**Note**

**BARCLAY’S ECLOGUES AND THE MANTUAN-COMMENTARY OF JOSSE BADE**

Greg Waite established that the early Tudor laureate Alexander Barclay (c. 1476–1552), in his English translation of the *Bellum Iugurthinum* of C. Sallustius Crispus (86–c. 35 BCE), made use, not only of the text of the historical monograph published by Josse Bade *Ascensius* (c. 1462–1535), but also of Bade’s commentary on Sallust, which the scholar-printer published with his edition of the ancient text. In some instances, Barclay inserted only Bade’s glosses on unusual Latin terms and other brief explanatory comments; in others, Barclay introduced into his English *Iugurthine War* the substance of longer comments that are in fact the writing, not of Sallust, but of the Sallust-editor; in any case, Bade’s comments found their way into Barclay’s Sallust translation directly.¹

To Waite’s observation can be subjoined this cognate: in his Eclogues too, the English poet incorporated matter from the work of Josse Bade. For, *multa inter alia*, Bade published an edition of the Latin verse Eclogues of the contemporary Italian Carmelite poet Mantuan (Battista Spagnoli or Spagnuoli, also Battista Mantovano, 1447–1518), on whose poems some portions of the Eclogues of Barclay were based.² Bade’s often reprinted edition included the editor’s own commentary on the Mantuan-eclogues; and again simple phrasing and longer passages from Bade’s Mantuan-commentary reappear, translated into English verse or paraphrased, in Barclay’s pastorals.

A signal instance comes in ‘The Prologue’ that Barclay put at the beginning of his completed five-eclogues collection (Barclay, *Ecl.* 1.1–140).³ Barclay’s *Eclogues*-prologue sometimes derives substance from Mantuan, especially Mantuan’s Latin prose letter, circulating as a standard preface to his pastoral verse-compositions. In Barclay’s ‘Prologue’, his apparently autobiographical remarks—on his intentions in taking up pastoral (the ‘worthy fame’ of the ancient poets ‘Did in my yonge age my heart greatly inflame, | Dull slouth eschewing, my-selfe to exercise’ 1.49–51) and on his age at the time of the eclogues’ completion (‘fortie yere saue twayne’ 1.69)—are in fact versified translations of Mantuan’s own.⁴ In Barclay’s ‘Prologue’, however, comes too a passage evidently modelled, not on Mantuan, but on Bade’s prefatory general letter inaugurating his Mantuan-Eclogues commentary, where nothing like occurs in Mantuan or any other identified source. Bade’s letter ends, turning again to his readers, with remarks commending Mantuan’s Eclogues, for their emulation of the ancient canons of pastoral, as well as their suitability nonetheless for a non-ancient, Christian readership:⁵

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⁵ John Colet’s notorious preference for Mantuan over any of the classical poets for the curriculum of the St Paul’s School that he refounded, c. 1510–12, is to be understood in these terms: see J. B. Trapp, *Erasmus, Colet and More: The Early Tudor Humanists and their Books* (London, 1991), 113–18, with discussion of ‘Colet’s fear of non-Christian sentiment’.
Legetis ergo sine periculo castitatis hanc Adolescentiam, quam in decem eclogas ad imitationem (ni fallor) compatriote sui, Virgili Marionis, diuisit. Quam ultimas duas in religione compositum, ceteras nondum eam professus, ita ut illic maiore grauitatem, hic plures sales iuveniis. Vicebique autem urbani leporis sita superfluentiam pluri- mum. Nam pastoreal decorem sermonec bococili tenui- tatem adeum hic quam in Marone anxius observata dicere. . . . Intentio maiorem imitando ingeni sui periculum facere, et nunc ad honestum amorem, si cui coniugium placet cohortari; nunc ab inhostinis, nunc a pernicosis, nunc a mulierum illecebris; nunc ab avaricia, nunc a ceteris urbano- rum uitis dehortari; nunc rursus ad religione et ad diue uir- ginis preconia, illusque nomini dicate religionis priscam observationem cohortari. Que decem eclogarum precipua farrago est! (sig. A2r Worde = fol. 106v Petit).

Without risk to your innocence shall ye study these Adolescentia [of Mantuan], which he divided into ten eclogues, in imitation of a compatriot of his, unless I am mistaken, namely, P. Vergilius Maro. Of the ten, he wrote the last two after he had entered religious estate; the rest, when he had not yet been profess; with the consequence that, in the former [group of eclogues], a greater gravity shall ye find; in the latter, rather a good deal of pungent wit; in both, however, much of the polish of urbanity, though not to any excess of superfluity. For decorum about the pastoral speech of herdsmen and their bucolic refinement is the more sedu- lously observed herein than it is in Vergil, I dare say. . . . The intention [of Mantuan] is to make trial of his own talent by imitating that of his ancient [sc. Vergil]; betimes to encourage honest love, if any the marital estate does please; betimes to discourage dishonest, baneful amours, and the snares of women; betimes the greed and other vices of city-folk; be- times again, to encourage religion and laudation of the Blessed Virgin, the antique observation of that religion con- secrated to her name. For, above all, such is the farraginous variety of these ten eclogues.

Barclay’s ‘Prologue’-final remarks adapt these of Bade to Barclay’s own circumstance—five eclogues, not ten, for instance;7 nonetheless, still a pastoral verse of ‘shepheardes’, decorous in its ‘homely language, not passing their degree’, in imitation of the ‘Poetes olde’, as Bade too claimed. The two lists of topics for pastoral are not wholly coincident—the anti-war sentiment is peculiar to Barclay; nonetheless, Barclay still uses an English equivalent of Bade’s structuring figure, ‘nunc . . . nunc . . . nunc . . . ’ (seven times repeated, alike Barclay’s ‘sometime’), in his own versification of Bade’s Latin prose:

But to the Reader nowe to returne agayne:
First of this thing I will thou be certayne,
That fiue Eglogen this whole treatise doth holde,
To imitation of other Poetes olde.
In whiche Eglogen shepheardes thou mayst see,
In homely language not passing their degree,
Sometime disputing of courtly misery,
Sometime of Uenus disceatfull tirany,
Sometime commending loue honest and laudable,
Sometime despising loue false and deceyuable,
Sometime despising and blaming auraise,
Sometime exciting vertue to exercise,
Sometime of warre abhorring the outrage.
And of the same time the manifolde damage,
And other matters, as after shall appeare.

What follows below is a list of other passages in Barclay’s Eclogues where he appears to have made use of Bade’s Mantuan-commentary. Again, as with Barclay’s Sallust-translation, these Eclogues-passages comprehend instances where Barclay took only a word or two: Bade’s glosses on hard terms that Mantuan used (e.g., at Barclay, Ecl. 5.65, below, ‘ise sicles’, for Mantuan’s ‘stiria’, by way of Bade’s ‘id est, glacies concreta’); and the commentator’s brief explanations where Mantuan’s phrasing was elliptical or possibly obscure (e.g., at Barclay, Ecl. 4.263, below, ‘Mercury’, for Mantuan’s ‘Maiae filius’, by way of Bade’s comment, ‘id est, Mercurius’). There also come instances where Barclay translated or paraphrased longer Bade-comments, as well as instances where Barclay has expanded considerably, evidently prompted by something in the Bade-commentary: the further anti-war remarks, Barclay, Ecl. 5.731–752, below, for example, appear considerably to expand on Bade’s period-long comment on less than a line of Mantuan’s hexameter verse, Ecl. 6.168 ‘pro stipe dat uitam [sc. miles]’.

The distribution of these borrowings from Bade’s Mantuan-commentary within Barclay’s Eclogues—other than the passage from Barclay’s

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6 By parenthetical reference, as here, Bade’s comments are quoted from the edition of them incorporated in Bucolica Fratris Baptistae Mantuani (London: Worde, 1523 [= ESTC S111038]), with reference supplied also to Bade’s opera omnia edition of Mantuan in the version printed by Jean Petit in 1513, i.e., no. [P]3 in Renouard, Bibliographie des impressions, II, 139–43. Here as subsequently, minor typographical errors of the early printed editions have been tacitly rectified and their orthography (including abbreviation-expansions) and punctuation modernized.

7 Barclay, Ecl. 1.127 ‘That fiue Egologes this whole treatise doth holde’ in ed. White, but ‘That ten egloggys this hole treatise dothe holde’ in the 1530 edition of Peter Treveris (below, n. 21). The implications of the variant are analysed in White, Eclogues of Barclay, 220–1.

‘Prologe’ detailed above, the borrowings occur only in Barclay’s Eclogues 4–5—may result from the sequence of Barclay’s composition. Barclay’s Eclogue 4, ‘Codrus and Minalcas’, translates all of Mantuan’s Eclogue 5 ‘Candidus’, ‘De consuetudine diiutum erga poetas’; and Barclay’s Eclogue 5 ‘Amintas and Faustus’, ‘of the disposition of Citizens and men of the Country’, all of Mantuan’s Eclogue 6 ‘Cornix’, ‘De disputatione rusticorum et ciuium’. Barclay’s Mantuan’s Eclogue 5 use mater from other Mantuan-eclogues, as do also Barclay’s Eclogues 1–3.9 Nonetheless, Barclay’s Ecl. 1–3, ‘of the miseries of Courtiers and Courtes of all princes in generall’, chiefly versify the De miseriis curialium of Enea Silvio Bartolomeo Piccolomini, also Pope Pius II (sedit 1458–64), rather than Mantuan. In the view of Beatrice White, Barclay’s shift of basic source-material represents chronological difference too: the numerically higher, Mantuan-based Eclogues 4–5 were written before the numerically lower ones, based on the Piccolomini De miseriis, later added to make up the complete collection of five; in addition, White indicates that Barclay’s Eclogue 5, exhibiting ‘a greater dependence on the Latin’ of Mantuan, was written before Eclogue 4, ‘for it shows considerably more independence of treatment’.10 It would so appear that Barclay was working more closely with Bade’s Mantuan-edition and -commentary while writing the chronologically earlier Eclogues 4–5, as is reflected in the list of passages below. But Barclay retained what knowledge he had gained of Mantuan and Bade’s commentary on Mantuan when he came to write the chronologically later Eclogues 1–3. Barclay’s lower-numbered Eclogues continued to use matter from Mantuan; and although Eclogues 1–3 used less of Bade’s contribution, Barclay was still drawing on matter from Bade’s Mantuan commentary in the five Eclogues’ ‘Prologe’.11

Barclay, Ecl. 4.251–252
And with her small mouth is busy it cutting, Least in her causes the same might grove or spring.

On Mantuan, Ecl. 5.38 ‘Neue renascantur fruges secat [sc. formica] ore sepultas’ ‘And, so that they revivify not, with her mouth [the ant] cuts the

9 Mantuan’s use by Barclay has been alleged in the following instances, with differing degrees of credibility: Mantuan, Ecl. 2.1–16, is said to have provided matter for Barclay, Ecl. 2.1–4 and 41–56 (see Mustard, Eclogues of Mantuanus, 49; White, Eclogues of Barclay, 236–7; Piepho, Adolescenza, 107); Mantuan, Ecl. 2.66–78, for Barclay, Ecl. 5.803–830 (White, Eclogues of Barclay, 271; Piepho, Adolescenza, 107); Mantuan, Ecl. 3.272–174 and 3.192–193, for Barclay, Ecl. 1.909–910 and 1321–1322 (Oswald Reissert, ‘Die Eklgenen des Alexander Barclay’, Neuphilologische Beiträge, i [1886], 28; White, Eclogues of Barclay, 232 and 236; Piepho, Adolescenza, 111); Mantuan, Ecl. 3.1–39, for Barclay, Ecl. 1.175–287 (Reissert, ‘Die Eklgenen des Barclay’, 27; White, Eclogues of Barclay, 223–4; Piepho, Adolescenza, 109); Mantuan, Ecl. 4.176, for Barclay, Ecl. 2.385–386 (Reissert, ‘Die Eklgenen des Barclay’, 30; White, Eclogues of Barclay, 239; Piepho, Adolescenza, 114); Mantuan, Ecl. 7.9–56, for Barclay, Ecl. 5.435–534 (Reissert, ‘Die Eklgenen des Barclay’, 16–17; Mustard, Eclogues of Mantuanus, 48 and 140; White, Eclogues of Barclay, 267–9; Piepho, Adolescenza, 118); Mantuan, Ecl. 9.117–119, for Barclay, Ecl. 4.93–96 (Mustard, Eclogues of Mantuanus, 49; White, Eclogues of Barclay, 253; Piepho, Adolescenza, 126); Mantuan, Ecl. 10.137–141, for Barclay, Ecl. 4.107–110 (Mustard, Eclogues of Mantuanus, 49; White, Eclogues of Barclay, 253; Piepho, Adolescenza, 129); and Mantuan, Ecl. 10.182–186, for Barclay, Ecl. 4.115–121 and 5.675–680 (White, Eclogues of Barclay, 253 and 270). So Barclay made versions of passages from Mantuan’s verse Ecl. 2–4, 7, and 9–10, in addition to translating all of Mantuan, Ecl. 5 and 6.

10 White, Eclogues of Barclay, 263 and 252.

seed-grains she had entombed', cf. Bade ‘Neue pro nequam; id est, et ne renascantur; id est, germinentur; secat ore, id est, germen, auferendo disrumpit fruges sepultas; id est, absconditas in terris’ ‘Lest not’ stands for “never”, in other words; and “lest” they “revivify”, which is to say “sprout”, “she cuts” the seed—she removes “the seed-grains she had entombed”, in other words, that, in carrying them away, she had hidden in the ground’ (fol. 28v Worde = fol. 120r Petit).

Barclay, Ecl. 4.255–256
Men say that clerks which knowe Astronomy,
Knowe certayne starres which longe to desteny.

On Mantuan, Ecl. 5.39 ‘Scire genethliacos fatalia sidera dicunt’ ‘They say that genethliacists understand the fatal constellations’, cf. Bade ‘Genethliacos, id est, de genesi et natiuitate iudicantes, qui inspecto natiuitate horoscopo futuram uitam pr mentur; id est, absconditas in terris’ ‘Lest not’ stands for “never”, in other words; and “lest” they “revivify”, which is to say “sprout”, “she cuts” the seed—she removes “the seed-grains she had entombed”, in other words, that, in carrying them away, she had hidden in the ground’ (fol. 28v–29r Worde = fol. 120r Petit).

Barclay, Ecl. 4.263–266
Mercury geueth to Poetes-laureate
Goodly conueyaunce, speeche pleasant and ornate,
Inuente fe reason to sing or play on harpe,
In goodly ditie or balade for to carpe.

On Mantuan, Ecl. 5.395.42–43 ‘dat Maiae filius illis | ingenium, linguam, citharas et carminis artem’ ‘Maia’s son grants unto them genius, a voice, instruments of music, and the art of poetry’, cf. Bade ‘Maie filius, id est Mercurius, dat illis, scilicet uatibus sub se natis, ingenium; et ita uult eos contentos esse debere, sua sorte dicens: Sorte tua contentus abi; Sine, id est, derelique; cetera, id est diuitias et opes, nobis, scilicet qui ingenium et carminis artem non habemus’ ‘Maia’s son’, namely Mercury, “grants unto them”, namely such bards as are born under his natal signs, “a special kind of genius”; and so wills it that they ought be content, of their lot saying unto them, “Rest thee content with thy lot; leave, or surrender, all else”—namely, riches and wealth—“unto the rest of us”, namely whoso have not that special kind of genius and poetic art’ (fol. 29r Worde = fol. 120r Petit).

Barclay, Ecl. 4.507–512
To feede on rawe fleshe it is a wolves gise,
Wherfore he wenet all beasts do likewise.
Because the blinde man halteth and is lame,
In minde he thinketh that all men do the same.
So for that thy-selfe desirset good in store,
All men thou iudgest infected with like sore.

On Mantuan, Ecl. 5.114–116 ‘uesci | et lupus omne animal crudis existimat escis, | tuque putas alios quo tu pede claudere passum’ ‘The wolf believes it too that all animals feed on raw food-stuffs, and thou dost imagine it that others go lame by the same halt foot as thou dost’, cf. Bade ‘Et lupus existimat: id est, censet et iudicat omne animal uesci crudis; id est, incoctis escis, uidelicet carnibus quibus ipse uescitur. Tuque, id est, et tu; putas alios claudere passum, id est, ingredi; eo pede quo tu, id est, moueri ea affectione qua tu. Per pedes enim sepe intelliguntur affectiones: hoc est, quia tu cupis ditescere, censes omnes id cupere’ ‘The wolf believes it too’, i. e., thinks and judges it, “that all animals feed on the raw”, i. e. on food-stuffs that are uncooked, namely, the kind of flesh that he feeds on. “And thou”, i. e. “thou too dost imagine it that others go lame”, i. e. walk, “by the same halt foot as thou dost use”, i. e. are moved by the same desire as thou art. For the term “feet” is often meant to represent desires; that is to say that, because thou dost desire to become rich, thou dost judge it that everyone else desires the same thing’ (fol. 31v Worde = fol. 121r Petit).

Barclay, Ecl. 4.553–556
For in this season great men of excellence
Haue to poemes no greater reuerence,
Then to a brothell or els a brothelhouse:
Mad ignoraunce is so contagious.

On Mantuan, Ecl. 5.130–131 ‘tempestate ista reuerentia tanta poesi | quanta lupanari’ ‘In your sort of weather, poetry-writing gets about as much respect as a whore-house’, cf. Bade ‘Quanta lupanari, id est, prostitubio aut prostitutis. Lupas uocabant olim prostitutias; unde et prostitutuli, lupanaria—hinc fictum volunt Romulum a lupa nutritum. Non decet per alium se castigat’ ‘“As much as a whore-house”, namely, in a brothel or with prostitutes. For “she-wolves” was formerly
the term for prostitutes; whence likewise brothels were called “she-wolves' dens”—a figure of speech meant to recall it that Romulus was fostered by a she-wolf. For it is ungracious to use someone else’s fault to castigate oneself” (fol. 31v Worde = fol. 121v Petit).  

**Barclay, Ecl. 4.700–704**

Nothing seasoned with spice of grauitie; 
Auoyde of pleasure, auoyde of eloquence; 
With many wordes, and fruitlesse of sentence; 
Unapt to learne, disdayning to be taught.

On Mantuan, Ecl. 5.178 ‘insula, illepidi, indociles’ ‘unflavoured, ill-polished, tught’, cf. Bade, ‘*Insu*ls, id est, sine salibus sermonis; *ille*pidi, id est, sine lepore ac uenustate sermonis; *indociles*, quia dediscere nolunt et ita incorrigibles’ “Unflavoured” means without figures of speech; “unpolished”, without charm or comeliness of speech; “ill-taught”, inasmuch as they desire not to learn and so cannot be educated” (fol. 33v Worde = fol. 122r Petit).

**Barclay, 5.51–58**

For passing of time and recreation,
They both delited in communication: 
Namely, they pleaded of the diuersitie 
Of rurall husbandes and men of the citie. 
Faustus accused and blamed citizens, 
To them imputing great faultes, crime and sins: 
Amintas blamed the rurall men agayne, 
And eche of them both his quarell did maynteyne.

Cf. Bade, summarizing at the beginning of Mantuan, Ecl. 6, ‘Contentio est inter Cornicem pastorem, qui partes rusticorum agit, et Fulicam, qui urbanorum, de prestantia Fortun’

**Barclay, Ecl. 5.64–65**

The north-wind blowes sharpe and with farefull sound, 
The lone is seicles at the ewes hang.

On Mantuan, Ecl. 6.1–2 ‘mugit Boreas, a culmine pendet | Stiria’ ‘Boreas bellows, icicles hang from the rooves’, cf. Bade ‘*Boreas*, uentus frigidus, a septentroniali plaga, que frigida est, flans. *Mugit*; mugitum imitatur flato alto. *Stiria*, id est, glacies concreta. _A culmine_, a tecto’ ‘Boreas, a cold wind, is blowing in from northerly regions, which are cold. “Does bellow”, a low-pitched blowing represents bellowing. *Stiria* means solid ice, icicle; “from the top”, namely, from the roof-top’ (fol. 34r Worde = 122r–122v Petit).

**Barclay, Ecl. 5.69**

The ploweman resteth auoyde of businesse

On Mantuan, Ecl. 6.3 ‘pastor tunicatus’ ‘tunic-wrapped the herdsman’, cf. Bade ‘Pastor tunica*atus*, quia ociosus, unde dictum est a poeta’ “Tunic-wrapped the herdsman” is, as the poet’s remark has it, because the person is at leisure’ (fol. 34r Worde = fol. 122v Petit).

**Barclay, Ecl. 5.71–74**

Mably his wife sitteth before the fyre 
All blake and smoky, clothed in rude attire, 
Sething some grewell, and sturring the pulment 
Of pease or frument.

On Mantuan, Ecl. 6.4–5 ‘sedet ante focum fumosa Neaera | atque polenta coquit’ ‘Smoke-blackened Neaera sits at the hearth and cooks polenta’, cf. Bade ‘*Neera*, coniunx rustica, *fumosa*, quia fere ligna uirida aut male sicca inurunt, atque *polenta coquit*: Ouidius, “quod coxerat ante polenta” “The countrified wife *Neera* is “smoke-blackened” because the wood there burning is green or poorly cured, “and she cooks polenta”, in Ovid's phrase, “since she had cooked her polenta ready beforehand”’ (fol. 34r Worde = fol. 122v Petit).  

state-official priest or magistrate, whence Barclay’s choice of ‘pleaded’, ‘accused’, ‘crime’ in his translation.  

For analysis of this and the two subsequent passages of Barclay’s _Eclogues_ (5.64–65, 5.69, and 5.71–74), see also Reissert, ‘Die Eklogen des Barclay’, 18–19, and J. R. Schultz, ‘The Method of Barclay’s Eclogues’, _JEGP_, xxxii (1933), 569.

Bade’s ‘unde dictum est a poeta’ probably refers to the celebration of country life in Mart., 10.51.6 ‘o tunicata quies’, the only pertinent poetic use of _tunicatus_ in the Latin classical verse.

Mantuan’s term _polenta_ is notably prosaic in classical Latin—amongst the only half-a-dozen ancient-verse occurrences is the phrase Bade mentions, evidently Ov., _Met._ 5.450 ‘tosta

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12 Mantuan’s terms, _lupanar and prostibula, -um_, were considerable archaisms already by the beginning of the Roman Imperial period.

13 Barclay may have understood Bade’s term _contentio_ to have the same meaning as, or to comprehend the meaning of, Classical Latin _contio_, a kind of hearing before an assembly convened by a
Barclay, Ecl. 5.256–257
At the laste our Lord at ende of fiftene yere ... did on a time appeare.


Barclay, Ecl. 5.461–474
Some shepheardes were in lande of Asserye Which after haue bene promoted very hye, So that from cotes and houses pastorall They have assended to dignitie royall— Charges and labour so doth my reason blinde That call their names can I not vnto minde. Yet let me stude, auoyding perturbaunce, So may I call them vnto remembraunce. Lo nowe I haue them: Abraham, Iacob, Loth, Isaac, yong Ioseph and Iob. These nowe rehearsed and all the patriarches Haue not disdayned poore shepe nor heardes workes. Them hath our Lorde called from humble thinges And make them princes, dukes, or els kinges.

On Mantuan, Ecl. 7.23–25 ‘Assyrios quosdam—sed nescio nomina; curae | diminuunt animum—Deus ex pastoribus olim | constituit reges’ ‘Certain persons there were, Assyrians—but their names I cannot recall, so much do cares demean my intellection—whom God himself did set up as kings though they had been but herdsmen’, cf. Bade ‘Assírios, ut Abraham, Loth, Iob, et ceteros patriarchas’ ‘Assyrians’, namely, such patriarchs as Abraham, Lot, Job, and others’ (fol. 42v Worde = fol. 126r Petit).

Barclay, Ecl. 5.505–508
The ioly Harper, which after was a kinge And sleue the giant so stoutly with his sling, Was first a shepherde, or he had dignitie; Right so were many, as stoute and bolde as he.

On Mantuan, Ecl. 7.9 ‘Ut dixere patres’ ‘As our forefathers did tell’, cf. Bade ‘Ut probet uero simile esse pastori numen uisum altius ordinare laudes pastorum; docetque quod uerum est Abelem prium iustum fuisses pastorem, multosque reges, ut Abraham, Davuid, et similis fuisses pastores’ ‘To demonstrate that the divinity seemed like unto a herdsman, in truth, a more extensive laudation of the herdsman is supplied; and the passage teaches quod texerat ante polenta’; and the term’s unfamiliarity may justify Barclay’s lengthy explanation, ‘grewell, ... the pulpiment | Of pease or frument’.

On Mantuan, Ecl. 10.182–183 ‘Aethiopes una quoniam negridine sordent, | ille color nulli uitio

that, in truth, Abel was the first righteous herdsman and that many kings too were herdsmen, such as Abraham, David, and the like’ (fol. 42r Worde = fol. 125v Petit).

Barclay 5.597–606
Yet be in cities mo suing foolishnes, Wening by craft for to haue great riches: By which craftes no man hath riches founde, Sith tyme that our Lord first foured man and ground, As Alkemistes wening by pollicy Nature to alter, and coyne to multiply. Some wash rude metell with licours manifolde Of herbes, wening to turne it into golde. All pale and smoky be such continuall, And after labour they lose their life and all.

On Mantuan, Ecl. 6.131–134 ‘Est etiam cuius uecors industria uanas | quaerat opes, ubi nullus opes inuenit ab aeuo: | aes lauat herbarum sucis et uertere in aurum | aestimat, ac nigra semper fuligine pallet’ ‘There are, moreover, persons whose senseless industry seeks riches, but in vain, where none has found them ever. Coppers they bathe in herbal potions and believe that so doing turns them into gold; and evermore are they ashen-pallored from the blackened soot’, cf. Bade ‘Affert alia urbanorum uitia, et fere opposita segniciei dicens. Est etiam super ciuius, cuius uecors, id est, peruersi cordis; industria querat opes uanas, id est, ultra quam sit et non iuxta rationem; ut qui per artem, ut dicunt, alkai-mie, id est, adiuuaminis adiuuando naturam, sperantes aut argentum uertere in aurum, qua uia nullus, inquit hastenus inuenit opes, certum est multos inuenisse pauperiem. Dicunt tamen eius rei studiois inuentos qui ad intentum peruerrient. Fuligine nigra: quia uapore fumeo; sed quomodo palleth, nisi hoc ad anxiatatem referamus, non constet’

‘The passage brings forth other vices of city-dwellers, calling these virtually the opposite of sloth as well. For, additionally, a kind of citizen there is, “whose senseless”—i. e., characterised by erroneous thinking—“industry seeks vain riches”, namely, beyond such as would be sufficient and not in accord with reason; who, by the art of alchemy, as they call it—namely, the aid of aiding nature—are hoping to “turn” even silver “into gold”, whereby “no one”, as he puts it, has as yet “found” “riches”—though certain it is that many have found poverty. Still, those knowledgeable in the matter say that there can be found out such as have attained the goal. “From the blackened soot” means “from the smoky vapour”, though in what sense “they are ashen-pallored” is not apparent, unless we take it to refer to the anxiety they suffer’ (fol. 37v Worde = fol. 123v Petit).

Barclay 5.679–680
No fault with Moriens is blacke difformitie, Because all the sort like of that fauour be.
they put their lives in jeopardy—such as country-
madly when, in exchange for a paltry sum,
even yield up fair repute and then wreak havoc the
more part. The mercenaries who are mentioned

On Mantuan, Ecl. 6.168 ‘pro stipe dat uitam [sc.
miles] ‘For wages, [the soldier] gives his life
away’, cf. Bade ‘Quid reges: docet et reges et
ceteros bella pro dominio aut inani gloria gerentes
capite'; quartus illi non uideant suam deformationem suae
homines tales sunt. Ille color, scilicet, niger’ ‘Graphically, the passage teaches why peo-
ple cannot see their own deformation or their own
short-comings, inasmuch as all of them are just
alike. ‘The complexion’ here in question is black,
of course’ (fol. 66v Worde = fol. 136r Petit).

Barclay 5.731–752
Where dwell great princes and mightie gouernours,
Their life despising for to have vayne honours;
Capitaynes, souldiers, and all like company,
Which put for money their life in ieopardie:
These dwell not vponlade, but haunt the Cite.
Poore herdes fight not but for necessitie,
For libertie, life, and Justice to vpholde;
Towne-dwellers fight for vayne honour and golde.
We fight our frendes and householde to defende,
They fight for malice to riches to ascende.
Our cause and quarell is to maynteyne the right,
But all on selfe-will without reason they fight.
They seeke by wounds for honour and riches,
And drive the weakest to hardest busynes.
O blinde souldier! Why settest thou thy hart,
For a vayne stipende, against a mortall dart?
O foolish soldier! Why settest thou thy hart,
For a vayne stipende, against a mortall dart?
By thousand perils thou takest thy passage,
For small lucre renning to great domage;
O blind soldier! Why settest thou thy life,
For a vayne stipende, against a mortall dart?

17 The edition, Stultifera naus ... with diuers other workes
(London: Cawood, 1570 [= ESTC S107135]), is a kind of opera
omnia, incorporating also Certaine egloges of Alexander Barclay.
18 The Pynson edition is The Boke of Codrus and Myncalas
([London], [1521?] [= ESTC S104475]); and on Barclay’s associ-
ation with the printer, see John Colley, ‘Branding Barclay: The
Printed Glosses and Envoys to Alexander Barclay’s Shyp of
Folys’, PQ, xcix (2020), 147–70. The Powell edition is Here
begynneth the egloges of Alexander Barclay (London, [1548?] [=
ESTC S104480]); and the Kynde, Here begynneth the egloges of
Alexander Barclay (London, [1560?] [= ESTC S90388]).
19 The Worde edition is The fyfte eglog of Alexandre
Barclay of the cytezen and vplondyshman (London, [1518?] [=
ESTC S104478]).
20 The fragments of the Siberch edition, comprising Barclay,
Ecl. 1.631–656 and 657–659, 1.664–686 and 752–754, and
1.773–800 and 803–830, are described in Otto Treptow,
John Siberch Johann Lair von Siegburg, trans. Trevor Jones, ed. John
Morris and Jones (Cambridge, 1970), 59.
21 Here begynneth the eglogic of Alexander Barclay
(Southwark, [ca. 1530] [= ESTC S104473]). On Siberch’s work
with Treveris, see Matthew Groom, ‘John Siberch (d. 1554), the
First Cambridge Printer’, Transactions of the Cambridge
Bibliographical Society, xii (2003), 408–9.
22 Waite, Alexander Barclay’s Translation of Sallust’s Bellum
Iugurthinum, bxv.
Kynge, and especially Cawood editions dispose ‘could’, ‘do’, and ‘have’ where Barclay himself used ‘couth’, ‘doth’, and ‘hath’, or ‘since’ where Barclay used ‘sith’, for example, as attested by the earlier in vita evidence. Less simply accidental variants occur as well, including such substantives as White’s lections ‘In these olde valleys’ (Barclay, Ecl. 4.43) and ‘I hewle as a kite for hunger and for golde’ (4.365), for example, in place of ‘colde valeys’ and ‘for hunger and for colde’ in the 1530 Treveris edition. Also, White prints ‘And none shalt thou loue of this sorte parde | But that she loueth another better then the’; again White, ‘Agaynst his enemies, for they continually’ (3.412), for the earlier edition’s ‘Agayne his foes for they contynually’; ‘sharpe and with ferefull sound’ (5.64), for ‘all with a fereful sound’; and ‘all his other fraudes’ (5.697), for ‘all other his fraudes’. And so forth et cetera.

The salient case is one in which the earliest attested text has a substantive lection probably to be imputed to Barclay that appears to have been subjected to censorious post-reform revision. Barclay’s Eclogues-prologue has the poet reject the muses invoked in the ancient pastoral verse, preferring instead the favour of Jesus Christ, ‘my sauiour, which is chiefe shepheard and head of other all’ (Ecl. 1.114–115), and the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the 1530 Treveris edition, the earliest surviving text:

To him for socour in this my worke I call, 
And not on Clio nor olde Melpomene, 
My hope is fixed of him ayded to be, 
That he me direct, my mynde for to expresse; 
That he, to good ende, my wyt and pen addresse, 
For to accomplishe my purpose and entent 
To laude and pleasour of God omnipotent.

In the 1548 Powell and 1560 Kynge editions, the couplet mentioning Jesus’s mother, ‘And that his mother, the heuynly empres, | Shall to good endyne my wyt and pene addres,’ is replaced with a part-revision suppressing reference to her:

My hope is fixed of him ayded to be, 
That he me direct my mynde for to expresse; 
That he to good ende my wyt and pen addresse, 
For to accomplishe my purpose and entent.

Possibly finding the anaphora-imposing repetition of the Powell-Kynge redaction’s ‘That he’ implausible, or possibly by simple compositorial inadvertence, but more likely on a censorious authority all its own, 1570 Cawood edition simply omits the Virgin-lines (or the repetitive Jesus-invocation taking their place in Powell and Kynge), without disruption of rhyme:

My hope is fixed of him ayded to be, 
For to accomplishe my purpose and entent 
To laude and pleasour of God omnipotent.

The White edition intrudes the Powell–Kynge couplet—in square brackets, with a note unusually at the foot of the page, ‘From Humphrey Powell’s edition’—while otherwise adhering to the edition’s 1570 Cawood base-text. No Blessed Virgin:

To him for socour in this my worke I call, 
And not on Clio nor olde Melpomene, 
My hope is fixed of him ayded to be, 
That he me direct, my mynde for to expresse: 
That he, to good ende, my wyt and pen addresse 
For to accomplishe my purpose and entent 
To laude and pleasour of God omnipotent.

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25 1570 Cawood, sig. 3A1v.

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