the lascivious sirens and their intemperate songs. Plutarch's English translators, like Holland, show that Plutarch's "How the Young Man Should Study Poetry," was an important early modern text which

despite its intention to encourage proper poetry, forged a link between poetry and the treacherous alluring flattery of sirens. Ascham's text shows this connection in a general sense by joining wanton Italian books with sirens. Golding's preface stresses the readers' responsibility to navigate sirenic poetry carefully. Gosson's diatribe against poetry uses poetic metaphor to denigrate poetry's sirenic nature. Greene's warning about connee-catchers links poetic tropes and figures to sirenic allurements. Sidney's defense of poetry embraces the sirenic charges against it while subverting the trope of the siren's flattering mirror. Drayton's epistle shows the relationship between theatrical poetry and siren song. While each author's focus is slightly different, they all manage to suggest that poetry is somehow akin to the sirens' song. Furthermore, the relationship between poetry and siren song is created by both those who seek to defend poetry and by those who seek to support it.

Sirens and the New World

Frequently, accounts of New World explorations seemed to echo the siren myth since sirens appeared in some of the earliest accounts of New World voyages and continued into the seventeenth century. Sirens blurred the edges between myth and reality as they were used in texts that described the New World. Sometimes sirenic associations with the new world took the form of using sirenic myths to support further exploration and colonization, but sirenic associations also appeared in illustrations for travel literature, and even in eye-witness accounts of sailors sighting sirens in New World waters. Columbus, one of the first European New World explorers, paved the way for

eye-witness accounts of sirens in accounts of New World voyages. Las Casas reports that Christopher Columbus saw mermaids off the coast of Haiti “who rose very high from the sea, but...were not so beautiful as they were painted” (qtd. in Rachewiltz 215). While this report is second hand, it suggests that Columbus actually saw sirens in the New World. Columbus’s second-hand account seems to be used in a manner akin to early modern moralizations of the sirens because it features the sirens’ deceptive attractiveness. Columbus’s supposed eye-witness account concentrates on the false promises of the sirens’ beauty. Columbus seems to suggest that the sirens he sees in “reality” don’t compare to the descriptions “painted” in literature. Columbus’s account might be explained as a metaphoric rejection of the dangers associated with New World exploration, or it might be understood as a serious, though clearly false, report of the strange new creatures revealed by exploration in the New World. While it is difficult to know what to make of Las Casa’s account, it paved the way for the New World sirens that followed.

In early modern England, one of the most influential accounts of New World exploration was Peter Martyr d’Anghera’s *De Orbe Novo Decades* (1516). Andrew Hadfield claims this text is, “Undoubtedly one of the most influential accounts of the Spanish conquest and colonization of the Americas” (*Literature* 71). Hadfield cites the fact that this text “went through a bewildering variety of forms and number of volumes throughout the sixteenth century” (*Literature* 71) to support this claim. Originally, *De Orbe Novo Decades* had circulated in manuscript form from 1494-1526 as a way to get news to important church officials. The first three decades, of eight, were printed in

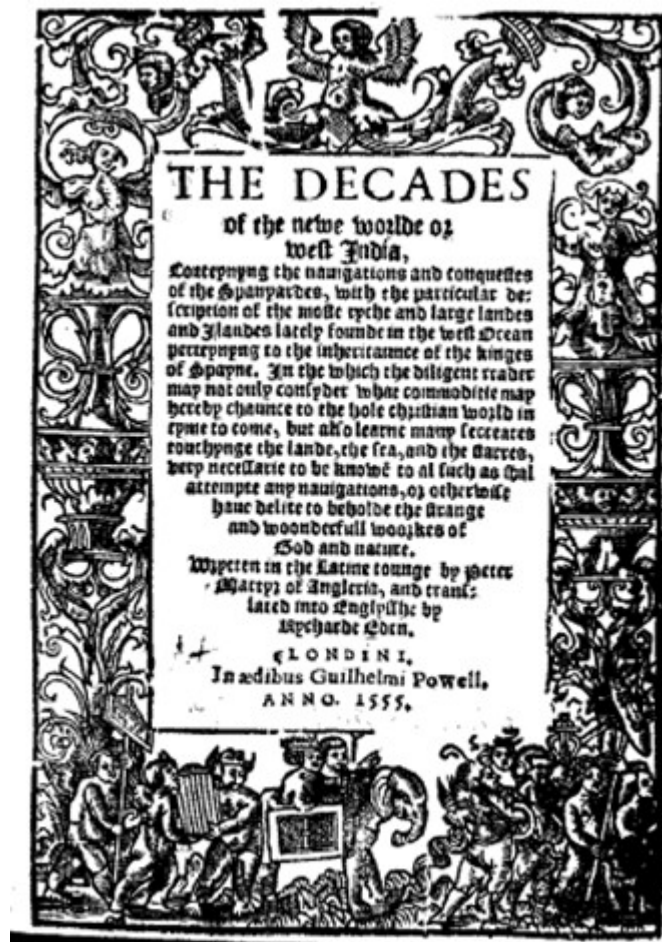
Latin at Alcalá in 1516 (Jones 16). As Jones points out, the work's author, Peter Martyr d'Anghera, a humanist Queen Isabella appointed to train developing noblemen, had never himself traveled to any of the New World destinations he described (16). Despite the texts' convoluted origins, the text was particularly important in early modern England because it became one of the first books written in English that described the New World voyages. In 1555, Richard Eden published his translation of d'Anghera's text as *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India*.

Hadfield, while claiming that Eden's text is "undoubtedly a work of propagandist intent designed to establish an empire," also suggests that the text reveals "many of the fundamental ambivalences of the English imperial position" (72). One potential sign of these ambivalences may be the text's inclusion of sirens. One of the first things Eden's readers would have seen as they read his text was a pictorial representation of sirens gracing the borders of the text's title page (See figure 3 below).

Eden's translation of d'Anghera's text is a third hand account of events that had happened at least fifty years before Eden's first publishing. Since the translation had gone through so many humanist hands, it inevitably acquired a somewhat mythological veneer. Such a veneer might account for the sirens on Eden's title page. A clear indication of the way sirenic myth was interlaced with Eden's *Decades* emerges in the pictorial border surrounding his title page. Three sirens are prominently displayed in the florid border surrounding the title, along with such exotic beasts as elephants. One of the sirens swims and hovers above the title while her two companions grace the title to left and right. Each winged siren, while slightly different, follows the same general pattern.

Exposed fully and frontally from the waste up, each siren is doubly fish-tailed below the navel. The sirens' tales split in the middle and hook up to both the left and right. In his work on sirens, Rachewiltz describes the two-tailed siren as “the ‘classic’ siren of the middle ages” (93).

Fig. 3. Title page from *The Decades of the Newe Worlde or West India* (1555). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.¹²



In her essay “Teach Me to Hear Mermaid’s Singing,” Linda Austern describes the “classic” two-tailed siren as “fac[ing] the viewer with a pair of fishtails spread to expose her vulva and sometimes emphasize her high firm breasts and smooth, youthful face”

(71). While the sirens that border the title page of Eden's *Decades* also have wings, they clearly follow the form Rachewiltz and Austern describe. These sirens, placed above, to the left of the text's title, and to its right, might capture the reader's attention even before the title. This suggests that Eden's readers would have had the siren myth in mind from the first moment they began to consider his description of the New World.

Besides the sirens that grace Eden's title page, his text also includes more explicit references to Ulysses' encounter with the sirens. At one point, Eden claims, "The daungious paynes, trauayles and laboures of Vlyffes were nothyng in respecte of fuche as Iohn Sebaftian fufteyned" (Arber 348). This comparison of a New World adventurer with Ulysses clearly implies that Eden's text has the potential to imitate descriptions of Ulysses' travails, including the sirens, as it describes the brave voyages of New World explorers like Sebastian. In a sense, Eden is using the dangers of the sirens' allure as a way to show the bravery of New World explorers.

In the introduction to the *Decades*, while urging Englishmen to honor their king and queen, Ferdinand and Mary, Eden commands, "Stoppe thyne eares from vayne fables as from the inchauntynge Mermaydes" (Arber 53). Eden's admonition is intended to forestall the slanderous stories defaming England's monarchs. Nevertheless, it introduces the siren into the context of Ferdinand's sponsorship and success in New World exploration and colonization. The siren song that Eden is imploring Englishmen to stop their ears against is partially the idea that the Spanish success in the New World is somehow tainted. This premise is supported by the fact that Eden belabors the Spaniards' innocence. He claims that in the Spaniards' interactions with the natives, the

Spaniards “haue taken nothyng from them [the New World natives] but fuch as they them felues were wel wyllynge to departe with” (Arber 50). In this case, Eden’s New World text uses siren song as a means to undermine those Englishmen prejudiced against New World colonization through reports of the supposed atrocities committed by the Spanish against the natives.

In 1590, Thomas Harriot’s influential *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* was published in Theodore De Bry’s multivolume collection of New World voyages, *America*. Harriot’s account detailed the expedition Raleigh sponsored in 1585 to what Elizabeth had allowed him to christen Virginia (Sloan 41). Hadfield claims that *A Brief and True Report* was originally intended as propaganda “to persuade skeptics in England that the Roanoke colonies were worthwhile enterprises” and also suggests the work “was an attempt ‘to counteract the evil rumors surrounding Raleigh’s colonizing ventures’ ” (*Literature* 112). De Bry’s *America*, of which *A Briefe and True Report* was a part, is described by Hadfield as “the most important—certainly the most comprehensive—survey of European voyages and attempts to colonize the Americas in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries” (115). The famous engravings in De Bry’s edition include a sirenic image that accompanies Harriot’s laudatory Virginian account.

This image, (See figure 4 below) attributed to De Bry himself (Hadfield 115) , depicts Adam and Eve before the fall. Eve is about to pluck the apple that will precipitate man’s fall. Between Adam and Eve, with its tail pointed towards the forbidden fruit, rests a siren-like serpent.

Fig. 4. Adam and Eve Before the Fall, from *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.¹³



The satanic figure sports wings, a serpentine tail, and a woman's naked torso with exposed breasts. This depiction of the serpent brings to mind Sidney's description of

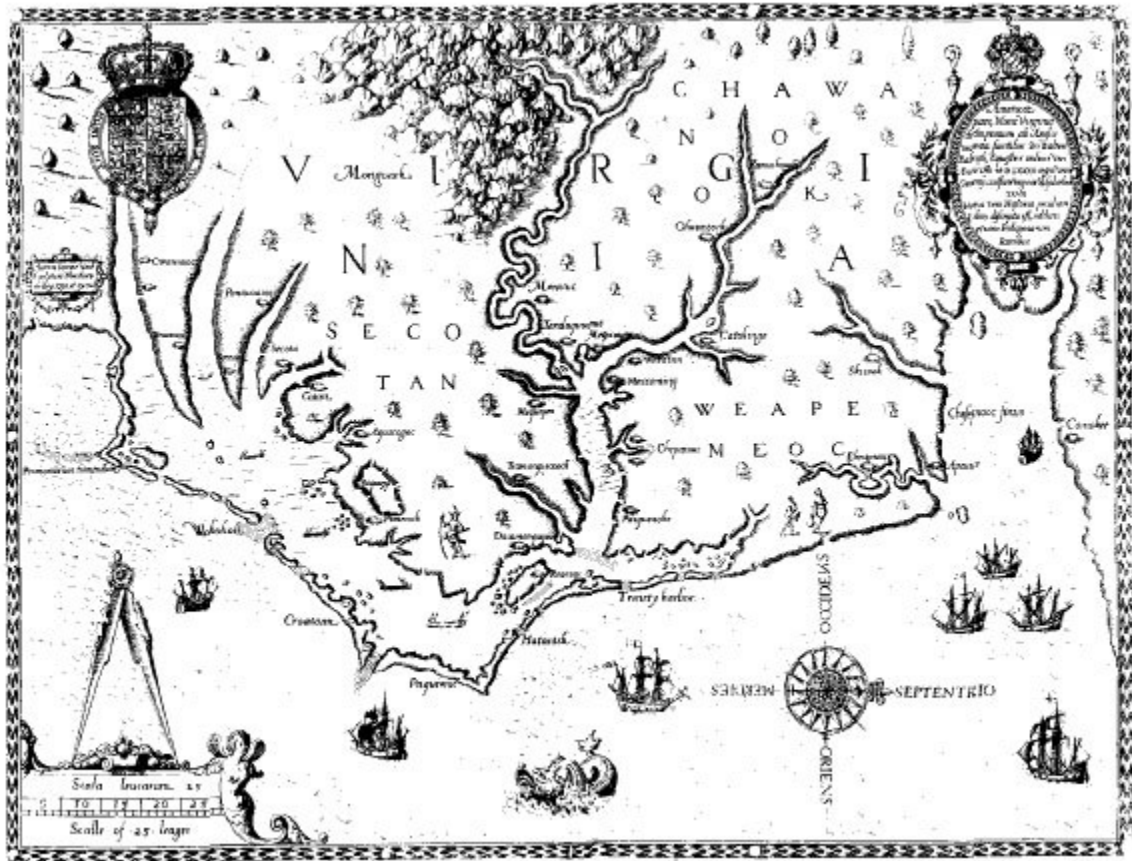
poetry's siren nature in his *Defence of Poesy*: "a siren's sweetness drawing the mind to the serpent's tail of sinful fancies" (32). The link between sirens and the serpent is made even more explicit in Thomas Nash's *Christs Teares Ouer Ierusalem* (1613): "They [sirens] are like the Serpent that tempted Adam in Paradise, who wheras God stinted him, what trees and fruites he should eate on, and goe no further, he entic'd him to breake the bondes of that stint, and put into his head what a number of excellent pleasures he should reape thereby" (196). The visual similarities between De Bry's siren-like serpent and Sidney and Nash's descriptions of sirens seem quite striking.

Hadfield suggests that De Bry's illustration presents an ambiguous message concerning the New World's Edenic nature and the potential for its European destruction (*Literature* 116). In De Bry's illustration, the potential destruction of a New World paradise seems caused by a siren figure. As a whole, the illustration seems to fit well with the scenario of an England uneasy with the potential for both gain and ruin represented by the Roanoke plantation. De Bry's illustration grounds an uneasiness with England's New World plantation within the myth of the sirens' allure. The paradise of the New World seems to be figured in the illustration as a place that, like the Garden of Eden, contains both perfection and an alluring siren figure with the potential to tempt man into destroying this perfection. Like the sirens on Richard Eden's title page for the *Decades*, De Bry's frontispiece precedes Harriot's description of the New World, in this case England's Virginia, and seems to have the potential to encourage readers to consider the caution required by a siren account. As reader's encounter Harriot's description of

the New World, their perception is understood through De Bry's sirenic image of the serpent.

The sirenic serpent in De Bry's illustration is one of two sirenic images in *A Brief and True Report*. The second siren appears in De Bry's engraving of a map detailing a portion of Virginia.

Fig. 5. Map of Virginia, from *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590). Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.¹⁴



In the lower left-hand corner of De Bry's engraving, a winged and fish-tailed Siren with exposed breasts coyly casts the map's viewer a sidelong glance from her ocean vantage next to the map's scale. This alluring siren towers over the much smaller English ships

scattered on the New World waves. Furthermore, since De Bry's engraving places a siren next to the map's scale, it suggests that the siren like the measurement tool she graces will be held up next to every portion of the map. Through her placement near the scale, De Bry's siren invades the entire Virginian coast.¹⁵ Unlike the sea serpent to the siren's right, the siren serves as both an enticement and a warning about the New World's complex potential. De Bry's siren represents both the risk of destruction as English ships might be dashed on Virginian shores and the promises of their beautiful song as heard by Ulysses tied to his mast.

Thomas Lodge provides a different example of an early modern English association between the New World and sirens. In his text *Wits Miserie, and the Worlds Madnesse Discovering the Devils Incarnat of this Age* (1596), he writes:

The Poets faine thus of the Syrenes which haunt about Sicily (and of late daies haue appeared in the Sea in India) That with their swéet tunes they draw the Marriners asléepe, that whilest they sléepe soundly, they may sincke their ship. The like may bée said of the Deuill, who lulleth vs in the lap of inconsiderate securitie, and singeth vs asléepe with the notes of Negligence, till he sincke the ship of our soule, which is our bodie, in the bottomlesse seas of confusion, which is Hell. (102)

Lodge's comparison of the sirens with the devil reprises early modern English ideas concerning the siren's soporific powers and the moralization of sirenic temptation and its potential destruction, but it also seems to suggest that the siren is something more than just a myth that helps illustrate a moral premise. Lodge's aside that sirens "of late daies haue appeared in the Sea in India" suggests a strange conflict between the figurative sirens of sin and actual embodied sirens sighted off the coast of India. While Lodge's brief aside fails to specify whether he means West India, as in the name given the New

World in Eden's *Decades*, or East India, his confusion of figurative moralization and real encounters speaks to the potential for an early modern English belief in actual sirens off the coast of New World places like Virginia.

Lodge's confusing blend of myth with the presence of sirens at actual sites of exploration can easily be excused since New World explorers long after Columbus include seemingly factual accounts of siren sightings. In 1608, aboard the *Hopeful*, Henry Hudson set out from London to explore a north eastern passage for the Russian Company. Facing impassable packed ice, Hudson steered his course towards the west to explore the potential of a north western passage. Hudson's crew soon tired of this western exploration, and he was forced to return to England (McDermott). During Hudson's aborted trip to the New World, two of his sailors reported seeing a mermaid: "The next yeere, 1608, he set forth on a discovery to the north-east, at which time they met, as both himselfe and Juet have testified, a mermaid in the sea, seene by Thomas Hills and Robert Rainer" (Purchase 139). Though, Hudson's voyage initially sailed east, his turn westward makes his crew's account of a siren sighting part of the New World sirenic tradition. Since James McDermott suggests Hudson was forced to turn back by a mutinous crew, the report of a siren sighting might have been part of the crew's attempt to persuade Hudson of the danger inherent in their voyage.

In 1609 Marc Lescarbot's *Nova Francia, or The Description of that Part of New France Which is on the Continent of Virginia* was translated into English. Perhaps in response to reports like the one from Hudson's ill-fated voyage, Lescarbot tries to explain away New World sightings of sirens. Lescarbot, describing native boats, writes:

The Sauages of the North towards Labrador have certaine small Canowes of thirteen or fourteene foote long, an two foot broad, made of this fashion, all couered with leather, yea ouer head, and there is but one hole in the midst where the man putteth himselfe on his knees, hauing halfe his body out, so that he cannot perish, furnishing his vessels with victuales before he commeth in it. I dare beleeeue that the fables of the Sirenes or Marmaidens come from that, the dunces esteeming that they were fishes, halfe men or women. (231)

Lescarbot's description of the natives' kayak-like boats turns into a surmise concerning the myth of sirens. Lescarbot clearly feels New World sirens are fables, but he also seems to have heard several accounts of them that prompt his attempt at explaining them away. Hudson's men Thomas Hils and Robert Rainer, along with Hudson himself seem to bear the brunt of Lescarbot's estimation of the "dunces" fooled by the native's canoes. The controversy between reports like Hudson's and Lescarbot's suggests an early modern uneasiness with the New World's shores where mythical beings like the sirens might actually exist.

Perhaps stemming from Columbus's initial sirenic report, it seems the early modern English reader was confronted with a tradition that linked sirens with New World exploration. Sometimes the association was made obliquely through illustrations and the comparison of New World voyagers with mythical figures like Ulysses as shown by Eden and De Bry's texts. In other instances, more direct assertions of the sirens' New World abode were both made and debunked by the accounts of explorers as shown in Hudson's and Lescarbot's accounts. Frequently, it seems that the associations these texts made between sirens and the New World in early modern England served to reveal an anxiety concerning England's exploratory and colonial role.

For Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare, the siren is a feminine being composed at times of fins and at times of feathers. She wields a wanton sexual allure linked to her sweet song and her flowing hair. Her comb suggests vanity, and her mirror shows here ability to flatter. Her song is soporific, and she is associated with storms and winds. She draws sailors to wreck their ships on the rocks and then she consumes their flesh. The siren also signifies the potential dangers of an overly sensual poetry that incites the senses and tempts a Ulyssean reader to an impassioned state rather than towards reason. Furthermore, as the siren lurks off shore from New World locations like Virginia on the borders of maps and on the edges of title pages, she becomes a symbol of anxiety about England's role in the New World. As Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare faced the sirens that swam or flew to the surfaces of their texts, they engaged a complex construction with the potential to create complicated ideas about the value of poetry in the context of an early modern England posed on the brink of imperial expansion in the New World. These ideas will be considered fully in the following chapters.

Chapter 2

“Where Many Mermaids Haunt”: Flattery and Vanity in Book II of *The Faerie Queene*

In his letter to Walter Raleigh, Spenser explains that *The Faerie Queene* will help “fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline” (715).¹⁶ Spenser elaborates on this purpose by indicating the literary models he will use to help teach his gentleman readers. Among these models, Spenser specifically includes Homer’s character Ulysses from the *Odyssey*: “I have followed all the antique Poets historicall, first Homere, who in the person...of Vlysses hathe ensampled... a vertuous man...in his Odysseis” (715). While acknowledging his literary debt to Homer’s character Ulysses, Spenser emphasizes that Ulysses models “vertuous man” particularly in the *Odyssey*. Spenser’s words suggest the importance of an inquiry into how Spenser uses the traditions surrounding Ulysses’ virtue within *The Faerie Queene*.

In an early modern mentality, Ulysses’ virtue is inextricably entangled in his encounters with monsters and witches as he voyages across unknown waters to return to his homeland. Literary scholarship considering Spenser’s use of the Ulysses type invariably gravitates towards Book II in which Spenser’s hero Sir Guyon represents the virtue of temperance. Guyon’s voyage to the Bower of Bliss in canto xii reveals his Ulyssean qualities. During this voyage, Guyon clearly encounters several of the obstacles Ulysses faced on his homeward voyage: Charybdis, or “the Gulfe of Greediness” II.xii.3, Scylla, or the “hideous Rock” II.xii.4, and the Planctae, or the

“wandering islands” II.xii.11. Guyon’s confrontation with the arch villain Acrasia may be more telling than any of these briefly mentioned encounters. Acrasia, as many have noted, is partially patterned on Homer’s Circe and represents incontinence.¹⁷ However appropriate it is to consider Acrasia in the light of her Circean ancestry, unfortunately, Circe’s shadow often eradicates another of the Ulyssean challenges Guyon encounters in his voyage towards Acrasia’s bower: the sirens. Spenser introduces his sirens through the Boatman’s warning:

Here now behouveh vs well to auyse,
And of our safety good heede to take;
For here before a perlous passage lyes,
Where many Mermayds haunt, making false melodies. II.xii.17

The Boatman’s warning about the sirens, or as he calls them, mermaids, suggests the importance of tracing the insidious implications of the sirenic “false melodies” that can be traced throughout Book II. In this chapter, I would like to reconsider how Spenser frames the virtue of temperance in relationship to the early modern mythography built around Ulysses’ encounter with the sirens and their song. This consideration doesn’t intend to exclude Circean readings of Book II. Instead, it hopes to augment these readings by proposing a sirenic context that will focus on how Spenser uses traditional moralizations of sirenic flattery and vanity. I will argue that Spenser praises Elizabeth’s fertility through a trope that compares her to the abundant and fertile New World and thereby self-critically exposes his poem’s sirenic flattery and its potential to mislead a Ulyssean reader.

“Th’ Aboundance of an Ydle Braine”: Spenser, the New World, and Misreading

In chapter one, I argue that one of the common early modern ways to allegorize the story of Ulysses and the sirens is to link Ulysses with a reader who can safely apprehend misleading sirenic and song-like poetic texts. Based on this allegory, it comes as little surprise that Spenser in his proem to Book II, which contains the Ulyssean Guyon’s encounter with sirens, expresses concern over the reception of his own poetic text. The concern that Spenser expresses in his proem to Book II seems to be shared in a more general way by his friend Gabriel Harvey who claims, “I wil not stand greatly with you in your owne matters. If so be the Faerye Queene be fairer in your eie thā the Nine Muses, and Hobgoblin runne away with the Garland from Apollo” (n. pag.). Considering Harvey’s words, Oram suggests that Harvey finds Spenser’s poem “indecorous” (*Edmund* 8). Spenser’s proem to Book II opens with a similar idea since it suggests that his poem might have the potential to mislead an unwary reader:

Right well I wote most mighty Soueraine,
That all this famous antique history,
Of some th’aboundance of an ydle braine
Will iuged be, and painted forgery
Rather then matter of iust memory. (II.pr.1)

Within the first five lines of Book II, which expounds on the virtue of temperance, Spenser voices the fear that his poem might itself be intemperate. Spenser’s idea of temperance most consistently seems to be an understanding of it as a reason-directed control of self.¹⁸ Spenser suggests that his poetry might be conceived as “th’aboundance of an ydle braine.” This idea is clearly placed into opposition with a poem conceived “of just memory.” Spenser’s poem, or Book II at least, through Spenser’s own admission,

could be read as being produced by a mind that is not controlled by just reason but is instead produced by a mind that creates excesses from idleness. Idleness, as has been argued in chapter one, is a sirenic trait. If the poem is created by this second idle, sirenic mind, it is misleading, a “painted forgery,” just like the allegorized siren-song poem.

While Spenser seemingly discounts those who would see his poem in such a light, he conversely implicates his poem by defending it. In his explanatory letter to Raleigh, Spenser opens by suggesting the uncertainty of his allegory in *The Faerie Queene* by claiming he knows “how doubtfully all Allegories may be construed” (714).¹⁹ Spenser’s disclaimers emphasize his ambivalence for his poem based on the fear it might be misread. In the opening lines of Book II, as well as in his explanatory letter, Spenser seems to reflect the sentiment that his own poetry, like allegorized siren song, can mislead a reader into peril.

Spenser’s defense of his poetry relies on the idea that recent discoveries in the New World prove, “that of the world least part to vs is red” (II.pr.2). What had been the “abundance” of Spenser’s “ydle braine” becomes analogous to the “iust memory” of newly discovered locations like Peru, the Amazon River, and Virginia.²⁰ However, Spenser, by suggesting that these discoveries are read, creates a defense that seems somewhat circular. When Spenser asks “Who euer *heard* of th’Indian Peru?” (II.pr.2, emphasis mine)²¹, a fair number of Elizabethans could have answered in the affirmative since they might have read published accounts of the New World such as Eden’s translated *Decades of the Newe World* (1555) or Harriot’s *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590),²² two texts that associate sirens with the New

World. When Spenser continues to ask, “Or who in venturous vessel measured/The *Amazons* huge riuer now found trew?/Or fruitfulest *Virginia* who did ever vew?” (II.pr.2), far fewer Elizabethans could respond positively. Elizabethan knowledge about these places would not primarily have been based upon the types of first-hand proofs Spenser demands. Few “venturous” Elizabethans had “measured” the Amazon or viewed Virginia. Playfully, Spenser’s defense bends back upon itself since most of his readers would have had little first-hand knowledge of the New World and would instead know of it only through reading or what they had *heard* about it.

Spenser’s circular defense is emphasized when he claims that Gloriana’s fairy land may yet be discovered when in “later times thinges more vnknowne shall show” (II.pr.3). In a sense, Spenser’s oblique criticism and defense of his poem relies on the idea that the potential abundance of his poetic imagination is by analogy no match for the abundance of the reported reality of the New World. This reported reality, however, seems just as uncertain as Spenser’s poem since in the future it may potentially reveal fairy land, a place that Spenser knows he imagined. Through the progression of his poem to Book II, Spenser entwines his concerns over potential misreadings of his poem with ideas about the abundance of the New World.

Spenser’s use of accounts of the New World as a defense for the “just memory” of Book II suggests Sidney’s *The Defense of Poesy*: a response to Gosson’s *The Schoole of Abuse*.²³ In Sidney’s response, he momentarily side steps Gosson’s charges against sirenic poetry:

How often, think you, do the physicians lie, when they aver things good
for sicknesses, which afterwards send Charon a great number of souls

drowned in a potion before they come to his ferry? And no less of the rest, which take upon them to affirm. Now for the poet, he nothing affirmeth, and therefore never lieth. For, as I take it, to lie, is to affirm that to be true which is false; so as the other artists, and especially the historian, affirming many things, can, in the cloudy knowledge of mankind, hardly escape from many lies. But the poet, as I said before, never affirmeth. The poet never maketh any circles about your imagination, to conjure you to believe for true what he writes. He citeth not authorities of other histories. (33)

Sidney's response to Gosson, seems to apply directly to Spenser's defense of Book II.²⁴

When Spenser defends his abundant poetic imagination by comparing it to the New World, he in effect does exactly what Sidney claims poets never do, he "maketh circles about" the reader's imagination to "conjure" the reader to believe the truth of his poetry. Illustrating the validity of his poem by linking it to the reports of the New World, Spenser implies his poem's ability to mislead the reader by linking it directly to the historical accounts of New World discoveries and even calling his own poem "this famous antique history" (II.pr.1). In contrast, Sidney's defense attempts to distance poetry from history. Working back through Sidney's defense, Spenser suggests the siren-like nature of his poetry to mislead that Gosson's original claim engendered. Furthermore, this potential is grounded in the poem's relationship with historical New World accounts.

"Fruitfullest Virginia": Spenser's New World Praise for Elizabeth

Collin Burrow claims that *The Faerie Queene* is "often seen as a work which luxuriates in imperialism, and which celebrates the absolute authority of its queen" (80). Jeffrey Knapp, expresses a similar idea in different terms: "If any of her subjects helped Elizabeth to represent herself as a conqueror more benign and therefore more powerful

than the king of Spain, it was Spenser” (15). Burrow and Knapp both suggest that Spenser’s poem works to glorify Elizabeth’s imperial power. Though *The Faerie Queene* praises Elizabeth’s imperial power in many different ways, one important sub-type of this praise extols Elizabeth’s abundant New World dominion.

In 1590, Spenser Dedicates *The Faerie Queene* to Elizabeth with these words: “To the most mightie and magnificent empress Elizabeth, by the grace of God queen of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith &c.” In this dedication, Spenser stresses Elizabeth’s supreme power over an empire that includes England, France and Ireland.²⁵ Spenser praises Elizabeth not simply as a queen, but as an empress. In 1596, Spenser’s dedication adds significantly to Elizabeth’s empire: “To the most high, mightie and magnificent empress renowned for pietie, virtue, and all gracious government Elizabeth by the grace of God queen of England France and Ireland and of Virginia, defendovr of the faith, &c.” In this second dedication, Spenser’s encomium increases Elizabeth’s stature by adding Virginia to her empire.

Spenser makes Virginia quite conspicuous in his list by adding the words “and of” before Virginia. The initial list of Elizabeth’s dominions—England, France, and Ireland—seems complete since it includes the conjunction “and” signaling Ireland to be the end of the list. The list seems complete for only a moment, though, before Spenser adds a second “and” and the preposition “of” before Virginia. The momentary pause places an emphasis on Virginia separating it from the rest of the list; furthermore, “of” precedes England, France, and Ireland, and then it also precedes Virginia creating a sort of parallel structure. In a sense, this parallel structure makes Virginia equal in

importance to England, France and Ireland combined. By adding Virginia to the list of Elizabeth's holdings, Spenser increases a sense of her imperial power, and he does so in a way that privileges Virginia.

While the transformed dedication of *The Faerie Queen* clearly shows Spenser's praise of Elizabeth based on her New World dominion over Virginia, the proem to Book II recasts this praise by comparing Virginia to other New World locations. When Spenser asks,

Who euer heard of th'Indian *Peru*?
Or who in venturus vessel measured
The *Amazons* huge riuer now found trew?
Or fruitfullest *Virginia* who did euer vew? (II.pr. 2)

he compares Virginia to other New World locations: Peru and the Amazon. While Spenser stresses the size of the Amazon, he privileges Virginia by naming it "fruitfullest." His superlative suggests Virginia is the most fertile place in the New World. Since Virginia is named after Elizabeth, Spenser's superlative by extension praises the plenty created by Elizabeth's rule.

Spenser also implies that fruitful Virginia is only the beginning of an expanding sphere of Elizabethan sway in the New World. In the first two stanzas of his proem, Spenser posits that the abundant New World might contain the "happy land of Faery." Later in the proem, Spenser leaves no doubt that the land of Faery represents Elizabeth's realm since he addresses her with these words: "thou...maist behold...thine owne realms in lond of Faery" (II.pr.4). The "happy land of Faery" that has yet to be uncovered in the New World represents Elizabeth's potential New World empire. Like Spenser's use of "fruitfullest," the allusion to Elizabeth's growing New World holdings, represented by

the land of Faery, serves to praise Elizabeth by showing the “fruitfull” nature of her expanding influence.

Spenser’s proem also points forward to a different example of New World praise for Elizabeth. In his proem, Spenser claims that Elizabeth can see her “great auncestry” in his “antique ymage” (II.pr.4). Spenser’s claim promises that Book II of *The Faerie Queene* will include an historical description of Elizabeth’s heritage. In Alma’s House of Temperance, Guyon fills his role as the Ulyssean right reader when he finds *The Antiquitee of Faery Land* (II.ix.60). Guyon reads this book within a book in canto x. As canto x begins, Spenser’s voice seems to continue its praise of Elizabeth in a vein similar to the proem: “the famous auncestries/ Of my most dreaded Soueraigne I recount,/ By which all earthly Princes she doth far surmount” (II.x.1). Spenser’s praise of Elizabeth shows her power surmounting that of all other rulers. His praise also continues the theme of Elizabeth’s fruitful plenty:

Ne vnder Sunne, that shines so wide and faire,
Whence all that liues, does borrow life and light,
Liues ought, that to her lineage may compaire,
Which though from earth it be deriued right,
Yet doth it selfe stretch forth to heuens hight,
And all the world with wonder ouerspread. (II.x.2)

Spenser lauds Elizabeth by suggesting her lineage will overspread the entire world with wonder. Such a claim can be interpreted to mean that Elizabeth’s lineage is so bountiful that it will fill the entire world with awe. It also implies that the lineage springing from Elizabeth will likewise “overspread” the world. Spenser continues his praise of Elizabeth’s expansive plenty when, in the next stanza, he suggests that her magnificence will allow him to “blazon” her name “far away” (II.x.3). In its heraldic sense, the term

blazon means displaying a coat of arms, so Spenser's praise suggests that not just Elizabeth's name will be known in faraway places, but that faraway places will show their allegiance to her by displaying her coat of arms.

The Antiquitee of Faery Land, a text within a text, offers a different example of how Spenser praises Elizabeth's plenty. Spenser describes the tome Guyon reads as an "ample volume, that doth far exceed/ My leasure, so long leaues here to repeat" (II.x.70). Spenser emphasizes the great length of Elizabeth's ancestry by claiming that the "ample volume" is so long he doesn't have the time to recount its entirety. Spenser returns to the relationship between his poetry and history that he introduces in the proem. In this case, Spenser extols Elizabeth by saying her ancestry, her history, is even more expansive than the abundance of his imagination.

In the proem, Spenser defends his poem by comparing the abundance of his imagination to the abundance of the New World. In canto x, the abundance of Elizabeth's line is greater than that of both Spenser's imagination and the New World. Furthermore, Spenser's praise of Elizabeth in *The Antiquity of Faery Land* overtly links her with a fruitful New World expansion. Spenser's genealogy for Elizabeth points back to her ancestors Elfe and Fay (II.x.71). Elfe and Fay bore Elfin, the New World conqueror: "him all India obayd,/And all that now America men call" (II.x.72). Since Elfin is Gloriana's, or Elizabeth's, forbearer (II.x.76), his sway over the New World becomes Elizabeth's right. Elfin paves the way for the "happy land of Faery" Elizabeth's reign will reveal in the fruitful New World.

In *The Faerie Queene*, and particularly Book II, Spenser presents a strand of praise for Elizabeth that works by connecting her with an idea of the potential plenty of the New World. Elizabeth's namesake, "fruitfullest Virginia," becomes a metaphor for Elizabeth's sway over an expanding empire. By juxtaposing Elizabeth and her lineage against the New World, Spenser praises Elizabeth through an expanding motif of her bountiful plenty.

"Making False Melodies": Flattering Sirens on a New World Coast

While Spenser clearly praises Elizabeth through the metaphor of her New World abundance, he also provides sirenic warnings against false praise: flattery. In chapter 1, I argued that early modern English authors frequently used allegorized siren-song to represent the potential of sensual poetry to mislead its reader by drawing him away from reason. In particular, early modern sirenic mythography shows how poetry could mislead its reader through the excess of flattery. In canto xii, Spenser presents a clear example of flattering sirens. Spenser describes his sirens as "fiue sisters" who "had continuall trade,/And used to bath themselves in that deceitfull shade" (II.xii.30). Spenser's description of the mermaids first emphasizes their sensual appeal. As Hamilton points out, Spenser portrays five sirens to represent their appeal to the five senses (Spenser II.xii.30 note 1-2). This sensual appeal is also grounded in the mermaids' wanton nature when Spenser describes their "continuall trade." Such "trade" speaks of the close ties between sirens and prostitutes. The Mermaid's trade depends on their indecorous public bathing signified by Spenser's choice to locate the Mermaid's in a landscape he describes

as a “halfe Theatre” (II.xii.30). Spenser’s description of the Mermaids paints them as sensual temptresses offering themselves to anyone who passes.

Initially, Spenser’s sirens represent only an excessive and concupiscent appeal to the senses; however, they quickly submerge this appeal within the idea of flattery. As Guyon, the Palmer, and the Boatman approach the sirens, they single Guyon out in their tempting song:

O thou fayre sonne of gentle Faery,
That art in mightie armes most magnifyde
Above all knights, that ever batteill tryde,
O turne thy rudder hitherward a while:
Here may thy storme-bett vessel safely ryde;
This is the Port of rest from troublous toyle,
The worlds sweet In, from paine and wearisome turmoyle. (II.xii.32)

Stephen Buhler notes that Spenser’s sirens “praise Guyon for his ancestry [he is a son of Faery], his abilities [his might in arms], and his fame [he is a knight magnified above all others]” (185). The Mermaid’s praise is clearly sirenic flattery since Spenser has already exposed Guyon’s weaknesses in all three arenas as the noble and renowned Arthur rescues Guyon from the blades of Pyrochles and Cymochles in canto viii. Buhler also points out that Spenser’s mermaids praise the same qualities in Guyon that Spenser himself is praising in Elizabeth (185). As Spenser reveals the Mermaid’s flattery, he creates a warning about the potential sirenic flattery his own text includes for Elizabeth. This warning is heightened as Spenser reminds his reader of the sirenic understanding of poetry in Plutarch’s “Brigantine or Barke of Epicurus” (19). After Guyon asks the Boatman to row more slowly in order to enjoy the Mermaid’s song (II.xii.33), the Palmer

follows Plutarch's advice by "defending...judgement with some discourse of true reason" (19) as he "with temperate aduice discourse" (II.xii.34) Guyon's desire to tarry.

Though Spenser's Mermaid's can clearly be read as a warning against the potential flattery of Spenser's own text, they are also linked to the New World. Spenser's 1590 voyage from Ireland to London, a trip undertaken in part to publish the first three books of *The Faerie Queene*, was sponsored by Raleigh (Oram 20). Raleigh traveled with Spenser and served as his patron with Elizabeth (Oram 164).²⁶ In part, Spenser's New World praise of Elizabeth, with its focus on "fruitfullest Virginia," might stem from Spenser's relationship with Raleigh who secured a patent to colonize Virginia in 1584 and then sent a colonizing expedition in 1585 (Nicholls).²⁷ Raleigh was a keen promoter of New World expansion and his patronage of Spenser suggests Spenser's interest in New World accounts.

Several scholars have argued that Spenser drew on accounts of the New World as partial inspiration for different episodes in *The Faerie Queene*. Stephen Greenblatt points out that Guyon's voyage in canto xii of Book II follows the texts written by New World explorers: "In the texts written by early explorers of the New World, a long, arduous voyage, fraught with fabulous dangers and trials, brings the band of soldiers, sailors, and religious fathers—knight, boatman, and palmer—to a world of riches and menace" (180). Consistently, these scholars have pointed towards Spenser's possible incorporations from Peter Martyr d'Anghera's *The Decades of the Newe World*.²⁸ David Read has suggested extensive links between canto xii of Book II and Eden's English translation of *The Decades*. Read notes links between the two texts' descriptions

of elements such as the Rock of Vile Reproach (II.xii.8) and the Gulf of Greediness (II.xii.3). While these features have traditionally been understood as references to their classical antecedents Scylla and Charybdis, Read points out that since these antecedents are also overtly referenced in Eden's translation, that their pre-Spenserian lineage is complex (94). While the Rock of Vile Reproach and the Gulf of Greediness remind the reader of Guyon's Ulyssean guise since they reflect Ulysses's Homeric trials, they also reflect the trials of European explorers in the New World.

Read points out that certain features of Guyon's voyage in canto xii, seen as being generated in part by Eden's text, can be read as literal descriptions of the perils faced by explorers in the New World rather than purely allegorical episodes (97-99). Read insists that certain points of Guyon's voyage, such as the wrecked ship at the Quicksand of Unthriftyhead, present allegories of a "peculiarly topical sort." He argues that the wrecked ship at the Quicksand of Unthriftyhead might be read allegorically as the many Spanish ships "unthriftilly loaded with American goods" that English privateers wrecked (99). Read's argument shows how the mermaids, who appear in Guyon's voyage after the wrecked ship at the Quicksand of Unthriftyhead, besides being understood as sirens representing poetic flattery, can also be read as the sirens in the context of their nautical home off the coast of the New World. The connection between the mermaids and the sirens from New World descriptions is further strengthened, based on Read's argument, since the Mermaids that will be facing Guyon's company are first introduced by the Boatman in stanza seventeen, just before the Quicksand of Unthriftyhead episode. When Spenser's reader passes by the quicksand and comes to the mermaids in stanza 30, their

proximity to the New World waters described by the topical allegory of the Quicksand of Unthriftyhead certainly connects them to descriptions of the New World.

As Guyon hears and evades the five flattering Mermaids at II.xii.30-34, he has just passed by features that simultaneously remind Spenser's readers of the Ulyssian right reader developed by Ulysses' sirenic mythography and the Ulyssean New World explorer developed by early travel accounts like Eden's *Decades*. In chapter one, I argued that Eden's *Decades* associates sirens with the New World, so as Spenser presents his five flattering mermaids in canto xii, he places these mermaids within a sirenic tradition that includes both warnings about poetry's potential for flattery and warnings against the dangers of the New World. Spenser's flattering sirens, the five mermaids, create a relationship in Spenser's text that brings the ideas of flattery and the New World together. Located off the New World coast, Spenser's mermaids suggest that their warning against flattery might be entangled within *The Faerie Queene's* New World references. Since flattery is assuredly a sirenic trait, and Spenser acknowledges his sirens' flattery of Guyon, who is at one level a New World explorer, Spenser encourages his reader to question the veracity of *The Faerie Queene's* New World praise of Elizabeth. The mermaids' two frames of reference encourage Spenser's readers to see New World praise of Elizabeth's abundance as a potential site for flattery.

Mirrors and Mermaids: Queen Elizabeth I, Spenser, Vanity, and Ambition

Spenser's warning against sirenic flattery in canto xii deals not only with flattery, but also with vanity. Hearing the mermaids' flattering song at II.xii.32-33, Guyon is

tempted to slow the boat in order to enjoy it. The Palmer's temperate advice helps Guyon override the mermaids' temptation. Significantly, Spenser describes Guyon's desire to hear the mermaids' flattering song as vanity: "But him [Guyon] the Palmer from that *vanity*,/ With temperate aduice discourselled" (II.xii.34, emphasis mine). Guyon's desire to hear the mermaids sing about his own "mightie armes" (II.xii.32) is an intemperate vanity. The Ulyssean right reader must rely on temperance to guide him past sirenic flattery in order to avoid falling prey to excessive vanity. The excess of vanity and its links to flattery become one of the important themes in Book II.

Earlier, I argued that Spenser's proem reveals concerns about how his poem might be misread and relates these fears to New World accounts. Spenser's proem circles back to the problem of potential misreadings when he chastises the reader who's senses are "blunt and bace" and then asks the "fayrest Princesse vnder sky," Queen Elizabeth I, to pardon him for enfolding her poetic reflection "In couert vele" and wrapping it "in shadowes light" (II.pr.4-5). Spenser's seeming apology to Elizabeth for his poem's imperfections is turned into flattery when he claims that the siren-like potential of his poem to be misread, its use of "dark conceits" as he terms them in his letter to Raleigh, are necessary to expose Elizabeth's "exceeding light" to "feeble eyes" (II.pr.5). The compliment to Queen Elizabeth in this encomium, while clearly derived from the trope of the Pauline mirror,²⁹ may have an undercurrent of meaning that has not yet been explored. When Spenser tells Elizabeth that she "maist behold [her] face" in "this fayre mirrhour," he likens his poem to a mirror. On the surface, this comparison is intended to serve as a way to elevate Elizabeth's image by suggesting that a direct

revelation of Elizabeth's glory is impossible because her magnificence is so overwhelming. In effect, Spenser praises Elizabeth by creating a trope based on the ability to reveal beauty by presenting it indirectly as through a mirror's reflection or by covering it with a veil.

As I've argued in chapter one, the mirror is linked with the sirens' vanity and sirenic flattery. Considered in this context, Spenser's comparison of his poem to a mirror suggests a potential link to the allegorization of misleading sirenic poetry. The sense of a poem's power to mislead a reader is especially heightened here since what seems to be praise might be read as a severe criticism of Elizabeth's vanity. In essence, when Spenser's poem is figured as a mirror, it suggests that Elizabeth, by looking in the mirror, displays the sirens' vanity, and Spenser, by holding the mirror up to Elizabeth, displays the sirens' flattering song.³⁰ The mirror, Spenser's poem, turns both Elizabeth and Spenser into opposing sirenic aspects; Elizabeth and Spenser become the inverse qualities of vanity and flattery. A representation of Elizabeth's vanity is well founded since, as Christopher Haigh notes, "Elizabeth I was a show-off, and she dressed to kill" (106). If Elizabeth and Spenser can be read as representing vanity and flattery, they implicate the dangerously intemperate nature that Spenser's opening lines of Book II claim might exist in *The Faerie Queene*. Such a reading also casts a sirenic lens over Spenser's trope of making Elizabeth more visibly beautiful by covering her.

Spenser uses the trope of revealing beauty by covering it to describe another sovereign figure in Book II: Philotine. Philotine, Mammon's daughter, is described in canto vii: "Her face right wonderous faire did seeme to bee,/ That her broad beauties

beam great brightness threw/ Through the dim shade, that all men might it see”

(II.vii.45). Spenser describes Philotine with a trope that imitates the trope he used to describe Elizabeth. Elizabeth’s “couert vale” (II.pr.5) is recast as Philotines “dim shade” (II.vii.45), and Spenser figures both women’s beauty as beams of light that shine through these coverings. As Hamilton notes, Philotine, means “love of honour” (II.vii.49.note 1). Based on Philotine’s false beauty “wrought by art and counterfetted shew” and her desire to “thereby more louers vnto her to call” (II.vii.45), it seems that her love of honor is grounded in vanity and becomes little more than worldly acclaim. As Philotine vies to attract more lovers amidst a “route of people there assembled” composed “of euery sort and nation vnder skye” (II.vii.44) she clearly represents vanity. Spenser describes Elizabeth and Philotine, a character representing vanity, using the same trope of covered revelation. Spenser’s trope of covering in order to reveal seems to implicate Elizabeth’s vanity. Since Spenser describes Elizabeth similarly to the way he describes his allegorized representation of vanity, it becomes difficult to ignore the parallels between Philotine’s vanity and Elizabeth’s.

The association between Elizabeth and Philotine also implies Spenser’s own flattery. Describing the throng around Philotine vying for her attention, Spenser points directly to flattery when he claims,

Some thought to raise themselues to high degree,
By riches and vnrighteous reward,
Some by close shouldering, some by flatteree:
Others through friends, others for base regard;
And all by wrong waies for themselues prepard. (II.vii.47)

Spenser's description of "flatteree" as a "wrong way" self-prepared by those sycophants looking to ingratiate themselves with Philotine, a throned sovereign (II.vii.44), clearly abjures flattery, but also suggests Spenser's own potential flattery. After all, Spenser gains admission to Elizabeth's graces in 1590 partially through Raleigh's patronage. Spenser comes to Elizabeth's attention "through friends." He seeks to raise himself "to high degree" by gaining Elizabeth's admiration. Seeking advancement in Elizabeth's court, Spenser uses what his poem terms "wrong waies," and this implicates his ambition, represented by Philotine's "great gold chaine" that was "*Ambition*" (II.vii.47). Philotine's court and its link to ambition is also reminiscent of other literary sites in which Spenser criticizes the flattery at court. For instance, in *Mother Hubberds Tale* the priest describes the court to the fox and the ape who are seeking a benefice:

But if thee list unto the Court to throng,
And there to hunt after the hoped pray,
Then must thou thee dispose another way:
For there thou needs must learne to laugh, to lie,
To face, to forge, to scoffe, to companie,
To crouch, to please, to be a beetle-stock
Of thy great Masters will, to scorne, or mock. (501-507)

These lines display Spenser's great distaste for the system of flattery and ambition present in Elizabeth's court. Despite this distaste, or perhaps because of it, Spenser's description of Philotine's court seems to be partially self-critical. Since Spenser implicates himself as one who uses improper means of self-advancement, such as his reliance on Raleigh's friendship, it seems quite possible he would be tempted to flatter Elizabeth. Spenser reveals his own sirenic flattery by indirectly suggesting Elizabeth's vanity.

While creating a system of sirenic imagery that warns against flattery and vanity, Spenser also forecasts the destruction that results from such excess. Spenser not only describes the mermaids' flattery in canto xii, he also suggests they fell from grace because of their own vanity:

They were faire Ladies, till they fondly striu'd
With th'*Heliconian* maides for maystery;
Of whom they ouer-comen, were depriu'd
Of their proud beautie, and th'one moyity
Transformed to fish, for their bold surquedry. (II.xii.31)

Hamilton notes that Spenser's description of the sirens' contest with the muses follows Conti's *Mythologiae* (II.xii.31.note 1-5). In Conti's version of this story the sirens are spurred on by Juno to compete in a singing contest with the muses: "They were once presumptuous enough (Juno egged them on) to challenge the muses to a singing contest. And while the sirens started out with wings before they got into that contest, after they lost the Muses plucked out all of their feathers and made crowns out of them that they put on their own heads" (vol. 2 642). Spenser's description of the sirens' contest with the muses, read through Conti, suggests the sirens' fallen and beast-like state as mermaids is a result of their own vanity in listening to Juno's flattery. Spenser specifically uses the word "surquedry" to indicate the sirens' prideful vanity. The sirens' vanity destroyed them by turning them and their song into a thing of deceptive beauty.³¹

While Spenser overtly shows the mermaids' vanity and the destruction it caused by telling the story of their competition with the muses, the story also emphasizes how a singer's beautiful songs can be transformed into flattery through their own ambitious vanity. Spenser shows this transformation when he describes the fallen sirens' song:

“their sweet skill in wonted Melody;/Which ever after they abused to ill,/ T’allure waeke trueillers, whom gotten they did kill” (II.xii.31). Spenser makes it clear that the fallen sirens can still sing beautifully, but their song, as Guyon’s temptation proves, turns into destructive flattery. Spenser’s poem, by interlacing the images and ideas surrounding Elizabeth, Philotine, and the five mermaids, reveals *The Faerie Queene*’s potential to become a sirenic poem that appeals to vanity through destructive flattery.

“A Chosen Plott of Fertile Land”: Fruitless Virginia and Spenser’s Flattery of Raleigh

Spenser encourages his reader to see his praise of “fruitfullest Virginia” as flattery by creating tension around the idea of a falsely fruitful New World. Sirenic temptations that lead Spenser’s Ulyssean characters to artificial abundance imply the emptiness of New World fecundity. As Spenser creates tension concerning false descriptions of New World abundance, he reveals his poem’s tendency to flatter Raleigh. Although Spenser includes a clear warning against sirenic flattery with the five mermaids in canto xii, he also includes another siren-like figure in Book II: Phaedria. Cymochles sees Phaedria for the first time in a boat at the bank of a river leading into the Idle Lake: “he saw whereas did swim/ A long the shore, as swift as glance of eye,/ A little Gondelay” (II.vi.2). The swimming “Gondelay” contains Phaedria: “And therein sat a Lady fresh and fayre,/ Making sweet solace to her selfe alone;/ Sometimes she song, as lowd as larke in ayre” (II.vi.3). When Spenser first introduces Phaedria, he includes several features that reveal her as a siren. Like the sirens, Phaedria is clearly depicted as a water being. Though she

sits in a gondola, the description of the boat as “swimming” indicates Phaedria’s mermaid-like affinity for the sea. Phaedria’s role as siren-like temptress is strengthened as she takes Cymochles to her island abode and lulls him asleep:

Thus when shee had his eyes and senses fed
With false delights, and filld with pleasures vayn,
Into a shady dale she soft him led,
And laid him downe vpon a grassy playn:
And her sweete selfe without dread or disdayn,
She sett beside, laying his head disarmd
In her loose lap, it softly to sustain,
Where soone he slumbred, fearing not to be harmed,
The whils with a loue lay she thus him sweetly charmd. (II.vi.14)

In this stanza, Phaedria is described as both wanton and soporific. Phaedria displays an improper “looseness” that is accompanied by an ability to sing Cymochles to sleep.

Phaedria clearly displays many of the sirenic qualities illustrated in chapter 1.

Phaedria lulls Cymochles asleep with a three-stanza song that argues against man’s “fruitlesse toile” (II.vi.15-17).³² Phaedria’s siren-like song seems to comment directly on the colonial adventurers’ contact with an Edenic New World. In the first stanza of Phaedria’s song, she claims the inability of civilized man’s husbandry to rival the abundance of nature.

Behold, O man, that toilsome paines doest take
The flowrs, the fields, and all that pleasant growes,
How they them selues doe thine ensample make,
Whiles nothing enuious nature them forth throwes
Out of her fruitfull lap; how no man knowes,
They spring, they bud, they blossom fresh and faire,
And decke the world with their rich pompous showes;
Yet no man for them taketh paines or care,
Yet no man to them can his carefull paines compare. (II.vi.15)

Nature's ability to produce all that "pleasant grows," without man's aid, suggests a common early modern belief in the New World's Edenic abundance.³³ Theodore DeBry's image of a prelapsarian Adam and Eve (see figure 1 in chapter 1) in *A Briefe and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590) serves as a good example of early modern English ideas of the New World's relationship to the Garden of Eden. Another good example of a description rendering the New World as an earthly paradise is found in a poem written by Richard Bingham and prefixed to George Peckham's *A True Reporte, of the Late Discoveries, and Possession, Taken in the Right of the Crowne of Englande, of the New-Found Landes: by That Valiaunt and Worthye Gentleman, Sir Humfrey Gilbert Knight* (1583): "The soile is subiect to a milder skye./ And by prooffe, of many recordes tride:/The Paradise, of all the world beside" (n. pag.). Since the New World was seen as an abundant paradise where nature provided untold plenty, Phaedria's tempting song suggests the New World. In particular, when Phaedria sings of nature's "fruitfull lap," she echoes Spenser's description of "fruitfullest Virginia" (II.pr.2). Phaedria, with her sirenic song of New World abundance and her sexual enticement, makes an easy prey of Cymochles. As Spenser shows Cymochles succumb to Phaedria's wanton allure and her song of New World abundance, he exposes an example of a failed Ulysses. Considering the context of the siren mythography built around the Ulyssean reader, Cymochles represents a reader who is unable to enjoy the pleasures of poetry without succumbing to their sensual enticement. In a sense, Cymochles becomes a reader who believes in the Virginian fruitfulness described in Phaedria's sirenic song.

Phaedria's easy enticement of Cymochles comes as little surprise since Cymochles, described as an "Adder lurking in the weeds" as he watches alluring maidens, has already been shown succumbing to pleasure in Acrasia's bower (II.v.34). Guyon, though, is also lured to Phaedria's island. Guyon, after finding himself at Phaedria's island instead of on the other side of the Idle Lake, says, "Ah Dame, perdy ye haue not doen me right,/ Thus to mislead mee, whiles I you obaid:/Me little needed from my right way to haue straid" (II.vi.22). Guyon's statement shows both his displeasure with Phaedria's dallying deceptions and his complicity in enduring them. Guyon reveals his decision to "obey" Phaedria instead of following the advice of his wise companion the Palmer whom he was forced to leave behind at Phaedria's bidding (II.vi.19). In response to Guyon's anger, Phaedria replies:

Who fares on sea, may not command his way,
Ne wind and weather at his pleasure call:
The sea is wide, and easy for to stray;
But here a while ye may in safety rest,
Till season serue new passage to assay;
Better safe port, then be in seas distrest. (II.vi.23)

Phaedria's response to Guyon seems quite convincing as it places the blame for a mistaken port on the whim of uncontrollable nature. By focusing on the nautical nature of Guyon's journey to the island, Phaedria's argument suggests the trope of Ulysses' encounter with the sirens in terms of its New World context.

Phaedria's placation privileges the ability of nature over the ability of civilized man, and in so doing leads to another description of an abundant land at the end of a long sea journey as Guyon disembarks:

But he halfe discontent, mote nathelesse

Himselfe appease, and issewd forth on shore:
The ioyes whereof, and happy fruitfulnesse,
Such as he saw, she gan him lay before,
And all though pleasaunt, yet she made much more:
The fields did laugh, the flowers did freshly spring,
The trees did bud, and early blossoms bore,
And all the quire of birds did sweetly sing,
And told that gardins pleasures in their caroling. (II.vi.24)

Phaedria's response to Guyon reiterates her song to Cymochles. It is a musical persuasion in which Phaedria is described as "striue[ing] to passe" the bird's "natiue musicke by her skilful art" (II.vi.25). Phaedria's song, describing the "happy fruitfulnesse" of her shore, echoes Spenser's earlier description of "fruitfullest Virginia," but Spenser emphasizes Phaedria's powers to enhance the natural abundance she describes since the "happy fruitfulness" she "made much more" (II.vi.24). Spenser describes Phaedria as a siren songstress able to use artifice to exaggerate the fruitfulness of New World locations like Virginia.

Guyon's encounter with the siren-like Phaedria is interrupted by the awakened Cymochles who challenges Guyon's military might. Both Cymochles and Phaedria imply that this skirmish is fought to claim Phaedria's love. As Cymochles rushes in to smite Guyon, he cries, "Thou recreaunt knight, and soone thy selfe prepaire/ To batteile, if thou meane her loue to gayn" (II.vi.28). Cymochles' battle cry in a sense forces Guyon's self defense to become his affirmation of desire for Phaedria. Similarly, Phaedria, in her efforts to forestall the warring knights cries out, "If ever loue of Lady did empierce/ Your yron brestes... /And sith for me yee fight, to me this grace/ Both yield, to stay your deadly stryfe a space" (II.vi.33). Like Cymochles' challenge, Phaedria's placation indicts Guyon by implying his self defense against Cymochles is in fact an

affirmation of his lust for the wantonly enticing Phaedria and her artificial songs of New World abundance. Eventually though, Guyon, unlike Cymochles, disentangles himself from Phaedria's island and her embraces (II.vi.38).

Since Guyon eludes both Phaedria and the failed Ulyssean reader Cymochles, he might be seen as an example of a successful Ulyssean reader. Guyon's reason and wariness after all, allows him to elude Phaedria's clutches, but this episode is terminated in an ambiguous manner. Before Guyon is ferried away from Phaedria's island, he does give in to her persuasions; he abandons his battle with Cymochles. Guyon withdraws from his fight with Cymochles at the urging of Phaedria's pleas and her sweet smiles (II.vi.33-36). Though Guyon is withdrawing from an irascible interaction with Cymochles, he might also be seen as withdrawing into an idle and slightly concupiscent stalemate with Cymochles the failed Ulyssean reader. Spenser comments on Phaedria's ability to persuade Guyon:

Yet at her speech their rages gan relent,
And calme the sea of their tempestuous spight,
Such power haue *pleasing wordes*: such is the might
Of courteous clemency in gentle hart. (II.vi.36, emphasis mine)

Guyon's state of irascibility is revealed here as he is described as being in a "rage" along with Cymochles. Ironically, Guyon is lead from his irascibility by the "courteous clemency" in Phaedria's "gentle hart." Up to this point, Phaedria has been revealed as anything but courteous and gentle. In fact, Phaedria has been described as "curteous seeming" (II.vi.26) and "wanton" (II.vi.6). Phaedria's ability to persuade is attributed to her "*pleasing wordes*." This revelation implicates Phaedria's siren-like power of song in terms of her status as the sirenic poet, especially as it calls attention to her pleasure in

feigning “merry tales” (II.vi.6), tales that falsely emphasize New World fruitfulness. By pointing out Phaedria’s role as a sirenic poet, Spenser puts his own poetry into suspicion; furthermore, since Spenser casts Phaedria as a sirenic poet that persuades her readers to believe in artificial promises of New World abundance, he focuses this suspicion on his descriptions of New World abundance.

Phaedria’s description of Virginian abundance is partially supported by the accounts of early English explorers. For instance Arthur Barlowe, returning from his 1584 exploration described Virginia with these words, “I think in all the world the like abundance is not to be found, and myself having seen those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be written” (qtd. in Wright and Fowler 219). Clearly, Barlowe’s description of Virginia hinges on its great abundance and seems to support Phaedria’s similarly fecund description. Since Raleigh, whose patronage brought Spenser to Queen Elizabeth’s attention, was heavily invested in planting the New World, it comes as little surprise that Spenser might choose to emphasize the positive accounts of Virginian abundance, but Spenser’s choice to echo reports of Virginian abundance through Phaedria, a sirenic mouthpiece associated with the siren-poet, suggests that these reports of abundance might constitute the flattery so commonly associated with sirens.

Spenser’s self-critical charge of flattery is supported by the reports from Raleigh’s Virginian expeditions. The first group of around 107 men that Raleigh’s expedition left on Roanoke in 1586-87 was led by Ralph Lane (Wright and Fowler 216). Ralph Lane’s account of his expedition describes the bounty of Virginia:

The Territorie and soyle of the Chesepians (being distant fifteen miles from the shoare) was for pleasantness of seate, for temperature of Climate, for fertilitie of soyle and for commoditie of the Sea, besides multitude of Beares (being an excellent good victual) with great woods of Sassafras, and Walnut trees, is not to be excelled by any whatsoever. (247)

This Virginian depiction fits with Barlowe's reports and Phaedria's descriptions, but Lane also details the fact that such abundance is imperfect as he and his men are unable to find their own sustenance and nearly starve during an inland river exploration: "But the hope of recovering more victual from the Savages made mee and my company as narrowly to escape starving in that discoverie before our return, as ever men did, that missed the same" (252). Lane also makes it clear that Virginian abundance is less than sufficient cause to warrant English settlement:

For that the discovery of a good [gold] Mine, by the goodnesse of God, or a passage to the South-sea, or some way to it, and nothing els can bring this Countrey in request to be inhabited by our nation. And with the discovery of either of the two above shewed, it will bee the most sweete and healthfullest climate, and therewithal the most fertile soyle (being manured) in the world: and then will Sassafras, and many other rotes and gummes there found make good merchandise and lading for shipping, which otherwise of themselves will not be worth the fetching (257).

Lane's account implies that the real abundance is the potential for gold or a route to India and only these discoveries might fulfill Virginia's promise of abundance. Lane even points out that Virginian soil would require fertilizing to improve its fruitfulness. After suffering through a difficult winter, Lane's force abandoned Roanoke aboard Drake's fleet (Wright and Fowler 216-217).

Lane's expedition was the beginning of several failed attempts to establish an English settlement in Virginia. Lane's resupply ship, under Sir Richard Grenville's command, found a deserted settlement and left a "token" group of fifteen men behind

who disappeared (Wright and Fowler 217). In 1587, Raleigh sponsored a group of around 150 planters, including women and children, to settle Virginia under governor John White, but like the fifteen men left by Grenville, these 150 planters, having sent their governor back to England pleading for more supplies and equipment, also disappeared (Wright and Fowler 217-218). Raleigh's expeditions to "fruitfullest Virginia" all ended in terrible failures, and the reports of these expeditions imply that the idea of Virginia's abundance was founded more on the empty potential for monetary gain promised by gold mines and trade routes than on the fertility of its soil. The truth about Virginia, that it was a land where settlers might starve and frequently disappeared, turns Spenser's description of "fruitfullest Virginia" into sirenic flattery that serves to falsely extol the success of Raleigh's New World endeavors.

A Virgin Queen's Artificial Abundance

When Spenser uses the sirenic Phaedria's voice to illustrate New World abundance, he indicts his own description of Virginia's fruitful nature and his flattery of Raleigh. Spenser's poem, however, also uses the trope of Virginian abundance as a way to praise Elizabeth. As Spenser's description of "fruitfullest Virginia" flatters Raleigh, it does so in a fashion that depends on describing Elizabeth and her reign as abundant.³⁴ Spenser's metaphorical description of his poem as a mirror reflecting Elizabeth can be read as criticizing her vanity. In part, Spenser's criticism of Elizabeth's vanity might rest on her willingness to promote the idea of her own virginal abundance. As Spenser reveals his flattery of Raleigh by questioning the fruitful nature of Virginia, he also

exposes tensions related to Elizabeth's failed fertility. Virginia is less than fruitful and its namesake, Elizabeth, shares this flaw. Spenser encourages his description of "fruitfullest Virginia" to be read as sirenic flattery of Raleigh's New World successes and this reading simultaneously exposes his sirenic flattery of Elizabeth's abundance.

Elizabeth's succession was an important problem that plagued her reign and one of its most essential aspects was Elizabeth's refusal to marry or name an heir. Carol Levine expresses this idea clearly: "From the beginning of her reign, Elizabeth's Council and Parliaments beseeched her to marry. They were eager for Elizabeth to have a son and settle the succession, and many of them found the idea of an unmarried woman ruling unnatural" (18). Elizabeth certainly had many suitors during her reign: Philip II, Erik XIV of Sweden, the archdukes Ferdinand and Charles of Austria, Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, Henri duc d'Anjou, and François duc d'Alençon (Collinson). Even as late as 1582, Elizabeth still had some positive sentiment for a match with Alençon, despite their difference in age and his Catholicism, but Elizabeth's privy council opposed the marriage (Collinson).

Spenser was directly involved in shaping opinion about Elizabeth's potential marriage to Alençon. In both *The Shepheardes Calender* and *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, Spenser criticized the proposed match between Elizabeth and Alençon because of his Roman Catholicism.³⁵ Despite Spenser's religiously motivated criticism of Elizabeth's match with Alençon, he seems to have belonged to a camp that hoped Elizabeth would marry and produce an heir. John King notes that as Spenser criticizes the Alençon match, he aligns himself with Sir Philip Sidney's oppositional letter, but King also points out

that such an alignment never questions “the desirability of marriage as such” and assumes that “Elizabeth will marry and bear children” (49). King illustrates Spenser’s carefully placed consideration of Elizabeth’s virginal status in *The Shepheardes Calendar*:

The “April” eclogue enhances the queen’s standing as an eligible woman at virtually the last moment when she is still remotely capable of marriage and child-bearing, on the one hand, but it praises her in a manner that may be understood as an appeal that she retain her unwedded state on the other hand. (55)

Spenser’s complicated representation of Elizabeth as a virgin queen in *The Shepheardes Calendar* suggests that Spenser creates a depiction of Elizabeth’s virginity that can be read as either urging procreation or perpetual virginity. King argues that this conflict can also be detected in *The Faerie Queen*: “Belphoebe personifies Elizabeth’s private capacity as a woman according to the ‘Letter to Raleigh.’ Her portrayal is problematic, however, because it tends to identify chastity with perpetual virginity, even though Spenser characteristically associates that virtue with the consummation of love in marriage” (64). Spenser’s portrayal of Elizabeth’s virginity seems to be plagued with uncertainty. In part, this uncertainty might stem from the fact that Elizabeth’s virginity precludes the possibility of producing a Tudor heir.

Considering, Alençon, the last potential candidate for Elizabeth’s marriage, Patrick Collinson writes, “As the biological clock ticked out of time, that was the end of matrimonial diplomacy.” By the time the first three books of *The Faerie Queen* were published in 1590, it seemed impossible that Elizabeth would ever marry. According to King, after the failure of her last marriage attempt “the patriotic cult of an unmarried virgin queen who would remain ever wedded to her nation took hold in officially

sponsored propaganda” (51). Christopher Haigh argues that Elizabeth promoted the idea of herself as not only a virgin, but a virgin mother: “Queen Elizabeth projected an image of herself as a loving virgin mother, devoted to the interests of her children, whose love was warmly reciprocated” (190). Though Elizabeth might have fostered an image of herself as a virgin mother,³⁶ her motherhood was clearly figurative. By 1590, a 57-year-old Elizabeth could not be seen as having the potential to produce an heir of her own body, and she also refused to name an heir.³⁷ This state of affairs created a great deal of tension in the last decades of Elizabeth’s reign. Spenser’s New World praise of Elizabeth based on the idea of Virginian abundance reveals this tension in Book II of *The Faerie Queene*.

By praising Elizabeth with the trope of Virginia’s abundance in Book II, Spenser conversely points out Elizabeth’s lost fertility and her inability to provide an heir for England’s orderly succession. Spenser’s “fruitfullest Virginia” shows Elizabeth’s reign to be anything but fertile. The opposing terms “fruitfull” and “virgin” come together in “fruitfullest Virginia,” a New World site exposing Spenser’s sirenic flattery. Spenser’s insistence on the abundance of Virginia can be read as praise of Elizabeth; however, as Spenser questions Virginia’s abundance by casting Phaedria as a sirenic poet that persuades her readers to believe in artificial promises of New World abundance, he also implicates the artificial promise of Elizabeth’s abundance. If Elizabeth’s namesake Virginia is simply masquerading as plentiful, then Spenser’s praise of Elizabeth’s abundance is dismantled. In effect, by using Phaedria’s sirenic voice to expose his descriptions of “fruitfullest Virginia” as sirenic flattery of Raleigh, Spenser also exposes

his praise of Elizabeth's abundance as flattery that praises her despite the fact that her virginity undermines the abundance of her reign by forecasting the abrupt end of her line. This abrupt end directly opposes Spenser's New World praise of Elizabeth's long line in the fictional genealogy he creates in canto x through *The Antiquitee of Faery Land*. Spenser links his expansive New World flattery of Raleigh and Elizabeth to his concerns about how his poem will be read by exposing the Ulyssean right reader Guyon to the excesses of a fictional text within a text-- *The Antiquitee of Faery Land* – that actively promotes Virginian abundance within the frame of Elizabeth's genealogy. Furthermore, by tacitly adopting the idea of a virgin queen wedded to her country as a way to reinforce her power, Elizabeth displays the sirenic vanity suggested by Spenser's poem/mirror metaphor because she encourages representations which depict her as fertile. By emphasizing Virginia as a means to praise both Raleigh and Elizabeth in Book II of *The Faerie Queene*, Spenser criticizes his own praise of his patrons. By locating his praise of Raleigh and ultimately Elizabeth in the New World, Spenser exposes it as sirenic flattery that has the potential to mislead his Ulyssean readers.

“Eden Selfe”: The Bower of Bliss and Virginia

I've argued that Spenser uses siren mythography and its entanglement with the New World to expose his flattery of Raleigh and Elizabeth, but his self-criticism becomes most apparent in the Bower of Bliss. Since the Bower of Bliss can be read as representing an artificially created sense of Virginian abundance, it clearly incriminates Spenser's flattery. The Bower of Bliss is the antipathy of temperance: it represents

excess. Since the bower's excess is paired with descriptions of plenty reminiscent of Virginia, it emphasizes the false, excessive promise of the Virginian abundance Spenser uses to praise Raleigh and Elizabeth.

Spenser's description of the Bower of Bliss as an Edenic landscape echoes Phaedria's sirenic rendering of nature's "fruitful lap" in canto vi and its Virginian associations. Spenser describes the Bower of Bliss in Edenic terms. He calls it "*Eden selfe*" and then provides the disclaimer "if ought with *Eden* mote compayre" (II.xii.52). As I've pointed out through my consideration of Phaedria's sirenic song (II.vi.15), one place that was often compared to Eden in Spenser's time was Virginia. For instance, Barlowe, in his account of a voyage to Virginia in 1584 claimed that the Virginians "live after the maner of the golden age." Barlowe's description of Virginians compares them to Adam and Eve in the garden of Eden. The Bower of Bliss echoes Virginia's comparison with Eden and also seems to contain direct links to early descriptions of Virginia. John Wall convincingly points out three specific similarities between Spenser's description of the Bower of Bliss and early descriptions of Virginia: moderate temperature, abundant grapes, and weak walls (11). All three of these similarities emphasize abundance. The moderate temperature allows a long growing season, the many grapes provide abundant wine, and the unfortified walls suggest security. Another similarity between descriptions of Virginia and the bower can be found in Barlowe's Virginian account. Barlowe describes his initial landfall in Virginia with these words, "The second of July, we found shole water, wher we smelt so sweet, and so strong a smell, as if we had bene in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kind of

odoriferous flowers.” Spenser describes the Bower of Bliss as “Mantled with greene,
and goodly beautifide/ with all the ornaments of *Floraes* pride” (II.xii.50). Later he
claims it “breathed forth sweet spirit and holesome smell” (II.xii.51). Spenser’s
descriptions of the bower’s flowers and their sweet smell follow Barlowe’s descriptions
of the sweet smells of Virginian flowers. As Spenser describes the Bower of Bliss, he
echoes both Phaedria’s sirenic rendering of Virginia in canto vi and actual accounts of
Virginia.

Spenser vividly paints a picture of the bower’s abundant edenic landscape in
stanzas 58 and 59 of canto xii. Within these stanzas Spenser imitates Tasso’s *Jerusalem
Delivered* as he describes Guyon’s perception of the Bower of Bliss:

There the most daintie Paradise on ground,
It selfe doth offer to his sober eye,
In which all pleasures plenteously abownd,
And none does others happinesse enuye:
The painted flowers, the trees vpshooting hye,
The dales for shade, the hills for breathing space,
The trembling grouse, the christall running by:
And that, which all faire works doth most aggrace,
The art, which all the wrought, appeared in no place.

One would haue thought, (so cunningly, the rude
And scorned partes were mingled with the fine,)
That nature had for wantonnesse ensued
Art, and that Art at nature did repine;
So striuing each th’other to vndermine,
Each did the others worke more beautify;
So diff’ring both in willes, agreed in fine:
So all agreed through sweete diuersity,
This Gardin to adorne with all variety. (II.xii.58-9)

In these two stanzas, Spenser describes a competition between art and nature that
resolves itself by creating a beautifully adorned garden. This competition might suggest

the interplay between actual descriptions of Virginia and Spenser's poetic privileging of "fruitfullest Virginia." While the Virginian abundance that Spenser emphasizes in Book II is certainly a part of Lane, DeBry, and Barlowe's Virginian accounts, these accounts also relate Virginia's imperfections. Lane's description includes potential starvation, DeBry's prelapsarian image of a new world Adam and Eve includes the siren-like serpent (See figure 4 in chapter 1), and Barlowe's account includes a "deadly and terrible warre" between neighboring tribes. As Spenser describes the "rude and scorned parts" of the bower and their "cunning" disguise, he suggests the Virginian imperfections that his poem, for the sake of flattery, omits.

Spenser's appropriation of Tasso might also be seen as an appropriation of Virginian accounts. Wall suggests that II.xii.58 follows both Lane and Barlowe's accounts of Roanoke (4). As Spenser describes Guyon's perception of the bower in II.xii.58, he incorporates both the art of Tasso, or poetry, and the accounts of Virginia's nature. In combination, these two mingle to create a perfectly adorned garden that Spenser's readers could conceivably imagine as the edenic "fruitfullest Virginia" that Spenser introduces in his proem, canto vi, and canto x. The Bower of Bliss, however, is clearly the site of intemperate excess. Just before Guyon enters the "Paradise on ground" he is confronted by the embodiment of Excess and rejects the wine, possibly a Virginian product, she presses through her fingers (II.xii.56-57). Guyon's rejection of Excess clearly illustrates the peril of the bower's excessive abundance. The peril of excessive abundance is foreshadowed by the Palmer's initial description of the bower's island as "The sacred soile, where all our perils grow" (II.xii.37). The Palmer's description of the

bower points out both its Edenic nature (it is “sacred soile”) and its evil (it is able to grow perils).

Since Spenser uses Virginian abundance as a way to praise Raleigh and Elizabeth, when he points out the excess created by his own artificial description of the Virginian Bower of Bliss, he reminds his reader to be wary of sirenic flattery. Only four stanzas separate the Palmer’s initial sighting of the bower’s shores (II.xii.37) and Guyon’s escape from the flattering mermaids (II.xii.34). I’ve argued that Spenser includes the mermaids at II.xii.30-34 as a way to create a warning about the potential sirenic New World flattery his own text includes for Elizabeth. By echoing Phaedria’s sirenic description of Virginia from canto vi within the Bower of Bliss immediately after providing a warning about New World flattery through the mermaids, Spenser criticizes his own artificially-created description of excessive abundance as sirenic flattery.

“In This Fayre Mirrhour”: Elizabeth and Her Sirenic Reflection

Spenser’s five Mermaids and Virginian Bower of Bliss remind his reader to be wary of *The Faerie Queene*’s flattery of Raleigh and Elizabeth; however, Spenser also seems to focus his self-criticism on his flattering praise of Elizabeth’s abundance. While Spenser’s dedication, proem for Book II, and canto x might all be read as praising Elizabeth’s fecundity by emphasizing the expanding potential of the abundance in “fruitfullest Virginia,” Book II’s ultimate villain, Acrasia, can be read as criticizing Elizabeth. Colin Burrow claims that Elizabeth’s “image is refracted and multiplied through the many female characters” in *The Faerie Queene* (101). One female character

that might refract Elizabeth is Acrasia. Acrasia can easily be understood to represent a sirenic figure, but through Spenser's "doubtfully construed" allegory, what he terms his "dark conceit" in his letter to Raleigh, she might also be understood to represent one of Elizabeth's reflections.

Spenser introduces the sirenic Acrasia with an outburst of song. As Guyon and the Palmer enter the Bower of Bliss, they hear "a most melodious sound" (II.xii.70). This melodious sound, composed by "Birdes, voices, instruments, winds, [and] waters" (II.xii.70), becomes the ambient music surrounding Acrasia. Spenser exposes Acrasia and her lover Verdant, accompanied by the melodious sound, in stanza 72:

There, whence that Musick seemed heard to bee,
Was the faire Witch her self now solacing,
With a new Louer, whom through sorcerie
And witchcraft, she from farre did thether bring:
There she had him now laid a slombering,
In seceret shade, after long wanton ioyes:
Whilst round about them pleasauntly did sing
Many faire Ladies, and lascivious boyes,
That ever mixt their song with light licentious toyes (II.xii.72)

This stanza shows that Acrasia has many of the sirens' qualities. Acrasia, surrounded by sweet music on an island abode, with "her snowy brest...bare to ready spoyle" (II.xii.78), has enticed a man to her island abode, lulled him to sleep, and taken part in "wanton ioyes" with him. Furthermore, as Greenblatt points out (182), Acrasia even seems to consume her lover in a cannibalistic fashion when "through his humid eyes" she "sucke[s] his spright" (II.xii.73). Acrasia also suggests the sirens' vanity since she is surrounded by a court consisting of Verdant, "faire Ladies," and "lascivious boyes" (II.xii. 72). Acrasia clearly displays the sirens' hallmarks.

Though Acrasia's sirenic nature is overt, her reflection of Elizabeth, due to the criticism it implies, may be more covert; nevertheless, several scholars have argued that Acrasia is associated with Elizabeth. For instance, Scott Wilson claims that there is "something in Acrasia's spotlessly erotic, alabaster realm of sexual liberty that recalls...the spotlessly erotic, alabaster-breasted monarch herself" (74). Louis Montrose argues that Acrasia and her bower allow Spenser to criticize Elizabeth's court: "In Acrasia and the 'Bower of blis'...Spenser is adopting a condemnatory perspective upon the culture of the late Elizabethan court and its presiding deity" (929). Both Wilson and Montrose imply that similarities between Acrasia and Elizabeth allow Acrasia to register as one of Elizabeth's reflections in *The Faerie Queene*. On the surface, Acrasia shares many of Elizabeth's traits. Both Acrasia and Elizabeth are female rulers of island realms; furthermore, they are both situated in the midst of an adulating court and are sought after by many male suitors.

One of the similarities between Acrasia and Elizabeth, as implied by Wilson's reference to Acrasia's "realm of sexual liberty," is their concupiscence. Acrasia's trail of lovers including Cymochles (II.v.26-38), Verdant (II.xii.72-80), and Gryll with all the other deformed beasts outside the bower (II.xii.81-86), might be seen as reflecting Elizabeth's many formal suitors and favorites. Though Elizabeth was often portrayed as a virgin Queen, she was also targeted by many rumors of sexual indiscretions. Christopher Haigh, considering Elizabeth's image as the Virgin Queen writes, "It was the virgin part of the image which proved most difficult to put over: partly because of general assumptions about the natural relationships of the sexes, and partly because of the

Queen's own conduct, it was for some years generally assumed she was Dudley's mistress" (190). Haigh also notes, "It was claimed in East Anglia and Kent that Leicester and Hatton were the Queen's lovers...and that the nymphomaniac Queen sometimes forced herself upon unwilling courtiers, and chopped off the heads of those who, like Norfolk, would not cooperate" (191). Even ignoring these rumors, the list of Elizabeth's formal suitors, including nine, is long.³⁸ Ruth Westheimer and Steven Kaplan argue that Elizabeth liked the attention from her many suitors: "As her numerous courtships indicate, she enjoyed 'playing the game' and having male suitors" (133). While some of the rumors of Elizabeth's indiscretions are more believable than others, and there are certainly many political reasons for Elizabeth's several formal suitors,³⁹ the rumors and many suitors both work to suggest that Elizabeth's subjects could interpret her unmarried status as a sign of wanton and concupiscent behavior. Elizabeth's rumored concupiscence helps support the idea that Acrasia serves as one of Elizabeth's reflections in *The Faerie Queen*.

In addition to the links between Acrasia and Elizabeth based on their shared traits, Spenser also joins the two by describing their beauty with a similar trope. I've argued that in the direct address to Elizabeth in his proem, Spenser praises Elizabeth by creating a trope based on the ability to reveal beauty by presenting it indirectly as through a mirror's reflection or by covering it with a veil. Spenser uses similar tropes to describe Acrasia. In the proem, after asking Elizabeth to "behold thy face" "in this fayre mirrhour" Spenser asks for Elizabeth's pardon for covering her beauty:

O pardon me this to enfold
In couert vele and wrap in shadowes light,

That feeble eyes your glory may behold
Which ells could not endure those beames bright (II.pr.5)

Spenser uses tropes that borrow some of the same language to describe Acrasia. Spenser also describes Acrasia as covered with a veile: “All in a veile of silke and siluer thin,/ that hid no whit her alablaster skin,/ But rather shewd more white, if more might bee”

(II.xii.77). As Spenser describes both Elizabeth and Acrasia, he suggests that their veils actually serve to reveal their beauty. Spenser’s descriptions of both Elizabeth and Acrasia work through a trope that implies covering the brightness of their beauty serves to make it more visible. Spenser also describes Acrasia’s reflection:

And her faire eyes sweet smyling in delight,
Moystened their fierie beames, with which she thrild
Fraile harts, yet quenched not; like starry light
Which sparkling on the silent waues, does seem more bright. (II.xii.78)

Acrasia’s reflection on a still ocean allows “fraile” viewers to see her “fierie beames” shining even “more bright.” This language seems to reflect Spenser’s description of Elizabeth in his “fayre mirrhour” which allows “feeble” viewers to see her “beames bright.” Spenser’s description of both Elizabeth and Acrasia depends on covering and reflecting beauty in a fashion that reveals it. Through this shared trope, Spenser shows that both Elizabeth and Acrasia are reflections. Spenser’s metaphorical language supports the concept that Acrasia serves as one of Elizabeth’s reflections.

By serving as one potential reflection of Elizabeth, Acrasia allows Spenser to criticize Elizabeth while also praising her. Though Elizabeth’s reflection seen in Acrasia presents a critically harsh portrait of Elizabeth as a concupiscent siren-like figure, this portrait is not the only image of Elizabeth presented in *The Faerie Queen*. For instance,

Elizabeth and other readers might choose to see only Spenser's direct addresses to "O fairest Princesse vnder sky" (II.pr.4) or his Tanaquill (II.x.76) as representing Elizabeth. In a sense, Spenser puts his fear of being misread to use. The several readings that his poem allows can include praise for Elizabeth's abundance on one hand, and an equally severe criticism of her rumored concupiscence on the other. Both potentials exist simultaneously. Their simultaneous existence allows Spenser to escape from Elizabeth's potentially deadly wrath. Montrose, illustrating the danger of "unsolicited council" directed towards Elizabeth, cites an example of how John Stubbs's right hand was chopped off with a cleaver as punishment for criticizing Elizabeth's proposed marriage to Alençon (912). In part, Spenser's use of Acrasia as a reflection of Elizabeth might excuse his own fears that his poem could be read as sirenic flattery; however, Spenser's favor with Elizabeth suggests that the potential for his poem to be misread as presenting Elizabeth positively must have outweighed its potential to be seen as criticizing Elizabeth, since in 1591, after the first three books of *The Faerie Queene* were published, Elizabeth granted Spenser a £50 annual pension (Hamilton Chronological Table xv). Furthermore, one of the ways that Spenser creates a connection between Elizabeth and Acrasia is through their shared trope of reflected beauty. While Acrasia might not be a flattering reflection of Elizabeth, Spenser still suggests Acrasia's beauty can be enhanced through reflection since her "beames" are made "more bright" in their reflection. It seems that even as he provides a potential criticism of Elizabeth through Acrasia, Spenser's metaphorical language indicts the potential sirenic flattery of his poem.

Acrasia's reflection of Elizabeth suggests Elizabeth's sirenic attributes. For Spenser, Elizabeth's sirenic vanity encouraged his own appropriation of sirenic flattery.

“Virgin Bowre”: Acrasia's Not a Girl, But Gryll Will Be Gryll

As Spenser exposes the false nature of his praise for Elizabeth's Virginian abundance, Elizabeth's barrenness becomes a central concern of the poem. Since Acrasia can register as one of Elizabeth's reflections in *The Faeries Queene*, Acrasia's age, coupled with her wanton behavior, becomes an important comment on the tensions surrounding Elizabeth's inability to provide an heir to the throne. Through the rose song, Spenser breaks down his implication of Elizabeth's New World abundance and the way it stands in for her ability to provide an heir to the English throne.

As Spenser praises Elizabeth by pointing to the abundance of her imperial expansion into “fruitfullest Virginia,” he creates the idea that the fruitful nature of Virginia somehow serves as a replacement for Elizabeth's personal fertility. This elision is most apparent in canto x through the fictional text-within-a-text *The Antiquitee of Faery Land*. Spenser describes *The Antiquitee of Faery Land* as a text that “ne yet has ended” (II.x.70). Since *The Antiquitee of Faery Land* is a description of Elizabeth's lineage, the idea that the text has yet to conclude implies that Elizabeth's line continues into the poem's present and future. Furthermore, the expansiveness of Elizabeth's continuing lineage is linked to English expansion into America since her forefather Elfin's rule included “all that now *America* men call” (II.x.72). As Spenser illustrates Elizabeth's ever expanding lineage by detailing the huge realm, including America, it has

subdued, Spenser associates Elizabeth's continuing lineage, her potential to produce an heir, with imperial expansion in America. Such an association shows the way Elizabeth's dominion over "fruitfullest Virginia" serves as a figurative sign of her fertility.

While several aspects of Book II clearly praise Elizabeth's potential fertility through the trope of Virginian abundance, Spenser's exposure of Virginian abundance as flattery and his critical reflection of Elizabeth in Acrasia make this trope suspect. As Spenser describes Acrasia with her lover Verdant, it becomes clear that he emphasizes Verdant's youth. Spenser calls Verdant a "young man" and describes him as an adolescent just beginning to grow a beard: "on his tender lips the downy heare/ Did now but freshly spring" (II.xii.79). Verdant's youthfulness serves to imply Acrasia's age. While Verdant is young, the omission of any such youthful description of Acrasia might mark her as old.

Spenser's omission of terms that display Acrasia's youth is also emphasized by her contrast with the two virgin damsels that first tempt Guyon as he enters the bower. Acrasia and the damsels are linked together because both Acrasia and the damsels are described through the metaphor of covering beauty to reveal it. Guyon sees the two damsels' "snowy limbs" through the "vele" of the fountain's water (II.xii.64) and in his first vision of Acrasia, she is covered "All in a vele of silke and siluer thin,/ That hid no whit her Alablaster skin" (II.xii.77). The similarity between how the two naked damsels and Acrasia are described serves to reveal their difference. The damsels are named with a word that denotes youth: damsel. In contrast, Acrasia has no such youthful epithet and

is instead associated with the deformity of a maiden transformed into a spider through her links to Arachne (II.xii.77).

Spenser's juxtaposition of Acrasia and the two damsels places their contrasting youth and age on either side of a song that reveals the perils of advancing age. The ambient music that pervades Acrasia's bower includes the rose song, a "louely lay":

Ah see, who so fayre thing doest faine to see,
In springing flower the image of thy day;
Ah see the Virgin Rose, how sweetly shee
Doth first peepe foorth with bashfull modestee,
That fairer seemes, the less ye see her may;
Lo see soone after, how more bold and free
Her bared bosome she doth broad display;
Lo see soone after, how she fades, and falls away.

So passeth, in the passing of a day,
Of mortall life the leafe, the bud, the flower,
Ne more doth florish after first decay,
That earst was sought to deck both bed and bowre,
Of many a Lady', and many a Paramowre:
Gather therefore the Rose, whilst yet is prime,
For soone comes age, that will her pride deflower:
Gather the Rose of loue, whilst yet is time,
Whilst louing thou mayest loued be with equall crime. (II.xii.74-75)

The rose song, while presenting the *carpe diem* theme to Acrasia's lovers, includes a warning that might be read as a direct criticism of Elizabeth's barrenness: "For soone comes age, that will her pride deflower." The rose song's Virgin Rose clearly echoes one of the two damsels since the Virgin Rose, "Doth first peepe foorth with bashfull modestee" just as one of the damsels is at first "Abasht, that her a straunger did auisse" (II.xii.66). Likewise, the rose song also forecasts Acrasia's association with roses since she lies atop "a bed of Roses" (II.xii.77). Acrasia, in contrast to the Virgin Rose, isn't herself a virginal flower, instead, she attempts to claim the roses' vitality as she reclines

on top of their blooms. This pose is reminiscent of Acrasia's position "right ouer" Verdant as she "did sucke his spright" (II.xii.73). In both cases, Acrasia seems to be appropriating the vitality of youth. As the rose song serves as a fulcrum between the two damsel's youth and Acrasia's age, it suggests Acrasia has been "deflowered" but is far past her "prime" and is perhaps incapable of bearing children.

The aged Acrasia's concupiscence precludes the possibility of her motherhood. Acrasia transforms her many lovers, like Gryll, into beasts incapable of fathering human children. The Palmer, Spenser's voice of reason, explains Gryll and his beastly companions to Guyon with these words: "These seeming beasts are men indeed,/ Whom this Enchauntresse hath transformed thus,/ Whylome her louers, which her lustes did feed,/ Now turned into figures hideous" (II.xii.85). Acrasia's transformation of her lovers suggests her own beastly aspect as a siren. As a siren, Acrasia's fishy nether parts, her tail, reveals her barrenness. Rachewiltz, through a rhetorical question, illustrates how the double-tailed mermaid represents bareness: "The brazen baring of a non-existent womb—what better image for the deceiving and 'barren' lures of the flesh?" (95) Through the rose song, Spenser contrasts the fertile potential of youth that "yet is prime" to the barren reality of Acrasia's aged and sirenic reflection of Elizabeth.

Besides pointing out Acrasia's age and sirenic barrenness, the rose song also suggests Spenser's depiction of Elizabeth in *The Shepherds Calendar*. In the April eclogue, Spenser describes Elizabeth as "The Flower of Virgins" (line 28). Considering this description, Susan Doran argues that Spenser follows Thomas Churchyards' 1578 *Norwich Entertainments* and uses "imagery associated with the Virgin Mary" (171).

The Virgin Rose from the rose song closely resembles Spenser's description of Elizabeth as "The flower of Virgins." An Elizabeth associated with the Virgin Mary includes the potential for bearing an heir since the Virgin Mary's virginity still results in the birth of Jesus. Spenser's reflection of Elizabeth in the wanton and decidedly "deflowered" Acrasia, as it contrasts with the Virgin Rose and her echoes of "The flower of Virgins," displays Elizabeth's advanced age and her rumored wantonness as obstacles to her figurative virginal fertility. Such obstacles reveal the tensions surrounding Elizabeth's inability to provide an heir.

The rose song also serves to remind Spenser's reader of his artificial description of an idealized Edenic New World since it echoes Phaedria's sirenic song of the New World's fruitfulness at II.vi.15-17. As I've argued, this song stresses the plenty provided by nature's "fruitfull lap" (II.vi.15) and echoes the positive aspects of "fruitfullest Virginia." In addition to serving as a sirenic song of New World plenty, this song, like the rose song, also presents the *carpe diem* theme since Phaedria asks her listener to "present pleasures chuse" (II.vi.17); furthermore, both Phaedria's song and the rose song mingle natural sounds with artificial music. Phaedria proclaims that "Trees, braunches, birds, and songs were framed fit" (II.vi.13). As the rose song is sung, it is part of the bower's mingled music which consists of "Birdes, voices, instruments, windes, and waters" all "consorted in one harmonie" (II.xii.70). The *carpe diem* theme along with the combination of nature and art creates a relationship between the two songs that reminds Spenser's reader of the false and flattering nature of his Virginian praise of Elizabeth. By presenting Acrasia as a reflection of Elizabeth, and contrasting her to the

Virgin Rose in the rose song, Spenser allows a reading of Book II that completely undermines his flattering praise of Elizabeth's abundance. Acrasia's reflection in her Virginian bower reveals the empty promise of "fruitfullest Virginia" both as it exaggerates New World plenty and as it figuratively promises Elizabeth's ability to provide an heir to the throne.

Through Acrasia and her interactions with the rose song, Spenser provides his Ulyssean reader with the ability to understand Book II of *The Faerie Queene* as sirenic flattery. This might explain Guyon's seemingly excessive destruction of the Bower of Bliss. Guyon's "pittillesse" destruction of Acrasia's "pleasaunt bowers and Pallace braue" might be understood as the Ulyssean right reader destroying the flattery of Elizabeth revealed in the Virginian bower. Just before Guyon and the Palmer hear the pivotal rose song, the device which helps bring the related strands of Spenser's flattery together, Spenser reminds his reader of Guyon's role as the Ulyssean reader, a role reprised from canto x when he reads *The Antiquitee of Faery Land*, a text that "beguyld...with delight of nouelties" (II.x.77). As Guyon and the Palmer first hear the natural noises that accompany the rose song they are described as struggling to understand the music they hear: "Right hard it was, for wight, which did it heare,/To read, what manner musicke that mote bee" (II.xii.70, emphasis mine). While the word "read" certainly means "to discern" in this context, it also retains its more literal meaning: "to read a text." Just as Guyon hears the rose song, Spenser uses a term reminiscent of Guyon's status as the Ulyssean right reader. One reading of Guyon's

destruction of the bower might be based on Guyon's status as a reader who is capable of rightly apprehending and dismissing Spenser's Virginian flattery of Elizabeth.

Though Guyon's destruction of the bower might represent the Ulyssean reader's successful navigation of the sirenic perils in Spenser's poem, Spenser remains self-critical. After the bower is destroyed and Spenser has undermined his flattery of Elizabeth, he presents a reader who is unable to see his criticism of Elizabeth's vain barrenness: Gryll. Even after the bower has been destroyed, Gryll refuses to see Acrasia's flaws. Gryll is full of "wrath" because Acrasia is held captive (II.xii.86). Though the Palmer releases Gryll from his hoggish form (II.xii.86), Gryll persists in his devotion to Acrasia and chooses to "lacke intelligence" (II.xii.87). As Hamilton notes, referring to Plutarch's *Gryllus* and Gelli's *Circe*, Gryll is one of Ulysses' companions (II.xii.86 note 7). As such, Gryll might be understood as an example of a reader incapable of countering poetry's ability to mislead. Gryll's continued fealty to Acrasia represents the idea that Spenser realizes some of his readers will be unable to understand his criticism of Elizabeth.

Spenser concludes Book II with the Palmer's reasonable words: "Let *Gryll* be *Gryll*, and have his hoggish minde;/ But let us hence depart, whilest wether serues and winde" (II.xii.87). The Palmer's words suggest that Spenser understands that some readers will "lacke intelligence" and see only his praise of Elizabeth and not his criticism. The Palmer's final sailing metaphor recalls Guyon's Ulyssean guise and projects the continued peril that faces the Ulyssean right reader. As Spenser closes Book II, he persists in his self-criticism by acknowledging the fact that the flattery his poem contains

can be misread as praise. Perhaps Spenser's continuous self-criticism represents his own temperance since he sees temperance as a reason-directed control of self.

Chapter 3

Samuel Daniel, Lady Margaret's Privateer, and a Prince: Silent Eloquence

Legend suggests that Elizabeth I appointed Samuel Daniel to be Spenser's successor as poet laureate in 1599 (Rees 89). Though such a post didn't officially exist, there can be little doubt that Daniel followed Spenser's footsteps in the 1590's as the Pembroke circle took him in and urged him to contribute to Sidney's legacy of creating an English literature to rival its continental counterparts. Spenser helped initiate Daniel to the Pembroke circle through critical encouragement in *Colin Clouts Come Home Again* (1594):

...there is a new shepheard late up sprong,
The which doth all afore him far surpasse;
Appearing well in that well tuned song,
Which late he sung unto a scornful lass.
Yet doth his trembling Muse but lowly flie,
As daring not too rashly mount on hight,
And doth her tender plumes as yet but trie
In loves soft laies and looser thoughts delight.
Than rouze thy feathers quickly, Daniell,
And to what course though please thy selfe advance:
But most, me seemes, thy accent will excell
In tragick plaints and passionate mischance. (qtd. in Daniel *Complete*
4:vii-viii)

Spenser's praise of Daniel in these lines is balanced with regret that Daniel's poetic skill has been spent on "loves soft lais" in his sonnet cycle *Delia* (1592) and his narrative poem *The Complaint of Rosamond* (1592). Daniel follows Spenser's advice to focus on "tragick plaints and passionate mischance" as he publishes *Cleopatra* and *The First Four Books of the Civil Wars* in 1594 and 1595.

While Daniel may have followed Spenser's advice, he seems to have had an even deeper suspicion of his poetry than Spenser's initial criticism warrants. Daniel displays his suspicion of poetry through metaphors that link the uncertainties of poetic expression with the ambiguities of sailing. Perhaps because of these metaphors, as well as the early modern moralization of Ulysses as the right reader, Daniel explores his uncertainties about poetry's moral value through the siren topos. The siren topos may also have appealed to Daniel because of its links to New World exploration, another strain of ideas that Daniel considered. Several of Daniel's important patrons, including Lady Margret, Countess of Cumberland and Henry, Prince of Wales had specific personal interests in New World exploration. In this chapter, I'll argue that Daniel uses the siren topos because it allows him to address his concerns about poetry's eloquence while simultaneously creating a poem, "Ulysses and the Syren," that pleases patrons with contrasting views of English exploration and expansion in the New World. I'll argue that "Ulysses and the Syren," through its eloquence, can be read as either encouraging England's imperialistic New World ambitions or displaying the destructive dangers of these ambitions. Ultimately, the poem's potentially contrasting readings reduce the poem to silence, and this silence reveals Daniel's concern with poetry's empty eloquence.

"A Language Fitting Lightness and Vanitie": Poetic Eloquence, Sirens, and the Sea

In his 1609 edition of *The Civil Wars*, Daniel reveals his suspicions about poetic eloquence in his epistle to Lady Mary, Countess of Pembroke. Considering his choice to use verse to convey history in *The Civil Wars* Daniel claims,

I have faithfully observed the Historie. Wherein, such as love this Harmony of words, may finde, that a Subject, of the greatest gravitie, will be aptly exprest: howsoever others (seeing in what sort Verse hath been idly abused) hold it but as a language fitting Lightnes and Vanitie.

For mine owne part, I am not so far in love with this forme of Writing (nor have I sworne Fealtie onely to Ryme) but that I may serve in any other state of Invention, with what weapon of vtterance I will: and so it may make good my minde, I care not. For, I see, Iudgement and Discretion (with whatsoever is worthy) carry their own Ornaments, and are grac't with their owne beauties; be they apparayled in what fashion they will. And because I finde the common tongue of the world is Prose: I purpose in that kinde to write the *Historie of England*. (Daniel *Complete* 4:8-9)

Daniel's description of poetry as a form that has "been idly abused" and possibly only fit for "Lightnes and Vanitie" acknowledges its potential weaknesses as a misleading language apt to trivial subjects; furthermore, Daniel's decision to write his *Historie of England* in prose suggests that he may partially share the negative perception of poetry he assigns to unnamed "others." Though Daniel claims he will use "what weapon of vtterance" he will, his move to prose seems to show his judgment of poetry finds it wanting. Daniel's reference to his "Fealtie onely to Ryme," points to his 1603 treatise *A Defense of Rhyme*. Within *A Defense of Rhyme*, Daniel champions rhyme against Thomas Campion's disparagement in his *Observations in the Art of English Poesy*. In his treatise, Campion supports a classical model of meter that relegates rhyme as a barbarous throwback to medieval practices.

Daniel's *A Defense of Rhyme* ostensibly shows the value of rhymed poetry, but the work also seems to express Daniel's apprehension about the power of poetry's eloquence. In the opening passage of his defense, Daniel signals his apprehension by pointing out two of his own flaws: "irresolution and a self-distrust be the most apparent

faults of my nature” (Daniel *Selected* 199). While defending rhymed poetry, Daniel concedes that he mistrusts his own art: “I am grown more resolved and before I sink, willing to examine what those powers of judgment are that must bear me down and beat me off from the station of my profession” (Daniel *Selected* 200). These claims show that Daniel feels his profession as a poet includes the possibility of disaster. Daniel clarifies one disaster that faces “the station of his profession” later in his defense as he writes,

It is matter that satisfies the judicial, appear it in what habit it will, all these pretended proportion as of words, howsoever placed, can be but words, and peradventure serve but to embroil our understanding. Whilst seeking to please our ear, we enthrall our judgment; to delight an exterior sense, we smooth up a weak confused sense, affecting sound to be unsound. (Daniel *Selected* 205)

In this passage, Daniel states quite clearly that the pleasing sounds of poetry serve to gloss over inaccurate and unclear meanings. He claims the pleasure poetry affords the reader’s exterior senses serve only to “enthrall judgment” or insidiously control reason. Barclay Green notes that through this passage Daniel suggests “misguided rhetorical ornamentation may even obfuscate what the poetry has to say” (142). Daniel criticizes poetry’s pleasant sounding eloquence at other points in his defense: “Eloquence and gay words are not the substance of wit; it is but the garnish of a nice time” (Daniel *Selected* 214). The mistrust of poetry’s eloquence displayed within a work dedicated to defend poetry reveals Daniel’s deep insecurities about his art.

As Joan Rees examines this strain of thought in Daniel’s *A Defense of Rhyme*, a strain of thought she terms a “latent ambiguity,” (87) she includes a quote from an anonymous *Times Literary Supplement* reviewer who claims that Daniel’s treatise on rhyme introduces “a philosophy that made poetry futile” (qtd. in Rees 86). While

Daniel's insecurities about poetry's eloquence as expressed in *A Defense of Rhyme* perhaps stop short of making poetry futile, Rees implies they reveal a pattern of thought that permeates Daniel's career. For instance, she claims, "A man may well feel his own inadequacy and yet have faith in his *métier* but Daniel is open to suspicions about both, and part at least of the impulse behind *Musophilus* and the *Defence of Ryme* is an attempt to establish the worthiness of the objects to which his efforts are directed" (66). Rees argues the 1611 dedication for *Musophilus* is another point in Daniel's career that reveals his inner tension over poetry (66). In this dedication, Daniel writes, "I have been oft constrained/ To reexamine this my course herein/ And question with my selfe what is contained/ Or what solidity there was within" (qtd. in Reese 66). Daniel's doubt about poetry as a vocation and the ability of poetry to convey solid ideas is striking because *Musophilus* like the *Defence of Rhyme* outwardly praises poetry. For instance, at one point in *Musophilus*, Daniel claims, "Those numbers wherewith heav'n and earth are moved/ Show...power in verse" (969-970). The poem's 1611 dedication seems to contrast with its overt praise of poetry. Again, in 1611, Daniel questions the ability of poetry to convey a clear message. This pattern of uncertainty towards poetry is found throughout Daniel's career and may account for his increasing preference for prose,⁴⁰ a preference that he attempts to explain away in his 1609 epistle to *The Civil Wars*. As Geoffery Hiller and Peter Groves put it, "Daniel was never able to allay this fear of Eloquence's power to 'draw, divert, dispose, and fashion' for evil as well as good" (Daniel *Selected* 8).

Daniel's doubts about poetry's eloquence are often termed in metaphors that equate writing poetry to sailing a ship. For instance, the passage from the opening of *A Defense of Rhyme* mentioned above, "I am grown more resolved and before I sink, willing to examine what those powers of judgment are that must bear me down and beat me off from the station of my profession" (Daniel *Selected* 200,) which shows Daniel's acknowledgment that writing poetry can result in disaster, depends on a metaphor that represents Daniel's poetry as a ship beaten off course and sinking beneath the waves. Such metaphors can be found throughout *A Defense of Rhyme*. At another point, as Daniel argues that rhyme is valuable because it is part of an existing English poetic tradition, he claims, "We shall never proceed if we be ever beginning, nor arrive at any certain port, sailing with all winds that blow" (Daniel *Selected* 215). This metaphor compares progress in poetry to a ship that finds a safe port and a lack of progress in poetry to a ship that sails in whatever direction the prevailing winds take it. Daniel's sailing metaphors frequently reveal poetry's potential flaws.

Daniel's use of sailing metaphors to show poetry's flaws takes on a troubling aspect when he links the poet's eloquence to the siren's alluring song. For instance, in the second printing of *Delia* (1592), the speaker in Daniel's twenty-seventh sonnet asks Delia, "Why should's't thou stop thine ears now to my cries," (Daniel *Selected* 27.5). As the poet speaker pleads with Delia to acknowledge his love, he reveals himself as a siren by referring to the myth of Ulysses and the sirens. Though, as Harry Vredeveld reveals, the topos of this myth during the Middle Ages and the early modern period confuses just who is stopping their ears with wax, Ulysses, his crew, or both; the phrase "stop thine

ears” plainly echoes Ulysses’ encounter with the sirens (846-882). In Daniel’s context, it is essential to understand that the poet speaker’s “cries” are the sonnets he addresses to Delia. These sonnets are certainly eloquent poetry that depends on the beauty of sound to gloss over highly rhetorical and enticing pleas that serve to confound the object of the speaker’s love and entice her to an amorous liaison. In *Delia*, Daniel seems to connect the poet’s eloquence, an eloquence he finds problematic throughout his career, to the empty promises of the siren’s song.

Daniel makes an even clearer comparison between the eloquence of poetry and sirens in *The Complaint of Rosamund* (1592). In this semi-historical narrative poem, Daniel relates Rosamond’s perspective on her affair with Henry II. Rosamond comes to Daniel as a ghost in the poem and hopes that her tale can “teach to others what [she] learned too late” (67). As Rosamond explains how she felt empowered by Henry II’s attraction to her beauty, she makes the following exclamation:

Ah, beauty, siren, fair enchanting good!
Sweet silent rhetoric of persuading eyes!
Dumb eloquence, whose power doth move the blood
More than the words or wisdom of the wise!
Still Harmony, whose diapason lies
Within a brow, the key which passions move
To ravish sense and play a world in love! (120-126)

In her passionate exclamation, Rosamond repeatedly juxtaposes terms that equate sirenic temptation with the eloquence of poetry. Rosamond’s apposition of “beauty” and “siren” suggests these two parallel entities have the same quality, the ability to use their “fairness” or attractiveness to “enchant” and overcome the moral quality of being “good.” Then, Rosamond catalogues several descriptions of attractiveness overcoming morality.

This catalogue repeatedly places words that can be associated with poetic eloquence against terms that suggest this eloquence conveys no tangible message: “Silent/Rhetoric, Dumb/Eloquence, Still/Harmony.”

Rosamond’s catalogue confirms Daniel’s concerns about poetry’s eloquent ability to gloss over a lack of what he terms “matter.” If “sweet rhetoric” is “silent,” it suggests a poem that uses rhetoric but contains no real meaning. Where eloquence is used to send empty messages, Daniel’s fear of the inherent “Lightnes and Vanitie ” of verse is confirmed and as he states in his *Defence of Rhyme* “sound becomes unsound.”

Rosamond’s exclamation makes Daniel’s fear explicit since within it “Dumb eloquence” has a greater effect than “the words of ... the wise” and leads to Rosamond’s fall from virtue. Through Rosamond’s complaint, Daniel connects the idea of poetry’s potentially corrupting eloquence with the corrupting eloquence of the sirens.

Daniel’s sustained mistrust of poetic eloquence seems to differentiate his use of the siren myth from Spenser’s. While Spenser expresses concerns about *The Faerie Queene*’s ability to mislead his readers, he still insists that his poem will help “fashion a gentleman or noble person in virtuous and gentle discipline” (714). This belief might explain why Spenser’s application of the siren myth in Book II of *The Faerie Queene* most consistently figures Guyon as a Ulyssean reader who struggles against sirenic, flattering, eloquent poetry, but who ultimately seems to overcome it. Though Spenser might acknowledge that not all readers will be successful, for instance readers like Gryll, Spenser’s poem still maintains an idea that poetry can be read in a fashion that helps its readers become virtuous; furthermore, the way in which Spenser self-critically exposes

his own siren-like flattery suggests that he sees the act of writing poetry as one that has the potential to help the poet become more virtuous.

In contrast to Spenser's use of the siren song myth, Daniel's use of the myth seems much more pessimistic. As Daniel uses sailing metaphors that compare writing with sailing, he suggests that the poet is a Ulyssean figure who must struggle in order to steer his poetry away from peril to avoid sinking and being blown off course. This idea implies that the poet must be a Ulyssean writer who steers his poem past siren-like dangers that might include such temptations as catering to the opinions of patrons. While Daniel alludes to the poet's Ulyssean struggles, he also suggests that eloquent poets are themselves sirens. In this configuration, Daniel uses the siren myth in a manner that creates a strenuous internal conflict within the poet. The poet, both a Ulyssean writer and a tempting siren, is continuously confronting his own tempting song. Daniel's focus on the poet's inner struggle might in one sense deemphasize the danger inherent to the reader, since it places the point of conflict within the poet, yet the poet's inner struggle might also suggest an increased peril to the Ulyssean reader. If the poet, actively involved in manipulating the sounds and sense of words struggles to distinguish the two, a reader, a much more passive participant in the poetic process, might have virtually no chance to combat poetry's siren-like nature. Based on Daniel's pessimistic use of the siren myth, a pessimism created through his frequent sailing metaphors comparing writing and sailing and his idea that the siren's song represents the empty, "matterless," application of poetic eloquence, it seems likely that his poem "Ulysses and the Siren" in part deals with Daniel's concerns about poetic eloquence.

“Th’ Yet Unformed Occident”: Daniel’s New World

Another strain of thought that appears periodically in Daniel’s work concerns New World exploration, plantation, and plunder. Taken as a whole, Daniel’s references to the New World suggest it is a barbarous place and, furthermore, that English involvement with the New World is misdirected and harmful. For instance, Daniel’s *Musophilus* (1599) shows the New World as barbarous:

Who, in time, knows whither we may vent
The treasure of our tongue, to what strange shores
This gain of our best glory shall be sent,
T’ enrich unknowing nations with our stores?
What worlds in th’ yet unformed Occident
May come refined with th’ accents that are ours? (947-952)

By emphasizing the idea that English poetry, “the treasure of our tongue,” will “enrich” “th’ yet unformed Occident,” Daniel suggests the barbarous nature of the New World. Since Daniel calls the Occident, the New World, “unformed,” he implies its state is something less than civilized. This is especially true since the civilized art of poetry is what will “refine” the New World. Daniel clearly labels the New World as a place containing “unknowing nations.” The implication is that the New World lacks sophisticated understanding. The metaphor of English poetry as treasure also serves to subtly criticize the New World since it calls into question the actual treasures retrieved from the New World. In a sense, Daniel belittles the value of the Occident’s silver, gold, and pearls by suggesting the power of poetry, a type of civilized treasure, to refine the New World’s barbarous tendencies.

Though Daniel suggests the New World might be improved, he clearly finds it to be in need of civilization. He also seems to create a more literal connection between the power of poetry's eloquence and sailing as he echoes his writing/sailing metaphor in reverse. In this passage from *Musophilus*, Daniel suggests eloquent poetry has a literal power to transform the landscape sailors encounter on their New World voyages. This seems to reverse the metaphor of writing as a voyage that can take a perilous course; the reversal results in the idea that writing can actually ensure a successful outcome to New World voyages. Through this strange opposition of Daniel's writing/sailing metaphor with his literal sense of the power eloquent poetry can assert to direct New World voyages to positive outcomes, Daniel reinforces a sense that eloquent poetry and New World voyages are opposite sides of the same coin. Daniel's link between the New World and eloquent poetry in *Musophilus*, however, emphasizes the New World's negative aspects.

Daniel's criticism of the New World is more overt in *A Panegyrike Congratulatory* (1603). He delivered this poem at Burleigh Harrington to James I, the new king of England, as James made his way to London. Daniel's poem praises James I but also includes some thinly veiled advice that partially deals with the New World. Cecil Seronsy points out that in *A Panegyrike Congratulatory*, "Daniel is reminding the king that there are other riches and dignities than material wealth" (113). Seronsy's remark is based partially on the thirty-fourth stanza from the poem:

When thou shalt see there is another grace
Then to be rich; another dignitie
Then money; other means for place
Then gold; wealth shall not make honestie

When thou shalt see the estimation base
Of that which most afflicts our miserie:
Without the which, else could'st thou never see
Our wayes laid right, nor men themselves to bee. (Daniel *Complete* 1:154)

Clearly, Seronsy's assessment of Daniel's advice to the king is accurate. Daniel goes as far as suggesting that material wealth "afflicts miserie." Seronsy also points out that in the next stanza Daniel continues, "By which improuement we shall gaine much more/ Than by Peru, or all discoueries" (Daniel *Complete* 1:154).⁴¹ In these lines, Daniel implicitly links the distortions of men's characters, distortions caused by wealth, to New World plunder and exploration. Seronsy points out that Daniel's reference to Peru's wealth resonates with Drake's seizure of Spanish treasure from Peru (113). While Seronsy focuses on Daniel's advice to James I in terms of Daniel's fears about wealth's negative impacts, Daniel's advice also seems to be explicitly about New World plunder. Daniel suggests that New World plunder causes men to lose their identities since he claims that a focus on wealth will keep James I from helping "men themselves to bee." *A Panegyrike Congratulatory* includes negative ideas about New World plunder and suggests that such plunder might have a harmful effect on England.

Another example of Daniel's negative presentation of the New World hinges on tobacco. Both Rees (113) and Seronsy (132) point out Daniel's tirade against tobacco use in *The Queen's Arcadia* (1605). Daniel includes the following passage about Tobacco:

(Produc'd in that contagious burning clime,
Contrarious to our nature, and our spirits)
Or else steep'd in the fuming sap, it selfe
Doth yeeld, t'inforce th'infecting power thereof;
And this in powder made, and fir'd, he suckes
Out of a little hollow instrument
Of calcinated clay, the smoake thereof:

Which either he conuays out of his nose,
Or downe into his stomacke with a whiffe. (lines 1122-1130)

In his description of tobacco production and use, Daniel disparages the climate it grows in as a “contagious burning clime,/ Contrarious to our nature.” Since tobacco was then newly introduced in Europe from the New World, Daniel’s claim that tobacco is grown in a place “contrarious to our nature, and our spirits” shows Daniel’s distrust of the New World. This distrust is solidified when Daniel explains the negative effects tobacco has on its users:

Sure the time’s to come when they looke backe
On this, will wonder with themselves to thinke
That men of sense could euer be so mad,
To sucke so grosse a vapour, that consumes
Their spirits, spends nature, dries vp memorie,
Corrupts the blood, and is a vanitie. (1158-1164)

In these lines, Daniel suggests that tobacco, a New World product, has negative effects that enervate its users. Daniel’s tirade against tobacco might be evidence of his distaste for the New World and its products. However, Daniel’s disparaging comments about tobacco, also echo James I’s distaste for this New World product. As Jeffrey Knapp notes, in 1603, at least 16,000 pounds of tobacco was imported into England and a year later, James issued his *Counter-blaste to To-bacco* which claimed tobacco was ruining England (134). Considering, James’s important influence as Daniel’s sovereign, and Daniel’s own fears of being unable to steer his poetry past tempting persuasions, such as those offered by appealing to a king’s opinion, it is difficult to know if Daniel’s poetry represents his own distaste for the New World and tobacco, or James’. It is clear, though, that Daniel at times creates a negative depiction of the New World in his poetry.

While *Musophilus, A Panegyrike Congratulatory*, and *The Queen's Arcadia* establish a negative trend in Daniel's representations of the New World that begins as early as 1599 and lasts at least another six years, another text attributed to Daniel, thought to be written later, is even more obviously opposed to English involvement in the New World. John Pitcher makes a convincing argument that the Brotherton Manuscript contains several formerly unknown works that can be attributed to Daniel. Among these works is a verse epistle addressed to Henry, Prince of Wales. Pitcher argues that this epistle is probably from 1610 and is connected to Prince Henry's investiture as Prince of Wales (25, 28). In this epistle, Daniel ask the prince to,

Consider whither all the good that came
From that new world to this, acquits the some
Of th' ill events, wich since hath by the same
Accrewd to theis our parts of Christendome
Or wherein wee are betted in our state
By that accession (lines 19-24)

These lines openly question whether English involvement in the New World is beneficial. The epistle raises a series of points that show the harmful effects the New World causes in England. In the epistle, Daniel criticizes the New World's "excessive vayne/ Of gould" for causing inflation (24-26) and draining England of manpower (29-30). He also suggests that natural boundaries, like the Atlantic Ocean, should not be transgressed (99-106). The epistle proposes that wealth would be much more easily attained by fishing closer to England's shores (122). The poem also touches on the dangers of military entanglements with other European powers in the New World (151-156). Daniel's poem clearly asks whether English involvement in the New World might lead to the nation's destruction: "If Indea may not vnto Christendome/ As Fatall be, as Asia was to Rome"

(37-38). As a whole, the epistle focuses on the negative impacts that stem from English exploration and plantation in the New World.

Daniel's epistle to Prince Henry also suggests that Daniel sees connections between New World dangers and misleading sirens. One of the dangers that Daniel outlines as a result of an attempt to steer England clear of the wars that New World raiding and plantation might cause is England's descent into an "vnactive peace" (179). This descent is brought about by a metaphorical seductress. Pitcher notes that this seductress, the "Sorceress" (197), facing Prince Henry, turns the Prince into a sort of Ulysses (209). Daniel describes the seductress with these words, "She letts her Armors rust, and shippes to rott/And makes mens worth and honor be forgot." (197-200). The seductress from Daniel's epistle to Prince Henry bears a striking resemblance to the Siren from Daniel's poem "Ulysses and the Syren." In "Ulysses and the Syren," the Siren tells Ulysses that, "This honor is a thing conceived,/ And rests on others' fame;/ Begotten only to molest/ Our Peace, and to beguile/ The best thing of our life, our rest" (19-22). Both the verse epistle to Prince Henry and "Ulysses and the Syren" contain a seductive female presence that destroys the importance of "manly" honor and urges a Ulyssean figure to a weakening inactivity that is disguised as peace. These similarities suggest that Daniel's representations of discontent with English involvement in the New World are closely tied in a metaphorical sense to Ulysses' encounter with the sirens; furthermore, this connection suggests that in part Daniel explores his concerns about the New World in "Ulysses and the Syren."

Considering Daniel's mistrust of poetic eloquence, his sometimes negative depictions of the New World, and the links he makes between his negative depictions of the New World and the siren's tempting song, I will argue that "Ulysses and the Syren" is a poem that focuses on the New World in a manner that allows Daniel to acknowledge his fear of eloquent poetry's power to present empty utterances. Daniel acknowledges this fear of eloquence by simultaneously appealing to two patrons, Prince Henry and Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, through "Ulysses and the Syren." Daniel uses eloquence to draw both patrons, patrons holding opposing views of the New World, into his poem. Through Daniel's eloquent poetry, either patron is able to interpret "Ulysses and the Syren" as supporting his or her view of the New World. By creating a poem that successfully uses eloquence to garner the favor of patrons with opposing viewpoints, Daniel acknowledges his poetry's ability to become a siren song, a poem that presents eloquence at the cost of matter.

"Ulysses and the Syren" as New World Poem

Daniel's "Ulysses and the Syren" has frequently been praised as one of his most successful poems. For instance, Rees claims that the poem "presents a beautifully controlled and supple lyric surface beneath which subtle thoughts and fine shades of meaning move and interweave" (175). A. E. Housman is even more emphatic in his praise of the poem. He claims, in "Diction and movement alike, it is perfect. It is made out of the most ordinary words, yet it is pure from the least alloy of prose; and however much nearer heaven the art of poetry may have mounted, it has never flown on a surer or

a lighter wing” (10-11). Seronsy calls the poem “one of the finest poems Daniel ever wrote” (118). While “Ulysses and the Syren” is frequently praised as an example of Daniel’s lyrical excellence, the poem is usually considered simply as a poem that represents a debate about the merits of an active versus a passive life.⁴² Though the poem certainly touches on this dichotomy, it seems to approach it through a New World lens that has been previously ignored. As I argued in chapter one, the myth of Ulysses and the sirens seems to have been frequently employed in accounts of New World exploration. This fact alone may not be enough to suggest that “Ulysses and the Syren” deals with the New World, but Daniel’s Epistle to Prince Henry in the Brotherton manuscript clearly links New World exploration to a sirenic seductress; furthermore, the poem itself seems to include oblique references to the New World. Daniel’s Siren presents the following argument to Ulysses, “Then pleasure likewise seems the shore,/ Whereto tends all your toil,/ Which you forgo to make it more,/ And perish oft the while” (33-36). In this argument, the Siren proposes that the shore, like Ulysses’ sea, provides pleasure, but she also points out that Ulysses undertakes all his “toil,” his voyaging, “to make it more.” This phrase is slippery because the pronoun “it” doesn’t have a clear antecedent. It seems reasonable to think that the antecedent might be “shore.” Through this reading, the Siren claims that Ulysses’ toil is undertaken for the sake of increasing the shore, or discovering and planting new lands.

In 1605, as “Ulysses and the Syren” is published, England is in the midst of a new phase of New World exploration. In March of 1605, a voyage sponsored by Thomas Arundell, Baron Arundell of Wardour, and Henry Wriothesley, set out to explore the

“North part of Virginia,” the New England coastal area. In the same year, James Rosier published an account of the voyage: *A True Relation of the Most Prosperous Voyage Made this Present Year 1605, by Captaine George Waymouth*. The context of a 1605 exploratory voyage to Virginia, one well publicized by Rosier’s account, suggests that Ulysses’ goal of discovering new shores is linked to the New World discoveries made by Waymouth and his crew. The Siren’s request that Ulysses join her on shore “in mirth” (7), “ease” (10) and “idle sport” (28), seems to echo Rosier’s descriptions of the enticement Waymouth’s crew felt to stay and enjoy the verdant shores they encountered. Rosier describes these shores as “a most rich neighbour” that is “verged with a greene bordure of grasse” (n. pag.). He continues claiming that these qualities make the shore “tender unto the beholder of her pleasant fertility.” Rosier then claims that the farther the crew went inland, “the more pleasing it was to every man, alluring us still with expectation of better.” Finally, Rosier describes the shore as “a land, whose pleasant fertility bewraieth it selfe to be the garden of nature, wherin she only intended to delight hir selfe” (n. pag.). Rosier’s account of pleasant fertility and the delight a female personification of nature promises seems akin to the Siren’s promises of mirth, ease, and idle sport in Daniel’s poem. The similarity is strengthened by Daniel’s description of Ulysses as a voyager intent on searching out new shores.

Daniel also seems to echo “Ulysses and the Syren” significantly in the verse epistle to Prince Henry in the Brotherton manuscript, an epistle focused on the dangers of the New World. For instance, Daniel’s epistle speaks of England’s shores as “what we did possess with ease” (62). This phrase seems to echo the Siren’s plea to Ulysses to

“possess these shores with me” (2) and Ulysses subsequent dismissal of “ease” (10). The epistle to Henry also asks the prince to consider whether it is better, “To reape the fruitfull harvest of a peace/ Then sow the tragicq miseries of war” (158-159). These lines, though aligning with the Siren’s perspective who criticizes Ulysses as a “warlike wight” (55), seem to echo Ulysses’ claim, “For oft we see a wicked peace/ To be well changed for war” (63-64). Most compellingly, the epistle includes the lines “What rich Treasurous state, hath not vndone/ The Conquerer, and wonne those, who hath wonne” (35-36). This seems to clearly rephrase the Siren’s concluding lines, “I must be won that cannot win,/ Yet lost were I not won;/For beauty hath created been/ T’ undo, or be undone” (69-72). The similar use of “undone” and the turn on the winner being won makes this last echo particularly strong. The manner in which Daniel’s verse epistle to Prince Henry in the Brotherton manuscript, an epistle that is focused almost exclusively on the New World, echoes “Ulysses and the Syren” suggests that Daniel’s ideas about the New World are expressed in these terms and that he had the New World in mind as he composed “Ulysses and the Syren.” The similar phraseology in the two texts, especially since the verse epistle includes a sirenic seductress similar to the Siren, creates the possibility of reading “Ulysses and the Syren” as a poem that is in part focused on the New World.

Daniel’s “Ulysses and the Siren” seems to take on a New World context through several avenues. The poem’s internal reference to claiming new shores, the connections with contemporaneous Virginian exploration, and the echoed phrases shared between

“Ulysses and the Syren” and the Brotherton verse epistle to Prince Henry all seem to support a reading of the poem that includes a New World foundation.

“Flatterie (the Dangerous Nurse of Vice)”

In the first book of his *The Civile Wars*, Daniel describes those working to gain Richard II’s favor in the thirty-first stanza:

And Courts were neuer barren yet of those
Which could with subtile traine, and apt advice,
Work on the Princes weaknesse, and dispose
Of feeble frailitie, easie to entice.
And such, no doubt, about this King arose,
Whose flatterie (the dangerous nurse of vice)
Got hand vpon his youth, to pleasurs bent:
Which, led by them, did others discontent. (Daniel *Complete* 2:23)

The dangers of court flattery Daniel describes besetting Richard II were dangers he also feared applied to Henry, Prince of Wales. *Philotas*, a play Daniel dedicated to the prince, was the center of Daniel’s *Certain Small Poems Lately Printed with the Tragedie of Philotas* (1605). This same volume also included “Ulysses and the Syren.” In the epistle to Prince Henry preceding *Philotas*, Daniel claims the play will serve as an example to the prince because it will reveal,

With what encounters greatest fortunes close,
What dangers, what attempts, what manifolde
Incumbrances ambition undergoes:
How hardly men digest felicitie;
How to th’intemperate, to the prodigall,
To wantonnesse, and vnto luxurie,
Many things want, but to ambition all.
And you shall finde the greatest enimie
That man can haue, is his prosperitie. (7-15)

Daniel's epistle to Prince Henry suggests that *Philotas* teaches a lesson about how men's ambitions become a lure to vice and that "prosperitie" creates its own destruction. Daniel makes the dangers to a ruler explicit when he explains that when "men disguise their ends" (16) then "Kings [are] not held in danger, though they are" (25). Within the play, Daniel includes a discussion of Philotas' "cunning straines/ Of sweet insinuation, that are vs'd/T'assure the eare of grace with False reports" (1093-1095). These sentiments present the idea that Daniel fears the danger to Prince Henry presented by the disguised ambitions of his subjects.

Daniel's fear of the danger posed to Henry by ambitious subjects is a complicated idea since Daniel himself was accused of supporting Essex's failed plot when *Philotas* was first performed in 1605 (Seronsy 53). After *Philotas* was performed before James I in 1605, Daniel was accused of creating a seditious commentary on behalf of Essex's cause. John Pitcher explains the charge against Daniel: "Daniel was immediately called before the privy council to answer the charge that his treatment of the subject—the downfall of Philotas, a favourite of Alexander the Great—was seditious comment on the trial and execution of Robert, earl of Essex, in 1601" (n. pag.). Daniel denied this charge, but a close reading of the play makes a conclusion about his guilt difficult.⁴³ After this charge, Daniel still dedicated *Philotas*, a play suspected of sedition, to Prince Henry. This dedication associates Henry with Essex's dangerous ambition to overthrow a reigning ruler and his role as the promoter of "aristocratic martial honour and defender of protestantism" (Hammer n. pag.). Furthermore, the second half of Daniel's epistle is clearly written with an eye to Daniel's own ambitions. Daniel expresses his ambitions to

gain royal favor when he hopes that Prince Henry “one day/ may grace this now neglected Harmonie” (62-63). Here, Daniel clearly hopes Prince Henry will become a royal force that offers support to poets. In a sense, *Philotas* serves as a warning to Prince Henry about the danger caused by those who would serve their own ambitions through deceitful flattery, but Daniel’s dedication to the prince is itself a kind of ambitious flattery, and the play, accused of supporting dangerously seditious ideas that oppose James I’s policies, might be potentially harmful to Henry.

While Daniel’s claims for the didactic aims of *Philotas* might alone attract Prince Henry’s attention and favor, the military and maritime subject included in the play is another aspect that might appeal to the prince. *Philotas* deals in part with Alexander’s conquest of Asia. At several points within the play, Daniel emphasizes the martial and maritime nature of Alexander’s conquest. In the play’s final act, the chorus describes Alexander’s conquest with these words: “What can giue bounds to Alexanders ends,/ Who counts the world but small...When shall we looke his travels will bee done,/ That ‘tends beyond the Ocean and the Sunne?” (1870-1875). This description emphasizes the huge expanse of both Alexander’s empire and his voyaging. In another passage, Philotas expounds on his soldier’s mentality and claims, “Sometimes to passe the Ocean we would faine,/ Sometimes to other worlds, and sometimes slacke/ And idle, with our conquests, entertaine/ A sullen humor of returning backe” (1620-1623). Like the choruses’ description of Alexander’s travels, Philotas’ musing highlights a maritime conquest, but it also hinges on the idea of voyaging “to other worlds.”

Prince Henry would certainly have been enticed by Daniel's inclusion of martial voyages to other worlds. From a young age, the prince displayed a keen interest in the sea and active martial pursuits. Roy Strong describes Prince Henry with these words, "From the outset he was a man of action, physically tough and an assiduous exponent of the martial arts" (13). Sir Charles Cornwallis made the following report about the prince: "In the 7. 8. 9. Yeares of his Age, leaving those childish and idle toyes, usuall to all of his yeares,...[he] began to delight in more active, and manly exercises, learning to Ride...Leape, shoot at Archery, and in Peeeces, to tosse his Pike, &c" (qtd. in Wilson 11). Besides these active martial pursuits, Prince Henry was extremely interested in the sea and ships. In 1604, the year before "Ulysses and the Syren" and *Philotas* were published, Charles Lord Howard of Effingham gave the ten-year-old Prince a small ship. Shortly after receiving this gift, the Prince and several important lords sailed the ship from the Tower to Paul's Wharf where Prince Henry named the ship the *Disdain* (Strong 57). Strong claims that the navy became one of Henry's "major obsessions" (57).

Prince Henry's obsession with the navy encompassed a strong interest in furthering English exploration and plantation in Virginia. After the English peace with Spain in 1604, the English were free to expand their interests in the New World. The exploration of Virginia undertaken by Waymouth in 1605 was a direct result of this change in English relations with Spain. Southampton, an important part of Prince's Henry's circle, was the compelling force behind the 1605 New World voyage (Strong 61). Clearly, Henry's close association with Southampton and others like Raleigh stirred Henry's interest in the New World. A 1606 voyage to the Chesapeake Bay resulted in

naming the Bay's southern promontory Cape Henry. In 1607, Prince Henry received a letter from Robert Tindall describing the voyage to Jamestown and its environs. In 1609, Sir Thomas Dale's expedition to Virginia resulted in the founding of a town he named Henrico (Strong 61). Prince Henry even proposed a plan to thwart the Spanish if a naval war broke out between England and Spain. The plan involved his own command of an English fleet in the West Indies. Henry claimed that he "himself (if so it should agree with his Majesty's pleasure) would in person become the executor of that noble attempt for the West Indies" (qtd. in Strong 72). After Prince Henry's untimely death, Lord Gray elaborates on the Prince's New World interests: "all actions profitable or honourable for the kingdom were fomented by him, witness the North West Passage, Virginia, Guiana, The Newfoundland, etc., to all which he gave his money as well as his good word" (qtd. in Strong 8). Prince Henry's interest in naval exploration, and especially New World exploration, which seems to have begun as early as 1604 with his ship the *Disdain*, suggests that Daniel's dedication of *Philotas*, a play including reference to naval conquest of foreign empires, was an aptly aimed suit for the Prince's favor.

The Prince's interests in naval exploration also seem to make him especially well-suited to receive a New World reading of "Ulysses and the Syren." Of the seven works included in *Certain Small Poems Lately Printed with the Tragedie of Philotas*, "Ulysses and the Syren" is positioned closest to *Philotas*; "Ulysses and the Syren" directly precedes the dedicatory epistle to Prince Henry that begins *Philotas*. This proximity creates a sense of continuity between the two works, and suggests that Daniel hoped Prince Henry would pay close attention to "Ulysses and the Syren" as well as *Philotas*,

and see the linking theme of maritime adventure the two works share. Considering Prince Henry's interest in martial maritime excursions to the New World, "Ulysses and the Syren" could easily take on a reading that promotes such excursions. Ulysses' role as a heroic military adventurer who scorns the Siren's temptations of idle ease on shore aligns perfectly with Prince Henry's ambitions to lead an anti-Spanish fleet in the West Indies. Ulysses' desire for "fame or honor" (9) despite the "danger" (14) it requires, an unnamed danger that lurks at sea, could easily be read as Ulysses' engagement of some foreign naval force. Ulysses' final words to the Siren reinforce the affinity between Ulysses' aims and Prince Henry's interests and ambitions:

But yet the state of things require
These motions of unrest,
And these great spirits of high desire
Seem born to turn them best;
To purge the mischief's that increase,
And all good order mar;
For oft we see a wicked peace
To be well changed for war. (57-64)

Ulysses' words are a retort to the Siren's disparagement of his "warlike" (55) nature. This retort rests on two main ideas. The first idea is that certain men are born, or have an inherited ability, to quell the world's unrest and alter the state of man's affairs. The second idea in Ulysses' rebuttal is that war is sometimes better than peace if the war restores "good order" and decreases wrongs or "mischiefs." These ideas fit with Prince Henry's inherited status as the future ruler of England. In particular, the ideas resonate with Henry's status as a symbol for what Strong terms "the old Elizabethan war party." This faction criticized James I's peace with Spain because, as Strong claims, it seemed James I "had abdicated his role as the leader of Protestant Europe" (72). It seems that

Henry enjoyed his role as the potential replacement for James I as the leader of Protestant Europe since he cultivated his own militaristic image to the point of claiming he would lead the English navy into combat against the Catholic Spanish in the West Indies. Henry could certainly empathize with Ulysses, a maritime hero voyaging in foreign seas willing to wage war to right wrongs. The suggestion that Ulysses might also be involved in discovery and plantation since he works, as the Siren claims, to “make it [the shore] more” (35) also resonates with Henry’s support of the Virginian exploration and plantation.

It seems clear, that Henry, or readers with his perspective, would want Ulysses to subdue the Siren’s attempts to thwart martial voyaging and plantation. “Ulysses and the Syren” can be read to allow Ulysses such a victory. In the final stanza of the poem, the Siren might be seen to admit defeat. She laments “Well, well, Ulysses, then I see/ I shall not have thee here” (65-66) and later admits she “cannot win” (68). A reader like Prince Henry, with a strong desire for English expansion in the New World, could easily read the Siren’s admissions of defeat as statements that make Ulysses’ victory clear. Ulysses’ victory over the Siren’s temptation allows him to carry his conquering voyage forward as he heroically claims new lands with his military prowess. Daniel’s poem easily allows such a reading, and this reading could certainly help Daniel’s aim of gleaning the Prince’s favor; however, as has been argued, it seems that Daniel’s poetry also expressed deep concerns about English entanglements in the New World. Importantly, one of Daniel’s concerns is the probability these entanglements would lead to conflict with other European nations. A reading of “Ulysses and the Syren” that sees Ulysses as overcoming

the Siren's temptation to continue his martial voyaging and plantation seems to be in direct opposition with a concern over New World conflicts with other European powers. In a sense, Daniel's poem becomes the false flattery that he warns the Prince against in *Philotas*. By creating a poem that can be read as favoring England's military New World expansion, Daniel appeals to the Prince's desires at the cost of concerns Daniel expressed elsewhere in his poetry. Daniel may thus gain the Prince's favor, but he does so by allowing the Prince to ignore potentially problematic aspects of England's New World expansion. Through this process, Daniel engages in the very flattery that he warns the Prince against in *Philotas* as he writes "Ulysses and the Syren."

Lady Margret, Countess of Cumberland: "This Great Afflicted Lady"

While it seems probable that Daniel hoped "Ulysses and the Syren" would attract Prince Henry's attention, it also seems likely that he hoped the poem would please Lady Margaret, Countess of Cumberland, one of his important patrons. Daniel's career shows several signs of Lady Margaret's patronage. Around 1599, Lady Margaret engaged Daniel to tutor her daughter, the Lady Anne Clifford (Rees 76). In 1603, Daniel published verse epistles for both Lady Margaret and her daughter which included high praise of the two women (Rees 81). In his epistle to Lady Margaret, Daniel describes her with these words: "This note, madame, of your worthiness/ Remaines recorded in so many hearts/ As time nor malice cannot wrong your right/ In th' inheritance of fame you must possess" (121-124). Daniel's mention of Lady Margaret's "worthiness" and the ability of her fame to avoid the stain of malice seem to show Daniel's respect for

Margaret. At the least, these lines show Daniel's desire to keep Margaret's favor by depicting her positively.

When "Ulysses and the Syren" first appeared in *Certain Small Poems Lately Printed with the Tragedie of Philotas*, the poem was placed in a volume that began with a dedication to Lady Margaret. The dedication preceded the volume's first poem: *A Letter from Octavia*. In Daniel's dedication of *A Letter from Octavia* to Lady Margaret, he writes, "I here adventured to bestow/ Words upon grief as my griefs comprehend,/ And made this great afflicted lady show/ Out of my feelings what she might have penned./ And here the same I bring forth to attend/ Upon thy rev'rend name" (5-10). Hiller and Groves argue that, "Daniel's dedication implies that she [Lady Margaret] might read an affinity between herself and Octavia" (Daniel *Selected* 90). In *A Letter from Octavia*, Daniel explores Octavia's plight, the necessity of winning back her errant husband Antony from Cleopatra's grasp. Several scholars have argued that in *A Letter from Octavia* Daniel intentionally comments on Lady Margaret's own plight.⁴⁴ As Rees puts it,

Her [Lady Margaret's] husband was too occupied in making piratical voyages to the West Indies or the Mediteranean to spend much time with her, but his infidelities were notorious: the whole story of Octavia, as Daniel treats it, is an oblique comment on the Countess's personal situation. (76)

The comment that Daniel makes on Lady Margaret's personal situation transforms the Countess into Octavia and the Countess' husband, the Third Earl of Cumberland, into the unfaithful Antony. Seronsy makes this connection explicit: "Her [Lady Margaret's] marriage to George Clifford, third Earl of Cumberland, was as unhappy as Octavia's to

Antony” (82). The marriage between Lady Margaret and George Clifford seems to have been doomed from the beginning since the earl was enamored of Sir William Holles’ beautiful daughter Gertrude before he married Lady Margaret. The Earl openly pursued Gertrude’s hand in marriage despite the fact that he was promised to one of his guardian’s daughters (Spence 31). Earl George’s early dissatisfaction with Lady Margaret carried over into his marriage resulting in at least one affair. His daughter describes his indiscretion:

But as good nature’s thro’ human frailty are oftentimes misled: so he [Earl George] fell to love a Lady of Quality; which did by degrees draw and alienate his love and affection from his so virtuous and well deserving wife [Lady Margaret], it being the cause of many discontents between ‘em for many years together. (qtd. in Williamson 264)

Earl George’s infidelity certainly suggests Antony’s dalliance with Cleopatra and seems to turn Daniel’s *A Letter from Octavia* into a comment on Lady Margaret’s plight. The connection between Lady Margret’s unhappy marriage to the earl and Octavia’s unhappy marriage to Antony is strengthened since Lady Margaret and the Earl began to live apart sometime in the 1590’s (Holmes). Their separation is echoed by Octavia’s separation from Antony. The Earl of Cumberland’s many privateering voyages, including those Rees mentions to the West Indies, also parallel the military pursuits and voyages that kept Antony from Octavia. In all, Earl George took part in or supported at least thirteen privateering ventures (Holmes). The earl’s many privateering ventures, in addition to keeping him away from Lady Margaret, also managed to exponentially increase his debt. For instance, Spence points out that the Earls’ debt, caused by his continuing privateering failures and successes had risen from 20,200 pounds in 1595 to 28,450 pounds in 1596

(135). These increasing debts made Lady Margaret's position very difficult: "there was a perennial shortage of cash for her [Lady Margaret's] necessary housekeeping in Craven" (Spence 116). Clearly, Antony's abandonment of Octavia closely resembles Earl George's abandonment of Lady Margaret.

Near the beginning of *A Letter from Octavia*, Daniel's Octavia reveals Cleopatra as a siren:

For I could never think th' aspiring mind
Of worthy and victorious Antony
Could be by such a siren so declined
As to be trained a prey to luxury (41-46)

The link between a foreign, sirenic Cleopatra to Antony's voyaging, seems to represent the sirenic lure of the many maritime ventures, including those to the West Indies that kept the Earl of Cumberland away from Lady Margaret. Daniel emphasizes the sirenic nature of the foreign shores Antony encounters through Octavia's pleas that he return. Octavia promises, "If yet he will but make a return at last;/ His sight shall raze out of the sad record/ Of my enrolled grief all that is past" (354-356). Immediately after this promise, Octavia presents her fears that Antony's continued stay in foreign lands will destroy him: "Come, dear lord, lest longer stay/ Do arm against thee all the powers of spite,/ And thou be made at last the woeful prey/ Of full-enkindled wrath, and ruined quite" (361-364). After presenting these fears, Octavia recounts a dream showing Antony's doom:

Methought a mighty hippopotamus,
From Nilus floating, thrusts into the main,
Upon whose back a wanton mermaid sat,
As if she ruled his course, and steered his fate.

Whith whom t' encounter forth another makes,
Alike in kind, of strength and power as good;
At whose engrappling, Neptun's mantle takes
A purple color, dyed with stream of blood;
Whereat this looker-on, amazed, forsakes
Her champion there, who yet the better stood;
But seeing her gone, straight after her he hies,
As if his heart and strength lay in her eyes. (373-384)

Octavia's dream clearly presents Antony's defeat at the Battle of Actium. Her dream of Actium emphasizes the sirenic nature of the foreign shores Antony encounters. The mermaid seated on a hippopotamus reflects Cleopatra who is described as a siren, but also seems to represent Egypt's foreign shores since she issues into the sea from the Nile. Bugged down with the mermaid, a representation of lust for a foreign land, the hippopotamus, Antony, is defeated at sea by another, Octavian, and then the hippopotamus is deserted by the mermaid. Instead of forsaking his foreign allegiance, the hippopotamus, Antony, insists on a dogged pursuit of the fleeing mermaid, Cleopatra, who seems to represent all the failed promises of her foreign abode.

Octavia's premonition of Antony's disaster and desertion, while figuring the battle of Actium, also seems to resemble Earl Georges' continuous failing forays towards the West Indies. In particular, Actium, in Daniel's rendering of the battle from Octavia's perspective, a sea-based battle which dyes the ocean purple, seems reminiscent of the Earl's many New World sea battles. Antony, controlled in part by the sirenic and foreign Cleopatra, loses power in the Roman republic after his failed sea-battle at Actium. Earl George, controlled by the sirenic lure of the New World's foreign lands, fails to gain his fortunes through sea-based battles off the foreign shores of the New World. Antony's defeat at Actium is caused because he follows the sirenic Cleopatra out to sea. Likewise,

Earl George's defeat is caused by his continuous choice to follow the siren's call and return to the New World.

The Earl repeatedly returns to sea despite the great perils he faces. The Earl's daughter records his strange attraction to return to sea in 1591:

Though the myseries by sickness, death, famyne and many other mysadventures happened in the preceding voyadge, were sufficient to have moved his Lordshipp to have abiured for ever those maryne adventures especiallie beinge neither his profession nor yett urged by neccessitie thereuunto yett suche was his lordshipp's natural inclynacon to pursue those courses in hope of honour and proffitt in the end, As (notwithstanding the earnest entreaty of many his noble and worthy frendes to the contrary) he coulede not be diverted from attempting another Sea Voyadge. (qtd. in Williamson)

The parallels between Antony's fatalistic attraction to a sirenic Egypt and Earl George's similar attraction to his West Indies privateering seems quite clear; furthermore, Daniel chooses to emphasize the links between these deadly attractions and the siren myth by repeating the myth twice in the poem; the myth appears near the beginning of *A Letter from Octavia* when Octavia labels Cleopatra a siren, and near the end of the poem in Octavia's premonition of the disaster at Actium.

Since *A Letter from Octavia* and its dedication to Lady Margaret precedes "Ulysses and the Syren" in *Certain Small Poems Lately Printed with the Tragedie of Philotas*, and the poem also draws a parallel that represents Earl George's New World voyaging as entangled in sirenic allure, it helps frame "Ulysses and the Syren" as a poem that is also concerned with the negative outcomes of the Earl's failed privateering. Ulysses, like both Antony and Earl George, is another "warlike wight" who must overcome a Siren. In 1605, when "Ulysses and the Syren" was first published in *Certain*

Small Poems, Lady Margaret's relationship with the Earl was possibly at one of its most difficult points because of the great debt caused largely by the Earl's privateering.

Spence reports, "The Earl's family suffered as his debts mounted during his final years. Countess Margaret had great difficulty in getting him to maintain her and Lady Anne."

Spence continues,

These were years of deep sadness and humiliation for Countess Margaret, separated, kept short of money, incessantly pleading, ousted by her husband's mistress and denied her role as wife and hostess on the King's 1603 visit to Grafton, although she was there in attendance on the Queen. (214)

Lady Margaret's request for money from Earl George continued into 1605, the year he died and the year "Ulysses and the Syren" was published. In a letter dated 1605 and addressed to Lady Margaret, Earl George writes, "I have not now given you cause to write for the money, which was promised to be paid to you about Midsummer, if things here had not fallen out much otherways than I expected" (qtd. in Williamson 269). The Earls' excuse shows Lady Margaret's request for money, his failure to provide it, and their separation from one another. In 1616, when the Countess died, she still blamed her debts on her deceased husband's inability to provide, "those meanes which my late lord should have paid me" (qtd. in Spence 215).⁴⁵

A reader with Lady Margaret's experiences of the neglect caused by her husband's New World privateering and infidelity would understand "Ulysses and the Syren" very differently than Prince Henry. Instead of seeing the poem as one that favors England's military expansion in the New World by depicting a Ulysses that overcomes the Siren's temptations to continue in his pursuit of glory and honor, she would more

likely see the poem as one that shows how Ulysses has succumbed to the Siren's deadly allure since her husband was dealt a fatal financial blow by his New World privateering.

As Seronsy notes, "it is questionable as to whether Ulysses or the Siren is the winner"

(118). In the poem's concluding stanza the Siren claims,

Well, well, Ulysses, then I see
I shall not have thee here;
And therefore I will come to thee,
And take my fortunes there.
I must be won that cannot win,
Yet lost were I not won; (65-70)

The Siren suggests that in the end her inability to convince Ulysses of the shore's safety, her inability to have Ulysses "here" on shore, causes her to join Ulysses "there" at sea; however, what seems like a victory for Ulysses' quest for honor is strangely twisted until it might seem like the Siren's victory since she claims she would be "lost were I not won." In a sense, the Siren claims that being "won" by Ulysses allows her to defeat him. By joining Ulysses on his voyage, the Siren is victorious.

This reading is both generated and complicated by the vague references to "here" in the poem. As the Siren first calls to Ulysses at the beginning of the poem she asks him to "Possess these shores with me;" (2) and adds "here may we sit and view their toil" (5). From Prince Henry's perspective, a perspective that sees James I's peace with Spain as a neglect of Protestant duty, the shores the Siren invites Ulysses to possess with her might be England's own shores. For Prince Henry, the Siren's call to idleness might seem like a call to abandon military action against the Spanish in the West Indies and remain "here" in England. From Lady Margaret's perspective, however, the Siren's "here" might be seen as the West Indian shores Earl George so intently hoped to take from the Spanish.

In 1598, Earl George leads a fleet to take the Spanish stronghold of San Juan in Puerto Rico (Spence 157). The Earl's goal in taking the port was to establish an English base in the West Indies. Against all odds, the Earl was successful and took the well defended port from the Spanish. As Spence recounts it, the Earl and his forces "were infected by enthusiasm to hold the island as an English base after their resounding victory. All were eager to remain there in the garrison in surroundings which were most pleasing to the eye and senses" (170). Trying to garrison the port proved impossible, however. After only weeks of occupying San Juan, 200 men from Earl George's force had died from dysentery and at least 400 more were extremely sick (Spence 171). In the end, the Earl's endeavor proved to be a complete financial failure since the prizes he took were worth only half of what was invested in the voyage (Spence 174). In addition, the Earl lost many men and his frigate (Spence 174).

With the Earl's voyage to Puerto Rico in mind, and his enticement to possess its pleasant shores, the Siren's "here" might be read as the West Indian shores that proved the Earl's financial downfall. Lady Margaret's financial plight in 1604 and 1605, one of the major sources of contention keeping her estranged from her husband, was a direct result of the Earl's failures on the enticing shores of Puerto Rico. When Daniel's Ulysses admonishes the Siren by claiming "pleasure leaves a touch at last/ to show that it was ill" (47-48) he proclaims a sentiment that perfectly describes Earl George's victory and subsequent losses. Even the Siren's claim that "No widows wail for our delights,/our sports are without blood" (53-54) becomes a sardonic comment on the many widows the Earl's enterprise created through the ravages of dysentery, the "bloody flux." The Siren's

call then becomes the prevarication that should be expected from Sirens since the Earl's enticement to Puerto Rico clearly resulted in the very evils the Siren denies. In the end, when the Siren tells Ulysses, "I will come to thee,/ And take my fortunes there" (67-68) she implies she will join him at sea. From Lady Margaret's perspective, Earl George's continuous voyages are one of the main causes of his downfall. In a sense, the Siren is victorious by joining Ulysses at sea because the parallel between Ulysses and the Earl suggests that the insistence to continue voyaging is the hero's downfall.

Daniel would certainly have known of Lady Margaret's financial and marital plight in 1604 and 1605, and based on his willingness to criticize the Earl's treatment of Lady Margaret in *A Letter from Octavia*, it seems quite possible that he would continue his commentary in "Ulysses and the Syren." Furthermore, Lady Margaret's continued estrangement from her husband suggests Daniel could expect to keep Lady Margaret's favor by continuing to point out the Earl's shortcomings. In addition, he clearly wished to keep Lady Margaret's favor in 1605 since he publicly and prominently acknowledged her patronage by placing his dedication of *A Letter from Octavia* at the beginning of *Certain Small Poems Lately Printed with the Tragedie of Philotas*. This scenario suggests that Daniel would hope his poem could be read favorably by Lady Margaret. Such a reading depends on seeing the Siren rather than Ulysses as the victor.

"As Good As Not to Write, As Not Be Understood"

Daniel's use of sailing metaphors to describe writing poetry and his juxtaposition of poetic eloquence with sirens in *The Complaint of Rosamond* suggests that Daniel's

poem “Ulysses and the Siren” might partially speak to Daniel’s concerns about the misapplication of poetic eloquence. This becomes even more likely since *The Complaint of Rosamond*, the text that most clearly displays Daniel’s pairing of Sirens and eloquence, like *A Letter from Octavia*, precedes *Ulysses and the Siren* in *Certain Small Poems*. *The Complaint of Rosamond* helps position “Ulysses and the Syren” within a debate about poetic eloquence. While “Ulysses and the Siren” can be read as a poem that explores ideas about England’s place in the New World, ultimately, it seems unclear whether the poem criticizes or encourages English expansion in the New World. Daniel’s works as a whole lean more towards showing that an increased English presence in the New World is problematic, yet he creates a poem, “Ulysses and the Syren,” that can be interpreted to support this expansion by readers like Prince Henry and that can also be interpreted to reinforce the New World’s dangers to readers like Lady Margaret. In the end, these contrasting messages cancel each other out, and the poem becomes silent. It simply reflects the readers’ opinions by allowing the poem to eloquently present opposing readings.

The poem achieves its success by displaying an incredibly attractive surface. Seronsy points out the poem’s mastery of assonance (118). This mastery is undeniable, but the poem also achieves its effect through consonance, repetition, alliteration, internal rhyme, and word play. Through these devices the poem, in Daniel’s words, is “affecting sound to be unsound”; the poem seems to disguise its lack of a clear meaning through its eloquent use of sound. In a sense the poem attracts the reader because its beauty

overcomes its logic. The poem's opening lines, spoken in the Siren's voice confirm this idea:

Come, worthy Greek, Ulysses, come,
Possess these shores with me;
The winds and seas are troublesome,
And here we may be free. (1-4)

The initial flattering address to Ulysses in these lines uses repetition to expand what could be a simple two word command into eight syllables. The first and last word of the line "come" is a simple repetition. The internal appositives "Worthy Greek" and "Ulysses" are also in a sense repetitive since both sets of three syllables are two ways to name Ulysses. The line's literal meaning could be expressed with the words "Come Ulysses," but instead the verse employs repetition to create a pleasing cadence of syllables.

The Siren's opening quatrain includes an inundation of rhyme. The second line emphasizes sound over sense as it begins with a pair of words "Possess these" that create both assonance and a true rhyme with "Ulysses." In "Possess" and "Ulysses," the bold italicized syllables create assonance while the words "these" and "Ulysses" create a true rhyme. The similarity in sounds between "Ulysses" and "Possess these" almost seems to reinforce a sense of ownership by superimposing Ulysses' name on his act of possessing. Daniel's Siren lures Ulysses from the initial, empty, repetitive utterance in the poem's first line into the second line by emphasizing sound. This strategy continues into the third line as "seas" interacts with "Ulysses" from the first line, and "Possess these" from the second line. The word "seas" seems to complete both the assonance from "lys" and "ssess" and the true rhyme from "Ulysses" and "these." All three lines are woven together seamlessly through not only their end rhymes but through the similar sounds and

rhymes shared by words inside each line including those already mentioned, and also encompassing the repeated sibilants in “Ulysses,” “Possess,” “these,” “shores,” “winds,” “seas,” and “troublesome.” Altogether, ten sibilants are included in these first four lines. The repetitive sibilants give these opening lines the feeling of a whispered secret.

The end-rhyme between the second and fourth lines in “me” and “free” is enhanced by the internal rhymes of the fourth line wherein “we” and “be” create a rhyme that resonates with “me” and “free.” The insistence of reinforced sound in the fourth line’s “we,” “be,” “free” seems to underscore the underlying hypocrisy of the Siren’s imperative since she promises Ulysses’ freedom while simultaneously asking him to limit his sphere of action to exclude the sea. Even the controlled modulation of the Siren’s words belies the freedom she promises. In every aspect, the Siren’s first four lines show how a listener’s senses are overloaded with the beauty of sound until the “matter” of the words is disguised and the meaning obfuscated. Daniel’s insistent repetition, rhymes, and assonance might all fall under his criticism of continual couplets in *A Defense of Rhyme*. Daniel’s criticism is aimed at verses that “run on with a sound of one nature, and a kind of certainty which stuffs the delight rather than entertains it” (Daniel *Selected* 223). Daniel’s criticism emphasizes the ability of the senses to be overloaded or “stuffed” by exposure to repetitive sounds. In other words, a sensory overload steals the listener’s ability to be delighted by the play of sound and meaning. Instead, the listener becomes focused only on sound. Through this narrowed focus on the sound of the Siren’s self-contradicting demand, the demand that Ulysses increase his freedom by limiting his movements, the poem transforms into a pleasant sounding contradiction.

Through the Siren's initial words, Daniel reveals poetry's ability to misuse eloquence to overshadow meaning. As Daniel writes in the *Defense of Rhyme*, "Whilst seeking to please our ear, we enthrall our judgment."

While it might make sense for Daniel to represent a Siren engaging in this type of prevaricating eloquence, Ulysses' initial retort depends on the beauty of sound nearly as much as the Siren's opening lines:

Fair nymph, if fame or honor were
To be attained with ease,
Then would I come and rest with thee,
And leave such toils as these; (9-12)

Ulysses' response to the Siren begins with a series of words that are tied together by alliteration, assonance and rhyme. Ulysses' first four words are brought together by the alliterative "f" sounds: "**F**air nymph, **if** fame." Furthermore, "nymph" and "if," in addition to this alliteration, include assonance with their shared short "i" sounds. This assonance is turned into a slant rhyme in combination with the "f" sounds. Within these words, the Siren's beauty is emphasized through the lingering sensation caused by the long vowel sound in "Fair," and the stress on "nymph," joining the initial and terminal alliterative "f" sounds in the address to "Fair nymph." Simultaneously, the combination of the "f" sounds in "if fame" almost erases the word "if" as the end of the word becomes the beginning of "fame" and "fame" receives the strong accent. In this process, the small but important word "if" is glossed over and "fame" becomes a focal point. The entire phrase uses alliteration, slant rhyme and accent in a fashion that emphasizes the Siren's beauty and the alluring idea of fame.

The second half of the first line also depends on alliteration, assonance and rhyme. The three words “*or honor were*” are all joined by the alliterative “r” sound. These three words also create a sliding progression of rhyme that progresses from slant rhyme to true rhyme. In “*or honor*,” the “r” sounds create consonance between the two words. This consonance, occurring in final syllables, creates a slant rhyme between “or” and “honor” that turns into true rhyme between “*honor* and *were*.” Furthermore, the alliterative “r” sound suggests the “r” sound in the line’s opening “Fair.” Once again the poem creates beautiful sounds that underline Ulysses’ attention to the Siren’s fairness, her beauty, while also creating a subtle sonic link between his desire for *f*ame and *honor* and his recognition of how *f*air she is. The sounds in this first line seem to create a focus on beauty instead of on the active pursuits that Ulysses is ostensibly championing. As the poem presents a voice that argues against the Siren’s call to revel in beauty, it continually focuses on that beauty and creates a series of pleasant sounds that contradict its logic.

This pattern is continued through the rest of this quatrain. The next line, “to be attained with ease,” joins to Ulysses’ first beautiful utterance with the assonance created between “*attained*” and “*fame*.” This link introduces the continued assonance and alliteration created through the words “be,” “ease,” “rest,” “thee,” “leave,” “such,” “toils,” “as,” and “these.” All these words share either the long “e” sound or the “s” sound or some combination of both. The alliterative “s” sound in particular seems to gain momentum as it runs throughout the last four words in the quatrain “such toils as these.” This alliteration harkens back to the Siren’s sibilant sounding whispers in the poem’s first stanza. Ulysses’ opposition to the Siren becomes like a quietly shared secret, a

whispered response to a whispered plea. As Ulysses criticizes the ease offered by the Siren, his words sound as if they lack the vigorous effort required by a forcefully loud utterance. The concluding words in the end of Ulysses' third line also use sound to suggest the possibility of an easy joining with the siren. The "th" sound ending "with" turns effortlessly into the same sound in "thee" as the first word becomes inseparably linked with the second through its shared sound. As the sense of Ulysses' words claims he will not "rest" with the Siren, the sound of the words encourages this relationship as "with" is subsumed by "thee."

Under close examination, Ulysses' words seem to depend on the beauty of sound as much as the Siren's words. Through the eloquent sounding words in "Ulysses and the Syren," Daniel draws the poem's readers into a realm of sound that presents pleasant sounding contradictions that offer interpretations that can please readers like Prince Henry and Lady Margaret who hold opposing views of the New World. Daniel's ability to please two patrons who hold opposing views with the same poem displays his ingenious lyrical manipulation. It also allows Daniel to continue his writing because it keeps him in favor with those who can support him. In 1605, Daniel's ability to find favor with patrons was important because his finances were strained,⁴⁶ and he was disillusioned with the Jacobean court as evidenced by the censure of *Philotas*.

While the benefits of Daniel's ability to please several patrons at once are undeniable, Daniel's ability to create a poem driven by pleasant sounding contradictions that reflect his patrons own world views comes into direct confrontation with his concerns about his art. In part, Daniel's Siren helps him display this confrontation.

Since Daniel figures the misuse of poetic eloquence as sirenic in works such as *Delia* and *The Complaint of Rosamond*, the Siren in “Ulysses and the Syren” represents not only the sophistry of the mythological Siren but also the sophistry of a poet who misapplies eloquence. Daniel’s recognition of the confrontation between his poem “Ulysses and the Syren” and his concerns about misapplied eloquence are signaled in the Siren’s final words:

I must be won that cannot win,
Yet lost were I not won;
For beauty hath created been
T’ undo, or be undone. (69-72)

These words seem to reflect Daniel’s position as he writes “Ulysses and the Siren.” Daniel’s poem must be “won” by its readers, and particularly his patrons, in the sense that it must take on their meanings. This means that Daniel himself cannot “win” or persuade his readers of convictions that run contrary to their own beliefs. For instance, he fears to openly criticize New World expansion because it might displease Prince Henry. If Daniel won’t allow his poem to be “won,” however, he would be “lost” since he would lose the support of his patrons. Considering the then recent reaction to Daniel’s *Philotas*, it is clear that Daniel desperately required this support. Daniel’s financial position required him to keep each of his several patrons happy. Daniel’s weak finances made his task as a Ulyssean writer attempting to navigate through the temptations of his patron’s opinions next to impossible. Daniel couldn’t use his poetry as a vehicle for delivering a clear message because his energies needed to be focused on supporting his patrons’ contrasting ideas to keep him financially stable.

Daniel's final aphorism "For beauty hath created been/ T' undo or be undone." presents the idea that beauty, including poetic eloquence, either invites its own destruction or causes the destruction of others. The words "undo" and "undone" seem to suggest a sexualized disrobing and possession of the Siren that results in what would be a shameful dishonor for anyone but a siren. Of course, the myth of the siren makes it clear that any who engage in such undoing are themselves consumed by the siren they attempt to undo. Daniel's aphorism reveals his understanding that beautiful but empty poems like "Ulysses and the Syren" have the potential to destroy both their readers and their authors. The meaning in the final quatrain of Daniel's poem is generated through Daniel's continual play with the seeming opposites "be won/cannot win," "lost/not won," and "undo/ undone." Each of these paired terms seems to oppose one another but actually express a strange agreement in both sound and sense. Through this slippery progression, Daniel acknowledges his poem's sirenic contribution to eloquence.

Daniel's eloquence in "Ulysses and the Syren" covers up the silence created by his contradicting sound and sense; the beauty of his poem serves to undo itself creating a most beautiful-sounding silence that appeals both to those like Prince Henry who embrace New World expansion and those like Lady Margaret who have direct experience with the New World's potential hazards. The beauty Daniel creates in "Ulysses and the Syren" might reveal the poem's silence to its reader, its ability to create multiple conflicting interpretations through eloquence, thereby destroying itself in Daniel's eyes since it contains no clear "matter," nothing that might represent Daniel's own opinions, yet since the beauty of "Ulysses and the Syren" might allow its readers to see their own

ideas reflected in the poem, it has the potential to destroy those readers whose ideas have dangerous consequences. Daniel's patron Prince Henry, for instance, who embraces the New World without fully understanding its perils, might be drawn deeper into the New World's dangers by Daniel's eloquently beautiful, but ultimately silent, poem.

Ultimately, the reader must decide if Daniel's sirenic poem "Ulysses and the Syren" will "undo" or be "undone" through its beauty. In the end, the only clear "matter" that Daniel includes in his poem might be the idea that his poetry's sirenic eloquence serves to silence itself.

Chapter 4

“The Clouds Methought Would Open and Show Riches”: Shakespeare, A New World Siren

Some might be surprised that I have chosen to devote an entire chapter to *The Tempest* in a dissertation focused on sirens. After all, *The Tempest* includes no direct mention of sirens, or even the “Mermaids,” of *The Faerie Queene*, nor does it include the sirens’ traditional opponent, Ulysses, as does Daniel’s “Ulysses and the Syren.” In fact, some might ask why this chapter isn’t focused on *A Midsummer Night’s Dream* in which Oberon remembers having “heard a mermaid on a dolphin’s back” (2.1.150) or on *Antony and Cleopatra* where Enobarbus describes Cleopatra as being waited on by “her gentlewoman, like the Nereides/So many mermaids” (2.2.210-11). *Titus Andronicus* (2.1.22), *Henry the Sixth, Part III* (3.2.182), *The Comedy of Errors* (3.2.45), *Hamlet* (4.7.175), *Venus and Adonis* (line 429), *The Rape of Lucrece* (line 1411), and Sonnet 119⁴⁷ might also make sense as material for this chapter since they all include specific references to mermaids and sirens. While *The Tempest* itself might never include the words mermaid or siren, Shakespeare’s frequent use of this musical myth in his other works suggests that it might also subtly appear in a play that many have named as the most musical of Shakespeare’s plays.⁴⁸ Scholars concerned with Shakespeare’s use of music have had inklings of this idea. John P. Cutts, referring to Ariel’s song “Come Unto these Yellow Sands,” claims, “It is not impossible to see in this song a counterpart to the Sirens’ invitation to the wearied mariners to ‘Steer hither your winged pines’” (348)⁴⁹. More recently, David Lindley asserts that Ariel’s enticement of Ferdinand with the song

“Full Fathom Five” resonates with the siren myth (*Shakespeare* 227). Despite first appearances, it seems that *The Tempest* might be a text that makes use of sirens.

In this chapter, considering the use of the siren myth as a way for Shakespeare to mediate the tensions created by music and the New World in *The Tempest*, I will argue that Ariel and his music in the play have a sirenic context. I will propose that the sirenic nature of Ariel’s music can be interpreted as a sign of Shakespeare’s concern that his play misleads his audience by encouraging an overly positive perception of the English endeavor to colonize Virginia; furthermore, Shakespeare’s metatheatrical gestures depicting Prospero’s directing Ariel, a sirenic singer and actor, reveal Shakespeare’s ambivalence towards the potential use of plays as purely empire-building propaganda. Ultimately, Shakespeare’s use of sirenic music suggests he sees his role as a playwright within a period of English imperial expansion as one that urges his audience to question overly optimistic imperialistic propaganda. In particular, this reading will center on a literary and musical analysis of three of Ariel’s songs from the play: “Come Unto these Yellow Sands,” “Full Fathom Five,” and “Where the Bee Sucks.” My consideration of “Come Unto these Yellow Sands” will depend mainly on an analysis of its lyric since no extant music has been discovered for the song, but I will consider how the song’s probable musical rendering might have an effect on the lyric. I will analyze “Full Fathom Five” and “Where the Bee Sucks” through a close reading of the interaction between its lyrical and musical aspects, including melodic, harmonic, and rhythmic elements, to argue the songs’ sirenic, misleading natures.

“To Make Bad Good, and Good Provoke to Harm”: Shakespeare, The Power of Music, and the New World

In chapter two, I argued that Spenser’s prologue to Book II of *The Faerie Queene* reflects Spenser’s fear that his poem, like allegorized siren song, can mislead his readers into moral peril despite its aim of teaching the virtue of temperance. Similarly, I’ve argued in chapter three that Daniel’s concerns with the sirenic nature of poetic eloquence suggests he is concerned with the moral impact of his poetry and its ability to include “matter” even if he ultimately feels his poetry might have a harmful effect based on the contradictions covered by its eloquence. Conversely, Shakespeare, in *The Tempest*, seems to express little overt concern with morality. In fact, in the play’s epilogue, Prospero claims the play’s only project “was to please,” and he begs his audience to show their pleasure by applauding. While Prospero can’t be said to speak directly for Shakespeare, this epilogue, in which the character of Prospero and the actor who portrays him momentarily unite, suggests that Shakespeare’s main goal in *The Tempest* is simply to entertain his audience. If Shakespeare is mainly concerned with pleasing his audience, he can hardly brandish didacticism. In part, Shakespeare’s refusal to openly serve as a moral guide that leads his audience away from poetry’s ability to corrupt might stem from the fact that his play, unlike Spenser and Daniel’s epic and lyric poetry, includes actual music instead of representations of music within poetry or musical poetry.

The Tempest’s theatrical nature, specifically its use of audible music, ties it closely to the negative ideas associated with the early modern allegory of poetry as siren

song. In chapter one, I noted Gosson's claim in *The Schoole of Abuse* that poetry is siren-like and problematic because of its penchant for mixing wit with less desirable qualities. Gosson partly supports this claim by offering an example of a similar mixture: "The *Syrens* song is the *Saylers* wrack" (20). At another point in *The Schoole of Abuse*, Gosson continues his tirade by singling out the morally repugnant practice of including music in the theatre:

For as Poetrie and Piping are Cosen germans: so piping, and playing are of great affinity, and all three chayned in linkes of abuse. *Plutarch* complaineth, that ignorant men, not knowyng the maiestie of auncient musick, abuse both the eares of the people, and the Arte it selfe: with bringing sweete consortes into Theatres, which rather effeminate the minde, as pricks vnto vice, then procure amendement of manners, as spurres to vertue. (29)

In this passage, Gosson suggests that the negative qualities of musical poetry or music and poetry are heightened further in the theatre where they lead ignorant men to even greater vice. A similar connection between the problematic morality of songs in the theatre and the siren's music can be found in Ovid's *The Art of Love*:

The Sirens were wondrous creatures of the sea, who with tuneful voice detained vessels, how sweet soe'er they sailed. Hearing them the son of Sisyphus all but unloosed his body: for his comrades' ears were stopped with wax. A persuasive thing is song: let women learn to sing; with many voice instead of face has been their procuress. Let them repeat now ditties heard in the marble theatres, now songs acted in the fashion of the Nyle; nor should a woman skilled as I would have her be ignorant how to hold the quill in her right hand and the lyre in her left. (qtd. in Calogero 149)

Ovid's ideas of a woman's voice acting as her procuress is coupled both with theatrical song and the poet's quill. In light of Gosson and Ovid's criticism of theatrical poets' ability to create alluring music, Shakespeare's avoidance of claiming moral authority

might be seen to highlight his era's misgivings over a theatrical context for music and poetry.

Shakespeare's plays frequently represent music's power. For instance, Shakespeare mentions the power of Orpheus' music to control nature in *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*: "Orpheus' lute was strung with poets' sinews,/ Whose golden touch could soften steel and stones,/ Make tigers tame and huge leviathans/ Forsake unsounded deeps to dance on sands." (*The Two Gentlemen of Verona*, 3.2.79-82). This reference to music's power is important because it emphasizes the strength of the effects created by the interplay of music and poetry. Such an interplay resonates with early modern English concerns, like Gosson's, about the mixture of poetry and music in the theatre. Shakespeare's references to Orpheus' powerful music might partially depend on Orpheus' god-like abilities with both music and poetry, but in other plays, Shakespeare suggests the power of more ordinary music. For instance, in *Measure for Measure*, Duke Vincentio claims, "music oft hath such a charm/ to make bad good, and good provoke to harm" (4.1.14-15). In several of his plays, Shakespeare emphasizes music's power, specifically the musical poet's power, and through Duke Vincentio's voice, Shakespeare presents the idea that music has the capacity to directly alter behavior. The Duke's lines imply that a "good" listener can be provoked to harm.

One scholar intensely concerned with Shakespeare's relationship with music, David Lindley, claims that *The Tempest* "opens the exercise of musical influence to the same radical uncertainty that always hovers about the use of rhetoric – it matters who is using it, and to what ends" (*Shakespeare* 44). Lindley's ideas about the uncertainty of

music's persuasive abilities are in part based on a passage from a 1586 text, *The Praise of Music*, attributed to John Case:

Those which are glad to take any occasion to speak against musicke, will...affireme that it maketh men effeminate, and too much subject unto pleasure. But whom, I praie you, doth it make effeminate? Surely none but such as without it would bee wanton:...the same musicke which mollifieth some men, moveth some other nothing at all: so that the fault is not in musicke, which of it selfe is good: but in the corrupt nature and evil disposition of light persons which of themselves are prone to wantonnes. (qtd. in *Shakespeare's* 48)

This passage, intended to defend music from its detractors, shows a striking similarity to Shakespeare's conception of music in *Measure for Measure*. Both texts suggest that music can have a variety of effects on listeners, but while *The Praise of Music* claims music might "moveth some [men] nothing at all," Shakespeare depicts the Duke in *Measure for Measure* claiming that music definitely has some effect, but the question is whether the effect will be good or bad.

In chapter two, I argue that Spenser can reveal his concern about the siren-like nature of his poetry to thwart his didactic purpose, Shakespeare's play, which actually includes music, doesn't even attempt to defend itself by claiming the privilege of moral instruction. Instead, it focuses on its ability to entertain. This omission doesn't mean that Shakespeare's play includes no moral lessons, but it might mean that the music in his play could be viewed as "provoking good to harm." Considering the early modern English strain of anti-theatre and anti-music criticism presented by authors like Gosson, the idea of reading potentially negative effects into *The Tempest's* music seems quite plausible for Shakespeare's contemporaries. If, as Lindley claims, *The Tempest* poses questions about who uses music to what ends, it seems that Shakespeare's musical

characters, especially his most musical character Ariel, as well as Shakespeare himself, Ariel's author, must be seen as either "making bad good" or provoking good to harm.

While music is certainly an essential element within *The Tempest*, as Richmond Noble drives home when he claims, "Music is the very life of *The Tempest*, without its aid the play would be impossible of presentation" (99), the issue of how Shakespeare uses music in the play, whether to make bad good or provoke good to harm, is one that has a controversial history in literary criticism. Most literary scholars concerned with Shakespeare's use of music in *The Tempest* insist that the play uses practical music as a way to represent the ideas of harmony central to a Boethian speculative sense of *musica mundana*, the music that orders the universe, and *musica humana*, the music that orders the human soul.⁵⁰ Jacquelyn Fox-Good, one scholar who escapes the literary tendency to overlook the play's practical music, suggests this state of affairs in her musical analysis of the play's two extant songs, "Full Fathom Five" and "Where the Bee Sucks." She claims that the dominant threads of criticism focused on the play "conflate 'harmony' and music with social 'concord' and reconciliation." (242). Fox-Goode suggests that Humanist readings of the play tend to use this conflation in order to posit both the play and its central character, Prospero, as examples that present essential human values. In contrast, Fox-Goode suggests that new historicist/materialist readings present the conflation to criticize its use as a "colonialist tool for masking and reproducing dominant discourse" (242). Fox-Goode's insightful summary makes it clear that scholars have tended to disagree on the ethical nature of Shakespeare's use of music in *The Tempest*.

This disagreement might be a result of Shakespeare's own concern about his use of music in the play.

Besides honing an understanding of musical criticism centering on *The Tempest*, Fox-Goode's claims about new historicist/materialist readings of the play also serve as a reminder of the play's ongoing relationship with New World contexts. As early as the 18th century, scholars linked *The Tempest* with New World accounts, and Charles Frey suggests that since these early beginnings scholars have been asking: "What has *The Tempest* to do, if anything, with the New World?" (29).⁵¹ Several scholars seem to think that *The Tempest* has quite a bit to do with the New World. For example, Hallet Smith claims, "Shakespeare's imagination, at the time he wrote *The Tempest*, would appear to have been stimulated by the accounts of travel and exploration in the new world" (qtd. in Frey 31). Geoffrey Bullough, perhaps even more adamantly than Smith, insists on a New World connection with *The Tempest* in the following statement:

The play must have been written mainly in 1611, for it was prompted to some extent by the excitement caused by the disappearance at sea in 1609 of Sir Thomas Gates, his return safely from Virginia in the autumn of 1610, and the subsequent publication of pamphlets describing his shipwreck in the Bermudas and the state of the Virginian settlement as he found it on his arrival in James Town. (237-238)

Bullough's claims of clear connections between texts concerning Virginian New World explorations have been carried forward more recently by other scholars. B. J. Sokol, for instance, argues that "certain elements in *The Tempest* required audiences of the play to respond to images of exotic Others using a culturally relative outlook somewhat similar to that of a Thomas Harriot or John White" (77). Sokol's argument rests on the

importance of Thomas Harriot's 1590 publication of *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* to a reading of exotic Others in *The Tempest*.

Considering the centrality of music in *The Tempest* and the prevalence of questions about New World contexts for the play, it seems possible that *The Tempest's* music might contain answers about the play's New World nature and the play's New World contexts might clarify whether Shakespeare saw his use of music in the play as having a positive or negative moral effect on his audience. Furthermore, the prevalence of sirenic references in the Shakespearian canon coupled with the occurrence of allusions to sirens in New World exploration literature, particularly the English endeavor in Virginia, as I've detailed in chapter one, suggest that Shakespeare's concerns about the morality of his play's musical references to the New World might be mediated by the siren myth and its allegories.

“Go Make Thyself Like a Nymph o’ th’ Sea”: Ariel as Prospero’s Siren

Taking into account several of the traits an early modern audience would have associated with sirens compiled in chapter one --musical, avian/piscine, storm-loving and wreck-causing, feminine, soporific, and treacherous-- it seems likely that Shakespeare would have recognized the links between Ariel and the sirens because Ariel fits many of these categories. Ariel's very name begins to suggest his sirenic heritage in several ways. Ariel's name suggests his musical nature because it is reminiscent of a popular genre of early modern song: the air. The air, also known as the English lute song, is a “melody-dominant song with a lute or viol accompaniment” (Wilson and Calore 26). Shakespeare

was clearly familiar with this generic term since he distinctly uses it with its musical meaning in *Cymbeline*. In *Cymbeline*, as Cloten uses musicians to woo Imogen, Cloten demands “a wonderful sweet air, with admirable rich words to it” (2.3.18) and the musicians proceed to play the air “Hark, Hark, the Lark.” In this context, Shakespeare shows his knowledge of the musical definition of the air. Wilson and Calore claim that “Shakespeare seldom eschews the opportunity for a play on the word [air] with its musical and simple atmospheric meanings” (29).⁵² Shakespeare’s play with the word “air” and its musical meaning infuse an anagrammatic reading of Ariel’s name with the term’s musical sense. Furthermore, Ariel sings several airs throughout *The Tempest* including the two songs with extant music from the play: “Full Fathom Five” and “Where the Bee Sucks.”⁵³ Combining Ariel’s frequent singing of airs throughout *The Tempest* with Shakespeare’s anagrammatic punning, Ariel’s name represents his essentially musical nature.

Ariel’s name also suggests his links to the sirens’ dual environments. As Linda Austern claims, “The Western siren, relegated to the flowing reaches between air and sea...has been granted numerous metamorphic qualities since ancient times” (84). Since the siren was thought of as both a bird-like and fish-like woman⁵⁴, Shakespeare’s punning on the musical and atmospheric meaning of the word “air” within Ariel’s name suggests the airy environment appropriate to a bird-like imagining of the siren. However, through a more obscure reference to medieval Jewish demonology the name Ariel also suggests the sirens’ watery abode. W. Stacy Johnson explores this possibility when he writes, “the name’s [Ariel’s] form is that of an angelic epithet, with the *-el* (God) ending” and

continues to claim that the form “probably derives from medieval Jewish demonology, in which Ariel is a Spirit of the waters” (205-6). Ariel’s name suggests he is a creature of either air or water.

This sense of Ariel’s airy and watery abodes is strengthened throughout the play. For instance, an example of his association with these environments occurs as Prospero berates Ariel’s somewhat reluctant service: “Thou . . . think’st it much to tread the ooze/Of the salt deep,/ To run upon the sharp wind of the North,/ to do my business in the veins o’ th’ earth” (1.2.252-255). In these lines, Prospero consecutively suggests Ariel’s ability to exist in the ocean, the wind-swept sky, and rivers or streams. Ariel’s sirenic bird-like nature, which might explain his comfort in the air, is confirmed by Prospero’s pet names. For instance, at two points in the play, Prospero calls Ariel, “my bird” (4.1.184), and “chick” (5.1.317). Of course, Ariel is explicitly bird-like in his disguise as a harpy when he describes the “dowle” or down in his own “plume” (3.3.65). This reference to Ariel’s feathers comes in a passage that emphasizes his links to water and air. In this passage, Ariel boasts of invulnerability to King Alonso’s company who “may as well/ Wound the loud winds, or with bemocked-at stabs/ Kill the still-closing waters” as harm a feather on his head (3.3.62-5). With these words, Ariel compares his invulnerability to the elemental invulnerability of water and air.

Ariel’s initial entrance to the play also confirms his affinity for air and water. Ariel emphasizes his dual environs as he shows his obedience to Prospero’s initial summons: “All hail, great master! Grave sir, hail! I come/ To answer thy best pleasure; be’t to fly,/ To swim, to dive into the fire, to ride/ On the curled clouds” (1.2. 189-192).

By showing his willingness to fly or swim in Prospero's service during his first introduction to the audience, Ariel reinforces the sirenic air/water environments established by his name. While this idea might seem to be undermined by the quick succession of Ariel's willingness to dive into fire, it seems likely that the fire and cloud in Ariel's speech points back to the last service he rendered Prospero: the magical storm that brings King Alonso's company to land.

Ariel's talk of diving into fires and riding on curled clouds suggests his description of the tempest he raised at Prospero's bidding. During his description of this storm, Ariel claims "I flamed amazement" (1.2.198) and continues by recounting "dreadful thunderclaps" (1.2.202). These words suggest that the fire and clouds in Ariel's first obedient statement point to his ability to raise storms. Ariel's tempest seems to sink King Alonso's ship; in the midst of the storm Gonzalo yells out, "We split, we split" and Antonio follows with "Let's all sink wi' th' King." (1.2.61-62). Ariel's ability to raise storms and cause shipwrecks seems reminiscent of Shakespeare's depiction of the mermaid in *Henry the Sixth, Part III* when Richard claims, "I'll drown more sailors than the mermaid shall" (3.2.186) and in *Titus Andronicus*, "This siren [Tamora] will charm Rome's Saturnine/ And see his shipwreck and his commonweal's" (2.1.22-23). Ariel's first disguise in the play, donned at Prospero's command, reveals another aspect of Ariel's sirenic nature. Prospero commands Ariel, "Go make thyself like a nymph o' th' sea" (1.2.301). Prospero's choice to disguise Ariel as a nymph resonates with one of Shakespeare's earlier uses of siren mythology. In *Titus Andronicus*, Tamora is described as, "This goddess, this Semiramis, this nymph,/ This siren" (2.1.21-23). Tamora's

description suggests that Shakespeare's imagination linked nymphs with sirens and that he felt nymphs, like the sirens,⁵⁵ could seduce man to his doom.

Besides its link to Shakespeare's earlier use of the siren myth, Ariel's disguise as a nymph marks him as feminine. *Ariel's* feminine quality is suggested throughout the play since, when he is visible to characters other than Prospero, he takes on feminine disguises as a harpy in act three and as Ceres in the masque presented in act four. Ariel's feminine nature would have been easily accepted by an early modern audience since he was played by a boy actor.⁵⁶ Lindley expounds on Ariel's feminine disguises:

Ariel unambiguously refers to himself as male—he speaks of 'Ariel and all *his* quality' . . . , yet the disguises he adopts at Prospero's instigation—sea nymph, harpy and Ceres—are female. This androgynous quality would have been readily managed by a boy actor, who might equally have performed as Miranda, and easily accepted by an audience familiar with such cross dressed roles. (*Tempest* 86).

As Lindley explains, the visible self that Ariel presents to most characters on stage is female; furthermore, his three feminine disguises are all closely connected to sirens. Shakespeare himself links sea nymphs with sirens in *Titus Andronicus* (2.1.22-23). Lindley proposes that Ariel's disguise as a harpy serves as a connection to the siren myth (*Shakespeare* 227). Lindley's suggestion rests on an image in the 1608 edition of *Le Imagine dei Dei degli Antichi* which contains three sirens who lure ships onto rocks on which harpies perch (*Shakespeare* 45). Finally, Ceres is linked to the sirens through Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. In Ovid's fifth book, he explains that Ceres gave the sirens their wings and claws after they witnessed the abduction of her daughter. Ariel's feminine disguises are reminiscent of the siren's feminine quality, but since they also echo the connections sirens have with nymphs, harpies, and Ceres, they seem to tie even more

directly to the siren myth; furthermore, the misleading nature of Ariel's cross-dressing disguises might suggest the sirens' treacherous appeal.

Ariel also displays the siren's soporific qualities. Answering Prospero's query about the well being of King Alonso's ship and sailors after the tempest, Ariel makes the following statement:

Safely in harbor
Is the King's ship; in the deep nook where once
Thou call'dst me up at midnight to fetch dew
From the still-vexed Bermoothes, there she's hid;
The Mariners all under hatches stowed,
Who, with a charm joined to their suff' red labor,
I have left asleep. (1.2.226-232)

Ariel makes it plain that after the storm he raised to buffet King Alonso's ship, he has charmed the King's sailors asleep. Ariel's ability to induce sleep juxtaposed against his capacity to raise storms is suggestively sirenic, but *The Tempest* emphasizes Ariel's siren-like ability to induce sleep even more strongly by pairing it with song. As described in chapter one, the siren, according to Bartholomaeus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum*, can "with sweetness of song...maketh shipmen to sleepe" (410).

Ariel's ability to induce sleep with his sweet song as well as his sirenic treachery is shown in act three. After Ariel confuses Caliban, Stephano, and Trinculo's catch with his tabor and pipe playing(3.2.124-138), Caliban reassures Stephano and Trinculo that Ariel's music is harmless:

Be not afeard; the isle is full of noises,
Sounds and sweet airs that give delight and hurt not.
Sometimes a thousand twangling instruments
Will hum about mine ears; and sometimes voices
That, if I then had waked after long sleep,
Will make me sleep again (3.2.140-145)

While Caliban's reassurance details the soporific aspect of Ariel's music, it also suggests that Ariel's sleep-inducing song is harmless. The harmless nature of Ariel's song as described by Caliban might at first make it seem less sirenic, but Caliban's description of Ariel's benign music is overturned as he and his rude companions follow Ariel's tabor and pipe playing into ruin. After Trinculo urges, "The sound is going away; let's follow it," (3.2.154) the awkward trio is lead by Ariel's music into a vile bog which smells of horse piss. Ariel describes his treacherous luring of Caliban's trio to Prospero:

Then I beat my tabor;
At which like unbacked colts they pricked their ears,
Advanced their eyelids, lifted up their noses
As they smelt music. So I charmed their ears
That calflike they my lowing followed through
Toothed briers, sharp furzes, pricking goss, and thorns,
Which ent'red their frail shins. At last I left them
I' h' filthy mantled pool beyond your cell,
There dancing up to th' chins, that the foul lake
O'erstunk their feet. (4.1.175-184)

While Caliban's description of Ariel's music emphasizes its capacity to lull one asleep, Ariel's own description of the same music shows how Ariel uses his music treacherously to attract listeners maliciously to ruin.

Soporific musical treachery is at the heart of another of Ariel's interactions with the visitors to Prospero's island. In act two, Ariel, invisible, enters playing solemn music (2.1.189) that draws most of King Alonso's company to slumber. The magical nature of Ariel's sleep-inducing music is heightened through King Alonso's reaction to its suddenness as he asks, "What, all so soon asleep?" (2.1.195). Likewise, Sebastian exclaims, "What a strange drowsiness possesses them!" and continues "Why/ doth it not

then our eyelids sink? I find not/ Myself disposed to sleep” (2.1.205-6). To this Antonio adds, “they fell together all, as by consent” (2.1.207). King Alonso, Sebastian, and Antonio’s statements all point to how Ariel selectively uses his music to quickly induce sleep. Ariel’s musical inducement to sleep bears the siren’s treacherous mark since by leaving Sebastian and Antonio awake, it allows them to plot King Alonso’s murder. Lindley comments, “Ariel’s music charms Alonso, Gonzalo, and others to sleep in Act II, Scene I apparently only so that Antonio’s and Sebastian’s conspiracy might have space to declare itself” (“*Music*” 49-50). As Lindley notes, Ariel seems to use soporific music to enable Antonio and Sebastian to plot a thoroughly despicable murder and usurpation.

The destructive nature of Ariel’s music is fully revealed when he wields it again to wake King Alonso’s company (2.2.310). By causing Gonzalo to wake in the exact instant before Antonio and Sebastian plunge their swords into King Alonso, Ariel creates a situation in which Antonio and Sebastian’s guilt is certain, though their treacherous plot is forestalled. Prospero makes Antonio and Sebastian’s guilt clear when he tells them, “I here could pluck his Highness’ frown upon you,/ and justify you traitors” (5.1.128-29). Ariel’s soporific music exhibits its treachery by enabling Antonio and Sebastian to plot an atrocious act, but the treacherous nature of Ariel’s music is further increased when it is revealed that Ariel’s master, Prospero, will use Antonio and Sebastian’s guilt as a means to blackmail. Prospero plainly reveals his devious intention to hold knowledge of Antonio’s guilt as leverage to regain power:

For you[Antonio], most wicked sir, whom to call brother
Would even infect my mouth, I do forgive
Thy rankest fault—all of them; and require
My dukedom of thee, which perforce I know

Thou must restore. (5.1.131-4)

While Prospero speaks of forgiveness, he also reveals a hatred that makes it impossible to acknowledge Antonio as his brother. Based on this hatred it seems that Prospero has no real intention of forgiving Antonio. Prospero, in a sense, admits this estrangement when he demands a return to power in his former dukedom, and his certainty at its return; “Which perforce,” he knows must be restored because if Antonio fails to fall in line, Prospero will expose Antonio’s complicity in a plot against the King. Ariel’s music, undertaken at Prospero’s behest, encourages Antonio and Sebastian’s schemes against King Alonso for the sole purpose of placing them in a situation where they must serve Prospero or face death for treason.

Comparing Ariel’s traits to those an early modern audience would have associated with sirens—musical, avian/piscine, storm-loving, wreck-causing, feminine, soporific, and treacherous—it seems very probable that Shakespeare would have realized Ariel’s many siren-like aspects. This seems especially true since Shakespeare’s uses of the siren myth in his other works show his familiarity with many of these traits. If Shakespeare conceived Ariel as a sirenic representation, it seems that Ariel’s music might be interpreted as a sign of Shakespeare’s concern that his play somehow presents a sirenic message. Since Shakespeare’s contemporaries employed the sirens’s song to criticize the deceitful and dangerous nature of the theatre, it seems plausible that Shakespeare himself may have been susceptible to such charges. After all, though Shakespeare obviously had a much different perspective than Gosson, Gosson’s criticism of the theatre specifically

includes its music since *The Schoole of Abuse*, following Plutarch, claims that “sweete consortes” in theatres serve “as pricks vnto vice” (29).

Shakespeare himself seems to question the theatre’s morality and his association with the theatre as he considers his “public means which public manners breeds” in sonnet cxi, the “Dyer’s Hand Sonnet”: “My name receives a brand,/ And almost thence my nature is subdued/ To what it works in, like the dyer’s hand” (lines4-7). In these lines, Shakespeare acknowledges the aspersions cast upon the theatre, and this suggests he might have been influenced by the ideas of the theatres’ detractors. Shakespeare also demonstrates his belief in the power of music “to make bad good, and good provoke to harm” (*Measure for Measure* 4.1.14-15). The combination of these ideas with Shakespeare’s depiction of Ariel as a siren suggests that Ariel’s songs explore how theatrical music might mislead audiences in a potentially harmful fashion; furthermore, since Ariel often undertakes his sirenic acts at Prospero’s command, it seems that Prospero also participates in Shakespeare’s exploration of theatrical music’s sirenic implications.

“Come Unto these Yellow Sands”: Ariel’s Allure, Miranda, and a New World Siren Song

In his disguise as a nymph, Ariel sings his first song in act one: “Come unto These Yellow Sands.” Unfortunately, no extant music has been found for this song, but the song still reveals important ideas about music’s allure and its links to the New World. When Ariel sings “Come unto These Yellow Sands,” he is invisible to all but Prospero

and the audience, but he is still costumed as a sea nymph. Ariel sings the song to King Alonso's son Ferdinand. Considering this song, Lindley states "One might, however, want to argue that the female dress he [Ariel] adopts to entice Ferdinand invokes as its dark shadow the myth of the dangerous siren" (*Shakespeare* 227). Ferdinand's response to the song supports Lindley's reading:

Sitting on a bank,
Weeping again the King my father's wrack,
This music crept by me upon the waters,
Allaying both their fury and my passion
With its sweet air. Thence I have followed it,
Or it hath drawn me rather (1.2.390-5)

Ferdinand first claims to have "followed" the song. This claim suggests Ferdinand's agency in making a choice to pursue Ariel's music. Immediately thereafter, however, Ferdinand revises his initial statement elaborating, "or it ["Come Unto these Yellow Sands"] hath drawn me rather." This revision subtly implies that the song beguilingly beckons Ferdinand.

"Come Unto these Yellow Sands" also re-emphasizes Ariel's ability to control the winds. Ariel's apparent control over the weather fits nicely with the Shakespeare's depictions of the sirens. Shakespeare seems to have conceived the siren as able to lay the winds based on Oberon's famous lines in *A Midsummer Night's Dream* which describe a mermaid "uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,/ that the rude sea grew civil at her song" (2.1.149-150). While Ariel clearly raises the tempest that seems to sink King Alonso's ship, Ariel is also responsible for calming these same winds. This power is revealed in the song's first four lines:

Come unto these yellow sands,
And then take hands.
Curtsied when you have and kissed
The wild waves whist (1.2.375-8)

Though the meaning of “whist” is ambiguous, the reference to “wild waves” in these lines might indicate Ariel’s tempest. John Long, based on Ferdinand’s response that the song, “crept by...upon the waters/ allaying... their fury” (1.2.392-3) claims, “it is clear that the music calms the storm” (99). Richmond Noble concurs with Long interpreting “kissed the wild waves whist” to mean “the dancers kissed the wild waves into silence” (104).

While reinforcing Ariel’s sirenic ability to both raise and calm the winds, “Come Unto these Yellow Sands” also begins to hint at an alluring and sexual aspect in Ariel’s song. The combination of the siren’s ability to calm the winds and her ability to allure is found in an Italian dialogue written by Francesco Pona. In Pona’s dialogue, a soul describes its guise as a courtesan:

Canto dunque di sirena era il mio. Perché con sì fatta e spirit mi faceva udire toccando un’arpa, un leuto o una chitariglia e cantando, che avrei fatto languir d’amore un Senocrate, anzi il Disamore. Non toccava corda che I cuori non si sentissero intenerire, non scioglieva accento che l’aure non si fermassero per udirlo.

(My song was that of a Siren, because with such a liveliness of spirit it made me realize that by touching a harp, a lute, or a little guitar and singing, I would make a Xenocrates, or even Estrangement pine away from love. I did not touch a string but the hearts felt softening, I did not pronounce a word but the winds themselves were stilled to listen.)
(original and translation qtd. in Calogero 151)

In Pona’s dialogue, the siren seems to be stilling the winds because her music is so alluring that even the winds must stop to listen. The combination of an alluring invitation

and a calming of the winds plays itself out in “Come Unto these Yellow Sands.” The plural “you” in Ariel’s song, which seemingly includes Ferdinand, since this is who Ariel sings for, must also include another who Ferdinand can curtsy to and kiss. The prospective partner in this intimate dance is soon revealed to be Prospero’s daughter, Miranda. In fact, it seems that Ariel’s song “Come Unto these Yellow Sands” was sung for the express purpose of luring Ferdinand to Miranda. Though Prospero’s initial command to Ariel (1.2.318), which precedes Ariel’s singing, goes unheard, Prospero’s delighted asides to Ariel, “it goes on, I see./ As my soul prompts it” (1.2.420-1), and “thou hast done well, fine Ariel” (1.2.494) make it plain that Ariel sings at Prospero’s bidding, and uses his song to fulfill Prospero’s purpose of drawing Ferdinand to Miranda.

After hearing Ariel’s “Come Unto these Yellow Sands” and Ariel’s second song, “Full Fathom Five,” in quick succession, Ferdinand links the music to his first glimpse of Miranda. As Ferdinand spies Miranda he exclaims, “Most sure, the goddess/ On whom these airs attend!” (1.2.421-422) Here, the “airs” attending on Miranda are the airs that Ariel has just finished singing. The music Ariel sings immediately creates a sexual desire in Ferdinand. The sexual nature of his desire is emphasized by his focus on Miranda’s virginity (1.2. 448). Ferdinand’s desire, a desire formed partially by Ariel’s song, can be gleaned from Prospero’s thrice repeated admonitions that Ferdinand must wait to pursue a sexual union with Miranda until the pair marries. Preceding the betrothal masque in act four, Prospero warns Ferdinand “If thou dost break her virgin-knot before/ All sanctimonious ceremonies.../No sweet aspersion shall the heavens let fall/ to make this contract grow” (4.1.16-18). Prospero repeats his warning again, “Look thou be true. Do

not give dalliance/ Too much the rein; the strongest oaths are straw/ To th' fire I' th' blood" (4.1.51-53). Finally, within the masque that Prospero commands Ariel to present, Iris suggests that Venus and Cupid have conspired to create "Some wanton charm" upon Ferdinand and Miranda to break their vow "that no bed-right shall be paid/ Till Hymen's torch be lighted" (4.1.95-97). Based on this thrice-repeated warning, it seems that, at least in Prospero's eyes, Ferdinand and Miranda are prone to sexual desire, and since this desire is spurred by Ariel's song, it suggests Ariel's sirenic nature.

As the invisible Ariel's song serves as the enticement to draw Ferdinand to the visible Miranda, it is significant that Miranda's description emphasizes one of the features, long loose hair, which has traditionally been used to link sirens with their magical and concupiscent power. Linda Austern, while discussing Thomas Wyatt's translation of Psalm VI notes that the siren's loose hair "signified potentially dangerous magical powers, linked by ancient tradition to her song" (80). Shakespeare himself connects the sirenic quality of long hair to a magical ability for ruinous sexual seduction in *The Comedy of Errors*. In *The Comedy of Errors*, Antipholous both reproaches and proclaims his love for Luciana with these lines:

Sing, siren, for thyslef, and I will dote.
Spread o'er the silver waves thy golden hairs,
And as a bed I'll take them and there lie;
And in that glorious supposition think
He gains by death that hath such means to die.

In these lines, Antipholus links the siren's song to her luxuriant shining hair spread out on the waves. Furthermore, Antipholus makes it clear that his desire for the Siren is spurred not only by her song, but also by her hair. Antipholus claims he will lie on the hair as if

it were a bed and he uses the early modern double entendre for the word “die.” In a siren bed of hair spread out against the sea, Antipholus will die both as he drowns and as he reaches sexual climax with the siren he pursues. In this case, the two deaths are one and the same thing.

Shakespeare’s reference to the magically concupiscent power of the siren’s hair makes the ties between Ariel’s songs and Miranda’s description sirenic. Immediately after Ariel sings “Come Unto These Yellow Sands” and “Full Fathom Five,” Ferdinand sees Miranda. Ferdinand’s first glimpse of Miranda is a glimpse of her long flowing hair. Miranda is described as having “fringed curtains” in front of her eyes (1.2.409). As Ferdinand sees Miranda’s luxuriant hair, he suggests the alluring interplay between Ariel’s music and Miranda’s hair (1.2.422-423).

As I’ve argued in chapter one, the siren’s hair is also one of the reasons she has traditionally been pictured with a comb and mirror denoting her vanity and sexual allure (36).⁵⁷ Miranda, besides being described as having long hair, is also described as holding a “glass” (3.1.50). The emblemist Henry Peacham explains the sexual allure the mirror represents in his *Minerva Britanna or a Garden of Heroical Deuises* (1612) when he claims a mirror or “glass” shows “how we by fight are mooud to loue” (qtd. in Calogero 154). This sexual allure is emphasized in *The Tempest* since Miranda’s mirror-holding description comes shortly after Ferdinand, speaking with Miranda, admits, “full many a lady/ I have eyed with best regard, and many a time/ Th’ harmony of their tongues hath into bondage/ Brought my too diligent ear” (3.1.39-42). Ferdinand’s musically-toned allusions to promiscuous interactions with women besides Miranda recall the link

between the music Ariel sings and the description of Miranda's long hair. The combination of Miranda's hair and mirror seem to emphasize the alluring nature of Ariel's song and the visible aspects of Miranda that taken together suggest the sirens' temptations.

If, as Lindley suggests, the boy actor who played Ariel may also have doubled as Miranda (*Tempest* 86), Ariel's sirenic aspect is strengthened even further since Miranda's hair and glass are carried by the same body that portrays Ariel. As Andrew Gurr notes, Shakespeare's actors usually played several parts in a play (17). Gurr even claims that, "Telling who was a new character and who was an old one in disguise must have challenged audiences" (17). A boy actor playing Ariel in all his disguises and Miranda would have served to completely unite the visual aspects of Miranda's sirenic nature, her hair and mirror, with the aural aspects of Ariel's sirenic nature, his enticing song. In a sense, Miranda's visible physical form presents her as an unwitting accomplice to the sirenic allure created by the combination of Ariel's song and her appearance. In other words, Miranda avoids the charge of intentionally luring Ferdinand. She maintains her purity and instead, Prospero, who directed Ariel to draw Ferdinand towards Miranda, is responsible for the music that acts as procuress. The interaction between Miranda and Ariel serves to emphasize Prospero's responsibility for their combined sirenic enticement.

While "Come Unto these Yellow Sands" reveals Ariel's ability to calm the winds and increase sexual allure, it also contains a veiled allusion to the New World. The link between "Come Unto these Yellow Sands" and the New World is proposed by Frank

Kermode. In Kermode's 1954 edition of *The Tempest*, he cites James Rosier's account of a ceremonial Virginian dance from *Purchase His Pilgrimage* as a possible source for the song's burden (xxxiii). Rosier's description of the dance was first published in 1605 and it detailed events described by Owen Griffin. Rosier and Griffin were both on an expedition to Virginia lead by Captain George Weymouth. Rosier's description of the Virginian dance shares several important features with the burden for "Come Unto these Yellow Sands:"

One among them (the eldest of the Company, as he iudged) riseth right vp, the other sitting still, and looking about, suddenly cried with a loud voice, Baugh, Waugh: Then the women fall downe, and lie vpon the ground and the men all together answering the same, fall a stamping round about the fire with both feet, as hard as they can, making the ground shake, with sundry out-cries, and change of voice and sound. (n.pag.)

The burden for "Come Unto these Yellow Sands" includes the phrase, "Bow, wow!/ The Watchdogs bark/ Bow, wow!" (1.2.382-84) Though a cursory comparison between the burden of "Come unto these Yellow Sands" and Rosier's account might not suggest a clear connection between the two texts, Wilson and Calore help validate Kermode's argument by suggesting that as Ariel sings "Foot it featly here and there" he indicates that the song is accompanied by a "singing and dancing under-song" (71). Wilson and Calore also explain that a burden might be a response by several singers to a stanza sung by a solo performer and it might consist of "quasi-instrumental or nonsense words" (68). Understanding these features of the burden for "Come unto These Yellow Sands" makes its similarity to Rosier's account more evident. Since Rosier's account includes a group response to a solo voice and dance while also containing the homophonic "Baugh, Waugh," it seems to have several close echoes in "Come unto These Yellow Sands."

Thus, while “Come unto These Yellow Sands” becomes a siren’s song as it lures Ferdinand forward to an encounter with the long-haired and mirror-bearing Miranda, it also contains echoes of the Virginian enterprise. This siren song is one that might call the play’s audience to the New World as it draws Ferdinand to Miranda.

The Virginian echoes in “Come unto These Yellow Sands” take on special significance since Ariel’s invitation, which at first seems directed towards Ferdinand as it lures him towards Miranda, uses the imperative voice. As the song begins, Ariel commands “Come unto These Yellow Sands.” This command might be simultaneously directed towards Ferdinand and the play’s audience. While Ariel sings a siren song that leads Ferdinand towards Miranda, he also sings a siren song that leads his audience towards the Virginian echo his song includes. The “yellow sands” in this echo line the shores encountered on the journey towards Virginia as Ariel’s song transforms into the singing and dancing of natives who chant “Baugh, waugh.” The song reveals its sirenic nature at first through its manipulation of Ferdinand’s desire for Miranda, but understanding the effect the song has on Ferdinand suggests the song can transform into a song that similarly manipulates the play’s audience. The calm winds in Ariel’s song suggest a safe passage to the New World, and Miranda’s innocent allure, an allure created at Prospero’s command by Ariel’s song, represents the innocent allure of an un-fallen Eve in an Edenic New World.

Rosier’s account of Virginia, besides mentioning the native’s primitive dance, describes the shore as “a land, whose pleasant fertility bewraieth it selfe to be the garden of nature, wherin she only intended to delight hir selfe.” Rosier’s account suggests an

alluring yet innocent personification of the New World's fertile nature. This account resonates with DeBry's depiction of Adam and Eve before the fall in his edition of Thomas Harriot's *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia* (1590). (See figure four in chapter one). Miranda, like Eve before the fall in De Bry's illustration, is an innocent bystander to the sirenic serpent's song. The sirenic serpent in De Bry's illustration inserts itself between Adam and Eve. Similarly, Prospero's siren, Ariel, inserts himself between Ferdinand and the innocent Miranda. Ultimately, "Come Unto these Yellow Sands" recasts Ariel as a siren luring Shakespeare's audience to an Edenic New World.

"Full Fathom Five": The Virginia Company and Ariel's Treacherous Song of Virginian Wealth

The next song in *The Tempest*, "Full Fathom Five," comes close on the heels of "Come unto These Yellow Sands" in act one, and it too contains links with the New World. The sirenic treachery of Ariel's music comes to the fore through this song. The duplicity inherent in "Full Fathom Five" proceeds through the way it convinces Ferdinand of King Alonso's death. The song's opening line, "Full fathom five thy father lies," helps convince Ferdinand of King Alonso's drowning. As soon as the song concludes, Ferdinand says, "The ditty does remember my drowned father" (1.2.406). Ariel's song, as it leads Ferdinand toward Miranda, convinces Ferdinand that he, based on King Alonso's death, can choose his own spouse. Ferdinand's reunion with his father in act five makes this idea explicit: "I chose her [Miranda] when I could not ask my

father/ For his advice, nor thought I had one.” (5.1.190-91). Warburton elucidates this point clearly,

It was necessary they [Ferdinand and Miranda] should be contracted before the affair came to ...the Father’s knowledge. For Prospero was ignorant how this storm and shipwreck, caused by him, would work upon Alonzo’s temper. It might either soften him, or increase his aversion for Prospero as the author. On the other hand, to engage Ferdinand without the consent of his Father, was difficult. For...such engagements are not made without the consent of the Sovereign...the poet therefore...has made Ariel persuade him of his Father’s death. (qtd. in Seng 254)

If Ariel’s song “Full Fathom Five” convinces Ferdinand of his father’s death when Ariel knows King Alonso is alive, the song becomes deceitful. Furthermore, the audience is thoroughly aware of this deceit since Ariel reports the King’s safety to Prospero and sings “Full Fathom Five” previously in the same scene. As Lindley states, “it must...be acknowledged that at a literal level the lyric of ‘Full Fathom Five’ is simply untrue” (*Shakespeare* 224). B. J. Sokol, takes Lindley’s claim a step further; “By it [“Full Fathom Five”] Ferdinand is tricked into believing falsely that his father is dead” (44). To emphasize the sirenic nature of this deceit, it need only be remembered that this lie increases Miranda’s allure since it enables Ferdinand to pursue her. As Fox-Good notes, “as so often in Shakespeare, the death (symbolic or real) of a parent permits the transfer and transformation of a character’s affection to a lover, involving, not least of course, the awakening of sexual desire” (257).

While Sokol focuses on the deceit inherent in “Full Fathom Five,” he also focuses on one of the New World links to this song: pearls (30-47). Sokol notes “Several among the first English explorers remarked on the quantity and often good quality of pearls possessed by Native Algonquians” (35).⁵⁸ His remark is born out in a number of the pro-

Virginian pamphlets that were published before 1611, the year that marks the first certain performance of *The Tempest*.

In 1607, the Virginia Company had re-established a foothold in the New World at Jamestown. An expedition led by Sir Thomas Gates and Sir George Somers meant to bolster Jamestown sailed for the New World in 1609; however, this expedition was thought to have lost both of its leaders when the fleet's flagship disappeared in a "tempest." Eventually, news from Jamestown revealed that Gates and Somers's ship, the *Sea Venture*, had been marooned in the Bermudas and that after a prolonged stay on the deserted islands they were able to build new vessels to continue their journey to Virginia. The Virginia Company capitalized on the miraculous return of the *Sea Venture*'s crew and leaders with several publications in 1610.⁵⁹ One of these publications, authored by Richard Rich, entitled *News from Virginia: The Lost Flocke Triumphant*, makes specific mention of pearls as one of Virginia's exports. Rich explains how two "gallant ships" sent back to England from Virginia are loaded with commodities including "some pearl" (B3). Rich's brief mention is echoed in the *True Declaration*. This publication, as Salinger puts it, "set out to quash objectors and exhort supporters of the Company's [the Virginia Company's] godly, patriotic and profitable enterprise" (210). Justifying the godly nature of the Virginia Company's interactions with natives at Jamestown while simultaneously suggesting potential for material gain, the pamphlet claims "[we] doe buy of them the pearles of the earth, and sell to them the pearles of heaven" (qtd. in Salinger 210).

Silvester Jourdain's account of the Sea Venture's journey, *A Discovery of the Bermudas*, also mentions pearls. As Jourdain describes the Bermudas he claims, "There is great store of pearl, and some of them vary fair, round, and oriental [lustrous], and you shall find at least one hundred seed of pearl in one oyster" (112). Jourdain's description of the New World's pearls far exceeds those of his contemporaries' accounts. Jourdain's description of the pearls' abundance and good quality foregrounds their commercial prospects. This trio of narratives concerning the Sea Venture's journey, *News from Virginia*, the *True Declaration*, and *A Discovery of the Bermudas*, establish pearls as one of the commodities that the Virginia Company could exploit.

While the Virginia Company allowed *News from Virginia*, the *True Declaration*, and *A Discovery of the Bermudas* to be published shortly after the events they report, another contemporaneous account of the Virginia Company's New World endeavors that wasn't published until much later was an account of the 1609 wreck and recovery written by William Strachey (Salingar 209). Several scholars, including Bullough (240) and Gayley (49), are convinced that Strachey's account, despite being un-published until 1625, served as Shakespeare's inspiration for key incidents in *The Tempest*. Gayley also claims that Strachey's account went unpublished because it,

describes with vivid fidelity and unvarnished detail all the happenings of the intervening period [from June, 2 1609 until July 15, 1610] – discouragements, mutinies and murders, factions, misgovernment, wanton sloth and waste, misery and penury, fraud and treason, death by starvation and disease and cruel encounter with the savages. (50)

Gayley concludes that the letter "is much too frank to have been allowed in print while a very influential company [The Virginia Company] was trying to raise more men and

more money” (74). Strachey’s account may have been too revealing for it to be published, but it too mentions the lure of pearls. At one point, Strachey claims he believes the “fishing for the Pearle” is as good in the Bermudas as it is in any part of the other “Indian Ilands” (qtd. in Bullough 282). Later, while narrating the mutinous actions of a group of Sir George Somers’ men, Strachey suggests a greedy longing for pearls might be to blame for their mutiny. Strachey specifically states that, “greedinesse after some little Pearle” is one of the possible reasons for the mutiny (291). Strachey’s account, like *News from Virginia*, the *True Declaration*, and *A Discovery of the Bermudas* emphasizes the New World’s pearls while also suggesting greed for pearls could create disorder and morally questionable acts.

At least four accounts of the Virginia Company’s 1609-1610 venture in the New World all include the idea that pearls are one source of direct wealth the company can hope to attain. Since each of these accounts has been suggested as possible source material for *The Tempest*,⁶⁰ it seems possible that the pearls in Ariel’s song “Full Fathom Five” are suggestive of these New World pearls. This idea is strengthened by the fact that in the sixteenth century, as Kunz and Stevenson point out, “America was best known in continental Europe as the land whence the pearls came” (231). Pearls were often thought of as American by Shakespeare’s contemporaries. For instance, in John Marston’s *The Malcontent* (1604) Maquerelle’s panacea included “The powder of pearl of America” (qtd. in Cawley 293). Considering both the Virginian literature specifically and the more general belief in America’s abundant pearls in Shakespeare’s time, it seems

likely that Shakespeare's reference to pearls in "Full Fathom Five" might point to the New World.

In addition to the New World pearls in "Full Fathom Five," the song also mentions coral. The claims of pearls as part of the Virginian profit found in the pro-Virginia Company pamphlets and Strachey's account were first reported in even earlier accounts from voyages related to English settlement in the New World. One of these accounts places New World pearls in close proximity with coral. In Arthur Barlowe's account *The First Voyage Made to the Coasts of America* (1584), Barlowe describes the adornments of the native King Wingina's wife with these words, "About her forehead she had a bande of white Corall...in her eares shee had bracelets of pearles hanging down to her middle" (5). Barlowe also mentions coral as an item his company traded with the Native Americans (6). These references to pearls and coral as part of the natural wealth available in Virginian, especially through their close relationship in Barlowe's description of Wingina's wife, suggest that the coral in "Full Fathom Five," like its pearls, might have a link to the New World.

When Ariel sings "Full Fathom Five" and describes Alonso's bones turning into coral and his eyes turning into pearls, his song is a deceitful siren song wrongfully persuading Ferdinand of Alonso's demise so that Ferdinand might not falter in his amorous pursuit of Miranda, a pursuit first brought about by the song "Come Unto These Yellow Sands;" however, Alonso's transformation may have another sirenic meaning. Ariel's song in effect turns death into the possibility for profit. The King's corpse is indeed, as the song claims, turned into something "rich." The King's corpse is turned,

through what is clearly the false report of Ariel's siren-like song, into riches associated with the New World. Based on Barlowe's Virginian account, the reference to both coral and pearls might suggest the New World's riches. Though the Virginian link to coral might be tentative, the pearls, based on the play's topical links with the recent wreck of the Sea Venture, could resonate with Shakespeare's audience as a Virginian product since pearls are mentioned in three public accounts, *News from Virginia*, the *True Declaration*, and *A Discovery of the Bermudas*, that detail the Sea Venture's wreck and the miraculous recovery of its crew. Based on this link, as Ariel's song tempts Ferdinand towards Miranda, an innocent embodiment of Virginia's allure, it also minimizes the threat of mortality on voyages bound for Virginia and emphasizes instead the potential profits of these voyages.

Fox-Goode claims that "Full Fathom Five" depersonalizes and dehumanizes Alonso as it turns "father" to "bones" and finally to "coral" (250). A similar claim could be made as "father" turns into "pearls." This process glosses over King Alonso's death. Since Alonso's death is transformed into the promise of New World treasures as Ferdinand is distracted from his loss, Shakespeare's audience might also be distracted from the New World's threat of mortality as Ariel's song reminds them of Virginian wealth.

Shakespeare, if he read Strachey's unpublished account of the Sea Venture's fate as Gayley proposes, would certainly be aware of the dangers inherent in voyages to the New World. Strachey's account bears witness to losses suffered both on the journey to Virginia and at Jamestown. Strachey lists five deaths that occurred in the Bermudas:

Jefferey Briars, Richard Lewis, William Hitchman, Bermuda Rolfe, and Edward Samuel (54). He also mentions the loss of the Sea Venture's long boat crew who were "taken at some time or other at some advantage by the savages and so cut off" (62). At Jamestown, Strachey claims that "the Indian killed as fast without, if our men stirred but beyond the bounds of their blockhouse, as famine and pestilence did within" (64). Strachey later points out that of the settlers at Jamestown "one hundred sickened and half the number died" (83). While Strachey's narrative suggests there is potential for great success in and around Jamestown, he also makes it clear that this success will come at the cost of a significant death toll. Keeping in mind Shakespeare's probable knowledge of this death toll, the transformation of Alonso's death into New World pearls contained in Ariel's song seems to self-consciously promise the New World's wealth while disguising its potentially lethal outcomes.

In part, the self-conscious transformation of death into New World wealth displayed in "Full Fathom Five" is created because the song includes a semantic echo as its singer sings about his own song. Attired as a sea nymph, Ariel sings, "Sea nymphs hourly ring his [Alonso's] knell/Hark now I hear them" (1.2.402-403). In effect, Ariel describes himself since he is the sea nymph who is "ringing" Alonso's death knell with his song. Ariel is singing about hearing himself sing Alonso's lament. Shakespeare seems to have found sea nymphs and sirens to be readily exchangeable beings; therefore, Ariel proclaims his sirenic nature in the very song he sings, at Prospero's command, to lure Ferdinand towards Miranda. At the same time, since Ariel's song can simultaneously be understood as a song that becomes sirenic by transforming death,

particularly death caused by New World catastrophes like Alonso's or the Sea Venture's wreck, into the promise of fiscal gain, Ariel announces that his song can be understood as a siren call to the New World.

Ariel's revelation of his own sirenic qualities might explain the paradox of his invisibility. As Chickering notes "Paradoxically, he [Ariel] appears as a nymph yet remains invisible" (155). At Prospero's command, Ariel first disguises himself as a sea nymph and then, while still disguised, turns invisible to all but Prospero. Though Ariel announces his own attire as the song echoes the singer, Ferdinand and Miranda can't see that Ariel sings about himself when he sings of sea nymphs. Only Prospero and the audience can see this echo. In effect, both Prospero and the audience are in a position to appreciate the sirenic nature of Ariel's song. Prospero commands Ariel to act as a siren since Ariel lures Ferdinand with song to fulfill Prospero's wish; however, Prospero also enables the audience to see Ariel's siren-like aspect by commanding Ariel to disguise himself as a sea nymph. Since Ferdinand and Miranda are blind to Ariel's disguise, it stands to reason that Ariel's disguise is intended for the audience's benefit. While Prospero casts Ariel as a siren singing a song that might tempt the audience to a more positive conception of the Virginia Company's venture, he also reveals his casting to the play's audience by emphasizing it with the song's verbal echo of Ariel's appearance as Ariel seems to sing about himself singing.

A close reading of the interaction between the lyric and music of "Full Fathom Five" contributes both to a sense that the song's sirenic nature is its transmutation of death into New World wealth and to a sense that this sirenic nature is being self-

consciously displayed. The evidence suggests that the music for “Full Fathom Five” was composed specifically for Shakespeare’s text by one of King James I’s lutenists, Robert Johnson.⁶¹ Chickering claims “We do know...that the music was written for the words” (139). This is important because many of Shakespeare’s songs were set to existing popular melodies of his day. The clear link between Shakespeare’s text and Johnson’s music allows readings that suggest intentional interactions between the two. However, since it is difficult to tell if the entirety of the extant music was the music Shakespeare’s audience would have heard since it was first published in John Wilson’s *Cheerful Ayres* (1660), it seems prudent to follow Chickering’s example and consider only the song’s melody and continuo lines.⁶²

The interaction between the music and lyric for “Full Fathom Five” enhances the song’s sirenic nature. In combination, the music and lyric emphasize Ariel’s transmutation of death into wealth while also pointing out the deceit involved in such a change. To examine the music of the song, see figure 5 below. As the song opens, its initial five syllables “Full fathom five thy” suggests a slow settling reminiscent of a body descending into the deeps. The repeated “F” sounds are underscored by the repetition of the pitch g’. Each syllable of the text receives its own reiteration of the pitch, and as Ariel sings the first two bars, he repeats the pitch g’ five times. This repetition might even be an instance of word-painting that illustrates the depth of five fathoms which marks the resting place of Alonso’s supposedly dead body. As Ariel begins to sing the song that finally convinces Ferdinand of Alonso’s death, he uses repetitive pitches and sounds that help establish a static and inactive state representing Alonso’s death. From

its opening syllables, the song's music and lyric interact to show the song's potential to mislead as they interact to reinforce Ariel's lie about Alonso's death.

Fig. 6. "Full Fathom Five," from *Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads First Composed for One Single Voice, and Since Set for Three Voices*. (1660) Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.⁶³

Cantus Primus. [6] *R. Johnson.*

Ull fathome five thy Father lyes, of his bones are Corral made

those are pearles that were his eyes, nothing of him that doth fade but doth

suffer a Sea change into something rich and strange.

[7]

Sea Nymphs hourly ring his knell, Hark now I heare them

Ding Dong Bell Ding Dong Ding Dong Bell

While the initial five syllables of the song help reinforce Ariel's deceit, the end of this same phrase, the words "father lies" might begin to self consciously point to their own deceit. While the syllables "full fathom five thy" are set syllabically with one note per syllable, the word "father" is set with two notes per syllable. The syllable "Fa" rises in pitch from a' to b' while the syllable "ther" rises from c'' to d''. Considering Johnson's twenty six airs in Spink's edition, Chickering notices that Johnson frequently uses "word-painting...so that the music takes over the task of expressing the feelings of the character or singer" and quickly continues to explain that in the two *Tempest* songs, "the words and music seem to be more in balance," (140-141). If this is the case, any elements of word-painting in "Full Fathom Five" should work harmoniously alongside the words. However, the rising melody behind "father," which ascends from an a' to a d'', seems to contain word-painting that contradicts the words' meaning both because

Alonso's body, the father Ariel sings about, should be settling down into the deep and because the increased melodic motion with two syllables per pitch contradicts the syllabic repetition of g' that initially reinforces Ariel's false message.

This contradiction can be more easily understood by looking at music manuals from Shakespeare's day. For instance, John Dowland's translation of Andreas Ornithoparcus's *Micrologus*, published in 1609 commands, "Let euery Singer conforme his voyce to the words, that as much as he can he make the *Concent* sad when the words are sad; & merry, when they are merry Wherein I cannot but wonder at the Saxons... in that they vse in their funerals, an high, merry and ioconde *Concent*" (89). Dowland's translation also credits Aristotle with claiming that "Musick must be so tempered, that neither sence be against reason, nor reason against sence" (22). Preceding Dowland's translation, Thomas Morley, in 1597, published his influential musical treatise, *A Plaine and Easie Introduction to Practical Musicke*. As Morley explains how "to dispose your music according to the nature of the words which you are therein to express" (290), he claims,

You must have a care that when your matter signifieth 'ascending,' 'high,' 'heaven,' and such like you make your music ascend; and by the contrary where your ditty speaketh of 'descending,' 'lowness,' 'depth,' 'hell,' and others such you must make your music descend; for as it will be thought a great absurdity to talk of heaven and point downwards to the earth, so will it be counted great incongruity if a musician upon the words 'he ascended into heaven' should cause his music descend, or by the contrary upon the decension should cause his music to ascend. (291)

While setting the word "father," Johnson seems to ignore the ideas from Dowland and Morley's texts about matching the sense and reason of words expressed through melody.

As Ariel sings the word “father” that represents the supposedly dead Alonso settling down through five fathoms of water his melody ascends. This “great absurdity” between the lyric and melody might serve to highlight the song’s inherently deceitful message. The potential for Ariel’s self-revealed lie may be crowned with the potential double meaning for the phrase’s final word: “lyes.” This word, sounded for the duration of a pricked minim, the longest rhythmic value allowed in the entire song, is emphasized by its length. Since the word “lyes” is held out, it allows the listener to consider the word carefully and discover the word’s potential second meaning.

While the song’s initial phrase may point out both its ability to persuade Ferdinand of Alonso’s death and subtly suggest the deceit that such a persuasion requires, the lyric and music in the song’s third phrase centers on the song’s reference to New World wealth. In bars 5 and 6, the beginning of the song’s third phrase couples a melodic movement ascending from a’ through b’ to c’’ with the words “Those are pearls.” As Ariel sings about the New World wealth that Alonso’s corpse is becoming, the ascending melody ends on c’’ and is held for the duration of a pricked minim accompanying the word “pearles.” The c’’ that accompanies “pearles” is at the melodic peak of its phrase, which encompasses bars 5 through 7. The word “pearles,” at the apex of its phrase, sung to the pitch c’’ for three beats, is accompanied by an A in the continuo part that begins a melodic echo, A through B to c, of the melody in the bass. This echo reinforces and accentuates the importance of the word “pearles” created by its relatively long duration and its position at the highest point of its musical phrase. The duration, pitch and melodic repetition all serve to emphasize the word pearls. This emphasis,

including in particular its duration, encourages the audience to carefully focus on the word and allows enough time to consider this word's resonance with recently published accounts of pearls as New World treasure. Furthermore, the word "pearles" seems to be paired rhythmically and sonically with the word "lyes" since these two words are both held for the duration of a pricked minim, the only words held this long in the song's first thirteen measures, and they both include the "s" ending. In effect, the musical rhythm enforces the sonic slant rhyme created between the two words. As this rhyme brings the two words together, it suggests the potential of New World treasure, but also suggests that this potential might somehow be a lie. Ariel's song glosses over death with the promise of New World wealth as it transforms Alonso's body, but it also uses music and sound to announce this duplicity. Taken this way, the music and lyric serve as a reminder of the song's siren nature since it suggests that there is something false in the song since the song glosses over death and emphasizes the New World's potential for gain.

The New World thread of meaning might also be augmented by the song's initial continuity. This sense of continuity is established by a musical rhyme that accompanies the rhyme in the lyric of the song's first four phrases. Chickering notes that "The musical phrases of the initial quatrain return to the two closing notes b' and a' in musical rhyme with the poetic rhymes (b' = 'lies'/'eyes'; a' = 'made'/'fade')" (157). The pattern of including musical rhyme along with the lyrical rhyme established in the song's first four phrases is broken in the fifth and sixth phrases. At bar 11, "change" is sung at c'' while in bar 13 "strange" is sung at d''. The song's first four phrases establish a pattern of continuity by reinforcing the lyrical rhyme with a musical rhyme. When this pattern is

broken in the couplet of the fifth and sixth phrases, it suggests that the “strange change” epitomized by the transformation of Alonso’s body into New World wealth is somehow suspect. It seems both true because of the lyrical rhyme and false because of the missing musical rhyme. While Alonso’s death may be strangely changed into New World wealth, a sense that the benefits of the change are undermined is created by the interaction of musical and poetic prosody.

The convoluted diction of the lyric in the fourth phrase contributes to a sense that the transformation Ariel sings about is somehow tainted. As Ariel sings “Nothing of him that doth fade,” he means that everything in Alonso’s body will fade⁶⁴ in the sense that it will cease being Alonso. This meaning becomes clear as the following phrase “But doth suffer a sea change” reminds Ariel’s listener that Alonso’s bones and eyes have turned into coral and pearls. The misleading diction, focused on the word “nothing,” heighten a sense of the song’s essential dishonesty. This dishonesty is partially focused on the transformation of death into the New World riches of pearls and coral as the word “nothing” from bar 8 is literally transformed into “something rich and strange” in bar 12 and 13.

The pairing of the syllable “thing” with the highest pitch in the song, f’, and the word “rich” with, e’, the second highest pitch in the song, places the song’s melodic emphasis on the words “something rich.” While the song begins with the syllabic sounding of a repetitive g’ suggesting the slow settling of Alonso’s body, this settling rises melodically until it reaches its peak at words describing New World wealth. The pearls’ and coral’s value is indicated and emphasized by the melodic focus placed on the

words “something rich.” While the word “rich,” sounded on e,” is emphasized momentarily as it follows the highest point in the song’s tessitura, this emphasis is fleeting and ultimately the music creates a sense of fulfillment or the achievement of a goal only when it passes through the word “rich” and reaches the word “strange.” The value of pearls and coral is both presented and undermined through this passing emphasis, and when the song suggests the “strange” quality of transforming a corpse into New World riches, it paradoxically does so with a sense of resolution since the word “strange” is accompanied by a strong sense of consonance as the melody and continuo line both come to rest on octaves of the same pitch. The tension within the song’s sixth phrase creates the possibility of understanding the song’s sirenic message as it foregrounds the underlying dishonesty the song presents both as it lies to Ferdinand and repeats the pro-Virginian rumors of vast New World wealth while deemphasizing the personal loss required for the extraction of this wealth.

After the song’s climax at its highest melodic point in bars 12 and 13, which marks both the “rich and strange” nature of Alonso’s transformation, Ariel’s song begins to point out its sirenic nature even more clearly. In bars 13 and 14, Ariel sings “Sea nymphs hourly ring his knell.” At this point in the song, Ariel announces his sirenic nature since he sings about sea nymphs singing while he is disguised as a singing sea nymph. Chikering notes that the song’s music itself, like the interaction between the song’s lyric and Ariel’s disguise, presents a paradox: “The steady upward fourths deliberately contradict the sense of the poetic text. The melody works with the words to create the paradox of a rising knell” (160). The rise in the melody towards “knell” belies

the misery that should accompany such a tolling of death and announces the song's siren character.

Then, Ariel actually sings the sea nymph's "knell" as the song's burden repeats the phrase "Ding, dong, ding, dong, bell" three times. This repeated burden, which consists of Ariel singing the song he ascribes to sea nymphs as he is disguised as a sea nymph, suggests its siren nature by introducing yet another contradiction in bars 21, 25, and 29 with the words "Ding, dong:"

in the burden each time these words begin a phrase they are valued as a dotted half-note for 'ding' and only a quarter-note for 'dong.' The lighter, shorter front vowel in 'ding' is elongated and the more gong-like sound in "dong" is shortened. This musical reversal of the spoken onomatopoeia – 'dong-ding; instead of 'ding dong'—again suggests a reversal of the conventional meaning of a tolling bell. (Chickering 161)

The conventional meaning of the tolling bell Chickering suggests, to announce a death, might be reversed here to support the song's effect of emphasizing the coral and pearls, which represent New World wealth, at the cost of deemphasizing death. As Ariel becomes most clearly a siren figure in the song because of the way the song echoes his own status as a singing siren, a musical reversal of the lyric's semantic meaning serves as a reminder that Ariel's song is misleading because it allows New World Wealth to supplant the miserable deaths the New World also offers. This announcement, which allows the audience to conceive the song's siren nature, is further strengthened by the rhythmic change that occurs in the song's burden. As Ariel sings words and melody that reverse the death that tolling bells should seem to signify in the song's context, the rhythmic pattern elongates. At the song's conclusion in bars 21 through 31, semibreves and minims become the dominant pulse. Though the song's tempo doesn't change, this

elongation of the basic rhythmic patterns suggests stalling action appropriate for the siren's soporific abilities. As the song seems to slow, it encourages sleep. This temptation to slumber works as a tempting lullaby that convinces the song's listener to passively accept the song's deceitful reversals and numerous contradictions.

Ultimately, "Full Fathom Five" seems to emphasize the potential benefits of the New World's wealth, its pearls and coral, while also undermining these benefits through a combination of music and lyric that encourages the audience to suspect the song. "Full Fathom Five" seems to make its own sirenic nature known to the play's audience by simultaneously creating a sense of self-contradiction and self-reflection as Ariel sings. Furthermore, these dual senses are strongest for the play's audience and for Prospero since only the play's audience and Prospero know that Alonso isn't dead and can see the invisible Ariel's costume.

"Where the Bee Sucks": Ariel's Song of New World Fertility

While "Full Fathom Five" works both to emphasize and undermine a sense of the New World's offer of instantaneous wealth, its coral and pearls, a wealth established by pro-Virginian propaganda, "Where the Bee Sucks" works both to emphasize and undermine the pro-Virginian propaganda's claims about the abundant fertility of the New World's temperate climate. Considering the pro-Virginian literature available to Shakespeare, it becomes clear that it goes to great length to communicate the great fertility of the New World in both the Bermudas and Virginia. For example, Jourdain's description of the Bermuda's in *A Discovery of the Bermudas* claims that Sir George

Somers was able to catch enough fish in half an hour to feed the whole company that had shipwrecked in the Bermudas (109). Later, Jourdain claims,

There is fowl in great num[ber] upon the islands where they breed, that there hath been taken in two or three hours a thousand at the least, the bird being of the bigness of a good pigeon and layeth eggs as big as a hen eggs upon the sand, where they come and lay them daily although men sit down amongst them, that there hath been taken up in one morning by Sir Thomas Gates's men one thousand of eggs (110)

Jourdain also mentions that “the country yieldeth divers fruits” in “great abundance” such as white and red mulberries (112). Jourdain’s description of the Bermudas seems to imply that the islands are an Edenic refuge in which man needs virtually no labor to acquire food and could live a life of hedonistic luxury.

Similar accounts of Virginia’s abundance were also provided in the pro-Virginian company propaganda. Rich’s *Newes from Virginia* includes the following description of Virginia:

There is no feare of hunger here,
For Corne much store here growes,
Much fish the gallant Riuers yeild,
Tis truth, without suppose,
Great store of Fowle, of Venison,
Of Grapes, and Mulberries,
Of Chestnuts, Walnuts, and such like,
Of fruits and Strawberries,
There is indeed no want at all (B2)

Though Rich’s account does not quite muster the same sense of overabundance in Virginia that Jourdain’s does, it still makes it plain that at Jamestown Virginia provides a plentiful supply of victuals that are readily available.

Since Jourdain and Rich’s accounts were authorized for publication because of their praise of the English enterprise in its Virginian voyages, it might be assumed that

they would exaggerate the abundance in the New World. Strachey's account conversely might be expected to present a less biased view of the New World's plenty. Surprisingly, Strachey's account of the Bermudas shares Jourdain's suggestions of an Edenic setting as he describes the manner in which men hunted for birds:

Our men found a pretty way to take them, which was by standing on the rocks or sands by the seaside and holloing, laughing, and making the strangest outcry that possibly they could. With the noise whereof the birds would come flocking to that place and settle upon the very arms and head of him that so cried, and still creep nearer and nearer, answering the noise themselves; by which our men would weigh them with their hand, and which weighed heaviest they took for the best and let the others alone. And so our men would take twenty dozen in two hours of the chiefest of them; and they were a good and well-relished fowl, fat and full as a partridge. (31)

Strachey's account, if anything, makes the idle ease of procuring food even more exaggerated than Jourdain since the birds seem to actively participate in their own capture. The birds even allow the stranded voyagers to take the fattest which will surely be the most "well-relished."

Strachey's account, since it isn't simply pro-Virginia Company propaganda, also suggests the darker side of this plenty as he describes how the sailors in his company tried to persuade the landmen to mutiny:

The angles wherewith chiefly they thus hooked in these disquieted pools were how that in Virginia nothing but wretchedness and labour must be expected, with many wants and a churlish entreaty, there being neither that fish, flesh, nor fowl which here (without wasting on the one part, or watching on theirs, or an threatening and art of authority) at ease and pleasure might be enjoyed. (41)

Strachey's description of this temptation to mutiny shows how the Bermudas seemed like a place that allowed such idleness and plenty that many in his company enjoyed their forced stay, but it also suggests that this plenty could be a source of disorder.

The descriptions of abundance in the pro-Virginia Company literature follows in the wake of earlier reports of Virginia's abundance. Barlowe's account of his 1584 voyage to Virginia details the first approach to shore with these words, "The second of July, we found shole water, wher we smelt so sweet, and strong a smel, as if we had bene in the midst of some delicate garden abounding with all kinde of odoriferous flowers"

(2). Barlowe claims upon reaching Virginia's shore that the land was,

so full of grapes, as the very beating and surge of the Sea overflowed them, of which we found such plentie, as well there as in all places else, both on the sand and on the greene soile on the hils, as in the plaines, as well on every little shrubbe, as also climbing towardses the tops of high Cedars, that I thinke in all the world the like abundance is not to be found: and my selfe having seene those parts of Europe that most abound, find such difference as were incredible to be writen. (3)

Barlowe's descriptions of Virginia boast of a place that is even more plentiful than that described by Rich. The description given by Barlowe includes the smell of flowery gardens and the promises of vineyards in waves awash with grapes. Clearly, the pro-Virginia Company pamphlets of 1609 and later had inherited a previous tradition for lush descriptions of Virginia.

Several aspects of "Where the Bee Sucks" seem to echo the Edenic descriptions of the Bermudas and Virginia that are provided by these various accounts. The very first line of the song "Where the bee sucks there suck I" seems to echo a 1609 publication

concerning the Virginia Company's coming voyage. Robert Gray's *A Good Speed to Virginia*, while arguing the importance of industry to the Virginian enterprise claims,

Industrie must be also added to helpe Arte and Nature, so that such as have no professes artes and trades, must painfully imploy themselves in some labour or other, to the furthering of the Plantation: a Drone will in short space devoure more honey tha the Bee can gather in a long time, and therefore the magistrate must correct with al sharpnesse of discipline, those unthriftie and unprofitable Drones, which live idly (D3)

Gray's metaphor of the bee and drone seems to resonate with Ariel's initial line in "Where the Bee Sucks." Ariel's song, as many have noted, is a song of joy at his prospective freedom from Prospero's service. For instance, Cutts claims the song is a "paean of sheer joy at release for his service to Prospero" (qtd. in Seng 270). Ariel's release from Prospero echoes Gray's sentiment. Free from Prospero, Ariel will lack a "magistrate" that "must correct with al sharpness of discipline." When Ariel sucks where the bee sucks, he seems to become the drone which lives idly since in the remainder of the song's lyric as Long claims, "solemnity is forgotten" (109), and because the song presents "such an ideal life in such a few words" (Noble 100). Lindley makes the danger in this idle state even clearer when he suggests that "Where the Bee Sucks" presents Ariel's song after it escapes Prospero's control and becomes "insouciant" and "utterly solipsistic" (231). The opening line in "Where the Bee Sucks" points to the fertile abundance in Virginia by serving as a reminder of the idleness that such abundance could foster. This dangerous idleness is expressed in Gray's Virginian tract through the metaphor of the bee and drone, and based on Strachey's account of the mutiny in the Bermudas, Gray's apian concerns seem to have been realized in the New World.

Several other points in “Where the Bee Sucks” seem to link the song to New World fertility. The song’s second phrase, “In a cowslip’s bell I lie,” seems reminiscent of Barlowe’s description of the aroma of flowery gardens that met his ship as it approached Virginia’s shore in 1584. The flower chosen for Ariel’s lyric, the cowslip, is significant because it is a flower associated with pasture land. The cowslip is the common name for *Primula Veris* and it is a “pasture and meadow wildflower, bright yellow in color, and one of the earliest blooming spring flowers” (Seng 270). The flower brings a double association with the New World abundance since it ushers in the beginning of the fertile season and is also found in pasture land.

The song’s next three phrases also suggest a connection to the New World’s fertile abundance: “There I couch when owls do cry,/On the bat’s back I do fly/ After summer merrily” (5.1. 90-3). Considering these lyrics, one scholar asks, “Why, *after* Summer? Unless we must suppose, our Author alluded to the mistaken Notion of Bats, Swallows & c. crossing the Seas in pursuit of hot Weather” (Theobald qtd. in Seng 270). Other scholars took up this quibble,⁶⁵ but Noble dismisses it: “We may waive the fact that the bat is not a migratory creature; drama does not pretend to expound natural history with scientific exactitude, and moreover the island on which Ariel lived was not one where nature existed in its usual order” (101). Another explanation for Shakespeare’s choice of owl and bat might stem from a description of the Bermudas. Ariel’s lines might resonate with Strachey’s description of the Bermuda’s plentiful birds. At the end of his list of “fowl” in the Bermudas, Strachey includes owls and emphasizes that the islands hold “bats in great store” (30). The close proximity of owls and bats in

Strachey's text suggests they might be echoed in Ariel's song; in addition, this New World link might explain some of the confusion Ariel's song has caused.

The theory of a Bermudan context for the owls and bats of Ariel's song is supported by the fact that Ariel is riding a bat "after Summer." While summer is a season of fertility and abundance, it is also one of the names given to the Bermuda islands in Shakespeare's day. For instance, in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, a chapter heading reads, "English Plantations, Discoveries, Acts, and Occvrrents, in Virginia and Svmmmer Ilands Since the Yeere 1606. Till 1624." Here the Bermudas are called the Summer Ilands. The Bermudas were called the Summer islands after Sir George Somers, or Summers as his name is spelled in *A True and Sincere Declaration of the Purpose and Ends of Plantation Begun in Virginia* (12) and other Virginia company publications.⁶⁶ Summers was appointed the Admiral of the 1609 Virginian fleet, and Jourdain details how Summers' eyes were responsible for guiding the steersman of the Sea Venture towards the safety offered by the Bermudas after the three-day storm that had totally devastated and demoralized the Sea Venture's crew (106). Summers returned to the islands again, on a resupply mission for Jamestown, after he and the rest of the voyagers on the wrecked Sea Venture finally arrived at Jamestown (Jourdain 116). As Ariel announces that he will fly on the bat's back after summer merrily, his lines clearly suggest an idle life in the summer's bounteous environment, but his lyric might also suggest his idle life will be found in the New World Summer islands. Ariel may be flying one of the Summer Island's inhabitants, the bat, on the same route taken by the islands' name sake, Sir George Summers. A reading of Ariel's lyric that suggests he is flying on a bat's back not

just after summer, but also to the lush Summer islands, is also supported by the fact that Prospero is known to have previously sent Ariel there: “Thou call’dst me up at midnight to fetch dew/ From the still-vexed Bermoothes” (1.2.228-9). The owls, bats, and the possible double meaning of summer in “Where the Bee Sucks” all suggest the song’s New World context.

Like “Full Fathom Five,” “Where the Bee Sucks” seems to have several features that echo *The Tempest’s* New World context; however, instead of emphasizing the New World’s riches, these features emphasize the New World’s abundance. When the lyric and music of “Where the Bee Sucks” are examined together, they suggest that the song’s message of New World abundance is an imperfect promise. Several features in the song foreground the idea of the New World’s fertile abundance. As Lindley claims, the entire lyric of the song “speaks of a life of hedonistic idleness” (230) and on its surface, the song’s music supports this message and may even heighten the audience’s realization of the song’s New World context. The song’s initial duple meter section seems to move between tonal areas centered on G and D.⁶⁷ Bar 4 clearly illustrates this motion. To examine the music, see figure 6 below. The rapid movement between tonal areas suggests a possibility of change that only increases as the song proceeds. After bar 10, the song’s rhythm changes from duple to triple meter. This change gives the illusion of an increased tempo.⁶⁸ Within this second triple meter section of the song, the frequency of fluctuations between tonal areas also increases. During the space of the song’s final eight bars, it rotates through four tonal areas: “Johnson now [in the triple portion of the song] takes the harmony more swiftly from one key to the next, beginning again in G,

modulating to D, briefly suggesting D minor, then returning to G” (Fox-Good 265). The sense of freedom that these tonal and rhythmic changes create emphasizes Ariel’s prospective freedom, and they also heighten the sense of a life of ease by suggesting a whimsical and flitting movement from one fancy to the next. This life of ease resonates with the descriptions of the abundance in the New World. It especially resonates with an ease created by the lack of proper governance. Ariel looks forward to his freedom from Prospero just like the mutinous voyager’s from Strachey’s account of the Sea Venture’s wreck look forward to a freedom from the governance of Summers and Gates in the plentiful Bermuda islands.

In part, the whimsical freedom in “Where the Bee Sucks” is also created by the rapidity of some of its melodic features. For example, in the triple meter section, the song repeats passing note ornamentations on the word blossom in bars 13 and again in 17. These ornamentations produce a spritely lilt that hint at the song’s hedonistic idleness. The song also includes an ornamental melodic flourish above and below a central pitch in bar 9. This ornamentation accompanies the word summer and involves a quick move down from b’ to a’ on the syllable “sum” and move from c’’ back to b’ on the syllable “mer.” While this ornamentation, the only such in the entire song, helps contribute to the song’s sense of easy pleasures, it also serves to emphasize the word summer. This emphasis might allow the play’s audience to consider the way a reference to summer might suggest the man, the islands, or the season. In this manner, the same melodic twist suggests both an easy life amidst abundance and might locate this life in the Summer Islands of the New World.

Fig. 7. "Where the Bee Sucks," from *Cheerfull Ayres or Ballads First Composed for One Single Voice, and Since Set for Three Voices*. (1660) Image published with permission of ProQuest. Further reproduction is prohibited without permission.⁶⁹

Cantus Primus. [8] . *R. Johnson.*

W Here the Bee sucks there suck I, in a Cowlips Bell I lye there I couch

When Owles doe cry, on the Batts Back I doe fly, after Summer merrily.

Merrily Merrily shall I live now under the Bloffome that hangs on the Bough

[9]

Merrily Merrily shall I live now, under the Bloffome that Hangs on the Bough.

While “Where the Bee Sucks” might at first seem to present a pleasant promise of easy living, and this promise can be linked to a New World context, the song also seems to take on a treacherous tone. This discord first presents itself in bar 4. In bar 4, Ariel sings “I lye” to complete the phrase “In a cowslip’s bell I lye.” As Ariel sings “lye,” the melody forces him to hold the word for the duration of a minim. The elongated vocalization of “lye” allows the play’s audience to process the idea that the word might not simply mean to recline and that it might also imply dishonesty. This sense of dishonesty may be further compounded by the pitch and rhythmic duration that accompanies “lye.

The word “lye” is sung at d’ and held for the duration of a minim in an exact repetition of the pitch and rhythmic value of the word “I” in bar 2. The repetition seems to bring the two words together creating the phrase “I lye.” This phrase is a larger echo of the phrase “I lye” within bar four. The two iterations of the phrase “I lye,” both within bar 4 and in the phrase created by pitch and rhythm between bars 2 and 4, works to suggest its multiple meanings. In a sense, the phrase “I lye” is doubled as is the potential for its meanings. The deceit this doubleness implies introduces doubt about the promise Ariel’s song contains.

The rhythmic emphasis of “lie” in bar 4 is repeated and exaggerated in bar 10. In bar 10, Ariel sings the syllable “ly” which completes the word “merrily.” Considering this syllable, Chikering claims, “the last syllable in ‘merrily’ could have been pronounced either ‘ee’ or ‘I’” (168). It is probable that “merrily” would be pronounced with a long “I” sound since this completes the strong end rhyme with “I” in bar 2, “lye” in bar 4,

“cry” in bar 6, and “fly” in bar 8. If the syllable is pronounced with a long “i” sound, it creates the smaller phonetic word “lie” within the word merrily. This subdivision of the word is exaggerated by the echo of the rhythmic elongation that accompanied “lie” in bar 4. In bar 10, the syllable “ly” sounding phonetically like “lie” is held twice as long as “lye” was held in bar 4. This insistent repetition of a word that might be understood to mean dishonesty for an even longer duration strengthens the idea that Ariel uses his song to announce his own deceit.

Besides the rhythmic emphasis placed on “ly” in bar 10, this subdivision of the word merrily is also made noticeable by the consonance created as g is held out in octaves in both the melody and the accompanying bass. This lengthy consonance causes bar 10 to adamantly call attention to itself. Morley includes the following exchange about octaves in a conversation between the fictitious master and student, Philomathes, in his musical treatise:

PHI. What is a concord?

MA. It is a mixed sound compact of divers voices, entering with delight in the ear, and is either perfect or imperfect.

PHI. What is a perfect consonant?

MA. It is that which may stand by itself and of itself maketh a perfect harmony without the mixture of any other.

PHI. Which distances make a concord or consonant harmony?

MA. A third, a fifth, a sixth, and an octave.

PHI. Which be perfect and which imperfect?

MA. Perfect-an unison, a fifth, and their octaves. (141)

The exchange between Morley’s master and student emphasizes the “delight” caused by a “consonant” and further elaborates to show the added importance of a “perfect consonant.” The “delight” created by the “perfect consonant” of the held octave Ariel

sings in harmony with his accompaniment at bar 10 suggests Ariel's own delight in the idle life of abundance his song details. Simultaneously, the time that a semibreve allows the syllable "ly" to be heard creates an obvious disproportion between "ly" and the relatively short rhythmic values assigned to the first two syllables of "merrily." This obvious disproportion suggests the semantic of the syllable's phonetic homonym, "lie," and in turn suggests that the hedonistic promise of Ariel's song is false. The metrical disfiguration of "merrily" causes the word to announce its own deceit.

Once heard at bar 10, the merry lie of the disfigured "merrily" reasserts itself as the word "merrily" is repeated four more times in bars 11 and 15. In these measures, though the word might be pronounced with the long "I" ending which suggests dishonesty, it might also be pronounced as the "ee" sound. This change in pronunciation is suggested since the word is no longer overtly rhymed with other end-rhymed words sharing the long "I" sound as it was within the duple portion of the song. If the pronunciation changes, the change would seem to place further emphasis on the dishonest meaning of the homophonic "ly" and "lie" from "merrily" that concluded the duple section. Hearing the word pronounced two different ways in such close proximity suggests the dishonest meaning of "lie." As the word "merrily" is pronounced first one way and then another, it presents a malleability that is suggestive of duplicity. As Ariel sings the very word that announces the merry life to be gained by following after summer, or possibly following Sir George Summers to the Summer Islands, he also announces the treachery of his song. Though the song is not as self-reflective as "Full

Fathom Five,” it still seems to offer a New World enticement while simultaneously revealing the treacherousness of its own allure.

Shakespeare, England’s Imperial Destiny, and Prospero’s Siren

While “Come Unto these Yellow Sands,” “Full Fathom Five,” and “Where the Bee Sucks” all contain allusions to the New World and pro-Virginia company pamphlets, the play as a whole also contains similar allusions. The abundance and nature of these allusions suggest that the entire play can act as a type of propaganda for the England’s imperial endeavor in Virginia. Shakespeare’s play might be part of the imperial spirit of his day. Considering the Virginia Company’s Jamestown settlement, Cawley claims that “a sudden and quite irresistible wave of enthusiasm spread over England in 1609, and preachers and pamphleteers began to commend the project in glowing terms” (277). Supporting his claim, Cawley lists at least nine such pre-1611 works⁷⁰ that include three of the 1610 publications, Rich’s *Newes from Virginia*, Jourdain’s *Discovery of the Bermudas*, and *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia*, that are echoed in Ariel’s songs. Cawley goes on to claim that by 1611, “something of a movement in literature towards propaganda for the new lands was underway,” and he also suggests that, “Some of this propaganda is implicit in Shakespeare’s *Tempest*” (306). Cawley is not the only scholar to make the suggestion that *The Tempest* works as propaganda to support English New World settlement. For instance, Frey makes the same suggestion indirectly when he writes that in *The Tempest* the,

grime and agony Richard Rich experienced in the Bermudas and at Jamestown become transmuted into the glitter of the balladeer. What

tempests and ship-wreck, mutinies and discontent, were suffered by travelers often become, in the eventual success of the journey, metamorphosed into fortunate falls, in melding history and romance, therefore, Shakespeare merely dramatized what his contemporaries enacted. (39)

Frey's claim, like Cawley's more overt statement, suggests that *The Tempest* can be seen as a type of propaganda for England's imperial expansion in the New World since it turns the suffering of the New World into "glitter." Furthermore, as Gayley makes clear, *The Tempest* turns hardship into "glitter" at a time when the Virginia Company was still gathering capital and men to keep its precarious foothold across the Atlantic (74).

An examination of *The Tempest* seems to support the idea that the play serves as a kind of propaganda for the Virginia Company's plantation effort. The most overt clue to this propaganda might be the play's namesake. Though a wreck-inducing tempest might not seem like the "glitter" to which Frey alludes, in the context of 1611, the topical allusion to the Sea Venture's wreck in *The Tempest* might oddly serve as an endorsement of the Virginia Company and New World expansion. Salingar helps explain the seeming paradox of this endorsement:

The shipwreck scene that opens *The Tempest* seems to the audience convincingly natural until they learn that real magic has produced it. At this point I think Shakespeare was not only utilizing Strachey's account of shipwreck followed by deliverance in the Bermudas but also activating the very recent experience in his public of dismay and then relief over news of the same event. (213)

Salingar's idea implies that the shipwreck in *The Tempest* actually serves as a way to remind the play's audience of the safe recovery of the Sea Venture's crew. Furthermore, the play, while including a wreck that seems to echo the recent loss of the Sea Venture, transmutes the wreck into an event that is both real and imaginary. The wreck is real

since the storm maroons the King's company on the island, but it is also imaginary since it is quite clear that Ariel has simply used illusion to scatter Alonso's men and hide his ship "safely in harbor" (1.2.226). In the end, Alonso's company sails away from their wreck in their miraculously preserved ship. The boatswain makes this miracle clear when he informs Alonso of the ship's condition "Our ship,/ Which, but three glasses since, we gave out split,/ Is tight and yare and bravely rigged as when/ we first put out to sea" (5.1.222-225). The wreck and recovery of King Alonso's ship reflects the Sea Venture's wreck and the unlooked for recovery of its crew, and this reflection activates the "public relief" over the safe recovery of those who sailed on the Sea Venture.

The illusory wreck of Alonso's ship also echoes the way the pro-Virginian pamphlets of 1610 incorporate the miraculous news of survivors from the Sea Venture. These pamphlets stress that divine intervention preserved those aboard the Sea Venture. For example, in his description of the wreck, Rich writes,

The Seas did rage, the windes did blowe,
Disstressed were they then:
Their ship did leake, her tackle breake,
In daunger were her men.
But heauen was Pylotte in this storm,
And to an Iland nere:
Bermoothawes call'd, inducted then,
Which did abate their feare. (A3)

Rich's report of the wreck, published upon his return to London in 1610 makes it clear that "heaven" was responsible for the safety of the Sea Venture. This claim of divine intervention suggests how the Virginia Company's enterprise in Virginia receives God's approval. Rich makes his God-given right to a place in Virginia plain in his preface when he claims "I have knowne the Voyage, past the danger, seene that honorable work

of Virginia, & I thank God am arrived here to tell thee what I have seene, don, & past” and then concludes, “I must not loose my patrymonie; I am for *Virginia* again” (A3). Rich’s statements show how descriptions of the Sea Venture’s wreck and recovery were used to imply that the Virginian adventure was blessed by God and destined for success. The idea of God blessing the Virginian settlement suggests the sense of England’s emerging imperial destiny.

Jourdain’s account of the wreck uses similar hyperbole to show God’s intervention. He repeatedly invokes God’s intervention in preserving the crew. For instance he claims, “it pleased God out of His most gracious and merciful providence so to direct and guide or ship” (106) and continues “it pleased God to work so strongly as the water was stayed” and finally concludes, “it pleased God to send her [the Sea Venture] within half an English mile of that land [the Bermudas]” (107). Rich’s and Jourdain’s publications, both allowed publication by the Virginia Company unlike Strachey’s letter, show how the Virginia Company used the recovery of the Sea Venture’s crew to bolster their New World enterprise. In 1611, the echo of the Sea Venture’s miracle in *The Tempest* reminds its audience of the pro-Virginian pamphlets which used the Sea Venture to justify the Virginia Company’s aims and to foster a belief in England’s destiny to settle the New World. This reminder is underscored when Gonzalo tells Alonso, “our escape/Is much beyond our loss” (2.1.2-3) and continues “But for the miracle,/ I mean our preservation, few in millions/ Can speak like us” (2.1.6-8). By including a topical allusion to the Sea Venture which concludes with a ship’s miraculous recovery, Shakespeare’s play creates a message that might be read as

endorsing the Virginian plantation and encouraging his audience to support a sense of England's imperial destiny.⁷¹

Considering *The Tempest's* allusion to the Sea Venture's wreck and how this wreck was used by pro-Virginian writers, it seems that the play can be understood as a text that encourages a positive perspective of England's future in the New World. *The Tempest's* allusion to the Sea Venture particularly encourages a positive perception of the Virginia Company's place within England's New World interests. In fact, it isn't surprising that Shakespeare would be interested in presenting the Virginia Company, and England's emerging imperial destiny positively. Gayley makes a case for the ties Shakespeare had with many of the Virginia Company's investors. For instance, Gayley suggests that Shakespeare would have known the Earl of Southampton, the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Robert Sidney, Sir Henry Neville, Lord De la Warr, Christopher Brooke, John Selden, Sir Dudley Digges, and many others that had deep interests in the Virginia Company.⁷² Several of Gayley's arguments seem too circumstantial. For instance, he claims Shakespeare's association with Sir Digges, Lord Isle, Lord De la War and Sir Thomas based on the fact these men "spoke with friends of Shakespeare among the great, the learned and the poetic, at every turn" (37).

It does not seem that Shakespeare would have had to know all those interested in the Virginia Company in order to present the company's imperial interests positively. Shakespeare's ties with the Earl of Southampton and the Earl of Pembroke alone would be a sufficient enticement. As Gayley notes, Shakespeare dedicated both his *Venus and Adonis* and his *Rape of Lucrece* to Southampton (10). Shakespeare's company may also

have presented a revival of *Love's Labour Lost* at Southampton's London home in 1605 (Campbell and Quinn 816). Since Southampton was one of Shakespeare's patrons, it seems likely that Shakespeare would have supported Southampton's interests. Based on Heminges' and Condell's dedication of the posthumously published first folio to William Herbert, the Earl of Pembroke, it seems likely that he too was one of Shakespeare's patrons. Both Southampton and Pembroke were members of the Council for Virginia (Gayley 12, 16). Salingar proposes the importance of keeping a positive public opinion concerning the effort to plant Virginia: "a prime concern of the [Virginia] Company was to attract steady investment, especially from the wealthiest London merchants, who were reluctant to withdraw any of their capital from trading and risk it in a colonial plantation, with the prospect of uncertain and long-delayed returns" (210). Since two of Shakespeare's important patrons had deep interests in the Virginia Company, it seems only reasonable Shakespeare would wish to present the effort to settle Virginia positively in order to help maintain public favor for the project which would in turn encourage investors and benefit his patrons. Of course, Shakespeares' desire to please his patrons also advances a message that is part of his nation's desire for expanding its imperial sway. The "sudden and quite irresistible wave of enthusiasm" that Cawley describes as spreading "over England in 1609" as "preachers and pamphleteers began to commend the project [the Virginia Company's project at Jamestown] in glowing terms" (277) implicitly suggests a national idea of the imperial role England should play in the New World.

While Shakespeare certainly had motivation to present the Virginia Company's New World interests positively, and *The Tempest* seems to support the idea that on its surface it can be read as a text that supports England's imperial expansion, the play also contains songs sung by a sirenic character which seem to emphasize the New World's wealth and fertility while simultaneously announcing their own prevarication. Through the play's metatheatrical qualities, these songs might serve as a way for Shakespeare to explore his role as a playwright within a period of English imperial expansion. It is widely accepted that Shakespeare had access to Strachey's unpublished description of the state of affairs in the Bermudas and Virginia.⁷³ If Shakespeare knew the details from Strachey's account, he would certainly have understood the many dangers involved with the effort to settle Virginia. Since Shakespeare's play presents the Virginian endeavor positively, Shakespeare may have been concerned with the purely propagandistic and sirenic effect his play could create. If *The Tempest*, Shakespeare's most musical play, simply contains a message that might lure its audience unwittingly towards the danger of the New World's shores, Shakespeare could have suspected his own play was a sort of treacherous siren song that encourages England's imperialistic New World expansion without fully revealing the dangers such an expansion involves. Realizing this possibility, Shakespeare may have included self-referential commentary within the play that pointed out his play's own sirenic aspects. This self-criticism can be seen most clearly by considering the play's metatheatrical characteristics.

The Tempest has been labeled Shakespeare's "most consistently metatheatrical play" (Berger qtd. in Walch 226). *The Tempest* seems to repeatedly cast Prospero as a

director or as Stephen Miko puts it, “a manager of shows” (8). Prospero in some sense, “runs versions of a living theatre, both producing and directing” (Miko 8). Northrop Frye claims that the subject of *The Tempest* is “The producing of a play” that is “put on by the chief character” (qtd. in Walch 227). Prospero suggests his role as a director or playwright in the epilogue when he makes an appeal to the play’s audience:

But release me from my bands
With the help of your good hands.
Gentle breath of yours my sails
Must fill, or else my project fails,
Which was to please. (9-13)

As Prospero addresses his audience and asks for their applause, he seems to become the play’s creator since without the applause his project to please his audience will fail. With this statement, Prospero becomes an echo of Shakespeare, and his acknowledgement of the audience’s power to approve or condemn the play implies an element of self-questioning or even self-criticism within the play. This self-criticism is presented through the metaphor of a voyaging ship. Though the ship can be seen within the play’s fiction as the ship bearing Prospero back to Milan, the metaphor also encompasses the play’s allusions to the Virginia Company’s project in the New World and England’s role as an emerging power in the New World. Prospero’s sails thus become the sails of his own ship to Milan, the sails of the Virginia Company’s ships to the New World, and the sails of the play’s success. In part, Prospero and Shakespeare’s project “to please” might be deemed successful if the play helps create a positive public perception of the plantation at Jamestown. Such a positive public perception would certainly please Shakespeare’s patrons and work alongside a national mood that endorsed English

imperialism, yet Prospero's self-criticism might indicate Shakespeare's sense of responsibility to make his play something more than simply sirenic propaganda encouraging English New World expansion.

Many of the places within *The Tempest* that point to its metatheatricality center on Prospero's direction of Ariel. For instance, in act one, after Ariel has raised the tempest, Prospero asks if Ariel has "performed" the tempest "to point" (1.2.194). This question foregrounds Ariel's creation of the tempest as a performance that met Prospero's specific instructions. In act three, Prospero commends Ariel's performance as a harpy: "Bravely the figure of this harpy hast thou/ Performed, my Ariel" (3.3.83-84). Shortly thereafter, Prospero makes it known that he directed Ariel's performance: "Of my instruction hast thou nothing bated/ In what thou hadst to say" (3.3.85-86). In act four, Prospero says, "I must/ Bestow upon the eyes of this young couple/ Some vanity of mine art" (4.1.39-41), and then, after commanding Ariel to gather spirits in order to present the wedding masque for Ferdinand and Miranda, Prospero calls Ariel and the other spirits "actors" (4.1.148) and calls the performance he commanded a "pageant" (4.1.155). Later, Ariel makes it clear that he played Ceres in the wedding masque when he mentions in passing to Prospero, "I presented Ceres" (4.1.166). Prospero's commands to Ariel seem to become a playwright's or director's instructions to an actor.

When Ariel sings his two sirenic songs, "Come Unto These Yellow Sands" and "Full Fathom Five" in the play's first act, he clearly follows Prospero's directions. First, Prospero instructs Ariel to don a costume, "Go make thyself like a nymph o' th' sea" (1.2.301). The metatheatrical nature of Prospero's command might even be heightened

by the fact that Ariel's costume is only visible to Prospero and the play's audience. Since Ariel is invisible to Ferdinand and Miranda, the performance he presents when he sings his two songs costumed as a sea nymph open themselves to the audience's realization and potential criticism of the play's illusion. After Ariel is costumed as a sea nymph, Prospero whispers directions in his ear (1.2.318). Then, with Ferdinand and Miranda under the sirenic spell of Ariel's song, Prospero exclaims, "It goes on, I see,/ As my soul prompts it" (1.2.420-21). Each of these details suggests that Ariel's sirenic songs have been a product of Prospero's direction and authorship. Since Prospero is shown to be an echo of Shakespeare in the epilogue, this scene can be read as a scene depicting Shakespeare's own plays. The songs represent the performances Shakespeare creates; they reflect *The Tempest* in particular since *The Tempest* is one of Shakespeare's most musical plays. Just as Ferdinand is tempted by Ariel, Shakespeare's audience is tempted by *The Tempest*. This metatheatrical point in the play suggests Shakespeare hopes his audience will question its overtly positive presentation of England's expansion in the New World. Furthermore, since "Come Unto These Yellow Sands" makes allusions to the New World and "Full Fathom Five" in particular suggests that it is a siren song that lures its audience to New World riches, the reflection of Shakespeare's play and audience in Ariel's performance for Ferdinand and Miranda suggests that Shakespeare might be criticizing *The Tempest's* sirenic and propagandistic call towards England's destiny in the New World. Through the metatheatrical components in Ariel's songs, Shakespeare creates the possibility for his audience to question England's positive imperial mood and to consider the dangers English expansion involves. In this fashion, Shakespeare presents

an opportunity for his play to be read in a way that balances his knowledge of the New World hardships he knows from Strachey's unpublished letter with his project of creating a play that pleases an audience that favors English expansion.

Ariel's "Where the Bee Sucks" also contributes to Shakespeare's metatheatrical revelation of the New World's potential dangers. Before Ariel sings "Where the Bee Sucks," Prospero, readying himself for a return to his former place in Milan, claims to "abjure" his "rough magic" and then specifies that his magic consists of "heavenly music," that "works [his] end upon their senses" (5.1.50-52). Immediately, upon having renounced his magical music, a music that has the ability to work enticingly upon its hearer's senses, Prospero commands solemn music. As the music begins, Prospero makes a musical pun: "A solemn air, and the best comforter/ To an unsettled fancy" (5.1.58-59). Here, Prospero compares two musical forms: the air and the fancy. Considering Prospero's lines, Wilson and Calore claim the lines display "Shakespeare's awareness of the different kinds of Elizabethan airs, from serious to light" (29). The air, Ariel's namesake, is first suggested to be the remedy for an overactive imagination or "an unsettled fancy." "Fancy," besides meaning imagination, is also a pun on a type of music that Morley calls a "Fantasy." Morley describes the fantasy as a type of music that gives the composer almost unlimited freedom:

The Fantasy...is when a musician taketh a point at his pleasure and wresteth and turneth it as he list, making either much or little of it according as shall seem best in his own conceit. In this may more art be shown than in any other music because the composer is tied to nothing, but that he may add, diminish, and alter at his pleasure. (296)

As Prospero uses a “solemn air” to control the King’s company, he suggests that music has a sinister potential to create an unsettled imagination by punning on “fancy.” This suggestion follows from the music accompanying Ariel’s harpy masque in act three. After Ariel’s music-accompanied accusations of Alonso’s party, Prospero proclaims, “these, mine enemies, are all knit up/ In their distraction” (3.389-90). The music from Ariel’s harpy performance has created an “unsettled fancy” in the King’s party that knits them up. As Prospero awakens Alonso’s party from the imprisonment of their unsettled fancy with the “solemn air,” he underlines the sinister potential of music to confuse and control: “their rising senses/ Begin to chase the ignorant fumes that mantle/ Their clearer reason” (5.1.66-68). Perversely, Prospero uses music to “work his end upon their senses” with what he calls a “solemn aire” while he points out the dangerous ability of the uncontrolled music of the fancy to “knit” its listener up in distraction; Prospero’s puns seem to point out the contradiction of his music. Even when Prospero calls his music “heavenly” it is used to control its listener’s senses and he acknowledges there is something suspect even with his heavenly music since he feels it must be abjured and calls it “rough magic.” As Prospero’s musical puns and contradictions proceed, the “heavenly” music turns into Ariel’s final song “Where the Bee Sucks.”

Ariel’s “Where the Bee Sucks” seems to represent Shakespeare’s understanding of the “light air” which Wilson and Calore attribute to his punning between “air” and “fancy.” Just as Shakespeare points out the sinister potential of music to muddle and exert control over one’s senses, he includes Ariel’s suspect and solipsistic song, a paean to hedonistic idleness. To complicate things further, this song, while seemingly light-

hearted, contains allusions to New World abundance which Shakespeare, from Strachey's letter, knows to be at best exaggerated, and at worst intentionally misleading. Ariel's song announces its own sirenic nature by implying Ariel's deceit, and thereby serves as a last reminder to Shakespeare, Prospero, and *The Tempest's* audience that the entire musical play has the potential to become sirenic in its pro-Virginian message since Prospero and Ariel's performances can be seen as echoing Shakespeare and his company's performances. After "Where the Bee Sucks," the play becomes conspicuously silent without a melody to be heard. In this silence, the audience is left to hear an echo of the play's pro-imperial siren song, but they are also left hearing its sirenic and treacherous temptation to the New World's promises of idle ease in an abundant and fertile land. The transformation of "heavenly" music into Ariel's "fancy" reveals Gosson and Ovid's use of the siren myth to criticize the theatrical poet's ability to create alluring music and Shakespeare's own belief in the power of music "to make bad good, and good provoke to harm." While Shakespeare certainly acknowledges the ability of theatrical music to mislead in his play's songs, these same songs also allow his audience to question an overly positive idea of the New World's promises.

At *The Tempest's* conclusion, Prospero leaves his audience with a final plea: "As you from crimes would pardoned be,/ Let your indulgence set me free."⁷⁴ This plea might be appropriate for both Prospero and Shakespeare as can be gleaned from the introduction to Rich's *Newes From Virginia*. In his introduction, Rich attempts to escape his audience's reproof by claiming, "Reader, thou dost peradventure imagine that I am mercenarie in this busines, and write for money (as your modern Poets vse) hyred by

some of those euer to be admired Aduenturers, to flatter the world: No, I disclaim it, I haue knowne the Voyage, past the danger, seene the honorable work of Virginia” (A3).

The Tempest, with its overt aim “to please,” might seem like the mercenary poet’s flattery of the world since it echoes pro-Virginian pamphlets and a positive perception of English imperial expansion, but Shakespeare’s acknowledgment of the New World’s treacherous dangers in Ariel’s sirenic songs suggests he felt his role as a playwright was not just to please. Instead, his role was in part to help his audience question their beliefs.

Ingeniously, Shakespeare uses music, a feature of the theatre which his contemporaries, men like Gosson, suggested might serve as “pricks vnto vice,” as a way to ensure his play could do more than simply please. Shakespeare’s use of Ariel’s sirenic songs, as Duke Vincetio said, turns bad into good. Shakespeare’s songs in *The Tempest*, by questioning the wealth and fertility associated with English expansion in the New World, shows that a playwright could use the most damaging music, siren song, in order to help his audience question the temptations drawing them towards imperial expansion in the New World.

Conclusion

For Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare, the siren served as a tool that allowed them to confront two problems: poetry’s appeal to the senses and England’s New World expansion. As the siren’s songs and silences are exposed in Book II of *The Faerie Queene*, “Ulysses and the Syren,” and *The Tempest*, Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare each use the siren myth differently to work through concerns about poetry and their place as poets in an imperial England. Spenser illustrates his own poetic temperance through

continuous self-criticism as he reveals his New World praise of Queen Elizabeth I as flattery. Daniel exposes his concern that eloquent poetry is reduced to a meaningless silence in order to please patrons with conflicting New World interests. Shakespeare suggests that the poet/playwright should help his audience question the allure of imperialistic propaganda. Each of these early modern authors are threatened by the myth of siren song because it creates anxiety about the sensual allure of their art, yet they give the sirens' song voice in their works in order to silence its dangerous call to destruction by turning it towards their own didactic aims. By silencing siren song, Spenser, Daniel and Shakespeare both undermine and uphold the very song-like and sensual qualities that give their poetry its strength which, as Sir Philip Sidney claims, might be seen as its ability to "teach goodness, and delight the learners of it" (30). This complex relationship ensures that the siren will always have a voice in poetry and other literary works, but it also ensures that the author's voice might be unable to escape one of its most telling critics.

Though Peter Pan's Neverland followed Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare's texts 300 years later, Wendy's description of it as a land of fairies, pirates, redskins, and mermaids serves as a reminder that despite the passing of time some literary themes never end their voyages. As I have listened to the sirens during my voyage through Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare, I can only hope that the sirens' sensual allure has not led me astray to wreck my dissertation on the rocky shores of an unknown land, yet if I have been led astray, my only certainty is that any further sirenic inquiries my ideas might spur will certainly explore a rich field of study that has the potential to reveal new

and exciting hypotheses revolving around poets and their concerns with poetry's place within an ever-expanding world.

¹ Charles Frey, Geoffrey Bullough and B. J. Sokol are just three of many authors who explore this possibility.

² See Mustard's brief article about the transformation of the siren into the mermaid. He provides a clear summary of both the similarities and the slight disjunctions between the two tempting incarnations, the winged siren and the fish-like mermaid, that derived from Homer's *Odyssey*.

³ This image is reproduced from early English Books Online. The original image is located in the Huntington Library. The Huntington call number is 79714. The image is located on page 10.

⁴ For a more detailed history of the siren's dual appearances as fish-like and bird-like beings, see Holford-Strevens (29-37) and Rachewiltz chapter 3.

⁵ Avian descriptions of the Sirens continued into the seventeenth century. Francis Bacon's *Wisdom of the Ancients* (1619) describes Sirens with wings and plumes on their heads (169-170) and Thomas Adams *The Deuills Banket Described in Foure Sermons* (1614) conflates a Siren with a dead bird (152).

⁶ Though written considerably later than Spenser, Daniel, and Shakespeare's works, Randle Holme's *The Academy of Armory* provides a clear example of this sort of flexible thinking. Giving a first-hand account of a siren he reports seeing, Holme's states, "two of them [sirens] about the year 1670 was brought dead to our city of Chester to be publicly shewed for money, where I both drew them, and took this description. The heads both of the male and female were like Frogs; flat and broad: the breast was ribbed they had pap[s] and navles like men and women, with the other privy parts; they had two large fins, like Wings, instead of arms; and their feet whole after the manner of a duck; from the nose, to the tail end thye were about a yard three quarters in length; and covered with smooth skin of a dusky colour" (364). In Holme's description of a sirens he suggest the siren has fins that are like wings. This conflation gives the sirens an avian and piscine form simultaneously.

⁷ For a more complete consideration of the links between combing hair and promiscuity see Rachewiltz's ideas, "Combing one's hair in public is the height of immodesty: on fourteenth-century tapestries, the Whore of Babylon was represented as a woman sitting on a rock, 'combing her long hair and gazing into a mirror' (110).

⁸ This image is reproduced from early English Books Online. The original image is located in the Huntington Library. The Huntington call number is 95897. The image is located on the lower left portion of 46 recto.

⁹ Linda Austern's article "'Sing Againe Syren': The Female Musician and Sexual Enchantment in Elizabethan Life and Literature" helps explain how early modern English writers tended to "connect the physical power of music directly to that of feminine beauty and sexual allure" (421).

¹⁰ Buhler also suggests that Plutarch's passage is often misinterpreted to reflect only the idea of the sirens' destructive pleasure at the expense of "an association with public and civic verse—especially the aspects of poetry and other forms of culture that provoked Epicurus' scorn" (182).

¹¹ Harry Vredeveld explains how Golding's Ulysses is a "deaf" Ulysses in the tradition of Saint Basil (852-859).

¹²This image is reproduced from early English Books Online. The original image is located in the Huntington Library. The Huntington call number is 17978.

¹³This image is reproduced from early English Books Online. The original image is located in the Huntington Library. The Huntington call number is 18531. This image is the first image in an unpaginated index.

¹⁴ This image is reproduced from early English Books Online. The original image is located in the Huntington Library. The Huntington call number is 18531. This image is the last image in an unpaginated index. To compare De Bry's engraving to John White's 1585 painting, examine Sloan's reproductions (104-105).

¹⁵ In another image from De Bry's edition of *A Briefe and True Report* English ships are shown sinking off Virginia's coast because of the long islands that block the way into the inland harborages. These sinking ships are also reminiscent of the wrecks permeating the sirenic myth.

¹⁶ For all references to Spenser's letter to Raleigh as well as *The Faerie Queene*, I will use A. C. Hamilton's edition. I will use page numbers for the letter and book, canto, and stanza numbers for the passages and related notes from *The Faerie Queene*.

¹⁷ For examples of various Circean readings of Acrasia see Gareth Robert's entry "Circe" in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*.

¹⁸ See William Allen Oram's discussion of temperance in his chapter concerning Book II. Especially, notice 96-97.

¹⁹ Gough suggests, while citing Early Modern writers like Puttenham and Martin Luther, that the "literary theory and Protestant theology" of Spenser's day treated all allegory "rather ambivalently" (47).

²⁰ John Wall argues that Spenser uses "Raleigh's ventures as a way of defining the significance of his own work as an imaginative construct" (2).

²¹ Lorna Hutson suggests that Spenser's question "Who euer heard of th'Indian *Peru*?" (II.pr.2) echoes Richard Eden's translation of Martin Cortes' *Arte of Navigation* (30). Hutson's suggestion reinforces the idea that Spenser placed his poem into a conversation with historical accounts of New World exploration. The relationship between Spenser's poetic and these historic texts reinforces the distance between Spenser's poetry and Sidney's ideas in "The Defense of Poesy."

²² See Arber's reprint of Eden's translation. For a detailed discussion about Thomas Harriot, see Sloan's book *A New World: England's First View of America*, especially 12, 39-44 and 59-62.

²³ In chapter 1, I've shown that both Sidney's and Gosson's works acknowledge the allegorization of poetry as siren-song.

²⁴ Sidney, while indirectly praising Spenser's *The Shepherd's Calendar*, also suggests the potential deception of Spenser's poetry when after claiming the poem to be "worthy the reading" he lamely adds the disclaimer, "If I be not deceived" and then continues to deride Spenser's use of archaisms (42).

²⁵ Hamilton claims that Spenser's use of the term *Empresse* in his dedication is in opposition to the "papal usurpation of imperial power" (Spenser I.11.22 note 7-9). This opposition increases a sense of Elizabeth's rightful power and the importance of her New World holdings in contrast to the New World holdings of the Catholic Spain.

²⁶ Pauline Henley describes Raleigh's interaction with Spenser vividly (73-77). May's account in *Sir Walter Raleigh* also supports Henley's description of Raleigh's encouragement of Spenser (11).

²⁷ Raleigh sent an expedition under the command of Grenville that included four ships, two pinnaces and 600 men. The attempt to colonize lasted less than a year when short of supplies the party returned to England with Drake (Nicholls).

²⁸ For instance, Lois Whitney, while noting the great interest that Spenser's friend Harvey had in travel literature, reveals several similarities between *The Faerie Queene* and Richard Eden's English translation of the *Decades*. Whitney points out similarities between the *Decades* and Spenser's descriptions of Indians at III.xii.8 (144) and his description of long ears at IV.vii.7 (146). Stephen Greenblatt suggests similarities between a passage about effeminate perfumes in the *Decades* to Spenser's depiction of hidden dangers in the Bower of Bliss's Edenic landscape (181).

²⁹ For a brief description of the idea of the Pauline mirror and Spenser's use of it in *Heavenly Beauty* and *Tears of the Muses*, see Herbert Grabes' entry on mirrors in *The Spenser Encyclopedia*.

³⁰ Spenser's mirror becomes like the sirens' mirror in Drayton's *Poly Olbion*. The river Sabine's Queenly glory is expanded by the siren's flattering mirror. When Drayton's sirens hold a mirror up to Sabine, they do so, "that she may see/ Before all other Floods how farre her beauties bee" (75). Sabine's beauty is shown by the sirenic mirror to surpass the beauty of all other rivers or floods and implicitly the beautiful sirens who hold the mirror.

³¹ The mermaids fallen state is also reflected in Philotine who was "thrust" from heaven by the gods and cast down into a world where "her light/ doth dim with horror and deformity" (II.vii.49).

³² This song, as Hamilton notes, closely parallels the siren's song to Rinaldo from Tasso's *Gerusalemme Liberata* (205 n.15-17). Spenser's choice to follow Tasso serves to further emphasize Phaedria's siren-like nature since Phaedria echoes her literary siren predecessor.

³³ Andrew Hadfield claims that the representation of the New World as an earthly paradise was "a common enough depiction which could have been found in such ubiquitous texts as *The Travels of Sir John Mandeville*, but one which was clearly not dependent on any specific source" (*Literature* 98-99).

³⁴ As William Oram makes explicit, Raleigh's praise of Spenser is self serving because Spenser's poetry, specifically *The Faerie Queene*, "form part of Raleigh's continuing courtship of his royal mistress" (345 note 10).

³⁵ King claims that references in Spenser's "October" Eclogue from the *Shepherd's Calendar* in favor of the Earl of Leicester's suite place Spenser in "the camp of the Protestant progressives who opposed the Alençon match" (49). King also suggests that

Mother Hubberds Tale creates a satire of Alençon and his proxy Jean de Simier (49).

Also see Susan Doran's ideas (169-171).

³⁶ Elizabeth's September 7th birthdate, the feast of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, helped her claim "a symbolic kinship with the mother of Christ (Doran 9).

³⁷ Levine claims that Elizabeth felt that naming an heir would fuel plots against her: "She [Elizabeth] said she did not want someone else to be the rising sun while she was the setting sun (81-82). Haigh's ideas are similar: "The key reason for Elizabeth's refusal to name an heir was her own political security" (25-27).

³⁸ Elizabeth's nine formal suitors might include Philip II, Erik XIV of Sweden, the archdukes Ferdinand and Charles of Austria, Robert Dudley Earl of Leicester, Henri duc d'Anjou, and François duc d'Alençon (Collinson).

³⁹ Susan Doran's book *Monarchy and Matrimony: The Courtships of Elizabeth I* does an excellent job of illustrating the many political pressures Elizabeth considered during her courtships. Doran sums up the political aspect of Elizabeth's courtships when she writes, "Why then did Elizabeth I not marry? Elizabeth's personal preferences provide no answer here, for as we have seen there was little room for them to operate in this crucial area of policy" (210).

⁴⁰ Hiller and Groves claim that as a consequence of Daniel's increasing distrust of poetry and its relationship with court splendour under James I, "both were merely self-flattering ornamentation of counterfeit" (4) he turned to writing prose history at the end of his life.

⁴¹ Seronsy points out that in a manuscript version of the *Panegyrike* Daniel writes "By which improvement we shall gaine much more/ Than b'all Guiana, all Discoveries" (113). Seronsy attributes the change from the manuscript to the printed version to Daniel's desire to distance himself from Raleigh's venture to Guiana since James I was displeased with Raleigh's lack of support for James' claim to the English throne. This seems to be a solid argument; however, Daniel's revision, inserting a reference to a different New World venture, strengthens the sense of Daniel's association of the New World with the negative impacts of wealth since he could have revised by simply omitting any reference to the New World.

⁴² For examples of this view of the poem, see Hiller and Groves' comments (Daniel *Selected* 189), Rees' remarks (175), Geritz (63-64), and Seronsy (118-119).

⁴³ See Rees for a discussion of this issue (97-105).

⁴⁴ Hiller and Groves support this view: "Margaret's misfortunes were well-known and Daniel's dedication implies that she might read an affinity between herself and Octavia" (Daniel *Selected* 90). Seronsy claims, Clifford was often absent from home, and his intrigue with a lady of the court led to separation from his wife. So Daniel chose a traditional story, carrying with it sentiments which would strike a responsive chord in the countess (82). Spence writes, "'A Letter from Octavia to Marcus Antonius,' published in 1599, is a metaphor for Earl George's neglect of his Countess" (214).

⁴⁵ Though Williamson claims that Lady Margaret and her husband were reconciled on his deathbed and that "the old difficulties were solved and the explanations that might have been made years before were made and understood and accepted" (271) it seems that

even then Lady Margaret bore her husband some ill will since, as Spence notes, she refused the Earl's request to join him in his last communion (218).

⁴⁶ This financial strain is apparent from a letter to Cecil in which he pleads, "I would beseech my L: of Northampton and your ho[nor]:...to bestow some small viaticum to carry me from the world, where I may bury my selfe, and my writings out of the way of envie" (qtd. in Rees 120).

⁴⁷ All references to Shakespeare's works are from *The Complete Works of Shakespeare* edited by Hardin Craig.

⁴⁸ Howell Chickering explicitly states, "*The Tempest* is the most musical of Shakespeare's plays." (131).

⁴⁹ Cutts quickly claims that the siren's song has been transformed: "its evil aspect has been replaced by the benevolent power of Prospero." However, it seems that Prospero's power might be less than benevolent considering his manipulations of everyone on the island, his status as magus, and his master/servant or master/slave relationships with Ariel and Caliban.

⁵⁰ A useful summary of these Boethian definitions of music can be found in Berley's *After the Heavenly Tune* (5-6).

⁵¹ Charles Frey provides a concise recounting of important scholarship up to 1979 centered on establishing New World contexts in *The Tempest* that details an eighteenth century argument for a link between *The Tempest's* Setebos and Richard Eden's sixteenth century accounts of Magellan's encounter with Patagonians.

⁵² Shakespeare seems to employ this play on the word in several passages throughout *The Tempest*. Three strong examples occur at 1.2.388, 3.2.136, and 5.1.58.

⁵³ Lindley suggests that these two songs present "unmistakable evidence" that Shakespeare collaborated with Robert Johnson to create these songs for their place in *The Tempest* (*Shakespeare* 223). The songs were first attributed to John Wilson in his *Cheerful Ayres* (1660), but Spink makes clear that Wilson credited Johnson as the composer (72). This suggests that Lindley's idea of the collaboration between Shakespeare and Johnson, possibly in 1611, is likely.

⁵⁴ These dual conceptions were illustrated in chapter one through the 1582 edition of Bartholomaeus' *De Proprietatibus Rerum*.

⁵⁵ Semiramis is also very siren-like since she is the daughter of the fish-goddess Derceto and because, according to some versions of her legend, she killed Ninus the king of Assyria to take his throne ("Semiramis").

⁵⁶ Sternfeld (80, 98) and Davies (165), among others, also affirm that Ariel would have been played by a boy on the Shakespearean stage.

⁵⁷ Austern (80), Calogero (152-154), and Benwell and Waugh (72) also support the links of the sirens' hair with comb and mirror.

⁵⁸ Leo Salinger suggests the frequent references to pearls in pro-Virginian publications (210). In particular, Salinger mentions a reference to pearls in the *True Declaration*.

⁵⁹ For an account of this history see Salinger 209-210, Frey 29-30, and Gayley 40-80.

⁶⁰ Bullough (240) and Gayley (49) suggest Shakespeare's use of Strachey's account. Bullough includes *The True Declaration* as one of Shakespeare's sources (295). Frey claims that "it seems likely" Shakespeare read Rich's *News From Virginia* (38).

⁶¹ In a concise examination of the question of who composed music for "Full Fathom Five" and "Where the Bee Sucks," Chikering claims, "It is likely that [the songs] were composed by [Robert] Johnson for the first production of *The Tempest* in 1611"(133-134).

⁶² Chickering makes the following comment, "While we may safely infer from his many other theatrical compositions that Johnson wrote the two airs for dramatic performance, we can get no closer to the harmonies heard in the theatre fifty years earlier than the two simple continuo lines in *Cheerfull Ayres*, whether written by Wilson or Johnson. Thus, when we return to our opening question about the full effect of the songs, what we can mean by 'the original music' will be quite restricted. We must assume, on fairly good evidence but nonetheless as an assumption, that the trebles and continuos in *Cheerfull Ayres* are close to what was performed in Shakespeare's theatre." (138). John P. Cutts, in his *La Musique de scene de la troupe de Shakespeare: The King's men sous le regne de Jaques I*, "insists that this music [the music from Wilson's *Cheerful Ayres*] is certainly the original composition for Shakespeare's play" (Seng 257).

⁶³ This image is reproduced from early English Books Online. The original image is located in the Library of Congress call number M1620.M75 C4 (Case).

⁶⁴ Arden suggests this phrase means that "Every part of his body that is otherwise doomed to decay is transformed into some rich or rare sea-substance" (qtd. in Seng 256).

⁶⁵ Warburton's and Malone's comments in response to Theobald argue that Shakespeare refers to the bat to indicate a time of day and the spring (Seng 270).

⁶⁶ For instance, see *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia with a Confutation of Such Scandalous Reports as Have Tended to the Disgrace of so Worthy an Enterprise* (19).

⁶⁷ Though Fox-Good insists on using the language of functional harmony, "the song's first section moves rapidly between tonic and dominant both within and between phrases" (265).

⁶⁸ Fox-Good claims the second section of the song is in "a more rapid-seeming triple meter" (265).

⁶⁹ This image is reproduced from early English Books Online. The original image is located in the Library of Congress call number M1620.M75 C4 (Case).

⁷⁰ Cawley lists *A True Relation of Such Occurrences and Accidents of Noate as Hath Hapned in Virginia Since the First Planting of the Colony, Nova Britannia, Offring Most Excellent Fruites by Plantation in Virginia, Virginia Richly Valued*, and Deleware's *Relation* (278-279).

⁷¹ Another example of pro-Virginia Company propaganda that exaggerates the hand of God in the Sea Venture's plight can be found in *A True Declaration of the Estate of the Colonie in Virginia with a Confutation of Such Scandalous Reports as Have Tended to the Disgrace of so Worthy an Enterprise*: "Consider all these things together. At the instant of neede, they descryed land, halfe an hower more, had buried their memorial in the Sea. If they had fel by night, what expectation of light, from an vninhabited desart?"

They fell betwixt a laberinth of rockes, which they conceiue are mouldred into the Sea, by thunder and lightning. This was not Ariadnes threed, but the direct line of Gods prouidence. If it had not beene so neere land, their companie or prouision had perished by water: if they had not found Hogs, and foule, and fish, they had perished by famine: if there had not beene fuell, they had perished by want of fire: if there had not beene timber they could not haue transported themselues to Virginia, but must haue beene for|gotten foreuer. Nimium timet qui Deo non credit, he is too impiously fearefull, that will not trust in God so powerfull” (25).

⁷² See the second chapter (8-39) of Gayley’s *Shakespeare and the Founders of Liberty in America* for others Gayley proposes as Shakespeare’s acquaintances.

⁷³ See Gayley’s third chapter (40-80) and Bullough (239)

⁷⁴ Prospero’s plea might echo the epilogues from other Shakespeare plays. It is particularly close to Puck’s plea at the end of *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*: “Give me your hands, if we be friends,/And Robin shall restore amends.” (5.1.444-5). While this echo might suggest that Prospero’s plea at the end of *The Tempest* has little to do with the pro-Virginian message in the play, I would argue that *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, like *The Tempest*, is a highly metatheatrical play. While Puck’s plea doesn’t indicate anything about New World ideas in *A Midsummer Night’s Dream*, it certainly does address the idea of the potential for theatre to include “weak and idle” themes (*A Midsummer Night’s Dream* 5.1.434). In *The Tempest*, a play that I argue creates a metatheatrical commentary on the playwright’s representation of English imperial expansion, Prospero’s plea for forgiveness is inextricably entwined in how the play represents the New World.

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