

**Игумен Арсений**

**Историческое описание Старицкого  
Успенского монастыря**

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Mr W. H. with William Herbert, who became Earl of Pembroke on the death of his father in January, 1601 (according to our reckoning).<sup>1</sup> To him, together with his brother Philip, "the most noble and incomparable paire of brethren," was dedicated, by Shakspeare's friends and fellows, the First Folio in 1623. The personal acquaintance of these noblemen with Shakspeare is clearly implied when it is said that they had "prosequuted" both the Plays, "and their Authour liuing, with so much fauour." That "Mr W. H." should thus be William Herbert, is a suggestion which lies so ready to hand that it is almost surprising that no one should seem to have thought of it before the days of Bright (1819) and Boaden (1832). William Herbert was born on April 8, 1580, and thus completed his eighteenth year in 1598. It was in the spring of this year that, according to Rowland Whyte (*Sidney Papers*, vol. ii. p. 43), William Herbert was to commence residing permanently in London. A fact of great importance in relation to the Sonnets was discovered last year by the Rev. W. A. Harrison. There exists in the Record Office a correspondence from which it appears that in 1597 Herbert's parents had been engaged in negotiations for his marriage to Bridget Vere, daughter of the Earl of Oxford, and granddaughter of the great Lord Burleigh. The marriage did not come off. Perhaps at the last moment, or nearly so, Herbert showed unwillingness (cf. Sonnet XL., line 8). Thus the alleged improbability of Shakspeare's recommending marriage (Sonnets I. to XVII.) to a young man of about eighteen, which, as the sequel will show, would be William Herbert's age at the time when these Sonnets were written, is altogether removed. On coming to London Herbert would live at Baynard's Castle, a place quite close to the Blackfriars Theatre; and there is at least a possibility that he might thus become acquainted with Shakspeare, though it is not unlikely that the Countess of Pembroke, William Herbert's mother, in her anxiety that her son should marry, may have suggested to Shakspeare the writing of the first seventeen Sonnets. That the Countess, with her love of poetry, should extend her patronage to Shakspeare is likely enough; and having regard to the fact that her husband the Earl was at the time suffering from serious disease, it may very well have occurred that Shakspeare had not been brought into personal contact with him.<sup>2</sup> This would give some explanation of the words of XIII., "You had a Father." But the words do not convey the meaning that Herbert's father

<sup>1</sup> Which is observed throughout this Introduction, when the exact date is known.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter to Lord Burghley from Wilton, Sept. 3, 1597, he states that he should be unable to attend Parliament, without extreme danger to his health. For this and W. H.'s projected marriage, see *State Papers, Dom.*—*Eliz.*, vol. cclxiv.

was dead, as some have thought. This sense here would be tame and out of place. Rather do they imply an exhortation to manly conduct, as in *Merry Wives*, Act III. sc. iv. l. 36, "Shee's conming; to her, Coz: O boy, *thou hadst, a father*," a passage which Mr Harrison has very suitably compared. That Herbert, when he came to London, lacked his father's advice, is in accordance with what Rowland Whyte tells us (*Sidney Papers*, vol. ii. p. 144), "he greatly wants aduise," and from this fact and his age it would not be unlikely that he would indulge in vicious excess, as is implied in Sonnets XCV. and XCVI. :—

"Oh what a mansion haue those vices got,  
Which for their habitation chose out thee," etc.

The rumours to which these last-cited Sonnets refer are in accordance with what Lord Clarendon says of Herbert in his *History of the Rebellion*, I. 123.

The close intimacy which had existed between Shakspeare and his friend seems to have been interrupted about the time that XCV. and XCVI. were written, and not to have been renewed till a prolonged interval had elapsed (cf. C. *sqq.*). In the year 1600, which we may see reason hereafter to place in this interval, there was a festivity at Blackfriars, at which William Herbert was present, on the occasion of the marriage of Lord Herbert (the Earl of Worcester's son) with Mrs Anne Russell, one of Queen Elizabeth's maids of honour. Of this celebration Whyte has left a description in the *Sidney Papers*, vol. ii. pp. 201, 203. The Queen honoured the festivities with her presence. Whyte makes conspicuous mention of a masque which was to be performed by eight ladies of the Court: Lady Dorothy Hastings Mrs Fitton, Mrs Carey, Mrs Onslow, Mrs Southwell, Mrs Elizabeth Russell, Mrs Darcy, and Lady Blanche Somerset. Mrs Fitton, who was leader in the performance, requires especial notice, both with regard to William Herbert and to the Sonnets.

By the death of his father on January 19 following (1601), William Herbert became Earl of Pembroke. Shortly afterwards he incurred the Queen's grave displeasure, for there is in the Record Office (*Domest.—Eliz.*, cclxxix) a letter of March 25 from Tobie Matthew to Dudley Carleton which states, "The Earle of Pembroke is committed to the Fleet: his cause is delivered of a boy who is dead." This somewhat enigmatical statement receives elucidation from the postscript to a letter addressed by Sir Robert Cecil to Sir George Carew (February 5), in which it is stated,—

"We have no news but that there is a misfortune befallen Mistress Fitton, for she is proved with child, and the Earl of Pembroke, being examined, con-

fesseth a fact [*P* = fault, crime<sup>1</sup>], but utterly renounceth all marriage. I fear they will both dwell in the Tower awhile, for the Queen hath vowed to send them thither." (*Calendar of Carew MSS.*, 1601-1603, p. 20.)

Herbert appears to have been imprisoned in the Fleet instead of the Tower; but he did not remain long in confinement, for there is in the British Museum (Lansd. MS. 88, leaf 23) a letter of May 8, from Herbert to Mr (or Sir) Michael Hicks, asking that the payment of a loan may be deferred:—

"Sr, If you will renue the bonds for that mony, that will be shortly due unto you from me, for six months longer, you shall haue yo<sup>r</sup> interest truly payd at the day, & the same security w<sup>ch</sup> you haue allready, & besides you shall doe me a very extraordinarie kindnes w<sup>ch</sup> I will striue to deserue by euer being y<sup>r</sup> most affectionate frend,

"PEMBROKE."

"Whitehall this 8th of May."

Though he was at Whitehall, he had not regained the Queen's favour. In fact he does not seem to have recovered his position at Court till the accession of James. And there is at Hatfield an interesting letter written some six weeks later than that just quoted. The letter was written to Sir R. Cecil from Baynard's Castle on June 19, 1601, but was evidently designed to reach the Queen, and to procure for Herbert restoration to her favour. In it Pembroke says, alluding to his confinement in the Fleet,—

"I cannot forbear telling of you that yet I endure a very grievous Imprisonment, & so (though not in the world's misjudging opinion) yet in myself, I feele still the same or a wors punishment, for doe you account him a freeman that is restrained from coming where he most desires to be, & debar'd from enjoying that comfort in respect of which all other earthly joys seeme miseries, though he have a whole world els to walk in? In this vile case am I, whose miserable fortune it is, to be banished from the sight of her, in whose favor the ballance consisted of my misery or happines, & whose Incomparable beauty was the onely sonne of my little world, that alone had power to give it life and heate. Now judge yqu whether this be a bondage or no: for mine owne part, I protest I think my fortune as slavish as any mans that lives fettered in a galley. You have sayd you loved me, & I have often found it; but a greater testimony you can never show of it then to use your best means to ridd me out of this hell, & then shall I account you the restorer of that which was farre dearer unto me then my life."<sup>2</sup>

On a comparison with several of the Sonnets this letter displays some curious and striking analogies. Thus "the onely sonne of my little world" in the letter may be compared with XXXIII., line 9, "Euen so my Sunne one early morne did shine." In the letter,

<sup>1</sup> Cf. *Winter's Tale*, Act III. sc. ii. lines 84, 85:—

"As you were past all shame,  
(Those of your *fact* are so) so past all truth."

<sup>2</sup> Communicated to the Rev. W. A. Harrison by Lord Salisbury's librarian, Mr R. T. Gunton, and discussed by me in the *Academy*, June 20, 1885.

the Queen is Pembroke's sun; for there appears no escape from the conclusion that Elizabeth is intended by the lady of "incomparable beauty."<sup>1</sup> In the Sonnet, Shakspeare's sun is Herbert, if he was the Mr W. H. to whom I. to CXXVI. were addressed. "The ballance of my misery or happines" may remind us of several lines in XCI. and XCII. (cf. XCI., lines 9 to 14; XCII., line 3 *sqq.*). The idea of "the world's misjudging opinion" finds expression in CXXI. (cf. also CXII.). But the most remarkable analogy and correspondence is with LVII. and LVIII. These Sonnets evidently refer to an interval of separation (probably brief; cf. "this sad Intrin," LVI.) and seeming estrangement between the poet and his friend, the latter being addressed in LVII. as "my soueraine," perhaps with something of irony. With reference to this interval the poet speaks of "the bitternesse of absence," and describes himself as "like a sad slaue." Instead of "the bitternesse of absence" we have in LVIII., line 6, "Th' imprison'd absence of your libertie," a very remarkable line, of which, having regard to the context, the only reasonable interpretation appears to be, that Shakspeare speaks of himself as imprisoned on account of the absence of his friend (who exercises his "liberty" to go where he pleases), and the unsatisfied and irrepressible longing which the poet feels. In the thirteenth line the poet describes his waiting as a "hell." Now, if we turn to the letter we may see, as I said, some remarkable resemblances. As Shakspeare was debarred of the presence and society of his friend, whom he speaks of as his "sovereign," so Pembroke is "debar'd from enjoying that comfort" which consisted in the presence and favour of the lady of "incomparable beauty," the Queen; and this again constitutes for Pembroke "a very grievous imprisonment," like the "imprison'd absence" of the line above quoted from LVIII. And as in LVII. and LVIII. the poet is a "slaue" who is surrendered to the will of another, so in the letter Pembroke protests that he thinks his "fortune as slavish as any mans that lives fettered in a galley." Then, as the poet's waiting is "hell," so Pembroke implores Cecil "to use your best means to ridd me out of this hell." Having regard to these various resemblances and analogies, the possibility may suggest itself, as it has suggested itself to Mr G. B. Shaw and myself, that the letter was really composed by Shakspeare. But if so, most likely it was written by the hand of Pembroke, whose handwriting could not indeed fail to be known to Cecil. His writing seems to have been remarkably clear writing, like that "fair writing" which Hamlet "labour'd much how to forget." Or, what is perhaps more likely, Pembroke

<sup>1</sup> So both Mr Harrison and Dr Furnivall, and the conclusion appears irresistible.



may have borrowed ideas from the Sonnets which he had received from Shakspeare. The words "my soueraine" in LVII., and the coincidence of circumstances, may have caused him to revert especially to LVII. and LVIII. But it is important to observe that, on either view, not only must Shakspeare have been closely associated with Pembroke, but, also, that the Sonnets just cited must have been written previously to the date of the letter, June 19, 1601. Even if Shakspeare composed the letter, no other conclusion seems so probable. And we may see directly other reasons for assenting to this conclusion.

In accordance with what has been said above, Pembroke did not regain the Queen's favour. The Marquis of Salisbury has in his possession other letters of Pembroke's to Cecil, which, though only dated at the end with the year 1601, would seem clearly to have been written subsequently to the letter of June 19. In these he speaks of the Queen's "wonted displeasure," and of England as "a country now most hateful to him of all others." After some vacillation, Elizabeth seems to have come to the determination that Pembroke shall "keep house in the country." This resolution was not improbably arrived at after the intervention of the Countess, Pembroke's mother, for there is a letter at Hatfield from her to the Queen, to whom the Countess offers thanks "for taking her son into her princely care."<sup>1</sup>

In the year 1660 (thirty years after Pembroke's death) was published a small volume of poems ascribed to Pembroke and Sir Benjamin Ruddier. Hallam has asserted (*Lit. of Europe*, Part III. chap. v. p. 56) that these poems furnish no illustration of the Sonnets. This statement, however true with regard to a good many of these poems (which either certainly or probably were not written by Pembroke), can scarcely be regarded as true with respect to one, the genuineness of which is attested by a MS. in the British Museum (Lansd. MS. 777, f. 73). The poem commences with the words, "Soules ioye, when I am gone." In this poem, as in Sonnet XXII., there is the idea of an exchange of hearts (cf. also LXII., lines 13, 14). Then, as in the Sonnets (XLIII., line 13) Shakspeare says that all days are "nights to see" till he sees his friend, so in the poem Pembroke speaks of absence as making "a constant night," while other nights "change to light." The poem, moreover, speaks of the kissing of souls, and of lovers finding another way to meet "but by their feet." With this XXVII. may be compared. Such resemblances are at least worthy of consideration in conjunction with other evidence, even if it be objected that they may be found also

<sup>1</sup> From a communication made to me last year (1884) by Lord Salisbury's librarian, Mr R. T. Gunton.

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elsewhere either wholly or in part. At least they may suffice to set aside the assertion of Hallam.

In other respects, as with regard to great wealth, high rank, and liberal bounty, a comparison of what is known with regard to William Herbert with the portraiture in the Sonnets (cf. XXXVI., XXXVII., LIII., lines 9 to 11) need suggest no difficulty. And though no portrait of Herbert at an early age has been discovered, representations of his appearance in later life may be regarded as quite in harmony with what is said in III. of his reflecting and recalling his mother's beauty in "the louely Aprill of her prime." The designation of William Herbert as "Mr W. H." in 1609, when he had been Earl of Pembroke for eight years, would not have been unprecedented even if most of the Sonnets I. to CXXVI. had not been written before he had gained his title. But here the very important question of the Chronology of the Sonnets requires more particular consideration.

§ 4. In treating of the chronological question a convenient division into four parts may be made: the first concerned with some historical allusions presented in the Sonnets; the second with indications of time furnished by the *Passionate Pilgrim*; the third with other indications connected with Meres's *Palladis Tamia*; and the fourth relating to the three years' space mentioned in CIV.

In CVII. and CXXIV. there are historical allusions of very great importance. Mr Gerald Massey<sup>1</sup> maintained that Queen Elizabeth's death is alluded to in CVII., line 5,

"The mortall Moone hath her eclipse indur'de."

And Professor Minto has repeated the assertion.<sup>2</sup> That "the mortall Moone" is here used as a poetical designation of the Queen may be readily admitted. With the Elizabethan poets the Queen was Cynthia, goddess of the shining orb.<sup>3</sup> An allusion to

<sup>1</sup> *The Secret Drama of Shakspeare's Sonnets*, 2nd Edit., p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> *Characteristics of English Poets*, p. 276.

<sup>3</sup> A very good example, to which my attention was directed by Mr Harrison, is furnished by the ode "Of Cynthia," which stands last in Francis Davison's *Poetical Rapsody* (1602). The concluding stanza is,—

"Times yong howres attend her still,  
And her Eyes and Cheekes do fill,  
With fresh youth and beautie.  
All her louers olde do grow,  
But their hartes they do not so  
In their Loue and duty."

Then follows the note :—"This Song was sung before her sacred Maiestie at a shew on horsebacke wherewith the right Honorable the Earle of Cumberland presented her Highnesse on Maie day last."

her death, however, would not comport with the general drift and aim of the Sonnet. Notwithstanding his own fears and the forebodings of the prophetic soul of the world, the poet's love for his friend shall not be "forfeit to a confin'd doome." On the contrary, it is destined ever to endure, limited by no terminable lease. The scope of the Sonnet shows that the emphasis is on the last word, "indur'de." As Dowden justly observes, "The moon is imagined as having endured her eclipse, and come out none the less bright."<sup>1</sup> We may, however, without much difficulty find in the last years of Elizabeth's reign an event which could be spoken of as a threatening eclipse from which the Queen had come forth with her glory undimmed, and that event was the Rebellion of Essex. Within a week of the abortive attempt to call out the citizens of London to arms, Secretary Cecil, according to a document in the Record Office, delivered himself to the following effect:—

"As the declining of the Sun brings generall darkness, so her Maesties hurt is our continuall night; and although the one by course of Nature may be renewed, yet the other will hardly be matched in any future age; how odious then ought they to be in the eye of all good subiects that have sought the utter ruine of so blessed a soueraine!" (*State Papers, Domest.—Eliz., cclxxviii.*)<sup>2</sup>

What is said in the Sonnet of "the sad augurs mocking their owne presage" would aptly represent the feelings of those who had predicted the success of Essex. And in the lines,

"Incertenties now crowne them-selues assur'de  
And peace proclaimes Oliues of endlesse age,"

there is probably an allusion to the embassy sent by James to congratulate the Queen on the suppression of the Rebellion, the "incertainties" alluding to the previously doubtful attitude of James. But now, instead of civil war, terms of "inviolable unity and concord" had been ratified between the two monarchs.<sup>3</sup> What is said in the ninth line of "the drops of this most balmie time" probably points to the Sonnet being written in the spring or early summer of 1601, the year of the Rebellion. In Sonnet CXXIV. there are other allusions entirely in accordancé with those just cited. The poet declares that his love for his friend is not "the childe of state," an expression suitable to the supposition that

<sup>1</sup> Dowden's Edition of the *Sonnets*, note *ad loc.*

<sup>2</sup> What Shakspeare says about the "eclipse of the mortal moon" may be advantageously compared also with the following extract from a letter of Bacon's written to the Queen prior to the Rebellion:—"The devices of some that would put out all your Majesty's lights, and fall on reckoning how many years you have reigned, which I beseech our blessed Saviour may be doubled, and that I may never live to see any eclipse of your glory" (*Speddings' Bacon*, vol. ix. p. 160).

<sup>3</sup> Camden, *Life and Reign of Queen Elizabeth*, vol. ii. p. 338.

he is alluding to Essex and to the dignities which that nobleman had received. In the seventh and eighth lines he speaks of

" thrall'd discontent,  
Whereto th' inuiting time our fashion calls."

Here, obviously, he is alluding to contemporary circumstances. "Thrall'd discontent" suits perfectly the state of things after the Rebellion, if we regard the word "thrall'd" as describing the severe measures by which discontent had been kept in restraint. This discontent, however, found expression in the turbulent Parliament which assembled in the autumn of 1601, and which was the last in the reign. But the most important allusions are contained in lines 13 and 14:—

" To this I witnes call the foles (fools) of time,  
Which die for goodnes, who haue liu'd for crime."

The "fools of Time" are those whom Time does what he pleases with, now raising them to the highest dignities, and now bringing them down to the scaffold.<sup>1</sup> The conspiracy and rebellion are evidently referred to in the "living for crime," while in the "dying for goodness" we may recognize with equal facility an ironical allusion to the popular estimation of Essex, after his execution, as the "good earl." In this hundred and twenty-fourth Sonnet, too, we notice the words "heat" and "showres" agreeing with what is said in CVII. of "the drops of this most balmie time," and in similar accordance with the conclusion that the time of writing was the spring or early summer of 1601.

The *Passionate Pilgrim* was published in 1599 with the name of Shakspeare on the title-page. It has at the beginning two Sonnets agreeing in the main with CXXXVIII. and CXLIV., but differing in details. Of these Sonnets the second is the more important with regard to the chronology. This Sonnet relates to an intimacy formed between the poet's "two loues," a "woman collour'd ill" and a "man right faire." The "man right faire" is obviously the beautiful youth celebrated in the series of Sonnets I. to CXXVI. He is spoken of as an "angell"; and this accords with the amiability and goodness ascribed to him in the series just mentioned. There can be no reasonable doubt, moreover, that it is the same intimacy which is alluded to in XL. and in other Sonnets preceding and following. Thus it must be concluded that the friendship between

<sup>1</sup> Cf. CXVI., line 9, "Lou's not Times foole," and *Meas. for Meas.*, Act III. sc. i. line 11, "Meerely thou art deaths foole," Death having it all his own way, and being merely amused by abortive efforts to escape. Cf. also *Romeo and Juliet*, Act III. sc. i. l. 132, "O! I am Fortunes foole."

the youth and Shakspeare already existed when in 1599 the *Passionate Pilgrim* was published. There is no reason, however, to conclude that it had been of long duration. That the friendship had in fact existed but a short time when the intimacy between the youth and the lady occurred, may be gathered from XXXIII. and the two following Sonnets. In XXXIII. the effect of the intimacy on the youth's relations with Shakspeare is described. The sun which had been shining brightly was hidden by a cloud. It is particularly to be noticed, however, that the sun is *the morning sun*; and this accords with what the poet says, that his friend had been his but for "one houre" (XXXIII., line 11). The friendship with Shakspeare, it must therefore be inferred, had existed but a short time when the intimacy between the youth and the lady was formed; and possibly the friendship may not have existed many months when the *Passionate Pilgrim* was published.

Francis Meres in his *Palladis Tamia, Wits Treasury*, which was registered on September 9, 1598, mentions several of Shakspeare's other works, and also his "sugred sonnets among his priuate friends." It is of course *possible* that Meres may refer to other Sonnets of Shakspeare's which are now unknown; but, most probably, he refers to a part of our existing collection. There are nevertheless strong reasons for the belief that Shakspeare wrote Sonnet LV. after he had seen Meres's book. Malone remarked that this Sonnet shows a resemblance to the last ode of Horace's third book, "Exegi monumentum," etc. Whether Shakspeare possessed any extensive knowledge of Latin, or had read Horace, are questions which we need not now consider. What is important to observe is, that after the publication of Meres's book, Shakspeare could scarcely fail to have his attention directed very particularly to the commencement of the ode just cited, since Meres employed it in a prophecy of literary immortality for Shakspeare himself and for other distinguished contemporaries. Having quoted from Horace's ode and from Ovid ("Jamque opus exegi," etc.), Meres continues, "So say I seuerally of Sir Philip. Sidneys, Spencers, Daniels, Draytons, Shakespeares and Warners workes

' Non Iouis ira, imbres, Mars, ferrum, flamma, senectus,  
Hoc opus unda, lues, turbo, venena ruent.'

Et quanquam ad pulcherrimum hoc opus euertendum tres illi Dii conspirabunt, Cronus, Vulcanus; et pater ipse gentis;—

' Non tamen annorum series, non flamma, nec ensis,  
Æternum potuit hoc abolere Decus.'—Foll. 282, 283."

That Meres was personally known to Shakspeare may be easily inferred, but, apart from this, the award of immortality could scarcely

fail to be brought under Shakspeare's notice. And as evidence that he did in fact become acquainted with the book, I would direct more particular attention to the seventh line of LV.—

“Nor Mars his sword, nor warres quick fire shall burne.”

Here we can readily see the agreement with Meres's “Non . . . Mars ferrum, flamma.” This conclusion is greatly strengthened by the incongruity of Shakspeare's line, the verb “shall burne” suiting only “warres quick fire,” and not the preceding “Mars his sword.” On reflection it is not difficult to see that the collocation of words in Shakspeare's line may be accounted for if he borrowed at once from Meres the words “Mars, sword, fire,” or the ideas which they represent. And it is noteworthy that the elements of the line in the Sonnet just alluded to are not to be found in combination elsewhere in Shakspeare, nor is the sword of Mars elsewhere mentioned. Then Shakspeare's “all oblivious enmity” finds an explanation in the numerous influences tending to produce oblivion mentioned by Meres. But the “enmity,” the “ouerturning statues,” and “broils rooting out the worke of masonry” may very well have been suggested to Shakspeare by Meres's supposition of a conspiracy on the part of the three deities “ad pulcherrimum hoc opus euer-tendum.” On the whole, that the language of LV. was suggested by the passage cited from Meres seems beyond reasonable doubt. It must be maintained then that this Sonnet was composed after the registration of Meres's book in September 1598.<sup>1</sup> But how long after? In LVI., which was written most probably about the same time as LV., we find the words “two contracted *new*,” relating apparently to the poet and his friend. The friendship would thus be a new friendship. But, as already shown, the friendship must have existed some short time when the *Passionate Pilgrim* was published in 1599. It may appear therefore not unreasonable to place the composition of LV. late in 1598, or possibly early in 1599.

Evidence has been already adduced tending to show that both CVII. and CXXIV. were written in the spring or early summer of 1601. Having regard to this evidence and to the fact that throughout the Sonnets C. to CXXVI. there appears to be repeated allusion to a time of separation and estrangement as though only lately terminated, it must be regarded as probable that the whole of these sonnets, C. to CXXVI., were written about the same time, that is, the spring or early summer of 1601. It will follow then from CIV. that at this time three years had elapsed since Shakspeare first made the acquaintance of his young friend,—

<sup>1</sup> This was first suggested by me in the *Athenæum*, Sept. 11, 1880.