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Abstract.

This thesis begins by outlining the origins of the elegy as a literary form, passing from the fragmentary remains of the Greek elegy, and of Roman love-poets before Catullus, to a brief discussion of the poetry of Catullus, Propertius and the elegists of the Corpus Tibullianum, indicating in each case the main differences between the literary attitudes of these poets and those of Ovid. A detailed analysis is made of the Ovidian erotic code, as contained in the Amores, the Ars and the Remedia, and other of the Amatoria such as the Heroides and the pseudo-Ovidian Pulex, demonstrating inter-relationships between these works, and also any correspondences to particular components of Ovid's code in the works of earlier Greek and Roman love-poets.

Some attempt is next made to show to what extent Ovid's themes and mannerisms were adopted by continental poets of the sixteenth century. Neo-Latin poetry is first dealt with, as represented by Joannes Secundus, Beza, Bonnefonius and the writers inclueed in the Carmina Illustrium Poetarum Italorum, 1576, the Delitiae CC. Italorum Poetarum, 1608, the Delitiae C. Poetarum Gallorum, 1609, and the Delitiae Poetarum Belgicorum, 1614. Vernacular writers discussed in this context include Alamanni, Ariosto, Bembo, Berni, Boiardo, della Casa, Chiabrera, Guarini, Marino, Mauro, Poliziano, Serafino, Tasso and Varchi in Italy and de Baïf, du Bellay, Belleau, Marot, Ronsard and Théophile in France. Some Ovidian features are indicated also in four English versions of continental works: Young's Amorous Fiammetta, 1587,

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Harington's Orlando Furioso, 1591, Branch's Historie of Euryalus and Lucresia, 1596, and Florio's translation of Montaigne's Essais, 1603.

A critical account is given of the Latin elegies of four sixteenth-century Scottish poets, Buchanan, Maitland, Hume, and Leech, and evidence is collected from a number of English writers including Becon, Breton, Chapman, Davies of Hereford, Elyot, Gosson, Greene, Jonson, Lane, Lodge, Nashe, Puttenham, Shepreve, Sidney, Sylvester and Turberville in an attempt to reconstruct the English renaissance concept of Ovid and of the love elegy. The growing interest in Ovidian erotic themes is demonstrated by reference to the development of these in sonnet and epyllion between 1580 and 1600. The chief works considered are Barne's Partheno-phil and Parthenophe, Browne's Britannia's Pastorals, J.C.'s Alcilia, Constable's Diana, Daniel's Complaint of Rosamond, Drayton's Heroicall Epistles, Edwards' Cephalus and Procris and Narcissus, Giles Fletcher's Licia and Venus and Anchises, Greville's Caelica, Griffin's Fidessa, Marlowe's Hero and Leander, Percy's Coelia, Tofte's Laura and Alba, Watson's Hecatompathia and Weever's Faunus and Melliflora.

After an examination of the Amatorium printed in Haddon's Poemata, 1567, there follows a critical analysis of Nashe's Choise of Valentines and of Campion's Latin elegies and epigrams. It is argued that the topics and the manner developed by Campion in his Latin poetry passed into and moulded the character of his English lyric verse. The elegies printed by Grierson in his edition of Donne, and elegiacfeatures in Donne's Songs and Sonnets are next investigated, and some comments are made about the possible

indebtedness of Donne's elegies to Maximianus. The effect of Donne upon the English elegiac tradition is gauged by reference to the productions of other and later poets including Baron, Bold, Carew, Cartwright, Cowley, Jonson, Jordan, King, Kynastoun, Randolph, Salusbury, Shirley, Stevenson and Suckling, and to collections such as The Academy of Complements, Musarum Deliciae, Sportive Wit, Parnassus Biceps, and Wit's Interpreter.

A critical account is given of the elegies of a previously unknown poet, Nicholas Hare (1582-1622), with some information about his life. An edited text of his poems is added as Appendix A. There follows a discussion of a number of other unprinted love elegies, and unprinted translations from Ovid's erotic works, of the period 1595-1660, from manuscripts in the Bodleian Library and the British Museum. These include poems by Sampson Briggs, James Cobb, Clement Paman and a "W.R." whose verse appears in Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 199. Texts of certain of these elegies are given in Appendix B. The printed history of the English Ovidian elegy is next considered, from the second edition of Donne's Poems in 1635 to the second edition of Alexander Brome's Songs and Poems in 1664. This survey refers to the elegies of Beaumont, Beedome, Carew, Cartwright, Cockayne, Glapthorne, Jonson, Poole and Sir John Roe and to the translations of Beaumont, Carpenter, Heywood, F.L., Marlowe and Overbury

Ovidian assumptions and patterns of thought are traced in the epigrams of Sir John Davies, Charles FitzGeffrey, Henry FitzGeffrey, Guilpin, Harington, Parrot, Turner, Weever and West; in the anti-woman satire of Goddard, Hall,

Marston, and Middleton; and in song-collections from 1598 to 1619 made by madrigalists and lutanists like Bateson, Carlton, Cavendish, Corkine, Greaves, Jones, Pilkington and Vautor. An attempt is made to show how the dramatists of the earlier seventeenth century, especially those who were catering for the private theatres, introduced Ovidian erotic themes and situations into their plays. Barry, Beaumont and Fletcher, Brandon, Cartwright, Cockayne, Day, Field, Jonson, Marston, Massinger, Middleton, Sharpham, Shirley and Suckling are discussed in this connection.

Evidence is produced to support the suggestion that the popularity of the Ovidian love elegy among Inns of Court writers at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries might to some extent be explained by the fact that the characteristic elegiac attitudes were made particularly attractive to such writers by their position in London society, by the prevalent social and economic conditions in London, and especially by the considerable degree of emancipation attained by the London woman when compared with women in the provinces and rural areas.

It is shown how the adoption of Ovidian themes and mannerisms helped to determine the tone of the cavalier lyric.

In conclusion some account is given of the treatment of elegiac motifs after 1660, in the works of Durfey, Rochester and Wycherley, and in the songs of the Restoration drama.

THE OVIDIAN LOVE ELEGY IN ENGLAND

by

J. Carey

A thesis submitted to the Board of the Faculty of English Language and Literature in the University of Oxford, in accordance with the regulations for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

[MT 1960]

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CHAPTER I

Ovid and the Elegy.

Although this thesis is chiefly concerned with the cultivation of the love elegy and of elegiac themes during the Renaissance, it will be as well, at the outset, to take a brief look at the origins of the elegy as a literary form, to make a detailed analysis of the Ovidian erotic code, as it is formulated in the Amores, the Ars Amatoria, and the Remedia Amoris, and to see how much of this code is implied or expressed in the work of other Latin and Greek love poets.

As Horace remarks, the origins of the elegy are obscure:

> quis tamen exiguos elegos emiserit auctor
> grammatici certant, et adhuc sub iudice lis est,[1]

The accepted meaning of the word ἔλεγος in fifth-century Greek usage, seems to have been a 'song of mourning'. Hence later grammarians derived their fanciful etymology: ἔλεγος from ἐ ἐ λέγειν, 'to cry woe! woe!'[2] This concept of the elegy as a 'song of woe' was popular among the literary theorists of the Renaissance, and hence when they extended the term to include the love elegy they generally defined it

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1. Ars Poetica, v. 77-8.
2. Ovid himself subscribes to this theory about the word (Amores, III.ix.4). My information about the origins of the love elegy has been taken from the following works: A.A. Day, The Origin of the Latin Love Elegy, 1938; G. Luck, The Latin Love Elegy, 1959.

with reference to the suffering and laments of the lover, although a large proportion of classical and neo-classical love elegies are laments in no sense whatsoever. Thus arose another of those divergences between theory and practice which are so common in Renaissance literature. In fact the earliest extant examples of elegiac poetry, far from being songs of mourning, are military and convivial songs, and it seems likely that even if ἔλεγος was originally a lament, it must almost from the beginning have embraced experiences and emotions of rejoicing as well as of regret. Usually in ancient Greece and Rome elegiac poetry is defined not by mood but by rhythm alone.

The great bulk of the Greek elegy has been lost, and it is doubtful whether the subjective love elegy, which purports to tell of the poet's own experiences, was known in Greece at all. There is an element of love in some of the personal elegies attributed to Theognis, and it is possible that the Nanno of Mimnermus was something in the nature of a collection of love elegies. Certainly Mimnermus seems to have been, for Propertius, a typical representative of the erotic elegy.[1] Though the Roman elegists frequently look back to Callimachus and Philetas as model love-poets[2] they never specify precisely what or how much they owe to them. Certainly Callimachus and a host of other Alexandrian poets wrote erotic epigrams in the subjective manner dealing with themes and situations similar to those in Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid.[3] The New Attic Comedy of Menander, and its Latin adaptations may also have supplied both Greek and

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1. Propertius, I. ix. 11-12.
2. Cf. Propertius, II. xxxiv. 31 f.; III. i. 1-6; III. iii. 51 f.; Amores, II. iv. 19 f.; Ars, iii. 329 f.; Remedia, 759 f.; Tristia, ii. 367 f.; Ex Ponto, III. i. 57 f.
3. For detailed correspondences see footnotes to pp. 11-29, below.

Latin love-poets with various stock characters like the bawd, the rich rival and the intriguing slave, but life could have supplied these just as well. Agathias Scholasticus has an epigram which depends for its point upon the poet realizing that his mistress, her husband, and himself are really like three of Menander's stock characters.[1] If the Greek love-poets usually, or even often had the comedy in mind as a source for situation and character, such an epigram would become absurd. It is noteworthy also that when Ovid, in passing, mentions Menander and three of his typical characters,[2] one of the three, the durus pater, is a character he himself never portrays. Certainly, too, one will find no prototype in Plautus or Terence for that many-sided creation, the elegiac domina. That Ovid, the last of the elegiac poets, does occasionally transform a typical comedy scene into a dramatic monologue for the purposes of his elegy[3] cannot, however, be denied.

The earliest Latin love poems, written by aristocratic amateurs like Catulus, AEdituus and Porcius Licinus, seem, from the few fragments which remain, to have been adaptations, in epigrammatic form, of Hellenistic motifs. Gallus (70/69 B.C. - 26 B.C.) wrote four books of elegies, of which only one line is preserved. It is by no means certain that these were personal, subjective love elegies. Ovid's testimony that Gallus made his mistress Lycoris famous through his poems[4] may mean only that they were dedicated to her, not about her. Along with Gallus, Propertius mentions two even more shadowy figures, Calvus and Varro of Atax[5] and Ovid adds Valerius Cato, and a host of

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1. Anth. Pal., v. 218.
2. Amores, I. xv. 17-18.
3. An obvious example is Amores, I. viii.
4. Amores, I. xv. 29-30.
5. Propertius, II. xxxiv. 85 f.

dilettanti.[1] According to Ovid, Calvus recorded his erotic adventures (furta) and Varro non potuit veneris furta tacere suae.[2] This may indicate that they wrote love elegies, but one cannot be sure.

Catullus is the first Latin love-poet whose works are extant. Most of his poems in the elegiac metre (LXV- CXVI) are short enough to be classed as epigrams, but their themes and mannerisms are frequently those of the elegists,[3] and at least one poem (LXVIII.A.)[4] gives him as good a claim as any known poet to be called the inventor of the subjective love elegy. A combination of poetic epistle, mythological poem, and love elegy, it has the precision of reference to particular events and settings, the half-amused, masculine tolerance (*ll.* 95-7), the concentration upon secrecy and adultery in love (*ll.* 103-6) so familiar in the later elegists, and makes a comparison between Lesbia and the heroine Laodameia an excuse for narrating the latter's history (*ll.* 39-90), thus exemplifying what may have been already, and certainly was to become one of the chief features of the Roman elegy, the parallel from Greek legend. In Propertius' opening elegy, for example, the first eight lines state the theme, his constant devotion to Cynthia, and the next eight give the parallel, the story of Milanion's devotion to Atalanta. Perhaps to Catullus and the poets that followed him the imaginary world of Greek mythology served as a refuge from the corruption of modern life. It is characteristic of Ovid that he uses the device considerably less frequently than his predecessors.

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1. Tristia, ii. 437 f.
2. Ibid., 439 f.
3. For detailed correspondences see footnotes to pp. 11-25, below.
4. The numbering of Catullus' poems throughout this thesis is that of F.W. Cornish, in The Poems of Catullus and Tibullus, ed. F.W. Cornish and J.P. Postgate, Loeb Classical Library, Revised edn., 1950.

Though reflections of Catullus are numerous in the later elegists, often he is himself derivative, and passages in the later elegists reminding us of him may be inspired by the Alexandrians, especially Callimachus, whom Catullus recognized as his masters. In spite of thematic correspondence, moreover, Catullus is a very different kind of poet from Ovid. His lyrical range is far wider, approaching the ultimate in agony (LVIII), outspoken sexuality (XXXII) and delicacy of self-ridicule (VIII, 12-19), and his eroticism is at once less cerebral and more serious than Ovid's. He has none of Ovid's brilliant dialectic. Like Tibullus and Propertius he feels the need to relate his individual experience to some higher order. For Tibullus this higher order is the unchanging life of the countryside, for Propertius, mythology, for Catullus, Roman religion.

From the point of view of theme and idea, Tibullus has more in common with Ovid than has Catullus,[1] but temperamentally and stylistically he is quite unlike the poet from Sulmo. He yearns continually after an idyllic vision of country life and festival,[2] and this is part of an obsessive sense of loss and deprivation which extends to his treatment of love. The note of despair and unrequited longing is strong: the role of the forsaken lover has an irresistible fascination for him.[3] He longs for a distant realm of happiness, the Age of Saturn, before ships crossed the seas in search of wealth, and before war and greed came to the world. Whereas Ovid refers to chastity mockingly as a rustic virtue, Tibullus begs Delia to remain chaste while

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1. For detailed correspondences see footnotes to pp. 11-28, below.
2. Cf. Tibullus, I. i. 25-32; I. v. 21-34; ~~I. v. 21-34;~~ I. x. 39-52; II. i; II. iii; II.v. 79 f.
3. Cf. Tibullus, I. v. 17 f.; I. ix. 1 f. etc.

he is away, and imagines her lovingly, seated by the fire at home with her old nurse, distaff in hand, listening to stories as the lamp grows dim.[1] When Delia is unfaithful, he feels he could forgive her for the sake of her old mother, - a sentimental touch unparalleled elsewhere in the Roman elegy.[2] His style is the style of lucid statement, of discreet gesture, without the decorative exuberance of Propertius or the epigrammatic antithesis of Ovid. He has not Ovid's logical imagination, and very little of Ovid's zest for the paradoxical and the outrageous. Whereas Tibullus[3], as part of his oath of fidelity, says that if ever he should praise another woman may Delia tear out his hair and scratch his eyes, Ovid[4] declares that he is glad when his mistress behaves in this way, because it proves that the fire of love is burning fiercely. Whereas Tibullus[5] wishes to fix his eyes on Delia when his last hour comes, Ovid wishes to die in the act of love.[6] It is perhaps worth remarking that Tibullus' paupertas is almost certainly a mere pose: the penury of the erotic poet was already a strongly established literary convention. In fact we learn from Horace that Tibullus was well off and knew how to use his money.[7]

In the Corpus Tibullianum we find not only the poems of Tibullus, but also those of a man who calls himself Lygdamus;[8] an anonymous panegyric on Messalla;[9] six short erotic elegies by Sulpicia, niece and ward of Messalla and daughter of

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1. Tibullus, I. iii. 83 f.
2. Tibullus, I. vi. 55 f.
3. Tibullus, I. vi. 69 f.
4. Ars. ii, 451-4.
5. Tibullus, I. i. 59-60.
6. Amores, II. x. 29-30.
7. Horace, Epist., I. iv. 6 f.
8. Tibullus, III. i-vi.
9. Tibullus, III. vii.

Servius Sulpicius Rufus;[1] five elegies by an anonymous author who, fascinated by Sulpicia's romance adapted her themes and situations and wrote objectively about her love affair;[2] and finally two elegies which are almost certainly early works of Tibullus himself.[3] Probably this collection represents a part of the literary activity of the Messalla circle, to which Tibullus belonged. Of his two early poems in it, the second is really an epigram. Rumour tells the poet that his mistress is false. He knows rumour is right, but he wishes to be deaf, to ignore the facts. This is an important development of the Catullian odi et amo theme. The conscious attempt on the part of the lover to disregard reality, to shut his love away in a world of its own which cannot be judged by conventional standards, is something quite unknown to the earlier Latin elegy or to the Hellenistic epigram. Later Propertius[4] and Ovid[5] extend and develop the theme.

Propertius differs from Tibullus in that he is a poet of the city, like Ovid. There are few bucolic themes in his poetry.[6] Unlike Catullus, his poems are not really love-poems, but poems about love, speculations upon its nature, and exercises in new manners of celebrating it. Because of his daring choice of words and images he is often extremely obscure. His mythological erudition is heavy, far heavier than Ovid's, and gives his verse a ritualistic quality. Indeed his concept of the poet's function is a sacerdotal one.[7] When he wishes to use it, he has an extremely highly-developed dramatic gift: certain

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1. Tibullus, III. xiii-xviii.
2. Tibullus, III. viii-xii.
3. Tibullus, III. xix-xx.
4. Propertius, II. xxxii.
5. Amores, III. xiv.
6. E.g. Propertius, II. xix; III. xiii.
7. Propertius, IV. vi. 1 f.

incidents in his long and variegated affair with Cynthia are unforgettably vivid in presentation. One thinks especially of when Cynthia catches him with Phyllis and Teia.[1] It is from Propertius that Ovid learned his dramatic technique. But in his treatment of love Propertius is usually quite seriously monogamous, compared with Ovid. Loyalty, and the durability of love are his ideals. The symptoms of the passionate lover, - pallor, burning, tears, groans, emaciation and so on, are far more obtrusive in his elegies than in Ovid's. Love, for him, is usually a torment, a hardship to be bemoaned, a yoke that cannot be cast off. Ovid pretends to consider sexual jealousy as something boorish and provincial, though he may occasionally feel pangs of it himself, but Propertius analyses his own jealousy: he is jealous of Cynthia's mother and sister, - they may be men in disguise:[2] he is jealous even of his own shadow.[3] His eroticism is brooding and self-tormenting. There is an occasional monitory, moral note in him[4] very different from Ovid's flippancy. He is obsessed with death, and dwells with morbid pleasure on the physical details of decomposition.[5] Occasionally, like Tibullus, he lapses into self-pity when he thinks of his own death, and is fond of imagining Cynthia weeping over his ashes, but more often he thinks of his own death as something unusually dramatic and spectacular, and, in a bitter outburst,[6] he pictures her dancing on his funeral pyre and stamping on his bones. In the midst of the most delighted description of sensual

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1. Propertius, IV. viii.
2. Propertius, II. vi. 7-14.
3. Propertius, II. xxxiv. 19-20.
4. E.g. Propertius, III. xiii. 59-60.
5. Propertius, I. xix. 6, 18; II. xiii. A. 25 f., 43 f.; III. xiii. 21 f.; IV. v. 3 f.; IV. vii. 93 f.; IV. xi. 20, 37, 74.
6. Propertius, II, viii. A.

pleasure he is suddenly reminded of the eternal night that awaits him and his love.[1] Propertius is far more concerned than any of the other elegiac poets about the nature of poetry and the mission of the poet in society, and when Ovid reflects on such topics at all he almost invariably uses the ready-made arguments and images he finds in Propertius.[2]

Ovid is the last of the elegiac poets. Catullus died shortly after 55 B.C.; Propertius' first book of elegies was published around 29 or 28 B.C.; Tibullus probably edited his first book soon after 27 B.C., and Ovid, born in 43 B.C., published the first edition of his Amores shortly after 16 B.C.. He is the poet of a secure society, corrupt in its security. Unlike Vergil, Horace and Propertius who had, in their youth, experienced the horror of the civil wars, Ovid, only twelve at the time of Actium, grew up in the Pax Augusta and took it for granted. His irresponsibility is deeper than that of Propertius or Tibullus: he shows as little interest in politics or business as they, but unlike them hardly ever attempts to justify his passivity. He was the son of well-to-do parents, and was sent to Rome at an early age to study rhetoric under the elder Seneca, who remembers him as a skilful debater. Ovid soon grew tired of this, however. While still an impressionable young man he visited Greece, returning to Rome by way of Asia Minor and Sicily. Neither politics nor law attracted him permanently, though for a time he embarked on a public career, and he was soon drawn into Messalla's circle of wits where he met Tibullus. His first work, the Amores,

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1. Propertius, II. xv. 23-4.
2. Cf. Propertius, III. i. 9 f.; Amores, I. ii. 23-38; Propertius, IV. i. 69 f.; Amores, III. xv. 18. Similarities in the erotic themes of Propertius and Ovid are indicated in the footnotes to pp. 11 - 28 , below.

was immediately successful, and after it he published in rapid succession a tragedy, the Medea, of which only two lines survive, the Heroides, the Ars Amatoria, the Remedia Amoris and the Medicamina Faciei, a handbook in cosmetics, the Fasti and the Metamorphoses.

The Corinna of the Amores, in spite of all theorizing about her identity, is clearly a composite figure: she is a name, used to represent the numerous women he has known or imagined, used to give some semblance of flesh and blood to his sparkling structure of reconditioned literary echoes. His technique and imagery are Alexandrian, and so is much of the material he has adapted, though he takes over a good deal from his Roman predecessors as well. The secret of his art lies in the elegance and smoothness with which he handles the elegiac couplet. Everything he has to say seems cool and natural, however cynical or depraved it really is. Under the polished surface no conflict between ideals and reality seems to exist. The fervent intensity of Catullus and Propertius is completely foreign to him: he is far too self-disciplined to permit such abandonment.

Immediacy is one of the most constant characteristics of the Amores. Sometimes it is attained by flashing a particular scene upon the reader's eye, - a dramatic set with characters grouped in position. At a banquet in Rome[1] Ovid flirts with his mistress, using 'the mystique language of the eye and hand', because her husband[2] is present, or

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1. Cf. Ars, i. 229, 565-612, on banquets as fit opportunities for lovers' meetings. Amores, I. iv has much in common with Heroides, xvi. 213-48; xvii. 75 f..
2. The term 'husband' has been used through this thesis to translate the vir of Latin love-poetry, because that is how the Renaissance understood the word. In fact vir could and often did mean simply 'the lover in possession'. In Ovid's time concubinage (e.g. with a freedwoman) was a relationship almost as fixed as marriage. Catullus' Lesbia was a consul's wife, but Gallus' Lycoris and

(footnote 2 contd. over)

or alternatively watches her flirting with another man,[1] dipping her fingers in wine to write secret messages on the table-top,[2] looking into his eyes, filling her conversation with amorous double entendres (I. iv: II. v: III. xi. A. 23). Stretched out on his couch in the hot noonday, with shutters closed, and twilight in the room, he is visited by Corinna (I. v.)[3] Now it is night time, and frosty, and he waits in the street before her door, urging the porter to let him in[4] (I. vi): now his love stands before him, dishevelled and in tears, with a livid mark upon her cheek where he has struck her (I. vii. 40):[5] now, in bed, in the cool morning just before dawn, he clasps Corinna to him and feels her tender arms about his neck, as the birds sing outside the window (I. xiii. 5). Once, hidden behind a door, he hears an old bawd, with wrinkled cheeks and eyes all watery from wine, advising his blushing sweetheart about how to attract rich suitors[6] - until eventually

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(footnote 2 contd.)
Tibullus' Delia and Nemesis were Greek freedwomen, and so, perhaps, was Propertius' Cynthia. Certainly she lives and behaves like these other girls. Like the Greek hetaerae, they were the cultured and accomplished courtesans of high society. Ovid's Corinna seems usually to be envisaged as a girl of this class, and in the Ars Amatoria he is careful to point out more than once that his rules apply only to this sort of girl and not to the wives of citizens (Cf. Ars, i. 31-4; ii. 599-600; iii. 611-16.) Nevertheless he seems to forget these declaimers when he recommends the theatre as a place often fatal to castus pudor (Ars, i. 100), refers to the intrigue he is facilitating as crimen (Ars, i. 586), compares the married state adversely with free association (Ars, ii. 153-6), or assumes that even a bride can scarcely hope to enjoy her bridegroom for long without rivals (Ars, ii. 387-90), and that wives regularly deceive their husbands (Ars, iii. 483-4).

1. Cf. Ars, ii. 549-554: Catullus, LI: Propertius, III, viii.25.
2. Cf. Ars, i, 571-2: Propertius, III. viii. 26: Tibullus, I. vi. 19-20: Heroides, xvii. 87-8.
3. Cf. Philodemus, Anth. Pal., v. 132, and Marcus Argentarius, Anth. Pal., v. 128. In these epigrams appear two important elements of his poem: the exclamatory catalogue of Corinna's beauty, and the elegant 'Who does not know the rest?' formula.
4. Cf. Ars, ii. 259-60, where he advises the lover to bribe porters.
5. Cf. Paulus Silentarius, Anth. Pal., v. 248: Tibullus, I. x. 55-6.
6. Cf. Propertius, IV. v, which supplies the groundwork for Ovid's elegy: also Tibullus, I. v. 48-56.

his shadow gives his hiding place away (I.viii). Once, watching the chariot races,[1] he finds himself next to a girl who attracts him, and exploits the situation, shifting closer as she tries to wriggle away, and officiously picking up her gown when it drags in the dust, to catch a glimpse of her pretty legs[2] (III.ii). In the background we hear the gossip of the city, at dinners, over wine (III.i.15): with the poet we walk through the streets and squares of Rome[3] - the temple[4] of Isis (II.ii.25), the portico of Apollo's temple (II.ii.4), the theatre (II.viii.3).[5] With him we visit the apple orchards of Falerii (III.xiii) and the cornfields and vineyards of Sulmo, a land of running streams and cool breezes among olive trees (II.xvi); with him, on our way back to Rome and Corinna, we stand on the banks of a stream, swollen with melted snow, and watch the rush of its muddy waters (III.vii). Now, in the early morning, the poet keeping watch in the street sees his mistress' new paramour slink out of her house, exhausted with love-making (III.xi.A.13), now, in the still night, we see Corinna creep from bed, swathed in a flowing gown, - watch her silently lift the latch, moving her feet carefully lest they should knock against anything, and steal through the darkness to her lover (III.i.49).[6]

Time, like place and situation, is used to crystallize the narrative, to give a sense of real events. Now it is the festival of Ceres (III.x), now of Juno (III.xiii): now

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1. Cf. Ars, i. 135-170; iii. 395-6 and 634.
2. Cf. Ars, i. 153-6.
3. Cf. the continual reference to Roman localities in the Ars, E.g. i. 67-88; 255-6; iii. 386-94.
4. Propertius mentions temples particularly as places where lovers meet. (II.xix.10).
5. According to the Ars, a popular place for amorous assignations (i.89-134; 497-504; iii.394; 633.)
6. The whole scene is prefigured in Tibullus, I. ii. 17-20 and II. i. 75-8.

Ovid hears Corinna lies dangerously ill[1] after an abortion (II.xiii-xiv): now she is about to set out on a sea-voyage,[2] and he warns her, patronizingly, that the mighty ocean does not have delicate shells and brightly coloured pebbles[3] like those she has gathered on the beach: characteristically, it is a visual detail he remembers, - her marble-white feet printing the wet sand (II.xi.15). Women's feet often catch his attention,[4] - at the circus he notices how the girl next to him pokes her toes through the grating in front of her seat (III.ii.64).

Sometimes immediacy is attained by giving one side of a dramatic dialogue, sprinkled with vivid details. Ovid instructs the maid before sending her to Corinna with a letter, - she must watch her mistress' eyes as she reads, and report the expressions of her face. (I.xi). Later, when the maid returns with bad news, he grumbles at her for tripping on the threshold as she went out: there is something in omens, he concludes, after all (I.xii). When a girl asks for gifts in exchange for her favours,[5] he repels her with a torrent of brilliant dialectic: she is worse than an animal, - even animals do not sell themselves (I.x):[6] When Corinna's hair starts to fall out because of over-zealous use of curling tongs and dyes,[7] he reminds her as she tearfully throws down her mirror that he warned her it would happen. But he has a practical suggestion, too:

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1. The prayer to the gods during the girl's sickness is found also in Propertius (II.xxviii and xxviii.A.) and Tibullus (III.x). One characteristic theme is common to all three: the gods, saving one, will save both.
2. Cf. Propertius, I. viii.
3. Cf. Propertius, I. ii. 13.
4. Cf. Ars, i. 162; ii. 212; 534.
5. Cf. Catullus, XLI.
6. Cf. Ars, iii, 805-6.
7. Cf. Ars, iii, 163-4.

she must wear hair[1] cut from captive German women, till her own grows again. Meticulously he recalls her tresses as they once were: flowing to her waist, as fine as spider's silk or gauze, mingled gold and black, like a cedar tree stripped of bark (I.xiv). Now he summons his persuasiveness to convince the slave, appointed by his mistress' husband to guard her, that it will be in his own interests to perform his task less strictly: tale-bearers always come to a bad end: no husband likes to be told he is a cuckold (II.ii).

The dramaatic situations of the Amores are played out by the poet with the support of a group of minor characters, more or less sketchily outlined. Important only for their function in the drama, not in themselves, these include the maid, Nape (I.xi; II.xix.41) and the slave (II.ii.15 f.)[2] who are accomplices in the adulterous love-affair;[3] the maid Cypassis, who provides the poet with a little amorous diversion (II.viii);[4] the possessive husband (II.ii.11; III.iv); the husband who is not possessive enough to make things exciting (II.xix);[5] the janitor (I.vi)[6] the bawd, Dipsas (I.viii);[7] the fierce guard (II.i.55); the nouveau riche rival (III.viii); Bagoas, the eunuch (II.ii and iii); the mistress' slave and handmaid who extract gifts from the young suitor[8] (I.viii.87); her sister,

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1. Cf. Ars, iii, 165-6.
2. Cf. Propertius, II. xxiii. 3-6; III. vi.
3. Cf. Ars, iii. 485-6, 621-6, where the maid is represented as carrying love-letters in her bosom, her sandal, her stocking, or even written on her back, under her clothes: also Tibullus, I.ii.94.
4. Cf. Ars, i. 375-398; iii. 665-6, where he warns women against employing pretty serving-maids, and says he has often had affairs with them.
5. Cf. Catullus, XX. 14-22: Tibullus, I. vi. 15 f.
6. Cf. Propertius, IV. v. 47-8, where the janitor is ordered by his mistress to open the door only to lovers who bring gifts, and to pretend to be asleep otherwise.
7. Cf. Acanthis in Propertius, IV. v, and Phryne, in Tibullus, II. vi. 43-54.
8. Cf. Ars, i. 351-5; ii. 251-2; 255-6, where Ovid advises the lover to bribe the slave and handmaid; also Remedia, 638.

mother, and nurse,[1] who help to bleed him of money (I.viii.91); practical men, who advise pursuit of legal or military professions, instead of the life of a poet (I.xv); even dogs,[2] which bay in the still city at night, when the poet is abroad on his errands of love (II.xix.40); and, of course, the various types of mistress, - the mercenary (III.viii; I.x),[3] the perjured (III.iii), the mistress who has other lovers (III.xii,xiv),[4] the mistress who tears up the poems Ovid has sent (III.i.58), the mistress who gives herself to him (I.v; II.xii),[5] and the mistress who is too proud (II.xvii) or frightened (I.xii) to do so. In his interaction with these characters the poet adopts a series of half-serious, half-amused poses, at times mutually contradictory. At one time he protests undying fidelity (I.iii.15):[6] at another he finds himself in love with two mistresses (II.x);[7] at another he admits that he can love

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1. The elegiac poets always dislike old women in positions of responsibility. It was a convention of the Greek erotic poets, Cf. Agathias Scholasticus in Anth. Pal., v. 289, 294: also Remedia 637.
2. Cf. Propertius, III. xvi. 17; IV. v. 73 and Tibullus, I. vi. 31-32; II. iv. 32.
3. Cf. Anth. Pal., v. 2 (anon.): 32 (Marcus Argentarius); 114 (Maecius) also Propertius, II. xvi. 17-22; xxiii, 7-8; xxxii. 41 f.; IV. i.A.150; Tibullus, I.viii,29; ix. 7-12, 51-2; II. iv; Ars, i. 419-436; ii. 163, 171-2; iii. 551-2, where Ovid speaks of the mercenary nature of women, and their skill in extracting gifts by pretending that they have lost some jewel or trinket, or that their clothes have been torn in a love-quarrel and must be replaced. Remedia, 299-302, 321-2.
4. Cf. Catullus, XI. 17-20; LXVIII.A.95; Propertius, II, v. 1-2; vi.
5. Cf. Propertius, II. xiv; xv.
6. An attitude far more frequent in Propertius than in Ovid; Cf. Propertius, II.i.55-6; vii. 7 f.; ix. 43-6; xiii.A.31 f.; xv. 31 f.; xvii. 17-18; xx. 29 f.; xxi. 19-20; xxiv.A. 33 f.; xxv. 5-20; xxvi. A 29 f.; xxviii. 42 f. etc.
7. The situation of the poet who is torn between two loves is a popular topic of the Hellenistic erotic epigram; Cf. Anth. Pal., xii, 88 (anon.); 91 (Polystratus); 173 (Philodemus). In the Remedia (441-62) Ovid advises the lover to take a second mistress in order to cure his love: it will lessen affection just as a river is lessened by much channelling.

any woman,[1] - tall or short, fair or dark,[2] this for modesty, that for sauciness, this for learning, that for simplicity, this for her walk, that for her voice, that for her dancing, and so on (II.iv).[3] Now he is a poet, eager to perpetuate his mistress' name (I.iii.25): now he regrets doing so[4] as it has attracted too many young men to her (III.xii). Now he is the triumphant lover, in the act of enjoying his mistress (II.xii):[5] now he sees her married to a rich rival (III.viii). He is slave to woman (II.xvii);[6] rebel from love (III.xi.A);[7] and rebel forced to submit anew (III.xi.B).[8] He courts his mistress with secret signs (I.iv);[9] and watches her so courted (III.xi.A.23). He is the lover of the maid (II.viii),[10] but hotly defends himself[11] when accused of such a liason (II.vii). Frequently

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1. Cf. Ars, ii.387-90, where he advocates love to several women at the same time, - so long as they don't find out about one another!
2. The praise of 'dark beauty' is a Hellenic erotic theme Cf. Anth. Pal., v. 210 (Asclepiades). Ovid has the theme again in Heroides, xv. 35 f.
3. Cf. Plato, Republic, 474 D/E, where Plato draws attention to the fact that to a lover his loved one's failings seem attractions. In poetry the idea of the lover torn between several girls (or boys) and finding something attractive in each is found in Rhianus (3rd. century B.C.), Anth. Pal., xii,93; Strato, Anth. Pal., xii.5; Nicharchus, Anth.Pal., v.38; Meleager, Anth. Pal., v. 198; and in Latin, Lucretius, iv. 1160 f.; Propertius, II.i. 1-16, where he varies the idea, declaring that whatever one particular mistress does becomes her, whether she plays the lyre, sleeps, wears silk, is naked, etc.; Propertius, II.xxi; xxv. 39 f.; Tibullus, I.iv.10-14.
4. Cf. Propertius, III. xxiv.
5. Cf. Propertius, II. xiv, xv: Propertius exclaims of his night of love: immortalis ero si altera talis erit (II. xiv. 10).
6. Cf. Anth. Pal., v. 21 (Rufinus): Propertius, III. xi. 1-8; Tibullus, I.i.55; II. iv. 1-6; Ars, ii. 215-6.
7. Cf. Propertius, III. xxiv. 15-20, xxv.
8. Cf. Propertius, II, ii; iii: Tibullus, I. v. 1-6.
9. Cf. Tibullus, I.ii.21-2; vi.19; viii.1-2: Ars, i. 573-4; Heroides, xvii. 81 f.
10. Cf. Anth. Pal., v. 18, where Rufinus points out the advantages of loving a maidservant.
11. Cf. Propertius, II.xx: Propertius, unlike Ovid, tells the truth. Ovid advocates hearty denial of clandestine amours, Ars, ii. 409-14.

he poses as a young adulterer (I.v; ix.25; II.ii),[1] but sometimes he is himself betrayed by his mistress[2] and finds her making love to another (he forgives her because she looks so beautiful!)[3] (II.v.33), or sees her sending secret letters (III.xiv.31),[4] or notices the disordered bedclothes[5] and the marks of love-bites on her neck[6] (III.xiv.32). He declares, more than once, that he is writing auto-biography (II.i.2; III.i.22).[7] He is a free-thinker, who adopts a bantering attitude towards the gods (II.i.17; III.iii.23), and does not object to his mistress erring, so long as she keeps her misdemeanours secret and denies them even when caught in the act (I.iv.68; II.v.9; xi.53; III. xiv. 1,7,43). Although he attacks the possessiveness of husbands (II.ii; xi; III.iv)[8] and complains when he has to spend a night outside his mistress' door (I.ix.7),[9] he declares love thrives on opposition and difficulty (I.viii. 96; II.xix.3; III.iv.25)[10] and asks his mistress to repel his advances to keep his affection alive (II.ix.B.45;

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1. Cf. Catullus, LXVIII.A. 103-6; LXXIII: Propertius, III. xx.21-30, solemnly curses the idea of adulterous love, but Tibullus poses like Ovid (Tibullus, I.ii. 41-2, 55-6; vi.)
2. Cf. Propertius, II.ix.19-24; Tibullus, I.vi.5-6.
3. Like Ovid, Propertius (II.xxii) implies that a beautiful woman should be forgiven almost anything.
4. Cf. Tibullus, II, vi. 45-6: Ars, iii.627-30, where advice is given about secret correspondence.
5. Cf. Catullus, VI. 9-11: Tibullus, I.ix.57.
6. Cf. Propertius, IV.v. 39-40: Tibullus, I.vi.13-14; viii, 38.
7. Cf. Ars, i. 29-30: Remedia, 311-14.
8. Cf. Agathias Scholasticus, Anth. Pal., v. 218.
9. The exclus~~ivus~~us amator is a very common character in classical love poetry. Cf. Anth. Pal., v. 23 (Callimachus); 103 (Rufinus); 189 (Asclepiades); Propertius, I.v.20; xvi: Tibullus, I.i.56; ii: Ars, ii. 523-4: Remedia, 35-6, 304, 507-8, 677.
10. Cf. Anth. Pal., v. 219, 256 (Paulus Silentarius); Callimachus, Epigram xxxi; Sappho, frag. 1.21; Propertius, II. xxiii (where Propertius deliberately advocates the opposite point of view); Martial, i.57; iv. 71; v.46: Ausonius, Epigram lvi: Ars, ii.692; iii, 577-610 (a long passage of advice to women about how to make things difficult for lovers); 751-2: Remedia, 405-6: Metamorphoses, i. 530 f.: also Horace, Sat., I.ii.105 f. (a paraphrase of Callimachus' epigram).

xix).[1] Frequently he is a praeceptor amoris, directing his mistress' feet in the ways of love[2] (II.v.55; xix.9; III.i.49) and writing passages of instruction about how to deceive lovers with feigned tears and headaches (I.viii. 23 f.),[3] or how to trick suspicious husbands with visits to "sick" friends (II.ii. 15 f.).[4] He constantly poses as a poor lover (I.iii.7)[5] who believes blood and birth more important than money (I.viii. 63 f.; II.viii; III.xv.5), attacks his rich rival (III.viii.9)[6] and advises his mistress to plunder the wealthy, but spare the penurious lover (I.x.53).[7] The poet, who offers verses, is in constant opposition to the rich lover, with his gifts (I.viii.57; III.viii).[8] Ovid protests against the power of money[9]

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1. Cf. Propertius, III. viii.23-34: Remedia, 531-42, where Ovid advises the lover to sate himself with his mistress to escape from love, on the principle that plenty destroys passion: Heroides, vii.13.
2. Cf. Propertius, I.x. 13-30: Tibullus, I.iv.75-80; vi. 9-14, where Tibullus complains he taught his mistress to love, and now his teaching is turned against him, since she loves another.
3. Cf. Tibullus, I.vi.36.
4. Cf. Ars, iii.611-58, where Ovid gives women advice about how to trick husbands or guardians with visits to the baths. He also advises the use of drugged wine (Cf. Tibullus, I.vi.27-8)
5. The idea of the 'poor poet' can be traced to Hellenistic poetry. Callimachus (Epigram xxxii) admits that he is poor, but resents Menippus constantly holding poverty against him: Cf. also Epigrams xxviii and xxxi, and Iambus iii, where he argues with a boy Eratosthenes who sells favours for cash: also Anth. Pal., v.50 (anon.); Propertius, I.viii.A. 33-6; II.xx.25; xxvi.A. 1-28: Tibullus, I.i.19-20.
6. Cf. Propertius, I. viii,A. 37-8; II. xvi. 1-4, 23-8; xxvi.A. 1-28: Tibullus, I.v.47; ix. 53-64.
7. Cf. Propertius, II. xvi. 7-10: Tibullus, I.v. 61-6, where Tibullus points out to his mistress that there are advantages in a poor lover: he will be more subservient than a rich one: Ars, iii.531.
8. Cf. Propertius, I.viii.A. 39-40; II. xxvi. A. 25; III. ii.11-16: Tibullus, I.iv. 61-2; II. iv. 13-14; III.i. 7-8: Ars, ii. 161-6, 273-6; iii.533.
9. Cf. Tibullus, I.i.1,51; x.7; II.iii, Tibullus frequently condemns acquisitiveness and declares wealth of no account compared with love: Ars, ii. 273-86, aurea sunt vere nunc saecula, declares Ovid.

both in love,[1] where he uses the symbol of Danae[2] and in the quest for office and preferment (III.viii.55),[3] and regrets contemporary thirst for gold,[4] looking back longingly to the golden age[5] of Saturn, before the discovery of gold, when the earth brought forth fruit without agriculture,[6] and property was communal (III.viii. 35).[7] It is typical of him that when, elsewhere, he wishes to flatter Ceres, he declares that before the development of agriculture man was a brutish creature, living on grass and acorns (III.x.5).[8] He adopts an urbanely broadminded attitude towards chastity (I.viii.43), - a "rustic" virtue,[9] - and adultery (II.ii.63; III.iv.37) and warns husbands that it is futile to guard wives carefully.[10] Restraint will make them more apt to sin, and will attract suitors

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1. Cf. Anth. Pal., v.29 (Cillactor), 30 (Antipater of Thessalonica): Propertius, II. xvi. 15-16; III. xiii. 1-14: Tibullus, I. iv. 57-60, where he curses the man who first taught venerem vendere, curses directed against the 'first inventor' of something were a favourite requisite of Hellenistic poets, Cf. Callimachus, Lock of Berenice, fr. 110. 48-50.
2. The symbol was thoroughly exploited in this context by Hellenistic poets Cf. Anth. Pal., v. 31 (Antipater of Thessalonica), 34 (Parmenion), 217 (Paulus Silentarius).
3. Cf. Propertius, III. xiii. 47-50.
4. Cf. Propertius, III, vii. 1-6; v.7-18; xii.5, also I.xiv. 8,24; III.v. 2-6, where he declares love more precious than wealth.
5. Cf. Propertius, III. xiii. 25-46, and also his description of Sparta, where women wrestle naked in public and are allowed every liberty, III. xiv; also Tibullus, I.iii. 35-50; x.7-14; II. iv. 69-74. Sexual licence is a feature of the 'golden age' both in Propertius and Tibullus, but not in Ovid. For an admirable treatment of the whole subject see A.O. Lovejoy and G. Boas, Primitivism and Related Ideas in Antiquity, Baltimore, 1935.
6. Cf. Tibullus, I. iii. 41-2.
7. Cf. Tibullus, I. iii. 43-4.
8. Cf. Tibullus, II.i.37 f: Ars, iii. 121-2. Also Horace, Satires, I.iii.99-114: Virgil, Georgics, i.125-55 and Lovejoy and Boas, op. cit., p. 369 f.
9. The idea that chastity is provincial and odd is not uncommon in Hellenic love-poetry. Cf. J.M. Edmonds, Lyra Graeca, Loeb Classical Library, 1928, iii.546. Ovid is fond of the theme: Cf. Ars, i.607-8: Heroides, iv.129 f.; xvi.285 f.
10. Cf. Catullus, LXVIII.A. 97: Propertius, II.vi.39-40; IV. i.A. 145-6: Ars, ii. 543-6, 595-6.

(III.iv). The mistress is usually conceived of as hedged about by guards,[1] whom the lover has to evade (I.vi. 7,44; ix.27; II.xii.3; III.i.49), but though as vigilant as Argus (III.iv.20),[2] Ovid declares, they will be of no avail if lover and mistress are determined, non caret effectu quod voluere duo (II.iii.16). The poet gives an impression of winning impulsiveness by his habit of pouring elaborate curses on things that annoy him, - bawds, for example (I.viii.113),[3] - especially when the recipients of such abuse are inanimate objects like writing tablets (I.xii.7)[4] and streams (III.vii.101). Merchants are favourite targets for invective (II.x.33): so, too, are the whole business of sea-faring (II.xi; III.ii.47)[5] and travelling (II.xvi), bloodshed and war (II.xii.6; III.ii.49; viii.11),[6] female pride (II.xvii)[7] and female perjury (II.xvi.45; III.iii; xi.A.21):[8] women's words, he concludes, are as light as leaves on the wind,[9] but the gods are deaf to lovers' oaths

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1. Cf. Propertius, II. xxiii.9-10: Tibullus, I.ii.15; II.i.75.
2. Cf. Anth. Pal., v. 262 (Paulus Silentarius), where the old nurse who keeps watch over the mistress is compared to Argus: also Ars, iii. 617-8.
3. Cf. Tibullus, I.v. 48-56.
4. Literary 'curses' are frequent in Hellenic poetry, especially in Callimachus and Euphorion. In Latin, invective directed at inanimate objects is characteristic of Catullus, Cf. XXVI. 18-20.
5. Cf. Propertius, I.xvii.13-14; III.vii. 25 f.: Tibullus, I.i. 51-2; iii.35-40; II.iii.39-40: and Lovejoy and Boas, op. cit. p.35f. where the idea is traced, as an ingredient of primitivism, from Aratus to Cicero, and from Eratosthenes through Hyginus to Ovid.
6. Cf. Propertius, II.xv.41-6; III.v.1; IV.iii.19 f.: Tibullus, I.i.3-4; ii.65-6; iii.47-8; x; II.iii. 36-8: Remedia, 27-30.
7. Cf. Propertius, III.xxiv. 1-2: also I.ii and III.xiii where he attacks especially female love of luxury, and delight in clothes and jewels.
8. Cf. Propertius, I.xv. 33-42; II.xvi. 43-56.
9. Cf. Catullus, LXX and CX (in vento et rapida scribere oportet aqua is his opinion of women's promises): Propertius, II.ix. 31-6.

(I.viii.86; III.iii.25)[1]. Though he does not attack aged libertines, he remarks that it is unseemly for an old man to love (I.ix.4)[2].

He is fond of eulogizing poetry (II.i.23; III.xii.41), declaring its immortalizing power (I.x.62; xv.7; III.ix.28)[3], and contemplating his poetic renown (III.xv)[4], and, though he remains an elegiac poet for the present, he realises the sterner claims of epic and tragedy (II.xviii; III.i)[5].

He describes love-making in an unembarrassed manner[6], - the lovers lying thigh to thigh[7], intertwined like elm and vine (II.xvi.41)[8], the shaking bed, the open-mouthed kisses (III.vii.9; II.v.23-6)[9] - kisses qualia non fratri tulerit germana severo. Given to boasting his virility (II.x.23;

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1. Belief that gods do not mind the perjuries of lovers seems to be as old as Hesiod. Callimachus revives the idea (Epigram XXV): see also Propertius, II.xvi. 47-8 (Non semper placidus periuros ridet amantes Iuppiter): Tibullus, I.iv.21; III.vi. 49-50: Ars, i. 633-4.

2. Cf. Tibullus, who frequently attacks the 'old lover' (I.i.71-2; ii.89-94; viii.29-30) and the 'old husband' (I.ix. 65-74). In the Ars Ovid argues in favour of the ageing lover, declaring him more dependable than a youth (iii.559-76).

3. A very popular classical theme, of course, Cf. Propertius, III.ii.17-18: Tibullus, I.iv.63-6: Ars, III. 535-8.

4. Cf. Propertius, III.i.7 f.: Remedia, 389-94.

5. Cf. Propertius, I.ix.9-12; II.i.39-46; x; III.iii; ix.37-46: Remedia, 371-86, 395-6.

6. As, of course, do the Hellenic poets, Cf. for example Anth. Pal., v.55 (Dioscorides): also Propertius, II.xv.1-10.

7. Cf. Tibullus, I.viii.26.

8. Cf. Catullus, LXI. 102-5; LXII. 49-58: Heroides, v. 47-8.

9. Cf. Anth. Pal., v.14 (Rufinus): Tibullus, I.viii.37; Heroides, xv.129-30.

III.vii.24)[1] though prepared to recount an unfortunate lapse in this respect (III.vii)[2], he wishes to die in the act of love (II.x.30), and assures lovers that, though girls struggle, they all want to be overcome (I.v.14)[3]; no beautiful woman was ever chaste (III.xiv.1)[4]; casta est quam nemo rogavit (I.viii.43); when a girl he meets merely smiles at him, he takes it as a smile of promise (III.ii.83). When Aurora, the dawn, disturbs his night of love, he slanders her (I.xiii.39)[5].

He is especially good at working out the logical consequences of a given situation or premise, as when he imagines himself metamorphosed into the ring he is sending his mistress (II.xv)[6], or when he compares the arts of love and of war (I.ix; II.xii.9; xviii.12)[7]. Like many classical poets, he advises girls to yield to lovers, - time is flying (I.viii. 49 f.) and charms soon fade[8]. As for his own mistress, she

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1. Cf. Propertius, II.xxii.21-34.
2. Cf. Anth. Pal., v. 47 (Rufinus).
3. Cf. Ars, i.263-76, 485-6, 665-6, 673-6: he advocates force, and declares that, though they may pretend otherwise, women will be grateful to the ravisher.
4. Cf. Heroides, xvi. 285 f.
5. Cf. Anth. Pal. v.3 (Antipater of Thessalonica), 172 Meleager), 223 (Macedonius the Consul).
6. The poet imagining himself transformed into some object near his mistress is common in Greek literature, Cf. J.M.Edmonds, Elegy and Iambus, Loeb Classical Library, 1931, ii, "Anacreontea", p. 48 (where the object is a mirror): Anth. Pal., v.83 (anon.) (the wind, blowing on her bosom), 84 (anon.) (the rose between her breasts), 171 (Meleager) (the wine-cup she drinks from), 174 (Meleager) (sleep, which creeps beneath her eyelids). It is rather less common in Latin, Cf. Catullus, II. 9-10 (where he envies Lesbia's sparrow, because it can be more familiar with her than he) and Heroides, xviii.15.f. (where Leander envies the letter he is sending to Hero).
7. It is a convention of the Hellenistic love poets to describe an amour in terms of warfare, Cf. Anth. Pal., v.294 (Agathias Scholasticus), and is also common in Latin, Cf. Propertius, I.vi.29-30; II.i.45; vii.13-20; III.v.1-2; Tibullus, I.i.75: Ars, II.233-40, 674; iii.525-30.
8. Cf. Anth. Pal., v.12 (Rufinus): Catullus, V: Propertius, I. xix.25-6; II.xv.23-4, 49-54: Tibullus, I.i.69; iv.27-38; viii.41-8: Ars, iii.61-80 (with the exempla of the rose, the violet, and the irrevocable sea-wave): Ausonius, ed. H.G.E. White, Loeb Classical Library, 1921, ii.276. (De Rosis Nascentibus).

is so lovely he is afraid Jove will come down and steal her. (I.x.1f.); especially he admires the comeliness of her hair before it is dressed (I.vii.12; xiv.19)[1]: when he is separated from her, even a beautiful landscape seems a wilderness (II.xvi.33).

In many respects the Amores anticipate the Ars Amatoria, as will be seen from the correspondences cited above. In both works there is a sustained effort to understand love as a phenomenon, to explore the psychology of the lover, to be realistic. It is no good depending on witchcraft, says Ovid (ii.99 f.)[2], and in the Ars he treats love as a skill which must be learned (iii.41-2), like hunting, fishing or fowling (i.45-9, 391-3, 763-6). Considerable attention is given to basic essentials like personal hygiene (i.505-524) and the cultivation of the lover's mind in liberal arts (ii.112-122), and to such necessary accomplishments as letter-writing (i.465-8) and elementary house-breaking (ii.243-6). The lover should be compliant, blaming what his mistress blames, approving what she approves (i.145 f.), laughing or weeping according to her mood (ii.199-200)[3]. He must not pick quarrels with her, - quarrels are for husbands and wives, not lovers (ii.152-5, 157-8), nor criticize her (ii.641-2). Even if he catches her being unfaithful, he should be silent, for if she knows she is discovered she will lose all shame and be worse than before (ii.557-60)[4]. It is politic to let her win

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1. For the admiration of 'beauty in disorder' Cf. Propertius, I.ii.1-14; II.xxix. A.30 (Propertius here favours of unadorned rather than disordered beauty, Cf. Anth. Pal., v.270 (Paulus Silentarius), but he has the dishevelled-hair theme at II.i.7-8): Tibullus, I.iii.91: Ars, iii.153-8, 235-6, 432: Remedia, 349-50.

2. Cf. Remedia, 249-90: Heroides, v.149 (me miseram, quod amor non est medicabilis herbis).

3. Cf. Propertius, I.x.21-8: Tibullus, I.iv.39-50.

4. Cf. Propertius, II.xviii.3.

at games (ii.203-8)[1], and to be officious about holding her parasol and mirror, setting her footstool, rubbing her hands when cold (ii.209-14), and making a fuss of her when ill, - but if she has to be dosed with bitter medicine, let your rival do it (ii.319-22, 335-6). Avoid being a bore: be careful not to outstay your welcome (ii.529-30), or grumble about rivals (ii.539-40)[2]. Pretend that your passion is genuine: if you cannot produce tears at will, touching the cheek with a wet hand is a good substitute (i.611-14, 661-2)[3]. Flatter your mistress by praising her clothes and appearance (ii.295-314) and by speaking even of her shortcomings as if they were graces (ii.654-66)[4]. Whenever you make a decision, lead her to believe that it is for her sake (ii.286-94)[5]. Never ask her age, least of all if she is past her prime (ii.663-6). An older woman certainly has her advantages: she is more experienced in love-making, for one thing (ii.675-80, 693-702)[6].

Ovid points out that he is poor, and has only poor lovers in mind (ii.165). They should make themselves scarce on birthdays, or other days when presents are expected (i.405-9). What gifts they do send should be small but tasteful, - a pet bird or a bunch of grapes (ii.261-72). Of course, they can promise as much as they please; there is no harm in promising (i.443-4, 631-58).

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1. Cf. Tibullus, I.iv.51-2.

2. Cf. Remedia, 791-4.

3. Cf. Remedia, 489-504.

4. Well known parallels to this advice are Lucretius, iv.1160 f., and Horace, Satires, I.iii.38 f. See also Remedia, 315-30, and p.16, note, above.

5. Cf. Anth. Pal., v.287 (Agathias Scholasticus).

6. Cf. Anth. Pal., v.13. (Philodemus): also Heroides, iv.26.

Boldness pays sometimes. Women are secretly pleased when you take kisses by force (i.663-4, 673-712)[1]; and a kiss once taken, it is folly to stop at that (i.669-70). When you have discovered where a girl likes to be fondled, do not be ashamed to make use of your discovery (ii.721-2). All women will fall in time: persistence is everything (i.471-8: ii.177-96). They are much more passionate than men really: think of Myrrha and Pasiphae and Phaedra (i.277-342; ii. 373-86)[2]. Husbands are to blame for the consequences if they leave their wives in the company of young men (ii. 359-73)[3]. Have several mistresses at once (ii.387-90)[4], but do not boast of your conquests all over the town, as some young men do (ii.601-40). Sometimes it will rouse a girl's affections if you flaunt a rival before her (ii.435-50)[5]. If she rages about it, rejoice: it shows she is in love (ii.451-4)[6]. You can always placate her afterwards with love-making: love softens anger even among the brutes (ii.467-92). Sometimes it will pay to feign indifference: things which are hard to catch attract women (i.717-8)[7]. Make friends with your lady's husband: it will be easier to deceive him then (i.579-88). Love always undermines friendship (i.740-54)[8]. Beware of women at night: darkness hides the flaws in their beauty

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1. Cf. Theocritus, vi. 17: Catullus, LXII. 37.
2. Cf. Propertius, III.xix.
3. Cf. Heroides, xvi.299 f.
4. Cf. Propertius, II.xxii.35-42.
5. Cf. Remedia, 767-84.
6. Cf. Catullus, LXXXIII; XCII: Propertius, III.viii.1-22.
7. Cf. Anth. Pal., v.247 (Macedonius the Consul): Propertius, II.xiv.19-20; xxv.29-34.
8. Cf. Propertius, II.xxxiv.

(i.249-50), which is why some women always come to banquets late, when lights are dim, and critical perception is dulled by drink (iii.753-4). Wine can make men apt for love (i.237) but, in excess, ruins everything (i.589-92).[1]

The most impressive aspect of Ovid's discussion of the act of love itself is his emphasis on mutual enjoyment. Whereas Propertius and Tibullus, not to mention Vergil and Horace, deal on occasion with paederasty, Ovid goes out of his way to condemn it, on the grounds that the parties do not derive equal enjoyment (ii.683-4). He delights to see his mistress in ecstasy, to hear her murmurs of rapture, her sighs, her whispered endearments, and to see her eyes gleam like the sun on clear waters (ii.689-724; iii.793-6). If the girl does not enjoy it, then let her pretend to do so, says Ovid (iii.797-804). The act should be mutual. He hates a woman who gives herself without enthusiasm, or who is clearly thinking of something else all the time (ii.681-6). The man should hold himself in check, so that consummation is simultaneous (ii.725-8), and the woman must select carefully the position she adopts for love-making, so that it displays her beauties to the full (iii.769 f.).[2] Half-light or darkness is love's element (ii.616-20).[3]

In the third book Ovid addresses women. They should follow the example of the goddesses and surrender to lovers (iii.87-8). Iron and flint may be diminished by use, but there is nothing wasted when woman submits to man (iii.91-4).

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1. Cf. Propertius, I.iii.13-14; III.xvii: he thinks love and wine bad mixers: also Remedia, 805-10.

2. Cf. Remedia, 407 f.

3. Cf. Remedia, 411-12.

Taking as his theme cura dabit faciem; facies neglecta peribit, he instructs about the use of cosmetics (iii.119-210)[1] and depilatories (iii.193-6); about pretty table manners (iii.755-66); about what colours women should wear (iii. 169-92); about elegance in dress, as opposed to vulgar ostentation (iii.129 f.); about choosing a coiffure to suit each face (iii.135 f.); and about how to show the body to advantage, - sitting, if short, wearing loose dresses, if thin, padding shoulder-blades if they stick out, or wearing low gowns if they are pretty, refraining from laughter if teeth are bad (iii.263-80, 307-10)[2], and being sure, in any event, neither to guffaw (iii.281-90) nor to disfigure the face by anger or melancholy (iii.499-520). If a woman has beautiful hair she may let it be combed when her lover is present (iii.235-6), but if it is ugly or sparse, her toilet must be private. Ovid remembers the shock he had when he arrived unannounced to find his mistress with only half her hair in place (iii. 245-50)[3].

Women must learn to produce tears when required, and to look pretty while weeping[4], to lisp and mispronounce words attractively (iii.291-6), and to walk with grace (iii.297-306). They should be cultured and accomplished, able to sing, recite, and play the lyre[5] and harp (iii.311-28) well-read in the Greek and Roman love-poets (iii.329-48)[6], good at dancing (iii.349-52)[7]

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1. In his advocacy of cosmetics Ovid differs strikingly from Propertius (Cf. Propertius, II.xviii.B.1-32). He admits, however, that the application of them is an unpleasant business (iii.211-18 and Remedia, 341-56) and warns women not to let their lovers witness it.
2. Cf. Remedia, 331-40.
3. Cf. Remedia, 341-56.
4. Cf. Propertius, III.xxv.6: Remedia, 689-90.
5. Cf. Propertius, II.iii.19-20.
6. Cf. Propertius, II.iii.21-2: Remedia, 757-66.
7. Cf. Propertius, II.iii.17-18.

and at games (iii.353-70), though they must not get cross when they lose (iii.371-80).

There is no knowing where a girl may not attract admirers, it has happened even at her first husband's funeral (iii.431-2) so she must always look her best and take care to be seen, especially in places where there are a great many people, like theatres and circuses (iii.387 f.). Once she has selected her man, delay and vacillation are profitable techniques (iii.467-78). If she pretends to be angry and suspect a rival it will flatter her victim into believing she really loves him (iii.673-82), but let her beware of being jealous in earnest, and remember the fate of Procris (iii. 683-6). Beware, too, of the city dandies with their perfumed hair and neat clothes;[1] they will take advantage of her and then desert her (iii.439-50). Poets are peculiarly fitted to be lovers, and women should be kinder to them than to other men.

To a large extent the Remedia is merely an inversion of the Ars, but it does contain one or two new themes. The unwilling lover is warned he must act quickly: if love is allowed to grow, its strength redoubles (79-106). He must shun leisure (135-50) by following the legal or military professions, or by taking up farming and rural pursuits (151-212).[2] Ideally he should leave Rome and travel (213-4),[3] but if he has to remain in the city, he should avoid seeing his mistress or her relations or servants, refrain from enquiring after her health (621-42), burn her letters and pictures (715-24), stay away from places they visited together

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1. Cf. Tibullus, I.vi.39-40.
2. Cf. Heroides, xix.9-15.
3. Cf. Propertius, III.xxi.

(725-40), beware alike of solitude and the company of other lovers (579-620), and keep calling to mind his mistress' mercenariness (299-302) and infidelity (305-6). It will help, also, to start another affair: new love drives out old (463-88). Should he meet his mistress he must pretend to be heart-whole: by pretending he will eventually be so in reality (489-504): nor must he complain if she shuts him from her bed (505-10). But if she grants him love, he should either sate himself with her night and day until desire is dead (531-42), or enjoy some other woman before he visits her, so that he tastes her with a dulled palate (399-404). Then, immediately after union, when he feels he never wants to see another woman again in his life,[1] let him examine all the blemishes in her body, lingering over every detail that he finds unpleasant or disgusting (413-32). Never protest, advises Ovid, that you are out of love: it probably means you are not (643-8); and do not feel hate for the woman once loved: it is better to be indifferent: hate is near to love, and anger to reconciliation (655-72). If you reproach and argue with your mistress, the chances are she will excuse herself and satisfy you (693-8).

Of the works habitually printed among the Amatoria of Ovid in the sixteenth century,[2] there is only one other which adds anything significant to "Ovidian" erotic lore. This is the Elegeia de Pulice, generally supposed to be the work of the neo-Latin medieval poet, Olfilius Sergianus. A poem of

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1. Cf. Anth. Pal., v.77 (Rufinus).

2. These were the Heroides, three additional epistolae (Ulysses to Penelope, Demophoön to Phyllis, Paris to Oenone), often attributed to Aulus Sabinus, the Amores, Ars, and Remedia, the Ibis, the Ad Liviam, the Nux, the De Medicamine Faciei, the Pulex, the Philomela and the Ad Pisonem.

thirty-eight lines, it has four distinct movements. The poet inveighs against the flea, describing the vexation it causes to young girls, and its nocturnal perambulations over their bodies (1-14): he envies it this freedom, and wishes he had the power to become a flea when he chose (15-23). He imagines how he would use this power to gain access to a girl's person (24-28), and how, having done so, he would turn himself to a man again, and persuade or force her to submit to him. (29-38).

Having analysed the Ovidian erotic code, it will now be possible for us to examine its fortunes at the hands of later writers. The Roman elegy was the product of a prosperous and leisurely era, following the civil strife which represented the death throes of the Republic. Roman society turned its attention to cultural pursuits and the enjoyment of material pleasures. National and public feeling was decaying, and the old Roman tradition of <u>virtus</u>, honesty and patriotism was no longer fashionable. The Roman elegists were all young men of the upper classes, with means sufficient to acquire the best education of the day and move in the highest social circles, and they wrote to please the refined, sophisticated, sybaritic tastes of their friends. They filled their elegies with the ideas and themes of the Hellenistic love poets, and thus made them a part of the insidious Greek influence which was undermining the old Roman way of life.

CHAPTER II

The Ovidian Elegy in Sixteenth-Century Europe.

(i) Neo-Latin Writers

In the field of neo-Latin poetry Italy was the teacher of the rest of Europe. Collections like the Carmina Illustrium Poetarum Italorum, 1576, produced in Paris by Toscano, and the Delitiae CC. Italorum Poetarum, 1608, published by Gruter in Frankfurt, show clearly the popularity of certain Ovidian elegiac themes in sixteenth-century Italy, and the poems which contain these themes separate themselves remarkably from the monotonous repetitions of the sentiments of Petrarch, in the manner of Catullus and Propertius, which bulk so large in the amorous verse of such volumes.

Thus, modelling himself on Amores II.iv, Ariosto celebrates his own promiscuity, - Est mea nunc Glycere, mea nunc[1.] est cura Lycoris[2.] and in his elegy Ad Petrum Bembum uses the imagery of love-bites on his mistress' neck and signs of[3.] disturbance on her bed, as evidence of her infidelity. Here, too, is the anti-rural theme, common in neo-classical elegy.[4.] Bembo criticizes husbands who reproach their wives when they go astray: even if he caught his mistress in the act

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1. Delitiae, i.279 f. (De diversis amoribus) Cf. Pontanus, Delitiae, ii.487 f. (Ad Puellas).

2. Delitiae, i.278.

3. Cf. Castiglione, Delitiae, i.738 (Ad Amicam) and Amores, III.xiv.31-4.

4. Delitiae, i.278 (De Lydia): Cf. Andreas Naugerius, Carmina, i.104 f. (Ad amicam rusticantem), and Ioannis Tonsus, Delitiae, ii.1175 f. (Epistola ad amicam).

he would pretend he had not seen.[1] Restraint only makes women more apt to sin. He is annoyed because Euridyce's old husband has put her under strict guard, - what a horrid old man he is, with his bad breath and his baldness. Mockingly Bembo promises to immortalize him in verse if only he will lend him his wife for a while. He looks back ruefully to a "golden age", when parents allowed their daughters to wander the fields alone, and no girls had guardians sleeping with them:[2] libertas illo tempore magna fuit! Contempt for wealth, when compared with love is a very popular subject with these poets: Beroaldus introduces it into his Osculum Panthiae,[3] and so does Hieronymus Faletus in his elegy Ad Iuliam:[4] the same symbols for worldly riches are used again and again: Croesus, Midas, the Tagus, the Pactolus, and quicquid gemmarum dives Eous habet. Faletus adopts another familiar pose, that of the exclusus amator, complaining of his mistress' bolted door as he stands outside through the perpetuas noctes:[5] in the same predicament Pontanus cries Fannia, solve fores.[6] Franciscus Franchinus rails at Leucia because she has become afraid of her stupid husband's threats, and will not let him in at night: cannot she see that her husband is gloating over his success? What is she thinking of? How differently she behaved in the past:

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1. Carmina, i.160. (Ad Melinum). Cf. Ars, ii.557-60.
2. Carmina, i.164 f. (De amica a viro servata diligentissime). This nostalgia for a mythical age of sexual licence is common, Cf. Iulius Crottus, Delitiae, i.852-3 (Ad Hermionem); Pontanus, Delitiae, ii.384 (Bophilus Phiellae); Tito Strozzi Delitiae, ii.998 f. (Amica potitus, gloriatur); Ercole Strozzi, Delitiae, ii.1091 f. (Ad Petrum Bembum, de discessu amicae ab urbe): Non erat una viro coniunx, non una puellae Copula, et ut libuit concubuere palam, is Ercole's idea of the "golden age".
3. Delitiae, i.398 f.
4. Delitiae, i.945 f. Cf. also Sannazaro, Delitiae, ii.716 (Ad Ninam); Tito Strozzi, Delitiae, ii.995 f. (Laus Anthia, a forma et moribus); Ercole Strozzi, Delitiae, ii.1091 f. (Ad Petrum Bembum de discessu amicae ab urbe) and 1094 f. (Ad Caeliam ut mutuo amet).
5. Delitiae, i.945.
6. Delitiae, ii.369 (Carmen nocturnum ad fores puellae).

... tu nostram cum saepe subibas
Sola domum ignaro nocte silente viro,
Sub mediumque diem mutata veste petebas
Cum me sollicito semirecincta pede ..[1].

- but how like the Corinna of Amores, I, v, one feels.

When her husband, ille senex olidus tremulusque, locks her up, he advises her to say that her sister is ill, and beg to be allowed to visit her.[2] He is outraged by female perjury when another mistress, Himera, marries his rival, - Haec promissa fides? haec nostri foedera lecti? But let her follow the example of goddesses like Venus and Aurora, and quickly cuckold her husband.[3]

Indignant protests about the power of money in sexual relations, and the materialistic outlook of modern woman, meet one at every turn. Hippolytus Capilupus warns his friend bitterly, plus prece, plus lacrymis dona in amore valent, and drives home his advice with the conventional exemplum of Danäe.[4] Iulius Crottus curses the man who first sailed the seas and brought home the riches of foreign parts;[5] Inde peregrinos exarsit virgo colores, Et pretium raris fecit iaspidibus.[6] He himself has been ousted by a rich rival who lured his mistress away with Chrysolithos ... viridesque smaragdos. Publius Spinula scolds his Delia for thinking mere money so important,[7] and Ioannes Antonius Taygetus, after calling Lucrina rustica because she will not give way

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1. Delitiae, i.1126-8 (Ad Leuciam)
2. De Leucia (ad Hieronymum Corregium), Delitiae, i.1128-30: for the advice Cf. Amores, II.ii.21-2.
3. Delitiae, i.1132-34 (Ad Himeram). Cf. Ars, iii.87-8.
4. Delitiae, i.653 (Amorem auro tantum flecti). Cf. Amores, III.viii.29-30.
5. Cf. Propertius, I.xvii.13-14.
6. Delitiae, i.852 (Ad Hermionem).
7. Delitiae,ii.986-7 (Ad Deliam).

to him, realises that she is calculating enough to prefer hard cash to his promises of poetic immortality: Quid mihi nunc prosunt Musae?[1], he complains

> Old women, nurses, mothers, chaperons and the like, are consistently unpopular: so too, of course, are janitors and old or possessive husbands.

Ercole Strozzi, clearly remembering that singularly co-operative parent in Tibullus,[2] wishes that Creusa's mother, too, might bring them to each other's embrace, leave them together for the night, and wake them before dawn so that he could make his escape. But, alas, magis Hircana tigride saevit anus, though at present she suspects only that he is in love with the waiting maid, Parthenopaea. He curses her savagely, and writes an epitaph for her:

> Hic anus, egregium quae saeva premebat amantem;
> Quisquis amas, sortem devove, et ossa preme.[3]

In the popular role of witty adulterer, Ianus Etruscus advises girls whose husbands are impotent and aged to select a vigorous young man as substitute: nor will the husband be able to complain that he is laesum ... ab illo Cuius erit nervis officioque pater.[4] Mothers must be asleep before the dark, secret love of the elegists can begin: Ioannes Baptista Pigna, a professor at Ferrara and secretary to Alfonso II, sets the scene perfectly:

> Nunc Lunae tacito sunt condita cornua caelo
> Et veneris tenebrae dulcia furta tegunt
> Nunc matrem fallens somno plumisque sopitam
> Huc gresso propero dulcis Hyella veni ...[5]

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1. Delitiae, ii.1138-40 (Ad Lucrinam Nympham)
2. Tibullus, I.vi.57 f.
3. Delitiae, ii.1099-1104 (De sua in amore infelicitate): for the epitaph cf. Propertius, IV.v.77-8.
4. Delitiae, i.915 (Ad Uxorem decrepiti): Pamphilius Saxus uses the same argument, Delitiae, ii.768 (In Dindimum).
5. Delitiae, ii.221-2 (Ad Hyellam).

and Pontanus remembers how his love meo femori iunxit amica femur many a time, vigili quamvis cum matre iaceret.[1] Tito Strozzi tells Anthia's mother that if she wants a guard to keep watch over her daughter, he will volunteer himself: haud natae custos aptior ullus erit.[2] Clearly his offer is not accepted, as in the next elegy he attacks the way this tristis anus keeps Anthia in subjection with horrendis minis, and sets a vigilans custos over her.[3] He urges her to deceive them both if she gets a chance. Tito has some hard things to say about janitors, also, in his elegy Amica potitus gloriatur:[4] he argues at length, as does Ovid, with a particularly conscientious and Argus-like member of that species. Eventually he seeks the aid of an old sorceress who mixes him a sleeping potion to put in the porter's wine. Pierio Valeriano, the favourite of Giulio II and Leo X, also uses the Argus image when decrying the dura anus and the tristis serva, severa nimis, who watch him and his mistress incessantly.[5]

Hieronymus Angerius[6] introduces the theme of beauty in disorder into his Erotopaegnion and when Galatea leaves the bed of her husband, Lycus, Hippolytus Capilupus wonders at her dazzling beauty:

> Sit quamvis crine inculto tamen aurea fulget,
> Et tenebras omnes fronte micante fugat.[7]

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1. Delitiae, ii.369-71 (Carmen nocturnum).
2. Delitiae, ii.990-93 (Quando Anthiam amare coeperit).
3. Delitiae, ii.993-95 (Qualis visa Anthia in Coppari agris).
4. Delitiae, ii.998-1001. Cf. Amores, I.vi; II.ii, and, for the simile of Argus, Amores, III.iv.20.
5. Delitiae, ii.1347-8 (Amatorium).
6. Delitiae, i.196-7 (De Caelia et speculo).
7. Delitiae, i.653-4 (De Galatea).

Similarly, Pontanus finds himself, tormented by the sight of Focilla's scattered tresses.[1]

The description of love-making in nautical terms[2] is adopted by Ianus Etruscus:

Me maris undisoni fluctus, me flumina terrent:
Nec rate nec curva lintre natare iuvat.
Solaque lascivo tenduntur lintea lecto,
Sulcatur remo mollis amica meo.[3]

and in his elegy Ad Amicam[4] he constructs a brilliant Ovidian pastiche, imagining his journey through the night to his mistress' house; the hinges turning softly as he squeezes through the semiadaperta porta; his mistress, her modesty forgotten, rushing to his arms:

... quamvis tetricas vestita imitere Sabinas,
Vincere deliciis Thaida nuda potes ...

- her eyes tremulo fulgore micantes, as he makes love to her; their tongues striving lascivo luctamine as they kiss; her teeth making livid marks on his neck. Let her license his roving hands, he demands:

Hinc illinc cursu liberiore vagetur manus.

- and let their enjoyment be mutual (placidam in pugnam mutuus ardor aget). His description of her ecstasy is thoroughly Ovidian:

Ipsa modo tremula vibres prurigine lumbos,
Nunc iubeas modicam sustinuisse moram
Atque ubi blanda semel fuerit confusa voluptas
Exultes tota non requieta toro.

as is his wish that she should deny him, to keep his flame alive:

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1. Delitiae, ii.458-9 (Ad Focillam, de capillis ad frontem sparsis)
2. Cf. Heroides, xviii.207-212.
3. Delitiae, i.907 (Iocus).
4. Delitiae, i. 908-9.

Saepius invitum cogas, renuasque volentem,
Desque recusanti, saepe rogata neges.

Like Ovid, Ianus Etruscus wishes to die in the act of love.[1]

In his Bophilus Phiellae elegy Pontanus makes his lovers converse supercilio nutuque loquaci, and scorns that nomen inane, virginity: let others pay attention to such things, Nos modo naturae dulce sequamur iter.[2] The language of signs and nods is referred to, also, by Ercole Strozzi who, like Ovid, watches his mistress flirting nutu loquaci with another man, though it is to his songs that she owes her fame,[3] and sees that she is receiving love-letters and gifts from a rival.[4] Elsewhere he utilises another ingredient of the Ovidian secret love affair, remembering how his mistress stealthily pedem tenero composuit pede.[5]

Frequently these elegists pose as the lover of two women:[6] Caesar Ducchus cannot make up his mind between Cynthia and Sabella,[7] nor can Ercole Strozzi between Nape and Neaera.[8] When the winter nights are cold, and he is seated before the blazing logs, and a cask of wine has been broached, Pontanus cares not whether Faunia or Lautia offers herself to his embrace,[9] so long as one of them does. The classical elegists' distaste for war and bloodshed is faithfully reproduced: O pereant ensesque feri, galeaeque minaces, cries Pontanus,

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1. Delitiae, i.910 (Optatum genus mortis).
2. Delitiae, ii.384.
3. Cf. Amores, III.xii.7-10.
4. Delitiae, ii.1090-1 (In Amorem). Cf. Amores, III.xiv.31.
5. Delitiae, ii.1076-8 (Amorem sibi caelandum). Cf. Amores, I.iv.44.
6. Cf. Amores, II.x.
7. Delitiae, i.902-3 (De oculis Cynthiae et sinu Sabellae).
8. Delitiae, ii.1104 (Se duas pariter amare).
9. Delitiae, ii.389 (Frigore invitatur ad voluptatem).

when campaigning keeps him from Ariadne's embrace.[1] The elegiac hatred for travel is also common. When his mistress is absent, Antonius Campanus is driven to exclaim:

> Ah pereat quisquis peregrinas quaerere terras
> Repperit et primum curribus egit iter.[2]

Elsewhere, like several others, he plays the role of the lover who waits in vain for his mistress to arrive, after she has promised him a night of love: he lies awake wondering why she has not come, and torturing himself by thinking perhaps she did not want to.[3]

Like Ovid, Tito Strozzi is afraid that Anthia may be stolen away by Jove, she is so lovely,[4] and Sannazaro characterizes Nina's amorous kisses by saying they are not like those given by sister to brother (quas dent bene fratribus sorores).[5] Confronted by his mistress' charms, Angerius, like Ovid, can describe them only in a series of joyful exclamations: O quales, quales mammas, o qualia crura, quale femur tetigi![6] Description of love-making in terms of warfare is a favorite device. Pontanus, advising Ioannes Branchatius how to behave on his wedding night, concludes:

> Tunc signum cane, tunc licebit arma
> Totis expedias, amice, castris,
> Telum comminus hinc et inde vibrans,
> Dum vulnus ferus inferas amatum.[7]

The complimentary Ovidian theme, militat omnis amans, is also well represented. Tito Strozzi, remembering the

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1. Delitiae, ii.404-6 (Animum suum adloquitur).
2. Delitiae, i. 561 (Ad seipsum).
3. Delitiae, i.560 (De Amica sua). Cf. Tibullus, I.viii.63-6.
4. Delitiae, ii.993-5 (Qualis visa Anthia in Coppari agris) Cf. Amores, I.x.1-8.
5. Delitiae, ii.916 (Ad Ninam). Cf. Amores, II.v.25.
6. Delitiae, i.214-5 (Ad Somnum). Cf. Amores, I.v.19-22.
7. Delitiae, ii.456-7 (Nuptiis Ioan. Branchatii et Maritella).

hardships he has suffered, declares:

> Ite procul segnes, atrae quos tempora noctis
> Terrúnt et multa nubilus Auster aqua.
> Praecipiti quibus ad Dominam timor ire fenestra
> Obstitit: ite procul, linquite signa ducis
>
> Fortibus intrepidi sunt castra Cupidinis apta,
> Et iuvenum audaces adiuvat ille manus.[1].

As one would expect, these poets are eternally urging their mistresses to gather the rose of life, while yet there is time,[2] though, unlike Ovid, they deprecate female attempts to disguise the ravages of the years with cosmetics. On this point they are Propertian to a man.[3] Like Ovid they advise young men to love more than one woman: Pontanus tells Jovianus:

> Nec tibi quingentas fuerit sat amasse puellas:
> Nil numerus certe, nil in amore valet.[4].

The idea that Jupiter laughs at lovers' oaths has become so hackneyed among these elegists that Iulius Crottus gives it a new twist by warning Hermione that it is not true:

> Iupiter ex alto periuros spectat amantes.[5].

Familiarity with the Remedia is frequently demonstrated: Ercole Strozzi, to kill his love for Caelia, travels by land and sea, hunts, goes fishing, and tries to begin an affair with another girl.[6] The same poet, after describing his nocturnal visit to a more compliant Caelia, upbraids Aurora for disturbing his love-making.:

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1. Delitiae, ii.998-1001 (Amica potitus, gloriatur).
2. Cf. Hippolytus Capilupus, Delitiae, i.660. (Ad Galateam) - uses the Ovidian image of the irrevocable sea-wave; Pontanus, Delitiae, ii.399-401 (Uxorem Adloquitur); Panfilo Sassi, (In Silviam), Delitiae, ii.769.
3. Cf. Publius Spinula, Delitiae, ii.987-8 (De Puella sua); Philippus Beroaldus, Delitiae, i.398-401 (Osculum Panthiae):
   > Non oculos stibio linit, aut fulgine pingit:
   > Ah pereant quibus haec cura decoris inest ...
4. Delitiae, ii.488-9 (Exhortatio ad novos amores).
5. Delitiae, i.852-3 (Ad Hermionem)
6. Delitiae ii. 1095-8 (Ad Amicam ingratam). Cf. Remedia, 213-4, 201, 209-10, 485-6.

... cur o mea gaudia differs?
Siste precor celeres Diva benigna rotas.
Te quoque non uno flagrasse Cupidinis ictu,
Teque tuo referunt verba dedisse seni.
Supprime lora precor: sic a seniore marito
In tenero Cephali suscipiare sinu
Serus ab occiduis noctem vehat Hesperus undis,
Ne subeas cani taedia longa viri ...[1].

The sensuous and protracted catalogue of a woman's charms, from head to toe, which so many renaissance poets use as a framework for their luscious description, though it is not a characteristic of Ovid,[2] is employed with some frequency by these elegists, and should, perhaps, be mentioned here. It certainly became a part of the "Ovidian" tradition very early.[3] An example of it, found both in the Delitiae and the Carmina is Andrea Dazzi's De forma Amicae.[4]

Although the Delitiae did not appear until 1608, the amorous verse contained in its three-thousand-odd pages had all, of course, been published in the sixteenth century, and most of it had been composed in the earlier part of that century. Elegies by Castiglione, Cotta, Bembo, Navagero, Ianus Etruscus and Franciscus Franchinus had figured in the Carmina of 1576: Panfilo Sassi's elegies and epigrams were printed in 1499; Pontanus' poetical works in 1505 and 1518; Angeriano's Erotopaegnion in 1512; Tito and Ercole Strozzi's Latin poems in 1513; Sannazaro's collected works in 1530; Dazzi's Latin verse in 1549 and Pigna's, along with that of Ariosto and Calcagnini in 1553.

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1. Delitiae, ii.1078-81 (Exultat potitus amicae). Cf. Amores, I.xiii.
2. As an erotic device it is as old as the Song of Solomon.
3. Cf. H.W. Garrod, "Poesos Saeculi Sexti Fragmenta Quattuor", Classical Quarterly, iv, 1910, pp. 263-6. The first fragment is a catalogue description, containing an imitation of Amores, I.v.21 f.
4. Delitiae, i.875: Carmina, ii.235 v. - 6.

Cultivation of the erotic elegy by French neo-Latin poets of the sixteenth century, as represented in the Delitiae C. Poetarum Gallorum produced by Gruter at Frankfurt in 1609, is surprisingly meagre. Some of Lucius Ducatius' elegiacs about his love for Ligia approach the Ovidian in tone, but not in theme:[1] Stephanus Forcatulus fears lest his mistress be carried away by Jupiter,[2] and attacks Aurora in Ovidian style:

> Cur, Aurora, manes? quin inficis aethera cocco?
> Segnis an ob claudos biga moratur equos?
> An nova mane senis retinet te cura mariti,
> Ut Cephalus pulcer fluxerit ex animo?[3]

- though the purpose of his attack is the precise opposite of Ovid's. Martialis Monerius contributes a book of twenty-two elegies,[4] but is unswervingly Petrarchan in tone, and never uses Ovidian themes. Even Muret, who spent half his life in Italy, occupies himself a great deal of the time with such well-worn sonneteering conceits as the incompatibility of ice and fire, though he does introduce into his third elegy a Tibullian passage preferring love to divitis auri pondera mille or tecta Phrygiis innixa columnis,[5] and one of his epigrams is an outspoken rendering of the Ovidian demand that his mistress should be cruel and interiecta gaudia veste nega, on the grounds that delight is sweeter when cupiente quidem sed renuente venit.[6] Beza, the famous French theologian, has a book of elegies in his Amatoria, published in 1548. In spite

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1. Delitiae Gall., i.878 f.
2. Delitiae Gall., i.916 (Clytiae timet)
3. Delitiae Gall., i.918 (Ad Auroram: ut properet)
4. Delitiae Gall., ii.658-90.
5. Delitiae Gall., ii.740-1.
6. Delitiae Gall., ii.759 (Margaridi). Muret's Latin love-poetry was published in his Iuvenilia, Paris, 1579.

of his tribute to Ovid in the first and twelfth of these,[1] his debt to that poet is not great. In the fourth elegy, when Publia is in the country, he fears she may be carried off by amorous Apollo,[2] and in the sixth he clearly has Ovid in mind when relating how other girls seem ugly to him if Candida is away:

> Illius nunc carpo oculos, nunc illius ora,
> Haec capite, haec pedibus displicet, illa genis.
> Denique materies si desit crimina fingo,[3]
> Et quaecunque aliis candida, nigra mihi est.

Grimald translated these two elegies, and the second elegy, in Tottel's Miscellany.[4] The tenth and eleventh elegies[5] are much more strongly influenced by Ovid, however. The former is an enraged outburst against an old woman who is upsetting the poet's love affair with Candida:

> ... Improba, laena, procax, moecha, invida, dic age,
> Laedi visa mea est digna puella tibi?

- concluding in a magnificent curse of forty-four lines. The latter, addressed to a girl whose hair is coming out, is reminiscent of Amores, I.xiv. Like most of the neo-Latin elegists Beza attacks cosmetics and all artificial beauty aids.[6] Bonnefons, whose Latin poems appeared in 1587 under the title of Pancharis, can recapture the spirit of Ovid more convincingly than can Beza though his major debt is to Tibullus and Catullus, as he admits.[7] In Basium VI[8] he

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1. Theod. Bezae Poemata: Amatoria, Paris, 1548, pp. 22, 38-40.
2. Ibid., p. 23.
3. ibid., pp. 27-8; Cf. Remedia, 315-30.
4. Ed. H.E. Rollins, 2 vols., Harvard, 1928, i.93-5, 104-5.
5. Amatoria, 1548, pp. 34-7.
6. ibid., pp. 40-1 (Elegia XIII)
7. Johannis Bonnefonii Carmina, London, 1720, p. 4 (Basium I).
8. ibid., pp. 10-11.

recreates the atmosphere of elegiac love with its duras matrum excubias and torva mariti lumina, looking back longingly to a "golden age" when:

> Errabant[a] mixti nudis per rura puellis,
> Et suus haerebat cuique perennis amans, ...
> ... Gaudia ducebant nullo intercepto pavore,
> Gaudia, quae Cyprio lota liquore madent.

His lascivious contemplation of the likely results of his being changed into the flower between Pancharis' breasts[1.] may owe something to Ovid, though the transformation wish is a very widespread erotic device, as we have seen.[2.] Basium VII[3.] is an expansion of the Ovidian wish for resistance in love: he wants Pancharis to struggle with him and threaten him and use her teeth and nails:

> Mihi basia pernega roganti
> Semper ut rapiam, fruarque raptis.

In Basium XXVII[4.] he laments that Pancharis has perjured herself, after promising him eternal love, by submitting to the barbara vincla of marriage to a soldier. In a characteristically Ovidian way he begs her, if she cannot go on loving him, at least to pretend to do so:

> sat mihi fictus erit, sat simulatus amor[5.]

Several of the poets represented in the Delitiae Poetarum Belgicorum, published at Franfurt[k] in 1614, write Ovidian love elegies, especially those, like the young Daniel Heinsius (1580-1655), who gathered round Ianus Douza at Leyden. Douza himself has a book of Basia, modelled,

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1. ibid., p. 15 (Basium XI).
2. See p. 22 , above.
3. ibid., p. 12.
4. ibid., p. 28.
5. Cf. Ars, iii, 796-802; Amores, III.xiv.

like those of Bonnefons, on Joannes Secundus, and a Liber Cupidinum, the elegies of which are often Petrarchan in tone, and occasionally paraphrases of Petrarch,[1] but sometimes employ themes from the Amores and the Ars. In the first elegy of the second book Cupid gives the poet advice[2] about love all of which, as he remembers, he once gave to meum Nasonem ... matris dum fert praecepta per orbem. Cupid's memory does not deceive him. The lover should feign tears when his mistress is sad: he should be compliant and bear her fera verba and supercilii fulmina without murmuring, nor be afraid to snatch kisses from her when an opportunity presents itself.[3] In another elegy Douza elaborates upon the Ovidian idea that love is more sweet when refused and struggled for. He instructs Ida nec mihi da noctem, nec basia pauca petenti: and let her continue to put him off and deny him until, exasperated oscula vi cogam te dare rapta mihi: of kisses so obtained, he will never tire. She acts according to his precepts, and he cries, startled, quo refugis, formosa?, going on to explain with typically Ovidian duality:

> Non ego mi vetui te basia non dare noctem,
> Sed quasi non liceat assimulare modo.

The same theme is treated at length by Heinsius in his elegy[4] De quadam:

> Ah pereat, si quae nimium concedit amanti,
> Nec meminit munus pulchra puella suum,
> Nec negat infelix et si quid forte rogabis
> Annuet et tanquam brachia victa dabit ...

He has had to instruct a girl of his acquaintance on this very subject: with characteristic condescension he describes

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1. Cf. Delitiae Belg., ii.130-2 (Liber III, i and ii).
2. ibid., ii.109.
3. ibid., ii.121 (Liber II. vii).
4. ibid., ii. 950 (Liber III. x).

her as formosa satis, nec male culta. Disce negare, he warns her, or she will lose his love: satis est promittere semper, this is the way to keep a man interested. If he asks to spend the night with her, let her grant him only kisses: if he asks four kisses, give two. If Nemesis and Delia had never denied him, Tibullus would not have written poetry about them. Ovid only wrote omnia dum poscit, dum nunquam blanda Corinna annuit. She is rustica and fit to be stulti militis uxor who yields all to her lover: hoc decet uxores, not a formosa puella. There is the same concluding twist as in Douza, but expressed with brilliant terseness:

> Tu quoque vel differ, vel ne concede quod opto:
> Si mea iam nolis esse petentis, eris.
> Diximus, erubuit: victosque ut flexit ocellos;
> Nolueram leges ipse tulisse meas.

Heinsius plays with the same ideas, in a more personal and introspective way, elsewhere.[1] He admits that for him nec satis est blandas thalami cognoscere leges. His ambitiosus amor desires to suffer dominae crudelem saepius iram. But he will not be satisfied with a mistress who is always simplex, nor by one always Callida: nec semper facilis difficilisve iuvat. Here he seems to be growing genuinely interested in the complicated nature of his love, but he returns to more conventional ground by asserting, again, that she is rustica cui collum gravibus circumdedit ulnis uxor, and who never makes herself hard to get.

Douza strikes another familiar elegiac attitude in the fifth elegy of his second book[2] when he lies awake, tormented by his own thoughts, on a night which Ida had promised to him.

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1. ibid., ii.957 (Liber IV.ii).
2. ibid., ii.115.

But no Ida comes.[1] In another elegy, as he makes the usual furtive journey through the dark city streets to her house, he begs <u>rorifluae moderatrix Cinthia noctis</u> to hide away her moonlight in the clouds:

> Sic tibi nocturni non desit copia furti
> Sic toto possis Endymione frui.

Such impudent references to the domestic affairs of goddesses had become a firm elegiac convention with Ovid's address to Aurora. Nicholas Grudius, the brother of Joannes Secundus, uses the same idea in a poem <u>Ad Solem et Auroram</u> from his second book of epigrams.[2] He scolds Phoebus, <u>rutilo cui flavent colla capillo</u> and <u>tu, flavi-como praevia diva Deo</u>, for disturbing him when he is <u>affusus dominae molliter in gremio</u>. Is it fitting for deities to start betraying innocent lovers? What are things coming to? Everyone knows of Apollo's relations with Cyrene and Daphne: and no one needs telling why Aurora visits Cephalus so often. At least let them give him time to get back to his own house while it is still dark.

Like Ovič Douza wishes <u>inter opus medium Lachesis mea stamina rumpat</u>, so that he may breath his last in Cotale's embrace,[3] and, in the same poem, draws the characteristic elegiac distinction between the warfare of Mars and that of love:

> Non ego sum Martis natus lassare triumphos,
> Perque feras acies aera tubasque sequi
> Ista iuvent alios: Veneris mihi castra secuto
> Sufficit in gremio bella movere tuo.

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1. <u>ibid.</u>, ii.101 (<u>Liber</u> II. viii).
2. <u>ibid.</u>, ii.601.
3. <u>ibid.</u>, ii.59 (<u>Ad Cotalen</u>). Heinsius also exploits the opposition between love and warfare; <u>ibid.</u>, ii.912 (<u>Ad Didericum Dousam in proelium abeuntem</u>),

The elegiac attack upon materialism, and upon avarice in love, is exemplified in Heinsius. Aurea nunc demum meruit Cytherea vocari[1], he affirms. If Jupiter wanted to seduce a modern woman, he would have to adopt the disguise he used for Danae. Sunt Danaae centum postquam penetravimus Indum. It is commerce and foreign trade that have given girls such expensive tastes. How happy were the days before men learned to cross the ocean! Gold has killed pietas and is now killing love. In another elegy[2], again regretting the love-money nexus, he yearns for the bygone golden age when the lover brought his mistress only meadow flowers, and nuts gathered in the woods, and when the green turf was a bed for their amorous play. In less idyllic mood he poses as a poet whose mistress, Rossa, has married an aged man[3], and works out, with savage ingenuity, the scenes which are likely to occur between this impotent old fool and his hot young wife. How she will itch with longing, when he spends the whole night talking about his ancestors! If she was so fond of things with no life in them, she should have looked for a husband in a graveyard. On another occasion he is the exclusus amator, alone beneath the stars, pouring out his complaints to the hard wood of Rossa's door[4]. His master in matters of love, indeed the universal master, he says, is the poet cuius pulchra Corinna fuit[5].

Like their French contemporaries, these poets are directly opposed to Ovid on the question of cosmetics:

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1. ibid., ii.947 (Liber III.ix, Ad Gerardum Tuningium).
2. ibid., ii.972 (Liber V.iii, Ad Franciscum Suvertium).
3. ibid., ii.934 (Liber III.v, In Amicam quae senem rivalem praeferebat).
4. ibid., ii.993 (Liber VI.ii).
5. ibid., ii.989 (Liber V.vi, Ad Iohannem Reigersbergium).

Nicholas Grudius is typical when he commands Pixide compositos Hieronyma proiice fucos[1], but their attitude towards old women, nurses, guardians and the like, is in line with that of the classical elegists. Hadrianus Blienburgius, for example, grows very angry with his girl's chaperon, - nigra anus annosis durior ilicibus, who never lets her out of sight, and who, if she tries to escape by dawdling, nescio quid tacito murmurat ore minax. Dira anus, anguicomis anus, o suffl\ata Megaeris, he cries, Quid Dominam tentas eripuisse mihi?[2]

A large number of Ovidian erotic themes coalesce in the elegies of the Dutch poet Joannes Secundus (1511-36) who, the author of The Arte of English Poesie considered,"in his poeme De basiis, passeth any of the auncient or moderne Poetes"[3]. His collected works appeared in 1541, and in 1582 they were included, along with the poems of Marullus and Angerianus in a volume entitled Poetae tres Elegantissimi, printed at Paris.[4] He was clearly a fashionable poet for the bright and angry young men at the turn of the sixteenth century. When Feliche in Marston's Antonio and Mellida, decrying the rapacity of women, asks Alberto:

> How thinkst thou of a Poet that sung thus;
> Munera sola pacant, sola addunt munera formam:
> Munere solicites Pallada, Cypris erit.
> Munera, munera.[5]

- he is quoting from the first elegy of Joannes Secundus

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1. ibid., ii.546 (Liber I.viii).

2. ibid., i.638 (Elegia III, Ad Iacobum Manmamakerum).

3. The Arte of English Poesie, ed. G.D. Willock and A. Walker, 1936, p. 53.

4. Jonson's copy survives: Cf. Works, ed. C.H. Herford and P. Simpson, 11 Vols., 1925-52, i.268.

5. Marston, Plays, ed. H. Harvey Wood, 3 Vols., 1934, i.53.

third book, though the allusion has been missed by Marston's editors.[1]

Secundus, admitting his debt to Ovid, outlines an art of love, advising tolerance and perseverance.[2] In time every woman will yield, and grant oscula et quidquid superest post oscula dulce. The lover must learn secrecy and stealth, gradum mediis suspensum ferre tenebris, and must play the exclusus amator, rigidos cithara postes mollire per umbram. He should know, too, how to converse unseen, levi varias nutu conferre loquelas, and verecunda voce diserta loqui. If anyone feels ashamed to be a slave to his mistress, he is cold (Si quis erit iuvenum dominae qui turpe putabit ...):[3] as long as she is beautiful Secundus is quite content to be enthralled: est aliquid specioso carcere claudi.[4] Elsewhere he warns women of the fate of those who remain chaste. When they are old nulla corona tuos ornabit florida postes, no lover will sing before their threshold.[5] When Julia marries a rusticus,[6] he wishes that the oafish man may be run over by a cart, so that he will never enjoy the kisses and embraces which belong to the poet, and so that he may be an example to others vatum deliciis non temerare manus. If only Julia had been faithful, he tells her, she would have earned a name among the mistresses of famous poets: Delia, Nemesis,

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1. Joannes Secundus, Opera, ed. P. Bosscha, 2 Vols., Leyden, 1821, ~~Leyden~~, i. 159-62, Elegy III.i.31-2 (Feliche misquotes pacant for beant: his two extra munera's were perhaps suggested by the fact that line 35 begins Muneribus ... and line 37 Munera ...).

2. ibid., i.10 (Eleg. I.ii.43-68).

3. ibid., i.18 (Eleg. I.iii.1 f.). Cf. Amores, II.xvii, Si quis erit qui turpe putet servire puellae ...

4. ibid., i.35 (Eleg. I.v.).

5. I.v.43-4: Cf. Ars, iii.69 f.

6. ibid., i.43 (Eleg. I.vii).

Cynthia, Lycoris and quae falso Nasoni dicta Corinna est.[1] How happy was that golden age when nondum coniugii nomen servile patebat and passim communes exercebantur amores omnibus. Then no adulterer feared an avenging sword, for there was no adultery: no one kept a strict watch over girls,[2] or bothered to shut them indoors. How can Julia, he asks, bear to look at that boorish face without being sick? How can she tolerate that body near to hers? It is no good her pleading that the poor fool is in love with her: there are many others more deserving who love her as well.[3] On her wedding day he prays the gods to send rain and thunderbolts.[4]

On a more fortunate occasion[5] he cries Iulia, te teneo; teneant sua gaudia Divi, as she lies in his arms semoto lecto. Today they are not forced to snatch a meeting in a crowded street or market or populosa theatra, for today her mother is away, her mother who watches them constantly, and forces them to converse tremulo murmure, to exchange only oscula aridulis non continuanda labellis, to hide their love under the name of friendship, multaque quae sollers fingere discit Amor. When Venerilla has promised him a night of love, he

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1. I.vii.35 f.
2. I.vii.65 f.: Cf. Amores, III,viii,35 f. For other golden age passages in neo-Latin poetry see Carmina Illustrium Poetarum Italorum, Florence, 11 Vols., 1719, iv.435 (Augustinus Fortunius); vi.145 (Bernardinus Lucatellus); viii.48 (Flaminius Raius); viii.97 (Julius Roscius); viii.143 (Bernardinus Rota); viii.240 (Jacobus Sadoletus); xi.427 and 460 (Zanchius Basilius).
3. I.vii.105-110.
4. ibid., i.61 (Eleg. I. viii).
5. ibid., i.72 (Eleg. I. x).

lies awake and anxious, awaiting her footfall.[1] Why does she not come? Is she trying to make love sweeter by delay, so that dilatus avida mente bibatur amor? Whenever quemque movet strepitum levis aura per aedes, he thinks it is her foot on the threshold.[2] Perhaps she is at this moment in bed with another lover, and they are laughing about him together.[3] But hark! is not that the sound of her step? Fallor, an in nostro limine latrat Hylax?[4]

In another elegy he adopts the pose of the rebel from love. Neaera has been giving her favours to a rival, and he will bear it no longer. He knows for certain of her infidelity: he has seen the marks on her neck notata dentibus and quasso non bona signa toro.[5] Although he has watched many a lassus amator leave her doors, to him she has been hard and unyielding.[6] Now he has finished with prayers and suffering, and he will make her suffer in her turn. When, after a long journey, he returns to Justina,[7] his description of their embraces is full of Ovidian details: she hangs about his neck haud tacitis promittens maius ocellis, giving herself blando murmure, exchanging basia nexilibus humida linguis, her eyes sine mente volvuntur utrinque salaces as his proterva manus explores her body.[8] But suddenly there is

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1. ibid., i.106 f. (Eleg. II.ii).
2. II.ii.21.2: Cf. Tibullus, I.viii.65-6.
3. II.ii.25-6: Cf. Propertius, II.ix.21-2.
4. ibid., i.113 f. (Eleg., II.v).
5. II.v.13-4: Cf. Propertius II.xxii.35; Ars, iii.721.
6. II.v.20-21: Cf. Amores, III.xi.A.13-14.
7. ibid., i.121 f. (Eleg. II.vii).
8. II.vii.85 f.: Cf. Amores, III.ii.83, et argutis quiddam promisit ocellis: also Ars, ii.721-3, 705-8 etc.

a footfall at the bedroom door, and an elegiac tristis anus,[1] Larvia by name, interrupts the propositum opus: this terse and businesslike term for the act of love is also, of course, an Ovidian characteristic. The poet proceeds to heap curses[2] on the old woman's head. May Venus give her inopem senectam: may her turpes furores be insatiable: may her corpse find no rest, but be rent by dogs and scattered in barren places. Here Secundus is clearly thinking of Ovid's curse upon the bawd,[3] and in his next elegy,[4] after a Propertian beginning, he takes the various manifestations of his mistress' cunning and avarice from the same poem in the Amores,[5] applying the opinions of the bawd to Neaera. Whenever she thinks it profitable she can weep and screw up her face with sobbing: she is avid for gifts, but always has reasons for denying anything in return, - she will pretend to be madly in love with another, or to have a headache, or to be angry and implacable. However much a lover has given her in the past, once he stops giving, he will be out of fashion. Why does she not speak the truth, demands the poet. Why does she not simply say "Go away from my house, you are a bore and your presents are cheap and nasty and you expect your girl-friend to be too faithful"? The same complaint about the

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1. II.vii.94: Cf. Amores, I.iv.48, Veste sub iniecta dulce peregit opus: II.x.36, Medium solvar et inter opus: III.vii.68, Nunc opus exposcunt, militiamque suam.

2. II.vii.95: Cf. Amores, I.viii.113, Di tibi dent ... inopemque senectam (Ovid's curse upon the lena): also Tibullus, I.v.48 f.

3. ibid., i.133 f. (Eleg. II.viii).

4. Cf. his address to his bed at the beginning of this elegy with that of Propertius, II.xv.1 f.

5. i.e. Amores, I.viii, especially lines 73-4, 79, 83-4; also Ars, iii. 677 and Tibullus, I.vi.35-6.

rapacity of women is made in the first elegy of his third book,[1] whence Marston's Feliche took his quotation. Once poets were honoured, but now the power of money is greater than that of poetry: Jupiter seduced Danae with <u>aurea dona</u>, not songs, and nowadays the lover who does not bring gifts will sing to <u>surdas fores</u>. If Penelope had been offered gifts she would have welcomed her wooers, one by one, into her bed: fortunately they did not think of trying to bribe her, or, if they did, all this talk of her chastity is mere invention.

Secundus feels the elegiac horror at battle and bloodshed: he curses the man who first made a sword, and is outraged by the atrocities wrought by gunpowder in modern warfare.[2] Like many of the neo-classical elegists, too, he slips in derogatory asides about wedded love. When his mistress falls asleep in his arms before he is satisfied, he complains <u>uxores iaceant sic, deformesque puellae</u>.[3] He draws parallels between war and love-making, advising young men:

> Bellaque lascivis nocturna movete puellis,
> Figite et optato vulnera grata loco.[4]

Like Ovid he warns his mistress that too much pleasure breeds satiety, and instructs her to resist him and to be cruel and elusive, giving him only seven kisses when he asks nine, and those like the ones chaste Diana gives to her brother. Let her run away, and struggle when caught, so that he has to overcome her by force.[5]

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1. <u>ibid.</u>, i.159 f. (<u>Eleg.</u>, III.i): Cf. <u>Amores</u>, III.viii. 29 f.; I.x; <u>Ars</u>, ii.275.
2. <u>ibid.</u>, i. 155-6 (<u>Eleg.</u>, II.xi.23 f.).
3. <u>ibid.</u>, i.147 (<u>Eleg.</u>, II.ix.59).
4. <u>ibid.</u>, i. 194 (<u>Eleg.</u>, III.viii.43-4).
5. <u>ibid.</u>, i.265-8 (<u>Basium</u> ix).

This review of the neo-Latin amorous elegy in Europe during the sixteenth century, though not, of course, complete, is comprehensive enough for the present purpose. Indeed its present extent might be objected to, in a study of this kind, were it not for the fact that it is by no means generally realized how many of the so-called innovations in seventeenth century poetry were only the introduction into the vernacular of what was already current internationally in Latin. The poets under review make common European currency of elegiac attitudes like the "indifferent" lover, the exclusus amator, the impudent adulterer, the lover who fears his mistress will be abducted by the gods, the lover who sees her married to a rich rival, the lover who waits anxiously for her when she has promised a night of love, the lover of two women, the lover who asks to be denied: of elegiac anathema like the love-money nexus, jealous or rich husbands, old women, nurses, chaperons, guardians, janitors, war, bloodshed, foreign travel (and, emphatically, mothers and old husbands: both additions to the Ovidian code): and of elegiac themes like the golden age of sexual liberty and communism, the complaint against Aurora, the detection of infidelity by love-bites, rumpled beds and the like, description of union in the exclamatory manner of Amores, I.v, detailed accounts of outward signs of the girl's ecstasy, and references to the act of passion and its immediate preliminaries in nautical or military terms.

(ii) Vernacular Writers

Italian and French vernacular poets were increasingly influenced by Ovid's erotic works as the sixteenth century proceeded. In his Blazon of Jealousie, (1615), translated from Varchi, Tofte notices that:

> ... our amorous Master Lewes Allemanni sayth, imitating his most witty Schoolmaster Ouid, in one of his dainty and sweet Tuscan Elegies, thus.
>
> Per qual cagion auien crudel Amore,
> Che fuor d'ogn' uso human per Cinthia e Flora,
> Porti due fiamme, e non hà più d'un cuore?[1].

The elegy Tofte refers to is the second of Alamanni's first book.[2] Although the situation is Ovidian, the tone is far more elevated than Ovid's. For Alamanni it is merely a matter of worshipping two saints instead of one, though at one point he begins to develop another, more libertine Ovidian theme:

> Quella ha i crin neri e non gli tenga vili
> Il mondo stolto, se Diana teme
> Questa dorati gli ha crespi e gentili ...[3]

Tasso, later, models himself on the same poem from the *Amores*[4] as does Alamanni, complaining that his heart *serve indiviso a due tiranni*, and that *per doppio cagion doppio è' l tormento*.[5] Elsewhere he plays another Ovidian role as lover of the serving-girl,[6] though he makes the idea less outrageous by declaring that he loves the maid only because he

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1. *op. cit.*, sig. I3r.
2. *Versi e Prose*, ed. P. Raffaelli, 2 Vols, Florence, 1859, i.191-4:
   Come il consenti tu, crudele Amore,
   Che fuor d' ogn' uso uman per Cintia e Flora
   Porti due piaghe, e non ho più d'un core?...
3. *ibid.*, i.193. Cf. *Amores*, II.iv.39-40
4. *Amores*, II.x.
5. *Rime*, ed. A. Solerti, 4 vols., Bologna, 1898-1902, ii.213-4.
6. *ibid.*, ii.402-6 (*La Bruna*): the poem was written in 1576.

dare not look upon i raggi e gli splendori of the mistress. He advises the fanciulla to receive his advances with acerbetti sdegni, in order to make le dolcesse piu care,[1] and asks her to plead his cause with her mistress. His description of her as one who con tant' arte L'Altrui chiome comparte links her, no doubt intentionally, with Ovid's Cypassis.[2] Like Cypassis she is dark.[3] Bruna sei tu, ma bella, Tasso tells her. Similar praise of black beauty is popular with the Italians: Tasso himself devotes a separate poem to the subject,[4] so do Marino:

> Nera sì, ma se' bella, ò di Natura
> Frà le belle d'Amor leggiadro mostro...[5]

and Pier Salvetti.[6] Marino also develops at great length the theme of Amores, II.iv. Just as Ovid declares, at the start of that poem, non ego mendosas ausim defendere mores, so Marino admits Già difender non oso il mio fallo amoroso.[7] The correspondences between the two poems remain remarkably close. Marino is attracted by not one kind of beauty but hundreds: he is esca continua ad ogni foco. Young or old, simple or artful, well-groomed or dishevelled, shy or forward, fair or brown, whether she laughs or sings or plays an

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1. Cf. Amores, II.xix.19 f.
2. Cf. Amores, II.viii.1-2.
3. Cf. Amores, II.viii.22. (fusca Cypassi) also Martial, I.cxv.
4. Rime, ed. Solerti, ii.410.
5. La Lira, Rime del Cavalier Marino, 3 parts, Venice, 1621, iii.10.
6. Opere Burlesche di M. Francesco Berni, di M. Gio. della Casa, del Varchi, del Mauro etc., 3 vols., London and Florence, 1723, iii.216-219.
7. Opere, ed. G. Zirardini, Naples, 1861, pp. 520-1 (Amore Inconstante) Marino's Rime were first printed in 1602.

instrument, or dances, or makes verses, or praises his or criticizes them: every woman attracts him. Marino's leisurely expansiveness is far removed from the neat, epigrammatic Ovid, in spite of his observation Il genio di Torquato ero Virgiliano, il mio è Ovidiano[1], but he preserves the Ovidian theme here faithfully enough. Alamanni also uses it, briefly, in the second elegy of his third book, when Cupid instructs the poet about various types of beauty.[2]

Angry or disillusioned reflections upon the avarice of women and the love-money nexus are very common indeed in the Italian love poets. Alamanni accuses Venus of giving an avaro appetito, ingordo, e'nsano to le piu vaghe e belle, so that ogni povero amor s'affanna in vano. He curses merchants who bring back foreign luxuries from their travels: questi sol fa tra noi le Donne avare. This is why women have left l'antico honor: this is why doors are locked against lovers, and why il fidato can custode appare. But all watch-dogs are quiet and all doors open to the lover who brings gold. He concludes with an imprecation upon those who commercialize love.[3] Marino uses the familiar symbol of Danäe in this context, and asks women plaintively:

> Qual ti move desio
> D'oro , s'oro hai nel crine?
> O che cerchi di te gemme men fine?[4]

Berni leaves his mistress because she is always asking for or la veste, or l'Anello, or la catena[5], and Tasso addresses

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1. See C.W. Cabeen, L'Influence de Marino sur la Littérature Française dans la première Moitié du xviie Siècle, Grenoble, 1904, p. 77.
2. Opere Toscane, 2 Vols., Venice, 1542, i.64. (not in Raffaelli).
3. ibid., i. 48-9 (Eleg. II.iii). Cf. also i.68-9, 370-1.
4. Opere, ed. Zirardini, pp. 504-5 (L'Oro)
5. Poesie e Prose, ed. E. Chiorboli, Geneva, 1934, p. 37 (Sonetto Delle Puttane).

Amor venale with great bitterness: per te sol ricco è Dite,
e fatto il mondo povero.[1] In his Aminta the satyr, scorned by Silvia, looks mournfully at his reflection in the calm sea, and concludes that his love is disdained not perché sì fatto io sia, but solamente perché povero sono. It makes him sad to think that the mercenary esempio de le gran cittadi should corrupt the life of the countryside. Ironically he observes that this is the true secol d'oro, since now sol vince l'oro e regna l'oro.[2] May the person who first taught to sell love be cursed: may no nymph or shepherd ever say Abbiate pace over his ashes, but may the rain wash them and the wind scatter them, and men and animals trample them underfoot. For it is this person who made love shameful, and turned its sweets to gall.[3] The avarice of woman and the cash nexus are consistently regarded as modern phenomena: they are things of today: l'oro ha oggi in sé tanto valore that it has killed fede e carità e vero amore.[4] But yesterday was different. Yesterday was that felicissima etate when innocent souls vivean con sprezzar l'or, gli anni dell' oro:[5] when men and women lay together indifferentemente, beneath the trees or on grassy banks, and every girl come la fè natura ignuda andava: O felice in quel tempo chi s'amava![6]

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1. Rime, ed. Solerti, ii.425.
2. Cf. Ars, ii.277.
3. Tasso, Aminta, ed. P. Renucci and R. Milani, Paris, 1952, pp. 49-50.
4. The observation is from a sonnet printed as Serafino's in the edition of 1516, but probably by Lorenzo di Medici. See Serafino, Rime, ed. M. Menghini, Bologna, 1894, p. 222.
5. Marino, Opere, ed. Zirardini, p. 505.
6. Mauro, Opere Burlesche etc., i.86 (Capitolo in Dishonor dell' honore).

It is a thoroughly undesirable innovation that women should be vestite ed inchiavate[1], just as it is that war and poverty should have replaced the tranquilli secoli de l'oro[2], and that ambition, lies and fame d'oro[3] should now be the general rule. When rivers flowed with milk, and honey dripped from trees; when fields brought forth their fruits da l'aratro intatte; when no ship sailed the seas to bring o merce o guerra to foreign shores; when that foolish word, "honour", quel vano nome senza soggetto[4] was not allowed to interfere with le liete dolcezze de l'amoroso gregge: then was the true golden age:

> La verginella ignude
> Scopria le fresche rose,
> Ch' or tien ne'l velo ascose,
> E le poma de l seno acerbe e crude.[5]

Now honour has taken the spankle from beautiful eyes, and made i dolci atti lascivi, ritrosi e schivi. This attack upon the concept of honour in women is popular with other writers besides Tasso. Indeed, it is a conventional ingredient of the amorous suasoria. Honour is il serpente that poisons all delight: it does not really exist: it is a mere smoke, a shadow, a dream. Dogs and cats are to be envied, for they do not live in servitude like men, ne danno orecchie a questi nomi vani. Sheep and cattle fanno i lor piacer in security and untroubled:

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1. Mauro, ibid., i. 148 (Capitolo del Letto)

2. Della Casa, Rime e Prose, Venice, 1616, p. 43.

3. ibid., p. 56.

4. Cf. Heroides, iv. 129-30: Nec... terruerint animos nomina vana tuos.

5. Aminta, ed. Renucci and Milani, pp. 42-6: Cf. Corisca's attack on fede and costanza as nomi vani in the Pastor Fido; Guarini, Opere, ed. L. Fasso, Turin, 1950, p. 61.

Non lo compran con gemme nè con oro,
Allor non s'apron nè si chiudon porte
E non è chi interrompa il fatto loro[1].

Bembo, in the Stanze del Vano Amore, after paying a tribute to Catullo, to il Sulmonese, to the lovers of Cinzia, Delia and Nemesi and to Gallo, goes on to preach against words like "sin" and "dishonour": respect for such things is sogno ed ombra, Che l'alme simplicette preme e' ngombra[2]. Tasso, also, warns his sweetheart to make use of her springtime, and not to seek d'immaginata gloria un falso raggio by thinking of such things as "honour":

Nomi senza soggetto e sogni ed ombre
Son queste, che virtudi il mondo appella[3].

The contrast between human regard for such trifles, and the unfettered loves of the animals, is frequently drawn:

Pasce la pecorella i verdi campi,
E sente il suo monton cozzar vicino:
Ondeggia, e par ch' in mezzo l'acque avvampi
Con la sua amata il veloce Delfino:
Per tutto ove'l terren d'ombra si stampi
Sosten due rondinelle un faggio, un pino.[4]

We do not have to look far for the source of such reflections: no farther, in fact, than Ovid's hymn to love as a universal force in the Ars[5], of part of which this passage is an almost literal translation. The use of animal-love as a suasoria towards human love may have been suggested, also, by Myrrha's arguments in the Metamorphoses[6]. Certainly the Italians are very fond of it. Marino thinks Leucippe might learn

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1. Mauro, Opere Burlesche etc., i.86.
2. Gli Asolani e Le Rime, ed. G. Dionisotti-Casalone, Turin, 1932, pp. 266 and 270.
3. Rime, ed. Solerti, ii.398.
4. Bembo, Gli Asolani e Le Rime, ed. Dionisotti-Casalone, p. 271.
5. Ars, ii.467-88 (for Bembo's examples see lines 481-3).
6. Metamorpheses, x. 324-331.

something from doves[1] and also recommends the plants as examples: see how the ivy clings to the tree on which it climbs:[2] in nature everything kisses, i fior, l'herbette; l'onde, le rive; le fronde, l'aure lascive.[3] In the Pastor Fido[4] Linco has a long speech of this kind: Poliziano points out

> L'una fera coll' altra si accompagna;
> Il toro giostra, e'l lanoso montone;
> Tu donzella, io garzone
> Dalle leggi d'Amor sarem ribelli?[5]

- and Tasso thinks that Licoris might well be schooled by i dipinti augelli.[6] The famous speech of Dafne in his Aminta[7] is an elaborate extension of the idea.

This feeling of sympathy between man and nature is reflected, also, in the frequent Italian imitations of or developments from Amores, I.xiii. Boiardo, waiting for the dawn when he will see his love, grows angry with the Stella crudel[8] that stays obstinately in the sky when all others have departed, and Tasso addresses a long poem to the moon which insists upon shining when he is making the conventional journey of the elegiac lover through the dark streets to his mistress. 'Perhaps you are chaste and abhor lascivious amours: but remember your love for Endymion: remember how you connived at the non onesti ardori of Pan: remember Orion: and what about Actaeon? You will say you transformed him to a stag because he saw you bathing:

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1. La Lira, Rime, 1621, i.68.
2. ibid., i.69.
3. ibid., ii.26-7.
4. Guarini, Opere, ed. Fasso, pp. 47-8.
5. Poesie Italiane, Milan, 1825, p. 215, (Canzone).
6. Rime, ed. Solerti, ii.333.
7. Aminta, ed. Renucci and Milani, pp. 16-18.
8. Poesie, ed. A. Solerti, Bologna, 1894, p. 56.

O perché a le tue voglie ei non compiaque?'[1].

Ariosto addresses his Capitolo[2] VI, that warm-blooded reincarnation of a host of elegiac themes, to the dolce, gioconda, aventurosa notte, and concludes it by asking invida Aurora why she leaves il tuo Thiton antico so early: if she is tired of him, why does she not find un più giovane amico, and live e lascia altrui viver in gioia? The counterpart to this poem, Capitolo[3] VII, attacks the crudel, maligna e scelerata notte when the moon refuses to hide her bastardo lume, in spite of the poet's reminders about the time quando al tuo pastorel nuda scendesti. It is not safe for the lover to be abroad tra cento occhi, e tanti usci, e tra finestre aperte: he fears questi Lincei, questi Argi. Similar addresses to the moon, and references to what took place infra l'ombrose piante di Latmo are made by Marino as he steals to his furtivi amori[4]: like the others, he thinks it shameful that Aurora should leave Tithonus' bed so early.[5]

In Marino, too, the elegiac world is peopled by its traditional characters: the gelosa madre, the ritroso genitor[6]; la famiglia garrula who wake and come running when the lovers footsteps make the elegiac dog, fier custode latrante[7], bark; the geloso marito[8]; the aged rival.[9] His

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1. Rime, ed. Solerti, ii.418-23 (The line quoted is 83).

2. Opere Minori, ed. C. Segre, Milan, 1954, pp. 181-3 (where it is re-numbered VIII). The poem is chiefly indebted to Propertius, II.xv.

3. ibid., pp. 184-5 (re-numbered IX)

4. La Lira, Rime, 1621, i.22-3.

5. ibid., i.31-2.

6. ibid., ii.32.

7. ibid., iii.48.

8. ibid., iii.33.

9. ibid., iii.18: Cf. Guarini, Rime, 1598, p. 32 (Contra i vecchi che s'innamorano).

Canzone IV is a brilliant imitation of Amores III.vii, with its witty address to the weak member:

> Certo di sasso sei, ma come (ahi lasso)
> Come sì molle sei, se sei di sasso?[1].

and the Trastulli Estivi[2.] follows Amores, I.v. detail by detail. His descriptions of love-making in these poems, with their molli baci, languidi lamenti, occhi tremanti, are clearly modelled on Ovid: afterwards the lovers lie:

> Languidamente l'un' al'altro in braccio
> Vinti da la Stanchezza[3].

Bembo[4.], Boiardo[5.] and Marino[6.] all subscribe to the Ovidian doctrine that opposition sweetens love. A woman may struggle, but she will always wish to be overcome: violenza soave will be of more effect with her than un spirto gentil:

> Ma chiunque destina
> Ai baci Amor, ne varca oltra quel segno,
> Qu[e]gli è de' baci istessi ancora indegno.[7.]

The satyr in Guarini's Pastor Fido gives the same advice: modesty is a woman's virtue:

> Ed ella che sì ben con altrui l'usa
> Seco usata l'ha in odio, e vuol che'n lei
> La miri si, ma non l'adopri il vago.[8.]

- and Dafne in the Aminta advises Tirsi:

> E spacciato un amante rispettoso:
> Consiglia 'l pur che faccia altro mesterio,
> Poi ch' egli è tal. Chi imparar vuol d'amare,
> Disimpari il rispetto: osi, domandi,

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1. ibid., ii.35.
2. ibid., iii.49-54.
3. Cf. Amores, I.v.25.
4. Gli Asolani e Le Rime, ed. Dionisotti-Casalone, p. 281 (XII).
5. Poesie, ed. Solerti, p. 126 (...Tanto piu l'amo, quanto piu m'è dura).
6. Opere, ed. Zirardini, pp. 522-3 (Trastulli Estivi: stanzas 2 and 5).
7. ibid., p. 522 (Stanza 7): Cf. Guarini, Opere, ed. Fasso, p. 452 (Bacio penoso).
8. Opere, ed. Fasso, p. 74

Solleciti, importuni, al fine involi;
E se questo non basta, anco rapisca.
Or non sai tu com'è fatta la donna?
Fugge e fuggendo vuol ch'altri la giunga;
Niega, e niegando vuol ch'altri si toglia;
Pugna, e pugnando vuol ch' altri la vinca.[1].

Alamanni and Poliziano both write long abstracts of the Ars Amatoria, and Tasso bases one poem on the passage in that work about different colours suiting different types of girls.[4] Guarini's Corsica is clearly well-read in the Ars, also.[5]

Other Ovidian themes crop up from time to time. Guarini finds his mistress more attractive when her hair is loose and unkempt, remembering, probably, that Laura had i capei d'oro a l'aura sparsi,[6] when Petrarch first saw her.[7] Tasso, when he sees Lucrezia Bendidio exposed to l'aura e'l vento e'l sole, fears lest these should conceal i celesti amanti.[8] Chiabrera warns his mistress that she owes her beauty to his poems.[9]

Images of battle and of sea-faring had been applied to love in Italian poetry, of course, from Petrarch onwards.

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1. ed. Renucci and Milani, pp. 56-7: cf. Ars, i. 663-6, 673-712, 717-8.
2. Opere Toscane, i.64-69 (Eleg. ii, Liber III).
3. Poesie Italiane, Milan, 1825, pp. 80f. cf. also pp. 86 and 110.
4. Rime, ed. Solerti, ii. 435-6. Cf. Ars, iii. 169-92.
5. Cf. her speech of advice to women: Opere, ed. Fasso, pp. 59-63.
6. Opere, ed. Fasso, p. 433 (Beltà non colta è più possente).
7. Petrarch, Sonnet 90.
8. Rime, ed. Solerti, ii.149.
9. Rime, 3 Vols., Milan, 1807, ii. 23 (Minaccia di non voler più celebrare la sua Donna). Cf. Propertius, III.xxiv.1-8.

It was the application of them to love-making, with the consideration of the actual "weapons" of war, and the actual voyage and tackling of the "ship" which was Ovidian, in the renaissance sense.[1] Marino concludes his imitation of Amores I.v with a passage of this kind:

> Io vincitor guerriero
> De la nemica esangue
> Quasi in trionfo altero
> Portai nel' armi e nelle spoglie il sangue ...[2]

Thus used, the metaphor of warfare ceases to be a piece of "poetic" ornamentation, and becomes a factual account of a moment in the act of passion. The same can be said for Alamanni's use of the sea-faring image:

> Ne pur s'arresti, fin ch'a poco à poco
> Venga il suo legnio in l'amoroso porto,...[3]

- which is part of his thoroughly practical lesson on love-making.

The lover jealous of, or wishing to be transformed into some object near to his mistress is a very common figure in Italian sixteenth century poetry,[4] but the device lends itself to such infinite variation that one can never be certain of direct indebtedness to Ovid. One other extremely popular theme should be noted,[5] though not Ovidian, since it does to some extent become involved with the Ovidian stream in the English love-elegy. This is the extended

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1. The Ovidian prototypes for the warfare imagery are Amores, I.ix; Ars, ii.675, and for the seafaring imagery Heroides, xviii, 205-14.

2. La Lira, Rime, 1621, iii.53-4.

3. Opere Toscane, i.65.

4. Cf. Marino, La Lira, Rime, 1621, i.25; ii.102; Tasso, Rime, ed. Solerti, ii.373; Serafino, Rime, ed. Menghini, p. 71: Serafino is especially fond of the transformation device.

5. Classical precedent can, of course, be found: cf. Horace, Epode VIII and XII.

description, in detail, of an ugly or aged woman: a disgusting and disgusted inversion of the luscious renaissance catalogue of corporal charms.[1.]

In France, in the first half of the sixteenth century, we find Marot writing elegies, but Marot's Ovid comes to him through the medieval filter of the Roman de la Rose. The characters who inhabit his elegiac world have names like Dangier, Maubec and Ialousie: he has read not Propertius, Tibullus and Ovid, but:

> ... Alain, le tresnoble Orateur,
> Et Lancelot, le tresplaisant menteur;
> I'ay leu aussi le Romant de la Rose
> Maister en amours, et Valere, et Orose[2.]

Nevertheless he occasionally strikes a note which the poets later in the century are to echo: in the seventeenth elegy[3.] he tells how his mistress is watched day and night by cent yeulx, more carefully than jadis n'estoit Io d'Argus, because she is the heiress of a rich family. If only, he wishes, he and she could live like shepherd and shepherdess in the fields: then, estant en liberté champestre, when he asked a kiss she would grant it, and even, perhaps, quelque autre don par dessus un baiser. Something approaching Ovid's pose of witty adulterer is found in the Rondeaux, as for example, in the poem where he declares that though her husband has his mistress' body all night, touchant son cueur, je l'ay en ma cordelle, and hastens to add that,

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1. Cf. Berni, Poesie e Prose, ed. E. Chiorboli, Geneva, 1934, pp. 176-8 (Capitolo Primo alla sua Innamorata), p. 79 (Sonetto alla sua Donna), p. 182 (Sonetto della Massara); Strascino da Siena, Opere Burlesche di M. Francesco Berni, etc., 3 vols., London, 1723, ii.205 (Capitolo delle Bellezze della Dama), ii.207 (Capitolo Secondo delle bellezze della Dama); Pietro Aretino, ibid., iii.36-7, 38; Pier Salvetti, ibid., iii.300, (Capitolo sopra le bellezze della sua innamorata); Poliziano, Poesie Italiane, Milan, 1825, p. 85 (Canzone).

2. Oeuvres, ed. G. Guiffrey, 5 vols., Paris, 1875, v.35.

3. ibid., v.39 f.

whenever the husband wishes, let him take the heart, and pour le soulager j'auray pour moy le gent corps.[1] Elsewhere he looks back regretfully to a vague bon vieulx temps when lovers did not need to give expensive presents, but only garlands of meadow-flowers.[2] In his epigrams the classical debt is more obvious. Several of them are imitations of Martial.[3] The epigram De ouy et nenny[4] is an Ovidian request that his mistress should add savour to love by feigned refusal:

> Je vouldroys qu'en le me laissant prendre
> Vous me dissiez: "Non, vous ne l'aurez poinct"

and in Contre les jaloux he is amused by the fact that jealous husbands only make their wives more apt to stray when they try to restrain them.[5]

The French sixteenth-century poet who owes most to the Roman elegiac tradition is Ronsard.[6] On the whole he owes

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1. ibid., v.150 (XLV): cf. also v.151 (XLVI), which has something of the Ovidian atmosphere.

2. ibid., v.161 (LXII De l'Amour du siècle antique). Here too, of course, Marot is in the tradition of the Roman de la Rose. Jean de Meung, with cynical contempt for the ideals of courtly love, puts forward, in his part of that poem, the theory of the golden age as one of free love: love free from coercive government, conventional institutions, morality and family ties (see Roman, ed. P. Marteau, 4 vols., Orléans, 1878, ii.276 (ll. 8671-8772); ii.354 (ll. 9927-10008); iii.270 (ll. 14477-14500)). After Jean de Meung the idea of free love as a state of Nature is common in medieval French literature: See M.M. Wood, The Spirit of Protest in Old French Literature, New York, 1917, pp. 15, 42, 52: Miss Wood regards Ovid's account of the four ages (Metamorphoses, i. 89-162) as Jean's starting point, though in fact Ovid does not there consider the question of sexual love.

3. ibid., iv.264 f. (I. xxxiv: III. xxvi, lxxix).

4. ibid., iv.7.

5. ibid., iv.93.

6. See R.E. Hallowell, Ronsard and the Conventional Roman Elegy, Illinois, 1954.

more to Propertius and Tibullus than to Ovid, partly because of the great revival of interest in these two elegists, beginning with the first printed editions of their works in 1472. Ronsard's knowledge of the classical elegy was gained under Jean Dorat at the Collège de Coqueret: it is worth remembering that Dorat encouraged reading, also, of ~~their~~ neo-Latin imitators like Joannes Secundus, Pontanus, Marullus and Sannazaro. It is certainly true that the Ovidian themes most cultivated by Ronsard are those which had already found favour in the eyes of these neo-Latin poets. He is more interested, as are the Italians, in imitating the content of the Roman elegists than their form, and he imitates this content in ode, sonnet and chanson as well as in elegy; indeed his elegies themselves are often rather dry and didactic discourses on literary, patriotic and philosophic subjects.

His light-hearted treatment of the infidelity of someone else's mistress in Sonnet LXII of the Continuation des Amours is typical of Ovid: fancy being annoyed because one's girl is un peu putain![1] Of course, it is a different matter when his own mistress goes astray.[2] Like Ovid he recommends that a man should have many lovers: they are bien lours who n'osent en cent lieux neuve amour entreprendre.[3] He does not blame Paris at all for leaving Oenone: he would have done the same, for Helen.[4]

Elsewhere he poses as the lover of two mistresses: now Marie and Janne, - ainsi Tibulle aimoit Nemesis et Delie, -

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1. OEuvres complètes, ed. P. Laumonier, Vols. I-XVI, Paris, 1914-57, vii.179.
2. ibid., iv.148-9 (Sonnet CLV of the Amours of 1552).
3. ibid., vii.125-6 (Continuation des Amours (1555), Sonnet IX).
4. ibid., vii.142-3 (Continuation des Amours (1555), Sonnet XXV).

now belle Marie[1] and une autre Marie, and reiterates le prouerbe des vieux that the oath of a lover n'entra aux oreilles des Dieux[2]. Venus, he declares, protects lovers in their nocturnal adventures. Like Ovid, he used to be afraid of the dark, and if he heard anything grouler de nuit, his blood ran cold and his hair stood on end. Now, if he fears anything, it is only le babil, l'envie et le courrous d'une voisine, or d'un mari jalous, or that a rich rival will supplant him et que ma dame entre ses bras le tienne[3]. On another occasion he finds his mistress so beautiful that he fears lest quelque Dieu ne vous emporte aux Cieux[4].

He exploits the parallel between love and warfare in the old, chaste way very frequently, but once he clearly has Amores I.ix in mind[5], and once, in a sonnet published anonymously in Les Muses folastres of 1611, and afterwards in various editions of the Cabinet Satyrique, he brings the metaphor abruptly down to earth with a description of the exploits of his Lance au bout d'or, qui sçais et poindre et oindre[6].

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1. ibid., vii.127-8, 157 (Sonnets IX and XL) Cf. the same pose in the chanson Je suis amoureux en deux lieux (ibid., x.201: Amours, Book I), and in Premiere Folastrie (ibid., v.7-17) where he finds himself in love with a grasselette and a maigrelette at the same time.

2. OEuvres Complètes, ed. H. Vaganay, 6 Vols., Paris, 1923, ii. 239 (Sonets pour Helene, I. xliv).

3. OEuvres, ed. Laumonier, vi.149-51 (Elegie a Jan Brinon): printed in Les Meslanges, 1555. Cf. Amores, I.vi.9-16; ix. 31 f.; Ars, i.607-8.

4. OEuvres, ed. Vaganay, v.28 (Elegie V).

5. Sonnet CXLVIII of the Amours of 1552; OEuvres, ed. Laumonier, iv.142-3.

6. Livret de Folastries, ed. A Van Bever, Paris, 1907, p. 104.

Ronsard tells Jacques Peletier that souvent le nier
1.
un petit gives appetite in love, and, imitating Joannes Secundus' Basia IX, he advises Cassandre to grant him only three kisses when he asks for nine, and those tels que Diane guerrière Les donne a Phebus son frère: then let her run away, and make him take the rest by force, holding her as
2.
does un aigle l'oiseau tremblant. On the question of cosmetics he disagrees with Ovid: a nymph en sa cotte agrafée, aux bras à demy nudz is more attractive to him than une dame coifée d'artifice soigneux, toute peinte de
3.
fart. He has often played the exclusus amator, sleeping on
4.
the ground outside Janne's door and knows what it means to spend the night à la pluye et au vent, triste et pensif,
5.
tremblant de froid before the unrelenting threshold. The nearest he gets to the elegiac celebration of final physical
6.
possession, however, is a collection of honeyed but unrealistic snatches from Joannes Secundus, where he records his
7.
sensations as he kisses Cassandre.
8.
Like the Roman elegists he writes poems about his
9.
mistress' illness, praying to the gods to give her some relief, and imitates Ovid by expressing jealousy for the doctor who visits her soir et matin,

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1. OEuvres, ed. Laumonier, i.7.
2. Livret de Folastries, ed. Van Bever, pp. 186-7.
3. OEuvres, ed. Laumonier, xiii.77: cf. also ibid., x.345 (ll. 185 f.).
4. ibid., ii.53.
5. ibid., vi.151.
6. Cf. Propertius, II.xiv; Amores, II.xii.
7. OEuvres, ed. Laumonier, i.197-9 (Livre II, Ode vii). Cf. Joannes Secundus, Basia, iv.1-13; v.1-17; xvi.21-4: Elegiae, I.v.
8. Propertius, II.xxviii; Tibullus, III.x; Amores, II.xiii.
9. Cf. OEuvres, ed. Laumonier, i.154; iv.139; v.161.

Sans nul propos tatonner le tetin
Le sein, le ventre et les flans de m'amie.[1]

Folastrie V is a reproach addressed to the elegiac dog[2] for having barked: it woke up voisines, soeurs, frères and cousines, while he was entre ses draps with his mieux aymée, flanc dessus flanc et bras a bras, and the result was that the poor girl got a beating from her vieille mère, plus cruelle qu'une louve. Folastrie III introduces another familiar figure, the bawd, Catin, who has prejudiced[3] his mistress against him. Ronsard is brilliantly sarcastic about Catin's charitable nature, when young: she used to say it was a sin to take chaîne ou diamant from any lover, poor or rich:

Pourveu qu'il servist bien en chambre
Et qu'il n'eust plus d'un pied de membre ...

Now, a convert, she has preached chastity to Ronsard's mistress to such good effect that when he tries to be familiar with her she bites him and scratches his face[4] comme un singe émeu contre un page.

The elegiac preference of love to wealth, with the usual symbols for the latter, - tout cela qui arrive de l'Orient, la Lybie, l'Inde, le sablon qui jaunoye Pactole, les perles Indiennes, les Masses Midiennes, - is frequently expressed by Ronsard.[5] Like the elegists he laments that nowadays neither la race, nor beauté, grace ne meintien are

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1. ibid., vii.147; cf. Heroides, xx.133-42.
2. OEuvres, ed. Laumonier, v.35-8.
3. ibid., v.21-9.
4. Cf. with this poem the Discours, Vous qui passez en tristesse le iour ..., OEuvres, ed. Vaganay, v.164-75, where he curses the vieille envieuse who has disrupted his love affair.
5. OEuvres, ed. Laumonier, i.7; iii.171-2; iv.100; v.17-18.

any advantage in love, nor is poetic talent, for women merely sell their favours to him qui le plus d'argent leur aporte.[1] He lashes out at a former mistress who is about to marry a wealthy husband and accompany him to Italy: she is like a sponge et tant plus elle a d'eau et tant plus en voudroit.[2] In the Exhortation pour la Paix,[3] he curses gold and its influence and often, like Tibullus, he uses the merchant as a rhetorical type of greed and materialism.[4] He yearns for the golden age when men lived on fruit and acorns, wore the skins of animals and dwelt in caves. Then le velours n'avoit lieu, la soye, ny le lin, markets were unknown, there was no war, and no need for written laws, and no-one had thought of escus ny ducats, nobles, ny Angelots, ny les Portugaloises.[5] Then one could touch and kiss and taste en toute liberté, sans danger ny sans creinte.[6] Then Hymen was not a deity, l'anneau and le Prestre were unknown, lovers lay sous un arbre, en un antre, en un chemin fourché, dowries, marriage contracts and divorce courts had not been invented, nor had le nom de mari which is pour un petit mot un mal perpetuel.[7]

Ronsard constantly boasts of his power to confer fame on his mistress by poetry, lecturing Cassandre upon his ability to immortalize her, and taking credit for having made Hélène famous.[8] The durability of verse is a favourite

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1. ibid., vi.163 (Odelette, published in Les Meslanges, 1555).
2. ibid., xii.229-38 (Elegie).
3. ibid., ix.21-2.
4. ibid., ii.157; v.194; ix.35; x.18,138; xii.90. Cf. Tibullus, I.i.49-52; ix.9-10; II.iii.39-48.
5. OEuvres, ed. Laumonier, xii.90-91: cf. v.182 f.
6. ibid., xii.217-8.
7. OEuvres, ed. Vaganay, v.239.
8. OEuvres, ed. Laumonier, ii.188; iv.66; vii.136 etc.

subject: when he writes an Elegie sur le trepas d' Antoine Chateignier, poete elegiaque, he paraphrases the first twenty-eight lines of Ovid's eulogy of Tibullus.

Catullus, Ovid, Gallus, Propertius, Tibullus and Petrarch are named as his masters. He recommends the reading of Tibullus and Ovid when giving advice about learning the art of poetry, and, in his epitaph on Marullus he imagines him in heaven, when Tibullus dances with Delia, Ovid with Corinna, and Propertius with Cynthia.

His estimate of the female psychology is derived from Ovid: it is well worth persisting in love: every maiden will give way in time:

> Car toute fille, encore qu'elle ait envye
> Du jeu d'aymer, desire estre ravie

This last observation occurs in a monologue-poem spoken by the poet to a girl while he is in the process of ravishing her: it is a form which became very popular in England at the turn of the sixteenth century. Ronsard also has an address to Aurora, similar in idea, though not in intention, to that of Ovid. On the question of complexion, he claims:

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1. ibid., i.99; ii.150; iii.169.

2. ibid., v.243-6: cf. Amores, III.ix.1-30.

3. He believed, as did his contemporaries, that fragments of Gallus were extant, since six elegies composed by Maximianus had been wrongly attributed to Gallus and published by Pomponius Gauricus at Venice in 1501, under the title Cornelii Galli Fragmenta.

4. ibid., vi.58.

5. ibid., i.215 (reading of 1578 and 1587).

6. ibid., vi.28-9: for other references to Ovid as a love-poet in Ronsard see ibid., v.187-8 and vii.324 (where he calls him ingenieux Ovide).

7. ibid., xii.228 (ll. 101-4).

8. ibid., x.121. Cf. Ars, i.673-4.

9. Livret de Folastries, ed. Van Bever, p. 147.

Noir je vueil l'oeil et brun le teint,
Bien que l'oeil vert toute la France adore.[1]

Ronsard imitated the conventional themes and mannerisms of the Roman elegy more completely than any other poet of the Pléiade,[2] and, for that matter, more thoroughly, even, than the neo-Latin Joannes Secundus. His imitation was most successful in the Folastries where he openly adopted the light touch, the blasé, bantering tone of Ovid's musa iocosa.

The other French poets of the mid-sixteenth century nearly all demonstrate the influence of Ovid's erotic works from time to time.

De Baïf, whose Amours de Méline appeared in 1552, owes more to the neo-Latin poets and to the Italians than to the Roman elegists, and though he borrowed from Ovid extensively, it was the Metamorphoses that chiefly attracted him.[3] Nevertheless the poem in which he wishes to be transformed into the ring that he is sending to Méline, is very closely modelled on Amores II.xv. Like Ovid, de Baïf imagines himself slipping from his mistress' finger into the top of her dress, and then:

Roulant en bas, tant qu'au val ie serois,
D'ou fin i'espère aux peines que i'endure...

Once there, like Ovid, he doubts whether he would have the self-control to remain a ring. Turning back to his proper shape he would wish to make Madame sentir que d'un aneau ie

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1. ibid., p. 176.

2. A. Cameron, The Influence of Ariosto on Ronsard and his Group, Baltimore, 1930, p. xv, notes that of the three poems of Ariosto which seem to have influenced Ronsard most, one is the neo-Propertian Capitolo VI. The others are the sonnets La rete fu di queste fila d'oro and Madonna, sète bella e bella tanto, both of them Petrarchan in inspiration. (Ariosto, Opere Minori, ed. C. Segre, Milan, 1954, pp. 133 and 142).

3. See E.S. Ingraham, Sources of Les Amours de J.A. de Baïf, Ohio, 1905.

me seroy fait homme.[1] He imitates the same poem from the Amores in the second book of his Diverses Amours, wishing, this time, to be transformed to the papier mille fois plus heureux que ton maistre[2] which he is sending to his mistress. Two of the features which mark this kind of metamorphosis-poem as Ovidian reappear, - the entrance at the top of the girl's dress, and the desire, having slipped downward doucement en ce lieu de plaisance, to become a man again.

The Ovidian prayer to the mistress not to grant the lovers amorous demands, and the explicatory warning that easily won pleasures are soon despised, formed the basis, as we have seen, for Joannes Secundus Basium IX. Ronsard's imitation, so close as to be almost a translation of Secundus' poem, has been referred to above:[3] de Baïf also translates it in the Amours de Méline.[4] In that work, too, he has an address to Aurora, complaining of her haste, since he has not yet had his fill of plaisir rauissant. If she grants his request, he prays, may Cephalus be tresloyal to her, and forget his love for Procris: but if she does not:

> Iamais courber ne puisses tu la teste,
> Qu'entre les bras de ton Tithone gris.[5]

Here, while imitating Amores, I.xiii, de Baïf seems to have been influenced by two former imitations of that poem, Tasso's Se per Memnone tuo ti rode il core[6] ..., and lines 58-64 of Ariosto's Capitolo VI.[7]

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1. OEuvres en Rime, ed. C. Marty Laveaux, 5 Vols., Paris, 1881-90, i.24.
2. ibid., i.349.
3. See p. 69 , above.
4. Amours, ed. M. Augé-Chiquet, Paris, 1909, pp. 126-9.
5. ibid., pp. 145-6.
6. Tasso, I tre libri degli Amori, Vinegia, 1555, p. 50.
7. Opere Minori, ed. C. Segre, Milan, 1954, p. 183 (renumbered Capitolo VIII).

Remy Belleau's La Nuict[1] is a beautiful and close translation of this same poem of Ariosto's[2] and his Impuissance, first printed in the Cabinet Satyrique is modelled on Amores III.vii.

De Bellay captures the tone of Ovid most successfully in his Latin Amores, the result of his love-affair with "Faustine" at Rome in the spring of 1556:

> Haec domus, haec est nostros quae claudit amores:
> A nimis atque nimis ianua dura mihi ...

he complains, as he waits upon her threshold in the dark, and imagines to himself that even at this moment ille senex, her husband is tasting her rosea labella and amplexu mollia membra premit.[3] He apes Ovid's note of unrighteous indignation particularly well when he assures Faustina's husband that he is angry not because she has been shut up duro sub carcere and is no longer allowed to meet her lover, but because such a frigidulus coniux, turpisque, senexque really forces the poor girl tam bellam et lepidam, tali nec coniuge dignam, to look elsewhere for her enjoyment.[4] Like Ovid, du Bellay berates the durum ianitorem, durior et ferro, durior et scopulis, for refusing to open his mistress' door to him.[5] This elegiac temper is noticeably lacking in the first sonnet sequence, Olive, printed in 1549, but in the second Olive du Bellay introduces, in the concluding sonnets, his bitter indignation at the mistress who has sold herself to a rich rival.

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1. OEuvres Complètes, ed. A Gouverneur, 3 Vols., Paris, 1867, i.106-9: Gouverneur omits to note that the poem is a translation from Ariosto. Nor does A. Eckhardt mention the fact in his Remy Belleau, Budapest, 1917.
2. ibid., i.237-9.
3. Poésies Francaises et Latines, ed. E. Courbet, 2 Vols., Paris, 1918, i.487.
4. ibid., i.488.
5. ibid., i.490.

O que l'enfer etroitement enserre
Cet ennemy du doulx repos humain,
De qui premier la sacrilege main
Arracha l'or du ventre de la Terre ...
...Par toy encor' s'en revola d'icy
L'Antique foy et la justice aussi
Avec l'Amour, l'autre soleil du monde.[1]

Like Ovid, he uses Danae to represent the covetousness of women in love.[2] In his Jeux Rustiques the satyrs complain to the nymphs that, comme toutes femmes encor, they love only for money, and are never chiches à ceulx-là qui sont les plus riches.[3]

The sonnets at the end of the second Olive are remarkably outspoken and may be taken, along with the famous A une Dame[4] as an indication of the gradual swing of French fashion away from l'Art de pétrarquizer.[5] This swing does not appear to have any connection with the Ovidian fashion, however. In France, at any rate, the two modes of writing could and did exist side by side, as they did in the neo-Latin poets.

In his Contre une vieille[6] du Bellay clearly has Ovid's lena in mind when he describes how the old woman has been leading his mistress astray with her talk of richer lovers

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1. ibid., i.61 (Sonnet CI).

2. ibid., i.62 (Sonnet CII).

3. ibid., ii.350-1: an imitation of Bembo.

4. ibid., ii.335 (entitled Contre les Petrarquistes): the poem was written in 1553.

5. See R.J. Clements, "Anti-Petrarchism of the Pléiade", Mod.Phil., XXXIX, 1941. Clements traces the movement away from the Petrarchan fashion, which was, in essence, an objection to insincerity in love-poetry, from Antoine Heroët's Parfaict Amie (1542), through Ronsard, du Bellay, de Baïf, Tahureau and de Magny. By the mid-1550's, if the poet was to have his lady believe that his protestations were more than mere fiction, he had to assure her that he was not writing in the Petrarchan vein.

6. Poésies, ed. Courbet, ii.371-4.

who have force ducats en bourse, and who are more profitable, therefore, than ces prodigues de gambades, qui ne donnent que les aubades. Like the Roman elegists he accuses the old hag of being a witch.[1] Another poem which owes a great deal both to Ovid's lena and to his Ars Amatoria is the Vieille Courtisanne of du Bellay's Jeux Rustiques,[2] though here the debt is at second hand. The immediate source, as the old bawd herself admits, is Aretino's Ragionamenti:

> ... tout cela qu'enseigne l'Aretin
> Je le scavoy: et scavoy mettré en oeuvre
> Tous les secrets que son livre descoeuvre.

It is from Aretino that she has derived such pieces of Ovidian wisdom as taking care that no suitor surprises her at her toilet: ruse commune à quiconque se farde.[3] She has opened an escolle au vice where she teaches young men the art of seduction: the sign over its door is la pluye d'or de la fille d'Acrise, to signify that par l'or seul on y pouvoit entrer.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century Théophile de Viau (1590-1626) declares jay leu deux ou trois fois tous les secrets d'Ovide,[4] but by this time the Ovidian renaissance in France is very much in its decline. Coarseness has replacedwit:

> Oscula qui sumpsit, si non et cetera sumet
> Haec quoque, quae data sunt, perdere dignus erit [5]

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1. Cf. Propertius, I.i.19-24; III.vi.25-30; IV.v.9-18; IV.vii.72: Tibullus, I.ii.42-52; 59-62; viii.17-22; II.iv.55-60; Amores, I.viii.5-18; III.vii.29-31.
2. Poésies, ed. Courbet, ii.385-400.
3. Cf. Ars, iii.205-234.
4. OEuvres, ed. M. Alleaume, 2 Vols., Paris, 1855, ii.75.
5. Ars, i.669-70.

has become:

> Je ris de ces froids amoureux
> Qui n'osent demander à f....,
> Et s'estiment assez heureux
> D'estre bien bons sans passer outre
> Que sert de faire tant de morgues,
> Flater, baiser, amadouer?
> Autant vaudroit souffler des orgues,
> Et cependant n'en point jouer.[1].

The complement to such coarseness is a tender and breathless romanticism, equally outside the Ovidian range, as in Théophile's La Solitude, a poem in the seduction-monologue tradition:

> Les vents, qui ne se peuvent taire,
> Ne peuvent escouter aussy,
> Et ce que nous ferons icy
> Leur est un incogneu mystère.[2].

The widespread influence of Italian and French vernacular writers upon the Elizabethan poets is so generally recognized that it will hardly need illustration here.[3] Literary intercourse between France and England, and, more especially, between France and Scotland, was thoroughly established in the last four decades of the sixteenth century.[4] The Scots humanist, Buchanan, was resident in France for a time as student and tutor; Scotsmen like William Barclay and James Crichton accompanied Mary Stuart in France. Sidney was at the French court in 1572 and probably met Ronsard there. Ben Jonson accompanied his young ward, Raleigh's son, into France, and Bacon visited that country in the suite of the

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1. OEuvres, ed. Alleaume, ii.447.

2. ibid., i.176-80.

3. See, for example, Sidney Lee's introduction to Elizabethan Sonnets, 2 Vols., 1904. Among the foreign authors cited by Watson as models for Hecatompathia were Serafino, Ercole Strozzi, Ronsard, and Poliziano (Lee, i. p. xxxix, note).

4. See A.H. Upham, French Influence in English Literature, Columbia, 1911, pp. 1-24 etc.

diplomat, Amyas Paulet. The Earl of Essex led the English troops sent by Elizabeth to assist Henry of Navarre.

Ronsard spent three years in Scotland and England, and appears to have been friendly with the Earl of Leicester. Elizabeth expressed admiration for his works, and he is lavish in his hearsay praise of the Queen. His Abrégé de l'Art Poetique was utilized by Gascoigne as a model for the Certayne Notes of Instruction: Drummond's reading-list for the years 1607-14, which shows a tremendous preponderance of French works, includes almost the whole of Ronsard,[1] and an intimate knowledge of his poetry is demonstrated, also, in the sonnets of Lodge and of others like the Scot, Alexander Montgomery, whose sonnets contain at least seven close translations from the Amours.

The Ovidian erotic tradition in renaissance Spain has been fully examined by Schevill,[2] and it will be necessary here only to refer to his conclusions. The Libro de buen amor of Juan Ruiz, the chief Spanish poet of the fourteenth century, represents the high water mark of borrowings from Ovid in Spanish literature of the late Middle Ages. It is compounded of precepts taken from the Ars, the Remedia and the Amores both directly and through the medium of the anonymous twelfth century Pamphilus de Amore, itself the first literary attempt to turn to practical use in a framework of well-defined scenes those precepts of love and intrigue set forth in the Ars. Juan Ruiz's famous go-between,

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1. See Archaeologia Scotica, 1831, Vol. IV, pp. 73-6: other interesting items are: Aminte de Torquato Tasso, in Frenche; Poemata Flaminii, Bembi, Castilionis; Juvenilia Mureti; Bezae Juvenilia; Pastor Fido de Guarini; Rime del S. Torquato Tasso; Rime del Marino; Rime del Mauro; La Fiametta.

2. R. Schevill, Ovid and the Renascence in Spain, California, 1913.

Trotaconventos, is modelled partly on the old hag of the Pamphilus, partly on such prototypes as the Dipsas of Amores, I.viii. It was the narrative possibilities of the Ovidian erotic code which were most exploited in Spain, and Schevill is chiefly concerned with the influence of Ovidian ideas on the prose fiction of the Renaissance. It is true that the Castilian court lyric of the early fifteenth century, reviving a poetic tradition first brought from southern France, shows what might be vaguely called an "Ovidian" inheritance, in its terminology of love as a disease, or as a flame or fever, and in its concept of Cupid as a god, inflicting wounds, and making the lover weep and sigh, lose his appetite, grow pale and thin and pine away. But this sort of thing had been assimilated into and absorbed by lyric poetry over the centuries, and such ideas were no longer thought of as being "Ovidian" at all. It is the Ovid of the Metamorphoses, the Ovid of mythological tale and character, who is best known to Spanish poets of the fifteenth century.

The renaissance novela, on the other hand, the sentimental tale of an intrigue in which erotic features play a prominent part, seems, by its construction, to point to a particular set of precepts which, as Schevill illustrates, are largely those of the Ars and the Amores. Its background, too, is the Ovidian one of urbam life, indeed it is itself an outgrowth of Italian city society in the fourteenth century, reflecting the highly developed mercantile interests and the laxity of morals characteristic of that society. Its stock characters like the bawd or go-between and the servant privy to the love-affair are found in Ovid, so too are the seeds of one of its most constant elements, the literary warfare for and against women. In its discussions

of the opposition between theplatonic and pagan views of love, the pagan side is frequently drawn from Ovid, as Schevill illustrates with reference to Los Amores de Clareo y Florisea by Nunez de Reinoso, and the Diana of Gaspar Gil Polo. Boccaccio's Fiametta is the first great example of the Ovidian type of renaissance fiction, and derives its first two chapters largely from the Ars Amatoria.[1] The Historia de duobus amantibus of AEneas Silvio Piccolomini, later Pope Pius II, is a lineal descendant of the Fiametta, and is greatly indebted to the Ars and the Amores both in its language and its episodes. It belongs to the year 1444. The influence of Ovid's erotic works upon Spanish sixteenth-century prose fiction is, however, almost negligible. The habitual tone, chivalrous, monarchic, aristocratic, and romantic in a conventional sense, is thoroughly unlike Ovid. Schevill accounts for this by saying that a flourishing bourgeois society is necessary for the development of the Ovidian tale, and that in the culture of Spain and France, centralized monarchies as they were fact becoming, with well-defined aristocratic traditions, there was as yet no room for the spread of a type of fiction distinctly marked with the impress of the city dweller. The influence of Ovid is easily traced in that class of literature which was directed against women: the famous Reprobacion del amor mundano, for example, by the Archpriest of Talavera, is full of Ovidian precepts. The highest form of Ovidian realism in Spain is found in the anonymous Comedia de Calisto y Melibea, written perhaps as early as 1483, with its bawd, Celestina, a mixture of Trotaconventos, Ovid's Dipsas and Propertius' Acanthis. The prolification of Celestina literature which

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1. See Schevill, op. cit., 103 f.

followed this revived and revitalised the Ovidian precepts of the original. Pedro Manuel de Urrea's Penitencia de Amor (1514), the Tragicomedia de Lysandro y Roselia (1542) by Sancho de Munon, El Bachiller Sebastian Fernandez's Tragedia Policiana (1547), and the Comedias Tesorina, Vidriana, Tidea, Prodiga, Hipolita, Seraphina and Thebayda all show marked traces of the Ovidian tradition. El Celoso Estremeno of Cervantes is his best example of the Ovidian type of novela. It is the usual story of the seduction of a young wife, brought to a successfull conclusion with the assistance of friends and go-between, in the face of all obstacles such as the watchfulness and suspicion of her old husband and of his servants. There are Ovidian episodes, also, in Cervantes' la Senora Cornelia, las dos doncellas, and in the story of Dorotea from the first part of Don Quixote. Lope de Vega's best contribution to the tradition is his El Caballero de Olmedo, with its go-between, Fabia: his Dorotea is to a large extent an imitation of the Celestina.

With the notable exception of Ronsard, French vernacular poets of the sixteenth century did not, then, cultivate elegiac themes very considerably. In Italy, on the other hand, the predicaments, the mannerisms and the conventional opinions of the Ovidian elegy, and the scenes and characters of the elegiac world were thoroughly exploited. There is a tendency for the Italians to develop certain minor subjects from the elegiac tradition, like the praise of dark beauty or the attack on an old woman, along the extravagant lines of the verse paradox, and there is also a distinct leaning, due partly to the adoption of elegiac themes in the pastoral drama, towards those features of the Ovidian code which emphasise the relationship between man and nature, such as the address to the dawn or to the moon, the suasoria which

recommends imitation of beasts, birds and plants, the desire for freedom in love such as that enjoyed by animals, and the yearning for a golden age of naturalism.

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1. Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 4 Vols., 1885, 1.800-60.

2. Young, chiefly known for his translation of Montemayor's Diana, 1598, was not, as the D.N.B. suggests, the son of Gregory Young of Yorkshire, but of George Young, merchant of London. This fact is clearly stated in the register of the Middle Temple, to which Young was admitted on the 19th May, 1582. (Admissions Register, ed. H.A.C. Sturgess, 3 Vols., 1949, 1.50).

3. op. cit., sigs. C3v.-D3r.

iii. Ovidian features in some influential English translations from Continental works.

Ovidian themes in Guarini's Pastor Fido and Tasso's Aminta were indicated in the preceding section. The latter was translated into English hexameters by Abraham Fraunce and published in 1591 as the first part of his Countesse of Pembrokes Yuychurch: a literal rendering of the important "golden age" chorus was appended, without acknowledgement, to Daniel's sonnet-sequence Delia, which appeared the following year.[1] In 1602 a translation of the Pastor Fido was published. These are three of a cluster of translations, appearing either just before or just after the turn of the century, which relayed to the English reading public certain characteristics of the Ovidian erotic code already assimilated into continental literature. In 1587 Boccaccio's Fiametta, which Schevill sees as the first great example of the "Ovidian tale", was translated into English and published by Bartholomew Young of the Middle Temple[2] under the title Amorous Fiammetta. Wherein is sette downe a catalogue of all and singuler passions of Loue and iealosie, incident to an enamored young Gentlewoman.... First wrytten in Italian by Master Iohn Boccace.

At the beginning of this work Venus addresses a long suasoria[3] to Fiametta which is constantly reminiscent of

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1. Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 4 Vols., 1885, i.260-62.

2. Young, chiefly known for his translation of Montemayor's Diana, 1598, was not, as the D.N.B. suggests, the son of Gregory Young of Yorkshire, but of George Young, merchant of London. This fact is clearly stated in the register of the Middle Temple, to which Young was admitted on the 19th May, 1582. (Admissions Register, ed. H.A.C. Sturgess, 3 Vols., 1949, i.50).

3. op. cit., sigs. C3v.-D3r.

Ovid. She reminds her of the power of love over gods, taking her examples, as Young notes, from the Metamorphoses, and over beasts. For love, she points out, "the mornefull Turtle Doue dooth fellowe her mate: and our prittie Pigeons with a merveilous kinde of affection, doo kisse and bill their looving ones also". "The feareful Harts in the Woods" which grow fierce and fight "after their desired and loving Hinds", "the enraged and wylde Bores" and "the whot Lions of Libia" are all used to add strength to her argument.[1] "And make not thy selfe so timerous in saying, I haue a husband, and holy lawes and promised faith forbiddeth me these thinges," Venus continues, "because they are but vaine conceites and friuolous obiections" when compared with the power of love. Did not Pasiphae have a husband, she asks, and Phaedra? "And I my selfe, when I looued. Nay husbands them selues for the most part looue other women, when they haue wiues of theire owne, as Iason for example, Hercules and wise Vlisses". Fiametta is both unable and unwilling to resist for long against this kind of onslaught, and she proceeds to relate to the reader how her lover, Pamphilus, prepared the way for his final victory. Like a good Ovidian, he was careful to "gaine the familiaritie of euery one that was neerest allyed, ... but especially and last of al, to insinuate into the acquaintance of my husband".[2] Pamphilus was a praeceptor amoris, also:

> ... he could cunningly and subtilie declare his affection, and finely haue an answer thereof againe ... with diuers motions also of his handes and gesture in his countenance, and body ... And thus with pretty lessons pleasing my willinge minde so much, I learned also to bee so diligent and warie a scholler, that I would not tell him any thing, or he to me againe, but by these unsuspected meanes, wherby equally and iustly we conceiued our hidden conceits.[3]

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1. Cf. Ars, ii.457 f.
2. op. cit., sig. D4r.: Cf. Ars, i.579 f.
3. Cf. Amores, I.iv.21-8.

Fiametta goes on, addressing "timerous yong Gentlewomen", to elaborate upon the Ovidian doctrine of feigned resistance, recounting how she:

> ... did shewe her selfe in graunting of it verie coye, and in shewe repugnant (though against her will) as you your selves in seeking that (which perhaps most of all doth please your wanton appetites) doo knowe well enough that enamoured yong gentlewomen are wont to do. He therefore giuing but little credit to my words in these denials, attending fitt time and place, more audacious than aduised in that which he did ... obtained that of me, which I as wel as he (though with a fained face, and a little rigorous resisting to the contrarie) did most greedilie desire ...[1].

Once Fiametta has given way, Ovid drops out of the story to a large extent. Her Alba at the end of their last night together[2] is only faintly reminiscent of Amores I.xiii, and it is only after Pamphilus has left her that she has occasion to "remember (amongest my other thoughtes) that I had reade in Ouide his uerses, that troubles, cares, and painefull affaires did driue looue out of younge and tender mindes"[3].

The second important example of the early "Ovidian tale", Pope Pius II's Historia de duobus amantibus, was also translated into English at the end of the sixteenth century,[4] under the title The most excellent historie of Euryalus and Lucresia, and was printed by Thomas Creede for William Barley in 1596. The translator, William Branch, was apparently only eighteen years old at the time,[5] a fact which helps to

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1. op. cit., sig. E1v.: Cf. Ars, i.673 f.
2. ibid., sig. E3v.
3. ibid., sig. H3v.: Cf. Remedia, 135 f.
4. There was an earlier translation, The goodli history of the moste noble and beautyfull Ladye Lucres of Scene in Tuskane ... [1550?], which had gone through a second edition in 1560 and a third in 1567.
5. See T.F. Kirby, Winchester Scholars, 1888, p. 155, where it is recorded that Branch was a native of Abingdon and was admitted to Winchester in 1592 at the age of 13. He matriculated as a commoner from New College on 13 October 1598, aged 20, and took his B.A. in 1602 and his M.A. in 1606 (See Foster, Alumni Oxon., 1891).

explain and even excuse his punning references, in the prefatory letter, to "the branch which earely bloometh", "my rinde ... but yong and tender", "fruit gathered from the green branch", and so on. He dedicated his translation, with singular aptness, to Charles Blount, Lord Mountjoy, whose adulterous love affair with Penelope, Lady Rich, once Sidney's Stella, was notorious from about 1590 until his death in 1606.

The Ovidian flavour of the work comes out very strongly in translation, especially in such passages as that where Euryalus justifies his love by an appeal to Ovid's dictum that all men and beasts are subject to it, quoting from the Heroides[1] about the amours of doves, or in the character of the procuress who carries his letters to Lucretia[2], or in the description of the care with which Menelaus guarded his wife, and its effect:

> ... neuer Argus so charie of his charge ... but to what end? He might assoone end her life as amend her leaudnesse. Neither was this fault peculiar to this particular only, but the follie of all men in generall: ... they may not restraine her madnesse, who is not charie of her owne chastitie, were they as quick-sighted as eagles, as slie and subtile as serpents.[3]

Branch goes on immediately to quote the relevant couplet from Ovid:

> Nec mentem seruare potes licet omnia claudas
> Omnibus exclusis intus adulter erit[4].

and to add several examples from the same context:

> Danae would neither regarde the diligent guarde which watched her nor the brazen castle that warded her ... the colt more rageth the more he is raigned, the riuer then streameth the more it is stopped: and the unchast woman narrowly watched, becomes more wilful.

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1. op. cit., sig. C4r.: Cf. Ars, ii.481 f.; Heroides, xv.37-8.
2. ibid., sig. D1r.
3. ibid., sig. F1v.
4. Amores, III.iv.7-8: for the examples see ll. 13-16 and 31-2.

Neither couplet nor examples are found in the original:[1] Branch, recognizing the source of Pope Pius' observations, has referred to it in order to expand them. In two other richly Ovidian passages he has kept more closely to the Latin text. One of these deals with the lovers' first union.[2] Here Euryalus' enraptured exclamations and Lucretia's "sommer silk gowne" which fitted "close and comely to euery part of her perfectest body, without any wrinkle", are redolent of Amores, I.v. So, too, is the glimpse of "her silke-soft pappes" which "with their prettie beating, inchaunted the eyes of Euryalus", and his "gentle violence, and violent gentlenesse, which as some say sildome comes to women vnaccepted", and against which "shee againe for fashions sake combatted, but as willing to be conquered" until "ere long Euryalus rode in tryumph". The second passage deals with their last night together and concludes[3] with Euryalus' complaint against the dawn:

> But alas, whie dooth the winged night so hastily fleete? Why doth Apollo gather his starued Steedes so soone to their daily labour? Giue mee a night such as thou diddest to Hercules and Alcmena: certes if aged Tithon were as much delighted with the companie of Aurora, as I with Lucresia, he would longer detaine her in her waterie couch.

There are several other passages where Ovid is very near to the surface: that, for example, where Euryalus gains admission to Menelaus' house,[4] or the conversation between Pandalus, Euryalus' friend, and Agamemnon, Menelaus' brother, about locking the door at night, which is modelled on

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1. For the Latin text see The Hystorie of Plasidas, and other rare pieces, Roxburgh Club, 1873, pp. xxxiii-lxvii.
2. Historie, 1596, sigs. H3v.-H4v.
3. ibid., sig. N1r.
4. ibid., sig. G1v.

Amores[1], I.vi. The Ovidian parallel between lover and soldier is drawn[2], and when Euryalus writes to Lucresia he wishes that he were a flea "that I might safely flie into thy bosome."[3] Euryalus' old friend Nisus constantly gives advice according to the precepts of the Ars Amatoria[4].

The illustrative passages and notes which Harington scattered throughout his translation of the Orlando Furioso, 1591, are frequently drawn from Ovid's erotic works. When Sacrapant decides upon rape, and declares:

> One cannot do a thing (as I suppose)
> That better can a woman's minde content:
> Well may they seeme much grieued for a glose,
> And weepe and waile, and dolefully lament.[5]

Harington's marginal note reads: "Ouid . uim licet appelles, grata est uis illa puellis, quod iuuat inuitae saepe dedisse volunt"[6]. In his notes to Book IV he refers to "that pretie fantasticke verse of Ouid:

> Militat ommis amans, et habet sua castra Cupido"

- translating it:

> All louers warriours are, and Cupid hath his campe.[7]

In the same notes he warns lovers that "delicious fare and Epicuriall and idle life, are the chiefe nurses of this fond affection, according to that saying of Ouid:

> Otia si tollas periere cupidinis arcus,
> Contemptaeque iacent et sine luce faces.
> Take idlenesse away and out of dout,
> Cupids bow breakes, and all his lamps go out.[8]

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1. Historie, 1596, sig. M3r.
2. ibid., sig. G3v.
3. ibid., sig. E1v.
4. ibid., sig. D4v.
5. Harington, Orlando Furioso, 1591, p. 5 (Book I, stanza 58).
6. Ars, i. 673-4.
7. Orlando Furioso, 1591, p. 30: Cf. Amores, I.ix.1.
8. Cf. Remedia, 139-40.

The catalogue description of Alcyna in Book VII is annotated with reference to four passages in Ovid. Her cheeks which "with roses and with lillies painted are" remind Harington of "Ouid. Candida purpureus lillia mista rosis"[1]: her nose which "in such good sort descended, As envie knowes not how it may be mended" elicits the comment "Ouid. Laudares faciem livor quoque"[2]. Like Ariosto, he will venture no lower than her waist, but guesses "that which was concealed was the best", though Ariosto said only:

> ben si può giudicar che corrisponde
> a quel ch'appar di fuor quel che s'asconde[3].

Harington's divergence is in an Ovidian direction, as his marginal note indicates: "Ouid. Si qua latent meliora putat"[4], and he refers to Ovid again when translating Ariosto's description of Alcyna's "slender and short" foot: "Ouid. Pes erat exiguus pedis haec aptissima forma"[5]. When, in the same book, he pictures Rogero "betweene a paire of cambricke sheetes perfumed", waiting for Alcyna so anxiously that "each little noise hope of her coming bred", he is again reminded of an Ovidian situation: "Auribus interdum vocem captamus et omnem aduentus strepitum credimus esse tui"[6]. When the hermit's physical insufficiency prevents him from taking advantage of Angelica's drugged sleep, Harington interprets it as a criticism of old men who, foolishly "will still be as forward as the youngest in that seruice:

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1. A garbled recollection of Amores, II.v.37: Orlando Furioso, 1591, p. 50.
2. Metamorphoses, x.515 (Laudares for laudaret).
3. Orlando Furioso, ed. L. Caretti, Milan, 1954, p. 131.
4. Metamorphoses, i.502.
5. Amores, III.iii.7 (haec aptissima for est artissima).
6. Orlando Furioso, 1591, p. 51: Cf. Heroides, xix.53-4 (interdum vocem for incertas voces).

Atque iacent pigro crimen onusque toro"[1]

He quotes Ovid's Iuppiter ex alto periuria ridet amantum[2] when commenting on a passage in Book X about lovers' oaths,[3] and recalls the Remedia, successore novo tollitur omnis amans,[4] when Ariosto speaks of the fickleness of young men.[5] Isabel's explanation to Orlando in Book XIII of how she carried on a secret love affair without her father's knowledge, receives the gloss: "Ouid. Non caret effectu quod voluere duo"[6], and the same sententia from the Amores, with a translation: "Nought can restraine consent of twaine", is used in Harington's notes to the story of Fiametta's adultery in Book XXVIII.[7] Translating the tale of how Vulcan caught Mars and Venus in his net "and openly then made them both ashamed", Harington cannot refrain from adding:

> At which prospect though many gods then ℓaught,
> Yet many wisht in like sort to be shamed.

Ariosto made no such observation, and Harington's note:

Atque aliquis de diis non tristibus optat sic fieri turpis,[8]

shows clearly what version of the story he had in mind. In his notes to Book XVI he quotes as "that verse of Ouid, translated or rather pretily turned by a pleasant Gentleman to this purpose:

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1. Orlando Furioso, 1591, pp. 60 and 63: Cf. Amores, III.vii.4 (Atque iacent for sed iacui).
2. Ars, i. 633.
3. Orlando Furioso, 1591, p. 73.
4. Remedia, 462 (tollitur for vincitur; amans for amor)
5. Orlando Furioso, 1591, p. 74.
6. ibid., p. 96: Cf. Amores, II.iii.16.
7. ibid., p. 232.
8. ibid., p. 116: the note is from Metamorphoses, iv.187-8. For Ariosto's version see Orlando Furioso, ed. L. Caretti, Milan, 1954, p. 339. Cf. also Ars, ii.535-6.

> Tuta frequensque via est sub amici fallere nomen,
> Tuta frquensque licet sit via crimen habet.
> A safe and common way it is by kinred to deceaue,
> But safe and common though it be, 'tis knau'rie
> by your leaue."1.

The elegiac protest against the power of money is heartily endorsed by Harington. At the end of Book XXI he declares:

> A more necessarie morall (as I thinke) cannot be found for our age we now liue in, than that, with which this booke begins, namely of keeping of faith, and promise, which .... is often most irreligiously broken; so that as Ouid saith of his time in ironicall manner:
> Aurea nunc vere sunt saecula, plurimus auro
> Venit honos, auro conciliatur amor
> In English thus:
> This may, indeed, be call'd the age of gold,
> Honour, and loue and all, for it is sold.2.

The same quotation from the Ars Amatoria is used as a note to Book XLIII, which is entirely concerned with the inability of women to resist the attraction of money. Harington throws new vigour into his translation at this point, filling out Ariosto's bare personification l'Avarizia into:

> ... some miser base deformed squall
> That saue his riches, hath no worthy parts.

and adding a reference popular among the elegists, but not in Ariosto, to "the showre that fell in Danaes lap"3.

Book XXVIII, a series of anecdotes demonstrating the insatiable sexual appetite of women, reminds Harington of two quotations from the Ars: "Ouid saith. Vir male dissimulat, tectius illa cupit"4., and "Ouid de arte am. Fallite fallentes ex magna parte profanum sunt genus"5. Perhaps it is worth adding at this point that the "ambicious humor of women, specially in matching their children above

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1. Orlando Furioso, 1591, p. 126: Cf. Ars, i. 585-6 (sub for per)
2. ibid., p. 167: Cf. Ars, ii.277-8.
3. ibid., p. 359: for Ariosto's version see Orlando Furioso, ed. L. Caretti, Milan, 1954, p. 1103.
4. Orlando Furioso, 1591, p. 231: Cf. Ars, i.276.
5. ibid., p. 239: Cf. Ars, i.645-6.

their calling" is a subject to which Harington feels inclined to return more than once in his notes, and upon which he evidently had strong feelings.[1]

That Harrington was thoroughly conversant with Ovid's erotic works when translating Ariosto's poem, and that he frequently recognized and sometimes deliberately strengthened the Ovidian flavour of his original, cannot be denied.

The essays of Montaigne are first mentioned in the Stationers' Register in 1595, and appear again in 1600. The translation by Florio was finally published in 1603, but a famous passage in the essays of Sir William Cornwallis indicates that manuscript translations from the Essais were in circulation prior to 1600.[2] Montaigne was, of course, the greatest and most influential sceptic of the Renaissance. His vogue in England is commented upon by Lady Politique Would-Bee in 1605, when speaking of Guarini's Pastor Fido:

> All our English writers,
> I meane such, as are happy in th'Italian,
> Will deigne to steale out of this author, mainely;
> Almost as much as from Montagnie[3].

Actual discipleship to Montaigne in the matter of his essential doctrine of Pyrrhonism finds expression in only one important English work, The Sceptick of Sir Walter Raleigh. But when young men like Marston or Webster wish to be shocking or cynical, by advocating either expediency in politics or licence in love, it is to Montaigne that they look. There are twenty reminiscences of him in the White Devil and the Duchess of Malfi and fifty in the Dutch

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1. Cf. Orlando Furioso, 1591, pp. 382, 404 and 39.

2. Essayes, By Sir William Corne-Waleys .... 1600, sigs. H3v. - H4r.

3. Jonson, Works, ed. C.H. Herford and P. Simpson, 11 Vols., 1925-52, v. 73.

Courtezan[1], the Fawne and Sophonisba[2]. Both Flamineo and Marston's Herod[3] derive their Ovidian doctrine that "satiety ... is a dull, blunt, weary and drouzy passion" directly from Montaigne[4], and this whole idea that, as Flamineo puts it, "our desire is increas'd by the difficultie of injoying" is discussed at length in the Essais, with frequent quotations from Ovid to support it.

Discussing that "sowre-sweet tickling" which adds savour to "carnall sensualities", and which is destroyed by "ease and facilitie", he quotes two lines from Amores, II.xix, translated by Florio thus:

> Fat over-powerfull love doth loathsome grow,
> As fulsome sweet-meats stomackes overthrow.[5]

Elsewhere he quotes Martial in support of the same opinion.[6] The essay "That our desires are encreased by difficultie" uses four examples from the Amores and two from Propertius[7] in arguing that:[8]

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1. See Pierre Villey, "Montaigne et les poètes dramatiques anglais du temps de Shakespeare", Revue d'Histoire littéraire de la France, 1917, pp. 357-393.

2. Webster, White Devil, ed. F.L. Lucas, 1958, p. 55 (I.ii.22).

3. Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 3 Vols., 1887, ii.185 (Fawn, IV.i.108).

4. Florio's Montaigne, ed. G. Saintsbury, 3 Vols., 1893, ii.343.

5. Amores, II.xix.25-6: Florio's Montaigne, ed.cit., i.305.

6. ibid., ii.308 (Martial, I.lxxiii and III.lxx).

7. Amores, II.xix.27-8:
> If Danae had not beene clos'd in brazen Tower
> Iove had not clos'd with Danae in golden shower.

II.xix.47-8:
> If you begin not your wench to enshrine
> She will begin to leave off to be mine.

II.xix.33:
> If any list long to beare sway,
> Scorne she her lover, ere she play.

II.xix.3:
> What we may doe, doth little please:
> It woormes us more, that hath lesse ease.

8. Propertius, II.xiv.19; xv.6.

> The difficulty of assignations or matches appointed, the danger of being surprised, ... are the things which give relish and tartnesse to the sawce.... The rigor of a mistris is yrksome, but ease and facility (to say true) much more.... And to what purpose serve those baricadoes, and vergadulles, wherewith our women arme their flankes, but to allure our appetite?... Whereto serves this mayden-like bashfulnesse, this wilfull quaintnesse, this severe countenance, this seeming ignorance of those things which they know better than ourselves... but to encrease a desire and endeare a longing in us, to vanquish, to gourmandize, and at our pleasure, to dispose all this squeamish ceremonie, and all these peevish obstacles? For, it is not only a delight, but a glory, to besot and debauch this dainty and nice sweetnesse, and this infantine bashfullnesse, and to subject a marble and sterne gravity to the mercy of our flame.[1.]

Here we have the Ovid of Amores and the Ars in modern dress, and it is not difficult to imagine how clever and attractive it would all seem to the young man-about-London at the turn of the century. Montaigne pursues the same kind of argument in the famous essay "Upon some verses of Virgill", declaring that love is "more ticklish, more lively, more quaint, and more sharpe" when it is "inflamed by difficulty",[2.] that:

> A gallant, undaunted spirit leaveth not his pursuit for a bare refusall.... We may sweare, threaten and wailingly complaine; we lie, for we love them the better.[3.]

and that "Luxurie is like a wild beast, first made fiercer with tying".[4.] This last observation is followed by a quotation from the Amores,[5.] and Montaigne quotes from the same work when discussing the impotence of old age:

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1. Florio's Montaigne, ed. cit., ii.341-5.
2. ibid., iii.77.
3. ibid., iii.86.
4. ibid., iii.112.
5. Amores, III.iv.13-14.:
   I saw, spite of his bit, a resty colt,
   Runne head-strong headlong like a thunder-bolt.

> ... Who can stay untill the next morrow, and not die for shame, the disdaine of those love sparkling eyes, privie to his faintnesse, dastardise and impertinencie:
>
> Et taciti fecere tamen convitia vultus.
>
> The face, though silent, yet still upbraydes-it.[1.]

He also derives from Ovid the idea of "a free and full survay of the bodie, which one longeth and seeks-after" as a "remedie of venerian passions", quoting the relevant couplet from the Remedia,[2.] and adds, reminding one, again, strongly of Ovid:

> ... It is not bashfulnesse so much, as art and foresight makes our Ladies so circumspect and unwilling to let us come into their closets before they are fully readie, and thoroughly painted, to come abroad, and shew themselves.[3.]

He quotes[s] from the Remedia once more on the subject of cosmetics when arguing that it is "against all reason" that we should think women more beautiful, when we know "that such a ones lockes or flaring tresses are borrowed of a Page", "that this faire ruby-red came from Spaine, and this whitenes or smoothnes from the Ocean sea".[4.]

In the spirit of the elegists, Montaigne considers that men living in their first, natural state would not have "approved of the forced conditions of our marriages, and most of them would have had women in community, and without any private respect".[5.] He is in revolt against modern society,

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1. Florio's Montaigne, ed. cit., iii.117: Cf. Amores, I.vii.21.

2. Remedia, 429-30:
   The love stood still that ran in full carriere,
   When bare it saw parts that should not appeare.

3. Florio's Montaigne, ed. cit., ii.185.

4. ibid., ii.319: he quotes Remedia, 343-6:
   We are misse-led by ornaments: what is amisse
   Gold and gemmes cover, least part of her selfe the maiden is.
   'Mongst things so many you may aske, where your love lies,
   Rich love by this Gorgonion shield deceives thine eyes.

5. Florio's Montaigne, ed. cit., ii.307.

with its proliferation of rigid and complicated laws: "Nature gives them even more happy than those we give ourselves. Witnesse the image of the golden age that Poets faine".[1]

He quotes from the Amores in support of the idea that a woman is not really chaste unless she is willingly chaste,[2] and has a great deal to say about the "insulting, wilde, and fierce" sexual appetite of women and the "naturall violence of their desires".[3] It is foolish to be annoyed because one's wife commits adultery:

> ... This our immoderate and lawlesse exasperation against this vice, proceedeth and is bred of jealousie; the most vaine and turbulent infirmitie that may afflicte mans minde:
>
> Quis vetat apposito lumen de lumine sumi?
> Dent licet assidue, nil tamen inde perit ...
>
> Lucullus, Caesar, Anthony, Cato, and divers other gallant men were Cuckolds, and knew it, though they made no stirre about it.[4]

Reminiscent of Ovid also is Montaigne's emphasis upon the importance of time and opportunity in love: "He that should demand of me, what the chiefe or first part of love is, I would answer, 'To know how to take fit time'."[5] Finally, his attack upon learned women:

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1. ibid., iii.329. See L.I. Bredvold, "The Naturalism of Donne in Relation to some Renaissance Traditions", J.E.G.P., 1923, Vol. xxii, No. 4, pp. 471-502.

2. ibid., ii.362: Amores, III.iv.4:
   She doth it, though she do it not,
   Because she may not doe't (God wot).

3. ibid., iii.78-84.

4. ibid., iii.88-9: cf. Ars., iii.93 and 90, and Marston's Fawn, IV.i.357-61: (.... Caesar, great Pompey, Lucullus, Anthony, or Cato, and divers other Romans, - cuckolds, who all knew it, and yet were ne'er divorced upon't).

5. ibid., iii.91: cf. Ars, i.399-404.

> When I see them medling with Rhetoricke, with Law, and with Logicke, and such like trash, so vaine and unprofitable for their use: I enter into feare, that those who advise them to such things, doe it, that they may have more law to governe them under that pretence.... Yet if it offend them to yeeld us any preheminence, and would for curiosity sake have part in bookes also: Poesie is a study fit for their purpose: being a wanton, ammusing, subtill, disguised, and pratling Arte; all in delight, all in shew, like to themselves.[1].

- is precisely in key with the patronizing masculine superiority implicit in the gestures and assumptions of the elegiac convention, and may well have done something to make such an attitude fashionable at the beginning of the seventeenth century.

The translations of Young, Harington, Branch and Florio indicate, and probably helped to promote the growing popularity of Ovidian erotic lore in English literature at the turn of the sixteenth century. Before discussing further evidence for this popularity we must turn aside for a moment to examine the work of a school of neo-Latin elegists in Scotland in the latter half of the century, - a school which is in fact a direct off-shoot of the European neo-Latin tradition already discussed.

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1. Florio's Montaigne, ed. cit., iii.41.

CHAPTER III

Sixteenth Century Scottish Elegists

The fact that the elegy came to Scotland almost half a century earlier than to England is not hard to explain. Literary intercourse between Scotland and France throughout the fifteen hundreds was very thoroughly established, and gave that country a part in the neo-Latin culture of renaissance Europe which made it, far more than England, a "European" country. To a large extent this was due to the reputation of one man, George Buchanan (1506-82). Buchanan was sent as a student to Paris at the age of fourteen. He returned to St. Andrews in 1524, but was in Paris again two years later, and took his degree of B.A. in the Scottish College there in 1527. By 1529 he was teaching grammar at the College of St. Barbe, and became tutor to Gilbert, Earl of Cassilis, with whom he spent five years in Paris and its neighbourhood. Between 1536 and 1539 he was in Scotland, and he visited London for a short time at the end of this period, but he returned to France almost immediately and became a tutor at the College of Guienne, where one of his pupils was the young Montaigne, and one of his colleagues, Muretus, whose Latin elegies we have touched upon already. Here, too, he became friendly with the elder Scaliger, and composed the majority of his verses to "Neaera" and "Leonora". Until 1562 he divided his time between France, Portugal, where he wrote most of the elegies and pastorals, and Italy, and returned to Scotland in that year to become, after a short interval, principal of St. Andrews.[1] Among his friends were Theodore Beza, whose Latin love-poetry

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1. See Georgii Buchanani Scoti Poemata..., London, 1686, p. 391: Ad Theodrum Bezam.

was discussed in the previous chapter, Walter Haddon[1] who, as we shall see, came nearest to composing a neo-Latin Ovidian elegy in England in the mid-sixteenth century, and Thomas Maitland, whose elegies we must turn to in a moment.

The most pronounced Ovidian theme in Buchanan's Liber Elegiarum is that of the power of money in love: it is treated at length in the elegy De Leonora Pieridis Lenae filia.[2] Poetry has no attraction for Leonora: she cares only for money: hoc amat, hoc sequitur, stupidis hic vultibus haeret. When she hears the chink of coin, cor salit, os ridet, laetis nitet ardor ocellis. Buchanan is not surprised: women have always been avaricious: he uses the familiar symbol of Danae, offering her lap to the pluvio auro. If he has money, Leonora will tolerate an impotent, gouty old man: she will force herself to embrace his demortua membra:

> Molliaque ad canas oscula ferre comas:
> Et fluere in vultus spumantis fila salivae,
> Et gelido nasi rore madere sinus.
> Eque oculis putrem stillantibus ebibit imbrem,
> Et scabri dentis laeta venena vorat.[3]

The relish with which Buchanan constructs this catalogue of disgusting physical details indicates, and is clearly meant to convey the intensity of his indignation at his own economic impotence. This is expressed directly in the elegy[4] Quam misera sit conditio docentium literas humaniores Lutetiae where he complains that scholars and poets are prevented from

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1. Cf. ibid., p. 393: D. Gualtero Haddon magistro libellorum supplicium Sereniss. Angliae Reginae.
2. ibid., pp. 365-7.
3. ibid., p. 366.
4. ibid., pp. 348-51.

marriage by financial considerations. In Buchanan, in fact, the pose of the poor lover, protesting against the power of wealth, seems to be much less of a pose and much more of a reality than in the Latin elegists whom he imitates. The feeling seems personal and intense, though the expression is frequently derivative. Ovid, when Corinna has deserted him in favour of a rich soldier, cries:

> dextram tange - cruenta fuit!
> qua periit aliquis, potes hanc contingere dextram? [1]

- and Buchanan concludes, though more heavily, and with a significant resonance which makes Ovid sound frivolous:

> Sed neque carnificis dextram fugit illa cruenti
> Munera carnificis si modo dextra ferat. [2]

Into his Maiae Calendae [3] he imports from the elegiac world the dura ianua clausa, the tetrici custodia dura mariti and the sollicitae matris cura so familiar among the continental neo-Latin poets, and in Ad Briandum Vallium, Senatorem Burgedal. pro Lena apologia [4] he writes a paradoxical encomium of the bawd's profession reminiscent in its shrill, forced dialectic, its fixed, clever smile, of the school of Berni. He adds more than a suggestion of the Ovidian flavour, however, insisting that to condemn prostitution is to exhibit rusticitas:

> Forte pudicitiae seclis fuit ampla vetustis
> Gloria: sed titulo gloria sola tenus,
> Quam nunc utilitas, mos, consensusque recusat
> Publicus, haud falso si licet ore loqui.

From Ovid, also, he takes the theme that assuetae veneris fastidia gignit copia, and that what is permitted, fails to attract or please:

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1. Amores, III.viii.16-17.
2. Poemata, 1686, p. 367.
3. ibid., p. 354.
4. ibid., pp. 355-60.

Sensus hebes languet torpetque ignava voluptas:
Acrius ardescit saepe repulsus amor.

No sensible husband, he affirms, would want a chaste wife:

Quae casta est, tetrica est, eadem tristisque, nec octo
Diducit risu mensibus ora quater.

In a poem to Neaera among the Hendecasyllabi[1] he reverts to the idea that only difficult love is sweet, encouraging her to be nequam magis et magis proterva,[2] if she wishes to increase his ardour.

The most important of Buchanan's political writings, the De Jure Regni, a superb declaration of the free spirit in politics, is written in the form of a dialogue between him and the young Thomas Maitland (1550-72).[3] Thomas was the third son of Sir Richard Maitland, the collector of early Scots poetry, and brother of the famous "Secretary Lethington", whom Elizabeth called the "flower of the wits of Scotland." He was the fellow student of Andrew Melville, himself a celebrated Latin poet, at St. Andrews, under Buchanan, and at Paris. In 1571, when Lethington was forfaulted by the regent's parliament, on grounds of complicity in Darnley's murder, Thomas fled to Italy, where his short life came to an end only a few months before Morton's cannon opened fire upon Edinburgh Castle, and forced his two brothers to surrender. Apparently he had gone over to the Queen's side with them, as on December 1, 1570, he had written to Mary protesting that the De Jure Regni, composed the previous year, was, in spite of its dialogue form, entirely Buchanan's invention.[4] Buchanan's notorious

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1. Poemata, p. 388.
2. The Elegiae, Sylvae and Hendecasyllabi were sent to Peter Daniel in 1566 and printed by Stephanus at Paris in 1567.
3. See The Poems of Sir Richard Maitland of Lethingtoun, ed. J. Bain, Glasgow, 1830, which reprints two of Thomas' poems from the Delitiae.
4. ibid., pp. xli-xlii.

Chamaeleon satire, directed against Lethington, may be the explanation for this.

Thomas Maitland's Latin poetry was not printed until 1637, when it was included in the Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum, produced at Amsterdam in that year: it consists of a book of elegies, a book of Sylvae and a book of epigrams. Of the seven elegies one is a plea for mercy, addressed to the regent,[1] one a complimentary tribute to Alexander Arbuthnot, principal of King's College, Aberdeen,[2] and one a request that nostri medicorum gloria saecli, Lodovicus Duretus, the Paris physician, should cure the poet of a fever which he has contracted while residing where the blue Loire, caeruleus Liger bathes its pinguia arva, far from the city Sequana bis gemino quam pater amne secat. Though he is born gelido sub sidere, Maitland declares, he can show gratitude, and he promises Duretus mille molles elegos, mille phaleucos. Boyishly he adds that his father, too, will give gemmas and fulvi dona metalli[3] if his son is saved. The remaining four elegies are amorous, and show distinct signs of Ovidian influence. One is a sensuous catalogue poem addressed to the artist who has been commissioned to paint a portrait of formosa Glycinna.[4] Lingeringly Maitland views each part of her body in turn, giving advise, meanwhile, about how it should be represented on canvas: his eye runs downwards over undantes auro radiante capillos, frons Alpina candidior nive, ora nitidis magis alba ligustris, ignitos ocellos sideribus pares, lactea colla, and so on. He wishes the artist could reproduce

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1. Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum, 2 Vols., Amsterdam, 1637, ii.151-2.
2. ibid., ii. 153.
3. ibid., ii.147-9.
4. ibid., ii.143-4.

her kisses, as well as her lips:

basia ...
Qualia non fratri casta dat ulla soror.[1.]

He must not forget to paint the love-bites on her neck:

eburnea morsu
Dentibus insano colla notata meis[2.]

and must let no drapery conceal the levem alvum, or the candidior Pario marmore forma pedis.[3.] His elegy Ad Morpheum[4.] is, like this, one half of a dramatic dialogue. The poet curses Morpheus for visiting him with sleep, on an evening when Glycinna had promised to give herself to him. He recalls, regretfully, how she put her arms round his neck and gave him a suaviolum dulce, et mihi tam blando optatam noctem annuit ore: she was very exact about instructing him when to come:

Non, ait, ante veni vertat quam plaustra Bootes,
Et tota strepitus cesset in urbe pedum.

The city, usually so noisy with hurrying feet, now hushed: it is the traditional scene for the elegiac lover, - within urban society, but anti-social, turning its darknesses and intrigues to his own ends. Why, asks Maitland, did not Morpheus send him amorous dreams? They might have reminded him that he ought to be in bed with Glycinna, not alone. Endymion often dreamt of his mistress, Phœbea soror, and saepius in somnis dulce peregit opus.[5.] He pictures how Glycinna must have spent a sleepless, anxious night:

Saepe ubi se versans sterilis complexibus umbras
Sensit, et expertem corporis esse locum.

- how she must have cried out in disappointment and anger,

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1. Cf. Amores, II.v.25.
2. Cf. Amores, III.xiv.34.
3. Cf. Amores, II.xi.15.
4. Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum, ii.144-6.
5. Cf. Amores, I.iv.48.

imagining him sleeping with another mistress:

"Forsitan alternos miscens cum pellice risus,
Plurima de nostra credulitate refers."[1].

Finally, in an attempt to excuse himself, Maitland introduces the traditional elegiac theme of the questionable compatability of Bacchus and Venus.[2] He had been drinking, he explains, so really his somnolence was not his fault but the wine's, and there is some comfort in this, because Bacchus comes fortior ad Veneris carmina when reficit placidus detinuitque sopor. Elsewhere he develops the elegiac theme of contempt for wealth, when compared with love.[3] His symbols are the time-honoured ones: divitias Croesi, Arabum gemmas, Pactolus, dives India, Sydonio vitiatae murice vestes. All these he would scorn if only Cynthia would be kind to him: if only she would allow him to take oscula rapta,

Gaudeat et blandos mecum alternasse susurros,
Nudaque tractandos praebeat usque sinus.

- and mark him with love-bites insanis dentibus:

Neu fructu lusus hos caruisse sinat.

In his fifth elegy he poses as the slave of his mistress,[4] explaining to an imaginary interlocutor that the reason he wears only white, yellow and red garments, is because this is Glycinna's livery, representing the colours of her skin, her hair and her lips.

David Hume (1560? - 1630?) was, like Maitland, known to George Buchanan, who commended his Latin poetry.[5] He

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1. Cf. Propertius, II.ix.21-2 and Joannes Secundus, Elegia II.ii.25-26.
2. Cf. Ars, i.237, 589-92: Propertius, I.iii.13-14; III.xvii.
3. Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum, ii.149.
4. ibid., ii.150-51.
5. See ibid., i.381 (Buchanani ... praesagia magni, etc).

went to St. Andrews from Dunbar public school in 1578, but visited France and Geneva soon afterwards, and did not return until 1581. As secretary to Archibald Douglas, Earl of Angus, he was in London in 1584, ostensibly studying, but actively interesting himself in Angus and his cause. By 1593 he was in France again, and his authorship of French tracts, and the publication of his Latin works at Paris, imply that he maintained close relations with that country. His elegies and epigrams are almost certainly youthful work, and had probably been written by about 1583: possibly the introductory first elegy, and the religious conclusion to the fifth, dropped from the edition published by his son at Paris in 1639, were later additions. The Lusus Poetici appeared in 1605, and was later included in the Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum.

Although Hume's elegies are often, in their sugary fantasy, nearer to Anacreon than to Ovid, they are indebted to the Amores very noticeably at certain times. The fourth elegy, for example, is a straightforward development of the theme of Amores, III.viii: the poet is tormented by the suspicion that his mistress has given herself to a rich but boorish rival:

> Tu potes indocto circumdare brachia collo?
> Tu caput in stupido deposuisse sinu?[1].

demands Hume, as Ovid had inquired of Corinna:

> Hunc potes amplecti formosis, vita, lacertis?
> Huius in amplexu, vita, iacere potes?[2].

and some of the indignation is preserved, though the outraged repetition: Hunc potes amplecti ... vita; Huius ... amplexu, vita ... potes, survives but weakly in Hume's Tu ... Tu. He

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1. Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum, i.391.
2. Amores, III.viii.11-12.

goes on to imagine her life with her inertem amatorem: when nupserit indocto docta puella viro there is no junction of minds quamvis corpora iungat Hymen. While she reads Vergil or Plato, he will toss off foaming pots of ale, tearing Christ to pieces with his curses, and committing his soul to Hell at every word. She will tremble, and her hair will stand on end when she listens to his blasphemy. If she admonishes him, this barbarus will laugh her to scorn. Hume laments that wealth and luxury have such an attraction for women:

> Mirentur Paphiae gemmas, aurumque puellae,
> Et capiat stolidas picta lucerna nurus:
> Murice vestes, mollique nitentia Serum
> Stamine ad extremos syrmata longa pedes:
> Et iuvet Eois digitos fulgere smaragdis,
> Atque auro fulvas implicuisse comas.1.

But a girl endowed by nature with gifts supra mobile vulgus, should realise that verses are more durable than gold, and that, if she gives her love to a poet, her name will be perpetuated, outliving gemmae and Indi magnetes and:

> ... quae praeterea campis mittuntur Eois
> Divitae, aut fulva quas vehit Hermus aqua:
> Quaeve celer bibulis volvit Pactolus arenis ...

The list has a familiar ring.

The idea of the docta puella, dear to the elegiac poets, is also developed in the third elegy: Margaris is more skilful than any other girl in music and poetry, none can sing as well as she ad querulam carmina blanda lyram, none melius pulsis ciet organa chordis.[2] In the fifth elegy Venus[3] appears to the poet in a dream and expounds Ovid's militat omnis amans doctrine to him: he notices incidentally, that there is something else Ovidian about her: monstrabat cupidis

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1. Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum, i.392-3: cf. Propertius, I.ii.
2. ibid., i.386.
3. ibid., i.393-402.

livida colla notis. Quam Marti mecum bene convenit!, she cries: like him she is accustomed insomnes in lucem ducere noctes and noctibus iunctos continuare dies. Like Mars she drives mollem somnum from her servants breasts, and forces them dulci membra levare thoro. Mars makes his minions swim violentos amnes: did not Venus do as much to Leander?[1] Both Mars and she lead their followers against crowds of enemies, against ramparts and bolted doors, and help them to get past watchful sentinels. The same qualities are needed in soldier and lover. Mars and Venus have been in league since Vulcan netted them together, and now she sits as queen over his servants. Her rule extends over poetry, also: of how many poems have lovely girls been the cause! Think only, says Venus, of Nemesis and Lycoris, of Cynthia:

> Et male vulgatos miseri Nasonis amores:
> Cui vacua est nostris pagina nulla iocis.[2]

She does not desire her devotee to suffer taedas iugales or rigida plenos tetricitate thoros. Not marriage, but furta tibi placeant; furtis est apta iuventus.[3] Both Buchanan and Beza, she boasts, were once her servants, and wrote poems of love in their youth. Her final piece of advice reminds one, again of Ovid: all women can be won:

> Mite puellarum genus; et tractabile amori
> Pectus habet: blandas tu modo tende preces.

The four books of Veneres, attributed to another Scottish Ovidian poet, Alexander Boyd, are unfortunately lost: his Heroides were published in Antwerp in 1592, and are printed, also, in the Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum.[4] The

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1. Cf. Ars, ii.233-250.
2. Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum, i.398.
3. Cf. Ars, ii.337 f.
4. i.142-181.

editor of this collection, Sir John Scot of Scotstarvet, brother-in-law of Drummond of Hawthornden, was clearly opposed to Amores-pastiche,[1] and the Latin poets who gather around him in the early years of the seventeenth century, men like Sir Robert Ayton, Sir William Alexander, and Arthur Johnston, do not write it. One poet who was acquainted with their circle, John Leech, does occasionally copy some details from Ovid's erotic code. He is a facile and shallow imitat~~ion~~or of widely different classical models, and Sir John evidently did not consider his works worthy of inclusion in the Delitiae. They were pubdished in 1620 under the title Musae Priores, and Leech was speedily imprisoned, since Archbishop Abbott took exception to some of the epigrams. A new edition, with a revised book of epigrams, appeared in 1621. Leech's Erotica in the Musae Priores are divided into Panthea, Anacreontica and Elegiae. Of these the Anacreontica are the best, as, for example, when he recommends 'variety':

> Non una forma terram
> Commendat, atque coelum.
> Non una vis polorum.
> Non una mens virorum.
> Vicissitudo cunctis
> Grata atque amica rebus.
> Vicissitudo soli
> Gratissima est amori.[2]

The poems to Panthea are chiefly influenced by sixteenth-century sonnet literature, and the eroticism of the elegies is watered down with ample draughts from the same source. A few of the least outrageous elegiac themes are allowed to

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1. See his epigrams In Poetas huius aevi and Nasonis Amor: also his Elegia I (Somnium anno 1603) and Elegia III, in which he tries to persuade John Leech to stop writing love-poetry(Delitiae Poetarum Scotorum, ii.487, 488, 479 and 481).

2. Ioannis Leochaei Scoti Musae Priores, 3 Parts, London, 1620, i.50.

remain. Leech prefers possession of his beloved to Pactoli fluentis or to undis Herme beate tuis[1]: love has taught him, as it taught Ovid, not to fear the dark, and to scorn insidias[2] and dura pericla. He has played the exclusus amator[3] outside ianua dura, and has been deserted by his mistress in favour of a rich rival:

> Ah pereat cupidum didicit quae fallere amantem!

- he exclaims: but his anger dissolves into tears and spiteful fantasies:

> At tu qui nostros donis mercaris amores,
> Diceris et nostrae vivere gratus herae,
> Istae saxa manus, ista et sint brachia quercus:
> Ut nunquam posthac in mea colla ruas
> Quas et avarus opes cumulato congeris auro,
> Auferat iratis Adria torvus aquis.[4]

In Scottish vernacular literature the Ovidian lore of the Ars Amatoria and the Remedia Amoris had been preserved from the Middle Ages, throughout the fifteenth and on into the sixteenth century. Thus a poet of the mid-fifteen-hundreds, like Alexander Scott, can produce an impressive abstract of the Ars, with one or two additions from the Remedia, in his Slicht remeid of luve[5]. It was not the didactic but the personal side of Ovid that neo-Latin poets like Maitland and Hume had to revive in order to provide that fusion of elements necessary for the flowering of the elegy. Their work deserves to be better known.

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1. Ioannes Leochaei Scoti Musae Priores, 3 Parts, London, 1620, i.87.
2. ibid., i.90 (Eleg. I.ii): cf. Amores, I.vi.9-16; ix.31 f.
3. ibid., i.91.
4. ibid., i.108.
5. Poems, ed. A.K. Donald, E.E.T.S., 1902, p. 53 f.

CHAPTER IV

The English Renaissance Concept of Ovid and of the Love-Elegy

The Amores, the Ars and the Remedia were excluded from the sixteenth century grammar school syllabus. Ovid was nimium lascivus in these works, as Aeneas Sylvius said, and, he added, Tibullus, Propertius and Catullus were to be kept for older boys.[1] Vives, in his discussion of education, thought it would be a service to posterity if Tibullus and the Ars were destroyed.[2] Erasmus, too, considered that it would be unsafe to exercise callow youth in the amatoriae of Naso.[3] Elyot feels that works like the Ars and the Amores, Catullus, Tibullus, Propertius and Gallus "and such-like filthy writers", as Thomas Becon put it, are quite unfit for school instruction, containing nothing but "incitation to lechery".[4] On April 21, 1582, the Privy Council ordered the Queen's ecclesiastical commissioners to substitute Ocland's patriotic effusions for "Ovide de arte amandi, de tristibus, or such lyke" in grammar schools.[5] The Tristia, along with the Metamorphoses, the Heroides and the Fasti, were commonly included in the curriculum,[6] and though the Ars was not, editions which contained the Heroides usually contained the Ars, the Remedia and the Amores as well. The third volume of Vautrollier's school edition, which appeared

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1. De Liberorum Educatione, quoted in Sir Thomas Elyot, The Governour, ed. H.H.S. Croft, 2 Vols., 1880, i.124, note.

2. F. Watson, Vives: On Education, 1913, p. 128.

3. See T.W. Baldwin, William Shakspere's Small Latine and Lesse Greeke, 2 Vols., Urbana, 1944, ii.239.

4. ibid., i.109 and Governour, ed. Croft, i.124.

5. T.W. Baldwin, op. cit., i.111-12.

6. See F. Watson, The English Grammar Schools to 1660, 1908, pp. 357, 371, 472 etc.

in 1583, included all four works. Other school books like Lilly's Latin Grammar and Erasmus' Parabolae and Sententiae Pueriles had frequent citations of Ovid, and served as sources for large numbers of the popular quotations of the time.[1] Similarly, though Tibullus, Propertius and "Gallus" were excluded from the syllabus, Catullus was often included, as, for example, at Eton and Westminster,[2] and as the four were frequently printed together in sixteenth century texts, to include one was to make the others accessible also. Wynkyn de Worde's The Flores of Ovide de arte amandi with theyr englysshe afore them (1513), a school book, like Udall's Flores selected and gathered out of Terence (1533), was a selection of couplets and short extracts[3] made with complete disregard of context and with occasional deliberate alteration so as to construct a book of moral sententiae.[4] Nevertheless some of the

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1. Thus, though Nashe has 100 quotations from Ovid, 20 from Homer and 12 from Vergil, so many of them had appeared in Lilly and elsewhere that McKerrow concludes that Nashe's Classical reading seems to have been limited to Ovid, a play of Plautus, the Epistles of Horace, and perhaps some plays of Terence, and that he need not even "have opened a volume of Ovid in his life" (Works, ed. R.B. McKerrow, 5 Vols., 1958, v.133-4).
2. T.W. Baldwin, op. cit., i.115-6.
3. Passages from the Ars printed in the Flores are as follows:
   I.3-4, 35-6, 45-6, 47-8, 51-2, 271-2, 279-80, 349-50, 379-80, 381-2, 391-2, 401-2, 435-6, 471-2, 473-4, 475-6, 513-4, 519-20, 583-4, 589-92, 597-8, 599-600, 607-8, 615-6, 619-20, 641-2, 645-6, 757-8, 759-60, 765-6:
   II.9-10, 13-14, 43-4, 107-8, 113-122, 145-7, 151-2, 167-8, 179-80, 183-4, 263-4, 277-8, 317-8, 341-2, 343-4, 357-8, 363-4, 437-8, 513-4, 603-4, 633-4, 669-70, 717-8, 731-2:
   III.63-4, 65-6, 73-6, 93-4, 101-2, 105-6, 121-2, 257-62, 279-80, 419-20, 425-8, 491-4, 501-4, 525-6, 583-4, 595-6, 667-8, 669-70, 673-4.
4. An example of alteration in the Flores is Militie for Munditie at sig. A3r, (Ars I.513-4), translated "Let worfare plese the to use it: whyle thee arte yong". At sig. A6r., Ars, II.717-8, torn from its context, and with perficienda for proliciendа, becomes not a piece of instruction about the conduct of sexual intercourse, but an exhortation to abstinence: "Beleve me verily the bodily plesure of the wanton fleshe is not to be made hast fore".

Ovidian protests filtered through:

> Nowbyn the goldyn sesons yndede for mꝛiche honore of diuers thynges is solde for golde and carnal loue is gatte for golde[1].

Mirandula's Illustrium Poetarum Flores, a book familiar to every schoolboy, included many extracts from the elegists, and some of these were important thematic passages like the descriptions of the golden age in the Amores[2] and in Tibullus, the idea that love is nourished by riches and idleness and cured by absence[3], the complaint about modern materialism[4], the parallel between love and warfare from the Amores and the Ars[5], and so on.

The reaction of the first half of the century to Ovid's eroticism can be seen in Hyppolytus Ovidianae Phaedrae Respondens by John Shepreve (d. 1542), Professor of Hebrew at Oxford, published in 1586 by Etheridge, where each of the arguments of Ovid's Phaedra for illicit love is answered at great length. Condemnation of the erotic works is, however, sometimes tempered by arguments for separating good from evil, on the favorite analogy of the bee, that extracts honey even from poisonous plants, and for finding some profit even in the evil itself by allegorical or moral interpretation. This method goes back to the "moralized Ovids" of the Middle Ages and early Renaissance, typified by the Metamorphosis Ovidiana moraliter a Magistro Thoma Walleys ... explanata, not, in fact by Thomas of Wales,

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1. Flores, Sig. A5r. (translating Ars, II.277-8).

2. Mirandula, Flores, Strassburg, 1544, ff. 9-10 (Amores, III.viii.35-46 and Tibullus I.iii.35-48).

3. ibid., ff. 23-4 (Remedia, 746-8, 135-40, 213-4, 221-4).

4. ibid., f. 11. (Tibullus, II.iii.35-40).

5. ibid., f. 30 (Ars, ii.233-38, reading dolor for labor in 236, and in uda for et nuda in 238: Amores, I.ix.1-2 and 15-16).

but probably the work of Pierre Bersuire (d. 1362), which was printed at Paris in 1509. The most enthusiastic allegorical interpretation of the Metamorphoses produced in the sixteenth century is to be found in Golding's dedicatory epistle of 1567, to Leicester, prefaced to the famous translation. Tyndale protests in the Obedience of a Christian Man that some will prove a point of the faith "as well out of a fable of Ovid ... as out of St. John's Gospel"[1], and Nashe laughs at those who illustrate texts like "Euery mans worke shall be tryed by fire" by "Ouids fiction of Phaetons firing of the world."[2]

Elyot shows how "good sentences" can be culled from the heathen poets, even in what he regards as the extreme case of "Ouidius, that semeth to be moste of all poetes lasciuious, in his mooste wanton bokes", by translating six lines "taken at aduenture" from the Remedia.[3] This is the way in which, later, the Puritan attack is often countered. Gosson censures the fact that "Ouid bestirreth him to paint out his Flea" and shows "his cunning in the inceste of Myrrha, and that trumpet of Baudrie, the Craft of loue": to Gosson, Ovid is "the high martial of Venus fielde" and "the Amarous Scholemaister", and was very properly banished by Augustus.[4] Lodge, replying to this, uses the allegorical method, declaring that "whatsoever Virgil did write of his gnat or Ovid of his flea was all covertly to declare abuse". He hesitates, however, to defend all "Ouid's abuses" in

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1. Doctrinal Treatises, ed. H. Walter, Parker Society, 1848, p. 308.
2. Works, ed. R.B. McKerrow, 5 Vols., 1958, i.89.
3. The Governour, ed. Croft, i.128. By a fortunate "Aduenture" the lines are Remedia, 131-6.
4. The Schoole of Abuse (1579), ed. E. Arber, 1868, pp. 19-20, 23, 29.

this way, and asks rather "shall one man's folly destroy a universal commodity?"[1] What he admires in Ovid is his "promptness", and he employs the usual quotation from the *Tristia*[2] as a comment upon it. William Webbe admits that Ovid's works, outside the *Metamorphoses*, the *Fasti* and the *Tristia* "tende to the vayne delights of loue and dalliaunce", but thinks that they are "mixed with much good counsayle and profitable lessons, if they be wisely and narrowly read". "*Ouids* loue Bookes and *Elegies*", along with Tibullus, Catullus, Martial and "the most part of Plautus and Terence" are certainly "lasciuious poemes", but to concentrate upon their "ill and vndecent prouocations", is to be like "foolish folke" who, entering a garden, tread down the flowers and "wilfullie thrust their fingers among the nettles"; for "*Ouid*, in his most wanton Bookes of loue and the remedies thereof, hath very many pithie and wise sentences."[3] Nashe, while condemning "*Ouids* obscenitie", declares that as the bee gathers honey from "the bitterest flowers and sharpest thistles" so "profitable knowledge" may be selected "out of the filthiest Fables".[4]

It was the *Ars*, looked upon by most as the cause for Ovid's banishment, which was the popular symbol for his particular brand of eroticism. In the *Rocke of Regarde*, Whetstone makes Bianca Maria sum up her evil life thus:

> The Art of Love for exercise I redde,
> And thus my life in Venus court I ledde.[5]

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1. *Defence of Poetry (1579)*, in G.G. Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, 2 Vols., 1904, i.64-5, 75.
2. *ibid.*, i.70 (*Tristia*, IV.x.26).
3. *Of English Poetry (1586)*: Smith, *Elizabethan Critical Essays*, i.238-9, 252, 254.
4. Smith, *op. cit.*, i.332.
5. *Rocke of Regard*, 1576, p. 20 (Collier's reprint).

Lane, in his Tom Tel-Troths Message (1600), affirms:

> Whilome by nature men and women loued,
> And prone enough they were to loue thereby;
> But when they Ouids ars amandi proued,
> Both men and women fell to lecherie.[1].

John Davies of Hereford regards the Ars as the antithesis of his own ideals:

> Whist, Muse, be mute; wilt thou like Naso proue,
> And interlace thy Lynes with levity?
> Wilt thou add Precepts to the Arte of Loue,
> And show thy vertue in such vanity?[2].

and makes a yet unsullied piece of paper exclaim:

> Another (ah, Lord helpe) mee vilifies
> With Art of Loue, and how to subtilize[3].

In the Discourse Betwixt Wit and Will, 1599, by Breton, Will is eventually persuaded and promises:

> I wil give over Artem Amandi, and I will with thee to some more worthie study.[4].

Thomas Becon, discussing the office of a schoolmaster in his Catechisme, argues that even the heathen defended themselves against moral corruptions:

> Was not the poet Ovidius banished of Augustus Caesar for the books which he made De Arte Amandi (he might more justly have termed them De Arte Meretricandi, because that through the reading of them he corrupted the minds of the youth); yea, and so banished, that he could never after obtain favour to return into his country, notwithstanding the making of his books to the contrary, De Remedio Amoris.[5].

Greene, in the Farewell to Folly, 1591, also considers that Ovid was banished for seeking to "nourish vice in Rome by setting downe Artem Amandi, and giving dishonest precepts of lust and leacherie".[6] In the Mourning Garment, 1590,

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1. ed. F.J. Furnivall, New Shakspere Society, 1876, p. 133.
2. (Microcosmos, 1603) in Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 2 Vols., 1878, i.67.
3. (Papers Complaint, 1611) ibid., ii.75.
4. Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 2 Vols., 1879, ii.12.
5. Catechisme, ed. J. Ayre, Parker Society, 1844, p. 383.
6. Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 15 Vols., 1881-6, ix.294.

he mentions the "amorous Elegies betweene him and Corinna" as a further cause of Ovid's disgrace, and affirms, like Becon, that the Remedia "and part of his Tristibus" were afterwards sent to Augustus to show repentence.[1] Though reasonable as far as the Tristia is concerned, this legend does not suggest any great familiarity with the text of the Remedia. It is repeated in the poem Greenes Vision, 1592, with the additional information that:

> His Elegies were wanton all,
> Telling of loues pleasing thrall.

The "three bookes of loues art" were intended to teach men:

> How they might soonest winne,
> Honest women unto sinne.

and "Romes youth" provided such apt pupils:

> That men in Rome naught els saught,
> But how to tangle maid or wife,
> With honors breach throgh wanton life.[2]

"Wanton" is the adjective most frequently attached to Ovid. Gascoigne, in his catalogue of pornography, includes:

> Ovids wanton verse,
> Which he about Corinnaes couche, so clerkly can rehearse.[3]

and the author of Pasquils Night-cap, 1612, refers to "fond wantonizing Ouid". Elsewhere he quotes Ovid as his authority for saying that "wedding ... is a kind of warre", and he is here thinking not of dos est uxoria lites but of militat omnis amans. Like Ovid he considers "an old man" unfit both to go to war and to "play the souldier in the marriage bed". He "must needes be strong, couragious, and stout" who undertakes such a "skirmish in the night", when the "feild betweene a paire of shetes is pight".[4]

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1. Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 15 Vols., 1881-6, ix.120-21.
2. ibid., xii, 200.
3. The Posies, ed. J.W. Cunliffe, 1907, p. 33 (cf. also p. 95).
4. Pasquils Night-Cap, ed. A.B. Grosart, 1877, pp. 12, 101.

Henry Cross in his Vertues Common-wealth, 1603, calls Ovid "that grand-maister of wantonnesse", and subscribes to the popular view that "for his wanton Ars Amandi" he "was exiled by Augustus".[1] Sylvester, in his introduction to The Second Weeke, published in 1598 is thinking of Drayton:

> Our new Naso, that so passionates
> The Heroïck sighes of love-sick Potentates

but also, perhaps, of Campion and Donne when he prays that he:

> by this may wain our wanton Ile
> From Ovid's heires, and their un-hallowed spell
> Here charming senses, chaining soules in Hell[2].

Drayton, of course, was "our new Naso" by virtue of the Heroical Epistles. John Davies, in a poem prefaced to the Banquet of Sence, pays a similar compliment by saying that:

> ... loue, till now, hath still a Maister mist
> Since Ouids eyes were closd with iron sleepe.

although, faced with Chapman's neo-Platonism, he has to admit that:

> Ouids soule, now growne more old and wise,
> Poures foorth it selfe in deeper misteries.[3]

The Banquet of Sence, published in 1595, although it owes more to Ficino than to Ovid, would certainly have had the effect of stimulating interest in Ovid's life and love. Chapman assumes that Corinna was really "Iulia, (daughter to Octauius Augustus Caesar ...)".[4] His description of her is one of the most unforgettable passages in Elizabethan poetry:

> In a loose robe of Tynsell foorth she came,
> Nothing but it betwixt her nakednes
> And enuious light. The downward-burning flame,
> Of her rich hayre did threaten new accesse
> Of ventrous Phaeton to scorch the fields ...
> ... Then cast she off her robe, and stood vpright,

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1. Vertues Common-wealth, ed. A.B. Grosart, pp. 121 and 124.
2. Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 2 Vols., 1880, i.99.
3. Poems of George Chapman, ed. P.B. Bartlett, 1941, p. 52.
4. ibid., p. 53.

As lightning breakes out of a laboring cloude ...[1]

The magic rod of poetry has touched Corinna: for the Elizabethans she is flesh and blood again: her voice rings in their ears:

> "T'is better to contemne then loue
> And to be fayre then wise ...
> ... It is our grace and sport to see,
> Our beauties sorcerie,
> That makes (like destinie)
> Men followe us the more wee flee".[2]

thus she sang:

> all naked as she sat
> Laying the happy Lute vpon her thigh.

Like the watching Ovid they have feasted their eyes upon her revealed beauty and filled their lungs with her perfume. They have tasted the "restoring syrrop" of her kiss, and laid their hands upon her breast,

> Where snowe that thawes the Sunne doth euer lye.[3]

Six years later Ovid and Corinna walk the stage at Blackfriars. Again she has all the glamour of the high-born lady, loved by her social inferiour: she is "the Princesse Iulia", daughter of the Emperor Augustus.[4] Like many of the audience, this Ovid is a young law student, who spends more

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1. Poems of George Chapman, ed. P.B. Bartlett, 1941, pp. 54-5.

2. ibid., p. 56: cf. Ars, iii.577 f.

3. ibid., p..80.

4. This idea of her identity was the prevailing one: cf. Jonson, Underwood, xxvii, 17-20:
   > ... hath Corynna, by the name
   > Her Ouid gave her, dimn'd the fame
   > Of Caesars Daughter ...

   Among early authorities for it is Sidonius Apollinaris, Carmen xxiii, 158-61:
   > Et te carmina per libidinosa
   > Notum Naso tener, Tomosque missum,
   > Quondam Caesareae nimis puellae
   > Ficto nomine subditum Corinnae.

   The elder Julia was banished in 2 B.C., however, and Ovid not until A.D. 8. If his disaster was connected with a "Julia" at all, it was with her daughter, the younger Julia, banished in A.D. 9.

time on poetry than law.[1] His father, like many of theirs, no doubt, is annoyed at this and berates his son:[2]

> Cornelius Gallus? There's another gallant, too, that hath drunke of the same poison: and Tibullus, and Propertius. But these are gentlemen of meanes, and reuenew now. Thou art a younger brother, and hast nothing, but thy bare exhibition: which I protest shall bee bare indeed, if thou forsake not these vnprofitable bycourses.[3]

The predicament of the younger brother must have been only too familiar to a large number of the Blackfriars' audience. Spendthrift, but needy, and clinging proudly to their "gentility" at a time when redistribution of wealth was making the social order abnormally fluid, they would be glad that Jonson emphasized so much Ovid's descent from an old equestrian family.[4] They would agree wholeheartedly that:

> The time was once, when wit drown'd wealth; but now,
> Your onely barbarisme is t'haue wit, and want.
> No matter now in vertu who excells,
> He, that hath coine, hath all perfection else.[5]

Over-educated, in a state where the supply of educated men to office exceeded demand, they would wish, like Ovid, that

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1. Cf. Poetaster, I.i.13 f; ii.9,60,69. Ovid's unwilling study of the law is, of course, factual. For the presence of Inns-of-Court men in the Blackfriar's audience cf. A. Harbage, Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions, New York, 1952, p. 56.

2. Ovid's anti-poetical father is also historical, cf. Tristia, IV.x.21.

3. Poetaster, I.ii.72 f. Ovid's elder brother died in his twentieth year (Tristia, IV.x.17-18, 31-2). He was a lawyer.

4. ibid., I.ii.25, 150, 157, 163, 188, 214, 215. These, and all later references to knights and knighthood are altered in the Folio. Possibly Jonson had been rebuked for satirizing knights (see Works, ed. Herford and Simpson, ix.540).

5. Poetaster, I.ii.253-6: Jonson here, of course, is making his Ovid translate Amores, III.viii.3,4.

the representatives of "prodigious ignorance" should "admire bright knowledge".[1] Thwarted in their desperate desire for financial success and court preferment, they would readily adopt his pose of scorn for "so vnworthy obiects, as gold, or titles", and would be stung to quick enthusiasm for his "happy Muse":

> That kickes at earth with a disdainefull heele,
> And beats at heauen gates with her bright hooues.[2]

Jonson's Ovid is the Ovid of the Amores: his father discovers him composing Amores, I.xv, a vindication of the art of poetry, with a roll-call of the great Greek and Roman poets, and he reads out the completed work.[3] In his love-scene with Corinna he argues for the flesh against the neo-Platonist concept of soul-love:

> No life hath loue in such sweet state as this;
> No essence is so deare to moodie sense,
> As flesh, and bloud; whose quintessence is sense.[4]

We may be fairly certain that, to the young man-about-London at the beginning of James I's reign, Corinna and Ovid would mean, to a large extent, Chapman's Corinna and Jonson's Ovid.

Among the Romans poets the position generally assigned to Ovid was second, though Greene considered him the "chiefest poet of his time",[5] and in the Gorgious Gallery of Gallant Inventions he is referred to as:

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1. Poetaster, I.ii.234,48.
2. ibid., I.ii.254-5.
3. ibid., I.i.44-84: this translation is a retouching of Marlowe's. For a detailed comparison see Jonson's Works, ed. Herford and Simpson, ix.539. It is appended to Marlowe's original rendering, under the heading The same by B.I. in later editions of his translation of the Amores.
4. Poetaster, IV.ix.36-8.
5. (Greenes Vision) Works, ed. Grosart, xii.199.

Ouid yet of poets prince, whose wits all others past.[1]

The standard view, however, which placed him after Vergil, is given by Turberville, when he speaks of:

> ...Ouids workes bedeckt with deepe delight
> Whom we of poets second best doe call.[2]

Continental literary critics of the sixteenth century were generally in a state of confusion about the elegy genre, and their confusion is reflected in the works of English critics in the later decades of the century. Renaissance literary theorists fell into the same error as their predecessors, the ancient rhetoricians, by using the idea that the elegy was derived from laments for the dead. "De sa nature l'Elégie est triste et flebile",[3] writes Thomas Sebillet, in 1548, and Du Bellay, in the Deffence,[4] would have the elegy "pitoyable". Jacques Peletier du Mans accepts the popular and traditional etymology of ἔλεγος from ἐ-λεγειν, and assumes that the proper sphere of the genre is the lament for the dead and the epitaph. He advances the theory that the change in theme from the sorrows of death to the woes of love was an easy transition.[5] Sidney speaks of "the lamenting Elegiack, which in a kinde heart would move rather pity than blame," and represents the poet-haters as distinguishing between the lyric, "larded with passionate sonnets", and the elegiac which "weepes the want of his mistresse".[6] To him the elegy

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1. Op. cit., ed. H.E. Rollins, Cambridge Mass., 1926, p. 62.
2. Tragical Tales, 1587, p. 199.
3. Art Poétique Françoys, ed. F. Gaiffe, Paris, 1910, p. 154.
4. Op. cit., ed. H. Chamard, Paris, 1904, p. 207.
5. L'Art Poëtique, 1555, ed. A. Boulanger, Paris, 1930, pp. 182-3.
6. (Apology) G.G. Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays, 2 Vols., 1904, i.176 and 186.

is suitable "either for compassionate accompanying iust causes of lamentation, or for rightly paynting out how weake be the passions of wofulnesse".[1] Puttenham describes the elegiac poets, Ovid, Tibullus and Propertius as those who "coueted to bemone their estates at large and the perplexities of loue in a certain pitious verse called Elegie."[2] He discusses the elegy of love, which deals with "the trauails and torments of loue forlorne or ill bestowed", under the general heading "The forme of Poeticall lamentations", along with other causes of lament like the death of friends or relatives, or defeat in battle.[3] On the question of metre, he advises the elegiac poet to avoid stresses which fall on the antipenultimate syllables of lines, since these make the verse:

> too light and triuiall, and are fitter for the Epigrammatist or Comicall Poet then for the Lyrick and Elegiack which are accompted the sweeter Musickes.[4]

The use of "too many dactils together" should also be avoided: it will mar the:

> ... solemne grauitie such as the amorous Elegies in court naturally require, being alwaies either very dolefull or passionate as the affections of love enforce[5].

Long polysyllables, too, especially at the ends of lines "smack more the schoole of common players than of any delicate Poet Lyricke or Elegiacke".[6]

Thomas Campion, in his Observations, 1602, writes a specimen elegy in English elegiacs which, as will be seen

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1.(Apology) G.G. Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays, i.176.

2. Arte of English Poesie, ed. G.D. Willock and A.Walker, 1936, p. 25.

3. ibid., p. 47.

4. ibid., p. 80.

5. ibid., p. 127.

6. ibid., p. 127.

from its opening lines, contrasts very strikingly in tone with the Latin elegies which he had published earlier:

> Constant to none, but ever false to me,
> Traiter still to loue through thy faint desires,
> Not hope of pittie now nor vaine redresse
> Turns my griefs to teares and renu'd laments.
> Too well thy empty vowes and hollow thoughts
> Witnes both thy wrongs and remorseles hart.
> Rue not my sorrow, but blush at my name;
> Let thy bloudy cheeks guilty thoughts betray.
> My flames did truly burne, thine made a shew,
> As fires painted are which no heate retayne,
> Or as the glossy Pirop faines to blaze
> But toucht cold appeares, and an earthy stone.[1.]

Campion's specimens of English epigrams in classical metres are much closer in attitude and manner to the Elegiae of the 1595 Poemata than is this leisurely dolefulness.

Scaliger, in his discussion of the elegy, is more realistic, and keeps his eye more firmly on the practice of the Roman elegists. He derives the word from the tragic ἐλελεῦ, which he thinks the ancients used to cry ad amicarum fores, and it is evident that he regarded the genre as predominantly erotic in theme. On the matter of content he ennumerates with a high degree of accuracy the subjects he finds among the Roman elegists:

> Commemoratio diei, a quo initium amandi factum fuit. Eiusdem laudatio aut execratio. Querela, Expostulatio, Preces, Vota, Gratulatio, Exultatio, Furti narratio, Fletus, Conuicium, Vitii aut flagitii obiectio, Recantatio, Propriae vitae explicatio, sui cum riuale comparatio, Comminatio, Amicae alterius propositio. Ianuae, Ianitori, Ancillae, Matri, Marito, Tempestatibus, Celo ipsi convitium. Convitium Cupidini, Veneri, sibiipsi. Mortis exoptatio, exilii. Amicae absentis detestatio.[2.]

It is not common for a sixteenth century critic to attempt any careful distinction between the characteristics of the three major Roman elegists. Du Bellay, in the Deffence, simply lumps them together, as do the English

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1. G.G. Smith, Elizabethan Critical Essays, 2 Vols., 1904, ii.344-5.
2. Poetices Libri Septem, Leyden, 1561, p. 169.

critics.[1] When any distinction is made it usually follows Quintilian:

> Elegia quoque Graecos provocamus, cuius mihi tersus atque elegans maxime videtur Tibullus, sunt qui Propertium malint. Ouidius utrique lascivior, sicut durior Gallus.[2]

Thus Jacques Peletier du Mans, the friend and admirer of Ronsard, refers to:

> ... Tibule e Properce: léquez Quintilien met pour les deus excelans an ce g'anre d'ecrire: nommant Tibule pour le premier: mes Pline le jeune, donne l'auantage a Properce. Il n'i a pas grand precipu: tous deus eyans etè de l'eureus tans. Ouide et lascif: e Gale, rude.[3]

Scaliger goes into the matter more carefully, criticising Propertius for encumbering his poetry with too numerous and frequently irrelevant mythological stories to demonstrate his erudition, commenting upon unity of theme in Tibullus:

> Audis enim casas, focos, rura, nemora, prela, spicas, sacra tum saepe, tum multum.

- finding the Amores too licentious and unrestrained for his taste, and declaring that the Ars is a great deal more offensive, but hardly worthy of consideration, nihil enim aliud quam nugae.[4]

To the young man, then, at the turn of the sixteenth century who wished to write outrageous or shocking love-poetry, Ovid, the Ovid of the Ars and the Amores was the obvious model. At School he would have seen enough of these works to whet his appetite and, to whet it further, detailed study of them was forbidden. They were anathema for Puritan and moral writers, and their concentration on the hard facts of money and sex, along with their bright, brittle cynicism,

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1. Deffence, ed. cit., p. 207: cf. Arte of English Poesie, ed. cit., p. 25.
2. Quintilian, Institutio Oratoria, X.i.93.
3. L'Art Poëtique, ed. cit., pp. 182-3.
4. Poetices, 1561, pp. 329-332.

gave them an irresistibly modern ring. Literary theorists, out of step with practice, might talk of lament and weeping, but the young man of the fifteen nineties had heard enough of such stuff: he wanted his Ovid undiluted.

CHAPTER V

Ovidian Erotic Themes in Sonnet and Epyllion

(i) The Sonnet

Of course if one thinks of Ovid as filtered through the Middle Ages, through Chrétien, Andreas Capellanus and Petrarch, and if one is prepared, as a result, to regard the tearful, sighing, groaning slave of an implacable, tyrannic Cupid as an essentially Ovidian concept, one will regard almost the whole of Elizabethan sonnet literature as Ovidian.[1] But this, as was demonstrated in the last chapter, is almost exactly the opposite of what Ovid meant to the Elizabethans. Petrarch, the most important figure in the history of the European sonnet, had himself condemned Ovid roundly, calling him:

> d'animo lascivo e inconstante e al tutto feminile .... Tacio quel suo desiderio, degno di infamia e inconveniente e disonesto eziando d'esser referito per la bocca di ciascuno uomo dispèrato e perduto in anima e in corpo, il quale lui non si vergogna col scrivere di far pervenire alla notizia di tutti gli secoli, cioè dove essendo risciolto e pervenuto alla fine dello atto venèreo, egli dice sè essere beato, avendo ardire di lodare la morte in qual stato, dove la vita è massimamente disonesta e inutile.[2]

And the Petrarchan and Ovidian types of love poetry are in practice very clearly distinguishable at the end of the sixteenth century in England, so clearly, indeed, that one can pick out with little difficulty the comparatively few occasions upon which the sonneteers of the fifteen nineties write in the Ovidian way.

Watson, in the introduction to the first sonnet of his Hecatompathia, 1582, alludes to:

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1. This approach is exemplified in L.C. John, The Elizabethan Sonnet Sequences, New York, 1938.

2. La Vita Solitaria, ed. A Ceruti, 2 Vols., Bologna, 1879, ii. 170-171.

> a peece of worke whiche he wrote long since, De Remedio Amoris, which he hath lately perfected, to the good likinge of many that haue seene and perused it.[1]

If this work, which is lost, fulfilled the Ovidian promise of its title, its date is surprisingly early. In the introductions to two other sonnets, Watson quotes from the Amores and the Remedia,[2] but the sonnets themselves are free from Ovidian influence. Barnes groups the Ovid of the Amores:

> sweet Naso, with thy golden verse;
> Whose lovely spirit ravished Caesar's daughter.[3]

with Petrarch, in one sonnet of his Parthenophil and Parthenophe, 1593, and lays typically Ovidian emphasis on the mercenary nature of women in Sonnet V,[4] where he recounts how his first love, Laya, "Hoping th'achievement of some richer prize",[5] left him for a courtier. In Sonnet XIII he borrows his ideas from the Remedia, telling how, in order to quench his love, he catalogued the imaginary physical deficiencies of his mistress. The exclamatory "Those arms, such arms! which me embraced", of Madrigal XIII, which recounts an erotic dream, recalls the quos umeros, quales vidi tetigique lacertos[6] of Amores, I.v, and the clearest debt to the Amores in the collection is Sonnet LXXIX,[7] which takes its tone and situation from Amores, II.v. Barnes watches

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1. Poems, ed. E. Arber, 1870, p. 37.
2. ibid., pp. 104 and 132.
3. Elizabethan Sonnets, ed. S. Lee, 2 Vols., 1904, i.195.
4. ibid., i.171.
5. ibid., i.176: cf. Remedia, 315-322.
6. ibid., i.206: cf. Amores, I.v.19.
7. ibid., i.215: cf. Amores, II.v.13-26.

his mistress flirting with his rival, using "secret signs" and "winks", and sees the man "bandy with bel-guards in interchange" and kiss her, "courting with love terms, and in lover's art": the last phrase would almost certainly have Ovidian connotations for a sixteenth-century reader.

Giles Fletcher's Licia, 1593, when it ceases to be chaste and adoring, follows the "best Latin poets"[1], Angerianus, Marullus and Joannes Secundus, rather than Ovid. Sonnet XVI[2], for example, is an amalgam of various lines from Basia II, III and XIII of Joannes Secundus. Perhaps the Ovidian lore of Fletcher's Elegy III:

> For greatest joys are tempered with delay
> Things soon obtained do least of all us please.[3]

is also derived at second hand. The second edition of Constable's Diana, published in 1594, and "Augmented with divers Quatorzains of honourable and learned personages", contains, surprisingly, among its expressions of quasi-religious self-prostration, a straightforward "invitation to dalliance", with carpe diem arguments, reminiscent of Amores, I.viii.49-53 and of Ars, iii.59-80.[4] The Sonnets To The Fairest Coelia, which Percy published in 1594, though they abound with "tears", "sobs" and "piteous yells", include an Ovidian "echo" which takes its text from such lines as Ars, i.269-70, 477 and 663:

> How if she say I may not kiss her? Kiss her![5]

The anonymous author of Zepheria, 1594, compliments "Modern Laureates" on "the sweet tuned accents of your Delian sonnetry",

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1. Elizabethan Sonnets, ed. S. Lee, 2 Vols., 1904, ii.23.
2. ibid., ii.42.
3. ibid., ii.73: cf. Amores, II.xix and Ars, iii.577-85.
4. ibid., ii.95 (Sonnet X).
5. ibid., ii.148.

and remarks that their "spirit-ravishing lines" have:

> awaked
> The Roman Naso and the Tuscan Petrarch[1].

But in spite of this recognition of the Ovidian and the Petrarchan influences upon the sonnet, Zepheria itself shows none of the former.

In the same year as Zepheria there appeared that controversial and evidently popular work Willoby his Avisa.[2] The prefatory epistle contains an interesting passage indicating that denigration of women, though a medieval heritage, was linked in the Elizabethan mind with the revival of the Amores:

> ... here I must worthily reprehend the enuious rage both of heathen Poets, and of some Christian and English writers, which so far debase the credit and strength of the whole sexe that they feare not with lying tongues wickedly to publish, that there are none at all that can continue constant, if they be tryed. Hereof sprang these false accusing speeches of olde Poets.
>
> Ludunt formosae: casta est, quam nemo rogauit.
>
> Faire wenches loue to play:
> And they are onely chast whom no man doth assay[3].

It seems fairly well established that the work is an attack upon the Southampton faction, including Shakespeare, by some member of the Raleigh group. Along with aristocratic seduction of middle-class wives, "wanton layes" of "wicked love" are censured.[4] Canto XLVII, represented as a speech of "W.S.", is an apparent imitation of Sonnet XIX of the Passionate Pilgrim (not published till 1599), itself a

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1. Elizabethan Sonnets, ed. S. Lee, 2 Vols., 1904, ii.155.
2. There were new editions in 1596, 1605 and 1609.
3. Willoby his Avisa, Spenser Society, 1886, pp. 7-8: cf. Amores, I.viii.43.
4. ibid., p. 17.

pastiche of the Ars Amatoria.[1] Like Ovid, "W.S." advises persistence, - "At first repulse you must not faint", and compliance:

> When she doth laugh, you must be glad,
> And watch occasions, tyme and place,
> When she doth frowne, you must be sad.[2]

He recommends, also, flattery, - "For women ioy in beauties prayse", and extols the power of gifts in love:

> Though coy at first she seeme and wilde,
> These toyes in time will make her yielde.

Alcilia. Philoparthens Louing Follie, by "J.C.", which appeared in the following year, consists of two sets of sonnets, the first predominantly adulatory, the second, "written by the Author after he began to decline from his passionate affection", frequently belligerent and disillusioned. There are traces of the Ovidian tone even in the first group, as when "J.C." advises the lover:

> ... boldly speak: the worst is at first entring.
> Much good successe men misse for lack of ventring.[3]

and in Sonnet XXX of the second set, the debt to the Remedia would be obvious, without the author's marginal note,

Otia si tollas periere Cupidinis arcus.[4]

Griffin, who published his Fidessa in 1596, has a prefatory letter to The Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, - an interesting indication that the society which produced Donne's and Campion's elegies would at this time also give ear to the "moans" and "tears" of Fidessa's slave whose "spotless love ... never yet was tainted".[5] But it might

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1. ibid., pp. 80-82: See Shakespeare's Poems, ed. C. Knox Pooler, Second edn., 1927, pp. lxxxi-lxxxiv, 152-55.
2. Cf. Ars, ii.201-2.
3. Alcilia, ed. A.B. Grosart, 1879, p. 27.
4. ibid., p. 59.
5. Elizabethan Sonnets, ed. S. Lee, ii.269.

have been guessed from Sonnet III, the famous "Venus, and young Adonis sitting by her ..."[1] of the Passionate Pilgrim, that this audience had a taste for another sort of love poetry. Griffin introduces himself into the concluding couplet:

> O that I had my mistress at that bay
> To kiss and clip me, till I ran away.

in precisely the same way as Marston does at the conclusion of Pigmalions Image, and it was, of course, this desire to involve oneself in the erotic narrative which stimulated imitation of the Amores. The occasional licentiousness in Robert Tofte's Laura, 1597, is perhaps explained by the admission that these Sonnets include "more than thirty ... intermixt" written by other hands.[2] But Tofte was a versatile writer, and the fact that in 1597 he had requested his mistress:

> Then quickly strip thyself! Lay fear aside![3]

would not necessarily prevent him from producing, in the following year, the incredibly tedious Alba where, as he puts it:

> Like Petrarck chaste of Laura coy I plaine,
> Of whom I (never yet) could Favour gaine[4].

He is prepared to cater for every taste and follow every fashion: the popular controversy about women at the end of the century stimulated him to produce his Two Tales, Translated out of Ariosto, 1597, his Of Mariage and Wiuing, another translation from the Italian, in 1599, and perhaps

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1. Elizabethan Sonnets, ed. S. Lee, ii.266.

2. ibid., ii.424.

3. ibid., ii.399. For the fish imagery of this sonnet cf. Donne's "The Baite", and Martial IV.xxii.

4. Alba, ed. A.B. Grosart, 1880, p. 102.

The Batchelars Banquet, a translation of Les Quinze Joyes de Mariage[1], in 1603, which helped to fortify the English renaissance tradition of anti-woman satire by inoculating it with the essence of such medieval works as the Lamentations of Mathieu, Deschamps' Miroir de Mariage and Jean de Meung's part of the Roman. Inevitably this work contained a number of second-hand Ovidian motifs and characters, like the young adulterer who bribes the chamber-maid to gain access to the wife[2], the maid who is confidante and go-between in the adulterous love-affair[3], and the half-hearted struggles of the seduced wife who:

> would faine have cryed out (God wot) had it not bin for feare of discredit, for therby her name might have bin brought in question[4].

But it is in his Blazon of Iealousie, 1615, translated from Varchi, that Tofte panders to the Ovidian taste most noticeably. In a prefatory poem signed Il Incognito it is made clear that the citizen and merchant classes are the chief objects of attack:

> that haue the name of Man
> Only because they Prate, or Get, or Tell
> The fortune of their Voiage, buy and sell ...

To illustrate his argument about jealousy Varchi quotes the six key lines of Amores, II.xix,[5] and Tofte translates these; on a question of female psychology he quotes from the Ars;[6] giving instruction about "fit places for Amorous purposes"

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1. See The Batchelars Banquet, ed. F.P. Wilson, 1929.
2. ibid., p. 43.
3. ibid., pp. 48-9, 106.
4. ibid., pp. 50-51.
5. Blazon of Iealousie, 1615, sig. E2r: Amores, II.xix. 3-4, 25-6, 59-60.
6. ibid., sig. G2r., Ars, ii.373-4.

he refers the reader to "Ouid de Arte Amandi, his first Book"[1]; and when Varchi mentions Amores, II.x., Tofte gives the "substance" of this elegy by quoting its first ten lines in Marlowe's version[2], though he does not acknowledge his debt to Marlowe. He has a long comment on the tale of Danae, interpreting it as an allegory of "the force of Money and Gifts, in assalting of Chastitie"[3], and like Ouid he emphasises the importance of timing in the art of love: "a fit and opportune season is not a little available in this businesse".[4]

The adulation and devotion which predominate in Drayton's sonnets are not seriously disturbed, in spite of the disclaimer of "Passion" first prefaced to the 1599 edition, until 1619 when he adds, for example, His Remedy for Love, where the obvious reference to Ovid in the title prepares one for the cynical estimate of women throughout.[5] Even the willingness to change from the Spenserian to the Jacobean manner in conformity with popular taste, which is shown in such things as his re-writing of Endimion and Phoebe, 1595, as The Man in the Moone, 1606, did not make the chaste and idealistic Drayton turn very much to Ovid's erotic works. The quotations at the end of six of his eclogues in the Shepheards Garland, 1593, are from the Amores, as is the title-page motto of that work and of Piers Gaveston, 1594.[6] The nymph's complaint in The

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1. Elazon of Iealousie, 1615, sig. E4r.
2. ibid., sig. I3r.
3. ibid., sig. E4v.
4. ibid., sig. E4v.: cf. Ars, i.399 f.
5. Works, ed. J.W. Hebel, 5 Vols., 1931-41, ii.318.
6. ibid., i.45, 49, 59, 64, 70, 76, 157: Amores, I.iii. 15-16; 25-26; II.vi. 39-40; xiii.23-4; III.ii.61-2; iii.41-2; ix.28.

Shepheards Sirena about the stream which separates her from Dorilus is probably an echo of Amores, III.vi.[1] It is characteristic of Drayton that his Englands Heroicall Epistles are much less erotic than Ovid's Heroides. Shore's wife in Mistres Shore to Edward IV, 1597, complains of the seductive powers of men:

> Romes wanton Ovid did those rules impart
> O, that your Nature should be help'd with Art![2]

and in the preceding lines she recalls three passages from the Ars, accusing men:

> If any naturall Blemish blot our face,
> You doe protest, it gives our Beautie grace;
> And what Attyre we most are us'd to weare,
> That, of all other, excellent'st you sweare ...[3]

Her eulogy of the women of London is a clever paraphrase of Ovid's remarks about the girls of Rome:

> More glorious Sunnes adorne faire Londons pride,
> Then all rich Englands Continent beside;
> That who t'account their Multitudes, would wish,
> Might number Rumney's Flowers, or Isis Fish.
> Who doth frequent our Temples, Walkes and Streets,
> Noting the sundry Beauties that he meets,
> Thinkes not, that Nature left the wide World poore,
> And made this place the Chequer of her store ...[4]

The recognition, here implied, of similarity between the two metropolitan cultures, Augustan Rome and late-Elizabethan London, is of the utmost importance in the development of the love-elegy fashion. This similarity is again indicated when Mistress Shore tells how husbands forbid their wives to visit:

> The Circuit of the publique Theater;
> To heare the Poet in a Comick straine,
> Able t'infect with his lascivious scene[5]

and Drayton annotates:

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1. ibid., iii.156, ll. 49-52.
2. ibid., ii.256.
3. Cf. Ars, ii. 295-306; 657-662.
4. Cf. Ars, i.55-60.
5. ll. 136-8: Drayton, Works, ed. Hebel, ii.257.

> Ovid, a most fit Author for so dissolute a Sectarie, calls that place, Chastities Shipwracke.[1]

In the epistle of John to Matilda, orthodox naturalistic arguments against chastity of a type very popular, as we have seen, among the Italians, are employed.[2]

That Greville in his Caelica catered for both sides of the dual taste in love poetry, has been realised for some time. These sonnets were not published until 1633, and there is no certainty about the dating of the majority of them. M.W. Croll concludes that "about the first forty" were written before 1586, and that the following "up to about eighty four" were written after 1586 but before 1600.[3] A great many of Greville's poems emphasize the fickleness and inconstancy of women, of Caelica or Myra, their dishonesty and their cunning. When writing in this vein he sometimes follows the popular "neo-medieval" taste, as in the poem about "Scoggin his wife" who "by chance mistook her bed",[4] or alternatively he imitates the Ovidian manner, involving himself in the narrative, and backing up his attack with classical allusion, as when he regrets that "those fatall starres", Myra's eyes, are fixed "on Fortunes skies", and asks:[5]

> Must Danaes lap be wet with golden showers?

Elsewhere he writes what is practically an Ovidian elegy, telling how one night he woke up and decided to go and see whether Cynthia was awake also. When he came to the bed, he was rapt in silent admiration of her revealed beauties, as she lay naked in the moonlight:

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1. Drayton, Works, ed. Hebel, ii.260: cf. Ars, i.100.
2. ibid., ii.148 (ll. 51 f.), 151 (ll. 141 f.)
3. The Works of Fulke Greville, University of Pennsylvania, 1901.
4. Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 4 Vols., 1870, iii.57.
5. Ibid., iii.48-9.

Looke where lyes the Milken Way,
Way vnto that dainty throne
Where while all the Gods would play,
Vulcan thinkes to dwell alone
Shaddowing it with curious art,
Nettes of sullen golden haire,
Mars am I, and may not part,
Till that I be taken there.1.

The last four lines of this extract are found in the Warwick MS., but were omitted from the 1633 edition. As the poet draws nearer he blushes and, carried away by passion, imagines himself Apollo, and her, Aurora. He determines to possess her, but has already hesitated too long: the naked Cynthia "runnes away like siluer streames" and he is left "like Articke pole" deserted by the sun. The down-to-earth moral which he draws is thoroughly in Ovid's manner:

He that lets his Cynthia lye,
Naked on a bed of play,
To say prayers ere she dye,
Teacheth time to runne away:
Let no Loue-desiring heart,
In the Starres goe seeke his fate,
Loue is onely Natures art,
Wonder hinders Loue and Hate,
None can well behold with eyes
But what underneath him lies.

It would not, perhaps, be quite correct to classify this poem as a love-elegy. The seven syllable line gives it an insubstantial, idyllic quality, unlike the factual, realistic tone of the typical elegy. There is something delightfully fluid and vague about it, half-suggesting that the white Cynthia was perhaps only moonlight after all; in this respect it is nearer to the erotic dream genre than to the elegy. It has none of the elegiac urban background: no feeling of an alien society, in the midst of which the furtive love-affair is carried on. Nevertheless it is very reminiscent of Ovid at times.

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1. Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 4 Vols., 1870, iii.65. Grosart prints the 1633 text: but his appendix supplies the excluded lines, (iv.373).

It will be seen, then, that a close examination of even the predominantly "Petrarchan" writers of the fifteen nineties suggests that the taste for chaste love poetry, which placed women on a pedestal, was complementary to and co-existent with the taste for licentious and cynical love poetry which degraded them to the position of mercenary and fundamentally lecherous playthings. Just as the French and Italian sonneteers appealed to the first of these tastes, so did Ovid, especially the Ovid of the Amores and the Ars, to the second.

The sonnet is, perhaps, not so far removed fundamentally from the elegy as might appear at first.[1] Janet Scott remarks that the young men of the 1590's used the sonnet to express "leurs sentiments de vague mélancolie, de malaise". No matter whether the mistress was real or imaginary: the sonnet "fournissait à la jeunesse un prétext pour des vers pleins de tristesse... La tristesse irraisonnée de cette génération trouve sa place dans les sonnets". When this malaise and tristesse became more deep and bitter, the sonnet gave way to the epigram, the satire, and the elegy.

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1. Les Sonnets Élisabéthains, Paris, 1929, p. 295.

(ii) The Epyllion

When Guilpin in his "Satyre Preludium" regrets that nowadays even "The heroicke Poeme is lasciuious"[1], he is thinking of that tradition of mythological erotic verse beginning with free renderings from the Metamorphoses in the fifteen sixties, and taking on new life with Lodge's Scillaes metamorphosis in 1589, which produced Venus and Adonis, 1593, and Hero and Leander, 1598 (entered on the Stationers' Register, 28 September, 1593), along with a host of minor works.[2] The tradition is thoroughly reviewed by Douglas Bush and there is no need to dwell upon it here except in so far as it indicates a revival of interest in the Amores and the Ars. In fact only two writers, Marlowe and Weever, exploited to any extent the fascinatingly bitter-sweet possibilities of mingling the sharpness of Ovid's erotic works with the rounded sensuousness of the Metamorphoses. The influence of the Amores upon Hero and Leander has long been recognized.[3] Musaeus' Greek maid becomes a Corinna: when tempted, like all Ovidian girls:

> ... evilly feigning anger, strove she still,
> And would be thought to grant against her will[4].

In the final love scene her "white limbs which sparkled through the lawn", her "naked feet... whipping out" of the bed, her "ruddy cheek" which "her all naked to his sight displayed", all remind us of Corinna, as does her half-hearted struggling:

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1. Skialethia, 1598, sig. C1r.

2. Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition in English Poetry, Minneapolis, 1932: see Bush's appendix, pp. 301-23, for a complete list of the mythological erotic works produced between 1475 and 1680.

3. See D. Bush, "Notes on Marlowe's Hero and Leander", P.M.L.A., XLIV, 1929, pp. 760-64: also Marlowe, Poems, ed. L.C. Martin, 1931, pp. 27-66.

4. Marlowe, Poems, ed. L.C. Martin, p. 45.

> Treason was in her thought,
> And cunningly to yield herself she sought.
> Seeming not won, yet won she was at length,
> In such wars women use but half their strength.[1.]

Her scorn for the old woman who acts as chaperon:

> A dwarfish beldame bears me company,
> That hops about the chamber where I lie,
> And spends the night, that might be better spent,
> In vain discourse and apish merriment.[2.]

is in the true elegiac tradition. So, too, is Marlowe's comment upon the power of money in love:

> 'Tis wisdom to give much, a gift prevails
> When deep persuading Oratory fails.[3.]

and his outburst against the materialistic standards of modern life, with its contempt for poetry and learning:

> ... to this day is every scholar poor,
> Gross gold from them runs headlong to the boor.
> Likewise the angry Sisters ... have concluded
> That Midas' brood shall sit in Honour's chair,
> To which the Muses' sons are only heir ...
> ... And few great lords in virtuous deeds shall joy,
> But be surpris'd with every garish toy;
> And still enrich the lofty servile clown,
> Who with encroaching guile keeps learning down[4.]

When the inexperienced Leander, in the lovers' first interview, "as a brother with his sister toyed", (though he did suspect that "some amorous rites or other were neglected"[5.]), one is reminded of Ovid's oscula ... qualia non fratri tulerit germana severo[6.], and Marlowe's passage about restraint increasing love, with the simile of the "hot proud horse", is borrowed from the Amores, III.iv.13-16.[7.] Leander's naturalistic arguments against virginity are in part an extension of the Amores I.viii.51-2:

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1. Marlowe, Poems, ed. L.C. Martin, p. 64: for the Ovidian echoes in the scene cf. Amores, I.v.15-16, 24; III.vii.82.
2. ibid., p. 46.
3. ibid., p. 61. Cf. Amores, I.viii.63.
4. ibid., p. 51.
5. ibid., p. 54.
6. Amores, II.v.25.
7. Poems, ed. Martin, pp. 57-8.

Vessels of brass oft handled, brightly shine;
What difference betwixt the richest mine
And basest mould, but use? ...
... Rich robes themselves and others do adorn;
Neither themselves nor others, if not worn.
Who builds a palace and rams up the gate,
Shall see it ruinous and desolate ...1.

Such "naturalism" was popular towards the end of the century. In the fifth book of Albion's England, 1589, written by Marlowe's friend William Warner, there is, as Bush has pointed out, a passage of suasoria similar to Leander's, using, as he does, the image of a "stately builded ship", which is spoken by Edgar to a nun:

... what should meane this penning up,
Such vowing, and these vailes,
Since vessels onely are of worth,
That beare in stormes their sailes ...

Edgar meets with similar success:

...She claimes the place's priuiledge,
And faintly cites a tex:
She pleades her birth too bace, and playes
The No - I of her sex,
And fighteth as she would be foyl'd ...[2.]

As we have seen, arguments from nature against virginity were common in pastorals like Tasso's Aminta, and as early as 1576 Pettie's Germanicus had done his best to persuade Agrippina that virginity was neither "commendable in the world" nor "acceptable in the sight of God", and had advised her to follow the example of the "high-flying falcon" which answers "the call of the tassel-gentle", or of the doe which, though it "flingeth so freely about the woods" at first, soon "seeks the society of the buck".[3.] Hippolytus' nurse in Studley's translation from Seneca, published in the 1581

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1. Poems, ed. Martin, p. 40.
2. English Poets, ed. A. Chalmers, 1810, iv.565. For a long exposition of similar naturalistic arguments see Letter Book of Gabriel Harvey, 1573-1580, ed. E.J.L. Scott, 1884, pp. 86-7.
3. A Petite Pallace, ed. I. Gollancz, 2 Vols., 1908, i.80-83.

Tenne Tragedies, thinks it unnatural that a "young mannes appetite" should not lead him to "reape the fruite of sweete delyght". Hunting and fighting are all very well, but these are not the ends to which "Dame Nature did us frame": it is "bedding" that makes the world go round, and if that grew out of fashion:

> No foule should soare in azure Skie, ne Beast
> to woods repayre,
> And onely whisking windes should whirle amid
> the empty ayre.[1]

Cecropia, as one might expect, after lecturing Pamela on the power of beauty, warns her to use her "spring-time". Let her not pay attention to "these bugbeares of opinions brought by great Charkes into the world", nor "love Vertue servillie", for "foolish feare and fearefull ignorance was the first inventer of these conceates". All things "follow but the course of their own nature, saving only Man", who, by concerning himself with "things supernaturall ... looseth his owne naturall felicitie".[2] Phaedria, as someone in the Renaissance was almost bound to do, turns the lillies-of-the-field argument into an incentive to human indolence: they provide an "ensample" to Guyon.[3] The "seeming Matron" of Daniel's Complaint of Rosamond, 1592, proves herself "a sinfull Monster" by using persuasive rhetoric reminiscent of the bawd in the Amores:

> Doost thou not see, how that thy King (thy Joue)
> Lightens forth glory on thy darke estate:
> And showers downe gold and treasure from aboue,
> Whilst thou doost shut thy lap against thy Fate?
> Fie Fondling fie, thou wilt repent too late ...

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1. Tenne Tragedies, Spenser Society, 2 Vols., 1887, i.129-30.
2. Sidney, Arcadia, 1590, ed. A. Feuillerat, 1912, pp. 405-6.
3. Spenser, Works, ed. E. Greenlaw etc., 10 Vols., Baltimore, 1932-57, ii.68-9.

Rosamond's "flower" will not "alwayes flourish", and "the Law of Nature" requires her to use it while she may. Although the world lays such store by "Fame", it is in fact "but an Eccho and an idle voice":

> ...Pleasure is felt, opinion but conceau'd,
> Honor, a thing without vs, not our owne.

The "subtil City-women" are "better learned" for they "esteeme them chaste enough that best seeme so". The important thing is "not to be discerned": "Babes are beguild with sweets, and men with showes". She must not let words like "honor" interfere with her "sports": only the girl who "cannot closely act" needs to have shame: "the chiefest arte" is not to be but to seem chaste. If she objects to the match because the King is no longer young, she should remember that her "pleasures want shall be supplide with gold".[1]

While Hero and Leander was circulating in manuscript it was clearly read by Thomas Edwards, who gives a "naturalistic" speech of the Leander type to an "vnciuill Swaine" in his Cephalus and Procris, 1595;

> ... sooner fades the flower then the weede,
> Woemen are onely made on for their deedes,
> Few reape the stubble, when the corne is gon,
> A Hermitage compared to a region,
> Hath no exceede, but takes disgrace therein:
> Soe woemen liuing sollitarie, sin
> More by the wrong they do commit thereby,
> Then mong'st many acting the contrary.[2]

But the verse is so incomparably inferior to Leander's that Procris, unlike Hero, finds no difficulty in resisting temptation. On another occasion, however, when thrown "downe vpon the yeelding bed", she imitates Hero's Corinna-like resistance, and:

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1. Daniel, Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 4 Vols., 1885, i.89-92.
2. Cephalus and Procris. Narcissus, ed. W.E. Buckley, 1882, p. 26.

... (as some say, all woemen stricktly do,)
Faintly deni'd what she was willing too.[1].

Edwards' Narcissus, also, knows that:

Women doo yeeld, yet shame to tell us so,
Tis action more than speech doth grace a show.[2].

Just as Marlowe had introduced comment upon the power of gifts in love, and upon modern materialism into Hero and Leander, so Edwards execrates "groueling coyne - imbracing fathers" who:

Doo now in common make their children yld,
By chopping them to church that like of neither,[3].

and suspects that it was not only eloquence and the desire for a secret amour which made Procris yield, but the "liberall giftes" and "gold s'aboundant dealt" of her wooer.[4]. Venus and Adonis, unlike Hero and Leander, owes almost nothing to the Amores or the Ars,[5]. in spite of the motto on its title-page, but John Weever's Faunus and Melliflora, 1600, which, because of its comparatively recent discovery, Douglas Bush had not read when he wrote his Mythology and the Renaissance Tradition, exhibits a delightful blending of the idealistic fantasy of the Metamorphoses and the idyllic colouring of

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1. Cephalus and Procris. Narcissus, ed. W.E. Buckley, 1882, p. 19.

2. ibid., p. 57.

3. ibid., p. 51.

4. ibid., p. 20.

5. See T.W. Baldwin, The Literary Genetics of Shakspere's Poems and Sonnets, Urbana, 1950, pp. 15, 17, 25-6 and 206, where it is suggested that the incident of Adonis' horse and the mare is to be traced to the Ars, i.277-80; ii.487-8, that Venus' description of her escapade with Mars is indebted to the Ars, ii.561 f., and that the parent passage for Venus and Adonis, ll. 127-32, as for Sonnet xii, 3-4, is the Ars, ii.113-20. When dealing with a universal commonplace like the carpe diem theme it is unwise to talk with any certainty of parent passages, but Baldwin's argument is certainly strengthened by the fact that both Shakespeare and Ovid use images of violets and of greying hair in this context.

the Arcadia and the Faerie Queene with the worldly-wise disillusionment and cynicism of the Amores and the Ars which makes it one of the most charming of all Elizabethan poems. Weever had evidently read Donne's elegies. His description of the river:

> Whose wanton streames the bank so oft do kisse,
> That in her lap (at length) he falling is:
> Her bubbling water with slow gliding pace,
> Shews her great griefe to leaue that pleasant place:
> And with a murmure when she goes away,
> Greatly laments she can no longer stay,
> Cause th'vpper streams by violence would come,
> To take possession of that ioyfull roome
> With swift pursute, and as they gin to chace it,
> The bankes like armes doe louingly imbrace it:
> Whose purling noise vpon the pibble stones,
> For such departure are the dolefull grones:
> Her teares exhalde such norishment doth giue,
> As on the tree-fringd banks made Pleasure liue.[1.]

draws on Donne's similar description in the sixth elegy.[2.] Throughout the poem Weever's interjections are Ovidian in tone: he tells how Jove came to Danäe in a shower of gold:

> Which to receiue (maides will receiue such happe)
> She held hir skirt, Ioue such abundance powred,
> Twentie to one but Danae was deflowred.[3.]

and elsewhere remarks slyly that when "old men of sixty yeeres" marry young wives:

> (At such sweete weddings yongmen nothing loose).[4.]

His opinion about love-making smacks of Ovid also:

> (For God or man thinkes he the Cushion misses,
> That wooes all day, and winnes nought else but kisses)[5.]

Faunus' interview with the nymphs is a delicious practical demonstration of Ovidian lore:

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1. Faunus and Melliflora, 1600, sig. B2v.
2. Poetical Works, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, 2 Vols., 1912, i.88.
3. Faunus and Melliflora, sig. B1r.
4. ibid., sig. B4r.
5. ibid., sig. B3v. Cf. Ars, i.669.

If in these woods good husbands be so scant,
Will you, sweete Nymphs, with me supplie some want.
But some said nothing, these gaue full consent,
And some said twice No, which affirmes content,
And some said once No, these would grant and giue,
In womens mouths, No is no negatiue:
Whereat he blusht, and fearing to offend,
The fondling thus abruptly made an end.
Sorie (God knowes) the Nymphes were he had done,
Then Deiopeia mongst them all begun ...1.

Deiopeia explains that modesty is "a cumbersome companion to a maid", and that Theseus did not win Antiope by "blushing and sighing":

But laid her downe, and some say shee was rauisht,
And so she was, but rauisht with content.

When Hercules had killed Iole's father, "by force his force faire Iole knew", but this "unfathered Ladie":

Though she was rauisht, yet she neuer rewd it.

Instead she "sportfully put on the Lions skinne" and "tooke his clubbe betwixt her hands and viewd it". Helen accepted, without argument, "what inforcing Paris gaue":

Women are seruants, seruants vnto men,
But praise your seruants, what will follow then?
A readie horse straight yeeldes when he hath found
One that will haue him yeelde, else falles to bound.

Deiopeia could scarcely make her meaning clearer:

Yet childish Faunus hardly vnderstood.
2.

Her whole speech, both from the point of view of its classical exempla and of its estimate of the female psychology is strongly reminiscent of Ars, i.665-712. Faunus' father, Picus, is the hard-headed materialist of the elegiac tradition: he advises his son to marry for money:

Nymphes are like Poets, full of wit, but poore,
Vnto thy kingdome, adde a kingdome more
By marriage; let Pycus counsel thee,
Looke not (my boy) at wit and Poetrie. 3.

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1. Faunus and Melliflora, sig. C2r.
2. ibid., sig. C2r-v.
3. ibid., sig. D2v.

Shocked by such heresy Cupid, who happens to be passing, flies to the Destinies and makes a complaint about forced marriages: it is disgraceful that lovers should be thwarted:

> They yeeld (kind soules) but parents will not grant
> With tedious brawlings still they find a want,
> One is too rich, the other is too poore
> (So then twixt Faunus and faire Melliflore)...
> ... This kind vnkindnesse children yet must take,
> Vntill their parents price of them do make,
> As in a market: then what man wil craue them
> And giue the most, he shalbe sure to have them[1].

It was from Marlowe that Weever learned thus to introduce comment upon contemporary economic conditions into a mythological love poem. The Destinies decree that "market marriages" shall always be unhappy henceforth: the husbands shall be jealous, and restrain their wives from "honest libertie", and this shall make the wives more apt to stray, because they will think they are being kept from:

> Some strange conserue, sweete, deare and pretious,
> And women are by nature licorous[2].

Melliflora soon yields to Faunus' wooing, and begs as many kisses "as Cinthia gaue her loue Propertius". They elope, which angers Diana, so when Melliflora's child is born, Diana turns it into a little satyr ("so called because he satisfide her ire"), and persuades Jove to grant that this little satyr's descendants shall always be enemies to love. This, explains Weever, is why nowadays we see:

> The Satyres ierking sharp fang'd poesie,
> Lashing and biting Venus luxurie,

which annoys Venus so much that she wreaks her revenge by:

> Vsing all mischiefe gainst her enemies,
> Thrusting herselfe in baudy elegies,
> Polluting with her damned luxurie
> All eares which vowed were vnto chastity[3].

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1. Faunus and Melliflora, sig. D3v.
2. ibid., sig. D3v.
3. ibid., sig. I2r.

Giles Fletcher in his Venus and Anchises, probably written before 1616, though not published until 1628, under the name of Spenser, has one borrowing from Ovid's erotic code, the use of nautical imagery for love-making:

> At length into the haven he arrives
> Where safe from storme the love beate vessell rides,
> And as a shippe that now the port atchieves
> With thundrye shotte the angrie Neptune Chides, ...
> ... Soe th'happie boye in this faire haven blest
> Meanes here sometime his ioyfull bark to rest ...[1.]

This passage was omitted from the printed version.

Remond's arguments against "faith, most women's loathing" which, he says, is "but a word, a character of nothing"; and Doridon's assurance that:

> If you understood
> The birds that prattle here, you would know then,
> As birds woo birds, maids should be woo'd of men,[2.]

- bring to the first book of Browne's Britannia's Pastorals, 1613, something of what the Italian pastoral tradition had assimilated from Ovid. So, too, does the wanton nymph's eulogy of "variety", to the second book, published in 1616:

> The salmons, and some more as well as they,
> Now love the freshet, and then love the sea.
> The flitting fowls not in one coast do tarry,
> But with the year their habitation vary.
> What music is then in the shepherd's quill
> (Play'd on by him that hath the greatest skill)
> If but a stop or two thereon we spy?
> Music is best in her variety.
> So is discourse, so joys; and why not then,
> As well the lives and loves of gods as men?[3.]

Britannia's Pastorals was an Inns of Court production: the numerous commendatory verses prefixed both to the first and to the second books are nearly all by men of the Inner and Middle Temples. Nor is the Inns of Court animus against the love-money nexus hard to detect in the work itself:

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1. Venus and Anchises, ed. E. Seaton, 1926, p. 19.
   Cf. Heroides, xviii.205-12.

2. Browne, Poems, ed. G. Goodwin, 2 Vols., 1894, i.41 and 69.

3. ibid., i.299. Ovid's Myrrha, who uses similar arguments (Metamorphoses, x.324 f.), was brought before the public eye by Barksted's Mirrha, 1607, and by H.A,'s Scourge of Venus, 1613; both are free translations of Metamorphoses, x.298 f.

... the god of love is blind,
Hence is't he shoots his shafts so clean awry,
Men learn to love when they should learn to die;
And women, which before to love began
Man without wealth, love wealth without a man.[1.]

Only the old, rich man attracts women nowadays: it is a favorite theme with the elegists.

Though the tradition of the mythological erotic poem, after the manner of the Metamorphoses continued into the Caroline period, it was clearly becoming unfashionable among the young wits of London at the end of the sixteenth century. In 1601 Breton comments:

Let Ouid, with Narcissus idle tale,
Weare out his wits with figuratiue fables.
Old idle Histories grow to be so stale,
That clownes almost haue bard them from their tables,
And Phoebus, with his horses, and his stables:
Leaue them to babies: make a better choice
Of sweeter matter for the soules reioyce.[2.]

- and Chester appears to support the idea in his Loves Martyr:

Away fond riming Ouid, lest thou write
Of Prognes murther, or Lucretias rape ...[3.]

There are fundamental differences between this tradition and that of the love elegy. The one is objective, idyllic, remote and leisurely, the other personal, disillusioned, realistic and often shrill with protest. But both forms have their roots in the time sequence of erotic adventure, and the world of the elegists, though determinedly realistic, was no more real than the loves of the beautiful creatures of myth. A young man who wished to make his love poetry express dissatisfaction with the relationship between himself and society might, as both Marlowe and Weever did, bring topical criticism into the epyllion, but the general impression of detachment and contentment which the retrospective

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1. Browne, Poems, ed. G. Goodwin, 2 Vols., 1894, i.328.
2. No Whippinge, nor Trippinge, 1601, sig. D2r.
3. Loves Martyr, ed. A.B. Grosart, 1878, p. 38.

fantasy of that form inevitably conveyed was alien to such a purpose. For such a young man the elegy, with its immediacy and its self-involvement, was the most satisfactory medium.

CHAPTER VI

Haddon, Nashe and Campion

Walter Haddon (1516-72), a friend of Buchanan, as we noted earlier, was one of the most celebrated latinists of his day. When asked whether she preferred Buchanan or Haddon, Queen Elizabeth replied "Buchannum omnibus antepono, Haddonem nemini postpono". In his Poemata, published in 1567, there is a poem headed "Amatorium, Incerto authore",[1] which is very unlike his acknowledged Latin verse in subject matter. The popularity of Haddon's Latin poems is attested by the appearance of a second edition in 1576, four years after his death, and in this edition the publisher allowed the important phrase "Incerto authore" to drop out from the title of the "Amatorium". The poem relates how the author's promising flirtation is cut short by the questions of the girl's mother as to his intentions. Ill-satisfied by his hesitant response to her enquiries, the mother marries her daughter off to another man. The poet, like Ovid, emphasises the importance of time and opportunity in love:

> Quem tibi dant cursum fortunae vela secundae,
> Hic tibi, dum venti flant, capiendus erit.

Today may be favourable, but occasio flies away swiftly incertas quatiens pennas, and tomorrow omnis erit votis ianua clausa tuis. Sailors, merchants, soldiers, anglers, bird-catchers, and lovers, - all these must learn to pick the right time and place.[2] If only he himself had remembered this! There was a time when he and his mistress had but one thought: to please each other. Then she, dulcissima murmura fundens, used to join her lips to his: at a word from him venit in amplexus laeta lubensque meos. It was

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1. Op. cit., pp. 125 f.
2. Cf. Ars., i.399 f.

when she was retiring and unwilling that he found her most attractive: if she hung about his neck and gave him kisses freely, deficit is ardor sensim, seseque retexit.[1.] Like Ovid's mistress, the girl realises this, and takes advantage of it: oscula vel non dat, vel quasi nulla daret, and this, of course, makes him ravenous for her again:

> Saepe quasi cupiat discedere, plurima dicit,
> Saepe meis manibus prensa, repente fugit.
> Haec mihi calliditas, ardentes excitat aestus,
> Quo magis haec non vult, hoc magis ipse volo.

But one day the girl's mother insists on discussing her daughter's future with him: how he wishes to tell her to hold her tongue! She is just the sort of hard-headed, worldly old woman that all elegists detest:

> Tempus, ait, nunc est tacitos expromere sensus,
> Iam satis est ludo delitiisque datum.
> Seria tractemus ...

Under pressure he admits that marriage is no part of his plans. What a fool he was to admit it: impia vox, scelerata, nequam, stupidissima, bruta! The mother, symbol for the elegists of alien authority, dismisses him abruptly: from henceforth he may come to her house only when invited, she says:

> Filia multorum votis optata procorum
> Quem vult ex multis eliget. Ergo vale.

Perhaps Campion did not know of this poem when he exclaimed in the first elegy of his 1595 Poemata:

> Vel iuuenis, vel me docta puella legat.
> Et vatem celebrent Bruti de nomine primum
> Qui molles elegos et sua furta canat.[2.]

This desire for a docta puella and the autobiographical pose (sua furta) are familiar elegiac conventions. The opening, with its choice of audience, and its request that the tetrici

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1. Cf. Amores, II.xix.9 f.: Ars, iii.597 f.

2. Works, ed. P. Vivian, 1909, p. 336.

and seueri should depart, is imitated from the commencement of the second book of the Amores. The rest of the elegy is taken up with praise of the poet's native land, including an encomium of Chaucer and of English Protestantism, and with a celebration of the peace under Elizabeth: though Cupid has his own kind of warfare, he is a peace-loving god:

> Omnia nunc pacem, montesque vrbesque fatentur,
> Cum venere et nudo qui pede saltat Amor.
> Pacis amans deus est, quamvis fera bella Cupido
> Corde gerens nostro semper ad arma vocat.

Here, also, are two ancient elegiac themes: anti-militarism and the love-war parallel.[1] The panegyric upon Elizabeth's successful opposition to the powers of Catholicism, echoes Ovid's applause for the victorious Caesar at the start of the Amores.[2]

Campion's elegies, published in 1595, were clearly the product of his Cambridge and Inns of Court days. He entered Gray's Inn in 1586, and of the identifiable friends mentioned in his pages, - Edmund Bracy, Francis Manby, John Stanford, William Hattecliffe, George Gervis, Thomas Michelbourne and the rest, - nearly all were associated with the Inn. He took part in the revels at the Inn in 1588, and, whether in residence or not, continued his association with it until at least 1595, as in that year James Huishe, whom he laments in the 1619 edition of his epigrams, was admitted.[3] Campion had, also, written verses for the Gesta Graiorum performed in 1594.

His Latin poetry has been generally neglected. Vivian, in his introduction to the poet's Works remarks:

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1. For Pacis amans deus est cf. Propertius III.v.1.
2. Amores, I.ii.51-2.
3. Works, ed.cit., p. 250.

> Of the Latin poems it is not necessary to say much; for their literary value for the present generation is but slender. Their chief interest is in the information which they afford concerning the poet's loves and friendships, and in the clear presentment of his real self which he did not hesitate to commit to the discretion of a dead language ... I have little hesitation in saying that the divinities addressed in the Latin poems were no creatures of the imagination. That is sufficiently clear from the whole tone and nature of the elegies and epigrams; their peculiarly intimate and real atmosphere; their allusion to obviously real occurrences, passions and disappointments permitting of little doubt on the point.1.

There are good reasons for objecting both to Vivian's autobiographical treatment of the Latin love poems, and to his estimate of their literary value. It is true that the attitudes towards women found in them contrast strikingly with those in the English poems, but this is simply because Campion is writing in the convention of the Latin elegy and epigram and appropriating the attitudes proper to these forms. That some of his contemporaries found such attitudes shocking, is indicated by a remark in William Covell's Polimanteia which appeared in the same year as the Poemata:

> I know, Cambridge, howsoeuer now old, thou hast some young, bid them be chast, yet suffer them to be wittie; let them be soundly learned, yet suffer them to be gentlemanlike qualified.

The marginal note to this passage reads "Sweet Master Campion".2. It is, of course, likely that Covell has Nashe in mind as well. Though the latter was Campion's contemporary at Cambridge, there is no evidence that the two writers were acquainted there. This seems probable, however, and it is certain that they were known to each other by 1591, when five Cantos by Campion appear in Newman's surreptitious edition of Astrophel and Stella, edited by Nashe. In Have with you to Saffron-Walden, published five years later,

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1. Works, ed. cit., pp. xlviii and liv-lv.
2. Polimanteia, 1595, sig. Q3v.

Nashe refers to Campion's epigram In Barnum[1] as "one of the best Articles against Barnes"[2] in print, and in the 1595 Poemata Campion includes an epigram to Nashe[3] advising him to satirize "Puritanum Fordusum, et Taciti canem Vitellum". It is not known which persons are referred to here, but it seems that they have been censuring Nashe's imitations of Ovid and Virgil, presumably The Choise of Valentines and that part of Dido which was not by Marlowe. It is easy to see what sort of influence the young Nashe would have. In the 1588 Anatomie of Absurditie he had attacked those writers of his own day who "to be more amiable with their friends of the Feminine sexe, blot many sheetes of paper in the blazing of Womens slender praises":

> Henceforth let them alter their posies of profit with intermingled pleasure, inserting that of Ouid in steed:
>
> Si quis in hoc artem populo non nouit amandi,
> Me legat et lecto carmine doctus amet.[4]

Nashe launches into a harangue of some two hundred and forty lines against women and marriage, supporting his argument with frequent and copious classical and historical allusions.

As an example of the "unprinted packet of bawdye, and filthy Rymes in the nastiest kind", which Harvey attributes to Nashe in Pierces Supererogation[5], 1593, we have the text of The Choise of Valentines, to which Nashe is probably referring

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1. Works, ed. cit., p. 284.

2. Nashe, Works, ed. R. B. McKerrow, 5 Vols., 1958, iii.110.

3. Campion, Works, ed. cit., pp. 286 and 345.

4. Works, ed. cit., i.10-11; the quotation is from the Ars, i.1-2. It seems probable that, as McKerrow suggests (Nashe, Works, iv.9-10) Pettie may be one of the writers aimed at: for an example of his use of Ovidian material see the previous chapter, p.141.

5. Harvey, Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 3 Vols., 1884, ii.91: see also iii.63.

in Have with you when he admits "men in their youth (as in their sleep) manie times doo something that might have been better done".[1] The impact this poem made is easy to calculate from contemporary comment. In 1597 Hall demands:

> ... Artes of Whoring; stories of the Stewes,
> Ye Muses can ye brooke, and may refuse?
> Nay let the Diuell, and Saint Valentine
> Be gossips to those ribald rymes of thine.[2]

and it seems likely that Guilpin has the same work in mind when he writes of "some Capritcious humor" who, daring to display "bawdries orgia", makes "an issue of his vlcerous tumor" and "ransacks euery roome of a vaulting house".[3] As late as 1611 Davies remembers Nashe as the author of the "dampned Dildo",[4] and the same author in his Wit's Bedlam, 1617, indicates that all "conceipted youths" who wish to be considered fashionable must be able to recite this poem "as their Pater noster".[5]

The Choise of Valentines, designed to undermine the conventional love-poetry attitudes towards women by sheer vulgar realism, is avowedly an Ovidian pastiche:

> Ouids wanton Muse did not offend.
> He is the fountaine whence my streames doe flowe.
> Forgiue me if I speake as I was taught...[6]

- and indeed the borrowings from Amores, III.vii are obvious enough in the episode where the poet finds himself:

> Lyke one with Ouids cursed hemlock charm'd. (ll. 124 f.)

The author refers to his work as "a wanton Elegie" (l. 4), and claims that, though everyone can compose "complaints and praises" and "passion-out their pangu's in statelie rimes", yet:

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1. Works, ed. cit., iii.129.
2. Virgedemiae, I.ix: Hall, Poems, ed. A. Davenport, 1949, p.20.
3. Skialethia, 1598, sigs. B8v.-C1r.
4. Davies of Hereford, Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 2 Vols., 1878, ii.75.
5. Wit's Bedlam, sig. F2.: quoted by L. Ennis in The Huntington Library Bulletin xi, April, 1937, p.18. Not in Grosart.
6. Nashe, Works, ed. cit., iii.145.

> ... of loues pleasures none did euer write
> That hath succeeded in theis latter times.
> (lines 11-12).

When he describes the ultimate of "loues pleasures", the emphasis upon mutual and simultaneous enjoyment, and the portrayal of the girl's ecstasy both recall Ovid strongly:

> Oh not so fast, my rauisht Mistriss cryes,...
> ... With Oh, and oh, she itching moues hir hipps,
> And to and fro full lightlie starts and skips.
> She ierks her leggs, and sprauleth with hir heeles,
> No tongue maie tell the solace that she feeles ...
> (lines 179, and 199-202).

With this realistic and sympathetic account of physical passion the poem takes on a new and temporary seriousness.[1.] It is an important part of the tone of the work that the girl is no ordinary whore:

> ... mistris Francis in hir veluet goune's,
> And ruffs, and periwigs as fresh as Maye
> Can not be kept with halfe a croune a daye
> (lines 64-6).

She represents the extravagantly dressed, proud London woman persistently berated by the satirists and satirical dramatists as a symbol of the economic prosperity of the citizen class: the poem thus becomes a vicarious triumph over such a woman. Like all elegists the poet is "a poore man" (line 308): at the very climax of the poem he uses the traditional elegiac symbol for the love-money nexus:

> Hould wyde thy lap, my louelie Danae,
> And entretaine the golden shoure so free.
> (lines 193-4).

Throughout Nashe's works there are more quotations from the Amores[2.] than from any other classical text: perhaps he inherited his liking for these poems from his friend and collaborator, Marlowe. When, in The Unfortunate Traveller,

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1. Cf. with the whole passage Ars, ii.689-91, 721-8; iii.793 f. Nashe quotes Ars, ii.727-8 in Have with you. (Works, ed. cit., iii.110).

2. Works, ed. cit., v.133-4.

1594 (entered in the Stationers' Register 1593), he gives two lines from Amores, II.iii, it is Marlowe's translation of them that he supplies.[1] Assuming that there was never an edition of Marlowe's Elegies that did not include Davies' epigrams, - and no exemplar of such an edition exists, - this means that Nashe was acquainted with Marlowe's translation in manuscript.[2]

Such, then, was the kind of erotic poetry cultivated by the young Nashe, and the importance of his friendship with Campion becomes clear. As we have seen, Campion claims to be the first English writer of Latin love-elegies: his claim is supported by FitzGeffrey in the Affaniae, 1601:-

> O cuius genio Romana elegia debet
> Quantum Nasoni debuit arte suo, -
> Ille sed invitus Latiis deduxit ab oris
> In Scythicos fines barbaricosque Getas, -
> Te duce caeruleos invisit prima Britannos.[3]

And, indeed, with Campion's second elegy of 1595 we are straightway in the world of the Amores, a world of dramatic situation, of illicit and passionate love, where guards may have to be deceived and handmaids bribed, and where the attitude of male to female is, in general, one of witty, masculine self-assurance. The poet addresses his mistress and blames her for breaking her word after promising him a night of love: he describes how he lay awake longing for her, and how the movement of the window in the breeze, or the creaking noises about the house, kept him on edge:

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1. Works, ed. cit., ii.238.

2. The publication of the first extant edition of the Elegies, including Davies' epigrams, must have been post-1594: see J.M. Nosworthy, "The Publication of Marlowe's Elegies and Davies's Epigrams", R.E.S., n.s. 4, 1953, pp. 260-61.

3. op. cit., sig. D5v.

Audito quoties dicebam murmure laetus
Iam venit! extendo brachia, nulla venit
Me strepitu latebrosa attentum bestia lusit,
Spemque auido ventis mota fenestra dedit[1].

It is all so vivid that one can understand Vivian's autobiographical interpretations, but Harington's Rogero, as we saw, underwent the same experience:

Each little noise hope of her comming bred,
Which finding false against himselfe he fumed ...
... Sometime he with himselfe doth thus deuise
Now she is comming, now she drawes thus nie ...[2].

and behind Ariosto was the elegiac tradition: Ovid's Hero waiting for her Leander:

auribus incertas voces captamus, et omnem
adventus strepitum credimus esse tui[3].

- Tibullus' Marathus waiting for Pholoe:

dum mihi venturam fingo, quodcumque movetur,
illius credo tunc sonuisse pedes.[4].

Campion's conclusion is typically Ovidian in its overbearing impudence:

Impia, fecisti dirum in amore scelus;
Quod nullis poterit precibus lachrimisve piari,
Ni mihi sex noctes sacrificare velis.

The third elegy of 1595 is an essay on the theme of Amores, II.xix: quod sequitur, fugio; quod fugit, ipse sequor. He indeed is wretched, declares Campion, faciles cui nemo invidit amores[5]: let a mistress be cruel and issue commands, for who would call her "mistress" who is really a slave? When Penelope kept her suitors at bay, it was only to fan their flames higher:

Discite, formosae, non indulgere beatis
Fletibus assuescat siquis amare velit.

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1. Works, ed. cit., pp. 322, and 336-7.
2. Orlando Furioso, 1591, p. 51.
3. Heroides, xix, 53-4.
4. Tibullus, I.viii.65-6.
5. Works, ed. cit., pp. 317-8 and 337.

In the bed of love, alone, let a woman be submissive:[1] there let the man bite those beautiful lips that have hurled threats at him, and, upon that breast which has been so hard to him, sanguineam exugat dente labroque notam. Here, plainly stated, is the masochism which often lurks behind the "Petrarchan" sonnet convention, with its complementary sadism. There is to be nothing mutual about this intercourse: unlike Ovid, Campion contemplates merely authorized rape: femina iam partes sola ferentis agat. When the girl rises from bed, let her put on her old cruelty with her clothes: the lover, once more, must be made to wait on her:

> Iamque assurgenti speculumque togamque ministret,
> Praestet aquam manibus, calceolumque pedi.[2]

The poem ends with a paean of triumphant masculinity,[3] borrowed partly from Propertius, partly from the Heroides.[4] Campion envies the lot of Paris, who grasped the sweets of love amid danger, difficulty and hate:

> Mellifluam pulchrum est te diduxisse
> E medio iuvenum torva tuente choro ...
> ... O foelix cui per tantos nupsisse tumultus
> Contigit et dignum bello habuisse torum
> Ut tam pulchra meis cedant quoque praemia coeptis,
> Optarem pugnas et tua fata Pari.

Thus Campion's love-poem ends in a vivid celebration of a military triumph. He imagines the crowds running from all sides to gaze on Helen: Paris is envied by everyone. This is what the Renaissance has made of Ovid's:

> Quod licet, ingratum est; quod non licet acrius urit.[5]

Love must now be a victory, a glory: it must refurbish the

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1. Cf. Ars, iii.609-10.
2. Cf. Ars, ii.209-216.
3. Propertius, III.viii.29-34.
4. Heroides, xvi.331 f.
5. Amores, II.xix.3.

victor's self-confidence. We remember Montaigne who, illustrating his point with this same line from Ovid, wrote:

> For it is not only a delight, but a glory to besot and debauch this dainty and nice sweetnesse, and this infantine bashfullnesse... It is a glory (say they) to triumph over modesty, chastity and temperance.[1]

Elegy IV of 1595 is more sugary and, perhaps for this reason, does not appear in the 1619 volume. It plays prettily and harmlessly with the militat omnis amans theme. The poet recounts how he caught Cupid spying on Mellea as she was picking strawberries, - but this was a modern Cupid, armed with a gun and silent-gunpowder:

> Et nivis in tacito pulvere candor inest[2].

Annoyed at his discovery, Cupid enrolls them both as his soldiers: they will be paid in kisses, Campion receiving from Mellea aurea oscula quinque, and she the same from him:

> Gessimus acre dehinc ductore Cupidine bellum,
> Et reparat nova nos in nova bella dies.

The fifth elegy belongs more wholeheartedly to the elegiac world. Like the Amores, III.viii it is a complaint that money is nowadays more influential with women than art and culture.[3] Like the elegists Campion looks back regretfully to the dawn of the world, when strength and beauty reigned, before the earth was dug for gold:

> Cambrice, prima fuit formosis aptior aetas,
> Solaque de facie rustica pugna fuit;
> Donec vis formae succreuit, viribus aurum,
> Quo sine nunc vires, et bona forma iacet.

Now, although Cambricus' skin is like mud and his lips rougher than wild brambles and his teeth vel nulli, vel sunt atri rubigine, all the women fawn on him for his fat purse. So

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1. Florio's Montaigne, ed. G. Saintsbury, 3 Vols., 1893, ii.344-5.
2. Works, ed. cit., p. 337.
3. ibid., pp. 318 and 337.

gold has not only supplied his lack of ingenium and of formam, but has also given him in formosas regna beata: the imperious overtones of regna are significant: it is rule, power, dominance that Campion covets in his elegies. Cambricus is old, gouty and diseased, and cannot enjoy love's pleasures but, just as Corinna lay in the arms of the recens dives eques, so

... si olfecerit aurum
Mulcebit barbam Mellia nostra tuam.

The twelfth elegy of 1595 has the same theme, only here Mellea, like Nemesis, is presented as having actually married a pingui de rure maritus, - a rich, boorish old farmer, and as having gone to live a country life with him. Here the urban attachments inherent in the elegiac tradition become very evident: the poet is equally astounded to think that Mellea can leave him, and to think that she can tolerate living in the vilia rura. But after this the poem becomes fanciful in a way which the elegy seldom does. As we have seen, there are several passages on witchcraft and sorcery scattered throughout the Roman elegists, but these are used to add one more sinister characteristic to the portrayal of the elegiac old woman. Here Campion introduces the fairy folk, the parvi Lares, nocturni et ridiculi dii, and begs these mischievious little people to snatch the beautiful Mellea away, when she is in bed with her hideous old oaf, so that when he stretches out his arms to embrace her, he may find only a straw doll or tritum carioso pene Priapum.

The elegy which follows in the 1595 edition is a short

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1. Tibullus, II.iii. Cf. also Propertius II.xvi.
2. Works, ed. cit., pp. 321 and 338.
3. See p. 77 , above.
4. Works, ed. cit., pp. 323-4 and 337.

but brilliant pastiche of the Ars, expounding the doctrine of opportunitas in love:

Saepe opportune cadit importuna voluntas.
Occasion will present itself, and must be siezed firmly, or lost for ever.

Dum Menelaus abest, Helenen Priameius urget,
Urgentique aderant numina Fors et Amor.

Ovid had used the same example:

Dum Menelaus abest, Helene, ne sola iaceret
Hospitis est tepido nocte recepta sinu.[1]

Many courted Hero, says Campion: Leander won her because he picked the right time. Leander is similarly used in the Ars as a symbol for a lover who adopts the correct tactics.[2] Almost imperceptibly the poem becomes an exposition of the carpe diem theme in a deeper and wider sense:[3] shadows close in upon the gay gallantry of the opening, and the onlooker shivers to find the sky suddenly overcast:

Una dies aufert quod secula nulla resoluent,
Secula quod dederint nulla, dat vna dies.
Mane rosas si non decerperis, vespere lapsas
Aspicies spinis sucubuisse suis.

In the seventh elegy Campion imitates Propertius rather than Ovid.[4] Tearfully he begs Caspia to have mercy on his sufferings, and uses the Propertian technique of a series of outraged questions:

Caspia, tot poenas meruit patientia nostra?
Culpa erat insistens primo in amore fides?
Mene fugis quod iussa ferem? quod fortis amator
Non succumbo malis quae dare multa potes?[5]

He recalls how he prayed to the gods for her when she lay

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1. Ars, ii.359-60: for Campion's Fors et Amor cf. Ars, i.673 f.
2. Ars, ii.249-50.
3. Cf. Ars, iii.59 f.
4. Works, ed. cit., pp. 318-9 and 337.
5. Cf. Propertius, I.xviii.5-10, 17-18: II.viii.13-16.

sick, and how his prayers effected her recovery.[1] Now she is forgetful:

> Ingentesque animos assumis conscia formae,
> Virtutes nouit foemina quaeque suas.

Corinna, similarly, was arrogant as a result of her beauty: dat facies animos,[2] Ovid observed; and Cynthia, nimium facta superba,[3] was blamed for her fiducia formae.[4]

The elegy which follows is far more cynical and, apparently, detached. With mocking bitterness he asks his mistress:

> Cum mihi blanditias et credula verba dedisti
> Despectisque aliis primus et unus eram:
> Mene statim sub corde tuos posuisse calores
> Vana putas? an sic foemina nota mihi?

He was not such a fool, he assures her, as to fall in love with a woman of her sort: veros non sensimus ignes. But the cool self-possession of this opening is subtly belied by the indignation implicit in:

> Qui mihi te pactam vidit per foedera sacra,
> Cum rediit, vidit foedera nulla dies.

- where too much energy is generated by the explosion, after two lines of suspense, of that deferred subject, dies, for the poem to be taken as genuinely cool and detached.

Like Tibullus,[5] Campion goes on to warn his successor, Ottalus, that he, too, will eventually be discarded. Scathingly he illustrates the mutable, insatiable and inexplicable appetite of woman:

> Carbones aliquae, vel si quid tetrius illis,
> Deliciis spretis, saepe vorare solent.

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1. Cf. Propertius, II.xxviii; Tibullus, III.x; Amores, II.xiii.
2. Amores, II.xvii.7.
3. Propertius, III.xxiv.1-2.
4. Works, ed. cit., 315-6 and 337
5. Tibullus, I.v.69-76.

And, taunting his successful rival, he manages to suggest, by the repetition of a vocative, that he is almost sad that there is truth in his taunts:

... Ottale, nullus eris si tu sincerus amator.
Ni malus et fallax, Ottale, nullus eris.

Just as Ovid had introduced a threnodic elegy into the
1.
Amores, so Campion includes in the 1595 Elegiarum Liber an elegy addressed to his friend Edward Michelbourne begging him to cease grieving for the recent death of his
2.
sister. Since the poem is an exhortation to forgetfulness:

Nec te detineat formae pereuntis imago ...
... Neve recorderis quae verba nouissima dixit.

and since it is a purely personal treatment of a recent event, the inclusion of it in the 1619 edition, twenty-four years later seems pointless unless one assumes that Campion, with his eye on the Amores, felt that a single funerary poem was a proper ingredient of a book of elegies.

The tenth elegy, Ad amicam de sua fide sollicitam,[3] is, like the seventh, more Propertian than Ovidian. The poet has been accused of inconstancy by his mistress: in reply, he protests undying fidelity. Propertius, in the same
4.
situation, had behaved in a very similar way, and as the Roman elegist had assured Cynthia that he watched over her as lovingly as a son over a mother, and that she had taken
5.
the place of parents in his affections, so Campion, accused of desertion, demands:

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1. Amores, III.ix.
2. Works, ed. cit., pp. 324 and 337.
3. Ibid., pp. 319-20 and 337-8.
4. Propertius, II.xx.
5. Propertius, I.xi.21-4.

mater velit anxia natum,
Vnanimem aut fratrem prodere chara soror?

Sooner will flames lack heat and the sea, waves, and all the stars desert their mistress the moon than manus ista tuo possit abire sinu.[1] He begs her:

Desine iam teneros fletu corrumpere ocellos,

- and one remembers the soldier of Romulus, who asked the girl he had ravished, "quid teneros lacrimis corrumpis ocellos?"[2] in the Ars. Ovid, warning women against suspicion and jealousy, had concluded:

Nec cito credideris; quantum cito credere laedat,
Exemplum vobis non leve Procris erit.[3]

- and Campion ends his elegy:

Lugubri exemplo Cephali sat fabula nota est,
Ne nimium ex Procri sit tibi, nostra, cave.

The poem which follows this in the 1595 Poemata is a highly Ovidian piece of work.[4] Formerly, Campion admits, he was rusticus ingratusque puellae, but under Cupid's guidance he has become more polished. He narrates how he called upon pulchra Sybilla, and gained admittance to her bedroom while she was still in bed, and while her husband was away in the horrida rura. She pretended to be angry at his impudence: any Ovidian girl would do the same:

Dissimulans sic fata, Quid hoc? absente marito
Ad nuptae iuvenem stare cubile decet?

But he was unable to take advantage of the situation because she refused to dismiss her handmaid. Handmaids should be more considerate!

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1. For a similar boast cf. Propertius, II.xv.31 f.
2. Ars, i.129.
3. Ars, iii.685-6.
4. Works, ed. cit., pp. 320-21 and 338.

Discedant famulae, quoties locus aptus amori,
Nec domina sistant vel revocante gradus.

But perhaps her mistress had ordered this one to stay! Filled with shame he repents his hesitation and swears to Cupid that in future no woman shall escape him:

Candida seu nigra est, mollis seu dura, pudica
Siue leuis, iuvenis siue adeo illa senex.

- the theme is from the Amores, II.iv. Echoes from the same poem are heard in the fifteenth elegy of 1595 where Campion warns young men against the snares of love.[1] Quod pulchrum varium est: sometimes the brightness of a girl's eyes, or the rose-tint of her skin will attract: sometimes:

Compositis membris si decor aptus inest;
Gratia siue pedes, leuiter seu brachia motat.

As might be expected, this elegy is a miniature Remedia Amoris: the precepts of the Ars are reversed: neither pompa nor aurea vestis nor picti currus[2] nor marmoreae fores[3] should detain a young man's steps. Like Ovid, Campion warns against the combined effects of darkness and drink:

Siqua die placita est, noctu pulcherrima fiet:
Adde merum, Phaedram possit amare gener.

Perhaps because it was considered too lascivious, the thirteenth[4] elegy of 1595 was omitted from the 1619 edition. Like the Amores, I.v and II.xii it is a song of triumph celebrating the poet's physical possession of his mistress. Like Ovid when faced with Corinna's naked beauty, Campion is reduced to breathless exclamation at the sight of Caspia:

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1. Works, ed. cit., pp. 323 and 339.
2. Cf. Ars, i.67-72, 103, 135 f., 147 etc.
3. Ars, i.243-46.
4. Works, ed. cit., p. 338.

Quas ego, quam cupide vidi tetigique papillas!
Quam formosa inter brachia molle latus!
Qualia inhaerenti spiravit basia labro!
Qualia, sed castis non referenda viris![1].

Propertius when he had spent one night with Cynthia cried:

immortalis ero, si altera talis erit[2].

Campion deliberately outboasts him:

Nocte immortalem me Caspia reddidit una.

When the sweets of this night are known, he declares:

Tum neque Shora suos audebit prodere lusus,
Errore implexos nec Rosimunda Lares.

Here he is referring to two works, the Ovidian qualities of which we have already noticed: Drayton's Mistres Shore to Edward IV, not published until 1597, and Daniel's Complaint of Rosamond[3], 1592.

Although he omitted this elegy in 1619, Campion evidently thought the last two lines too good to waste:

Nox est, si moriar, satis haec mihi sola beato;
Si vivo, non sunt millia mille satis.

- and he therefore wrote a new epigram for his Epigrammatum Liber Secundus of 1619:

Ecquando vere promissam, Caspia, noctem,
Praestabis, cupido facta benigna mihi?
Nox ea, si moriar, sat erit mihi sola beato,
Si vivo, non sunt millia mille satis.[4]

Here it will be noticed, however, the future tense is used, - a fact which makes nonsense of Vivian's statement that the "elegies and epigrams" allude to "obviously real occurrences". If Caspia really gave Campion the promised night of love in or before 1595, he would hardly still be asking for it in 1619. Similarly destructive of autobiographical interpretations is a comparison of the Irae of the 1595 Epigrammatum

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1. Cf. Amores, I.v.19-22.
2. Propertius, II.xiv.10.
3. See pp. 135 and 142-3, above.
4. Works, ed. cit., p. 286.

liber with the forty-eighth epigram, Ad Melleam, of the 1619 second book.[2] In the former, a poem of some sixty lines, the poet angrily bids farewell to his mistress, and recounts how she weeps at his departure, how she asks what crime she has committed, and implores him to stay. He replies that she has been unfaithful to him, and that he has seen her lover, a vagabond soldier, leaving her house at dawn, - (an echo of Amores, III.xi.9-18). Finally, however, his anger abates at the sight of her misery, and he returns to her. In 1619 this poem was omitted, probably because it was considered too long for an epigram, but the first few lines are utilized in a shorter poem, where the poet takes the same angry farewell, but Mellea only laughs at him, and he declares, amazed:

> ... tam meus suavis tibi est
> Discessus? at nunc non eo, ut fleas magis.

Wittiest of all Campion's elegies is that added in the 1619 Poemata.[3] Here the poet assumes that attitude of brilliant impudence which we find in a work like Amores, II.xix. But whereas Ovid in that poem upbraids the husband for not guarding his wife well enough, and thus spoiling his stolen pleasures by making them too easy, Campion blames Calvus for being such a fool as to entrust his lovely mistress to him, Campion! If they were not such good friends, and if Calvus did not know him so well, says the poet, he could forgive him for making such a foolish mistake:

> Irascor veteri, quod me magis urit, amico,
> Nec nos vulgari foedere iunxit amor.

He goes on to explain that, of course, he made love to her:

> Muneribus tento, cunctaque Cupidinis arte,
> Qua non est, et scis, notior ulla mihi.
> Vici, et iam (testis mihi sit chorus omnis Amorum)
> Osculor inuitus, quod tua sola foret
> Iste voluptatem mihi scrupulus abstulit omnem ...

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1. Works, ed. cit., pp. 342-3.
2. ibid., p. 279.
3. ibid., p. 316.

- and therefore he is more angry than ever with Calvus, because his foolishness spoiled his friend's pleasure:

... tua culpa minus fidum te fecit amico.

The deliberate outrageousness of this conclusion, with its reversal of the normal roles of accuser and accused, is strongly reminiscent of Ovid's:

me tibi rivalem si iuvat esse, veta![1].

Before turning to Campion's English poetry it will be instructive to look at the Latin epigrams, and to compare the attitudes towards women and love found in the epigrams of 1595 and in those of 1619. The first book of epigrams in the 1619 Poemata is a new work: the second, an expansion of the single Epigrammatum Liber of 1595, contains thirty-six epigrams[2], about one seventh of the total, which attack women either singly or as a sex.[3] Twenty-one of these thirty-six were added in 1619 and do not appear in 1595, as were the three epigrams in the second book which deal with venereal disease.[4] In the new first book of 1619 there are twenty-nine epigrams against women[5], again about one seventh of the total[6], four on the subject of venereal disease, and six directed against matrimony[7] compared with only two of this kind in the 1595 Epigrammatum Liber. In 1595, moreover, to counterbalance the fifteen epigrams against women, there are eleven "Petrarchan" epigrams[8] where the poet laments his

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1. Amores, II.xix.60.
2. i.e. 14, 16, 18, 21, 28, 35, 59, 63, 107, 112, 117, 118, 122, 126, 128, 129, 130, 132, 135, 137, 139, 149, 159, 161, 162, 163, 178, 180, 182, 186, 190, 191, 196, 198, 219, 223. (see Works, ed. cit., pp. 273-304.)
3. i.e. those numbers underlined in the above note.
4. i.e. 95, 119, 214 (Works, ed. cit., pp. 287, 291, 303).
5. i.e. 13, 17, 24, 25, 35, 52, 56, 57, 63, 109, 110, 111, 116, 117, 119, 123, 127, 128, 147, 149, 168, 173, 181, 182, 200, 204, 206, 213, 219. (Works, ed.cit., pp. 239-268).
6. i.e. 75, 90, 91, 112 (Works, ed. cit., pp. 247-252).
7. i.e. 10, 68, 87, 133, 158, 212 (Works, ed.cit., pp. 238-267).
8. i.e. 15, 37, 50, 56, 66, 75, 85, 89, 102, 113, 124. The numbering used is that of the 1619 Poemata: (Works, ed.cit., pp. 273-292).

mistress' cruelty and easily-awakened anger, compares her with the Phoenix, and himself with the mountain snow which will be melted by the sun of her love, bewails the wounds which her eyes have inflicted upon his heart, and so on. Neither in the 1619 Book I, nor in any of the poems added in 1619 to make up Book II do we find such sonnet-stuff again. Similarly that courtliness towards women exemplified by the 1595 Ad Melburniam[1] or De Se is not to be detected in the Latin poetry thereafter, nor does Campion again celebrate a happy marriage in his epigrams as in the 1595 Ad Corvinum.[2] The taunts against matrimony in the 1595 epigrams, like those in the 1619 edition, are for the most part merely conventional jibes about domestic broils and about garrulous, drunken or belligerent wives, but the poems on the subject of venereal disease, all first introduced in 1619 attain sheer brutality as in Ad Areanam,[3] where Campion takes a savage delight in trampling underfoot the wifely chastity of Areana, pointing out that though she keeps herself clean and faithful, her husband is known to every whore in the city, so that all their customers, and all their diseases are hers too, at second hand.

In 1595 Campion is far more willing to smile upon the shortcomings of women than he is in the later epigrams. With typically Ovidian impudence he blames Cambricus for guarding his daughter too zealously:

Pulchrior huic forma est quam decet esse probis[4]

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1. Works, ed. cit., pp. 282 and 289.
2. ibid., pp. 346 and 289 (new title, Ad Paulinum, 1619).
3. ibid., p. 252.
4. ibid., pp. 290 and 347.

this idea combines, later, with an epigram in the same book to Mellea:

> Anxia dum natura nimis tibi, Mellea formam
> Finxit, fidem oblita est darel.

to produce the seventeenth song in the Fourth Booke of Ayres.[2] With the same light impudence Campion rails at Cultellus for beating his unfaithful wife: her lips bleed, a nectaris quantum perit!, and he adds slyly

> Poenas amori sed nimis seras dabis[3].

He is humorously indulgent towards feminine contrariness when he forbids Caspia to kiss or embrace him, and then adds that if she is really a woman she will disobey him, and he will obtain his desire:[4]

> Now shew it, if thou be a woman right, -
> Embrace, and kisse, and loue me, in despight.[5]

- as he put it when he used the idea in A Booke of Ayres, 1601. In the 1619 epigrams he assumes the role of witty young adulterer occasionally: in the brief Ad Daunum, for example:

> Sponsam ne metuas, castam tibi, Daune, remisi,
> Ipsam, ni credis tu mihi, Daune, roga.[6]

- or in Ad Janum, where he asks Janus why he is angry that his wife has a lover. Would he be pleased if she were too ugly to attract one?[7] But generally by 1619 his literary attitude towards women has hardened too much to permit this sort of playfulness. Even in the second half of the 1595

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1. Works, ed. cit., pp. 274 and 341.
2. ibid., p. 183.
3. ibid., pp. 273 and 341: the 1619 version is quoted.
4. ibid., pp. 279-80 and 343.
5. ibid., p. 12.
6. ibid., p. 302.
7. ibid., p. 276.

Epigrammatum Liber the epigrams addressed to Gella (Galla in the 1619 edition) are chiefly compounded of dirt and cynicism: often, of course, they are indebted to Martial. The epigrammatist's conventional taunts about bad breath, stinking cosmetics, and artificial hair are all represented. The poems added to this book in 1619 are still more brutally vulgar on the subject of women. De Amantibus, Ad Argentinum, In Marcellinam, the two epigrams In Gallam, and In Hermiam are typical.[1] Similar in tone are the epigrams on women in the 1619 Book I. They are directed chiefly at the supposed inconstancy of women in sexual relationship, at their inordinate pride, or at some individual and disgusting physical characteristic. Only once does the tone change to that of gentle amusement at womanly vanity:

> Ex speculo pictor se pinxit ut Aulus amicae
> Dat tabulam; speculo mallet amico frui.[2]

- or to that of even more gentle rebuke:

> Cernitur in nivea cito, si fit, sindone labes:
> Formosis eadem lex, Arethusa, datur.[3]

This is perhaps the most delightful of all the 1619 epigrams, but so mild an attitude towards women is found nowhere else in the book. Extravagant adulation of the female is ridiculed in the superbly outspoken In Barnum:

> In vinum solvi cupis Aufilena quod haurit,
> Basia sic felix, dum bibit illa, dabis,
> Forsitan attinges quoque cor, sed (Barne) matella
> Exceptus tandem, qualis amator eris![4]

Here the reference is to the sixty-third sonnet of Barnes' Parthenophil: it seems likely that Campion's epigram was suggested by a passage in Nashe's Have With You, 1596:

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1. Works, ed. cit., pp. 291, 292, 297, 299, 301.
2. ibid., p. 253.
3. ibid., p. 256.
4. ibid., p. 239.

... or if you would haue anie rymes to the tuhe of stinke-a-pisse, hee is for you; in one place of his Parthenophill and Parthenope wishing no other thing of Heauen but that hee might bee transformed to the Wine his Mistress drinks and so passe thorough her.

Bentiu: Therein hee was verie ill aduisde, for so the next time his Mistres made water, he was in danger to be cast out of her fauour [1].

Campion's reading of the Amores is indicated in the epigrams by such things as the 1619 In Calvum[2], where the scene is borrowed from Amores III.ii, or by Caspia's fondness for her pet parrot[3], reminiscent of Corinna's psittacus eois imitatrix ales ab indis[4]. Like Ovid, Campion fears lest his mistress should be carried off by the gods[5]. Elsewhere he attacks the greed of the professional virgin, who expects gifts and attention from her lovers, but is prepared to give nothing in return[6].

In Campion's English poetry, the break from the older, courtly attitudes towards women which we find as we pass from A Booke of Ayres, 1601, to Two Bookes of Ayres, (undated, 1613?) and to the Third and Fourth Bookes of Ayres, (undated 1617?), is gradual and incomplete. Nevertheless it is discernible, and is clearly indicated, for example, when we compare the following poem from the 1601 Booke with the version of it printed in the Fourth Booke of Ayres:-

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1. Nashe, Works, ed. R.B. McKerrow, 5 Vols., 1958, iii.103.
2. Works, ed. cit., p. 272.
3. ibid., p. 347.
4. Amores, II.vi.1.
5. Works, ed. cit., p. 272. (Ad Melleam): cf. Amores, I.x.1-8.
6. ibid., p. 280. (In AEmiliam).

1601

Mistris, since you so much desire
To know the place of Cupid's fire,
In your faire shrine that flame
doth rest,
Yet neuer harbourd in your
brest,
It bides not in your lips so
sweete,
Nor where the rose and lillies
meete,
But a little higher,
but a little higher;
There, there, O there lies
Cupid's fire.

Euen in those starrie pearcing
eyes,
There Cupid's sacred fire lyes.
Those eyes I striue not to
enjoy,
For they haue power to
destroy.
Nor woe I for a smile, or
kisse,
So meanely triumphs not my
blisse,
But a little higher,
but a little higher,
I climbe to crowne my chast
desire.

1617?

Beauty, since you so much desire
To know the place of Cupid's
fire,
About you somewhere doth it rest,
Yet neuer harbour'd in your
brest,
Nor gout-like in your heele
or toe;
What foole would seeke Loue's
flame so low?
But a little higher,
but a little higher,
There, there, O there lies
Cupid's fire.

Thinke not, when Cupid most
you scorne,
Men iudge that you of Ice were
borne;
For though you cast loue at
your heele,
His fury yet sometime you
feele:
And where-abouts if you would
know,
I tell you still not in your
toe:
But a little higher,
but a little higher,
There, there, O there lyes
Cupid's fire. 1.

A similar indication of the passing of the older generation's habitual respect for women is the first song in the Two Bookes (1613?):

> Vaine men whose follies make a God of Loue,
> Whose blindnesse beauty doth immortall deeme;
> Prayse not what you desire, but what you proue,
> Count those things good that are, not those that seeme:
> I cannot call her true that's false to me,
> Nor make of women more then women be. 2.

Traces of the Roman elegists and of Campion's own Latin elegies are not hard to detect. A Booke of Ayres, XX, 3. is reminiscent of Propertius, II.xxviii, and the refrain of Two Bookes of Ayres, XI, 4. echoes that of Amores, I.vi. The

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1. Works, ed. cit., pp. 14, 186. The second version is at least as early as 1605: see Eastward Hoe, III.ii.40.
2. ibid., p. 132.
3. ibid., p. 17.
4. ibid., p. 138.

twenty-first song in the Fourth Booke[1] is evidently, like the Choise of Valentines, derived from Amores, III.vii: like Ovid, Campion suspects that he has been bewitched:

> What Hagge did then my powers forespeake,
> That neuer yet such taint did feele?

The elegiac atmosphere of furtive love outwitting jealous vigilance is created, in the same book, by:

> Turne all thy thoughts to eyes,
> Turn all thy haires to eares,
> Change all thy friends to spies,
> And all thy ioyes to feares:
> True Loue will yet be free,
> In spite of Iealousie.[2]

- and the girl in the Second Booke takes her arguments for adultery, like the Wife of Bath, from the Ars.[3] The address to Ottalus in Campion's eighth elegy of 1595 is recalled in the Third Booke:

> Hee that boasts now of thy loue,
> Shall soone my present fortunes proue.
> Were he as faire as bright Adonis,
> Faith is not had, where none is.[4]

- and the situation of his second elegy, where he lay awake waiting for Caspia to come to his bed as she had promised, blossoms into one of the most beautiful of his lyric stanzas:

> Is shee come? O, how neare is shee?
> How farre yet from this friendly place?
> How many steps from me?
> When shall I her imbrace?
> These armes Ile spred, which onely at her sight shall close,
> Attending as the starry flowre that the Suns noone-tide knowes.[5]

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1. Works, ed. cit., p. 186.
2. ibid., p. 185.
3. ibid., p. 144 (XIX) cf. Ars, iii.93-4.
4. ibid., p. 161.
5. ibid., p. 143.

Such a stanza is a pointer to the most important effect of the study of Latin elegy and epigram upon Campion's English poems, namely the evolution of dramatic consciousness in the lyric. Vivian remarks upon this evolution, but does not suggest any connection with the Latin poems:

> Attention should also be drawn to the unlyrical quality of some of Campion's songs, which are in reality little monologue sketches; consisting, not of the lover's prayer or praise in the detached atmosphere of his contemplation, but in an actual scene of life, a dramatic dialogue where one voice is not heard.[1]

At the beginning of the 1601 Booke of Ayres, Campion observes:

> What Epigrams are in Poetrie, the same are Ayres in musicke, then in their chiefe perfection when they are short and well seasoned.[2]

The same parallel is drawn in the address To the Reader prefaced to Two Bookes of Ayres,[3] clearly implying that Campion attempted to apply the technique of the Latin epigram to the English "ayre", and indeed among the earliest of his poems to be published, the five Cantos included in the surreptitious edition of Astrophel and Stella in 1591, we find one which is a translation of an epigram printed in the 1595 Poemata:

Canto quarto

Loue whets the dullest wittes, his plagues be such:
But makes the wise by pleasing, doat as much.
So wit is purchast by this dire disease.
O let me doat! so Loue be bent to please.[4]

Ad Amorem

Cogis vt insipidus sapiat, dammose Cupido,
Mollis at insipidos qui sapuere facis.
Qui sapit ex damno misere sapit; o ego semper
Desipuisse velim, sis modo mollis, Amor.[5]

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1. Works, ed. cit., pp. lvii-lviii.
2. ibid., p. 4.
3. ibid., p. 114.
4. ibid., p. 351.
5. ibid., pp. 280 and 343.

The fact that the neat pun upon insipidus and sapio which runs through the epigram cannot be reproduced in the English poem, indicates that the Latin is the original. Indeed, in every case of correspondence between the epigrams and the English poems[1.] where comparison of the Latin version or versions with the English gives any evidence of temporal priority, the evidence is always for the Latin. In "It fell on a sommers day..."[2.], for example, the order of events in the English is that of the 1619 In Lycium et Clytham[3.], not of the 1595 De Thermanio et Glaia[4.], which tells the same story but with an extra stage in the wooing (Diducit tacita manu solutas vestes), which is not reproduced either in the English or in the later Latin versions. Moreover the final line of the English:

She sleepes eu'rie afternoone.

is clearly nearer to the 1619:

Ad notos redit indies sopores

than to the 1595:

Noctøes atque dies trahis sopores.

Even without such internal evidence in the epigrams and songs themselves, we should be inclined, in cases of correspondence, to assume priority for the Latin, from Campion's own insistence upon the importance of his Latin as compared with his English writings which latter, as Rosseter tells us, he regarded as "superfluous blossomes of his deeper Studies"[5.].

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1. Works, ed. cit., pp. 1-li.
2. ibid., p. 10.
3. ibid., p. 281.
4. ibid., p. 343.
5. ibid., p. 3.

To think of Campion merely as a writer of English songs is, then, seriously to misrepresent his range and his stature as a literary figure. It is the Latin poetry which binds him most firmly to the European tradition, and in the last two lines of the 1595 Epigrammatum Liber, he claims a place in that tradition: sending his book out into the world he prays:

> At vos o Latiae peregrinae parcite musae,
> Et fiat vestri pars leuis illa chori.1.

Moreover there is evidence, as we have seen, that the gradual reorientation of his lyric attitudes was intimately connected with his cultivation of the Latin epigram and elegy. He was not alone in introducing elegiac patterns and situations into the song during the first ten years of the seventeenth century.2. In an age when drama was a popular and flourishing art form, it is not surprising that the dramatic possibilities of the song-book lyric should have been exploited, and in this process writers would naturally look to the elegy, where a fusion of dramatic and lyric elements is effected, as a model.

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1. The terminology used in discussing this throughout this chapter is that of Rudolf Brettner (see his Poems of John Donne, 2 Vols., 1912, II, pp. lvi-clii) as modified by Miss Helen Gardner (see her Elegies, 1965, pp. lvi-xcvi). The two main areas are those listed by Miss Gardner (pp. xcvii-xcviii); for Group I, here referred to, certainly in Miss Gardner for her constant help and

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1. Works, ed. cit., p. 348.
2. See pp. 317 - 321 , below.

CHAPTER VII

Donne and the Donne Tradition

Did Donne write a 'Book of Elegies' as he did a 'Book of Satires'? Manuscript evidence suggests that he did.[1] The Group I[2] manuscripts all contain a set of twelve love elegies and one funeral elegy, "Sorrow, who to this house scarce knew the way...".[3] W also has thirteen elegies, identical with those of Group I except for the inclusion of "The Comparison", not in Group I, and the exclusion of "Loves Progress". JC contains the same set as W, and so does A25 except that the first, "The Bracelet", and the last, the funeral elegy, are missing. Lut, which contains a large collection of elegies expanded from the mutilated set in A25, begins its collection with numbers III to XII of the set contained in W and JC, with one difference in order. Thus we have thirteen love elegies, eleven common to Group I and W, plus "The Comparison" and "Love's Progress". These are the only love elegies common to the four manuscripts of Group II. Grierson prints twenty elegies. We are probably justified in removing two of these, "The Autumnall" and "The Dreame", on the grounds that, though undoubtedly Donne's, they are not elegies. The first is a verse paradox, the second bears no relation to the elegies either in its

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1. The terminology used in discussing MSS. throughout this chapter is that of H.J.C. Grierson (see his Poems of John Donne, 2 Vols., 1912, ii. pp. lvi-cliii) as modified by Miss Helen Gardner (see her Divine Poems, 1952, pp. lvi-xcvi). The MS. sigla used are those listed by Miss Gardner (pp. xcvii-xcviii): her Group I, here referred to, contains two MSS., C57 and SP, unknown to Grierson. I am greatly indebted to Miss Gardner for her constant help and advice. Most of the ideas about Donne MSS. contained in this chapter are hers.

2. i.e. those which Gierson numbers I-VII, XI, XVI and XVIII-XX.

3. Gierson, ed. cit., i.287.

form, alternately rhymed decasyllables, or in its neo-Platonic matter. Both appear among the Songs and Sonets in the manuscripts of Group I.

The thirteen love elegies found in Group I, Group II, or W fall into two classes: those which resemble, in manner and approach, the Ovidian elegy, and those which resemble the Italian paradox. The two models are quite distinct. The Ovidian elegy, if not actually a narrative, always implies a narrative. We are introduced into a situation as in the drama. Something is happening, about to happen or has just happened. Time is a factor. The Italian paradox is static, non-dramatic, purely argumentative. Time is of no importance. Moreover the paradox is so much a self-conscious literary tour de force that it often contains references, usually derogatory, to similar productions by others. This would be unthinkable in the Ovidian elegy, which resolutely pretends to be not a literary exercise but an autobiographical document, dealing with real life and real events. Of the thirteen elegies mentioned, "The Anagram", "The Comparison", "Loves Progress" and "Change" follow the paradox tradition to a greater or lesser extent. "Jealosie", "The Perfume", " "Natures lay Ideot...", "The Bracelet", "By our first strange and fatall interview,...", "Going to Bed", "Loves Warre", and "His Picture" incline to the Ovidian.

The few topical references which these elegies contain point to the same period, 1595-1596, as their date of composition.[1] Was it Campion's publication of the Poemata

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1. Grierson, ii.61-2. The joke about French crowns in "The Bracelet" may refer to the influx of French money into England during 1595. Perhaps "His Picture" is to be associated with Donne's participation in the attack on the Spanish fleet in Cadiz harbour in 1596.

in 1595, with its declaration that he is the first British elegist, that stimulated Donne to construct a book of English elegies? Donne had a copy of Campion's Poemata[1] in his library. Perhaps he made up his book of elegies by including in it, along with poems on genuinely Ovidian themes, some verse paradoxes which had been composed independently. This would explain why the elegies arrange themselves so evidently into two classes. In 1595-6 Donne was at Lincoln's Inn, before he went on the Cadiz expedition and the Islands Voyage, and before he took service with Egerton. The elegies, like Campion's belong to the Inns-of-Court society. They were designed to shock, and clearly did: in 1633 the licenser excepted the first, second, tenth, eleventh and thirteenth elegies from the 'booke of verses and poems'[2] which Marriott entered.

What of the elegies printed by Grierson which are, on the evidence of the manuscripts, no part of Donne's book? "The Expostulation" is the only one of them to appear in the 1633 edition which, apart from it, contains only two uncanonical poems, William Basse's Epitaph on Shakespeare, not reprinted in 1635, and a paraphrase of Psalm 137, probably by Francis Davidson. It was printed, also, as Jonson's in the posthumous Underwood of 1641. Jonson's it is certainly not:

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1. G. Keynes, A Bibliography of Dr. John Donne, Third edn., 1958, p. 211.

2. Marriott's book, as Grierson noted, must have been derived from an MS. of Group I, as exclusion of the elegies specified from the set in that Group leaves eight elegies in the order in which they appear in 1633. But the compiler of 1633 had also a MS. of Group II, resembling TCD or N, to work from, since he included poems found in these two MSS., but not in TCC or A18. The elegies excluded in 1633 were those numbered XI, XVI and XVIII-XX in Grierson: XI and XVI were printed in 1635, without authority, (the latter among the Epicedes and Obsequies), XVIII and XIX in 1669 and XX not till 1802.

he would hardly have allowed it to be printed thrice as Donne's while he was still alive[1], but is it Donne's? The only strong external evidence for Donne's authorship is provided by William Drummond. His Hawthornden manuscript (HN) contains pieces by various authors, ascribed by initials at the close of each. All other ascriptions are correct, and that of "The Expostulation" is "J.D.". It has been argued that the poem is also contained in ten large manuscript collections of Donne's work. This is true, but it is not in the Group I manuscripts, and is among those poems in TCD and its descendant N which are not in TCC and its descendant A18. These non-common poems are either inserted into the run of poems the four Group II manuscripts have in common, or added at the close. "The Expostulation" is inserted into the run, but two other poems so inserted, "Whoso terms love a fire..." and a poem correctly ascribed "R. Cor.", are not by Donne. Evidently the compiler of 1633, going through a manuscript of Group II for extra poems, included "The Expostulation", thinking it was Donne's, but since he included, from some other source, two other uncanonical poems, his taste was not unerring. The absence of "The Expostulation", from Group I, from the collection which lies behind Group II and from W is more telling than its inclusion in 1633. It also appears in H40 and RP31, but the common source of these two manuscripts was a miscellany containing a few of Donne's poems with those of other wits. L74 includes it, in its Donne section, but there it is one of a group of poems in couplets which interrupts a collection of Donne's lyrics, and is immediately followed by a poem of

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1. For arguments in favour of Jonson's authorship see M.L. Wilder in M.L.R. xxi, 1926, pp. 431-5: the case for Donne is set out by E.M. Simpson, R.E.S., xv, 1939, pp. 274-82. See also Jonson, Works, ed. C.H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson, 11 Vols., 1925-52, xi.66-70.

Beaumont's which the scribe has not distinguished by ascription from its neighbours. B, a large, patchy collection, includes "The Expostulation" in a section (ff. 23v.-39v.) where poems by Beaumont, Sir John Roe and others are copied with Donne's. S has a set of twenty-six elegies, including "The Expostulation", made up by including with authentic love elegies some verse-letters and epicedes, and four poems certainly not by Donne, though they appear often in collections of his works. In Lut and O'F, "The Expostulation" occurs in a heterogenous group of poems which forms the second part of their group of elegies, and is placed between two poems which are certainly not authentic. The scribe of O'F has written by the title "Quere if Donne's or S^r Tho: Rowes'". In Dob, S96, Cy, O, P and S962 the position of "The Expostulation" is not suspicious, but all five manuscripts contain a fair number of uncanonical pieces. William Fulman who, in CCC327 ascribes the poem to Donne, with a page reference, and then adds "B. Johns.", was clearly depending upon the appearance of the poem in print. In Edward Hyde's commonplace book the value of the ascription "J.D." is questionable, since Hyde added the same initials to "Dearest, thy tresses are not threads of gold...", which is Carew's.

From internal evidence, "The Expostulation" must be dated after 1603. The "Kings dogges" (line 52) clearly refers to James I's passion for hunting. The poem's loose structure is quite unlike Donne: it falls into four sections, - an attack on the false mistress (lines 1-22), an abject retraction (lines 23-32), a curse on some third party (lines 32-52), and a proposal that the lovers should start all over again (lines 53-70). The volte face in the second section is quite unparalleled in Donne's love poetry, and the curse part does not seem ingenious enough for Donne when we compare it with the close of "The Bracelet" or with "The Curse". It is

extremely unusual for Donne to echo Catullus, yet there are two recollections of that poet in "The Expostulation".[1.]

The Ovidian nature of the poem is apparent. It builds up the impression of real events extremely skilfully with its references to "stolen kisses" (line 17), and to "that treacherous breast" who betrayed the affair "unto the cunning of a third" (lines 33-8). The rhetorical rejection of inconstancy (lines 27-32) recalls the Tristia, I.viii.1-8, and the description of love's infancy, when:

> first I saw
> Love in your eyes, that gave my tongue the law
> To like what you lik'd; and at maskes and playes
> Commend the selfe same Actors, the same wayes;
> Aske how you did, and often with intent
> Of being officious, be impertinent. (lines 59-64)

squeezes into the poem the juice of the Ars, i.89-100, ii.197-201, and the Amores III.ii: the very word "officious" is suggested by Ovid's officio causa ... officii pretium in the second of these passages. The last two lines of the poem echo the Ars, ii.13-14. Yet in spite of its Ovidianism, most of the poem seems strangely tame and unmasculine for Donne: indeed, perhaps because of its Ovidianism, for Donne in Ovidian mood was no such creature. It is an apt comment on the tone of "The Expostulation" that The Marrow of Complements, 1655, should contain, under the heading The Lover finding himself abus'd by her who promis'd him Marriage (she deserting him and electing another) may thus vent himselfe, a specimen letter beginning:

> Mistresse
> To make the doubt clear that no Woman can be constant, was it my fate to prove it fully in you?...[2.]

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1. Cf. "Expostulation", lines 9-11; Catullus, lxx, and "Expostulation", lines 47-52; Catullus, cviii, 3-6 (also Ovid, Ibis, 169-72).

2. Op. cit., p. 41.

which is a straightforward prose redaction of the poem. The authentic Donne elegies hardly recommend themselves for such treatment.

Of the four elegies added in 1635, Grierson included three in his canon: "Julia", "A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife" and "His parting from her". Their appearance in the second edition alone is no argument for authenticity; several of the poems there added are not by Donne. Of the three, the first two were taken by the compiler of 1635 from his main source O'F where, as in the parent manuscript Lut, they occur in a miscellaneous group of poems added at the end of the elegies proper. "Julia" is also in B, immediately preceding a poem about Henry III of France which, like it, is not distinguished as not by Donne, and in the first part of the Haslewood-Kingsborough manuscript where, though it appears in the middle of what is clearly meant to be a collection of Donne's poems, it is immediately followed by two satires by Sir John Roe which, likewise, are not distinguished from the surrounding poems by Donne. With four classical references in its thirty-two lines, "Julia" is certainly not reminiscent of Donne in style. As Grierson notes, it is in the scurrilous style of Horace's invective against Canidia, frequently imitated by Mantuan and other humanists. It has very little connection with the elegiac tradition except in so far as it is, perhaps, a portrait of an elegiac anus or 'old woman': she is a disruptive element in society: "slander" and "calumny" are her stock-in-trade, and she directs her attention particularly towards love-relations, she "sticks jealousie in wedlock". She even envies her own daughter. If the poet at this point were to reveal his love for that daughter, and consequent abhorrence of Julia's envious vigilance, we should have a conventional love elegy. As it is, the impersonal abuse continues, becoming more detached

and remote with its references to Mantuan and to classical mythology. The elegy often contains invective, but it cannot be reduced solely to invective: some suggestion of narrative must remain. One is tempted to date this poem after 1615, partly because of the wave of anti-feminine satire in the last quarter of the first two decades of the century, and partly because of the reference to Julia as a "night-crow" (line 17). The application of this term to woman was popularized by Joseph Swetnam in one of the most famous of all tracts against women, The Araignment of Lewde, idle, froward, and unconstant women, 1615, where he remarks:

> Women are called night Crowes for that commonly in the night they will make request for such toyes as commeth in their heades in the dayl.

Five years later Samuel Rowlands in The Night Raven, 1620, looks back at Swetnam's attack and offers a defence:

> Tearm them no more night-Ravens, they are Doves
> True harted Turtles, constant, faithfull, kinde[2].

If "Julia" is to be dated after 1615 the question of Donne's authorship does not seriously arise.

"A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife", apart from its appearance already noted in O'F and Lut, is found in B in a section which contains mainly Donne's poems but includes also "His parting from her" and six unauthentic pieces: it is also in Dob, and in the late miscellany RP117 headed "Dunnes tale of a Citizen and his Wife", but the next poem, "Love bred of glaunces..." is headed "Dunnes sonnett", so little value can be attached to this ascription. In Giles Oldisworth's copy of the edition of 1639 both "Julia" and "A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife" were marked by him "Not licensed nor

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1. Op. cit., sig. C2r. The work went through new editions in 1615, 1616, 1617, 1619, 1622, 1628, 1629, 1634, 1637.
2. Op. cit., sig. A4r.

Dr. Donns". The poem must be dated c. 1609, from its references to the Virginian expeditions of that year, to the opening of the Royal Exchange and the rebuilding of Aldgate. At this time, when Donne was engaged upon the Pseudo-Martyr and the Holy Sonnets it is surely inconceivable that he would produce this weak pastiche of his earlier manner.

One is tempted to suggest that the poem is to be connected with the revival of interest in Chaucer at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries. Guilpin had remarked how, in 1598, "some of opiniens gulls" censured "reuerend Chawcer", and some praised him "vnto heau'n with wonders wings"[1], and Campion, in the first of his 1595 elegies, had commended the tales of the Knight, the Miller and the Reeve, and also Troilus and Criseyde[2]. In the preface to his Fourth Booke of Ayres he defends some of his "vaine Ditties" to which "squeamish stomackes" might object by reminding the reader that "if they be but conferred with the Canterbury Tales of that venerable Poet Chaucer, they will then appeare toothsome enough"[3]. In "A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife", the "Tale" element in the title; the affected archaism of the opening line with its "good sooth" and "wight", reminiscent of Chaucer's similar protestation to "every gentil wight" at the end of the Miller's prologue[4]; the motley collection of callings and professions in lines 2-6, complete with knight and man of law, like Chaucer's Prologue, and written in that jerky rhythm which,

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1. Skialethia, 1598, sig. E1r.
2. Works, ed. P. Vivian, 1909, p. 336 (Elegeia 1, lines 20-26).
3. ibid., p. 175.
4. Chaucer, Works, ed. W.W. ,Skeat, 7 Vols., 1900, iv.91.

as the Shepheardes Calender shows, was the popular concept of Chaucerian verse; the horse-back journey which is going on as the poem proceeds, all remind one of the Canterbury Tales.

The poem is redolent of the atmosphere of Jacobean London: city names and city characters, "Bawd, Tavern-keeper, Whore and Scrivener" and the rest jostle in colourful, realistic array. This, and the pose of witty young adulterer adopted by the poet, and the anti-bourgeois, anti-merchant attitude:

> (To fit his element) my theame I cast
> On Tradesmens gaines ... (lines 32-3)

and the impudent assumption that an assignation has been made ("his kinde wife gave me the very Signe") at the conclusion, recalling a similar conclusion in the Amores:[1]

> Risit, et argutis quidda^m, promisit ocellis

- all bind the poem firmly to the elegiac tradition. The Citizen is miserly, - he makes his wife share his horse; he is old, praising none "but my Lord of Essex dayes"; he is married to a young, "pretty peate", and he is "lechrous" (line 15). In fact he has all the qualities of a favorite elegiac butt. The financial grievance against the citizen classes so important in the English elegy is nowhere better illustrated than here. Reference to the loose morals of citizens' wives was one of the most popular ways, among the Inns of Court gentlemen, of scoring off the middle class. In Sharpham's Fleire, for example, we find:

> Florida: What's the reason, Fleire, the Cittizens wiues weare all Corks in their shooes?

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1. Amores, III.ii.83. Perhaps the line also suggested the bright eyes (line 14) and the smile (line 35) of the wife in this elegy.

Fleire: O Madam, to keepe the custome of the Cittie, onelie to be light heeld.1.

Similarly in Cupids Whirligig Slacke remarks:

> True, Sir, there is nothing done but there's reason for it, (if a man could finde it) for whats the reason your Cittizens wives continually weare hats but to show the desire they haue alwaies to be couered[2].

Marston, in The Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image, seeking to describe the young lover peeping at his naked love, asks:

> Who ever saw the subtile citty-dame
> In sacred church, when her pure thoughts shold pray,
> Peire through her fingers?... 3.

- and his Mistress Mulligrub in The Dutch Courtezan is a magnificent compound of lechery, coarseness, hypocritical Puritanism and social aspiration:

> Squiers, gentlemen and Knightes diet at my table, and I doe lend some of them money ... and truelie they verie knightly and courtly promise faire, giue me verie good words, and a peece of flesh when time of yeere serves ...[4].

But it is Middleton who provides the best examples of this kind. The Jeweller's Wife in The Phoenix who takes a knight as her lover in order to ameliorate her social position:

> Why, lo, who would love you now but a citizen's wife? so inconstant, so forsworn! ... you told me you could countenance me at Court, and you know we esteem a friend there more worth than a husband here.[5].

- is lashed, along with the rest of her kind in the last act:

> Thou worse than common! private, subtle harlot!
> That dost deceive three with one feigned lip,
> Thy husband, the World's eye, and the Law's whip.[6].

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1. Sharpham, The Fleire, 1607, sig. D1v.
2. Sharpham, Cupids Whirligig, 1607, sig. F4r.
3. Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 3 Vols., 1887, iii.253.
4. ibid., ii.60.
5. Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 8 Vols., 1885, i.190.
6. ibid., i.206.

Mistress Purge in The Family of Love, and Mistress Newcut, Mistress Newblock and Mistress Tiffany in Your Five Gallants are of the same type. Mistress Newcut, a merchant's wife who whileher husband is at sea takes every opportunity to be unfaithful to him, is condemned finally by, significantly, a common prostitute:

> You broke the back of one husband already; and now th'others dead with grief at sea, with your secret expenses, close stealths, cunning filches and continued banquets in corners. Then, forsooth, you must have your milk baths to white you, your rose leaves to sweeten you, your bean-flour-bags to sleek you, and make you soft, smooth and delicate for lascivious entertainment.1.

Thus in Middleton the attack on the citizen-class woman is openly concerned just as much with financial matters (her extravagance) and social matters (her desire to "climb") as with morals. In others who catered for the Inns of Court taste there is a tendency to magnify the moral attack and use it as a cloak for more genuine social and financial grievances. In The Curtaine-Drawer of the World, 1612, by W. Parkes "Gentleman, and sometimes Student of Barnards Inne", the purely moral attack is exemplified:

> ... the poore harlot must be stript and whipt for the crime that the Courtly wanton and ye Citie sinner ruffle out and passe ouer and glory in and account as nothing.2.

On the other hand, in the Overburian character of My Taylor, one of the original second impression characters of 1614, we find merely a passing hit at the alleged lasciviousness of the middle-class woman, without any moral comment:

> ... He is double yarded, and yet his female complaineth of want of measure3.

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1. Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 8 Vols., 1885, iii.231.
2. op. cit., ed. A.B. Grosart, 1876, p. 16.
3. The Overburian Characters, ed. W.J. Paylor, 1936, p. 26.

In "A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife", reference to the loose morals of middle-class women is neatly combined with the assertion of masculinity by narration of seduction or sexual exploit, always an important elegiac motif.

The fourth of the elegies printed by Grierson for which manuscript evidence of Donne's authorship is questionable is "His parting from her". The compiler of 1635 printed a short text of this poem, though he could, presumably, have found the full text in O'F, where it appears. The text he printed is found in B and A25. in the latter it occurs in a section (ff. 59-69) written in secretary hand and including poems by various authors, several of them Donne's. It is intruded into this section by a different writer who has ascribed it to "J.D.". There is an even shorter version of the poem found in two commonplace books (A30 and Sp). The full version is clearly the original, as in the shorter versions derived from it the text has to be clumsily emended to cover the joints.[1] The full version is found in H40 and RP31, which contain a majority of poems not by Donne, in S96 and S962, the first of which contains a fair number and the second a great many uncanonical poems, in Lut and O'F among the miscellaneous elegies, in O and P but not in Cy, in Malone MS. 16, marked ex incerto authore and in TCD (ii) where it lacks the last ten lines and is inscribed "S^{r}. Fran: Wryothlesse".

The situation in the poem is the reverse of that in all Donne's valedictions, in that here it is the mistress who is going away: unlike the other valedictions, it is a soliloquy. The term "friend", at lines 30, 67 and 83, is one which Donne never uses for talking about his mistress: "my Dear" (line 95) is also uncharacteristic of Donne's

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1. The 1635 version has lines 1-4, 45-56, 67-82 and 95-104 of the full version printed in Grierson: the twenty-line version has lines 1-4, 45-52, 65, 67-8, 73-4, 95-8.

love idiom. Moreover it is a very uneven poem: it is easy to understand why it appears shortened. The passage which is always quoted (lines 73-82) is certainly fine, but it has not Donne's ring. The two conceits are too much like catalogues, of elements, then of seasons. It has, too, a sonnet-like completeness, as if it had been inserted into the text of the poem: "Love never wanteth shifts", which precedes it, is a desperately weak addition to fill up the line, and

> we can love by letters still and gifts,
> And thoughts and dreams... (lines 71-2)

is a tame consolation when compared with Donne's other treatments of union in absence. The obscurity and violation of sense in other parts of the poem are unlike Donne's obscurity: line 38, for example, seems to be meaningless; and the ranting hyperbole in the address to Fortune (lines 57-62) is nonsense of a kind quite foreign to Donne. Nevertheless it must be admitted that lines 39-52 are very like Donne's borrowings from Ovid, creating, as they do, the elegiac atmosphere of furtive love "ambush'd round with household spies", watched over by "thy husbands towring eyes". The details of the secret affair which the poet recalls, the "becks, winks, looks" and the touching of the lovers' feet beneath the table, are remembered, in fact, from Ovid's advice to Corinna in the Amores, I.iv.15 f.; and, of course, the idea that stolen kisses are the most sweet is a commonplace of the Ovidian code (lines 47-8). But this passage is oddly distinct and separate from the rest of the poem, and later elegies which imitate "His parting from her", like Jonson's "Since you must goe, and I must bid farewell..."[1]

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1. Jonson, Works, ed. C.H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson, 11 Vols., 1925-52, viii.199. Cf. "His parting from her", lines 1, 7-10 with Jonson's Elegie, lines 1, 5-8.

and Carew's "To Celia, upon Love's Ubiquity"[1], do not reflect this Ovidian part of their model at all. Almost inevitably one is led to wonder whether the poem is not, in fact, a composite production.

"Variety", the last of the elegies printed by Grierson to which objection could be made on manuscript evidence, was first printed in 1650, in the first edition of his father's poems over which the younger Donne had control. It might be said, therefore, to have a better claim to consideration than the poems added in 1635. It is found in JC, usually sound in canon, but it is not included there in the collection of elegies but in the second section of the manuscript, containing "Miscellanea. Poems Elegies Sonnets", under the heading "Elegia 18[a]", and a heading "Elegia 19th", with no poem beneath it, follows. It looks, in fact, as if John Cave were attempting to expand the collection from which he was copying. The awkward versification, breaking down, for example, at line 6, and the tendency for the couplets to separate and stand apart rather than congeal are notable features of the poem. They are not characteristic of Donne's verse in the elegies, nor are rhymes like "fashions ... nations" (lines 54-5), "avowing ... allowing" (lines 66-7), "obeying ... weighing" (lines 81-2). The palinode at the conclusion (lines 74-83) is markedly dissimilar from the endings of any of Donne's elegies. On the other hand, these points of style and manner are precisely those of Nicholas Hare[2], and one is tempted, on purely stylistic grounds, to ascribe the poem to him.

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1. Carew, Poems, ed. R. Dunlap, 1949, pp. 123-4: cf. lines 13-14, 23-32, 41-2 with "His parting from her", lines 17-18, 73-82, 99-100.
2. See Chapter VIII, below, and Appendix A.

The poem effects a fusion of what are in the European tradition, as we have seen, often separate elegiac themes: the argument from Nature for sexual promiscuity (lines 1-25); the profession of personal indifference after the manner of Amores, II.iv (lines 26-37); and the eulogy of a fanciful "golden age" of amorous licence, with corresponding condemnation of "modern" concepts of "honour" and "opinion" (lines 38 f.). Donne treats the first of these in his elegy "Change", and, indeed, to read that poem and the first twenty-five lines of "Variety" together is perhaps the best demonstration possible of the arguments against Donne's authorship of the latter. Among the Songs and Sonets, "Confined Love" and "Communitie" are developments of the same subject: the light, cavalier insolence of "Communitie":

> But they are ours as fruits are ours ...

strikes a chord which goes on reverberating up to and into the Restoration. At first glance we might mistake:

> Why Women are as truly ours,
> To be enjoy'd as Fruit, or Flowers.
> But 'tis our fault
> That we exalt
> Them so, that they rebel against our Powers[1].

- for Donne's. In fact it is from Matthew Stevenson's "To my Coy Charola", printed in his Occasions Off-Spring, 1654, and again in his Poems, 1665. The attitude of the citizen classes towards such arguments as those contained in "Change" and the first part of "Variety" is well illustrated in Alexander Niccholes' A Discourse of Marriage and Wiving, 1615, one of the more popular of the many middle-class pamphlets upon domestic relations. Niccholes' twelfth chapter is headed The patterne of a bad husband, and a good

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1. Stevenson, Occasions Off-Spring, 1654, p. 2; Poems, 1665, p. 45.

wife, in two Letters instanced. The bad husband's letter is nothing more nor less than an Ovidian love elegy:

> Faire Mistresse, what so long I haue expected,
> And till this oportunity neglected,
> Is now so happened as it would inuite
> Mee to enioy my absolute delight.
> Your husband absent, and your seruants gone,
> And you, but with your Maide, left all alone,
> Where least sad Care, or Melancholy grieue you
> My best endeuour's ready to relieue you ...

The scene is precisely that set at the beginning of Campion's eleventh elegy of 1595:[1] the would-be seducer proceeds to develop his doctrine of "variety":

> ... Our Appetite, the Viand nere so good,
> Cloyd with one Dish will soon distast her Food:
> That Musick of all other best wee deeme,
> If euer in one Key we harsh esteeme:
> Mans nature doth desire to heare and try
> Thinges that are new, to tast variety ...

Donne, too, had used culinary ("Communitie", line 22) and musical ("Change", line 36) examples in the same argument. After continuing this line of persuasion for nearly twenty couplets, the "bad husband" promises secrecy:

> ... The world can iudge no further than it spies,
> And where we act shall be from sight of eyes,
> Windowes nor wals, can neither heare nor see,
> And for the bed, 'tis tride for secresy:
> Then seeme but chaste, which is the chiefest part,
> For what wee seeme each sees, none knowes the heart.

The last couplet has a familiar ring: it is, in fact, taken from the speech of the "seeming Matron" in Daniel's Complaint of Rosamond,[2] 1592. Now Niccholes' "bad husband" being a good Ovidian, makes use of the power of gifts:

> ... My Chaine heere take you, weare it for my sake,
> And as you finde me yours account so make.
> And here's my Ring in earnest of a friend,
> The latest Token that my Wife did send
> And here's my Purse, within it store of Gold,
> Able to batter down the strongest Hold.[3]

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1. Works, ed. P. Vivian, 1909, pp. 320, 338.
2. See p. 143, above.
3. Niccholes, A Discourse of Marriage and Wiving, 1615, pp. 36-8.

From the viewpoint of the thrifty Puritan such prodigality was the last straw.

The second theme of "Variety" is that of Donne's "The Indifferent", or rather of its first stanza; and "The Indifferent" introduces the first theme of "Variety" briefly, at line 20. But here, again, the treatment in Donne's poem is original and fresh, with its extension of inconstancy in the male, to a desire for it in the female:

> I can love any, so she be not true. (line 9).

- whereas the handling of the same matter in "Variety", though it preserves the key-words "faire" (line 26) and "brown" (line 30), is more conventional, and also much slower in pace: laboured and plodding by comparison with Donne. Four lines of it, however, are very revealing:

> Others, for that they well descended are,
> Do in my love obtain as large a share;
> And though they be not fair, 'tis much with mee
> To win their love onely for their degree.
> (lines 32-5)

Ambition is characteristic of the English elegiac temper: for these young men love and love-poetry are often important primarily as opportunities for self-glorification and the repair of self-esteem. The "indifferent" attitude, with its ready assumption of irresponsible superiority recommended itself especially, as we shall see, to the cavaliers.[1.] Cavalier anthologies like The Academy of Complements[2.] continued to reprint Donne's poem down to the Restoration, and "I can love both faire and browne" became one of the characteristic themes of the cavalier lyric. It was a convenient literary compensation for the actual economic, political and, later, military insufficiency of that party, and it had

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1. See below, pp. 382-5.
2. Academy of Complements, 1650, p. 233.

the added attractiveness of annoying the Puritan citizen class. Niccholes' section Of Lust in the Discourse is clearly directed at imitators of Amores, II.iv:

> It lookes out of the window, where fuell is administred, where temptation entreth in: edgeth it selfe upon one for respects that it can conceive but not utter; upon an other for something it likes, but knowes not what; it makes choyce of a third, for modesty baites his lust in that flame, to thinke with what lookes it could looke in conclusion, that is so fiered with blushes in but profferd ... Upon a fourth, for her quaint conceite, and discouers by debating how she could use it, being put to her non plus, in the bare point of a try-all; with the beauty of a fifth, to conceive what a large fruition it were to be inflamed on the promontory of the hill, when the demeanes and adiacent Vallies, to that fuller surfet, restrained not their shades nor fountaines. 1.

The third elegiac theme in "Variety", nostalgia for a lost "golden age" of "antient liberty", is touched upon by Donne in The Progresse of the Soule (stanzas xx-xxi) and in "The Relique" (lines 29-30). To speak of "the golden laws of nature" (line 48) as the poet of "Variety" does, was deliberately to ridicule the old concept of ius naturale, one of the stable ingredients of conservative thought in the Renaissance and an important bulwark against excessive individualism, anarchical or tyrannical. Men like Machiavelli and Montaigne denied all meaning to the ius naturale. The question was much discussed in the sixteenth century and, as Bredvold has demonstrated, 2. the terms "nature" on the one hand and "custom" or "opinion" on the other had important connotations and implications for Donne and his contemporaries in the context of that discussion. For the cavaliers, however, who took over this theme from the

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1. Op. cit., p. 24.
2. See "The Naturalism of Donne in Relation to some Renaissance Traditions", J.E.G.P., xxi, 1923, pp. 471-502.

Inns-of-Court gentlemen, the lament for the passing of a "golden age" was neither fantasy nor an expression of arrogant scepticism about the ius naturale. It was purely and simply an expression of regret that the wealth and influence of their class had declined:

> This one request I make to him that sits the clouds above,
> That I were freely out of debt, as I am out of love ...
> 'Tis only being in love and debt that breaks us of our rest;
> And he that is quite out of both, of all the world is blest:
> He sees the golden age, wherein all things were free and common;
> He eats, he drinks, he takes his rest, he fears no man nor woman.[1]

- writes Suckling.

Donne's elegies have found their most thoughtful and painstaking critic in Mr. J.B. Leishman,[2] and because of the work he has done we may pass rather more quickly over what we are here considering as the canonical elegies than would have otherwise been possible. Mr. Leishman inspects the literary development of the paradox, demonstrating how the tradition spread from sixteenth-century Italy northward and westward, and refers to the numerous collections of paradoxes and paradoxical encomia published in England about the turn of the century.[3] In this tradition of "logical, argumentative, scholastic wit" he places "The Anagram", (referring to Drummond's comparison of it with Tasso's Sopra la Bellezza, a poem at which, along with others of its class, we looked in our second chapter[4]), "Change", "The Comparison" and also "Oh, let mee not serve so..." and "The Bracelet".

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1. Suckling, Works, ed. A.H. Thompson, 1910, p. 48.
2. See his Monarch of Wit, Second edn., 1955, pp. 52-106.
3. Op. cit., pp. 74-9.
4. See above, p. 65, note 1.

It is perhaps worth remarking that "The Anagram" does preserve a little of the genuinely elegiac temper. The sneer at marriage, - what impact that first word has! -

> Marry, and love thy Flavia ...

reminiscent of a similar jibe in the curse at the end of "The Bracelet":

> The plagues of travellers: love; marriage
> Afflict thee; (lines 108-9)

- must be read in the context of the tremendous importance attached to the "honourable estate" of matrimony by Puritan preachers and writers, evidenced by the proliferation of tracts and pamphlets like that of Niccholes, at which we have looked, such as Henry Smith's Preparative to Marriage, 1591, Robert Cleaver's Goodly Form of Household Government, 1598, Samuel Hieron's Bridegroom, 1613, William Whateley's The Bride-bush, 1617, William Gouge's encyclopoedic Of Domesticall Duties[1], 1622, and dozens more. Nor should we miss the significance of Donne's revelation that the man he is "addressing":

> ... forc'd by businesse, absent oft must bee
> (line 44)

In the convention of the elegy this can mean only one thing: he is a merchant. Once this is understood, the venom of the poem becomes the manifestation of a traditional elegiac attitude. "The Comparison", on the other hand, does seem almost an exercise of "wit" for its own sake, but the fact that it is directed against a woman is not unimportant: we shall try, in a later chapter, to suggest some reasons for the Inns-of-Court animus against women. The popularity of this mode of writing is attested by such imitations of

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1. See W. and M. Haller, "The Puritan Art of Love", H.L.Q., 1941-2, pp. 235-72.

"The Comparison" as Henry King's "Madam Gabrina"[1] and Francis Kynaston's "To Cynthia, On a Mistress for his Rivals"[2], the latter probably written about 1604, in which year its author entered Lincoln's Inn, and the former probably about 1610.

Elegie VI, "Oh, let mee not serve so ...", is more difficult to categorize, and it will perhaps have been noticed that it was omitted from our tentative division of the "canonical" elegies at the beginning of this chapter. In spite of its elaborate similitudes like that of the "streame" (lines 21-34)[3], imitated by Weever[4] and turned by Carew into an invitation to dalliance, it is not really in the paradox manner: its affectation of comparatively chaste seriousness, on the other hand, divides it clearly from the Ovidian elegies. Carew, to make an elegy out of it, increased the pace by using octosyllabics, made his eddy noticeably more wanton than Donne's stream, and added a firm, fleshly, personal application of his simile at the end.

Some case may perhaps be made for placing "The Bracelet" among the Ovidian elegies, however, or at any rate in the elegiac rather than the paradox tradition. It is surely no accident that it is concerned throughout with money: with "bitter cost", "angels", "crownes", "pistolets", "gold", or that its outlook is so thoroughly financial that it characterizes a man by the fact that he can be hired for "one leane thred-bare groat" (line 56). The elegiac pose of the poor lover is consistently adopted: with twelve angels:

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1. Minor Poets of the Caroline Period, ed. G. Saintsbury, 3 Vols., 1921, iii.185-6.

2. ibid., ii.157-8.

3. See p. 145 , above.

4. Poems, ed. R. Dunlap, 1949, p. 14.

I lose my guard, my ease, my food, my all.
(line 50)

for they have but "few fellowes" (line 90). Like Ovid the poet knows only too well the effect of money on women:

... thou wilt love me lesse when they are gone
(line 54)

All these things bring the young man of "The Bracelet" very near to that of an unquestionably Ovidian elegy like "The Perfume", who refers with such insolent nonchalance to:

Thy beauties beautie, and food of our love
Hope of his goods. (lines 10-11)

Nor is "The Bracelet" so undramatic as the purely argumentative elegies. Between lines 68 and 69, and again between 78 and 79, we are surely meant to hear the girl's answers. The final curse, also, helps to attach the poem to the Ovidian tradition, not only because Ovid's Ibis was the stock renaissance example of literary imprecation, but also because the curse was a fairly common component of the classical elegy.[1]

"Loves Progress" is wholly lacking in drama, as Mr. Leishman remarks: "one is not even momentarily aware of a person Donne is addressing ... one is aware only of Donne himself, wittily developing a paradox".[2] Again, however, something of the elegiac temper is preserved. The poet is eager to impress his audience with the fact that he is one who knows "the right true end of love": it is the physical fact which interests him. He scorns the attractions of "wealth" (line 25), in love, but conveys the typical elegiac duality about money by insisting on talking about it: about the qualities of gold, and his "love" for it as "the soul of trade", for its buying power, in fact (lines 11-16).

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1. See p. 20 , above.
2. Monarch of Wit, ed. cit., pp. 72-3.

Searching for something fit to be compared with women's "centrique part", he hits upon a gold mine (line 30), an image which looks forward to the "India" of line 65. The voyage he undertakes across his mistress' body is a trading voyage. This description of a girl's body in geographical terms (lines 47-72), and the concept of love as a sea voyage, found again in "Going to Bed" (lines 25-30), were very popular with the Inns of Court gentlemen. In Benjamin Rudyerd's account of the Middle Temple revels of 1599, a great deal of this sort of thing occurs. The passage on the duties of the Lord Admiral fully exploits the possibilities of the nautical metaphor:

> He shall, in passing the narrow Seas, be continually sounding lest he run his ship aground so that he cannot soundly get it off again... He shall suffer all such to pass quietly as Traffique into the Gulfe of Venus. He shall see that all his Excellencies ships have their Cape-stones in good order, that they may be always able to weigh their anchor, and to hoise the main-yard, cool his ordnance for fear of firing by still going, and that the ship be well washed afore and after for fear of infection.[1]

Evidently in the same tradition are Carew's lines in "A Rapture":

> Yet my tall Pine, shall in the Cyprian straight
> Ride safe at anchor, and unlade her fraight:
> My Rudder, with thy bold hand, like a tryde,
> And skilfull Pilot, thou shalt steere, and guide
> My Bark into Loves channell, where it shall
> Dance, as the bounding waves do rise or fall[2].

The Ovidian prototype, as we have remarked before, is to be found in the Heroides, xviii.207 f. The geographical metaphor is also very common in the account of the 1599 Middle Temple revels as, for example:

> ... Commander of all the seas from the straights of Genua to the Bay of Porto Desiderato; he got this honor by battering the forts of Genua, and entering the streights ... Rio des Amazones is in the South,

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1. Le Prince d'Amour, 1660, p. 27.
2. Carew, Poems, ed. R. Dunlap, 1949, p. 51.

> where he undertook mighty adversaries in single combat, and so strengthened and increased Northwards, till he vanquished Lapland by composition.[1]

In the famous "If shadowes be a pictures excellence ...", probably by Walton Poole, which appears almost ubiquitously in manuscript commonplace books between 1620 and 1660, and which was first printed in Cotgrave's Wits Interpreter, 1655,[2] there is a passage in the same vein:

> That reste where all reste lyes that blesseth man,
> That Indian Mine, that straighte of Magilan,
> That worlde dividinge gulfe, where he that ventures
> With swellinge sailes and ravishte senses enters
> To a new worlde of blisse ... (lines 35-39)

Donne's "Myne of precious stones" and "new-found-land" do not lie far behind this: again the amorous and the economic are tightly bound together. The adventurer of Donne's elegy is a Merchant Adventurer.

John Salusbury, who entered the Middle Temple in 1595, also uses nautical imagery to describe love-making:

> And then I taught my man to wantonnise
> And in the boat of true delight to Roe ...[3]

in a way reminiscent of Ovid in the Remedia:

> Desine luctari: referant tua carbasa venti,
> Quaque vocant fluctus, hac tibi remus eat.
> (lines 531-2)

James Shirley in his elegy "Love for Enjoying" informs his mistress that the bloom on her cheek invites him to dig:

> For unknown wealth, within the ground
> Are all the Royall mettals found,
> Leave me to search, I have a thread
> Through all the Labyrinth shall lead,
> And through every winding veine
> Conduct me to the golden Mine
> Which once enjoy'd, will give me power
> To make new Indies every houre[4].

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1. Le Prince d'Amour, 1660, p. 4.

2. Wits Interpreter, p. 53. See E. Wolf, "If Shadows Be a Picture's Excellence, P.M.L.A., lxiii, 1948, pp. 831-857.

3. Christ Church, Oxford MS. 184, f. 41r. See Poems by Sir John Salusbury and Robert Chester, ed. C. Brown, 1914.

4. Poems, 1646, p. 26.

In the same poem he follows these reminiscences of "Loves Progress" with a pastiche of "Loves Warre":

> Why do we coward-gazing stand,
> Like Armies in the Netherland,
> Contracting fear at eithers sight,
> Till we both grow too weak to fight?
> Let's charge for shame, and chuse you whether
> One shall fall, or both together;
> This is Loves warr, who ever dies,
> If the surviver be but wise,
> He may reduce the spirit fled
> For t'other kisse will cure the dead.

Cowley, in The Mistress, published a year after Shirley's poem, remembers how before he left his love on account of her falsehood, and before "an hundred petty Kings" divided "that glorious Empire of her Heart" (an echo of Donne's "Emperie" and "kingdome, safliest when with one man man'd"):

> Mine, mine her fair East-Indies were above,
> Where those Suns rise that chear the world of Love...
> ... Mine too her rich West-Indies were below,
> Where Mines of gold and endlesse treasures grow[1].

Sir Aston Cockayne, who entered an Inn of Court "for fashion's sake"[2], and who boasted Donne among his "acquaintance", adds another elegy to the same tradition:

> Her mountain-thighs we do espy
> Cover'd with warm perpetual snow:
> Ah what a streight between doth ly,
> No Magellan did ever know!
> Her neat-made legs forth stretched ly
> On sheets resembling a calme Sea,
> And (like to Promontories) try
> To frame a safe and pleasant Bay.

Remembering Donne's advice, "rather set out below", he adds that her "pretty feet":

> ... tempt beholders to esteem
> No beauty such, and t'enter there.[3]

Donne's joke about the "two purses" in "Loves Progress" (lines 91-4) mingles with the themes of "Confined Love" and

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1. Cowley, Poems, ed. A.R. Waller, 1905, p. 78.
2. Cockayne, Small Poems, 1658, p. 234.
3. ibid., p. 267.

of "Change" and "Variety" to produce an elegy printed in Wit and Drollery, 1656, and included in Sir John Mennis' and Dr. James Smith's Musarum Deliciae under the title "The Loose Wooer":

> Thou dost deny me, cause thou art a Wife,
> Know, she that's Marryed lives a single life
> That loves but one; abhor that Nuptiall curse,
> Ty'd thee to him, for better and for worse.
> Variety delights the active blood,
> And Women the more common, the more good,
> As all goods are; there's no Adultery,
> And Marriage is the worst Monopoly...
> ... Say, would you be content only to eate
> Mutton or Beef, and tast no other meat?
> It would grow loathsom to you, and I know
> You have two palats, and the best below.[1].

It is a good indication of those elements in Donne's elegies which attracted what was soon to be the Restoration audience, and also of the way in which, after 1633 and 1635, the Ovidian elegy tended more and more to become the Donnian elegy.

Donne's "Going to Bed", which Mr. Leishman considers primarily "witty" rather than "dramatic", is perhaps the most widely imitated of all. It has affinities both with Amores I.v and with Propertius II.xv. One might argue that its dramatic element has been underestimated: the progression is made vivid by constant visual detail, and demonstratives like "this soft bed", "this white lynnen" (lines 18 and 45) give it tremendous immediacy.

From the tonal point of view the most important word is "Madam" of the first line: its overtones are essential to the poem. We remember not only:

> Madame,
> Man to Gods image; Eve, to mans was made ...

- and other such respectful addresses, but also Randolfo in What you Will sneering at Celia for wanting to improve her social status by betrothal to a knight:

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1. Wit and Drollery, 1656, p. 125.

Randolfo: Then must my pretty peate be fann'd and coach'd?

Jacomo: Muff'd, mask'd and ladied, with "my more than most sweet madam".1.

- or Gertrude in Eastward Hoe, a perfect example of the coarse upstart:

> ... though my father bee a low capt tradsman, yet I must be a ladie; and I praise God my mother must call me madam.2.

It is a word, above all, of social deference: a word into which all the social consciousness of the young Inns of Court men can be packed, all their hatred for the aspirations of the enviably rich citizen-class woman. In Donne the word is filled with sarcasm: he is savouring his triumph, relishing his humiliation of a wealthy lady as he commands her to strip. For the young men of Lincoln's Inn the poem would be a perfect vicarious readjustment of social realities. The emphasis upon the richness of each expensive garment as it is taken off, - "that girdle, like heavens Zone glittering", "that spangled breastplate", "that wyerie Coronet", is important for the same reason. Only when this aspect of the poem is realised does the famous "myne of precious stones" passage appear in its proper light.

Carew took this elegy as a principal model for his most famous poem, "A Rapture"[3.], probably composed before 1624[4.], which bears traces also of "th'enormous Gyant, your Disdaine" and "th'enchantresse Honor" of "The Dampe" (lines 11-12: "Rapture", line 3); of the "grim eight-foot-high iron-bound serving man" from "The Perfume" (line 31:

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1. Marston, Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 3 Vols., 1887, ii.339.
2. ibid., iii.14.
3. Poems, ed. R. Dunlap, 1949, pp. 49-53.
4. ibid., pp. 236-7.

"Rapture", line 10); of the arms clasping "like Ivy" in "His parting from her" (line 59: "Rapture", line 27); of the "Chymicks fire" and the "Lymbecks wombe" of "The Comparison" (lines 35-6: "Rapture", lines 75-6); of the nautical imagery of "Loves Progress", as we have seen; of love's "Exchequer" in the same poem (line 94: "Rapture", line 146) and of the naturalistic philosophy of love expounded in "Change" (lines 10-14: "Rapture", 151-3). The imperative "come" is preserved in the first line, as is the imagery of the gold-mine:

> But the rich Mine, to the enquiring eye
> Expos'd, shall ready still for mintage lye
> (lines 33-4)

- which looks forward to another reference to gold at the climax of the poem, where Carew uses a favourite elegiac symbol:

> ... such a tempest, as when Jove of old
> Fell downe on Danae in a storme of gold
> (lines 83-4)

The other-worldly mood that prevails in the poem, especially in the description of the Elizium of lovers (lies 115 f.) is quite un-Ovidian, though it is reminiscent of some things in Propertius[1]; but in one passage (lines 99-110) Carew reconstructs perfectly the elegiac scene, with its "jealous ears" and "observing spies", its "close meetings", "Rivals" and "bribed chamber-maid" and its detestation of names like "husband, wife, lust, modest, chaste or shame".

Randolph's famous "Pastorall Courtship" continues the tradition, taking from "A Rapture" its imperative opening, inherited from Donne, its idyllic environment, its sequence of events, and its naturalistic arguments. Phyllis' tears and petulance, and the pretty suggestion that they are not entirely sincere:

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1. e.g. Propertius, II.xxviii.17-30.

No herb nor balm can cure my sorrow
Unless you meet again tomorrow.

- reveal her as a development of the Ovidian girl, always willing to be forced, but never showing her pleasure.[1] The same poet's "Upon Love fondly refused for Conscience sake", a persuasive naturalistic remonstrance against wifely fidelity, looks back through "A Rapture" and such poems as "Confined Love" and "Change", and through the arguments from nature of Italian and French sixteenth century writers, to parent passages like Ars, iii.89-98 and Metamorphoses, x.323-35. At times it echoes "A Rapture" closely:

It was not love, but love transform'd to vice
Ravish'd by envious Avarice,
Made women first impropriate; all were free,
Inclosures man's Inventions be.[2]

In Randolph's "Complaint Against Cupid" published, like these poems, in 1638, three years after his death, Carew is referred to in the catalogue of poets primarily as the author of "A Rapture":

A third speaks raptures, and hath gain'd a wit
By praising Celia, else had miss'd of it.[3]

George Daniel's "To Nicotiana. A Rapture"[4] is a clever parody of Carew's poem, addressed to his tobacco pipe. Jordan's "To Leda his coy Bride, on the Bridall Night", first published in 1637, brings "Going to Bed" within the bounds of matrimony, and makes it a good deal nastier in the process. Where Donne commands and suggests a sneer, Jordan gloats and tends to snigger. The poem is worth

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1. Ars, i.663 f. Cf. the development of the "Pastorall Courtship" type of poem by Théophile in France, referred to above p. 78.

2. Randolph, Works, ed. W.C. Hazlitt, 1875, p. 631: "A Pastorall Courtship" is at p. 611.

3. ibid., p. 532.

4. Poems, ed. A.B. Grosart, 4 Vols., 1878, i.51.

quoting almost in its entirety, since it illustrates well the decline of the English elegy into mere prurience and smut. Rochester does not seem far away. All the youthful wit and the social indignation which kept the elegy fresh and bright at the turn of the century, have disappeared. Jordan seems middle-aged, and probably rather fat and out of breath:

> ... Come then undresse; why blush you, prethee smile;
> Faith ile disrobe ye, nay I will not spoyle
> Your Necklace, or your Gorget; Here's a Pin
> Pricks you (faire Leda) twere a cruell sin
> Not to remove it; Oh how many gates
> Are to Elizium? (yet the sweetest Straits
> That e're made voyage happy) here's a Lace
> Me thinks should stifle you; it dothe embrace
> Your body too severely, take a knife,
> Tis tedious to undoe it; By my life,
> It shall be cut. Let your Carnation gowne
> Be pull'd off (too) and next let me pull downe
> This Rosie Peticote; What is this cloud
> That keepes the day light from us, and's allow'd
> More priviledge then I? (Though it be white)
> 'Tis not the white I aime at (by this light)
> It shall goe off (too) noe? then let't alone,
> Come, let's to bed, why look you so? here's none
> See's you, but I; be quicke or (by this hand)
> Ile lay you downe my selfe; you make me stand
> Too long i' th' cold; Why doe you lie so farre,
> Ile follow you, this distance shall not barre
> Your body from me ...
> Such face, brests, waste, soft belly, such a ... why
> Doe you thrust backe my hand so scornefully?
> You'le make me strive (I thinke) Leda, you know,
> I have a warrant for what ere I doe,
> And can commit no trespasse; therefore come
> Make me beleeve theirs no Elizium
> Sweeter then these embraces - - Now ye'are kind,
> (My gentle Leda) since you have resign'd,
> Ile leave my talking (too) lovers grow mutes
> When Amorous Ladies grant such pretty sutes.[1]

We feel heartily sorry for Leda, trapped with her ponderous and dirty-minded bedfellow, in a way no-one ever would for Corinna or for Donne's "Madam". The last part, with its insistence upon the "warrant" is even more odious than the rest: elegiac love must be outside society: there must be an element of danger and daring. The joke about "stand" is

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1. Jordan, Love's Dialect, 1646, sigs. C2v.-C3r.

merely a coarse double entendre, whereas Donne's "Ill spirits walk in white ..." passage (lines 22-4), upon which it is based, redeems itself by sheer wit: by the fusion of disparate realms of experience. Even Robert Baron's epigram "Women Strongest", published in his Pocula Castalia, 1650:

> ...Th' exceed in strength, nay, the Devil himself,
> for when
> He shows his face he only makes (weak fiend)
> Our hair, these make our flesh to stand on end.[1.]

fails to recapture Donne's flavour, though nearer to it, for it misses the magical and essential whiteness of the girl, that pervades Donne's three lines. The appeal of Jordan's poem for the emergent Restoration audience is indicated by the appearance of a prose paraphrase of it in dialogue form, "Betweene the Bridegroome and Bride on the bridall night"[2.], printed in Wit's Interpreter, 1655. Donne strained through Jordan:

> Come come you dally, off with ornaments for day, they look unseemly now, clip that Lace that is more happy then thy deare husband to embrace, off with these gorgeous petticoates, that hide those pleasures which ought now to be reveal'd ...

and Ovid strained through Jordan:

> Lets tumble in delights ... what a wast, what a Breast, what a Bellie's here, then sweetest let us enter Love's Elysium and bid good night unto thy Maidenhead[3.]

are here equally distasteful.

Cartwright's "Song of Dalliance", printed in his Poems[4.], 1651, and again in Parnassus Biceps[5.], 1656, subscribes

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1. Baron, op. cit., p. 132.
2. Wit's Interpreter, 1655, p. 59.
3. For the exclamatory style cf. Amores, I.v.19-22.
4. Cartwright, Plays and Poems, ed. G.B. Evans, Madison, 1951, p. 467.
5. Op. cit., p. 136 (entitled "Loves Courtship")

to the tradition of "Going to Bed" and "A Rapture", particularly emphasising the Ovidian desire for opposition in love:

> I can hear thee curse, yet chase thee;
> Drink thy tears, yet still embrace thee
> Easie riches is no treasure:
> Shee that's willing, spoils the pleasure.
> Love bids learn the restless fight,
> Pull and struggle whilst ye twine ...

The poem was probably written about 1630, when Cartwright was associated with the Christ Church wits like Sugge, Masters, Stotevile, Waring and Newman. Miss W.M. Evans would attribute to Cartwright another poem in this tradition, "To Splendora, a morning salutation", from B.M. MS. Harley 6917.[1] In Baron's Fortune's Tennis Ball, printed in the Pocula Castalia, 1650, Ulorus sings a "Rapture", in anticipation of his enjoyment of Rosella, which is a network of borrowings from Carew's,[2] run into four-line stanzas. Sportive Wit, 1656, which is described on its title page as "A new spring of Lusty Drollery" reprints Cartwright's "Song of Dalliance" with the incorrect information that it was "Never Printed before",[3] and includes also a song beginning "Come, Sweet, and draw the Curtain round ..."[4] which carries the "Going to Bed" tradition one step nearer to the Restoration spirit than even Jordan had done. For good measure it prints Jordan's poem as well, under the title "The Bridall Night".[5] The process is completed by a song of Henry Bold's, not printed until after the Restoration in his Poems Lyrique,

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1. See W.M. Evans, "To Splendora", P.M.L.A., 1939, pp. 405-411.
2. Pocula Castalia, 1650, pp. 56-8.
3. Sportive Wit, 1656, sig. C6v.-C7r. (no pagination).
4. ibid., sig. C5r.-v. (no pagination).
5. ibid., p. 50.

1664, though probably composed in the 1640's or 50's, like most of the poems in that volume. Bold draws on both Jordan and the song in Sportive Wit:

> Come, come, away!
> No Delay
> To our wished delight!
> Sweet quickly hast, unto thy greedy Lover!
> Throw, throw aside
> What may hide
> The inquisitive sight!
> Ile be the only Veile that shall thee Cover: ...
> ...Come do not Frown!
> Lay thee down!
> 'Tis a thing must be done!
> Take off thy hand - good faith! tis wondrous pretty!
> O what a coyle!
> And a spoyle!
> E're this Fort could be Wonne!
> Nay, though thou cry or bleed I dare not pitty.[1.]

This desire to conquer, to assert physical superiority, combined with the imagery of forts and bleeding, similar to a great deal of what we find in the love poetry of Alexander Brome, is significant. Both Brome and Bold were disappointed cavaliers. It seems very likely that for them and their kind an extension of the traditional elegiac love-war parallel into a militaristic assertiveness in love poetry was an attractive literary compensation for the actual state of affairs.[2.]

The love-war parallel itself is employed by Donne in what Grierson numbers as Elegie XX; but Donne, like Ovid, and unlike Brome or Bold, is interested here only in being "witty": in finding as many differences between war and love-making as Ovid had found similarities. It was a popular

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1. Bold, Poems Lyrique, 1664, p. 26.

2. Since writing this chapter I have read Miss C.V. Wedgwood's Poetry and Politics under the Stuarts, 1960. Her treatment of Brome's poetry in Chapter IV (pp. 104-137) is the most illuminating I have encountered, and her explanation of his literary attitudes is similar to the one I have suggested above. My own comments on those of his poems which come within the scope of this thesis will be found in a later chapter.

fashion. In the Middle Temple revels of 1599 the idea is used ad nauseam:

> Lord President of the Province of New-Inne That he be always able to send an Army out of his Province to the Temple of Love, trained and exercised in many encounters .... Item: That every Knight of this order shall still be well horsed and well armed, and haue those things in readiness which Ladies desire, as the Launce for the Ring, and suchlike.... The Lord Marshall ... is to order and marshall all combats and single fights; to appoint fit time and place; time, between shutting in of the Evening and opening of the Morning; the place, under certain Lists between Canopies barred in with staves; to measure length of all weapons, and specially to appoint the Truncheon for the fight.[1]

Such stuff would clearly be greeted enthusiastically by the young Inns-of-Court gentleman, not long arrived from the University. It would give him an opportunity of conveying, by the loudness of his laugh, an impression of his knowledge of the world and his masculinity. So the fashion continued. In his Apologie for Paris, 1649, written and published when he was eighteen years old, and dedicated from Gray's Inn, Robert Baron promises:

> If thou hast a fancy to invent arts and try conclusions, here shalt thou have fit opportunity to surpass Ovid and Aretine and become Professor in the Cyprian Academy

- and there follows a comparison of love-encounters and warfare, beginning "If Armes and Duells comply with thy Humour...",[2] which is evidently borrowed to a large extent from "Loves Warre". Cotgrave's Wits Interpreter, 1655, which contains a florid imitation of "Going to Bed" and "A Rapture" entitled "On one coming to bed with him", where the excited bard predicts, among other things, that:

> Glutted with mellifluous kisses
> We'l exuberate our blisses[3].

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1. Le Prince d'Amour, 1660, pp. 24, 26, 42.
2. Baron, Apologie for Paris, 1649, p. 37.
3. Wits Interpreter, 1655, p. 78.

prints also a garbled version of the concluding part of "Loves Warre" (lines 29-46) under the not very apt heading "To his Mistress going to Wars".[1]

Of the remaining elegies "His Picture" seems to stand outside the Ovidian tradition or even, for that matter, the elegiac tradition, as does Cowley's "My Picture" ("Here, take my Likeness with you, whilst 'tis so ..."[2]) which is clearly based upon it. The picture of the mistress in the lover's heart was a well-worn sentimentality of the sonneteers, and the introduction of the word "sould" (line 2) takes the poem at once to a deeper level than that of elegiac love. The assumptions about the fidelity of woman to her absent lover, upon which the whole poem rests, are the reverse of normal elegiac assumptions, and the kind of lover who comes back from the wars "foule" and "course" and covered in "powders blew staines" would normally be the butt, not the hero of an elegy, as Amores, III.viii indicates. It would, of course, be thoroughly against the principles of the usual elegiac lover to go off to the wars at all: he is Venus' soldier, not Mars'. The "rivall fooles" of "His Picture" (line 11) remind one much more of Ovid than does the speaker.

We are left with four elegies, - "Jealosie", "The Perfume", "Natures lay Ideot ..." and "On his Mistris",[3] which blend the vivid dramatic immediacy of Ovid at his best, the exhilarating strain of mocking exaggeration which makes the poet of the Amores imagine Dipsas flitting about in the night covered with feathers like an owl,[4] - the gratuitously insulting

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1. Wits Interpreter, 1655, p. 88.

2. Poems, ed. A.R. Waller, 1905, p. 118.

3. The main idea for this elegy is taken from Tibullus, I.vi.5-14.

4. Amores, I.viii.13-14.

outspokenness which allows Ovid to begin an elegy Si tibi non opus est servata, stulte, puella[1] (translated by Marlowe "Foole if to keepe thy wife thou hast no neede ...") and the traditional elegiac pursuit of furtive, adulterous love within, and yet without and in the teeth of urban society. The actual Ovidian parallels in these poems are few and well known: "Jealosie", (lines 19-20) recalls the scene in Amores, I.iv.15-32, and the next two lines recall lines 51-4 of Ovid's poem: "Natures lay Ideot ..." (line 4) looks back to the same elegy (lines 17-18, 20). Donne modernizes what he borrows, not only by introducing details like "his basket chaire" ("Jealosie", line 22), but by omitting anything that would seem out-of-date or "classical" in an obsolete way to a contemporary reader. Ovid's lover writes secret messages with wine on the table top (Amores, I.iv.20), and Spenser makes Paridell behave similarly in the Faerie Queene[2]: not so Donne. We remember Harington's remark:

> Ouid gaue precepts of making loue, and one was that one should spill wine on the boord & write his mistresse name therewith. This was a quaynt cast in that age; but he that should make loue so now, his loue would mocke him for his labour, and count him but a slouenly sutor.[3]

These four elegies represent the high-water-mark of the Ovidian elegy in England. It is not the few close imitations of passages in the Amores that are important, but the ability to write a brilliant late-Elizabethan pastiche of Ovid without borrowing more ideas and phrases directly. Donne has assimilated and personalized the whole temper of Ovid's

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1. Amores, II.xix.1: cf. "Natures lay Ideot ..." or "Fond woman ..." or "Busie old foole ...". From Ovid Donne learnt the art of the explosive, insulting opening.

2. Faerie Queene, III.ix.30.

3. Elizabethan Critical Essays, ed. G.G. Smith, 2 Vols., 1904, ii.215.

eroticism. The husband of "Jealousie" is fat and, it is suggested, old, but he is above all rich: able to leave "great legacies" (line 10), to feed upon "great fare" (line 21), to employ "pensionary spies" (line 32). He is rich and therefore powerful within the established order of society. So the lovers, like all elegiac lovers, while remaining, spatially within that society must, spiritually, beware of it, and "themselves exile Into another countrie" (lines 27-8). In "The Perfume" it is the girl's parents, her "immortall mother" and "Hydroptique father", who represent authority and the social order which the elegist flouts. Similarly, in "On his Mistris",[1] ~~where~~ the "Nurse" (line 50) is a secondary symbol for authority. Like the mother of "The Perfume", she is an elegiac 'old woman' figure, inimical and untrustworthy. In "Natures lay Ideot ..." it is once more the husband who represents authority: he has committed the elegiac sin "from the worlds Common having sever'd thee" (line 21). The lover of "The Perfume" is a sweet-smelling gallant, clad in "silkes" (line 51) but he is no dandy. "The greatest staine to mans estate", he considers, is "to be call'd effeminate". To insult the father, he accuses him of having stinking "feet or breath" (line 46). All this is reminiscent of Ovid's ideal lover, described in the Ars, i.513-24, but Donne has, again, not simply borrowed, but adapted and re-written in the light of what an Elizabethan gallant was really like. Similarly in "Natures lay Ideot ..." elegiac scorn for the rustic, uncultured mistress, before she became a docta puella, is conveyed in contemporary terms, by reference to the girl's "household

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1. Cf. lines 7-8. Note the reading in A18, A25 etc., given by Grierson.

charmes" (line 15) and her provincial phraseology (line 14). The lover's pose in this elegy of <u>praeceptor amoris</u> is, as we saw, a favorite one with Ovid. Like Ovid, Donne has learnt to flash upon his reader's memory the swift, vivid picture of people in action. Everyone remembers:

> Thy little brethren, which like Faiery Sprights
> Oft skipt into our chamber, those sweet nights
> ("Perfume", lines 27-8)

and the girl's nightmare of her lover going "O'r the white Alpes alone" ("On his Mistris", line 53), just as everyone remembers Ovid lifting Corinna's gown out of the dust when he sat next to her at the circus, or tearing her thin robe from her when she came to his room that hot noon.

It is perhaps worth mentioning here Novarr's attractive theory that the "Epithalamion made at Lincolnes Inne" was written for a mock-wedding with a boy-bride at the midsummer revels at Lincoln's Inn in 1595.[1] Certainly the ironical note of lines like:

> Daughters of London, you which bee
> Our Golden Mines, and furnish'd Treasurie,
> You which are Angels, yet still bring with you
> Thousands of Angels on your marriage daies
> (lines 13-16)

or:

> ... you frolique Patricians,
> Sonns of these Senators wealths deep oceans ...
> (lines 25-6)

bring to mind the young lover of the elegies, who sets himself against the wealthy, authoritative people who uphold and represent the established social order. As Novarr points out, in about half the manuscripts where this poem appears, it is entitled "Epithalamion on a Citizen".

Elegiac themes, situations and characters occur, also, in some of the <u>Songs and Sonets</u>: we have mentioned already

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1. D. Novarr, "Donne's 'Epithalamion made at Lincoln's Inn'", <u>R.E.S.</u>, 1956, pp. 250-263.

"The Indifferent", "Communitie" and "Confined Love". A poem like "The Dreame", with its demand for a love free from "Feare, Shame, Honor" (line 26), or like "The Flea", with its ridicule of marriage (line 13) and its defiance of parental opposition (line 14), or like "The Dampe" with its renewed impatience with "Honor" (line 12) and the physical assertiveness of its ending, so close to the conclusion of "Going to Bed", seems to have strong affiliations with the world of the elegy. So, too, does "Loves Usury", called "Elegie" in S96:

> Let mee thinke any rivalls letter mine,
> And at next nine
> Keepe midnights promise; mistake by the way
> The maid, and tell the Lady of that delay;
> Onely let mee love none, no, not the sport;
> From country grasse, to comfitures of Court,
> Or cities quelque choses, let report
> My mind transport.
>
> (lines 9-16)

In lines 11-12 there seems a deliberate attempt to outdo Ovid in outrageousness. At least he had denied to Corinna his affair with Cypassis (Amores, II.vii-viii). The woman who speaks in "Breake of Day" draws the traditional elegiac distinction between otium and negotium and declares the in compatibility of the latter with love, as Ovid does at greatest length in the Remedia, 135 f. The harshly anti-Platonic "Loves Alchymie", with its derisive reference to "the short scorne of a Bridegroomes play" (line 17), "The Curse", a dirae like that in "The Bracelet", which begins with a condemnation of the kind of love which is built upon money (lines 3-5), "Loves Diet", self-consciously anti-Petrarchan, which equates love with falconry (lines 25-30) as Ovid had equated it with hunting, fowling and fishing (Ars, i.45-8) and even "The Blossome", with its symbolic return to "London" (line 33), at the conclusion, a London of amorous intrigue where it is not hard to find a woman:

As glad to have my body, as my minde.
(line 40)

might be placed in the same group. That the Ovidian qualities of "The Dreame" were appreciated by the early seventeenth century audience may be deduced from a scene in Lewis Sharpe's The Noble Stranger, produced at the private House in Salisbury Court, and published in 1640, where Plod and Fledwit, two law students, feed the gull Pupillus with various bits of paper, with quotations written on them from different authors. Pupillus becomes 'inspired' by each one and talks and acts for a while according to its nature:

> Mercutio ... force downe another; read it first: What is't? hold him fast.
>
> Fled. "Enter these Armes, and since thou thoughtst it best,
> "Not to dreame all my dreame, lets act the rest.
>
> Mer. A fit one, a wanton lovers rapture: give ithim: thrust it downe: So, he begins to yield; how is't.
>
> Pup. O what have you gi'n me now?
>
> Mer. Onely to inspire you with a wanton art to winne your Mistris.
>
> Pup. Tis wonderfull provocative, believe me: sure it came out of Ovids-Ars-Amandi ... 1.

It seems reasonable to suppose that those of the Songs and Sonets mentioned so far were the work of a man not very far removed, in his attitudes towards love and society, from the author of the elegies. In three other poems, however, though he employs elegiac themes, Donne's concept of love has undergone an apparent transformation. These are "The Sunne Rising", "The Canonization" and "A Valediction: of my name, in the window". The theme of the first, of course,

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1. Sharpe, Noble Stranger, 1640, sig. G4r. (Act IV, scene i).

is from Ovid's Amores, I.xiii, and Donne's description of the effect of dawn upon various trades and occupations is borrowed from lines 11-24 of that elegy. The "Busie old foole" of the opening reminds us of the "busie fooles" of "Going to Bed" (line 8), and even the idea that his mistress is "both th'India's of spice and Myne" (line 17) might be fitted into some such elegiac framework as that of "Loves Progress" (line 65) or "Going to Bed" (line 29), though actually this idea, which is merely wit in the elegies, is elated hyperbole in "The Sunne Rising". But that starkly challenging assertion: "Nothing else is" could not possibly be made in an elegy. It is, after all, going very much further than saying that love is more worth than the sands of Pactolus and the wealth of the Tagus. And for the elegiac lover it is indeed essential that something else should exist besides himself and his mistress, for the constant flouting and fooling of that something else, - the husband, the parents, the rest of the world,- is a vital constituent of his love.

"The Canonization", similarly, begins with a description of the negotium of the world which one might well find in an elegy: it even introduces that familiar elegiac butt, the merchant (line 11). But the construction of the poem follows that of "The Sunne Rising". After the familiar anger and insolence of the opening, we find we are dealing with lovers "who did the whole worlds soule contract" (line 40). In "A Valediction: of my name, in the window" we meet familiar elegiac figures like the wealthy rival (lines 45-6) and:

> ... thy melted maid
> Corrupted by thy Lover's gold, and page (lines 49-50)

- who delivers the new suitor's letter and pleads his cause. But such figures no longer contribute to the meaning of the

old elegiac world; thy play their parts in a new and perplexing world where, because a "ragged bony name" is left upon a pane of glass:

> Then, as all my soules bee,
> Emparadis'd in you, (in whom alone
> I understand, and grow and see,)
> The rafters of my body, bone
> Being still with you, the Muscle, Sinew, and Veine,
> Which tile this house, will come againe.
> (lines 25-30)

What has happened? Certainly Donne's idea of love has become more complicated and more spiritual. It is no longer hunt or sport or conquest, no longer a sphere of masculine domination, but a union, a mutual miracle, in which there is no question of falsehood or frustration. If one divides the Songs and Sonets into those in which the word "soul" is used to describe the centre and seat of love, and those in which the word "heart", or none at all, is used, it will be found that the division corresponds, with one or two exceptions, to that between the new, mystical poems about union, and the poems which are nearer to the Donne of the elegies. It seems likely that the new tone in the Songs and Sonets might be explained by Donne's becoming acquainted with the Italian neo-Platonists like Leone Ebreo.[1] But when did Donne read these authors? The works which we can with reasonable certainty date before 1598, - the Satires, the "Epithalamion at Lincolnes Inne", the "Storme", the "Calme", some short verse-letters, the letters to Wotton, the Elegies and the Paradoxes and some of the Problems, reveal Martial, Horace and Ovid as Donne's chief models. The Progress of the Soul, however, of which the dedication is dated August, 1601, is plainly the work

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1. See H. Gardner, "The Argument about 'The Ecstasy'", Elizabethan and Jacobean Studies Presented to F.P. Wilson, 1959, pp. 279-306. The argument about dating which I have presented above is derived chiefly from an unpublished paper of Miss Gardner's, and from conversation with her.

of a man steeped in recondite reading.[1] The Essays in Divinity draw extensively upon their author's reading in the Italian Cabbalists and neo-Platonists. When were they written? When Donne thanks God in them for delivering him "from the Egypt of frequented and populous glorious places, to a more solitary and desart retiredness", and from the "Egypt of confidence and presumption by interrupting my fortunes ... And ... from the Egypt of lust by confining my affections"[2], it is surely suggested that the answer to this question is that they were written between 1602 and 1605, when Donne was living with his wife at Pyford, dependent upon the charity of her cousin Sir Francis Woolley. The fantasy world of the elegists had been shattered for ever: he had reached an elegiac climax in real life by stealing away a girl of good family: now he found what lay beyond, and evolved from his reading a more profound and a more serious concept of love. If our assumptions are correct, poems like "The Sunne Rising", "The Canonization" and "A Valediction: of my name, in the window", where Donne uses Ovidian characters and themes in a new, un-Ovidian way, must, like the rest of the "soul" poems, be dated between 1602 and 1605, or later. The references to James I's fondness for hunting, in the first of these three poems (line 7) and to his head upon the coin of the realm in the second (line 7), indicate that they, at any rate, were written after 1603.

Before leaving Donne, reference must be made to a book which he owned andparts of which, to judge from the underlinings

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1. See W.A. Murray, "What was the Soul of the Apple?", R.E.S., 1959, pp. 141-156.

2. Donne, Essays in Divinity, ed. E.M. Simpson, 1952, pp. 75 and 96.

and marginal marking in his copy in the Bodleian library,[1] he read with some thoroughness. Its title is Epigrammata et Poematia Vetera, and it was published by Pithou at Paris in 1590. Mr. John Sparrow has demonstrated that Donne's annotations to at least one of the works in this volume, the Panegyricus of Optatianus Porfyrius, must be dated after 1595.[2] Some of the lines which Donne marks in the epigrams at the beginning of the volume, such as:

Heredis fletus sub persona risus est (p. 17)

or:

Mulier quae sola cogitat, male cogitat (p. 20)

or:

Femina nulla bona est; vel si bona contingit ulla
Nescio quo fato res mala facta bona est (p. 25)

are reminiscent of the mood of the Satires and Elegies.

Apart from the Panegyricus and the epigrams, Donne has paid attention, to judge from his marginalia, to only one other part of the volume, that containing the elegies of Maximianus which, as the editor points out, had been printed falso hactenus sub nomine Cornelii Galli. In the first of these elegies, where Maximianus laments his old age, and remembers, in a passage which imitates Amores, II.iv, how when he was young no kind of girl could please him, it is the mocking description of an old man that catches Donne's eye, and that he underlines:

Laudat praeteritos, praesentes despicit annos:
Hoc tantum rectum, quod sapit ipse putat...
(p. 429)

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1. The Bodleian shelf-mark is 8°E4 Art. Seld.

2. J. Sparrow, "A Book from Donne's Library", London Mercury, xxv, 1931-2, pp. 171-180.

Maximianus' third elegy resembles "The Perfume". The poet tells of his youthful love affair with Aquilana, carried on against the will of her mother and his schoolmaster. The lovers would converse with nods and glances, but the two adults kept constant watch:

> Prensabantque oculos, nutusque per omnia nostros;
> Quique solet mentis ducere signa color.
> (p. 435)

- we remember how the mother of "The Perfume", also, marked her daughter's "blushing" and "palenesse" (line 22). Maximianus continues:

> Mox captare dolos et tempora cepimus ambo,
> Atque superciliis luminibusque loqui,
> Fallere sollicitos, suspensos ponere gressus,
> Et tota nullo currere nocte sono.
> (p. 435)

- again one might fancy an echo in "The Perfume":

> I taught my silkes, their whistling to forbeare,
> Even my opprest shoes, dumbe and speechlesse were
> (lines 51-2)

Donne marks with a series of dots the passage where Aquilana's mother, discovering their secret love, beats her, and the girl:

> Tunc me visceribus perterrita quaerit anhelis
> Emtum supliciis quem putat esse suis.
> (p. 435)

Does <u>visceribus anhelis</u> bring us any nearer to explaining that odd line in "His parting from her": "Yea, thy pale inwards and thy panting heart" (line 54)? If so we should have to reconsider our rejection of that poem from the Donne canon. Donne also marks the cynical reply of the poet's friend, Boethius, to Maximianus' claim that his love was chaste:

> Castus amor Veneris dicito quando fuit?
> Parcere dilectae iuvenis desiste puellae,
> Impius huic fueris, si pius esse voles.
> (p. 436)

Such a speech would clearly attract the man who wrote:

> Who ever loves, if he do not propose
> The right true end of love, he's one that goes
> To sea for nothing but to make him sick
> ("Loves Progresse", lines 1-3)

Also marked is an elegiac comment upon the power of gold, where Maximianus relates how Boethius bribed the girl's parents to allow the lovers to meet:

> Auri caecus amor nativum vincit amorem:
> Coeperunt gnatae crimen amare suae.
> (p. 437)

As always in the world of the elegy, once love is permitted and countenanced by society, it loses its flavour, and the erstwhile sweethearts, allowed to meet as often as they wish, soon grow tired of each other.

In the fourth elegy Maximianus tells how he fell in love with a dancer called Candida. One night, when he lay sleeping among his soldier comrades:

> ... ipsa meas prodebant somnia curas:
> Somnia secreti non bene fida mei.
> Nam cum sopitos premerent oblivia sensus,
> Confessa est facinus conscia lingua suum.
> Candida, clamabam, propera, cur Candida cessas?
> Nox abit, et furtis lux inimica venit.
> (p. 438)

The girl's father, who lay nearby, heard this, and began to wonder whether his daughter was as chaste as he had imagined. Have we here the germ of that magical passage at the end of "On his Mistris" (lines 50-54)? And is the whiteness of the "white Alpes" a faint echo of Candida? Maximianus final elegy is based upon Amores III.vii, and tells how the poet, sent to the East as a legate, fell in love with a wily Grecian maiden, who courted him. But because of his age and impotence he could not even begin to satisfy her craving. Donne marks several lines, including a description of the girl's pleading:

Nunc aderant lacrymae, gemitus, suspiria, pallorque,
Et quidquid nullum fingere posse putes.
(p. 440)

The falsity of women's tears had often struck him:

Nor can you more judge womans thoughts by teares
Then by her shadow
("Twicknam garden", lines 24-5)

One other elegy in the Pithou volume should be mentioned. It is printed under the name Cornelius Gallus, and has, therefore, some interest since it tells us what Donne thought Gallus' poetry was like. The poem is a web of traditional elegiac themes. The author tells how Lycoris lies sick: how she has to suffer the wrath of her mother and father, who oppose her love affair with him: how an old bawd, sent by a rival suitor, tries to bribe the girl with gifts. Suddenly he feels ashamed for doubting Lycoris' constancy: other girls may yield, but she will not: she will wait faithfully for his return from the Parthian war. Oh! for the golden age, before wars or swords, when peace reigned and everyone had enough: when a man was rich if he owned a little acre of ground: when envy was unknown: when

Liber Amor nulli mulier suspecta marito
Casta satis, norat si qua negare palam.
(p. 420)

Where the poet is, there is danger and bloodshed: he yearns for a different kind of battle. The text is here fragmentary, but one can see that the passage supplies a possible starting-point for the second part of "Loves Warre":

Quid mihi cum bello? pugnent quibus inclita regna
Aut quibus .... Marte petuntur opes.
Nos alias pugnas, aliis pugnemus in armis:
Inflet Amor lituos et fera signa canat.
Sin cadat ex votis et res bene gesta feratur,
Cesserit emerito cara puella mihi
Quam .... sinu, cui basia iungam,
Dum lateri vires, nec sit amare pudor.
(p. 421)

As we have seen, numerous sixteenth century continental poets attempted, with varying success, to transfer themes and

mannerisms, tone and temper from the Amores into vernacular literature. But the idea of putting together a book of love elegies, complete with funeral elegy, though common enough among neo-Latin writers, had not, as far as I know, occurred to any vernacular poet in Europe before Donne. Books of elegies in the vernacular can certainly be found, but either they include many other subjects besides that of love (or rather, of sex-relations, to choose a term that will embrace a poem like "The Anagram"), or they adopt the old, courtly attitudes towards women which find their fullest expression in European sonnet literature. Of Donne's elegies those which recommended themselves to imitators were generally the ones where "wit" predominates over "drama": "Loves Warre", "Loves Progresse", "Going to Bed", "The Anagram", "Change", "The Comparison", rather than "The Perfume" or "Jealosie" or "On his Mistris". In the latter type, where so much depends upon vivid, "authentic" detail, each poet must create for himself. But it was Donne who showed his contemporaries how to create in this way, how to attain, in a vernacular poem, the sort of realism that has set centuries of readers arguing about the actual identity of Corinna. Thus though the influence of his "dramatic" elegies is necessarily less readily detectable, it is none the less important. The elegies of Nicholas Hare demonstrate it admirably.

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1. Op. cit., sig. A6r.-A7r.

CHAPTER VIII

The Life and Poems of Nicholas Hare

It is always exciting to rediscover a forgotten writer. In the present case it is very relevant to our study, since of the nine poems by Hare that have so far come to light five are elegies in the Ovidian tradition and two more have affinities with that tradition. We shall look first at the evidence for assigning these poems to Hare at all, secondly at his life, in so far as we have been able to reconstruct it, and thirdly at his poems.

(i) Evidence for Authorship

Our starting point is the volume entitled Certain Elegies done by Sundrie Excellent Wits. With Satyres and Epigrams, which was printed by B. Alsop for Miles Partriche in 1618, and in which the satires and epigrams are the work of Henry FitzGeffrey of Lincoln's Inn. Of the elegies, two are by Drayton, one by Beaumont, and one, which begins "Whether these Honours, or else Love, it be ...", is headed An Elegie by N.H.[1] Bullen, in his article on Henry FitzGeffrey in the Dictionary of National Biography, suggests Nathaniel Hooke as the author of this poem. He apparently took the name from Utterson's facsimile reprint of the 1620 edition of the Certain Elegies volume, to which he refers. This reprint was produced at the Beldornie Press in 1843, and Utterson speaks there of "N.H. whom the late Mr. Park conjectured to be Nathaniel Hookes". There is, however, no trace of a Nathaniel Hooke or Hookes in the early seventeenth century, and it seems very likely that this conjecture was originally the result of confusion with Nicholas Hookes,

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1. Op. cit., sig. A6r.-A7r.

author of Amanda, a Sacrifice to an Unknown Goddesse ... By N.H. of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge, which was published in 1653. That such confusion has arisen is indicated by two facts. Hazlitt gives the author of Amanda as Nathaniel Hookes, instead of Nicholas, and, like Utterson, gives Nathaniel Hookes as the author of the disputed poem in the Certain Elegies volume;[1] and the British Museum General Catalogue actually lists the Certain Elegies volume under the name of Nathaniel Hookes, (later corrected to Nicholas Hookes), the author of Amanda. In fact Nicholas Hookes was not born until 1628, ten years after the poem thus attributed to him was printed. Both Hazlitt and Bullen have, incidentally, likewise followed Utterson in dating the first edition of the Certain Elegies volume 1617, instead of 1618. The volume which appeared in 1617 was entitled Satyres and Satyricall Epigrams: With Certaine Obseruations at Black Fryers. By H:[enry] F:[itzGeffrey] of Lincolnes-Inne Gent:, and was printed not by Alsop but by Edward Allde. The elegies were not added to this volume until the following year, when the 1617 title page was torn away, and the eight leaves of elegies, with a new title page, bound onto the front.[2]

It is necessary, then, to produce a new candidate for the authorship of An Elegie by N.H., and such a candidate can be found by following a short trail of manuscript evidence. In B.M. MS. Add. 25707, at f.32r., the letters N.H. appear beneath a poem (repeated without ascription at f. 177r.), clearly in the same manner as the Elegie, and

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1. Hand-Book to the Popular, Poetical and Dramatic Literature of Great Britain, 1867, pp. 200 and 282.

2. Thus the sigs. of the 1618 volume run: A^8; A (repeated) ^{8} (first 2 lacking); $B\text{-}G^8$ (last 2, probably blank, lacking).

beginning "Yf each ones fault weare in theare forheads wrytt...". This poem appears again, with the same ascription, in University of Edinburgh MS. Laing III, 493, at f. 111r., and the letters N.H. are found also beneath poems on ff. 89r., 91v., and 99r., which begin, respectively, "I had no being till I saw her eies...", "When by the carelesse I deuisinge sitt...", and "Heere doe repose but in lamented waste...". This last poem, an epitaph of six lines on a young girl, is found in several other early seventeenth century manuscripts, among them Bodleian MS. Ashmole 38 (Poem No. 278), where, too, it is subscribed N.H. In the Hazlewood-Kingsborough MS. in the Huntington Library[1] each one of the "N.H." poems mentioned so far appears. "If each mans fault ...", headed Epigrame, at f. 99r.-v., is followed immediately by "I had no being ...", and by "When by thee careles..." headed Sonnett; "Here do repose ..." is at f. 113v., followed, perhaps significantly, by Jonson's epitaph on Cecilia Boulstred; "Whether these honours ...", the poem in the FitzGeffrey volume, is at f. 106r., headed Elegie. Two leaves earlier, at f. 104r., and also headed Elegie, is a poem beginning "Not in the dust wee tread, but mounted high". In common with the other poems mentioned from the Kingsborough MS., this poem has no ascription. It does, however, appear in B.M. MS. Egerton 923, at f. 18r., where it is subscribed N. Hare, and is immediately preceded by the poem "I had noe being..." which, as we have seen, is ascribed to "N.H." in MS. Laing III, 493.

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1. MS. HM 198, Part II.

(ii) Life

There is no N. Hare recorded at Oxford in the late sixteenth or early seventeenth centuries, nor at Gray's Inn, the Middle Temple or Lincoln's Inn. A Nicholas Hare matriculated Fellow Commoner from Christ's in 1598-9, and [1] Venn thinks it probable that he is to be identified with Nicholas, the son and heir of John Hare, Master of the Bench of the Inner Temple. The Inner Temple Register [2] records the fact that this Nicholas Hare, who was admitted in June 1596, died in 1622 "Nondum Quadragenarius". [3] Peile supports the identification, remarking that "such premature admissions of sons of Benchers are common".

Nicholas' father, John, [4] (1546-1613), Clerk of the Court of Wards and Liveries, was the eighth son of John Hare, mercer of London, who inherited the very considerable [5] estates of his brother Sir Nicholas, Master of the Rolls under Mary. John, the younger, entered the Inner Temple in 1571, was called to the bench in 1591, became Treasurer in 1605, and sat as M.P. for Horsham in 1587. He had houses in Fleet Street and at Totteridge, Hertfordshire. He was married twice; first, on November 8, 1574, to Lucy Barley, one of the three daughters of Francis Barley of Bibbesworth

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1. Alumni Cantabrigienses, I.ii.305.

2. Students Admitted to the Inner Temple, 1547-1660, ed. W.H. Cooke, 1877.

3. Biographical Register of Christ's College, i.230.

4. The information about the Hare family contained in the following paragraphs is drawn from: Clutterbuck, History of the County of Hertford, iii.429; D.N.B. (Article on Hugh Hare, First Lord Coleraine); B.M. MSS. Add. 5524, f. 69; Add. 38257, f. 165-6; Sloane 1429, f. 50v.; Bodleian MSS. Eng. misc. c.20, Vol. i, f. 98.

5. At his death Sir Nicholas held the lands of Marham and Strumpshaw, Norfolk; Tottenham, Hertfordshire; and Bruisyard and Westhall, Suffolk.

Hall, Hertfordshire.[1] By her he had a daughter, Elizabeth, who died young, and a son, Nicholas, the subject of this enquiry.

Nicholas was baptized at his father's house in Blackfriars on November 20, 1582. I have not been able to discover where he was at school. While he was still at Cambridge his mother died,[2] and his father was soon afterwards remarried to Margaret, daughter of John Crouch Esq., and widow of Adam Elvine of London. By her he had a son, Hugh, who, in 1625, was made Lord Coleraine in the peerage of Ireland. Nicholas' career at Cambridge probably ended in 1602, or perhaps earlier. At any rate John Manningham recalls in his diary how, on March 31, 1603, he:

> was in mr Nich: Hares companie, at the King head. a gallant yong gent, like to be heir to much land. he is of a sweet behauior: a good spirit and a pleasing witty discourse.[3]

On the same page in his diary Manningham recounts two snippets from Hare's conversation:

> A wench complained that she was rauished in a chamber and being asked how chance shee cryed not. why there were some in the next roome said shee, and they would haue heard mee; another said shee could not cry for laughing.
>
> Mr: Hare

> ... a gents nose fell a bleding verry late in a night and soe causing his boy to light him downe to a pumpe to washe the bloud away: he spied written upon the pump, that it was built at the proper cost and charges of a phisicion which lay nere the place, whom he presently sent for to come to a lady that was dangerously sicke but when he came, he shewed that his nose was bloudy, that he went downe to haue washt at the pumpe, but espying it to be built at his proper costs and charges, he thought good manners to aske leaue of him before he woulde washe it
>
> Mr N: Hare

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1. The details of John Hare's marriage, and of the birth of his daughter and elder son, are recorded in his own hand in Bodleian MS. Eng. misc. c. 20, at f. 105.
2. October 29, 1601. The inscription on her funeral monument is given by Hatton in A New View of London, 1708, ii.273.
3. B.M. MS. Harley 5353, f. 118r.

We might guess from this that Nicholas was a young man with a taste for poetry, as the first of these anecdotes is a prose version of one of Campion's Latin epigrams, published in his Poemata of 1595.[1]

In September 1604, Nicholas entered into partnership with his father as Clerk of the Court of Wards and Liveries.[2] By 1610, however, he seems to have grown tired of this highly respectable and lucrative employment, and in the spring of that year he obtained a licence "to travell into the parts beyond the seas for three years ... with seruant Naggs or gueldings and ffifty pounds in money".[3] The following summer Dudley Carleton mentions to Sir Thomas Edmondes that Hare is at Venice, bound for Constantinople with a Mr. Bowes,[4] and a year later he is reported to be on his way to Malta via Cyprus, having just returned from a trip to Jerusalem with the same Mr. Bowes and a Mr. Willoughby, whom he intends to rejoin in Naples for the winter.[5] The journey had clearly not been without its hazards. Carleton remarks that "of seven Dutch gentlemen, that made the journey with them, and came back as far as Cyprus, three they buried in that island, and flung the other three overboard between that place and this".[6]

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1. Campion, Works, ed. P. Vivian, 1909, p. 341.

2. September 24, 1604. See C.S.P. Dom., 1603-10, p. 152.

3. P.R.O., Signet Office Docquets, March 1608-October 1610. The licence was granted on April 10.

4. B.M. MS. Stowe 172, f. 150r. The letter is dated 6 August, 1611.

5. B.M. MS. Stowe 173, f. 47r., Carleton to Edmondes, 3 August, 1612.

6. Carleton to Chamberlain, 12 August, 1612, in The Court and Times of James the First, 1848, i.195.

Nicholas was with Carleton again at Venice in June the following year, when his father died in London. It is pretty clear that John Hare did not feel particularly pleased about his elder son's desire to see the world. Chamberlain, that arch-gossip, hears it rumoured that he "left his sonne there with you [i.e. with Carleton in Venice] but 300 li a yeare and his office whereof he had the reversion: but with the limitation that he live in England."[1] Chamberlain's informant was mistaken about the £300 p.a. legacy.[2] In his will John left the bulk of his property to his second wife and to "her little son and mine Hugh Hare". To Nicholas he bequeathed only his office as Clerk of the Court of Wards. Apparently he had not much confidence in his son's administrative abilities, as he appoints "my neiphue H. Audely and my honest clerk and friend Richard Chamberlayne" to assist Nicholas "in the due ordering and executing of matters in the office" and charges his son "to be ruled therin by them". Nicholas does not seem to have been in any hurry to return home. At any rate, he was still abroad in October, though he had by that time sent a letter via Chamberlain to Sir Walter Cope, who had been made Master of the Wards four months previously, and who was therefore understandably anxious that his Clerk of the Court "should make homeward with all his best conveniencie".[3] It is worth remembering that the young Thomas Carew joined Carleton as his secretary in the Autumn of 1613, and that Inigo Jones was at Venice earlier in the year, in the retinue of the Earl of Arundel.[4] Perhaps

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1. Chamberlain to Carleton, June 10, 1613: Letters, ed. N. McClure, 2 Vols., 1939, i.457.

2. P.C.C. 66, Capel.

3. Chamberlain to Carleton, October 14, 1613: McClure, i.478.

4. See Carew, Poems, ed. R. Dunlap, 1957, p. xix.

it was the company of men of this sort that made Nicholas unwilling to leave Italy. In fact he clearly relinquished his tenure of the clerkship for a time, since in June, 1618, he is once again granted life tenure of "the office of Clarke of the Court of Wards and Liueries", along with one "Robert Brooke gent.", "with the yerly fee of 10[ls.]".[1.] By February of the next year Nicholas was the sole clerk: Sir Stephen Le Sieur demands somewhat querulously why this is so, and why he should not himself be granted the second clerkship in return for his thirty years of service as an Ambassador. Viscount Wallingford, Chief Justice Hobart, and Sir James Ley, who were requested by the King to adjudicate, decided that Hare should remain the sole clerk.[2.] A year later, in the spring of 1620, Nicholas' uncle Hugh, "an old, rich man of the Temple",[3.] died. Perhaps he had discovered that his nephew was the author of the flippantly immoral poem in the FitzGeffrey volume. Very likely he disapproved of Nicholas for other reasons as well. What is certain is that he left half of his huge estate to Sir John Hare of Norfolk, the elder son of his nephew, Sir Ralph, and half to Hugh, Nicholas' younger brother. There is no mention of Nicholas in his will at all, but his brother is described somewhat pointedly as "a dutifull good child".[4.] Clearly Nicholas was <u>persona non grata</u> with his highly respectable and worldly middle-class relations. Since Chamberlain's estimate of the value of the elder High Hare's estate is as

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1. P.R.O., <u>Signet Office Docquets, March 1608-October 1610</u>.

2. <u>C.S.P. Dom., 1611-18</u>, p. 520.

3. Chamberlain to Carleton, March 11, 1620: McClure, ii.293. The date of Hugh's death is given as February 4, in Bodleian MS. Eng. misc. c. 20, Vol. i, f. 98.

4. See his will: P.C.C. 24, Soame.

high as £80,000[1], it is not hard to account for the note of rueful self-righteousness in Nicholas' own will, when he bequeathes:

> to my louing brother Hugh Hare Esquier one bason and ewer of silver fashioned like a great scallopp shell, the Eawer a mermaide desiring God Almightie that as he hath given him a large and plentifull worldly estate so likewise he would giue him as full a proporcion and measure of grace that wee may once meete in the kingdome of heauen together I being ready to leaue this world willingly which I haue long bene weary of.

This assertively anti-materialist attitude is similar to the one Nicholas adopts in that exhilarating poem, - exhilarating by virtue of the cool, clear upper air to which its opening soars:

> Not in the dust wee tread, but mounted high
> Flyes with calme wings the great felicitie.

Probably this poem was his last: already he is aware of approaching death:

> My meditation warninge me on high
> Teaches me this short lif's calamity.

In the will, made on December 18, 1621, he says that he is now "weake in body"[2]. Later Carleton was to tell Chamberlain that, in his opinion, it was a good thing that Nicholas ("that unfortunate gentleman") had, at this time:

> so honest a friend as Captain Harvey about him; otherwise his hypochondriacal humours might have carried him some such way as the Lord of Berkshire is gone, and as our strange bishop is going through ambition and avarice ...[3].

This certainly does not say much for Nicholas' state of mind: the Earl of Berkshire referred to had recently shot himself with a crossbow, and "our strange bishop", the Archbishop of Spalatro, had, as Carleton's secretary, Locke, had just reported from London[4], committed what some might

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1. McClure, ii.293.
2. See his will: P.C.C. 1, Savile.
3. The Court and Times of James the First, 1848, ii.298.
4. ibid., ii.289. Locke's letter is dated February 4, 1621-2.

have considered an even graver misdemeanour by preaching "a sermon at Mercers' Chapel, wherein he seemed to be well inclined towards the Roman Church".

Shortly after his uncle's death, Nicholas' step-mother, "a sober comly woman and of great meanes"[1], continued her ascent of the social ladder by marrying Sir Henry Montague, Lord Chief Justice of the King's bench, who was later to become Earl of Manchester. By the end of the next year Nicholas was on his death bed. He died on January 13, 1622. His friend, John Harvey, writing to Sir Dudley Carleton a few weeks later, fears that:

> it would perhaps be greatly displeasing to your Lordship that loued him so well, to reade a long relation of his greiuous languishing disease, it beeing the coughe of the lungs; this only may then suffice to asswage the sorrowe of his true frends, that he endurd his great and sharp affliction with exceeding much patience often comforting and strengthening himself with reading the story of Jobb, hee was earnestly sollicited by som of his ancient accquaintances to haue admitted of Romish priests to conferr with him, but hee resolued them that hee would die in that religion in which hee was bredd and borne, the friday after Christmas day hee receiued communion with Doctor Baytes Parson of Saint Clemmens church and died the sonday morning next after twelfe day hauing perfect memorie and speech untill the last half howre of his ende.[2]

As for his will, the most arresting thing about it is the signature of the second witness: "Isaack Walton". The bequests, for the most part, are fairly humdrum, - small sums to godchildren, legal colleagues and servants, and one to the fashionable "Mr Perryvall the Phisicion dwellinge at Bowe in Essex", who had, presumably, attended him in his illness. He leaves, also, "twoe hundreth pounds of lawfull money of England to be employed as a stock" for the benefit

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1. Chamberlain to Carleton, April 29, 1620; McClure, ii.302.
2. P.R.O., S.P. 14/127, f. 68r. The letter is dated February 4, 1621-2.

of the poor of St. Dunstan's-in-the-West, and specifies that distributions of the profit arising from this stock shall be the concern of "the deane of Pawles". It is pleasant to think of Donne, who had become Dean about six weeks before, supervising the distribution of "three shillings and fower pence in bread" each week, and "the surplusage of the proffitt yearely arising of the said stock ... in coales" once a year "on St. Thomas Eve". Nicholas also bequeathed "a ring of gould sett with nyne dyamonds which I usually weare" to "my lovinge friend Jane Brogden the wife of Stephen Brogden" and, as an afterthought, to a fellow poetaster "S[r] Thomas Nevill knight[1.] my Italian cabinett of Ebanie with many thanks for his love". The residue is left to "my true freind John Harvie, brother of Symon Harvie", who is made sole executor. Not much is known about "Captain" John Harvey, as Carleton and Chamberlain style him. His father, John Harvey of Ickworth, had at least seven children, probably more, of whom John was the third, and died penniless in 1630, in spite of the fact that his wife, Frances Bockinge, had brought him a share in the Bockinge estates.[2.] Captain John was with Sir Thomas Glover at Naples in 1612,[3.] so perhaps it was in Italy that Nicholas met him. Sir Thomas Edmondes had known him earlier in Brussels.[4.] By 1618 he is at the Hague, begging money from Carleton, with the intention of going to Guiana or the West Indies,[5.] or so Chamberlain conjectures. For his own part

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1. Son of Edward, Lord Abergavenny: made a Knight of the Bath, November 3, 1616. He died in 1628. Shirley has an epitaph for him in his Poems, 1646. One of his own poems appears in Poet. MS. 420127.1 in the Folger Shakespeare Library, at f. 19r.
2. See A Dictionary of Herveys, 1927, Suffolk Green Books, No. XX, iii.378, and v.81.
3. MS. Stowe 173, f. 177r.
4. ibid.
5. McClure, ii.130.

Chamberlain thinks him "somewhat chollericke and impatient". At least he was grateful enough for the "three or fowre thousand pound"[1] which Nicholas left him, to wish to perpetuate his friend's memory. Apparently Carleton had a portrait of Nicholas, painted, presumably, while they were in Italy together.[2] As far as Harvey knows it is the only one available, so he approaches Chamberlain to get him to write to Carleton, asking if a copy may be made "by Michaell Jansen or some other goode hand", and also writes a fulsome letter to Carleton himself, to the same end, announcing his intention to "place a poore monument in remembrance" of Hare in St. Dunstan's-in-the-West where "his boddy according to his owne commaund was buried".[3] In his reply to Chamberlain Sir Dudley says that he has instructed his secretary in England, Thomas Locke, to let Captain Harvey take the picture to Ickworth, his father's house, and copy it "by what hand he likes best there".

Nicholas' monument did not survive the rebuilding of St. Dunstan's in 1832, but Seymour[4] has preserved its inscription, and reports that the monument itself was a "very fair" one:

> M.S. Nicholai Hare
> Viri morum suavitate & elegantia, animi candore & magnitudine, ingenii denique Acumine & judicii gravitate, Incomparabilis; Disciplinarum & Linguarum, tam quae ad Artes, quam quae ad Aulas spectant, cognitione ornatissimi. Cuius Egregias & Raras Animi dotes, Anglia, Belgia, Gallia, ipsaque Italia iamdudum suspexere & stupuere. Qui desiderio sui apud amicos, omnesque bonos relicto, obiit, Eheu! nondum quadragenarius, Anno M.DC.XXI.

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1. ibid., p. 422.
2. See his letter to Carleton, S.P. 14/127, f. 68r.
3. The Court and Times of James the First, 1848, ii.298.
4. Survey of London and Westminster, 1734, i.773.

Johannes Harvey, Amico dulcissimo & B.M.
in perpetuam grati animi memoriam P.
Magnificentius positurus, si ei suam ipsius
pietatem magis quam amici voluntatem
exequi licuisset.

Vale, anima candidissima, vale, tuorum
quos dolore & luctu conficis AEternum
desiderium, vale, Patriae & seculi summum
ornamentum.

Even after allowing for funerary hyperbole we are fairly safe in assuming from this that Nicholas was well known among his contemporaries as a man of letters, and that he had been accepted into literary and learned circles on the continent. He died too early for his name to endure. Eleven years were still to pass before the publication of Donne's poems set the example for the gentlemen-poets of the early 1600's to go to press. As his poems were copied and recopied, along with hundreds of others, in the years immediately after his death, his name or initials would soon come to mean nothing to the copyists, and would be omitted and forgotten. The Certain Elegies volume, which appeared on the London bookstalls about the time Nicholas reassumed his job as Clerk of the Court of Wards, affixed his initials to the first of the poems reproduced in Appendix A below. The next two bear his initials in one or more early seventeenth century manuscripts, and the fourth is ascribed to him by name in Egerton MS. 923.[1] The other three appear among his poems in the Hazlewood-Kingsborough manuscript. They are so similar, both in style and manner, to the acknowledged 'N.H.' poems, that they clearly deserve to be included here. It is

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1. In the Hazlewood-Kingsborough MS., Poem V is at f. 100r.-101r., followed by the first seventeen lines of Poem VI, which are immediately followed by Poem VII. The first seventeen lines of Poem VI are repeated, along with the remainder of the poem, at f. 105r.-v., immediately after Poem IV, and immediately before Poem I.

true that they are not ascribed to Hare, but none of his poems in the Hazlewood-Kingsborough manuscript bears any ascription. The first of these unascribed poems, "Lett natures fooles, made out of sullen earth...", is found also in B.M. MSS. Add. 25707, (f. 164v.), and Stowe 962, (f. 139r.). The second, "Why with unkindest swiftnes doest thou turne ...", was printed in 1660 in the Poems of William, Earl of Pembroke, and Sir Benjamin Rudyerd. John Donne, junior, who edited this volume, included in it a good many poems by other writers, including Raleigh, Dyer, Strode and Carew, and distinguished the poems which were in fact by Pembroke or Rudyerd by the initials "P" or "R". "Why with unkindest swiftnes ..." bears neither initial. The text of the poem which Donne reproduced lacks lines 10-12 and 63-64 of the Hazlewood-Kingsborough version. The third unascribed poem, "Thinke not on Jealousie or domestique warr..." appears, as far as I know, only in this mansucript.

Clearly the most authoritative text for the first four poems and for the last two is supplied by the Hazlewood-Kingsborough mamuscript, which has accordingly been used as the copy text for these. For the fifth, To his Mistress: the Usurye of Time, Add. 25707 is the best manuscript, and it has been used as the copy text for that poem. Departures have been made from the copy text only where one of the other manuscripts provides a clearly preferable reading, and all such departures have been recorded in the critical apparatus, as have all other alternative readings, except those which are obviously mere blunders on the part of the copyist. Variant spellings have not been recorded, nor have additions of punctuation and capitalization which have been made throughout.

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1. For the text of Hare's poems see Appendix A.

(iii) Poems

Perhaps the most noteworthy thing about Hare's poems[1] is their representative quality. They demonstrate particularly well how the young men of the Inns of Court, in the first ten years of the seventeenth century, followed Donne in adapting the Roman elegiac convention. They exhibit also that constant particularization, that proliferation of concrete actualities and of topical references for the purpose of verisimilitude, which brings the elegiac tradition in the 1590's so close to the satiric. There is no place here for a vague garden of love, as in the Rose tradition: the scene of seduction is described with the exactitude of a police report (VI. 8-10). Mysterious references to the lady's "new honours" (I. 21) or to the poet's return from "A forraine kingdome" (VI. 22) are included to give an impression of life going on outside the poem. The elegist's love is secret (I. 51, VI. 42, VII. 16-24): it is "hidden love", "secret dallyance" (V. 33-40): night (I. 61, V. 36, VI. 11-12) and "occasion" (I. 38, 43) are its "secretaries" (I. 64, V. 31). His enemies are society, and the established trappings of love within society, - husbands (II. 16, VII. 7), parents (VII. 27), marriage (I. 55). Like his master Ovid, Hare is a praeceptor amoris: he expounds the art of love (I. 34-66, V. 13, VI. 44, VII. 14-15): this erotodidactic role helps him to retain his aloofness and to assert his masculine superiority, which the seventeenth century elegiac poet is always anxious to do. Following Ovid's advice, he is prepared, if necessary, to seduce the maid in order to gain access to the mistress (VII. 28-32). He begs the dawn, as Ovid had done, not to bring an end to

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1. For the text of Hare's poems see Appendix A.

his night of love (V. 75). Often he grumbles about being jilted (I. 3-4, VI. 1 f.) in favour of a richer (VI. 32- note the common pun on "angells") or more distinguished rival (I. 21), and laments the materialism of his own age (IV. 21-34, VI. 32), especially of modern woman (I. 23-4), comparing it bitterly with "former times" when poets were properly respected. In his relationships with women he is rational and calculating: his interests are purely physical, - love is "the business" (I. 58), - Ovid's opus, - or "the game" (VI. 40). Not for him the transports and self abasement of the sonneteers.

The theme of Hare's poem on the durability of art (IV) derives, also, from the Amores:

> Only devyner verses fly the Graue (IV. 70)
> Defugiunt avidos carmina sola rogos (Amores, III. ix. 28)

In a genre so stereotyped as the love elegy a writer has to make only the smallest divergences from the conventional mannerisms, in order to colour the poem with his own individuality. Thus in Poem V, the intrusion of the much-imitated Catullian multiplied-kiss theme (V. 21-8, 81-8) into the framework of an Ovidian elegy, and the sudden almost palinodial weariness of its culmination (89-100), coupled with the double-edged implications of the usury-love parallelism (perhaps suggested by Donne's "Loves Usury") and the magnificent extroversion ("Caesar and I shall rise as equall menn") of that egotism always implicit in the insolent self-assurance of the elegiac lover, combine to make the poem altogether more complex and equivocal than its more woodenly derivative companions. It illustrates well how, in the first part of the seventeenth century, the talented amateur was enabled to rise to otherwise unattainable heights by virtue of the well-formulated conventions he appropriated.

It was hard fate that selected this alone of all Hare's works as a fit subject for the depredations of the Royalist anthologists. A hopelessly batched and garbled version of lines 21-4, 27-34, 41-2, 49-52, 57-8, and 79-88, with the addition of a clumsy conclusion:

> O give me way; grant love to me thy friend,
> Did hundred thousand Suiters all contend
> For thy Virginity, there's none shall woe
> With heart so firm as mine; none better doe
> Then I with your sweet-sweetnesse; if you doubt
> Pierce with your eyes my heart, or pluck it out.

- appeared in the second edition of Witts Recreations[1], 1641, under the heading "An Incomparable kisse". The seventh edition of The Academy of Complements, 1646, printed, under the same heading, an inaccurate patchwork of lines 21-4, 27-34, 41-2, 57-58 and 79-80.[2] The 1641 version was reprinted in Recreation for Ingenious Head-peeces[3], 1663, and thus Nicholas Hare survived into the Restoration. He deserves a better memorial.

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1. Op. cit., sig. Z1r.-v.

2. Op. cit., p. 144.

3. Op. cit., sig. Q5r.-v.

CHAPTER IX

Elegies and Translations in Manuscript, 1595-1660

The poems of Sir John Salusbury of Lleweni, contained in Christ Church, Oxford MS. 184 and in Robert Parry's Sinetes Passion, 1597, demonstrate the popularity of elegiac poses among Inns of Court men in the mid-1590's. Salusbury, who entered the Middle Temple in 1595, reproaches his mistress for her "mutabilitie", and blames her for giving ear to the "sluttish reasons" of her maid, who is jealous of his success:

> The absent eye keepes knowledge from the mynd;
> She's chast that's chary; all the world is blynde
> In sable shadow of the silent night;
> All things discerned in the blabbinge light.[1.]

- thus, since the maid cannot hold her tongue, he recommends her dismissal. Two other poems in the same manuscript follow a familiar pattern of elegiac social protest, complaining that a "base-born haggard", newly proud because he has "stole a name from gentry", has married a desirable and well-bred girl.[2.] As some acrostic verses in the Parry volume indicate, the object of Salusbury's adulterous affections, at any rate on a literary level, was his sister-in-law Dorothy Halsall, who married Cuthbert Halsall of Clifton. Sir John's poems in that volume are an oblique commentary on the affair: he pretends to narrate episodes in it, - a secret meeting of the lovers, disturbed by "a barking Dog" (Sonetto 11 and 12); a nocturnal rendezvous betrayed by "treason" (Sonetto 14). Social authority, which he calls "the dicte of such as may commaunde" (Sonetto 23) forbids his love, and sets watchers, represented by the elegiac symbol of Argus (Sonetto 22,23, 25, 26). Like Ovid, Salusbury knows that such vigilance defeats its own end:

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1. Christ Church MS. 184, f. 34v. Cf. Amores, III.xiv.5-16.

2. ibid., f. 47r.

> Who doubtes but shee that meanes to make a match
> For to performe both time and place can finde?
> And to abridge a woman of her will,
> Is to poure oyle in fier to quench the flame.[1]

His treatment of the love-war parallelism foreshadows[2] that in the 1599 revels at his Inn. (Sonnete 13). The most melodious sonnet in his collection, that which begins "Was Io watched by Argus in the downes?",[3] sets forth the argument of Amores, III.iv.19-22, using the same exemplifications, and gives it a personal, subjective application. The process of introducing elegiac material into the sonnet, which we traced in Chapter V, reaches, then, an extreme in Salusbury. But the sonnet is not really a satisfactory medium for elegiac expression. The strictness of its form destroys that impression of almost casual, intimate self-revelation which characterizes the elegy. With Salusbury little is lost. Even when he changes the sonnet for the couplet, he never seems to be using the elegiac mise en scène for any other reason than that it is fashionable. The hostile environment which he postulates does not justify itself by providing a literary motive for the expression of the poet's urgent pre-occupations, as it does with Hare.

Stephen Radford, whose poems appear in B.M. MS. Add. 22601, adopts the stage properties of the elegy in an equally perfunctory way. The manuscript contains several items which are dated 1603, and one is probably correct in placing Radford's poems in the first decade of the seventeenth century. He frequently describes amorous adventures, hinting that his love is illicit, and that "jealous eyes" are likely to be watching for him. "Oh, deere harte, where hast thou

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1. Sinetes Passions, 1597, sig. G3r. Cf. Amores, III.iv.
2. See p. 214 , above.
3. Sinetes Passions, 1597, sig. G5v.

bene ..."[1] is representative of his efforts in this kind. It fails as an elegy not only because of the hopping friskiness of its form, but also because "the keeper" of line 41 is, one feels, introduced only to break off the love-play when it has reached an embarrassing stage. He does not represent anything essential in the poet's vision. Elsewhere Radford describes how he stole a kiss from his mistress when sitting in a coach with her and her family:

> The Mother and ye Daughter both together
> Both Ladies borne by honourable birthe
> My deare betwene them smilde and markt how either
> On either side were seuered from our mirthe[2].

The references to status (the coach and "honourable birthe") are deliberately dragged in: it must be remembered that the Ovid-Corinna relationship was conceived of as that of a poor poet and an emperor's daughter. Another poem in Radford's collection expands the theme of the Ars, i.663-714 and ii.199-202 into one hundred and eighty six wearisome and rambling lines[3], insisting that:

> Though women striue and disagree
> They meane not for to ouercome,
> Though they full angrie seeme to be
> Well pleas'd they are when well 'tis done.

A poet of a very different calibre, but of similar date, was responsible for the Elegy found in MS. HM 198 (ii) in the Huntington Library, and MS. Don. b.9 in the Bodleian.[4] Here the impatient vehemence of the elegist is profound and impassioned: the jealous husband of the opening quickly becomes Time, Time the destroyer, with his "wandringe houres" and "remorseles minuitts" (lines 17 and 19). Indeed the

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1. See Appendix B, Poem I.
2. B.M. MS. Add. 22601, f. 77r.
3. ibid., ff. 56v.-59v.
4. See Appendix B, Poem II.

husband is never actually mentioned: the "Jealousie" of the first line might be taken, on one level, as the jealousy of Time himself. Nicholas Hare's preoccupation with evanescence will have been noticed: his poems return to the topic with tormented fascination. (Cf. I.44; IV.10, 19-20, 61-4; V.16-17, 81-4). This, and the appearance of the elegy in the Hazlewood-Kingsborough MS., suggest that it should be ascribed to him. Stylistically it has several points in common with his acknowledged work: the vocative "My dearest hopes" (line 43, Cf. V.20), the preliminary "Besides ..." (line 25, Cf. I.55), the designation of experienced lovers as "elders" (line 63, Cf. I.40) and of their goal as the "fruits of life" (line 56, Cf. V.56), the use of the word "forslowed" (line 64, Cf. IV.16, V.76), all recall his manner. Indeed there seems such a good case for putting this among his poems that it would have been included in the previous chapter if it were not for the fact that it appears some ten leaves after the collection of his poems in the Hazlewood-Kingsborough MS., not actually with them.

Another elegy which takes fire from an agony of anxiety about transience and which, judging from its manuscript companions, also belongs to the period 1600-10, appears in MS. Rawl. Poet. 31, at ff. 41v.-42v., and in Harley 4064 at f. 283r. It is preceded in the former by a group of poems by Harington, by "The Expostulation" (headed Elegie, f. 22r.), and by some poems of Sir John Roe (ff. 25v.-26v.). The style, though certainly not Hare's, is indignant and direct:

> Is tyme soe pricelesse, or one wasted hower
> To be recalld by any tyrante power?
> Can the ritch or thanckfull man repaye it?
> Or cann our tardye lawe arrest, and stay it?

It turns out that this is the poet's mistress speaking, decrying his importunate suit, and warning him against the waste of youth. His reply:

> Yf this your reason doth my will suppresse
> Haue I more tyme by this, or loose I lesse?

- turns the first part of the elegy to a terrified duet on the subject of mutability, and the terror is resolved only by his denial that time has any importance when not spent with her:

> Tell hir the tyme runs mad, and clockes doe lye
> That hasten me from hir societye.

The poems which appear in MS. Rawl. Poet. 166 under the name "Alphonso Mervall" are almost certainly the work of James Cobb, whose name is written in a contemporary hand on the outer cover. Cobb, the son of William Cobb of Aldington, Kent, entered Gray's Inn in 1620. One poem in the volume bears the date July 18, 1626(p. 19), and the epistle to the third book is dated September 1625 (p. 56). Cobb there says that the epistle is written from "my Countrey retrayt .... my Pontus" - the reference to Ovid is significant, - and makes it clear that the poems were a product of his life in London. An epitaph (p. 62) dated 26 February 1628, for Sir John Rooper, and a reference of a personal kind to Sir Thomas Hawkins in a poem dated May, 1628 (p. 89), bear witness to Cobb's Kentish associations. His elegy "To Cloris"[1] takes as its model the pseudo-Donnian "Variety". Apart from thematic similarities, verbal correspondences like "And yett some fewe ..." (line 37), "Onely some few ..." ("Variety", line 62), make the connection between the two elegies clear. The economic parallelism of the first six lines is strongly emphasised, and the discussion of the old Ius Naturale

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1. See Appendix B, Poem III.

(lines 18 and 36) has a more technical ring here than in "Variety". The female personification of jealousy (lines 59-82) makes capital of the traditional elegiac hatred for old women, and its description of a jealous woman's anger (lines 77-8) is an echo from the Ars, ii.373-8. Another of Cobb's elegies, "To Phyllis",[1] mingles the tradition of Donne's "Anagram" and "Comparison" with recollections of Ovid's advice in the Remedia (lines 315-340), about cataloguing the physical shortcomings of one's mistress. James Harvey who has some Latin verses later in the manuscript (p. 82), adds a note to this poem "alias to y^e disloyal S. Ba:". Cobb enlivens his elegy by references to the girl's past conduct:

> ... Your breastes, which first did please my wanton sight,
> Whose touch did ravishe mee with fonde delight
> I can perceaue haue not unfruitfull beene,
> A frequent chance with virgins of nyneteene;
> Youre waste, which now so slender doth appeare,
> Was greater if we credite what we heare ...

The last line, with its suggestion of rumour and report, places the poem in a setting of animated society, proper to the elegy. Cobb's "Instructions for a servante"[2] is an amalgam of borrowings from the Ars, giving particular weight to the resemblance between a love affair and a military campaign.[3] His "Licoris", a poem of thirty-two quatrains, begins in the style of the Metamorphoses with a delineation of a wood, the haunt of Pluto and Proserpina, of Pan and the Nymphs and Philomel: in passing he recounts the story of Theseus, the Minotaur and Ariadne. Then, suddenly, the poem blossoms into a fragile and beautiful imitation of the Amores, I.v.[4] Another poem "To Lycoris" has

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1. MS. Rawl. Poet. 166, p. 20.

2. ibid., p. 41.

3. ibid., pp. 47-51.

4. See Appendix B, Poem IV.

evident affinities with Donne's "Loves Progresse": Cobb works through the catalogue of his mistress' charms, throwing in a good measure of advice about love-making on the way, and when at last he reaches her feet, remarks:

> .... These doe shew the readyest waye
> To the porte, where I would staye
> Following eache of these as guide
> You can neuer erre besyde
> But by them shall surely fynde
> All those joyes wee lefte behynde.[1.]

A type of poem extremely common both in print and manuscript from the 1590's onwards is that which purports to be the exclamatory protests of a girl before, during and after seduction: a sort of corollary or complement to the "Going to Bed" or "Pastoral Courtship" class of poem. As we shall see, William Goddard was responsible for the early popularity of these productions at the Inns of Court.[2.] One such poem, beginning "Fie awaie what meane yow by this" appears in Bodleian MS. Don C. 54, at f. 25v., surrounded by verses about Oxford or Cambridge, and preceded by Donne's "The Bracelet". As usual the girl's expressions of outraged modesty and physical pain are of a highly suggestive kind ("Doe yow not blushe me thus to uncloth .... What doe you call the weapon in your hand?..."). A similar poem in Bodleian MS. Eng. Poet. f. 25, at f. 67v., beginning "Tee hee, nay, fye love, Lord, what do yow meane?", introduces something of the elegiac background of hostile vigilance ("Some body will spye us, in faith we are seen.... My Mother knowes nothing but that I'me alone"). The same manuscript contains a translation of Ausonius' "Hanc volo, quae non vult; illam, quae vult, ego nolo..."[3.] beginning

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1. MS. Rawl. Poet. 166, pp. 53-4.

2. See below, p. 311.

3. Ausonius, Epigram lvi.

"I love her that denyes, not that invites..." (f. 16v.), and Donne's "Going to Bed" (f. 17r.). Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 172 (f. 3v.) adds one more to our collection of these poems. It begins "Fie, fie, I praye you, be content", brings in the girl's mother ("... in faigth Ile call my mother, Shee will chide us both together"), the aspect of physical pain ("Now by my faigth you doe me hurte.... Alas, for pitty, it doth smarte, And I cannot bide it longe") and the final reconciliation ("... leave off, I shalbe shent, Though nowe tis done I am content"). Cartwright's "Song of Dalliance" appears on the preceding leaf (f. 2r.). This kind of thing clearly tickled the Restoration palate. In MS. Ashmole 36/37 (f. 204v.) a set of verses beginning "Nay, fie, Good Sir! What doe you meane" represent the protests of a Puritan lady when attempted. According to Ashmole's note the author was Sir Clifford Clifton (knighted 1661), and the subject, the wife of Sir Job Charlton (1614-97). An outcrop of the Ovidian fashion, such poems are a practical demonstration of Ars, i.663 f.

Bodleian MS. Eng. Poet. e. 14 was clearly compiled by someone interested in the elegiac fashion: it contains eight elegies of the Donne group, - "The Anagram" (f. 29v.), "The Bracelet" (f. 30v.), "On his Mistris" (f. 32v.), "Loves Warre" (f. 33v.), "The Perfume" (f. 34v.), "Julia" (f. 36r., under the title Dr. Dun: his Julia suppos'd to be his Mrs. Mother), "The Autumnall" (f. 38r) and "The Comparison" (f. 60v.). Judging from the dates which appear (1618, f. 100r.: Feb. 15, 1621, f. 100v.), the manuscript belongs to the early 1620's. Two poems in it illustrate well the tendency of the elegy to dissolve into mere sensuousness of the type frequent in the epyllion. The first (ff. 48v.-49r.), headed "On a faint harted louer", pretends to be the

narration of an elegiac adventure ("Once I stole to my sweetheart's bed ...") and concludes with an Ovidian moral about the necessity for boldness in love ("was not I acurst that might haue done if that I durst"), but the kernel of the poem is simply a catalogue of the girl's physical charms from head to toe, revealed as "I softly lifted up the sheete". Similarly "On a gentlewoman putting on a fair smocke" (f. 77v.), begins with an elegiac celebration of nakedness:

> The world's growne child againe, no figleafe here
> To cover precious nakednesse, noe feare
> Of shame, because noe guilt ...

reminiscent of poems like Propertius, I.ii or Donne's "Going to Bed" (lines 33-48), but it soon becomes evident that the little scene of the hidden watcher and the girl putting a clean smock over her head is there only for the sake of the resultant enumeration of "her raritys", as "the amorous bottom heme" of the garment slides down "ore euery glorious part".

More in keeping with traditional elegiac attitudes is a popular poem, probably of the mid-1620's, found in B.M. MS. Sloane 542 (f. 13r.), Egerton 2421 (f. 12v.) and Add. 22602 (f. 17v.), and printed in Wit Restored, 1658 (p. 248). It begins as an extension of Donne's "Going to Bed" (lines 15-16):

> Faire Madam cast these diamonds away;
> What need there torch light in so bright a day?

- and the poet proceeds to draw an indecent distinction between the "pretiouse stones" which "Nature" has given to men and has ordained "for weomens use", and these merely ornamental jewels, "not for actiue use":

> Then let us make exchang, since that those be
> Fitter for you, and these more fitt for me.

The outrageousness of this apparently casual offer, the interest in money, the choice of a rich, bejewelled "Madam"

as subject, all demonstrate the way in which Donne had moulded the English elegy. In the Sloane MS., "Going to Bed" appears a couple of leaves before this poem (f. 11r.).

Bodleian MS. Malone 16 (f. 19r.) has an anonymous elegy which derives its naturalistic doctrines from the Ars, ii.481-88:

> Since all things loue, why should not wee
> The best of creatures bee as free.
> The pearled fish in euery water
> Pursues his love, being taught by nature
> The silly worme, the lambe, the harmlesse dove
> Which knowing nothing, yet know how to love ...

We have seen how popular such examples were with the Italians: here the poet appeals to mythology, - to "Adon", and "Endimion, that drowsy boy", as well as to zoology. The manuscript is dated 1625. MS. Rawl. Poet. 206, probably compiled at the end of the 1620's (it bears the date 1628 on p. 26), contains another suasoria redolent of Italian Ovidian-ism, attacking the concept of "Honour":

> Honour? what's that? your second Maydenhead?
> And what is that? a word too... (p. 29)

Thomas Bonham, who was admitted to Gray's Inn from King's College, Cambridge in 1629, probably took Montaigne's "Caesar, Pompey, Anthony, Cato, and divers other gallant men were cuckolds, and knew it, though they made no stirre about it"[1], or Marston's repetition of this observation in The Fawn[2], as the starting-point for his elegy:

> Great Julius was a Cuckold, and may I
> Hope to keepe my sockett dry?
> If two consent may then the moapish third
> Thrust out his hand to catch the bird?...

Donne's "If I have caught a bird..." ("Change", line 7) might also have been in his mind here. He continues along

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1. Florio's Montaigne, ed. G. Saintsbury, 3 Vols., 1892, iii.88.

2. Marston, Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 3 Vols., 1887, ii.195 (Fawn, IV.i. 357-61).

the lines of Amores III.xiv.14,41-2 ("were it not better for Him not to know, than to abhorre?"), and of Ars, iii.91-4:

> Who euer found the footsteps of his pride
> That did last lye by her side?
> If no parts wanting of her wonted store,
> Who can, who would haue more?1.

In the same manuscript (Rawl. Poet. 147), at pp. 233-221 (reversed), is a long poem by Sampson Briggs which relates the story of Danäe. He uses this subject in order to elaborate upon a series of elegiac themes, warning "hornemad husbands" of the futility of trying:

> to quench loues fyres
> In women, or to coole their loose desires
> By strict restraint, by locks, by bolts, by wards.

This will only make "disdaine ... highly swell Their brest with angers fire", and the result will be an end of their chastity. Danäe, complaining that all creatures but her enjoy love, notices the "watery streame" which "the smooth pebbles murmuring seemes to chide", and there follows a sixteen line imitation of the "stream" passage in Donne's "Oh, let mee not serve so" (lines 21-34). When Jove descends, Briggs takes his opportunity for an elegiac diatribe against gold:

> Can gold speake then, yes certainly it canne,
> And lowder sometime than an honest man.
> It to the Lawyer giues both eares and tongue
> Who ne'er had understood his clyents wrong ....
> It giues a tongue to Poetts, and to stones
> Which in the Churchyards cover dead mens bones ...

Startled by the noise Danaë's "graue Protectresse" comes "stumbling in" and we have an insulting portrait of an elegiac old-woman figure:

> ... her two legs were scarce good
> Wherefore a third she borrow'd from the wood ...
> Her face with Phoebus beames and sweate did shine
> like unto shriuel'd well-smoak't bacon rine ...

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1. MS. Rawl. Poet. 147, p. 132.

But the question which really interests Briggs is the interference of money in love, and he devotes the whole of his final section to this, observing that nowadays "as at some mart or fayre Men cheapen loues", and that:

> ... maydens oft to gaine haue marryed bene
> And Danäe-like no suiters entertaine
> But those who do in golden showers rayne.

This seems to him "guilded folly":

> Farewell all such, 'tis shee must bee my mate
> Who's not allured with a golden bayte
> But where shall I hope such a loue to finde?
> I may as soone go catch the blustring wind ...

Since he has only "what art and nature to mee gaue", he bids farewell to love:

> To Cambridge will I hye
> And court my Mistris in Philosophie.

From henceforth Cupid should be painted not naked but in "cloth of gold" and with a purse at his side:

> whose bowells vast and wide
> Shall praegnant bee with all commanding coyne.

The poem is dedicated to "Mris. A. Darell". Anne Darrel, the elder daughter of Sir Sampson Darrel (d. 1635) and his wife Elizabeth (d. 1638) was born in 1623. Her grandfather, Sir Marmaduke was cofferer to James I. That Briggs did in reality have an unfortunate affair with her is suggested by a poem in MS. Rawl. Poet. 210 (f. 68v.), addressed to her, and describing how her eyes "like balls of wildfire" scorched the wings of a "boy that proudly soar'd too neare". Immediately preceding this poem is one "To his freind S.B.", presumably Sampson Briggs, by Isaac Olivier (f. 67v.). At f. 64r. is an unsigned poem on the death of Sir Sampson Darrel, Anne's father, declaring, among other things, that:

> If riches, or large tracts of fruitfull land,
> For good in chiefe could stand,
> Our Darell had bin happy, who had store
> Of feilds and Indian ore ...

Briggs, who was born in 1612, entered King's College, Cambridge as a scholar in 1630, as did Isaac Olivier. He was a Fellow of that College from 1633 until 1643, when he was killed at the siege of Gloucester, fighting for the King. He died unmarried. His Danae epitomizes magnificently the economic protest which lies behind the love attitudes of so many cavalier lyrics. In another manuscript of the 1630's, Sloane 1446, we find a translation of one of the Ovidian prototypes for this protest, Amores, I. x.25-36:

> Looke on the beasts that in the meadowes stray,
> Shall woman beare more sauage myndes then they.
> What guifts doe kine from their rude Bull enforce,
> What price demaunde the mare from the horse ...
> Weomen alone haue learn'd to bargaine well,
> Their pleasures borne with them alone they sell;
> Alone they prize the nighte and, (o vile state)
> Chaffer themselues to strangers at a rate ...
> Whie should the sweets which wee alike susteine
> To mee bee double loss, thee double gaine?
> (ff. 41v. - 42r.)

Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 199, which is probably not much later than 1635, contains an anonymous elegy "On a Gentlewoman in a bath" (p. 15) which combines the preference of nakedness to precious stones from "Going to Bed", (which immediately precedes it in the manuscript), with an imitation of the pseudo-Ovidian Pulex:

> ... O that I could exchange myselfe and be
> A thinge with scales, a silver prodigy!
> Then would I friske about her legs and strait
> Shoot from her legs and make her toes my baite ...
> Till shee had caught me in her hand and then
> Turne that to an embrace, me to a man.

The final wish for a reversal of the metamorphosis connects this with the Pulex tradition, and separates it from the innumerable renaissance poems where the poet merely wishes to be transformed to some object near his mistress.

In the same manuscript appear eight poems in which "W.R." celebrates his love for "Helicopis". Who this poet was is not known, but that he was a London poet of the mid-1630's is clear from his verses "On the great drought, 1635" (p. 77), which record that:

> Our Thames contracts her streames, and now doth thread
> But one arch of the bridge ...

His work is an exceptionally good illustration of what the Ovidian elegiac tradition in England had become, under the influence of Donne.[1] "The Curse" shows what could be achieved in the way of elegiac imprecation on the model of Donne's "Curse" and "The Bracelet" (line 91 f.); and "The Revenge"[2] blends into its savage assertion of superiority "Oh, let mee not serve so ..." (lines 21-34: cf. "Revenge", lines 9-14), "Going to Bed" (lines 1, 25-30: cf. "Revenge", lines 1, 32-5), "Loves Warre" ("Revenge", lines 63-4), "The Extasie" (lines 5-6, 37-40: cf. "Revenge", lines 91, 100), Campion's marigold ("Revenge", lines 50-1)[3], and Spenser's hermaphrodite ("Revenge", line 86)[4]. "W.R."'s "To an ugly woman tempting him" (p. 76) derives much from "The Anagram" and "The Comparison", and his "O question not my soaring love ..." (p. 88), where he excuses himself for making advances to a woman of superior social standing, strikes a familiar elegiac pose:

> ... Yet I dare not in gifts contend:
> Men seeme to give when they but lend.
> Gifts on a hook they send who meane
> To get you with those gifts againe.
> Such kind of giving seemes to mee
> A subtler kind of usary ...
> Shee that will sell affection
> Makes the worst kind of prostitution ...
> Verse is my richest gift, and though
> Cupid be blind, he can read well enough.[5]

The form he chooses for his "Ode" conveys well the contortions of bitterness and exasperation which are aroused

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1. See Appendix B, Poem V.
2. See Appendix B, Poem VI.
3. Campion, Works, ed. P. Vivian, 1909, p. 143 (XVII. 11-12).
4. Faerie Queene, III. xii.46 (original version of 1590).
5. See Appendix B, Poem VII.

in him by contemplation of the elegiac dilemma prefigured in Amores, III.viii, Propertius, II.xvi, and Campion's Elegeia 12 of 1595.

The same situation, - the marriage of the poet's mistress to a boorish or aged rival, is the basis of an anonymous elegy in MS. Ashmole 36-37, at f. 302. It is written in a hand of the earlier seventeenth century, differing from that on adjoining leaves. The beginning is strongly reminiscent of the Campion elegy, cited in the previous paragraph:

> Unkooth coniunccion for chill age to wedd
> With glowing youth, soe living link to th'dead:
> Can of soft virgin's wax warme thies to ioyne
> With liveles limbs, cold clay, and such as thyne
> Delighted bee? Can thy ruff grizzled face
> Please her plump, tender cheeke with its imbrace?
> Does shee not start in bed, for youth is nice,
> When her quick sides but feele thy armes of ice? ...

The vehemence and eagerness with which these English elegists portray physical decrepitude and senility is very noticeable. Into such descriptions they seem to channel all their animosity against the older, authoritative, affluent generation. Their villains are rich old citizens, and their adulterous suasoria are, therefore, constantly addressed to citizens' wives. One such, specifically designated "to a Citizen's Wife", is found in B.M. MS. Add. 33998, which probably belongs to the 1640's, at f. 56r. The customary Ovidian arguments for community are employed, and there is, as usual, a reference to the prospective cuckold's wealth:

> ... Hath the Thames such dainty trimming
> For one poore fish alone to swim in?
> Or is the ayre so nimbly spred
> That only one by it is fed?
> Or shall you, whose christall rarenesse
> Dims the Thames and Phoebus fayrenesse,
> Be made alone for one to covett,
> Who th' more he hath, the lesse doth love it? ...

Clement Paman (1611-1664)[1], whose poems appear in Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 147, was clearly saturated with Donne. Several of his lyrics echo the Songs and Sonets, and his satire "The Taverne" (pp. 112-7) is a brilliant imitation of Donne's Satire IV. "The Inquisitive" (pp. 51-3) takes "The Comparison" as its model, and outdoes that poem in its extremes of sweetness and filth:

> ... But when thou hearest she does partake
> Peru's and Arabies Happinesse,
> All gold and spice, enough to make
> Thy Mistress, though not sweet, stinke lesse;
> Wilt thou not dye, to thinke o' th' elfe,
> Thy old Anatomye at home,
> Who euery night dissects herselfe
> And hides her limbs in seu'rall tombes?
> Will not thy bed a true graue be,
> And she the fester'd coarse within
> While her be-issued linnen she
> Wraps like oyld sear-cloaths round her skin?

Paman's "Beauty" (pp. 55-7), similarly, is an unmasked counterfeit of "The Anagram". The nearest he comes to Donne's dramatic style is in "The Departure. To Stella" (pp. 117-23), which incorporates a pastiche of "The Perfume":

> Wee will loue open-fac'd, at noone; let sin
> Seeke blind by-corners out to hide her in:
> Wee won't loue 'hind the hangings; no, nor feare
> Though the grim man should stirre that's pictur'd there.
> Noe: when some busy tongue leads thee aside
> And there (as if some treason were descryde)
> After some Hums and dreadfull whispers, brings
> Out at last; is there any suche thinge?
> For Gods sake tell her Yes. See how sheele vayle
> And sweare she euer thought twas but a tale;
> For tell but such folk Truth, they'le ne'er beleiue...

But here Paman takes the clothes without the body: unlike Donne or Ovid he is a chaste poet, who considers that "t'enioy's a sluttish act", and there is always in him an uneasy incongruity between the fervent energy of phrase and line, and the chill self-control of the entirety. This

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1. For details of Paman's life, and some examples of his borrowings from Donne, see T.L.S., 27 March 1959, p. 177.

incongruity is evident in an elegy from the Holgate MS. (p. 101), beginning "When my heart was mine owne, and not by vows ..., which E.K. Chambers has ascribed to Donne on the evidence of close similarities between its phraseology and that of Donne's elegies.[1] In fact a reading of Paman's other work leaves very little doubt that this elegy is his. The Holgate family was certainly friendly with the Pamans. Robert Paman, Clement's father, wrote verses lamenting the death of William Holgate (1618-46) who fell in the Civil War, which are found in Bodleian MSS. Tanner 306 (f. 408r.), and Rawl. Poet. 62 (f. 12 r.).

From manuscript evidence it is apparent that the influence of Donne's "Going to Bed" and "Loves Progresse", especially, remained strong throughout the 1640's. The progressive element, - the gradual enaction of seduction, and the aggressive, - the speech of a determined seducer who delights in beating down opposition, are equally popular. The latter predominates in "Uppon striuinge for a kisse" from B.M. MS. Stowe 962 (f. 77r.):

> ... Doe, kicke and bite and scratch and spurne,
> I fayth it shall not serve your turne ...
> Fix thou thy bitings euerywhere,
> Yet will I nere the more forbeare ...

The Ovidian desire for antagonism becomes overt in the conclusion:

> ... grant me, sweet, this one request.
> That when I kisse I may kisse still
> As though I kist agaynst thy will.

Five leaves after this (f. 82v.) "Going to Bed" itself appears, under the heading "Undressinge of ons mistresse". Later in the same manuscript (f. 176v.) is an elegy of the same kind, - a masculine monologue leading to physical possession, where, however, the antagonism necessary to elegiac love is

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1. E.K. Chambers, "An Elegy by John Donne", R.E.S., 1931, pp. 69-71.

external. As the man speaks the hostile social environment is implied:

> ... Non espies us but the moone ...
> Let my bosome then conceale
> That which tongue cannot reveale ...
> Here securely may we lie
> Free from each observinge eye ....

The nautical metaphor, popular from the 1590's onwards, is the cohesive element in a similar elegy in Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 153, at f. 13r., where the girl is told "my bed shall be thy barke", and invited to "come, anchor here". The elegist promises that he will be her "pilate" and "eke thy course will steere To shut the gulfe". On f. 194 of MS. Ashmole 36/37 an extended metaphor from the drama is employed to the same end:

> The stage we plai'd on was no other
> Then the earth, our common mother ...
> One dore of entrance did suffice
> And nakednes for properties ...

B.M. MS. Add. 19268 (f. 5r.) has an elegy which preaches a straightforward doctrine of opposition as stimulus to love:

> ... Tis hardness that makes beautie sweete.
> The frowne that curles the wrinckled skin
> Takes better then the dimpled chin
> We skorn the proferd lipp and face
> Tis anger adds the greatest grace
> And gives contentment: kisses please
> If got by striuinge, not with ease ...

- and Harleian MS. 6918 (f. 42) includes an elegiac reversal of this attitude, declaring, like Ovid, that kisses are not enough:

> I hate the wanton folly of a kisse
> If not a passage to a further blisse;
> Men doe seeke mynes in women, and if soe
> You must give leave to let them digge below ...
> Why then so coy? You'd fayne be married
> Before that you would loose your maydenhead?
> Then I may claim it as my right and due,
> The lawe then giues it me, it is not you;
> If you would haue me think't a kindnesse showne
> Then giue it freely whilst it is your owne.

The argument that love is only valid when without social sanction is a characteristic one. Here the first two lines recall the argument of "Loves Progresse", and the "mynes" image in the next two looks back to "Going to Bed" (line 29).

The ironic note of Donne's "Epithalamion made at Lincolnes Inne" is revived just before the Restoration in an epithalamion "To Mr. J.H. and Mrs. J.C.", celebrating the marriage of an Inns of Court gentleman to a merchant's widow:

> ... The first a Merchand was that tried these wares,
> And then the Lawyer came to see
> And clayme it for a merry fee.
> Which had the happier bargain nowe compare;
> The City first the Virgin graces,
> Then Grayes Inne reade the widdows cases.
> Though wares unsoil'd in more the Marchand stand
> Lawyers can take at first or second hand ...

The poem is found in Bodleian MS. Eng. Poet. f. 24, at f. 22r. Two other epithalamions, for members of the Hawtrey family, in the same manuscript (ff. 51r. and 56v.), and an apparent pun on the word "haughty" in the "J.H." epithalamion, make it probable that the subject of this poem was John Hawtrey of Ruislip, who was admitted to Gray's Innn on 21 May, 1650.

On the following page is an elegy headed "Loue and Pouerty" which shows how thoroughly the elegiac protest against the love-money nexus was kept alive at the Inns of Court right up to the Restoration. The poet complains of his own poverty, and of those who have

> ... made of Loue a fair and mart.
> I must sit out at this, nor vain hope nurse;
> For me the Muses cannot make a purse ...
> I can be well content the rich should thrive,
> Purchase and build and love and wive,
> Let them buy honours, and go braue, be great,
> Hire out the fainting Labourers sweat;
> This doth of all the greatest grieuance proue
> That they should make monopolies of loue.
> And I could be content to want the sweet
> Of feasts at home, legs in the street,
> Throngs of attendants, flatterers, divines,
> Worshippers of these gilded shrines:
> I only mourn for lack of a large fee
> In Cupids court I should not suited be.

The interest in Ovid's erotic works during the early seventeenth century is also attested by translations in manuscript commonplace books. Bodleian MSS. Rawl. Poet. 198 and 216 both contain a transcript of Heywood's rendering of the Ars. In the former it is subscribed (f. 61v.) "8 June. 1623. Imprimatur Geo. Cottington": in the latter it is accompanied by Nashe's Choise of Valentines, entitled Nash his Dildo (ff. 96r.-106v.). B.M. MSS. Stowe 962 (ff. 194r.-197v.) and Lansdowne 740 (ff. 131r.-136v.) include Sir Thomas Overbury's translation of the Remedia. Bodleian MSS. Rawl. D.1147 and Rawl. Poet. 194 also contain translations of the Remedia: both are anonymous. The first of these manuscripts appears to be the copy-book of an Oxford student of the 1630's or 1640's. The date of a horoscope (f. 42v.) March 22, 1614, is clearly the date of birth of the person concerned, not the date of compilation of the horoscope. The Remedia translation, beginning "Reading this Title, angrie Loue exclaim'd" (ff. 71r.-83r.) is followed by translations, with Latin text, of nine of Martial's epigrams, - I.xx. xxii.xxiii. xiv. xxxiii. xxviii. xi. xxxix and xl (ff. 89r.-90r.). There is a list of thirty-six books at f. 162v. As far as these can be identified they belong to the late sixteenth century or the first three decades of the seventeenth. If the item "Grotii opera" means the Amsterdam edition of his collected theological works, this list must have been compiled after 1646. The translation itself is an uninspired metaphrase, adding no new ideas, and omitting none, except where the Latin has clearly been misunderstood (e.g. "No breast can reinchanted cares remove" line 259; "As reedes in marrishes affect their scite; Or Poplars in the running brookes delight" lines 141-2.) There is almost no attempt to make the work sound modern or topical, other than the rendering of institor as "foote-man" (line 306). The

language is contorted and awkward, but at least the translator does not fight shy of his raw material in "embarrassing" passages:

> When fainting dalliance hath her vigour spent:
> When both thy body and thy mind relent.
> Whilst thou doth loath, and wish thou hadst forbore,
> And thinkst thou neuer shalt desire her more,
> Then all her bodyes staines print in thy mind ...
> (lines 413-17)

The Remedia translation in Rawl. Poet. 194 is at ff. 43r.-52v. It is preceded by two translations from Martial (X.xx and VII.xcv), at ff. 40r.-41r., and an English rendering of part of Juvenal's Satire XV (f. 42r.), and followed by a translation of the second satire of Persius (ff. 53r.-56r.). At f. 34r. there is an epicede for Lord Francis Villiers, who was killed in 1648, and there are some Latin verses to a Mr. Keble at f. 38v. A poem headed "Verses before my last moote when I was Defendant" (f. 38r.) refers to Keble as the author's greatest friend among his fellow students. There were three Kebles, Thomas, Joseph and John, admitted to Gray's Inn in 1647: it seems very likely that the owner of this commonplace book was their contemporary. The Remedia translation, from the nature and frequency of the corrections, appears to be a translator's original draft. It is a highly accurate metaphrase, omitting almost nothing, though it breaks off at line 356, when Ovid is about to treat of love-making, and there is a note "See the Rest in the last Leafe of this Booke". No more, however, appears. The translator has taken pains to bring his material up to date. For Vade per urbanae splendida castra togae (line 152) he has "Of th'Inns of Court your selfe a Member Make", and he avoids references to the Tiber and to Rome at lines 257 and 291.

Bodleian MS. Don. D.58 has three of Marlowe's translations from the Amores, II.iv, XIII.iii and I.v (ff. 45v.-46v.), but they are so full of mistakes that it seems probable they

were written down from memory. MS. Rawl. Poet. 147, the volume in which Paman's poems are found, contains a translation of Amores, II.xix at p. 181, which is ascribed to "Giovanni Junctino". This is probably an Italianization of the name John Joynes. Joynes was admitted to Christs as a Pensioner in 1630, two years after Paman went up to Sidney Sussex. MSS. Rawl. Poet. 85 and Malone 19 both include translations of Amores, I.v. The first of these (f. 81r.) is in English hexameters, and is signed "Rob: Mills". Mills, who went up to St. John's, Cambridge in 1583, was evidently a friend of John Finnet, whose coarse songs were so popular with James I. He addresses verses "to his freend J: Finnett" (f. 77v.), "to his freend J.F." (f. 54v.) and "ad amicum J.F." (f. 37r.). The second translation is in heroic couplets, and appears in a manuscript which contains also Donne's "Natures lay Ideot" and "The Perfume" (pp. 80-1), and which dates probably from the mid.-1620's. A poem at p. 111, nine pages before the translation, is dated 1621, and one at p. 154 is dated December 26, 1622.

A study of manuscript commonplace books from 1595 to 1660 indicates, then, the continuous cultivation of the love elegy form between these dates, and reveals, also, the persistent influence of Donne's "Going to Bed" and "Loves Progresse". His other elegies are, by comparison, neglected. The danger of these two poems as models, from the point of view of the elegy, is that they can and often do lead to fulsome and prurient voluptuousnesses of the "Upon a young gentlewoman in a bath" kind, which bear no real relation to the elegiac tradition of realism, stealthiness, anti-social rancour, egocentric protest and deliberately scandalous amorality, any

more than they do to the equally well-established tradition in the ancient elegy of serious, sensitive and, in Ovid's case quite unselfish treatment of the physical culmination of love. Poets like Hare, Cobb, Briggs, Paman and the "W.R." of Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 199 help to keep the elegy healthy during this period, and to steer it away from such puerile excesses.

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1. Donne, Poems, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, 2 Vols., 1912, i.407.
2. Ibid., i.401.
3. Ibid., i.413, first printed by Grosart.

CHAPTER X

Elegies in Print, 1635-1661: Printed Translations from 1595

Except for Sir John Salusbury's contributions to the 1597 Sinetes Passions, Hare's "Whether these Honours, or else Loue, it be ..." in the 1618 Certain Elegies was the first authentic Ovidian love elegy to appear in print in English. The printed history of the English elegy does not recommence until the first edition of Donne's poems in 1633. Of the five elegies inserted into the 1635 edition of these, four, "His parting from her", "Julia", "A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife" and "Variety" have been remarked upon already. The fifth, "Come, Fates; I feare you not",[1.] the work of that admirer of "silver-tongu'd Ovid"[2.] Sir John Roe, is a strangely equivocal poem, in that the perplexing density and syntactical compression of its form give an impression of cerebral resilience, as does Ovid's witty poise, which is, however, quite unsupported by any such resilience or toughness in the meaning and attitudes of the whole. It is composed of a number of line and couplet units, each in itself tormented with intellectual energy, but contributing to a totality which is mild, tearful and flaccid. Both its obscurity and its underlying attitudes are reminiscent of Propertius rather than of Ovid: lines 34-5 seem to be a recollection of Propertius, II.ix.21-2. "True love findes with ...",[3.] one of Roe's unprinted elegies, is really nearer to the Ovidian tradition than is "Come, Fates ...", though it lacks the subjective immediacy of a line like "That fatall

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1. Donne, Poems, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, 2 Vols., 1912, i.407.
2. ibid., i.401.
3. ibid., i.412, first printed by Grosart.

night wee last kiss'd ..." (line 21). The assumption which lies behind its last three lines is an Ovidian assumption, of a sort which could find no place amid the attitudinizing of the longer poem, and its derogatory references to the "Scotts" and the "Court" supply it with something of that social arrogance which is the salt of the elegy.

Of the Poems which Henry Glapthorne published in 1639, most of those to "Lucinda" are in the adulatory vein, with her "saintly" attributes much in evidence, but one, "To Lucinda, revolted from him"[1], belongs to the elegiac tradition. Like Ovid Glapthorne regrets that his eulogies of Lucinda have made her too popular for his liking[2]:

> 'Twas I who made thee Beauteous before;
> You might have sate regardlesse at your dore,
> Or past the Streets (as other Women doe)
> Without salutes, or being congee'd to:
> When now each eye that sees thee, does admire
> To view a mortall creature to aspire
> So neer the Heav'nly Essence: every tongue
> (Since I set out thy Excellence among
> Men of ingenuous spirits) strives to raise
> Thy Name beyond the name of Praise ...

The claim in the first line that, as J.B. Leishman puts it "his mistress's reputation for beauty is an illusion that has been created entirely by himself", reminds us of a more famous poem by Carew, not published until 1640, which, like this passage, looks back to Propertius, III.xxiv.1-8.[3] It is not, then, with Carew, but with Glapthorne that "the topic makes its first reappearance" in English poetry, though a reference in the same poem to:

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1. op. cit., sigs. C4v.-D2v.

2. Amores, III.xii.7-12.

3. See J.B. Leishman, "Variations on a Theme in Shakespeare's Sonnets", Elizabethan and Jacobean Studies Presented to F.P. Wilson, 1959, pp. 122-3: cf. the poem of Chiabrera's referred to p. 63 , above, not mentioned by Mr. Leishman.

> Some other Suitor, who to please your eares
> Purchases Raptures, which his dull brain bears
> As Parrots what is taught them ...

- suggests that Glapthorne knew at least a portion of Carew's work in manuscript. If Lucinda returns to her former fidelity, he promises to celebrate her in such poetry:

> That sweet Propertius shall his Cynthia tell
> Thy Praises do her Lustre far excell;
> Gallus shall weep that his Lycoris name
> Is now surpass'd by thy Immortall Fame:
> And (my great Master) Ovid shall confesse
> Corynna's shining Beautie to be lesse
> Than thine; since he, for his Corynna's sake
> Did only three Books of Loves choice Art make;
> But I for thine will such Conceits devise,
> That after no Invention shall arise.

As if to demonstrate his discipleship to Ovid, Glapthorne proceeds to write an ecstatic anticipation of his reunion with Lucinda, - making his way from "those fragrant Mountainets of blisse" to "that polish'd plain of Snow", and thence to "the Elisian Vallies" and "that rich Mine of puritie", - which is really an imitation of Donne's "Loves Progresse" and Carew's "Rapture". For his climax, like Carew, he resorts to the nautical metaphor:

> When like a vent'rous well resolved man
> I sail through your unfathom'd Ocean
> To love's safe Harbour ...

[1]

Beaumont's "Charme", printed in his Poems, 1640, and written in octosyllabic quatrains, is not merely an adaptation of elegiac themes to lyric poetry, but a beautiful example of a full and rounded Ovidian love elegy in a form other than the couplet. It must certainly have been composed, of course, before 1616, and is probably a good deal earlier: Beaumont was admitted to the Middle Temple from Broadgates Hall in 1600. The poem merits quotation in full:

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1. Op. cit., sig. H4v.

Sleep, old man, let silence charme thee,
Dreaming slumbers overtake thee,
Quiet thoughts and darknesse arme thee,
That no creaking do awake thee.

Phoebus hath put out his light,
All in shadows closing;
Phoebe lend her hornes tonight
To thy heads disposing

Let no fatall bell nor clock
Pierce the hollow of thine eare:
Tonguelesse be the early cock,
Or what else may adde a feare.

Let no rat, nor silly mouse
Move the senseless rushes
Nor a coughe disturbe this house
Till Aurora blushes.

Come, my sweet Corrinna, come;
Laugh, and leave thy late deploring:
Sable midnight makes all dumbe,
But thy jealous husband's snoring.

And with sweet perfumed kisses
Entertaine a stranger:
Love's delight, and sweetest blisse, is
Got with greatest danger.

One hesitates to handle the fragile and trembling delicacy of this poem. The reading of line 5 and the first half of line 6 adopted here is taken from Bodleian MS. Eng. Poet. c.50 (f. 32r.): the antithesis "Phoebus ... Phoebe" seems preferable to the repetition of "Phoebe" in the 1640 edition, though either makes good sense. By his use of the short line, Beaumont has achieved his effect of breathless caution magnificently, and his compression is masterly. The "old" of line 1 and the "coughe" of line 15 go just far enough in suggesting the decrepitude of the husband; the "creaking" of the lovers' bed, and the little animal noises about the house (lines 13-14), - the latter probably remembered from Campion's Elegeia 2 of 1595 (line 15)[1], - are touched in with a sensitive hand. Because it is dark, we do not see "Corrinna" as we saw her when she visited Ovid at noon: now

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1. Works, ed. P. Vivian, 1909, pp. 322 and 336.

we only hear her laughter (line 18), smell her perfume and taste her kisses (line 21). The same elegy of Campion's that seems to be recalled here provides the situation for another poem in the 1640 Beaumont volume which comes near to being an elegy in stanzaic form:

> Flattering hope away and leave me,
> She'll not come, thou dost deceive me;
> Harke the cocke crows, th'envious light
> Chides away the silent night;
> Yet she comes not, oh how I tyre
> Betwixt cold feare and hot desire.[1.]

- the theme is continued for five more stanzas, ending with an anguished cry for those "breathlesse kisses" which he has tasted once.

The degree of economic protest which lies behind the adulterous pose and the references to the age of the husband in "A Charme" may be guaged from Beaumont's elegy "On the Marriage of a Beautious Young Gentlewoman with an Ancient Man", where, after painting a picture of the girl, whose "rosie lips breath gums and spice" and whose breasts are "the tents of love ... soft as the balmy dew", he laments that now the "ag'd and deformed" limbs of her husband must "circle and blast at once" these pure beauties. The marriage has been arranged for financial reasons, and the girl weeps at her fate:

> While tyrant wealth stands by, and laughs to see
> How he can wed love and antipathy.
> 2.

Like Campion, Beaumont looks back to a time when money had not this power:

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1. Beaumont, Poems, 1640, sigs. I2v.-I3r.

2. Elegeia 5 of 1595, lines 1-4: Works, ed. P. Vivian, 1909, pp. 318 and 337.

Hymen, thy pine burnes with adulterate fire;
Thou and thy quiver'd boy did once conspire
To mingle equall flames, and then no shine
Of gold, but beauty dress'd the Paphian shrine,
Roses and lillies kiss'd; the amorous vine [1.]
Did with the faire and straight limb'd elme entwine.

Jonson's Underwoods, which appeared in 1640, contained "The Expostulation", already discussed, and several other elegies. Of these, one, an argument for adultery beginning [2.] "By those bright Eyes, at whose immortal fires", is in its Ovidian part a refashioning of Wittipol's wooing of Mistress Fitzdottrel in The Devil is an Ass, which was acted at Blackfriars in 1616:

Slip no occasion; As time stands not still,
I know no beautie, nor no youth that will.
To use the present, then, is not abuse,
You have a Husband is the just excuse
Of all that can be done him: Such a one
As would make shift, to make himselfe alone
That which we can ...

There could be no more telling demonstration of the dramatic qualities of the English elegy. It is worth remembering that Wittipol's friend, Manly, who helps him in his wooing, is a gentleman of Lincoln's Inn (cf. Devil is an Ass, II.ii. 53; II.vi.1). The preceding elegy in Underwoods, "Can [3.] Beautie that did prompt me first to write" resolves itself into a discussion of the Ovidian doctrine of the advisability of "boldnesse" in love, on the grounds that "Love sware, And Fortune, once, t'assist the spirits that dare": the reference here is to the Ars, i.608, audentem Forsque Venusque [4.] iuvant. "Tis true, I'm broke!", which is printed immediately

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1. Beaumont, Poems, 1640, sigs. Ilr.-v.

2. Jonson, Works, ed. C.H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson, 11 Vols., 1925-52, viii.170-1. Cf. Devil is an Ass, I.vi.127 f. (ibid., vi.181) also II.vi.63 f. (ibid., vi.203).

3. ibid., viii.169-70.

4. ibid., viii.191.

before "The Expostulation", subscribes to the elegiac tradition with its veiled references to apparently real events: to an unspecified "fault" (line 20) for which the poet begs forgiveness, and which entailed the breaking of a promise (lines 1-2); to his drunkenness (line 22) and the company he was in at the time (line 25), to his past intimacy with the girl he is addressing (line 35) and to "Publike affaires" which necessitate his future absence (line 114). The elegiac arrogance towards the moneyed and the influential (line 94) is represented, and the mention of libels and lampoons scratched "with a coale or chalke On every wall" (lines 97-8) builds up the correct background of rumour and urban gossip. But fundamentally the poem is too serious and too elevated to be anything like the Amores, and the example of a merciful God pardoning a penitent soul (lines 19-20, 32, 64-72, 85-91), along with the noble and oft-quoted ending (lines 109 f.), suggest ways of thought quite foreign to Ovid. The poem that follows "The Expostulation", "That Love's a bitter sweet ...", [1] is based on the passage in the Ars [2] about the necessity for secrecy in love: Jonson throws in a piece of gratuitous anti-mercantilism with his reference to the "ex'lent Dulnesse" of the "Midas" who turns "all he toucheth into pelfe" (lines 21-4). Although the elegy numbered XLII in The Underwood [3] takes something from the Propertian objection to luxury in dress (Propertius, I.ii), it is really a diatribe against the pride and ostentation of the citizen class, in the particular

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1. ibid., viii.197.
2. Ars, ii.601-640: compare especially lines 625-6 with Jonson's poem, lines 10-14, 45-6.
3. Jonson, Works, ed. cit., viii.199.

direction of the way women of this class were clothed. Jonson associated himself with the "wits and braveries of Court" (lines 33-4), as opposed to the City whose "sordid bountie" puts its wives and daughters into "Tissue" (line 43) and "Velvets, Plushes, Fringes, Lace" (line 79). His half-serious warning to the "Fathers, and Husbands" (line 11) of the City who frown and are jealous, strikes a familiar elegiac note, and the categorical rodomantade of:

> But I who live, and have liv'd twentie yeare
> Where I may handle Silke, as free, and neere,
> As any Mercer; or the whale-bone Man
> That quilts those bodies, I have leave to span ...

- conveys, in a gloriously outspoken form, what the sly retrospective hints and half-suggestions of the elegy are often intended to imply.

Carew's "Rapture", which was printed in his Poems, 1640, was discussed in connection with the Donne tradition.[1] His "Second Rapture" separates from the elegiac convention its outrageousness, its flaunting of accepted moral standards, and makes a poem out of that alone. The beginning is grave, moral, elevated:

> No, wordling, no, tis not thy gold,
> Which thou dost use but to behold;
> Nor fortune, honour, nor long life,
> Children, or friends, nor a good wife,
> That makes thee happy; these things be
> But shaddowes of felicitie.

The seventeenth-century reader would confidently expect that his eyes were to be lifted heavenwards, but at this point the poem explodes into ribald laughter, and we learn that "true blisse" is "a wench about thirteene", dedicated to "the Queene of lust and lovers". Another poem in the 1640 volume, "To a Lady not yet enjoy'd by her Husband"[2] begins with the

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1. Poems, ed. R. Dunlap, 1949, pp. 103-4.

2. ibid., p. 36.

imperative "Come, Celia ..." which makes one anticipate an imitation of "Going to Bed", though in fact the poem of Donne's that Carew borrows from here is "The Extasie" (lines 7-8: cf. "To a Lady", lines 3-4). The second stanza, however, takes its flavour from Amores I.xiii.35-46, and the "golden fruit" and "plentie" of the concluding Hesperides-simile combined with the implications of "blind Mole" indicate clearly that the husband envisaged is the wealthy old man of elegiac tradition. Carew's "The tinder"[1], printed immediately following "The Second Rapture", belongs to the "indifferent" tradition of Amores, II.iv., as does "The Sparke"[2], perhaps by him, though not printed until Suckling's Last Remains in 1659.

With the publication of Beaumont's and Carew's poems, and of The Underwood, 1640 was something of a gala year for the elegy. The next year appeared Glapthorne's edition of his friend Thomas Beedome's Poems Divine and Humane, which contains one poem, "To his Mistress on her scorn"[3], full of elegiac mannerisms:

> Resolve me, dearest, why two hearts in one
> Should know the sin of separation
> Must the sweet custom of our stolen kisses
> Be lost, and we live empty of those blisses:
> Or do the frowns of some old over-seer
> Nourish thy fear, or make thy love less freer?
> Why did'st thou suffer me those sweets to steal
> Which but thine own no tongue can e'er reveal ...

"Those sweets" of which Beedome is thinking are closely related to "those sweet nights" of Donne ("The Perfume", line 28), and another of Beedome's elegies, "To his Mistress when she was going into the Country"[4], in which he prays that

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1. Poems, ed. R. Dunlap, 1949, p. 104.
2. ibid., p. 186.
3. Beedome, Poems Divine and Humane, 1641, sig. E2r.-v.
4. ibid., sig. E1r.-v.

every rural sight and sound shall in some way remind her of their past relationship, imitates that famous passage in "His parting from her" (lines 73-80). The "Eversary" "To the memory of his honoured friend Master John Donne"[1] indicates that Beedome knew the poet, from whom he thus borrowed, personally.

Cartwright, one of the first young Oxford royalists to die in the Civil War, - he succumbed to cholera in 1643, - wrote nearly all of the poems, in the collection which Moseley edited in 1651, before he was twenty-five (i.e. before 1636), or so the Preface to that edition states. The wide manuscript circulation of his works is suggested by an observation in the same Preface to the effect that they were "so strangely scattered that the Printer had difficulty in getting them together".[2] His elegy "Beauty and Deniall" quotes from and argues against an elegy which we encountered earlier in B.M. MS. Add. 19268 (f. 5r.).[3] Cartwright mimics his unknown opponent's arguments thus:

> But O we scorn the profer'd Lip and Face;
> And angry Frowns sometimes add quicker Grace
> Than quiet Beauty: 'tis that melting kiss
> That truly doth distill immortal Bliss
> Which the fierce struggling Youth by force at length
> Doth make the purchase of his eager strength;
> Which, from the rifled weeping Virgin scant
> Snatch'd, proves a Conquest rather than a Grant.

He derides such an attitude, and begs his mistress to yield herself willingly. Here the language he chooses is so close to that of the "W.R." of MS. Rawl. Poet. 199 that indebtedness one way or the other seems certain:

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1. Beedome, Poems Divine and Humane, 1641, sig. G7v.
2. Plays and Poems, ed. G.B. Evans, Madison, 1951, p. 470.
3. See p. 263 , above.

That you are Fair and Spotless, makes you prove
Fitter to fall a Sacrifice to Love:
On tow'rds his Altar then, vex not the Priest;
'Tis ominous if the Sacrifice resist 1.

The elegy's final couplet looks back to that of Donne's "Going to Bed":

Bare, and Annoint you then: for, if you'l do
As wrestlers use, you must be naked too.

Cartwright's elegy "To Lydia whom Men observ'd to make too much of me"[2] is revealing in that it praises the girl because by her treatment of him she reverses his actual social status. The poem is intimately concerned with rank, and the respect due to rank:

The King's and Prince's Servants you
Do use as they their scrivenors do;
Thy learned Gown, and City Ruffe,
Your Husband too, scurvy enough:
But still with me you meet and Close
As if that I were King of those ...

Musarum Deliciae, published in 1655 contains a very fine example of the English elegy,[3] "When you sit musing, Lady, all alone ...", possibly by Sir John Mennis, the Royalist pirate, or Dr. James Smith, the friend of Massinger, and Chaplain to Thomas, Earl of Cleveland: the volume contains several poems, however, which are by neither of these. The elegy is a free imitation of Amores, III.iv, and takes its equestrian imagery (lines 55-9) from lines 13-16 of that poem; but its theme occurs frequently in the ancient elegists, Propertius (II.vi.39-40; IV.i.145-6) uses it several times, and Ovid narrates the story of Mars and Venus to illustrate it in the Ars (ii.553-596). There seems to be an echo of Donne's "Jealosie" (lines 1-2, 13-16) in lines 7-8,

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1. Cf. Appendix B, VI. lines 52-3, 57-8.
2. Plays and Poems, ed. G.B. Evans, Madison, 1951, p. 491.
3. See Appendix B, Poem VIII, below, and Musarum Deliciae, 1655, pp. 55-7.

and lines 49-50 introduce the elegiac contempt for matrimony neatly. The same year the famous "If shaddowes be the pictures excellence ..." was printed for the first time in Wits Interpreter[1], 1655. It was reprinted the following year in Parnassus Biceps, and appears with unparalleled frequency in manuscript commonplace books from 1620-1660. Most manuscripts ascribe it to Walton Poole, and a good many also give the subject as Beata Poole. Beata's maiden name was Brydges, and she was the daughter of William, fourth Baron Chandos of Sudeley, Gloucestershire, and sister of Grey, fifth Baron Chandos. Some time before 1616 she married Sir Henry Poole of Saperton, and thus became distantly related to Walton by marriage, because Sir Henry's sister, Frances, had married Walton's elder brother, Sir Nevill. The poem was almost certainly written before 1621, since in two manuscripts Beata is referred to as "My Lord Chandos' sister", and Grey, Lord Chandos, died on August 10, 1621. Sir Henry Poole had entered the Middle Temple from Oxford in 1610: there can the little doubt that the popularity of "If shaddowes be the pictures excellence ..." was due to the social standing of his wife. Grey, Lord Chandos, was one of the most frequent participants in social functions at the court of James I, and the lavish entertainments at his family seat, Sudeley Castle, gained him the title of "King of the Cotswalds". Once again, it is the attractiveness of the elegiac "high-born lady" which gives spice to impudent indecency of the kind contained in the second half of the poem. Walton Poole's elder brother having made an enviable match,

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1. For a text of this elegy see Donne's Poems, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, 2 Vols., 1912, i.460. See also E. Wolf, "'If Shadows be a Picture's Excellence' - an experiment in critical bibliography", P.M.L.A., Sept. 1948, pp. 831-57.

Walton writes an elegy full of adulterous suggestions and extremely immodest references, and addresses it to one of his new, rich connections. As so often, the elegy is being put to the purpose of social revenge. The praise of a black beauty was a popular kind of "witty" composition in sixteenth century Europe: Tasso, Salvetti, Marino, Ronsard were, as we saw, all practitioners of it.[1] Poole takes advantage of this fashion and begins, like Carew in "The Second Rapture", as if he is writing a serious poem: in this case, a courtly encomium: he keeps this up for twenty-nine lines, then springs his surprise.

A quite different sort of surprise occurs in the elegy "To the Lady M.", which Cockayne printed in his Small Poems of Divers sorts, 1658. He begins by expanding the idea put forward by Ovid in the Ars, iii.83-8, and urges the woman he is addressing to give way to his adulterous suggestions on the grounds that the gods and goddesses have set an example for such behaviour. After citing several instances of this, he concludes:

> Strict Hymens rules wherefore should we obey,
> Which on themselves the Gods did never lay?
> Is it more honour to observe the lives
> Of surly Cato's then the Deities?
> Away with fear; 'Tis reason prompts you to
> What I desire, and love, me what to do[2].

- but the final couplet of his poem is a complete volte-face:

> Yet (Madam) know (after so much exprest)
> I honour vertue, and have writ in jest.

Cockayne plays the same sort of trick when he translates eight lines from the Ars (iii. 59-66) among his epigrams, appending to his translation:

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1. See pp. 55 and 73 , above.
2. Small Poems of Divers sorts, pp. 89-91.
3. ibid., pp. 64-5.

... Thus far the Roman poet. But alas
That book the cause of his exilement was:
And (if you follow th'advice h'ath given)
'Twil work you a worse banishment, from Heaven.[1]

Indeed the tone of Cockayne's love poetry is strangely out-of-fashion. The twenty-five love elegies in the 1658 volume are chaste and subdued: the only consistently elegiac feature is that they purport to be records of actual experiences: particular occurrences, like a visit to Hyde Park, or his mistress' leaving London for the country, are recalled. The twenty-third, "To her resolved to go beyond Sea"[2], recalls, at times, Amores, II.xi:

May Neptune proud of such a burthen, smooth
His old and angry Face, and fall in love.

might, for example, lookback to tum mare in haec magnus proclinet litora Nereus (line 39), but the sentiment is commonplace enough. The conclusion of this elegy is more in the Ovidian spirit than anything else in the twenty-five: he wishes her to continue faithful:

Till I your body have, who have my heart;
Which had I in possession, I should finde
Ways soon enough to win your backward mind.[3]

The twenty-fifth elegy, "To her obtain'd", starts off as if it is going to be an imitation of Amores, II.xii, but develops into a modest celebration of marriage. Cockayne's placidity ceases, however, when he turns to satire, and it is here that he attacks the wealthy, proud, vulgar citizen-class woman, whose money has enabled her to marry into the aristocracy:

Now let us see what she will do.
Sir, I am glad to see you; Madam, I
Reioyce to hear of your good fortune; why?
You have a noble and rich husband; so
I did deserve for what I brought, you know ...
I am an Hogen Mogens daughter; good,

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1. Small Poems of Divers sorts, p. 142.

2. ibid., pp. 61-2.

3. ibid., pp. 64-5.

You may boast of your wealth, not of your blood.
Of my Husband I may. Indeed, 'tis true;
But he was much to blame to marry you.

The woman grows angry, and warns the poet not to dedicate his next play to her, as one of his friends had: "I scorn to own such Trifles", she declares, and Cockayne replies:

I know the Poet you spoke of, and know
It was his want that forc'd him thereunto;
He knew you was unfit for't, and that scant
Could understand a Scene so ignorant.
Therefore learn this; The rich the poor do praise
Not for their merits, but their stock to raise.
And tis no doubt but he did give you high
Titles of worth, yet knew himself did lye.[1].

Cockayne was of an ancient Derbyshire family, but he eventually alienated every acre of his inheritance, partly because of his extravagance and partly through the heavy pecuniary losses he suffered in the King's cause: he died a ruined man. The bitter grievance which reverberates in every line of this satire was occasioned by what he saw to be the social upheavals of his time, upheavals which are epitomized by the figure of the proud, powerful, uncultured, materialistic nouveau riche woman. Others found outlet for similar feelings in different ways: some by writing elegies of the "Come, Madam, come ..." type, or elegies which imagine the brute, physical subjugation of a struggling, protesting woman. Some, like Massinger, by a savage desire for anarchy, expressed in dramatic form, as when Medina and Hernando, two soldiers, gloat over the prospect of the sack of Milan:

Med. I long to be at it;
To see these chuffs, that every day may spend
A soldier's entertainment for a year,
Yet make a third meal of a bunch of raisins:
These sponges, that suck up a kingdom's fat,
Battening like scarabs in the dung of peace,
To be squeezed out by the rough hand of war;
And all that their whole lives have heap'd together,
By cozenage, perjury, or sordid thrift,
With one gripe to be ravish'd.

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1. Small Poems of Divers sorts, pp. 37-8.

Hern. I would be tousing
Their fair madonas, that in little dogs,
Monkeys, and paraquittos, consume thousands;
Yet, for the advancement of a noble action,
Repine to part with a poor piece of eight:
War's plagues upon them! I have seen them stop
Their scornful noses first, then seem to swoon,
At sight of a buff jerkin, if it were not
Perfumed, and hid with gold: ....

Med. I may live
To see the tatter'd'st rascalls of my troop
Drag them out of their closets, with a vengeance!
When neither threat'ning, flattering, kneeling,
howling,
Can ransome one poor jewel, or redeem
Themselves from their blunt wooing.1.

It does not take very much imagination to substitute London for Milan in such a passage, or to see that many of Massinger's audience, like many of the elegists, would "long to be at it" too.

Two years after the publication of Cockayne's volume, two elegies from the beginning of the century found their way into print. The first was Sir John Roe's "Elegie to Mris. Boulstred: 1602"[2], included in Le Prince d'Amour, 1660, the second, "A Paradoxe of a Painted Face"[3], printed in that volume of Poems by Pembroke and Benjamin Rudyerd, which contained also, Nicholas Hare's "Why with unkindest swiftness ...".

We all know what Jonson wrote about Cecilia Bulstrode, the "Court Pucell", (though it is true he repented when she died). Once again we have an example of one writer expressing in fierce satire feelings for which another found an outlet in elegy. Jonson is angry because Cecilia Bulstrode gathers a troop of wits about her (Underwoods, XLIX, 3-4); because

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1. Massinger, Plays, ed. F. Cunningham, 1868, pp. 78-9. (Duke of Milan, III.i)

2. For a text of this poem see Donne's Poems, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, 1912, i.410.

3. ibid., i.456.

she is a blue-stocking (lines 7-8, 11-12); because she is a Puritan, taking the intellectual Puritan woman's interest in religion, - another new and disquieting symptom of social change (lines 12, 15-16, 39-46); because she is popular and successful at Court, and is accepted by the high-born and titled (lines 37-8), although only the daughter of Edward Bulstrode of Hedgerley Bulstrode, Buckinghamshire; and because she makes her success obvious by feminine ostentation, - by "Velvet gownes" (line 18), "spangled Petticotes" (line 19) and "Stuffes and Laces" (line 28). Jonson is reminded of Ovid's women as he writes of her: she goes to church "to view, and to be view'd" (line 17), as they to the theatre spectatum veniunt, veniunt spectentur ut ipsae (Ars, i.99).[1] Roe, Jonson's friend, faced with this same enviably successful, and annoyingly chaste and pious girl, whose "virtues did outgoe Her yeares"[2] and who, even Jonson admitted, died a virgin and could have "taught ... Cynthia modesty"[3], does not write a vicious satire pretending that she is a whore, but composes an elegy pretending that he is having a secret love affair with her (line 38), and that this has reached such a stage that even the "one poore houres love" which she has on this occasion granted him might possibly (line 5) be enough time for him to take physical possession of this, as yet, virgin (lines 2 and 4). To make his fantasy-life subjugation of her complete, he declares that if she were prepared to give her body to him, he would not take it (lines 5-6); and touching upon the Ovidian idea

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1. Surprisingly, this Ovidian reference is not noted in the Herford and Simpson edition of Jonson.

2. Donne, Works, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, 2 Vols., 1912, i.283.

3. Works, ed. C.H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson, 11 Vols., 1925-52, viii.371.

of the sweetness of difficulty and delay in love (line 13) he hints that this one time might lead to many similar surrenders (line 30), and wishes that, if not, like Ovid he may die in the act (line 32).[1] Roe's elegy takes revenge upon Cecilia by smearing her chastity almost as successfully as Jonson's satire, and has the added advantage of boosting his own reputation for sexual adroitness.

"A Paradoxe of a Painted Face"[2], the other elegy published in 1660, is a conceited argument of the "Anagram" or "Autumnall" type, demonstrating by a series of false analogies that a face constructed out of cosmetics is preferable to a normal and natural one. We are here very close to the school of Berni; indeed the poem is only connected to the elegiac tradition at all by the personal immediacy of its opening and close, and to the Ovidian tradition by its subject matter. Ovid, as we have seen, distinguished himself from the other ancient elegists by his approval of cosmetics, though nearly all of his neo-classical European imitators, and most of his vernacular imitators refused to follow him in this. One is very tempted to conjecture that the idea for this "Paradoxe" came from the first fifty lines of the De Medicamine faciei, where Ovid discusses the desirability of artificial ornament for women.

The poems of Alexander Brome, published in 1661, employ traditional elegiac themes more consistently than those of any other cavalier poet, and it is particularly easy to demonstrate, in his case, how closely they are related to his reactions to social conditions. This is because

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1. Cf. Amores, II.x.35-6.
2. For a text see Donne's Poems, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, 1912, i.456-9.

Brome is not merely a man living within a society with which he feels dissatisfied, he is a man who has been on the losing side in an open war, and the grievances and bitterness which lie, often, half-submerged in the elegies of the first four decades of the century, come to the surface in his work. A poem like "The Cavalier", not printed until the 1664 edition, puts the matter plainly:

> ... That phanatical crue
> Which made us all rue,
> Have got so much wealth,
> By their plunder and stealth
> That they creep into profit and power:
> And so come what will,
> They'll be uppermost still
> And we that are low
> Shall still be kept so
> While these domineer and devour.[1.]

In "The Reformation"[2.] he reviews the changed social order, deploring the way in which "the trades-man" thrives, and how by his industry and extortion he contrives "to be a Squire and keep a coach": such a man, to Brome, is the epitome of the Puritan cause. With his "short hair and shining shoes" he attends every "factious lecture", and takes along "two pens and's note-book". When he dies, his heir, though "base and ignorant", is "blown up like a bubble". As he says in his verses "Upon the Cavaliers departing out of London"[3.], it is the "Argent and Or" of the Puritans which have done all the damage. "The Satyr of Money"[4.] is a prolonged complaint about economic facts: "Silver and Gold" are not adored for themselves but for their "irresistible power"; these buy "kingdomes", these win "Battels" and take "Bulwarks and Castles"; these

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1. Poems, 1664, pp. 49-50.
2. ibid., pp. 109-113.
3. ibid., p. 31.
4. ibid., pp. 129-32.

... spawn'd the dunghill crew of Committees and
'Strators,
Who lived by picking their Parliament Gums;
These made, and then prospered Rebels and
Traytors,
And made Gentry of those that were the Nations scums
...

- these make "Ropers and Ale-drapers, Sheriffs of Shires";

money:

... makes the blew aprons write themselves
worshipful
And for this we stand bare, and before 'um do fall;

- money makes "marriages", too; it is "the centre of love":

It draws on the man and it pricks up the woman;
Birth, vertue, and parts, no affection can move,
While this makes Lords bow to the brat of a
Broom-man.
Gives vertue, and beauty to the lass that you woe;
Makes women of all sorts and ages to do.

The same protest is made in "Loves Anarchy": it is not
"mens worth but wealth makes Ladies love 'um".[1] Sometimes
Brome responds to this situation, as Donne had responded in:

... Thy beauties beautie, and food of our love
Hope of his goods ...[2]

by a mocking acceptance of wealth as the only standard of
attractiveness:

... That Lass mine arms desire t'enfold,
Born in the golden age,
Guarded with Angels, but of gold,
She that's in such a showre enroll'd
May tempt a Jove to be
Guilty of Loves Idolatry ...
Though their teeth are not, if their necks wear
pearl
A Kitchen wench is Consort to an Earl.[3]

- Here the reference to Danäe and the suggestion of Ovid's
aurea sunt vere nunc saecula (Ars, ii.277) both have elegiac
reverberations. Sometimes Brome's response, instead of the
impotent, savage snarl of "The Satyr of Money", is an airy
affectation of reckless unconcern and irresponsibility:

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1. Poems, 1664, pp. 11-12.
2. "The Perfume", lines 10-11 (Works, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, 1912, i.84).
3. Brome, Poems, 1664, p. 6. ("The Wary Woer").

Mistake me not, I am not of that mind
   To hate all woman kind
Nor can you so my patience vex;
To make my muse blaspheme your sex ...
I vow I am so far from loving none,
That I love every one;
If fair I must, if brown she be,
She's lovely, and for Sympathy
   'Cause we're alike, I love her;
If tall, she's proper; and if short,
   She's humble and I love her for't:
Small's pretty, fat is pleasant, every sort
   Some graceful good discover ...1.

- and so the theme of Amores, II.iv, is continued for another eighteen lines. Donne, too, had made this response, of course, in the poem from which Brome takes his title, "The Indifferent". That Brome, like Jonson, was annoyed by the intellectual assertiveness of Puritan women is indi-
2.
cated by his verses "For General Monk", which look forward to the Restoration when:

The Cobler shall edifie us no more,
   Nor shall in divinity set any stitches,
The women we will no more hear and adore,
   That preach with their husbands for the breeches
   ...

For the defeated, the readiest course is to pretend that they do not care, and Brome is constantly doing this, now on the model of Amores, III.xiv, when he advises his friend on the choice of a wife:

I would not have her virtuous,
   For such a wife I ne'er did see;
And 'tis a madness to suppose
   What never was, nor e'er shall bee;
   To seem so is enough to thee ...
   if to sport she has a mind
   Let her be sure to keep thee blind ...[3.]

- now on the model of Amores, I.ix:

Though Oxford be yielded, and Reading be taken,
I'll put in for quarter at thy Maiden-head:
There while I'm insconsed, my standards unshaken,
Lie thou in my arms, and I in thy bed ...

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1. Brome, Poems, 1664, p. 3.

2. ibid., pp. 123-4.

3. ibid., p. 51.

> And when we together in battail do join,
> We scorn to wear arms but what are our own;
> Strike thou at my body, and I'll thrust at thine,
> By nakedness best the truth is made known.
> Cannons may roare, and bullets keep flying,
> While we are in Battail, we never fear dying ...[1.]

"To his Mistress affrighted in the wars"[2.] is a poem of the same type:

> ... Hang this wealth! let money flee,
> They cannot undo me while I have thee ...
> I Venus serve, a fig for Mars,
> Loves arrows may wound, but never kill me;
> Me thinks there's no pleasure in bloudy wars,
> But I long to be wounded and taken by thee ...

Donne's "Loves Warre" is almost certainly an intermediary on the line of descent of both poems.

"The Satyr of Money" itself is little more than an application to modern conditions of Amores, III.viii.45-56, and as one might expect the situation of that elegy, that of the poet whose mistress has been taken by a richer rival, attracts Brome's highly-developed economic sensibility. In "To his Mistress married to another"[3.], he at first affects incredulity:

> Married! and I not dead! it cannot be; ...
> You whom I thought a Goddess now I see,
> Are but a woman by inconstancy.
> See what the covetous love of wealth can do,
> It makes fair Ladies false and foolish too ...

But this is too negative an attitude to be really satisfactory, and, like Tibullus, in a similar situation (I.v.59f.), he urges the girl to return to him, in spite of matrimony:

> But what's this thing call'd marriage? must you be
> Cloyster'd by that from all society?
> Must only he enjoy you as a Bride?
> And by his feast famish the World beside?

- the poem then develops along the familiar, naturalistic lines of "Confined Love":

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1. Brome, Poems, 1664, pp. 169-70.
2. ibid., pp. 30-31.
3. ibid., p. 249.

Marriage is but a superfluity.
Nature did ne'r intend (without all doubt)
T'hang such a Jewel only in his snowt:
Nor were you made only for one Mans food;
Nor for the private, but the common good.

Brome, then, though his poetry hardly ever reaches the level of art at all, provides a useful instrument for probing the attitudes which underlie the work of earlier elegists.

The most important event in the history of English translation of Ovid's erotic works between 1590 and 1660 was the appearance of Marlowe's Elegies. As J.M. Nosworthy [1.] has proved, the publication date of the first of the "Middleburgh" octavos must have been after 1594, and was probably 1595. There is an excellent half-chapter by F.S. Boas on Marlowe's translation and a full commentary [2.] by L.C. Martin. [3.] The best recent study is that by Eric Jacobsen. [4.]

The official hostility to the Amores in the Middle Ages has left its mark on the Ovidian tradition: there is no evidence of a translation into any vernacular, in manuscript or in print, prior to Marlowe's version. Marlowe's choice of metre was original and influential. Prior to him, the fourteener had been the usual metre for Ovidian translation. T.H.'s Narcissus (1560), is in poulter's measure: Golding in the Fyrst Fower Bookes of the Metamorphoses (1565), Peend in Salmacis (1565) and Underdowne in Ibis (1569), use straight fourteeners: Turberville in the Heroycall Epistles (1567) varies between the fourteener, poulter's measure and blank verse. Marlowe established the couplet as the metre for

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1. "The Publication of Marlowe's Elegies and Davies's Epigrams", R.E.S., 1953, pp. 260-1.
2. Christopher Marlowe, 1940, pp. 29-42.
3. In Marlowe, Poems, ed. L.C. Martin, 1931.
4. Translation, A Traditional Craft, Copenhagen, 1958.

most subsequent versions, though F.L.'s Remedie (1600), Barkstead's Mirrha (1607) and H.A.'s Scourge of Venus (1613) all employ a stanzaic form. His use of the couplet may well have influenced Donne in his choice of a metre for the elegies, and although other metres like the octosyllabic couplet or the four-line stanza, as in Beaumont's "Charme", are popular for elegy from the beginning of the seventeenth century onwards, the heroic couplet persisted as the most usual elegiac metre in English.

Certain characteristics of Marlowe's translation are worth noting, in connection with the future history of Ovidian imitation. There is a tendency to exaggerate, as when he renders cum magno pudore as "with endlesse infamy" (III.vii.72) or vulnera multa as "wounds infinite" (I.ii.44). He is especially at home in rendering love in terms of warfare, using modern military technicalities:

> Custodum transire manus, vigilumque catervas.
> The keepers hands and corps-dugard to passe.
> (I.ix.27)

"Corps-dugard" is first recorded by the N.E.D. in 1599. Marlowe also introduces the popular nautical metaphor, when there is no justification for it in his original:

> Though both of vs perform'd our true intent
> Yet could I not cast anckor where I meant
> (III.vii.5-6)

and:

> Yet boorded I the golden Chie twise
> (III.vii.23)

He also frequently heightens the erotic terminology in an idyllic direction:

> Oscula iam sumet: iam non tantum oscula sumet
> Quod mihi das furtim, iure coacta dabis
> Then will he kisse thee, and not only kisse
> But force thee giue him my stolne honey blisse
> (I.iv.63-4)

- or in a vulgar direction, stressing the lecherousness of women:

> Me legat in sponsi facie non frigida virgo
> Let Maydes whom hot desire to husbands leade
> (II.i.5)

> Ergo ego nescio cui, quem tu complexa teneba s
> I know not whom thou lewdly didst embrace
> (III.xi.11)

- and he delights in demonstrating his familiarity with up-to-date amorous slahg, in a way which makes the dainty Ovid strangely robust and heavy-footed:

> Et mihi iucundo non rustica cognita furto.
> Our pleasant scapes shew thee no clowne to be
> (II.viii.3)

> Exigere a nobis angusta nocte Corinnam,
> Et memini numeros sustinuisse novem.
> Corinna crau'd it in a summers night,
> And nine sweet bowts we had before day-light
> (III.vii.25-6)

> Candida me capiet; capiet me flava puella
> Est etiam in fusco grata colore Venus.
> A white wench thralles me, so doth golden yellowe.
> And nut-browne girles in doing haue no fellowe.
> (II.iv.39-40)

> Stat meretrix certo cuivis mercabilis aere,
> Et miseras iusso corpore quaerit opes.
> The Whore stands to be bought for each mans mony
> And seeks vild wealth by selling of her Cony.
> (I.x.21-2)

"Cony" is first recorded in an indecent sense by the N.E.D. in 1591. By using words of this sort, Marlowe brought Ovid up to date, and treated him as a modern, just as the Ovidian imitators of the next half century were to apply themes from the Amores and the Ars to their own problems and interests.

The publication of Thomas Heywood's translation of the Ars[1] can probably be dated 1612-13. In the "Address to the Reader" prefaced to The Brazen Age, 1613, he lays claim to a translation of the Remedia, also, but this has been lost.

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1. See A.M. Clark, "Thomas Heywood's Art of Love Lost and Found", Library, III, 1922, pp. 210-222.

The rendering of the Remedia printed with his Ars in 1662, of which A.M. Clark says "the firm couplets and the attempt at antithesis in this very indifferent translation ... quite obviously belong to a later period than Heywood's youth"[1] is, as a matter of fact, that printed in Beaumont's Poems, 1640. At least three editions of Heywood's Ars, all undated, appeared before 1662, the year of the first dated edition. His rendering is very complete: a few omissions seem to be made because he cannot understand the Latin, and a few because some reference to Roman custom or mythology puzzles him.[2] In Book III he seems to tire of his task a little, and omits with rather more frequency,[3] but he never omits mythological matter simply because it is mythological, nor does he fight shy of anything because it might be considered obscene.[4] His insertions are also very rare: occasionally he embroiders upon a theme of the original with a couplet or line of his own, as when he expands ii.719-20 into:

> When thou by chance hast hit upon the place
> Which being touched a girle still hides her face:
> Forbeare not though she blush and spring and kick,
> And tumbling shew thee many a gambale tricke.

The lines which he inserts nearly all, like this, emphasize female lasciviousness. When Ovid comments upon the appetites of apparently chaste women (i.674) Heywood adds:

> In frosty woods are hid the hottest fires

- and the only example of insertion in the whole translation which is obviously a deliberate distortion of meaning is at ii.615-6, which he renders:

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1. See A.M. Clark, "Thomas Heywood's Art of Love Lost and Found", Library, III, 1922, pp. 215-216.

2. e.g. i.587-8; iii.130-2, 663-4.

3. e.g. i.507-8; ii.205-8, 255-8, 491; iii.58.

4. In Book i he omits lines 15-16, 179-80, 675-78, 582; in Book ii, nothing, and in Book iii, lines 463-6, 521-30, 587-607, 620-33, 635-40. The MS. of Heywood's Ars mentioned in the previous chapter (Bodleian MS.Rawl. Poet. 216, ff. 2r-91r.) supplies three lines necessary to the sense but omitted from the printed version (i.339-40; 367).

The shamelesse beasts in common pastures stray,
And act their generation at noone day.
Which Maides by chance espying cry oh spight,
And through their fingers looke to see the sight.

It must be admitted that the translation is, as a whole, thoroughly incompetent. In spite of his evident desire to stick to the text and leave nothing out, Heywood is so often unable to understand the Latin that he frequently writes nonsense, or something different from his original,[1] and constantly misses Ovid's witty points. The ugly or ludicrous English phraseology, as, for example:

Who hath a long side, which she'd haue in eye,
Let her bend to her knees her necke awry
(iii.779-80)

- and the tortured syntax which characterize the major part of the translation are due to the fact that Heywood has to concentrate too much upon groping for the meaning of the Latin, and upon packing it into an English line, to worry about the sound or smoothness of the finished product.

Five translations of the Remedia were printed in the first half of the seventeenth century. The first of these, by "F.L.", which appeared in 1600, seems very much an academic exercise, perhaps a schoolboy's. The work is dedicated to "His Some-times Tutor, at all times deerest friend, M.I.". It ventures only as far as line 396. As soon as "F.L." comes to the point where Ovid deals directly with the act of love, he breaks off. His translation occupies one hundred and two six-line stanzas, and omits nothing. Every mythological illustration is faithfully reproduced, and to explain these there is An exposition of the Poeticall examples appended at the conclusion. He is usually accurate, but there are times when he misses the point

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1. Cf. his translation of ii.213-4, 609-10, 655-6; iii. 23-4, 29-31, 75-6, 147-8, 189-90, 497-8 etc.

of the Latin, perhaps because of a corrupt original text.[1.] It is noteworthy that the only reference to adultery in that part of the poem which he translates (lines 33-4) is deliberately distorted so that no mention of adultery is made.

Sir Thomas Overbury's translation of the Remedia was printed in 1620, though it must, of course, have been written by 1613, and probably belongs to his days at the Middle Temple, which he entered in 1597. In Beaumont's Poems, 1640, there is a translation of the Remedia which, if it is really his, must be pre-1616, and might well have been written when he was at the Middle Temple, to which he was admitted in 1600. The similarity between these two renderings, from the viewpoint of the passages of the original which they omit, is very striking, and, as it has not previously been noticed, will perhaps be worth demonstrating in table form:

Omissions: Overbury		Omissions: Beaumont	
5-6	Ref. to Venus' wounding by Diomede before Troy		
23-40	Ref. to Cupid, Mars and Venus, - speech by Cupid.	25-30	As opposite
47-8	Ref. to wounding of Telephus by Achilles	45-77	As opposite
55-78	Ref.'s to Phyllis, Dido, Medea, Tereus, Pasiphae, Phaedra, Paris, Menelaus, Helen. - invocation to Phoebus.		
99-100	Ref. to Myrrha.	96-134	As opposite
111-114	Ref. to Philoctetes.		
		156-67	Ref. to Parthians, to Venus' Wounding by Diomede, to Aegisthus.
181-195	Pastoral passage, in praise of country life.		
199-200	Ref. to Cupid, Venus, Diana.		

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1. See, for example, his translation of lines 340 and 345-6.

260-1 265-88	Ref. to Medea Story of Ulysses' desertion of Circe.	249-88	As opposite
355-6	Ref. to Phineus.		
358-95 399-415	Discussion of metrical art: exempla of Achilles, Callimachus, Cydippe, Thais Andromache. Overbury has fought shy of passage advising lover to have intercourse with other woman before union with mistress, in order to dull his enjoyment, to choose a posture for intercourse unflattering to his mistress to concentrate upon her physical defects during intercourse, etc.	357-440	As opposite
453-60 465-89	Ref. to Pocris, Minos, Pasiphae, Idea & Phineus, Callirhoe & Alcmaeon & Alphesiboea, Tereus & Procne. Ref. story of Agamemnon, Briseis, Achilles etc.	453-90	As opposite
511-42	Ovid advises lover, if all else fails, to sate himself by continual intercourse with his mistress. Overbury omits this.		
546-59 567-78	Ref. to Machaon, Venus Erycina, - narration of speech of Cupid. Remainder of speech; Ref. to Paris and Palinurus.	523-77	As opposite
589-90 591-608	Ref. to Pylades & Orestes. Relation of Phyllis' lament at Demophoon's desertion, & of her suicide.	589-614	As opposite
		620-35	Passage advising lover to avoid sight of loved one.
699-708	Ref. to Ulysses, Philoctetes & Cupid. - invocation to Phoebus.	698-708	As opposite
711-12	Ref. to judgment of Paris	711-12	As opposite
721-2 724 735-48 759-65 769-94	Ref. to Althea and Meleager Ref. to Laodamia. Ref. to Nauplius & Scylla, the Syrtes, Acroceraunia & Charybdis, story of Phaedra & Hippolytus, ref. to Hecale, Irus & Ariadne, to poets: Philetas, Callimachus, Sappho, Anacreon, Tibullus, Propertius, Gallus, ref. to story of Orestes, Hermione & Neoptolemus, to Achilles and Briseis, to the Lotophagi & Sirens.	720-22 724 727-90	As opposite

As will be quickly seen, what both Overbury and Beaumont attempt to do, by severely excising "the goodly exil'd traine of gods and goddesses", and passages of metrical and mythological discussion, is to bring the Remedia up to date: to make it not a period piece but a work whose points of reference are those of modern life and the modern literary scene:

> Dixerit, ut venias: pacta tibi nocte venito;
> Veneris, et fuerit ianua clausa: feres.
> Nec dic blanditias, nec fac convicia posti,
> Nec latus in duro limine pone tuum.
> (lines 505-8)

writes Ovid, and in Overbury it becomes:-

> If she appoint thee any time to come,
> And comming thither find'st her not at home,
> Do not make sonnets at her chamber dore,
> Nor thy repulse as a mischance deplore.

- an expression of the Inns-of-Court reaction against sonneteering, as represented in such things as Sir John Davies' Gullinge Sonnets,[1] or his epigrams In Decium which jeers at Drayton's sonnet "To The Celestiall Numbers", and In Dacum,[2] which ridicules a passage in Daniel's Complaint of Rosamund.

Beaumont introduces far more of his own invention than does Overbury. Lines 39-46, 321-6, 499-510 and 529-46 of his translation are quite original: lines 243-60 are an extension of Ovid's advice about taking a new mistress if the first is unkind: lines 352-65 are extended from one and a half lines in the Remedia. What he is really interested in is not curing love but scoring off the woman: thus lines 219-26 introduce and elaborate upon a passage from the Ars (iii.245-6), and lines 405-456, an extensive piece of re-writing, draw from the Ars, ii.539-54, in order to advise

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1. Davies, Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 3 Vols., 1869, i.329.
2. ibid., i.345.

a young man about how to appear aloof and superior in society:

> And if thy rivall be in presence too,
> Seeme not to marke, but do as others do;
> Salute him friendly, give him gentle words,
> Returne all curtesies that he affords:
> Drinke to him, carve him, give him complement,
> This shall thy mistris, more than thee, torment:
> For she will think by this thy careless show
> Thou car'st not now whether she love or no.
> But if thou canst perswade thyself indeede
> She hath no lover but of thee hath need;
> That no man loves her but thyself alone,
> And that she shall be lost when thou art gone;
> Thus sooth thy selfe, and thou shalt seeme to be
> In far more happy taking than is she.
> For if thou think'st she's lov'd and loves againe
> Hell fire will seeme more easie than thy paine:
> But chiefly when in presence thou shalt spie
> The man she most affecteth standing by,
> And see him graspe her by the tender hande,
> And whispering close, or almost kissing stande;
> When thou shalt doubt whether they laugh at thee;
> Or whether on some meeting they agree;
> If now thou canst hold out, thou art a man
> And canst performe more then thy teacher can:
> If then thy heart can be at ease and free,
> I will give o're to teach, and learn of thee.
> But this way I would take among them all,
> I would pick out some lasse to talke withall,
> Whose quick inventions, and whose nimble wit,
> Should busie mine, and keepe me from my fit:
> My eye with all my art should be a-wooing,
> No matter what I said, so I were doing;
> For all that while my love should thinke at least
> That I, as well as she, on love did feast.
> And though my heart were thinking of her face,
> Or her unkindnesse and my owne disgrace,
> Of all my present paines by her neglect,
> Yet would I laugh and seeme without respect.
> Perchance, in envy thou shouldst sport with any,
> Her beck will single thee from forth of many:
> But, if thou canst, of all that present are,
> Her conference alone thou shouldst forbeare;
> For if her looks so much thy mind do trouble,
> Her honied speeches will distract thee double.
> If she begin once to confer with thee,
> Then do as I would do, be rul'd by me:
> When she begins to talke, imagine straight,
> That now to catch thee up she lies in wait;
> Then call to mind some businesse or affaire,
> Whose doubtful issue takes up all thy care;
> That while such talke thy troubled fancies stirs,
> Thy minde may worke, and give no heed to hers. 1.

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1. Beaumont, Poems, 1640, sig. G3v.-G4r.

John Carpenter's Remedy of Love, published in 1636 is a very full translation: nothing is omitted either on aesthetic or moral grounds. Carpenter strives to make his meaning absolutely plain, and he often expands his original for this purpose. Thus Ovid's eight hundred and fourteen lines become one thousand and eight. Almost no attempt is made to modernize the original: reference to Augustus' contemplated Parthian war (lines 155-6) and to the temple of Venus Erycina (lines 549-54) are faithfully preserved. Significantly, almost the only piece of up-to-date terminology introduced is in connection with a financial matter: to Ovid's lines 301-2 Carpenter adds:

> ... Thinke how by her perswasions at the last
> Thy house for her joincture thou hast to her past.

Examples of mistranslation[1] are fairly frequent, but they often look as if they are the result of corruptions in the text Carpenter is using.

Finally, Cockayne's Small Poems, 1658, contains a rendering of the Remedia, or rather an adaptation, as Cockayne omits pretty well everything that is essential to Ovid's poem, and paraphrases the remainder. He takes the hint of recommended travel in lines 213-4 in order to introduce a long patriotic gazeteer of England, with various bits of historical and antiquarian comment, which occupies lines 182-362 of his work and is clearly one of its chief raisons d'être. We learn from it that the translation belongs to his Cambridge days, which dates it in the late 1620's or early 1630's. He modernizes consistently; the list of forbidden poets (lines 757-66) becomes Sidney, "the Lady

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1. E.g. His translation of Remedia, 146, 305, 346-8, 355, 433-4, 501-2, 517-8, 521-2, 540-1, 565-6, 663-6, 681-2, 707-8, 767-8, 782.

Wrothes Urania", Spenser, Daniel, Hero and Leander, "Harington's Ariosto" and Drayton's epistles. A notable addition is a long passage on the miseries of marriage (lines 605-38).

Though the first important English translation of one of Ovid's erotic works was printed in the mid-1590's, and though the imitation of Ovid in vernacular elegy begins at the same time, the history of the printed elegy does not really begin until 1633. The fact is of some moment. From the point of view of printed poetry, Donne is not an Elizabethan or a Jacobean but the first of the Carolines. With several of his elegies going to press in 1633, and more in 1635 and 1639, and with those of Jonson, Carew and Beaumont reaching print in 1640, the English elegy takes on a new lease of life. Its impact is carried over directly from the young Inns-of-Court poets of the 1595-1620 period to the cavaliers of the 1640's like Brome. Elegiac themes flow naturally into the poetry of these men from volumes which were appearing on the bookstalls as they wrote.

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1. I.xxxiv.
2. I.xlvi; IV.xxix, xxxviii, xlii.; V.xlvi, lxxxii.
3. IV.lxxi. Cf. IV.lxxxi and I.lvii.
4. I.lxxii.
5. IX.xxv.
6. IX.xxii. Cf. XI.lvii.

CHAPTER XI

Ovidian Erotic Themes in Epigram, Satire and Song

(i) The Epigram and Satire

The epigram and the elegy clearly appealed to the same audience. Both reflect the impact of a flourishing urban society upon the minds of young men who find its divisions and restrictions annoying: money and sex, the most frequent subjects of the epigram, are by tradition inter-related in the elegy: the moral tone of both was sufficiently outrageous for them to be vehicles of protest against the respectable, authoritative components of the metropolitan environment. John Davies' epigrams were repeatedly printed in successive editions of Marlowe's Amores translation and from time to time follow an Ovidian line of thought, partly because some of Martial's themes are, in fact, derived from Ovid or Ovid's sources. Thus Martial asks Lesbia not to be chaste but only to keep her sins hidden,[1] tells Hedylus that denial excites his love but submissiveness makes him flag,[2] searches through all the town only to find a girl who will say "no" to him,[3] warns husbands that by guarding their wives they attract suitors,[4] ridicules the jealous Afer for being cross when guests admire his cup-bearer,[5] attacks women who ask for money in return for their favours,[6] poses as the

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1. I.xxxiv.
2. I.xlvi; IV.xxix, xxxviii, xlii. " ; V.xlvi, lxxxiii.
3. IV.lxxi. Cf. IV.lxxxi and I.lvii.
4. I.lxxiii.
5. IX.xxv.
6. IX.xxxii. Cf. XI.lviii.

poor poet[1] and as the lover of a serving-maid,[2] introduces characters like the mercenary mistress,[3] the girl who deceives her husband by pretending to visit "sick" friends,[4] the serving maid who helps to plunder her mistress' lover, saying that mirrors have been broken or jewels lost or perfume spilt and demanding replacements,[5] and the girl who flirts with her lover in her husband's presence:[6] elsewhere he borrows Ovid's Nec tecum possum vivere nec sine te.[7] When Davies warns Gella not to smile for fear of showing to her lover her "canker-eaten gums and rotten teeth"[8] the idea is from Martial[9] but Martial takes it from the Ars, iii.279 f., and acknowledges his debt to Ovid. Similarly Davies twenty-sixth epigram,[10] which first anatomizes Gella, describing her "saddle nose" her "ill-shap't face, with Morphew ouer-spread" and her "rotten teeth, which she in laughing shows", and then goes on to relate how she disguises these faults with "sattin gowne", "cut lawne apron", "greene silke stockins" and "petticoat of taffaty, with golden fringe around", recalls the auferimur cultu of the Remedia, though its direct source is in Martial.[11] Two of Harington's epigrams which are actually based on Martial have an Ovidian flavour

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1. II.xliii; V.xiii.
2. III.xxxiii.
3. III.liv.
4. XI.vii.
5. XI.l.
6. XII.xciii.
7. XII.xlvii. Cf. Amores, III.xiB.39.
8. Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 3 Vols., 1869, i.320.
9. II.xli.
10. Works, ed. Grosart, i.330.
11. Cf. Remedia, 343 f.: Martial, IX.xxxvii: the source in Martial is suggested by T.K. Whipple, Martial and the English Epigram, University of California, 1925, p. 340.

also: in the first he remarks that it is only since Cayus started to keep a watch over his wife that she has attracted "customers", and in the second explains how Lesbia has discovered a way "in presence of her Lord to kisse her friend".[1] It is significant that Harington includes among his epigrams a forty-eight line translation of Amores II.iv, under the title Ouid's confession translated into English for Generall Norreys, 1593.[2] Guilpin's epigram "In Zelotypum",[3] printed in the Skialethia, 1598, reproduces the Ovidian situation of the banquet with the guest, who is the poet, casting amorous glances at his host's "nymph-like" wife, and resenting the frowns of her jealous husband. Again, however, the immediate source is in Martial.[4] Charles FitzGeffrey, one of the Michelbourne circle at Oxford, who has epigrams addressed to Theodore Beza, and to a host of Elizabethan writers including Campion, Chapman, Drayton Harington, Jonson, Marston and Nashe, brings Ovidian sentiments into his Affaniae, 1601, when he tells Cordula that it is not her hair or lips that attract him, but the fact that he is not allowed to touch them: it is not beauty but denial that enslaves him.[5] In another poem to Cordula,[6] he employs the same Ovidian idea, but derives his treatment of it from Joannes Secundus' ninth Basium, an influential poem, as we have seen.[7] FitzGeffrey, and the epigrammatists

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1. Letters and Epigrams, ed. N.E. McClure, Philadelphia, 1930, pp. 186 and 263, cf. Martial I.lxxiii and XII.xciii.

2. ibid., pp. 219-221.

3. Skialethia, sig. B2v.

4. Martial, IX.xxv. Guilpin substitutes a wife for Martial's boy cup-bearer.

5. Affaniae, 1601, sig. A8v.-B1r.

6. ibid., sig. B8v.

7. See p. 69 , above.

generally, affect also Ovid's dos est uxoria lites attitude: domestic turmoil, and the mutual deception of husband and wife are favorite subjects: when one of FitzGeffrey's own circle marries, he describes the event humourously to Edward Michelbourne as if the man had been condemned to death.[1] The anti-marriage epigram had been much cultivated by continental neo-Latin poets. When Weever, in his Epigrammes, 1599, declares that, had he three wives, he would give "the diuell two for pay" provided he took away the third, he is actually translating Joannes Secundus' fifth epigram.[2] One is frequently led to suspect that this affectation of contempt for marriage by the University and Inns of Court men was prompted by the fact that their own financial position made it impossible for them to consider supporting a wife. Such suspicions are strengthened by an epigram like Weever's twenty-first[3] where he relates how a student courted "a Saint diuine" called Florella, but could only gain her hand if he undertook "to feoffee her by yeare in forty pound". Accordingly he took her friends to his study and showed them "Latines, Verses, Theames and Declamations", and other evidence of learning, and "swore these cost four hundred pound at least": they, however, "seru'd him a craftie tuch" by insisting that he should have his mistress if he could sell his papers for "so much coine". All the elegiac indignation about the power of money over love is implied here. Weever was himself a poor student. He was admitted as a sizar to Queen's College, Cambridge, in 1594, and left without a

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1. Affaniae, sig. B8r-v.
2. Epigrammes in the oldest cut, and newest fashion, ed. R.B. McKerrow, 1911, p. 28.
3. ibid., p. 27.

degree in 1598. A very similar epigram, by Henry FitzGeffrey, occurs in the volume Certain Elegies done By Sundrie Excellent Wits, With Satyres and Epigrames, published in 1618. It was this volume which contained the only one of Nicholas Hare's love-elegies printed in his lifetime.[1] FitzGeffrey tells how his mistress refuses to marry him unless he makes her a "joynture" which, upbraiding her for her worldliness, he calls "a sin to wish for, in it selfe a toy". He continues to grumble, reminding her that "all faithful Lovers are not borne to Land", and brings his poem neatly to an end by demanding that she should join herself to him first "and then aske ioynture", since "dues must not bee demaunded till the Day".[2] This is really very much nearer to an elegy than to an epigram: it is twenty-four lines long, and is mainly taken up with indignant personal protest rather than with terse narrative. FitzGeffrey substitutes a dash for his mistress' name throughout and this, with its implication that the whole thing is truly autobiographical, and that the identity of persons concerned must be concealed, also smacks of the elegy. Certainly FitzGeffrey seems to have been genuinely short of money. The second son of Sir George FitzGeffrey of Barford, Bedfordshire, he is mentioned several times in the Black Books of Lincoln's Inn as owing money to a Mrs. Mary Wythines, possibly his landlady. At a council hêld on 25 June, 1618, it was declared that "Mr. FitzJeofferies' chamber shall be disposed of for the payment of his dueties to the House".[3] In his Notes from Black-Fryers he again

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1. See p. 229 , above.

2. Certain Elegies, 1618, sigs. E1v.-E2v.

3. See The Records of the Honourable Society of Lincoln's Inn: The Black Books, 2 Vols., 1898, ii.199, 200, 206.

implies that lack of money, resulting in lack of success with the London woman, was a major grievance. Having borrowed enough to get into the theatre, he represents himself trying to attract the attention of a "Cheapside Dame":

> Heer Mis —— (pox on't! she's past, she'l not come ore,
> Sure shee's bespoken for a box before[1].

Another of his epigrams which comes near to being an elegy is "Sues Slip"[2]. Here he relates how Sue, after swearing "never to match with any but with mee", has "chang'd her minde". He reminds her at length of various intimacies which she has allowed him in the past, and she replies to each in turn that "she meant but as a friend". The conclusion, again, has epigrammatic quality. If, says FitzGeffrey, Sue is:

> such to all her Friends, as mee,
> I'ad rather shee my Friend then Wife shu'd bee.

The epigrams of Henry Parrot, contained in the collections Epigrams, 1608, Laquei Ridiculosi, 1613, The Mastive, 1615, and Cures for the Itch, 1626, may be divided into two major classes: those which depict the loose morals of women, and those which are primarily concerned with money, especially with the allied phenomena of the debt and extravagence of gallants and gentlemen. The first of these major groups subdivides into those which deal with prostitutes, several of which introduce the subject of venereal disease, and those which portray wives who are unfaithful to their husbands. In Laquei Ridiculosi, which may be taken as representative of the satirical epigram in the first decade of the century,

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1. Certain Elegies, 1618, sig. F1v.
2. ibid., sigs. D2v.-D3r.

one hundred and sixteen epigrams fall into the first major category, and sixty-nine into the second. Of the subdivisions of the first group, the second predominates: forty-one epigrams deal with prostitution, fifty with adultery. Usually in this subdivision, if social distinctions are observed at all, the cuckold is a merchant or a "citizen", and the adulterer a "gallant". The attitude adopted is either one of indifference or of sympathy with the adulterers. There is also an interesting minor group of epigrams, numbering twenty-six in Laquei Ridiculosi, which comment upon social changes, - either indicating the base birth of those who now have wealth or power, or objecting to the social climbing, by marriage, of women. This attack upon the new aristocracy of wealth is already well represented in Bastard's Chrestoleros, 1598, where he satirizes "courtier leather, courtier pinne and sope", "courtier vinegeer, and starch and carde"[1], and declares that by "the yeare of our Lorde, six hundred and ten" there will be a "wonderfull scarcety" of "Tanners, of Taylers, of Smithes" and all kinds of tradesmen, because "all these will be gentlemen"[2]. Learning, on the other hand, says Bastard, is now "nothing worth": we "sett the goolden sciences at nought"[3] and "Hebrew, Greeke and Poetry", "Latin, Rhetorique and Philosophye" with "reading and sense in sciences profound" are now "not worth forty pounds"[4]. Here, clearly, is fruitfull ground for the growth of a number of conventional

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1. Poems, ed. A.B. Grosart, 1880, p. 23.

2. ibid., p. 62.

3. ibid., p. 79.

4. ibid., p. 41. For similar animus against the new moneyed class, and the poverty of the cultured and educated cf. Richard Turner, Nosce Te, 1607, sig. C3r., and R. West, Wits A.B.C., 1608, sigs. Brv., D3r., E3r. etc.

elegiac themes. Parrot points out how Simon, who knows only "how to execute his fathers trade" and others who "haue but wit inough to buy and sell"[1] have become prosperous, whereas accomplished scholars like Faunus, who "beares the Bell" for fencing, music, dancing, "caruing and discoursing well"[2], or Valentinus who understands "Latin, French and Dutch"[3], have not even enough money to clothe themselves properly. Titus, whose father was "but a Tanner"[4], Porcus, "sprung from the loynes of some mechanick Syre", who is ignorant of all but "his trade"[5], Gallatea, whose "father was a Mason"[6], and the rest of their kind, have now become wealthy and have entered fashionable society, expecting and receiving social deference because of their riches. One of the results of this is that the marriage market has been upset: "squint-ey'd Mopsus, old Cincanters sonne" has been "matcht with Beauty"[7], though he is merely a rich "Lobcocke". There was a time "when Men for loue did marrie", but matrimony, "this ancient word", "is whollie made A matter now of Mony"[8]. The London woman has become thoroughly mercenary: "giue me your money ere you haue what's mine"[9] is her habitual cry. Mistress Phips will greet any advances with "Hand off, Sir Sauce-box", but if one brings her "some Legem pone, that's

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1. Laquei Ridiculosi, 1613, sig. N3r.
2. ibid., sig. N5r.
3. ibid., sig. D1r.
4. ibid., sig. P8r.
5. ibid., sig. P8v.
6. The Mastive, sig. C2r.
7. Laquei Ridiculosi, sig. P3v.
8. The Mastive, sig. C4r.
9. Laquei Ridiculosi, sig. E4v.

another thing, sir"[1]. Parrot heads his epigrams with Latin tags, including some from the Ars and the Amores like Oscula qui sumpsit[2] and Casta est quam nemo rogavit. Under the latter title he writes a seventy line poem which is, in fact, a dramatic monologue by one Win, who is being tempted "with words vnchast". At first she professes utter scorn for her would-be seducer, "I am not, Syr, the Wench you take me for", and asks him to hold his tongue: "my Maide heares all your wooings"; but gradually she reveals the true grounds of her objection:

> You talke of matters worth as much as nought,
> But not a word what Money you haue brought.

Times are hard and lodgings expensive, she explains: furthermore, she protests "I tooke no handsell since the Terme began", so he will purchase, in effect, "my second Maydenhed". She is outraged when her suitor offers half-a-crown: "You thinke belike wee are some common stuffe". Is this what he pays his "Hackney-Iades"?:

> My Maide gets so much of each Seruing-man.
> Make you no difference pray twixt her and mee

When the customer tries to persuade her with caresses, she checks him expertly,

> Pish; yet more dooing? pray Syr hold your hand,
> And iest with those you boldly may command,

- and declares that "A French Crowne" is her "least and lowest rate". If he has not so much about him, he must "leaue some pawne". It is no good his promising to:

> come againe and pay,
> I haue too oft bene vs'de with such delay.
> Nor talke of Oaths as promise once gone hence,
> Wee loue the Present, not the Future Tence.
> You know my minde: theres now no more to say;
> Doe this, or here's the Dore, and ther's the way.[3]

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1. Cures for the Itch, sig. B8v.
2. The Mastive, sigs. D4v., G4v.
3. ibid., sigs. G4v.-H1v.

This kind of dramatic monologue, put into the mouth of a woman at first apparently chaste but soon revealing herself as seducible, which, as Parrot's title indicates, was a practical demonstration of a doctrine derived from the Amores, is a popular form also with William Goddard. In his Mastif Whelp, (1599?), dedicated to various "very loving friends" of the Inner Temple, he writes, under the heading "Satire 29", a poem in which Nan attempts to repel John's advances:

> ... Whoo'd bee a Chamber-maide? Why Iohn, fie fie:
> A done I saie; I faith John I will crie,
> Pussh, Pussh: praie leaue, another time you shall,
> Why harke; praie harke: I faith my Mistresse call.

One deduces that John gets his way, as the girl's protests stop, and she begins to tidy herself before going down to her mistress:

> How is my colour? fie how I doe blowe!
> Shame you not to putt me in this heate!
> A handkercher: fie, how my face does sweat ...
> Lord my ruff! sett it with thy finger Iohn ...

Evidently she is not much displeased at what has passed, and resolves to tell her mistress "sh'as a waggish man".[1] This type of poem thus develops, also, Ovid's advice in the Ars:

> Vim licet appelles: grata est vis ista puellis:
> Quod iuvat, invitae saepe dedisse volunt.[2]

Goddard's authorship here suggests that he may have composed, too, what is by far the most popular poem of this category and is, indeed, one of the most frequently copied of all early seventeenth century manuscript poems,[3] "Nay pish, nay peu, in faith, but will you, fie ...", where the girl's objections, as she is tumbled:

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1. Mastif Whelp, sig. K2v.

2. Ars, i. 673-4.

3. This poem appears in Bodleian MSS. Ashmole 38, Poem 212; 47, f. 54r.; Don.D. 58, f. 44v.; Malone 19, p. 75; Rawlinson Poetical 85, f. 4r.; 199, p. 10: also in British Museum MSS. Add. 22582, f. 43v.; 22602, f. 19v.; 22603, f. 64r.; 30982, f. 53r.; Egerton 923, p. 65; 2421, f. 21r.; Harley 6057, f. 48r.; Sloane 542, f. 36v.

... You marre my Ruff, you hurt my backe, I bleede.
Nay looke the doore is open, some body sees,
What will they say? Oh how you hurt my knees!
You make me sweate, oh heere a goodly geare!
Your buttons scratch me: what a coyle is heere!

continue, again, until the end is attained, and she is then immediately reconciled:

Hold still, Ile wipe youre face, you sweate amaine;
You got a goodly thing with all this paine:
Oh God, how hot am I! What will you drinke?
If you goe sweating downe what will they thinke?

In poems of this type the effect of the drama upon the elegy is shown at its most extreme. Tremendous immediacy is gained by writing what is, in effect, a speech for a dramatis persona, in which all the action which occurs is implied: almost as if, for example, one should write a 'part' for the Corinna of Amores I.v or the Cynthia of Propertius, II.xv.

Goddard's satires, which are not really satires at all, but narratives or dramatic monologues of a more or less lascivious nature, written to the taste of his Inner Temple friends, include also two poems in which he develops the comparison between love-making and warfare. In the first he describes Winda's "nightly drilling" in a series of indecent innuendoes ("She cocks, she tries her match, she gardes her pann", and so on) as if she were a "Musketeer" going through his exercises, and concludes, "Souldiers, Drilling's not hard, if you'd do soe".[1] In the second, he addresses widows, telling them that their exclamations of outraged modesty, "Praie Sir stand awaie", and "fie for shame, forbeare I praie", will be of no avail against soldiers, who know "that breaches into Townes are made to enter them", and that asking "shall I enter in?" is no way to accomplish anything:

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1. Mastif Whelp, sig. I2r.

Their discipline is such, they use smale speech
But with true courage, falls-vpp intoh' breach.[1]

In another satire, Goddard mocks jealous husbands in a typically irresponsible Ovidian way, arguing that:

... Wiues can doe noe better deede
Then helpe their husbandes frendes at push of neede [2]

The satirical attack upon women in the last years of the sixteenth and early years of the seventeenth centuries, which was directed by the University and Inns of Court men against the woman of court and of city is clearly of importance as a symptom of that same mentality that produced the love elegy. What we witness in these satirists is a savage reversal of the renaissance courtesy-book attitude of deference and respect towards the female, just as we see in the love elegy a reversal of the "Petrarchan" adoration, self-abasement and other-worldliness. To a large extent it is simply a matter of a new, angry generation. Lodge, though he wrote satires in A Fig for Momus, 1595, belongs to the earlier generation. Born in the 1550's, he writes cool, unruffled didactic satire, reminiscent of the Augustans in its smoothness, and of Chaucer in its sententiousness and self-conscious array of "authorities". He is always polite to ladies: asked to praise his mistress' dog, he replies:

Madam, my Muse wing'd by your kind request
To praise a dog hath solemnly profest,
And for reward, desires no further grace,
Then for a night to grant me Pretties place. [3]

To Marston, born about twenty years later, such an attitude is repulsive:

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1. ibid., sig. K3v.
2. ibid., sig. C2v.
3. Fig for Momus, sig. H4r.

... But out on Phrigio,
That wish'd he were his mistress' dog, to go
And lick her milk-white fist! O pretty grace!
That pretty Phrigio begs but Pretty's place ...1.

The eighth satire of the Scourge of Villanie is a prolonged and venomous outburst against lovers who demean themselves and their sex by worshipping their mistresses.2. In his furious, headlong denunciation, Marston makes no distinction between the Ovidian and the Petrarchan lover, between the "puling" sonneteer who, - "blaspheming dolt!", - thinks it "heauens blisse" if "Laura's painted lip do daine a kisse", and the "sighing" elegist who begs

Sweet-fac't Corinna, daine the riband tie
Of thy cork-shooe, or els thy slave will die.

That there was a distinction, and that this representation of the elegy was simply false if one considered Donne or Campion, Marston must have realized. But he is interested not in truth but in attack: his anger must find an outlet: "I cannot chuse but bite" he says.3. In the sixth satire, also, when he execrates the unnatural practices of women like "Samus' smug wench" and Lucia, who compensates for "her husbands lukewarm bed" later in the day "in joulting coach, with glassie instrument", Marston declares himself unable to "cease to curse and ban such brutish filth", and one's impression is that the attractions of "brutish filth" and of cursing are equally responsible for this inability. Similarly in Goddard's Satirycall Dialogue, - undated, but probably, from its reference to "Badd men" who "burne all bookes wherein theire faults they find",4. not long after June, 1599, - the author's declaration:

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1. Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 3 Vols., 1887, iii.358.
2. ibid., iii.354-62.
3. ibid., iii.339-43.
4. Satirycall Dialogue, sig. A2r.

Wholly[1] this booke was made, follie to showe must clearly be interpreted as using the word "show" with connotations of entertainment and full demonstration, rather than of exposure and censure. The kernel of the book is Diogenes' relation of the "wanton dreames" of "three wanton Sisters" each of whom tells, in prurient couplets, of the visit of a young man to her bed. A good deal of Ovidian lore is included:

> ... maides nere chafe with men.
> Though we seeme angry at their boldest partes
> Yet seldome comes our anger from our hartes;
> For in loues sporte (this is our sexes wyle)
> We'el seeme to frowne, when most of all we smile.[2]

Though a girl may "cry, fye, or praye nowe hence", "a resolute mynde" will not be deterred from committing "that kinde offence".[3] Later in the poem, when old Dame Will advises a young wife "to th'old use put thou thy nimble tale":

> Whoo'd sweate and toyle for this same golden treasure,
> When one maie gett it with the sweetest pleasure.[4]

one is reminded of the bawd in the Amores.

Hall, in the Virgedemiae, rails at "the loue-sicke Poet" who hopes "to conquer his disdainefull dame" with "patched Sonettings" and "loathsome flatterings";[5] and a book of his Mundus Alter Et Idem (c. 1598: printed c. 1605) is devoted to anti-feminine satire.[6] For the details of his verse attack upon women he goes to Juvenal.[7] The protest against upheavals in the social classes, so common among the

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1. Satirycall Dialogue, sig. A2v.
2. ibid., sig. C3r.
3. ibid., sig. C3v.
4. ibid., sig. E3r.
5. Works, ed. P. Wynter, 10 Vols., 1863, ix.589-60.
6. ibid., X.444-53.
7. Cf. Virgedemiae, IV. i.144-157 (Works, ed. Wynter, ix.626-7) and Juvenal, VI, 116 f.

epigrammatists, is represented in Hall's satire against Lolio who starves himself and his family in order to send his eldest son to "Ins of Court, or of the Chancerie", so that he may "learne Law and courtly carriage" and "make amendes for his meane parentage"[1]. Probably some personal resentment against the snobbishness of the Inns of Court men is present here. Hall, the son of a bailiff of the Earl of Huntingdon (Marston calls him a "swineherd's brat") was only maintained at Emmanuel by the intervention of an uncle Edmund Sleigh of Derby, and never proceeded to an Inn of Court. Middleton's Micro-cynicon, 1599, also combines an attack against the pride and extravagence of modern women with indignation that Zodon, son of the usurer Cron, should be well horsed and dressed in the height of fashion, though only "a base born issue of a baser sire"[2]. The reason for both objections is primarily economic.[3]

The epigram and the satire, then, in the 1590's and after, give expression to several conventional elegiac protests, and also indicate a pronounced change in the literary attitude towards women adopted by young University and Inns of Court men. The protests and the new attitude find perfect combination only in the elegy.

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1. Works, ed Wynter, ix.628-34.
2. Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 8 Vols., 1886, viii.123-7 (Satire III: "Insolent Superbia").
3. ibid., viii.120-23 (Satire II: "Prodigal Zodon")

(ii) The Song

The development traceable in Campion's Ayres from 1601 to 1617 has already been commented upon. From about 1600 onwards Ovidian themes begin to occur with some frequency in song books. Cavendish's 14. Ayres in Tabletorie, 1598, has a song which presents the poet in love with two mistresses, Faustina and Phillida, and unable to choose between them.[1.] In Robert Jones' First Booke of Songes and Ayres, 1600, a lover describes his difficulties: his mistress is:

> Kept by the carefull watch
> Of more then hundred eies

so that he is unable to obtain, for the time being, "the thing she not denies". But, he remarks, lovers' eyes are wakeful when others sleep: his time will come, and joy "which painful time and passed fears brings forth" is the sweeter for delay:

> Yet husbands doe suppose
> To keepe their wiues by art
> And parents will disclose
> By lookes their childrens heart:
> As if they which haue will to do
> Had not the wit to blind such keepers to.[2.]

- non caret effectu quod voluere duo, - the poem is an Ovidian elegy in lyric form.[3.] Another song in the same collection puts forward a major theme of the Ars:

> ... Who dares not speake deserues not his desire,
> The boldest face,
> Findeth most grace:
> Though women loue that men should them admire,
> They slily laugh at him dares come no higher.[4.]

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1. Op. cit., sig. K2v. (cf. Amores, II.x). Printed in Davidson's Poetical Rhapsody.

2. Op. cit., sig. C1v. Cf. a similarly Ovidian song at sig. C4v.: "Hero, care not though they prie ..."

3. Cf. Amores, II.iii.16 f.

4. ibid., sig. C.3v.

Though a woman's tongue "say nay", her heart does not. Two other songs in Jones' First Booke make the same point. Just as "sweet Philomell" when "pearcht with prick against her breast" sings "fie, fie, as if shee suffred wrong", so, says the poet, "sweete Jinny" when "my hands moue loues request":

> ... cries phy, phy, and seeming loath gainsaies,
> Till better pleas'd sweete, sweete content bewraies.[1.]

Again, though his mistress "bites her lippe and cries fie, fie" and "still complains I did her wrong":

> Yet sure her lookes bewraies content,
> And cunningly her brales are meant.[2.]

In Jones' Second Booke, 1601, there is a song of advice to the lover who is "watcht with ielous eyes", which smacks of the Ars,[3.] and there is also a monologue poem of the kind we found in Goddard:

> Fie, fie, fie, what a coile is heere,
> Why striue you so to get a kisse,
> Doe, doe, doe what you will,
> You shall be nere the neere ...

Eventually the girl admits:

> This my denyall
> Is but a tryall

and tells her lover "doe what you will".[4.] In a later poem in the same book the monologue becomes a dialogue, both man and woman playing their parts in the seduction.[5.] Richard Carlton's Madrigals to Fiue Voyces, 1601, includes a song suggesting that, since nowadays women "sell their loue as they the market

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1. Op. cit., sig. E4v.
2. ibid., sig. F3v.
3. Op. cit., sig. D2v. Cf. also the song of advice at sig. H2v.: "Faire women like faire iewels are ..."
4. ibid., sig. E1v.
5. ibid., sig. I1v.

finde" it would be "not amisse" if they were put up for auction at Smithfield.[1] Three years later Thomas Greaves introduces two seduction-monologues, "I pray thee, sweet John, away ..."[2] and "Nay, will ye, faith ...",[3] into the Songes of Sundrie Kindes, and in the following year Francis Pilkington's First Booke of Songs or Ayres contains an account, quite unlike anything else in the book in its circumstantial, Ovidian realism, of how the poet, while in an arbour of roses at night where he and his mistress "reapt of eyther other loues desire", was surprised by "her brother, and my foe", who had been hiding there, and only escaped by taking advantage of the "obscured light" of the moon.[4]

Thomas Bateson, in the First Set of English Madrigales, 1604, objects, like Carlton, to the love-money nexus, using the traditional elegiac symbol of Danäe who at first "starts", when Jove comes in a golden shower, but "at last performeth all his will". Women are all the same:

> Both hie and low such golden guifts
> Will put their conscience to their shifts.[5]

Bateson attacks the practice of turning songs into seduction-monologues and bringing:

> to wanton tunes fie fie
> Or tih-ha tah-ha, or ile crye.[6]

"Such rimes," he considers, are a "disgrace" to "musick sprung of heauenly race". His protest did not have much effect. The "Sweete, let me goe, sweete let me goe ..." in William Corkine's Ayres to Sing and Play, 1610,[7] is exactly

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1. Carlton, Madrigals, sig. D1v.
2. Songes of Sundrie Kindes, 1604, sig. C1v.
3. ibid., sig. C2r.
4. First Booke, 1605, sig. H2v.
5. Bateson, First Set, 1604, sig. C1r.
6. ibid., sig. E2v.
7. Op. cit., sig. B2v.

the sort of thing to which Bateson objects. Here the girl concludes by saying that she would "crie":

But some would heare, I feare mee.

- an idea borrowed from one of Campion's Latin epigrams.[1]

Corkine's Second Booke of Ayres, 1612, includes an adulterous suasoria which reproduces the elegiac atmosphere perfectly: it is night: he has found her alone:

Sleepe hath sealed their eyes and eares
That our loues so long haue guarded

- now she is a married woman she need fear no disgrace in yielding to her lover:

Himen hides your mayden feares
Now my loue may be rewarded.

- kisses are not enough: "can Loues bands be sealed with kisses?":[2] there is no time for "dallying". Just as the elegists and, following them, Tasso and the Italians, looked back to a golden age of sexual licence, so Thomas Vautor in his First Set; beeing Songs of Diuers Ayres, 1619, has a song of idyllic nostalgia:

O merry, merry world when euery louer with his mate
Might walke from meade to meade and cheerefully relate
Sowre pleasures and sweete griefes, following a wanton state.

Those dayes knew no suspect
Each one might freely prate,
And daunce and sing and play
With his consociate ...

In those "honey dayes of antiquitie" lovers could kiss without restraint "like Turtles", but now the world is so full of "fond iealousie" that "charitie" is called "wanton iniquitie".[3]

As we shall see, the vernacular elegy in England gradually disintegrated into lyric verse, generally with a dramatic

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1. Campion, Works, ed. P. Vivian, 1909, p. 341.
2. Corkine, Second Booke, 1612, sig. B2v.
3. Vautor, First Set, 1619, sig. C1v.

flavour, and it was in this state that elegiac themes persevered until the Restoration. The song-books of the first decade of the seventeenth century were of considerable importance in encouraging this process of disintegration.

> First Gentlemen ... let anything Critically Are Lawyers fees and Citizens wives lead upon it: I love to heare Vice contended, and shees let blood in the sublime veines by the there any great mans life aberactred in it ...
>
> Second Gentleman ... is there any good bawdry int, leave of an old dreepe and a fathome broad, good rackolding, boy a couple of young setters-up lesume to doe well int? Give me a scene of venery that will make a mans spirits sound on thayr typtoes, and die his bloode in a deepe scarlet, like your Cuide Are Amandi, there flowes the true spring-head of Poetry, and the verie Christall fount of Parnassus.2.

The distinction between the sexual license of the private-theatre plays and the comparative modesty of those at the public theatres is very noticeable. In the latter marriage is extremely important, fornication weak and contemptible, adultery a deadly crime. The power of familial affection is emphasized. This reflects the new Puritan ideal of marriage as a companionship sanctioned by spiritual peers, mocked by a cynic like Harington, who enumerates the reasons for marriage:

> In briefe, first for honest procreation,
> Next, to avoide idolatrous fornication,
> And like lame waiters, men of passing piety,
> Have found a third cause, mutual society.3.

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1. Shakespeare and the Jacobean Tradition, New York, 1962.

2. Day, The Ile of Guls, 1606, sig. A2v.

3. Harington, Epigrams and Epicrams, ed. H.H. Hoffman, Philadelphia, 1930, p. 205.

CHAPTER XII

Ovidian Themes in the Drama

As Alfred Harbage has indicated,[1] the plays at Blackfriars and Pauls quickly assumed a distinctive character after 1599. Day's induction to the Isle of Gulls gives a neat summary of the demands of the coterie audience:

> First Gentleman ... ist anything Criticall? Are Lawyers fees and Cittizens wiues laid open in it: I loue to heare vice anatomizd, and abuse let blood in the maister vaine, is there any great mans life charactred in it? ...
>
> Second Gentleman ... is there any good baudry int, iests of an ell deepe and a fathome broad, good cuckolding, may a couple of young setters-vp learne to doe well int? Giue me a sceane of venery that will make a mans spirrits stand on theyr typ-toes, and die his bloode in a deepe scarlet, like your Ouids Ars Amandi, there flowes the true spring-head of Poetry, and the verie Christall fount of Parnassus.[2]

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> As namely, first for honest procreation,
> Next, to avoid dishonest fornication,
> And the late writers, men of passing piety,
> Have found a third cause, mutual society.[3]

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1. Shakespeare and the Rival Traditions, New York, 1952.

2. Day, The Ile of Guls, 1606, sig. A2v.

3. Harington, Letters and Epigrams, ed. N.E. McClure, Philadelphia, 1930, p. 289.

The Puritan concept of marriage clearly raised the prestige of women immensely as, for that matter, did the forty-five year reign of the virgin queen. In the popular drama women are at least the moral equals of men: constant maids and constant wives are the norm: in Shakespeare women are the constant sex. The treatment of women and marriage in the coterie theatres is reactionary and anti-bourgeois. The squalor of marriage and the insatiable lustfulness of women are emphasized by Marston, Middleton, Massinger, Sharpham and the rest: even Chapman's women are prurient and irrational, though he alone in the group displays nostalgia for the creeds of courtly and Platonic love. At Blackfriars and Paul's adultery is in high favour as a theme of laughter but with the exception of Chapman's Blind Beggar of Alexandria the popular troupes never played a comedy of adultery. Even Jonson had to toe the line when he wrote for them. Mistress Kitely errs only in the suspicion of her husband. Adultery in Shakespeare is never treated with humour or tolerance. Family solidarity, of the kind praised by Milton[1] is regularly found in the popular drama: not so in the private. The Eyre family in the Shoemaker's Holiday are at least cohesive: compare them with the Quomodo family in Middleton's Michaelmas Term, and the gulf between the attitude towards domestic relations at public and coterie theatres is straightway apparent. In several plays of the private theatres mothers and fathers serve, willingly or unwillingly as bawds and procurers for their own children.

The difference in attitude towards legal and social sanction comes out clearly in the treatment of commercialized

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1. Paradise Lost, iv.753-8.

vice. In Marston's Dutch Courtezan (I.i) Freevill has a long speech in mock praise of prostitution, and Cocledemoy eulogises the bawd's profession (I.ii). Sharpham's Fleire declares:

> ... mercenarie women are necessarie members: they plucke downe the pride of the flesh, yet are not proud themselues, for thir'le be as familiar with the Men as with the Master: they doe as many good deedes as some Friers that put one to pennance for his sinnes, they put twentie to paines: he out of charitie sends one to the Hospytall once a yeare, they send twentie to the surgions once a moneth. Saye hee bids men repent, they make a'm repent, yet for all this some will call a'm damn'd Punckes: well if they be damn'd thei'le not be damn'd gratis like your yong countrie gentleman, nor in hugger mugger like you Citizens wife with her prentise ...1.

Exposés and denunciations of prostitution, like The Honest Whore and The Roaring Girl, are, on the other hand, what one finds in the popular theatre. If scenes of prostitution are brought into the popular plays at all, they are homilies. Shakespeare's antagonism to commercial vice is inflexible. Marlowe's Tamburlaine, a model husband and a stickler about concubinage among the Turks, makes an interesting contrast with the Elegies and Hero and Leander, written for the literary coterie, and with his Chapel play of Dido, which has more suggestiveness than all the others combined.

After 1599 most of the plays at the private theatres could be counted on for something licentious and adulterous, or at least extra-marital, and the Ovidian elegiac note sounds repeatedly. In Barry's Ram-Alley, probably produced in 1608, Constantia takes her ideas from Ars, i.351-98:

> Why, sir, doe not you know
> That he which would be inward with the mistris
> Must make a way first through the waiting mayde? ...
> Kisse her and giue her an angell to buy pins,
> And this shall sooner winne her Mistris loue
> Then all your protestations, sithes and teares.2.

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1. The Fleire, 1610, sig. C4r.

2. Ram-Alley, ed. C.E. Jones, Louvain, 1952, p. 26.

Smallshanks, in the same play, misquotes from the Ars:
1.
fallere fallentem non est fraus, and Sir Oliver, wooing
Taffeta, breaks into heroic couplets to address a love
2.
elegy to her, full of scorn for "grose snoring husbands".
What a roar of self-approving mirth, too, must have greeted
Throte's remark:

> ... are you mad?
> Come you to seeke a Virgin in Ram-alley
> So neere an Inne of Court ...3.

In the Amends for Ladies of Nathan Field, whose classical
4.
studies were supervised by Ben Jonson, Bould, dressed as a
lady's maid, prepares Lady Bright for bed. Act IV, Scene i
shows the lady "undressed" and Bould "in his shirt". He,
too, derives his opinions from the Ars, saying that if he
lets her go unassaulted:

> ... you'll laugh at me
> Behind my back, publish I wanted spirit,
> And mocke me to the Ladies, call me childe,
> Say you denide me but to trie the heate
> And zeale of my affection toward you,
> Then clap it up with a rime, as for example
> Hee coldly loues, retires for one vaine tryall
> For wee are yeelding, when we make denyall.5.

Subtle describes a seduction in the popular military termino-
logy, following it significantly with two lines from
Amores, I.v:

> ... her resistance began to slacken and my assault began to stiffen, the more her Bulwarke decai'd, the more my batterie fortified, at last, sir, a little fumbling being past to make the Conquest more difficult, shee

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1. Ram-Alley, ed. C.E. Jones, Louvain, 1952, p. 24.
2. ibid., p. 45.
3. ibid., p. 40.
4. Jonson, Works, ed. C.H. Herford and P. and E. Simpson, 11 Vols., 1925-52, i.137.
5. Field, Plays, ed. W. Peery, Texas, 1950, p. 207: cf. Ars, i.673-9.

perceauing my artillerie mounted, fals me flat vpon her backe .... Nay
Caetera quis nescit? lassi requievimus ambo
Proveniant medii sic mihi saepe dies.1.

The modesty and decorum of the public theatres would never have allowed this sort of thing. In both comedy and tragedy the popular school not only failed to cultivate opportunities for erotic treatment, but took considerable pains to avoid it. Exceptions to this rule are very few. Heywood, in his Golden Age, written for the Red Bull, shows Jupiter mingling with Diana's nymphs and later winning to the bed of a coy Danäe, but the experiment is not repeated in the four later plays of the Homeric series, though opportunities were abundant.

Florida, in Sharpham's Fleire, puts forward arguments reminiscent of "Confined Love":

> was not beautie made to be enioyed? doe wee not exclaime on those who haue aboundant store of Coine, and yet for want suffer the needie perish at their doore? so might all doe on vs, hauing so much beautie, if wee should suffer men for loue of vs to die; shall wee in whome beautie keepes her court bee curbd and tide to one man's beneuolence?2.

Wages in Cupids Whirligig, mocks the courtly attitude towards women, and makes suggestions similar to those of Jonson in his "Court Pucell":

> O sir, I will not but with sanctified and hallowed thoughts touch Sinthias brightest beames, whome all eyes doe adore, and hearts doe worship: where purest chastitie doth shine in spotlesse robes of splendant maiestie ... but yet I well could wish you know yt in the skie of Court are many starres, the which at midnight shoote and fall.3.

---

1. Field, Plays, ed. W. Peery, Texas, 1950, p. 223. Chapman is fond of this use of military imagery. Cf. May-Day, II.i.421 f.; The Widow's Tears, I.i.127, 154 f.; I.iii.94 f. (Comedies, ed. T.M. Parrott, 1914, pp. 186, 370, 378.)

2. The Fleire, 1610, sig. B1v.

3. Cupids Whirligig, 1607, sig. C2v.

Clearly Sharpham was catering for the Inns-of-Court audience. He was at the Middle Temple himself in 1594, and his plays are full of applause-catching gambits like:

FLORIDA: ... are you a Gentleman?

GENT.: Yes, sure Madam, for I was both borne and begotten in an Innes Court.

FROMAGA: Sure Madam then hee's a Gentleman, for he thats but admitted to the house is a Gent. much more hee thats begotten in the house.[1]

Sylvia, in Brandon's Virtuous Octavia is another Ovidian, - her naturalistic arguments resemble those of Sharpham's Florida. After pointing out how she traps men by her knowledge of "the arte of loue",[2] she continues:

> And surely who will taste the sweete of loue
> Must not be tyed unto one poore conceipt:
> One cannot worke or halfe his practise prooue
> Vpon one minde which will be dulled straight.
> But there must be an emulation plac'd
> Mongst fauourites, as spur of swift desire:
> By letting one still see another grac'd ...
> no wedlocke can compell,
> No law, no feare, no réason can constraine
> Our mindes, whiles we in natures castels dwell,
> The pleasing course of nature to refraine.
> Nature it selfe dooth most delight in change
> The heauens, by motion do their musicke make ...[3]

It seems likely that there is an echo here of the first line of "Variety", "The heavens rejoyce in motion ...".

The fashion that Donne's "Anagram" helped to create is subscribed to by Sharpham, both in The Fleire in the dialogue between Fleire and Petoune,[4] and in Cupids Whirligig:

SIR T.: Hath she not a piercing eye?
WAGES: And twere a Ferrit.
SIR T: A delicate nose.
WAGES: And it were a Mulberrie.

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1. The Fleire, 1610, sig. B3r.
2. S. Brandon, The Virtuous Octavia, 1598, sig. C3v.
3. ibid., sig. C3v.-C4v.: with the first part. Cf. Ars, iii. 593-4.
4. The Fleire, 1610, sig. F3v.

SIR T.: Teeth like two rowes of orient pearle
WAGES: But the string is broken and many of them are fallen out.
SIR T.: Hands as white as Pelops shoulder
WAGES: I, and as thicke too.[1.]

Marston's Fawne significantly indulges in a description of the same kind when he is deliberately aping the "humour" of the "perfect Ovidian", Nymphadoro:

> O this is the faire lady with the fowle teeth! Natures hand shooke when she was in making, for the redde that should have spread her cheekes, Nature let fall upon her nose; the white of hir chinne slipt into hir eies; and the gray of hir eies leapt before his time into hir hayer; and the yeallowness of her haier fell without providence into her teeth.[2.]

It is a testimony to the influence of Donne that by 1605-6, when the Fawne was first acted, his "Anagram" - motif should be looked upon as a component of "perfect Ovidian"-ism. Nymphadoro's character is chiefly drawn from Amores, II.iv:

> ... for mine own parte I am a perfect Ovidian, and can with him affect all. If shee bee a virgin, of a modest eye, shamefac't, temperate aspect, her very modestie inflames mee, her sober blushes fires mee; if I behold a wanton, prettie, petulant, courtly ape, I am extreamly in loue with her because she is not clownishly rude, and that she assures her lover of no ignorant, dull, unmoving Venus; be she sowerly severe, I think she wittily counterfeits, and I love her for her wit; if she be learned and sensures poets, I love her soule, and for her soule, her bodie; bee shee a ladie of profest ignorance, O, I am infinitely taken with her simplicitie, as one assured to find no sophistication about her; bee she slender and leane, she's the Greekes delight; be she thicke and plumpe, she's the Italian's pleasure; if she be tall, shee's of a goodly forme, and will printe a fair proportion in a large bedde; if shee be short and low shee's nimbly delightfull, and ordinarily quicke witted; bee she young, she's for mine eye; be she old, she's for my discourse, as one well knowing thers much amiablenes in a grave matron; but be shee young or olde, leane, fat, shorte, tall, white, red, brown, nay, even blacke, my discourse shall find reason to love her, if my meanes may procure opportunities to enjoy her.[3.]

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1. Cupids Whirligig, 1607, sig. I3r.
2. The Fawne, III.i. (Marston, Plays, ed. H.H. Wood, 3 Vols., 1934-9, ii.178.
3. Plays, ed. H. H. Wood, 3 Vols., 1934-9, ii.176-7.

A further fact of Nymphadoro's "Ovidian" humour is an affectation of masculine superiority towards women, a refusal to take them seriously:

> HERCULES: Nature made them prettie, toying, idle, phantastique, imperfect creatures; even so would I in justice affect them, with a pretty, toying, idle, phantastique, imperfect affection; and as in deed they are onely created for shew and pleasure, so would I onely love them for shew and pleasure.
>
> NYMPHADORO: Why, that's my humour to the very thread.[1.]

In Marston's What you Will, Jacomo preaches "variety":

> Variety of objects please us still;
> One dish, though ne'er so cook'd, doth quickly fill,
> When diverse cates the palate's sense delight
> And with fresh taste creates new appetite ...2.

- breaking, significantly into heroic couplets for the purpose. Later Albano is given a magnificent elegiac outburst against the love-money nexus and its results: forced marriages and the conjunction of youth and age. Like the elegists he looks back to a happier, golden time:

> Our love is hollow-vaulted - stands on proppes
> Of circumstance, profit, or ambitious hopes!
> The other tissue, gowne, or chaine of pearle
> Makes my coy minx to nussell twixt the breastes
> Of her lull'd husband, tother carcanet
> Deflowres that ladies bed, One hundred more
> Marries that loath'd blowze; - one ten-pound oddes,
> In promis'd joynture, makes the hard-palm'd sire
> Inforce his daughters tender lippes to start
> At the sharpe touch of some loath'd stubbed beard;
> The first pure time, the golden age is fled ...3.

A similar note of yearning rings in Malheureux's speech in The Dutch Courtezan, which takes its inception from Amores, I.x.25-8: as he listens to the song of the nightingales, he cries:

> Now sing they sonnets - thus they crye, We love!
> O breath of heaven! thus they, harmles soules
> Give intertaine to mutuall affects.

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1. Plays, ed. H.H. Wood, 3 Vols., 1934-9, ii.176.
2. ibid., ii.242.
3. ibid., ii.263.

They have no baudes, no mercenary bedds,
No politicke restraints, no artificiall heats,
No faint dissemblings; no custome makes them blush,
No shame afflicts their name! O you happy beastes!
In whom an inborne heate is not held sinne ...[1].

The most wicked of all Marston's women, Isabella in The Insatiate Countess, adopts as her own the advice of Ovid's bawd in the Amores: "Faire women, play; she's chaste whom none will have".[2] It is Marlowe's translation that she uses. In Jacke Drums Entertainment, the scene where Katherine and Pasquil make love in the early morning, while:

yet calme husht sleep
Strikes dumbe the snoring world

- breathes all the sweetness and all the scorn of the elegy. Katherine, contrasting Pasquil with Mamon, the rich lover, who offers gifts, cries:

Let the unsanctified spirit of ambition
Entice the choyce of muddy-minded Dames
To yoke themselves to swine, and for vaine hope
Of gay, rich trappings, be still spurd and prickt
With pining discontent for nuptiall sweetes.[3]

The assumption that rich husbands are old husbands, and therefore unable to supply "nuptiall sweetes", also belongs to the elegiac world.

Marston, like Sharpham, was a Middle Temple man. He was admitted in 1592, though it is unlikely that he actually came into residence until 1594. Frequent entries in the books of the Inn prove his residence from 1595-1601; in the latter year he was expelled for non-payment of commons, but afterwards partially restored. The last record of his residence is 21 November, 1606. The following year he abandoned the stage for the Church, and in 1609 was ordained deacon of Stanton Harcourt. During the majority of his career as a dramatist, therefore, he lived the life of a student at the Temple.

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1. Plays, ed. H.H. Wood, 3 Vols., 1934-9, ii.83.
2. ibid., iii.6. (Amores, I.viii.43).
3. ibid., iii.198-9.

It now seems indisputable that none of the three Thomas Middletons admitted to Gray's Inn between 1594 and 1596 was the playwright. He was, apparently, the son of William Middleton of London, and matriculated from Queen's College, Oxford, in 1598.[1] Nevertheless it is clear that he frequently had an Inns-of-Court audience in mind: little sops to the self-esteem of this audience are common, as in A Mad World, my Masters, where Maworm, when Follywit questions his followers' courage, replies:

> Fear not us, captain; there's none here but can fight for a whore as well as some Inn's-a'-court-man.[2]

In The Roaring Girl Laxton boasts of the advances of Mistress Gallipot, the apothecary's wife, and tells how, having taken him into a room alone, she sent the candle-bearer away:

> I not intending to understand her, but, like a puny at the inns of venery, called for another light innocently.[3]

The implication, of course, is that a gentleman at the Inns who had passed the "puny" or first-year stage would have "understood" this citizen's wife in the indecent sense of the word intended here. When Brandino, in The Widow, finds a love-letter written to his wife, and makes his servant read it aloud, his immediate comment has a similar implication:

> MARTINO: [reads] My love being so violent and the opportunity so precious in your husband's absence tonight .... I will make bold ... to wait the sweet blessings of this long desired opportunity at the back gate, between nine and ten this night.
>
> BRANDINO: I feel this Inns-a'-Court man in my temples![4]

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1. See M. Eccles, "Middleton's Birth and Education", R.E.S., 1931, pp. 431-41.
2. Middleton, Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 8 Vols., 1885, iii.314.
3. ibid., iv.36-7.
4. ibid., v.134.

The atmosphere and assumptions of the Amores and the Ars, though not as common in Middleton as in Marston, are clearly present from time to time. When the courtesan in A Trick to Catch an Old One tells of the paraphernalia of her profession:

> ... Waving of fans, (which some suppose
> Tricks of the fancy), treading of toes,
> Wringing of fingers, biting the lip,
> The wanton gait, th'alluring trip;
> All secret friends and private meetings
> Close-borne letters and bawd's greetings ...
> Removing chambers, shifting beds
> To welcome freinds in husband's steads ...[1.]

- we should recognize the elegiac flavour, even if we did not notice the similarity to Amores, I.iv.16 and to Ars, iii. 299-306 and 619-630. The play is mainly concerned with the power of wealth in bourgeois society: it depicts a nouveau riche citizen class, completely materialistic in its values. Revenge upon this class is effected in the play itself by making Hoard, a rich citizen, marry this courtesan under the impression that his bride is a wealthy widow. The fact that the courtesan, like Marston's Jacomo, breaks into couplets to put over her elegiac material, probably demonstrates the influence of Marlowe and Donne upon this kind of writing. The same may be said for the advice given by Frank Gullman, a prostitute, to Mistress Hairbrain, the wife of a jealous citizen, in A Mad World, My Masters:

> When husbands in their rank'st suspicions dwell,
> Then 'tis our best art to dissemble well:
> Put but these notes in use that I'll direct you,
> He'll curse himself that ere he did suspect you.
> Perhaps he will solicit you, as in trial,
> To visit such and such; still give denial:
> Let no persuasions sway you; they're but fetches
> Set to betray you, jealousies, slights and reaches.
> Seem in his sight t'endure the sight of no man,
> Put by all kisses, till you kiss in common: ...
> If he chance steal upon you, let him find
> Some book lie open 'gainst your unchaste mind,

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1. Middleton, Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 8 Vols., 1885, ii.351.

> And coted Scriptures; though for your own pleasure
> You read some stirring pamphlet, and convey it
> Under your skirt, the fittest place to lay it ...
> Manage these principles but with art and life,
> Welcome all nations, thou'rt an honest wife ...[1.]

Mistress Glister, a physician's wife in The Family of Love, reminds one strongly of the "immortall mother" of Donne's "Perfume" when she tackles her husband's ward and niece, Maria, about the attentions of Gerardine, a young spendthrift:

> What, have I not observed the rising and falling of the blood, the coming and going of the countenance, your qualms, your unlacings, your longings, most evident tokens; besides a more certain sign than all these too; you know't, I need not speak it ...[2.]

Needless to say, Gerardine eventually seduces Maria. He gains access to her by being carried into the Glisters' house in a trunk.

Jonson's Macilente in Every Man out of his Humour, first acted at the newly built Globe in 1599, might be taken as an exposure, for the sake of the popular audience, of the "malcontent" figure who lies behind much of the conventional elegy, as he does behind the satire. Envy is the basis of his character. He is described by Jonson as:

> A Man well parted, a sufficient Scholler, and travail'd; who (wanting that place in the worlds account which he thinks his merit capable of) falls into such an envious apoplexie, with which his iudgement is so dazeled, and distasted, that he growes violently impatient of any opposite happinesse in another.[3.]

Macilente writes satires, and the elegiac indignation is strong in him. "Wealth in this age will scarcely look on merit" is his favourite theme.[4.] Of the rich oaf Sogliando,[5.] he snarls:

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1. Middleton, Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 8 Vols., 1885, iii.265-6.
2. ibid., iii.79.
3. Jonson, Works, ed. C.H. Herford and P. & E. Simpson, 11 Vols., 1925-52, iii.423.
4. ibid., iii.451 (lines 214-5).
5. ibid., iii.455 (line 87).

> Sbloud, why should such a prick-eard hine as this
> Be rich, Ha? A foole? such a transparent gull
> That may be seen through? wherefore should he haue land,
> Houses, and lordships?1.

He is envious of the rich citizen Deliro's wife, Fallace, since it seems to him that he deserves such a beautiful creature better than Deliro:

> ... blind Fortune still
> Bestowes his gifts on such as cannot vse them:
> How long shall I liue, ere I be so happy
> To haue a wife of this exceeding forme?2.

The attitude which Jonson analyses here is very near to that which motivates an elegy like "A Tale of a Citizen and his Wife". Macilente goes to some trouble in order to make Deliro believe that Fallace has committed adultery, and Mitis, the Jonsonian chorus-figure, commenting on this, wonders at such "enuie ... that labours so seriously to set a debate betwixt a man and his wife".[3.]

Another Ovidian who is disapproved of in Jonson is Angelo in The Case is Altered, who believes that "louers periuries are ridiculous",[4.] and declares:

> He is an asse that will keepe promise stricktly
> In any thing that checkes his priuate pleasure[5.].

Volpone's song, which takes its first eight lines from Catullus, develops in the direction of elegiac love:

> Why should we deferre our ioyes?
> Fame, and rumour are but toies.
> Cannot we delude the eyes
> Of a few poore houshold-spies?
> Or his easier eares beguile,
> Thus remooued, by our wile?
> 'Tis no sinne, loues fruits to steale;

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1. Jonson, Works, ed. C.H. Herford and P. & E. Simpson, 11 Vols., 1925-52, iii.444-5.

2. ibid., iii.485.

3. ibid., iii.535.

4. ibid., iii.140 (line 18): cf. Ars, i.633 and Tibullus, III.vi.49.

5. ibid., iii.140: cf. Ars, i.631 f.

> But the sweet thefts to reueale:
> To be taken, to be seene,
> These haue crimes accounted beene.[1]

The concluding idea is that of Amores, III.xiv: Fletcher and Massinger in The Lover's Progress, borrow it from Ovid by way of Jonson:

> CLAR.: But I have sworne unto my Lady never
> To sinne again.
>
> LEON.: To be surpriz'd - the sinne
> Is in it selfe excusable; to be taken
> Is a crime, as the Poet writes[2].

It makes Volpone all the more odious a character that he should use the arguments of an elegiac lover, when his wealth, his age and his established position in bourgeois society make him clearly something very different.

The most extensive borrowing from Ovid's erotic works in Jonson's drama, however, is that partly indicated by Dryden when he says of Truewit in Epicoene:

> ... it appears that this one character of Wit was more difficult to the Author than all the images of Humour in the Play: For those he could describe and manage from his observation of Men; this he has taken, at least a part of it, from Books: witness the Speeches in the First Act, translated verbatim out of Ovid de Arte Amandi[3].

In the first act Truewit is indebted to the Ars (iii.135-40, 217-8, 225-34, 243-6) for twenty-nine lines of his speech in favour of cosmetics[4], though the translation is by no means "verbatim". Jonson characteristically brings what he borrows up to date by contemporary local references like:

> How long did the canuas hang afore Ald-gate? were the people suffer'd to see the cities Loue, and Charitie, while they were rude stone, before they were painted and burnish'd?

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1. Jonson, Works, ed. C.H. Herford and P. & E. Simpson, 11 Vols., 1925-52, v.82.

2. ibid., ix.719.

3. An Evening's Love, 1671, sig. B2r.

4. Jonson, Works, ed. C.H. Herford and P. & E. Simpson, 11 Vols., 1925-52, v.167-8 (lines 103-132).

It is typical of Ovid's duality that he may well have supplied, also, the idea for the argument against which Truewit makes out his case, - the "Still to be neat, still to be drest ..." of Clerimont.[1] A much longer passage of borrowings from the Ars than that in the first act is that in the fourth, where Truewit distills into his speeches (Act IV, Scene i, lines 35-145) the essence of Ars, i. 42-4, 49-50, 89-92, 97-9, 351-3, 383-6, 389-90, 443-4, 449-52, 477-86, 623-4, 663-6, 673-8, 755-6, 763-70; ii.251-4, 261-6, 677-8; iii.261-80, 287-90, 299-304.[2] He ends with a pastiche of Amores, II.iv. The ideas of the "Collegiate Ladies" in the same play about the "pluralitie of seruants" they should allow themselves, are also taken from the Ars:[3] again, the material is modernized:

> ... Is the Thames the lesse for the dyers water? ...

Morose's concept of matrimony: "Strife and tumult are the dowrie that comes with a wife",[4] is Ovid's (Ars, ii.155), and became, later, Herrick's:

> Suspicion, Discontent, and Strife,
> Come in for Dowrie with a Wife.[5]

In Catiline, acted in 1611, Galla, dispraising Sempronia to flatter Fulvia, takes her criticism from the Remedia,[6] and when Curius, in the same play, sneeringly describes Fulvia's methods of stimulating his interest in her, he makes it clear that she has been modelling her behaviour very closely on the Ars, iii.601-8:

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1. Cf. Amores, I.vii.12; xiv.19; Ars, iii.153-8, 235-6, 432: see note 1, p. 23, above.

2. Jonson, Works, ed. C.H. Herford and P. & E. Simpson, 11 Vols., 1925-52, v.219-222.

3. ibid., v.228 (lines 30-45): cf. Ars, iii.59-70, 93-8.

4. ibid., v.230.

5. Poetical Works, ed. L.C. Martin, 1956, p. 49.

6. Jonson, Works, ed. C.H. Herford and P. & E. Simpson, 11 Vols., 1925-52, v.456 (lines 73-5): cf. Remedia, 343-4.

CUR: Yes, when you'ld faine
Your husbands iealousie, your seruants watches,
Speake softly, and runne often to the dore,
Or to the windowe, forme strange feares that were not:
As if the pleasure were less acceptable,
That were secure. FUL: You are an impudent fellow.

CUR: And, when you might better haue done it, at the gate,
To take me in at the casement. FUL: I take you in?

CUR: Yes, you my lady. And, then, being a-bed with you,
To haue your well taught wayter, here, come running,
And cry, her lord, and hide me without cause,
Crush'd in a chest, or thrust vp in a chimney.[1.]

In the induction to Bartholomew Fair we see Jonson attempting to gain the approval of an important section of his audience from the outset: the Stage-keeper asks:

> ... would not a fine Pumpe vpon the Stage ha'done well, for a property now? and a Punque set vnder vpon her head, with her Sterne vpward, and ha' beene sous'd by my wity young masters o' the Innes o' Court?[2.]

Quarlous and Win-Wife, the two young gallants who are heroes of that play are both Inns of Court men,[3.] as is Manly, one of the heroes of The Devil is an Ass, acted at Blackfriars in 1616. Jonson dedicated Every Man Out of his Humour to "The Noblest Nourceries of Humanity, and Liberty, in the Kingdome: The Innes of Court", affirming that "when I wrote this Poeme, I had friendship with diuers in your societies".[4.]

The younger Loveless in Beaumont and Fletcher's Scornful Lady gives voice to the economic concerns of the elegists when he attempts to persuade a rich widow not to marry the usurer Morecraft. The argument proceeds along the usual lines of the contemptibility of worldly possessions, the

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1. Jonson, Works, ed. C.H. Herford and P. & E. Simpson, 11 Vols., 1925-52, v.463.
2. ibid., vi.14.
3. ibid., vi.80 (III.v.280)
4. ibid., iii.421.

tender youth of the girl, and the decrepitude of her intended husband:

> ... you are young
> Unapt for worldly business, is it fit
> One of such tenderness, so delicate,
> So contrary to things of care, should stir,
> And break her better meditations,
> In the bare brokage of a brace of angels?
> Or a new kirtle, though it be of satin? ...
> There's nothing in that hide-bound usurer,
> That man of mat, that all-decay'd, but aches,
> For you to love, unless his perish'd lungs
> His dry cough, or his scurvy ...[1].

The connection between love and money is emphasized in the same play by the elder Loveless, who rejoices that he is heartwhole, on the grounds that he need spend no more on "scarfs and waistcoats" or "mercers' sheep-skins", and can therefore afford once again to "eat mutton" and visit the two-shilling ordinary and "see a play for eighteen-pence"[2]. Angelina in Fletcher and Massinger's Elder Brother represents the elegiac mercenary-mistress figure, with her insistence that youth, valour, scholarship and courtly behaviour are all "gaudy nothings" if not allied to "a full estate"[3], and in Wit Without Money Lady Heartwell is of a similar opinion, dissuading her sister from love for a scholar on the grounds that all such a man can supply is "virtue" and "so much penny-rent in the small poets", and these are no substitute for "a full inheritance": "What jointure can he make you? Plutarch's Morals?"[4], she demands pertinently.

> These smock-vermin,
> How eagerly they leap at old men's kisses![5]
> They lick their lips at profit, not at pleasure

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1. Beaumont and Fletcher, Works, ed. A. Glover and A.R. Waller, 10 Vols., 1905-12, i.268.
2. ibid., i.277.
3. ibid., ii.4.
4. ibid., ii.169.
5. ibid., ii.23.

- is how Andrew in The Elder Brother sums such women up, and it is the elegist's conclusion also. Cassilane in The Laws of Candy, probably mostly by Massinger, laments that money "is now a god on earth", and that it "bribes justice, cut-throats honour" and "cracks virginities".[1] Dinant, in a similar vein, denounces Vertaigne in The Little French Lawyer because "to save a little gold" he has "sold" his daughter "to worse than slavery".[2] In fact Vertaigne has married her to Champernel, an old soldier. Dinant's onslaught upon the daughter, Lamira, for accepting wealth bought by force is reminiscent of Ovid's upbraidings in Amores, III.viii.11-24:

> You'll come indeed
> To houses bravely furnished, but demanding
> Where it was bought, this soldier will not lie,
> But answer truly "This rich cloth of Arras
> I made my prize in such a ship; this plate
> Was my share in another; these fair jewels,
> Coming ashore, I got in such a village,
> The maid or matron kill'd, from whom they were ravish'd;
> The wines you drink are guilty too; for this,
> This Candy wine, three merchants were undone,
> These suckets brake as many more". In brief
> All you shall wear, or touch, or see, is purchas'd
> By lawless force, and you but revel in
> The tears and groans of such as were the owners.[3]

Beaumont, in The Maid's Tragedy, employs the elegiac love-war parallel in a way reminiscent of Donne's "Going to Bed":

> Madam, shall we undress you for this fight?
> The wars are nak'd that you must make to-night.[4]

- and Fletcher in The False One puts similar imagery into the mouth of Scaeva who complains that Caesar, captivated by Cleopatra:

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1. Beaumont and Fletcher, Works, ed. A. Glover and A.R. Waller, 10 Vols., 1905-12, iii.283.
2. ibid., iii.379.
3. ibid., iii.380.
4. ibid., i.14.

Studies her fortifications and her breaches,
And how he may advance his ram to batter
The bulwark of her chastity.1.

Nautical imagery is applied to similar matters by Fletcher in The Chances[2.] and The Loyal Subject:

They are my sisters, sir; good lusty lasses;
They'll do their labour well, I warrant ye ...
What would ye give now
To turn the globe up, and find the rich Moluccas?
To pass the straits? ...3.

Hylas in Fletcher's Monsieur Thomas is a "perfect Ovidian" of the Nymphadoro type. He can love any woman, of any "degree or calling" and "of any age from fourscore to fourteen". "Fifteen or fifteen score" at once is nothing to him. He affects the aged, because "age brings experience and knowledge to dispatch"; "forty, and somewhat fulsome, is a fine dish" in his opinion, but as soon as a young girl enters he is enraptured, - "How like a swan she swims her pace, and bears her silver breasts!". He could love a woman with no nose, because she would be a memento mori to him; a woman with one leg, for she would remind him "Like hypocrites, we halt before the gallows"; a woman with one tooth, for she would seem to say "Sweet meats have sour sauce", - and so on.[4.] The Sullen Shepherd in Fletcher's Faithfull Shepherdess is a slightly more conventional "indifferent" lover:

All to me in sight
Are equal; be they fair, or black, or brown,
Virgin, or careless wanton, I can crown
My appetite with any ...5.

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1. Beaumont and Fletcher, Works, ed. A. Glover and A.R. Waller, 10 Vols., 1905-12, iii.332.
2. ibid., iv.197.
3. ibid., iii.126.
4. ibid., iv.95,96, 98, 114, 150-2.
5. ibid., ii.393.

A plain-spoken villain, the Sullen Shepherd admits that he aims only "to gain the jewel maidens so highly praise", and that then he will "loathe and fly". Cleremont in The Little French Lawyer is something of an Ovidian, also. He esteems marriage only as "a fair protection to play the wanton without loss of honour", and tells Annabell that, if she had granted him her love, he would have employed:

> ... the best of all our poets
> To have sung so much, and so well, in the honour
> Of that night's joy, that Ovid's Afternoon
> Nor his Corinna, should again be mentioned.[1.]

Cacafogo in Rule a Wife and Have a Wife is only a mock-Ovidian: though he promises, when drunk to:

> Talk ye as wantonly as Ovid did
> To stir the intellectuals of the ladies,

- he has to admit that his knowledge is gleaned only from his "father's amorous scrivener".[2.] More genuine is Duarte in The Custom of the Country who boasts:

> I could teach Ovid courtship, how to win
> A Julia, and enjoy her, though her dower
> Were all the sun gives light to ...[3.]

An "indifferent" lover, he declares "I fly at all", but is soon cured by the procession of "gentlewomen" and "young city dames" who flock to him as customers when he is in the bawd Sulpitia's employment.

Novall junior, in Massinger's Fatal Dowry is an outspoken Ovidian: he scorns "wedlock" as he does "padlock" or "horselock", and tells Aymer that "like a free wanton jennet in the meadows" he is determined to "feed in my neighbour's pastures" and "pick my choice of all their fair-maned mares".

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1. Beaumont and Fletcher, Works, ed. A. Glover and A.R. Waller, 10 Vols., 1905-12, iii.439.

2. ibid., iii.199-200.

3. ibid., i.321.

It is Aymer who sings to Novall and Beaumelle, Charalois' wife, as they make love, the song "Poor citizen, if thou wilt be ...", popular in manuscript commonplace books, which advises citizens to improve their trade by hiring out their wives to courtiers, and, this done, to "have no eye nor an ear" to anything that may happen, but:

> ... after supper, for her sake
> When thou hast fed, snort, though thou wake ...[1.]

- we remember the cuckold in "Jealosie" who:

> ... swolne, and pamper'd with great fare
> Sits downe, and snorts, cag'd in his basket chaire.

Another Ovidian in Massinger is Durazzo in The Guardian: he makes this part of his character clear in the first scene, remarking of his nephew Caldoro's courtship that:

> He has made the maid his;
> And, as the master of the Art of Love
> Wisely affirms, it is a kind of passage
> To the mistress' favour.[2.]

He mocks such names as "virgin honour, altars or lawful flames", considering them "superstitious nothings" when compared with "the old dance between a pair of sheets". His long speech offering to cure Caldoro of love is full of borrowings from the Remedia: like Ovid he prescribes country life, and elaborates upon the delights of hunting and hawking. Caldoro may take new loves from among his "tenants' nut-brown daughters", to make him forget the old, - "every night a fresh and lusty one". When, in the fourth act, Calista threatens Caldoro, "I'll cry rape, if thou unhand me not!", Durazzo, like Ovid in the wings, urges him on: "To her again, you milk-sop! violent storms are soon blown over".[3.] Olympia,

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1. Massinger, Plays, ed. F. Cunningham, 1868, pp. 374, 377.
2. ibid., p. 460.
3. ibid., pp. 461-2, 480.

the rich widow in The Bondman, admits that though women may commend "a gentleman's manners, modesty, and fine language" and "take presents from him", the truth is they "care not for his company" if he does not "bid for the stock that we were born to traffic with".[1] In The Great Duke of Florence Giovanni extols Lidia's beauty by protesting that "fluent Ovid, if he lived again, would want words to express" it,[2] and in The Bashful Lover Lorenzo admits that Matilda would "strike Ovid dumb" with admiration and "force him to forget his faculty in verse, and celebrate her praise in prose".[3] Judging from Pulcheria's description, in The Emperor of the East, of the activities of the Minion of the Suburbs as a praeceptor amoris, he, also, may be added to the list of Massinger's Ovidians:

> ... your art
> Can blind a jealous husband, and, disguised
> Like a milliner or shoemaker, convey
> A letter in a pantofle or glove
> Without suspicion, nay, at his table,
> In a case of picktooths; you instruct them how
> To parley with their eyes, and make the temple
> A mart of looseness ...[4]

Shirley's Cosmo in The Traitor uses familiar "variety" arguments in his attempt to persuade Oriana to inconstancy:

> Let us examine all the creatures, read
> The book of nature through, and we shall find
> Nothing doth still the same; the stars do wander,
> And have their divers influence, the elements
> Shuffle into innumerable changes:
> Our constitutions vary; herbs and trees
> Admit their frosts and summer, and why then
> Should our desires, that are so nimble, and
> More subtle than the spirits in our blood,
> Be such stay'd things within us, and not share
> Their natural liberty? Shall we admit a change
> In smaller things, and not allow it in
> What most of all concerns us?[5]

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1. Massinger, Plays, ed. F. Cunningham, 1868, p. 101.
2. ibid., p. 238.
3. ibid., p. 547.
4. ibid., p. 326.
5. Shirley, Dramatic Works and Poems, ed. A. Dyce, 6 Vols., 1833, ii.125.

Cornelio in Love Tricks builds up the customary picture of physical decay and shortage of "nuptial sweets" in order to dissuade Selina from marrying the aged Randolfo, sometimes described as "an old usurer" and sometimes as "an old merchant": for the elegist the distinction was hardly worth making. Cornelio urges that Randolfo's "gold" will not be sufficient recompense for bedding with his "ice and snow", for being "deaf'd with coughing", and for embracing his body which is "like dust falling all into pieces". Shirley tosses in a piece of social comment by making Selina claim "good precedent" for such a marriage. Many "fine, young, noble ladies in this fairy isle", she insists, "have match'd with reverend age".[1.] As Marston's Nymphadoro is a dramatization of Amores, II.iv, so Gerard in Shirley's Love in a Maze is a dramatization of Amores, II.x: in love with both Chrysolina and Aurelia, he is unable to choose between them.[2.] Colonel Winfield in The Ball, requested by Lucina to swear that he has been chaste in his past life, promises to comply, provided that the book upon which he makes his oath is "Venus and Adonis, or Ovid's wanton Elegies".[3.] In Love's Cruelty Clarinda, the adulterous wife, dallying with her lover, Hippolito, counters his rather poor attempt at conversation with a flood of Ovidian lore:

> HIPP.: What pity 'tis these pleasures are not lawful.
>
> CLAR.: Lawful! That would take much from the delight
> And value ...
>
> ... 'Tis no glory to take a town without some hazard; that victory is sweetest, that is got in the face of danger .... Was there ever anything worth the enjoying that came easily, and without trouble to us? What makes a maidenhead the richer purchase, think you? But I am married and my husband is your friend.[4.]

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1. Shirley, Dramatic Works and Poems, ed. A. Dyce, 6 Vols., 1833, i. 27-8.
2. ibid., ii.289.
3. ibid., iii.72.
4. ibid., ii.238.

In Suckling's Blackfriars play Aglaura Orsammes, "a young lord anti-Platonic", scoffs at the new fashion of Platonic love at the court, and pretends that the prince, his lord, is a lover of "variety" like himself:

> ... Then will he have black eyes, for those of late
> He feeds on much, and for variety
> The grey.[1]

Thersamnes, coming to Aglaura's bedroom, switches somewhat abruptly from the terminology of "Loves Warre" to that of "Going to Bed":

> THER:: Tell me by what approaches must I come
> To take in what remains of my felicity?
>
> AG.: Needs there any new ones, where the breach
> Is made already? You are enter'd here,
> Long since, sir, here, and I have giv'n up all.
>
> THER.: All but the fort, and in such wars as these
> Till that be yielded up, there is no peace
> Nor triumph to be made -
> Come,
> Undo, undo; and from these envious clouds [2]
> Slide quickly into love's proper sphere, thy bed.

Suckling's ghastly queen Orbella, in love with her brother-in-law Ariaspes, clearly borrows her reasoning from that speech of Myrrha's which was the ultimate source of so many naturalistic arguments in the early seventeenth century:

> Yea - but my husband's brother:
> And what of that? do harmless birds or beasts
> Ask leave of curious heraldry at all?
> Does not the womb of one fair spring
> Bring unto the earth many sweet rivers,
> That wantonly do one another chase,
> And in one bed kiss, mingle, and embrace?
> Man (Nature's heir) is not by her will tied
> To shun all creatures are allied unto him ...[3]

In William Cartwright's extremely popular neo-Platonic drama The Royal Slave, acted before the King at Oxford in 1636, one of the anti-Platonics, Philotas, a lustful Ephesian captive who

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1. Works, ed. A.H. Thompson, 1910, p. 93.
2. ibid., p. 94.
3. ibid., pp. 101-2.

has been temporarily freed, strikes a conventional elegiac attitude when courting one of the maids of honour, Ariene:

> I perceive you are well skill'd
> In the whole course of Love, you but keepe off
> To make delights more sweet ...
> ... How I love
> This pretty, pettish, froward, wanton anger!
> Give me a Pleasure that I struggle for.
> That Favour's genuinely sweet, that's wrested.[1.]

As Jonson had put Ovid on the stage in his Poetaster, so does Cockayne in The Tragedy of Ovid. Here Ovid is old and sobered, in exile. He is spoken of as "a most accomplished Gentleman", and we are reminded that he is:

> descended of
> The Ancient Family of the Nasones;
> Who had preserv'd the Dignity of Roman
> Knights, from the first Original of that Order[2.]

This Ovid, in fact, is a cavalier. Throughout the play he denies that he had a love affair with Julia:

> ... if I ere enjoy'd her, it was through
> Her craft, I taking her to be another.[3.]

But everyone else believes that "the Princess Julia" was "Ovid's fam'd Corinna", and that:

> ... were not Ovid timerous he'd confess
> He Julia veil'd under Corinna's name.[4.]

Cypassis, the maidservant of the Amores is here, too, sharing Ovid's exile. She is now old, and a bawd, and like all elegiac bawds she has mercenary tendencies. These have been inherited by her daughter, Spinella, and are shown to advantage in the second scene of the play, where the two women threaten the lover, Dacus, with a cessation of Spinella's favours if he is not more open handed. As Spinella puts it:

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1. Plays and Poems, ed. G.B. Evans, Madison, 1951, p. 216.
2. The Tragedy of Ovid, 1669, p. 137.
3. ibid., p. 87.
4. ibid., p. 29.

> Do you think we venture reputation for nothing but oathes, flattering words, and a little foolish pleasure?[1].

The same daughter's speech on the subject of marriage is so close in its attitudes to those women like Beaumont's Evadne in The Maid's Tragedy, or his Lady in The Scornful Lady, or Fletcher's Angelina in The Elder Brother, or Massinger's Domitia in The Roman Actor, or his Lady Frugal, Mary and Anne in The City Madam, or Marston, Jonson and Chapman's Gertrude in Eastward Hoe, or Middleton's Bianca in Women Beware Women or his Lady Cressingham in Anything for a Quiet Life, that one is tempted to conclude that the important Jacobean and Caroline dramatic figure of the self-seeking, social climbing woman was, for her creators, a part of the Ovidian elegiac world in a more immediate way than one would have otherwise suspected. Spinella, nurtured by Ovid's Cypassis, is of the opinion that:

> Old women, that love melancholy Lives
> Are the fit'st Creatures to make slavish Wives ...
> The tugging at an Oare in any Galley
> Is as much Liberty as your Matrimony ...
> I love a Gaudy Chariot, and fine Horses,
> Servants of all sorts, in rich Liveries,
> Delicious Meats, and Wines, costly Apparel,
> And Jewels of the highest value. I must
> Out-glitter all the Femals of the Province,
> Or I shall want my will ...[2].

The very highly developed dramatic element in the English elegy may, then, be partially explained by the fact that the themes, opinions and assumptions of the conventional love elegy appear on the Jacobean and Caroline private stage with greater frequency than has been generally realised. The private playhouse audience was, of course, only a tiny minority of the theatre-going public. In so far as its

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1. The Tragedy of Ovid, 1669, p. 10.
2. ibid., pp. 77-9.

members can be placed in any familiar structure of society they were, as Harbage remarks, "the precariously well-to-do": many of them were from the Inns of Court, and from the lodging houses along Fleet Street and the Strand, or in Westminster. Both in elegy and in drama they chose often to escape into a simplified world of, as the author of A Refutation of the Apology for Actors puts it, "couetous citizens ... Lecherous old men, Amarous young men, Wanton maides, ... Vnhonest wiues".[1][2]

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1. Shakespeare and The Rival Traditions, New York, 1952, p. 56.
2. Op. cit., 1615, sig. Hlv.

CHAPTER XIII

The Inns of Court and London Society

The elegiac movement began, as we have seen, and was to a large extent continued in the Inns of Court. Is it possible that the characteristic attitudes and gestures of the elegy can have recommended themselves to the Inns of Court men because they approximated to their actual social attitudes, because they afforded classical precedent for giving voice to grudges and anxieties which these men really felt when they looked about them in London society?

Geographically, as well as idealistically, the Inns of Court were between and separated from the Court and the City. If we look at one of the contemporary bird's-eye maps, this is at once apparent. To the East of the Inns are the tightly packed houses and quays and wharves of the City, with the towers of Old S. Paul's, and of City churches like S. Mary Overy and S. Thomas the Apostle, and the inlets of Billingsgate and Queenhithe. To the West are the great houses of the Strand, - Essex House, Arundel House, Somerset House, the Savoy, Cecil House, and so on: further west is the Abbey, Westminster Hall, the tall chapel of Whitehall and, finally the jumble of courts and gardens making Whitehall itself. Sylvester, breaking London up into its components, points out:

> Here's the King's Palace, there the Innes of Court:
> Here (to the Thames-ward, all a-long the Strand)
> The stately houses of the Nobles stand:
> Here dwell rich Merchants, there Artificers;
> Here Silk-men, Mercers, Gold-smiths, Jewellers.[1.]

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1. Complete Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 2 Vols., 1880, i.151.

Born between these two immensely powerful entities, Court and City, the elegiac movement of the fifteen nineties was characterized by arrogance and by a resolve to appear realistic, - to have done with adoration and pretty fictions. The sonnet and the epyllion quickly went out of fashion, though there was some attempt, as we have seen, to adapt these forms to the new taste. The foolish Gullio in The First Part of The Return from Parnassus[1.] is presented as a great admirer of "sweete Mr. Shakespeare" and sleeps with a copy of Venus and Adonis under his pillow. Sir John Have-Little in Sharpham's Fleire[2.] and the gull Matheo in Every Man in His Humour[3.] are both shown courting their mistresses with verses taken directly from Hero and Leander. Matheo uses Daniel's Delia as well.[4.] Within the first decade of the new century the epyllion has become so out of fashion with the wits that Middleton's Mistress Harebrain, a woman of the citizen class, reads Hero and Leander and Venus and Adonis.[5.] The fashion was apparently already changing by 1598, when Marston, having composed The Metamorphosis of Pigmalions Image, seems to have decided to present it as a satire of the class of poem to which it belongs. Perhaps lines like:

> ... "Oh Ovid!" would he cry,
> "Did e'en Corinna show such ivory
> When she appeared in Venus livery!"[6.]

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1. The Three Parnassus Plays, ed. J.B. Leishman, 1949, p. 192.
2. The Fleire, 1610, sig. B3v.
3. Jonson, Works, ed. C.H. Herford and P. & E. Simpson, 11 Vols., 1925-52, iii.249.
4. ibid., iii.284 (cf. iii.400, - a good indication of the fall from fashion of the sonnet between 1601 and 1616).
5. Middleton, Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 8 Vols., 1885, iii.264.
6. Marston, Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 3 Vols., 1887, iii.253-4.

were also an attempt to bring the poem up-to-date by associating it with the Amores. Guilpin, clearly a new movement man, and a member of Gray's Inn, jeers at the "oyle-buttered lines" of the epyllion in his Skialethia.[1]

The Inns of Court men turned, then, from the Metamorphoses to the Amores and the Ars; from the lush and remote to the sharp and immediate. Comment follows quickly upon the change of taste. Amoretto, the Inns of Court man in the Pilgrimage to Parnassus, produced at Cambridge in 1598 or 9, enters reading the Ars, from which he misquotes:

> Oscula qui sumpsit, qui non et caetera sumpsit
> Oscula quae sumpsit, perdere dignus erat.
> Who takes a kisse and leaves to do the rest
> Doth take the worst and doth neglect the best[2].

He goes on to condemn himself as an "honest animal" for parting from his Corinna with no more than a kiss, and to announce that he will "commend her dainty quivering thigh" and "sing of her foot" in his verse. In the Second Part of the Return, produced two years later, he still claims to "honour every page" of Ovid, and quotes from the Amores the famous Militat omnis amans et habet sua castra Cupido.[3] The book upon which the Knights of the Quiver take their oaths, in Rudyerd's account of the 1599 Middle Temple revels, is "Ouid de Arte amandi",[4] and Randolph, in his "Complaint against Cupid", protests that he could not only write a better art of love than Ovid's, but that:

> Besides, each day I'le write an Elegy
> And in as lamentable Poetry
> As any Inns of Court man, that hath gone
> To buy an Ovid with a Littleton.[5]

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1. Guilpin, Skialethia, 1598, sigs. B8r., C1r.
2. The Three Parnassus Plays, ed. J.B. Leishman, 1949, p. 116.
3. ibid., p. 282.
4. Le Prince d'Amour, 1660, p. 42.
5. Poems, ed. G. Thorn-Drury, 1929, p. 39.

What was so attractive about the Amores, to the Inns of Court gentlemen at the turn of the century?

The characteristic of the Inns of Court man most frequently mentioned by contemporary writers, the standing joke about him, was his impecuniosity. When Spark, in The Fleire, having spent a day in Hell, describes the inmates, it appears that all of them have been damned for doing something out-of-character: among them, he says, "there was an Inns-of-Court man damned ... for hauing alwaies money in his purse".[1] The Innes of Court Man in the 1615 impression of the Overburian characters is described as offering two quarts of wine for every one he gives, and as being never melancholy except when he wants a new suit or fears a sergeant.[2] That sergeants, who arrested for debt, were the traditional foes of Inns of Court men is indicated, also, by Brains in Shirley's Witty Fair One: "May inns o'court gentlemen, at next trimming, shave your ears and noses off, and then duck you in their own boggards", he curses, when arrested himself.[3] This does not necessarily mean, of course, that the majority of the Inns of Court men were from families which were in financial straits, though a good proportion of them, certainly, were from that class of small-landedgentry which, as Professor Trevor-Roper has indicated, were economically on the down-grade during the price revolution of 1540-1640, because their income from land was fixed and their standards of consumption inflexible.[4] But the gentlemen of the Inns, irrespective of family,

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1. The Fleire, 1610, sig. H2r.

2. Overbury, Miscellaneous Works, ed. E.F. Rimbault, 1856, p. 104.

3. Shirley, Dramatic Works, ed. A. Dyce, 6 Vols., 1833, i.345.

4. A useful summary of the involved controversy about early seventeenth century class structure is that of J.H. Hexter, "Storm over the Gentry: The Tawney-Trevor Roper Controversy", Encounter, May 1958.

were students, living upon allowances which were inevitably insufficient for the degree of expenditure which their attempts to live a fashionable social life in the metropolis involved. They were therefore an easy prey to unscrupulous moneylenders, who took no notice of the Statutes which had fixed the maximum rate of interest at 10% in 1571 and at 8% in 1624: Peter Chamberlen describes how "young Inns of Court gentlemen take up satins and other vanities for themselves and their mistresses at 30, 40, 50 per cent"[1]: by "take up" here he refers to the practice of taking up on commodity, so often referred to in Jacobean drama, which made the loan even more disastrously unprofitable to the borrower. It was all the more galling for these men to be poor when they saw around them all the external signs of great prosperity. London was booming, and though it represented only one tenth of the population, it had about eight tenths of the foreign trade of England.[2] Standards in the metropolis, as a result, became increasingly materialistic, and the young man fresh from the University, where learning was respected for its own sake, would discover, as the author of The Worth of a Penny, 1647, puts it, that:

> Whosoever wanteth money is ever subject to contempt and scorn ... let him be furnished with never so good gifts, either of mind or body ... In these times we may say with the wise man: My son, better it is to die than to be poor, for now money is the world's god.[3]

In such a context the constant economic preoccupation of the Inns of Court elegy becomes more easily understandable. Contemporaries were quick to notice it. Nicholas Oldisworth,

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1. The Poor Man's Advocate, 1649, p. 17.
2. See E. Lipson, An Economic History of England, 2 Vols., Third edn., 1943, ii.249-50.
3. Op. cit., p. 15.

nephew of Sir Thomas Overbury, writing an elegy which he entitles "For an Innes of Courts man To his Mistris"[1], makes economic protest the chief point of his poem. Bodleian MS. Don. C.24, into which he copied it, is dated 1644; but the verses contained in it were "written long since", when he was an undergraduate at "Christchurch in Oxford", he declares, and may therefore be dated 1631-4. Even when they were ostensibly taking a high moral line against fornication, it is amusing to see how the Inns of Court satirists keep an eye upon the purse-strings as well. Wither, who entered Lincoln's Inn in 1615, and was previously at one of the Inns of Chancery, notices in his satire "Of Lust" how some "to procure their beastly wills":

> spend their stocks
> In Ruffes, Gownes, Kirtles, Pety-coates and Smockes.

and, as a result, are "quitted" for their "well-spent stuffe":

> By some grim Seriaunt with a Counter-buffe.[2]

Parkes, "Gentleman and sometimes Student in Barnards Inne", in his Curtaine-Drawer of the World, a work which borrows much of its moralizing from King Lear, represents his typical woman as one who promises to be "sole and private" to her paramour:

> On this condition, that thou do provide
> Me coach and horses when I please to ride,
> That for my backe I have my choyce of gownes,
> And daily furnish forth my purse with Crownes
> That costly dyet, and the choycest fare
> Attend my pleasure wheresoere you are,
> That waters, odours, sweet perfumes, attire,
> And everything my fancy doth desire,
> That you allow me oyles to lay it on,
> And oyle, and oyles againe when they are gone.
> That you repine not whatsoere I craue, [3]
> But still reply with kindnesse: "Thou shalt haue"...

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1. See Appendix B, Poem IX, below. Cf. Ars, i.431-2.

2. Wither, Juvenilia, Spenser Society, 1871, p. 67 (Abuses Stript and Whipt, Satire 2).

3. Parkes, The Curtaine-Drawer, 1612, pp. 22-3.

It is also evident from frequent references that the poverty of the Inns of Court man was a serious obstacle to the satisfaction of his amorous impulses, even at their most basic level. Nashe tells how the typical impoverished young gallant:

> ... if hee haue playde the waste-good at the Innes of Court or about London, and that neither his students pension nor his vnthrifts credite, will serue to maintaine his Collidge of whores any longer, falles in a quarrelling humor with his fortune, because she made him not King of the Indies[1].

Mistress Correction, the bawd, in Cupids Whirligig, describing visitors to her establishment says that she has "Pentioners, and Gentlemen Vshers, Knights, Captaines and Commaunders", but no "Mutton eating Innes-a-court men"[2], and Mary Fough, a lady of the same profession in Marston's Dutch Courtezan, boasts that her customers are not "two shilling innes-a-court men" but citizens, - "honest flat-caps, wealthy flat-caps that pay for their pleasure the best of any men in Europe"[3]. It may be gathered, too, from the works of a popular pamphleteer like Samuel Rowlands that the young and inexperienced gentleman from the University or the country often made a rather less glorious entrance into the low life of London, even when he could afford to indulge in it, than one might be led to believe by a poem like The Choise of Valentines. In Rowlands' Greenes Ghost Haunting Conie Catchers, 1602, he has a "Tale of a Whore that crosbit a Gentleman of the Innes of Court", where he relates how a prostitute takes a "young puny of the Inns of Court" to her house, and arranges for a "crew of her copesmates" to batter on the door at midnight,

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1. Works, ed. R.B. McKerrow, 5 Vols., 1958, i.170.
2. Sharpham, Cupids Whirligig, 1607, sig. C4v.
3. Plays, ed. H. Harvey Wood, 3 Vols., 1934-9, ii.88.

whereupon she rouses him and tells him that a Justice is at the door with a company of soldiers, searching for a seminary priest, and that he must hide himself, or they will both be "caried to Bridewell". She locks the "poore silly youth" in a privy, while her accomplices enter the house, make a noisy search, and leave it, taking his clothes, rapier, and money while "Nicholas Novice" stands "quaking in that doghole". In the morning she tells him the house is still surrounded, and takes a ring worth thirty shillings only to help him out at the back door, wrapped in a blanket "like an Irish beggar". So he departs "vowing never to pay so deere for one nights lodging during his life".[1.]

It is apparent from the account of the 1599 Middle Temple revels that the gentlemen of the Inns regarded wealth, especially hereditary wealth, in one of their own number as an unfair advantage in the pursuit of love. Any man who seeks to "win Favor with the seeds of his Purse", it is decreed, "shall be imprisoned in the Island of Ideocy, and censured by the Bishop of Saint Asses".[2.] The conventional elegiac protest about the power of money in love, and the animus against parents and family, would both appeal to a class of youhg men deeply conscious of and opposed to the materialistic management of marriage matters by the citizenry. Parents who force their children into profitable marriages, like Gonzago in Marston's Fawne and Mistress Glister in Middleton's Family of Love,[3.] are frequent objects of satire and invective. As Weber points out, amongst the Puritan

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1. Rowlands, Greenes ghost haunting Conicatchers, 1602, sig. D1v.
2. Le Prince d'Amour, 1660, p. 61.
3. For comment upon marriages forced for financial reasons see: Barnaby Rich, Faults, Faults, and Nothing Else but Faults, 1606, p. 26; Becon, Works, ed. J. Ayre, 3 Vols., 1844, ii.372; Dekker, Non-Dramatic Works, ed. A.B. Grosart, 5 Vols., 1884-6, ii.70; Niccholes, A Discourse of Marriage and Wiving, 1615, p. 7.

classes "a marriage entered into for purely economic reasons" was "preferred (because after all it is inspired by rational motives) to one with erotic foundations".[1] The citizen-class attitude is well illustrated in a work like John Stockwood's A Bartholomew Fairing for Parentes ... shewing that Children are not to marie without the Consent of their Parentes, in whose power and choise it lieth to provide wives and husbandes for their sonnes and daughters, 1589, or Henry Smith's A Preparative to Marriage, which also commands children to obey their parents in marriage affairs, and which went through three editions in its year of publication, 1591. The Inns of Court attack is summed up in Wither's Fidelia, 1615, which objects to parents who "for a greedy end" marry "Hot youthful May to cold old January" and "basely tie the sweetest fair to foul deformity".[2] A considerable redistribution of wealth at the close of the sixteenth century added greatly to the flexibility of the class structure in a swiftly growing urban community like London, and it is clear that the young gentlemen of the Inns were finding that the daughters of families of their own standing were being married off to wealthy upstarts from what they had been brought up to look upon as the class below them. For such young men a poem like Amores, III.viii was the perfect classical model. The anonymous author of The Passionate Morrice, 1593, regrets that nowadays:

> ... men wil sooner match their daughters with my yong maister, a rich Coblers Sonne, though they be their heires, then with a Gentleman of a good house, being a younger Brother. Heerby comes the decay of ancient gentilitie, and this the making of vpstart houses.[3]

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1. The Protestant Ethic, tr. Talcott Parsons, 1930, p. 263.
2. Wither, Poetry, ed. F. Sidgwick, 2 Vols., 1902, i.122.
3. Op. cit., p. 98: quoted by L.B. Wright, Middle-Class Culture in Elizabethan England, 1935, p. 211.

- and Gainsford in The Rich Cabinet, 1616, reports that:

> Citizens in times past did not marry beyond their degrees, nor would a Gentleman make affinitie with a Burgesse: but wealth has taught us now another lesson; and the Gentleman is glad to make his younger sonne a tradesman, and match his best daughter with a rich Citizen for estate and living[1].

It is clearly with reference to the same social phenomenon that Wither complains that money can nowadays marry "the vntaught sonne of a rude Scavanger" to a "Lords daughter", and that if a "Rake-hell" has wealth:

> ... he that once scorn'd to see
> Himselfe attended by such groomes as he,
> Will yield this beast his onely child should wed,
> And force her peradventure to his bed.
> Where, spight of Vertue, this damn'd Ruffian shall,
> Vnworthily enioy a blisse, which all
> The most deseruing of the Land would wooe ...[2].

We should probably be right to read this in the context of the fall in fortune of Wither's own family, described in the epigram to his cousin William.[3]

One is tempted, then, to explain the popularity of certain characteristic attitudes of the elegiac tradition, - the complaints about being jilted in favour of a more wealthy rival, the antagonism towards parents, guardians and family connections, the references to the lady's husband as boorish or old or both, the nostalgia for a golden age when love and money were unconnected, - in terms of contemporary economic conditions.

Oblique attacks upon court figures in elegiac form like "If shaddowes be the pictures excellence ..." and "Shall I goe force an Elegie? ...", should be associated with the

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1. Op. cit., p. 27.

2. Wither, Juvenilia, Spenser Society, 1871, pp. 124-5 (Abuses Stript and Whipt, Satire 8).

3. ibid., p. 365.

rising class of court lawyers, court officials, court peers, royal favourites and even court merchants, who battened on the commercial privileges the court alone could bestow. The grievance against monopolies like that granted to Raleigh of tonnage and poundage for wines, or to Lord Danvers of fines and forfeitures over £2,800 p.a., or to the Duke of Lennox for supervising and sealing New Draperies, was intense and widespread. In the hands of corrupt courtiers the system of monopolies, used by James in a vain attempt to make crown income equal expenditure, became degraded into a system of plunder. The privateering, discovery and plantation companies, also, which paid tremendously high percentage returns for capital investment, were largely composed of courtiers and noblemen. The subscribers to Frobishers expeditions included Burghley, Howard, the Earls of Warwick, Leicester and Sussex, Walsingham, Philip Sidney, the Countess of Pembroke and Edward Dyer. Shakespeare's Earl of Southampton was treasurer of the Virginia Company, and one of the principal shareholders in the Somers Islands Company, which included the Countess of Bedford, the Earl of Pembroke, Sir Robert Mansfield, Lord Cavendish and Robert Rich, Earl of Warwick, later governor of the Company. The Inns of Court men clearly felt that Court preferment, so desirable in view of the rewards attached, was obtained for the wrong reasons:

> ... the due
> Which should by right vpon desert ensue,
> Like Offices in Court, is bought and sold:
> And places may be had, but how? for Gold.[1]

There was a far greater number of aspirants for administrative careers than there were places to fill, and the result was a class of over-educated, unemployed malcontents, as Bacon

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1. Wither, Juvenilia, Spenser Society, 1871, p. 204.

pointed out to the King in a letter of 1611.[1] Here, too, it must have seemed, as in marriage, the "hind" and the "boor" were successful: "new men" were going to the top, - clothiers, financiers, merchants, entrepreneurs, - like Sir Bevis Bulmer or Sir Lionel Cranfield, the mercer's apprentice who became Lord High Treasurer and Earl of Middlesex.

Another characteristic of the elegiac tradition, the element of sexual boasting, resulting in quasi-autobiographical descriptions of successful seductions and the like might perhaps be further explained by reference to certain social conditions in late sixteenth and early seventeenth century London. The London woman, it must be remembered, would be a novel and fascinating object to a young man fresh from the country or University. The young Milton, returning to London from Cambridge, cries in rapture:

> Tuque urbs Dardaniis Londinum structa colonis
> Turrigerum late conspicienda caput,
> Tu nimium felix intra tua moenia claudis
> Quicquid formosi pendulus orbis habet[2].

The London woman was perfumed - (we remember the "sweet perfumed kisses" of Corinna in Beaumont's "Charme"), she wore cosmetics, still regarded as immoral in the more conservative provinces, and she was immodest and alluring in her dress: there are numerous references in contemporary verse to the fashion for women to wear their breasts partly or wholly exposed.[3] As Laver has pointed out, the great impulse given to décolletage at the end of the sixteenth and beginning

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1. J. Spedding, Life of Bacon, 7 Vols., 1861-72, iv.252-3.

2. Elegeia Prima, lines 73-6 (Poetical Works, ed. H.C. Beeching, Second edn., 1938, p. 124).

3. e.g. Thomas Pestell, Poems, ed. H. Buchan, 1940, p. 13; Corbett, Poems, ed. J.A.W. Bennett and H.R. Trevor-Roper, 1955, p. 171; Musarum Deliciae, 1655, pp. 73 and 81; Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 160, f. 156v.

of the seventeenth century was a result of the discovery that the ruff, immensely developed during the sixteenth century, need not necessarily encircle the throat entirely, but could be pushed back behind the head to form the so-called Medici collar.[1.]

In the case of the women of the Court, also, mental gaiety and polish must have been an attractive feature, as well as physical sophistication, which distinguished them strikingly from provincial and rural women. If we read the diary of a lady who mixed in Court circles, like Lady Anne Clifford, and compare it with that of even an educated countrywoman like Lady Margaret Hoby,[2.] the difference is at once apparent. By comparison the latter is uneducated in every essential sense. She is meticulous about recording her religious observances each day, in a way which quickly becomes a repetitive formula, but of personal contacts, estimation of other people, or self analysis of any sort, there is nothing. Reading the diary is a suffocatingly claustrophobic experience: the soul-destroying sameness of the daily round of country life looms on every page. Her reading is limited to the Bible, some sermons, and a small number of religious works. Lady Anne, on the other hand, whose tutor was Samuel Daniel, has read Montaigne, Spenser, Chaucer, the Metamorphoses and a good many other modern, secular works.

But though extremely attractive to the penurious young student of the Inns of Court, the London woman, whether of

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1. J. Laver, Taste and Fashion, Revised edn., 1945, p. 145.

2. See The Diary of Lady Margaret Hoby, ed. D.M. Meads, 1930: also Lady Anne Clifford, Diary, ed. V.M. Nicolson, 1923.

Court or City, would also be to a very large extent unattainable. Her pride and extravagance were notorious. Frederick, Duke of Würtemburg, who visited London in 1592 records that:

> The inhabitants are magnificently apparelled, and are extremely proud and overbearing, and because the greater part, especially the tradespeople, seldom go into other countries, but always remain in their houses in the city, attending to their business, they care little for foreigners, but scoff and laugh at them ... The women have much more liberty than perhaps in any other place; they also know well how to make use of it, for they go dressed out in exceedingly fine clothes and give all their attention to their ruffs and stuffs 1.

Nashe tells how he has observed that:

> In London the ritch disdayne the poore ... One nyce Dame disdaynes her next neighbour shoulde haue that furniture to her house, or dainty dishe or deuise, which she wants. Shee will not goe to Church, because shee disdaines to mixe herselfe with base company, and cannot haue her close Pue by herselfe. Shee disdaines to weare that euery one weares, or heare that Preacher which euery one heares. 2.

and in Pierce Penilesse he paints an unforgettable picture of "Mistris Minx" the merchant's wife, "finicall in her speach" and "squeamish in her dyet":

> ... she will not go into the feilds, to cowre on the greene grasse, but she must haue a Coatch for her conuoy; and spends halfe a day in pranking her selfe if she be inuited to any strange place. 3.

One could multiply examples almost interminably. The pride and extravagance, especially in dress and diet, of the London woman must be one of the most copiously documented social facts of the period. Satirists, preachers, dramatists, all cry out against it. Only a little way out of the City, things were different. In William Bullein's Dialogue against the Pestilence, when a citizen and his wife ride ten

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1. England as Seen by Foreigners, ed. W.B. Rye, 1865, p. 7.
2. Works, ed. R.B. McKerrow, 5 Vols., 1958, ii.135.
3. ibid., i.173.

miles out of the City to Barnet, his wife, who was "never so far from London" in her life before, declares:

> A pretty street; but methink the people go very plain; it is no city as I do suppose by their manners.1.

The rapid increase in the production, importation and distribution of luxury consumer goods which accompanies the swift expansion of a prosperous urban community helped, then, to make the London woman both alluring and, because she became increasingly materialistic as her standard of living improved, financially difficult to obtain. Clearly she would be one of the factors of city life that would impinge upon the young Inns of Court gentleman to a very considerable extent. Another would be the large number of rogues and cheaters who were eager to take advantage of him. William Fennor in his Compters Commonwealth, 1617, speaking of "Gentlemen-Cheaters" who, themselves in debt, seek out some country-novice, green to the ways of the City, and, after entertaining him and impressing him with their wit, costume and gallantry, gull him into signing a bond which transfers their own debts to himself, concludes:

> Many of these most detestable and dishonest trickes have I known practised on young Gentlemen newly come to the Temple, Inns of Court, and other places that now my heart bleeds to think on.2.

Disabled by this sort of inexperience in the ways of the City, and prevented by his poverty and by the fact that, as a student, he could not marry, from developing any relationship with the women of London, except at the very lowest level, the young gentleman of the Inns of Court was, apparently, often driven to enhance his reputation among his fellows by

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1. Quoted by J. Dover Wilson, Life in Shakespeare's England, Pelican edn., 1944, p. 182.
2. Op. cit., p. 36.

inventing tales of his love-affairs with Ladies or citizens' wives. Master Exhibition, the Inns of Court man in Cupids Whirligig, admits to Lady Troublesome that there are "a number of idle fellowes of our societie" who are "verie scandalous to the reputation of Ladies"[1] and Susan, disguised as a page in The Fleire boasts that she can:

> Slaunder any Gentlewoman, as well as any Innes a Court puny, I can as well as he sweare such a Lady is in loue with me, and such a Citizens Daughter would haue come to bed with me, when all shall be as true as thy Ladies are honest.[2]

- the "Ladies" she indicates are two prostitutes. In a play like The Roaring Girl, clearly written for the popular theatre, we find Moll, the heroine, attacking the witty young gallant, Laxton, on the grounds that:

> thou'rt one of those
> That thinks each woman his fond flexible whore;
> If she but cast a liberal eye upon thee,
> Turn back her head, she's thine; or amongst company
> By chance drink first to thee, then she's quite gone,
> There is no means to help her: nay, for a need,
> Wilt swear unto thy credulous fellow-lechers
> That thou art more in favour with a lady
> At first sight, than a monkey all her lifetime...[3]

What Moll objects to here is, after all, very reminiscent of:

> ... He barely nam'd the street, promis'd the Wine,
> But his kinde wife gave me the very sign.[4]

Nor can one forget easily that other Inns of Court man who was made to walk the popular stage, boasting:

> There was I, and little John Doit of Staffordshire, and black George Barnes, and Francis Pickbone, and Will Squeale a Cotsall man, - you had not four such swinge-bucklers in all the inns o' court again: and, I may say to you, we knew where the bona-robas were, and had the best of them all at commandment.

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1. Sharpham, Cupids Whirligig, 1607, sig. Ilr.
2. Sharpham, The Fleire, 1610, sig. G2v.
3. Middleton, Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 8 Vols., 1885, iv.61.
4. Donne, Poems, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, 2 Vols., 1912, i.108.

But, we learn, when he was at Clement's Inn:

> ... when a' was naked, he was, for all the world, like a fork'd radish, with a head fantastically carved upon it with a knife ... a' was the very genius of famine; yet lecherous as a monkey, and the whores call'd him mandrake: a' came ever in the rearward of the fashion ...1.

The propensity to boast about successful love affairs determines the tone, as we have seen, of a large proportion of the erotic elegies written by Inns of Court men: the attempt to make the fanfaronade appear authentic by an array of circumstantial detail is also common, of course. Shakespeare's shot about fashion is a shrewd one. The Overburian Innes of Court man, though extremely fashion-conscious ("he laughs at every man whose band sits not well") is "as farre behinde a courtier in his fashion, as a scholer is behind him".2. Some of the elegists were adroit enough to introduce minor compensatory boasts about their fashionable dress into the framework of the major compensatory boast about a successful amour. Especially one remembers "I taught my silkes, their whistling to forbeare", and what emphasis the speaker laid upon "All my perfumes".3.

Imitation of the Amores, and the Ovidian cult generally was to some extent a deliberate reaction against the standards of the bourgeoisie. Classical culture came more and more under suspicion with the citizen class as Puritanism increased in strength, until Ovid and the other ancient love-poets became anathema for any honest citizen. Thomas Salter in A Mirrhor mete for all Mothers, Matrones, and Maidens, 1574,

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1. Henry IV (Part Two), III. ii.18 f., 318 f.

2. Overbury, Miscellaneous Works, ed. E.F. Rimbault, 1856, p. 104.

3. Donne, Poems, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, 2 Vols., 1912, i.85-6.

condemns especially Ovid, Catullus and "filthie love" among the Greek poets.[1] In the famous Root and Branch Petition, presented by Londoners to the Parliament of 1640, a major evil, as the petitioners saw it, was "the swarming of lascivious, idle and unprofitable Books and Pamphlets ... as namely, Ovid's Fits of Love" and others "to the encrease of all Vice and withdrawing the People from Reading ... the Word of God.[2] The knowledge that the citizen class would be shocked and annoyed by such writing must have lent it a particular relish, and especially, no doubt, for the young Inns-of-Court men whose own origins lay in that class, but who considered themselves liberated by education from the intellectual atmosphere of their homes and families.

Already in 1577 William Harrison in the Description of England had observed how many yeomen and artificers:

> ...do come to great welth, in somuch that manie of them are able and doo buie the lands of vnthriftie gentlemen, and often setting their sonnes to the schooles, to the vniuersities, and to the Ins of the court ... doo make them by those means to become gentlemen ...[3]

Sim Quomodo, the tailor's son in Michaelmas Term, who has proceeded from Cambridge and is now a Templar, and Tim Yellowhammer, the goldsmith's son in A Chaste Maid in Cheapside, are both representatives of this new class of scholar. Tim's mother, Maudlin, has a cousin at the Inns of Court.[4] The Inns of Court "gentlemen" might squint at

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1. Op. cit., p. 21.

2. Quoted from J. Rushworth, Historical Collections, 1692, III.i.99, by L.B. Wright, Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England, 1935, p. 235.

3. Harrison, Description of England, ed. F.J. Furnivall, 4 Parts, 1877-1908, i.133.

4. Middleton, Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 8 Vols., 1885, v.10.

Eastcheap, but many of their own origins lay not far off. Donne's father was an ironmonger; Thomas Campion's mother was a rich City-widow when his father married her; Nicholas Hare's grandfather was a citizen and mercer of London.

The insolent self-assertion of the elegist in his dealings with women, the "Natures lay Ideot" attitude, and the pose of patronizing masculine superiority epitomized in Beaumont's:

> I use thee as a woman ought to be,
> I consecrate my idle hours to thee[1].

might also be related to some social facts. Commercial expansion, and the wider distribution of wealth had augmented the responsibilities and obligations of women during the latter part of the sixteenth century. It was a well known saying abroad that England was the Paradise of married women.[2] The citizen class, especially, is constantly being blamed for allowing its womenfolk more liberty and authority than is good for them:

> Women in England
> For the most part, live like queens ...
> ... Your city dame
> Without leave wears the breeches, has her husband
> At as much command as her prentice ...[3].

- reports Carazie in The Renegado, and Rowlands, in 1613, finds that "women are up in armes on every side" about their "priviledge".[4] Nicholas Oldisworth blames citizens for spoiling their wives because:

> with your fawning speeches
> You make them proud, and apt to weare the breeches[5].

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1. Beaumont, Poems, 1640, sig. A3r.
2. See England as Seen by Foreigners, ed. W.B. Rye, 1865, pp. 14, 72-3.
3. Massinger, Plays, ed. F. Cunningham, 1872, p. 135.
4. Rowlands, The Knaues of Spades and Diamonds, 1613, sig. F1r.
5. Bodleian MS. Don. C.24, p. 106.

The women of the commercial classes, if they took part in business life, had a remarkable degree of independence. Women were active among the crowd who besieged the Court at the beginning of the century for grants of wardships, monopolies or patents.[1] Jonson satirizes the female projectress in the person of Lady Tailebush. There is also evidence of women owning and managing businesses requiring a considerable amount of capital. Braithwaite tells a story of a "useresse" as if the occupation were quite common for women.[2] Names of women often occur in connection with the shipping trade, - usually when a woman is carrying on the business after her husband's death.[3] The records of the Stationers' Company show several printers' widows exercising their husbands' concerns, and in the list of publishers for the years 1553-1640 nearly 10% of the names given are those of women.[4] Furthermore the prosperity of the middle class in London was giving the citizen's wife or citizen's daughter increasing leisure, and therefore increased opportunities for self-improvement. The fashionable "idleness" of the bourgeoise is often attacked by satirists and dramatists:

> ... the custom how
> Virgins of wealthy families waste their youth.
> After a long sleep, when you wake, your woman
> Presents your breakfast; then you sleep again;
> Then rise, and, being trimm'd up by others' hands,
> Y'are led to dinner; and, that ended, either
> To cards or to your couch [5]

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1. For examples see A. Clark, The Working Life of Women in the Seventeenth Century, 1919, pp. 25-8.

2. The English Gentleman, 1641, p. 300.

3. For examples see A. Clark, op. cit., pp. 29-32.

4. ibid., pp. 162 f., 167-8.

5. Beaumont and Fletcher, Works, ed. A. Glover and A.R. Waller, 10 Vols., 1905-12, ii.2.

What use the wealthy citizen-class woman really made of her new leisure time is indicated by the number of dedications and epistles at the beginnings of books which are directed at the female reading public at the end of the sixteenth century. When, in 1605 Pierre Erondelle prepared his French language text, The French Garden, he wrote a preface flattering Englishwomen for their studiousness and quick wits. Before him, appeal to the new class of women readers was made by Lyly, by the R.B. who signed the dedication of Pettie's Petite Pallace, by Barnabe Rich, William Warren and Rowlands, who addressed his 'Tis Merrie when Gossips meete, 1602, "To all the pleasant conceited London Gentlewomen". The epistle to the reader prefaced to Margaret Tyler's The First Part of the Mirrour of Princely deedes and Knighthood, 1578, asserts woman's equality to man in all reading and writing matters. Works like Daniel Tuvil's Asylum Veneris, 1616, also take this line, declaring that man's assumption of superiority has come from mere self-conceit. The satire against women which this intellectual emancipation stimulated itself produced further evidence for emancipation in the form of replies by women themselves, such as Jane Anger her protection for Women, 1589, Rachel Speght's A Mouzell for Melastomus, Esther Sowernam's Ester hath hang'd Haman, and "Constantia Munda's" The Worming of a mad Dogge, all published in 1617. It is worth noting that the work which stimulated these three defences, Swetnam's notorious and immensely popular Araignment of Lewde, idle, froward and unconstant women, 1615, is heavily indebted to Ovid's Remedia:[1] indeed

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1. Cf. Araignment, 1615, sig. F1v. with Remedia, 136 f.; sig. F3v. with Remedia, 327 f.; sig. I1r.-v. with Remedia, 134 f., 401 f., 441 f., 579 f., 641 f., 717 f., 725 f., 795 f.

Swetnam makes no secret of the fact, advising his reader to "try Ouids arte". Others, besides the Inns of Court men, found in the Ovidian attitudes some reply to the phenomenon of modern woman. Swetnam is a sentimentalist. Throughout his pamphlet it is the hardness, the materialism of women that annoys and hurts him. In 1620 appeared a pamphlet entitled Haec-Vir, an answer to a diatribe against women published earlier in the same year called Hic-Mulier, which puts into the mouth of a woman a long and fervent plea for emancipation, citing Virgil, Martial, Du Bartas and others in support of change which brings with it progress. Written with dignity and spirit it is, as L.B. Wright has remarked, "the Areopagitica of the London woman, a woman who had attained greater freedom than any of her predecessors or than any of her European contemporaries".[1]

Militant feminists are always presented in a disagreeable light on the private stage. Sharpham's Lady Troublesome, Marston's Crispinella and Middleton's Isabella in Women beware Women are all examples of the type. It is characteristic of the Inns of Court writers that the ideal woman in the Overburian characters should be a fragrant and essentially unreal piece of pastoral escapism, A faire and happy Milk-mayd. The woman of reality, frighteningly emancipated and self-assertive, was a phenomenon upon which the Inns of Court men could not look with equanimity. They resolutely sneered at the aspirations of citizen class women to learning. Sophonisba, Marston's most admirable woman, is made to admit that "affected wisdome in us women Is our sexe highest folly",[2] and Mistress Openwork in Middleton's Roaring Girl is rendered

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1. Middle Class Culture in Elizabethan England, 1935, p. 497.
2. Plays, ed. H.H. Wood, 3 Vols., 1934-9, ii.23.

ridiculous by the double significance of her words when she complains of her husband: "I had my Latin and a spice of the French before I came to him, and now doth he keep a suburbian whore under my nostrils".[1] A very popular epigram, attributed sometimes to Harington and sometimes to Sir John Davies, and found again and again in commonplace books, declines the offer of a wife "with French, Italian and the Spanish tongue" and prefers "a woman of one language", implying that she will be quite talkative enough with that.[2] Overbury in A Wife declares "learning and pregnant wit in womankinde" to be "hazardous", and concludes "Bookes are a part of mans prerogative".[3] The popularity of this attitude among gentlemen of the Inns who, like Overbury and Harington, had courtly aspirations, was probably increased by the fact that James thought that "to make women learned and foxes tame" was only to teach them both "to steal more cunningly" and that "where it doth one good it doth twenty harme".[4]

The affectation of patronizing masculine superiority, of insolent self assertion, of a purely physical interest in women which we find in the elegies of the Inns of Court men could, then, be explained as a sort of defence response, set in motion by that emancipation and intellectualisation of the London woman which was quickly making the adoption of such attitudes towards her in real life impossible or absurd.

One manifestation of emancipation which evoked a great deal of adverse comment, was the city woman's active interest

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1. Middleton, Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 8 Vols., 1885, iv.45.
2. Harington, Letters and Epigrams, ed. N.E. McClure, Philadelphia, 1930, p. 225.
3. Miscellaneous Works, ed. E.F. Rimbault, 1856, p. 14.
4. ibid., p. 261.

in the conduct of public religion, and her eagerness to participate in religious disputation. "Yt shapes not with shee-Ministers" says Thomas Allen "to disputen on the Bible"[1]: "Come they from any Universitie? - City!" cries another[2]. "Tempestuous Deborahs" and "weomen doctors ... with restles heads and tongue that hath noe end"[3] are continually decried. In Bodleian MS. Malone 21, a scholar complains that, though he has spent seven years at Cambridge and knows "Hebrew, greeke and latin", the women say he is "prophane" and listen instead to a "weauer" who quotes "Dod and Cleauer"[4]. The times are bad, say the prefatory verses to Lluellyn's Men-Miracles, 1646, "when Women preach, and Slaves command"[5]. Heath's second satire is directed against "a Female Synod" of "holy sisters", among them "grave Abigail the Sempstresse" who meet to discuss points of religion[6]. Usually the attackers imply that the "holy sisters" are really lecherous, and that this is why they are so eager to go to meetings where men are present. Cowley observes that "Women preachers" are "perfect Popes in their owne Parish" and "outdoe the story of Pope Jone". He adds that they "are like to bee the Whores of Babylon as much as Shee"[7]. This sort of smear was very popular with the Royalists. Love and Drollery, 1654, has a song about women "in Religion very profound", intimating that "they are heavenly good at the sport" when "the brothers are mov'd by the spirit"[8], and Merry Drollery,

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1. MS. Rawl. Poet. 26, f. 6r.
2. MS. Rawl. Poet. 62, f. 50r.
3. MS. Rawl. Poet. 160, f. 9r.
4. f. 33r.-v.
5. Lluellyn, Men-Miracles, 1646, sig. A4r.
6. Robert Heath, Clarastella, 1650, Pt. IV, p. 5.
7. Cowley, Essays and Plays, ed. A.R. Waller, 1906, p. 149.
8. T.[homas] W.[eaver], Love and Drollery, 1654, p. 34.

1661, prints an elegy also found in two pre-Restoration[1.] manuscripts which purports to be an account of the seduction of a willing Puritan girl. It is a very good example of the elegy being put to a specific social purpose. Disturbed by the phenomenon of the serious-minded Puritan woman, who does not tally with his conventional ideas about the female sex, the elegist transfers her to his elegiac fantasy-world and seduces her. It should be noted, too, how he is careful to portray himself as a fashionable young man with "double ruffe" (line 10) "Spanish shooe" (line 12) and so on. A somewhat similar poem in B.M. MS. Add. 10309, though it is not in the first person, applies the details of Ovidian courtship to a Puritan woman, and pretends that after she has picked out some "meane seruant" as a lover who will not arouse suspicion, she "secretly treads upon his foote" when she is near him in the coach, and at table she teaches him to make love by touching her hand "if he reach her ought".[2.]

The London woman's desire for social deference, for compliment and respect, and her insistence on this from those whose fortunes were less than her own is another phenomenon often pilloried on the private stage. It is a central theme of Massinger's greatest play, The City Madam, where the first act is almost wholly concerned with showing Lady Frugal and her daughters treatening Luke, their brother-in-law and uncle respectively, as the lowest kind of menial, because he is poor. Middleton's Horsus has an impassioned speech, telling how, when women are "advanc'd", they make their former friends "come crouching", or, so that they will "bow in th' hams the better", they are made "to compliment three

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1. See Appendix B, Poem X below, and Merry Drollery, 1661, p. 73.

2. B.M. MS. Add. 10309, ff. 60v.-62r. Cf. Amores, I.iv.16, 31-2.

hours" with a waiting-woman, "then, perhaps not admitted":

> That's the more noble fashion. Forgetfulness
> Is the most pleasing virtue they can have
> That do spring up from nothing.1.

The Inns of Court men's reaction to this is to point out how much woman depends for her safety and well-being on social custom which the male, the stronger creature, chooses to respect. Campion in his epigram "Ad Lalagen" speaks of the undue deference paid to women in England by virtue of social custom:

> Terra est anglica terra foeminarum;
> Simplex suavis, amans, locis honestans
> Semper praecipuis genus tenellum2.

and Zanthia in Marston's Sophonisba affirms that men, being "strongly form'd and truely shapt" may walk unarmed, but:

> We things cald women, only made for shew
> And pleasure, created to beare children,
> And play at shuttle-cocke: we imperfect mixtures,
> Without respective ceremonie us'd
> And ever complement, alas! what are we?
> Take from us formall custome and the curtesies
> Which civill fashion hath still us'd to us,
> We fall to all contempt. O women, how much,
> How much are you beholding to ceremony3.

A further development of this reaction is a delight in portraying the male's domination of the female by sheer physical strength when such courtesy and custom are forgotten. The scene at the end of The Little French Lawyer, where Dinant and Cleremont have Annabell and Lamira kidnapped by their friends, disguised as robbers, and then announce their intention of raping them, so that the terrified women, after screaming vainly for help, are forced humbly and tearfully to beg forgiveness for their former pride, upon their knees, is typical. Dinant taunts Lamira: "Tear your throat,

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1. Middleton, Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 8 Vols., 1885, ii.43.
2. Works, ed. P. Vivian, 1909, p. 300.
3. Plays, ed. H. H. Wood, 3 Vols., 1934-9, ii.11-12.

cry louder" and reminds her how in the past she "Made properties of me, and of my friend" and "whipp'd me with the rod of mine own dotage", so that he came to her "kneeling and whining like a boy new-breech'd". Now he will enjoy her, not for the pleasure, - "a French crown will buy more sport", he sneers, - but "in spite", and in order to "break that stubborn disobedient will" and make "that boasted honour" equal with "a common whore's":

> The spring of chastity, that fed your pride,
> And grew into a river of vain glory,
> I will defile with mud, the mud of lust,
> And make it loathsome even to goats.[1.]

Marston's Syphax, also, refuses to "intreat" and "sue to such squeamish ears":

> Look Ile tack thy head
> To the low earth, whilst strength of two blacke knaves
> Thy limbs all wide shall straine: prayer fitteth slaves:
> Our courtship be our force.[2.]

Massinger abounds in similar examples of contemplated violence. Sapritius threatens to take Dorethea and:

> ... thus by the hair nail her to the earth.
> Call in ten slaves, let every one discover
> What lust desires, and surfeit here his fill[3.]

In the same play Dorethea is led in, bound to a post, and flogged on the stage by her former servants, Hircius and Spongius; and in The Duke of Milan the beadle gives a salacious account of how he administered a whipping to "a fine she-waiter in the court".[4.] In The Unnatural Combat, Montreville, a previously rejected wooer, drags a struggling, protesting Theocrine away to rape:

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1. Beaumont and Fletcher, Works, ed. A. Glover and A.R. Waller, 10 Vols., 1905-12, iii.447-8.

2. Plays, ed. H.H. Wood, 3 Vols., 1934-9, ii.32.

3. Massinger, Plays, ed. F. Cunningham, 1872, p. 24.

4. ibid., p. 82.

THEO: I will not stir.
MONT: I'll force thee.
THEO: Help, help!
MONT: In vain ...
THEO: Dear sir ...
MONT: Tears, curses, prayers, are all alike to me;
I can, and must enjoy my present pleasure.[1]

Similarly in Middleton's Mayor of Queenborough Castiza is waylaid and blindfolded by Horsus, and kneels, pleading and terrified, before her captor:

CAST: What's my sin?
HOR: Contempt of man; and he's a noble creature,
And takes it in ill part to be despis'd.
CAST: I never despis'd any.
HOR: No? you hold us
Unworthy to be lov'd; what call you that?
CAST: I have a lord disproves you.
HOR: Pish! Your lord?
You're bound to love your lord, that's no thanks to you;
You should love those you are not tied to love,
That's the right trial of woman's charity.[2]

It is the same delight in physical domination which lies behind the popular seduction-monologues of the "Nay pish, nay peu ..." kind, or behind elegies where the lover asks his mistress to struggle against him, to bite and use her nails, because only thus can he derive enjoyment from love-play. All are motivated by a concept of woman remote, proud, self-assured, demanding and receiving respect: the London woman. It is she who is made to struggle and bleed and beseech in all these fantasy-enactions of violent love.

It seems at least probable, then, that the popularity of the Ovidian love-elegy among Inns-of-Court men at the end of the sixteenth and in the first half of the seventeenth

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1. Massinger, Plays, ed. F. Cunningham, 1872, p. 60.
2. Middleton, Works, ed. A.H. Bullen, 8 Vols., 1885, ii.51.

century, can to some extent be explained by the fact that the characteristic elegiac attitudes were made particularly attractive to such writers by the prevalent social and economic conditions in London, and especially because of the new social position of the London woman, when compared with that of women in the provinces or rural areas. The quasi-autobiographical nature of the elegy, its cultivation of adulterous love outside the bounds of bourgeois society, the aloof and superior tone of the elegiac lover, his constant complaints about desertion, and about the power of money in love, his nostalgia for a by#gone golden age, his desire to display physical superiority over the woman all become, seen in this light, easily gaugeable reactions to a particular social environment.

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1. Poetry, ed. F. Sidgwick, 2 Vols., 1902; 1.131.

CHAPTER XIV

The Dissemination of Elegiac Themes in Lyric Poetry

We are now in a position to indicate how the themes and mannerisms which characterize the Ovidian love elegy shade off into and merge with lyric poetry in the first half of the seventeenth-century, and help to mould the tone of the lyric. As we have seen, it is quite possible for a poem which uses a lyric, stanzaic form, like Beaumont's "Charme", or several of Brome's poems, to be, in fact, an elegy: to build up within itself a structure of attitudes and opinions which give it a certain roundness and completeness approximating to elegiac proportions. Often, however, a poet will take a single idea from the Ovidian code and develop it in isolation, in which case, though the result will not be an elegy, it will be a product of the elegiac tradition, approaching or receding from that tradition according to such factors as the strength of the poem's dramatic element, and the extent to which it pursues the ramifications of the Ovidian theme selected.

The affirmation that only difficult love is pleasing, or that opposition stimulates affection is especially popular. The chief sources, besides the familiar Ovidian ones, are Martial, I.lvii and Ausonius lvi, though both of these differ from the true Ovidian paradox by taking a middle course and deprecating both love which is too easy and that which is too hard. Wither's "Hence, away, thou Siren, leave me ..."[1] develops the Ovidian theme in the direction of l'Amour de l'impossible, and introduces the common idea, alien to Ovid, that the girl who is hard to win will be constant when won.

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1. Poetry, ed. F. Sidgwick, 2 Vols., 1902, i.131.

Jonson's song "If I freely may discover ..." in Poetaster[1.] follows Martial's compromise, and Patrick Hannay's "When I do love, let me a mistress find ..."[2.] is chiefly an exposition of the themes "That which is lightly got is valued least" and "the constant mind Is long in gaining, but obtain'd is sure".[3.] The song "Deare Love, continue nice and chaste ...", printed in the 1635 edition of Donne's poems, is nearer to Ovid, but with its suggestion that the girl's "Godhead" will fall as soon as love reaches its physical consummation, it comes close to the conventional argument "against fruition in love" which is only partly Ovidian, and more emphatically neo-Platonic in its usual manifestations. Suckling's "Against Fruition", "Fie upon hearts that burn with mutual fire ...",[4.] is an example of this, but his "Upon A.M."

> Yield all, my love; but be withal as coy
> As if thou knew'st not how to sport and toy ...[5.]

is a straightforward declaration of the Ovidian doctrine. Cowley also has a poem "Against Fruition", "No thou'rt a fool, I'll swear, if e're thou grant ..."[6.] but this, like Henry King's "Paradox That Fruition destroys Love",[7.] though it incorporates something of the Ovidian notion, is fundamentally opposed to Ovid since it dissuades from the bodily act which is always the centre and culmination of love for Ovid. There is a great difference between saying that a girl should not yield, because enjoyment is a bestial delight,

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1. Works, ed. C.H. Herford and P. & E. Simpson, 11 Vols., 1925-52, iv.231.
2. Minor Poets of the Caroline Period, ed. G. Saintsbury, 3 Vols., 1905, i.718.
3. Donne, Poems, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, 2 Vols., 1912, i.412.
4. Works, ed. A.H. Thompson, 1910, p. 28.
5. ibid., p. 61.
6. Poems, ed. A.R. Waller, 1905, p. 98.
7. Minor Poems of the Caroline Period, ed. G. Saintsbury, 3 Vols., 1905, iii.206.

and the man will despise her afterwards, and saying that her surrender should not be too rapid, because this will detract from the sweetness of final ehjoyment. One cannot help feeling that the latter is the more healthy point of view. Mathew Stevenson's "To Amabunda", warning the girl that she must take to her heels and fly if she would have him follow her,[1] acknowledges its debt to the Amores with the words fugis insequor[2] at the conclusion, and the same poet's "To my Cozen Coy"[3] is a long exposition of the effect upon the female character of the knowledge that:

> Those things most take men's palates ever
> They purchase with most hard endeavour.

It is to "hold up the rate of maiden-heads" that girls are "coy and nice" when really they are "all fyre within": even the dainty Abstemia, says Stevenson, will "sport and play" if "opportunity" presents itself, and though she may cry "nay pish, nay fie", will wish to be overcome "ere halfe the fight be done". The verses "Against Fruition" in the 1656 Choyce Drollery[4] are an exaltation of "desire", "expected formes and shapes unknown" and "imagination", over "possession" and "sense"; but Brome's "Nay, prithee, do, be coy and slight me ..."[5] returns more closely to the Ovidian pattern, explaining to the girl the attractions of "niceness" and "scorn" and asking her not to "be won too soon" because: "Tis my delight to dally with thee". Henry Bold's "Chloris forbeare a while ..."[6] requests her to "ore cloud" her eyes and "bo-peepe" her features, on the grounds that:

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1. Occasions Off-spring, 1654, p. 9.
2. Cf. Amores, II.xix.36.
3. Occasions Off-spring, 1654, p. 36.
4. Choyce Drollery, 1656, p. 61.
5. Poems, 1664, p. 14.
6. Poems Lyrique, 1664, p. 6.

I loue a coming lady, faith! I do!
But now and then, I'de have her scornful too.

This, he says, is "Cupides Schooling": we should remember that what is apparently the second edition of Heywood's translation of the Ars is entitled Loues Schoole.

B.M. MS. Add. 10309 contains a poem in heroic couplets entitled Spes interdictae discedite,[1] which sets out arguments for and against adultery. The "good" side is preferred in the end, but the case for the attainment of "forbidden hopes" is a restatement, with various witty analogies, of the quod fugit, ipse sequor them. This part of the poem (lines 11-36) is really an Ovidian love-elegy:

The Lilly-azure-vein'd, downe-naked brests
Moue me no more then dugs of other beasts.
For what to euery eye lyes euer bare
Must needs be valu'd but as profferd ware.

"Maskes", too, are in fashion because the hidden excites most. "Forbidden sweets" can by "cunning industry" be "injoyed in quiet rest" and are far more delicious than those "which by Lawes allowance are possest". Bodleian MS. Don. d. 58, dated 1647, has a song at f. 23r., also found in MS. Eng. Poet. e. 14, which shows rather more than usual of the sadistic leer which often seems to hover behind cavalier expositions of the difficult-love theme:

... Striue peeuishly, oh 'tis meetest,
Playe theeuishly, oh 'tis sweetest
Fall willingly, and lye flatlye
I killingly will stabb at thee.

The girl must "Blush cherrily when I doe thee" and afterwards "dye as in anguish" and "sweare never more I shall doe thee". Such a poem sounds unpleasantly like instructions to a prostitute who is being asked to cater for a particular kind of pervert. We remember Bold's admission: "I hate

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1. A quotation from the complaint of Myrrha, Metamorphoses, X. 336. The poem is at ff. 132v.-133v.

a mutual heat! It spoils the sport"[1]. Though Ovid wishes Corinna to use coyness in order to keep their affair alive, his ideals about physical consummation itself are directly opposed to this cavalier distortion, where the male seeks to avenge his dissatisfaction with the external world, and to obliterate his sense of the smallness of his own stature, by watching the female register pain and make unsuccessful attempts to oppose him, as he takes his pleasure from her.

Also extremely popular in lyric poetry is the "I can love both faire and browne" motif, some examples of which have already been referred to in our discussion of Donne's "Indifferent". Wither satirizes this humour in his Abuses Stript and Whipt, describing the lover who "Now the faire approves; anon ... the Browne", now "the Wanton", and then "modest Eyes", now "the Simple", then "the Wise", and so on.[2] But he admits in Faire Virtue that he himself was of this mind before he met Virtue, and elaborates upon the theme, describing the various charms of Amaryllis and Phyllis and Daphne and Chloris.[3] Suckling contributes to this fashion with his "Guiltless Inconstant"[4] and also, perhaps, with a poem beginning "I am confirmed a woman can ..."[5] which, though not printed in Fragmenta Aurea or the Last Remains is ascribed to him in Folger MS., 452.4. It puts forward female fickleness as an excuse for male inconstancy. The poet admits that he can love "the fairsome", "the fat and soft-skinn'd", "the musical":

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1. Poems Lyrique, 1664, p. 24.
2. Juvenilia, Spenser Society, 1871, p. 61.
3. Poetry, ed. F. Sidgwick, 2 Vols., 1902, ii.141.
4. Works, ed. A.H. Thompson, 1910, p. 50.
5. ibid., p. 73.

The black, the brown, the fair shall be
But objects of variety.

Lovelace's beautiful song "The Scrutinie"[1] reinforces the poise established by its use of a six syllable second line in each stanza, with explanations to the girl that, though others may find "all joy" in her brown hair, he "must search the black and faire", sounding "un-plowed-up ground" for new treasure, like "skilfull Mineralists". How gently, yet how insultingly that "plough" image reminds her of her lost virginity! And the insult is driven home with the promise that, if he finds none better, he will return to her "sated with varietie".[2] Thomas Stanley's "Loves Heretic" affirms at some length his ability to love "black, or fair, or tall or low", "golden fetters" or "soft tresses spread like night"; and Herrick in Hesperides makes four excursions in the same direction,[3] including, in his catalogue of "lost Mistresses", Corinna. Patrick Carey's "There's no woman but I'm caught ..." and "I ne'er yet saw a lovely creature..."[4] are similar admissions of inconstancy, though the first introduces the quite separate theme that only a favourable reception of advances by the girl is likely to make the man persist: an idea directly opposed to Ovid's teaching. Cowley's "The Chronicle", "Margarita first possest ..."[5] extends the "indifferent" attitude to a mere retrospective enumeration of female christian names, but his "The Inconstant"[6]

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1. Poems, ed. C.H. Wilkinson, 1930, p. 26.

2. Minor Poets of the Caroline Period, ed. G. Saintsbury, 3 Vols., 1921, iii.130.

3. Poetical Works, ed. L.C. Martin, 1956, pp. 11, 15, 163, 253.

4. Minor Poets of the Caroline Period, ed. G. Saintsbury, 3 Vols., 1921, ii.456.

5. Poems, ed. A.R. Waller, 1905, p. 39.

6. ibid., p. 133.

(immediately followed, in The Mistress, by a poem called "The Constant"), brings wit and ingenuity to the exploration of the "fair and brown" device. Like Ovid, Cowley turns faults to graces by the names he gives them, calling a tall girl "proper", and imagining that one whose body is bent, is like Cupid's bow:

> If black, - what lover loves not night?

- and so he demands:

> Him, who loves always one, why should they call
> More constant, than the Man loves always all?

To take the title from one of his poems in The Mistress, much of Cowley's verse seems, like this, "Written in Juice of Lemmon". It has sharpness, tartness, clarity and lucidity: ink would be too dark and clogged for it. In "Beauty"[1] he probes the "indifferent" attitude from a neutral angle, observing how "here black, there brown" is esteemed, "here tawny and there white", and how the eye is misled "with unintelligible variety". The 1646 Academy of Complements[2] has a song "I love a woman be she tall ...", giving a long list of types, any of which the poet might choose, - "low or thick or small", "faire or browne", ("So she have nothing of the clowne", he adds, more, one feels for the sake of rhyme than of meaning), "stately", "humble", "studious", "witty" and so on; and the 1661 Merry Drollery prints a poem "The Indifferent", which asserts a rather inconsequential carelessness:

> If I chance to see
> One that's brown, I love her,
> Till I see another,
> That is browner than she ...

and develops it into a cynical wish for any woman who has

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1. Poems, ed. A.R. Waller, 1905, p. 116.

2. Op. cit., p. 229.

"store of gold".[1] Brome's "The Libertine"[2], and Bold's "I'le swear they lye, who say they love ..."[3] are both deft exercises in the fashion of studied, nonchalant irresponsibility, which the cavaliers developed from Ovid. It is worth noting that Bold includes a translation of the Ovidian source poem for this attitude, Amores II.iv, in his Poems Lyrique.[4] That it was popularly thought of as the typical Ovidian pose is indicated by a passage in "The Passions of Love, or a Description of the severall waies of wooinge", in the 1655 Marrow of Complements:

> Some are infected with such humours (and this was Nasos Disease) that sometimes non are lovely in their eyes but faire women, anon they will sweare to you there is no heed to be taken to the colour of the face; afterwards the brown is the only laudable complexion, sometimes the wanton, sometimes the modest eye, sometimes the simple, soone after the subtile Girle are only in fashion.[5]

Cockayne, likewise, in an epigram "To My Cousin Mr. John Milward", observing that some women are "foul", some "fair", some "virtuous", some "bad", some "melancholy" and some "glad", concludes that:

> Ovid would take of all to please his sences.[6]

The "variety" theme, to some extent a development of this, is used by Cowley in his "Inconstancy"[7], with the familiar arguments from natural phenomena like the weather and the seasons, culminating in the claim that "to be constant, in

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1. Op. cit., Pt. ii, p. 90. This poem is also found in B.M. MS. Harley 3991, at f. 148v.
2. Poems, 1664, p. 12.
3. Poems Lyrique, 1664, p. 8.
4. ibid., p. 194.
5. Op. cit., p. 10.
6. Small Poems, 1658, p. 226.
7. Poems, ed. A.R. Waller, 1905, p. 74.

Nature, were inconstancy"; and the 1646 Academy of Complements has a song propounding similar theories with different examples:

> Store of Dishes makes a feast,
> Shift of cloaths is sweet and cleane,
> Change of pasture fats the beast ...[1].

Bold's "Away (you Fool!) will thou love less ..."[2] also preaches freedom in affection, reminding the woman who is addressed that:

> Variety (as some do hold)
> The gods delight in ...

and protesting that heaven did not assign "Man to one woman, but to woman kind". This suggests the "community" theme, which Bold treats at greater length in his "The Suns of Beauty ne're had shone ..."[3], urging his mistress not to spend her "beauty's store" on one, when it "might serve a thousand more", and asking what matter, while her "virgin springs are running", who "comes there, or who first ... doth allay his eager thirst" with her "cooling waters". B.M. MS. Harley 3991 (f. 33r.) has a song recording how a lover who was once enslaved by "Rozilla's divinity" allowed his eyes to stray, and thus escaped her toils, since he became "glutted with varieties", and in Bodleian MS. Eng. Poet. f.24 (f. 26r.) a poem called "The Jayle" brings arguments as diverse as those of a free bird singing more sweetly than an encaged one, and of a tornado propelling a ship, though it has contrary winds within it, to prove the advisability of unconfined love:

> David was good and wise, that had good store
> Of wives, His son was wiser, He had more.

Beaumont, in "Loves Freedome", yearns, like the elegists, for "those golden daies" when man, like "birds and beasts",

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1. Op. cit., p. 233.
2. Poems Lyrique, 1664, p. 49.
3. ibid., p. 12.

changed his mate every spring,[1] and Suckling, finding "Love and Debt alike Troublesome", looks back to a happier "golden age, wherein all things were free and common".[2] Lovelace, too, conceives a "Golden Age" when "cursed No stain'd no maids blisse", "Lads indifferently did crop a flower, and a maidenhead", "Gold was damm'd to th' Pit", boys and girls walked hand in hand "naked as their own innocence", and:

> On softer than the cignets down,
> In beds they tumbled of their own,
> For each within the other lay.[3]

Elegiac protest about the obtrusion of money matters into the love relationship is found in Cowley's "Gold", where he points out that virtue, wit and blood are of no account any longer, since "Gold Monopolizes love!": the use of a technical term from economics is noteworthy. He goes on to curse the man who first found gold, the man who first "digg'd" it, the man who first refined it and, above all "him who us'd it first in Love".[4] Curses against the first inventors of various modern phenomena are, it will be remembered, a customary mannerism of the ancient elegy. In his poem "The Given Love" Cowley returns to the subject.[5] He addresses the wealthy, and tells them that, though he will allow them to think themselves "valiant, learned and wise", if they lay special claim to love, as well, he will himself find some "crooked ways" to grow rich, such as their "Fore-fathers" used:

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1. Poems, 1640, sig. I4r.
2. Works, ed. A.H. Thompson, 1910, p. 48.
3. Poems, edd C.H. Wilkinson, 1930, p. 146.
4. Poems, ed. A.R. Waller, 1905, p. 55.
5. ibid., p. 68: cf. "The Bargain" (p. 92).

I'll flatter, or oppose the King,
Turn Puritan, or anything.

With his "flatter" and "oppose" he hits out in two directions, like the elegists, against Court and City. He then develops his poem into an elegiac curse upon "the man who taught women that Love was to be bought". In "Discretion" he reminds his mistress gently that "Joynture", "Portion", "Estate", "Houses, Household-stuff, or Land" are merely "the Low Conveniences of Fate":

Believe me, beauteous one, when Love
Enters into a breast,
The two first things it does remove
Are Friends and Interest.[1]

The theme had clearly attracted him early in life. In his play Love's Riddle published in 1638, but written while he was still at Westminster, Florellus (V.i.140) inveighs against those who "sell themselves" in marriage, and "hugge the wealthy bagges". In Shirley's "A Fayring"[2], the poet treats his mistress' request for a present frivolously, and then, seeing she is angry, feigns surprise, and pretends that he had thought she was joking when she introduced a financial consideration into love:

For sure you cannot mean with hope to gain
That gift from me is worth your entertain.
For whatsoever is not I, must be
Trifles, and empty things bestow'd on thee.

With its conversational tone, its employment of vivid details from the fairground scene to achieve immediacy, and the dramatic presence of the mistress, gradually growing more exasperated, which is felt throughout, this poem comes near to being an elegy. The song "You silly mortals that addresse ..." in Weaver's Love and Drollery 1654, protests that nowadays

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1. Poems, ed. A.R. Waller, 1905, p. 137.
2. Poems, 1646, p..9.

"the god of Love is Gold", and scornfully observes how "Ladies now that seem most cold" will "ope their legs" if their suitors "ope a rich purse"[1]; and in Wit Restor'd, 1658, there is a pair of poems entitled "The Bursse of Reformation"[2] and "The Answer", which sneer at the way in which noble families, when their fortunes are "sunck" and "Titles are a fading", arrange a marriage with "some Merchant's daughter":

Thus great ones live by trading.

A song in the same volume about "the moderne waies of Ladies" comments neatly:

'Tis not your witt nor language charme
And take a femall eare:
A paire of pendants worth a farme
Is held more welcom there[3].

William Hammond's "To her Questioning his Estate"[4] carries on an argument against thegirl's enquiries about money, about the hard social facts of marriage, on a witty, "Ovidian" level, moving constantly towards a request for physical consummation. Love, he points out, is to him a "philosopher's stone", turning all to gold, so, in a sense, he is:

richer than the King
Who gilt Pactolus' yellow tide.

Besides, her lips will turn "each cup to wine", and they will need no clothes because:

Naked embraces keep us warm,
And, stript, than May thou art more fine.

We have already remarked upon Brome's attitude to the association of love and money. A further example of it is "The Mad Lover"[5] where, in characteristically devil-may-care

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1. Op. cit., p. 8.
2. Op. cit., pp. 20-27.
3. ibid., p. 28.
4. Minor Poets of the Caroline Period, ed. G. Saintsbury, 3 Vols., 1906, ii.495.
5. Poems, 1664, p. 47.

vein, he recounts how "Love made me run into debt":

There's nothing but money can cure me,
And rid me of all my pain
'Twil pay all my debts,
And remove all my lets,
And my Mistris that cannot endure me,
Will love me and love me again.

As so often, with Brome, the recklessness seems forced: one is tempted to take the words at their face value.

The Ovidian advocacy of audacity in love, epitomized in Carew's "Boldnesse in Love"[1] also becomes common currency in the lyric. The poem "What if I come to my mistris bedd"[2], ascribed to Donne in some manuscripts, is in fact an extension of a precept from the Ars, - audentem Forsque Venusque iuvat (i.608):

Fortune never failes, if shee badd take place,
To shroude all the faire proceedings:
Love and she though blynd, yet each other embrace,
To favor all their servants meetings ...

Lovelace's "Valiant Love"[3] is a wittily-extended comparison between love and war, coupled with a "rough" attitude towards the business of wooing, and a condemnation of self-abasement before the woman. From henceforth, says Lovelace let none make love with tears, "On paine of having's Launce broke on her Bed". Waller, too, knows that women "stoop to the forward and the bold", though he has not the courage, he admits, to put his knowledge to practical use;[4] and a song printed in Merry Drollery, which tells the story of a lover who lost his opportunity, ends with the advice that "the way to win a woman's love" is to be "brief" and direct, and

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1. Poems, ed. R. Dunlap, 1957, p. 42.
2. Donne, Poems, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, 2 Vols., 1912, i.453.
3. Poems, ed. C.H. Wilkinson, 1930, p. 93.
4. Poems, ed. G. Thorn Drury, 2 Vols., 1893, i.87.

to ignore her pleas of "O nay, O nay, not yet!"[1] In B.M. MS. Add. 11811 (f. 23v.) there is a song which uses the examples of Leda, Phoebe, Danäe and Hero, to illustrate its point that, though a woman is "nice and coy" and denies the first advances, she will give way to a determined lover; and Giles Earle's song-book (B.M. MS. Add. 24665, f. 20v.), dated 1615, has a poem affirming that "Loue commands the hands to dare", and that the "chiefest lesson in loues schoole" is that they are fools who "flinch For a squeake, a scratch or pinch":

If thy mistresse sweare shee'le crie
Feare her not, sheele sweare and lie.

A song in B.M. MS. Add. 23229 (f. 130r.) teaches that "the way to gayne" in love is to use "lesse of words and more of dooing", and to press "boldly on" with "downe right blowes", instead of words: women may put up a fight, but:

A denial
Is no triall
They're nere vanquisht till they bleede.

"A little bowldness" is also advised in a song from B.M. MS. Add. 22582 (f. 24r.), which warns "Ladys" that they are wasting their time while they are out of London. Women, it explains, always want to taste the "frewt with midst of the gardin", and though they "seeme strait last" and "nice" they "doe but counterfeite". Similarly, a song in MS. C.C.C. Oxford 327 (f. 13r.) uses the unsuccessful courtship of a "silly shepheard" as occasion for demonstrating that only "silly foolish youths" take no for an answer:

Noe is a word that Woemen use
When they'l take, and yet refuse.

The poem "Once I must confesse I loved ..." in Wit Restor'd, 1658, announces that "Women joy to be attempted":

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1. Merry Drollery, 1661, p. 33.

Sweete-stolne sport to them is gratefull,
And in heart they wish to have it;
Yet they doe account it hateful
Upon any termes to crave it.[1]

Other elegiac themes find their way into the lyric from time to time. The execration of morning, after the style of Amores, I.xiii, develops into the song "Wherefore peepst thou, envious daye?"[2], found in several Donne manuscripts, and printed in Wilson's Cheerful Ayres, 1659; into Heath's "Why peeps the envious Morne so soone ..."[3]; into the song "Stay, (my dear Eliza) stay..."[4] printed in the 1656 Academy of Pleasure; and into what is by far the most delightful of all Jordan's poems, A Dialogue betwixt Castadorus and Arabella in bed:

Castadorus:
Deare Castadorus let me rise,
Aurora gins to jeere me
Shee tells me I do wantonize,
I prethee, sweete, lye near me.

Let red Aurora smile, my deere,
And Phoebus laughing follow,
Thou only art Aurora heere
Let me be thy Apollo.
It is to envie at our blisse
That they doe rise before us,
Is there such hurt in this, or this?

Arabella: Nay fye! why, Castadorus!

Castadorus: What, Arabella, can one night
Of loving dalliance tyre yee?
I could lye ever (if I might)
One houre let me desire yee.

Arabella: Fy, fy, you hurt me, let me goe:
If you so roughly use me
What can I say or think of you?

Castadorus: I prethee (Loue) excuse me.
Thy beauty and my loue defend
I should ungently move thee,
Tis kisses (sweete) that I intend,
Is it not that I love thee?

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1. Op. cit., pp. 106-7: Cf. Ars, i.269 f. For other examples of the same theme see Herrick, Works, ed. L.C. Martin, 1956, p. 249: Pembroke and Rudyerd, Poems, 1660, p. 72: Hammond, "The Cruel Mistress", in Minor Poets of the Caroline Period, ed. G. Saintsbury, 3 Vols., 1906, ii.496.
2. Donne, Poems, ed. H.J.C. Grierson, 2 Vols., 1912, i.451.
3. Robert Heath, Clarastella, 1650, pt. 2, p. 2.
4. Academy of Pleasure, 1656, p. 2.

Arabella: I doe confesse it is, but then
Since you doe so importune
That I should once lye downe agen,
Vouchsafe to draw the Curtaine.
Aurora and Apollo (too)
May visit silent fields;
By my consent they nere shall know
The blisse our pleasure yeelds.[1]

By a miracle Jordan avoids being coarse here, though Arabella would be sweeter still if she did not offer to "lye downe" quite so openly.

The poet-in-love-with-two-mistresses motif of Amores, II.x, is used by Waller in "To Amoret"[2], by Shirley[3], and by Heath in "Equalitie"[4]. Waller in "To Mistris Braughton"[5], like Ovid in Amores, II.viii, writes a poem to the waiting-maid who tends his lady's hair, and Cowley's "The Waiting-Maid"[6] is clearly based upon Amores, II.vii. The elegiac love-war parallel is a particular favourite in Royalist collections like Love and Drollery and The Academy of Pleasure. The former contains a poem entitled "A Dialogue Betwixt a Cavalier and a Lady, Upon Occasion of a sudden Alarm in the night", where the Lady pleads that night is the time for Venus' wars, not Mars' and that there is:

... no enemy
So fit to combate how as I.
Here strive till morne, and it shall be
Good omen, first to conquer me ...
... e're you go, dispatch my pain,
Leave not a Maiden-head half slain.
Dear, make another pass ...

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1. Jordan, Loves Dialect, 1646, sig. C3v.
2. Poems, ed. G. Thorn Drury, 2 Vols., 1893, i.58.
3. Poems, 1646, p. 19 ("A Gentleman in Love with two Ladies").
4. Clarastella, 1650, pt. 2. p. 11.
5. Poems, ed. G. Thorn Drury, 2 Vols., 1893, i.55.
6. Poems, ed. A.R. Waller, 1905, p. 138.

The "Cavalier" puts her off with stern predictions about teaching "the foe" what "insolence" it is "to disturb a Lovers bliss", and the whole thing is rounded off with a thumping refrain about "Honour" making the "noblest mind" leave its "dearest friend".[1] Perhaps it comforted some of the defeated side to think of themselves in these spectacular terms, - buckling on their swords with heroic determination while beautiful women pleaded in vain for their embraces.

The doctrine of Ars, i.669-70, is enshrined in Herrick's reminder to Anthea that "kissing and glancing, soothing" are all only preparations for a "private Play" about which he will tell her more when they "meet in bed",[2] and in Brome's imitation of this, where he tells Caelia that "in spite of the story the Platonist tells", "kissing and courting" are of no use unless they lead "to something else".[3] We learn from B.M. MS. Add. 15227 (f. 6v.) that <u>At Lambeth in a wall in the cloister are written these verses with a coale. 1624</u>:

> Oscula qui sumpsit, si non et caetera sumpsit,
> Haec quoque quae data sunt perdere dignus erat[4].

Marcel Françon has summarized so admirably the proliferation[5] of renaissance poems in Latin, Italian, German, French and English which stem from the pseudo-Ovidian <u>Carmen de Pulice</u> that there is no need to pursue the subject any further here, except to add to Françon's literary references to Ovid as author of the <u>Carmen</u> from Marlowe and Woodhouse, one from Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 120 (f. 29v.), where there is a poem of six stanzas of which the first reads:

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1. T.[homas] W.[eaver], <u>Love and Drollery</u>, 1654 pp. 54-5.
2. <u>Poetical Works</u>, ed. L.C. Martin, 1956, p. 24.
3. <u>Poems</u>, 1664, p. 39.
4. <u>Ars</u>, i.669-70.
5. "Un Motif de la Poésie Amoureuse au XVI^{e} siècle", <u>P.M.L.A.</u>, June 1941, pp. 307-336.

Soe Ouid lou'd the Thinge I doe not hate,
Rather then he from it would be estrang'd
He wisht (and wisely) that his proper shape
Might when he would into a fleas be chang'd
He had his wishe (some say) for ever since
Fleas haunte that Thinge and will not byde from
thence ....

- the author goes on to say that Ovid's soul, and the souls of the other love-poets, became fleas at their deaths, and he recounts, with a good measure of salacious detail a "skirmishinge" he once witnessed between a girl and a wayward flea. The poem probably belongs to the first decade of the seventeenth century: two leaves later in the manuscript are some verses In laudem libri et Itineris primi Thom. Coriati, which do not, however, appear among those prefaced to the Crudityes.

Suasoria which use birds, animals or plants as examples are not uncommon in the Royalist anthologies. The 1640 Academy of Complements has "A Letter to a beautifull Gentle-woman, that was resolved to live and dye a Mayd"[1], recommending "natures recreation" as illustrated by "the Pelican and Turtle Dove" and "the eglantine and wood-bind tree". "A Country Courtship" in The Marrow of Complements, 1655[2], selects as patterns "two honest Turtles" and "Titan" sporting in "Tellus lap". According to the "Invitation to Dalliance" in Musarum Deliciae, 1655, "The Swan, the Turtle and the Sparrow" are to be imitated.[3] The concept of Ovid maintained in these anthologies is indicated by a poem in The Academy of Complements where the author, working through the catalogue of his mistress' charms, reaches her thighs and declares them, as had Sidney in

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1. Op. cit., p. 165.
2. Op. cit., p. 18.
3. Op. cit., p. 58.

the previous century, fit for "The Genius of an Ovid's wit."[1.] A song in Merry Drollery, 1661, sets out a thoroughly hypocritical standard of courtship, describing how the poet swears and vows love to his mistress, for a purely physical end, "whilst silly she" believes him and thinks he "loves her best". He concludes:

> Thus Ladies have I learn'd in Cupid's schools
> My Master Ovid's Grammar Rules.[2.]

Several characteristic features of the "cavalier" lyric may be traced, then, to the elegiac convention. The flippant immorality; the careless avowal of promiscuity; the high-handed self-confidence in matters of love, which reaches its ultimate in the request that the girl should not be so willing; the sneers and the whines about the kind of people who have money nowadays, and about its effect on women; the association of love and war, and the anxiety of the poet to present himself as a bold, straightforward wooer; and the tone of dramatic address, of direct speech: - all these are a part of the elegiac tradition: all were exploited by the English elegists. Without them the tone of the lyrics printed between 1635 and 1664 would be very different.

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1. Academy of Complements, 1640, p. 136.
2. Op. cit., pt. ii, p. 158.

CONCLUSION

Both in Europe and England the renaissance love elegy begins as a neo-Latin form. Confronted with the complex array of themes and motifs embodied in the ancient elegy, the sixteenth-century new-Latin poets select, modify and redistribute emphasis. The attack on the aged lover, for example, hardly present in Ovid[1], though frequent in Tibullus[2], becomes generic in neo-Latin, and the elegiac animus against old women becomes habitually particularized and focussed upon the mother of the poet's mistress, in keeping with the tendency for the authority-symbols of the Roman elegists, such as the bawd and the lover-in-possession, to be reinterpreted by neo-Latin elegists in terms of parents and family.

The European vernacular poets, imitating the elegiac form or incorporating elegiac mannerisms into forms like the lyric and the pastoral, keep noticeably within the range of themes already exploited in modern Latin. The Italian poets, however, tend to lay new emphasis both upon naturalistic features of the elegiac code, such as apostrophes to dawn, moon or sun and references to the loves of animals and plants, and also upon potentialities for paradox inherent in elegiac topics like praise of a dark beauty or detailed description of an ugly woman[3].

This inclination towards the paradox in the vernacular elegy is evident in Donne, especially when he is compared

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1. Cf. Amores, I.ix.4, and Ars, iii.559-76.

2. Cf. Tibullus, I.i.71-2; ii.89-94; viii.29-30; ix.65-74.

3. For the latter Cf. Ars, iii.211-18, 245-50; Remedia, 341-56, 413-32; Amores, I.viii.110-12.

with his Anglo-Latin predecessors, the Scottish elegists and Campion. Later Inns-of-Court writers most commonly imitated those of Donne's elegies in which the paradoxical tradition mingles with the purely elegiac. Partly because of the assimilation of elegiac themes into song-book, madrigal and epigram, and partly because the printed, as opposed to the written history of the English elegy does not really begin until 1633, the impact of the form is carried over directly from the beginning of the century to the cavaliers. The work of a poet like Alexander Brome shows with especial clarity the results of this impact upon the Caroline lyric. The social gestures of the elegy, - the love poetry of the Malcontent, probably recommended themselves to the cavaliers and to the Inns-of-Court gentlemen for similar reasons. The Ovidian request for opposition in love, for example, is habitually used by both as a starting point for contemplated physical domination where the male seeks to avenge his dissatisfaction with the community, and to obliterate his sense of personal insufficiency by watching the female register pain and make vain attempts to oppose him as he takes his pleasure from her. To a similar end the elegiac world of dupes, of deceived husbands, parents and guardians, over whom the poet boasts his triumph, is substituted for the real world.

With the Restoration licence became fashionable. Popular philosophy like Hobbes' misanthropic deism and S. Evremond's imported Epicureanism, helped to render innocuous what had been, to an earlier generation, shocking and therefore attractive about many of the elegiac assumptions. The theme of Amores, III.vii, an elegy seldom imitated in the first half of the century, in spite of A Choise of Valentines, now comes into considerable prominence both

in drama and in the Miscellany poem.[1] It seems to be used to give an impression of "modern" frankness in discussing sexual matters. When the poet speaks in the first person, openly declaring his own incompetence, the intention is apparently to assert sophisticated irresponsibility. Thus in Rochester's "The Imperfect Enjoyment" the imagery chosen is noticeably that of financial carelessness:

> Like prudent Corporations, had we laid
> A Common Stock by, we'ad improv'd our Trade;
> But as a prodigal Heir, I spent by th'by
> What Home directed would serve her and I.[2]

Behind such poems lies also that predilection for the smutty snigger which produces burlesque elegies like Wycherley's "To a Lady that wore Drawers in an Ill Hour"[3] or Durfey's "A True Tale of a True Intrigue".[4] The latter tells how the poet, one dark night, visited two sisters, Olinda and Cephise, the one "fair", the other "of browner hew", who were in the habit of granting him their favours, unbeknown to their guardian "a mouldy Aunt that never slept". Luckily he had learnt "how to bribe her maid", and gained admittance while the "old Aunt" was "lock'd up at Prayers". Both girls sleep in the same bed, but he selects Olinda, and makes full use of his opportunity, while she:

> strugling betwixt shame and Love
> To make a faint resistance strove.

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1. Cf. Durfey, The Fool Turn'd Critick, 1678, pp. 35-6 ("I found my Caelia one night undrest ..."); Dryden, Dramatic Works, ed. M. Summers, 6 Vols., 1931-2, iii.241-2 ("Whil'st Alexis lay prest ..."); Rochester, Collected Works, ed. J. Hayward, 1926, pp. 67-71 ("One Day the Am'rous Lysander ..."), 71-3 ("Naked she lay, claspt in my longing Arms .."), 120 ("A Song. Et Caetera"): in the last two the girl is called Corinna. See also Wycherley, Complete Works, ed. M. Summers, 4 Vols., 1924, iii.182, 201, 259.
2. Rochester, Collected Works, ed. cit., 1926, p. 116.
3. Wycherley, Complete Works, ed. M. Summers, 4 Vols., 1924, iii.263.
4. Durfey, New Poems, 1690, pp. 40-53.

Durfey refers to "Great Ovid" and to Caesar who

> ... saw his fond Girl her fame expose
> To th' Poet with the Roman Nose.

Up to this point the elegiac tradition has been closely adhered to. But now the old Aunt, hearing a noise, comes up to search the bedroom, the frightened girls push the poet down under the covers:

> Where close the panting Lover lies
> Half-smothered with soft Legs and Thighs,

and Olinda, sitting up in bed:

> boldly on my Reeking Face
> Sets without Complement her A ——.

The poem thus disintegrates into dirty laughter, and it is laughter which, like the use of abbreviations of the "A ——" kind, common also in Rochester, implies a solidarity and mutual sympathy between poet and public. Such solidarity is foreign to the elegist, who assumes a hostile world, and views it arrogantly. To take such arrogance from the elegy is to remove its essence. Often mere prurience is the result, as in Dryden's "Beneath a Myrtle shade ..."[1.] from the Conquest of Granada, which narrates an erotic dream, borrowing certain features from Amores, I.v, or Mrs. Behm's "Amyntas led me to a grove ..." from The Dutch Lover,[2.] which ends with the Ovidian formula "Oh! Who can guess the rest?".[3.] Wycherley retains more of the vital elegiac quality in his "To Celia, who, flying from him into a Grove, fell down", not only because the "shades and silence" which "make it seem like Night " remind one of Corinna's afternoon, or because

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1. Dramatic Works, ed. M. Summers, 6 Vols., 1931-2, iii.50-1. For examples of the erotic dream genre before the Restoration see Herrick, Poetical Works, ed. L.C. Martin, 1956, p. 20; Stanley in Caroline Poets, ed. G. Saintsbury, 3 Vols., 1921, iii.102; Pembroke and Rudyerd, Poems, 1660, p. 113. Herrick and Pembroke both borrow ideas in these poems from Amores, I.v.

2. Behn, Works, ed. M. Summers, 6 Vols., 1915, i.255.

3. Cf. Amores, I.v.25.

the "Turtles" and the trees "with interwoven arms" which "seem, like us, in soft embraces twin'd" are indicated as "Example", but because the "kind Gloom" is chiefly useful to the poet in that it "excludes the Rival's Sight", and because Celia tries to plead "Duty and Connubial Love" which the poet, pressing home his advantage, dismisses as "the vain Plea of Nuptial Rights":

> Tho' Thou within the Pale of Marriage be
> The Law has settled no Propriety
> I mean, the Law both of the Chace and Field,
> For gamesome Things, like Thee, by Nature Wild.[1.]

Similarly domineering dialectic animates Wycherley's frequent elegiac protests against the interference of money in love,[2.] as when he attacks his former mistress for being true to her husband, though marriage was "Not by your Love, but Int'rest made", and was "forc'd by your Friends on you", unlike her vow to the poet, which was "Voluntary":

> ... you, for better keeping, like a Whore
> Become my Rival's, for his giving more.[3.]

Wycherley also develops the theme of Amores, II.iv, arguing for "Variety in Love"[4.], and defends his "Love's Indiff'rence"[5.]. He instructs "an Affected, Proud Jilt, who Quarrel'd with her Friend, for calling Her, A Common Good" that:

> Women, like Books, should valu'd be the more
> As by more Men, more tumbled o'er and o'er.[6.]

In "A Consolation for Cuckolds" he reveals his social prejudices (and his knowledge of Montaigne) by pretending to comfort

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1. Wycherley, Complete Works, ed. M. Summers, 4 Vols., 1924, iv.179.
2. ibid., iii.61, 100, 171, 183, 253, 276; iv.31.
3. ibid., iii.45 (cf. also ibid., iv.19, on the same subject)
4. ibid., iii.55.
5. ibid., iii.112.
6. ibid., iii.240.

"Traders" and "murm'ring Cits" with the information that "Lucullus, Caesar, Pompey" were cuckolds also,[1] and the social ethos of his comedy is neatly summarized in two couplets from The Country Wife:

> Who for his business, from his Wife will run;
> Takes the best care, to have her bus'ness done.
>
> The gallant treats, presents and gives the ball;
> But 'tis the absent cuckold pays for all.[2]

Marriage he refers to as "a Beastly Bargain": in "Answer to a Mistress, who desir'd her Lover to Marry her", he declares:

> Marry thee! No; that wou'd not show my Love;
> My hatred to thee, rather, wou'd it prove[3].

Rochester, who couples together insultingly "Cuckolds, Whores, Citizens, their Wives and Daughters",[4] and who inveighs bitterly against the social emancipation and "aspiring Mind" of woman:

> She will no longer in subjection stand,
> But Man must truckle to her harsh Command.[5]

- argues that "Constancy alone is strange" since it is "Nature's Law to Change", and goes on to cite examples from meteorology.[6] In an attempt to persuade Caelia to forsake her "Guegaw Reputation" he writes an imitation of the stream passage from Donne's "Oh, let me not serve so ..." (lines 21-34),[7] and suggests to her, on another occasion, that like

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1. Wycherley, Complete Works, ed. M. Summers, 4 Vols., 1924, iv. 219-22.

2. ibid., ii.34, 50.

3. ibid., iii.90.

4. Collected Works, ed. J. Hayward, 1926, p. 122.

5. ibid., p. 114. It is worth remembering that Rochester, to repair his own ruined fortunes, married a wealthy heiress, Elizabeth Malet, whom he had previously attempted to seduce.

6. ibid., p. 4.

7. ibid., p. 8.

"the kind Seed-receiving Earth" which "To every Grain affords a Birth", she should not remain "confined" to one but should "be the Mistress of Mankind".[1] Sedley, whose translations from the Amores[2], like Rochester's[3], were printed in Dryden's Miscellany Poems, published by Tonson in 1685, similarly recommends to another "Caelia" the example of "Birds and Beasts" and opposes "Nature" to "Tyrant Honour".[4]

Wycherley insists that "Loves Pains and Fears" only "augment more our Joy", and that if satisfaction is "gain'd with Ease" it destroys the pleasure.[5] The sentiment became a commonplace on the Restoration stage. Dryden devotes a song to it in An Evening's Love[6] and Sparkish informs Pinchwife:

> Loving alone is as dull as eating alone. Is it not a frank age? and I am a frank person ... I love to have rivals in a wife, they make her seem to a man still but a kept mistress[7].

Durfey's "Caelia be not too complying ..."[8] carries the theme into the early eighteenth century song, and his female seduction-monologues like "Pish fye, you're rude Sir ..." and "Nay pish, nay pish, nay pish Sir, what ails you ..."[9] do the same for an offshoot of the Ovidian tradition which, as we have seen, attained considerable popularity early in the

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1. Collected Works, ed. J. Hayward, 1926, p. 20. Rochester, of course, carried elegiac adventure into actual life. See, for example the story of his affair with the wife of an "old covetous miser" (ibid., pp. xxxv-vi).

2. Sedley, Poetical and Dramatic Works, ed. V. de S. Pinto, 2 Vols., 1928, i.92, 95, 97.

3. Rochester, Collected Works, ed. cit., p. 47.

4. Sedley, Poetical and Dramatic Works, ed. cit., i.12.

5. Complete Works, ed. M. Summers, 4 Vols., 1924, iii.100.

6. Dramatic Works, ed. M. Summers, 6 Vols., 1931-2, ii.263.

7. Wycherley, Complete Works, ed. cit., ii.45.

8. Pills to Purge Melancholy, 6 Vols., 1719, vi.306.

9. ibid., v.305; vi.108. Cf. also ibid., v.110, which utilizes the familiar naval terminology in describing a seduction.

sixteen hundreds. Nor does one have to look far among even the most famous scenes of comedy at the beginning of the eighteenth century to detect the lingering influence of Ovidian erotic assumptions and patterns of thought. When Mirabell, for example, explains to Fainall that he is attracted to Mrs. Millamant "with all her faults; nay, like her for her Faults", and that "those Affectations which in another woman would be odious, serve but to make her more agreeable", and when he recalls how once, in an attempt to free himself from love, he "separated her failings" and "study'd 'em and got 'em by rote"[1], one recognizes the double echo, however faint, from the Ars and the Remedia.

1. Congreve, Complete Works, ed. M. Summers, 4 Vols., 1923, iii.18. Cf. Ars, ii.667 f.; Remedia, 315 f.

APPENDIX A

The Poems of Nicholas Hare

The following abbreviations have been used:

A25 - B.M. MS. Add. 25707
A25(b) - " f. 177r.
Ash38 - Bodleian MS. Ashmole 38
C - Certain Elegies etc., 1618
Eg - B.M. MS. Egerton 923
H - Huntington Library MS. HM 198
L - University of Edinburgh MS. Laing III, 493
P - Poems, Pembroke and Rudyerd, 1660
S - B.M. MS. Stowe 962

I

Elegy

Whether theis Honours, or else Loue, it be
That on his windie wings doth carry thee,
I find thy outward hauiours much exchang'd,
And their fayre order fals'd and disarang'd;
I seeke thee in thy selfe, but cannot see
A trace or shadow that resembles thee:
Those eyes that went the morning light out-shining
And by reflection our dull beames refining,
Whose motion did from earthly darknesse free vs,
Does with neglect regard, and slightly see vs;
Those lips that wonting to depart in sunder
Charm'd the admiring hearer in his wonder
Vse not their power, as fainting in their course,
Nor does thy sauing tongue display her force;
Thy heart that in free graces so abounded
Is now with jealousies and feares surrounded,
Pale trembling, doubt, with many-eyd suspition
Keepe solemne court in thy sad disposition,
Briefly, so desperate a change I finde
As suddenlie is not to be definde.
If these new honours, or ambition,
Be arches that thy feares are founded on
Be lesse ambitious, seeke to comprehend
Lesse in thy vaste thoughts, and thy feares will end;
If it be loue that does deuide thy rest,
And waken up theis tumults in thy brest,
It askes more pardon, for thy beautie's such
As for man's good thou canst not loue too much:
Thine age is tender and to loue inuites,

H,C Elegy]An Elegie by N.H. C
1 theis]those C
2 doth]do H thee]me C
3 hauiours[fauours C
7 went]wont C
10 slightly]slackly H
13 power]powers H
18 Keepe]Keepes C
20 is not to be]is vnto me H
22 are]be H
26 theis]those C

Then seeke out thy required appetites,
Which when thou hast encountred in some one
Of thousands, whose supreame perfection
Will bee with double soule to loue and serue,
Thine art shall bee such duty to conserue
And with deare grace nurse the concealed fire
Till it to glorious action may aspire,
Which though but seldome, when it does arriue
And in a well-espyed occasion thriue
Shall open wonders such as by Cupid's leaue
None but the elder louers can conceyue,
Whom thou from point to point must imitate
And from their grounds new principles create,
Which thou to thy occasions must apply
And let no minute passe vnused by.
Bee well aduisde and warie in thy choyce
And know him well to whom thou giuest thy voice
For perfect notices required are
Of him with whom thine honour goes so farre;
But hauing well explor'd, it will behoue
Thou be not nice to shew that thou do'st loue,
Discretion asking it should be reveal'd
As cleare to him, as from the world conceal'd;
For inaudacitie did neuer ayde
And hath loues childhood oftentimes betrayde;
Besides, ther's losse of time in Ceremonie,
(Ere ought be done the world being call'd to eye);
Thine actiue wit shall iealous thought fore-runne,
And let the businesse many times be done
With fauours numberlesse which thou shalt bestow
Ere thou in distance of opinion grow.
But walke in secret and consult with night
And shun the dangers of the treasnous light;
Slepes silent mother, euer friend to loue,
Will thy proportions secretarie proue,
And in her quiet sayles her forfaites hide,
Which are no faults but when they are espied.

33 with]a C
34 conserue]preserue C
40 the elder]th'elder H
42 grounds]ground C
44 minute]minutes C
47 For]So C
57 shall]with C
65 And in her]And her H

II

Epigrame

If each mans fault weare in his forehead writt,
Lines only would be read, and books reiected;
Nor hatt, nor hood, nor crowne would easie sitt,
And lowest foreheads would be most affected;
The holy hermite would be apprehended
In crimes unthought of till we read them there,
Reputed virgins would, thirteene once ended,
In colour full of guiltines appeare;
Nor I my selfe, that should my selfe know best,
Nor thou, deare Mistress, should be then exempted;
We should be both in manie tongues profest,
Thou for thie yeildinge, I for hauinge tempted:
Bee not discourag'd, I no reason see
Thou should'st for my sake any fault avowe;
Let mee stand censurd, and thou censure free,
Thy faults be written in thie husbands browe.

H,L, A25, A25(b) Epigrame]No title L, A25,A25(b)
1 mans fault]ones fault A25 ones faultes A25(b) in]on A25(b)
his forehead]theare foreheads A25 theare foreheade A25(b)
2 and books]the rest A25, A25(b)
3 hatt]hatts A25 nor hood, nor crowne]nor bonnets then A25
nor Bonnett then A25(b)
4 affected]respected A25, A25(b)
6 In]Of A25, A25(b) we]you A25, A25(b)
7 would]there H then L
8 colour]cullers A25
10 should]shouldst A25(b)
11 both in]both on A25 then on A25(b)
13 omitted A25, A25(b)
14 Thou should'st for my sake any]But why should'st thou
for mee, one A25, A25(b)
15 omitted A25, A25(b)
16 faults be]falte bee L faults are A25, A25(b) in]on L

H, Eg
5 theis]the Eg
6 vnimployd]least imploid Eg
7-8 omitted Eg
10 short lif'e]liues short Eg
16 recklessly forelowe]wrechlessly bestowe Eg

III

Sonnett

When by thee careles I deuisinge sitt,
And, to deceaue the summer howers, mainetaine
Many an idle purpose with my witt,
Perhaps, for want of other talke, I faine
A longinge for a kisse, no deadly sinne,
To which thou dost consent as soone as I
And when I leaue art readie to beginne, -
Soe plentifull in honest libertye:
But when from thence I higher would aspire,
(Or rather would descend, as change desiringe),
Thou art as could as I am full of fier
And leaust me there vpon my passions tyreing:
As thou giust appetite, giue it meanes to wast,
And be not free at all, or be less chaste.

H, L Sonnett]No title L
7 art]ar L
12 tyreing]trieinge H

IV

Not in the dust wee tread, but mounted high
Flyes with calme wings the great felicitie;
We seeke a graue with paine and doe enquire
Only for earth which we are sure to inheire,
Meanewhile, while theis meane things are most enioyd,
The noblest part of us is vnimployd,
(Att least in the extreame good), and, most assured,
But sleeps within us and is vnmanured.
My meditation warninge me on high
Teaches me this short lif's calamity,
Which when I sadly weigh, I doe beginne
To wonder how we dote so on our Inne, -
This house of clay, this corruptible dust,
The fee of death, and giuen vs but in trust, -
Yet makinge loue to life, (as most menn doe
Theire only Time so recklessly forslowe),
As if death were not, or our slender twine
Were large as is the geometrike line.
Our course is swift as lightninge seene and fledd,
And what of life is past is already dead.

H, Eg
5 theis]the Eg
6 vnimployd]least imploid Eg
7-8 omitted Eg
10 short lif's]liues short Eg
16 recklessly forslowe]wrechlessly bestowe Eg

How serious and mortall theire designes
Are for discouerie of hidden mynes,
Or to driue trafique with remoued lands;
Although the clime their health and ease withstands,
They shake off danger and in hope of gaine
They do diminish feare and lessen paine;
Yet when theis welthy wonders they request
Are come to hand, and they of much possest,
They aske for more, their hopes untermind ly,
And neuer end before the wishers dye:
Which done, their memorie is sodaine ould,
And they, (in the forgotten dust enrould)
Neuer lift vp their names to after times
As they who formerly reioyced in Rimes
And, trustinge all their fame with it, doe liue
With life such as eternity cann giue.
Now I contemne the sand and seeme to flye
Aboue the brest of the disturbed skye,
From whence I viewe the vanitie of man
That heaps vp cares vpon this earthlie span,
And with laborious anguish weares his powers
In sad fore-thinkinge, that the winged howers
Lament their passinge and with mourninge fly
To be bestowed away so heauilye:
Poor hopes, that ayme but att a point of sand,
When earth it selfe, if it compared stand
With the vast world, is but the weary lees
And foote of this great creature. I despice
To sett my heart on ought that suffers change;
I thanke my starrs that soe my thoughts arrange.
All things doe suffer a variety
That vnder Nature are laid out to die;
The simple bodyes this exchange outliue
And of themselues new being doe deriue;
The sands resolued to water turned are,
The streaminge water changes into aire,
The aire attenuate becommeth fire
Which, of the fower, is lifted to aspire;
So mutuall alteringe they doe sustaine
For of the last the first is made againe.
Fortune and Time do large dominion share
In this our sublunary theater,
And all things wherevnto theire powers extend
Timely or late ariue vpon theire end;
Only the gentle Muse, of Time is friended,
Whose glory, well begun, is neuer ended,
And, though ecclipsed, does no death sustaine
But to the open light aspires again;
Of all lowe things which Time and Change depraue
Only devyner verses fly the Graue.

24 the]they H
25 gaine]gaines H
27 theis]those Eg
30 before]untill Eg
31-38 omitted Eg
43 passinge]passage Eg
46 When]Where H
48 foote]foole Eg great]same Eg
50 I]and Eg
53 The simple bodyes]this simple bodie H
63 things]this H powers]power H
67 no]not Eg

V

To his Mistress: the Usurye of Time

Lett natures fooles, made out of sullen earth,
Dissolue againe after a weepinge birth,
Wastinge their course in vertuous miserye,
Pursueinge griefe before their time to dye.
Labor is endlesse, vertue vnregarded,
And best deserte with base suspition guarded;
Lett me leade out my howers in privatye,
Not knoweinge death till nature calls to die:
(When Quiett silence shall enwombe mee rounde,
Sleepinge in earth untill the latest sounde,
What tyme, approuinge the faire light againe,
Caesar and I shall rise as equall menn).
Wee are no learners in this arte, for wee
Knowe what life is, and her varietye;
Wee knowe that Mistress and her sodaine wheele,
The hasty winged wee not by the heele
But by the forehead hould, the howres runn on,
And wee cann vse them were they tenn for one;
For proffe of this our cunninge vsurye,
My dearest hope, lett mee beginne with thee:
Giue me a kisse from those faire lipps of thyne,
And make it double by enioyinge myne,
Another yett, nay yett, and yett another,
And lett the first kisse bee the seconds mother;
Pleasure hath meerely noe satietye,
Nor in this kind cann it bee sad to dye;
Giue mee a thousand kisses, and yett more,
And then repeate those that haue paste before,
Lett us beginne when daye light springes in heauen,
And kisse till light descende into the euen,
And when that modest secretarye, night,
Discoulors all saue thie heauen-beaminge white,
We will beginne reuells of hidden love
In that deare orbe where silente pleasures move;
And when the skye leaues off by course to mourne,

A25, S, H To his Mistress: the Usurye of Time]Eligie H
1 out of]of A25
2 Dissolue]Resolue H
3 course]houres H vertuous]a vertuouse S
6 base]strict H
7 privatye]privacy S, H
8 calls]call H
13 no]nowe A25
20 hope]hopes H
23 and yett]and then S
29 in]from H
30 light]night A25, S descende]descends H
31 that]the S
32 heauen-beaminge]heau'n brauinge H
33 We will]will we A25
35 leaues off by course]by course leaues of S, H

Wee'l rest and languishe till the night returne,
Which wee will ofte reclaime, and ofte intreate,
To warne the starrye senate to their seate,
Under whose regiment noe eye shall see
The secrett dallyance twixt thee and mee,
Whilst in newe straines of frailtye and delight
Wee vent the dull howers of the sullen night,
Which is even enuious of the ioyes shee couers
In the sweet mutuall suffering of lovers.
Thou that as equall with the daye wert made,
Foulde upp the worlde in an eternall shade,
Smother the beautye of each livinge thinge
Vnder the gloomy shadowe of thy winge;
For were the day noe more to visitt us,
O then for ever I shoulde hould her thus
Naked, enchayned, emptye of idle feare,
As the first lovers in the garden were;
I should a while bee seuered from the earth,
And enter ioyes not promis'd in my birth,
Amidst these thornye passages espyeinge
The rose of life before the hower of dyinge,
(Dyinge betwixt her brests which are soe whyte
That to dye there would doe a man delight),
And from her balmy breath receave supplye
That to my fainte powers giues new leaue to dye;
Whilst shee my fate doth with her tongue controule,
The powerfull engin to drawe up my soule.
Mee thincks in this dead stillnesse of the night
My sences labor with a strange delighte,
More then the daye supplyes in her still reigne:
My winged frailtye searcheth euerye vayne
And vnreuealed passage of delight,
Deliueringe wonders to my rauisht spright
In liknes of her cheeks, and of her eyes
Whose wynninge sweetnes doth meethincks arise
In heauenly circles, that obtaine no ende
Whether to staye or they to motion tende;
More faire in each degree then anye raye
Knowne to the eveninge or uprisinge daye.
Daye, doe not rise uppon the starry hall,

39 shall]cann H
43 euen]omitted A25
44 sufferings]sufferinge S
56 hower]day H
57 betwixt]betweene H which]that H
58 that]as H
60 to my]from my A25, S new]me H
61 Whilst]While H
62 drawe]waigh H
67 passage]passages A25
70 wynninge]runninge H
71 heauenly]heau'nly H
72 staye]state H tend]send H
73 in each degree]by much degree S, H

Foreslowe thy care, and lett the night swaye all,
Whilst wee lye naked and secur'd from harms,
Strictly enfoulded in each others arms,
Embrace me still, for tyme runns on before,
And beinge dead wee shall embrace noe more;
Lett us kisse faster then the howers doe flye,
Longe liue eache kisse and neuer knowe to dye,
Yett if that fade and flye awaye to fast
Impresse another and renewe the last;
Lett us vye kisses till our eye-lidds couer,
And if I sleepe, thinke mee an idle louer,
Or if I sleepe Ile still pursue the theame
And eagerly Ile kisse thee in my dreame.
But since each vanitye to a poynt doth tend,
And our lascivious vigill must haue ende,
When envious sleepe doth travell ore myne eyes
And chardge with dreames my sceane of fantasyes,
Uppon those honord alters of thy breast,
Unto the peacefull minister of rest
Ile doe a sleepye sacrifice, and there,
Untill daye sprinckle our darke hemispheare,
As one with wonder ravisht from my breath,
In heuenlye stillnesse Ile resemble death;
My youth and frailtye shall togeather dye,
Tyme soe slept out is putt to vsurye.

76 care]race H
77 secur'd]secure S, H from]of H
79 me]we A25, S
87 Or]And H the]that H
88 my]a A25, S
91 doth]does H
94 the]that S, H
97 As one]Att once A25, S wonder]wonders H from]with A25, S

VI

Elegy

Why with unkindest swiftnes doest thou turne
From me, whose absence thou didst only mourne;
Of which thou madst me such a seeminge view
As vnbeleeuers would haue thought it true?
Wee haue bynn priuate, and thou know'st of mine
(Which is euen all) as much as I of thine:
Dost thou remember? Let me call to'accompt

H, P Elegy]No title P
2 only]truly P
3 view]showe H

Thy pleasant garden, and that leauy mount
Whose topp is with an open arbor crownd,
And spanned with greenest palizadoes round,
Whereon the powers of night may oft haue seene vs
And heard the contracts that haue binn betwene vs.
Dost thou remember (O securest beautie)
Where, of thine owne free motion (more then duty),
And vnrequired, thou solemly didst sweare,
(Of which auenging heauen can witnes beare),
That from the time thou gau'st thy spoiles to me
Thou wouldst mainetaine a spotles chastity,
And, vnprophan'd by any second hande,
From sport and loues delight remoued stand,
Till I, whose absence seemingely was mournd,
Should from a forraine kingdome be return'd?
Of this thou mad'st religion, and an oath.
But see the fraylty of a womans troth!
Scarce had the sunne, to many roomes assign'd,
Bin thrise within the changefull waues confin'd,
And I scarce three daies iouney from thine eyes,
When thou new loue didst in thy heart deuise,
And gau'st the reliques of thy virgin head
Vpon the easiest prayers that could be said.
Tis true, I left thee to a daungerous age
Where vice in angells shape does title wage
With auncient vertue, both disguisinge soe
That hardly weaker eyes can either knowe:
Besides, I left thee in the houre of feares
And in the couetous springe of all thy yeares,
What time a beauty that hath well begunn
Askes other then the solace of a nunn.
But since thy wanton soule so dear did prize
The game, that thou for it didst underprize
Thy faith, and all that to good fame belongs,
Couldst thou not couer it from comon tongues,
But cheapest eyes must see thee tread amisse?
My rimes that wonn thee neuer taught thee this:
Thou mightst haue wandered in the paths of loue,
And neither leaueles hill, nor shady groue
Have bynn vnpressed by thie wanton waight
Yet thou thought honest, hadst thou vsed sleight.
Much care and busines hath the chastest dame
To guard herselfe from vndeserued blame,
What artefice and cunninge then must serue
To colour them that iust reproofe deserue?
Tis not a worke for euery womans witt,

10-12 omitted P
17 thy]the H
28 didst in thy heart]in thy heart didst P
30 that]as H
32 title]titles P
40 didst]did H
43 tread]do P
53 euery]ev'ry P

And the lesse maruell thou neglectedst itt;
That which amazes me the most, is this,
That, hauinge neuer troden but amisse,
And done me wrongs that doe as much deny
To suffer measure, as infinitie,
When I approch, thou turn'st thy head awry,
As if soure eyes and scorne could satisfye.
Can second wrongs the former expiate
And worke them out of memory and date?
Or teach me, ill in humane precepts nurst,
That second mischeifs doe secure the first!
Thou art malitious, as incontinent,
And mightst haue mett with such a patient
Whose wronged virtue, to iust rage invited,
Would haue reueng'd, and in thie dust delighted.
But I, that haue no gall where once I loue,
And whom no great thing vnder heauen can moue,
Am well securd from fortunes weake alarmes,
And free from apprehension, as from harmes.
Thus doe I leaue thee to the multitude
That on my leauings hastily intrude:
Inioy thou many, or reioyce in one,
I was before them, and before me, none.

63 nurst]durst P
64 mischeifs doe secure]wrongs can expiate P
69 where]when P
70 thing]things H
73 multitude]multitudes H
74 leauings]leauing P intrude]intrudes H

VII

Thinke not on Jealousie or domestique warr,
Thou canst not well retire, engag'd so farr;
Thy hauinge heard me hath brought danger on
As much as wilbe when thou art mine owne;
To great emprises while we are aspiringe,
To aduance is nobler danger then retiringe:
The wakinge Ghost, thie husband, does not feare
The chance in any one particular,
Nor hath a doubtfull thought of me, but when
He feares the vniuersall sonnes of men.
The worst is past, with wronge thou art suspected,
Deseruing which, thou shalt not be detected:
Wherto serue witt and art but to discouer
Thou dost not deale with an vnlearned louer?
Did euer any perish in my hand
Whom I haue seru'd with under Loue's comaund?

48 gates]hiatus H herd]herd is H
69 may]do H
H
7 does]do H

When, busily enquir'd, haue I by chaunce
Betraid a fauour, - or in countenance
Or, like great men with vanity ore-waigh'd,
Told things that should be done and not be said?
Haue I reioyed with importunities
To winn me graces before publike eyes?
Thou neuer canst haue heard I did solicite
Att doubtfull houres with an vntimelie visite;
But, gouerning my passionate distresse,
Euer attended a secure accesse
Till mothers were asleepe, or husbands gone,
And powerfull waightinge women made my owne,
Whom to impawne to imortall secresy
In chaines of wished Venus I did ty,
And, though I loued them not, yet tooke the paine
To enforce beliefe, their silence to obtaine;
So that my whole attempts, saue one, haue thriud,
And no miscaryinge euer yet ariued:
The powers of loue haue so auspicious binn,
By whose addresse I shall thy fauors winne.
Why dost thou, then, confound thie selfe with feares,
That might'st see better daies ere age anneares,
And passe thie youth in being seru'd and lou'd,
That does deflorish, being vnimproued?
But our opinions do not here runne euen,
I sing of earth, and thou discoursts of heauen.
When I reioyce, thie saintly tongue replies,
"Theis are not waies that lead to Paradice".
I graunt it, and (Heauen pardon my amisse)
Am grieud such way should not be like to this, -
As ready found, as euenly delined,
Kept with like gates, as hard to be declined.
But if thie answere, thoughts auerse to loue,
Tend in a streight line to the ioyes aboue,
Then leaue the world behind thee, and bestow
That beauty from temptacion and from show;
Enter some sister-hood, and take new birth,
Where thou maist leade an angells life on earth;
Or if thie vowe, already undergone,
Foreclose the way to such perfection,
Yet fly from men, and wast thie insuinge yeares
In some dark angle fitt for praiers and teares,
Where to thie selfe and heauen thou maist professe,
And be in discipline an anchoresse.
Foure happie lustres thou hast liud to see,
And many more, by course, attend on thee
Ere heauen take back what it is pleased to lend,
And thie faire shadow to the graue descend;
Of manie yeares, that to thy course are due,
In strict retirednes approue a few,
That, whilst those sauinge shades do couer thee,
Absence may practice my deliuery,
And Time, thats full of counsell, may addresse
Me wanderer to the way of happines.

48 gates]hiatus H hard]hard is H
69 may]do H

Also by Hare:

VIII A sonnet of the conventional adulatory kind, beginning "I had no being till I saw her eies ...", found in L (subscribed "N.H."), H and Eg.

IX An epitaph of six lines on a girl, beginning "Here do repose, but in lamented waste ...", found in L and Ash 38 (subscribed "N.H." in each) and in H.

APPENDIX B

Poems from Manuscript

I

Text from BM. MS. Add. 22601, ff. 95r.-96r.

Oh, deere harte, where hast thou bene
Thus so longe from me estranged?
My deare loue I haue not seene
Since our hartes were first exchanged:
Euer since my thoughtes haue raunged.

Is it sighte that ioyes me thus,
Or desire that thus delights me?
Cruell iarres come neuer ny vs,
Loue and louers all dispise thee;
Thou by wronge wouldst ill requite me.

Giue me now, my loue, sweete kisses;
Kisses kinde like turtles billinge.
Let desire winne his wishes;
Oh sweete lippes, be you faine willinge,
Pretious flesh faire sweld in billinge.

Oh bright eies, whose falinge lookes
Make me dye in pleasures brests!
Oh sweete ioyes, - in written bookes
Cupid calls them Cupids nests
And all other brests detests!

Be not strange of this imbrasinge,
Neither check my high aspires;
Let me heare the sweete unlasinge
Pitty prayes, and loue requires;
Sighs perfum'd in holy fires.

Whist awhile! - Tushe, all is well,
Jealous eies suspected weepe.
Fortune, with her charmed spell,
Enuy cast in deadly sleepe:
Regard is set the guard to keepe.

Sweete, deare sweete, make no resist,
Giue me leaue to ginn the game;
Sweetest loue that eu'r was kist,
Keepe thy pretious limbes in frame,
Honour comes to know your name.

Prety leggs, be liuely walkinge,
You may be disioynd a while;
Tongue, ly still and leaue thy talkinge,
Here beginns the pleasant toile,
Hart makes ioye and eyes to smile.

But alas! the keeper coms!
Come, sweete loue, and let us flie:
I would the wretch were blinde and dumme,
That he might not vs discrie
Here together priuilie.

Oh my loue, and dearest iewell,
Farewell till wee meete againe,
If to me thou wilt be cruell,
I shall soone with care be slaine,
And loue after comes in vaine.

Therefore, if thou wilt be true,
Let no fancy true loue seuer;
Make no tryalls for a new,
Other loue I will haue neuer:
I am thine in harte for euer.

II

Text from MS. HM 198 (II), in the Huntington Library, f. 119r.-v. The poem is also found in Bodleian MS. Don. b.9.

Elegy

Tis not his Jealousie that can preuent
Our meetings, be thou pleased to consent;
Beleeue I apprehend an ample way
Wherein uney'd we may our joyes essay
And none the wiser, but thie selfe and I,
In makinge use of opportunitie
(A pointe of time which is to euery man
Once in his life preferd, embrace who can):
For he that giues it law is sure to misse it,
Secure such fortune neuer to revisitt.
What prime occasions had my younger age
Escap'd, which to retrive I would engage
My hopes and all I haue; but such was then
Mine ignorance, and since with this of men
I haue exchanged my state, I doe repent
With earnest eyes my daies so idely spent,
And call the wandringe houres (but all in vaine)
There constant course to measure out againe;
Whilst the remorseles minuitts there course doe fill,
Obeyinge Time and his imperious will.
Who then would drincke of riuers that runne fast
And runne not allwaies must incline in haste.
Youth is your springe, each houre doth it diminish,
And when yeares enter then doth beauty finish;
Besides, those colours which we prize the best
Are to there ruine suddainlest imprest,
Nor doth the hand of age afflict so soone
Our sterne and hardlie chang'd complexion,
But earely does beginne repented warr
With female beauties that more tender are,
Imploying meanes which we cannot espie
To'approach there treasures more insensibly;
His engins, - sicknes, sorrowe, and many more -
To'abate the pretious frame we soe adore.

Though to attempt some few he slowely venter,
Yet waine they from the minute he doth enter,
Or shine with borrowed light, the shadowes tracinge,
Fitt for younge louers, or the blindes embracinge.
This was the cause Hellen her glasse reiected,
And would not see what ruine had effected
Upon her browe, by hand of Time declinde,
Which said she was to spedy shades assigned.
My dearest hopes, thou dost not know the price
Of youth, nor how just sorrowēs doe arise
Of it neglected or not well improued.
"I saw the time that I was seru'd and lou'de"
(Wilt thou some seauen olimpiads hence reherse),
"And was solicited in gentle verse,
Had all the aids that councell could bestowe,
But I was vnsusceptible and slowe,
Fearefull, irresolute, disdainefull, nice,
And did not followe soe secure advice,
Which had I but with open arms receaued
My youth had not binn lost, nor I deceiued;
I had reioyc'd in sports as swete as hidden,
And tasted fruits of life, although forbidden."
This wilt thou iterate and bringe forth with teares
Att the'end of fifty ouer withered yeares,
And burne with sorrow which thou canst not vent,
Whilst none shall pitty thee, or thy plaints mispent.
Think but on this, and with a serious eye
Giue timely attention to this elegie,
Decipheringe truth, which elders haue allowed,
Only by some repentinge fewe forslowed.

III

Text from Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 166, p. 9.

To Cloris

Cruell they were and full of enuious pride
That first the earthe with closures did diuide,
And, rauishing the wealthe of Natures store,
Made priuate that which publique was before:
Conuerting so, to serue their owne excesse,
What heauen had made for common happines.
But yett a thousand tymes more enuious hee
That firste forbadde affection to bee free,
And under feigned shewe the worlde enclin'd
To laye harde fetters on the winged mynde.
Then loue (which blameles earst had tane his flight
And att his liking had free leaue to light
On this or that, or any of the troope
Whose bewty could allure the God to stoope,
As free as ayre to staye or else bee gone),
Was firste confynde and limited to one.
But then this harde restraynt was sweetened yett
With glorious name of Lawe by Nature sette:
As though that gentle Natures lawe did lye
In rapine and iniurious tyranny,
That, tender parent to each other kynde,
Menne only should a crabbed stepdame fynde.
Yett thus they, under Natures false pretence,
To Nature offered extreame violence;

Butt fynding still that Nature would recoyle,
In spight of tyrannye's industrious toyle
To kepe her backe, and turne her current by,
They thus contriue her endles slauery:
The vayne but sounding titles they inuent
Of Honour, Fame, that to bee Continent
Was Manly, then came in nice Chastety,
Blynde Superstition, fayned Piety,
By which the simpler soules so sure were helde
In servitude, that Nature was expelde,
And reasons light to such a dimnes brought
That forced bondage Natures Lawe was thought.
And yett some fewe, of pure and perfect sence,
Remayn'd, who knew their first preheminence,
And as occasion fauoured their desire
Did to their natiue liberty aspire.
So Plato, Epicurus, such as these
Weare all that followed wyse Antisthenes:
On these, when tyranny had caste her eye,
Shee fear'd the downefall of her monarchy;
Wherefore she seekes a waye how to include
Those happy spiritts in her seruitude.
The sottish multitude shee prayes in ay'd,
To whome, when as the case shee forthe had lay'd
(How some by novell doctrines saught to drawe
Their wiues in compas of th'agrarian lawe,
And, since that fortune rul'd so partially,
Would all reduce to a communitye,
Wherefore, unlesse this geare weare looked to,
Goods, wiues and children, all they must forgoe),
The frantiqùe sinode strayte, with headlong speede,
By full consent then instantly decreed
To brande with euerlasting infamy
The faultles act of Natures libertye.
Then from the deepest hell an ougly spright,
Daughter of Cerberus and dismall Night,
Rose uppe, and on the earth began to dwell,
And Jealousy menne call'd this birthe of Hell:
Fourth of the Furyes, as the later shee
By birthe, so first in malice of the three, -
A pale, leane ghoste that hath as many eyes
And eares, as starres doe glister in the skyes.
These euer watch, on these if slumbres creepe
Yett still they heare and see, for all their sleepe;
So form'd her eyes, that in their sight the ants
Appeare as huge as Indian elephants;
The softest whisper rattles in her eares
Like roare of cannons, or the Thunderers;
Shee censures all, shee into all doth prye,
Still crediting her feares though still they lye,
To whom this plague is by juste heauen assign'd:
To searche that moste, which moste shee feares to fynde.
That founde, no tygre so enrag'd as shee,
Nor draggons are so full of cruelltye.
Enthronis'd in some heartes, this cursed spright
Made all the world to feele and feare her might;
With thousand shapes of terrour so besette,
That loues commerce and Natures course was lette.
And now the worlde is fallen to that state,
What Nature bidds us loue, w'are forc'd to hate.

And yett I cannot; but I must admire
And loue, but dare not passe a mute desire
Which if shee understande and gracious proue,
Danger, nor death, can barre my daring loue.
But if on loue shee beare a harder hande,
And, though shee doe, yett will not understande,
Or if through panique feares shee loue denye,
Death only can assuage my malady:
Then in thy triumphe, Jealousy, my name
Shall by one title more encrease thy fame.

IV

Text from Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 166, pp. 47-51.

Licoris

... This place so fayre, in all so meete
For loues delights, my dearest sweete
Appoynted mee; heere my desires
To satisfy, and quenche my fyres.

Obscure the place like twilight seem'd,
Which best for modest feares I deem'd.
No neede that Phoebus shoulde appeare
Where as my sunne would shine so cleare.

She comes: like Citherea fayre
When shee to Paphos doth repayre.
Or as the morne in rosye wayne
Doth sweetly blushe uppon the mayne.

Loose her attyre, because of heate,
(The Crabbe as then was Titan's seate),
With azure mantle ouer-caste,
Whose endes did meete aboute her waste.

With trembling pace shee did drawe nye,
Fearing what shee desir'd to trye.
But in my armes I did her holde
And faste her mantle did unfoulde.

Shee striu'd, shee helde, shee seem'd to weepe:
And what shee gaue, yett fayn'd to keepe,
As some fight when the forte is woone
So shee, to haue it not undoone.

O Venus, how from euery parte
Was thy shotte aymed att my hearte;
When, without veile or cloude betweene,
Her naked bewtyes I had seene!

O what a piece of lands-schippe there
Did'st thou expose! How full! How cleare!
What vales of roses, hills of snowe,
And founts of nectar didst thou shewe.

Nothing I sawe that did not please:
Nothing that wholly did not seize
My soule, and with a new delight
Detayn'd my doubtfull appetite.

Till shee, as seeking for to hyde
Her shame, for beeing thus espyde,
Her armes aboute my necke did twyne,
And closely joyn'd her lippes to myne.

The lightning with no swifter flight
Doth chase the darknes of the night,
Then shee through euery vayne did fyre
The rage of my untam'd desire.

But holde, my Muse! Mee thinkes I heare
Loue's queene, that whispers in myne eare
Not to disclose her sacred rites,
For shee in secrete moste delights.

Coridon.

V

Text from Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 199, pp. 67-8.

The Curse

Nought, nought, my Helicopis, nought could move
Or me, or thee, ere to betray our love;
Secret wee'd beene, had not a wretched shee
Oreheard, and told our deare conspiracy, -
Shee, whome I hate allmost as much as I love thee.
May the next secret that shee doth relate
Some libell prove against the magistrate,
That shee, in one short curse, may be undone;
Starchamber censures light on her thereon,
And may the King for fine take her whole portion;
May shee have nought to marry her but wit,
And meete with those that doe not care for it;
May shee be poore and be in love, may shee
Begin to woe and never answear'd be,
May shee be vext with the dull vice of constancy.
May shee give all sh'hath left t'her paramour
To win him, and may he, in hope of more,
Promise, and deceive her; and may shee ly
In waking expectation patiently
All night, and rise a maide of mere necessity.
May shee be chast, though prostitute, and soe
Carted for what shee would but cannot doe.
After all hope of man, may penury
Soe pinch her age that, wanting meanes to buy
A dildoe, may shee to the naked bedstaffe fly.
In spite of cerusse may her face at last
Accuse her for a witch and shee (in hast
To leave her loathed selfe); and when she'll dy
May'r stinking breath prevent authority,

And noe man within forty foot o'th stake draw nigh.
But oh! This was too light for her yet, Fate,
Set not this gen'rall postscript come-to-late:
Ash-Wednesdays curses light on thee, on thee
Fall the whole Persians ev'ning liturgy,
May'st thou fulfill all th'ills of Bookers prophesy!

W:R:

VI

Text from Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 199, pp. 71-4.

The Revenge

Come now, my sweete tormentresse, now will I
Revenge my selfe uppon thy cruelty;
'Tis not delight, but justice, moves me on
Thus to exact a satisfaction,
And that excuses me, - or tyranny:
Where murders lawfull, lust is piety.
Now thy cheekes kindle blushes, now the grace
Of troubled modesty shines in thy face,
And as a river coyly glides along
With frownes and murmurs at the sawcy wrong
Of the imbracing earth, and to get loose
The watry nymph doth subtle windings use,
Soe wouldst thou wriggle from mine armes; such coy,
Such easy anger will enhance the ioy;
And I allow this to thy modesty,
That thou shouldst seeme as thou wert forc'd by mee;
Such petulant waywardnesse heightens desire
As the coole breath adds heate unto the fire:
Thus Zephirus sports with a stately pine
Which with nice gravity seemes to decline
His kisses, but by such resistance finds
Noe breaking but a strengthning of the winds.
Tis not a kisse will satisfy delight,
That only serves to raise the appetite:
Thou hast inflam'd m'enough for the delight
To get m'a stomach, doe not starve me quite.
Solicite flames in old men: Venus there
Retir'd with melancholy won't appeare
Without much invitation: but in mee
Thy beauty may coniure her chastity.
Then cease to vex me with this loving art,
But let me touch each circumstantiall part:
Then let those hidden treasures be revealed, -
Riches which envious nature hath conceald,
Jealous of her best skill: such objects might
Both ravish and confound weake lovers sight.
Those breasts two-toppt Parnassus hill
Doe represent to mee:
Who sleepeth in this place may fill
His dreames with extasy.
That belly is the hills ascent
And Helicon's below it:
Who in this place his time hath spent
Is soone inspir'd a Poet.

Pitty those thighes noe aequall know
To love but one-another;
Pitty they love each other soe
As still to keepe together!
Spread thy selfe then, as summer blossomes doe;
Or, as the morning marigold, open to
The rising sunne! See where shee trembling lies,
A milky dove for Venus sacrifice,
And I'me her priest: this better farre becomes
Her altar then whole slaughterd hecatombs;
Sure cruelty is not zeale, nor can shee take
Pleasure in bloud, unlesse for Mars his sake.
Submit thee then: portend not ill to us,
A strugling sacrifice is ominous.
Vse not thy nayles, those female armes; who feares
His fingers that would pull a rose? who shares
Hyblean thyme that feares stings? such content
The wise gods sell to us for punishment;
And I shall triumph in those glorious scarrs,
Ensignes of brave performance in loves warrs.
Heere kisses are of use to stifle sighes,
Or to damme upp those amorous virgin cryes
Within thy lipps. Let us enrich this bed
With a new glorious dy of Maydenhead:
The Tyrian cocles loose theyr bloud in vayne,
And cotcheneale makes not a dearer staine,
When this appeares. Sure kind and merry Jove,
When he to mortalls would expresse his love,
Made woman of his pretious nectar; shee,
During the frost of her virginity,
Is congeald nectar; when shee ioynes with men
Our masculine heate resolves her ice againe
Into its primitive liquor, and calls forth
Much of her inward sweets, her innate worth;
And in this agitation shee excells,
As chafed amber sends forth richer smells.
This, my deare arme-full, this doth perfect thee,
And thy creations end doth satisfy:
Woman, tane out of man, till ioynd againe
A skant and uselesse parcell does remaine:
But this shall reunite our bodys, soe
That unto one hermaphrodite wee'll grow:
That iuice which from thy balmy body creepes
At evry pore - better then Myrrha weepes
Or Phaetons mourners, who att once lett fall
Teares for his death and balme for's buriall -
That pretious cement shall compact our parts
And make our flesh as one as love our hearts.
Whilst our armes, leggs, thighes, all is twisted, soe
That curious eyes cannot perceive us two:
Whilst deepe, moist kisses mix our panting soule
And make one blest confusion of the whole.
O happinesse, to whose perfection wee
Can desire nought but perpetuity.
But ah! tis too, too momentary. Now,
Like to a drooping violet full of dew,
Thou pul'st and hang'st thy head; thy bright eyes raine
Downe teares, as though thou'dst wash away thy staine:
Thy blush-dyde face is in thy bosome layd
To view the sad remainder of a maide.

And I could half vy tears with thee, and faine
Would have it now to be to do againe:
Truly it greives my heart that it is donne, -
That it is ended, not that twas begun!
These wounds (as of the Troian kings was said),
By the same meanes are cur'd as they are made.
For when wee meete, and doo't againe, wee shall
By doing't twice not grieve t'have don't at all:
Then lett's repreive our ioyes, this act on thee
Was my revenge, henceforth 'twill service bee.

W:R:

VII

Text from Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 199, pp. 89-91.

Ode

When in unworthier armes, ah! I shall see
My Melicopis circled, when shee'll bee
Married unto some rough, shorne citizen,
The ignominy of the towne,
Or to some country landed clowne,
More stupid then the beasts 'mongst which h'ath been,
And courser earth is hee
Then his rich furrowes bee,
Will not my liver fry, my gaule o'reflow
Into a jaundise? Then, as fire below
Doth in a still make dropps run from above,
Will not the sight of what appeares
Be drownd in floudes of courteous teares
Sent from those fires of anger and of love?
Will not theyr twisted heate
Perplex my bloud to sweate?
Shall I not then, feeling loves tyranny,
In a brave rage blaspheme his deity?
Boy, hath it not that I have sacrific'd
Both morning sighs and midnight teares suffic'd
To bribe your squeamish, halfe-fac'd deity,
Of which thy mother beares a parte?
Therefore I did, with all my heart,
Cry Paris's iudgement up in elegy,
And her smooth painted skin
In verse painte o're againe;
Fond child, 'cause thou art blinde, like fortune, thou
Vppon the foole thy fav'rite do'st bestow.

T'engraffe a crabb uppon a cherry-stocke!
Such crosse coniunctions are a ieere and mocke
To natures selfe, a tryannizing iest
On humane thinges. O tell me why
Thou dost neglect thy votary:
Have I for this resolved to be thy priest,
Studied loves mystery,
Thy revelations high,
Stird paradoxes and positions new
Which the dull laity of love ne're knew?
Have I for this gone to the Temple, where

My Saint repaird, and that small sparke of fire
Of my devotion devided I
Twixt zeale and love, twixt pray'rs and thee,
And tooke notes with aequality
Both from the preachers hand and from your eye?
And when our holy brother
Bad us love one another,
How orthodox I thought his doctrine then,
Had he told women soe as well as men!
Must shee, to one who nere usd art or charme,
Flow, a too easy prey, into his arme?
And free as prostitute unto him yield,
And soe, poore girle, contemned bee
For her too much facility?
Thus silly plowmen find gold in the field,
Which the poore alchymist
With all his art hath mist;
Thus sordid Pan by chance findes Ceres where
The nobler gods that look't her mist of her.

W:R:

VIII

Text from Musarum Deliciae, 1656, collated with that in B.M. MSS. Stowe 962 (f. 44v.) and Add. 10309 (p. 49). The abbreviations S and A have been used to indicate readings from these two MSS.

To a Lady vex'd with a Jealous Husband

When you sit musing, Lady, all alone,
Casting up all your cares with private moan,
When your heart bleeds with griefe, you are no more
Neer unto comfort then you were before,
You cannot mend your state with sighes or tears;
Sorrow's no balsome for distrustfull feares.
Have you a foe you hate? Wish him no worse
A plague or torment then the yellow curse.
Observe your Lord with ne're so strict an eye,
You cannot go to piss without a spy;
If but a mouse doth stir about his bed
He starts, and sweares he is dishonoured;
And, when a jealous dream doth craze his pate,
Straight he resolves he will be separate.
Tell me, right worthy cuckolds, if you can,
What good this folly doth reflect on man,
Are women made more loyall? Hath it power
To guard the tree, that none can pluck the flower?
Is it within the power of jealous heads
To banish lust from court or country beds?
I never knew that base and foul mistrust
Made any chast, that had a mind to lust:
It cannot make her honest, that by kind
It cannot make her honest, that by kind
To loose and vile affections is inclin'd.

Mus. Del., S, A
8 yellow S, A: pillowes Mus. Del.
24 vile S, A: wild Mus. Del.

Debar her Lord, she, to supply his room,
Will have a horse-boy or a stable-groom.
Keep her from youth of lower rank and place,
She'l kiss the scullion and with knaves embrace:
Suspect her faith with all, and all mistrust,
She'l buy a monkey to supply her lust:
Lock her from man and beast and all content,
She'l make thee cuckold with an instrument:
For women are like angry mastives chain'd,
They bite at all when they're from all restrain'd.
We may set locks and guards to watch their fires,
But have no meanes to quench their hot desires:
Man may as well by cunning go about
To stop the sun in motion, as by doubt
To keep a mettled woman, if that she
Strongly dispose herselfe to venery.
How many thousand women that were saints
Are now made sinfull by unjust restraints!
How many do commit, for very spight,
That take small pleasure in that short delight!
Some are for malice, some for mirth unjust,
Some kisse for love, and some do act for lust.
But if the fates intend to make me blest,
And Hymen bind me to a female breast,
(As yet, I thank my starres, I am not ty'd
In servile bonds to any wanton bride)
Let Cinthia be my crest, and let me wear
The cuckolds badge, if I distrust or fear.
'Tis told me oft, a smooth and gentle hand
Keeps women more in aw of due command
Than if we set a quincell on their dock,
Ride them with bits, in absence use a locke:
For then, like furious colts, they'l frisk and fling,
Grow wild and mad and will do any thing.
But if we slack our reyns, to please their will,
Kindnesse will keep them from committing ill.
You blessed créatures, hold your female rights,
Conquer by day, as you o'recome by nights;
And tell the jealous world thus much from me,
Bondage may make them bad whose minds are free.
Had Collatin been jealous (say this more),
Without a rape Lucrece had dy'd a whore.

28 the S: his Mus. Del.
34 they're from all A: they are all Mus. Del.
39 mettled S: nettled Mus. Del.
40 dispose herselfe S, A: disposed be Mus. Del.
44 short S, A: sweet Mus. Del.
55 quincell ... dock S: Ganneril ... Docks Mus. Del.
56 inabsence use a locke S: or on their geer set Locks Mus. Del.

IX

The text is from Bodleian MS. Don. C. 24, p. 115. This MS., dedicated to the author's wife, "Marie Oldisworth", is dated "Feb. 17, 1644". The poem is also found in Folger Shakespeare Library MS. 646-4, f. 327 r.

For an Innes of courts man.
To his Mistris

Dearest, (I call you so because I spend
More on you than on my entirest friend),
You and your maid have both learnt tricks to crave
And gett from mee almost what ere I have.
If by a crafty chance it comes to passe
That you or shee doe hide your looking-glasse,
Shee weeping comes to mee, and sayes tis broken,
Whence by me straight a new one is bespoken;
If any trifles (as a watch or Gemme)
Fancie you, forthwith I must purchase them.
"I pray you now, forbeare", you answer, "why,
You know, Sir, nothing wee to you denie".
Doe not you so? this one boone grant mee then,
Never to aske mee any thing agen.

X

Text from Bodleian MS. Rawl. Poet. 199, p. 15. The poem is also found in MS. Douce. f. 5, at f. 22.

The woing of a Puritane

I came unto a puritane to woe her,
And roughly did salute her with a kisse:
Away, quoth she, and rudely pushd me from her,
Brother, by yea and nay I like not this.
And still with amorous talke she was saluted,
My artlesse speech with scripture was confuted.
Oft I frequented her aboade by night,
And courted her, and spake her wondrous faire,
But ever somewhat did offend her sight,
Either my double ruffe, or my long haire.
My scarfe was vaine, my garments hung too low,
My Spanish shooe was cut to brosd at toe.
I parted for that time, and came againe,
Seeming to be confirmed in looke and speeches,
My shooes were sharpe-toed and my band was plaine,
Close to my thigh my Metamorphos'd breeches.
My cloake was narrow capte, my haire cut shorter,
Off went my scarfe, then went I to the porter.
The porter, spying me, did leade me in
Where this faire dame sate reading of a chapter;
"Peace to this house", said I, "and those within",
Which holy speech with admiration rapt her.
And ever as I spake and came her nigh,
Seeming divine, turnd up the white o'th'eye.

I spak divinely and I cald her sister,
And by these meanes we were acquainted well;
"By yea and nay, I will", quoth I, and kist her,
Shee blush'd and said that longtongued men would tell.
I seem'd to be as secret as the night,
And said I would put out the candle-light.
"O, doe not sweare", quoth shee, "yet put it out,
Because I would not haue you breake your oath".
I felt a bed there as I groap'd about,
"In troth", quoth I, "heere will we rest us both";
"Sweare you in troth?" quoth shee, "had you not sworne
I had not don't, but tooke it in foule scorne".
"Then will you come?" quoth I; "Though I be loath
Ile come", quoth shee, "bee't but to keepe your oath".

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MS. Ashmole 36/37 MS. Rawl. Poet. 22
38 23
47 30
48 61
213 65
703 73
MS. C.C.C.C. 178 84
202 88
203 92
313 102
328 112
MS. Don. A. 9 117
C. 84 120
C. 86 122
D. 88 123
MS. Douce f. 6 124
MS. Eng. Poets. c. 60 125
d. 3 126
d. 14 127
e. 37 128
f. 9 129
f. 24 130
f. 25 131
MS. Firth d. 7 132
MS. Malone 13 MS. Selden 37
16
19 MS. Tanner 256
21 465
25 466
MS. Rawlinson B. 76 MS. Wood D. 19
C. 986
D. 398
D.1043
D.1147
D.1360

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(ii) Manuscript

[All manuscripts consulted have been included in this list, whether or not they have yielded examples of "Ovidian" poetry, so that any future searcher in this field need not cover the same ground again.]

Bodleian Library, Oxford.

MS. Ashmole		36/37
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		313
		781
MS. C.C.C.		176
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MS. Don.	B.	9
	C.	24
	C.	54
	D.	58
MS. Douce	f.	5
MS. Eng. Poet.	c.	50
	d.	3
	e.	14
	e.	37
	f.	9
	f.	24
	f.	25
MS. Firth	d.	7
MS. Malone		13
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MS. Rawlinson	B.	76
	C.	986
	D.	398
	D.	1048
	D.	1147
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MS. Rawl. Poet.		23
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MS. Smith		17
MS. Tanner		306
		465
		466
MS. Wood	D.	19

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British Museum.

MS. Add. 5956
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15232
18044
18647
19255
19268
19269
21433
22118
22582
22583
22601
22602
22603
23229
24665
25303
25707
27406
28008
28095
28253
28758
29492
30982
33998
34744

MS. Egerton 923
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2013
2026
2230
2421
2735

MS. Harley 791
3511
3910
3991
4064
4888
4955
6057
6917
6918
6931
7332

MS. Lansdowme 740
777

MS. Sloane 542
1009
1065
1446
1454
1489
1792
1925
2023
2117
2332
2790
3769

MS. Stowe 961
962

Christ Church, Oxford.

MS. 183
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Edinburgh University

MS. Laing III, 493

Folger Shakespeare Library

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